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‘One Equal Music’:
The Royal College of Music, its inception and the
Legacy of Sir George Grove 1883-1895

TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME ONE

GILES WILLIAM EDWARD BRIGHTWELL

MA Dunelm., FRSA, FSA(Scot), LTCL

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
within the University of Durham



Department of Music

2007

- 3 MAY 2007

DECLARATION

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G. W. E. Brightwell
Hatfield College, Durham.
1 January, 2007

*To my mother and father, Joan and Derek Brightwell,
with much love and gratitude.*

*In memoriam James Edward Quick (1904-2002),
my maternal grandfather and an Edwardian Londoner,
whose love of his native city, its river and its music, was infectious.*

Sunset and evening star,
And one clear call for me!
And may there be no moaning of the bar,
When I put out to sea,
But such as tide as moving seems asleep,
Too full for sound and foam,
When that which drew from out the boundless deep
Turns again home.

Twilight and evening bell,
And after that the dark!
And may there be no sadness of farewell,
When I embark;
For tho' from out our bourne of Time and Place
The flood may bear me far,
I hope to see my Pilot face to face
When I have crost the bar.

Alfred Lord Tennyson (1809-1892)

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ABSTRACT

'One Equal Music': The Royal College of Music, its inception and the Legacy of Sir George Grove 1883-1895.

GILES WILLIAM EDWARD BRIGHTWELL

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy within the University of Durham 2007.

The establishment of the Royal College of Music (RCM) in 1883 represents the denouement of an eighteenth-century movement to found a conservatoire with a national remit in Britain. Whether motivated by the desire to rival Continental conservatoires to generate and develop an environment in which a worthy successor to Purcell could be nurtured or to create an indigenous musical workforce to obtain direct control of market forces, the RCM was seen as a panacea in the light of the demise of the experimental National Training School for Music (1876-1882) and the ineffectual Royal Academy of Music founded in 1822. The NTSM's financial concerns led Sir Henry Cole to approach the Royal Commission of 1851 for aid. In return for a meagre grant, the Commission insisted the NTSM remodel its management and constitution on pain of eviction from buildings on the Kensington Estate. Cole's approach to 1851 Commissioners precipitated the involvement of the Prince of Wales and other senior members of the Court that led directly to the establishment of the RCM in 1878.

Attempts to institute the RCM as a quango to regulate the music profession alongside music education both at elementary school and university level were intended to provide ideal circumstances for inducing comprehensive treasury assistance where the NTSM failed. When this proved elusive, a contingency was provided by George Grove (first RCM Director from 1882) who, at the request of the Prince of Wales, initiated a capital fund. The introduction of fee-paying students alongside scholars provided financial security that distanced the College from insolvency. Substantial growth in numbers during the first few years forced Grove and the Council to address the issue of a new building. Grove's appointment of an unrivalled professorial staff and the development of a rigorous curriculum, whose inspiration was to be found within the Continental traditions in France and Germany, had paid dividends. By 1894, the results of RCM's pedagogical methods were respected across Europe.

The appointment of Grove's neighbour, Alexander Mackenzie, as Principal of the RAM heralded an environment for mutual co-operation between two rival institutions. The institution of local examinations under the Associated Board of the Royal Academy of Music and the Royal College of Music from 1889 marked the conclusion of further attempts to amalgamate the two institutions. The foundation of both the Associated Board was intended to provide a remedy to the shortage of suitably-qualified candidates entering for scholarships and to improve music tuition among school children as set out in the RCM's 1883 charter. The coalition created formidable opposition to Hallé's proposal to establish a chartered Royal College of Music in Manchester (RMC) in 1893 and Parliament's attempts to include music within the provision of the bill for the regulation and registration of teachers. The foundation of the Associated Board allowed Grove to begin implementing the RCM's remit to lead the music profession on both a national and imperial scale.

The RCM's national and European reputation established by Grove was consolidated under the directorate of his successor, C. Hubert H. Parry, who confirmed the RCM's global reputation to which other, fledgling institutions, such as New York's Juilliard School of Music, came to aspire. Grove's initiatives, which began the process of emancipating composer and performer alike, went on to transform Britain's international musical reputation within a generation, the ramifications of which continue to affect us more than a century later.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

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40. Samson Fox hands the diamond-encrusted gold key to HRH The Prince of Wales *ILN* (12 May, 1894)
41. The RCM Entrance Hall decorated in marble and adorned with a bust of Samson Fox, which was subsequently removed *Graphic* (5 May, 1894)
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56. Sir Charles Villiers Stanford 'He found Harmony in Ireland' *Spy* (Sir Leslie Ward: 2 February, 1905) © CPH(RCM)
57. Joachim during a London performance of Beethoven's Violin Concerto with the Philharmonic Society Orchestra by Alice E. Donkin (1880) © CPH(RCM)

ABBREVIATIONS

1851RCA	Archive of the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851 at Imperial College (RCM Correspondence)
1851RCAM	Minutes of Her Majesty's Commission for 1851
AB	(Sir) Arthur Blomfield
ABRAM&RCM	Associated Board of the RAM and RCM
ABRSM	Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music
ABRSMA	Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music Archive
AC	Alan Cole
AE	Colonel Arthur Ellis
AR	Annual Report
AER(RCM)	Annual RCM Examiners Report
AFH	Arthur Hill
AL	Autograph Letter
AM	Alexander Mackenzie
ARCM	Associate of the Royal College of Music (Certificate of Proficiency)
AS	(Sir) Arthur Sullivan
BCM(RCM)	Building Committee Minutes
BMM(1851RC)	Board of Management Minutes of the 1851 Royal Commission
CB	Dr Charles Burney
CE	Collier's Encyclopaedia
CM	Charles Morley
CMM(NTSM)	National Training School for Music Committee of Management Minutes (from RCMA 001/1 and 001/2)
CMM(RAM)	Royal Academy of Music Committee of Management Minutes
CM(RCM)	RCM Council Minutes
CM(SA)	Society of Arts Council Minutes (from RSAA)
CPH(RCM)	Centre for Performance History (RCM)
CR(RCM)	RCM Council Report to the AGM
CS	Charles Santley
CUMS	Cambridge University Musical Society

DE	HRH The Duke of Edinburgh
DM(RAM)	Royal Academy of Music Minutes of the Board of Directors
ED	Earl Dudley
EFM(RCM)	RCM Executive and Finance Committee Minutes
EGB	E. Godfrey Brown
EH-A	Edward Heron-Allen
EO	Edith Oldham
ES	Earl Spencer
ew	Mrs Edmund Wodehouse
EWB	Edward Hamilton
FK	Sir Francis Knollys
<i>GII</i>	<i>Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> (Second edition)
GD	George Dyson
GG	Sir George Grove
HC	Sir Henry Cole
HD	Higher Division
HL	Sir Henry Leslie
HMQ	Her Majesty Queen Victoria
HP	General Sir Henry Ponsonby
HS	Major-General Henry Scott
HT	Lord Henry Thring
<i>ILN</i>	<i>The Illustrated London News</i>
JB	Sir Julius Benedict
<i>JBIOS</i>	<i>Journal of the British Institute of Organ Studies</i>
JE	John Ella
JG	John Gill (Secretary to RAM)
JM	James Macmillan
<i>JRSA</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Society of Arts</i>
<i>JSA</i>	<i>Journal of the Society of Arts</i>
KP	Kellow Pye
LD	Lower Division
LF	Lord Folkestone

LH	Lord Hampton
LMA	London Metropolitan Archive
LP	Sir Lyon Playfair
LRAM	Licentiate of the Royal Academy of Music (Metropolitan Examination)
LVC(RCM)	Minutes of the Ladies Visiting Committee
M	Memorandum or Memorial
MEC(SA)	Society of Arts Musical Education Committee Minutes
MGC(CH)	Minutes of the General Committee of Christ's Hospital
MGC(FH)	Minutes of the General Committee of the Foundling Hospital
MMR	<i>The Monthly Musical Review</i>
MN	<i>The Musical News</i>
MS	Manuscript
MSL	Manuscript Letter
MT	<i>The Musical Times</i>
MW	<i>The Musical World</i>
NALA	National Art Library Archive (Victoria and Albert Museum)
NGI	<i>New Grove I</i>
NGII	<i>New Grove II</i>
NSHA	Strangers' Hall Archive, Norwich
NTSM	National Training School for Music
OR	<i>Organists' Review</i>
PC	HRH The Prince Christian of Schleswig and Holstein
PL	Printed Letter
PML	Pierpont Morgan Library
PP	Privy Purse (Royal Archive)
pp	Private Papers
QMMR	<i>The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review</i>
RA	Royal Archives, Windsor Castle
RAM	Royal Academy of Music
RAMA	Royal Academy of Music Archives
RCM	Royal College of Music

RCMA	Royal College of Music Archives
RCOA	Royal College of Organists Archive
RSAA	Royal Society of Arts Archives
<i>SMM</i>	<i>The Strand Musical Magazine</i>
TT	Thomas Twining
<i>VF</i>	<i>Vanity Fair</i>
VIC	Queen Victoria
WA	Sir William Anderson
WHH	William Henry Hadow
WP	Walter Parratt

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PROLOGUE

The foundation of the Royal College of Music (RCM) in 1883 represents the dénouement of a movement whose life-blood found its origin in the Age of the Enlightenment and subsequently in the nationalist *Zeitgeist* that pervaded Europe from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. Moreover, it provided the perfect placebo for a Victorian psychosis that defined Britain and the British as innately unmusical. In eighteenth-century London, the foundation of a *conservatorio* along Italian lines was intended to accomplish several objectives. In the first instance, it was anticipated to free London's music profession from its foreign monopoly by training aspirant professional musicians in order to generate an indigenous musical workforce to provide a forty-piece orchestra and a national opera. Secondly, rigorous instruction in composition was perceived to supply the ideal environment in which a worthy successor to Purcell could be cultivated and nurtured. As such, it was intended to provide Britain with musical and cultural autonomy. To this end several pamphlets and treatises were published advocating the establishment in London of a musical seminary for indigenous musicians. Of these, only two progressed beyond the drawing board. In 1727 Daniel Defoe (1660-1731) advocated the establishment of a *conservatorio* in connection with Christ's Hospital and, in 1774, Charles Burney (1726-1814) petitioned the governors of the Foundling Hospital with a view to establishing a similar foundation there. Both schemes were to have provided music education as well as board and lodging for orphans at the respective institutions, thus mirroring the Italian *Ospedale* system; however, their sphere of influence was limited even before plans had been properly digested. The stigma attached to an institution catering primarily, if not exclusively, for those regarded as the lowest orders in society, would naturally have restricted their ability to attract students from a socially diverse background should the founders have wished to do so. Furthermore, the scale of each institution would have militated against its ability

significantly to transform the British music profession. While a music school was added to the foundation at Christ's Hospital, it bore little resemblance to Defoe's original plans. Burney's scheme suffered from a fatal flaw: it was dependent on the musical foundlings ability to perform concerts in public; however, in order to prevent exploitation, orphans at the Foundling Hospital were not allowed to be sent out to work until the age of 21 in the case of girls and 14 in the case of boys.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the political landscape in Europe had begun to change. This had a direct bearing on the fortunes of music education. The Paris Conservatoire, founded in 1795 as a result of the French Revolution, was an intrinsic aspect of Government. It was generously funded by the State and accorded both status and power. It represented a new dawn in conservatoire training; indeed, during the century that followed, the Paris Conservatoire provided the blueprint to which every European school of music aspired at home and abroad. Later on, a series of sister institutions connected to the Conservatoire was established throughout France. At Paris, high standards were imposed and reinforced by a series of rigorous examinations. A ruthless policy, it ensured the institution's reputation for excellence spread quickly. The period of study, lasting three years, was only extended in the case of prize-winners; consequently, it was a policy that established a highly competitive musical environment.

In England, those in the music profession were only too aware of Britain's apparent inability to produce an indigenous musical workforce and various schemes to establish a national music school were put forward during the early years of the nineteenth-century. The most considered of these were those espoused by members of the Philharmonic Society from 1815 onwards. Around 1815, William Ayrton (1777-1858) and J. P. Saloman (1745-1815) promoted the idea of establishing a music school. This was followed by a scheme put forward by John Freckleton Burrowes (1787-1852) in 1818. Burrowes's scheme was subsequently revised in 1822 by F. W. Horncastle and Thomas

Forbes Walmisley (1783-1866); however, on the very day their plan was due to be debated at a meeting of the Philharmonic Society, John Fane (1784-1859) (the Irish peer, Lord Burghersh, later eleventh Earl of Westmoreland), and the French harpist, Nicolas Bochsa (1789-1856), announced the establishment of an independent Royal Academy of Music under the patronage of George IV.

From its inception, the RAM came under fire from a number of directions. In the first instance, it had been instituted without consultation with the music profession and was perceived to be a direct threat to the patronage and apprentice system and hence the very profession it was established to support. As a foundation, it was loosely based on the Paris Conservatoire yet it enjoyed no State subvention; rather, funds were raised entirely through students' fees and a system whereby directorships could be sold in return for an annual subscription. While the RAM's management structure was both unwieldy and top-heavy, an initial student population numbering 20 ensured its ability to rival its Continental counterparts was severely restricted. In 1824, Burghersh petitioned the Government for a grant; instead, the Treasury agreed to defray the cost of a Royal Charter, which was granted in 1830. While this gave the RAM a legal constitution and was an attempt to accord it status, it did not provide a solution to its pressing financial problems. Without comprehensive funding of the kind afforded the Paris Conservatoire, the RAM could never be in a position to attract students from all backgrounds in sufficient numbers to transform Britain's music profession. The RAM's limited curriculum and poor teaching led British musicians to seek musical training abroad, in Germany or Austria either at Mendelssohn's *Hochschule für Musik*, established in Leipzig in 1843, or privately. For over thirty years Leipzig, Vienna and Berlin were the preferred destinations for British musicians escaping home-grown mediocrity in London.

The consequences of the second French Revolution in 1848 paved the way for German unification and the menacing brand of nationalism that came with it. As the

nationalist *Zeitgeist* surfaced across Europe from the mid-nineteenth century, the desire to democratize education in England stemmed from an inherent desire to avoid the revolutions that had plagued almost every other European nation. Educational reform in England was initiated by the Society of Arts. The Society of Arts had first come to public notice as a result of the success of the Great Exhibition held in Hyde Park in 1851. By any standards it had been an unprecedented success: Queen Victoria had been its Patron and Prince Albert had chaired the Royal Commission that had implemented it. The Exhibition, visited by some six million visitors, had accrued profits in excess of £180,000 during the only year it remained open. The 1851 Commissioners subsequently used the profits to acquire land on the south side of Hyde Park, which became known as the South Kensington Estate. The land was to be used for institutions representing the four areas of the Exhibition (Raw Materials, Machinery, Manufactures, and Plastic Art) and also for projects enjoying Government support. In their quest for comprehensive Government subvention and improved premises, the RAM Directors applied to the Society of Arts with the intention of relocating to South Kensington, lock, stock and barrel. In 1852 the Prince Consort established a Society of Arts committee that included Disraeli, to look into the matter; however, the RAM directors heard nothing.

In the meantime, the German educator and musician, Dr Bertram Mark, had founded two Royal Colleges of Music in Manchester in 1858. Based on eighteenth-century models, they were established to educate orphans; however, Mark's desire to establish satellite schools of music in connection with his institutions in Manchester reflected a practice that had originated at the Paris Conservatoire. Both Mark's institutions enjoyed patronage from the Queen, the Prince Consort, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Edinburgh; indeed, Dr Mark and 'his little men' had been to perform at Buckingham Palace the same year. Thus it seems likely that the Society of Arts' delay in responding to the RAM Directors on the issue of accommodation was caused by the

Prince Consort's desire to ascertain whether Mark's institutions would genuinely provide a more appropriate basis for a national conservatoire than the RAM.

The death of the Earl of Westmoreland in 1859 followed by that of the Prince Consort two years later, in 1861, substantially altered prospects for the RAM. The Prince of Wales, who had been appointed President of the Society of Arts in succession to his father, charged Sir Henry Cole, who had masterminded the Great Exhibition, with the establishment of a new national school of music at South Kensington; consequently, it was not until May 1861 that Cole finally responded to the RAM's petition in the form a comprehensive report. Cole's radical proposals were intended to transform the RAM into an effective national institution on the Kensington Estate connected to the Royal Albert Hall, assured of the approbation of the public and the music profession; however, his recommendations were to be implemented before any move could be achieved. This required funds the RAM did not have; consequently, implementation of the report was deferred. In 1865, Cole established a committee, chaired by the Prince of Wales to compare the state of music education in Europe with that in England. Cole's intention was to submit his findings to the Government as part of a petition for Treasury assistance. While Cole's endeavours elicited a Government grant of £500 for the RAM, it was significantly smaller than the £10,000 annual subvention received at this time by the Paris Conservatoire and which Cole had hoped would be matched by Gladstone's Liberal administration.

A year later, in 1866, a serious fire had broken out at the RAM's Tenterden Street premises. As a solution, the 1851 Commissioner Earl Granville offered the RAM Directors accommodation at the South Kensington Museum if Sir Michael Costa, regarded by some as the leading conductor of the day, were appointed Principal in succession to Charles Lucas who had retired the same year. Unfortunately, Granville reneged on his promise and William Sterndale Bennett and Otto Goldschmidt were

respectively appointed Principal and Vice-Principal instead. In 1867, the RAM Directors petitioned the new Tory administration for increased financial assistance; far from aiding the RAM further, Disraeli rescinded the grant altogether. The restoration of the grant by the Liberals the following year incensed the music profession who viewed the RAM as a moribund institution whose instruction had been ineffectual. Over 130 professional musicians signed a petitioned the Department of Science and Art to demand the establishment of new national conservatoire and English opera school. This led Cole and the Society of Arts to approach the Government directly; however, there was another agenda at play. Instead of granting the RAM a comprehensive funding, W. E. Forster's Education Act of 1870 established elementary education for all in reading, writing, arithmetic and music. Despite the RAM's consistent inability to win the confidence of either the public or the music profession, Cole remained convinced any new foundation should be formed as an outgrowth of the senior institution; consequently, he made an overture to the RAM directors offering accommodation at the Royal Albert Hall and £5,000 of scholarships if the RAM remodelled its administration. Unfortunately, the RAM directors found the accommodation to be uninhabitable and Cole was obliged to found the National Training School for Music (NTSM) independently as an experiment for five years after which time financial responsibility was to be transferred to Parliament.

Cole persuaded his friend and neighbour, Charles Freake (an established London builder and property developer) to erect purpose-built premises at his own cost adjacent to the Royal Albert Hall. In the absence of Government subvention, Cole determined that the NTSM would be funded entirely by public subscription. To this end he attempted to raise the funds to support 300 scholarships, each representing a town and city throughout Britain or colony and dependency throughout the Empire. Cole travelled the length and breadth of Britain in his quest for subscriptions. On 16 June,

1875, the Lord Mayor of London hosted a conference at the Mansion House to elicit support for the NTSM from those holding the highest office in the land from Church, City and State. Despite this, Cole was unable to attain his original target and it was agreed that once the subscriptions for 70 scholarships had been achieved the inauguration ceremony could take place. Cole's rigorous scholarship entrance examination had led to the appointment of a mere 51 scholars. Nevertheless, on 17 May, 1876 the NTSM opened its doors. Dr Arthur Sullivan was appointed Principal of the NTSM yet his appointment was not straightforward. In the first instance the majority of professorial staff had already been appointed by Cole. Cole had also let it be known that Sullivan was not his preferred choice. Sullivan's acquiescence had required the personal intervention of both the Prince of Wales, and Queen Victoria's second son Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, who as well as being amateur leader of the Royal Albert Hall Orchestra, had also agreed to chair the NTSM's Committee of Management. For all Cole's experience as an administrator, it had been sheer folly to inaugurate the NTSM with such inadequate financial provision. An invidious situation, it had required the members of the Committee of Management, including the Duke of Edinburgh, to act as personal guarantors on a bank loan during the first year of operations simply to ensure the school remained open. To make matters worse, by 1877, Cole's overbearing management style had caused two members of the Committee of Management to tender their resignations and Sullivan was not even accorded the respect of being given an *ex officio* place on the Committee. Cole found himself with little choice and in 1878 he petitioned the 1851 Commission for additional funds.

By the 1870s, other than Parliament and the Privy Council, the 1851 Commission was arguably the most powerful organization in Britain. Its membership comprised an impressive array of former, serving and future Prime Ministers, MPs, the Lord Chancellor, members of the Judiciary, representatives from the universities, industry,

and the world of finance. Membership of the Commission was predominantly Liberal and even Conservative members were those who could be described as liberal Conservatives. Lord Sanford who had drawn up Forster's Education Act was a member of the Commission and the Prince of Wales, was its Chairman. The Prince ordered the Parliamentary Draftsman and 1851 Commissioner, Sir Henry Thring, to draw up a memorandum to provide a solution to both NTSM problems. Initially, Thring's first draft of the memorandum had called for Cole's dismissal; however, the language of the second draft, which was finally adopted, was considerably more measured. It imposed a legal constitution on the NTSM, advocated an affiliation to a university for the purpose of awarding degrees and established a new Executive Committee that excluded Cole and included Sullivan. In order to ensure Cole's compliance with the new arrangements, the Commissioners threatened to repossess Freake's building, which, they claimed, had not been donated specifically with the NTSM in mind but to the nation as a whole and, as such, could be used by them for any purpose at any time. Controversially, the memorandum had also raised the possibility of amalgamation with the RAM as a long-term financial solution to the NTSM's problems. Since Bennett's appointment as Principal in 1866, the RAM's student intake had rapidly increased, such that its financial position had significantly improved. Discussions concerning amalgamation were central to the scheme promoted by the Prince of Wales to establish a new Royal College of Music incorporating the NTSM and the RAM into a mutually beneficial partnership under new management. The RAM was lured into the discussions in the belief that a joint institution would certainly provide the necessary ingredients to begin the quest for Treasury assistance in earnest; furthermore, the 1851 Commission had promised to give an annual grant of £500 for 25 years if the merger proved successful. In reality, however, the 1851 Commissioners were all too aware that Government subvention on the Continental scale was a vain hope; rather, it was their intention to shore up the NTSM's

finances by amalgamating it with the RAM in order to escape financial obligation. As a result, a committee was set up to effect the amalgamation and chaired by Queen Victoria's son-in-law, the 1851 Commissioner, HRH Prince Christian of Schleswig and Holstein.

On 13 July, 1878 the Prince of Wales convened a meeting at his London home (Marlborough House) at which the scheme for the RCM was outlined. A charter of amalgamation was drawn up by Thring that established the Prince of Wales as head of the RCM Corporation. This required the RAM to surrender its autonomy, name and charter; however, in the absence of any firm proposal from the Government regarding subvention, the RAM directors withdrew from the merger and further attempts to combine the work of both institutions ceased until the foundation of the Associated Board in 1889. As such the second attempt at amalgamation had failed and Prince Christian was moved to resign his Chairmanship of the joint committee into the hands of the Duke of Edinburgh. In the interim the NTSM was forced to take on a handful of fee-paying pupils.

In 1880 the NTSM suffered a further blow: the examiners' report for the annual examinations, which had been open to the public and the press, had been damning. The examiners had included Charles Hallé (Chairman), Sir Michael Costa, Sir Henry Leslie, Otto Goldschmidt and Sir Julius Benedict; however, Benedict had refused to sign the report and it seems that both Hallé and Costa had hijacked the proceedings to take their revenge against Sullivan, who had been appointed conductor of the Leeds Festival instead of them. Sullivan's role as Principal of the NTSM had not been a happy one. Cole's ritual humiliation of him and anyone else who stood in his way had irreparably damaged their relationship and Sullivan used the affair as an excuse to tender his resignation; however, he was dissuaded from this course of action by the Duke of Edinburgh and remained at the NTSM under sufferance.

Despite the NTSM's teething troubles, the NTSM had directly led to the foundation of the Guildhall School of Music (GSM) in 1880. This had been precipitated by Cole's appeal for scholarship funds from the Lord Mayor and the City of London. Unlike the NTSM, its eastern counterpart never intended to emulate Parisian provision by providing musical instruction funded by the State. While the GSM enjoyed the protection of the affluent Corporation of London, it was nonetheless founded with fee-paying amateur musicians in mind. Initially conceived on a small scale, it soon developed into a significantly more successful institution than both the RAM and NTSM put together. By the end of the first year of operations 579 students had passed through its portals. As a result, the Guildhall professors could earn anything between £500 and £1,000 per annum, a colossal salary by Victorian standards that attracted some of the finest performers of the day.

In 1880 a second RCM charter was drawn up that excluded mention of the RAM but included provision for fee-paying students. It had been the intention of the Prince of Wales to open the RCM in time for Easter 1881; however, without the financial safety-net provided by the RAM, this was dependent on a positive conclusion to discussions with the 1851 Commission, who had agreed to cover the expense of the revised charter. In the meantime, the NTSM's scholarships, which had been subscribed for five years were due to expire at Christmas 1881; consequently, the Duke of Edinburgh wrote to the subscribers to ask them to extend their philanthropy for a further year. In an attempt to re-establish the NTSM's credibility, the final set of examinations in its short history took place in March 1881. The Prince of Wales had asked the amateur organist and 1851 Commissioner, Lord Charles Brudenall-Bruce to oversee the proceedings. While the examiners' report was generally favourable, the results in techniques were sufficiently poor to lead Sullivan to tender his resignation once more,

which on this occasion was accepted and Dr John Stainer was appointed to succeed him.

With the NTSM scholarship period nearing its conclusion, a royal visit to Manchester was organized to raise the profile of the new institution. George Grove, who had been Secretary to the Crystal Palace Company from 1852, and who was already an RCM Council member, was appointed Organizing Secretary by the Prince of Wales and it was he who organized the Manchester meeting. Grove's involvement in the RCM's establishment would prove critical; not only was he a refreshing alternative to an irascible and conniving Cole, his musical expertise was to prove invaluable. Three addresses were due to be delivered by the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Albany and the Duke of Edinburgh. Invitations were sent to the editors of each of the London newspapers in order to publicise the event. The meeting, attended by 3,000 people, had been organized with the prime intention of raising the issue of Government subvention; however, no formal application for assistance appears to have been made to the Treasury at this stage. Rather, the prime purpose of the meeting seems to have been to establish the RCM's national remit and its democratic admissions policy was closely allied to Liberal initiatives on educational reform with a view to attracting State funding. The establishment of the RCM as the musical equivalent to Oxford and Cambridge with the prerogative to award its own degrees was a direct attempt to set it apart from other music schools, particularly the RAM. In promoting the RCM's opera school Grove and the Prince of Wales ran a considerable risk. The licentious associations of the music hall had led respectable Victorians to tar all staged productions with the same brush; consequently, Grove's adherence to this policy could easily have destabilized further fund-raising attempts; however, he perceived opera training to be a central component of any conservatoire curriculum. In short, it was directly linked to the RCM's ability to rival Continental provision. The inclusion of members of the royal family to speak on

the subject represented a determined attempt to undermine entrenched Victorian prejudice.

In many respects the Manchester meeting had been a dress rehearsal for the altogether more significant London meeting hosted by the Prince of Wales in the banqueting hall of St James's Palace on 22 February, 1882. The first of a number of such London meetings, it was styled the 'key-note of the movement' by Grove and was attended by the heads of social, political, financial, ecclesiastical, and musical life. Speeches were delivered by the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Edinburgh, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the serving Prime Minister, William Ewart Gladstone. In establishing a premise for Government support, the St James's Palace meeting shared its objective with that at Manchester; however, it was also the first of a number of fund-raising meetings in support of Grove's Capital Fund. In order to attract philanthropic gestures in support of the RCM, Queen Victoria had graciously consented to head the list of subscribers. The Prime objective of the St James's Palace meeting and those that followed it was to establish the RCM's remit as more extensive than any other school of music in Europe. The original Prospectus, first distributed at the February meeting established the founders' intention to institute the RCM as a musical senate to regulate all aspects of the music profession, including university degrees. A courageous objective for any institution, it was particularly audacious for one that was, as yet, untried and untested.

For some months, the appointment of a suitable Director had been the subject of press speculation and it seemed likely that Grove would be asked to accept the appointment. While he was not a professional musician, his role at the Crystal Palace had included administration of the Crystal Palace School of Arts and Sciences, which offered musical tuition and the Crystal Palace concerts for which he had written the programme notes. The selection of an administrator rather than a professional musician

to direct a conservatoire was atypical yet Grove's appointment to the RCM Directorate seems to have been confirmed by 18 March 1882. In the meantime, five days earlier, the NTSM finally closed and the remaining funds amounting to £1,100 were transferred to the RCM. These not only financed the interim instruction for scholars who were to transfer to the RCM, they helped Grove to start his Capital Fund in earnest. Grove launched a six-month campaign to raise funds for the RCM at two subsequent meetings. The first of these was hosted by the Lord Mayor of London on 20 March, 1882 at the Mansion House for the bankers and businessmen of the City of London. It was a blatant attempt to garner material support for the Capital Fund by raising the RCM's university dimension. The RCM charter endowed it with the right to award its own residential degrees in music (B.Mus., M.Mus., D.Mus.), the first of their kind in England. By any standards this was an extraordinary testament to the benefit of royal patronage: the RCM was the only independent institution outside the university sector to be given such privilege. The second of these meetings was held at Marlborough House on 23 March for the colonial representatives in an effort to garner support for scholarships sponsored by each colony. Grove's fund-raising campaign took him the length and breadth of the country. A little over a month after the St James's Palace meeting he had raised an astonishing £52,000, an equivalent sum to that required by the NTSM over a period of five years. Buoyed up by his success, Grove approached the Prince of Wales to ask him to make an application to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for a grant; however, the Prince was not convinced that the timing would elicit the desired response and no application was made at this stage.

Grove's fund-raising success allowed him to turn his attention to the matter of professorial appointments. Two lists were prepared by Grove that included the names of some of the finest musicians and music teachers from Britain and the Continent. The majority of those included on the final list were experienced performers. Many of them

were composers and a high proportion of the British professors had been trained abroad. Those who finally comprised the Board of Professors included significant appointments such as Dr Charles Villiers Stanford (1852-1924) as professor of composition and orchestral practice, Dr C. Hubert H. Parry (1848-1918) as professor of composition and history, Walter Parratt and Dr Francis Gladstone as professors of organ, Jenny Lind as professor of singing, Ernst Pauer, Franklin Taylor, J. F. Barnett and Arabella Goddard as professors of piano and Henry Holmes as deputy conductor to Stanford and professor of violin. Henry Lazarus, London's leading clarinettist and the bassoonist, William Beale Wotton, were also appointed even though the paucity of woodwind students scarcely made it worth their while. Pauer and Taylor had both transferred from the NTSM and Grove had hoped to tempt Sullivan and Stainer to accept professorial posts at the RCM; however, they were elected to the Council as musical advisors. Stainer's appointment as Inspector of Schools and Sullivan's conducting career had precluded greater involvement.

By March, 1883, the RCM Capital Fund stood at £105,000 and the entrance examinations were set for Easter week. Throughout the United Kingdom and Ireland 1,583 candidates presented themselves for selection. Of those, 480 were invited to perform at the final examination in London for 50 scholarship places—half the original estimate. In addition 42 paying students were elected to places. All candidates were encouraged to submit and perform their own compositions. The first intake of scholars included Marmaduke Barton, Alfred Herbert Brewer, Emily Daymond, Henry Haydn Inwards, Louisa Kellett, Hamish McCunn, Dan Price, Anna Russell, Sidney Waddington and Charles Wood, all of whom would go on to make significant contributions to the music profession.

In April, 1883, the final version of the RCM charter drawn up by Grove was ratified. The most substantial of all the charters, it confirmed much of what had been discussed

at the various fund-raising meetings. In addition, it established the RCM not only as the chief arbiter of musical taste in Britain but with the responsibility for improving national taste in music. Perhaps most crucially, it allowed the College Council to enter into any agreement with the Government regarding elementary school music. It also confirmed the RCM's prerogative to grant its own music degrees. Finally the charter allowed the RCM to enter into formal arrangements with any existing schools of music; in theory, it also allowed it to establish its own satellite institutions throughout Britain and the Empire. This was not simply a direct attempt to emulate Parisian provision but rather to exceed it. The Paris Conservatoire had founded sister institutions within France; however, Grove intended to broaden this philosophy considerably to include an imperial dimension; consequently, his plans for the RCM were formidable.

The RCM's official opening ceremony took place on 7 May, 1883 in Sir Charles Freaque's NTSM building, which would be its home for the next decade. Both Grove and the Prince of Wales spoke at the meeting, which comprised members of the royal family, the Archbishop of Canterbury in his capacity as a member of the College Council, the Prime Minister (Gladstone), the RCM Council and Board of Professors and the RAM's Principal, George Macfarren. By now the amount raised for the Capital fund exceeded £110,000 and Grove outlined his intention to raise an additional £100,000 to secure the additional 50 scholars who were to be educated and supported on the foundation; however, in the long-term this proved to be impossible. It was the intention of the Prince of Wales that the RCM would become the centre and head of the musical world in Britain. His patronage undoubtedly helped to garner additional support such that the RCM was the recipient of a number of donations. The library of the Sacred Harmonic Society had been procured through the assistance of the 1851 Commissioner and Director of the South Kensington Museum, Sir Philip Cunliffe-Owen, and the library of the Concerts of Ancient Music, which had been stored in Buckingham Palace

since 1848. Both were considerable collections that established the RCM library as an enviable musical resource in theory; however, they remained in storage during this period of the College's history. The proceedings concluded with the award of knighthood to Grove as author of the chief literary work on music; to Sullivan for his work as a popular composer; and to Macfarren as Principal of the RAM who had had to be persuaded to accept it.

As the RCM embarked upon its first year, the curriculum broadly followed that of the Paris Conservatoire. The course of study for scholars was three years yet for all the talk of egalitarianism at the various RCM fund-raising meetings, Grove and the Prince of Wales had entertained the notion that instruction for students should be less demanding than that received by the scholars. In fact, Grove operated a flexible policy—much to the chagrin of the Board of Professors—where the length of study varied according to each student's ability. Those who were most able were permitted to remain at the RCM for long periods, while scholars who were not considered to be sufficiently well advanced to enter the music profession were encouraged to remain at the College for further training. Both scholars and students were required to sit a rigorous stream of examinations. While this policy was intended to help establish and sustain a reputation for high standards from the outset, the examinations were not open to the public as they had been at the NTSM. While the appointment of a succession of renowned cosmopolitan musicians to examine the RCM pupils helped to establish a reputation for excellence within professional musical circles in Europe, the only manner in which the College could be externally assessed was at orchestral concerts and opera performances. During Grove's Directorate the College staged over 200 concerts. Orchestral concerts, conducted either by Stanford or Holmes, took place at St James's Hall in Piccadilly. In the decade between 1885 and the end of 1894, Stanford was responsible for the music at 18 opera performances, all staged at theatres in the West End of London. All

performances were reviewed favourably in the mainstream and musical press. Furthermore, attendance by the Prince and Princess of Wales and their children at RCM opera performances and a meticulous approach to back-stage propriety helped the process of destigmatising the art-form in the mind of a suspicious Victorian public. While the RAM had staged opera performances from 1828, until 1891, all performances had taken place within the confines of Academy premises.

In 1886 there was a sufficiently large exodus of both fee-paying students and scholars to justify Grove's anxiety that sufficient places would be filled to ensure the RCM's continued viability. As it turned out, he need not have worried. From 1886 there was a marked and continued increase in student numbers; however, this brought problems of its own. The construction of Alexandra House from 1884, which abutted Freake's NTSM building, allowed no room for expansion. Having already established a building committee, Grove petitioned the 1851 Commission in March 1887 for a site for new RCM premises on the Kensington Estate. By the following January, both he and the Prince of Wales had succeeded in finding a donor in the person of the Yorkshire businessman, Samson Fox, who had agreed to fund the whole project at a cost of £30,000. The 1851 Commission initially offered Grove the Royal School of Art Needlework site on the west side of Exhibition Road; however, this proved to be unsuitable. Neither was it a sufficiently imposing position nor did it allow for future expansion. Finally, after some discussion, which had required Fox to increase his donation by £15,000, the 1851 Commission and the RCM Council settled on a site just south of the Royal Albert Hall, formerly the Royal Horticultural Society Gardens.

In the meantime, George Macfarren's death in 1887 had re-awakened prospects for amalgamation with the RAM and Grove was asked to prepare a proposal in which he recommended its complete subjugation by the RCM. Grove had even entertained the notion that the Prince of Wales would invite him to become its Principal in addition to

his RCM position; however, on 22 February, 1888, Dr Alexander Mackenzie was appointed instead. The RAM's attempt to replicate the system of local and regional examinations pioneered by Trinity College of Music in London had been limited and their administration had been at best haphazard. In 1888, Grove launched the RCM's own brand of regional examinations in direct competition to the RAM. Grove's announcement of the initiative in the press had just the desired effect: on 3 May, 1889 Mackenzie led an informal deputation to the RCM to discuss the matter. At the conclusion of the meeting it was decided that to combine the work of both institutions to provide joint regional examinations administered by a central body; consequently, on 17 June, 1889, the Associated Board of the Royal Academy of Music and the Royal College of Music was founded. The concept of regional examinations had arisen from a need to provide an outlet to encourage authoritative and specialised instruction in practical music and theory at a higher level than that provided by the Forster Education Act. It was also founded to ensure a steady supply of well-qualified candidates for places at both institutions. The first set of Local Centre examinations took place on 10 March, 1890. The examinations were divided into two grades, junior and senior, yet the repertoire set for the junior grade was far from straightforward and, predictably, that set for the senior grade was more difficult still. Of the 904 candidates who entered, only 431 passed. An unforeseen drawback had been the lack of any provision for novices, or those at the beginning of their practical training. As a result the Local School Examinations were established as a preliminary examination. The initiative was successful: in 1891 3,612 candidates presented themselves for examination in both sections.

The various Associated Board committees were dominated by those with RCM loyalties; for example, the examiners from the RCM outnumbered their RAM counterparts 9:4. This ensured the Grove and the RCM could take the lead on all

initiatives concerning the three institutions and this understandably became a bone of contention with the RAM authorities. Nevertheless, the influence of so powerful an alliance proved to be greater than the sum of its parts. There were three initiatives in which the support of the RCM by the RAM and the Associated Board were to prove invaluable. The first of these was the bill for the registration of teachers, which had been put before Parliament in May 1891. The Associated Board had already drawn up its own register of approved teachers and Grove deeply resented the interference the Bill would impose. The Bill was also perceived to be a direct threat to the RCM's autonomy. Established by charter as the musical regulator, the RCM as regulator potentially found itself in the invidious position of being scrutinized by a faceless committee of laymen appointed by Parliament. While Parliamentary accountability had been an objective for the NTSM, in Cole's mind it had always gone hand in hand with substantial Government subvention. Sullivan, Mackenzie and W. H. Cummings were heard before the Parliamentary Select Committee and the Bill was passed but without any specific mention of music. In an attempt to gain influence for the RCM, Grove saw to it that Franklin Taylor was appointed to the Board of Inspectors. The second initiative was more successful still: Grove used the Associated Board to oppose Charles Hallé's application for a royal charter for the Royal Manchester College of Music (RMCM). Hallé had convened a meeting on 3 December, 1891 at Manchester Town Hall to discuss the possibility of founding an independent conservatoire with a national remit; moreover, the RMCM's scholarship provision potentially made it a highly competitive alternative to the London schools. Nonetheless, there were those who felt a less antagonistic approach would have been to establish it in connection with the RCM and RAM. To compound matters, Hallé claimed to have been directed by his newly-elected College Council to approach the Prince of Wales and Duke of Edinburgh for help in petitioning the Privy Council for a royal charter, the royal prefix already having been

granted by Queen Victoria. As a result Grove and Mackenzie, each representing their own institutions and the Associated Board, petitioned the Privy Council to deny chartered status on six counts. For Grove, the most significant of these was the RMCM's usurpation of the RCM's remit as a national and imperial institution and also that the indiscriminate award of chartered status would serve to diminish the authority of those institutions that already possessed it. The petition proved successful and chartered status was only finally granted to the RMCM on 5 May, 1923. The third initiative concerned the debate on the foundation of the Faculty of Music at the University of London. London had awarded degrees in music (B.Mus. and D.Mus.) from 1879. In 1887 both the RAM and RCM were approached to underpin the new Faculty as affiliated schools; however, it was not until 1893 that Grove and members of the RAM's Committee of Management represented their respective institutions before a royal commission on the subject. The matter was finally brought to a close in 1899, four years after Grove's retirement, when the RCM, fearing a loss of autonomy, declined to become further involved and the RAM followed suit.

For all Grove's earlier successes, the period between 1890 and 1894 proved to be the most turbulent during his directorate. The illnesses of the RCM Registrar, George Watson had forced Grove to take on the combined work of two men and he regularly found himself working sixteen hour days at the age of 70. By Victorian standards he had been an old man when he had first been appointed Director of the RCM in 1882. Perhaps unsurprisingly, he had contemplated resignation from 1891. From 1893, the RCM found itself embroiled in a scandal that could have irreparably damaged its reputation. For the previous two years the violin professor, Henry Holmes had embarked upon a series of unprofessional relationships with a number of his female pupils and in order to provide a solution to the situation, Grove had been prevented from resigning any sooner. Holmes was dismissed immediately and the matter was

initially kept out of the public domain until 1895, when an article appeared in the scurrilous publication *Truth* edited by the Liberal MP, Henry Labouchère. That the Holmes affair was kept out of the press until 1895 was mere coincidence: Louis Brousson, the City Editor of *Truth*, had sent his daughter to the RCM and it seems likely that a scandal involving a professor and female students could have prejudiced the honour of all the female students. In the meantime, however, Grove turned his attention to the arrangements for the opening of the new RCM building in 1894.

The opening ceremony held on 2 May was flamboyant even by Victorian standards. The royal party left Marlborough House in four open carriages. The route to Prince Consort Road had been lined with Grenadier and Scots Guards. The ceremony itself was attended by 3,000 statesmen, foreign diplomats, representatives of science, literature and the arts, all wearing court, military, and academical dress—an indication of the importance placed upon the proceedings by the Prince of Wales from whom the invitations had come. Stanford's protégé, now Dr Charles Wood, had won the competition to set Swinburne's *Ode to Music*. Grove's achievement in having secured funding for the new building was tempered. The architect, Sir Arthur Blomfield had underestimated the height of Prince Consort Road and funds that were designated for grand marble interiors and a permanent concert hall, had to be applied to provide an additional basement storey. This was disappointing: the provision of a purpose-built concert hall was an important facility. In the meantime the temporary structure used for the opening ceremony was remodelled and became known affectionately as the tin tabernacle until additional funds could be raised to supply a replacement. There were more difficulties to come.

Shortly after the opening ceremony an article appeared in *To-Day*, a magazine edited by Jerome K. Jerome, suggesting that the donation for the building had not been Fox's to make. Rather, it alleged the funds had been raised from the money paid by

shareholders who had invested in one of Fox's four water-gas companies. None had received a single dividend for their investment; consequently, having been accused of fraud and bribery, Fox was goaded to fight a libel action against the magazine and in 1897 the matter was brought before the court. While Fox won the case on a technicality, it cost him the baronetcy he might otherwise have expected to receive. Despite this, he remained on the RCM Council until 1898. Like Holmes, Fox was also the author of his own downfall. While *To-Day* had speculated that Fox's donation might have come from share money rather than his personal fortune, the story was only verified once Fox took the witness stand. Publicity was provided by *The Times* who published verbatim transcripts of the trial. Understandably, both affairs had been something of a strain for Grove. Grove had been in a loveless marriage and from 1884, had become devoted to Edith Oldham, who, at the age of 17, had been part of the first intake of scholars. Their intimate correspondence continued until shortly before Grove's death. Oldham had left the RCM to return to her native Ireland where she had taken up the post of assistant professor of piano at the Royal Irish Academy of Music in Dublin. While the relationship appears not to have been consummated, at the very least, it was distinctly unwise and it seems those who worked most closely with Grove were aware of his affection for Oldham. Whether or not the news had spread to those whose trust could not be so easily assured must remain a matter for conjecture. Either way, on 14 October sent his letter of resignation to the Prince of Wales. In recognition of his work, he was awarded the Companion of the Bath and a generous pension of £700 a year with a seat on the Council and Dr C. Hubert H. Parry was selected to succeed him.

SOURCE MATERIALS

The wealth of primary-source materials at the Royal Society of Arts Library, the RCM Archive and Centre for Performance History, the RAM Archive, the RCO Archive, the

Royal Archives at Windsor Castle, the Sullivan Archive at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, the British Library and in private collections has enabled me to mine a rich seam, hitherto largely undocumented, if not altogether unexplored. The RCM's own Celia Clarke has produced a painstaking edition, in meticulous manuscript, of some 480 letters from Grove to the Irish piano student, Edith Oldham, and 163 of those sent to her by her mother now held in the College archive. These shed invaluable light over the day-to-day machinations of the College and the relationships, both professional and informal, forged within it; moreover, Celia Clarke's legible edition acts as an invaluable comparison with Grove's originals, some of which are indecipherable on first reading. While attempts to contact Ursula Howells have failed to produce a response, Herbert Howells's diaries do not begin until 1919 and so do not help with this period of the College's history.

The secondary source material from 1980 onwards undoubtedly makes a serious but conservative contribution to the history of the RCM given the limited parameters in which the majority of it has been conceived. The complexities of the RCM and the plethora of primary source material demand a considerably more extensive treatment of ideas than has hitherto been available. Grove's initiatives secured a musical legacy that established the RCM's reputation within national and European arenas and set Britain firmly on course towards regeneration. This necessitated a fresh and rigorous investigation of the primary source materials in order to provide a complete analysis of Grove's policy within the context of the philosophy that distinguished the RCM from its antecedents and acted as a model for its successors and helped to revolutionise British music within a generation.

Celia Clarke's manuscript edition of Grove's letters was not available to Percy Marshall Young, whose ground-breaking work, *George Grove 1820-1900* (London: Macmillan, 1980) remains the chief work on the subject to date. While it includes

detailed reference to some of Grove's letters to Edith Oldham between 1883 and 1900 held at the RCM, others are omitted, and there are aspects of Young's work that require reappraisal within the context of Grove's decision to resign, the nature of his relationship with Oldham and his relationship to the Commissioners, the RCM professors and the Prince of Wales himself. Moreover, Young does not provide any assessment of the reaction to the sexual scandal which led to the dismissal of the RCM's violin professor, Henry Holmes. He does not determine how it affected the RCM's reputation, nor does he mention other significant aspects of Grove's directorate, such as the financial scandal concerning Samson Fox's £45,000 donation for a new RCM building on Prince Consort Road.

The history of the RCM was covered by Henry Cope Colles: *The Royal College of Music: A Jubilee Record, 1883-1933* (London: Royal College of Music, 1933), Guy Warrack 'The RCM The First Eighty-Five Years, 1883-1968' (Unpublished typescript: Royal College of Music, 1968) and Henry Colles and John Cruft *The Royal College of Music: A Centenary Record 1883-1983* (Portsmouth: Eyre and Spottiswoode at Grosvenor Press, 1982). Colles's proximity to the events he describes may excuse him from preparing an exhaustive account.¹ The Scottish composer-conductor, Guy Warrack's work runs to two volumes but is largely a gazetteer based primarily on face-to-face interviews rather than a comprehensive examination of primary-source evidence and Macmillan and Co., to whom a copy had been sent, were disinclined to proceed to publication.²

¹ Eric Blom: 'Henry Cope Colles' rev. Malcolm Turner *NGII* Vol. 6 (London: Macmillan and Company Ltd, 2001), pp. 120f. Colles (1879-1943) had left school at the age of sixteen to enter the RCM as a student of Parry, Alcock and Walford Davies. He was organ scholar at Worcester College, Oxford from where he graduated in 1902. In 1919, having served as a music critic for *The Academy* and as deputy to J. A. Fuller-Maitland at *The Times* whom he later succeeded in 1911, he was invited by Sir Hugh Allen to join the RCM staff as a lecturer on music history, analysis and interpretation. His substantial revision of *Grove 3*, his subsequent editorship of *Grove 4* alongside volume 7 of the *Oxford History of Music* remain his enduring legacy. He was honoured with an honorary D.Mus. from Oxford in 1932, was made a Freeman of the Musicians Company in 1934, and a Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford in 1936.

² Arthur Jacobs: 'Guy Douglas Hamilton Warrack' *NGII* Vol. 27 (London: Macmillan and Company Ltd, 2001), pp. 90f. Guy Warrack (1900-1986) was educated at Oxford and studied composition with Vaughan Williams and conducting with Boult at the RCM. Having made his debut at the Wigmore Hall in 1925, he taught for the next decade at the RCM. Between 1936 and 1945, he was director of the newly-founded

...a complicated story had been told with just the right light touch of humour and affection; that despite the inevitable repetition and indigestibility for the general reader that come from catalogues of College performances, however varied their telling, the book should in their opinion be made available in some form in the College itself; but that the lack of general demand for it in this country and America would make normal publication totally uneconomic.³

Economic pressures beyond his control lay at the root of problems surrounding John Cruft's work: the Economies Sub-Committee was given discretion to decide on the cost of producing a history.⁴ Described by Cruft himself as 'a very summary account', it has nevertheless been accepted as the official College history.⁵ Cruft was elected to the Council and Executive and Finance Committee on 20 December 1982 and given a mere eight months, from 14 March, 1982, in which to cover the 'post-Colles' era between 1933 and 1983, and to have it printed in time for the press launch at the College on 12 December the same year.⁶ To have produced any history within such a time-scale would seem to have been a formidable achievement; however, its value is limited by its brevity. Predictably, the history runs to a meagre 89 pages of which 44 are a direct reprint of Colles's earlier work. Both accounts demonstrate the inadvisability of allowing history to stray into the domain of the contemporary to the detriment of perspective.

In 1993, historians Robert Stradling and Meirion Hughes were the first to situate the RCM within the social context of the English musical renaissance.⁷ A significant addition

BBC Scottish Orchestra and the Sadler's Wells Theatre Ballet (1948-1951). He composed a symphony and scores for documentary films including the official film of the coronation: *A Queen is Crowned* (1953).

³ EFM(RCM), Vol. 22 (29 October, 1974), RCMA. 30013-22, p. 42. See Appendix No 8 'College History'.

⁴ EFM(RCM), Vol. 24 (12 July, 1982), RCMA. 30013-24, p. 57. The Sub-Committee appointed to consider the matter of a College History for the Centenary celebrations comprised David McKenna, John Denison, Sir David Willcocks (Director), Michael Gough-Matthews (Vice-Director) and Major David Imlay (Bursar). It was also proposed that estimates be prepared by Oliver Davies (RCM Department of Portraits) for his forthcoming pictorial history of the College.

⁵ Colles and Cruft (1982), p. ix. See also John Herbert Cruft *Who's Who* (London: A. & C. Black, 2002), pp. 498f. John Cruft (*b.* 1914) was a chorister at Westminster Abbey and subsequently won the Boulton conducting scholarship at the RCM. He was an oboist with the LPO, LSO, and the Suisse Romande Orchestra. He was Director of the British Council Music Department, Director of the Drama and Music Department and Director of the Arts Council of Great Britain.

⁶ EFM(RCM), Vol. 24, (8 February, 1983), RCMA. 30013-24, p. 81. See also EFM(RCM) Vol. 24 RCMA 30013-24 (1 June, 1982), p. 51, in which the financial and economic implications are briefly discussed and also EFM(RCM) Vol. 24 RCMA. 30013-24 (2 November, 1982), p. 67, at which the date of 12 November 1982 was put forward as the date for the press launch. This subsequently took place as proposed: see EFM(RCM) Vol. 24 (13 December, 1982) RCMA 30013-24, pp. 76f.

⁷ Robert Stradling and Meirion Hughes: *The English Musical Renaissance: Construction and Deconstruction, 1840-1940* (London: Routledge, 1993). See also Meirion Hughes and Robert Stradling: *The English Musical Renaissance 1840-1940: Constructing a National Music* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2001).

when it was first published, their research exclusively on historical aspects of the RCM, is undermined by an over-dependence on Colles's outdated and historically naïve account and the absence of any analysis of repertoire and curriculum. More recently, Leanne Langley and Christina Bashford's *Music and British Culture 1785-1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), includes a chapter on the comparisons between the concert programmes at the RAM and RCM during the 1880s by the American social historian, Dr William Weber, who also contributed a flawed article on the RCM to *New Grove II*.⁸ In 2003, Macmillan published *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture* (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003). Edited by Michael Musgrave, it is undoubtedly a valuable contribution to a neglected area of research but its focus does not allow for an exhaustive account of Grove's musical legacy within the context of the RCM's wider contribution to British music. Two chapters relate specifically to the early history of the College: 'Grove's Role in the Founding of the RCM' by David Wright (formerly Head of Postgraduate Studies at the RCM) and 'Grove as First Director of the RCM' by Dame Janet Ritterman (Director of the RCM from 1993-2005). The complex circumstances surrounding the RCM's establishment were naturally beyond the remit of each author: both open with Grove's decision to resign; however, their oblique references to Grove's exhaustion (found in his

References to the RCM are to be found at pp. 23, 26-34, 37-41, 44f., 47, 49-51, 53, 57, 75-77, 80, 83, 92-95, 97, & 99.

⁸ William Weber: 'Conservatories: English-speaking countries', *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 25, April, 2005), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>> Not only does Dr Weber (who is professor of history at California State University, Long Beach) indulge in wholesale generalisation, there are considerable inaccuracies: first, he states that 'courses were usually required in elements of music, harmony and counterpoint, as well as composition, a recent addition to conservatory teaching.' The RCM had taught composition from the outset; without exception the principals of the RAM had been composers and Sullivan had been professor of composition prior to his appointment as principal of the NTSM. Secondly, there is no evidence to point to the fact that ensemble playing at the RCM was optional. Far from it: in 1884, the external examiners recommended an additional ensemble class each week to cater for the College's needs: see also the 'Report of the First Annual Examination' RCMA. (30 April 1884), p. 5. Furthermore, the article exposes considerable cultural bias born from an American perspective: out of the catalogue of distinguished British composers and performers to have studied at the RCM, it is all the more astonishing Weber chooses only to mention composer-conductor Leopold Stokowski, whose career came to be based in the U.S.A.

letters to Edith Oldham and in Graves's 1903 biography) only paint part of the picture.⁹ The publicity surrounding the scandals that erupted over the dismissal of the violin professor, Henry Holmes, and the questionable sources of Samson Fox's donation for the new RCM building in 1894, certainly contributed to Grove's decision to resign the same year but the circumstances are complex and require detailed analysis. In addition, the foundation of the Associated Board in 1889 requires more fulsome treatment within the parameters of the limited primary-source material available.¹⁰ Not only did it finally act as a fillip to unite the RAM and RCM into a formidable power, it represents the fulfilment of one aspect of the RCM's imperial remit. The account of the NTSM examinations in 1880 was inadvertently omitted from my original work in 1998: analysis of the complete examination reports (reproduced in Chapter One: see pp. 23 to 35), alongside a complete analysis of materials in the Sullivan Archive held at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York and my recent discovery of two boxes of Lord Henry Thring's papers held in the RCM Library have enabled me to provide a complete re-assessment of my own work and David Wright's explanations for Sullivan's resignation, the NTSM's demise and the institution of the RCM.

⁹ Charles Larcom Graves: *The Life and Letters of Sir George Grove C.B.* (London: Macmillan, 1903), pp. 385-417.

¹⁰ Unfortunately, the original Royal Charter of the Associated Board was stolen and attempts to find a duplicate either from the Privy Council Office and the Public Record Office at Kew have proved unsuccessful.

PART ONE

Establishing a Premise for Cultural Autonomy

CHAPTER ONE

A National Initiative:

The Foundation of a National Music School in London

CHAPTER TWO

A 'Problematical Career'

Re-assessing the Circumstances leading to the Establishment of the Royal College of Music



CHAPTER ONE

A National Initiative

The Foundation of a National Music School in London

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The establishment of a national music school had been on the agenda at least since the eighteenth century, when Daniel Defoe (1660-1731) published his thesis entitled 'A Proposal to prevent the expensive importation of Foreign Musicians, &c. by forming an Academy of our own' in *Augusta Triumphans*. Cast in the mould of the Italian *Ospedale*, eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century attempts to establish a conservatoire in England were motivated by the desire to create an indigenous musical workforce to obtain direct control of market forces as much as they were anticipated to develop an environment in which a worthy successor to Purcell could be cultivated and nurtured. The foundation of the state-funded Paris Conservatoire in 1795 as a consequence of the 1789 French revolution influenced the philosophy behind the foundation of every school of music in Britain from 1822 onwards. Another influence was Mendelssohn's *Hochschule für Musik* established in Leipzig in 1843. A high proportion of Britain's leading composers and performers had received their musical education in Leipzig, rather than in London at the Royal Academy of Music (RAM), founded in 1822. The RAM had been fraught with financial difficulties from its inception and had faced closure on more than one occasion. As a private institution, it was riven with bureaucracy. Moreover, it was entirely reliant on student fees for its survival. Its hand-to-mouth existence naturally limited its ability to provide a solution to the problems facing Britain's musical profession.

The Society of Arts' international exhibition for the works of all nations in 1851 (thereafter known as the Great Exhibition) had given new impetus to its work in

support of the arts and sciences.¹ Profits from the Exhibition enabled the 1851 Commission to purchase land on the Kensington Estate for projects to be funded by the Government; consequently, the RAM applied to them in an attempt to acquire land there initially to remedy an accommodation problem but also in the hope of securing government funding. In the meantime, Dr Bertram Mark founded two Royal Colleges of Music in Manchester in 1858. Based on the principles of the Paris Conservatoire, they were funded by a list of subscribers headed by the Queen, the Prince Consort and the Prince of Wales. It was Mark's institutions that formed the basis for the Prince of Wales's idea to found a national school of music in London. In 1861, upon Prince Albert's death, the Prince of Wales, who had succeeded his father as the Society's President, charged Henry Cole (Chairman of the Society of Arts' Council) with the 'origin and conduct' of a new national school of music.² Proclaimed initially as an alliance with the senior RAM, the circumstances proved prejudicial to such a partnership and the NTSM came to be established independently. W. E. Forster's 1870 Education Act confirmed the principle that educational reform was Liberal policy; consequently, Cole (see Fig. 7) launched the NTSM as a five-year experiment after which financial responsibility was expected to transfer to the State. The NTSM philosophy embraced Liberal principles for it was established principally to improve national musical taste by providing free education for Britain's musical elite, regardless of class. It was also founded to obviate the necessity of sending British musicians to the Continent to complete their musical training. The desire to establish Britain as a musically independent nation in order to give it cultural autonomy had likewise motivated Defoe's attempt to found his academy of music connected to Christ's Hospital in 1727.

¹ 'The Proposed Institutions at South Kensington' *JSA* (1852-53), p. 611.

² CMM(NTSM) (12 January, 1876), RCMA 001/1, p. 94.

Defoe's thesis, published as part of *Augusta Triumphans*, established the principle that the talents of an emerging generation of secular performers could be fostered within a central institution.³ Anticipated to provide Britain with a forty-piece orchestra, an opera chorus and soloists, the academy was crucially intended to ensure that 'in the process of time they will have even their Masters among themselves'.⁴ The Christ's Hospital minutes, both of the Court and the General Committee of Almoners, indicate, from 9 August 1728 onwards, that a 'Musick School' was added to the curriculum but it bore little resemblance to Defoe's scheme; by 1732 a mere six boys and one music master had been added to the foundation.⁵ Papers published in 1753 and 1762 respectively by William Hayes (1708-1777) and John Potter (c. 1734-1813) offered draconian solutions to the problems facing the English music profession: both advocated founding an institution under Act of Parliament to regulate the publication of compositions to 'preserve but also [to] promote the Reputation of the Science [in England]'.⁶ Established under the auspices of the Royal Society of Musicians, Hayes's academy was to have been devoted to the instruction of theory and performance, which would allow England to 'pay back with *interest* what [she had] *borrowed* from foreign countries at too large a

³ Daniel Defoe: *Augusta Triumphans: Or The Way To Make London The most flourishing City in the Universe* (London, 1727), p. 16. This also included articles concerning the establishment of a university in London. For a complete commentary see G. W. E. Brightwell 'In Search of a Nation's Music: The Role of the Society of Arts in the Establishment of the Royal College of Music in 1883' in *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies* Vol. 3, eds Peter Horton and Bennett Zon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 253f.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 21f.

⁵ MGC(CH) 12811/9 (9 August, 1728), p. 391. 'This Committee for a Due regulation of the Musick School in this Hospital and for Divers reasons and considerations had, therefore ordered that for the future the Master of the said School for the time being when and as often as he shall have any occasion for any Boy or Boys to supply the said School shall present to this Committee the name or names of such Boy or Boys with his or their age or ages as he shall judge fitting for his use and that none shall be taken into the said School but such as shall be allowed and approved off [sic] by this Committee for that purpose.' While it may seem that the aforementioned Music School had existed for some while, this is the first reference to it in the Christ's Hospital Minutes and coincides with Defoe's publication in 1728. See also MGC(CH) 12811/10 (3 October, 1732), p. 105. This is no prior or subsequent mention of admissions. See also MGC(CH) 12811/13 (16 September, 1778), p. 276.

⁶ Rohr (2001), p. 75.

Premium.⁷ The most significant eighteenth-century enterprise was that put forward by Dr Charles Burney (1726-1814) in 1774. Plans to found a *conservatorio* along Italian lines in connection with the Foundling Hospital in London had been matured on his Grand Tour during visits to conservatorios in Venice and Naples.⁸ The Foundling Hospital had enjoyed associations with Handel since 1749, and the celebrated blind organist, John Stanley, had been a governor from 1770. Burney's plans were laid before the Hospital's General Committee and accepted on the same day he was elected a governor on 20 July 1774. From an economic perspective the plan was intended to appeal 'both to the [Foundling] Hospital's urgent need for additional funds and the Governors' desire to prove the institution's usefulness to the nation'.⁹ Burney's suggestion that 'in the process of Time, the Boys might be let out Singly or in Bands, for Musical Performances in Churches, for Oratorios, for Operas, Plays, & Public & Private Concerts; as well as to attend Persons of Rank...at a settled & Stated price....'¹⁰ paved the way for the school's demise before it had even begun. The Act of Parliament which governed the Hospital strictly forbade any exploitation of the foundlings: they could neither be employed nor apprenticed until the ages of 14 for boys and 21 for girls; consequently, two weeks later,

⁷ Rohr (2001), p. 75. For a comparison with Defoe's statistics, see Brightwell (2003), pp. 253f. William Hayes enjoyed a distinguished reputation as Informator Choristarum and Organist at Magdalen College and Heather Professor of Music at Oxford. See William Hayes: *Remarks on Mr. Avison's Essay on Musical Expression* (London: J. Robinson, 1753) and John Potter: *Observations on the present state of Music and Musicians...To which is added, a Scheme for erecting and supporting a musical Academy in this Kingdom* (London: 1762) See also *The Dramatic Censor; or, Critical and Biographical Illustration of the British Stage* (London: 1811), p. 348.

⁸ Jamie Croy Kassler 'Burney's Sketch of a Plan for a Public Music-School' *The Musical Quarterly* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, April 1972), p. 211

⁹ Charles Burney, *Men, Music and Manners in France and Italy, 1770* ed. H. Edmund Poole (London: Eulenburg Books, 1974), p. 162. On 10 August 1770 Burney visited Signor Latilla. The Venetian conservatorios or ospedale, founded during the sixteenth century, were hospitals where girls were initially taught to sing psalmody and the cantus firmus, later singing in parts; for example, at the conservatorio of the Mendati, Burney says he 'saw as well as heard a charming concert performed in all its parts by females.' During his visit to Naples, Burney enquired about the nature of the conservatorios from Guarducci: the information he sought included the number, name and age of each school, the number of masters versus scholars and the age at which it was customary for pupils to be admitted. Ruth McClure, *Coram's Children: The London Foundling Hospital in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), p. 231.

¹⁰ Poole (1974), p. 231.

at the next meeting of the General Court, any further consideration of Burney's plan was brought to a swift conclusion.¹¹

1.2 THE FOUNDATION OF THE PARIS CONSERVATOIRE

The Paris Conservatoire was by far the most significant of any eighteenth-century foundation in Europe. Founded on 3 August 1795, just over twenty years after Burney's failed attempt, as a direct result of the French Revolution that reached its climax in 1789, its ethos influenced the foundation of every school of music in England during the nineteenth century. The Paris Conservatoire was an intrinsic aspect of the movement to establish a democratic and secular France. Formed by decree of the *Convention Nationale*, the Conservatoire was a fundamental organ of government.¹² This gave the Conservatoire extraordinary status: the *Convention* had also simultaneously abolished universities and their right to award degrees and diplomas.¹³ Premises were supplied by the state alongside a printing press from which official copies of approved treatises and other teaching materials could be readily published for Conservatoire students. It was organised and administered under strict government guidelines from its inception: even the number of students and professors was prescribed by law. The motto of the Revolution, *Liberté Égalité, Fraternité*, subsequently adopted by France herself, had ensured a free place to every student. It also gave each *Département* throughout France the right to an equal number of places but such prescriptive government regulation stifled the very freedom it had been established to create and 'was characteristic of a country in which freedom of opinion is only permissible to those who agree with the Government of the day or hour'.¹⁴ The driving force of the Revolution itself, a militant nationalistic agenda underpinned a xenophobic admissions policy where foreign students

¹¹ MGC(FH) A/FH/A/003/001/003 Wednesday 3 August, 1774.

¹² Phillips (1979), p. 28.

¹³ Yves Maussion: 'The Question of Ecclesiastical Influences on French Academical Dress' *Transactions of The Burgon Society* Vol. 5 (2005), p. 38.

¹⁴ Phillips (1979), p. 29; Charles Villiers Stanford: *Interludes* (London: John Murray, 1922), pp. 24-5.

and staff were completely excluded. The restoration of a streamlined French monarchy in 1816, when the Conservatoire was temporarily renamed L'École Royal de Musique et de Déclamation (a title it retained until 1831), did little to improve matters and ironically led a Franco-Italian Cherubini (1760-1842), *Directeur* from 1822-1842, to deny Liszt a place on the professorial staff.¹⁵ Student progress was measured by a series of examinations set to rigorously enforced standards; consequently, a fiercely competitive environment was guaranteed by the implementation of a curriculum where students were taught in groups of three or more. Failure to win an award within three years resulted in a student's dismissal, which, alongside the highly-coveted prizes of string or wind instruments and music, further encouraged a tendency towards rivalry. The adoption of *Méthodes du Conservatoire* by the professorial staff achieved uniformity of instruction where the maintenance of high standards was jealously guarded. An exception to this was Composition: taught by three *Examineurs*, who were invariably recipients of the *Légion d'Honneur* and members of the *Institut de France*, they were governors of the Conservatoire who were permitted complete academic and pedagogical autonomy. By contrast, students of the *Examineurs*, selected by a gruelling examination, formed an elite group exclusively permitted to compete for the *Prix de Rome*, the premier composition prize in France. This emphasis on composition had undoubtedly led to the development of a distinctive national style of music in France.

1.3 NINETEENTH-CENTURY SCHEMES TO FOUND AN ENGLISH SCHOOL OF MUSIC

In nineteenth-century England the philosophy that informed plans to establish a conservatoire was not nearly so advanced. In 1811 the Bristol Cathedral organist, Joseph Kemp (1778-1824), asserted that a 'College similar to the Conservatories of Italy...[is] all

¹⁵ Phillips (1979), p. 29. See also Michael Fend: 'Luigi Cherubini' *NGII* Vol. 5 (London: Macmillan Ltd, 2001), pp. 577f. Cherubini had taken French citizenship around 1794.

we require to meet our endeavours...'¹⁶ Four years later, in 1816 G. F. Graham's *Account of the first Edinburgh Musical Festival* curiously also included a scheme to institute an *English* conservatoire; however, neither scheme was realised in practice.¹⁷ The establishment of an indigenous music profession remained a dominant force in proposals by the members of the Philharmonic Society (founded in London in 1813) to found an academy of music.¹⁸ In 1815, or just before, William Ayrton (1777-1858) and J. P. Salomon (1745-1815) attempted to establish 'a royal academy of music upon a plan in some degree similar to that of the [royal] academy [for painters established] at Somerset House'.¹⁹ Three years later, in 1818, John Freckleton Burrowes (1787-1852) put forward a similar plan, which was revised in 1822 by F. W. Horncastle and Thomas Forbes Walmisley (1783-1866) and chronicled by Richard Mackenzie Bacon (1776-1844) in *QMMR*; however, on the day the Philharmonic Society had agreed to enter discussions, the plan was usurped by John Fane (1784-1859) (the Irish peer, Lord Burghersh, later eleventh Earl of Westmorland), aided and abetted by the French émigré harpist, Nicholas Charles Bochsa (1789-1856) who founded their own Royal Academy of Music (RAM) in the same year under the patronage of George IV.²⁰ Caught unawares by the lightning speed with which Bochsa and Burghersh had proceeded, the Philharmonic Society's carefully laid plans were toppled.²¹ Nonetheless, 'explicit royal support, allied to His Lordship's [Burghersh's] sympathies and Bochsa's professional expertise, would be by far the most efficient way to give Britain the music academy she needed'.²²

¹⁶ Quoted Rohr (2001), p. 77.

¹⁷ Rohr, p. 210

¹⁸ Nicholas Temperley 'Xenophilia in British Musical History' in *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies* (ed. Bennett Zon) Vol. i (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), p. 3. '...the Victorians themselves could not see any approaching dawn [musical renaissance], and believing that there was something wrong with them, they kept saying "The English are not a musical people". This was translated as "Das Land Ohne Musik".'

¹⁹ *The Harmonicon*, Vol. 8 (London, February, 1830), pp. 45-47.

²⁰ *QMMR*, Vol. 4 (London: Baldwin, Craddock and Joy, 1822), pp. 129-133 and 370-400.

²¹ For a detailed account of the establishment of the RAM, see: Leanne Langley: 'Sainsbury's *Dictionary*, The Royal Academy of Music, and the Rhetoric of Patriotism' in Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley (eds) *Music in British Culture 1745-1914: Essays Honour of Cyril Ehrlich* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 77.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 79.

1.4 PROBLEMS BEGIN AT THE RAM

Despite an avid interest in London's musical life, Burghersh's appointments to various diplomatic posts in Europe between 1814 and 1855 often ensured his removal from the Capital.²³ His appointment of Bochsá as Secretary to the Principal (William Crotch) and the Board of Directors on 30 August 1822 had seemed a good idea at the time. Bochsá, who had had first-hand experience at the Paris Conservatoire, had proposed the idea of founding a national academy of music in London along French lines in 1821 and had recommended himself as its most effective administrator.²⁴ While Bochsá was officially accountable to Crotch, his resolute management of the RAM's administrative affairs effectively allowed him to fill the power vacuum left by Burghersh's long absences, giving him control over professorial appointments and curriculum.²⁵ Burghersh's appointment to the Privy Council in 1822, ensuring him access to the King (George IV) could not have been anticipated; however, it proved the defining feature in Bochsá's plan and it is not unreasonable to suggest that he was well aware of its implications; after all, the Academy's 'Royal' prefix had been his suggestion. Between 1816 and 1831 the Paris Conservatoire had been renamed *L'École Royale de Musique et de Declamation* and it is almost certain that this had provided the basis for Bochsá's initiative.

Predictably, the RAM came under fire from a number of directions for its foundation had been executed 'without any consultation or co-operation with the leaders of the musical profession.'²⁶ The comprehensive list of *Rules and Regulations* contained within eleven chapters and 40 articles, undoubtedly give the impression of a well-organized plan

²³ Temperley, 'Burghersh, Lord...' *New Grove Online*. Burghersh was British envoy at Florence from 1814 to 1830, resident minister in Berlin from 1841 to 1851 and British ambassador to Austria from 1851 to 1855.

²⁴ Bashford and Langley (2000), p. 76. In a letter from to Lord Burghersh in 1827 William Ayrton (founder of the Philharmonic Society) suggested that Bochsá had 'persuaded...Burghersh that an academy of music after the French model would add to our national glory, and that [as he was now married] he was the fittest man in the world to manage an establishment for the education of youth of both sexes.'

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

²⁶ A.V. Beedell, *The Decline of the English Musician 1788-1888* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 68

of action; however, Bacon, who *claimed* to have no particular allegiance but who had distinct Philharmonic Society leanings, questioned the wisdom of establishing such an institution ‘with greater speed than prudence....’²⁷ He denounced the all-powerful RAM Sub-Committee as a self-appointed oligarchy, ‘without check or limit’.²⁸ In addition the RAM was considered, in some quarters, to pose a direct threat to the patronage system and hence the very music profession it was founded to uphold.²⁹ Since patronage was seen to preserve the profession from overcrowding and, by implication, helped to encourage competition, it was deemed by some to be ‘as necessary to the production of great works as light and heat to vegetation.’³⁰ In addition to the opera pit orchestras, opportunities for professional musicians were limited to three established concerts series the London of the 1820s: the Philharmonic Society concerts, the Concerts of Ancient Music and the City Amateur Concerts. Should the RAM have succeeded in reaching its intended target of 120 pupils (40 resident girls, 40 resident boys and 40 external pupils admitted between the ages of ten and fifteen) there was a very real perception that supply would exceed demand. As a result, Bacon set out a considerably reduced plan for a total of 80 pupils, and 25 professors and ancillary staff, ‘the scheme of the [RAM’s] committee of management [being] too vast at its commencement.’³¹ The limited RAM curriculum was also one of Bacon’s chief concerns. The absence of any provision ‘for inculcating any understanding of the philosophy of the science [of music], amongst “the rules and regulations” given out by the Sub-committee’ was a serious problem.³² There was no specific curriculum laid down; rather, the professors were at liberty to recommend their own and, when they were unavailable, an assistant professor was to be appointed in their place. When professional engagements prevented a professor’s

²⁷ *QMMR* Vol. iv (1822), p. 388. See Articles 7 and 8.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 388.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 389.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 389.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 391.

attendance at the Academy, provision was made for an indulgent interpretation of the rules and regulations by the Principal.³³ Bacon's criticism did not end there. As an indifferent amateur composer, Burghersh's qualification to head an institution which claimed to afford facilities 'for attaining perfection in [music]' was questionable.³⁴ Indeed, there was not a single musician on the Board of Directors or any of the committees.³⁵ Ironically, the aristocratic management of the RAM secured middle-class support as it was seen to preserve the institution from the unpredictable government and questionable integrity of 'mere professional hands'.³⁶ Unfortunately, middle-class approbation did not last long. In 1826, *The Times* had carried an article exposing him as a thief, a fraud and a fugitive from French justice. He had been convicted of grand theft and sentenced, in his absence, to be branded and sent into forced labour for twelve years;³⁷ consequently, in 1827, he was forced out of the RAM.

The primary objective of the RAM in 1822 had been to train indigenous musicians to compete successfully for employment with foreigners.³⁸ Indeed music was the only profession dominated by foreigners.³⁹ The ability to rid London's musical arena of its foreign monopoly had been a dominant force in the movement to found a school of music in England over a century; however, Burghersh's over-ambitious management structures had beleaguered the RAM, which, unlike its European counterparts, received no government support.⁴⁰ Its only sources of income were funds raised through public

³² *QMMR* Vol. iv (1882), p. 393.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 382.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 372.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 372.

³⁶ Quoted in Beedell (1992), p. 68.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

³⁸ Frederick Corder: *A History of the Royal Academy of Music from 1822-1928* (London: F. Corder, 1922), p. 2.

³⁹ Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), p. 16.

⁴⁰ Meirion Hughes and Robert Stradling: *The English Music Renaissance 1840-1940: Constructing and National Music* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001; 2nd edn), p. 33. The Paris Conservatoire, in particular, had consistently received government subvention at the equivalent of £10,000 a year. See also Richard Platt: 'Theatre Music I' in *Music in Britain: The Eighteenth Century* Harry Johnstone, Diack, and Roger Fiske (eds) (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), p. 119 f.

subscription and student fees. Students supported by subscriptions endured a precarious existence. In the event a particular subscriber withdrew payment, a student supported in this manner was no longer permitted to ‘continue on the establishment’ unless special dispensation was (exceptionally) granted by the Sub-Committee.⁴¹ Subscribers proposing children of professional musicians were given a concession and were only required to pay half the first subscription (five guineas) and thereafter an annual payment of two guineas.⁴² While public indifference had limited the RAM’s ability to attract funds through public subscription, Burghersh, absurdly, appointed yet more directors in a desperate attempt to raise capital. The RAM’s main source of revenue was student fees. With few scholarships at its disposal and a student population largely from the lower orders (those who could least afford to pay fees), its influence upon the musical life of the nation was severely restricted.⁴³ Shortly after its inception, when there were a mere 20 students (as opposed to the intended 120), there were 25 directors, thirteen trustees and 40 professors.⁴⁴ Corder’s observation— ‘truly a vast deal of machinery to very little purpose! There were as many governors as governed’—was modest.⁴⁵ Such a management structure would have caused problems for any institution and severely undermined its ability to provide solutions to the problems facing the music profession. In 1824, Lord Burghersh petitioned for government subvention. The government’s decision to defray the cost of a Royal Charter in 1830 gave the institution short-term security and a legal constitution; however, Cazalet’s assertion that ‘after 1834...the Academy settled down into a regular form and routine....’ was unwisely premature.⁴⁶

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 378.

⁴² Ibid., p. 378.

⁴³ Beedell (1992), p. 70

⁴⁴ *QMMR* (1822) p. 372. The RAM was founded for the ‘maintenance and general instruction of a certain number of pupils, not exceeding at present forty males and forty females.’ That it commenced work with only 20 students is a clear indication of the level of organization which preceded its foundation.

⁴⁵ Corder (1922), p. 3.

⁴⁶ William Wahab Cazalet: *The History of the Royal Academy of Music* (London: 1854), p. 271.

The RAM's inadequate resources, curriculum and staff led British musicians to seek musical training on the Continent.

For over thirty years, Leipzig was one of the most popular destinations in Europe for aspirant professional musicians who studied either at Mendelssohn's *Hochschule für Musik* or privately. Having secured the Blümner legacy, Mendelssohn's *Hochschule* at Leipzig was founded after an audience with the King of Saxony, Friedrich August II, on 13 November, 1843. The first Board of Professors, which included Robert Schumann, was appointed from the finest executants in Germany; however, unlike the Paris Conservatoire, entrance was open to both Saxons and foreigners alike.⁴⁷ The curriculum developed by Mendelssohn was rigorous and would provide the basis for many of George Grove's policies at the RCM (see Chapter Four, p. 161). Mendelssohn's outline for a similar foundation in Berlin three years earlier sheds light on the policy he adopted for Leipzig.

In the first category, the various royal institutions dedicated to music must be considered. They must unite with the music school and, as members, accept a single aim and direction with greater or lesser modification. To these schools belong, for example:

The Training Institute for the Royal Orchestra

The Organ Institute

Training Courses for singing, declamation, etc., which belong to the theatre (and so far, only employed for the theatre).

Moreover, the members of the Royal Band must be obliged to give instruction in the playing of their individual instruments. It would not be a mistake to designate a place for a library containing the necessary music (both old and new) as well as books.

On the other hand there should be added:

1. A principal teacher for composition, the best that can be found in Germany, to teach structured courses in harmony, thoroughbass, counterpoint and fugue.
2. A principal teacher in solo singing; also the best in Germany;
3. A principal teacher in choral singing who distinguishes himself by personal stimulation of his singers through good keyboard technique and sure conducting;
4. A principal teacher of pianoforte playing who must be a person of outstanding talent and dedication in order to be selected for the position.

In addition to the above teachers, who might be found in Berlin itself, a teacher of aesthetics and the history of music, etc. is necessary beyond doubt.

The complete course should last three years during which a student, after an entrance examination, would be instructed without cost. Prize competitions will not take place. However, at appointed times, the work a student has accomplished since his enrolment will be examined and

⁴⁷ Phillips (1979), p. 83.

an award (consisting of the means for trips through Germany, Italy, France, and England) may be conferred. Every winter a stated number of concerts would take place. The assembled teachers (including the above mentioned members of the band) would select compositions and performers to be immediately presented in public concerts.

The principles which will serve as a basis for the institute are as follows: the enhancement of every aspect of the art by a profession dedicated to a pure, spiritual aim and the expression of the highest thoughts; thoroughness, accuracy, and rigorous order in learning and teaching will be made the first law.⁴⁸

During this period Germany's political landscape changed. The consequences of the second French Revolution in 1848 paved the way for German unification for it eventually led Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898), Prussian Foreign Minister and Prime Minister (later also first Imperial Chancellor of the German Empire between 1871 and 1890), to launch a ruthless campaign to quell potential unrest by crushing democracy altogether: 'the great questions of the day are not decided by speeches and majority votes—therein lay the weakness of 1848 and 1849—but by blood and iron.'⁴⁹ This inevitably provided a fertile breeding ground for a menacing brand of nationalism that spread across Europe and took music in its wake. While the movement to establish a national school of music in England had been on the agenda for over a century, as the nationalist *Zeitgeist* surfaced across Europe from the mid-nineteenth century, the democratisation of education began in earnest, in an attempt to remove the potential for revolution. In England, educational reform, initiated by the Society of Arts, was soon confirmed as Liberal policy.

1.5 THE SOCIETY OF ARTS, THE 1851 ROYAL COMMISSION AND SIR HENRY COLE

The Society of Arts came to public notice as a result of the success of the Great Exhibition of 1851. As a Society of Arts enterprise, it had enjoyed success of every kind, being patronised by Queen Victoria. The Society's President, Prince Albert, had established the 1851 Royal Commission to implement the Exhibition. During the course of the only year it remained open to the public at Hyde Park, it had attracted over six

⁴⁸ Quoted in Phillips (1979), pp. 81f.

million visitors at a time when the census for London was a mere two million, accruing profits in excess of £180,000.⁵⁰ From the outset, the 1851 Royal Commission included influential Establishment figures including a number of notable Liberal MPs, one former Conservative Prime Minister (Sir Robert Peel) one serving Liberal Prime Minister (Earl Russell) and two future Prime Ministers (Disraeli and W. E. Gladstone). The 1851 Commissioners had used part of the substantial Exhibition profit to acquire land on the south side of Hyde Park which came to be called the South Kensington Estate.

In recognition of the Kensington Estate's newly-accorded cachet, the RAM directors applied for land to erect a building there in 1851 and 1854, as their premises, situated just off Hanover Square at 5 Tenterden Street, were in an area of London where immigrants outnumbered natives, and where the mortality rate, from diseases such as typhus, cholera, and smallpox, was high.⁵¹ As the Kensington Estate was to be used for other government projects enjoying royal patronage, the directors were convinced that government protection and subvention would surely follow the RAM's acquisition of land there.⁵² Despite the Prince Consort's acknowledged love of music, no provision for a conservatoire on the Kensington Estate appears to have been entertained by him at this stage. While the *Society of Arts Journal* for 1852 recorded that '...it is proposed to erect certain buildings for Government objects, such as the Department of Science and Art, and for any institutions which may require them, such as the Royal Academy of Music, which has already applied for ground at Kensington for a building', the Memorandum of the Prince Consort as to the Disposal of the Surplus from the Great Exhibition of 1851' (see Appendix 1.1), includes no mention of accommodating the

⁴⁹ Quoted in Ralph Haswell Lutz: 'Germany' *CE* William Halsey and Bernard Johnson (eds.), Vol. 11 (London and New York: P. F. Collier Inc. 1988), p. 27.

⁵⁰ M. Musgrave, *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 9.

⁵¹ 'The Proposed National Institutions at Kensington', *JSA* (1852), Vol. i, p. 611

⁵² 'Music Education Committee', *JSA*, Vol. xiii (London, 1865), 593f.

RAM.⁵³ Rather, the Prince Consort had advocated devoting the considerable profits from the Great Exhibition to the establishment of four institutions to correspond to the four sections in the Exhibition—Raw Materials, Machinery, Manufactures, and Plastic Art—in order to promote ‘every branch of human industry by means of the comparison of their processes and results as carried on and obtained by all the nations of the earth’ (see Appendix 1.1, p. 13). Nonetheless, by 1852 a sub-committee comprising the Prince Consort, Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881) and Henry Labouchère senior (1798-1869) was appointed to communicate with the RAM’s directors.⁵⁴ As a consequence, it has been assumed that the idea to found a national school of music on the Kensington Estate emanated from the Prince Consort but this seems unlikely.

The German educator and musician, Dr Bertram Mark, had established two royal colleges of music in Manchester.⁵⁵ His initial attempt to establish a Royal College of Music for boys had foundered but by 1858 he had published a scheme to reform it as a charity to educate children between the ages of fifteen and seventeen, alongside a new Royal Albert College of Music to cater for those aged between five and fifteen. The most significant aspect of Mark’s institutions was that they enjoyed financial patronage from the royal family, including the Queen who had been placed at the head of the list of subscribers, the Prince Consort and the Prince of Wales, as well as MPs and ‘many distinguished families of the Empire’.⁵⁶ Royal approbation was confirmed when a Grand Concert given by ‘Dr Mark and his little men’ hosted by the Queen at Buckingham Palace.⁵⁷ Yet democratic accountability was equally important to Mark: ‘it is my intention

⁵³ Sir Theodore Martin: *The Life of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort* Vol. 2 (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1876), pp. 569 to 573.

⁵⁴ ‘The Proposed National Institutions at Kensington’, *JSA* (1852), Vol. i, p. 611. See also: 1851RCAM: (1852 to 1867), p. 24.

⁵⁵ G. W. E. Brightwell ‘The National Training School for Music 1873-1882: Catalyst or Cul-de-Sac?’ (Unpublished M.A. thesis: University of Durham, 1998) (1998), p. 8

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Bertram V. D. Mark: *Public Address delivered by Dr. Mark in every town and city he has visited being an exposition of his Great National Enterprise for the Encouragement and Promotion of Native Musical Talent...* (February, 1858) RA Functions and Visits.

to place my Enterprise under the same Government Inspection as National Schools.⁵⁸ Little else is known of Mark's institutions; however, they represent an important milestone as the majority of his initiatives came to be embraced by the Cole in the movement to establish a national school of music at South Kensington. The involvement of the Prince of Wales, albeit as a subscriber to the Manchester institutions, confirms his knowledge of the principles that underpinned Mark's philosophy. Moreover, it suggests not only that the ethos of Mark's institutions provided the inspiration for many of the initiatives that led to the establishment of the National Training School for Music in 1873, but suggests that it was the Prince of Wales, rather than his father, who was the instigator of the movement to found a national school of music at South Kensington.⁵⁹

Mark's Great National Enterprise of 1858, as his institutions were called, was founded on nationalist principles: not only did they pioneer free education for girls and boys from all parts of the United Kingdom and the Empire, they sought to 'raise England to be one of the greatest of musical nations...[through] an effective...musical education, board, [and] lodging...'⁶⁰ Established primarily to educate orphans, Mark's institutions share some of their principles with the eighteenth-century proposals by Defoe and Burney; however, the fundamental tenets of the schemes are revisited in plans to found both the NTSM and the RCM later on in the nineteenth century.⁶¹ Two hundred students were to be educated by public subscription to be 'brought out either as distinguished artistes, efficient teachers, or competent masters, to conduct conservatoires of music in different localities throughout the Kingdom [and the

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ There are two references to the Prince Consort's initiative to found a national school of music on the Kensington Estate. The first appears in the speech by the Prince of Wales at the St James's Palace Meeting on 28 February, 1882 and

⁶⁰ Bertram V. D. Mark: *A few words with reference to Dr. Mark's Great National Enterprise* (1863), NSHA

⁶¹ Brightwell (1998), p. 39.

Empire]’, a concept of forming sister institutions had been a characteristic of the Paris Conservatoire.⁶²

In the meantime, the RAM directors, upon hearing nothing from the 1851 Commissioners as a result of their entreaties, petitioned the Society of Arts directly in 1860 for advice on restructuring the RAM’s management. If they had hoped their appeal would receive the sympathetic attention of the Society’s President, Prince Albert, his death in December 1861 significantly changed the Academy’s fortunes for it catapulted the irascible Liberal, Henry Cole, into a position of immense power and responsibility.⁶³ Cole’s success in masterminding the Great Exhibition of 1851—he had been its promoter, publicist and administrator—had confirmed him as an eminent Victorian and he had been knighted. Thus it was into his hands that responsibility for certain aspects of the RAM’s future now came to be placed by the Society’s new President, The Prince of Wales. While Cole had proved himself an effective administrator, he was not a musician and had no experience of the day-to-day business of running a music school; given the RAM’s predicament earlier in the century, it seemed that history was beginning to repeat itself.

It was not until May 1861 that Cole finally responded to the RAM’s petition in the form of a report.⁶⁴ His radical proposals were designed to transform it into an effective national institution, assured of the approbation of the music profession. To effect this, Cole’s intention was to remodel the RAM as a national institution on the Kensington Estate in connection with the Royal Albert Hall. Of the twenty-one recommendations, three were significant in establishing the RAM as a truly national institution. First, the Society recommended that any national school of music should put the best possible instruction, affordably priced, within the reach of those with musical aptitude, as on the

⁶² Mark (1863), NSHA

⁶³ CMM(NTSM) (12 January, 1876), RCMA 001/1, p. 94.

⁶⁴ CM(SA) (22 May, 1861), RSAA.

Continent.⁶⁵ Secondly, it advised the RAM to re-order its management structure to combine distinguished professional musicians with those who fostered an interest in the art.⁶⁶ Thirdly, it recommended the establishment of a national library of music and musical literature, a museum, and a reading room to incorporate existing collections from the British Museum and the Academy's own library.⁶⁷ Successful implementation of the Society of Arts' Report was entirely reliant upon solid financial management and adequate premises to accommodate the increased numbers of students, teaching facilities, libraries, reading room and museum. These were not luxuries at the Academy's disposal. Affordable instruction could only be provided on the scale of European conservatoires if government subvention were forthcoming as it was on the Continent; however, the RAM did not have the resources at its disposal to implement the Society's recommendations. In any case, the directors procrastinated and the report was deferred. Nevertheless, with the intention of submitting a report to the government, Cole established a music committee at the Society of Arts in 1865, to compare the state of music education abroad with that in England, with special reference to the RAM.⁶⁸ The Prince of Wales agreed to chair the committee so long as 'nothing should be done hostile to the Royal Academy of Music.'⁶⁹ As a result of Cole's petition, Gladstone's government acceded to the RAM's demands for a grant, and donated the sum of £500.⁷⁰

In January 1866, a serious fire at the RAM's Tenterden Street premises had made it 'barely possible to carry on the institution...from the...dilapidated state of the

⁶⁵ Ibid. Significantly the Society of Arts Report makes no mention of free education, rather recommends pricing it on 'moderate terms'.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ 'Minutes of the Music Education Committee', *JSA* Vol. xiii, (17 February, 1865), p. 217f. 'The Committee issued the following queries to the professors, amateurs and others interested in the subject, and desire to obtain their opinions thereon. Members willing to aid them in this enquiry are requested to communicate their views: What are the essential differences between the plan of the Royal Academy of Music in London, and the Conservatoires of the Continent, with regard to their constitution and management; their revenues...derived from the State, annual subscriptions, fees from pupils, concerts, or other sources.'

⁶⁹ A.S. Cole, *Fifty Years of Public Work of Sir Henry Cole, K.C.B.* (London, 1884), 366.

house...⁷¹ As a temporary solution, one of the Commissioners, Lord Granville, agreed to allow the RAM to move to the South Kensington Museum (later the Victoria and Albert Museum) if Michael Costa, considered by Meyerbeer to be the finest conductor in the world, were appointed Professional Director.⁷² Costa's 'practical [rather than musical] wisdom almost amounting to genius' was what had drawn Cole to him.⁷³ Costa's view of the RAM was not complimentary: he felt it was 'no use to mend an old coat'.⁷⁴ Despite this, Costa accepted Cole's generous offer to become Principal at a salary of £1,200 a year and a tied house on condition that the RAM was given government protection and that Lord Granville and Cole were appointed President and Vice-President respectively.⁷⁵ Granville was President of the Board of Trade and also a member, along with Cole of the Society of Arts' Executive Committee. Regrettably, he reneged on his promise and Costa was never appointed. After some eighteen months' negotiation, the Department of Science and Art found they were unable to 'accede to the request...for temporary accommodation at the South Kensington Museum' as they wished to avoid giving the impression the Government shared responsibility for the RAM's state of affairs.⁷⁶

⁷⁰ W. Barclay Squire, rev. F. Corder, 'The Royal Academy of Music', *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, (London, 1948), 478.

⁷¹ pp WSB (13 August, 1866), RAMA.

⁷² E. Bonython (ed.), 'Sir Henry Cole's Diaries' (Unpublished edition, c. 1992), NALA. Entry dated Friday 9 February, 1866. See also Findon, 1994, p. 127 & 130.

⁷³ Percy Young: *George Grove 1820-1900* (London: Macmillan, 1980) p. 173f. Grove's deprecating remarks, published under the pseudonym of 'A correspondent' in the *Pall Mall Gazette* reveal another side to Costa, as implied in the press coverage of Sullivan's appointment to the conductorship of the Leeds Festival (see p. 61). Grove's disparaging descriptions of Costa's ability as an executant he describes as 'shameful[,]...so vulgar [and] so unnecessary...enough to make your hair stand on end...' He contrasts Costa's work with that of Manns, Richter and Rosa who, he says, 'mainly from second class materials, and by tact, knowledge, and perseverance produce the finest effects from it—that was entirely out of his [Costa's] power.' Grove concludes by damning him with faint praise: 'but still...we owe him a debt. He was a splendid drill-sergeant...he acted up to his lights, was thoroughly efficient as far as he went, and was eminently safe. An Englishman does not mind paying for his outing if he knows that the horses are sound, the vehicle in good repair, and the coachman able to drive.'

⁷⁴ 'Minutes of the Music Education Committee', *JSA* Vol. vii, (1858-1859), p. 448 & 451.

⁷⁵ A.S. Cole, *Fifty Years of Public Work of Sir Henry Cole, K.C.B.* (London, 1884), 367. Costa subsequently managed to negotiate a projected salary increase to £2,000 even before he had embarked upon the post.

⁷⁶ Cole (1884), p. 367.

In August of 1866 there were two important RAM appointments: William Sterndale Bennett (Professor of Music at Cambridge, RAM alumnus and professor) was appointed Principal and Otto Goldschmidt (a composer and former pupil of Mendelssohn at the Leipzig Conservatoire) was appointed Vice-Principal to ‘ensure the approbation of the musical profession.’⁷⁷ Bennett’s appointment did not improve the RAM’s chances of securing accommodation at Kensington. First, he had not been Earl Granville’s preferred choice; secondly, it had been made clear in an interview at the Society of Arts that his views did not concur with those of the Music Education Committee; and thirdly, he was opposed to any union between the RAM and the Society.⁷⁸ While Bennett conceded that a move to South Kensington would be ideal if the RAM remained in London, he advocated a move to cheaper premises outside the Capital where students could be educated in an environment free from the distraction, inconvenience and moral decline of city life.⁷⁹ While Bennett was happy for financial decisions to rest with a lay committee of management, he was adamant that all musical decisions should be undertaken solely by a board of professors chaired by the Principal, a view with which Henry Cole would certainly not have concurred (see Chapter Two, pp. 53f.). Furthermore, he was resolute that the RAM should remain separate from any attempt to found a new school of music.⁸⁰ Such differences of opinion did not augur well and Bennett was moved to resign in order to allow the RAM freedom ‘...to elect a principal more acceptable to the authorities of South Kensington’ as he and Goldschmidt both knew that without suitable premises, it would be ‘hopeless that the suggestions contained in the [Society of Arts] Report...could ever be put into force.’⁸¹

⁷⁷ pp WSB (13 August, 1866) RAMA.

⁷⁸ Cole (1884), p. 369.

⁷⁹ ‘Minutes of the Music Education Committee’, *JSA* Vol. xiv, (16 March, 1866), p. 303.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 303.

⁸¹ pp WSB (13 August, 1866) RAMA.

In 1867 the RAM's directors petitioned the new Tory administration for an increased grant. The response was not heartening: Benjamin Disraeli, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, stated in the House of Commons that the 'Government were of the opinion that they would not be authorized in recommending any enlargement of the grant, the result of the institution not being in fact of a satisfactory character.'⁸² Between 1822 and 1866 the RAM's 'direct contribution to the supply of professional musicians during this period was limited in quantity and quality.'⁸³ While it had provided the education for around 1,300 students they represented a mere 7% of the total number of musicians working in Britain during the 1860s and few had achieved distinction (see Chapter Two, p. 88).⁸⁴ In any case, Disraeli withdrew the RAM grant altogether. Exasperated at the situation, Bennett attacked Cole the following year as a 'national music-master' and declared the Society of Arts report a 'deception'.⁸⁵ Disraeli's statement in the Commons had done the RAM untold harm and naturally incensed Bennett who, in a letter dated June 22, 1868, wondered 'when and where the investigation [implicit in his speech] took place, and by whom on the part of the Government it was conducted.'⁸⁶ In a reply, Herbert Murray, Disraeli's secretary, wrote that the speech had been 'simply to give effect to the opinion that it was not so expedient to subsidise a central and quasi-independent association, as it was to establish a system of musical instruction under the control of some department of government.'⁸⁷

The Liberal victory in the General Election of 1868 came as a mixed blessing: on the one hand they restored the RAM's grant; on the other, they added a proviso that it had to be used for accommodation. If the RAM achieved a move to the South Kensington Museum, it would be discontinued. The restoration of the RAM's grant incensed the

⁸² CMM(RAM) (24 January, 1868), RAMA, p. 314.

⁸³ Cyril Ehrlich: *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), p. 79.

⁸⁴ Ehrlich (1995), p. 79.

⁸⁵ J.R. Sterndale Bennett, *The Life of William Sterndale Bennett* (Cambridge, 1907), 373f.

music profession. In 1868, 130 professional musicians petitioned the Department of Science and Art to establish a government school of music and a national opera. Their criticism of the RAM was damning:

Understanding that the government and the commissioners of the arts exhibitions are being petitioned to contribute still further to the maintenance of the institution called the Royal Academy of Music, we, the, undersigned professional musicians residing in England, realizing the fact that the Royal Academy of Music has failed to promote the highest interest of the musical art, that the late government grant has simply prolonged its existence but not extended its usefulness, and feeling, moreover, assured that any further repetition of such an attempt can only end in similar failure, and prove equally discreditable to the country and wasteful of its funds, do hereby respectfully advise the establishment of a *new school* of music, in which every advantage may be offered to musical students, to be presided over by competent professors appointed by the State, and responsible to it for the efficiency of the institution. Connected with such an academy, we would further advise, if possible, the establishment of an English national opera, believing by such agencies a genuine and useful impulse might be given to the development of musical genius in this country, and ultimately redeem it from the disgrace of being the only European nation that fails to cultivate its own national music.⁸⁶

The musicians' petition led the Society of Arts' Committee on Musical Education to approach Parliament directly. On 20 June, 1869, Sir John Pakington submitted a memorial recommending

...that certain students should receive gratuitous training, and...be selected by public competition.

That your petitioners respectfully submit to your honourable House that a national training school can never be maintained by private enterprise, but only be established by the State, and supported by public funds, disbursed under parliamentary and ministerial authority.

That so far as your petitioners are enabled to judge from the evidence, they consider that at least two hundred students should be trained, that they should receive grants for maintenance, varying rates, in accordance with the system that is found to work so successfully in the art training schools at South Kensington.⁸⁷

To be truly influential a national school of music would have to be run along Utilitarian lines, that is, the greatest good for the greatest number; however, the Society of Arts' attempt to gain government subvention backfired. Inspired by Benthamite principles, Cole's new school was intended to provide the greatest number of musicians

⁸⁶ pp WSB (1868) RAMA.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Quoted in Brightwell (1998), p. 22. Extract from Appendix A to Fifteenth Report of the Science and Arts Department (1868), RA PP VIC 1872/11318. Those who had signed the report included Thérèse Tietjens, Helen Lemmens Sherington, John Sims Reeves, Charles Santley, W. Harrison, Rokinansky, G. Paque, F. Lablache, R. Sidney Pratten, T. H. Wright, H. Handel Gear, E. Schubert, J. W. Thirlwell, V. Collins, Dr H. Wylde, Alfred Mellon, Ludwig Strauss, Tom Hohler, John Francis Barnett, J. Pittman, A. M. R. Barret, Rene Favarger, W. Beavan, Henry Holmes, J. B. Ciabatta, W. H. Hann, F. Griesbach, C. Harper, and John Tiplady Carrodus and about 100 unnamed others.

⁸⁹ 'National Training School for Music', *JSA* Vol. xix, (14 April, 1871), p. 448.

(in this case 300) with the best musical instruction available. However, the Liberal government had a different agenda. The existing position, where, out of 4.3 million children, half had no access to any form of educational provision at all, was indefensible.⁹⁰ Extending the Utilitarian principle further, they chose not merely to restrict their subvention to a minority group, such as would benefit from a national music school; instead, through the implementation of W. E. Forster's Elementary Schools Education Act of 1870, they established education for all, in reading, writing, arithmetic and music.⁹¹ While another petition for a government endowment had failed, insofar as it established the principle that educational reform had undeniably become Liberal policy, it gave the NTSM's founders hope that government subvention was a realistic prospect at this stage. In the meantime, however, Cole's Musical Education Committee at the Society of Arts was forced to explore other means to raise capital for their projected school of music. By 1870, the Society of Arts' Council had begun to organize a series of six fund-raising concerts to be held in the Royal Albert Hall between 1871 and 1872.⁹²

The invitation to Sir Michael Costa, the leading conductor of the day, to conduct the concert series represented an attempt to console him after his projected appointment as Principal of Cole's plans for an improved RAM had fallen through. Support for the series was provided by 76 guarantors and 50 subscribers. The first concert, held on 12 April, 1871, attracted an audience of some 5,000 people, including the members of several foreign royal families. Initially the outlook was positive: excellent attendance and royal patronage would seem to have constituted certain success for Cole's music school.

⁹⁰ Roy Jenkins: *Gladstone* (London: Pan Macmillan, 1995), p. 322. See also Kay: Vol ii, (1850), p. 540. This includes a table of the situation in 1850, where the deleterious state of education in England and Wales is compared with that of the Grand Duchy of Baden, Bavaria, France, Denmark, Hanover, Holland, Prussia, Switzerland, Saxony and Wirttemberg.

⁹¹ Forster's Education Act of 1870 bestowed upon music the status of a grant-earning subject within the elementary school curriculum; consequently, many Victorian children were not only exposed to music for the first time, they were given a thorough education both using Tonic-sol-fa and the standard system of notation.

However the concert-going public proved to be neither as sophisticated nor as appreciative as had been hoped, as the following subscriber's letter to *The Times* indicates:

[The concerts were due to start at eight but]...visitors kept on coming in fully up till nine o'clock. Three or four seats in front of me were unoccupied for nearly three-quarters of an hour. The boys who vended the programmes took care that they should be heard, and were pushing their trade during the whole time. On my right two gentlemen stood for some considerable time, talking with subdued loudness. Behind me two ladies and a gentleman were talking with genteel loudness and the whole hour through, except during the *pianissimo* parts. For all the world like a drawing-room. Now, fancy the majority of 5,000 persons having a comfortable chat, and their voices going in genteel crescendo with the music, and the riddle is explained why the loud parts of the music became so often comparatively indistinct.⁹³

As a result the series made a loss of £100.

Unperturbed, Cole drew up a rigorous campaign to provide funds for his national training school through public subscription.⁹⁴ The cost of providing such an education for each student was estimated at £40 a year.⁹⁵ In order to achieve his goal to endow 300 places, he hoped to convince the authorities in every county, colony and dependency throughout the Empire to provide the funds for at least one scholarship each.⁹⁶ Awarded for a period of five years, these scholarships were to be won by public competition held annually.⁹⁷ These were radical, pioneering proposals, against which the attempts made to garner support by the directors of the Royal Academy of Music were pitiful.

Despite the Royal Academy's consistent failure to win confidence within either public or professional arenas, Cole remained committed to the idea that any new school of music should be formed as an 'outgrowth' of the senior institution, a feeling still strong among the members of the 1851 Commission.⁹⁸ Hence, in 1872, he made an attempt at reconciliation, offering £5,000 worth of scholarships, if the RAM remodelled its

⁹² 'National Training School for Music', *JSA*, Vol. xix, (2 December, 1870), p. 29.

⁹³ Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 470.

⁹⁴ National Training School for Music: 'A Proposal for founding Scholarships' (1872), RA PP VIC 1872/11318.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

administration.⁹⁹ On three occasions between July 1872 and March 1873, Cole attempted to lure the Royal Academy's authorities to Kensington with the offer of temporary accommodation at the Royal Albert Hall.¹⁰⁰ The directors found the spaces to be 'totally uninhabitable' and the matter was closed for the time being, Cole being forced to establish the National Training School for Music as an independent venture.¹⁰¹

1.6 THE FOUNDATION OF THE NATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOL FOR MUSIC

Cole successfully applied for land on the Kensington Estate, this time for the NTSM. That 'temporary use of houses in the immediate neighbourhood of the Royal Albert Hall' were immediately available to the NTSM is an indication of the politics that had really bedevilled the RAM. The 1851 Commissioners subsequently extended the offer to 'a plot of land immediately adjoining [the Royal Albert Hall], to be leased on very favourable terms.'¹⁰² In the meantime, the Royal Albert Hall Corporation had set aside rooms, including a lecture theatre, for use at a nominal rent until adequate provision could be made. Such assistance, estimated at £1,000 a year, would have given the RAM increased security. Cole secured the services of his neighbour, Charles Freake (a successful London builder) to erect purpose-built premises next to the Royal Albert Hall at his own cost (see Fig. 1).¹⁰³ Freake was said to have raised Kensington from a 'neglected suburb to a second Belgravia.'¹⁰⁴ The building, designed by Cole's son, Lieutenant H. H. Cole of the Royal Engineers, boasted 30 classrooms, professors' rooms and offices.¹⁰⁵ There had been a plan to link the NTSM to the Royal Albert Hall by means of a connecting bridge and to the Kensington Road by means of an arcade.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁸ Cole (1884), p. 369.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Entry in Sir William Sterndale Bennett's Daily Memorandum Book (February, 1873), RAMA.

¹⁰² J. Skidmore: 'The Society and the National Training school for Music', *JRSA*, Vol. cxi, (February, 1992) p. 205.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 205. The cost of erecting the building was £20,000.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 205.

¹⁰⁵ CMM(NTSM) (June, 1875), RCMA 001/1, 58 a & b.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., pp. 58 a & b.

Cole had even contemplated building a chapel and wrote to the organist and composer H. J. Gauntlett; however, these additions were never completed.¹⁰⁷

The Albert Hall Corporation's offer of temporary accommodation had come in the form of a letter expressing its approbation of 'the zealous efforts of the Society...to promote musical education in the Queen's dominions.'¹⁰⁸ It had been signed by the 28-year-old Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh (see Fig. 6). Through Cole's persuasion, he was to become intimately involved with the NTSM, not merely as a figurehead, but as an active participant in its organization.¹⁰⁹ In addition, his keen interest in music—he was leader of the amateur Royal Albert Hall orchestra—made him the ideal choice to chair the NTSM's Committee of Management.¹¹⁰ The NTSM's accommodation and the active support and involvement of senior members of the Royal Family and the Society of Arts would seem to have constituted certain success; moreover, the NTSM's link to the Royal Albert Hall ensured its facilities were unrivalled by any Conservatoire in Europe.

On 29 May, 1873, a meeting was convened at Clarence House, the London home of the Duke, 'to discuss the founding of a national training school for music, separate from the Royal Academy of Music'.¹¹¹ It brought together some of the most influential men in England,¹¹² and acknowledged the fundamental principle of the new School to be 'the cultivation of the highest musical aptitude in the country in whatever station of society it may be found'.¹¹³ In other words, from its inception, the NTSM's chief aim was to

¹⁰⁷ E. Bonython (ed.), 'The Diaries of Sir Henry Cole' (Unpublished edition, c. 1992) NALA. Entry dated Wednesday 26 January, 1876.

¹⁰⁸ CM(SA) Vol. xiv, (8 January, 1872) RSAA, p. 188.

¹⁰⁹ Skidmore (1992), p. 205.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 205.

¹¹¹ CMM(NTSM) (18 December, 1873), RCMA 001/1, p. 18a.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 18a. The Committee of those present comprised HRH The Duke of Edinburgh, The Lord Gerald Fitzgerald, The Lord Clarence Paget, Mr Alan Cole, Mr Henry Cole, Major Donnelly, Mr C.J. Freake, Mr Frank Morrison, Mr Puttick, Mr S. Redgrave, Colonel Strange and General Earley Wilmot, Chairman of the Royal Albert Hall Corporation.

¹¹³ 'Minutes of the Music Education Committee', *JSA*, Vol. xxi, (4 April, 1873), p. 447.

provide free instruction to musicians of limited means in order to occupy a 'field of action wholly distinct from...any other institution.'¹¹⁴

In order to achieve this, Cole determined to raise funds for 300 scholarships through public subscription. Candidates for the scholarships had to be nominated by their local communities, corporations and schools, or by individuals, and competition was open to any subject of the Queen who was able to comply with the regulations and pay a fee of five shillings.¹¹⁵ Candidates were required to provide a medical certificate, a birth certificate and two references showing them to be of good moral character.¹¹⁶ Competition for scholarships, each valued at £40 per annum, was administered on a local basis. National scholarships were only to be available to those already at the School. If successful, applicants for all scholarships could expect to have their books, instruments, and music financed by the School. For the majority of students, scholarships did not cover board and lodging; however, a few covered maintenance besides free tuition.¹¹⁷ The NTSM's founders were adamant that entry to the School would not be facilitated by payment of fees alone, as had been the case at the RAM¹¹⁸

The establishment of 300 scholarships in time for the NTSM's opening proved an impossible target. A compromise was reached whereby subscriptions for 100 scholarships for five years were to be established in order for the School to operate during its first year. Building on his work with the Prince Consort for the Great Exhibition, Cole took his campaign across Britain, visiting Wales, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Nottingham, Sandwich, Hastings, Dover and Leeds. In 1874, *The Birmingham Post* carried an article which only served to focus attention on the need for financial support: '...Something more than a building...will of course be needed for

¹¹⁴ CMM(NTSM) (June, 1875), RCMA 001/1, pp. 58a & b.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 58a & b.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 60a.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p. 60a.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 60a.

the successful establishment of the School; and unless the public come forward liberally with their contributions for the foundation of scholarships...Mr Freake's munificence will have been to little purpose, and we shall be as far as ever from the accomplishment of our object....¹¹⁹ Cole had sent out 200 invitations for the London conference which was opened by HRH The Prince of Wales on 15 June, 1875. The committee it established comprised some of those holding the highest office in the land: the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, the Sheriffs and representatives of the Corporation, the City Companies, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the deans of Westminster and St Paul's, the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank of England, the Chairman of Lloyds and merchants of the City of London.¹²⁰ It had been agreed that once the funds for 70 scholarships had been subscribed, the Committee of Management would consider appointing a staff of professors and examiners.¹²¹ The NTSM did not have the complex management structures which had afflicted the RAM and while the Committee of Management was composed entirely of lay-men or amateur musicians (a criticism levelled at the Academy), day-to-day administration was to be undertaken by the professors and a registrar; however, no principal had been appointed.¹²²

1.7 THE APPOINTMENT OF DR ARTHUR SULLIVAN AS PRINCIPAL

On 27 November, 1875, Lord Clarence Paget (an influential member of the NTSM Committee of Management) suggested approaching the 34-year-old Arthur Sullivan (1842-1900) with a view to appointing him Chairman of the Board of Principal Professors.¹²³ Sullivan (see Fig. 8) had been the first recipient of the Mendelssohn

¹¹⁹ 'National Training School for Music', *JSA*, Vol. xxii, (13 March, 1874), p. 376.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 669.

¹²¹ Ernst Pauer was professor of piano, John Stainer was professor of organ with Dr Frederick Bridge as his assistant, Albert Visetti was professor of singing, John Carrodus was professor of violin and the Rev'd John Richardson was Registrar.

¹²² CMM(NTSM) (June, 1875), RCMA 001/1, p. 35.

¹²³ 'National Training School for Music', *JSA*, Vol. xxiv, (4 February, 1876), p. 195. See also Percy Marshall Young: *Sir Arthur Sullivan* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd, 1971), p. 37. At the age of 23, Sullivan had joined the National College of Music (of which Sir Henry Leslie was Principal from its foundation in 1865 to its demise in 1866) to teach composition alongside Julius Benedict. The College

Scholarship at the RAM in 1856 and had trained at the Leipzig *Hochschule* from 1860-1861 alongside Edward Grieg, Franklin Taylor, Carl Rosa and Edward Dannreuther, where he had been widely admired by his teachers.¹²⁴ The Duke of Edinburgh had initially offered Sullivan the combined posts of Chairman of the Board of Professors and Principal Professor of Composition at the NTSM but he was unwilling merely to act as *primus inter pares*, not least because he was already Professor of Composition at the RAM.¹²⁵ In his reply to the Duke, dated 1 January, 1876, he claimed he would only be willing to accept the post of Director at an annual salary of £1,000 if he were permitted to appoint his own Committee of Management and the remainder of the Board of Professors in order to create an environment of mutual co-operation. Cole's candidate, Sir Michael Costa, had opposed Sullivan's appointment as Director, partly as a result of his youth and because he thought his private engagements would render it impossible to make the NTSM his first consideration.¹²⁶ Indeed Cole had expressed these very sentiments to HRH the Duke of Edinburgh in a letter of 11 January 1876:

I have the strongest conviction that Mr. Sullivan's appointment is on several accounts undesirable, if for no other reason, yet certainly for this—viz—that his private engagements would render it impossible for him to make the School his first consideration and so would certainly place the experiment in extreme peril....¹²⁷

The Orchestra had carried an article in which it was stated that Sullivan should have resisted accepting the post of Director of the NTSM as it would distract him from his

had been founded to '...promote the Musical Education of persons who desire to enter the Profession...' In addition to those aforementioned, its professors included George Macfarren (later Principal of the RAM) to teach Harmony and Counterpoint, Thomas Harper, whom Young refers to as the 'Prince of Trumpeters', Henry Lazarus 'the leading clarinetist of the day and Franklin Taylor to teach piano and harmony. The Rev'd William Wahab Cazalet (not Cazalett, as recorded by Young), who went on to write the first history of the RAM, was employed to teach declamation.

¹²⁴ B. W. Findon *Sir Arthur Sullivan: His Life and Music* (London: James Nisbet and Company Ltd, 1904), p. 36. On 28 October 1860 Sullivan wrote to his mother saying that 'the director has exempted me from paying for the Conservatorium during the next six months I am going to stay here. When I got up to thank him for it, he said: "...You are a splendid fellow (*partiger Kerl*) and very useful. We all like you so much that we can't let you go.'" See also Walter J. Wells *Souvenir of Sir Arthur Sullivan Mus.Doc., M.V.O.: a Brief Sketch of his Life and Works* (London: George Newnes Ltd, 1901), p. 10.

¹²⁵ N.T.S.M. Committee of Management Minutes (12 January, 1876), Royal College of Music Archive 001/1, 92.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

¹²⁷ MS HC to DE (11 January, 1876) CMM(NTSM) RCMA. 001/1, p. 93f.

real gift for composition.¹²⁸ In fact, a more compelling reason was Sullivan's own observation that he was averse to teaching of any kind.¹²⁹

Despite these differences of opinion, it was subsequently agreed that, in the event of his acceptance, Sullivan's valuable services be engaged.¹³⁰ By 11 January, Cole had received no word and, after several visits, conveniently concluded that Sullivan had 'no personal desire whatever to be connected with the National Training School.'¹³¹ Cole's initial opposition to the appointment and Sullivan's devotion both to composition and conducting had led him persistently to decline all proposals in connection with the NTSM. While both men had attempted to reach a *modus vivendi* at a series of meetings, the matter ultimately required the intervention of the Duke of Edinburgh and the Prince of Wales. Both Sullivan and the Duke of Edinburgh enjoyed a friendship, which Herbert Sullivan, the composer's nephew, defines as 'woven in common bondage to music...without royal condescension [:] the intimacy of two kindred souls';¹³² in addition, there were a mere two years between them in age. At the request of the Duke, Sullivan attended a meeting with the Prince of Wales at which he was persuaded to take the position a much-reduced salary of £400 for the first year.¹³³ With the appointment of a Committee of Management, Director, professorial staff and scholars, the ceremony took place to inaugurate the NTSM.

¹²⁸ Quoted in Arthur Jacobs, 'Sir Arthur Sullivan and the RCM: A Tribute to the Composer's 150th Birthday, *RCMM*, Vol. lxxxix, (Summer Term, 1992).

¹²⁹ Arthur Lawrence *Sir Arthur Sullivan: Life-Story, Letters and Reminiscences* (London: James Bowden, 1899), p. 109. See also Harold Orel (ed.) *Gilbert and Sullivan: Interviews and Recollections* (Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press, 1994), p. 127.

¹³⁰ CMM(NTSM) (12 January, 1876), RCMA 001/1, p. 92.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 93f.

¹³² Herbert Sullivan and Newman Fowler *Sir Arthur Sullivan: His Life, Letters and Diaries* (London: Cassell and Company, 1927), p. 71.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 78. Despite a cosmopolitan temperament and his view of British music and its training, he resolutely refused to engage foreign performers if those of British birth and training could be found: 'I am not going to give English concerts performed by foreigners.'

1.8 THE INAUGURATION OF THE NTSM

The opening of the NTSM on 17 May 1876 marked a new era in British music education. In February 1876 *The Orchestra* had carried a letter by John Ella: he hoped the impending foundation would eventually ensure that 'we may have our orchestras complete of well educated native musicians.'¹³⁴ As a result of Cole's rigorous scholarship entrance examination and the School's insufficiently established reputation, it had only managed to attract 51 scholars, instead of the revised figure of 100.¹³⁵ This naturally had serious financial implications, forcing a cut in salary upon the professors before they had taught a single class.¹³⁶ There were also too few professors to teach the full complement of orchestral instruments added to which the paucity of students prompted the professors to send a statement to the Committee of Management in 1877:

The orchestral practices, of so much importance as distinguishing a national school of music from a private venture, have been hitherto wanting and can no longer be delayed without serious injury to the career of the students, and without the danger of compromising the reputation of the school.¹³⁷

As a result, Sullivan petitioned the Committee of Management for a grant of £230 as a temporary solution to cover the cost of providing professional reinforcements;¹³⁸ however, two years passed before he was in a position to report to the Committee that an orchestral class had finally been established and even then the majority of 'the other wind parts had to be taken by Pianists'.¹³⁹ Forster's 1870 Education Act had only endorsed the most meagre music provision: the curriculum included singing, tonic-sol-fa and, in rare circumstances, rudiments of theory or the 'old notation'. Even then, as Gordon Cox and David Colby point out, its inclusion in the curriculum had been hotly

¹³⁴ John Ella, 'Professor Ella's lecture on Spohr's *Jessonda*' *The Orchestra*, Vol. ix (February, 1876), p. 202.

¹³⁵ E. Bonython (ed.), 'Sir Henry Cole's Diaries' (Unpublished edition, c.1992), NALA. Entry dated Wednesday 17 May, 1876.

¹³⁶ CMM(NTSM) (17 May, 1876), RCMA 001/1, p. 109.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

¹³⁸ CMM(NTSM) (10 December, 1877), RCMA 001/1, p. 186.

¹³⁹ CMM(NTSM) (26 June, 1880), RCMA 001/1, p. 239. Frederick Cowen took the orchestral class: by this time there were 9 first violins, 9 second violins, 6 'cellos, a flute and a clarinet. See also David Wright 'Grove's Role in the Founding of the RCM' *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture* ed. Michael Musgrave (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003) p. 226.

debated by the schools inspectors.¹⁴⁰ By 1876, when the NTSM opened its doors, the Act's influence had barely been felt and, in any event, no provision had been made for instrumental instruction, hence the paucity of talented orchestral players who presented themselves for scholarships compared with the plethora of singers and pianists.¹⁴¹

1.9 CONCLUSION

Despite a number of teething troubles, the NTSM had been inaugurated and seemed to have survived its first year; however, Cole's vision for the NTSM exposed a number of flaws, which were to prove fatal. Failure to achieve the original target of 300 scholarships was caused by a number of factors: public indifference to Cole's philosophy and to the principle of scholarship provision and his adherence to high ideals through the establishment of a uniquely rigorous entrance examination at a time when the school-age population was neither sufficiently musical nor educated to make it viable. Cole's failure either to establish or fill the required number of scholarship places had direct implications for the NTSM's financial stability; consequently, long-term economic security could only have been provided by government subvention, a substantial shift in public opinion leading to extensive philanthropy, significant contributions from the 1851 Commission, or a combination of all three. These crucial issues had a direct bearing on the NTSM's ability to rival Continental conservatoires; in short, the funds simply did not exist to make it possible. In the absence of fee-paying students the NTSM's ability to

¹⁴⁰ Gordon Cox: *A History of Music Education in England 1872-1928* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1993), pp. 19-21. See also David J. Colby: *Instrumental Teaching in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 69.

¹⁴¹ See Michael Cole; Cyril Ehrlich and Edwin M. Good: 'The Pianoforte', *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 17 August, 2004), <http://www.grovemusic.com> The advent of the Cottage Piano and the shift in manufacture from hand-crafted instruments to factory-made, mass-produced pianos ensured that by 1870, Britain had made more pianos than France, Germany, the U.S.A., Japan, Russia or Korea. By 1890 the picture had changed and the U.S.A had produced 72,000 to Germany's 70,000 and Britain's 50,000. See also 'Music in England. The Proposed Royal College of Music.' *Miscellaneous Institutions, Societies, and other Bodies, Royal College of Music. Three Addresses delivered by HRH The Duke of Edinburgh, HRH, The Duke of Albany, HRH Prince Christian at Manchester* (12 December, 1881) p. 16. The advent of John Hullah's tonic sol-fa system in 1839 led to the establishment of classes to train large groups of people to sing. The movement was supported by the Government and initially spread all over Britain and

remain solvent hung by a thread. Cole's involvement of the 1851 Commission in the predicament precipitated a series of events that would lead to the foundation of the RCM in 1883.

the Continent and later to America. The combination of these two movements explains why the NTSM found itself inundated with singers and pianists.

CHAPTER TWO

A 'Problematical Career'¹

Re-assessing the Circumstances leading to the Establishment of the Royal College of Music

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The complex dynamic that developed during the course of 1877 and 1878 between the NTSM and the 1851 Royal Commission directly sparked off the series of circumstances that led to the foundation of the Royal College of Music. The NTSM's petition for financial assistance from the 1851 Commission, merely a year after it had been inaugurated in 1876, irredeemably ensnared it in a web that ultimately led to its demise. The 1851 Commission's Memorandum to the NTSM in 1878 was intended to provide a solution to two problems. In the first instance, Sir Henry Cole's overbearing management style had been a cause for concern: it had led two members of the NTSM Committee of Management to tender their resignations. In order to undermine Cole's influence, the 1851 Commissioners attempted to impose a legal constitution on the School on pain of eviction. Secondly, for the second time in the School's history the possibility of amalgamation with the RAM was raised, only this time it was suggested by the 1851 Commission as a solution to the NTSM's financial dilemma. The Commissioners hoped it would provide an answer to the absence of adequate scholarship subscriptions while plans were formulated to petition the government for Treasury assistance. The Commissioners' conviction that the RAM's considerably improved financial position would provide a solution to the NTSM's financial quandary led to the establishment of a special committee chaired by Prince Christian of Schleswig

¹ Sir C. Hubert H. Parry: *College Addresses delivered to the Pupils of the Royal College of Music* ed. Henry Cope Colles (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd, 1920) p. 49.

and Holstein (1831-1917) in July 1878. As an initiative, amalgamation with the RAM represents one of several leit-motifs that appear throughout the early stages of the RCM's history, only becoming a spent force once the foundation of the Associated Board had been secured in 1889 (see Chapter Five). It was to Prince Christian's committee that the digested views of the individual NTSM and RAM committees were presented.

In July 1878, the Prince of Wales hosted a meeting at Marlborough House to establish the Royal College of Music as an amalgamation of the NTSM and RAM. A charter of amalgamation was prepared that *ipso facto* established the RCM as the organisation into which both institutions were to have been subsumed. Drawn up by the Parliamentary draftsman and 1851 Commissioner, Sir (later Lord) Henry Thring (1818-1907), it was intended to draw the RAM into the proceedings with the lure of government subvention. Successful completion of the process required the RAM to surrender its existing charter and this proved impossible; hence the first draft of the charter was subsequently revised in 1880 once talk of a merger had dissipated.² In the meantime, the NTSM was forced to seek alternative funding and from February 1880 admitted its first paying students. The implementation of a charter and the vision behind it was anticipated to establish the RCM as comparable to the Continental conservatoires of Paris, Berlin and Vienna in particular, capable of attracting support from across the Empire as a prelude to government responsibility, consonant with Continental provision. In fact, it endowed the RCM with status long before it had had an opportunity to prove its worth. Without the support of the RAM, the founders of the RCM were obliged to seek alternative means to raise funds.

² C. P. Ibert: 'Thring, Henry, Baron Thring (1818-1907)', rev. H. C. G. Matthew, *DNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36517>, accessed 4 July, 2006].

As a result, a royal visit was organised to Manchester in November, 1881. The prime purpose of the visit was to establish a premise for government subvention. In addition, three defining objectives were established. First, the meeting provided an opportunity to compare Britain's position as a musical nation with her Continental neighbours, and, by doing so, establish a premise for founding the RCM. Secondly, it presented an opportunity to market the RCM to prospective benefactors. Thirdly, it allowed the RCM's founders to rehearse a number of arguments to support the institution of a new national school of music before consolidating their approach in London three months later in February, 1882. Three speeches were delivered at the Free Trade Hall in support of the RCM and the meeting became the first of several such visits to cities and towns throughout England, initiated by the Prince of Wales and organised by George Grove (1820-1900), who had been the pioneering Secretary of the Crystal Palace Company from 1852. Like Sir Henry Cole before him, he was personally appointed by the Prince of Wales. Grove's involvement would prove crucial to the RCM's success; by 1877, Cole's contribution to the affairs of the NTSM had become inherently controversial even if it was initially overshadowed by the School's financial predicament.

2.1 THE NTSM AND THE 1851 COMMISSION

In May 1877, the NTSM's parlous financial situation had compelled the members of the Committee of Management, including the Duke of Edinburgh, to act as personal guarantors in respect of £1,750 simply to meet interest repayments on its bank loan. The professors had already been forced to take a cut in their projected salary before they had taught a single class but there were other serious implications.³ Public knowledge of the Duke of Edinburgh's loan could have had the potential to be deeply embarrassing for the

³ Brightwell (1998), p. 57.

royal family; furthermore, it could easily have led to a number of unsolicited approaches from other organisations expecting similar assistance. As a result, a memorial was sent to the 1851 Commissioners praying for a grant following a meeting between Sir William Anderson (a Commissioner and Chairman of the NTSM Finance Committee) and the Commissioner, Earl Spencer.⁴ By 1878 the 1851 Commission had become the most powerful body outside Parliament and the Privy Council. The Commission's President was the Heir Apparent and its membership included large numbers of well-connected reforming Liberal MPs, civil servants, former Prime Ministers and Privy Councillors (see Appendix 1.0). The Committee emphasized the imperative of securing funds for 300 scholarships and the students to fill them, if the School were to become financially viable.⁵ As part of the memorial they set out their chief objectives:

1. The fundamental object of the School is the cultivation of the highest musical talent in the country, in whatever section of society it may be found; such talent being sought for by public competitions throughout the United Kingdom.
2. To be for the United Kingdom a national training school for music, which shall take rank with the state conservatoires of Milan, Paris, Vienna, Leipzig, Brussels, and Berlin—a school in which the musical talent of this country may be fostered and developed.
3. To be a venture whence may be drawn a large proportion of teachers and the artists to whom the nation must look for the instruction of its young and for the general elevation of its musical taste.
4. To carry on and extend the teaching of music already made part of elementary education, for the encouragement of which Parliament has sanctioned a grant of one shilling per annum for each child taught to sing—a grant, which, if claimed by every elementary school would, at the present moment, amount to £100,000 per annum.⁶

From the summer of 1877, it seems that the NTSM's financial predicament had permanently altered what had otherwise been a mutually co-operative relationship between the 1851 Commission and the School. In response to Anderson's letter of 7 July 1877, Spencer questioned the assumption that there were sufficient numbers of pupils in Britain to fill the places already available: 'the number of applicants which the School has

⁴ PL WA to ES (7 July, 1877), Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851, Imperial College, London, Royal College of Music correspondence, p. 189 to 192. H.R.H. The Duke of Edinburgh and Sir Charles Freaque each contributed £500, while H.R.H. Prince Christian and the remaining members of the Committee of Management committed £750 collectively.

⁵ MS AL ES to WA (9 July, 1877), 1851RCA, p. 187.

⁶ CMM(NTSM) Committee of Management Minutes (17 May, 1877), RCMA 001/1, p. 157.

on its books does not prove that ...Pupils are worthy of Free Education, it only points that [*sic*] a large number of people aspire to Musical Distinction.⁷ He suggested the School accept fee-paying students to remedy its financial quandary, as he doubted whether the founders' goal of establishing 300 scholarships could ever be achieved.⁸ He raised the possibility of an amalgamation between the School and the RAM in order 'to unite two weak bodies into one strong Institution.'⁹ As the Academy took students exclusively on a fee-paying basis, he believed that an amalgamation would effectively shore up the NTSM's beleaguered financial position.¹⁰ This proved impossible for a number of reasons. First, the Duke of Edinburgh had publicly expressed his opposition to any such manoeuvre on no fewer than three occasions and could not be seen to go back on his word. Secondly, he felt that 'the union of the two institutions could not be effected without risk of breaking faith...with everyone connected with the School.'¹¹ Thirdly, he felt it unlikely that the RAM would wish to become part of a merger necessitating surrender of its charter, given that the number of students on its books had increased in number from 121 to 341 between 1855 and 1877.

The substantial increase in student numbers both at the RAM and other organisations such as the London Academy of Music, neither of which employed as rigorous a selection procedure as that adopted by Cole at the NTSM, was not matched by an

⁷ MS AL ES to WA (9 July, 1877), 1851RCA, p. 187.

⁸ CMM(NTSM) (17 May, 1877), RCMA 001/1, p. 172. As David Wright suggests in his article, 'Grove's Role in the Founding of the RCM' *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture* ed. Michael Musgrave (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003) pp. 228f, Cole's inability to attract sufficient numbers of subscriptions to support the proposed figure of 300 scholarships may well have been symptomatic of a 'wider public resistance to the idea of scholarship provision'. See also Arthur Jacobs: *Arthur Sullivan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984, 2nd edn, 1986), p. 150. Sullivan's views on teaching are well-documented and perhaps it comes as no surprise to find that he resented the financial assistance he often found himself forced to give 'to help some poor student to get daily food.' By 1914 Sir Charles Villiers Stanford felt able to express his considerable reservations in public as *Pages from an Unwritten Diary* (London: Edward Arnold, 1914), p. 212f bears witness: 'the provision of scholarships has been a sort of epidemic in the country, to the imperilling of individual effort.'

⁹ MS AL ES to WA (9 July 1877), 1851 RCA, pp. 186 to 189.

¹⁰ CMM(NTSM) (17 May, 1877), p. 174.

¹¹ MS AL ES to WA (7 July 1877) 1851RCA, pp. 186-189

equivalent level of musical attainment.¹² Should the NTSM have accepted fee-paying students alongside scholars who had been nationally selected, Alan Cole (Secretary to the NTSM Committee of Management and son of Sir Henry Cole) feared that the School's *national* status would have been prejudiced.¹³ In other words: there would be little to distinguish the NTSM from other schools of music; consequently, the limited number of places might be filled by those able to pay for their education at the expense of those competing for scholarships residing outside the Capital.¹⁴

As to the founders' claim that the 'Government ought, and are expected to take [the NTSM] completely under its own management', Spencer thought it a 'broken reed to lean upon and that the Treasury are not likely to undertake the charge of providing musical education if they find two institutions...who do this work with small Government assistance.'¹⁵ He suggested the NTSM would be more likely to attract funding from the Commissioners if it were to form an affiliation with a university for the purpose of granting music degrees or to obtain the necessary Parliamentary Faculty to award its own.¹⁶ Possibly encouraged by the 1851 Commission, the NTSM Registrar, the Reverend John Richardson, had advocated widening the NTSM's sphere of action to include subjects required of those supplicating for music degrees; however Sullivan saw

¹² DM(RAM) (14 March, 1877), RAMA p. 160. The appointments of Sterndale Bennett and Goldschmidt as Principal and Vice-Principal respectively from 1866, which established the RAM on a more secure footing, did little to increase the numbers of talented musicians seeking an education there. In many respects, the London Academy of Music, which had a student role of 400 in 1877, was barely different from the RAM. See also G. W. E. Brightwell: 'The National Training School for Music 1873-1882: Catalyst or Cul de Sac?' (MA thesis, University of Durham, 1998), p. 66.

¹³ PL WA to ES (7 July 1877), 1851RCA, p. 195.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 195.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 195. CMM(NTSM) (17 May, 1877), RCMA 001/1, p. 175.

¹⁶ CMM(NTSM) (17 May, 1877), RCMA 001/1, p. 176. See also Proof of Royal Commissioners' Memorandum received by Sir Henry Thring (15 March 1878), 1851 RCA, p. 174. 'The provisional Committee should be authorised to enter into negotiations [*sic*] with the Royal Academy of Music, for the purpose of securing either amalgamation with, or affiliation to that body. By mutual co-operation of the two bodies it would seem not improbable that a Musical University might be founded empowered to confer musical degrees, and having affiliated to it, in the relation of colleges, the Royal Academy of Music and the National Training School.'

no need to introduce aesthetics, history of music and acoustics into the curriculum as 'the scholars [were] hardly ripe enough to profit by such a course of lectures as we should like to have delivered at the School.'¹⁷ While no plan was matured in this regard, the introduction of residential music degrees, the first of their kind in Britain, would have been a radical departure.

Despite Earl Spencer's advice, there were those on the Committee of Management who viewed the NTSM's national status, with its implication of rigorous requirements and superior standards, as central to its ability to attract government subvention: 'to change its basis and make it like that of the Royal Academy would be...to assimilate it to ordinary Music Schools, the demand for which, to a large extent, is already supplied by private enterprises, and in support of which Government aid could neither be sought or expected.'¹⁸ Moreover, Alan Cole was indignant that the suggestion to amalgamate the RAM with the NTSM should ever have been made:

To some extent, the National Training School is analogous to the Normal Schools of the Country for training Elementary Teachers. No person would suggest the admission to these Institutions of general Students, still less to amalgamate the Normal School with a neighbouring school, in an uncertain financial condition, with the view of reducing the cost of the two for administration.¹⁹

Despite Alan Cole's comparison, the uncertain financial condition of which he writes could more accurately be applied to the NTSM's situation than that at the RAM.

2.2 HENRY COLE, THE 1851 COMMISSION AND HENRY THRING'S MEMORANDA

If the financial challenges facing the NTSM had not been sufficient to focus the attention of the Committee of Management, evidence of other, equally deep-seated problems began to emerge. Less than a year after the NTSM had been opened, a report concerning a third foundation as an amalgamation of the NTSM and the RAM and the prospect of

¹⁷ CMM(NTSM) (10 December, 1877), RCMA 001/1 p. 188.

¹⁸ PL WA to ES (7 July 1877), 1851RCA, p. 195.

¹⁹ PL WA to ES (7 July 1877), 1851RCA, p. 195.

government alliance was sent to the organist and member of the NTSM Executive and Finance Committees, Kellow Pye (1812-1901), from Major-General Henry Scott (d.1883) on 27 February 1877. The new foundation was to be called the Royal College of Music. An amended version of the report, omitting any mention of the RCM was subsequently sent to the NTSM Registrar on 21 June, 1878.²⁰ Scott was Secretary to the Commission from 1869 and also a member of the Society of Arts' Committee for the National Cultivation of Music alongside other influential men such as (Sir) John Fretcheville Dykes Donnelly (1834-1902), Sir Francis (later Baron) Sandford (1824-1893) and Richard Redgrave (1804-1888).²¹ Like so many Victorians, Scott was a polymath: in addition to his role at the Royal Commission, he had been architect of the Royal Albert Hall and the South Kensington Museum (later the Victoria and Albert Museum) as well as Secretary to the Royal Horticultural Society.²² Pye's reply to him some seven months later, on 12 September 1877, clearly indicated that the RCM's foundation as a replacement to the

²⁰ CMM(NTSM) RCMA 001/1 Appendix III, pp. 200-3.

²¹ Hermione Hobhouse: *The Crystal Palace and the Great Exhibition: A History of the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851* (London; New York: Athlone Press, 2002), pp. 145-149. See: R. H. Vetch: 'Donnelly, Sir John Fretcheville Dykes (1834-1902)', rev. James Falkner, *DNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32861>, accessed 4 July 2006] After a career in the army, retiring with the honorary rank of Major-General, Donnelly was identified for the remainder of his career with South Kensington. From 1870 he had been a Council member of the Society of Arts in which capacity he was largely responsible for the success of the scheme for national instruction in science and art. In 1874, Donnelly was made director of science at South Kensington and his responsibilities included supervision of the Government School of Mines, the Royal College of Chemistry and science schools and classes throughout the country. In 1881, he was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Department of Science and Art and in 1884 Secretary and permanent head. In 1894 he would go on to become Chairman of the Society of Arts' Council. See Gillian Sutherland: 'Sandford, Francis Richard John, Baron Sandford (1824-1893)', *DNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24634>, accessed 4 July 2006]. As civil servant in the Education Department, Sir Francis Sandford's work had been instrumental in helping to implement W. E. Forster's 1870 Education Act. He had been head of the Department of Science and Art at South Kensington from 1874 and by 1885 was a member of the Privy Council. See Kathryn Moore Heleniak: 'Redgrave, Richard (1804-1888)', *DNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23254>, accessed 4 July 2006]. Along with Henry Cole, Richard Redgrave had been a driving force in the movement to reform art education in Britain. In 1857 he became Inspector-General for art in which capacity he developed a national curriculum for art. With Cole he supervised the new South Kensington Museum for which he designed the art gallery to house John Sheepshanks' collection.

²² Hobhouse (2002). See Fig. 60 between pp. 236 and 237.

NTSM had been under consideration for some months; yet few of his suggestions found their way into the RCM charters of 1878 and 1880 (see Appendices 3.0 and 3.1).

I quite agree with you (Feb. 27) that “it appears premature to attempt to set out the basis on which negotiations [*sic*] might be conducted”, and in sending you the enclosed statements of income of the Royal Academy, the New National School, and an approximate one for the proposed new institution—it is only as a means, for I apprehend that the pecuniary question will be one of the primary difficulties—and the dependence on uncertain private support seems to have been one of the mistakes which both the R.A.M. & the N.M.S. have made.

I would therefore venture to suggest that the minimum of Income derived from dependable sources, such as the Interest from sums received from Scholarships, and Capitalized—Contributions by paying Students and grants from the Commissioners of the Exhibition of ’51 and the Government—should be accepted as determining the extent to which the New School at first should be established—other assistance from subscriptions and donations—(exclusive of the founding of scholarships) may probably flow in and there will always be opportunities of increasing the efficacy and enlarging the plan of instruction, or the area of the practical work legitimately belonging to such an Institution which might moreover fairly contemplate eventually, the supervision of our Church Music, our Military Music—and the general scheme of Music Instruction in our National Schools throughout the Kingdom—and this would give it a strong claim for Government support but the establishment of such an Institution must have an appearance of permanence to be at all satisfactory to the country, and it would even be better to begin on a smaller scale as to the number of Free Scholars & then increase them as the real value of the Institution became known, its permanence recognized and the external pecuniary support increased.

I may add that the favourable position of the Royal Academy as shown in the inclosed [*sic*] statement is more apparent than real, although I fear it may lead those connected with it to assume a somewhat independent attitude when the question of an amalgamation is proposed to them—but it can be easily shown that the surplus Income has been obtained by the forbearance, and insufficient remuneration of the Professors employed there, who I believe have given their time and instruction for much less than their usual terms in order to keep the Academy afloat. This naturally entails disadvantages which it is not necessary to enter upon, and as it cannot continue to so underpay its Professors, this source of their apparent prosperity will cease.

They may have moreover spent the money they have saved, and more, in building a New Concert Room, and this may make them timid in negotiations [*sic*] having for their object the removal of the Academy from Tenterden Street.²³

The agenda behind Pye’s letter and General Scott’s Report requires some explanation.

In a letter to Sir Henry Ponsonby dated 2 February, 1876, the Duke of Edinburgh had described Sir Henry Cole, with whom he had worked extensively since 18 December 1873, as ‘dangerous, underhand...and...meddlesome’.²⁴ By April 1876, Cole’s explosive personality brought him into direct conflict with the Commissioners. He had suggested that they ‘should dissolve themselves...[as] they have ceased to carry out the wishes

²³ MS AL KP to HS (12 September, 1877) 1851RCA, pp. 177-180.

²⁴ Quoted in Hobhouse, p. 174. See also: Brightwell (1998), p. 34.

of Prince Consort....²⁵ If the Prince Consort's 1851 *Memorandum* had provided the basis for Cole's comments, he had potentially undermined his own position and that of the NTSM by expressing them.

Cole's success in other spheres was not mirrored in his involvement in the NTSM: an antagonistic management style had done little to enhance the smooth running of the institution. From November 1877, relations between Arthur Sullivan, Principal of the NTSM, and Cole, which had been initiated within a context of mutual scepticism and whispered rumours, had considerably worsened.²⁶ This had been caused primarily by Cole's back-room methods and systematic attempts to humiliate Sullivan and anyone else who stood in his way. Sullivan's letter, dated 24 November 1877, clearly discloses Cole's unceasing endeavours to crush any dissenting voice.

I am now engaged in drawing up a statement, including an estimate for additional expenditure to be presented at the next Committee meeting of the School. But I frankly confess, that I am strongly indisposed to making it the subject of a private discussion with individual members of the Committee before then.

It is difficult and painful for me to be placed in a position of seeming antagonism with one for whom I always entertain esteem and regard – but when you publicly either deny me or throw doubt upon the statements made by the two officers who are responsible for the working of the Institution, you must be met equally publicly. I cannot forget that at the time my appointment was being discussed in Committee, you[,] acting on some hearsay information[,] made a most extraordinary and unfounded charge to my prejudice. I proved how absurd such a statement was but it has left a strong feeling in me against discussing anything in a private manner, which might afterwards be used officially either for or against me.

I feel with you that the honour of the School is in my keeping, and therefore I am most jealous on its behalf. That you are not less interested I am convinced, and you have given practical evidence of it by wishing your substantial guarantee to be drawn upon. But the combined guarantee, if memory serves me rightly, was a guarantee to the banker – not for the working expenses of the School, and it seems to me that we should equally be going against the Constitution of the School to draw upon that, as to draw upon the public generally in the form of subscriptions. One thing is quite clear[:] we cannot go on as we are, because we are not keeping the promises made in the Directory, and we are missing the essential elements of an Academy or Conservatorium. If we wait until sufficient scholarships are founded to enable us to carry out our educational scheme thoroughly, we may have to wait until the present scholars have completed their term – and this would be a great hardship for them. I sincerely hope that at the next meeting we may settle the matter amicably and satisfactorily, otherwise I see nothing but difficulty and anxiety in the future.²⁷

²⁵ Quoted in Hobhouse (2002) p. 175.

²⁶ Brightwell (1998), pp. 51-5. Sullivan's relationship with Cole had started on rocky ground over the issue of his appointment as Principal.

²⁷ MS AL AS to HC (24 November, 1877) PML 108355.

Cole immediately wrote to his son, Alan, and a copy of the letter was written in red pencil on the reverse of Sullivan's correspondence. In exposing Cole's autocratic style of management, it not only discloses the contempt he evidently felt for the other members of the Committee of Management but unequivocally demonstrates the set of priorities to which he adhered:

D[ea]r Alan

You can read this & show it to Sullivan if you like and return it to me.

[Official] work is not ruled by Committees! Or Boards!

H. Cole²⁸

In short, Sullivan was forced to march to the beat of Cole's drum. Alan Cole inevitably found his role an irksome one: forced to act as mediator, he was faced with an impossible situation. His loyalties were divided between his friend (Sullivan) on the one hand and his father on the other. Yet Henry Cole's letter is fundamental to our understanding of the environment in which Sullivan found himself. It establishes once and for all that the policy decisions affecting the NTSM, far from being matters decided by the Principal and his professors, were dictated by the lay Committee of Management, if not Cole himself. Cole's reaction to Sullivan's letter was symptomatic of his interactions with other members of the Committee of Management. The deterioration in their relationship, which might have been characterised initially as a running sore, developed into a festering wound over Sullivan's remaining years as Principal, as Alan Cole's letter demonstrates:

Please at least read & find heart to answer my father....The policy of the School is of course an official matter to be discussed only in Committee....Ours is not an empty "party cry"....In any case, I rejoice that I can share with father his thorough sense of the Committee's moral obligations and I wish I had the means to enable me to guarantee, and so to prove the full conviction I have; and act like my father in his readiness to help the School with the necessary funds, till it has sufficient....

²⁸ Note from HC to AC on reverse of MS AL AC to AS (24 November 1877) PML 108355.

You will torture me into insanity – and you certainly ought not to do so, if I can do what I think no-one at Kensington Gore can, & that is look back on the old times and feel that you are still my affect[ionate] friend as I am yours.²⁹

As Registrar, John Richardson was employed to act as a go-between for the Committee of Management and the Principal. Sullivan's attendance at meetings of the Committee of Management by invitation alone ensured that his influence was severely restricted.³⁰ As such, Sullivan had no formal authority to petition the Committee or its members in his own right.³¹

Nonetheless, Sullivan was not alone in finding Cole's *modus operandi* unacceptable. It is evident that a serious impasse had materialised between Cole and several members of the NTSM's Committee of Management; however, nothing to this effect is recorded in the Minutes during 1877 and only one meeting of the Committee of Management is recorded for 1878 as opposed to an average of between four and five a year otherwise. Both Cole's inability to act as a team player alongside the serious financial problems facing the NTSM led directly to the development of the concept to found a new institution under a separate name. The decision to call the new institution the Royal College of Music seems to have developed from Dr Bertram Mark's Royal College of Music and Royal College of Music in Manchester in 1858 (see Chapter One, p. 16). The Prince of Wales had been involved with Mark's institutions as a subscriber and he would have been aware of the principles underpinning both institutions, many of which echo those established by the Paris Conservatoire in the late-eighteenth century and early-nineteenth centuries.

²⁹ MS AL AC to AS [no date] PML 106351. While this letter is undated, it seems to be a reply to Sullivan's letter to Sir Henry Cole, see n.22. From Alan Cole's reply we may surmise that the meeting at which he showed Sullivan his father's jottings did not proceed entirely smoothly; yet, he appeals to the 'old times' when their friendship, which had begun long before their association over the NTSM, was easier.

³⁰ Bonython, c. 1992 (18 March, 1881)

³¹ Brightwell (1998), pp. 37f.

Sir Henry Thring had been charged with the task of presenting a solution to the NTSM problem. In addition to his role as Parliamentary Draftsman and a Royal Commissioner of the 1851 Exhibition, Thring was the man largely responsible, other than Grove (see Fig. 16) and the Prince of Wales, for the RCM's establishment. In addition to his role as a Royal Commissioner of the 1851 Exhibition, Thring was a Parliamentary Draftsman and the man largely responsible, other than Grove and the Prince of Wales, for the RCM's establishment. Thring was also Parliamentary Counsel to the Treasury and it is possible that the Prince of Wales thought he would prove useful in the event an application for Treasury assistance were made.³² As Ilbert and Matthew assert '[Thring's] quick mind and constructive intellect made him a valuable member of many public bodies....'³³ Thring's first memorandum, Paper A, to be sent on behalf of the Commissioners to the Board of Management, dated 11 January, 1878, discloses his genuine objective:

With respect to the difference which has arisen in the Committee of Management, I do not think it desirable to say more than this: Lord Newry and Mr. Richardson have submitted their resignations in consequence, as I understand, of the language used by Sir Henry Cole, and further, Mr. Freake thinks that he has cause to complain of Sir Henry Cole's demeanour and language towards himself.

I have arrived at the conclusion that little would be gained by endeavouring to make any temporary arrangement between Sir Henry Cole and his colleagues as the circumstances are such that in my judgement, the administration of the School cannot be carried on with that unanimity of purpose which is essential to its very existence, while Sir H. Cole remains a member of the Committee of Management.

Having arrived then at the result that a crisis had come in the affairs of the School, I proceeded to consider whether the relations between the Commissioners and the School were such as to make it incumbent upon the Commissioners or, at all events, expedient for them to interfere, and to justify the conclusion I have arrived at, that it is incumbent on them to so interfere [*sic*]....³⁴

³² C. P. Ilbert: 'Thring, Henry, Baron Thring (1818-1907)', rev. H. C. G. Matthew, *DNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36517>, accessed 4 July, 2006]. His brother, Edward Thring, was headmaster of Uppingham School who founded a scholarship in the School's name at the College. His brother, Edward Thring, was headmaster of Uppingham School who founded a scholarship in the School's name at the College.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ HTpp (11 January, 1878) RCMA Box 172. Memorandum (Paper A) submitted to the Prince of Wales, p. 1.

It is clear from the considerable quantities of correspondence contained within Thring's memoranda (Papers A and B) in the RCM Library, Boxes 171 and 172, that the Prince of Wales was involved in this exchange from the outset; his approval is sought for every document and it is clear that the Duke of Edinburgh's collaboration was only realised in retrospect. Thring believed the NTSM's acquisition of chartered status would incur considerable expense it could ill afford. As a compromise, he suggested that the School be incorporated as a charitable institution under the Companies Act of 1862 with a definite code of rules. He also recommended the Committee of Management be reformed with additional members 'but with the omission of the name of Sir Henry Cole. The Commissioners should require the omission of his name on the ground that, in this most critical position of the School, it is essential to retain the services of Mr. Richardson, and consequently, to dispense with those of the above-mentioned gentleman.'³⁵ An addendum was added to the memorandum by (Sir) Lyon Playfair (Secretary to the 1851 Commission: see Fig. 5).³⁶

The above written Memorandum has been prepared by Sir Henry Thring alone, owing to my absence from town. Sir Henry Thring has, however, fully explained to me his reasons, and I concur in the Memorandum he has made. I do not forget that to Sir Henry Cole's great energy the establishment of the musical scholarships is chiefly due, but in the present condition of the School I think he would consult the public interest by at least a temporary retirement from the management, and I therefore agree that this should be made a condition in the re-arrangement.³⁷

While publicly supporting the memorandum, it was clear from a postscript to Thring's letter to Francis Knollys, the Prince of Wales's secretary, that 'Playfair thinks that I have

³⁵ HTpp RCMA Box 172, p. 3

³⁶ Graeme Goodat: 'Playfair, Lyon, first Baron Playfair (1818-1898)', *DNB Oxford University Press*, 2004 [accessed 22 December, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22368>]. Despite Playfair's 'low birth, ordinary appearance and uncouth manners', he had been appointed in 1850 by the Prince Consort to assist in organizing the Great Exhibition. He had attended on the Royal Family at the Exhibition and his ability as a fluent speaker of German led to his appointment as gentleman usher to the Prince Consort, which ensured his ready access to Court affairs.

³⁷ HTpp RCMA Box 172, p. 4.

dealt with Sir H. Cole with somewhat of a “brutal frankness”—I consider that it is necessary to speak out and I have spoken out.³⁸

Playfair was not alone in viewing Thring’s memorandum as too outspoken: by March it had been modified under the heading, Paper B, brought by Sir William Anderson and Richardson, where mention of Cole’s name is conspicuous by its absence.³⁹ The ‘peremptory tone...[was] purposely adopted with a view to relieve the existing members of the Council [Committee of Management] of the music school from the appearance of themselves initiating a scheme to get rid of a colleague.’⁴⁰ The portentous and extensive directives anticipated to force Cole’s resignation, would have given a reformed Committee of Management room to accept fee-paying students or to merge with the RAM on almost any terms. The Commissioners’ resolve to see the School constituted as a voluntary charitable trust was motivated by their desire to see the ‘management...invested with a legal character...and brought into legal relation to the donors of the subscriptions’ as it appeared to be ‘entirely devoid of any legal constitution, and...there appears to be no trust enforceable in law affecting either the School or its temporary endowment for the next three years.’⁴¹ Moreover, the Commissioners claimed the ground on which Charles Freake’s building had been erected was merely leased to the School but remained the property of the 1851 Commission. Furthermore, they maintained that the building itself had not been donated specifically for the use of the NTSM but on behalf of the nation and, as such, could be repossessed at any time and put to some other purpose.⁴²

³⁸ MS AL HT to FK (undated; c. December 1877 or January 1878) HTpp RCMA Box 171. While the letter is undated it is clearly from the period surrounding December 1877 or January 1878.

³⁹ Paper B Printed Memorandum annotated by Sir Henry Thring (3 March 1878) 1851RCA. See also MS AL HT to PC (7 May, 1878) HTpp RCMA Box 172.

⁴⁰ MS AL HT to PC (24 February, 1878) HTpp RCMA. Box 171.

⁴¹ 1851RCA, p. 173.

⁴² 1851RCA, p. 174.

If during the ensuing period of three years the National Training School can be made to pay its way, either alone or in connexion with the Royal Academy of Music, the Commissioners are of the opinion that a permanent constitution should be substituted for the provisional Committee, and a permanent or quasi-permanent dedication made of the building and lands.

If at the expiration of the probationary period of three years the School fails of success, the Commissioners will, after consulting Mr. Freake, dedicate the building and ground to some specific purpose as may be judged most beneficial to the public.⁴³

Instead of demanding Cole's removal, Thring's second Memorandum (Paper B) simply stated that 'serious differences of opinion have existed amongst that body on the policy of management [and the Commissioners desired to see it]...so constituted as to secure harmony of action' and to include 'additional members...to bring it into closer relation with the Commissioners'.⁴⁴ Were the NTSM to fail to adopt the outlined proposals, the consequences were clear.

2.3 THE PROSPECT OF AMALGAMATION WITH THE RAM

The Commissioners were convinced that the NTSM's financial security could only be assured by being

united with the Royal Academy of Music, to form together the nucleus of a larger institution, which could be placed on a more permanent and extensive basis...such an institution would fall more directly within the scope of the operations of Her Majesty's Commissioners, and might look to them for substantial help.⁴⁵

Indeed, they promised to match the RAM's annual government grant of £500 if amalgamation between the NTSM and the RAM were achieved. Chaired by Prince Christian of Schleswig and Holstein, an amalgamation committee was established in July 1878 to look into the possibility of a merger, as Thring evidently viewed the prospect of government subvention as a flight of fancy.⁴⁶

⁴³ Ibid., p. 174.

⁴⁴ 1851RCA., p. 174.

⁴⁵ 'National Training School for Music', *Journal of the Society of Arts*, Vol. xxvi (8 February 1878), 223.

⁴⁶ HTpp RCMA Box 172. The members of the Committee were: Lord Coleridge, Lord Charles Bruce, The Rev'd Sir F. A. Gore Ouseley, the Earl of Latham, Kellow Pye and Charles Morley. Evidently Thring did not trust Kellow Pye for on 5 June 1878 he wrote to Prince Christian to say: 'I am afraid I made a mistake in recommending Mr Kellow Pye as I fear that he is involved in some degree in numerable difficulties which have occasioned since I had the honour of meeting your R. H. If your R. H. has mentioned him to

I should add also that I have not taken in consideration a suggestion that I see from the papers has been made, that the Government will at the expiration of the five years above referred to take over the School; as I cannot see any sufficient grounds for entertaining such a possibility as a serious matter of consideration.⁴⁷

Prince Christian had been appointed to the NTSM Committee of Management on 8 December 1873 to represent the 1851 Commission. The RAM and the NTSM, in turn, each established their own committees to report to Prince Christian.

On 10 June 1878, Earl Dudley, Chairman of the RAM's Committee of Management, wrote to Earl Spencer to say that the RAM would in no sense consent simply to become part of the NTSM. If anything, Dudley believed the only practical solution to the NTSM's problems lay in 'absorbing...Kensington [NTSM] into the Academy...' as the RAM amalgamation committee 'believes Kensington to be very ephemeral from its very constitution of 5 year scholarships.'⁴⁸ While Dudley was not opposed to the development of the RAM and the acquisition of larger premises, he felt that 'the only solution is that Government should maintain both for the education of the country'.⁴⁹ Understandably, the prospect of government subvention remained an attractive prospect for the RAM. Despite the views expressed privately by Thring and Spencer above, the belief that an association with the 1851 Commission all but guaranteed state funding clearly represented a driving force in the RAM's willingness to entertain thoughts of a merger; indeed, it rather suggests that this was the only premise on which the RAM would consent to form an amalgamation with the NTSM.⁵⁰

2.4 THE MEETING IN JULY 1878 TO ESTABLISH THE RCM AND THE ROYAL CHARTER

On 13 July, 1878, the Prince of Wales convened a meeting at Marlborough House during which he outlined a scheme for a new Royal College of Music as an amalgamation between the RAM and the NTSM. Its title alone signified a considerable shift away from

the meeting it is too late to recant, but I am told that it will be necessary to keep him in the background.' See also CMM(NTSM) (23 July, 1878) RCMA 001/1, p. 196.

⁴⁷ HTpp (11 January, 1878) RCMA Box 172 Paper A Confidential Memorandum on the NTSM.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ HTpp (10 June, 1878) RCMA Box 171.

the querulous language of the 1851 Commissioners' NTSM Constitution (see Appendix 2.1) with its implication of NTSM subservience to the RAM, for it gave the appearance of equal status to both institutions. The direct involvement of the 1851 Commission naturally had the potential to precipitate the grant of chartered status to the RCM as a prelude to government subvention. The 1878 charter of amalgamation was drawn up by Thring and amended by Prince Christian (see Appendix 3.0). It established the RCM as a corporation founded for the

advancement of the art of music, by the creation of a central representative body charged with the duty of providing musical instruction to the highest class, and having a capacity to exercise a powerful influence on the cultivation, practice, and regulation of the art and science of music, and to promote musical instruction.⁵¹

As President of the RCM Corporation, the Prince of Wales's nomination was ratified by the Queen. Unlike the constitutional arrangement at the NTSM, the RCM Principal and Vice-Principal were *ex officio* members of both the Council and the Executive and Finance Committees. Unlike the RAM's first Board of Directors, the RCM Council was to be divided equally between professional musicians and other members. Of the 17 members of the Committee of Management, six were to be elected from the professorial body. The management structures bear all the hallmarks of measures implemented to provide a solution to some of the managerial problems facing the NTSM, if not some of the earlier criticisms of the RAM. The pupils were divided into three groups: scholars, students and ordinary pupils. Scholars had their education wholly or partially funded by the Corporation, while students had both their education and maintenance defrayed. Ordinary pupils were those who paid for their own education. Upon completion of their course of instruction, pupils were styled 'graduates', although no degree or qualification is mentioned in the charter. Upon the successful completion of an examination, the charter included provision for Fellowships to be awarded both to RCM students and those from

⁵¹ RCM Charter of 1878 HTpp RCMA Box 171.

outside the College who were able to demonstrate ‘such distinctive excellence in music as to be entitled to the dignity of Fellow.’⁵² Associateships were to have been conferred in much the same way, although usually to those of less musical ability. A final saving clause protected the rights of the existing members of the RAM and NTSM.⁵³

2.5 A SOLUTION TO THE COLE PROBLEM

In the short-term, the measures imposed by the Commission and the Prince of Wales went some way towards eliminating Cole’s stranglehold over the NTSM Committee of Management and its comparatively inexperienced Chairman, the Duke of Edinburgh. The institution of a new Executive Committee on 23 July 1878 with the Duke of Edinburgh as Chairman, whose membership omitted Cole and included Sullivan, was intended to allow the Principal increased influence over day-to-day administration.⁵⁴ Cole’s resignation had not been a pre-requisite of Paper B; instead, the Princes came up with an unlikely solution in the person of the Liberal courtier and 1851 Commissioner Major-General Sir Henry Ponsonby (1825-1895).

In petitioning to be permitted to join the NTSM Committee of Management, Ponsonby’s memorandum, written in the third person, makes no mention of the genuine reason for his inclusion; indeed, it suggests the Queen was kept in the dark on the subject of Henry Cole’s future role at the NTSM. It simply states that ‘as additional [‘51] Commissioners were required to serve on the [NTSM] Executive Committee—they selected General Ponsonby (though he knows nothing of Music) in order that he might report to the Queen the proceedings of this branch of the work. Subject to Your

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ CMM(NTSM) (23 July, 1878), RCMA 001/1. The members of the Executive Committee were: Lord Alfred Churchill, Sir William Anderson, C. J. Freake, John Bath, Richard Peyton, Alan Cole and Arthur Sullivan.

Majesty's approval General Ponsonby accepted the proposal.⁵⁵ As Queen's private secretary and privy councillor, Ponsonby would have been a formidable presence and one whose views could not be so easily dismissed. His involvement was undoubtedly precipitated to give the impression that direct censorship by the Monarch herself had been imposed to ensure Cole's compliance.

From one perspective, the assertion by Hughes and Stradling that 'Cole managed to stimulate a further phase of royal interest—as the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Albany joined their brother Edinburgh, in backing the scheme' for a new RCM was indeed true; however, he had hardly been in control of the events that led to it.⁵⁶ If Cole had deserved such treatment, an unfortunate aspect was that the Duke of Edinburgh had certainly not been left unscathed by the Commission's high-handed treatment of the situation, all of which had been approved by the Prince of Wales. In allying himself to the RCM cause, he had clearly wished to distance himself from the fracas at the NTSM, yet Thring had denied him an opportunity to clear his name publicly as the following letter to Prince Christian indicates.

I have considered, as you directed me, the question of making special allusion to the Duke of Edinburgh in the paragraph to be inserted in the newspapers. I am very sorry to say that I cannot devise any sentence, which would not have the appearance in some degree of being apologetic. Now I really think his Royal Highness must be satisfied with our endeavour to save the National Training School from extinction and would scarcely approve of our giving any indications that we doubted such approval being given. Should however your Royal Highness not agree with me you can insert any alteration which may suggest itself to your better judgement in the copy of which I have sent to Lord Spencer for submission to the Prince of Wales and yourself.⁵⁷

2.6 FAILURE OF THE AMALGAMATION ATTEMPT

While Cole had been suitably censured, the NTSM was still no nearer a solution to its financial predicament. In theory, talk of amalgamation potentially removed the remaining

⁵⁵ MS M HP to HMQ (30 July, 1878) RAVIC.

⁵⁶ Meirion Hughes and Robert Stradling: *The English Musical Renaissance 1850-1940: Constructing a National Music* (Manchester: Manchester University Press) p. 23

⁵⁷ HTpp (31 July, 1878) RCMA Box 172.

obstacles to the Commission's much-vaunted but elusive financial support. Predictably, they evaded the issue: in reply, Earl Spencer expressed his hope in a letter to Francis Knollys that the

Prince of Wales will urge his views on Lord Beaconsfield. I do not think that Parliament will ever do as much for a college of music as the French do for their Conservatoire, but I quite hope that the Government will assist us very materially. Considering that now they spend nearly £90,000 a year on grants for musical education in our national schools, and this it is admitted to very little purpose, I think they might spend out of it £5,000 or more a year on our new college.⁵⁸

Earl Spencer had evidently changed his mind on the issue of government subvention. It is unclear precisely why he had come round to the idea: could it have been because the 1851 Commission could no longer afford to give the RCM any material assistance or was it really because he realised the RAM could only be lured into a partnership with the NTSM if the pursuance of Treasury assistance became Commission policy? Either way, Lord Beaconsfield (Benjamin Disraeli) was unable to give any guarantee of government subvention, although he agreed to give the matter his full attention.⁵⁹ It is unlikely he would have favoured the subvention of an institution formed from the RAM whose meagre grant he had removed when Chancellor of the Exchequer. The involvement of the Prince of Wales and Prince Christian, both of whom had been presented as impartial arbiters, and the implicit prospect of government funding, had ensured co-operation from both institutions during initial discussions at least; however, in practice, any ideas for amalgamation once again proved fraught with difficulties.

On 25 November, Dudley wrote to Prince Christian to ask for some clarification, for he had not been aware 'that any amalgamation between the two bodies had been decided

⁵⁸ MS AL ES to FK (12 November, 1878), RAF28/160

⁵⁹ Note on the back of Earl Spencer's letter in the handwriting of Sir Dighton Probyn (Comptroller and Treasurer to the Prince of Wales) indicating that he had spoken to Lord Beaconsfield on 19 November 1878.

upon.⁶⁰ Dudley remained committed to the notion that government subvention for both institutions was really the most desirable course of action.

...I had the opportunity of speaking to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales at Paris on the subject, and I then ventured an opinion that the time was come when the country ought to have a School of Music—supported by a Government Grant—for the education of those who have a desire to adopt a musical career as their profession.

The money granted would be spent upon and so returned to the twin daughters of the country at large.

I have told Your Royal Highness that I will be no obstacle to anything that may be agreed upon between the two bodies by simply resigning my Presidency of the Academy but I cannot advocate the amalgamation of the two existing schools on what I must call a voluntary Principle of Support.

The Academy which works steadily on with its small grant of £500 a year would then be burdened with the Kensington School which can not I believe continue its teaching without some more support than what it has now, but that support should not in my mind be found in being blended with the Academy to which it brings no sort of assistance, but on the contrary tends to hamper the existing institution in Tenterden Street.

What I should desire if possible would be that before any other step was taken I might be allowed to meet Your Royal Highness & the Prince of Wales with perhaps [Sir Julius] Benedict and Sullivan as coadjutors.⁶¹

In order to ascertain the mind of the RAM directors on the matter, Earl Dudley had convened a meeting at which the prospect of amalgamation had been discussed. The directors' conditions were straightforward:

...the result was very decidedly expressed in the desire that the Royal Academy should not in any case lose its name, or that its independent position should in any way be interfered with, unless by the union with South Kensington the teaching of Music was put upon a broad and solid basis recognised and supported by a parliamentary Grant so as to enable both adequate accommodation for a National School of Music to be provided, professors to be liberally remunerated, and the highest advantage offered to students, under a truly national system.⁶²

The success of the merger was dependent upon the Academy's surrendering its charter in favour of the one drawn up by Prince Christian's committee in 1878 (see Appendix 3.0).⁶³ This effectively put an end, once and for all, to further discussions: the RAM

⁶⁰ MS AL ED to PC (25 November, 1878) HTpp RCMA Box 172.

⁶¹ MS AL ED to PC (25 November, 1878) HTpp RCMA Box 172.

⁶² MS AL JG to LH (7 December, 1878) HTpp RCMA Box 172.

⁶³ CMM(NTSM) (4 April 1879), RCMA 001/1, 190f. Headed 'Draft Charter of the Royal College of Music (incorporating the Royal Academy of Music and the National Training School for Music)', it begins: 'Victoria, by the grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting: Whereas it has been presented by our most dearly beloved son, Albert Edward, Prince of Wales...that it is most expedient to promote the further advancement of the art of music in the United Kingdom by the establishment of a Royal Musical

authorities claimed the original RAM charter allowed it neither to surrender its autonomy nor its name.⁶⁴

On 11 December 1878 Thring wrote to Prince Christian to try to dissuade him from resigning the chairmanship of the amalgamation committee into the hands of the Duke of Edinburgh. Thring's perception that such a course of action would cast doubt on Prince Alfred's ability to be impartial was not unwarranted: he would 'be regarded naturally by the Royal Academy as the representative and head of the Training School and therefore might be objected to...if appointed Chairman of a Committee whose duty it is to regard the general interests of music in the promotion of the new institution as contradistinguished from the special interests of either of the existing schools.'⁶⁵ The Commissioners nevertheless remained sanguine about a possible amalgamation: 'time will probably play into our hands as to the Royal Academy, but the Training School cannot possibly wait.'⁶⁶ The Commissioners had misjudged the situation: the RAM's compliance had been anticipated to be a foregone conclusion.⁶⁷ Ironically, the failure of the projected merger protected and extended the prospects of both schools of music in London in the long-term even if it seemed to put an end to the prospect of treasury assistance in the short-term. In the short-term, the NTSM was obliged to admit fee-paying students and by February, 1880 there were sixteen private pupils.⁶⁸ This number rose to 20 by April, 1881.⁶⁹

Corporation of Music [*sic*] on a more extended basis than any existing institution'. Note that the proposed Draft Charter of the Royal College of Music of 8 October 1880 refers to a 'royal college of music...with the inclusion as part thereof of the National Training School for Music at South Kensington.' See also Draft Charters HTpp RCMA Box 172. These are annotated by Kellow Pye who was a member of Prince Christian's committee and the NTSM Committee of Management: clearly Thring's initial mistrust had been overcome.

⁶⁴ CMM(RAM) (30 November, 1878), RAMA, p. 67.

⁶⁵ MS AL HT to PC (11 December, 1878) HTpp RCMA Box 172.

⁶⁶ MS AL ES to HT (27 June, 1879) HTpp RCMA Box 172.

⁶⁷ MS AL ES to HT (27 June, 1879) HTpp RCMA Box 172. The Duke of Edinburgh had reason to believe that scholarships would be imminently founded for Liverpool and London.

⁶⁸ CMM(NTSM) (16 February, 1880) RCMA 001/1, p. 228.

⁶⁹ CMM(NTSM) (13 May, 1881) Appendix IV RCMA 001/2, p. 31.

There were more difficulties to come. On 14 July 1880 the NTSM's Committee of Management received a devastating report on the School's summer examinations held on 28 and 29 June in the West Theatre of the Royal Albert Hall. The examiners (Sir Michael Costa, Sir George Elvey, Otto Goldschmidt, (Sir) Charles Hallé (Chairman) and (Sir) Henry Leslie) questioned both the veracity and the validity of the examinations; in short, they claimed to be unconvinced of the progress of the institution as a whole and the quality of instruction received by the students:⁷⁰

1. We, the undersigned, attended by invitation of the Council at the National Training School for Music on Monday and Tuesday 28th and 29th, in order to be present at the Examination of Students of the Institution, which was held by the Principal, Dr Arthur Sullivan, in the presence of the Professors attached to the School.
2. The proceedings consisted of the performance by upwards of fifty of the more advanced Students, each of whom sang or played a piece on the Piano or Violin; we also heard a solo on the Clarinet [*sic*] and one on the Flute. In many cases the orchestral accompaniments were played on the second Piano, and the Soloists, other than Pianists, were accompanied by Students, and this was done in an intelligent and creditable manner. Neither composition of a Student, nor exercise in Harmony and Counterpoint was submitted to us, and we heard no performance on the organ.
3. According to the list since forwarded to us, some few of the Students have been in the School two and three years, but the greater part have received instruction for upwards of four years.
4. We refrain from calling this performance an Examination in the strict sense of the word, more particularly as the Pupils come forward with one piece only; and as no opportunity was given to us to examine them in anything else, our opinion had to be formed in each case on a special and single performance.
5. We cannot consider this system of Examination as either fair or advantageous to Master or Pupil.
6. Having been asked to report upon what we heard, we beg to state that in addition to what has already been mentioned in Paragraph 2 with reference to the creditable manner in which the accompaniments were played by Students, we noticed, more particularly among the Pianists, evidence both of talent and acquirement on the part of the Pupils, and of Zeal and energy of that of the respective teachers. We desire to refer especially and with gratification, to Mabel Bourne, Eugene D'Albert, Eva Pidock, Nina Roche, Herbert Sharpe, Adelaide Thomas and Emily Walker. We think however, that, on the whole, the music assigned to the Students was beyond their reach, and in its range not of a kind best suited for an educational establishment.
7. Among the vocalists, while two or three gave signs of promise, we feel bound to state, that the Pupils did not exhibit the development which we expected to find from their lengthened course of instruction. We are informed however that three of the most advanced Students have recently left the Institution to follow their profession in public, and therefore did not appear before us.
8. The foregoing criticism also applies to Violinists.

⁷⁰ CMM(NTSM) (14 July 1880) RCMA 001/1, pp. 244-248. See also NTSM *Fourth General Report* (Easter 1881) RCM DPPH, p. 1: as both John Hullah and John Ella were too ill to attend, Sullivan suggested inviting Otto Goldschmidt and Henry Leslie, who duly accepted and were appointed.

9. In conclusion, we feel constrained to give it as our opinion, that while fully allowing for the difficulties inherent to a newly-established Institution, without specific traditions or experience, and with limited means at its command, we failed to observe an executive cohesion in general, and to this we deem it our duty to call attention.⁷¹

Sullivan was incensed by the report and sent the following crushing rebuttal:

The Report which has been sent in...appears to us [the Board of Principal Professors] incomplete, inaccurate, and unjust.

1. Incomplete, because it neither contains, nor explains the absence of the signature of Sir J[ulius] Benedict who was present on both days.
2. Inaccurate, inasmuch as it states that no Exercises in Harmony or Counterpoint were submitted to them, whereas Sir Geo[rge]. Elvey with Mr John Ella examined a large number of Exercise papers, took many of them to the Meeting of Reporters, and afterwards expressed himself in a letter to the Principal as highly satisfied with them.
3. Unjust, in that (1) it implies that no organ performances were to be heard, whereas the Organ pupils were all in readiness to perform, but the Examiners declined to hear them. (2.) Inasmuch as the Examiners with one exception were none of them present during the whole Examination, and that one of them was not present at all during the first day, and notwithstanding this fact they have signed a collective Report. (3.) While the Reporters refrain from calling this performance an Examination in the strict sense of the word, more particularly as the Pupils came forward with 'one piece only'; we ourselves were astonished that the Reporters took no means to discover the capabilities and acquirements of the Students. Not a question was put to them, nor were they asked to perform more than one piece. On this account we cordially endorse the opinion expressed in Clause 5 of the Report. We also think it unjust to substitute a few general vague terms for Direct censure or approval.

On the above-named grounds we respectfully request the Com[mi]ttee of Man[ag]emen[t] not to adopt the Report of an Examination which the Examiners themselves characterise as neither fair nor advantageous to Master or Pupil, but to direct that a new and searching Examination by an increased staff of Examiners [be instituted].⁷²

The NTSM examinations were open to the public. This facilitated the examiners' involvement of the press in the proceedings, which clearly illustrated less than honourable intentions and did little to enhance public or professional support for the School. The RAM's supporters had consistently waged a press campaign against the NTSM, whose founders simply played into their hands.⁷³ The examiners' failure to observe any 'executive cohesion', referred to in paragraph nine of their report, suggests that, in spite of the Commissioners' directives, the dynamic of the Committee of Management had changed little in the two years since 1878, and that it was they, rather

⁷¹ CMM(NTSM) (14 July 1880) RCMA 001/2, pp. 243-246.

⁷² CMM(NTSM) (14 July 1880) RCMA 001/2, pp. 247-248.

⁷³ See Brightwell (1998), pp. 81-83. See *The Daily Telegraph* (11 January 1882).

than Sullivan in particular, who were at fault. The adverse press coverage caused the Committee of Management to release a statement:

The Committee of Management of the National Training School for Music having had before them the Report of the Examiners upon the Annual Examination of the Students...which, for special reasons, the committee have desired to be complete and searching, observe with regret that the Examiners “refrain from calling this performance an Examination in the strict sense of the word”. They also observe with surprise that the name of Sir Julius Benedict, one of the Examiners, is not appended to the Report. They therefore resolve:

1. That a complete and searching Examination of the Scholars of the School be held as soon as practicable.
2. That their confidence in the Principal and the staff of Professors is in no wise diminished in consequence of their Report.⁷⁴

John Richardson, the Registrar was directed to forward copies of the Committee’s resolution to The Prince of Wales, Thring and all the examiners involved.⁷⁵

Sullivan’s conclusion that there was a parallel agenda at work does not seem inconceivable. In December 1879, both Costa (see Fig. 22) and Charles Hallé had been passed over for the conductorship of the Leeds Festival, the Committee preferring to elect Sullivan.⁷⁶

I am delighted to know that the Leeds Festival Committee have succeeded in securing the services of Mr Arthur Sullivan as their conductor. Though a comparatively young man, being only thirty-eight, Mr Sullivan has proved himself to be a composer of the highest merit in every class of music except ‘grand opera’....

As a conductor he is regarded by those who have watched his career as possessing great ability—albeit, he is quiet and unobtrusive in the orchestra. No gymnastic exercises, no stamping of the feet, no loudly expressed directions, will he indulge in on the orchestra. All necessary instructions are given by him at the rehearsal. And this is as it should be. Against Mr Sullivan, I hear, were pitted Sir Michael Costa and Mr Charles Hallé, and many members of the Festival Committee were dubious as to the wisdom of the proposed change. There is one point, however, in the election of Mr Sullivan about which I am particularly pleased. It is the fact that for an *English* Festival we are to have an *English* conductor. Too long have we in this country bowed down to foreign talent even when it has been far inferior to English talent. On the selection of an Englishman over Costa and Hallé, an admirer of ‘Pinafore’ sends me the following from that work slightly altered:

We might have had a Russian, a French, or
Turk, or Prussian,
Or else I-ta-li-an.
But in spite of all temptations to go to other
nations,

⁷⁴ CMM(NTSM) (14 July 1880), RCMA. 001/2 pp. 248-249.
⁷⁵ CMM(NTSM) (14 July 1880), RCMA. 001/2 pp. 248-249.
⁷⁶ Findon (1994), p. 127 & 130.

Given the chauvinistic manner in which the appointment was covered in the Leeds press, it is not unreasonable to suggest that Costa and Hallé both harboured a grudge; hence, in an effort to recover injured pride, they seized upon an opportunity to avenge their defeat. Costa had already been offered the post of Principal of the NTSM at a handsome salary and a tied house only to have the offer withdrawn when the first amalgamation attempt between the RAM and NTSM failed, in favour of Sullivan, his former employee and protégé, who had unwittingly undercut him. In any event, Sullivan condemned the examiners' report as little more than

a "backstairs" intrigue against me led by Hallé, who could not forgive my being appointed conductor of the Leeds Festival instead of himself. So he led the other examiners (Costa, Goldschmidt, Henry Leslie and Hullah) entirely with him, and besides revenging himself on me, was enabled to give his rival E. Pauer a nasty dig also.⁷⁸

Sullivan's assertion that Hallé was indeed to blame for the unmistakable sea-change in the examiners' views is not implausible; even John Francis Barnett had observed a frisson during the examinations, although, unlike Sullivan, he had chosen to give Hallé the benefit of the doubt.⁷⁹

At one of these examinations a student had chosen Mendelssohn's Capriccio in B minor, op. 22, and as in the cases of pieces with orchestral accompaniment[,] the orchestra was represented by a second piano (a custom very much in vogue at conservatories, both here and abroad), there should have been another student ready to play this piano part. On this occasion, however, no student came forward; thereupon Arthur Sullivan volunteered to fill in the orchestral accompaniments from

⁷⁷ Quoted in Harold Orel ed.: *Gilbert and Sullivan: Interviews and Recollections* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1994), p. 130f. See also Benjamin William Findon: *Sir Arthur Sullivan: His Life and Music* (London: James Nisbet and Company, 1904) pp. 157-169 and pp. 170-7.

⁷⁸ Quoted in Arthur Jacobs *Arthur Sullivan* (Oxford, 1984; 2nd edn, 1986), p. 150. Ernst (not 'Eduard', as Jacob suggests) Pauer was the principal professor of piano at the NTSM. See also National Training School for Music: NTSM(CMM) (14 July 1880) RCMA 001/1, pp. 244-8.

⁷⁹ CMM(NTSM) RCMA 001/1, p. 37 (Page 7 of the Examiners' Report). The examiners for the 1879 examinations were: Sir Julius Benedict, Sir Michael Costa, W. G. Cusins, Sir George Elvey, Otto Goldschmidt, Dr John Hullah, and the Chairman, (Sir) John Leslie (Chairman). See also 'Music in England. The Proposed Royal College of Music.' Miscellaneous Institutions, Societies, and other Bodies, Royal College of Music. Three Addresses delivered by H.R.H. The Duke of Edinburgh, H.R.H. The Duke of Albany, H.R.H. Prince Christian at Manchester (12 December, 1881), p. 3. During his Manchester address in December 1881, H.R.H. The Duke of Albany paid tribute to Manchester as a musical city and particularly to the work of Charles Hallé, whom he described as an 'eminent musician', and his 'splendid orchestra'. Such public acknowledgment of Hallé's work may well have been made in an attempt to mollify him after his regrettable dispute with Sullivan.

memory. This he did most admirably, except in one part where his memory temporarily failed him. During this contretemps, it was not a little amusing to observe the good-naturedly malicious smile that came over Hallé's face whilst poor Sullivan was in difficulties.⁸⁰

Arthur Jacobs suggests that 'Sullivan's imputation of cowardice and venality to his old friend Goldschmidt, his old mentor Costa, and two such strong-willed men as Leslie [who was Principal of the transient National College of Music] and Hullah reads unconvincingly'; while his view is not unfounded, it is wide of the mark for a number of reasons. First, Hullah's illness had forced him to decline the appointment of examiner; secondly, Jacobs does not take into account the public humiliation of Costa and Hallé in the Leeds press; thirdly, the report on the examinations, held at the NTSM the previous year, on 10 and 11 July 1879, is not similarly unfavourable and the report received the following February, was equally positive. All three examiners (John Ella, Sir Julius Benedict, and Sir George Elvey) remarked on the success of the institution. Ella's letter to the Duke of Edinburgh was overwhelmingly encouraging:

Considering the short time since the Academy [NTSM] was established, what I heard, at the trials of Instrumentalists last July, was quite satisfactory. The Students, I thought, had been well instructed, and did credit to their Masters.⁸¹

Although Elvey expressed reservations that the examiners had not been presented with an opportunity to meet to prepare a single, unanimous report, he was 'greatly pleased with the performance of many of the Students who I thought possessed Talents of a very high order, and it was quite evident to me that every possible care is taken by the Professors in the Establishment for the advancement of their pupils.'⁸² Sir Julius Benedict's observations were unequivocal in their praise of the work of the School, its Principal and professors. By contrast, the absence of Benedict's signature on the 1880

⁸⁰ John Francis Barnett: *Musical Reminiscences and Impressions* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1906), pp. 175f.

⁸¹ NTSM/CMM (Appendix VI) (16 February, 1880) RCMA. 001/1, p. 234.

⁸² NTSM/CMM (Appendix VI), p. 234f.

Examiners' Report, would seem to suggest that he was dissatisfied with the process and the way in which his colleagues had behaved.

...Having only to report on the Vocal Students it is with the greatest satisfaction that I am able to speak of the remarkable and in some instances surprising progress of the pupils since I had last heard them. It is evident that in a comparatively short time talent of a high order has been discovered, which after its full development cannot fail to be appreciated by the public, and be of the greatest advantage to this excellent Institution.

Without entering into particulars about each of the songs and concerted pieces performed I may be permitted to say that with regard to emission of voice, articulation, intonation, style and expression the ladies and gentlemen whose names I beg to record left very little to desire, and they seem to be destined to fill prominent and responsible positions in their profession with great credit....

It would be difficult to overrate the unremitting zeal and attention of Sig. Alberto Visetti and Mr. Welch, who since the beginning have bestowed all their experience on the advancement of those entrusted to their care.

With such guidance, and under the able direction of the gifted Principal, Dr. Sullivan, there can be but one opinion on the desirability of supporting this young and thriving establishment, and of vastly extending the sphere of its usefulness.⁸³

The unfortunate press coverage of the NTSM's 1880 examinations led the Committee of Management to publish the following response as part of the *Fourth General Report*:

Owing to some unfortunate want of understanding between the Authorities of the School and the Examiners, the Examination, though going on for two days, was not formally conducted; and in a Report which the Examiners made to H.R.H. The Prince of Wales, it was admitted that the Examination which had been held was not an Examination in the strict sense of the word, and neither fair nor advantageous to Master or Pupil. Under these circumstances, it was arranged that another Examination of a more strict, formal, and searching character should be held at the earliest convenience of the Examiners.⁸⁴

2.8 THE GUILDHALL SCHOOL OF MUSIC

Despite the difficulties surrounding the recent set of examinations, the foundation of the Guildhall School of Music (GSM) in 1880 was directly precipitated by Cole's petition to

⁸³ NTSM/CMM (Appendix VI), p. 234 to 237.

⁸⁴ NTSM *Fourth General Report* (Easter 1881), p. 9 RCM CPH. See also David Wright 'Grove's Role in the Founding of the RCM' *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture* ed. Michael Musgrave (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 228. David Wright quotes from *The Musical World* 'we are inclined to think that after reading the [Examiners'] report, [the Prince of Wales] formed a strong opinion as to the expediency of promoting musical instruction through some more-efficiently-conducted...medium than the South Kensington Training School.' The Prince of Wales had already held the principal meeting on 13 July 1878 to discuss the foundation of a Royal College of Music; while the adverse publicity can hardly be said to have assisted his objective, the ignominy surrounding the examinations of 1880 could not possibly have had any bearing on his initial intentions. Moreover, Wright's claim that 'there is no record of this subsequent examination ever being held' is neither borne out in the Minutes of the Committee of Management for 18 March 1881, at which the appointment of examiners and the nature their duties were discussed, nor in the conclusion of the *Fourth General Report* (pp. 12 to 18) where the complete report on the examination is printed.

the Lord Mayor to support the NTSM scholarship subscriptions on 9 July, 1875.⁸⁵ Cole had requested the Lord Mayor for between 30 and 40 scholarships funded by the Corporation of London and this led its Music Deputation to approach Gresham College with a view to establishing its own school of music for residents of the City of London.⁸⁶ The Lord Mayor had hosted a meeting at the Mansion House in support of the NTSM. It was this meeting and the perceived success of the NTSM, with its west-end premises at Kensington Gore, that directly led the Corporation of London to found the Guildhall School of Music in 1880 on the opposite side of town, just outside the City of London, first in Aldermanbury and then in purpose-built premises on the Victoria Embankment.⁸⁷ Initially planned on a small scale, it was founded to provide tuition for 200 fee-paying pupils. Unlike their colleagues at the NTSM, the founders of the Guildhall, never sought to emulate the Parisian model to provide comprehensive state-funded music education; rather, the annual costs, including salaries for the Principal and Secretary, estimated to be no more than £350, were to be paid directly from student revenue. Furthermore, the fees charged were inexpensive compared with the NTSM: GSM students were charged between one and seven guineas a term.⁸⁸ While the Guildhall may have been conceived on a small scale, in financial and numerical terms it was more successful than both the NTSM and the RAM put together.⁸⁹ During its first term in 1880, it had provided education for 256 students; by the end of its first year of operations, it had educated an average of 579 pupils a term. At the end of six years the revenue from 2,522 paying

⁸⁵ Barty-King (c. 1980), p. 17.

⁸⁶ CMM(NTSM) (13 May, 1881) Appendix VI RCMA 001/2, p. 41. Cole's estimate was ambitious: in the end the Corporation of London provided the funds only for ten scholarships.

⁸⁷ Barty-King (1980), p. 18. These premises were also used by the Corporation of London Orchestral Society.

⁸⁸ Barty-King (1980), p. 19f.

⁸⁹ Barty-King (1980), p. 24.

students had reached £19,000, a sum nearly twice that of the Paris Conservatoire.⁹⁰ In the first instance, the GSM's financial security enabled the Corporation to make an annual grant of £200 for scholarships for students from less affluent backgrounds; more importantly, it had a direct bearing on the School's ability to attract professors who were able to earn between £500 and £1,000 a year, by far the most lucrative of all the conservatoire posts in London.⁹¹ It is not clear exactly what course the students followed; however, in business terms, the GSM was an undisputed success. Given the membership of the 1851 Commission, it is unlikely that they were unaware of its success; consequently, it must have confirmed their desire to see the RCM established with an equivalent level of financial security.

2.9 THE DRAFT RCM CHARTER OF 1880

A new draft charter was drawn up for the Royal College of Music in October 1880 that excluded any mention of the RAM (see Appendix 3.1). It stated that there were to be three types of student: scholars, government pupils and ordinary students.⁹² The scholars were to have the cost of their education and maintenance defrayed on their behalf. The introduction of government pupils was an innovative attempt to draw the government into partnership in the hope of attracting financial support. Ordinary students had to find the cost of their education and maintenance themselves, which was intended to provide a financial buffer in the absence of fee-paying pupils from the RAM. Finally, the charter allowed students already enrolled at the NTSM to transfer to the new RCM as scholars.⁹³ The 1880 charter was barely more detailed than the charter of amalgamation drawn up

⁹⁰ Barty-King (1980), p. 24.

⁹¹ Barty-King (1980), p. 23.

⁹² 'Papers relating to the Draft Charter of the Royal College of Music', *JRSA*, xxvii (8 October, 1880), 869-871.

⁹³ *JRSA*, xxvii (8 October, 1880), 869-871.

two years previously and neither charter included the implementation of music degrees (see Appendices 3.0 and 3.1).

Without the co-operation and financial protection provided by the RAM, the opening of the RCM in time for the Easter Term 1881 was dependent on a positive conclusion to negotiations both with the 1851 Commission, who had agreed to cover the expense of the revised charter, and the question of comprehensive treasury funding. The consequent delay compelled the Duke of Edinburgh to write to the NTSM subscribers on 29 November 1880 to encourage them to donate funds for a further year in order to allow more time to institute the RCM.⁹⁴ The prospect of having to attract an entirely new group of scholars and professors was an inconvenience the founders of the new institution naturally wished to avoid.

The publication of the charter allowed Sir Henry Cole to grasp an opportunity to fight back: his digest of the charter, submitted to the Society of Arts Committee for the National Cultivation of Music on 17 January 1881, revealed serious flaws in the RCM constitution.⁹⁵ In the first instance, royal patronage and government subvention, he claimed, were mutually exclusive.⁹⁶

It is contemplated that the Royal College of Music will undertake, in various forms, Musical Instruction in connection with Public Education. This implies a large annual Parliamentary vote.

The expenditure of this large, or indeed any vote, would be subject to the usual audit of the Auditor-General, and the House of Commons' Committee of Public Accounts. Parliament would require, as in similar cases, some Parliamentary officer to reply to public and official criticism. But the head of the proposed Royal College of Music is a Royal Personage, whose position precludes the idea of such criticism; and it would place him in a position of extraordinary and invidious responsibility for the action taken by a Council in which he might be outvoted.

This position would, it appears to me, not be consistent with that of the Heir Apparent of the Crown, or any other member of the Royal Family.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ CMM(NTSM) (29 November 1880), RCMA 001/2, letter between pp. 14 & 15.

⁹⁵ Society of Arts Committee for the National Cultivation of Music (17 January, 1881) RA T8/36.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

The reference in the 1880 charter to the RCM's function to promote and supervise elementary school music effectively took 'musical instruction...out of the hands of the Minister of Education, and place[d] it completely under the management of a body not responsible to Parliament.'⁹⁸

Secondly, authority was vested in three Council members who were 'co-equal and co-existing', an all-powerful triumvirate: namely, HRH The President, the Principal and Vice-Principal.⁹⁹ Cole's criticism that such a constitution did not imbue the RCM with sufficient accountability was not unfounded and included a side-swipe at Sullivan, whose illness and professional engagements Cole felt had prevented him from making his duties as Professional Director of the NTSM his first priority.

The work is of a lay and professional character, and the two fixed professional members will thus virtually regulate their own payments and services, and superintend their own work. The Principal will certainly be selected for his professional genius, and he may be ill or absent the greater part of the year, and will be admonished and released by himself. Being a genius, he will probably be inapt for general business, which cannot be his chief thought. It cannot be expected that H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, or any other member of the Royal Family, could give daily attention to the multifarious financial work in the College, the management of the Home, the granting of certificates, &c.; and it would be unconstitutional they should be called upon to do so. A Royal Duke is the head executive of the Army, but there is a Secretary of State for War, who is responsible to the Queen and Parliament; and a Royal Prince has executive functions in the Navy, but he is responsible to the Admiralty, represented in Parliament. The Plan of administration for the New Royal College of Music, is without precedent.¹⁰⁰

While Cole had raised a valid criticism, his contribution to the pamphlet put an end to any influence he was able to exert over the Committee of Management as a copy of it had come into the possession of the Prince of Wales. From a public perspective, the NTSM had been a project that had not merely enjoyed royal assent, but practical support from the Duke of Edinburgh who had personally chaired Committee of Management meetings. At both personal and professional levels the reputation of both princes was at stake if the RCM's success could not be assured.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 5.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁰⁰ Society of Arts Committee for the National Cultivation of Music (17 January, 1881) RA T8/36, p. 5.

The adverse press coverage in 1880 and Cole's criticism spurred the Prince of Wales into action and he set about the task of re-establishing the NTSM's credibility. If the NTSM were to form the nucleus of the new RCM, whose funding would be entirely reliant on public subscription in the first instance, this was essential. He personally selected the 1851 Commissioner and amateur organist, Lord Charles Brudenall-Bruce (1834-1897: see Fig. 4) to administer the examinations along with the following examiners: Sir Julius Benedict, Sir Michael Costa, W. G. Cusins, Sir George Elvey, Otto Goldschmidt, John Hullah, and Henry Leslie (Chairman). He also outlined the structure the examination was to take.¹⁰¹ Although Charles Hallé was present on the first day of the two-day examiners' meeting held in the Prince's Room at the Royal Albert Hall on Monday and Tuesday 14 and 15 March 1881,¹⁰² his name does not appear on the final list of examiners for the 1881 session.¹⁰³ Three days later, on 18 March, the Committee of Management met to endorse the Prince of Wales's appointments: the contentious nature of the projected discussions is clearly articulated in Cole's diary entry:

N.T.S.Music Meeting of Co[mmittee]: of Man[agement] to appoint examiners previously summoned by Prince of Wales. L[or]d Charles Bruce attended to explain and mediate. Sullivan and Stainer contended for right to be present. I objected as against precedent. It was urged that they were necessary to afford explanations and so it was settled. W[illiam] Anderson moved I sh[ould] take the Chair which I did.¹⁰⁴

Despite the earlier intervention of the 1851 Commission, Cole's influence evidently caused Sullivan and Stainer (see Fig. 9) considerable anxiety; however, their concern that

¹⁰¹ NTSM *Fourth General Report* (Easter 1881), p. 12 RCM DPPH. 'Towards the end of the Easter Term 1881 arrangements were made at the request of H.R.H. The Prince of Wales, for holding the Examination which had been ordained by the Committee of Management at the termination of the Examination held last Midsummer. The interest which the Prince of Wales felt in the School, as the suggested nucleus of the proposed Royal College of Music, led His Royal Highness to appoint a body of examiners himself and to give them instructions for the formal discharge of their duties.' See 'Statesmen—No.CCCCX The Right Honourable Lord Charles William Brudenell-Bruce M.P.' *VF* (16 September, 1882), p. 167. Bruce was a Privy Councillor and MP for Marlborough and Vice-Chamberlain of the Queen Victoria's Household.

¹⁰² CMM(NTSM) (18 March, 1881) RCMA. 001/2, p. 10.

¹⁰³ CMM(NTSM) (18 March, 1881) RCMA. 001/2, p. 10.

¹⁰⁴ Bonython (c 1992) (18 March, 1881).

the sorry examination process of 1880 would merely be repeated by confirming the appointment of the same examiners, particularly Charles Hallé, was misplaced.

The examinations that took place between 28 March and 4 April 1881 were the most rigorous in the School's short history and went some distance towards overturning the views engendered by the misleading examiners' report and erroneous press coverage the previous year. While not without its constructive criticism, the examiners' exhaustive report was broadly complimentary of many of the scholars, staff and other aspects of the School. The students were examined in three categories: singing, piano, and violin and other instruments. Of the students examined in piano, Eugène d'Albert, Herbert Sharpe and Adelaide Thomas were singled out by Sir Julius Benedict as 'having exhibited, in proportions difficult to define, the highest qualities of Executive Artists.'¹⁰⁵ While some of the singing students were prone to 'an abuse of "portamento," resulting in an uncertainty of intonation and in want of attack', general improvements had been observed. Particular mention was made of Annie Merriot, Frank Boyle and Frederick King, former students of the School, who had already embarked upon successful singing careers.¹⁰⁶ Of the twelve violin students examined, Edward Parfitt and Lucy Riley were reported to have displayed 'talent of a very high order.'¹⁰⁷ While good tone and intonation characterized the string playing on the whole, the restrained bowing was criticised for its lack of tonal breadth.¹⁰⁸ The Solfeggio class was commended as were many of the scholars whose attainment in their second study was judged equal to their principal instrument.¹⁰⁹ In the academic disciplines of harmony, counterpoint and composition, the results were less encouraging: 'the papers, in many cases, were well

¹⁰⁵ CMM(NTSM) (Appendix iv) RCMA 001/2 (April 23, 1881), pp. 32.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

done; in others but fairly. In Counterpoint and Fugue they were but weak. This most important branch merits more consideration than would appear to have been given to it.¹¹⁰ In addition, some of the composition submissions had, in the examiners' opinion, brought little credit to the School or for that matter their professor, Sullivan.¹¹¹

In many respects, this was only to be expected: Forster's 1870 Education Act had only endorsed the most meagre music provision. The elementary school curriculum included singing, tonic-sol-fa and, in rare circumstances, rudiments of theory and instruction in what was quaintly referred to as the 'old notation'; even then, as Gordon Cox and David Colby point out, its inclusion in the curriculum had been hotly debated by the schools inspectors.¹¹² By 1876, when the NTSM opened its doors, the Act's influence had barely been felt and, in any event, no provision had been made for instrumental instruction, hence the paucity of talented instrumentalists who presented themselves for scholarships.¹¹³ The emphasis on singing by ear enshrined in Forster's Act and England's place as the chief manufacturer of upright pianos explains the plethora of singers and pianists by comparison with woodwind, string and brass players. These were simply matters beyond Sullivan's control; indeed, Stanford's lecture to the managers of the London Board Schools nearly a decade later in 1889 acknowledged that 'the whole

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 33.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 34.

¹¹² Gordon Cox: *A History of Music Education in England 1872-1928* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1993), pp. 19-21. See also David J. Colby: *Instrumental Teaching in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 69.

¹¹³ See Michael Cole; Cyril Ehrlich and Edwin M. Good: 'The Pianoforte', *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 17 August, 2004), <http://www.grovemusic.com> The advent of the Cottage Piano and the shift in manufacture from hand-crafted instruments to factory-made, mass-produced pianos ensured that by 1870, Britain had made more pianos than France, Germany, the U.S.A., Japan, Russia or Korea. By 1890 the picture had changed and the U.S.A had produced 72,000 to Germany's 70,000 and Britain's 50,000. See also 'Music in England. The Proposed Royal College of Music.' Miscellaneous Institutions, Societies, and other Bodies, Royal College of Music. Three Addresses delivered by HRH The Duke of Edinburgh, HRH The Duke of Albany, HRH Prince Christian at Manchester (12 December, 1881) p. 16. The advent of John Hullah's tonic sol-fa system in 1839 led to the establishment of classes to train large groups of people to sing. The movement was supported by the Government and initially spread all over Britain and the Continent and later to America. The combination of these two movements explains why the NTSM found itself inundated with singers and pianists.

introduction of music as an authorised branch of study into our school system is too recent to be perfect in its details'.¹¹⁴

2.11 SULLIVAN'S RESIGNATION AND STAINER'S APPOINTMENT

On 13 May, 1881 the Committee of Management met to discuss the report, at which Sullivan was given an opportunity to afford explanations. His justification for the poor results in Techniques was that 'only a small percentage of those who study it succeed in mastering it' and that it was not surprising to find, in a School where all students were taught harmony and counterpoint, that there were some who had not achieved high standards.¹¹⁵ As those examined in composition had been beginners the examiners agreed they should not have been presented for examination; however, Sullivan had been 'anxious to submit the School for inspection exactly as it was in order that the examiners might have every opportunity of coming to a just opinion upon the merits of the work which is being done....'¹¹⁶ Two of the four organists had shown considerable potential; however, their performances were judged merely to be 'fairly satisfactory'. The unfavourable circumstances in which the students had been heard perhaps explain the examiners' reservation: according to Sullivan, neither the location nor the instrument had been 'capable of shewing off the powers of an accomplished organist.'¹¹⁷ Moreover, he felt that the examiners themselves had been put at a disadvantage 'by reason of the Chairman's haste to get away to keep another appointment.'¹¹⁸

Despite the examiners' claim that 'students...remained for three, four, and even five years under the same Masters, without ever obtaining the advantage of any other tuition in their principal study', Sullivan maintained that all students were permitted to attend the

¹¹⁴ Stanford (1908), p. 43. From a lecture entitled 'Music in Elementary Schools'.

¹¹⁵ CMM(NTSM) (13 May, 1881) RCMA. 001/2, p. 18.

¹¹⁶ CMM(NTSM) RCMA 001/2, p. 18.

¹¹⁷ CMM(NTSM) RCMA 001/2, p. 19.

¹¹⁸ CMM(NTSM) RCMA 001/2, p. 19.

class of a principal professor as observers; although, in certain cases he felt it would have been undesirable to transfer pupils from one professor to another.¹¹⁹ Sullivan himself was not left entirely unscathed: the examiners recommended that ‘for the future, the Principal shall be placed in such an independent position as will enable him to regard the School as his paramount duty.’ This last remark bears Costa’s imprint: he had attempted to deter Cole from supporting Sullivan’s appointment in 1876 for these very reasons. Naturally Sullivan felt that the last paragraph of the report had been written under some misapprehension:

experience had convinced him that when a Principal had exercised due care in the choice of his Staff and in the organization of the work of a Music School it was not for the best interests of the School that he should be constantly fretting the teachers by undue interference in the details of the Instruction given to the Pupils.¹²⁰

On the whole, the report was favourable:

In summing up the general results, the Examiners have to express their great satisfaction with them, subject, of course, to the remarks appended to the individual report of each department.

They consider that the School has done, and is doing, much good work. It would be a national misfortune if it did not continue its operations....¹²¹

Sullivan had already attempted to resign after the examinations debacle in 1880:

Mr [sic] Sullivan reminded the Committee that he had within the last two years twice submitted his resignation of the Office of Principal, once during his continued illness, and again previous to his departure for America but at the request of His Royal Highness the Chairman he withdrew it. Mr Sullivan informed the Committee of Management and left himself in their hands, but in deference to the desire of the Committee he refrained from pressing them in its acceptance.¹²²

While the Committee of Management expressed their satisfaction with the character of the examiners’ report, Sullivan once more submitted his resignation, which was finally accepted on 13 May 1881 when Dr John Stainer was appointed to succeed him.¹²³ Stainer

¹¹⁹ CMM(NTSM) RCMA 001/2, p. 37. Sir Julius Benedict objected to this paragraph in the examiners’ report for 1879 and refused to assent to it.

¹²⁰ CMM(NTSM) (13 May, 1881) RCMA 001/2, p. 20f.

¹²¹ CMM(NTSM) (July 1879) RCMA 001/2, p. 37 (Page 7 of the Examiners’ Report).

¹²² CMM(NTSM) (14 July 1880) RCMA 001/2, p. 249. See also p. 190: Sullivan’s request for a leave of absence from his duties as principal from Christmas to Easter are noted in the minutes for 10 December, 1877.

¹²³ CMM(NTSM) (13 May 1881) RCMA 001/2, p. 23. See also Cole’s diary entry for 13 May 1881 in Bonython (c. 1992) ‘Sch[ool] of Music, D[uke] of Edinburgh presided. Examiners’ Report read. Sullivan

did not allow himself to befall a similar fate to Sullivan. By May 1882, 34 of the NTSM students had barely received a year's tuition; consequently, it was resolved that:

The Annual Examination by the Professional Examiners be not held; but that its place shall be taken by an Ordinary Terminal Examination by the Principal & the Board of Professors, to be held on Thursday, Friday, & Saturday the 30th & 31st March & the 1st April.¹²⁴

The 1880 and 1881 examinations only partly explain why Sullivan wished to relinquish his NTSM post. During the course of his time as Principal his conducting engagements had become increasingly onerous. By 1876 he had been appointed conductor of the Glasgow Choral Union Orchestral Concerts; in 1878 and 1879 the Gatti brothers engaged him to conduct their autumn series of promenade concerts at Covent Garden and he had also been appointed to the Leeds Festival conductorship, alongside which he had a plethora of commissions. In the absence of any application for the much-vaunted government support NTSM, the incessant squabbling between Cole, the NTSM Committee of Management and the 1851 Commission, the paucity of funds had understandably all caused his commitment to wane. He was subsequently offered a seat on the Committee of Management; however, his exclusion from the RCM fund-raising meeting in Manchester the following November indicates that as far as the members of the 1851 Commission were concerned, his star was no longer in the ascendancy.¹²⁵

commented on points. Thanked for his services. Dr Stainer appointed Principal.' See also David Wright 'Grove's Role in the Founding of the RCM' *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture* ed. Michael Musgrave (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 227f. David Wright's information here is incomplete: he omits to mention that Costa was also a candidate for the Leeds Festival Conductorship and that Cole had already offered him the position of Principal of the NTSM. See also CMM(NTSM) (13 March, 1882), RCMA 001/2, p. 58: from 16 January, 1882 Ernst Pauer was appointed Vice-Principal by the Duke of Edinburgh.

¹²⁴ CMM(NTSM) (13 March, 1882), RCMA 001/2, p. 57.

¹²⁵ See David Wright 'Grove's Role in the Founding of the RCM' *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture* ed. Michael Musgrave (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 228. Wright's assertion that 'all in all, the unhappy experience of Sullivan as Principal of the NTSM was a caution for the future and a warning that eminence as a composer or performer...was itself no guarantee of vision as a Principal' misses the point. In the first instance, the NTSM and its administration were Cole's vision: it was he who signed the 'Memorandum on the Teaching Branch of the School' submitted to the Committee of Management on 8 January 1876 in the knowledge that Sullivan was being courted for the appointment of Principal by the Duke of Edinburgh between 1 and 13 January. Although Sullivan did take long absences from the NTSM, caused either by illness or by the need to compose (see pp. 50f.), there is no evidence that any unhappiness at the NTSM was directly attributable to him. The problems at the School were caused primarily by financial instability and, if anything, the fact that Sullivan's influence in the running of the NTSM was exceptionally restricted. Sullivan was simply not given the opportunity to implement any vision. In addition, Sullivan's knighthood at the opening ceremony of the RCM does not suggest a fall from royal

Despite the recent series of setbacks, the Prince of Wales attempted to establish a premise for government support for the RCM as an institution with a national remit.¹²⁶

As a result, a royal visit to Manchester was planned and organised by Sir Henry Thring and George Grove.¹²⁷ It seems likely that Grove's appointments at the Society of Arts from 1850 had brought him to the attention of the Prince of Wales. Yet his association with the RCM had officially begun in July 1881 when he had been invited to become a member of the Council and he had already written to Thring on the subject of the College earlier the same year.¹²⁸ Grove was experienced as a fund-raiser: he had thrown himself behind the campaign for the Palestine Exploration Fund for the Preservation of Biblical Antiquities. As the first Secretary of the Crystal Palace Company from May 1852, 'his musical ambitions...knew no bounds....'¹²⁹ Thus his Liberal politics, a democratic perspective, a conciliatory approach and an urbane disposition ensured that he was an ideal antidote to a capricious and Machiavellian Cole.¹³⁰ Given the problems caused by Cole, it seems likely that Grove was invited to mastermind the fund-raising

favour: quite the reverse. In fact, it was Cole who had fallen from grace, whom neither the Prince of Wales nor the Duke of Edinburgh wished to see involved with the institution of the RCM: see p. 52 and Bonython (c. 1992) (13 March, 1882). Cole's death in 1882 put an end to any concerns in that quarter.

¹²⁶ 'Music in England. The Proposed Royal College of Music.' Miscellaneous Institutions, Societies, and other Bodies, Royal College of Music. Three Addresses delivered by H.R.H. The Duke of Edinburgh, H.R.H., The Duke of Albany, H.R.H. Prince Christian at Manchester (12 December, 1881), pp. 1-36. RCMA. XXII b20. Mention of the RCM's imperial remit, adopted from 1882 onwards, is conspicuous by its absence.

¹²⁷ MS AL GG to HT (December [1881]), HTpp RCMA Box 171.

¹²⁸ Charles Larcom Graves: *The Life and Letters of Sir George Grove*, C.B. (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd, 1903), p. 280.

¹²⁹ Musgrave (1995), p. 19. The Crystal Palace School of Art, Science and Literature had been established by 1860 in the Great Exhibition building that had subsequently been enlarged and moved from Hyde Park to Sydenham in 1854. Classes were divided strictly by sex with those for men largely limited to Engineering. Grove added a course of instruction in music, advertised for the first time in the Saturday programmes for the 1860-61 season, but it was provided as part of the Ladies Division and was restricted to private piano and singing lessons, lectures on aspects of music, harmony and composition, and singing at sight. The music staff included the organist, Stainer, the musicologist Ebenezer Prout, the pianist Ernst Pauer who later became Professor of piano at both the NTSM and the RCM, and the composer-conductor Sir Julius Benedict.

¹³⁰ MS AL GG to HT (27 October [1881]) HTpp RCMA Box 172. 'My dear Sir Henry, I have just got Maine's article and have read it twice through...but it is sadly loose in statement – loose and indiscreet. To publish it as it is would embroil us with many who if a little softly treated would be our friends. Also we must make ourselves very certain on the points in which the RAM comes short – and how the proposed Conservatoire is to remedy them. If indeed it is necessary to throw dirt at all, which I doubt...'

initiatives for the RCM as a trial-run to his later role as Director (see Chapter Three, p. 100 onwards). As pioneering Secretary to the Crystal Palace, he had been responsible for administering the music department that had been added to the Crystal Palace School of Arts and Sciences from 1880.¹³¹ Musical connections forged from this work ensured an entrée into the inner-sanctum of London musical life. Crucially, Grove was well-connected: as early as 1863, his circle had included the writer and radical independent MP who had supported the Reform Bill in 1831, Edward (later first Baron) Bulwer-Lytton (1803-1873), the poet Robert Browning (1812-1889), the writer Wilkie Collins (1824-1889), the artist Holman Hunt (1827-1910), Charles Dickens (1812-1870) and William Ewart Gladstone.¹³² His status was further enhanced by acquaintances with wealthy musical families such as the Lehmanns and the Von Glehns.¹³³ His musical associates included the educationalist, John Hullah (1812-1884) and the pianist and writer on music, Edward Dannreuther (1844-1905). Moreover, Grove's political sympathies naturally made him acceptable to a predominantly Liberal 1851 Commission (see Appendix 1.0) and Gladstone's administration, which had become renowned for its democratization of education from 1870. Personally appointed Organising Secretary by the Prince of Wales, Grove worked from the Duchy of Cornwall offices and was involved in organising the various RCM fund-raising initiatives, while establishing a case for government subvention, both of which had become intrinsic aspects of the movement to establish a conservatoire in England with a national remit. There was no mention at this stage of the RCM's more extensive imperial dimension.

¹³¹ Young (1980), p. 106. See Barty-King (1980), p. 18. According to Barty-King, the music department at the Crystal Palace School of Arts and Sciences only ever admitted women to its student body.

¹³² Young (1980), p. 82.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

In choosing Manchester, a city that had hosted the 1857 Art Exhibition and renowned in England for its culture, Grove hoped to elicit a positive response to the Prince's proposals from a metropolis that shared many of its characteristics with London. More specifically, it had been a city in which Dr Bertram Mark had successfully founded two royal colleges of music (see Chapter One, pp. 16-18) and it is possible the Prince of Wales thought the scheme to found a royal college of music London would receive a sympathetic hearing.

Sullivan had also intended to go to Manchester and felt that he 'ought to take some part – be asked to speak....'¹³⁴ Despite Grove's view that he would have 'plenty to say, & very good ideas & sense', Thring vehemently disagreed and it is clear from his reply that he felt any overt association with the NTSM would undermine their objective:¹³⁵ 'I do not want to put Sullivan's nose out of joint, but I think it would be most unwise to ask him to speak. He can do us no good, might do us harm and I have no particular desire to give him a special glorification.'¹³⁶

The three addresses to be delivered at the meeting were all written by Grove, amended by Thring and subsequently sent for approval to The Prince of Wales, The Duke of Albany and The Duke of Edinburgh.¹³⁷ Invitations were sent to each of the editors at the London newspapers, who were also informed that the '2 Dukes, the Archbishop, the Bishop [of Manchester], the Borough members &c. are going to speak [and] it will be everything for us to get the speeches verbatim into the Times & Daily Telegraph.'¹³⁸ The speeches, delivered to three thousand people, confirmed the intention to establish the RCM as the musical equivalent to the universities of Oxford and

¹³⁴ MS AL GG to HT (December [1881]), HTpp RCMA Box 171.

¹³⁵ MS AL GG to HT (December [1881]), HTpp RCMA Box 171.

¹³⁶ Thring's undated response to Grove attached to Grove's letter of 1 December [1881].

¹³⁷ MS AL GG to HT (18 November, [1881]) HTpp RCMA Box 171.

¹³⁸ MS AL GG to HT (1 December, [1881]), HT pp RCMA Box 171.

Cambridge but the College's ability to rank alongside Continental conservatoires remained paramount.¹³⁹ In the end, Grove had read the Duke of Albany's speech, who had been incapacitated through illness. In an attempt to imbue the assembled gathering with a sense of patriotism in order to encourage support for the College, Grove endeavoured to establish England in the minds of the Manchester public not merely as one musical nation among many, but as the global pioneer.¹⁴⁰

It may not be generally known, but it is nevertheless admitted by the most learned and most hostile of our Continental critics, that in the early discovery and practice of music England was in advance of all the nations of Europe by very many years. The little round or glee, 'Summer is a-coming in'...is now accepted by the most learned antiquarians of England and Germany...as the work of a monk of Reading in Berkshire in or about the year 1226. This is more than a century and a half before the admission of Dufay to the Papal Chapel in 1380, which has hitherto been always taken as the earliest landmark in the history of modern music.¹⁴¹

He claimed that a combination of civil war, Oliver Cromwell's Commonwealth and the development of commerce had guaranteed music's 'dislocation from the ordinary daily pleasures of life.'¹⁴² Furthermore, he argued that London's burgeoning Italian opera from 1720 had smothered English music throughout the eighteenth century as 'it was less trouble and more practical [if not more economical, for rich patrons] to employ Handel to write operas and bring over Italian singers, than to re-establish the English school of composers and performers.'¹⁴³ Sanctuary appeared to have been provided within the cloistered confines of a somewhat uneven cathedral and church music tradition.¹⁴⁴ For

¹³⁹ 'Music in England. The Proposed Royal College of Music.' Miscellaneous Institutions, Societies, and other Bodies, Royal College of Music. Three Addresses delivered by H.R.H. The Duke of Edinburgh, H.R.H., The Duke of Albany, H.R.H. Prince Christian at Manchester (12 December, 1881), pp. 3 and 11. RCMA. XXII b20. The 'object is to urge the importance and the desirability of establishing a national Conservatoire or College of Music, which shall afford to students the same advantages as those which are afforded in general learning by the universities and colleges of this country, and in other Fine Arts by the Government at South Kensington.' See also MS correspondence GG to HT in HTpp RCMA Box 171.

¹⁴⁰ 'Music in England. The Proposed Royal College of Music.' Miscellaneous Institutions, Societies, and other Bodies, Royal College of Music. Three Addresses delivered by HRH The Duke of Edinburgh, HRH The Duke of Albany, HRH Prince Christian at Manchester (12 December, 1881), p. 11. See annotated copy at the RCM.

¹⁴¹ Music in England (1881), p. 12.

¹⁴² Music in England (1881), p. 15.

¹⁴³ Music in England (1881), p. 15. See reference in Daniel Defoe: *Augusta Triumphans* (London: Printed for J. Roberts and sold by E. Nutt, A. Dodd, N. Blandford and J. Stagg, 1728), p. 4.

¹⁴⁴ Music in England (1881), p. 16.

the RCM, indifference to indigenous music by men of intellect, culture and position presented a chronic conundrum: if music were to remain 'beneath the notice of an occupied or intellectual man', Grove argued that England, and London in particular, would be condemned to a concert life of foreign music performed by foreigners.¹⁴⁵ Indeed this was one of the principles for establishing the RCM included in the 1882 Prospectus and articulated at the various fund-raising meetings from March, 1882. If the survey of the problems facing the British music profession was neither entirely accurate nor fair, it was a masterly attempt to manipulate support for the RCM by painting a considerably more pessimistic picture than the one represented by the genuine circumstances.

Even though the prime objective of the Manchester fund-raising meeting was 'to rouse the Government to a sense of duty in encouraging and materially supporting the proposed Royal College of Music or National Conservatoire', by 1881 no application for government assistance had been made by the founders of the RCM; consequently, they could not predict with any real precision what the response would be.¹⁴⁶ Secondly, by the late-nineteenth century, London's musical provision was thought to exceed that of any foreign metropolis and its music profession was far from over-run with foreign musicians, even if, by 1881, it might have seemed from some quarters as though it had been.¹⁴⁷

As early as 1866, Henry Chorley (1808-1872), the journalist and music critic of *The Athenaeum*, and one of the most vociferous of the RAM's opponents, had published 'facts

¹⁴⁵ Music in England (1881), pp. 6 to 8.

¹⁴⁶ 'Music in England. The Proposed Royal College of Music.' Miscellaneous Institutions, Societies, and other Bodies, Royal College of Music. Three Addresses delivered by H.R.H. The Duke of Edinburgh, H.R.H., The Duke of Albany, H.R.H. Prince Christian at Manchester (12 December, 1881), p. 24.

¹⁴⁷ Music in England (1881), p. 7.

and figures furnished by an orchestral artist'.¹⁴⁸ The statistics clearly demonstrated that London's orchestras employed a high proportion of indigenous British players even if the majority of them had received their musical education with no help from the RAM.

DEMOGRAPHIC OF ORCHESTRAL PLAYERS IN THE MAIN LONDON ORCHESTRAS (1866)

	Total players	English players	Ex-RAM	Principals (ex-RAM)
Royal Italian Opera	87	71	17	4*
Her Majesty's Theatre	80+	40	6	0
Philharmonic Society	£70	—	15	4†
Musical Society	85	69	17	6
New Philharmonic Society	97	73	16	5

* viola, double-bass, trumpet, horn
† violin, viola, cello, bassoon ¹⁴⁹

By contrast, other British cities with sizeable populations, such as Birmingham, Glasgow and Leeds, were reliant solely on the overstretched musicians of London, and Manchester where Charles Hallé had established his orchestra (see Chapter Four, p. 165).¹⁵⁰ In establishing an effective system of education, the RCM was intended to eliminate these deficiencies.

2.13 COMMENTARY ON THE MANCHESTER MEETING

In inviting *The Musical Times*, *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph* to cover the Manchester fund-raising meeting, Grove and Thring had clearly hoped to exploit an opportunity to promote the RCM and its philosophies to the widest possible audience; however, it backfired. On 1 January 1882 *The Musical Times* carried an commentary that can only be described as luke-warm in its enthusiasm for the RCM: it also threw up a number of

¹⁴⁸ Quoted in Ibid., pp. 81f. See also *The Athenaeum* (10 February, 1866), p. 212.
¹⁴⁹ Quoted in Ibid., p. 80. Ehrlich points out that while Chorley was biased against the RAM, the figures appear not to have been challenged in the press. Whether or not Disraeli was aware of these statistics is unknown.
¹⁵⁰ Music in England (1881), p. 8. To have acknowledged Charles Hallé with bringing Manchester to musical prominence through the establishment of 'his splendid orchestra' may well have been a foil to sooth his bruised ego over the Leeds Festival conductorship and the 1880 NTSM examinations debacle. See also Michael Musgrave: *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 76. Not only did provincial cities suffer from a dearth of good musicians: in London a clash between the illustrious Philharmonic Society and less distinguished Crystal Palace orchestra, which shared a number of players, elicited an invidious deputy system to the detriment of the Saturday Concerts at Sydenham.

potential problems. The prospect of founding a conservatoire along European lines threw up a number of practical and financial difficulties: on the Continent, opera training was intrinsic to the conservatoire curriculum. Emanating from the 1868 petition by 30 named professional musicians and ‘about 100 others’ (see Chapter One, p. 23), the ambition to create a national opera school for England was synonymous with the movement to found a national conservatoire in London; however, the situation facing the founders of the RCM was far from straightforward.¹⁵¹

In the course of [the Duke of Albany’s] address...he reminded his hearers that the German opera, “the great national school of the theatre to which Weber, Spohr, and Marschner added so much, and to which Wagner has now placed so mighty a cupola, has all been reared in a hundred years.” We look upon this allusion to the more continuous and wider-reaching attractions of the lyric theatre as the happiest omen in the whole Manchester demonstration in favour of an English conservatorium...it, however suggests some old difficulties. We have heard it whispered that, as hitherto the operatic stage has not always “declared by unambiguous symbolism, or by definite embodied example, the loftiness of virtue and the deadliness of sin,” the idea of connecting the proposed Royal College of Music with the theatre has been discouraged.¹⁵²

In Britain, the licentious associations of the stage had traditionally offended middle-class sensibilities and it was this mindset against which the founders railed and with which Grove had to grapple in his attempts to garner support for (Sir) Charles Villiers Stanford’s (1852-1924) opera class once the RCM was underway (see Chapter Four, p. 187). The Manchester speeches had offered hope; yet without a *volte-face* in Victorian mores, the establishment of an opera class could potentially cripple chances of treasury assistance and public subscription. The grant of Parliamentary aid to an institution ‘whose avowed object it would be to produce composers, instrumental performers and operatic singers...[was seen to be] almost as bad as “subventioning” a theatre....’¹⁵³

If the involvement of the Royal Family had been anticipated to temper criticism of the scheme, a letter to the editor of *The Daily Telegraph*, signed by ‘an amateur’ and published

¹⁵¹ Extract from Appendix A to 15th Report of Science and Arts Department, 1868 RAppVIC See also Brightwell (1998), p. 22.

¹⁵² ‘The Proposed Royal College of Music’ *MT* (London: Novello and Company Ltd, January 1, 1882) p. 18.

¹⁵³ ‘The Royal College of Music’ *The St James’s Gazette* [n.d., ?1882] RA PP VIC 1882/12570.

eleven days later, on 11 January, was as cautious about the plans for the new RCM as it was damning in its attack on both the NTSM and RAM.

Not many years have elapsed since the fortunes of the Royal Academy were, to all seeming, as low as now are those of its western-rival. Students were few, the treasury was empty, and from the very council-board arose a cry of despair. An offer was even made to return the Royal Charter to its august source, as a first step to dissolution and nothingness. At that crisis the professors took the tiller into their own hands; the dilettante directors were relegated to purely ornamental functions, and the ship, sailed by men who knew a mainmast from a marlinspike.... This, at any rate is the lesson taught by history of the Royal Academy, and in its light we can to some extent understand the collapse at South Kensington.... The events of 1875-6 are now repeating themselves in an accentuated form. Once more the South Kensington wire-pullers are at work, and to such purpose that they have presented three Royal Princes on a Manchester platform in the capacity of advocates. I am not surprised at their straining every muscle, because they have to retrieve a failure and, if haply they may, avert confusion of face. Defeat now means final ruin and they know it.... This work can be accomplished by none better than the illustrious individuals who spoke at Manchester. It is when the practical part of the question comes up that the public should exercise caution, and keep their eyes open. There must be no blind confidence here, for we have a catastrophe under our very noses as a warning.... There must be wisdom in council, experience in management, and, outside, widespread confidence. I say frankly that, in musical matters, South Kensington cannot command these essential things. It would be as reasonable for a pilot who has just run his ship on the rocks to expect the reward of skill and judgement as for the managers of the National Training School to demand the control of a great Conservatorium.¹⁵⁴

In some senses, the correspondent was correct: a third failed attempt to establish a national school of music would end any prospect of Treasury assistance or public philanthropy and could easily tarnish permanently the reputation of all involved.

When the letter was subsequently reprinted in the *Musical World* on 21 January, it provoked an incontrovertible rebuttal from Stainer as Principal of the NTSM. 'The tragic attitude of your correspondent would be amusing if it were not somewhat mischievous; he comes forward and cries look on this picture and that—the National Training School is a failure and dying, whereas the rooms of the Royal Academy of Music are crowded with students'.¹⁵⁵ As the NTSM was to form the nucleus of the RCM, it was essential that any misleading press propaganda should be eliminated in order to preserve public confidence in the scheme. In its short history, the NTSM had produced

a group of singers who are to be heard on every platform where high-class music is to be found, violinists who are beginning to be highly valued as orchestral and solo players, organists who fill very high positions, and many teachers of music.... Is this the failure of which so much is said? I

¹⁵⁴ 'The Proposed Royal College of Music'. *The Daily Telegraph* (11 January, 1882), RA PP VIC 1882/12570.

¹⁵⁵ 'The Royal College of Music' *MW* Vol. 60, No 3 (21 January, 1882), p. 42.

can only say that our results will be found to rank higher than any other institution, not excepting the Academy itself, if the returns are limited to the last five years, and the relative numbers of students in the two places are duly considered, the students at the Academy being numerically four or five to one of those at the National School. Perhaps "Amateur" may not care to be reminded that the late Principal of the National School and a large proportion of the professors were and still are among the most successful teachers at the Royal Academy. How very curious that men who are so talented and able when giving lessons at Tenterden Street prove so utterly imbecile when teaching at Kensington Gore.¹⁵⁶

'It does not require a very large amount of common sense to see that this sort of death, at the close of a definite period of successful work, is a very different thing to the death of failure and ignominy to which "Amateur" suggests the National School of Music is about to succumb.... All who can get at facts know better.'¹⁵⁷

If Stainer had hoped to stop further erroneous allegations, he simply made matters worse. 'Amateur' further alleged the NTSM founders had only characterised the School as an experiment once failure was imminent; moreover, he suggested that its success was entirely due to effective selection procedures rather than an efficient means of education.¹⁵⁸ While neither accusation had been accurate (see Appendix 2.1, paragraph 2), they had done little to assist Grove and the Prince of Wales in their efforts to promote the RCM. Anxiety at the ability of South Kensington to provide the essential conditions in which a new conservatorium, given the 'hazy background of controversy' over both the RAM's withdrawal from the merger and the difficulties surrounding Cole's involvement with the NTSM naturally undermined the case being made by the Prince of Wales.¹⁵⁹ Crucially, the amateur claimed the RCM enjoyed

scarcely any following among the professionals and amateurs who constitute our great musical public. It is regarded, if not with profound distrust, at any rate with extreme want of confidence, the legitimate and foreseen effect of which appears in the present condition of its musical enterprise. Sir, I contend that no conservatorium is possible in this country apart from the sympathy and support of those who constitute our musical public. Princes and peers, bishops and mayors, are not to be despised even as fitful helpers of an artistic movement, but they cannot supply its breath of life. That must come from the sympathy and aid of those to whom art is almost life itself.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁶ *MW* Vol. 60, No 3, p. 42.

¹⁵⁷ *MW* Vol. 60, No 3, pp. 42f.

¹⁵⁸ *MW* Vol. 60, No 3, p. 43.

¹⁵⁹ *MW* Vol. 60, No 3, p. 43.

¹⁶⁰ *MW* Vol. 60, No 3, p. 44.

While no evidence exists to suggest the music profession was antipathetic to the RCM, the adverse coverage had done little to inspire confidence at a time when it was most needed; in addition, the implication of the Royal Family in so public a fracas proved deeply embarrassing. Optimism and good will had been replaced with a liberal and convincing dose of foreboding less than a month prior to Prince of Wales's landmark meeting at St James's Palace on 28 February, 1882 (see Chapter Three).

In the days preceding the meeting, *The Times* carried an article (24 February, 1882), which inevitably acted as a foil to *The Daily Telegraph's* antagonistic approach:

The meeting will be a national one in every sense of the word. It will comprise the Lord Lieutenants [*sic*] and high sheriffs of counties in the United Kingdom, the Lord Mayor of London and the mayors and provosts of all the boroughs in England and the most important towns in Scotland and Ireland, the dignitaries of the Established Church and of all religious denominations, the heads of the great educational institutions in the kingdom, and the most distinguished representatives of the colonies now in England. To meet these, are asked the whole musical community of the country—that is to say, the most eminent musicians, the most influential patrons of music, the great music sellers, the great musical instrument makers; indeed every person prominently concerned in music, either professionally or by inclination. Representatives of the Royal Academy of Music also are invited, and it may be hoped that they will, on consideration, give their cordial support to a scheme which is founded on so wide a basis as to be capable at any time of providing for the Academy within its fold. The object of the meeting is avowedly to obtain an organization for raising a national fund for the founding of a national college.¹⁶¹

Despite its generally felicitous tenor, the editorial went straight to the heart of the problems facing the College:

In France an appeal for the establishment of a College of Music would be made to the Government. In England the appeal is made to the people, for on this side of the Channel[,] voluntary contributions and voluntary efforts take the place of Ministerial supervision and Government aid.¹⁶²

For over a century, European conservatoires had been perceived as an essential component in establishing national identity; paradoxically, the RAM and the NTSM, both of which had been established with this very purpose in mind, were regarded as esoteric, quasi-independent institutions, outside parliamentary jurisdiction. Far from promoting the RCM to a wider public with a view to attracting private philanthropy, the

¹⁶¹ 'Royal College of Music' *The Times* (24 February 1882), p. 7.

¹⁶² *The Times* (24 February 1882), p. 8.

press coverage simply provoked unhelpful petitions offering support from those with their own agendas.

Georgina Weldon (1837-1914), the self-publicist, tireless campaigner against lunacy laws and celebrated litigant, had published *Hints on Pronunciation, with Proposals for a Self-Supporting Academy* in 1872.¹⁶³ Her letter to the Prince of Wales and RCM Vice-Presidents a decade later had advocated the establishment of a school along similar lines but it was a thinly-disguised attempt at self-promotion motivated by financial gain. In any event, Weldon's attempt to establish a national training school a decade earlier had been an unmitigated disaster and was fundamentally at odds with Grove's vision for the RCM.

Establishing herself in Tavistock House, Bloomsbury, she filled her house with orphans, pursuing a highly progressive plan of education. Attendance at the opera, vegetarianism, and indiscipline were among the least controversial of her methods. Most educational establishments sought to mould their pupils into acceptance of their class status, but not Mrs Weldon's. She became an advocate of rational dress and took up an interest in spiritualism.¹⁶⁴

By 1875, Weldon was already separated from her husband, Harry, who had subsequently attempted to use her spiritualism as grounds for insanity to have her certified. She had evaded capture and took her case to a sympathetic magistrate; however, the conviction remained and irredeemably blemished her reputation.¹⁶⁵ This was not the kind of support the RCM either required or sought.

While the RCM's Liberal agenda was intended to open its doors to those from the widest class base, it was expected to operate within the strict confines of Victorian morality. The gentrification of the music profession—a defining feature of the movement to establish the RCM—explains the direct involvement of the Royal Family. Yet the ability to attract financial support from an indifferent English public, in the grip of utilitarianism, would require a concerted effort on a prodigious scale.

¹⁶³ Georgina Weldon: 'The Proposed Royal College of Music' (8 January, 1882), RCMA B/11052, p. 3.

¹⁶⁴ John Martin: 'Georgina Weldon (1837-1914)' *DNB* Vol. 57 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 984f.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 985.

2.14 CONCLUSION

The series of circumstances that led to the development of the Royal College of Music as a concept were by no means straightforward. From a musical perspective, the NTSM had been broadly successful compared with the RAM, even if the 1880 set of examinations had suggested otherwise. By the end of 1881, it had produced a series of musicians who went on to plough successful furrows at home and abroad and former students included Eugène d'Albert, Walter Alcock, J. H. Blower, Frederick Cliffe and Herbert Sharpe; however, the NTSM had failed to assuage the financial and managerial difficulties thrown up by the RAM. Initially, Cole's inability to attract sufficient funds through public subscription led directly to the NTSM's application for financial assistance from the 1851 Commission less than a year after its inauguration in 1876. The involvement of the Prince of Wales in his capacity as President of the 1851 Commission and Chairman of its Board of Management was anticipated to provide a solution to two problems. It was expected to temper Cole's confrontational managerial style, while also offering moral support to the Duke of Edinburgh in what had become an unsustainable situation.¹⁶⁶ If support from an 1851 Commission had been anticipated to provide a prompt resolution to the NTSM's predicament, it failed. The interference of those with their own personal and political agendas seriously delayed the RCM's establishment as a financially and constitutionally viable alternative to either the RAM or NTSM. Moreover, the 1851 Commissioners' attempt to assuage the NTSM's financial problems by uniting it with the RAM as a pretext to government subvention backfired and further delayed the process to constitute the RCM.

¹⁶⁶ The 1851 Commission was administered by two committees: the 1851 Commission (which acted as a Committee of Management), and the 1851 Commission Board of Management (which was to all intents and purposes an Executive Committee).

The involvement of the Prince of Wales and the 1851 Commission, with its influential membership, was considered sufficient to facilitate the grant of chartered status. This in turn was perceived to give the RCM a legal constitution as a prelude to Parliamentary accountability and subvention. Yet for all the talk of Treasury assistance, no application for a government grant appears to have been made by the founders of the NTSM or RCM during the period between 1873 and the end of 1881. While the quest for Treasury assistance was articulated as the prime goal of the Manchester fund-raising meeting in 1881, it became part of a long-term strategy to see the RCM legally constituted and financially established. In fact, the Manchester meeting was intended to establish the RCM as a national enterprise to discover whether public support for the RCM would be forthcoming on a scale consonant with Continental provision and to test Grove's mettle as an administrator. It was also the first opportunity at which the aims and objectives of the RCM, substantially revised since the Prince of Wales's original meeting in 1878, could be brought before the public. In every other sense, however, the Manchester meeting was little more than a rehearsal for the more significant London meeting at St James's Palace in February, 1882 at which Grove raised the imperial dimension of the RCM's remit for the first time. It was for this meeting that the official prospectus was published and at which it was first distributed. Both the Prospectus and the series of comprehensive initiatives outlined during the St James's Palace meeting in turn paved the way for the far more extensive final version of the charter formally ratified in April, 1883.

PART TWO

Sir George Grove and the Establishment of an Imperial Enterprise

CHAPTER THREE

Building the 'Engine of the Renaissance':

Fund-Raising Meetings, Appointments and Grove's Charter

CHAPTER FOUR

The RCM at Work: A 'Brahms Cult'?

Curriculum, Concerts and Credibility

CHAPTER FIVE

Healing the Rift:

The Foundation of the Associated Board of the RAM and RCM

CHAPTER THREE

Building the 'Engine of Renaissance'

Fund-raising meetings, Appointments and Grove's Charter

3.0 INTRODUCTION

Designated the 'key-note of the movement' by Grove, the London meeting to establish the RCM was hosted by the Prince of Wales in the banqueting hall of St James's Palace on 28 February, 1882. It was the first and most significant of three such fund-raising meetings for which the list of subscribers, headed by the Queen, was prepared and at which the RCM Prospectus, containing a number of Grove's aims and objectives, was first distributed. In listing the subscribers together with the amounts paid, Grove and the Prince of Wales intended to set the level of individual philanthropy by using the Queen's donation as a benchmark. Despite being lampooned two weeks later in *Punch* on 11 March, 1882 (see Fig. 10), the St James's Palace meeting was remarkable insofar as it was attended by Establishment figures from the spheres of politics, music, the church, and finance, described by the Prince as 'the heads of social life'.¹ Speeches were given by the

¹ 'The Royal College of Music' in *The Times* (1 March, 1882), p. 6. In addition to the Prince of Wales, the Dukes of Edinburgh, Cambridge, Albany and Teck, the Prime Minister and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the following attended the meeting: Sir Stafford Northcote MP, the Earl of Rosebery, the Lord Lieutenant of Linlithgow, the Lord Mayor of London, the Duke of Westminster, Cardinal Manning, the Hon. J. Russell Lowell, the American Minister, Count Münster (German Ambassador), the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, the Turkish Ambassador, the Russian Ambassador, the Belgian, Netherlands and Swedish Ministers, Earl Granville, Earl Spencer, the Earl of Derby, the Marquis of Hartington, Lord Redesdale, Earl Lathom, Sir Henry Brand MP (Speaker of the House of Commons), Sir Charles Dilke MP, Sir Richard Cross MP, The Right Hon. Hugh Childers MP, The Right Hon. A. J. Mundella MP (Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education), Dr Lyon Playfair MP, The Right Hon. W. H. Smith MP, Lord Charles Bruce MP, John Walter MP, Sir Theodore Martin, Sir Frederick Leighton PRA, John Everett Millais RA, Sir John Lubbock MP, Sir Julius Benedict, Sir Herbert Oakeley, Sir Philip Cunliffe-Owen, The Rev'd William Rogers, Dr Hiles (of Manchester), The Rev'd Dr Donald Fraser, The Rev'd Canon Farrar, The Rev'd Canon Barry, The Bishop of Salford, Sir Garnet Wolseley, Sir Frederick Bramwell, Sir Henry Thompson, Alderman Sir Robert Carden MP, Alderman (Sir) William James Richmond Cotton MP, Alderman Sir Francis Truscote, Alderman Sir Thomas Owden, Alderman Sir Charles Whetham, and the Mayors of provincial towns, Sir Alexander Galt, Sir Henry Barkly, George Grove, Arthur Chappell, Henry Leslie, Weist Hill (Principal of the Guildhall School of Music), Alberto Randegger, Carl Rosa, Lewis Thomas, William Hayman Cummings, Dr William Spottiswoode, Edward North Buxton (Chairman of the School Board of London), Lord John Manners MP, The Right Hon. J. G. Talbot MP, Stewart Wortley MP, Sir Donald Currie MP (the Lord Advocate), Colonel Sir Robert James Loyd-Lindsay MP, Lord A.

Prince of Wales, the Duke of Edinburgh, Archibald Tait (Archbishop of Canterbury), and Gladstone (see Fig. 2) who had been 'more or less constrained by the impetus of the movement to come and show sympathy for it.'² Like the fund-raising meeting in Manchester three months earlier, the St James's Palace Meeting was intended to establish a premise for Government subvention by allying the fundamental tenets of the RCM with the Liberal agenda on educational reform; consequently, the desire to democratize music education through the introduction of scholarships remained at the heart of the enterprise. If Grove had intended to establish the RCM as a national movement at the Manchester meeting in November 1881, he expanded this philosophy to include an imperial dimension at the St James's Palace Meeting in 1882. The involvement of the Prince of Wales and his brothers, and the connections provided by the 1851 Commission were anticipated to confirm the College's moral and social respectability in the expectation of soliciting substantial philanthropic assistance from across Britain and the Empire for Grove's fund-raising campaign to establish the RCM's Capital Fund.³

Grove's comprehensive six-month campaign in support of the RCM's Capital Fund was launched at two subsequent fund-raising meetings in March 1882. The first, held at London's Mansion House and hosted by the Lord Mayor, to which bankers and businessmen were invited, provided an opportunity to present the RCM's University dimension as outlined in the 1882 Prospectus. His proposal to establish the RCM as a musical senate to govern and regulate all aspects of the music profession was the most radical initiative contained in the Prospectus. At the second meeting on 23 March, hosted by the Prince of Wales at Marlborough House, the RCM's imperial dimension was brought before the Colonial Representatives. The desire to see satellite schools of music

Churchill (the Attorney-General), The Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain MP, Mr Boord MP, W. H. Wills MP, Frederick Young, Major Flood Page, John Pender MP, Samuel Morley MP and (Sir) John Barran MP.

² Stanford (1914), p. 215.

³ 'The Royal College of Music' in *The Times* (8 May, 1883), p. 10.

linked to the RCM throughout the Empire as sister institutions was an intrinsic aspect of Grove's vision. Both initiatives represent a conscious endeavour to see the RCM imbued with an imperial philosophy from the start.

Grove's extraordinary accomplishment as a fund-raiser, and his successful organisation of the Manchester and London fund-raising meetings, confirmed him as the Prince of Wales's choice to fill the role of first Director of the new College. His enviable musical contacts from the Crystal Palace ensured that he and Lord Charles Bruce worked exclusively on the selection of the RCM's professorial staff and laying down the curriculum during 1882. It was as Director that responsibility fell to Grove to draw up the RCM charter that enshrined its legal constitution. By far the most comprehensive of all three charters, Grove's charter of 1883 owed much to the philosophies governing both the Paris Conservatoire and the Leipzig *Hochschule für Musik* and the views of Kellow Pye, Earl Spencer and Sir Henry Thring. If the charters of 1878 and 1880 had established the RCM's national remit where the RAM and NTSM were seen to have failed, Grove's charter, the final draft of which was ratified on 20 April, 1883, confirmed its imperial dimension. In order to implement Grove's comprehensive vision, a well-digested fund-raising strategy would be crucial if the RCM were not to imitate the NTSM's path to extinction.

3.1 THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A LIST OF RCM SUBSCRIBERS

The establishment of an impressive list of subscribers, headed by the Queen, formed an intrinsic aspect of Grove's blueprint for the RCM, as it had for Bertram Mark in 1858. To have succeeded in garnering support from the Monarch herself for an embryonic institution, while not unprecedented, was certainly a departure from routine protocol; however, the founders were presented with a delicate situation. The Queen's donation, which had been facilitated by the Prince of Wales and Sir Henry Ponsonby, was

anticipated to attract similarly philanthropic gestures but the sum of £300 was perceived to be inadequate compared with a number of the donations already accrued. Thring wrote to Ponsonby, citing the Liberal MP, Samuel Morley's donation of £1,000 and other donations of £500, as a guide. When Thring's letter did not elicit a response, Sir Francis Knollys wrote a month later on behalf of the Prince of Wales:

Marlborough House,
Pall Mall, S. W.

23 Feb: 1882

My dear Ponsonby,

In view of the large sums that are being given in aid of the National College of Music [RCM], the Prince of Wales desires me to write to you to express the earnest hope that the Queen may be induced to grant a donation of £500 instead of £300.

The Duke of Westminster gives £500, Sir Richard Wallace £1,000, and sums of a similar amount have been promised by various people.

His Royal Highness feels a natural hesitation in broaching the subject again, and he is only prompted to do so by the fact that he thinks the Public will expect the largest [*sic*] of the two sums which I have been directed to mention to (*viz.* £500) from Her Majesty.

Yours sincerely,

Francis Knollys

I may add that the Duke of Westminster and Sir Richard Wallace increased their donations from much smaller sums to those I have named, at the personal solicitations of the Prince of Wales.⁴

Five days later the subscription was increased to the desired amount. That the Queen had been graciously pleased to give £500, represented a 'most encouraging augury of future success.'⁵ The Queen's subscription was matched by Jeremiah James Colman (1830-1898), the Gladstonian Liberal MP for Norwich (1871 and 1895), and his uncle, Henry Jeremiah Colman (1814-1895) of Carshalton Park, alongside Thomas Chappell, Samuel Morley MP and Hugh Lupus Grosvenor (1840-1915), the first Duke of Westminster.⁶

⁴ MS AL FK to HP (23 February, 1882) RCMA MS 0096/1.

⁵ MS AL HT to HP (27 February, 1882) RCMA MS 0096/1.

⁶ Royal College of Music Primary List of Donors RA, p. 191. Other donors included the Prince of Wales £250, the Duke of Edinburgh £250, the Duke of Connaught £100, the Duke of Albany £100, Sir Richard Wallace £1,000, Samuel Morley MP £1,000, Robert Cocks and Co. £1,000, Collard and Collard £1,000, Sir Edward Scott £600, Mr. Pfeiffer £500, Sir Donald Currie £500, Thomas Chappell £500, Howard Morley £500, Charles Morley £500, Boosey and Co. £500, Baron Ferdinand Rothschild £250, Warren de la Rue £250, Elkington and Co. £210, Edward Lawson £200, the Earl of Rosebery £100, Messrs N. & M.

The publication of gifts from so many well-connected Liberals can only have been intended to establish a network of support from those who could appeal to Gladstone and his government.⁷ The most significant donation seems to have been an annual subscription from the 1851 Commission of £500, estimated to be worth £12,500 in capital terms over a fixed period of 25 years.⁸ Just as plans were being laid for the meeting at St James's Palace on 28 February at which Grove intended to announce the subscriptions, Charles Morley (1847-1917), the RCM Honorary Secretary from 1882, received an unsigned letter, possibly from Sir Lyon Playfair, in which it was suggested that the College had jumped the gun by citing the Commissioners' donation:

I am directed by H.M. Comm^{rs} for the Exhibition of 1851 to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 21st July: in which you asked me to move them to pay "the first instalment of £500 out of their promised contribution of £12,500 payable in 25 years" to the proposed Royal College of Music.

The Comm^{rs} infer from this letter that the promoters of the College believe that the Comm^{rs} have already definitely resolved to apply a portion of their funds to its support, and, as such belief would not be strictly in accordance with the fact, they direct me to make the following statement showing the limit of the resolutions at which up to the present time arrived with regard to the College.⁹

In order to justify the Commissioners' grant, the RCM had first to demonstrate efficient management and to prove that its funds in addition to the grant were sufficient to maintain an effective system of education.¹⁰ Secondly, in the event the College was forced to close or that its finances were inadequate to effect the objects of the charter, the grant would be withdrawn.¹¹

Rothschild £100, Arthur Chappell £100, Messrs Ashdown and Parry £100, Metzler and Co. £100, Joseph Williams £100, Mr. Maxwell £100, Carl Rosa £100. Other, unspecified donations were received from Sir Julius Benedict, Oscar Clayton, Mr. Condor, C. Coote, F. Davis, H. Durlacher, Messrs Erard, Messrs Garrard, Charles Hallé, Messrs Holland, Messrs Hunt and Roskell, Joseph Joachim, Mr. Joseph, Mr S. Joshua, Messrs Kershaw, R. King, Master H. R. Lewis, Lady Matheson, Mr. Mitchell, Miss Mortlock, The Hon. Miss Murray, G. Osborne, Ernst Pauer, Messrs Phillips, Messrs Pleyel and Wolf, Dr. Stainer, Messrs Veitch and Messrs Wertheimer.

⁷ F. M. L. Thompson: 'Grosvenor, Hugh Lupus, first duke of Westminster (1825-1899)' *DNB* Vol. 24 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 91-94. In addition to Samuel Morley and the Colmans, Hugh Lupus Grosvenor, first Duke of Westminster was also a notable Liberal, as MP for the Grosvenor ward in Chester and cousin of the Liberal 1851 Commissioner, Earl Granville.

⁸ BMM(1851RC) (13 July, 1883), p. 41.

⁹ MS PL to CM, BMM(1851RC) (7 August, 1882), p. 147.

¹⁰ BMM(1851RC) (July, 1882), p. 148.

¹¹ BMM(1851RC) (July, 1882), p. 148.

In furnishing so many worthy organisations with land at a peppercorn rent, the 1851 Commission's income from private housing and galleries leased to the government provided a modest return; consequently, its total capital debt, including guarantees to the Royal Albert Hall and the Royal College of Music, worth £60,000 in capital terms, was £243,686, set against cash and realisable assets of £411,901.¹² The 1851 Commission's financial situation prevented its offering the RCM further munificence; however, with support from every senior member of the Royal Family and an established list of subscribers the St James's Palace Meeting went ahead as planned.

3.2 THE PROSPECTUS AND THE ST JAMES'S PALACE MEETING ON 28 FEBRUARY 1882

The first official Prospectus was published and circulated at the St James's Palace Meeting in February, 1882. A concise publication, it included general details of the scholarships. Like those at the NTSM, scholarships at the RCM were to be endowed by cities, towns and provinces at the capital sum of £3,000 each to provide tuition and maintenance. Competition was open to subjects of the Crown from all corners of the Empire and America;¹³ in the event an applicant proved unsuccessful in passing the entrance examination, a resourceful codicil ensured the scholarship income could be applied to the RCM's general funds until such time as a suitably-qualified candidate could be found. Private or close scholarships could be bequeathed by individuals each at a capital sum of £2,500. As mentioned at the Manchester meeting, the RCM was also to undertake the more extended functions of a university. In theory, it established the RCM as the first independent institution outside university control to be endowed with the right to award both external and internal music degrees, in addition to the Certificate of Proficiency (ARCM). On paper, it established the RCM as a musical senate, composed of representative musicians from all parts of the Empire. By far the most radical of all the

¹² Hermione Hobhouse: *The Crystal Palace and the Great Exhibition: A History of the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851* (London; New York: The Athlone Press, 2002) pp. 215f. See statistics in Hobhouse.

¹³ RCM Prospectus (15 November 1882) RCMA CPH(RCM).

proposals, this last objective was intended to empower a fledgling RCM to determine the standard of degree examinations across the land. As an initiative it was extraordinarily audacious and represents an attempt to confer sweeping powers upon the College, an untried and untested institution. Music degree regulations at the RCM had not even been established; by contrast, university qualifications, which, from the 1860s, had evolved in line with the late-nineteenth-century aesthetic position on music, could be traced back to the fifteenth century and earlier and included an impressive list of graduates.

The St James's Palace meeting allowed Grove substantially to expand upon the RCM remit rehearsed at the Manchester fund-raising meeting three months earlier. Speeches delivered by the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Edinburgh, the reforming Archbishop of Canterbury, Archibald Tait (1811-1882), and William Ewart Gladstone established the blueprint for an extensive design by any standards. A new charter, drawn up by Grove, was laid before the Privy Council with a view to establishing the RCM as a legal entity. The RCM's constitution, outlined by the Prince of Wales in his speech, was based broadly on the systems in place at Eton and Winchester, where paying pupils were admitted alongside foundation scholars whose education was supported by an endowment. The appointment of a professorial staff of the 'greatest eminence' was to obviate the need to send students abroad to be trained at Continental conservatoires.¹⁴ The number of English musicians who trained at the Leipzig Conservatorium had lurched from one in 1843 to 26 by the time the NTSM opened its doors in 1876 and this number was only exceeded by those from Germany and the U.S.A. (see Appendix 6.0).¹⁵ Grove was aware of the problem: he possessed a copy of Emil Kneschke's *Das*

¹⁴ Proceedings of the St James's Palace Meeting (28 February, 1882), [undated] RCMA p. 14.

¹⁵ Statistics in Leonard Milton Phillips: 'The Leipzig Conservatory: 1843-1881' (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Indiana, 1979), pp. 204f. See Table 5: the National Distribution of Students at the Leipzig Conservatory in the Nineteenth Century.

Conservatorium der Musik in Leipzig in which he had marked the names of British students.¹⁶

The claim that the RCM ‘will be to England what the Berlin Conservatoire is to Germany, what the Paris Conservatoire is to France, or the Vienna Conservatoire is to Austria—the recognised head of the musical world’ was intended to establish it as having a more comprehensive remit than any existing music institution in Britain and many of its Continental rivals.

Given the history of the NTSM and RAM, it was essential that the Prince of Wales was seen to be realistic in addressing the RCM’s financial provision and accommodation. Temporary premises for the College were to be provided in Charles Freake’s building formerly occupied by the NTSM, although plans were already afoot to provide purpose-built premises when a suitable site and the funds could be found to support it (see Chapter Six).¹⁷ By 1882, the cost of maintaining a foundation of 100 scholars was estimated to require an annual income of between £10,000 and £12,000, compared with which, Cole’s estimate of £4,853 to support some 71 scholars for the NTSM six years earlier was at best restrained, if not altogether inaccurate.¹⁸ The RCM’s principal function was to provide music education of the highest calibre to those ‘to whom nature has been bountiful in giving good ears and good voices but niggardly in giving worldly wealth, [who may be] sought out in their obscurity and brought up to distinction by a proper course of instruction.’¹⁹ Music education of the variety proposed required substantial endowment as the Duke of Edinburgh acknowledged: ‘England is rich, and ready at all times to forward a worthy national undertaking.’²⁰ The picture painted by the Duke was not entirely accurate: the years surrounding 1880 had exhibited a marked and chronic

¹⁶ Kneschke (1868) RCMA XXII.A.5(I). Grove’s library, now in the possession of the RCM, contains a copy, which he annotated himself and indicated British students who had attended the Leipzig Conservatorium (see Appendix 6.0).

¹⁷ Proceedings of the St James’s Palace Meeting (28 February, 1882), [undated] RCMA p. 16.

¹⁸ Brightwell (1998), pp. 58, 59 & 65.

¹⁹ ‘The Royal College of Music’ in *The Times* (1 March, 1882), p. 6.

²⁰ Proceedings of the St James’s Palace Meeting (28 February, 1882), [undated] RCMA p. 22.

depression, the ramifications of which were still keenly felt by 1882. Bad harvests had caused the collapse of the rural economy while a decline in trade alongside an extension of the much-reviled and newly-introduced system of income tax had economic effects in the cities.²¹ Moreover, opera training was one of the main features of the RCM curriculum and this in itself presented the Prince of Wales with a problem.²² Both had the potential to undermine Grove's fund-raising endeavours in support of the RCM.

As an attempt to emulate Continental provision, opera training had been defined as an essential component of any national conservatoire at the Manchester meeting.²³ Given that entrance to the College was open to students of either sex, the institution of an opera school at the RCM, with its implication of back-stage impropriety, had the potential to derail the Prince of Wales's initiative before Grove's fund-raising endeavours had really begun. The Prince of Wales's invitation to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Archibald Tait, to speak on the subject of sacred music at the St James's Palace meeting was inspired for his presence alone implicitly lent moral credibility to thorny issues such as opera training. While Tait naturally emphasised the importance of sacred music and claimed that 'a better and more complete instruction [in sacred music]...is one of the first wants the College will supply', it was debatable whether Grove had genuinely

²¹ 'The Royal College of Music' in *The Monthly Musical Record* (1 June, 1883), p. 131. See also *The Times* (11 September, 1886), p. 10. Agricultural depression caused by the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 had been compounded by 1886: foreign competition ensured that meat and corn were produced at nominal costs to the detriment of the British farmer and his livelihood. Lord Rosebery's speech to the Royal and Central Bucks Agricultural Association provides some insight into the prevailing economic conditions during the years surrounding the establishment of the RCM: 'It was quite true that there was a condition of very severe depression after the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, but there was this essential difference between the condition of affairs in 1850, say, and in 1886—viz. that in 1850, even when the price of wheat was low, it was yet remunerative, and they had their home market, whereas in 1886 the price of wheat was lower and they no longer had their home market. That, in a word, pointed to a condition of affairs as grave as any that could be put forward in the history of agriculture. They had prices that would not remunerate them, even if they had abundant harvests, and their harvests had ceased to be abundant.' In other words by the 1880s the agricultural position had considerably worsened severely restricting the RCM's potential to raise funds from provincial towns and cities.

²² Proceedings of the St James's Palace Meeting (28 February, 1882), [undated] RCMA p. 3. A more comprehensive curriculum was outlined in an undated edition of the RCM Prospectus, presumably revised later on.

²³ RCM Prospectus (15 November 1882) RCMA CPH(RCM), p. 16. See also: 'The Royal College of Music' in *The Times* (2 November, 1880), p. 4.

intended to establish separate instruction in sacred music. One possible explanation for this may be that an English organist's training had usually been provided by the established cathedral apprentice system. Furthermore, in emulating the Paris Conservatoire, the RCM was to be founded as a secular institution. In allying opera-training to sacred music, a morally acceptable pursuit, Grove simply seems to have attempted to minimize criticism of the RCM by garnering the support of royalty and churchmen.²⁴

If Grove's concise Prospectus had given the impression that the projected RCM curriculum would be narrow, it disguised a far more extensive remit: not only was it anticipated to prepare performers and teachers for the music profession, provision was made for fee-paying amateurs not intending to make music their profession.²⁵

To advance music as an art in its highest aspects[,] resort must be had to those who possess the best opportunities for general mental culture. The most highly-educated classes are those who have the greatest power of disseminating the influence of art throughout the country. They are the sources from which the civilising stream proceeds downwards and penetrates through every channel of our complex social life.²⁶

The deep-seated desire to see Britain's intelligentsia imbued with an increased musical understanding, whose civilising influences would percolate through to the lower orders, was an attempt to encourage fee-paying students from the highest intellectual and social demographic. By the 1880s, the most highly-educated could only have been those with the wealth to attain such an education. Grove was only too aware that the future of the RCM was dependent upon its ability to influence the government. It seems that Grove had even entertained the idea that the RCM would fulfil this function by attracting fee-paying pupils from a wealthy and well-connected politico-social and intellectual milieu.

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²⁴ RCM Prospectus (15 November 1882) RCMA CPH(RCM).

²⁵ Ibid., p. 10.

²⁶ Ibid., RCMA, p. 10.

from which the civilising stream proceeds downwards and penetrates through every channel of our complex social life.²⁷

Grove's view on the issue of accepting fee-paying students corresponded with a fundamental shift in the position adopted by the Duke of Edinburgh on the subject. As Chairman of the NTSM Committee of Management, under Cole's influence, Prince Alfred had opposed any such innovation (see Chapter Two, p. 39), yet the recent introduction of fee-paying students at the NTSM two years earlier, had forced him to alter his view.

A feature of this College, which I desire to impress again and again on your attention, is that its doors will be open to all comers—that ability will be the only passport to the foundation, and that nationality will be no bar to the attainment of its advantages....On the subject of paying pupils let there be no mistake. We have no desire to exclude earnest students who from circumstances or the pressure of competition are unable to obtain entrance to the foundation. Quite the reverse. We shall welcome them from whatever part of Great Britain or the world they may hail from [*sic*]; but we shall expect them to enter the College for the purpose of real study.²⁸

The acceptance of fee-paying students proved to be an essential component in the RCM constitution, without which permanence could not have been guaranteed. Students were to be accepted on the strictly observed proviso that in either category they would be required sit a strict entrance examination and to follow an equally rigorous course of instruction as the scholars;²⁹ hence, Cole's philosophy of excellence was maintained and students were not to be exclusively accepted on their ability to meet the fees.

The European revolutions between 1815 and 1848 that had left Russia and Britain unscathed had all but destroyed the bourgeoisie in other European countries. The bid to educate wealthy students alongside impecunious scholars was a conscious endeavour to unite divergent ranks in society in a common elevating pursuit on a footing of artistic equality. To this end, Grove's ambition to educate listener and performer alike through the introduction of music into family life was intended to influence Britain's population

²⁷ Proceedings of the St James's Palace Meeting (28 February, 1882), [undated] RCMA p. 14.

²⁸ RCM Prospectus (15 November, 1882), RCMA, p. 14. See previous paragraph: the bond of union, which the College was intended to supply was restricted to the English-speaking races.

²⁹ Proceedings of the St James's Palace Meeting (28 February, 1882), [undated] RCMA p. 20.

at its grass roots. Reservations had been expressed by Kellow Pye on the subject in his letter to Major-General Scott back in September 1877:

It must be borne in mind, if it is decided (and I think it indispensable) that a portion of the Free Scholars are to be boarded and lodged as well as educated—a difficulty has to be overcome if a mixture of young people of different social positions, some of whom come from a low rank in life with corresponding habits &c. and many from the so-called “lower middle-classes” and here you have to deal with very sensitive natures, who shrink from accepting anything given in any other way, than as a recognition of a peculiar talent—and the encouragement of it, with a view to the promotion of Art. It is true that this difficulty sometimes settles itself but it is also sometimes the source of terrible heart burnings, sh^d not be disregarded in the settlement of some of the necessary details of an Institution that is meant to extend its arms to all classes all over the Kingdom.³⁰

While such initiatives were not met with universal approbation, both the Prince of Wales and Grove embraced a Liberal social agenda not merely as a cynical exercise to appeal to Gladstone’s government for funds or to ally the RCM with Liberal policy on educational reform, but as a genuine attempt to improve class relations through the democratization of music education.³¹ To this end Gladstone was invited to speak in support of the College. The presumption of direct patronage from the Prime Minister was assumed to be another stepping-stone towards state funding and was a pragmatic endeavour to inform and influence the ruling elite. Gladstone had also been a 1851 Commissioner, was well known to Grove: he had been a ‘long-time admirer of the music at the Crystal Palace’.³² It may well have been assumed that the RCM would be more likely to succeed in securing government subvention if Grove were able to act as an informal conduit between the College authorities and the Prime Minister.

According to *The Musical World*, Gladstone was predisposed to the RCM from the beginning: ‘Mr. Gladstone, the Premier... considers the present scheme most opportune, and doubts not but that the work engaged in by the Prince of Wales will be brought to a successful issue.’³³ Yet the thirty-year-old Charles Villiers Stanford (1852-1924), who had attended the St James’s Palace meeting, was not similarly optimistic. Despite the

³⁰ MS AL KP to HS (12 September, 1877), pp. 179-180.

³¹ Young (1980), p. 167. See also: Wright (2003), p. 241.

³² Young (1980), p. 133.

³³ ‘Royal College of Music’ *MMR* (1 April, 1882), p. 80.

implementation of W. E. Forster's 1870 Education Act during his own administration, Gladstone's personal opposition to comprehensive popular education was well-known and his speech had

concealed the vaguest of nothings under a cover of most facile verbiage. He blessed the proposal and emphasized a love for music in the country, while keeping free of any suspicion of tangible support, beyond the £500 a year which the Royal Academy of Music already received, talked charming fables about the smiles which pervaded the faces of small children tripping gaily to school to sing their little songs, and sat down without saying one syllable about the larger policy of founding a central Institution for production, which would refine the masses through the medium of the one art which can most easily reach their hearts and illuminate their lives. It was charming piffle, but piffle none the less.³⁴

This should have been a salutary lesson to Grove and the Prince of Wales but it is possible that, despite Gladstone's private views, they felt they would be able to persuade a Liberal administration to support the RCM as a national, if not an imperial endeavour. As such, the desire to establish the RCM as an organ of government, supported directly by the Treasury, was a pragmatic endeavour that found its origin in the constitution of the Paris Conservatoire, and in the NTSM manifestos from 1873.

As a result, the lists of those on the RCM Trustees, Vice-Presidents, Council and the Executive and Finance Committees, include the names of a number of notable Establishment figures (see Appendices 3.3, 3.4, and 3.5) whom Grove and the Prince of Wales had persuaded to become involved with the College from 1881. Of the six RCM trustees, two were serving Liberal MPs (Lord Charles Bruce and Sir Richard Wallace), two had been Liberal MPs (the Duke of Westminster and Sir John Rose) and the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Edinburgh had both embraced the Liberal concepts that underpinned the RCM's constitution.³⁵ Over half of those on the list of RCM Vice-Presidents had Liberal affiliations (see Appendix 3.3). The appointment of Vice-Presidents allowed the Prince of Wales to involve some of the most influential Establishment figures in the land as representatives of the RCM. The general regulation

³⁴ Stanford (1914), pp. 215f.

³⁵ Proceedings of the St James's Palace Meeting (28 February, 1882), [undated] RCMA p. 5.

of the College was in the hands of the Council and Executive Committee, essentially an identical structure to the one imposed on the NTSM by the 1851 Commission. The Council was divided into six groups: Royalty, Churchmen, Liberal MPs, Financiers, Courtiers, and Musicians and those from the Music Business (see Appendix 3.4). Each group was intended to serve a particular purpose and most of the RCM Councillors had Liberal sympathies. Such long-term royal patronage was intended to establish the RCM at the heart of the British constitution, as articulated in the speech given by the Lord Mayor of London.³⁶ The oversight of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York served to establish the College's moral probity. Archibald Tait's reputation as a reformer seems to be an additional reason for his inclusion on the RCM Council.

Those with distinct Liberal connections included the reliable but silent Whig-Liberal MP, Hugh Lupus Grosvenor (the Duke of Westminster) and cousin of another Liberal and 1851 Commissioner, Earl Granville; (Sir) Edgar Walter Hamilton (1847-1908), who was Gladstone's principal Private Secretary from 1880;³⁷ the Civil Engineer and Liberal MP for Hastings between 1868 and 1895, Sir Thomas Brassey (1836-1918) who was friends with Gladstone;³⁸ the Liberal MP for the universities of St Andrews and Edinburgh in 1868, Sir Lyon (later Baron) Playfair;³⁹ and Sir Thomas Gladstone. Even Charles Morley (RCM Honorary Secretary) was the son of the notable Liberal MP Samuel Morley, who contributed to the RCM as an original subscriber. To have included so many Liberals with close personal connections to Gladstone was a clear indication of

³⁶ Ibid., p. 28.

³⁷ Dudley W. R. Bahlman: 'Hamilton, Sir Edgar Walter [Eddy] (1847-1908) *DNB* Vol. 24 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 785f. Hamilton attended Christ Church, Oxford but unusually supplicated for the B.Mus. rather than B.A., graduating in 1867. Gladstone was a close friend of Hamilton's father. On Gladstone's personal nomination E. W. Hamilton was appointed civil servant and junior clerk to the Treasury.

³⁸ V. W. Baddeley, rev. H. C. G. Matthew: 'Brassey, Thomas, first Earl Brassey (1836-1918) *DNB* Vol. 7 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 385-90.

³⁹ Graeme J. N. Gooday: 'Playfair, Lyon, first Baron Playfair (1818-1989) *DNB* Vol. 44 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 556-560. Playfair was an 1851 Commissioner who had been Professor of Chemistry at the Royal School of Mines (1851). He was elected MP for the Universities of Edinburgh and St Andrews in 1868, and Postmaster General in 1873 in which post he invented the postcard.



the long-term perspective on the part of the RCM founders who were prepared to engineer Government subvention if their powers of persuasion failed in the first instance. Financiers such as Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild, Sir Richard Wallace (1818-1890) and Sir John Rose were appointed, along with the Duke of Westminster, principally to help garner support for the RCM Capital Fund from the highest social and political circles in the land. Rothschild was Liberal MP for Aylesbury from 1885 and like the Duke of Westminster was one of the wealthiest men in England.⁴⁰ Richard Wallace was a Liberal MP, philanthropist and art collector, while the imperial Privy Councillor, Sir John Rose Bt (1820-1888) had been Receiver-General for the Duchy of Lancaster from 1883 and formerly Liberal MP for Montreal. His experience as a fund-raiser—he had been employed to raise capital for the American government—had already proved useful: Rose had been instrumental in establishing the Montreal scholarship at the RCM.⁴¹ Courtiers included the Privy Councillor and Liberal MP, Lord Charles Brudenell-Bruce, who was Vice-Chamberlain of the Household of Queen Victoria between 1880 and 1885; the Conservative MP, Earl Cadogan, who accompanied the Prince of Wales on tours abroad;⁴² and the Conservative Privy Councillor, Charles Hall QC, who was Attorney-General to the Prince of Wales, who was presumably appointed to oversee the legal aspects of acquiring chartered status. Musicians such as Dr John Stainer, Dr Arthur Sullivan, Sir Julius Benedict, Otto Goldschmidt, Kellow Pye and W. G. Cusins alongside the music proprietor, Thomas Chappell were invited by the Prince of Wales to join the RCM Council. As principals of the NTSM, Sullivan and Stainer's experience made them invaluable advisers. Furthermore, Stainer was a Liberal who had first come across W. E.

⁴⁰ R. W. Davis: 'Rothschild, Ferdinand James Anselm de, Baron de Rothschild in the nobility of the Austrian Empire (1839-1989)' *DNB* Vol. 47 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 910f.

⁴¹ John Hilliker: 'Rose, Sir John, first baronet (1820-1888)' *DNB* Vol. 47 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 762f.

⁴² H. W. C. Davis, rev. H. C. G. Matthew: 'Cadogan, George Henry, fifth Earl Cadogan (1840-1915)' *DNB* Vol. 9 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 415-6.

Gladstone during his time as Liberal MP for Oxford University.⁴³ As Jeremy Dibble points out, ‘Stainer’s friendship with Gladstone (and with his son, W. H. Gladstone) reflected his adherence to Liberal politics throughout his life.’⁴⁴ Given the RCM’s remit as an inspectorate of elementary education, A. J. Mundella’s appointment of Stainer as Inspector of Schools may also have been the chief reason among many why he was appointed to the Council.⁴⁵ The music proprietor, Thomas Chappell’s presence on the Council provided a source for pianos and music donated or sold to the RCM at reasonable prices. The inclusion of established musicians on the Council was intended to status, government remove any criticism that the RCM was administered solely by laymen and amateurs. In short, the Council, from which the Executive and Finance Committees were formed (see Appendix 3.5), comprised those who could aid the Prince of Wales and Grove in their quest for chartered subvention and private subscription, while establishing the RCM’s integrity on all fronts from the start. Membership of the Council established the principle that the movement to establish the RCM was born out of the Liberal agenda on educational reform, not least because known Liberals outnumbered Conservatives by a ratio of 11:2. In short the Council was established to ensure that

the management of the College will thus be vested in authorities who together represent the whole English community of music – eminent amateurs, eminent musicians, influential patrons of music, and liberal contributors to the funds of the Royal College. It is hoped by this means to secure a form of government which by combining the advantages of professional experience with broad educational views shall be best calculated to advance the science and art of music throughout the British Empire.⁴⁶

⁴³ Jeremy Dibble: ‘Awake, awake! Put on thy strength. Sir John Stainer: a case for rehabilitation’ *OR* (August, 2006), p. 17.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 17. In 1888, he retired to Oxford; however, towards the end of his life he was selected as Liberal candidate for the City of Oxford, ‘though death intervened to prevent him from actually standing in the election.’

⁴⁵ Hobhouse (2002), p. 229. As Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education from 1880 to 1885, Mundella was responsible for a number of important reforms, including the Compulsory Education Act of 1881. He had been President of the National Educational Association and the Association of Technical Institutes and served on a number of Royal Commissions.

⁴⁶ Proceedings of the St James’s Palace Meeting (28 February, 1882), [undated] RCMA p. 5.

3.3 THE APPOINTMENT OF GEORGE GROVE AS DIRECTOR OF THE RCM

With the Council appointed, the selection of a suitable Director of the RCM had been the subject of some speculation in the press. On 11 February 1882, 'Dr Beard' (alias J. W. Davison), the editor of *The Musical World*, had his own ideas:

This new scheme puzzles me. I have perused the entire correspondence with the calmness which is in me a pronounced idiosyncrasy [*sic*]; yet I can gather nothing from it beyond the fact that if Londonopoly—in other language, centralization—must prevail, no other chief of an English Royal College of Music than George Alexander Macfarren, successor to William Sterndale Bennett, can by any stretch of the imagination be preferred.⁴⁷

News of Grove's appointment seems not to have been officially announced in the press; rather, on 8 March 1882, *The Times* was left to speculate 'we have reason to believe that Mr. George Grove will be invited to take a leading part in the management of the new Royal College of Music, with the title "Director" of the Institution.'⁴⁸ By the 18 March, his portrait had appeared in *The Illustrated London News* describing him as 'Director of the Royal College of Music'.⁴⁹ The apparent ease with which Grove seems to have been appointed was a distinct contrast to Sullivan's experience and was testament to the mutually respectful relationship that had developed between Director and President. The choice of the title 'Director' as distinct from 'Principal' refers to Sullivan's original title ('Professional Director') at the NTSM and was a conscious effort to embrace Continental concepts: as Janet Ritterman suggests '...to those who were aware of European precedents, it cannot have escaped their notice that the title of 'Directeur' was the norm.'⁵⁰

Nevertheless, by 1 April 1882, it was apparent that Grove's position had been secured⁵¹.

⁴⁷ 'A New Editor' in *The Musical World* Vol. 60 No 6 (11 February, 1882), p. 88.

⁴⁸ 'Royal College of Music' in *The Times* (8 March, 1882), p. 11.

⁴⁹ *ILN* (18 March, 1882)

⁵⁰ Janet Ritterman: 'Grove as First Director of the RCM' in *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 251.

⁵¹ If a formal letter of appointment was written inviting Grove to take the position of Director of the RCM, it does not survive.

All depends upon the discovery of...a pilot, willing and able to find a channel for the good ship through the breakers and shoals. To speak without metaphor, what is most needed for the new College is a Principal with the rare combination of gifts, both practical and artistic, which would give him sufficient authority to smooth down and, if necessary, to overrule such differences of opinion and disputes of privilege as are apt to spring up between and within governing bodies and executive committees. The success of the two most prominent music-schools on the Continent shows the enormous importance of individual initiative. The Conservatoire of Paris was virtually the creation of Cherubini; the Conservatorium of Leipzig literally that of Mendelssohn. But a man combining business tact and social influence with a genuine love and a thorough knowledge of music would probably serve the purpose as well. It is pleasant to think that such a man has been found in the person of Mr. George Grove.⁵²

Opinion in the press was divided even if its explicit articulation had been tempered:

Grove's appointment elicited reactions ranging from reluctant approbation to rhapsodic rejoinders.

The appointment of Dr. George Grove as "Director" of the Royal College will give general satisfaction; it would indeed be difficult to name any one of higher literary musical ability or of wider experience. A report had been current that this important post would be occupied by some distinguished foreigner. Now that this mistake is happily avoided, we would only say that to have placed at the head of a national institution any foreigner would have been most unwise, most unfair to native talent, and have given just cause of offence to the English public.⁵³

By the time Grove came to be appointed Director of the RCM, his interest in academic music was well-developed. As a young man he had sung in choral classes; later on, he had visited the new British Museum Reading Room from 1838 where he had become particularly interested in the organ music of J. S. Bach.⁵⁴ From 1852, he became established 'as an authoritative communicator for the concert-going audience he...had helped to build at the Crystal Palace[. He] was unique in England and highly regarded abroad.'⁵⁵ His extensive contacts (including former pupils and family members) gave him unrivalled access to first-hand information concerning the music and lives of Beethoven, Mendelssohn and Schubert, whose works he sought to promote.⁵⁶ In 1874, the first volume of the *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* was published to which Grove eventually contributed 1,600 articles himself. While many of his *Dictionary* articles relied substantially on secondary sources, Musgrave points out that in his work on the 'three major

⁵² *MT* (1 April, 1882), p. 196.

⁵³ 'Royal College of Music' *MMR* (1 April, 1882), pp. 80f.

⁵⁴ Michael Musgrave: 'The Making of a Scholar: Grove's Beethoven, Mendelssohn and Schubert' *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture* Ed. Michael Musgrave (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 86f.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 90-100.

composers of the modern concert hall—Beethoven, Mendelssohn and Schubert—he went much further, undertaking original research, gaining an intimate critical knowledge of the rapidly emerging literature, offering opinions of great authority and effectively becoming a tastemaker in his promotion of them.⁵⁷ Given that the RCM was founded with a remit to improve national taste in music, all this combined to make him an ideal, if unconventional, choice to be the first Director of the new College. Grove's ability to provide solutions to difficult situations proved defining features in his ability to pilot the RCM through the minefield of royal protocol and Victorian politics until 1895. In an age where it was common practice for headmasters to be clerics, Grove's distinction as a distinguished Biblical Scholar—he had received the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law from the University of Durham on 29 June, 1875 for his contribution to Sir William Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* in 1863—would seem to have established his moral entitlement to lead an institution such as the RCM.⁵⁸ Indeed it corresponds with an endeavour to see the RCM as both the moral, educational and administrative leader of the music profession at this stage.

Unlike the principals at the RAM, Grove was not reliant on the precarious fortunes of the music profession to supplement his RCM income, which ensured he would be able to devote himself exclusively to the College.⁵⁹ Nonetheless, the appointment of a self-professed amateur to a role traditionally occupied both at home and abroad by a professional musician was perceived by (Sir) Henry Leslie (1822-1896) to be a distinct disadvantage. On 9 January 1883, in a letter to Lord Folkestone (1818-1889) marked

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 89.

⁵⁸ Young (1980), p. 132. As Young says: 'Considering it a disgrace that Grove had received no recognition of his contribution to scholarship, A. S. Farrar, Professor of Divinity and Ecclesiastical History in the University of Durham, had urged in an impassioned letter in the *Durham County Advertiser* of 8 December 1874 that the University should confer an honorary degree on the "illustrious geographer".' See Sir William Smith LL.D.: *A Dictionary of the Bible, Comprising its Antiquaries, Biography and Natural History* (London: 1860-63). See also Musgrave (1995), p. 19.

⁵⁹ MS AL GG to EO (20 April, 1888), RCMA p. 193; No 23. In broaching the subject of providing Edith Oldham with an allowance Grove says: '...It is easy for me to talk, because tho' never a rich man, I have always, thank God, been in such a position that I never had to think about the value of money.'

'Private and Confidential', he articulated a number of otherwise undisclosed reservations on the appointment.

I fear such a mess will be made with the start of the R. College of Music.

How can an amateur, who knows nothing of even elementary music education properly control a professional body in the highest artistic culture? The Prince of Wales has asked me (perhaps also others) to advise Mr. Grove on any practical points he may require, and of course I shall do so to the best of my ability. But the lookout to my mind is a sad one.

Would the Government have appointed Sir T[homas]. Brassey⁶⁰ to command the fleet under orders for active service? Would the College of Physicians elect Holloway⁶¹ as President because he made pills?

Such an appointment could only fall to poor Music the very Cinderella of the Arts. Alas! Alas!

Grove is a very dear friend of mine—splendid in all that relates to the literature of music—admirable as Director of all outside musical teaching, but very, very weak if his offer includes the headship of the professorial body.

Last Easter at Portsmouth I had a long talk with The Prince of Wales, going thro'ugh all vital points of the scheme, and he asking many questions, all of which I answered straightforwardly and honestly. One was, 'What do you think of Mr. Grove's appointment as Director?' My reply was, 'Nothing could be better, but he won't, I hope, have anything to do with the music.' H.R.H. replied, 'Oh! No – certainly not.'⁶²

Leslie (see Fig. 12) had been Principal of the transient National College of Music, which had had premises at 216 Piccadilly. George Macfarren, Arthur Sullivan, Julius Benedict, Frederick Cowen, Franklin Taylor and W. W. Cazalet had been among its staff; however, the College had closed after a mere two years in 1864.⁶³ Leslie may reasonably have expected to have been considered for the RCM directorate, given his experience, and was simply articulating resentment at having been passed over, as David Wright suggests,⁶⁴ yet the Prince's response was simply designed not to reveal too much information.⁶⁵ In appointing Grove, the Prince of Wales may have been seen to be compounding many of the problems the RCM had been proposed to assuage, which may well go some distance

⁶⁰ Thomas Brassey (from 1911 first Earl Brassey), 1836-1918, in addition to being both a politician and civil engineering contractor was a member of the first Council of the RCM (see Appendix 3.3). Educated at Rugby School and University College, Oxford, where he took honours in law and modern history at Oxford, he was a prolific naval historian. He published *British Seamen* (1877) and his five-volume *The British Navy* (1882-3). A reforming zeal led him to campaign on issues including the administration of dockyards, naval pay, shipbuilding and design, organisation of naval reserves and the creation of the Royal Naval Volunteer Artillery (1873). He was the first private yachtsman to be created master mariner by examination. In 1880 he joined the Gladstone administration as civil lord of the Admiralty, a post he held for four years. This involved him in managing Greenwich Royal Hospital and the works department.

⁶¹ Thomas Holloway (1800-1883), born in Devonport was a manufacturer of patent medicines.

⁶² MS AL HL to LF (9 January, 1883) Archive of the Earl of Radnor. Lord Folkestone (Edward Pleydell-Bouverie) acceded to the title of fourth Earl of Radnor upon the death of his father.

⁶³ 'The National College of Music' in *The Times* (24 March, 1864), p. 1. See lists of advertisements.

⁶⁴ Wright (2003), p. 229f.

⁶⁵ 'The National College of Music' in *The Times* (24 March, 1864), p. 1.

in explaining the absence of any announcement in the press;⁶⁶ after all, if the respective boards of management at the RAM and NTSM had not included a single professional musician among their *ex officio* membership, at least the principals had all been professional musicians.

Leslie was not the only person to feel a sense of apprehension at Grove's appointment. In accepting his new role, Grove himself was afflicted by a deep-seated sense of inadequacy and isolation, which plagued him throughout his directorate; indeed, his anxiety was clearly articulated in a letter to Sullivan's mother, Mary Clementina, around April 1882.

Lower Sydenham
Monday

You have to congratulate me on being the Head of the new Royal College of Music: that is, I shall be head of it when the charter and the money are obtained. I hope I shall be able to carry on the work that Arthur began so well at the Training School.

How I could work with him! Dear old fellow! I shall often have to ask his advice. I feel my own incompetence sadly, and am not able to behave at all the swell as I suppose I ought to do....⁶⁷

Grove's insecurity appears to have been rooted in his incapacity as a practical musician; indeed it had been for this very reason that he had declined John Ella's request for a testimonial.

I feel too keenly that the kind things which are said about me are due more to the good will of my friends than to any merit of my own, to go into print as the eulogist of a man who is at the close of a long and honourable career, in which his merits are far too conspicuous to need any support from such mere amateurs as myself—A letter of the sort that you have drafted—and which I think is perfectly true in its statements—should be signed by some great musical personage—by Macfarren or Sullivan or Joachim[.] With such a signature it would be a splendid laurel for your brow but with the name of G. Grove at the end of it, all the world would laugh—because the close of your career is a matter which affects not only the musical circles in London, but those of France, Germany, and Italy who furnish your programmes with their music and their musicians.⁶⁸

Yet Grove's anxiety was misplaced for three reasons. First, while Grove was not a practical musician, he was a more accomplished scholar than many of the RCM professors he came to appoint. Secondly, his empathy with the temperament and the

⁶⁶ Wright (2003), p. 229f.

⁶⁷ Letter from Grove to Sullivan's mother, Mary Clementina (undated) PML 107384 See also: Young (1980), p. 166.

⁶⁸ MS AL GG to JE (1 April, 1880). From a private collection.

precarious existence of the professional musician was pivotal in his dealings with the explosive personalities among the first professorial staff. Thirdly, an unlikely combination of meticulous administrative experience and broad vision ensured a level of success denied his opposite numbers at the RAM. In the short-term, Grove's powers of persuasion proved indispensable in attracting other, like-minded Liberals such as Charles Morley to help with the series of fund-raising meetings to establish the RCM Capital Fund.⁶⁹

3.4 THE MANSION HOUSE MEETING ON 20 MARCH, 1882

On 13 March, 1882, the National Training School finally closed. The remaining funds, amounting to £1,100, were partly used to provide individual tuition for NTSM students who were to transfer to the RCM once it had become formally constituted. More significantly, the remaining funds from the NTSM allowed Grove to launch the RCM Capital Fund.⁷⁰ On 20 March 1882, a fund-raising meeting was hosted by the Lord Mayor of London at the Mansion House. The first in a series of meetings to establish the RCM Capital Fund, it was an attempt to encourage generous financial support from businessmen and bankers from the City of London. HRH The Duke of Connaught had been requested by the Prince of Wales to raise the 'University aspect' of the RCM's mission. As mentioned at the St James's Palace meeting a month earlier, this involved establishing the RCM at the head of a musical senate to include all aspects of the music education and training and as a moderator for the music profession. This objective was synonymous with the nationalist ideology first developed as part of the constitution of the Paris Conservatoire in 1795 (see Chapter One, pp. 6 and 7). In other words, Grove

⁶⁹ *Who Was Who* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1967), p. 749. Charles Morley, son of Samuel Morley MP and brother of Right Hon. Arnold Morley, had been a partner at the family firm of L. & R. Morley and, upon retirement from the RCM was Liberal MP for Brecknockshire between 1895 and 1906. His club memberships included notable Liberal enclaves such as the Reform Club, where Gladstone convened his Cabinet, and the National Liberal Club.

⁷⁰ NTSM *Fifth General Report*, RCMA CPH(RCM). Frontispiece, p. i and iv. During the School's existence from 1875 to 1882 £21,493 had been spent; in addition to the remaining £1,100, the furniture, fittings and the building were transferred to the RCM at Easter 1882.

did not entertain a vision for the RCM merely as *primus inter pares*; rather, it was his intention that the College should regulate all aspects of British music education and the music profession.

The Senate would, like the Medical Council, meet periodically in London, at the Royal College, and would regulate a general system of examination for the whole group of schools, and fix a standard of excellence in accordance with which certificates of competency, and, as I venture to hope and expect, musical degrees will be conferred. Nothing can be more desirable than to have an exact measure by which the value of a certificate or diploma may be ascertained. We all know the difference in the status of the M.D. as conferred by the great schools of medicine in the United Kingdom and the Continent, and its value when procured by the payment of money in certain foreign countries which I need not particularise. Now this will be the primary university object, to procure by such an affiliation a body of examiners beyond suspicion for ability and fidelity; and to create a common bond of union in the musical world. Another object of affiliation will be to help the affiliated colleges in giving concerts, and generally to combine in a common interest, though in diverse places, lovers of music throughout the nation and the Empire.⁷¹

Possibly influenced by the qualifications awarded at Italian conservatorios, the idea to include musical degrees in the as part of the RCM curriculum had been articulated as part of Thring's Memorandum in 1878. Born from a desire for regulation and licensing for professional musicians and music teachers, pupils who had passed the prescribed course of instruction and examinations were entitled to a certificate and 'the privilege of calling themselves graduates' according to the draft charters of 1878 and 1880 (see Appendices 3.0 and 3.1, pp. 24 and 29 respectively).⁷² By bestowing upon the RCM the prerogative to confer both the residential and external degrees of Bachelor, Master and Doctor in Music, *sui generis*, the College would be established as a hybrid between a university and a conservatoire.⁷³ The introduction of degrees for secular musicians of both sexes, if only in theory rather than practice, was a significant departure in itself.⁷⁴ Generally speaking, English music degrees had been considered the preserve of organists, who were by implication male and whose path to promotion and a cathedral organ loft had traditionally been littered with an assortment of external awards: A(R)CO (1881),

⁷¹ RCM Prospectus (15 November 1882) RCMA. See Duke of Connaught's speech.

⁷² RCM Charters (1878 and 1880): see Appendices 3.0 and 3.1.

⁷³ RCM Charter (1883) See Appendix 3.2. 'The Council shall have the power to cause examinations to be held of pupils of the College and of other persons who may present themselves for examination, and after examination to confer...all or any of the degrees of Bachelor in Music, Master in Music, and Doctor in Music.'

⁷⁴ See Appendix 3.2

Mus.Bac., F(R)CO (1866), Mus.Doc. The inclusion of the degree of Master in Music (M.Mus.) was unique and there appears to be no evidence to determine why it was included when no university seems to have awarded it at this stage. Indeed, it was not until 1892 that the Mus.M. degree was instituted as part of Charles Villiers Stanford's (1852-1924) radical reforms at the University of Cambridge, during his tenure there as Professor of Music, essentially sharing its requirements with the former Mus.Doc.⁷⁵ In addition to its degree-awarding powers, the RCM was given the right to confer certificates of proficiency, holders of which could be styled associates of the College, with the right to append the letters ARCM to their names. In the absence of degrees in performance, it was the certificate (occasionally referred to as a degree) rather than the B.Mus. that was later confirmed as the standard RCM licence. In theory, the introduction of external degrees would have opened the RCM to anyone wishing to supplicate for degrees from across the Empire and it was partly with this in mind that a meeting took place in London to promote the RCM to the Colonial Representatives.

3.5 THE COLONIAL REPRESENTATIVES MEETING ON 23 MARCH, 1882

The Prince of Wales hosted a third meeting at Marlborough House on 23 March to enlist the support of Colonial Representatives. Grove had already attracted funding for the first Colonial scholarship, established for the South Province of Australia and funded by the Hon. W. J. Clarke of Melbourne. Grove's intention to see the RCM cast in the mould of Continental conservatoires had been one of several leit motifs in the establishment of a

⁷⁵ Jeremy Dibble: *Charles Villiers Stanford Man and Musician* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) p. 246f. See also Sheffield University Library: Shera Manuscripts MS 274. The new regulations, imposed by Stanford for the Cambridge Mus.D., embraced the philosophy that those submitting compositions for degrees in music at doctoral level should be examined not merely on their technical merits, which should in any case be assured, but for their creative ability; consequently, there has only ever been one successful candidate for the Cambridge Mus.M., which was an exclusively technical degree, Frank Henry Shera (1882-1956). He read Classics at Jesus College, Cambridge, studied composition with Stanford and Walford Davies and organ with Parratt at the RCM. After a period as Director of Music at Malvern College, he went to the University of Sheffield as the first full-time James Rossiter Hoyle professor of music in 1928, succeeding Percy Carter Buck (1871-1947) who had served for two terms during the first session. He is the only recorded possessor of the Cambridge Mus.M. degree in its 110-year history.

national conservatoire in England. The concept of forming sister institutions attached to the RCM had been an idea pioneered by the Paris Conservatoire. As an initiative it had subsequently been included within the manifestos relating both Dr Mark's royal colleges of music in Manchester from 1858 and the NTSM from 1873 (see Chapter One, p. 16).

I wish to express my own personal hope that the Royal College will not be a mere teaching institution but will become a centre for groups of affiliated colleges, the members of which will, with the Council of the Royal College, form a musical senate to which all questions of importance relating to music and musicians may be referred for determination. This may perhaps be somewhat Utopian, but I do not despair of a time when the musical colleges throughout the country will ally themselves with the Royal College and form a body united by a common tie and a general system.

I will go one step farther, though I do not conceal from myself that I am treading on somewhat delicate ground and possibly trenching on the honoured privileges of the Universities, yet, I will express my personal hope that as London is the chief city of the United Kingdom so the Royal College of Music should be the chief musical college, invested with the power of conferring musical degrees and the source from which all musical honours should legitimately flow.⁷⁶

Far from heeding the advice of Kellow Pye, five years earlier, the RCM's remit outlined at Marlborough House was potentially more extensive than any other school of music in Europe for it allowed the RCM to negotiate with or even to establish affiliated schools across the Empire as musical colonies. As such, it represented a conscious attempt to impose an imperial philosophy on the RCM. Furthermore, the Council's prerogative to 'negotiate with any musical bodies as to the conditions on which they may be willing to join with, or be amalgamated wholly or partially with, the Corporation' clearly indicates that the topic of amalgamation with the RAM remained on the agenda during the fund-raising meetings to establish the RCM, should circumstances have proved conducive to such an arrangement. As initiatives, the RCM's imperial remit, royal patronage and a Liberal educational agenda, were all perceived to attract Colonial businessmen into a mutually beneficial relationship. The Earl of Kimberley (1826-1902), who was Gladstone's Secretary of the Colonial Office between 26 April 1880 and 16 December, 1882, was invited to speak to the Colonial Representatives.

It would be in the power of any Colony to found one or more Scholarships in the College for the advantage of natives of that Colony, which might be competed for under proper examinations, and

⁷⁶ Undated rough MS draft of a prospectus, HTpp RCMA Box 171.

would entitle the successful scholars to maintenance and tuition in the College at home. These scholars, at the expiration of the course, would return to their native Colony and then become centres of musical instruction there....The Object of this meeting was to bring before the Colonial portion of the Empire a great educational movement, in reference to an art of which all acknowledged the benefits, but which had not till now received its proper place in public education.⁷⁷

On the surface, Kimberley's sanguine perspective, where all acknowledged the benefits of music, was at variance with the genuine situation. To have begun to wage such an extensive campaign was, in itself, an indication of the scale of the task with which the RCM founders were faced. While the RCM may indeed have been intended to become 'one...of the many fibres in the silken cord that binds the mother country to her Colonial offspring', such grandiloquence did not disguise the fact that the Colonies represented a potentially valuable source of revenue as the Duke of Edinburgh had articulated at the February meeting: 'we are assured of the generous support of our Colonial brethren, and...we trust that our American cousins will not be behind in furthering the foundation of an establishment which may act as a home to their musical students on this side of the Atlantic.'⁷⁸ Former students who returned home to the Colonies to establish teaching practices were almost certainly expected to send their pupils to the RCM in the fullness of time.

3.6 THE LIVERPOOL MEETING AND PROGRESS IN ESTABLISHING A CAPITAL FUND

The RCM's target to establish 100 scholarships, half of which were to include maintenance, was modest by comparison with the NTSM. For those who demonstrated considerable achievement during their time as students, College fellowships were to be

⁷⁷ Proceedings of the St James's Palace Meeting (28 February, 1882), [undated] RCMA p. 45f. See John Powell: 'Wodehouse, John, first Earl of Kimberley (1826-1902)' *DNB* Vol. 59 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 922-6. Wodehouse was a Liberal who had been educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford. From his Eton days 'Kimberley considered himself a pragmatic, undoctinaire liberal, with a pronounced interest in fiscal responsibility and limited central government.' On 29 May, 1846, he succeeded his grandfather as third Baron Wodehouse and inherited 10,000 acres in Norfolk and a few hundred in Cornwall. He also owned most of Falmouth; however, the estate came with debts of £140,000. With the arrival of the railway in Falmouth, which corresponded to an increase in development in the town, he was able with the help of his uncle and city banker, Raikes Currie, to sell and lease out land such that, by 1864, he had paid off all his debtors.

⁷⁸ Proceedings of the St James's Palace Meeting (28 February, 1882), [undated] RCMA p. 22.

established for graduates who might ‘otherwise be tempted to commence their professional careers too early, and thus sacrifice the higher aspirations of their art to the necessity of earning immediate means of substance.’⁷⁹ The annual expenditure per student was estimated to be £40 per annum for instruction alone, while the sum of £80 included maintenance in addition;⁸⁰ consequently, the requisite annual income of £12,000 for 100 scholars represented roughly 5% of the projected capital fund target between £250,000 and £300,000.⁸¹ George Watson, subsequently appointed Registrar of the RCM from 1884 (see Chapter Four, p. 168), was appointed to assist Grove and was given his former title of Organising Secretary.⁸²

On 4 April 1882, Sir Julius Benedict wrote to Grove and included the names of 31 ‘influential Amateurs of Liverpool [who might form] an excellent nucleus for an extensive Committee—to discuss and further the great undertaking whose success seems to me beyond any doubt.’⁸³ As a result, two months later the Prince of Wales spoke in support of the RCM at a meeting of the mayors and provosts of the United Kingdom, hosted by the Lord Mayor of London at the Mansion House on Saturday 17 June 1882. Intended to elicit donations in respect of the RCM to the Lord Mayor’s Fund from provincial cities, the speech emphasised the national character of the College. Six months earlier, Thring had written to Ponsonby to say that the objective of the proposed Royal College would be ‘to raise the standard of Music in England—to create a National style of Music—in short to do for England what the Conservatoires in Berlin, Paris and

⁷⁹ RCM Prospectus (15 November 1882) RCMA DPPH.

⁸⁰ ‘Royal College of Music’ *MMR* (1 April, 1882), p. 80.

⁸¹ *MMR* (1 April, 1882), p. 80.

⁸² Janet Ritterman: ‘Grove as First Director of the RCM’ in *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture* ed. Michael Musgrave (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 246 & 269.

⁸³ MS AL JB to GG (4 April, 1882) RCMA MS 2270. The names included were as follows: *Charles Langton, *James J. Wood, *Alfred Turner, *Augustus H. Lemmens, Holbrook Gaskell, John Brancker, *Palgrave Simpson, *R. Rathbone, *A. G. Kurtz, *Lawrence R. Baily, *T. E. Paget, *Alfred Castellan, James Lister, Colonel Bourne, Sir Thomas Earle, *Robertson Gladstone, F. R. Leyland, W. Roberts, P. F. Cunliffe, *A. F. Eggers, H. F. Hornby, A. J. Groupelins, *Fred H. Boulton, J. N. Stotterfoht, Hamilton Gilmour, Danson Cunningham, Samuel T. Hope, R. D. Holt, P. F. Garnett, Randeburg, and J. B. Clarke. Those with an asterisk by their names Benedict thought would be most likely ‘to take up the subject with feeling and energy.’

Vienna have done for Germany, France and Austria.⁸⁴ The Prince of Wales had simply confirmed it:

I believe that there is a great good and a great object in an English school of music being established. Look at what the schools of music do on the Continent. In France for instance does it raise the nature and character of the people or does it raise a feeling contrary to the morality and virtue which we hold to be our proud and greatest attribute? In Germany does not their school of music speak to you of the character of the people? And the music school of Italy is it not burdened with the character of the people? But in England the school of music can hardly be said to exist. But more noble and more grand music has never been written than by those who have resided in this country although foreign names have been attached to them. But I should like to see men rise in this country who would write such magnificent music, and who, following that spirit, would realise it in the popular music of the country. As I have said before, I have not taken this as mere imagination or as an ideal proposition. I believe in it. I believe that there is to be established a great college of music, as there have been great colleges of literature and education throughout the land, and I believe that music is as essential to the elevation, to the moral tone of the people, as is the art of sculpture or of painting; and it shall raise and ennoble us, or if degraded, shall debase us and disgrace us with it.⁸⁵

In response, the Mayor of Liverpool had indicated that fund-raising was already well underway for the RCM's Liverpool Scholarship. More importantly, he seemed to imply that the RCM was already set at the heart of Britain's Constitution, and, as such, the education it provided was a commodity that could be traded throughout the Empire.

The Mayor of Liverpool (Mr. Hughes) returned thanks for the honour of being called upon to respond for the municipalities of England. His city, he said, could not boast of any claim on behalf of music, but it had done something for the trade of the Empire, and it had always upheld the constitutional principles of this kingdom. (Hear, hear.).... In regard to Liverpool, he would say that it had already taken the initiative in support of the Royal College of Music; and though they had not as yet raised a large sum, they were about, during the ensuing week, to take into consideration, with due deliberation, the necessity of contributing to the fund which the Lord Mayor was raising. (Cheers.)⁸⁶

The following afternoon the mayors and provosts attended Choral Evensong at St Paul's Cathedral in State.⁸⁷ The Lord Mayor of London was accompanied at the service by the Mayor and Mayoress both of Manchester and Liverpool. Such preferential treatment was undoubtedly anticipated to generate evangelical support for the RCM at a local level from two of England's wealthiest industrial cities; however, the response to the Duke of Edinburgh's visit to Liverpool on 17 December, five months later paints a

⁸⁴ MS AL HT to HP (12 January, 1882) RAPPVIC 1882/12570.

⁸⁵ *The Times* (19 June, 1882), p. 10

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p.10

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p.10

disappointing picture. The funds raised were still not sufficient to provide for one scholarship.⁸⁸

The situation spurred Grove into action. Without the ability to establish pockets of support for the RCM in England's major cities, despite their distance from London, there would be precious little prospect of persuading smaller conurbations to act in sympathy; consequently, three days later, on 20 June, Grove wrote to Edward Samuelson (1823-1896). Samuelson had been born in Hamburg of Germano-American stock and brought to England as a child.⁸⁹ A powerful and wealthy patron of the arts, he sought to establish Liverpool as an intellectual and musical centre, as his reply to Grove indicates.⁹⁰

...I write a line to wish more power to your elbow in regard to the Royal College of Music at the Meeting tomorrow. During the last fortnight the donations have come in well; and there is now no reasonable doubt that the proposal will become a reality. The Prince's thorough earnestness and intention must have struck anyone who heard him speak on Saturday evening. He, at least, is determined to carry out what he feels to be a good thing for the country. I return to my old argument:- Liverpool is sure to be one of the first places from which musical boys and girls will come knocking at our doors. Is it not fair to help us to make some provision for them?

If a musical School is a good thing you are sure to have one for Liverpool and in Liverpool – ultimately. But that must take a long time; and meanwhile help us to establish one for your benefit in London.⁹¹

By 1 May 1882, the donations to the Capital Fund had been generous and had already amounted to a total of £52,121: 8: 6. In barely more two months, Grove had succeeded in raising an equivalent amount to that used to support the NTSM for five years. As a result, he began actively to pursue the idea of government funding.

3.7 TOWARDS THE QUEST FOR GOVERNMENT SUBVENTION

If Grove perceived the financial security provided by the RCM's newly-established Capital Fund would automatically lead to comprehensive financial assistance from the government, he could not have been more wrong. The RAM's financial stability, caused by a significant increase in student numbers since the appointment of the Earl of Dudley

⁸⁸ Ibid., p.10

⁸⁹ Young (1980), p. 163.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 163.

⁹¹ MS AL GG to ES (20 June, 1882) PML MFCG883.S193.

as president of its Committee of Management, had only served to prove that the RAM could manage perfectly well without assistance from the State. Equally, in establishing the RCM Capital Fund so effectively and so quickly, Grove had effectively proved that the College could be supported and maintained with private rather than public money. Possibly in response to Grove's success in establishing the RCM Capital Fund, an article appeared in *The Monthly Musical Record*, which raised the idea once more to see both institutions thrive within the context of a mutually beneficial relationship. It is possible that Kellow Pye had been correct in asserting that the RAM's financial position had been 'more apparent than real' and the Academy's Directors now viewed amalgamation in a rather more favourable light.⁹²

The Academy has done excellent work and continue[s] to prosper. It is therefore to be hoped that negotiations are not yet at an end, and that there will be hereafter no conflicting interests. It will certainly fall on the promoters of the scheme to show, in case of failure, that they have neglected no reasonable means to incorporate as a nucleus for the Royal College an institution which has overcome so many difficulties, and on whose banner are inscribed the names of many illustrious musicians.⁹³

Moreover, a government grant in favour of the RCM could easily result in the withdrawal of that enjoyed by the RAM, given past experience. This led *The Monthly Musical Record* to question whether the government would really consider providing funding for the RCM before the relationship between the two conservatoires could properly be codified:

Mr. Gladstone would doubtless listen favourably to any appeal for funds to aid the Royal College, but whatever his personal opinion may be, before asking Parliament for any annual or other sum of money, he would have to ascertain the exact relation of the new College to the Academy in Tenterden Street.⁹⁴

In the meantime, Grove set about including an article on the RCM in the forthcoming volume of his *Dictionary*. Partly used as a propaganda machine for the RCM, the *Dictionary* was blatantly exploited by Grove to promote the College and English music.⁹⁵

⁹² MS AL KP to HS (12 September, 1877) 1851RCA, pp. 177-180.

⁹³ 'Royal College of Music' *MMR* (1 April, 1882), p. 80.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

⁹⁵ William Henry Hadow: 'Purcell' in *Grove I* Ed. George Grove (London: Macmillan 1894), pp. 46-51 and A. Maczewski: 'Bach' in *Grove I* Ed. George Grove (London: Macmillan 1894), pp. 114-118: the article on J. S. Bach, for example is shorter than that on Purcell. See Jeremy Dibble 'Grove's Musical Dictionary: A National Document' in *Musical Constructions of Nationalism* eds Harry White and Michael Murphy (Cork:

Advertisement of the College's imperial, Liberal and democratic philosophies was interpreted as a means to garner greater support; consequently, Grove sought the Prince of Wales's advice in obtaining a government grant; however, he evidently believed the timing was not right for his secretary, Francis Knollys, replied on 8 October, 1882, saying:

I have shown your letter of the 6th instant to the Prince of Wales.

H.R.H. quite understands your anxiety to obtain a government grant, but he does not think the present moment a very opportune one for making an application to the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the subject.

He is certain to see Mr. Gladstone during the winter after Parliament has been adjourned when he will not lose the opportunity of speaking to him about it.

I hope you will always write to me as openly as possible whenever anything occurs to you which you think may benefit the College.

Despite the assurances of the Prince of Wales, nothing materialized in the form of Treasury assistance at this stage; however, with the establishment of the RCM Capital Fund well under way, Grove began to turn his mind to the appointment of the first RCM professors.

3.8 GROVE APPOINTS THE FIRST PROFESSORIAL STAFF

Despite the assurances received by Henry Leslie from the Prince of Wales in 1883 (see p. 107), Grove and Lord Charles Bruce were exclusively involved in the selection of the professors. While the Prince of Wales had personally appointed the members of RCM Council, it was left to Grove to write to those whom he wished to form the first professorial staff: 'I think it would be better if you would communicate with them all, as if I were to write to some by the Prince's desire it might perhaps create jealousy among those who have not been addressed in the same way.'⁹⁶ Two lists were prepared of those

Cork University Press, 2001), pp. 33 to 50 and Leanne Langley: 'Roots of a Tradition: the First *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*' in *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 168-215.

⁹⁶ MS AL FK to GG (9 August, 1882), RCMA MS 0096/1.

whom Grove wished to approach.⁹⁷ Grove's desire to appoint the finest British musicians to professorships at the RCM was an intrinsic aspect of his design for a College with both a national and imperial flavour. Of those who had signed the 1868 petition to the Government in favour of establishing a national music school and opera, the names of Charles Santley, John Sims Reeves, Henry Holmes, John Tiplady Carrodus and John Francis Barnett appeared on Grove's lists.⁹⁸ In appointing British musicians who had studied in Leipzig, either as students at the Leipzig *Hochschule* or privately, Grove established the principle that the standard of musical instruction provided by the RCM would equal that available on the Continent. A number of the professors who transferred to the RCM from the NTSM had published treatises. One of the principles behind the establishment of a printing press at the Paris Conservatoire, the official publication of professors' treatises had been an intrinsic aspect of its ability to dictate French performance and compositional style from its earliest days. That the publication of the Novello series of primers seems to have coincided with the foundation of the NTSM suggests that it had been Henry Cole's intention to emulate the Parisian model; consequently, a high proportion of the NTSM professors inherited by the RCM had published treatises as part of the series. Grove's appointments bear all the hallmarks of a formula where reputation, celebrity, ability and an adherence to German technique and compositional style were considered in equal measure.⁹⁹ The appointment of professors for instruments unrepresented among the student body proved a wise decision for it

⁹⁷ RCMA 0096/1 The names on the first list (on white paper) intended for the Prince of Wales were as follows: Joachim (violin), Norman[-]Neruda, Carrodus [crossed through], Hallé p.f., Pauer, Madame Goldschmidt (singing), Sims Reeves, Santley, Sullivan (harmony, scoring?), Stainer (composition, organ) [double line] Taylor, Gladstone, Gadsby for solfaing, Prout, Cowen [crossed through], Parry, Stanford, Lloyd, Deacon, F. J. [sic] Barnett, Westlake. The second list (on blue paper) includes various additions and omissions: Rheinthalor or Rheinfelder (Capelmeister [sic] at Munich), Dr Bridge, Alwyn, F. Taylor, Dr Peace, Visetti, H. Deacon, Randegger, Conia [?][in pencil: ita], Dr Weil [in pencil: Ger], M. A. Marietti [in pencil: F], Mazzucato, Pauer, J. Barnett, C. Gardner, Westlake, Carrodus, E. J. Hopkins, Gadsby, Papini, Henry Holmes, Melle Vaillant, Joachim, Neruda [crossed through], Melle Krels [crossed through], Zimmerman, Goddard, Mad. Goldschmidt [last four names in pencil, all others in ink].

⁹⁸ Extract from Appendix A to the 15th report of the Science and Arts Department (1868), RAppVIC.

⁹⁹ RCMA 0096/1

secured a staff whose names could be published as part of the annual report as a further means of marketing the College to aspirant students and potential donors (see Appendix 3.6). Destined to attract the very best students on the one hand, these policies were critical in establishing an impression of excellence within the psyche of the Victorian public long before it could be proved. Furthermore, it was a part of a conscious endeavour to ensure that potential students were no longer tempted to seek instruction either on the Continent or at the RAM and the newly-established GSM.

To this end, Grove attempted to co-erce the celebrated and world-renowned ‘Swedish Nightingale’, Jenny Lind (1820-1887) out of retirement to head the RCM’s singing department. Lind had been an iconic figure long before she had even set foot in England in 1858. By the time her career on the concert platform had come to an end in the late 1870s, her gruelling schedule had adversely affected her health; consequently, she had replied to Grove’s invitation in August 1882 somewhat reluctantly, enclosing a series of demands, possibly in the hope of discouraging him from attempting further contact.¹⁰⁰

I beg leave to state what I consider to be *essential* for the training of a vocalist Foundationer [*sic*], in addition to her principal singing study:

- i) Sol-fa'ing properly classed and under the control of the head professor;
- ii) Pianoforte and musical harmony;
- iii) a) English (pure enunciation, poetry, &c.);
b) Declamation;
- iv) One foreign language at least; and, as in course of time instruction in one or other of the above-named subjects can be lessened or replaced by—
- v) Concerted vocal music;
- vi) Deportment, &c.¹⁰¹

During her visits to England, she had quickly become the darling of the Court for she crucially defined ‘the essential desiderata of bourgeois Victorian womanhood: saint-like purity allied to attributes such as serenity and sensibility.’¹⁰² As such she fitted hand in

¹⁰⁰ Joan Bulman: *Jenny Lind* (London: John Barrie, 1956), p. 313.

¹⁰¹ ‘Jenny Lind and the R.C.M.’ *MT* (1 November, 1920), p. 738.

¹⁰² George Biddlecombe: ‘The Construction of a Cultural Icon: The Case of Jenny Lind’ in *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies* Vol. 3 eds Peter Horton and Bennett Zon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p. 51. See also Bulman (1956), pp. 313 to 315. From the mid-century onwards Jenny Lind was a household name and soon became the victim of image branding: a steam locomotive was named after her and there were ‘Jenny Lind’ gloves, statuettes, photographs, decorated boxes and sheet music bearing her signature; as such, the

glove with the moral criteria to which the RCM professors were expected to adhere. Lind's RCM appointment was finally secured following an interview with the Prince of Wales at Marlborough House the following December, and it seems likely that her acquiescence was conditional upon his personal intervention.¹⁰³ Even then, as head of the first singing department at the RCM, she was determined only to accept students 'in proportion to my health and strength'.¹⁰⁴ In other words, she lent musical credibility to an institution with an embryonic reputation, even if she was only fit enough to teach the female scholars. As both teacher and performer, she embraced 'the genuine Italian method of singing', which she considered the only one 'capable of developing to the utmost the powers of the human voice, thereby enabling it to become the free and unfettered interpreter of soul and mind'.¹⁰⁵ Lind's fellow singing professor was the Italian singer-composer, Alberto Visetti (b. 1846). Visetti had transferred to the RCM from the NTSM, where he had a similar position to that now held by Lind.¹⁰⁶ If Visetti had borne a grudge in being passed over for Lind, their mutual adherence to Italian teaching methods at least provided the basis for a common approach.

For much of the nineteenth century it had been commonplace for British singers to adopt an Italian technique: the Italian, Manuel Garcia (1805-1906) the younger, based at the RAM between 1848 and 1895, was London's leading singing teacher. Like Lind, he enjoyed an international reputation as both a performer and teacher, having taught at the Paris Conservatoire briefly between 1847 and 1850. It was during this period that Lind

pressure had taken its toll. By 1883, years of illness and exhaustion had left their mark on her: only seven years earlier she had warned Axel Martin Fredrik Munthe (1857-1949) prior to her visit to Stockholm that she was old woman: she was only 55.

¹⁰³ MS AL FK to GG (29 November, 1882) RCMA MS 0096/1.

¹⁰⁴ *MT* (1 November, 1920), p. 739.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 739.

¹⁰⁶ George Grove: 'Visetti, Albert Anthony' *GII* (London: Macmillan and Company Ltd, 1922), pp. 349f. Visetti had been a student of Alberto Mazzucato at the Milan Conservatorio, where he had won two scholarships and had written a cantata for his degree exercise to words by his friend Arrigo Boïto. Having spent a fruitful period as a conductor in Nice, he moved to Paris where he composed a score for a libretto of the *Trois Mousquetaires* specifically prepared for him by Alexandre Dumas; the score was barely completed before it was destroyed in a fire during the siege of the Commune.

had consulted him in Paris when the middle register of her voice had begun to show signs of fatigue and it seems likely that her lessons with Garcia had profoundly influenced her decision to embrace Italian methods.¹⁰⁷ On the surface, Lind's approach to teaching appeared to be fundamentally at odds with the RCM's ability to create a uniquely national musical style and language for England, yet it was a method espoused at the Paris Conservatoire. As such, it was naturally acceptable to a College intent on emulating Continental provision as a prelude to the development of its own national style. While Grove evidently had other names in mind for Lind's post, it is clear that those whom he approached had all received their training at the hands of Italians.

John Sims Reeves (c. 1818-1900) had been Grove's original choice to head the RCM singing department. Despite being styled 'The English Tenor' in *Vanity Fair* (see Fig. 26), an epithet was germane to the RCM's national ethos, he had received an Italian training, first from Mazzucato in Milan and then with Bordigni in Paris.¹⁰⁸ Sims Reeves was to have been assisted by (Sir) Charles Santley (see Fig. 25). Like Lind, Santley had also studied with Garcia. Grove was evidently keen to secure Santley's services for having received no reply to his letter of 14 August, wrote once more nine days later.¹⁰⁹ Santley had just returned from Italy, hence his delay in replying to Grove's offer but his reply, when it did arrive, put an end to the matter: 'I do not believe in the necessity for nor the

¹⁰⁷ Bulman (1956), pp. 314f. April Fitzlyon and James Radomski: 'Manuel (Patricio Roríguez) Garcia (ii)' *Grove Music Online* Ed. L. Macy (Accessed 20 September, 2006), <http://www.grove.music.com>. Garcia enjoyed international acclaim not only as a singing teacher but particularly for his invention of the laryngoscope in 1855. Between 1840 and 1847 he had published his *Traité complet de l'art du chant*, which was to remain the standard treatise on singing for many years.

¹⁰⁸ Harold Rosenthal and George Biddlecombe: 'Reeves, Sims (John)' *Grove Music Online* Ed. L. Macy (Accessed 20 September, 2006), <http://www.grove.music.com>. Sims Reeves had started his career as a baritone and made his debut in Newcastle on 14 December 1838. He made his debut as a tenor at La Scala in 1846. His success on the English concert and festival circuit followed and he appeared at the Norwich Festival in the Sacred Harmonic Society performance of *Messiah*.

¹⁰⁹ MS AL GG to CS (14 August, 1882) RCMA MS 6911.A.3

utility of the Royal College of Music, so respectfully beg to decline the honour HRH the P. of W. is graciously desirous of conferring on me....'¹¹⁰

The refusal of Santley and Sims Reeves to join the staff at the RCM is particularly remarkable as they had both signed the 1868 Memorandum (see Chapter One p. 23) pressing the government to secure the 'establishment of a *new school* of music, in which every advantage may be offered to musical students...and further [advising] the establishment of an English national opera, believing by such agencies a genuine and useful impulse might be given to the development of musical genius in this country....'¹¹¹

Santley's natural allegiance lay with the RAM. He had been a student there and was a staunch admirer of his mentor, George Macfarren. Santley's refusal to accept Grove's offer may have stemmed from the fact that he had recently become a Director of the RAM or from loyalty to Macfarren, who had been Principal of the RAM since 1876. As a performer, Sims Reeves pursued a punishing schedule, which presumably did not permit him did not take up Grove's invitation.

A name that curiously appeared among the lists of those whom Grove had hoped to appoint to a professorship was that of Charles Hallé. Given Hallé's involvement in the unfortunate experience over the NTSM examinations in 1880, it is somewhat surprising that he was considered at all; however, it seems that Grove wished to put an end to any acrimony for he had included a paean to Hallé in the speeches at the Manchester Meeting in 1881 possibly with the intention of wooing him for an RCM appointment. Like Sims Reeves, Hallé's refusal as a result of his numerous concert engagements, had influenced

¹¹⁰ MS AL CS to GG [August, 1882] RCMA. See also Harold Rosenthal and George Biddlecombe: 'Santley, Sir Charles' *Grove Music Online* Ed. L. Macy (Accessed 20 September, 2006), <http://www.grove.music.com>. Santley had enjoyed a successful career as a singer for many years. He made his English debut on 1 October 1859 at Covent Garden where he performed frequently thereafter, enjoying an active career on opera stage and concert platform alike. Known more for his acting ability and expression than for an innately beautiful voice, like others on Grove's list, he was a published composer of anthems and settings for use in the Catholic Liturgy and he had also published treatises on singing: *Santley's Singing Master* (London, c. 1895), *The Art of Singing and Vocal Declamation* (London, 1908) and *Reminiscences of my Life* (London, 1909).

¹¹¹ Extract from Appendix A to 15th Report of Science and Arts Department, 1868 R.A.pp.VIC.1872/11318.

his decision to decline Grove's invitation to become Principal Professor of Piano at the RCM.¹¹² Another reason for his refusal may well have been his intention to found an independent Royal College of Music in Manchester, a desire that had been expressed from 1852.¹¹³

In the event, the majority of pianists Grove appointed as professors at the RCM simply transferred from the NTSM (compare Appendix 2.0 with 3.7). Without exception, they were united by a common adherence to the German piano school and most had received their training at the hands of Germans. The Austrian pianist, Ernst Pauer (1826-1905), had studied in Munich and worked extensively in Germany before coming to Britain. He had succeeded Cipriani Potter as Professor of Piano at the RAM (1859-64) and was appointed Principal Professor of piano at NTSM from its foundation in 1876 and had replaced Stainer as Vice-Principal between 1881 and 1882. During his time at the NTSM he had published the *Art of Pianoforte Playing* in 1877 as part of the Novello series of primers. Pauer had first met Grove in 1850 and had made a great impression on him 'who then had seen no artists and knew none of their ways.'¹¹⁴ By 1882, after some thirty years' experience working with professional musicians Grove's comparative naiveté appears to have been a thing of the past; rather, his years at the Crystal Palace had given him a considerably more accurate perspective on the profession. As a result, it seems likely that Pauer's work as an editor sealed his RCM position. Pauer had published editions of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century keyboard music and Moscheles's *Études*; in addition, he shared an enthusiasm with Grove for the music of Schumann and Beethoven and had transcribed much of their symphonic repertoire for two, four and eight hands. Both Franklin Taylor (1843-1919) and John Francis Barnett (1837-1916) had

¹¹² Charles Hallé: *Life and Letters of Sir Charles Hallé. Being an Autobiography, with Correspondence and Diaries* eds C. E. Hallé and Marie Hallé (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1896) p. 308. Letter dated 29 August, 1882.

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 149. 'He was largely instrumental in founding the Royal Manchester College of Music, which had been the dream of his life ever since 1852, when he elaborated his scheme in a correspondence, now unfortunately lost, with Mr. Adolf Meyer....'

¹¹⁴ MS AL GG to EO (22 January, 1891), RCMA, ff. 335-336.; No 77.

studied at the Leipzig Conservatorium alongside Sullivan, Grieg and Carl Rosa.¹¹⁵ After leaving Leipzig, Taylor had worked with Clara Schumann in Paris where he had become an ardent exponent of her method and technique, which would naturally have appealed to Grove: it may also explain why, upon returning to England he performed frequently at the Crystal Palace Concerts from 1865. Barnett, like Taylor, had been a professor of piano under Pauer at the NTSM. He had appeared regularly as a soloist for the Philharmonic and New Philharmonic societies and like Pauer shared a love of Schubert's music.¹¹⁶ In 1883, his edition of Schubert's Symphony in E major, completed from autograph sketches in Grove's possession. Subsequently published in Leipzig the following year, it cemented their association.

Arabella Goddard (1836-1922) was already a pianist of international renown by the time Grove invited her to join the RCM staff. From the age of six she had been sent to Paris to study with the German pianist and composer, Wilhelm Michael Kalkbrenner (1785-1849). After returning to England after the 1848 revolution, she continued her studies with Sigismond Thalberg (1812-1871). Regarded as England's leading pianist for much of the second half of the nineteenth century, her technique was described by George Bernard Shaw as a 'wonderful manipulative skill'.¹¹⁷ In 1860 she married *The*

¹¹⁵ Between 1859 and 1861, Taylor had studied piano with Moscheles and Plaidy and harmony and composition with Emil Papperitz at Leipzig. Taylor was not thought to be gifted as a composer but turned his attentions to performance and teaching instead. In 1862 Taylor returned to London where he became renowned both as performer and teacher.

¹¹⁶ Jennifer Spencer and Jeremy Dibble: 'Barnett, John Francis' *Grove Music Online* Ed. L. Macy (Accessed 21 September, 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>> As a student, he had gained a King's Scholarship to the RAM and, after a successful debut of Mendelssohn's Concerto in D major with the New Philharmonic Society in 1853, had left England to study with Hauptman, Reitz and Moscheles in Leipzig, performing at the Gewandhaus in 1880.

¹¹⁷ Henry Davison: *Music During the Victorian Era from Mendelssohn to Wagner being the Memoirs of J. W. Davison* (London: William Reeves, 1912), pp. 253-9. See also Frank Howes: 'Goddard, Arabella' *NGII* Vol. 10 p. 70. She studied harmony with Macfarren and had composed and published two piano pieces and a ballad during the early 1850s. Her performance at the Gewandhaus in 1855 gained her wide-spread critical acclaim in Germany and on her return to England in 1856 she made frequent appearances at the Crystal Palace Concerts.

Times music critic, J. W. Davison, with whom she shared a love of Beethoven.¹¹⁸

Goddard's name had become synonymous with Beethoven's late sonatas, many of which she brought to British notice for the first time and this influenced Grove's decision to appoint her at the RCM. She was an ambassador for British music and undertook a gruelling concert tour of America, India and Australia between 1873 and 1876 shortly before her arrival at the College in 1883. Given that she was well-known across the Empire, Grove doubtless thought that Goddard would be able to attract the best potential students from the Colonies. In addition, Goddard's marriage to Davison was doubtless viewed by Grove as an invaluable connection, not only as a useful means of promoting the RCM and its concerts but as a further opportunity to educate and influence the English musical cognoscenti. Moreover, Grove may also have assumed it would encourage Davison to support the work of the College.

Eaton Fanning (1850-1927), Frederic Cliffe and Herbert Sharpe were exceptions: they were all musicians who had received their education in England. Fanning had been a student of Sir William Sterndale Bennett (1816-1875), Charles Steggall (1826-1905) and Sullivan at the RAM.¹¹⁹ Sullivan had appointed him professor and conductor of the choral class at the NTSM in 1876. He was appointed assistant Professor of Piano the following year and a full professor from 1878. At the RCM, his remit was broadened to include piano and harmony. Frederic Cliffe (1857-1931) and Herbert Sharpe (1861-1925) had both been scholars at the NTSM. Cliffe was acknowledged to have had a precocious

¹¹⁸ Davison (1912), pp. 228f. See also: Frank Howes: 'Arabella Goddard' *NGII* Vol. 10 (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2001), p. 70. See Richard Runciman Terry: *On Music's Borders* (London: T. Fischer Unwin Ltd, 1927), p. 19. Evidently Davison was not well regarded. Richard Runciman Terry described both him and H. F. Chorley (Editor of *The Athenaeum*) as a 'pretentious scribes who would not be tolerated today on the veriest local rag that ever thundered from the printing press of a cathedral town.' He also includes the limerick: 'There was once a J. W. D., Who fain a composer would be: But his muse wouldn't budge, So he set up as judge Over better composers than he.'

¹¹⁹ William Barclay Squire: 'Fanning, Eaton' *GII* (London: Macmillan and Company Ltd, 1922), p. 6. Fanning successively won the RAM's bronze (1871) and silver (1872) medals in piano, and the prestigious Mendelssohn Scholarship in 1873 and secured the bronze medal in harmony in 1874 and the Lucas silver medal in composition in 1876.

talent.¹²⁰ He studied composition under Sullivan, harmony with Prout, organ with Stainer and the piano with Taylor. His musical training was influenced by Taylor and Sullivan's experiences at the Leipzig *Hochschule*, while Stainer's approach had been influenced by George Cooper, organist at St Sepulchre's Holborn, and an avid exponent of German C-compass organs and the music of J. S. Bach.¹²¹ Sharpe had succeeded Eugène D'Albert as Queen's Scholar and, upon leaving the NTSM in 1882, embarked upon a career as a concert pianist.

Grove had hoped to be able to attract the German violinist, Joseph Joachim (1821-1907), to join the RCM as principal professor of violin and had consulted the Prince of Wales about the matter because Francis Knollys had written to say: 'H.R.H. entirely approves of your suggestion, in respect to the violin Professorship that you should put the matter before Mr. Joachim & ask his advice as to who should be asked to take the chief Professor's Post.' Grove's acquaintance with Joachim had begun in July 1864 when the violinist had been to stay at Lower Sydenham and he continued to be a frequent visitor to the Crystal Palace concerts from 1868.¹²² Since 1844, his name had been synonymous with the Beethoven Violin Concerto after he had been brought to London to perform it by his mentor, Mendelssohn (see Fig. 57).¹²³ Joachim's promotion of the music of Schumann in England and what Jeremy Dibble describes as his 'polarized Brahmsian view' intensified his relationship with Grove as their paths continued to cross

¹²⁰ William Henry Husk: 'Cliffe, Frederick' *GII* (London: Macmillan and Company Ltd, 1922), pp. 558f. At the age of six he was said to play the piano to a standard well beyond his years and, by the age of eleven, had secured his first post as organist at Wyke Parish Church. A year later, in 1868, he was said to have been able to play the Bach 48.

¹²¹ As professor of piano at the RCM, Cliffe taught John Ireland and Arthur Benjamin, who themselves went on to teach Benjamin Britten, among others. An accomplished and respected composer, Cliffe was commissioned to write works for the major music festivals. His symphony in C minor was given its first acclaimed performance at Crystal Palace on 20 April 1889 and conducted by (Sir) August Manns and the second symphony in E minor was performed at the Leeds Festival in 1892; in the meantime, his tone poem, *Cloud and Sunshine*, was commissioned and performed in 1890 by the Philharmonic Society. Both the violin concerto in D minor and *The Triumph of Akestis* were commissioned by the Norwich Festival in 1896 and 1902, respectively. Having ceased composing in 1905, he outlived his reputation as a composer.

¹²² Graves (1903), pp. 108 and 170f.

¹²³ Beatrix Borchard: 'Joseph Joachim' *NGII* Vol. 13 (London: Macmillan and Company Ltd, 2001), p. 126.

during this period.¹²⁴ Connections with two of the greatest contemporary composers, his association with Liszt and a reputation as Germany's premier violinist made him a revered candidate for a professorial post at the RCM. By 1883, Joachim had been living in Berlin with his wife for 15 years where he had founded the *Königliche Akademie der Künste* in 1868, which later became the *Königliche Hochschule für Musik* from 1872.¹²⁵ Already an intrinsic constituent of the European musical arena where he had achieved cult status, his involvement with the RCM was understandably restricted to appearances as performer and examiner.

Joachim was a common denominator in several of Grove's appointments. Charles Hubert Hastings Parry (1848-1918) had applied through Joachim to study with Brahms in Vienna. The failure of this venture led him to begin a course of study with the renowned piano virtuoso and advocate of Wagner, Edward Dannreuther. This was fortuitous for two reasons: in the first instance, the shift in the context of their discussions from technical complexities to the manipulation of the tonal palettes employed by composers such as Brahms, Liszt and Tchaikovsky had a profound effect on the development of Parry's compositional language; secondly, his involvement in Dannreuther's Orme Square concerts gave him a platform on which to present a cornucopia of chamber works between 1875 and 1879.¹²⁶ Parry was already a passionate disciple of Wagner, whom he had met at Dannreuther's Bayswater home in 1877; indeed, a visit to Bayreuth in 1876 where he had attended a performance of *Das Rheingold* had inspired him to compose *Guillem de Cabestanh*, which was completed in 1878 and conducted by Sir August Manns at Crystal Palace in 1879. In 1880 *Prometheus Unbound* had been performed at the Gloucester Three Choirs Festival and the Piano Concerto in

¹²⁴ Dibble (1992), p. 221.

¹²⁵ Beatrix Borchard: 'Joseph Joachim' *NGII* Vol. 13 (London: Macmillan and Company Ltd, 2001), p. 126.

¹²⁶ The chamber works he presented at Dannreuther's concerts were *Grosses Duo* for two pianos (1875-1877), the Piano Trio in E minor (No 1, 1877), the Nonet for wind instruments (1877), the *Fantasie Sonata* in B minor for violin and piano (1878) and the Piano Quartet (1879).

F sharp major had been given its premier by Dannreuther at the Crystal Palace on 3 April.¹²⁷

In 1876, it had been Joachim who had encouraged Charles Villiers Stanford (1852-1924), recently appointed as Organist at Trinity College, Cambridge, to move to Berlin to undertake further studies with Friedrich Kiel, the association with Rienecke in Leipzig having proved unproductive. Stanford's childhood home at 2 Herbert Street in Dublin had been the focal point for professional musicians and it was here that he had first encountered Joachim.¹²⁸ Grove's first encounter with Stanford, at that time a Dublin schoolboy, had been at the family home of his colleague, John Scott Russell.¹²⁹ As composers, both Stanford and Parry had come to Grove's notice at the Birmingham Triennial Festival, where, along with RCM Council members, Stainer and Julius Benedict, he had been on the lookout 'to hear the latest creations of the men he would soon recommend as professors for the new Royal College of Music'.¹³⁰ Stanford's *Orchestral Serenade in G major* was premiered at Birmingham on 30 August 1882, having been completed on 11 September the previous year; followed by Parry's Symphony No 1 in G major, it had been anticipated to receive good reviews by the chairman of the Orchestral Committee before a note had been heard, a fact which Parry confirmed in his diary entry of 26 August, 1882.¹³¹

"I think you will find Mr. Stanford is a man of the future, whose fame is gradually reaching its meridian". We have no doubt whatever as to the wisdom of the Committee engaging Mr. Stanford's pen. The Cambridge composer will produce a clever and scholarly work, certain, at least, of commanding respect.¹³²

Stanford's *Serenade* was 'decidedly symphonic in treatment, and, both from the inventive power and command over the orchestra, should take a high rank amongst his numerous

¹²⁷ Musgrave (1995), p. 230.

¹²⁸ Pine and Acton (1998) p. 49.

¹²⁹ Young (1980), p. 82.

¹³⁰ Dibble (2002), p. 125.

¹³¹ Dibble (2002), p. 124.

¹³² 'The Birmingham Festival' *MT* (London: Novello and Company Ltd, 1 December, 1881), p. 617.

compositions.¹³³ The fourth movement (out of five) was encored and Stanford, who had conducted the performance, was ‘warmly and appreciatively applauded at its conclusion by a highly appreciative audience.’¹³⁴ ‘Undoubtedly of the modern school of writing’, Parry’s Symphony had contained much ‘clever writing’ in a work where the composer had evidently ‘studied in the good school of writing [but] has dared to think for himself.’¹³⁵ Perhaps most significantly, ‘H.R.H. [The Prince of Wales] quite approve[d] of Mr. Stanford’s appointment....’¹³⁶ While Grove had engaged Parry to write 123 articles for the first edition of the *Dictionary*, the considerable delay in inviting him to take up his RCM appointment had led him to assume that he would be passed over. Grove’s appointment of Parry as Professor of musical history and composition and Stanford as professor of composition and orchestral practice was arguably the most significant of any he made to the RCM staff.

Yet Grove had hoped to persuade both Stainer and Sullivan to posts at the RCM. Stainer’s pedigree both as an organist and musicologist was impressive. In addition to his post as Organist at St Paul’s, which he had taken up in 1872, he had helped to found the Musical Association in 1874 (becoming President upon Ouseley’s death).¹³⁷ The following year he had served on the editorial committee of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1875) with J. B. Dykes, and W. H. Monk, who had been an assistant Professor of organ at the NTSM between 1876 and 1879 (see Appendix 2.0).¹³⁸ By the time of Grove’s invitation to become Professor of composition and organ in 1882, he had already contributed ‘his still much respected volume *The Organ* (as well as volumes on *Harmony*, *Composition* [1880] and the *Dictionary of Musical Terms* with W. A. Barrett).’¹³⁹ These were

¹³³ ‘The Birmingham Musical Festival’ *MT* (London: Novello and Company Ltd, 4 September, 1882), p. 6.

¹³⁴ *MT* (4 September, 1882), p. 6

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹³⁶ FK to GG (17 September 1882) RCMA MS 0096/1.

¹³⁷ Jeremy Dibble: ‘Awake, awake! Put on thy strength’ *OR* (August, 2006), p. 19.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

naturally compelling factors in Grove's attempts to convince him to accept a seat on the RCM's Board of Professors; however, the Prince of Wales acknowledged the calls on Stainer's time.

His Royal Highness knows what severe calls are made on your time, and strength by your engagements at St Paul's and elsewhere; but he feels convinced that you will see the gravity of this fresh attempt to serve the interests of music in England, and will not refuse him the advantage of your well known devotion to the cause which both he and you have so much at heart. There will be plenty of room for your services in other departments also; but I hope you will agree to take the organ as your leading professorship.¹⁴⁰

Secured by A. J. Mundella, 'Stainer['s] appointment [as] Inspector of Schools under the Privy Council [ensured he was] not...able to take a Class in the College.'¹⁴¹ From 1880, he had already added the post of first Professor of Organ at the Guildhall School of Music (1880-1883) to a similar role at the NTSM and it seems likely that his appointment as Inspector of Schools caused him to relinquish his GSM position.¹⁴²

Stainer's refusal led Grove to approach the organist-composer (Sir) Walter Parratt (1841-1924). Parratt had been commanded by the Queen to succeed Sir George Elvey as Organist and Master of the Music at St George's Chapel, Windsor in 1882.¹⁴³ Had he 'remained at Oxford[—in 1872, Parratt had succeeded Stainer at Magdalen College, Oxford—his] many engagements and the distance from the place would have stood in the way of [his] joining [the RCM], but since [his] elevation to Windsor I should hope

¹⁴⁰ Letter in private collection.

¹⁴¹ MS AL GG to WP (13 February, 1883), RCMA. See also: 'The Sir John Stainer Dinner' *MW* (4 August, 1888), pp. 609-612.

¹⁴² Guildhall Scrapbook (November, 1878; July, 1880; December 1884) LMA CLA/056/AD/04/001. This contains the Prospectuses of the Guildhall School of Music for the years 1880, 1881 and 1887. Stainer is listed as Professor of Organ in the prospectuses for 1880, 1881 but not by 1887.

¹⁴³ Henry Walford Davies: 'Sir Walter Parratt' *RCM Magazine* Vol. 20; No 2 (Easter, 1924), p. 40. Despite having been Parry's organ teacher, Sir George Elvey was not renowned for his accurate playing: chords of D major might regularly appear with an added C sharp at the cadence. By contrast, Parratt's playing was unerring and clean. While Parratt remained at St George's Windsor for the remainder of his career, he went on to hold every significant royal appointment. He was knighted and appointed organist to Queen Victoria in 1892 and became Master of the Queen's Musick the following year, an appointment he continued to hold during the reigns of Edward VII and George V. He received honorary doctorates in music from Oxford (1894), Cambridge (1910) and Durham (1912) and was Dean of the Faculty of Music at London University from 1905. He was President of the Royal College of Organists from 1905-1909 and in 1908 succeeded Parry to the Heather Chair of Music at Oxford from which he resigned in 1918. He received the MVO from Edward VII in 1901 and the CVO and KCVO from George V in 1917 and 1921 respectively.

that both these obstacles are removed.¹⁴⁴ Like Stainer and Sullivan before him, he had studied the organ with George Cooper at St Sepulchre's Holborn rather than embarking upon the well-trodden path as apprentice to a cathedral organist.¹⁴⁵ Parratt's immediate deputy at the RCM, Dr (later Sir) George Clement Martin, was a protégé of Stainer whose pupil he had been in Oxford. Subsequently appointed private organist to the Duke of Buccleuch at Dalkeith in 1871, Martin moved to be Master of the Choristers at St Paul's Cathedral in 1874 and Assistant Organist to Stainer from 1876, whom he later succeeded as organist in 1888. Like Parratt, he had not followed the conventional path to preferment. Having graduated with a B.Mus. from Oxford in 1868, he gained the Fellowship of the (Royal) College of Organists (FCO) in 1875 and was awarded a Lambeth Mus.D. for services to church music in the year of his RCM appointment.¹⁴⁶ By contrast, Dr Francis Edward Gladstone (1845-1928), a distant cousin of the Liberal Prime Minister, had followed the conventional route and had been articled to Samuel Sebastian Wesley for five years at Winchester between the ages of 14 and 19. Later emulating his master, he worked in three cathedrals (Norwich, Chichester and Llandaff) during the course of his career. By the time of his RCM appointment, he had already taken the Cambridge degrees of Mus.B. and Mus.D., where he was a member of the Board of Studies in Music.¹⁴⁷ Gladstone had been a logical choice: he was considered one

¹⁴⁴ MS AL GG to WP (13 February, 1883), RCMA. See also: 'The Sir John Stainer Dinner' *MW* (4 August, 1888), pp. 609-612.

¹⁴⁵ Nicholas Thistlethwaite: *The Making of the Victorian Organ* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 181-214. See also Peter Charlton: *John Stainer and the Musical Life of Victorian Britain* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1984), pp. 17f. Stainer and Sullivan had also been taught by Cooper at St Sepulchre's, Holborn. Parratt went on to hold appointments in Huddersfield and London, but as organist of St Michael's, Great Witley in Worcestershire and private organist to the RAM's Earl of Dudley, he gained an entrée into the orbit of Sir Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley (1825-1889) at St Michael's College, Tenbury Wells.

¹⁴⁶ 'Sir George Clement Martin' *MT* (London: 1897), pp. 441-443. See also: 'Memorial to the Late Sir George Martin' *MT* (London: 1917), pp. 553-554. Having been knighted during Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897, he later went on to receive an honorary D.Mus. from Oxford in 1912.

¹⁴⁷ William Barclay Squire: 'Dr Francis Edward Gladstone' in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* Ed. J. A. Fuller Maitland, Vol. II (London: Macmillan, 1922), pp. 174f. Having resigned from Christ Church Lancaster Gate in 1886 as a result of ill-health, he was received into the Roman Catholic Church and appointed organist of St Mary of the Angels the following year (1887).

of the finest organists of his day and was also a prolific composer much of whose output was written for the organ.¹⁴⁸ A number of fine executants were among the organists whom Grove had unsuccessfully attempted to accept a position at the RCM: Henry Robert Gadsby (1842-1907), E. J. Hopkins (1818-1901) and Dr Albert Lister Peace (1844-1912).¹⁴⁹

Under different circumstances, Dr John Frederick Bridge (1844-1924), who had been Professor of organ at the NTSM, might have been a more natural choice to fill a similar role at the RCM. Having been articled to John Hopkins at Rochester, he had taken composition lessons from John Goss at St Paul's Cathedral, later taking his F.C.O. and Oxford B.Mus.¹⁵⁰ In 1869 he was appointed to Manchester Cathedral as Organist, during which time he was responsible for the installation of the four-manual Hill organ and from 1872 taught at Owens College, taking his D.Mus. at Oxford in 1874. In 1882 he succeeded James Turle, to whom he had been assistant, as organist at Westminster Abbey. Yet in spite of his NTSM connection, he (see Fig. 17) did not appear on Grove's

¹⁴⁸ Gladstone's reputation as a composer died well before him: none of his music survives in the repertoire today and, with few exceptions, is representative of the standard cathedral fare. The published works include two sacred cantatas: *Nicodemus* and *Philippi or the Acts of Paul and Silas in Macedonia* and a cantata *Constance of Calais*. The remainder of his output – a mass in E flat, a piano trio and an overture entitled *A Wet Sheet and a Flowing Sea* remained in manuscript.

¹⁴⁹ Henry Gadsby had been a chorister at St Paul's between 1849 and 1858. In 1884, he succeeded John Hullah as professor of harmony at Queen's College, London, prior to which he had been organist of St Peter's, Brockley. One of the first professors at the Guildhall School of Music, he was a member of the Philharmonic Society and a Fellow of the College of Organists. His output as a composer includes cantatas, masques, an organ concerto, symphony, overtures, anthems and songs and in 1883 he published a treatise on harmony. E. J. Hopkins came from a dynasty of musicians: his brother John Hopkins had succeeded their first cousin, John Larkin Hopkins at Rochester and both Johns had taught Frederick Bridge the organ. E. J. Hopkins was elected organist of the Temple Church from 1843, a post he held until his retirement in 1898, where he became renowned for his choir training ability. He had been one of the founders of the College of Organists in 1869 and the Musical Association in 1874 and was awarded a Lambeth Mus.D. in 1882. In addition he was a prolific composer of music for the church and organ. Dr Peace had been born in Huddersfield and had held his first post as organist at the age of nine. A pioneer of the extended C to G, two-and-half octave pedal board, he was an exponent of Bach's organ music at a time when it was just re-emerging to prominence and held positions as University Organist at Glasgow, Glasgow Cathedral—the High Kirk (1879), and St George's Hall, Liverpool (1897), where he succeeded W. T. Best. He gained both his Mus.Bac. (1870) and Mus.Doc. (1875) from Oxford. His published compositions comprise anthems, services, a cantata (*St John the Baptist*) and a number of organ works.

¹⁵⁰ Bridge (1918), pp. 41, 46 & 48f. Bridge had unsuccessfully competed for the post of Organist of Queen's College in the hope of securing a 'residential Oxford life'. His examiners for his Mus.Bac. exercise were Ouseley (Heather Professor of Music), Stainer (Organist at Magdalen) and Dr Corfe (Organist at Christ Church).

lists of provisional professors and only seems to have entered into the equation at the very last minute.¹⁵¹ This was for several reasons: first, Bridge's significant appointments and accolades belied an indifferent ability as both a practical musician and composer. Yet according to one of his pupils, (Sir) Edward Cuthbert Bairstow (1874-1946), while Bridge 'may not have been a wonderful composer, conductor or organist[,]...he had his oar in and had begun to pull before the other fellow had made up his mind.'¹⁵² The publication of Bridge's treatises *Counterpoint* and *Double Counterpoint and Canon*, respectively in 1878 and 1881 as part of the Novello series of primers, provided legitimate grounds to appoint him to the College staff as Professor of harmony and counterpoint in March 1883.¹⁵³ Secondly, Grove had evidently considered appointing the music theorist, editor, organist and teacher Ebenezer Prout (1835-1909). Prout had been Principal Professor of harmony and counterpoint at the NTSM between 1876 and 1882 and he had been commissioned by Grove to write 53 articles for the first edition of the *Dictionary*. In theory, if not in practice, Prout could have been a useful ally: the various publications to his name on music theory were successively re-produced, such as his *Harmony: its Theory and Practice*, which ran to 20 editions. Having held posts as organist at several non-conformist chapels, he had been Professor of piano at the Crystal Palace School of Music between 1861 and 1885 and taught at the RAM from 1879, where Henry Wood, Edward German and Tobias Matthay were among his pupils. As a music critic, he was the original editor of the *Monthly Musical Record* (1871-1875) and was music critic both of *The Academy* (1874-1879) and *The Athenæum* (1879-1889). Despite an undeniable entitlement to academic preferment and his inclusion on the first provisional first list of Professors, by 1883,

¹⁵¹ Bridge (1918), pp. 255f. It is likely that Bridge was the last professor to receive a letter of appointment. Two RCM Registrars, George Watson and Claude Aveling, had been Rochester men whom Bridge claimed to have brought to Grove's notice; in addition, he also claimed credit for the establishment of the RCM's Kent scholarship. (see pp. 85f)

¹⁵² Francis Jackson: *Blessed City: The Life and Works of Edward C. Bairstow* (York: William Sessions Ltd, 1996), p. 30. Bairstow was articled to Bridge at Westminster Abbey prior to his appointment as Organist at Wigan Parish Church in 1899.

¹⁵³ Bridge (1918), p. 84.

however, Grove had grown to find him duplicitous and insufferable and considered that he lacked humility and discretion.¹⁵⁴ Prout's involvement in the affairs of the RCM was ultimately resisted until his appointment as an external examiner during the early days of Parry's directorate in 1895.¹⁵⁵ The third reason for Bridge's late appointment was that Grove had initially offered the post to Sullivan.¹⁵⁶

Grove's invitation to Sullivan to accept the post of Professor of harmony and scoring (orchestration) must have rankled. For many, Sullivan's name was synonymous with English music, as confirmed by *Vanity Fair* (see Fig. 8). He had been Professor of composition at the RAM and the NTSM and Grove's invitation to accept a less prominent portfolio can only have been perceived as demotion. Compared with the symphonic repertoire of Stanford and Parry, both of whom were at the apogee of modern compositional developments in England, Sullivan's music can only have been perceived as obsolescent. Sullivan's refusal of Grove's offer was to prove fortuitous: he had grown tired of living in London and on relinquishing the conductorship of the Philharmonic Society in 1887 later wrote to Grove to say that although it had been 'the one great musical interest left to me', he had felt obliged to let it go: 'in the first place, it tied me down too much—to be compelled to be in London for four or five consecutive months in the year doesn't suit my restless nature. 2^{ndly} although I look tough enough, I am not strong....'¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ Young (1980), p. 169. Grove had objected to Prout's review of Rockstro's *Life of Handel* in *The Athenaeum* in a letter to William Barclay Squire on 23 July 1883. He felt Prout had been disingenuous. See also MS AL GG to EO (28 June, 1894), RMCA. On Prout's appointment as Professor of Music at Trinity College, Dublin in 1894, Grove commented that he was 'clever, accurate...not a gentleman—not a player—anti-Hibernian in every sense!'

¹⁵⁵ See Appendix: RCM External Examiners 1884-1895. By virtue of his reputation as a theorist Prout was elected professor of music at Trinity College, Dublin in 1894 and received the Mus.D. and Mus.Doc. of Dublin and Edinburgh respectively, *honoris causa*.

¹⁵⁶ Frederick Bridge: *A Westminster Pilgrim* (London: Novello and Co.; Hutchinson and Co., 1918), pp. 254 & 256.

¹⁵⁷ Letter from Sullivan letter to Grove (12 October 1887) PML 108488. By 1892 he frequented the casinos of Monaco and Grove was invited to pay him a visit: see MS AL GG to EO [10 April, 1892], RCMA.

Sullivan's successor as conductor of the Philharmonic Society orchestra from 1888, (Sir) Frederic Cowen (1852-1935), had also appeared on Grove's original lists six years earlier. Like Sullivan and Taylor, Cowen had trained at the Leipzig *Hochschule*. He had been professor of the orchestral class at the NTSM between 1880 and 1882; however, he had resigned from the NTSM prematurely in order to pursue a career on the concert platform and his name was crossed through on the first sheet. Whether he was Grove's first choice to deputise for Stanford as conductor of the orchestral class, Henry Holmes (1839-1905) was appointed instead. Holmes combined his position as Stanford's deputy with that of Principal Professor of violin.¹⁵⁸ Holmes had instigated a series of popular chamber concerts (Musical Evenings) in 1868, later organising and performing in the British premier of Brahms's sextet No 2 in G, op. 36 in 1872. His cantata *Christmas Day* was performed at the Gloucester Three Choirs' Festival in 1880. During the 1870s and 1880s he was frequently invited to perform at Edward Dannreuther's exclusive subscription concerts at Orme Square in Bayswater. It was in recognition of his accomplishments both as performer and composer and his passion for Brahms that led Grove to invite him to join the staff of the RCM.¹⁵⁹ Having had lessons at the Cologne Conservatorium while still at school, Holmes's deputy as teacher of violin and viola, Richard Gompertz (1859-1921), had moved to Berlin to study with Joachim from 1875, where he remained for three years.¹⁶⁰ His association with the College had been brought about through a connection with Stanford who, in 1880, had invited him to take up work as a teacher and performer in Cambridge. During this time he frequently appeared as a

¹⁵⁸ Margaret Campbell: *The Great Violinists* (London: Granada Publishing, 1980), p. 33. Holmes had studied the violin with Spohr at Kassel and had followed his brother to Paris after touring the Continent. In 1865, he left for Copenhagen and Stockholm, finally settling in London where he established an enviable reputation as a soloist and quartet player.

¹⁵⁹ Holmes's output as a composer included five symphonies, three violin concertos, a cello concerto, a plethora of chamber works and choral music.

¹⁶⁰ J. A. Fuller Maitland: 'Gompertz, Richard' *GII* (London: Macmillan and Company Ltd, 1922), p. 200. He appeared as a soloist in the *Gürzenich* Concerts in Cologne and travelled as a soloist with the Cologne *Männergesangsverein*.

soloist with the Cambridge University Musical Society (CUMS) and as part of the Wednesday Popular Concerts.¹⁶¹

Grove had hoped to persuade the violinist, John Tiplady Carrodus, whom E. D. Mackerness described as ‘one of the most sought-after of Victorian musicians’ to join the RCM.¹⁶² From 1848, Carrodus had been a protégé of the German violinist and composer, Bernhard Wilhelm Molique (1802-1869), under whom he had received intensive training in Germany and London. In 1876, he had joined the NTSM as Professor of violin. A highly-tuned sense of rhythm, an exceptional memory alongside a reputation as an outstanding virtuoso all combined to confirm his position as an orchestral leader who had contributed significantly to the improvement of British string-playing. While he had appeared third on Grove’s first provisional list of professors, he

¹⁶¹ ‘Obituary’ *MT* (London: Novello and Company, 1 March, 1898), p. 196. The remaining string professors were the cellist Edward Howell (1846-1898) and the Welsh harpist, composer and writer, John Pencerdd Gwalia Thomas (1826-1913). Howell had added his NTSM appointment to an identical one at the RAM, transferring to the RCM in 1883. He published an adaptation of Romberg’s treatise under the title *A First Book for the Violoncello* as part of Boosey’s Musical Instructors in 1879. Prior to his appointment as principal cellist of the Royal Italian Opera, he had held similar positions in the major orchestras in London. He had been a member of the Queen’s Band, the Philharmonic Society, the Leeds Festival and Three Choirs Festival Orchestras and had frequently performed at the Crystal Palace concerts as a soloist. Thomas provided instruction on the harp. Having played the piccolo from the age of four, he later went on to study the harp with his father. At the age of twelve he won the triple harp competition at the Abergavenny Eisteddfod in 1838 and, two years later, became a student at the RAM sponsored by the Countess of Lovelace. At the Academy he studied composition and the piano respectively with Cipriani Potter and C. J. Read. He studied harp with J. B. Chatterton whom he succeeded as harpist to Queen Victoria. In 1846 he was elected FRAM and gained a reputation as a virtuoso. Elected to membership of the Philharmonic Society, the premier of his Harp Concerto in E flat represents the only work to be presented by a Welsh composer during the Society’s first century. On the Continent, Thomas had been admitted to the Accademia di S. Cecilia in Rome, the Società Filharmonica of Florence in recognition of a decade touring to Russia and Italy. He was a passionate advocate of Welsh music and culture: in 1862 his volume of Welsh airs, all with bilingual texts, was published in London where he organized and performed in concert series of Welsh music. The Aberdare Eisteddfod hosted a performance of his cantata, *Llewellyn* in 1863 and, in 1866, *The Bride of the Neath Valley* was performed in Chester. In 1871 he instituted the Welsh Choral Union Concerts in London and endowed a permanent scholarship at the RAM where he was appointed an examiner in 1882. His acquaintance with Grove developed from his reputation as a popular lecturer on Welsh national music, which led him to write the article on the subject for the first edition of Grove’s *Dictionary*. In 1910 he published *280 Technical Exercises for Harp Preceded by a History from the Earliest Period down to the Present Day* part of which had appeared in an earlier publication in 1895.

¹⁶² E. D. Mackerness: ‘John Tiplady Carrodus’ *NGII* Vol. 5 (London: Macmillan and Company, 2001), pp. 196f. Carrodus had been taught by his father, before being sent to J. B. Zerbini. Rigorous and intense study followed with Bernhard Molique in Germany and London from 1848. This paid dividends for Carrodus’s playing had a profound affect both on Spohr, whose violin method he later adapted, and on Costa who engaged him to play at Covent Garden from 1861. After the Covent Garden fire in 1867, he joined the orchestra at Her Majesty’s Theatre only to return to his former home two years later. He appeared regularly with Arabella Goddard in chamber performances and his interpretation of concertos by Beethoven, Spohr and Molique brought him considerable public acclaim.

seems to have found teaching both at the NTSM and the Guildhall incompatible with a career on the concert platform and assumed that the environment at the RCM would be little different:

In April 1876, he was elected professor at the “National Training School” (now called the “Royal College of Music”). He found his teaching there, and his increasing collection of private pupils, in addition to his many solo and orchestral engagements, most harassing, and indeed, much to his distress, constantly had to break many of his engagements, although he never did this if he were in any way equal to the effort of meeting them.¹⁶³

Moreover, in 1883, he helped to found the Croydon Conservatoire of Music and was elected violin Professor at Trinity College of Music, a post he held until his death; despite this, he clearly valued the training provided by the College for both his son, William Oliver Carrodus, and grandson, Leonard Molique Carrodus (who had been named in memory of his grandfather’s mentor) were elected scholars of the RCM respectively on 12 January, 1885 and 7 May, 1908.¹⁶⁴

The woodwind and brass Professors, who had joined the RCM in 1883, included the bassoonist and saxophonist William Beale Wotton (1832-1912), the clarinettist, basset-horn player and composer, Henry Lazarus (1815-1895) and the trumpeter, Thomas Harper junior (1816-1898) all of whom enjoyed distinguished reputations. Lazarus was unique among wind players in Victorian Britain: during a long and distinguished career of 54 years, he had played in every significant festival and concert-series.¹⁶⁵ Lazarus was also

¹⁶³ Ada Carrodus: *J. T. Carrodus, Violinist. A Life-Story: 1838-1895* (London: A. J. Bowden, 1897), p. 82. See also p. 84: Carrodus’s teaching workload at the Guildhall increased rapidly.

¹⁶⁴ Scholars’ Register (1883-1893) Vol. 1, RCMA, 0014/1, p. 58; see also Scholars’ Register (1894-1913) Vol. 2, RCMA, 0014/2, p. 274. See E. D. Mackerness: ‘Carrodus, John (Tiplady)’ *Grove Music Online* Ed. L. Macy (Accessed 21 September, 2006), <<http://grovemusic.com>>

¹⁶⁵ William Henry Husk: ‘Lazarus, Henry’ *GII* (London: Macmillan and Company Ltd, 1922), p. 657. Educated at the Royal Military Asylum (now the Royal Hospital) in Chelsea, he studied the clarinet with the bandmaster John Blizard. After ten years’ service as assistant to Charles Godfrey senior (1790-1863), bandmaster of the Coldstream Guards, he bought his discharge and joined the Duke of Devonshire’s private band. Lazarus’s first solo appearance was at the Hanover Square Rooms at a concert organized by Madame Dulken on 2 May 1838. From 1844 he became the doyen of the Philharmonic Society with whom he frequently performed as a soloist and in 1860, he was promoted to become principal clarinettist in succession to Joseph Williams. While he performed regularly at the Sacred Harmonic Society Concerts, it was as principal clarinettist both of the Royal Italian Opera and the Birmingham Festival that he enjoyed his longest associations, serving for over 45 years in each case. During this period he earned a reputation for introducing large-scale chamber works and obligatos to the concert-going public. Lazarus’s renowned composers such as Arthur Clappé, Hamilton Clarke, Charles Swinnerton Heap, Charles Oberthür, George Osborne, James Waterson and Joseph Williams to dedicate works to him. Like many of Grove’s

a widely-respected teacher who had taught Charles Godfrey's son, Charles Godfrey junior (1839-1919) at the RAM. In 1883, Godfrey's son became Professor of military music at the RCM, occupying a similar post at the GSM. As an experienced and fêted teacher who had been on the staff of the RAM since 1854 and the Royal Military School of Music at Kneller Hall since 1858, Lazarus was an obvious choice for Grove. Moreover, having been invited by Cole to join the NTSM staff in 1880, he had published a revision of the German Albert and Boehm system under the title *New and Modern Method* the following year, which would also have appealed to Grove.¹⁶⁶ William Wotton first became acquainted with Grove as a bassoonist in the Crystal Palace orchestra from 1866; indeed it had been Grove who had later hailed him as the first English saxophonist. For over 30 years he enjoyed an enviable reputation and succeeded Baumann as the principal bassoonist of his generation not least because of his musical expression and beauty of tone. Thomas Harper had studied with his father, whom he later succeeded at the RAM. His appointment to the RCM coincided with his introduction to Court service as Sergeant Trumpeter to Queen Victoria in 1884; however, there were no trumpeters or bassoonists among the first intake of pupils and only one clarinettist (see Appendix 3.17). Nonetheless, Grove's wisdom in appointing London's leading wind and brass players, albeit provisionally was intended to send a message that the RCM was intent on attracting only the most accomplished performers and teachers to form its Professorial Board.

3.9 THE APPOINTMENT OF SCHOLARS

By March 1883, the professorial staff was in place and the RCM had accrued assets in the region of £105,000 such that the examinations for scholarships were set for Easter week.

other appointments at the RCM, Lazarus was also a prolific composer of fantasias, cavatinas and variations.

¹⁶⁶ Henry Lazarus: *New and Modern Method for the Albert and Boehm System* (London: J. R. Lafleur and Son, 1881).

Honorary regional examiners, appointed to ensure entry from the widest class base, were required to return their results to the RCM within a week.¹⁶⁷ Limited to 50, the number of scholarships was half the original estimate. Even so, according to Stanford the RCM's scholarship provision effectively put the cart before the horse: providing aspirant performers and composers with free education and training in such high numbers, he claimed, would overburden an already saturated job market.¹⁶⁸ The criteria for examination, doubtless drawn up and approved by the Board of Professors, were clearly set forth and signed by Grove in a circular to each examiner.¹⁶⁹ The preliminary examinations were rigorous and intended to expose natural ability and potential.¹⁷⁰ Candidates were also encouraged to submit and perform their own compositions. Those selected to travel to London first auditioned for individual professors. The final scholarship examination was taken before the Director and Board of Professors in the Council Room of the Royal Albert Hall and ensured that weaker prospective candidates did not incur unnecessary expense in travelling to London.¹⁷¹

When the soprano singers were brought in, Madame Goldschmidt (Jenny Lind) did not test them at the pianoforte, but sang from her seat an amazing series of roulades and cadenzas which the trembling women had to imitate as best they could, divided between anxiety for themselves and astonishment at the Chopin-like passages which came so easily out of the throat of an elderly lady at the table. Some of them made surprisingly good attempts at the ordeal. When the names of the successful fifty were decided upon, they were ushered into the room in a body. By some misunderstanding outside, as I afterwards ascertained, they were one and all under the impression that they were those who had failed. When Grove told them that they were the scholars, this motley crowd of boys and girls, of every walk of life from the mill and the mine up to the educated school, gave simultaneously what I can only call a colossal gulp. The effect of it was so touching that Madame Goldschmidt's face collapsed into her pocket-handkerchief, and most of us had a curious lump in our throats.¹⁷²

Throughout the United Kingdom and Ireland, 1,583 candidates had presented themselves for examination. Of those, 480 were selected for the final examination in London from which 50 scholars and 42 paying pupils were elected. Of the scholars there

¹⁶⁷ *The Times* (3 May, 1883) p. 10.

¹⁶⁸ Stanford (1914), pp. 212f.

¹⁶⁹ *The Times* (3 May, 1883) p. 10.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 10. The letter was sent to the examiners by order of the Prince of Wales.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁷² Stanford (1914), pp. 217f.

were 17 pianists, one organist, thirteen singers, eight violinists, two ‘cellists, six composers, one clarinettist, one flautist, and one harpist. Of the scholars appointed during the first intake, Marmaduke Barton (piano), Alfred Herbert Brewer (organ and counterpoint), Emily Daymond (piano and violin and counterpoint), H. Haydn Inwards (violin and organ), Louisa Kellett (piano), Emil Kreuz (violin and viola), Hamish MacCunn (composition, piano and viola), Edith Oldham (piano), Dan Price (singing), Anna Russell (singing), Sidney Waddington (composition, violin, piano and horn), and Charles Wood (composition, horn, piano and horn) went on to plough successful careers within the music profession as did Arnold Dolmestch and Isabella Donkersley, both of whom were students.¹⁷³

3.10 GROVE’S CHARTER OF APRIL 1883

In April 1883, less than a month before the official inauguration, the Prince of Wales petitioned the Queen for ratification of the final draft of the charter as outlined in the prospectus at the various fund-raising meetings.¹⁷⁴ Grove’s charter was the most substantial of all three RCM charters prepared between 1878 and 1882 and ran to some 40 pages. It confirmed much of what had been discussed at the various fund-raising meetings, such as the role of the various committees, the Director and the Board of Professors. While the charter did not include the proposal to establish the RCM as a musical senate, it did establish the RCM’s right to grant degrees and allowed it to negotiate with any musical bodies with a view to amalgamation. The charter also established the principles of the RCM constitution. Vice-Presidents were required to chair the annual meetings of the RCM Corporation in the absence of the Prince of Wales (see Appendix 3.2, p. 33). The role of the Council was to meet for the dispatch of business and thus to frame the rules for the management of the College. The

¹⁷³ See RCM Scholars’ Register (Appendix 3.10).

¹⁷⁴ ‘Royal College of Music’ *MW* Vol. 61 No 14 (7 April, 1883), p. 205.

management of the College was to be delegated to an Executive Committee; however, the immediate direction of the RCM was entrusted to the Director and the Board of Professors, subject to the pleasure of the Council. The constitution of the Council was revised in line with some of the recommendations of Cole's *Notes on the Draft Charter* (see Chapter Two, pp. 66f.). *Ex officio* members were named as the Prince of Wales and the Lord Mayor of London instead of the Prince of Wales and Grove and a sense of accountability restored (see Appendix 3.2; p. 34). In both the charters for 1878 and 1880, the Principal and Vice-Principal had been required to be professional musicians: this requirement was dropped by 1883 and Grove named instead. Neither Charles Morley (Honorary Secretary) nor George Watson (Registrar) were musicians and the post of Vice-Director, which might have been filled by a professional musicians seems to have remained vacant at this stage. Further amendments potentially allowed the Council to enter into any 'engagements with the government respecting musical instruction in Elementary or other government Schools, including the Inspection of Schools, the conduct of Examinations, the last providing wholly or partially for the supply or education of musical teachers' (see Appendix 3.2; p. 36). In addition to its role as an inspectorate of school music the 1883 charter sanctioned members of Council to act in an advisory capacity on government committees. Two years previously, in 1881, John Hullah, Stainer's predecessor as Inspector of Schools, had suggested that 'candidates for the office of musical examiner in elementary schools be required to attend a course of instruction at the Royal College [of Music] at the close of which their general musical knowledge, and especially their skill and tact as examiners should be tested and certified by the professors of that institution.'¹⁷⁵ Both initiatives had the potential to establish the RCM as the official and national advisory body on music education.

¹⁷⁵ Quoted in Wright (2003), p. 235.

The publication of the charter in *The Times* on 21 April exposed an unforeseen flaw in the RCM's admissions procedure:

One of my sons passed the Preliminary Examination, and went up for the final, as appointed, but was not successful in obtaining a scholarship. The intimation of non-success was accompanied by a suggestion from the Director that "it might be worth the candidate's while to enter the College as a paying student." That, Sir, my son would be glad to do, but, unfortunately, the high fee charged and the conditions of payment render that impossible. The fee for paying students is fixed at £40 per annum, and the whole amount to be paid in advance. Now, Sir, the latter is a prohibitory condition to most of the unsuccessful candidates. From the number of my son's receipt I estimate that 500 candidates went up to compete for 50 scholarships, consequently there were 450 disappointed, and among that number there is probably not more than one fifth that can afford to comply with the suggestion of the Director. If the Royal College of Music is really intended to foster a love for the art among the struggling classes it must open its portals a little wider than its present prospectus indicates, and if it sincerely wishes to help the young musicians of the country to obtain a thorough training under its roof it must both reduce the fees and modify the mode of payment.¹⁷⁶

The endowment fund did not permit any reduction in the fees for paying students, nor could it sacrifice the interest paid on fees paid in advance; consequently nothing could be done to remedy the situation. By May 1883, the College's total assets amounted to £110,000, an additional £5,000 having been secured through the personal efforts of the Prince and Princess of Wales. The success in raising such a substantial sum for the Capital Fund, had been largely brought about by personal connections and the industry of Grove. Within a fourteen-month period, between December 1881 and April 1882, he had instigated 44 meetings in towns and cities throughout Britain: from 'Exeter, Plymouth and Hastings in the south, to Newcastle on Tyne in the north; from Swansea and Shrewsbury on the one hand to Lincoln and Norwich on the other; while the great manufacturing and commercial centres of Nottingham, Leicester, Leeds, Bradford, Liverpool and Blackburn, have all testified their interest in your Royal Highness's new institution'.¹⁷⁷ For all Grove's industry, in the long-term, the RCM was obliged to accept fee-paying students to ensure its very survival. Despite securing renewed subscriptions from the Queen and other members of the royal family and scheduling an additional fund-raising meeting in Leeds a year after the RCM opened, in order to remedy the

¹⁷⁶ 'The Royal College of Music' *The Times* (3 May, 1883), p. 10.

¹⁷⁷ *The Times* (3 May, 1883) p. 10.

reduction in interest rates on the Capital Fund, Grove was never able to raise the additional £100,000 to add to the existing endowment, nor indeed his original £300,000 objective.¹⁷⁸ With the revised charter finally approved on 20 April, 1883 and a feasible endowment in place, the official inauguration was scheduled for 7 May 1883.¹⁷⁹

3.11 THE OFFICIAL INAUGURATION CEREMONY ON 7 MAY, 1883

Described in *The Times* as ‘necessarily somewhat of a private character’, the ceremony was held in the lecture room on the second floor of Sir Charles Freake’s NTSM building, possession of which had been handed to the RCM (see Fig. 18).¹⁸⁰ The assembled gathering comprised members of the Royal Family (The Prince and Princess of Wales, Princes Victor and George, the Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh and Princess Christian), members of the College Council, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Prime Minister (Gladstone), and the Director, Honorary Secretary and Professors of the RCM.¹⁸¹ Although the funds raised were ‘not half what are necessary for the [College’s] complete realization’, they enabled Grove to begin with what he describes as ‘a considerable instalment of the entire plan by founding 50 scholarships for tuition, 15 of which include[d] maintenance.’¹⁸²

The Prince’s reply, which bears the hallmark of Grove’s hand, combined the spirit of a sermon with the clamour of a rallying cry and unequivocally set forth developments for the future. Two benefactors, Sir W. J. Clarke and Sir Thomas Elder, had respectively endowed scholarships for Victoria and South Australia: the desire to have a scholarship

¹⁷⁸ Report of the Council (28 May, 1884), RCMA, pp. 11f. See also Pine and Acton (1998), p. 113. Motivated by the high proportion of Irish students from Dublin, he petitioned the city’s Mayor for an annual grant of between £55 and £60 for each student from Corporation funds for the maintenance for Edith Oldham and Louisa Kellett as those at ‘the disposal of the Prince of Wales for this purpose are so limited that I fear we cannot maintain the young ladies.’

¹⁷⁹ Report of the Council (28 May, 1884), RCMA, p. 10. See also MS AL FK to GG (9 August, 1882) RCMA MS 0096/1. The provisional date of the RCM opening ceremony had been 1 May 1883; however, it clashed with the opening of the Fisheries Exhibition and was altered.

¹⁸⁰ *The Times* (3 May, 1883) p. 10.

¹⁸¹ *The Times* (3 May, 1883) p. 10.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

instituted by every principal colony was intended to give the proceedings an unrivalled imperial dimension; however, in reality, the Prince's acknowledgement that 'much, indeed, has been done, but...much remains to be done...' allowed him to rehearse much of the manifesto contained in the prospectus of 1882: while the terms of reference were shifted, the proposals were only marginally less radical. The RCM's power to grant degrees in music was to be vested in an independent board of examiners, whose impartiality would be beyond suspicion, chosen by the College and the universities after 'consultation with the great musical bodies of the United Kingdom.'¹⁸³ If the 1883 charter had been vague, the Prince was unequivocal: the RCM's primary function was

to raise the standard of music throughout the United Kingdom and to create a central influence which may be exercised over all music-teaching bodies who recognise the advantage of a common system of education. Beyond and above all this, I trust, as I stated on a previous occasion, that the College will become the recognized centre and head of the musical world in this country.¹⁸⁴

The RCM's sweeping regulatory powers were still on the agenda in May 1883. The College had been fortunate enough to be the beneficiary of a number of donations: pianos were provided by Broadwood, Erard, Chappell, Holland and Feetham but, perhaps most significantly, the library of the Sacred Harmonic Society was procured through the good intentions of Sir Philip Cunliffe-Owen along with the library from the Concerts of Ancient Music, which had been donated by Queen Victoria.¹⁸⁵ The Concerts of Ancient Music had been dissolved in 1848 and its library, containing 'literally tons of scores and parts' had been donated to the Queen and stored in Buckingham Palace.¹⁸⁶ While both libraries were transferred to the RCM, they remained in storage until a new library was included as part of the new building in 1894 (see Chapter Six, pp. 300-4). In

¹⁸³ Ibid., p. 10.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 10.

¹⁸⁵ MS AL FK to GG (29 November, 1882) RCMA MS 0096/1. 'I have shown your letter of 26th instant to the Prince of Wales who is much gratified to hear of the acquisition which has been made to the College by the purchase of the Library belonging to the Sacred Harmonic Society. I have written to Owen to thank him.'

¹⁸⁶ Warrack (c. 1968), p. 59.

addition, Grove persuaded London publishers to donate books on a variety of topics to the lodging houses:

I am going to ask you to help the Royal College of Music with the gift of a few books out of your splendid stock. My scholars live for the most part in licensed lodging houses, and have a good deal of time not occupied in their musical studies or practice. I am anxious to provide them [with] the means of using this time to advantage—Longmans, Macmillan...and others have already given me presents of books for them[.] Can you do the same? I do not wish the books to be on musical subjects but should prefer the contrary. ...I hope you will excuse the audacity of this request, on the ground of deep interest that I take in the welfare of the young people entrusted to me....¹⁸⁷

A crucial difference between the manifesto presented at the fund-raising meetings and the Prince's speech concerned the curriculum: despite assurances to the contrary, the course of instruction for paying pupils was 'of less severity and continuance than that of the scholars, but still far removed from the musical dilettantism of those who, induced by fashion, not by taste, to study music, make progress enough to torment themselves and distract their friends.'¹⁸⁸ For all the talk of class equality, the establishment of a two-tier system of education effectively undermined the very ideals set out by the Prince's Liberal agenda. Mindful of the disagreements that had bedevilled the NTSM's Committee of Management, the onerous responsibility of implementing the remainder of the Prince's comprehensive vision fell at the feet of Grove and the Council.

It remains for you, gentlemen of the council, to be careful that the aims are fully realized. A young institution requires fostering care and constant supervision. You must not relax your efforts, no pains must be spared to gain fresh support and obtain the establishment of new scholarships. We want much; we are, I trust, entitled to ask for much of the public. In addition to scholarships we want more extended premises, a music-hall, lodgings for our scholars, houses for masters, and all the appurtenances of a great College. I am sure I may trust to the generosity of the public to supply these wants, but you, gentlemen, must by your careful supervision make our institution worthy of support, and no efforts of mine shall be found wanting to secure the objects we have in view. (Cheers.) I will say only one word in conclusion. The establishment of an institution such as I open to-day is not the mere creation of a new musical society. The time has come when class can no longer stand aloof from class and that man does his duty best who works most earnestly in bridging over the gulf between different classes which it is the tendency of increased wealth and increased civilization to widen. I claim for music the merit that it has a voice which speaks, in different tones, perhaps, but with equal force, to the cultivated and the ignorant, to the peer and the peasant. I claim for music a variety of expression which belongs to no other art, and therefore adapts it more than any other art to produce that union of feeling which I much desire to promote. Lastly, I claim for music the distinction which is awarded to it by Addison—that it is the only sensual pleasure in which excess cannot be injurious.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ MS AL GG to JM (11 January, 1884), RCMA

¹⁸⁸ *The Times* (3 May, 1883) p. 10.

¹⁸⁹ *The Times* (3 May, 1883) p. 10.

At the conclusion of the meeting, knighthoods were awarded to Grove, as the author of the *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, the chief literary work on music, Sullivan for his work as a popular composer and George Macfarren as Principal of the Royal Academy of Music.¹⁹⁰ Grove's award was somewhat premature: the *Dictionary* was not completed until 1889; rather, elevation to such titles was more a reflection of position and conferred automatic membership of the upper classes. Grove's knighthood not only lent him credibility in an age where such honours were seen to be imperative in confirming individual integrity, it verified his own social status and improved his chances in garnering support for the College from a variety of perspectives. There was no British equivalent award to the French *Légion d'Honneur*; consequently, it was the knighthood that emancipated established British musicians and raised them from the status of servant to squire. Sullivan's devotion to light music rather than 'solid compositions' had caused Captain Arthur Bigge (1849-1931), Ponsonby's assistant, to question his elevation in favour of Stainer whose compositions of sacred music were felt to be more fitting for such an award; however, Sullivan's knighthood had been much more than a mere endorsement of his work as a composer. The support and friendship of the Duke of Edinburgh and his acquaintance with the Prince of Wales ensured 'he [Sullivan] could scarcely be passed over on this occasion.'¹⁹¹ In other words, it was recompense for the struggles he had endured as Principal of the NTSM. By contrast Macfarren was diffident about the honour and had to be persuaded by Grove to accept it; consequently, if his knighthood had been intended to herald a new atmosphere of co-operation between the RCM and RAM, such optimism was ill-judged.¹⁹² Indeed, the award can only have been perceived in some circles as a reward for failure, if not a means of silencing his protests.

¹⁹⁰ M from HP to HMQ (24 April, 1883) RA.

¹⁹¹ MS M HP to HMQ (23 April, 1883) RA

¹⁹² John Francis Barnett: *Musical Reminiscences and Impressions* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1906), p. 178.

The assertion made by Grove in his speech that hopes of an alliance between the RAM and the RCM 'had been dissipated' provoked a lightning response from Macfarren who in *The Times* the following day claimed that the Academy had been willing to modify its charter in any manner that would meet the Prince's approval.¹⁹³ On the very day the RCM was formally inaugurated, Macfarren, in his capacity as Professor of Music at Cambridge wrote to the Vice-Chancellor to suggest that 'it was desirable for the University to protest in some form against the proposal to include the power of conferring Degrees in Music in the charter about to be granted to the Royal College of Music, and quoted precedents for such protest.'¹⁹⁴ As a result, a committee comprising Dr E. Atkinson and Dr W. M. Campion was established to look into the problem. While no further action appears to have been taken, any mention of the RCM's function as a Musical Senate to regulate degrees in music was conspicuous by its absence from later copies of the College Prospectus.¹⁹⁵ It is possible that the RCM degrees, like those at the universities, were intended to examine acoustics and stylistic and original composition; however, plans to formulate a new Faculty of Music at the University of London emerged towards the end of Grove's Directorate and they were not awarded until the late twentieth century.¹⁹⁶

3.12 CONCLUSION

Grove's achievement in establishing the RCM Capital Fund of £110,000 in the little over a year between the St James's Palace Meeting in February 1882 and the opening

¹⁹³ 'The Royal College of Music' in *The Times* (3 May, 1883), p. 10.

¹⁹⁴ MS Minutes of the University of Cambridge Council of Senate (7 May, 1883) UA Min.1.9-10. Precedents such as Trinity College in the University of Toronto, had advertised their external degrees in music in the London press just at a time when Macfarren, as Professor of Music, had begun to attempt to persuade the University of Cambridge to look into the merits of instituting a residence requirement for music degrees. In practice there was little to distinguish Toronto degrees from those at Cambridge, Oxford and London, except to say that Toronto dispensed with the now obligatory preliminary examinations at Oxford and Cambridge.

¹⁹⁵ Proceedings of the St James's Palace Meeting (28 February, 1882), [undated] RCMA pp. 3-5. While the Prospectus is undated, it seems likely that this was a later version than the one distributed in 1882 as the curriculum is identical to that finally adopted at the RCM. See p. 117 n.181. See also Wright (2003), p. 236.

¹⁹⁶ *The Times* (3 May, 1883) p. 10.

ceremony in May, 1883, was prodigious by any standards. Despite the inclusion of some of the wealthiest and most influential men in England on the various RCM boards, Grove's final Capital Fund target of £300,000 was never reached and ensured that the College's financial stability was reliant on the fees from students. The perennial rise in student numbers during Grove's Directorate was partly caused by the appointment of the finest musicians available in London; consequently, the cushion provided by the Capital Fund and student fees facilitated the professors' capacity to pursue pedagogical commitments unfettered by fiscal responsibilities in a manner never before possible. In a direct attempt to establish the RCM as an organ of government along Parisian lines, Grove allied it closely to the Liberal agenda on educational reform in the hope that comprehensive subvention would be forthcoming. The grant of chartered status gave the RCM equal legal status with the RAM before it had even opened its doors. Furthermore, the regulatory powers contained within both the charter and initial prospectus had the potential not only to allow the RCM to rank alongside its Continental counterpart but to make it the most powerful institution in the musical world with a remit across the Empire and beyond. The Appointment of a Council that included the two former Professional Directors of the NTSM (Stainer and Sullivan) and the Vice-Principal of the RAM (Otto Goldschmidt) was intended to stave off criticism before it had been articulated. Grove's appointment as Director and his subsequent success had only served to prove how mistaken Henry Leslie had been. In many respects, Grove had proved himself more capable of directing the RCM than almost anyone else, musician or not. While he was not a professional musician, his qualification to head the RCM was satisfied not only by a remarkable interest in musicology but, more importantly, a clear vision and an ability to implement it. His work during 1882 had merely been a prelude to the meticulous administration that would characterise his time as Director at the RCM from 1883.

CHAPTER FOUR

The RCM at Work: a 'Brahms Cult'?¹

Curriculum, Concerts and Credibility

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The objectives raised at the various RCM fund-raising meetings in 1882 and covered by the 1883 charter were to be put to the test during Grove's Directorate. From the outset, the three-year RCM curriculum was broadly based on that at the Paris Conservatoire and Mendelssohn's *Hochschule* in Leipzig. The curriculum comprised four branches: the composition class (which included techniques and theory), instrumental and vocal instruction, orchestral and ensemble classes, and the opera class. High standards were rigorously enforced by a barrage of examinations and a tuition policy implemented by Grove and the Board of Professors where only the best was good enough. Despite a certain amount of speculation, it appears that Grove's rigorous approach was applied equally to scholar and student alike. In composition, students were routinely required to re-submit their work until it was thoroughly digested. Grove and the professors also embraced the concept that the students' education should be as broad as possible and not merely restricted to their individual instruments. Grove's visits to Germany and Austria during the vacations and his appointment of respected European pedagogues as examiners, whose sympathies were attuned to the Brahmsian idiom, ensured the RCM's reputation for excellence soon spread across the Continent. At home the RCM's reputation was established and cultivated by the introduction of a concert series,

¹ Richard Runciman Terry: *On Music's Borders* (London: T. Fisher Unwin Ltd, 1927), p. 24. Richard Terry (1865-1938) was Organist and Master of the Music at the newly-completed Westminster Cathedral between 1901 and 1924. He revived the *Cantiones Sacrae* by Byrd and Peter Philips, the *Cantiones* by Byrd and Tallis, Robert White's Lamentations and motets by Dering, Fayrfax, Shepherd and Tye. He was the first to perform Byrd's three-, four- and five-part masses within a liturgical context. An assiduous editor, his visionary philosophy after criticism of his imaginative choice of music of the Mass was given as the reason for his untimely resignation. Terry was well aware of the fortunes of the RCM from 1901 when Stanford regularly sent composition students to hear the Westminster Cathedral Choir. Both Holst and Howells had been sent to listen to Terry's choir. Examples of their work inspired by Palestrina and Victoria are Holst's *Nunc Dimittis* and Howells's Mass in the Dorian Mode.

implemented from 1884. Largely from the Austro-German canon, works were selected for their ability to create an environment where the most able pupils could excel. Grove's intention to establish an opera school, the first of its kind in Britain, had been articulated as part of the RCM's original manifesto. Instituted from 1885, the RCM's annual performances secured the survival of English opera after Carl Rosa's death in 1889. The presence of the Prince of Wales and his family at opera performances and choreography by the reformer Madge Kendal established it as a respectable pursuit. Stanford's role in establishing the orchestral class, which from 1884 regularly performed student compositions, ensured the RCM's facilities were initially unrivalled in Britain and ensured a steady flow of students who would transform the face of British music within a generation.²

4.1 ESTABLISHING A CURRICULUM

The course of instruction printed in the 'Report of the Council to the First Annual General Meeting of the Corporation' on 28 May 1884 was designed by Grove and directly influenced both by Mendelssohn's curriculum at the Leipzig *Hochschule* and the Parisian model. Intended to last up to three years or more, principal studies were taken simultaneously with two other students.³ On the Continent, this policy had been motivated solely by practical concerns; however, within the claustrophobic confines of Victorian morality, it had the added benefit of attempting to ensure that the predominantly female student body was rarely, if ever, taught alone by a professorial staff

² George Grove: 'Choragus' *GII* Vol. 1 (London: Macmillan, 1922), p. 525. In 1626, in order to establish the study and practice of music at the University of Oxford, Dr William Heather had endowed three posts, those of professor, choragus and coryphaeus. The post of choragus, whose name is derived from the leader of the chorus in ancient Greek dramas, was little more than a practice monitor, if the original statutes are to be believed: 'Twice a week the Choragus is to present himself in the Music School and conduct the practice, both vocal and instrumental, of all who may choose to attend.' By the late-nineteenth century, both the professor and choragus were charged with the conduct and examination of degrees in music.

³ Report of the Council to the First Annual General Meeting of the Corporation (28 May, 1884), RCMA, pp. 20f.

that included a mere seven women (see Appendix 3.6).⁴ Unlike the NTSM, which had only latterly catered for students of wind and brass, the RCM provision included classes in singing, violin, viola, cello, double bass, piano, organ, harp, wind and brass from the outset. Students were required to attend a weekly diet of classes as follows:

Principal study	2 lessons
Second study	1 lesson
Harmony	1 lesson
Counterpoint	1 lesson
Choral class	1 lesson
Italian (for singers)	1 lesson
Declamation (for singers)	1 lesson
Practice in Chamber Music	1 lesson of 2 hours
Orchestral Practice	1 lesson of 2 hours
Four lectures on History each term. ⁵	

The compulsory choral class, where sight-singing and aural dictation were part of the staple diet and where choir training was available for selected students, was a fundamental characteristic of the general curriculum. Equally, the notion of the RCM as a powerhouse to generate an indigenous musical idiom had been outlined in each of the three charters (see Appendices 3.0, 3.1, and 3.2). In principle, the appointment of a disproportionately high percentage of composer-performers to the Board of Professors all but guaranteed an emphasis on original composition, within the context of a rigorous approach to techniques provided by classes in Harmony, Counterpoint and Analysis; indeed, the RCM’s unique emphasis on the link between the creation of music and its execution was fundamental to the development of a fertile breeding-ground for British composers until well into the 20th century (see Appendix 3.24).⁶

⁴ See Cyril Ehrlich: *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), p. 114. Ehrlich erroneously ascribes the paucity of what he describes as ‘competent teachers’ at the RCM to the ‘peculiar occupational hazards attached to the education of young ladies.’ Such a tenuous explanation, for which there would appear to be scant primary source corroboration, does not account for the RCM’s later success, achieved by a largely unchanged Board of Professors.

⁵ CR(RCM) 1 (28 May, 1884), RCMA, p. 39.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 20f.

4.2 ESTABLISHING THE COMPOSITION CLASS

For Stanford, teaching at the RCM from its inception was attractive, not least because it gave the first Board of Professors *carte blanche* ‘to profit by personal experience of the obvious lacunæ in the curricula of foreign conservatoires.’⁷ Stanford’s determination to see composition taught at the RCM in a structured and systematic manner had been influenced by his own experience at Leipzig. Stanford had scant regard for Reinecke as may be noted by the pun on his name.

Of all the dry musicians I have ever known [Reinecke] was the most desiccated. He had not a good word for any contemporary composer, even those of his own kidney. He loathed Wagner, once describing Elsa as a young woman without brains enough to make out the list of clothes for the wash, sneered at Brahms, and had no enthusiasm of any sort. But he enjoyed himself hugely when he was expounding and writing canons, and had a fairly good idea of teaching them. His composition training had no method about it whatever. He occasionally made an astute criticism and that was all. He never gave the pupil a chance of hearing his own work, the only really valuable means of training, and the better the music, the less he inclined to encourage it. He was in fact the embodiment of the typical ‘Philister.’ What progress I made in my first two years in Germany was due rather to the advice of my pianoforte master, Papperitz, a broad-minded sympathetic teacher, than to ‘Reinecke-Fuchs’ as he used to be called.⁸

The course of instruction imposed by Stanford was based on the immovable pre-requisite that students were inculcated with a thorough technical proficiency in counterpoint and harmony before undertaking composition. Technical instruction was based around four tenets:

1. The study of the pure scale
2. Concurrent counterpoint (including modal counterpoint)
3. Harmony and modulation
4. Cross-current counterpoint (canon, fugue, etc.)⁹

Composers were encouraged to assimilate and digest their techniques alongside their own compositions.¹⁰

Freedom keeps the engines of the brain oiled, and free compositions written while technical study is progressing are valuable tests of the ability of the writer to profit by his advancing technique. If it is neglected or forbidden, spontaneity may be injured, and either the Philistine or revolutionary spirit may get the upper hand. The following short maxims may be fitly set down at this point:

1. Study counterpoint first, and through counterpoint master harmony.
2. Study strict counterpoint only.
3. Study the pure scale and accustom yourself to think in it.

⁷ Stanford (1914), p. 219.

⁸ Stanford (1914), pp. 157f.

⁹ Charles Villiers Stanford: *Musical Composition: A Short Treatise for Students* (London: Macmillan and Company Ltd, 1912), p. 21.

¹⁰ Stanford (1912), p. 21.

4. Practise canonical and fugal writing until the results sound quite easy, natural and musical.
5. Write always some music in any free style, without thinking about rules, alongside your technical work.
6. Learn the value of using plenty of rests.¹¹

Stanford's composition students were encouraged to develop their tonal palette through orchestration and this was a fundamental part of the RCM syllabus. Mozart symphonies were regularly scored afresh from piano duet arrangements and compared by writing the original in red ink over the top of a student's workings, omitting all shared notes in each instrument.¹² On the Continent composition was taught as an academic pursuit with few students permitted to hear the results of their endeavours. In England, the regular public performances of student works pioneered at the NTSM, (see Appendix 2.2), where Eugene D'Albert had had his Concert Overture in C major performed in 1879 at the St James's Hall, was a policy later developed by Stanford at the RCM (see Appendix 3.24). Charles Santley, whom Grove had tried in vain to persuade to join the RCM staff (see Chapter Three, p. 122), was a firm advocate of this approach; consequently, he was highly critical of the policy adopted by the University of Oxford. While performances of works submitted for the D.Mus. were compulsory, they were rarely attended by the examiners who had invariably pre-judged submissions solely on their academic merit.

I enquired of Henry Leslie, who was one of the examiners at Oxford, "what was necessary to obtain the degree of Doctor of Music?"—merely out of curiosity, as I had not the slightest intention of going for the doctorate. He explained to me the nature of the compositions exacted, on the correctness of which judgement depended. I remarked, "That the ears of the examiners must tingle occasionally when they heard said compositions performed, if they bore any resemblance to some I had been obliged to perform in." "Oh," he replied gaily, "we never hear them; we only judge by what we see on paper." What may be correct on paper may prove cacophony to the musical ear.¹³

Stanford's ethos in ensuring that student compositions were performed as part of the RCM fortnightly concerts was allied to the principle that the students in the College orchestra should be exposed to 'everything, old and new (provided that it was genuine music), irrespective of all individual likes and dislikes, and so make themselves competent

¹¹ Stanford (1912), p. 22.

¹² Stanford (1912), p. 105.

¹³ Charles Santley: *Reminiscences of My Life* (London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons Ltd, 1909), p. 170.

to join any orchestra after completing their studies with a fair measure of knowledge of any music they would be called upon to play' was a conscious decision.¹⁴ An essential philosophy for an orchestra regularly presented with new works where the ink was barely dry, it became a distinctive aspect of the composer's training at the RCM in an age where live performance was the only manner in which music could be heard in its original form (see Appendices 3.21 and 3.24).¹⁵

4.3 ESTABLISHING THE ORCHESTRAL CLASS

Rehearsals of the orchestral class were scheduled on Tuesdays and Fridays and conducted respectively by Holmes and Stanford. While Stanford was the principal professor, as a trainer of orchestral strings Holmes was said to be unequalled. This was to prove crucial, particularly during the early years, while the RCM was establishing its reputation. As it was, the paucity of lower string-players, alongside wind and brass, ensured that the RCM orchestra was initially only marginally better complemented than that at the NTSM several years earlier. The plight of the College orchestra was symptomatic of the general malaise of provincial orchestral music in Britain as reflected in Stanford's treatise, 'The Development of Orchestras in England', written in 1883 and reprinted in *Interludes*. Permanent professional orchestras could scarcely be found in any city other than Manchester and London. Glasgow, the second city of the Empire, had no orchestra of its own; instead, musicians were imported from London's Crystal Palace and the Philharmonic Society and simply renamed the Glasgow Choral Union Orchestra, which had been conducted by August Manns (see Fig. 19) from 1879.¹⁶ When these musicians were not in Glasgow, they played in Edinburgh, a tradition that the Royal

¹⁴ Stanford (1914), p. 220.

¹⁵ A poor alternative, opportunities to play and hear orchestral transcriptions nevertheless though the advent of piano rolls also existed.

¹⁶ C. V. Stanford: *Interludes* (London: John Murray, 1922), p. 26.

Scottish National Orchestra maintains to this day.¹⁷ Liverpool played host to the Philharmonic Society, which gave monthly concerts there; however, in spite of having 'many orchestral players of its own', instrumentalists were regularly imported from Manchester. Birmingham and Bristol, while making determined efforts to establish their own orchestras, could only muster skeleton forces. Significant festival cities such as Leeds and Norwich supported no resident professional orchestra at all and Hull, Halifax and Plymouth were no better.¹⁸ This had a significant effect on the ability of aspiring instrumentalists to find adequate tuition in the provinces. Stanford's answer was to approach the cathedral schools to invest in acquiring instruments to be hired out to the choristers. The addition of instrumental tuition, he believed would indeed provide an effective solution, had there been sufficient competent teachers to turn his theory into practice. While a local bandmaster might provide instruction for wind and brass instruments, the same situation did not pertain for string players.¹⁹ These were problems the RCM had been established to remedy yet the dearth of wind and brass players proved to be a significant problem, although it was not a problem simply confined to English conservatoires. According to Stanford (see Fig. 56), conservatoire orchestras abroad were seldom complete, and, as a result, were largely restricted to the Classical repertoire, 'all modern developments being stringently placed upon the *Index Expurgatorius*.'²⁰

The small forces available to Stanford and Holmes during the RCM's first two years limited the repertoire available; consequently, the programme played at the first orchestral concert on 18 December, 1884, included a number of solo items. Of the four orchestral works, two were for string orchestra and the remaining two were chamber works. The preponderance of strings over wind and brass did the RCM student, Arnold Dolmetch, with an opportunity to hear his Introduction and Scherzo for small orchestra

¹⁷ Stanford (1922), p. 26.

¹⁸ Stanford (1922), p. 26.

¹⁹ Stanford (1922), p. 28.

²⁰ Stanford (1914), p. 220.

performed by the College orchestra (see Appendix 3.21, Concert No 8, p. 325). If the RCM orchestra could not be established with the full complement of orchestral instruments demanded by a varied repertoire of contemporary late nineteenth-century operatic and large-scale orchestral repertoire, the College's ability to expose students to a full complement of contemporary works and the potential for composers to hear the fruits of their work would be jeopardized. Grove's decision to engage professional wind and brass players from among the professorial staff or the London orchestras at least ensured there was no return to the NTSM tradition of adding missing wind and brass parts on the piano (see Appendices 3.6 and 3.19). As a long-term solution to the dearth of wind and brass players among the student body, the Executive Sub-Committee adopted a policy of awarding scholarships specifically in flute, clarinet, bassoon, French horn, and thereafter, composition, singing, piano, organ, violin, 'cello and double bass, as vacancies allowed for it.²¹ This policy was to have lasting effects: by 1914 Stanford was able to claim that out of 26 wind players in the Philharmonic Orchestra, eleven were former scholars at the RCM; however, there was still no provision for the full complement of brass.²² Nonetheless, high standards were established, maintained and developed by an incessant stream of rigorous examinations.

4.4 STUDENT ASSESSMENT

Student assessment was informed by a Darwinian philosophy, which established intense competition. The appointment of a succession of cosmopolitan examiners ensured that reports of the College's progress spread across Europe. The rigorous approach to examinations was informed by the Parisian model, adopted at the insistence of the Prince of Wales and implemented by Grove in an attempt to avoid the RCM's befalling a similar fate to the NTSM. In addition, it allowed the professors to measure student progress in a

²¹ EFM (RCM) 1 (25 November, 1885), RCMA, p. 223.

²² Stanford (1914), p. 220.

consistent manner. Students and scholars were not only assessed by their principal-study professors at the terminal examination but also by the Director and members of the Board of Professors with results published in the entrance hall and a report sent to the parents or guardian of each pupil.²³ To these were added the annual examinations. Students and scholars alike were assessed by a squadron of independent examiners (see Appendix 3.7). Successful students were routinely awarded Exhibitions of between £5 and £20, which provided additional incentive (see Appendix 3.13); consequently, pupils were placed in a system of classes and divisions loosely based on that used at Eton and possibly suggested by Parry, himself an old Etonian.²⁴ First study students and scholars were divided into divisions I to V, with V being the top class, each of which was subdivided into three sets; second study students occupied classes A to D, A being the top class, while Harmony and Counterpoint were simply graded I to V as above (see Appendices 3.9 and 3.13). In addition, the Certificate of Proficiency (ARCM), the highest award offered by the College, was first awarded from 1886 in piano, horn, double bass and organ (see Appendix 3.26).²⁵

The appointment of George Watson as Registrar on 4 March 1884 (see Fig. 28) facilitated the first assessment of scholars and students of twelve months' standing.²⁶ The examination, which took place between Saturday 29 March and Saturday 5 April 1884, was open to all members of the board of professors. Rigorous regulations were imposed by Lord Bruce and the Honorary Secretary, Charles Morley, and outlined in the appendix to the examination rubrics in an attempt to avoid repetition of the 1880 NTSM fiasco:

²³ RC(RCM) 1 (28 May, 1884), RCMA, p. 15.

²⁴ B. J. W. Hill: *Eton Medley* (London: Winchester Publications, 1948), pp. 125-9

²⁵ EFM(RCM) 2 (22 July, 1886), RCMA S0013-2, pp.

²⁶ EFM(RCM) 1 (4 March, 1884) RCMA S0013-1, p. 51.

APPENDIX I.

Royal College of Music,
Kensington Gore, S. W.,
March 25th, 1884

1. The examiners appointed by H.R.H. The President and the Executive Committee are as follows: Joseph Barnby, Esq.
Manuel Garcia, Esq.
Otto Goldschmidt, Esq.
Herr Dr. Joseph Joachim
The Rev. Sir F. A. Gore Ouseley, Bart.
Dr. Stainer
2. The examination to take place in the West Theatre and rooms of the Royal Albert Hall, and in the College.
3. A preliminary meeting of examiners to take place at 10 a.m., Monday, March 31st.
4. All examiners, or at least a quorum of three, to be present during the examination of the Solo Singing, Solo Instrumental Music, and Composition, and of the Orchestral, Choral, and Chamber Music Classes.
5. The examination in Harmony and in Counterpoint to be conducted by Sir Frederick Ouseley and Dr. Stainer.
6. The examination in Second Studies to be conducted by the examiners in sections, each section to consist of not less than two examiners.
7. Scholars to be examined in First and Second Studies; students in First Studies only.
8. All pupils to be examined in Harmony.
9. The report of the examiners to be a collective report.

NOTICE TO SCHOLARS AND STUDENTS

Each pupil to take up exercises and studies, or both; and, if sufficiently advanced, a piece; or, if more than one piece, the pieces to be of different character, for selection. The pupil may also be requested to read at sight.

SECOND STUDIES (Scholars only)

Each scholar to take up exercises or studies or both; and one piece at the discretion of the master.

APPENDIX II.

Composition Harmony Counterpoint Organ	The Rev. Sir F. A. G. Ouseley Bart.
Singing (Solo, first study)	Signor Manuel Garcia
Violin Violoncello Harp Clarinet Flute (First study) Ensemble Playing Orchestral Class	Professor Dr. Joachim
Choral Class	Mr. Joseph Barnby
Pianoforte (First study)	Mr. Otto Goldschmidt
Singing [Second study]	Signor Manuel Garcia
Pianoforte [Second study]	Mr. Otto Goldschmidt

Violin Viola Violoncello and Horn (Second studies) ²⁷	Dr. Stainer
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Grove’s intention to select established and respected musicians as examiners, whose sympathies, he hoped, would be attuned to the progressive RCM philosophy, was intended to lend the report credibility and guarantee a favourable conclusion; however, the views of two of the examiners during the first set of examinations initially threatened to impede consensus.

Joachim’s polarized Brahmsian view soon reared its head when he and Ouseley were invited to examine the student composers at the College. ‘Joachim none too agreeable’ Parry wrote irritably in his diary, ‘Got it into his head that MacCunn was influenced by Wagner and said “he has been subjected to pernicious influence”’.²⁸

As Hamish MacCunn’s composition professor, Parry had taken the remarks to heart and viewed them as a personal gibe. Clearly Joachim’s conduct left much to be desired as he had also startled the violin candidates by his outspoken remarks; however, Ouseley’s criticism was simply risible by comparison.²⁹ He had objected to MacCunn’s ‘putting a 2nd subject of a minor movement in the Dominant major and said, as if it settled the question, “That is not in my book, you know.”’³⁰

First published in 1868, Ouseley’s *A Treatise on the Principles of Harmony*, had contained an analysis of concepts that were already outdated before it had been reprinted in 1883. Ouseley’s *Treatise* was founded on the archaic principle of just intonation, the scale being divided enharmonically; consequently, it was out of kilter with Grove’s policy to develop a curriculum at the RCM at the apogee of musical developments.³¹ The more progressive

²⁷ Report of the First Annual Examination at the Royal College of Music, (30 April, 1884) RCMA pp. 8f.
²⁸ Dibble (1992), p. 221.
²⁹ Graves 1 (1926), pp. 246f.
³⁰ Quoted in Dibble (1992), p. 221.
³¹ Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley: *A Treatise on Harmony* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1868; reprinted, 1883). See Table of Intervals between Table of Contents and p. B. Starting at unison (C natural) the intervals proceeded thereafter as follows: C natural to C sharp (augmented unison); C natural to D double flat (diminished second), C natural to D flat (minor second), C natural to D natural (major second), C natural to D sharp (augmented second); C natural to E double flat (diminished third), C natural to E flat (minor third), C natural to E natural (major third), C natural to E sharp (augmented third); C natural to F flat (diminished fourth), C natural to F natural (perfect fourth), C natural to F sharp (augmented fourth); C

equal temperament, which had emanated from Germany, had become the standard across Europe. Despite being Professor of Music at Oxford and founder of the (Royal) Musical Association, Ouseley was never again invited to examine at the RCM and was replaced by Sullivan the following year.³² Despite the examiners' recommendation that 'several scholars...do not, in our opinion, show such good promise as to justify the continued holding of their scholarships', the systematic approaches adopted by Parry, Stanford and Parratt ensured that in areas such as harmony, counterpoint and organ, the shortcomings experienced by the NTSM simply vanished over time.³³ In his first report to the Corporation, Grove's ability to motivate the professorial staff, the core of whom had served under both Sullivan and Stainer, initially gave him cause for optimism.

I have been most loyally seconded by the Teaching Staff. They have been punctual, energetic, and self-sacrificing in their attendance. Many of them habitually exceed their allotted hours; and I am daily receiving proofs of the fact that the interests of the pupils and of the College do not merely occupy their time while in the Class Rooms, but are also to them objects of thought and anxiety when outside the walls of the College. Such a spirit of earnestness and devotion as this indicates is never thrown away. It naturally communicates itself to the pupils, whose progress during the twelve months, intimately known to myself and the professors who have taught and examined them term by term.³⁴

The smooth conclusion of the examinations and Grove's apposite appointments to the Board of Professors sealed the Prince of Wales's endorsement in stark contrast to the fractious relationship encountered by the Duke of Edinburgh and Cole at the NTSM. 'The Prince of Wales made the RCM one of his pet hobbies and was frequently about the old building—would look in at a rehearsal and so on'.³⁵ On 22 December the same year (1884) Grove received a letter from Sir Dighton Probyn, Comptroller to the Prince of Wales, saying: 'please remember that whenever your opinion and advice is asked it is

natural to G flat (diminished fifth), C natural to G natural (perfect fifth), C natural to G sharp (augmented fifth); C natural to A double flat (diminished sixth), C natural to A flat (minor sixth), C natural to A natural (major sixth), C natural to A sharp (augmented sixth); C natural to B double flat (diminished seventh), C natural to B flat (minor seventh), C natural to B natural (major seventh), C natural to B sharp (augmented seventh); C natural to C flat (diminished octave), C natural to C natural (octave).

³² See Appendix: RCM External Examiners 1884–1895.

³³ Report of the First Annual Examination at the Royal College of Music, (30 April, 1884) RCMA, pp. 2 & 4.

³⁴ RC(RCM) (30 April, 1884), RCMA, p. 39.

³⁵ PL EGB to GD (7 January, 1949) RCMA. 69380. E. Godfrey Brown had been a student at the RCM between 1890 and 1894: see Appendix 3.12).

treated strictly private and confidential. His Royal Highness invariably tells me to refer any matters connected with Music to you knowing that you can give better advice than anybody else.³⁶ For the Prince of Wales, the RCM's examination success was intrinsically linked to its ability to attract state funding and additional subscriptions; however, neither examinations undertaken behind closed doors, nor royal approbation served to generate sufficient public confidence to generate income at levels required to obviate the need to admit paying pupils and the circumstances described by a correspondent in the *Musical Times*, two years earlier, should have been a portent of things to come.

There are, of course, abundant reasons for this apparent niggardliness. Some of the reasons are political, some religious, and others are only moral and even musical. But the main reason is that whilst the heart of the country is true to the project and to the Prince, the national intellectual bias is opposed to what it is pleased to consider non-essential. We are honourable men, and lovers of music; but, to the ordinary educated Englishman, music is an abstraction until united with some essential, such as sectarian opinion, or utilised for charitable purposes, or made incarnate in a brass band ministering to the works of the flesh and of fashion.³⁷

In an attempt to remedy this predicament, Grove instituted a concert series so that the work of the RCM could be brought before the public.

4.5 CONCERT REPERTOIRE: SETTING PARAMETERS

The fortnightly concert series, instituted from July, 1884, was to become the RCM's shop window. Other than Stanford's opera performances instituted from 1885, the concerts provided the only opportunity for subscribers, music critics and the general public to assess the RCM's work on a consistent basis. Moreover, London concerts were often prohibitively expensive; by contrast, admission to the RCM concert series was free for students. Like Stanford's open orchestral rehearsals, student attendance at the RCM concerts ensured students were 'familiarized...with many works.'³⁸ The concerts were regularly reviewed in the musical and mainstream press; in theory, this allowed those who might have had reservations about attending performances at the RCM to sample the prevailing view before committing themselves to a live performance. In addition, the

³⁶ MS AL DP to GG (22 December, 1884) RCMA 0096/2.

³⁷ *MT* (1 June, 1883), pp. 309f.

³⁸ Quoted in Fiona Richard: *The Music of John Ireland* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), p. 13.

reviews act as an invaluable record of the RCM’s progress and policy on programming. Grove and the Board of Professors operated a ruthless policy in selecting student performers for the concerts: during the first two years 54 students and 34 scholars performed in the RCM’s fortnightly concerts out of total of 204 students (see Appendix 3.22). A policy designed to ensure that performances were not undertaken by those who were ill-prepared, it was another means of securing public approbation and was continued throughout Grove’s Directorate. Furthermore, repertoire was often repeated such that by the end of any three-year period students had been inculcated with a carefully defined canon. Within the first year of concerts, the Brahms Hungarian Dances were programmed twice, as was his Ballade in D major; likewise, Beethoven’s Romance in F major for violin was also performed twice (see Appendix 3.23). Throughout the period between 1884 and 1895, the repertoire for both orchestral and chamber concerts was drawn largely from the Austro-German canon, contemporary British works, and from carefully selected student compositions (see Appendix 3.24). Grove’s well-documented predilection for the music of Beethoven and Schumann served to mould the musical landscape at RCM concerts as did Stanford’s devotion to the music of Brahms, at that time considered to be ‘the greatest living composer’ (see Table below).³⁹

CONCERT REPERTOIRE 1884-1885

Bach	Beethoven	Brahms	Bruch	Cherubini	Chopin	Dvorak	Gounod	Gluck
10	25	10	2	8	14	7	2	1
Handel	Haydn	Mozart	Rossini	Saint Säens	Schubert	Schumann	Spohr	Weber
6	9	9	5	1	8	23	5	3

During Grove’s directorate, a significant proportion of the repertoire performed at the RCM concerts had been composed within the fifty-year period up to the RCM’s foundation and a good quantity of that was composed by contemporary composers. It was here that the RCM’s Brahms cult really began to take hold. For example, the inclusion of so much Brahms—by 1890 performances of all four symphonies had been

³⁹ Ibid., p. 13.

included in the fortnightly concert series—along with works by Dvorak (1841-1904), Max Bruch (1838-1920), Gounod (1818-1893) and Saint S  ens (1835-1921) was intended to establish the RCM at the heart of European compositional developments cast in the Brahmsian mould. French composers whose music was influenced by the modern German—for example, Gounod and Saint S  ens—whose compositional style owed something to the influence of Schumann, were accepted into the Kensington fold. Between 1884 and 1895, 24 works by Gounod and fourteen by Saint S  ens were performed. By contrast, programmatic music seems not to have been considered: for example, Richard Strauss’s *Don Juan*, which was to receive its first performance in Weimar in 1889, was never performed at the RCM during Grove’s directorate. Tchaikovsky’s *Path  tique* Symphony was the sole representative from the Russian school. Representatives of the modern French school were also in short supply: only two works by Massenet and a mere three works by Bizet were programmed during Grove’s directorate. While Berlioz’s *L’Enfance du Christ*, and *Symphonie Fantastique* had been performed by the RCM students, Grove described the latter as ‘a horrible thing—music and poetry run mad, an hour long, & fearfully difficult’.⁴⁰ Stanford’s aversion to what was to become the French impressionist school was dismissed as ‘damned ugly’.⁴¹ This was a view that came to be shared by Stanford’s pupil, Sidney Peine Waddington for whom ‘the modern French school was a blind spot’, according to Vaughan Williams.⁴² During the 1880s, this somewhat narrow perspective appears not to have prejudiced the ability of the RCM to establish itself at the apogee of compositional developments; indeed, the Austro-German perspective adopted by Grove became a central driving force at the RCM during this period and this was no less true for Parratt’s organ department.

⁴⁰ MS AL GG to EO (26 March, 1893), RCMA. Annotated ‘Sunday March 26’ by Grove and postmarked ‘MR 27 93’.

⁴¹ Geoffrey Self: *The Hiawatha Man. The Life and Work of Samuel Coleridge Taylor* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1995), p. 22.

⁴² Ralph Vaughan Williams: ‘Sidney Waddington’ *RCM Magazine* Vol. XLIX; No 3 (1953), p. 79.

At the time of his RCM appointment as principal professor of organ, Parratt had been Organist and Master of the Music at St George's Chapel at Windsor Castle for a year, and had been somewhat of an unknown quantity to Grove.⁴³ Parratt's methods built upon those of his teacher, George Cooper (1820-1876), whose own treatise, *An Introduction to the Organ*, was based on Bachian principles and the German system, C-compass organ.⁴⁴ Soon after his appointment at Windsor, Parratt had had the 1843 Gray and Davison organ rebuilt. Both manual and pedal compasses were altered from FF-f³ and FF-? to CCC-a³ and CCC-f¹ respectively, which consequently brought it into line with the Bachian scales advocated by Cooper, as did the addition of upper work and reeds to manual and pedal alike (see fn 219). As a result, this became the principle upon which the design for all new organs at the RCM was based. As a firm advocate of Bach, Parratt was to become a leading exponent of his music. As a teacher, 'he constantly adjured his pupils to be more than mere organists.'⁴⁵

No master was more exacting in attention to details of technique; but in the wider aspects of teaching—interpretation and registration—he guided, then wisely left his pupils to work out their own salvation...He taught his pupils to think for themselves. Even [in] the interpretation of Bach—of whom there was no greater exponent than Parratt—he allowed his pupils the widest latitude. He disliked formality, and encouraged enterprise and initiative. These characteristics of enterprise and initiative he carried into effect in his own playing. Although his style was restrained he rarely played a piece twice in the same way, or with the same registration. He delighted to seek new ways of interpretation.⁴⁶

As an interpreter, Parratt's articulation and moderate registration was ahead of its time, as Walford Davies's account implies.

I remember, as a boy, standing at Sir Walter's side at St. George's when he disappointed me grievously by playing the great C major fugue *throughout* on one clarabella (or stopped diapason) on

⁴³ Timothy Lawford: 'Walter Parratt' *JBIOS* ed. Relf Clark Vol. 29, p. 143. He had been appointed to succeed George Elvey on 24 July, 1882.

⁴⁴ George Cooper: *An Introduction to the Organ* (London: Addison, Holier and Lucas, [c. 1860], pp. 1-3. Cooper was Organist at St Sepulchre's, Holborn and Christ's Hospital as well as being Assistant to Goss at St Paul's Cathedral and Her Majesty's Chapel Royal. On p. 11 the Bachian influence is clear: 'the Pedal Scale adopted by J. S. Bach is from CCC to F two octaves and a half—the upper note is however very rarely written, and the Scale most used is to D or E.' The organ at St Sepulchre's conformed to the modern German system: the specification of the Great alone included 8' and 4' reeds, two Mixtures (a Mixture of 2 ranks and a Furniture of 3 ranks), a Sesquialtera, a Tierce, a Larigot and two Diapason choruses.

⁴⁵ Tovey and Parratt (1941), p. 77.

⁴⁶ Harold E. Darke: 'Sir Walter Parratt as Teacher' *RCM Magazine* Vol. 20; No 2 (Easter, 1924), pp. 52-54.

the great organ. How I longed for a change! But that discipline still corrects me wholesomely from restless registration and from love of sensational climaxes. It was not musical asceticism on his part. It was clearly his genius for pure thought in the fugue itself which made all registration redundant. This was irritating to a boy turning over for him, who ached to hear the full swell come on, and then to hear the five pedal stops, including the Windsor trombone crunching out the final entry; but now that simple method of his is a contagion of clear thinking even more than his crashing climaxes.⁴⁷

Mainstream works by Bach such as the Prelude and Fugue in C minor (presumably BWV 546), the Prelude and Fugue in E flat major (the St Anne), the Prelude and Fugue in E minor (presumably BWV 548) and the Passacaglia and Fugue formed the backbone of Parratt's curriculum. According to Geoffrey Parratt, his father's teaching methods were thorough and severe. Hence 'clearness, exactness, and beauty of phrasing had to be attained, and his constantly repeated advice "Be clean, sir, be clean!" might be remembered by many a confident key-scambler whose rapid passages would make [Parratt] writhe.'⁴⁸ Despite this, no chance appears to have been missed to encourage capable pupils: 'the fact that praise was sparing increased its value.'⁴⁹ Other than Bach, the selection of oeuvres conformed to the same principles as the orchestral and chamber repertoire. Repertoire from the fifty year period prior to the RCM's foundation was part of the staple diet of the RCM's organ pupils and included Mendelssohn's (1809-1847) A major Sonata (August, 1844), Mozart's virtuosic Fantasia in F minor, Joachim Raff's (1822-1882) Introduction (mislabelled 'Prelude') and Fugue in E minor, Schumann's Canon in B minor and Fugue No 1 in B flat major on BACH. The conservative repertoire covered by Parratt's syllabus was caused by the considerable limitations of the RCM instruments. The situation was only finally remedied during Parry's Directorate when his gift of a large instrument for the Concert Hall 'gave the pupils the chance of learning the complete art of organ-playing....'⁵⁰ Works by living composers were represented by Josef Rheinberger (1839-1901), Edouard Silas (1827-1909) and Charles-

⁴⁷ Henry Walford Davies: 'Sir Walter Parratt' *RCM Magazine* Vol. 20; No 2 (Easter, 1924), p. 39.

⁴⁸ Donald Tovey and Geoffrey Parratt: *Walter Parratt Master of the Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1941), p. 74

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

Marie Widor (1844-1937).⁵¹ The inclusion of the third movement (*Andantino quasi allegretto*) of Widor's fifth organ Symphony, on 5 March, 1885, two years prior to the accepted date of publication suggests that the RCM performance may have been among the first in Britain. It is thought that Parratt had been 'the first organist to introduce the chorale preludes of Karg-Elert and Max Reger and the organ works of César Franck to this country' and Widor seems to have been another example of attempts to broaden the British organ repertoire.⁵² Geoffrey Parratt says his father was insistent 'on the necessity of keeping up with new developments in music....'⁵³ As such, the inclusion of the Widor confirms Parratt's policy to expose his students to works not yet established in the organ repertory, a principle that was central to the RCM's ethos to set the standards of musical taste.

4.7 ESTABLISHING THE OPERA SCHOOL

Initially, the increasing momentum in Grove's movement to establish the RCM's musical pre-eminence was hampered by the considerable range in age and talent among the students: out of the first intake, the youngest scholar, William Stephenson, was a mere nine years old, while the oldest student, Agnes Bromby, was 30 and this was born out in the second set of annual examinations in 1885. While the examiners' conclusions were broadly favourable, they perceived the level of teaching to be 'somewhat above [the students'] grasp' and the singers were criticised for their ignorance of basic rudiments and grammar of music.⁵⁴ The examiners appointed in 1885 were identical to those who had assessed the 1884 examinations, with the exception of Edward Dannreuther (added

⁵¹ Christopher Senior: 'Silas, Edouard' *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 30 November, 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>> Edouard Silas was a Dutch organist who had been educated at the Paris Conservatoire after the rule on the admission of foreigners had been relaxed. He had performed at the Crystal Palace in [?] 1852 and as organist at the Roman Catholic Chapel at Kingston-upon-Thames.

⁵² Tovey and Parratt (1941), p. 77.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁵⁴ AER(RCM) 1 (May, 1885), RCMA S0025-1, p. 7.

at the express request of the Prince of Wales). Their perspective allowed for an accurate assessment of the RCM's progress. Evidently, the examiners were convinced of

the prosperous future of the College; and if we have frankly found fault where we have felt it to be necessary, it has been done because we consider that the highest results ought to follow the work of a College such as this raised by Your Royal Highness with so much patient labour and interest, directed by a zealous and efficient staff, and placed by its Royal Charter on such a noble and lasting foundation.⁵⁵

While the Prince of Wales had hoped that publication of the RCM's examination results might improve awareness of the RCM's commitment to high standards, opportunities for a wide public to experience the fruits of the College's progress first-hand were hampered by its position on the Kensington Estate. Moreover, the concert hall at Alexandra House was neither suitable nor sufficiently large to stage opera performances. In many respects this was fortuitous for it led Grove to arrange for the RCM to use west-end venues, all of which were leased to the College *gratis* and served to bring its work to a wider public.

The establishment of an English opera school had been the bedrock of Grove's manifesto from 1881. Stanford's opera class had been an integral aspect of the educational renaissance initiated by Grove's RCM. From the eighteenth century the King's Theatre in Haymarket had been the London home of the Royal Italian Opera. The RAM Dramatic Class had presented two opera performances in 1828 and 1830, respectively. The first was Rossini's *Il Barbiere di Siviglia*, staged at the Lyceum Theatre and directed by the head of the RAM's Dramatic Class, Giuseppe de Begnis (1793-1853); however, other than the performance of Lord Burghersh's own opera, *The Siege of Belgrade*, staged in the Concert Room of the King's Theatre in mid-October, 1830, there were no further performances until 1891 and it was left to the RCM to fill the vacuum.⁵⁶

The RCM's first opera performance took place on 22 July 1885 as an experiment. Stanford conducted a performance of the first two acts of the *Marriage of Figaro*. Originally the production was to have been staged at the Royal Court Theatre, Sloane

⁵⁵ AER(RCM) 1 (May, 1885), RCMA S0025-1, p. 7.

⁵⁶ Corder (1922), pp. 32-6.

Square; however, it was too small to accommodate the RCM orchestra and the performance was moved to the Empire Theatre, Leicester Square instead.⁵⁷ The standards achieved, even at this early stage, convinced Grove and the Executive Committee to include an annual opera performance in the curriculum even though the costs were prohibitive.⁵⁸ The RCM's commitment to opera and the improved respectability conferred on it by the charter and royal patronage led to a number of unsuccessful approaches from schools of dramatic art to seek to form a union with the College.⁵⁹ A successful collaboration with the renowned actress and choreographer, Mrs (later Dame) Madge Kendal, persuaded the College authorities that little advantage would be gained by an additional coalition of this nature.⁶⁰ In 1885 the critic, T. H. S. Escott had described Madge Kendall as 'one of the best artists of her sex on the London stage [who, in] private life [is] the epitome of all domestic virtues and graces.'⁶¹ In fact both Madge Kendall and her husband, the actor and theatre manager, William Hunter Kendall (1843-1917), had been ardent reformers who were said to have epitomized 'the gentrified theatre of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century....'⁶² It was their reforming zeal as much as their success in having rescued acting from the squalor of the music hall that commended her to Grove and the Prince of Wales.

At the start of 1886, the singing department suffered a series of setbacks, which naturally had a bearing on Stanford's opera class: on 14 February, Jenny Lind finally retired from her position as professor of singing. For some it came as a relief: she had been capable of behaving 'half like a spoiled baby [and] half like an offended queen

⁵⁷ EFM(RCM) Vol. 1 (2 July, 1885) RCMA S0013-1, p. 191.

⁵⁸ EFM(RCM) 1 (5 August, 1885), RCMA S0013-1, p. 197.

⁵⁹ EFM(RCM) 1 (2 July, 1885), RCMA, pp. 193f.

⁶⁰ EFM(RCM) 1 (5 August, 1885), RCMA, p. 198.

⁶¹ Richard Foulkes: 'Kendal, Dame Madge (1848-1935)' *DNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34274>, accessed 1 December, 2006>

⁶² *Ibid.*

because we [the Board of Professors] did not elect a dull singer for her.⁶³ She was replaced by the German-born conductor, composer and baritone (Sir) George Henschel (1850-1934) who had taught at the RCM from 1885.⁶⁴ Henschel had just returned to London from three seasons conducting the Boston Symphony Orchestra.⁶⁵ Brahms and he were frequent correspondents and their friendship gave the RCM an umbilical link to the hallowed music of Germany; consequently, Grove was only too delighted to have him on the College staff as a principal professor.⁶⁶ Lind's deputy, Henry Deacon, had been ill and consequently absent from the RCM for just under a year. By 1 April 1886, his illness had forced him to retire from the Board of Professors and his departure was finally confirmed the following December.⁶⁷ To compound matters, outside engagements had obliged Henschel significantly to reduce his hours during his first year and Grove appointed Alfred Blume to take on extra classes at 15 shillings an hour.⁶⁸ Little wonder that the initial results from the singing department were far from successful.

The first set of ARCM exams had not produced a single successful singer, which had confirmed the Director in his profound aversion to them as musicians. All RCM students were expected to take full advantage of the broad educational opportunities on offer and this was not a view restricted to the singing department, whose mercenary priorities

⁶³ Charles Larcom Graves: *Hubert Parry: His Life and Works* (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd, 1926), Vol. 1 p. 246.

⁶⁴ George Henschel: *Musings and Memories of a Musician* (London: Macmillan and Co Ltd, 1918), p. 310. Henschel had studied at the Leipzig Conservatorium under Moscheles, Reinecke and Richter and also in Berlin. In 1877 he moved to England where he met his wife, the American Soprano and Bostonian, Lillian Bailey. 'After an extended professional tour on the Continent during the winter of 1884-1885 we returned to London, where, in the spring of the following year, Jenny Lind having just resigned her position as Professor of Singing at the Royal College of Music, of which the genial George Grove was the director, I had the honour of being appointed her successor.' See also: EFM(RCM) I (4 February, 1886), p. 252.

⁶⁵ George Henschel: *Musings and Memories of a Musician* (London: Macmillan and Co Ltd, 1918), p. 310. See also Steven Ledbetter: 'Sir George (Isidor) Henschel' *NGII* Vol. 11 (London: Macmillan Ltd, 2001), pp. 382f.

⁶⁶ George Henschel: *Musings and Memories of a Musician* (London: Macmillan and Co Ltd, 1918), pp. 45, 54, 73, 97ff., 313 & 337. See also: MS AL GG to ES (17 November, 1885), BL 42233 'Henschel and Blume are now both Professors in the College and I like them extremely.' See EFM(RCM) Vol. I (8 October, 1885), RCMA, p. 212 and EFM(RCM) Vol. I (2 December 1885), RCMA, p. 239. J. H. Blower and H. J. Balfour were appointed respectively to teach second study singing and second study piano. Both had been pupils at the NTSM and from December, 1885, Blower replaced Henry Deacon who had fallen ill.

⁶⁷ See n. 54 and also EFM(RCM) 1 (1 April, 1886), RCMA S0013-1, pp. 269f.

⁶⁸ EFM(RCM) 2 (21 October, 1886), RCMA S0013-2, p. 35.

Grove felt prevented their greater participation in College events. Parratt had also insisted that 'a musician must not be content with music alone, but must have wide interests or he was not complete.'⁶⁹ It was an issue with which Edith Oldham clearly concurred.⁷⁰

What you say about your disgust with the talk in the Artists' rooms and with their ways generally is a balm to my soul. It makes me feel that my wishes about the College have in one important respect come true & more than true—But don't you find a difference between players and singers? in general I find the greatest singers as a rule (of course there are exceptions) are thoughtless empty uneducated persons given up to the admiration of themselves & their own sweet voices[.] Patti, Neilson, Grisi, Mario—what are or were all these and hundreds like them, but mere machines for producing sweet sounds, which the public values for their mere sweetness, overlooking entirely with what intelligence they are regulated. These people never read and unless you flirt or talk mere personal rubbish they have no conversation. E. Lloyd never reads—not even a newspaper nor does Sims Reeves or ever did. Of course there are exceptions, Lind, Santley, Malibran, but you may count them on your fingers. Compare these with Joachim, Mad. Schumann, Lizst, von Bülow, &c. &c. &c. You may thank God dear that you belong to the nobler class, & therefore cherish that sense & act upon it as you do. Yes dear, be an artist and never get mercenary.⁷¹

Despite Grove's claims, the ARCM results could have been anticipated. First, the sub-committee established on 4 March 1884 to institute the ARCM, comprising Lord Bruce (in the chair), Grove, Charles Morley, Parry, Taylor, Thring, Stainer and Pauer, had intended it as an advanced diploma, given under the seal of the corporation and signed by the President. Signifying a high doctrine of excellence in specific areas of music and competence in other branches, the ARCM only developed into the comprehensive examination originally envisaged by the 1883 charter during the twentieth century; consequently, students of 12 months' standing or more were issued with a testamur, signed by the Director attesting to good conduct and satisfactory progress and residence.⁷² Secondly, Hallé, who had been appointed chief examiner for the ARCM

⁶⁹ Donald Francis Tovey and Geoffrey Parratt: *Walter Parratt Master of the Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1941), p. 73.

⁷⁰ MS AL GG to EO (25 November, 1889), RCMA, ff. 245-247; No 77. Grove wrote to Oldham to discuss the forthcoming December ARCM examinations. The implication that Edith Oldham might attempt the ARCM in singing was met with admonition: 'I should like to hear how you like the Syllabus and whether it will affect you at all. I don[']t know what to say to your plan of learning singing—won[']t it be adding an occupation and duty to the already too large heap? You are not strong, and now you are going to abridge further the period of rest which I should think you ought rather to extend than curtail. I know so little of the details of your life that I am not a fair judge—but I should have thought that it was better for you to add to the branches of your music. After all even singing must be practised, and much time be spent on it.'

⁷¹ MS AL GG to EO (20 April, 1888), RCMA f. 193; No 3.

⁷² EFM(RCM) 1 (3 April, 1884 and 22 May, 1884), RCMA S0013-1, pp. 59 & 71.

pianoforte examinations, had frequently complained that the requirements were well beyond the standards attained by scholars and students alike and this was evidently not restricted to students of the piano.

I had a long conversation with Charles Hallé who was outside chief examiner for the P.f. at the [ARCM] exams just finished[.] He thought that many of the pieces were too difficult for the pupils; that pupils should be made to play perfectly the pieces they do play, & that these should not be pieces of extreme difficulty like Sonatas op 101-111, or Henselt's studies or Bach's A minor & G minor fugues. He complained that so few played correctly (Osborn, P. Fletcher, Fedarb only) that the times are often wrong—and other things. In much of this I am sure he is right but I cannot correct it...But I do think it absurd for an orchestra of pupils to be playing Brahms's [*sic*] and Schumann's most difficult compositions, while there are so many of Beethoven['s], Mozart['s], Haydn's, which they have never touched and which they might be taught to play with finish and feeling. Of course it is true that Best, Kreuz, and others are engaged by outside orchestras, & that there they have to play the most advanced music which practice with us prepares them for—that is true: but it seems to me we incline too much towards the modern extreme....⁷³

By 1888, Arthur Best had performed on 17 occasions and Emil Kreuz had given 40 performances as part of the RCM's fortnightly concert series; however, they were exceptions (see Appendix 3.22). For the majority of students, Grove readily acknowledged that their youth and inexperience prevented a deeper understanding of music.

I often think how very little the young pupils can know of the depths of what they play. Its part of that curious fact in music (alone of all arts) that technique has to be acquired by the practice of things which are so much over the head of the practiser [*sic*]. As if a child were taught to read and declaim with just emphasis, out of St Paul's Epistles! (and so they once were and are now, out of Shakspeare [*sic*].) The meaning of music is a very curious question.⁷⁴

Of the ten initial ARCM laureates, only the organist T. Tertius Noble was an existing scholar (see Appendix 3.26). Of the remainder, three were external students, three were former RCM scholars, one was a former RCM student, and two had transferred from the NTSM and had been 'but poor at that';⁷⁵ consequently, Grove pondered how his own students would play in four or five years' time. At this stage, the remaining RCM scholars and students were neither adequately advanced nor sufficiently prepared to enter such

⁷³ MS AL GG to EO (10 April, 1888), RCMA f. 189; No 77.

⁷⁴ MS AL GG to EO (2 March 1890), RCMA, ff. 255f.; No 77.

⁷⁵ MS AL GG to EO (20 April, 1886), RCMA p. 20. See also Young (1980), p. 182. Young makes no distinction between the annual examinations as distinct from the Certificate of Proficiency (ARCM). As they take account of all students, the annual examinations are more significant in determining the genuine progress of the RCM. The first set of successful ARCM students had been Max Pauer (Piano), Annie Fry (Piano), Atalanta Heap (Piano), and Adelaide Thomas (Piano).

demanding examinations. Even so, the sympathetic response to Grove's report from the Prince of Wales must have provided some consolation.

H.R.H. is very glad to hear that the [ARCM] examination was so thorough and searching in its character, and he hopes that you will continue to act in the same spirit in future examinations, as in that case he feels sure that the reputation of the Institution and the estimation in which it is regarded by the musical world will be greatly increased.⁷⁶

If the ARCM results had fallen short of Grove's expectations, the second opera performance established the RCM as a centre for opera training.

Cherubini's *Les Deux Journées* (*The Water Carrier*), was selected and staged at the Savoy Theatre on 24 June. Grove had written to Edith Oldham to say that

the opera was a complete success and a most brilliant affair; not a hitch from beginning to end, acting and singing much better than at rehearsals. [Dan] Price [RCM scholar in the role of Mikéli] really extremely good and praised by everyone (Sullivan, Doyly Carte and other strangers). House full & most brilliant to look at.⁷⁷

As an exercise in public relations, Grove's deployment of peers and royalty to dispel adverse criticism before it had emerged, proved an intoxicating alchemy, as it had for the various fund-raising meetings, because it effectively removed two taboos at a stroke. First, the attendance of the heir apparent conferred respectability upon an art-form traditionally censured, if not vilified; secondly, the Princess of Wales had filled the royal box with children, which established the principle of RCM productions as family pursuits. Patronage was to be found in some unexpected quarters for the performance had also been attended by what Grove described as 'all sorts of strange musicians', including some from the RAM, such as Madame Albani, Blumenthal, Manuel Garcia, Irving, Macfarren, McGuckin, Alberto Randegger, Carl Rosa, Rockstro, Goring Thomas and 'heaps more.'⁷⁸ Moreover, the review carried in *The Times*, and described by Grove as 'very fair and good', was unambiguous in its approbation:⁷⁹

The performance of Cherubini's *Les Deux Journées* given by the pupils of the Royal College of Music at the Savoy Theatre yesterday afternoon was an occasion of which Englishmen interested in the national development of the art have every reason to be proud. Under Sir George Grove's

⁷⁶ MS AL FK to GG (25 April, 1886), RCMA 0096/1.

⁷⁷ MS AL GG to EO (25 June, 1886) RCMA.

⁷⁸ GG to EO (25 June, 1886), RCMA.

⁷⁹ GG to EO (25 June, 1886), RCMA.

intelligent and enthusiastic superintendence the college has in a few years established a position of which the most famous and most ancient teaching bodies of the Continent need not be ashamed. Here the art is taught in its noblest aspects and in all its branches, including dramatic, too much neglected by older institutions. A few years ago it seemed a utopian hope that we should ever have in this country a music school that would be able to supply Mr. Carl Rosa with dramatic singers even as the Paris Conservatoire supplies the Grand Opéra and Opéra Comique. Yesterday's performance brought such contingency within measurable distance.⁸⁰

Although none of 'the students employed...showed much individual genius' and stage-fright had blighted Dan Price's intonation, the production had done the RCM considerable credit. Efficient stage-management, directed by Madge Kendal and Minna Taylor, combined with efficient coaching had saved the day.

Carl Rosa's presence was only to have been expected: he was already a member of the RCM Executive Committee and evidently an advisor to Grove on the opera programme for the initial College opera performances coincide with those first presented by the Carl Rosa Opera Company in their opening season (see Appendix 3.18). From 1883 Rosa had formed an advantageous association with Augustus Harris, manager of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, that lasted for five years.⁸¹ The Company had commissioned a number of British operas including Frederick Cowen's *Pauline* (1876), Goring Thomas's *Esméralda* (1883) and *Nadeshda* (1885), Mackenzie's *Columba* (1883) and *The Troubadour* (1886), Stanford's *Canterbury Pilgrims* (1884) and Frederick Corder's *Nordisa* (1887) and had undertaken performances in English of *The Flying Dutchman* (1876), *Mignon* (1880), *Lohengrin* (1880), *Aida* (1880) and *Tannhäuser* in 1882; consequently, it was assumed that in the event that 'Mr. Rosa's venture should be sufficiently successful [it would] lead to the establishment of English Opera, supported by a company of native vocalists.'⁸² It seems Rosa's involvement in the College had been engineered to provide work placements for suitably qualified scholars and students; consequently, he was allowed to exert considerable influence on the choice of repertoire. Grove had little choice but to

⁸⁰ 'Royal College of Music' *The Times* (25 June, 1886), p. 12.

⁸¹ Frank Walker: 'Carl Rosa' rev. Harold Rosenthal *NGII* Vol. 21 (London: Macmillan and Company Ltd, 2001), p. 679.

⁸² 'Princess's Theatre' *MT* (London: Novello and Company, 1 October, 1875), p. 235.

ally the RCM with Rosa's company: it was the nearest thing to a permanent English opera company in London in the 1880s; however, its artistic worth was far from universally acknowledged and even its national identity was undermined by the inclusion of incongruous Italian mannerisms in performances, a custom that elicited scathing reviews from George Bernard Shaw. At RCM performances, such affectations were fortunately 'conspicuous by their absence, no one leaving his or her part to acknowledge applause, or to tout for an encore';⁸³ in fact, recalls and encores were strictly forbidden in all RCM performances.

I never saw the Carl Rosa Opera Company much more than a fortuitous assemblage of middle-class amateurs competing with one another of applause under a certain factory discipline. Of artistic discipline there was very little. The singers were allowed to play to the gallery by introducing such alterations and interpolations as their vanity or ignorance suggested. They were allowed to take Italian names, and to sing broken English that would not have imposed on a moderately intelligent cockney poodle. How vulgar and offensive the follies of the Italian stage become when they are aped by young people of the Irish and American middle classes need not be described. Carl Rosa could have checked it if he had cared to: there is never any difficulty in checking practices that do not pay. As they were not checked, I think it is fair to conclude that he had no adequate sense of the mischief they did in his company; and I would earnestly impress on the surviving members thereof that instead of having a great past to live up to, they have an inglorious and third-rate record to retrieve by renouncing all the lusts of operatic vanity and making it their sole aim every evening, not that this song shall be encored, or that popular favourite called before the curtain, but that they shall collectively achieve a representation of the work in hand as nearly perfect as their individual shortcomings will allow.⁸⁴

Given Rosa's association, Francis Hueffer's (1843-1889) imputation in *The Times* review that he had been at the RCM performance of *Les Deux Journées* on the 'look-out for rising talent' may not have been presumptuous.

As music critic at *The Times* between 1878 to 1889, Hueffer was regarded by Grove as a 'queer fellow full of suspicions, [who] wants humouring if he is to be made use of'.⁸⁵ Grove's mistrust and suspicion may explain why he 'never became a confidant of the South Kensington team'.⁸⁶ In other respects he and Grove were at odds: for Hueffer, Wagner represented the 'music of the future'. Grove, by contrast, was not a natural 'Wagnerite' and this may have contributed further to Hueffer's exclusion from the South

⁸³ 'The Royal College of Music' *MT* (London: Novello and Company Ltd, 1 August, 1887), pp. 483f.

⁸⁴ George Bernard Shaw: 'Opera, Applause and Mrs Langtry' *The Star* (18 April, 1890) in Dan H. Laurence (ed.): *Shaw's Music* Vol. 2 (London: The Bodley Head, 1981), p. 31.

⁸⁵ MS AL GG to AS (19 October, 1888) PML 107396.

⁸⁶ Hughes and Stradling: (2001), p. 41.

Kensington coterie yet both men were unlikely bedfellows on the issue of opera. Hueffer had 'argued that as national music went ahead in other countries, in England "the demand for a national opera...becomes irresistible"'. The establishment of the RCM opera class cemented his endorsement of the College and his reviews were invariably sympathetic.⁸⁷

Equally excellent was the musical training shown throughout and in this fact the real importance of the occasion must be discovered. A school cannot create genius, but it can rear what talent is placed at its disposal by careful and intelligent fostering. The immediate credit for the excellence of the musical *ensemble* on stage and in the orchestra is due to Mr. C. Villiers Stanford, who conducted with remarkable care and energy, and to Mr. Albert [sic] Visetti, professor of singing at the College, who had been actively engaged in the preparation of the opera. For the display of musical proficiency in the art of the students a better work could scarcely have been selected than Cherubini's opera.⁸⁸

Les Deux Journées (*The Water Carrier*) had been given its London revival a decade earlier by Carl Rosa's Opera Company at The Princess's Theatre, Oxford Street, on 11 September 1876.⁸⁹ Grove was commended for the choice of opera and particularly for weaning his students on Cherubini rather than a richer, less palatable diet of Wagner; indeed, Hueffer's predilection might well have provoked less favourable press notices, had a more ambitious programme been undertaken.⁹⁰ The alternation between protracted dialogue and song employed by Cherubini guaranteed respite for each soloist, neither of

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 41.

⁸⁸ 'Royal College of Music' *The Times* (25 June, 1886), p. 12.

⁸⁹ 'Princess's Theatre' *MT* (London: Novello and Company Ltd, 1 October, 1876), p. 622 and 'Princess's Theatre' *MT* (London: Novello and Company Ltd, 1 October, 1875), pp. 234f. The season had begun with *Le Nozze di Figaro* in English at the Princess's Theatre. The role of *Figaro* was played by Charles Santley with Rose Hersee as *Susanna*, Torriani as the *Countess*, Campobello as the *Count* and Josephine Yorke as *Cherubino*. Other performances had included Cagnoni's *The Porter of Le Havre* (*Papà Martin*), *Le Nozze di Figaro*, *Faust*, *Fra Diavolo*, *Il Trovatore*, *The Bohemian Girl* (*La Bohème*) and *The Siege of Rochelle*. See also Harold Rosenthal: 'Carl Rosa Opera Company' *The Grove Dictionary of Opera* Vol. 1 (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1992), p. 733. For dates of performances see: Frank Walker: 'Carl Rosa' rev. Harold Rosenthal *NGII* Vol. 21 (London: Macmillan and Company Ltd, 2001), p. 679. See also Meirion Hughes: *The English Musical Renaissance and the Press 1850-1914: Watchmen of Music* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), p. 13. See also Eric Walter White: *A History of English Opera* (London: Faber and Faber, 1983), p. 367.

⁹⁰ 'The Royal College of Music' *MT* (London: Novello and Company Ltd, 1 January, 1899), p. 29. See also 'Royal College of Music' *MT* (London, Novello and Company Ltd, 1 January, 1899), p. 29. The performance of *The Flying Dutchman*, the only Wagner opera to be staged by the RCM between 1885 and 1924, was thought to have been 'an ambitious choice and not altogether a wise one.' It had elicited an acutely critical review from William Alexander Barrett, who had recently taken over as critic of the *Musical Times* (see p. 150). The performance had suffered from the clichéd conventions of classical opera and had been marred by a 'serious slip in the stage management' but 'considering the enormous difficulty of the task, was a praiseworthy achievement.' Even if the direction had been anachronistic, the singers had been unanimously commended and Ivor Foster, who had been the Dutchman, had been commended for his voice, which 'though not quite yet powerful for such a part, is of beautiful quality and well trained'.

whom were seasoned opera singers.⁹¹ Inspired by the opera's success, the Prince of Wales pressed Grove for a second performance for the benefit of colonial officials.

The week in which the opera had been staged coincided with the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London at whose conference, the previous Wednesday, a paper on the position of science in Colonial education had been presented.⁹² Conscious of the RCM's imperial remit, the Prince of Wales instructed Grove to discuss the project with the 1851 Commissioner and Director of the South Kensington Museum, Sir Philip Cunliffe-Owen (see Fig. 3), not only to redress the balance in favour of music and the arts but to capitalise on the earlier performance in the hope of raising additional funds from colonial sources. Unfortunately, Owen was an avowed opponent of opera and, after a heated conversation with Grove, took evasive action:

I go to see Sir P. at 9½ and find him dead against the opera as the most dangerous thing for the girls' morals—over-exciting—discordant from the general [i.e. moral] plan of the College &c.—such a hubbub. I assure you we walked about a large room and halloaed [sic] at one another till the whole place echoed.

Can't you fancy it? However the Prince had ordered it and he would find a time and let me know by 12. Not hearing I go down at 1. Owen gone to Marlboro' House—I after him—just miss him. Call on Lord Charles [Bruce] & bring him along in a cab to the Exhibition, wait in Owen's private room for 1½ hour all for nothing, and at last back to the College at 4.30...⁹³

Owen's daughter, Olga, had joined the RCM as a first-study singer in September 1885 (see Appendix 3.13); consequently, her father's position seems to have been motivated as much by specific concern for his daughter's honour as it was by adherence to more strict Victorian mores. Owen's views were endorsed the following year by the Ladies Visiting Committee, chaired by Lord Bruce, who recommended that 'the advisability of Operatic performance should be taken into serious consideration.'⁹⁴ Grove clearly perceived the opposition to the RCM opera as a serious threat for he wrote in fulsome terms to Sir Henry Ponsonby three days later, primarily to ask whether the Queen would be disposed

⁹¹ MS AL GG to ES (29 May, 1891), BL 42233. See also MS AL GG to EO (2 October, 1889) RCMA ff. 238f.; No 77. 'I am not a Wagnerite, and I rebel against these great archaic, unnatural subjects.'

⁹² Ibid., (25 June, 1886), p. 12.

⁹³ GG to EO (25 June, 1886), RCMA.

⁹⁴ LVC(RCM) (4 June, 1886), RCMA, [p. 11].

to attend a second performance of the opera to be given for Colonial representatives on 7 July at the Savoy Theatre. Undoubtedly a crude attempt to gain the Queen's seal of approval as a foil to Owen's criticism, it also allowed Grove the opportunity to confirm that the students were as disciplined behind the scenes as they were on stage.⁹⁵

Royal College of Music
Kensington Gore,
London, S.W.

June 28th. 86

Dear Sir Henry Ponsonby

Miss Ponsonby may have told you how well our Opera—Cherubini's 'Water Carrier'—went off at the Savoy Theatre on Thursday last. The Prince and Princess of Wales were there, and were so much satisfied that the Prince suggested a repetition, which will accordingly take place on Wednesday 7th July, at the same theatre at 3 p.m. The whole affair was really most satisfactory. The Times and the Telegraph have testified to the excellence of the performance; but they know nothing of the behaviour of the pupils behind the scenes—though to me that is as important as their singing and acting.

They were looked after by Mrs. Franklin Taylor (a member of the Ladies Committee), and I and Lord Charles Bruce were constantly on the watch behind the Curtain; and I assure you nothing could have been better. They all—boys & girls—kept their heads under a great deal of trying excitement, and behaved quite as pupils of the Royal College ought have done.

Do you think it possible that the Queen would do us the honour to come on the 7th? It would be an enormous encouragement if she would do us such an honour. The music is so lovely, the story so good and domestic, (the libretto was the one which Beethoven thought the best in existence), and the performance so satisfactory and genuine—that I venture to think it might interest Her Majesty. I shall be very grateful if you find it right to mention it to her.

Yours very truly

G. Grove

[Written in the margin: we could keep it quite private.] ⁹⁶

Whether Grove hoped that his assurances of high standards of behaviour would elicit a positive response, the Queen's public attendance at an RCM opera performance would have sealed its respectability once and for all.

Windsor Castle
June 29 1886

Dear Sir George Grove

I had heard from all sides the highest praise of the performance at the Savoy and after receiving your letter I have mentioned the subject to the Queen[.]

⁹⁵ EFM(RCM) 2 (22 July, 1886), RCMA S0013-2.

⁹⁶ GG to HP (28 June, 1886) RA PPVIC 1886/5761.

I am very sorry to [crossed out: say] add that Her Majesty while gladly listening to all I had to say in favor [sic] of your request desired me to explain to you that [crossed out: the] her numerous engagements next week makes [sic] it impossible for the Queen to be present at the Savoy on the 7th of July[.]

Yours very truly[.]

Henry F. Ponsonby⁹⁷

4.8 THE RCM'S ROYAL COMMAND PERFORMANCE AT WINDSOR

Despite the Queen's refusal to attend the RCM opera performance in 1886, Grove and the Prince of Wales were determined to engineer a College performance at Windsor Castle. While the Golden Jubilee celebrations in 1887 would seem to have provided the perfect pretext, the significant exodus of fee-paying students (the RCM's primary source of income after the interest provided by the Capital Fund) potentially caused a crisis and threatened to jeopardize all Grove's hard work and the Windsor visit. It sent the Executive Committee into a panic to address the issue of attracting external funding. Proposals to approach the government, the city livery companies, and the Corporation of London, which had sponsored a scholarship at the NTSM, were put before the Prince of Wales.⁹⁸ By now, the RCM's capital fund stood at £117,463.3.7 with annual expenditure at £13,151.7.2; however, the increase in paying students from 138 in 1886 to 161 the following year ensured that further consideration of the matter was postponed.⁹⁹

The RCM concert at Windsor took place on 25 June, 1887, just after the official festivities had been concluded. Grove was naturally pleased at the outcome for he wrote to Franklin Taylor's wife, Minna, in euphoric terms:

A tremendous success last night. I never heard the orchestra play so well, and Ruy Blas was really one of the best performances I ever heard, so full of fire and delicacy, & as romantic as the work itself[.] Anna [Russell] sang beautifully and Barton played his 2 little pieces very well. The others were respectable.

We played in the Waterloo Gallery[.] a magnificent high room covered with portraits of all the heroes of 1815 and blazing with light from immense chandeliers. The Queen sat on a sofa about 20 feet behind the conductor having on her right a Russian Grandduchess and on her left the Infanta

⁹⁷ HP to GG (29 June, 1886) RA PPVIC 1886/5761.

⁹⁸ EFM(RCM) 2 (22 November, 1886), RCMA S0013-2, pp. 51 and 54.

⁹⁹ RC(RCM) 3 (3July, 1886), RCMA pp. 32-35. See also EFM(RCM) 2 (24 January, 1889), RCMA S0013-2, p. 255.

of Spain, behind them the room was full of Kings, Popes, [sic] Emperors, Princes and all the magnificence of the world.

We were standing near the orchestra against the wall except 'Olmes who lolled on a sofa in a black tie and hair au naturel. It was really very good fun because it went so well. The Queen nodded and bowed and clapped, Anna R. especially. She asked who A. was and who [Dan] Price was. Morley and I were presented to her by our Master & she was most gracious. The Prince and Princess were both very pleased.

We were sumptuously treated[,] Dinner at 8½ in the Horrangery—a long stroll in the Queen's Private Gardens first—speeches after dinner—& all quite affable.

We had been placed in the Tapestry room (about as big as our Concert Room) & were all in our places ready to begin—but when the Queen came she said oh that wouldn't do at all, and everything must be changed to the Waterloo Gallery—Piano & all. When lol in an instant, as if you had stamped your foot in the Arabian nights, in came an army of men, who in a twinkling carried off everything—Holmes, piano, desks, candles, & everything else, and started us again in the right spot. That transformation scene was one of the most striking things about the evening—We had to scuttle for our train but William and Dickson were equal to the occasion & all arrived in town right—weary enough at about 12½...'¹⁰⁰

Alongside performances by Anna Russell (Singing), Dan Price (Singing) and Marmaduke Barton (Piano), the programme had included Stanford's Symphony No 3 in F minor, Op. 28 *The Irish* played by the College orchestra, which Grove described as 'most Irish all through—but nobly conceived...not too much a mere Irish piece...and applauded as I never saw a piece applauded....'¹⁰¹ The experience enjoyed by Grove and the other professors had been in direct contrast to that encountered by the students for the Queen had fixed a time for the concert at 10 o'clock, which Grove later conceded had been thoughtless; not only did this make it difficult for the whole company to get home safely afterwards, it gave the guests an opportunity to over-indulge at dinner.¹⁰² The behaviour of the royal party and the generally unsatisfactory treatment of the students had provoked an unflattering account of the proceedings in the *Pall Mall Gazette* on 28 June:

The college assembled at Paddington station at 6.20, where a special train was appointed, which conveyed some crowned heads and their suites in State carriages. The members of the college were crowded into third class carriages scarcely giving sitting room to their occupants. On arriving at Windsor the college had to wait more than an half-an-hour while the crowned heads were taking their departure, at the end of which time a troop of carriages appeared to convey the members to, to these the order was given in a loud voice, "To the tradesmen entrance." On arriving at the castle the carriages were by mistake taken to an entrance used by ladies and gentlemen, but were severely ordered off again "to the tradesmen entrance." On entering the castle the college waited for some time before any attention was shown it. At length an official, addressing a servant in a dirty apron,

¹⁰⁰ MS AL GG to MT (26 June, 1887), RCMA.

¹⁰¹ MS AL GG to EO (27 June, 1887) RCMA See also J. F. Porte: *Sir Charles V. Stanford* (London: Kegan, Paul and Co., 1921), pp. 31-35.

¹⁰² MS AL GG to EO (16 June, 1887) RCMA p. 63.

requested her "to show the ladies to the room prepared for them." This was a bookbinder's room, about, 14 ft. by 8 ft., the sides of which were filled with dusty books. It contained, however, the following sumptuous preparations, a chair, a washstand, an a small looking glass hung on the walls [sic], no pegs or any other means of hanging up cloaks: these had to be laid on the dusty books. Great confusion was occasioned by one of the ladies asking the servant for a pin, nothing so extensive having been prepared. The ladies did manage, however, by going in not more than seven at a time, to arrange their toilettes with only a moderate degree of crowding.

A more agreeable incident followed in the form of a hospitable supper in a pleasant orangery....Then followed, or should have followed the concert, which was to have begun at ten o'clock....A brilliant audience having assembled, the concert begun with Beethoven's overture to "Coriolanus." The company showed their interest in the sublime work by keeping up conversation at the top of their voices. This produced a striking effect, perhaps not contemplated by Beethoven, at those points in the overture where a bar's rest occurs intended to mark an impressive silence, but enlivened on this occasion by the roar of voices. Her Majesty, taking her place only after this overture, set an admirable example by her attentive silence during the music, and she clapped each work with a kindly smile of approbation at its close. This example had no effect on the company generally, who continued to enjoy their chat undisturbed by the noise of the orchestra or performances of the solos. At the close of the concert the members of the orchestra, who were nearly tired out before it begun, had to stand for half-an-hour while her [sic] Majesty was taking leave of her Royal guests, and were ready to drop before they were finally released. They reached London about 1.30. It is to be hoped that art in the abstract will generally content Royalty, since concrete art requires concrete artists for its performance; and as these are accustomed to be treated elsewhere as ladies and gentlemen, the fatigue and the roughing it, entailed by performances at Windsor, present an unpleasant contrast to ordinary experiences, such as, if often repeated, might both mentally and physically, have a prejudicial effect on artists and students, many of whom are young, and all of whom are engaged in serious and arduous studies.¹⁰³

The work of 'a correspondent', Grove was convinced that the article had been intended as a 'cruel blow to the College'; however, Knollys wrote to Grove to say he thought it simply to be a 'very ill-natured report' and that the Prince of Wales thought it 'a very bad return for the trouble he took in getting them to Windsor.'¹⁰⁴ Rather, it was simply a case of *noblesse oblige*: for all the egalitarian speeches, the distance between prince and pauper was as great as ever and the establishment of the RCM had done nothing to improve the social position or respect accorded to musicians by the upper classes. In one sense, the article went right to the nub of the issue: if the students of the RCM could not expect to be treated with respect by their own President and his guests, the general public could hardly be expected to demonstrate greater appreciation. Initially it had seemed that the letter to the *Pall Mall Gazette* had indeed been the work of a student and Grove had assumed that the RCM scholar Winifred Holliday was the culprit:

¹⁰³ 'Music and Royalty' *Pall Mall Gazette* (London: 28 June, 1887), No 6951; Vol. XLV, p. 11.

¹⁰⁴ MS AL FK to GG (6 July, 1887) and (10 July, 1887) RCMA 0096/2.

I am glad that W. Holliday was with you, because it is an old face, and it must have been nice having the violin; but I am so exasperated with that young person that I can't admit any good qualities in her at present. It was owing to her that that odious letter appeared in the Pall Mall Gazette attacking the Queen through us, and doing infinite mischief...' ¹⁰⁵

Grove had missed the point. In the first instance the article had not attacked the Queen; rather, it had commended her as the only member of the entourage who had behaved appropriately. Grove was evidently caught up in the thrall of the Prince of Wales and royal patronage and perhaps most frustrated by the undeniable accuracy of the published account of a private event. While Grove had initially perceived the publication as a direct threat to relations between Windsor and Kensington, he later conceded that 'no provision was made for us, we had to find our way through the kitchen &c &c and everything was impromptu, of the most slovenly kind.' ¹⁰⁶ Secondly, it turned out that the letter had been engineered by Holmes, whose socialist politics sat uneasily with the protocol demanded by such occasions and he had put Holliday up to the task. In any event, it achieved the desired result for future visits. ¹⁰⁷

The musical exigencies required in preparing for the Windsor meeting marred the RCM's third opera performance on 27 June, 1887. Emboldened by reviews of the Cherubini, Weber's *singspiel*, *Der Freischütz*, had been selected. For an opera requiring singers and actors of the first order, it was hardly surprising that the students were 'overweighted by their parts'. ¹⁰⁸ To have staged the opera a mere two days after a royal command performance would seem to have been folly to the most self-assured; predictably, it was derided in the press. ¹⁰⁹

...Of yesterday's performance we may generally say that as regards music pure and simple it contained many good points, the chorus and orchestra, conducted by Mr. C. V. Stanford, doing some excellent work. The *ensembles* also, notably the trio in the second act, were sung in good tune and time. What was lacking was what, for a better name, we may call dramatic instinct, for more can scarcely be expected from beginners....The stage management was under Mrs. Kendal, and, considering the material she had to work with, redounded to the credit of that lady.... ¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ MS AL GG to EO (15 September, 1887), RCMA p. 76.

¹⁰⁶ MS AL GG to EO (2 March, 1895), RCMA.

¹⁰⁷ MS AL GG to EO (2 March, 1895), RCMA.

¹⁰⁸ 'Royal College of Music' *The Times* (28 June, 1887), p. 10; col. C.

¹⁰⁹ 'Royal College of Music' *The Times* (28 June, 1887), p. 10; col. C.

¹¹⁰ 'Royal College of Music' *The Times* (28 June, 1887), p. 10; col. C.

Both Anna Russell and Dan Price had performed at the Windsor concert; both were singled out for criticism in *The Times* review. Russell had been so nervous that any passion or sentiment had been entirely absent from her performance, which had been described as ‘chiefly of a negative kind.’¹¹¹ Jenny Lind’s initial report had stated that her ‘voice [was] not worth tuition[; she] might become a good teacher.’¹¹² Price had fared little better having ‘scarcely acquired the rudiments of his art.’¹¹³ The poor qualities of the performance unleashed a series of damning indictments against the College and undermined the good work achieved the previous year:

The importance which that institution [RCM] attaches to the study and practice of dramatic music cannot be sufficiently commended. That study was for a long time sadly neglected at our principal music schools, and Mr. Rosa and other operatic managers have always found it extremely difficult to recruit their companies from native sources. It cannot at the same time be said that so far the Royal College has produced a dramatic singer of eminence, or that the young aspirants employed in yesterday’s performance shewed any exceptional aptitude for the stage.¹¹⁴

4.9 EARLY COMPARISONS

If Grove’s zeal had caused him occasional lapses in judgement, these were balanced by success on other fronts. On 20 October, 1887 the RCM concert at Alexandra House had been well received and was repeated at the German Athenaeum the following evening. It had been ‘immensely applauded’ by the audience, most of whom were German.¹¹⁵ The programme had included Mozart’s String Quartet in G major played by Isabella Donkersley, William Stephenson (violins), Alfred Hobday (viola) and Tennyson Werge (violoncello) and the ‘severer test’ presented by Beethoven’s Quintet in C major (op. 29), played by Jasper Sutcliffe and Stanley Blagrove (violins), Emil Kreuz and Arthur Hobday (violas) and William Squire (violoncello). Marian Osborn had played three of Schumann’s *Kreisleriana* ‘very finely’ and with ‘far more insight into the composer’s meaning than one

¹¹¹ ‘Royal College of Music’ *The Times* (28 June, 1887), p. 10; col. C.

¹¹² Scholars’ Register (1883-1893), RCMA, 11014/1, p. 41. Russell went on to improve the flexibility of her voice and to gain the ARCM in singing at Easter 1888.

¹¹³ ‘Royal College of Music’ *The Times* (28 June, 1887), p. 10; col. C.

¹¹⁴ ‘Royal College of Music’ *The Times* (28 June, 1887), p. 10; col. C.

¹¹⁵ MS AL GG to EO [25 October, 1887], f. 156; No 77.

looks for from a student'.¹¹⁶ The Germans had been astonished by the standards achieved and, despite the inclusion of Donkersley and Osborn, claimed to have 'had no notion that English boy[s] could play so well'.¹¹⁷

The success of piano students was largely the responsibility of Franklin Taylor, who had imposed rigorous demands. At the annual examination the previous year, Taylor's pupil, the pianist and former RIAM student, Louisa Kellett, had surpassed all expectations and Dannreuther's endorsement in the examiners' report marked the first of a series of favourable comparisons with the musical training at the RCM's European counterparts.

...Our [annual] exams. are going on well. The p.f. has been very good. All have made great improvement, but 'the red-headed girl' [Kellett] is above all. She really astonished us all with her performance of Schumann's Etudes Symphoniques. Dannreuther said it was the finest performance he had ever heard in a school, and that she was ready to go before the public at once....He also said that the average standard was far higher than at any other school he was acquainted with, and that the result was certainly above that of any place in England or the Continent.¹¹⁸

Individual piano classes were complemented by lectures on rudiments of performance practice.

Taylor gave the 1st of three lectures on Saturday on Ornaments[.] He did the Appoggiatura [*si*] & Acciacatura [*si*][.] He spoke too fast & the Council room was dark & his examples on the Black Board could not be seen, and the subject is immensely complicated, but it was very interesting & good[.] To me the best part was his playing of the examples—so very neat & clean.¹¹⁹

By contrast, Pauer's results were far from successful: his reputation as a teacher gave him few accolades but his ability to lecture RCM students on musicological and analytical topics proved less impressive still and Grove entertained the idea of replacing him altogether; however, his capacity for attracting fee-paying students outweighed his practical shortcomings and he was permitted to remain at the College.

On Friday Pauer gave a lecture to the pupils on the mode of judging...musical works—I thought it so kind of the old fellow to come all the way round & sport his queer German-English for 1½ hours, and play his piano, that I should have felt guilty if away; so I went—and after it, had some diffy

¹¹⁶ MS AL GG to EO [25 October, 1887], f. 156; No 77; 'Royal College of Music' MT (London: Novello and Company Ltd, 1 November, 1887), p. 664.

¹¹⁷ MS AL GG to EO [25 October, 1887], f. 156; No 77.

¹¹⁸ Graves (1903), p. 311. See also EFM(RCM) 2 (10 May, 1888), RCMA, S0013-2, p. 182. Louisa Kellett later died of consumption on 16 March 1888, at the age of 22, in the Royal Consumption Hospital on the Isle of Wight.

¹¹⁹ MS AL GG to EO [25 October, 1887], f. 156; No 77.

in getting home—as to the lecture it was nothing. How curious that an intelligent man like P. sh^d. deliver a long series of platitudes with no special definite reference! I should have taken a work, played it through, and shewed what there was admirable in this theme, & that theme, and that working out, and this condensation, and that variety, &c[.] &c[.] whereas he contented himself with giving out the old formulas—and then playing the piece with no reference or enforcement. Still the pieces were delightful, & I must say that I enjoyed the quiet classical way in which he played them. There were a Prelude and Fugue: Gavotte and Gigue [by] J.[S.] Bach[, a] Gigue [by] Handel[, a] Sonata [by] Beethoven (A [flat] op 26) [an] Impromptu [by] Schubert (E [flat]) [and a] Nocturne and Valse [by] Chopin.¹²⁰

Grove's improvements on Pauer's pedestrian attempts to lecture the pupils, exhibited not only a superior knowledge of musicology and music history but a systematic approach to the acquisition of knowledge, skills that evidently evaded some of the most highly-respected RCM professors. As a result of Pauer's deficiencies one of the scholars, Edith Oldham, had transferred to Franklin Taylor in 1883 after less than a year but Grove had her warned 'that the change of master will be good for you—but of course in the end everything depends on ourselves: circumstances go for much, but one's own inner self is the thing which guides them—makes or mars.'¹²¹ Pauer's enviable reputation among the middle classes was not echoed by his status among his colleagues in the profession:

Miss O'Hea...was very sorry you had gone to Herr Pauer...[having] known him for twenty years...she had always heard the same story about him that he will not teach, that he spends the whole time playing himself & that she never knew him make a good player, she says she does not think the College will do any good unless they get new foreign teachers.¹²²

By October 1890, his methods would lead to a catastrophic fall in numbers: 'Pauer is becoming a great difficulty. Fancy, in the whole of [piano] Class 2 of Grade IV 9 in number, he has only one pupil—all the rest are Taylor's!'¹²³ Despite Taylor's reputation as a demanding teacher who was economical with praise, he was able to attract pupils, later being described as one among 'several names...who have done, and are doing splendid work in the direction of raising the standard of pianoforte teaching in this

¹²⁰ MS AL GG to EO (10 January, 1892), RCMA. Annotated 'Sunday night Jan 10' by Grove and postmarked 'JA 10 92'.

¹²¹ MS AL GG to EO (23 September, 1884), f. 8; No 3.

¹²² Quoted in Richard Pine and Charles Acton: *To Talent Alone The Royal Irish Academy of Music 1848-1998* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1998), p. 166.

¹²³ MS AL GG to EO (6 October, 1890), RCMA, f. 302.

country.¹²⁴ In short, Taylor's teaching had put the 'brain and heart' back into piano playing and this was precisely what was needed in the singing department.¹²⁵

The criticism in the pejorative review of the 1887 opera performance ensured that by Easter 1888, Jenny Lind's short-lived replacement, George Henschel, had given his last lesson. Grove felt him to be 'too busy & does not (I fear) care for the place.'¹²⁶ Nevertheless, the ARCM examinations for 1888 had proved more successful: out of 25 candidates, twelve had passed, four of whom had been singers (Dan Price, Anna Russell, Ada Bloxham and Fanny Clark).¹²⁷ Despite the marked improvements, Henschel remained steadfast. An international profile as conductor and singer ensured a rigorous round of concerts and he often neglected his less lucrative RCM work to the detriment of his students.¹²⁸ His forthcoming *tournee* of Russia would have led to long absences and Grove was unable to sanction further interruptions to the College singing classes.¹²⁹

This proved to be a wise decision. The notices in the *Musical Times* for the College's subsequent performance of Nicolai's *The Merry Wives of Windsor* on 11 July 1888 at the Savoy Theatre were excellent. William Alexander Barrett (1834-1891) had replaced Henry Lunn (1817-1894) as part-time editor of the *Musical Times* the previous year.¹³⁰ He continued the policies of his predecessor, who had been a passionate advocate for

¹²⁴ 'Franklin Taylor' *MT* Vol. 40 (London: Novello and Company Ltd, 1 December, 1899), p. 798.

¹²⁵ *MT* Vol. 40, p. 798.

¹²⁶ MS AL GG to EO (2 March, 1888), RCMA, f.172; No 77.

¹²⁷ EFM(RCM) 2 (10 May, 1888), RCMA S0013-2, pp. 183f. The other successful candidates were Theory: Marmaduke Barton (Scholar), William Cook (Scholar), Emil Kreuz (Scholar); Organ: Walter Galpin Alcock (NTSM Scholar), George Huntley (NTSM Scholar); Piano: Marmaduke Barton (Scholar), William Cook (Scholar), Margaret Moore (Student); Public Singing: Daniel Price (Scholar), Anna Russell (Scholar); Teaching Singing: Ada Bloxham (Scholar), Fanny Clark (Scholar); Viola: Emil Kreutz (Scholar); Alice Smith (Scholar).

¹²⁸ MS AL GG to EO (18 January, 1888), RCMA, ff. 164f; No 77.

¹²⁹ MS AL GG to EO (18 January, 1888), RCMA, ff. 164f; No 77.

¹³⁰ Merion Hughes: *The English Musical Renaissance and the Press 1850-1914: Watchmen of Music* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002) p. 94. See also 'William Alexander Barrett' *MT* (London: Novello, 1 November, 1891) pp. 659f. Barrett had been a chorister at St Paul's between 1846 and 1849. From 1859 to 1865 he was a lay-clerk at Magdalen College, Oxford (under Stainer from 1860). In 1866 he left Oxford to become an assistant vicar choral at St Paul's Cathedral and the following year joined the staff of *The Musical Post* as music critic. Having graduated Mus.Bac. from Oxford in 1871, he became Hullah's assistant as a government inspector for music in schools and training colleges. He was a F(R)CO and Mus.Doc. from Toronto. He collaborated with Stainer in 1876 with whom he published the *Dictionary of Musical Terms*.

English music and a vociferous proponent of 'Grand National English Opera'.¹³¹ His reviews of College performances, far from being uncritical, point to an agenda where the RCM was treated on professional terms with few, if any, allowances made.

We shall not enter here into the question whether a new institution for this specific purpose is or is not desirable; at any rate, the school over which Sir George Grove presides gives once a year ample proof of its fitness for preparing students for the operatic stage. It is said that a large proportion of the academic year is taken up in coaching the young people in their respective duties; be that as it may, a thing which is worth doing at all is worth doing well, and in this respect the Royal College performances present an excellent model. ...in some respects the best of the series...Nicolai's 'Merry Wives of Windsor' cannot compare with Cherbini's 'The Water Carriers' or 'Der Freischütz'. But no reasonable people will blame the authorities for giving legitimate comic opera a turn, and the choice was justified by results. To say that the humour of Shakespeare's characters was realised in any one instance would of course be absurd, but both Mr. Arthur C. Peach as *Slender* and Mr. Clement Milward as *Falstaff* displayed the germs of talent for comedy, the former especially. Mr. Milward has a fine baritone voice, which he displayed to great advantage at the rehearsal, though at the performance he was partially incapacitated by the ungenial weather. To finish with the male students, Mr. Daniel Price as *Mr. Ford* was somewhat disappointing after the great promise he evinced two years ago, and Mr. Lionel Kirby is cultivating a throaty production which he should abandon before it is too late. The lady students are all entitled to praise. Miss Annie Roberts, who played the part of *Ennchun* last year, showed a satisfactory advance as *Mrs. Ford*. Her voice is bright and pleasing, and she acted in a natural and sprightly fashion. Miss Maggie Davies as *Anne Page* also sang remarkably well, and the mezzo-soprano voice of Miss Emily Squire is of the best quality. As before, the general performance was exceedingly praiseworthy, everything working with the utmost smoothness, and reflecting great credit on Mr. Arthur Cecil, under whose supervision it was prepared. Equal praise is due to Dr. Villiers Stanford, for the excellence of the orchestra and chorus, both consisting mainly of students.¹³²

For all that, Grove's admiration for Henschel appears to have remained undiminished: confidence in his ability as a singing teacher seems to have stemmed from Grove's Europhilic perspective, as indicated by Stanford:

Curiously enough Grove, with all his winning charm and broad mind, never in his heart believed in the creative work of his own country. He was steeped in Beethoven and Schubert, and in later days guardedly admitted Brahms and fractions of Wagner into his fold. But the long years from 1830 to 1880 were as a millstone round his neck which left their mark upon him. A half-century of barren mediocrity had accustomed him to look abroad for anything and everything.¹³³

The refusal of some professors to cover the whole range of standard Continental repertoire with their pupils contributed to Grove's anxiety that the RCM would be rendered incapable of competing with European rivals. It also led him into uncharted waters with his professors.

I differ from Taylor—He seems to think that a teacher has to form the pupil like himself—but to me the case is very much like that of a child whose parents surely are not to try to make it a

¹³¹ Hughes, (2002), p. 89. Lunn's appeal in 1849 for an English national opera had anticipated Wagner's plea for a German National Theatre by two years.

¹³² 'Royal College of Music' *MT* (London: Novello and Company Ltd, 1 November, 1888), p. 473.

¹³³ Stanford (1914), pp. 223f.

reproduction of themselves, but to bring out its own individuality as strongly as possible—I find Taylor in many things narrow minded, and disagreeable in enforcing his views...He thinks the College quite self sufficient—quite able to educate thoroughly a musician for any position however important. But I can't think that. I value him and Holmes and Stanford and Parry to the very full, but I cannot help feeling that abroad there are greater Piano players and teachers, greater Violinists, greater composers than there are in England, and that our girls and boys would profit immensely by the opportunity of learning from Bülow or Joachim, or Sarasate or Brahms. It seems to me obvious; while to him such a proposition means that the RCM is a mere sham and humbug. How very much we should profit if Bülow would come to us for a month a year as he does to Frankfort [*sic*].¹³⁴

After six years' work, he felt that the College was 'too narrow in our circles'.¹³⁵ Grove's concept of a staff whose knowledge of performance practice embraced cutting-edge theories garnered through experience on the concert platform continued to contribute to his anxiety at the comparatively limited repertoire covered by some of the professors to the detriment of their pupils.

Take Holmes for example. There cannot be a better teacher, up to a certain time, but he shuts out the whole of the Belgian school of De Beriot & Vieuxtemps, and the Italian of Paganini, and the French of Lalo &c., and surely to state that fact is to condemn his teaching—Also I feel that he has no power of teaching a solo player. Such knowledge as how to stand, how to face an audience—is to him all worthless, but its very important; and he has not the élan which a solo player wants—Look at Sutcliffe! I could cry when I see Cécile Elieson, once so saucy and so full of spirit, now gradually losing it all, and therefore ruined for a solo player for which she once bid fair. Then again look at Taylor & Pauer; it's the same story—the modern music of Liszt and [Carl] Tausig is hateful to them and to me, but to a pupil it's absolutely necessary—the flood may be noxious, but one can't stop it; we can't dam everything back to Schumann or even to Brahms. The fact is we want someone within reach who is not only a good careful teacher but a famous player: Bülow or D'Albert. I am sure that life can be kept in a Teacher, only by constantly playing in public and drawing thence constant new inspiration, new hints for expression & means of interesting the hearers. But then how all this is to be done I can't tell—the difficulties are enormous. Suppose that T. and P. and H. were to consent to remain with someone over them, how are the functions of the new man & the old ones to be adjusted? Think of it and you will see the difficulties.

However, as I say, all this has to be talked about—and oh how I wish we could do it!¹³⁶

Although Grove's invitation to Joachim to play the Brahms Violin Concerto at the RCM in 1888 had provided a further opportunity to involve him in the work of the College, whether or not as another pretext on which to persuade him to accept a professorship, it also served to reinforce Grove's misgivings that the shortcomings of the College staff could only be remedied with the help of outsiders.¹³⁷ Whether or not Grove was correct, it ensured students were presented with the best of all worlds; not only did

¹³⁴ MS AL GG to EO (27 January, 1889) RCMA pp. 221f; No 77.

¹³⁵ GG to EO (17 October, 1889) RCMA.

¹³⁶ MS AL GG to EO (17 October, 1889), RCMA, ff. 241f.; No 77.

¹³⁷ MS AL GG to EO (2 March, 1888), RCMA, p. 172; No. 88.

they experience superlative teaching by the standard of the day, a small proportion of the scholars were fortunate enough to be coached by some of the top musicians in Europe. From 1884, Joachim continued to be a regular visitor to the College as performer, teacher and examiner. He and Grove shared a style and charm that endeared both men to the undistinguished and celebrated alike.

It was undoubtedly these qualities which lifted the standard of every performance with which he had to do, actively or passively, far above the ordinary level. His presence stimulated executants to do a little better than they thought they could, and listeners to understand a little more than they considered themselves capable of appreciating. It made one shiver miserably at the least sign of inferior taste, or of self-advertised and over[-]rated accomplishment.¹³⁸

Along with Hausmann and Fanny Davies, Joachim played Beethoven's Triple Concerto at the College orchestral practice; having been impressed by the high standard of playing, he continued there and then to play the complete Beethoven Violin Concerto.¹³⁹ Yet such visits were not met with unanimous approval. Franklin Taylor's aversion to the importation of Continental musicians to play or teach at the College put a strain on his relationship with Grove who was unable to 'sit by Mrs. Taylor because her assumption of knowledge is so distasteful to me, and Taylor is so cross & contemptuous that I dare not say a word to him.'¹⁴⁰ Taylor's disagreement with Grove's wider vision for the RCM illustrates only one of a number of tensions that had begun to emerge between the Director and the Board of Professors. Concern at the slow progress of some students was compounded by Grove's fear that the teaching provided by the RCM was deficient:

I am a little disappointed in some ways—we have no stars. Entre nous, [Jasper] Sutcliffe is deteriorating. Is it that Holmes has taught him too long and that he wants a change? Osborne is good—but oh how small! And below her M. Moore, Breley, & Co are mediocrities. Fédarb and E. Sharp[e] have a chance—I hope they will embrace it.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ Charles Villiers Stanford: *Studies and Memories* (London: Archibald Constable and Company Ltd, 1908), p. 130.

¹³⁹ MS AL GG to EO (2 March, 1888), RCMA, p. 172; No 88.

¹⁴⁰ MS AL GG to EO (10 June, 1888), RCMA, pp. 203f.; No 88.

¹⁴¹ MS AL GG to EO (17 April, 1888), RCMA, p. 191; No 88. See also MS AL GG to EO (2 March, 1888), RCMA f. 172; No 77. Taylor 'was much pleased with Osborn[']s playing last Thursday [1 March] of the Sonata in G Op. 31 No 1. he even praised her!! and told me or I squeezed it out of him that she did not miss a single note and that the Sonata was one of the most difficult of the whole number....He is also much pleased with E. Sharpe's progress (Ireland for ever)....'

Exasperation at the remedial treatment of proficient RCM pupils such as the scholar, Charles Holden White, by their Continental teachers was tempered by confidence that it was the best course of action open to them: 'Well! We have no Schumanns & Joachims for them to go to in England, so we must not grumble.'¹⁴² His exasperation was compounded when Holden White, who had studied first with Clara Schumann and subsequently with her daughter Marie, had been required to return to five-finger exercises, which Grove felt was 'not only absurd but an insult to the College.'¹⁴³ Grove's reaction was oversensitive: this was common practice among instrumental teachers in England as well as on the Continent. The necessity for sending RCM students to the Continent was interpreted by Grove as failure in more ways than one. The RCM's very foundation, its curriculum and staff had been intended to eliminate the necessity of sending British performers to the Continent. Paradoxically, Grove's insistence that the best teaching was still available on the Continent was somewhat schizophrenic. Although the RCM never succeeded in attracting foreign students on the scale of the Leipzig *Hochschule* (see Appendices 3.10 and 3.14), Grove clearly believed that the RCM was more than capable of providing excellent training not least because he had already begun to appoint a series of promising former scholars to the professorial staff.

4.10 BARTON, INWARDS, NOBLE AND WOOD JOIN THE PROFESSORIAL STAFF

In 1888, Grove appointed Haydn Inwards and Charles Wood to assistant professorships at the RCM.¹⁴⁴ The following year Marmaduke Barton and Noble were also invited by Grove to join the RCM staff. Barton, Inwards, Noble and Wood were the first in a

¹⁴² MS AL GG to EO (17 April, 1888), RCMA, p. 191; No 88.

¹⁴³ MS AL GG to EO (10 June, 1888), RCMA, pp. 203f.; No 88.

¹⁴⁴ EFM(RCM) 2 (19 January, 1888), p. 159. MS AL GG to EO (27 January, 1889), pp. 221f.; No 89. See also EFM(RCM) 2 (16 May, 1889), p. 285 and EFM(RCM) 3 (30 January, 1890), RCMA, p. 37. See MS AL GG to EO (11 April, 1890), RCMA f. 262; No 77. MS AL GG to EO (1 February, 1891), RCMA, ff. 340f; No 77 [n.p.] Marmaduke Barton married Anna Russell in 1891. Barton, the son of 'a country Dissenting minister of narrow pattern' had caused some consternation by converting to Roman Catholicism upon his engagement to Russell. The German pianist, conductor, composer and pupil of Liszt, Bernhard Stavenhagen (1862-1914) had implored Grove to intervene to put a stop to the marriage 'but set his own advice to naught by himself marrying almost immediately after our conversation.'

succession of distinguished RCM professors of almost apostolic proportions whose musical training had been nurtured at the College and it soon became official policy to employ exceptional home-grown talent in this manner.¹⁴⁵ By 1912, eight out of 35 RCM professors were former students (see Fig. 23).¹⁴⁶ Charles Wood had been one of the RCM's first success stories. He had been included in the first intake of scholars: he had studied composition with Parry and Stanford, and for his joint second study instruments, studied horn with Thomas Mann and piano with Frederick Cliffe and Eaton Fanning.¹⁴⁷ Latterly he had also gone to Parratt for organ.¹⁴⁸ Even from the age of 17, he had mastered counterpoint with considerable ease: 'Fugues, Madrigals...complicated exercises in eight parts for Double Choir, gave him no trouble at all' and led Vaughan Williams to describe him as the 'finest technical instructor I have ever known'.¹⁴⁹ During his time as a scholar at the RCM, both his String Quartet in D minor and his Piano Concerto in F major (with Emily Daymond as soloist) had been performed during the fortnightly concert series. Wood's ability as a composer had been confirmed in the *Musical Times* review of the RCM concert on 25 November 1886 when Anna Russell had performed two of his song settings: 'Ask me no more' with words by Tennyson and Coleridge's 'The Cloud doth gather' (see Appendix 3.21, Concert Nos 19, 37, and 40).

Miss [Anna] Russell introduced two songs by Mr. Charles Wood, a scholar of the College, which proved a welcome surprise to those who expected in them only the merit of clever exercises. In the first place Mr. Wood has made it clear that he fully understands his text, which in the case of 'Ask me no more,' is a most important requisite. The phrasing, moreover, shows an intelligent regard for the poetical rhythm, and lastly, the melody and harmony possess the rare quality of distinction. It is no exaggeration to say that Mr. Wood's setting of these famous lines is really a fine song.¹⁵⁰

On the back of this success he had been commissioned to write his *Song of Welcome* for the opening ceremony at Alexandra House on 14 March 1887 (see Chapter Six, p. 275);

¹⁴⁵ MS AL GG to EO (18 January, 1888), ff. 164f.; No 77.

¹⁴⁶ These included Marmaduke Barton, Emily Daymond, Charles Draper, Thomas Dunhill, Cecile Elieson, Dan Price, Sidney Waddington, and Frederick Sewell

¹⁴⁷ Ian Copley: *The Music of Charles Wood—A Critical Study* (London: Thames Publishing, 1978), p. 9.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁴⁹ Hubert Foss: *Ralph Vaughan Williams* (London: George C. Harrap and Company Limited, 1950), pp. 25f.

¹⁵⁰ 'Royal College of Music' *MT* (1 January, 1887), p. 25.

Wood's progress to Cambridge to continue studies with Stanford, whom he went on to replaced as professor of music in 1924, was part of a considered plan to ensure promising students were placed in the most appropriate and influential environments after leaving the RCM. Wood's enrolment at Selwyn College, established in 1878 as an economical alternative to the ancient colleges, enabled him to assist Stanford as conductor of Cambridge University Musical Society (CUMS), described by Grove as 'a very important body', and to supplicate for the University's music degrees.¹⁵¹ In composition, he had been awarded the Madrigal Society's rarely-bestowed medal and first prize. On 15 May, Wood was elected organist of Gonville and Caius College at an annual salary of £100.¹⁵² Grove was clearly impressed by Wood and later considered him for a new post of Assistant Director. 'Au fond I think him [Wood] excellent, but he wants to shew what he is: he is too retiring and silent. Mackenzie has got a man named Corder for the same position—very clever, very bustling, very efficient; but Ugh how vulgar!'¹⁵³ No appointment of this nature was made and it seems likely that Wood's shyness may have been to blame because Grove was 'uncertain if he has genius or sensibility enough to break the crust of reticence...with which Nature has covered him'.¹⁵⁴ Haydn Inwards (1865-1934) was described by his RCM contemporary, Sidney Peine Waddington (1869-1953) as 'having a natural love of music...[he was] warm-hearted [and] of brilliant intelligence.'¹⁵⁵ He had been a violin scholar under Henry Holmes at the RCM during which time he played in fourteen concerts. Having been appointed by Grove as assistant professor of violin and viola, he initially taught the violin to the 'beginners and the

¹⁵¹ MS AL GG to EO (10 June, 1888), RCMA, pp. 203f.; No 88. See also: W. R. Brock and P. H. M. Cooper: *Selwyn College A History* (Durham: The Pentland Press Ltd, 1994), p. 1. See also: MS AL GG to EO (27 January, 1889), pp. 221f.; No 89.

¹⁵² MS AL GG to EO (1 February, 1891), RCMA, ff. 340f; No 77 [n.p.]

¹⁵³ MS AL GG to EO (17 January, 1892), RCMA, ff. 462f.

¹⁵⁴ EFM(RCM) 2 (19 January, 1888), p. 159. MS AL GG to EO (27 January, 1889), pp. 221f.; No 89. See also EFM(RCM) 2 (16 May, 1889), p. 285 and EFM(RCM) 3 (30 January, 1890), RCMA, p. 37. See MS AL GG to EO (11 April, 1890), RMCA f. 262; No 77.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

duffers', much to Gompertz's delight and in which position he would remain until 1934.¹⁵⁶

Under normal circumstances, Hamish MacCunn's considerable achievements might have warranted his appointment to a similar post. Having completed his RCM studies on 5 April, 1887, at the age of nineteen, his overture, *Land of the Mountain and the Flood*, was premiered at the Crystal Palace by August Manns the following November.¹⁵⁷ Described as 'spirited and bold in conception and brilliantly scored [the work] was finely played and enthusiastically received'.¹⁵⁸ The review implied that MacCunn's place in the musical firmament seemed to be a foregone conclusion. Although the close links between the RCM and Crystal Palace ensured students often made their London debuts there, MacCunn was the first of only two RCM composition students—the other being Walford Davies—to have had works premiered at the Crystal Palace during Grove's directorate.¹⁵⁹ By the age of 21, Bernard Shaw described MacCunn as being 'better known than most of the rising young men of forty-five... who infuse some of the light and promise of early youth into the productive branches of the fine arts in London'.¹⁶⁰ Always precocious, MacCunn was admired by Shaw, and disliked by Grove who found him 'bumptious'. Even by the standards of his initial premier, the reviews for MacCunn's second Crystal Palace premier, *The Dowie Dens of Yarrow*, were eulogistic:

By his new Ballad-Overture, 'The Dowie Dens of Yarrow', Mr. Hamish MacCunn has undoubtedly enriched the *repertoire* of native orchestral works. Here is a writer who never hesitates, but plunges straight *in medias res*, who has got something to say, and when he has said it, knows when to leave off. The Overture is full of the *fougue de vingt ans*, rich in local colour and brilliantly orchestrated, and, admirably performed by Mr. Manns, met with a hearty reception.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁶ MS AL GG to EO (18 January, 1888), ff. 164f.; No 77. See also: Sidney Waddington: 'Haydn Inwards' *RCM Magazine* (30 March, 1934), p. 100. While he had been a sound and experienced violinist, in later years depression caused by illness seriously debilitated him and he never realised his full potential. He was a professor of violin and viola at the RCM from 1888 to 1934 and in 1900 added the Ensemble Class to his portfolio.

¹⁵⁷ 'Crystal Palace' *MT* (London: Novello and Company Ltd, 1 December, 1887), p. 727. The concert took place on 5 November, 1887.

¹⁵⁸ 'Crystal Palace' *MT* (London: Novello and Company Ltd, 1 December, 1887), p. 726.

¹⁵⁹ Musgrave (1995), pp. 227-230. The other scholar was Henry Walford Davies who had his *Symphony No 1* in D major premiered at the Crystal Palace on 19 October, 1895.

¹⁶⁰ Shaw (1937), p. 110.

¹⁶¹ 'Crystal Palace' *MT* (London: Novello and Company Ltd, 1 November, 1888), p. 661.

MacCunn's later work, the cantata, *Queene Hynde of Caledon*, premiered at the Crystal Palace in 1892 would receive a disappointing review in the *Musical Times* thus confirming Grove's misgivings about the composer and the piece: 'his music is clever and picturesque in places, but it does not reach the level of his earlier efforts.'¹⁶² Whereas Grove's admiration for Wood precipitated his inclusion in an intimate and privileged circle, MacCunn was never again so intimately involved in the life of the RCM.

By contrast, Grove found the former piano scholar, Marmaduke Barton, to be 'strikingly handsome [with a] beautiful face and head' but he thought that success had begun to spoil him: '[he is] getting on fast, very clever but I wish he were not so conceited.'¹⁶³ Having completed his scholarship at the RCM, Barton went to Weimar to study for a year with Liszt's pupil, Bernhard Stavenhagen. While a scholar at the RCM, he had performed in over twenty of the student concerts. Upon returning to England, he was much in demand as a piano virtuoso with the principal London and provincial orchestras. In his later years he was a 'stickler for hard work, good manners and punctuality.'¹⁶⁴

Parratt's pupil, Thomas Tertius Noble (1867-1953), had a genial nature and was well-respected by Grove and the RCM staff. Despite having been advised by Ouseley 'that it would be far better if [he] learned a good trade' as 'there were too many promising musical boys', Noble had been accepted as a student at the RCM from 1884 and was elevated to a scholarship two years later, having played Mozart's *Fantasia in F minor* for the audition (see Appendices 3.9 and 3.13).¹⁶⁵ He had been a protégé of Walter Parratt and had also studied composition with Stanford. As an organist he had already begun to make a name for himself as an executant of some repute. He was regularly invited to play

¹⁶² 'Crystal Palace' *MT* (London: Novello and Company Ltd, 1 April, 1892), pp. 212f.

¹⁶³ MS AL GG to EO (27 January, 1889), ff. 221f.; No 89; see also MS AL GG to EO (6 March, 1892), RCMA.

¹⁶⁴ Warrack (c. 1968), pp. 203f.

¹⁶⁵ Noble (c. 1947) pp. 19f.

the concluding voluntaries at St Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey, presumably facilitated by Stainer and Frederick Bridge. He had also given organ recitals in the vast auditorium at the Crystal Palace on the notoriously cumbersome Gray and Davison.¹⁶⁶ He had played Rheinberger's Organ Sonata in G major (Op. 88) on 27 November, 1884 as part of the RCM concert series and later premiered his own Organ Sonata in A minor on 17 November 1887 (see Appendix 3.21, Concert 59). On 29 November, 1888 he had performed his *Air and Variations in D flat* for organ (see Appendix 3.21, Concert 78). This was published the same year by Augener and Company under the title *Theme and Variations in D flat*. Payment for the copyright had arrived in the form of two handsomely bound copies of Handel transcribed for organ by W. T. Best, which led Noble to send him a copy of the *Variations* in the hope that they could be included it as part of the recital series at St George's Hall, Liverpool.

4 Seymour Road,
Broad Green,
Nr. Liverpool

5 October, 1888

Dear Sir,

I have received your exposition in D flat, and am pleased with your labours: perhaps, if you had given a little relief to one of the variations by a change of key (A or F major), it would have increased the interest, as you have no Episode or Intermezzo; however, the piece is a great credit to you, and much superior in every way to the original groans of the British Church Organists, with crumbs of the alphabet after their names.

Yours truly,

W. T. Best

P.S.

I have included your piece in the Thursday organ recital here.¹⁶⁷

Best's decision to incorporate the *Variations* into his recital programme the following Thursday spurred Noble into action and he sent him a copy of his *Solemn March*; however, Best derided the work. Following this, Noble then sent a copy of his *Variations* to Rheinberger with a letter enquiring when the next organ Sonata would be published.

¹⁶⁶ Noble (c. 1948), p. 40.

¹⁶⁷ Quoted in Noble (c. 1948), p. 26.

Munich,
Germany

26 October, 1888

My dear Sir:

Accept my hearty thanks for your kind letter and composition, 'Theme and Variations.' I shall let my pupils play it, and will be delighted to hear it. Sonata XII is being printed by Forberg, and I hope you will like it. Remember me kindly to Dr. Stanford and Mr. Parratt. It will always give me pleasure to see further compositions of yours.

With kind regards,

Joseph Rheinberger¹⁶⁸

The following April, Noble had written again under the pretext of dedicating his *Solemn March* to Rheinberger; in fact, it was an attempt to gainsay Best's unflattering opinion of the work and it proved successful. Rheinberger replied to say that it was 'with the greatest pleasure am I ready to accept the kind and thoughtful honour, and thank you most heartily for it. I think your March is well inspired, well worked out, will make a good effort and sound well.'¹⁶⁹ In April 1889 he took the ARCM for which he had to play the first movement of Widor's *Symphonie No 5* and Bach's Fantasia and Fugue in G minor (BWV 542). The examination, which had included improvisation on a given theme, score reading in C, G and F clefs and keyboard harmony had proceeded well until the figured bass. Having

...slipped off the organ bench, making a hurried retreat...Stanford, who was one of the examiners, caught up with me [Noble]. On seeing him I said "I'm awfully sorry I made such a mess of the figured bass."

"Get out, my boy, or I'll figure your bass," was Stanford's witty reply.¹⁷⁰

Nonetheless, he passed the examination and was awarded his certificate by the Prince of Wales at a ceremony at Marlborough House shortly afterwards.

Initially, Noble combined his teaching at the RCM with his role as organist at St John's Wilton Road (which had connections with St Peter's, Eaton Square and its renowned music tradition) and as a harmony and counterpoint tutor at a school in

¹⁶⁸ Quoted in Noble (c. 1948), p. 28.

¹⁶⁹ Noble (c. 1948), p. 29.

¹⁷⁰ Noble (c. 1948), p. 37.

Clapham. It was at this time that Sir George Martin approached him to ask if he would take on an adolescent Ralph Vaughan Williams, then still at Charterhouse, as his organ pupil.¹⁷¹ Vaughan Williams was not a natural organist (see Appendix 3.13) and later claimed ‘the distinction of being the only person [to] whom Walter Parratt and...[Noble] failed to teach the organ.’¹⁷² While Vaughan Williams was an exceptional case, his situation nonetheless highlighted one issue to which Grove consistently attempted to provide a solution.

The RCM's financial obligation in accepting a portion of fee-paying pupils ‘who have no gift or intelligence, and who will never do anything in music’ was viewed by Grove as a serious short-coming, even if it did redress the shortfall effected by inadequate interest payments on the Capital Fund. Until the circumstances pertained to allow all students to avail themselves of scholarships, the ‘College [could never] be devoted to serious work on those who are likely to repay it.’¹⁷³

4.11 THE QUEST FOR GOVERNMENT SUBVENTION

In 1889, on behalf of the Executive Committee, the Prince of Wales informally approached the Liberal Chancellor of the Exchequer, George Goschen (1831-1907) on the subject. This was reinforced by a formidable deputation headed by the Duke of Westminster. It included the Liberal MP, A. J. Mundella, the financier Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild, Sullivan, Stainer (in his capacity as Inspector of Schools and member of the RCM Council), Thomas Chappell, and Carl Rosa.¹⁷⁴ Citing the Capital Fund revenue of £124,452.15.11 and emphasising the RCM's unique commitment to free music education, Grove hoped the Prince of Wales's letter would elicit a favourable response.

¹⁷¹ Noble (c. 1948), p. 38.

¹⁷² Noble (c. 1948), p. 39. Many years later, following a meeting at the Three Choirs' Festival in 1947, Vaughan Williams, described by Noble as the ‘Dean of English composers’, affectionately recalled these preliminary efforts. See also Foss (1950) p. 20. Despite claiming to have ‘baffled Sir Walter Parratt’, being ‘entirely unsuited’ to what he describes as ‘the trade’ of being an organist, Vaughan Williams later passed the FRCO.

¹⁷³ MS AL GG to EO (17 October, 1889) RCMA pp. 241f.; No 77.

¹⁷⁴ EFM(RCM) 2 (13 December, 1888), p. 241.

Treasury Chambers
Whitehall SW

Jan^y 23. 89.

To H.R.H. The Prince of Wales KG

Sir,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Royal Highness's letter of the 19th inst. with reference to the application of the Committee of the Royal College of Music for a Parliamentary Grant.

I gather that, while wishing to support that application, Your Royal Highness feels that assistance from Parliament will be more needed at a later date, when the College will be established in the buildings about to be erected, and there will consequently be an increase in its current expenses.

I entirely share Your Royal Highness's view, and I believe that Parliament would, under these circumstances, be more likely to entertain such an application favourably. When that time comes, I may not be Chancellor of the Exchequer, and, of course, nothing I say with regard to the future can bind my successors. But I shall be happy to leave on record at the Treasury my opinion, that, when the new building is completed, the Royal College will have fair claim to some such grant from public funds as is already made, I believe with general approval, to the Royal Academy of Music.

I am, Sir,
Your Royal Highness's
Most Humble and Obedient Servant
George J. Goshen.¹⁷⁵

Grove should have known better. Clearly any prospects of a comprehensive grant on the Continental scale were now a Utopian aspiration and this had been all but confirmed by Goshen's reply. He had indicated that any government grant to the RCM would be unlikely to exceed the £500 received by the RAM. The Prince of Wales had also recommended delaying a formal application to the Treasury until such time as a new RCM building was erected and in use, when there would be additional expense to cover. In one sense, the RCM's comparatively healthy financial position, brought about through Grove's industry, ensured it was a victim of its own success. While it had taken the RCM nearly a year to recover from the natural exodus of pupils the end of 1886, at the end of 1889 the numbers had increased by between six and eight times the previous figures, taking the total number to 260.¹⁷⁶

Despite Grove's reservations, the RCM had also begun to confirm its reputation as a centre for contemporary music. At the end of April 1889 'the air [was] alive with new

¹⁷⁵ EFM(RCM) 2 (24 January, 1889), RCMA S0013-2, pp. 258f.

¹⁷⁶ MS AL GG to EO (13 May [1889]), RCMA, ff. 231f.; No 77.

works....¹⁷⁷ The Brahms Sonata in D minor for violin and piano, dedicated to Dr Hans von Bülow, had just been published and would later be performed at the RCM on 7 July, 1892, and Parry, in the process of revising his Symphony No 3 in C major ('The English') for Richter, had already been commissioned to write *Ode on St Cecilia's Day* for the Leeds Festival.¹⁷⁸ Frederic Cliffe's first Symphony in C minor had been premiered on 20 April 1889 at the Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts to a rapturous reception:¹⁷⁹

Did I tell you of Cliffe's Symphony? It is really a very wonderful affair[.] You remember him as one of the most common place and uninteresting of mortals, tho' an excellent Piano Teacher[.] Well he suddenly comes out with a full[-]sized orchestral Symphony, the first movement recording his impressions of Norway, the third a most passionate love song; and the whole full of style, melody, and splendid orchestration[.] Manns played it 3 weeks ago at his benefit and there was just one chorus of praise from everybody. The scene at the end was wonderful. People went mad—stood on chairs and bellowed and shrieked in the wildest way. Every single newspaper, even including the critical Athenaeum was full of praise &c &c[.] But the oddest thing is that I believe it is really his Opus 1. I don't think he has a single other piece in him.¹⁸⁰

The following month, on 4 April, 1889, Sidney Waddington's Piano Concerto in G Minor, described in the press as 'excellent as to form and construction', was premiered by the College orchestra and conducted by Stanford at the Alexandra House Concert Hall to glowing reviews and to the 'enthusiastic applause of the crowded audience'.¹⁸¹ It had exhibited the mastery of an experienced musician rather than that of a student.¹⁸² It was one of three works to be performed during the series, the other being a Cello Sonata (on 10 June, 1886) and his *Ballad for Chorus and Orchestra John Gilpin*' (14 November, 1894). Waddington's success had led Grove to recommend sending him to Richter to undertake further training in Vienna and Berlin.¹⁸³

Waddington...is developing, and we are going to give him a year abroad. I propose that he shall go to Baireuth [*sic*] for 3 concerts; then a fortnight in Switzerland; and then a visit to Vienna and Berlin. Richter has most kindly promised to befriend him in every way. R. has now got his Piano Concerto which was played at the last College Concert.¹⁸⁴

¹⁷⁷ MS AL GG to EO (13 May, [1889]), RCMA, ff.231-2; No 77.

¹⁷⁸ MS AL GG to EO (13 May, [1889]), RCMA, ff.231-2; No 77; Dibble, (1992), pp. 511 & 515.

¹⁷⁹ Musgrave, (1995), p. 228.

¹⁸⁰ MS AL GG to EO (13 May, [1889]), RCMA, ff.231-2; No 77.

¹⁸¹ 'Royal College of Music' *MT* (1 May, 1889), pp. 280f. The concert took place on 4 April 1889.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 280.

¹⁸³ MS AL GG to EO (13 May, [1889]), RCMA, ff.231-2; No 77.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.* (13 May, [1889])

Waddington was elected to the Mendelssohn Scholarship for two years on his return to England in 1890, later being appointed to the RCM to teach harmony and counterpoint, yet 'he never developed his early promise as a composer.'¹⁸⁵

4.12 CARL ROSA'S DEATH

In the meantime, Grove wrote to Edith Oldham to say that Carl Rosa had died.¹⁸⁶ This was the first in a series of obstacles that emerged during the course of 1889 (see Chapter Seven, from p. 311). Grove had been one of the directors of the Carl Rosa Opera Company and 'the difficulty of supplying his [Rosa's] place there is all but insurmountable: indeed I don[']t know that it can be done'.¹⁸⁷ Along with August Manns and Hans Richter, Rosa had been London's leading conductor of Grand Opera. The Carl Rosa Opera Company had 'assumed the responsibility of producing opera in English at a time when no native manager had the courage to attempt such a task....'¹⁸⁸ Rosa's death had a deep effect on the College: it had left it bereft of a sympathetic examiner and member of the Executive Committee and an invaluable advisor to the opera programme; however, the obituary published in the *Musical Times* had attempted to establish him as the father of English opera and had exaggerated his influence within the national arena:

Rosa's achievements in connection with English opera constitute his real claim to remembrance... Through him many dramatic singers came to the front, and by his means native composers were encouraged to write for the stage at a time when, otherwise, there would not have been the slightest inducement. Dr. Mackenzie, Professor Stanford, Mr. Goring Thomas, Mr. Cowen, Mr. Corder—to all these Rosa opened a 'door of utterance,' and one of his last acts was to arrange for the composition of an opera by Mr. Hamish MacCunn.¹⁸⁹

In Rosa's absence, performances were restricted to operas in English by Continental composers in the provincial cities of Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester.

¹⁸⁵ Ralph Vaughan Williams: 'Sidney Waddington' *RCM Magazine* Vol. XLIX (1953; No 3), p. 79.

¹⁸⁶ MS AL GG to EO (13 May, [1889]), RCMA, ff.231-2; No 77. See also 'Obituary: Mr. Carl Rosa' *MT* (London: Novello and Company Ltd, 1 June, 1889), p. 348. Rosa died in Paris on 30 April 1889 of peritonitis.

¹⁸⁷ MS AL GG to EO (13 May, [1889]), RCMA, ff.231-2; No 77.

¹⁸⁸ 'Princess's Theatre' *MT* (London: Novello and Company Ltd, 1 October, 1875), pp. 234f.

¹⁸⁹ 'Obituary: Mr. Carl Rosa' *MT* (London: Novello and Company Ltd, 1 June, 1889), p. 348. The commission resulted in MacCunn's opera, *Jeanie Deans*, see 'Hamish MacCunn's "Jeanie Deans"' *MT* (London: Novello and Company Ltd, 1 October, 1894), pp. 816f. *Jeanie Deans* was performed on 15 November, 1894 at the Lyceum Theatre in Edinburgh.

With its national remit considerably curtailed, works by indigenous composers fell by the wayside. MacCunn's opera, *Jeanie Deans*, the first opera on a Scottish subject by a Scotsman, was to have been premiered by Rosa; however, it was relegated to receive its first performance in Edinburgh rather than London, sponsored by the Marquis [*sic*] of Lorne.¹⁹⁰ The review carried in the *Musical Times* was demonstrably celtophobic: 'the Scottish flavour in the music is judiciously minute, being almost confined to the two national dance tunes introduced in the first scene; and the dialect is fortunately no more conspicuous.'¹⁹¹ The critical agenda invariably applied to new works by British composers supported a Germano-centric idiom with little attempt to embrace the ancient indigenous musical influences from other parts of the British Isles. Nevertheless, the Carl Rosa Opera Company had been a valuable resource to the RCM from various perspectives: in particular, students in leading operatic roles were either sent or taken by Grove to its performances to gain experience. The company's removal from London forced Grove to turn to the Italian Opera at Covent Garden instead but it also had serious consequences for the employment of RCM students who had completed their course as MacCunn had found to his cost. It had particularly serious implications for female students attempting to enter the music profession at the start of the 1890s.¹⁹²

4.13 PROBLEMS PLACING WOMEN

Organ lofts and orchestras alike remained exclusively male preserves. For example, neither the Philharmonic Society nor the Crystal Palace orchestras engaged women

¹⁹⁰ 'Hamish MacCunn's "Jeanie Deans"' *MT* (London: Novello and Company Ltd, 1 October, 1894), pp. 816f. See also Duncan Barker: 'Hamish MacCunn' *NGII* Vol. 15 (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2001), p. 455. MacCunn's reputation as a conductor led him to direct the Carl Rosa Opera Company for two seasons from 1898, which included the first English-language productions of *Tristan und Isolde* and *Siegfried*.

¹⁹¹ 'Hamish MacCunn's "Jeanie Deans"' *MT* (London: Novello and Company Ltd, 1 October, 1894), pp. 816f.

¹⁹² MS AL GG to EO (7 July, 1891), RCMA, f. 381; No 77. Grove had sent two singers to see *Fidelio* in the hope of staging a performance at the RCM the following year. It had been the first London performance of the work for 8 years: see MS AL GG to EO (31 July, 1891), f. 388; No 77.

except as soloists during Grove's tenure at the RCM.¹⁹³ Indeed Hamish MacCunn's assertion that musical regeneration in England was dependent upon 'the men, the money, and the public' proved to be accurate.¹⁹⁴ Holmes's view that the imminent employment of female instrumentalists in London's orchestras was a foregone conclusion was optimistic. The Philharmonic Society only engaged its first female players to play the harp from 1900.¹⁹⁵ An initiative described later on by Dame Ethel Smyth as 'an immemorial concession...to aesthetic promptings...this solitary, daintily clad, white-armed sample of womanhood among the black coats, as it might be a flower on a coal dump'; predictably, the Crystal Palace never followed suit.¹⁹⁶ Only Henry Wood consistently appointed both men and women to fill vacancies in the Queen's Hall Orchestra, which an admiring Smyth described as 'mixed bathing in the sea of music'.¹⁹⁷ Wood was less oblique in vowing never to 'conduct an orchestra without [women] in future....They have great talent for the violin and wonderful delicacy of touch....They are sincere, they do not drink, and they smoke less than men. In the Queen's Hall they have given a certain tone to our rehearsals, and a different spirit to our performances.'¹⁹⁸ Two former RCM scholars, the violinist Dora Garland (who later married the organist and former RCM scholar, Harold Darke) and the viola-player Rebecca Clarke were both appointed to the Queen's Hall Orchestra by Wood in 1913.¹⁹⁹ Garland became the first woman to lead Queen's Hall Orchestra; however, Wood's was a lone voice in the wilderness. Such progressive views were shared by few, if any of his colleagues. The mindset that informed Sir Thomas Beecham's infamous rejoinders on the subject of female orchestral players ensured comprehensive emancipation arrived only with the end

¹⁹³ Michael Musgrave: *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace* (Cambridge: Cambridge, University Press, 1995), pp. 218-221

¹⁹⁴ George Bernard Shaw: *London Music in 1888-89 as heard by Corno di Bassetto (later known as Bernard Shaw) with some Autobiographical Particulars* (London: Constable and Company, 1937), p. 111.

¹⁹⁵ Ehrlich (1995), p. 271.

¹⁹⁶ Ronald Crichton (ed.): *The Memoirs of Ethel Smyth* (Harmondsworth: Viking, 1987), p. 340.

¹⁹⁷ Crichton (1987), p. 340.

¹⁹⁸ Arthur Jacobs *Henry J. Wood Maker of the Proms* (London: Methuen, 1994), p. 142.

¹⁹⁹ Quoted in Jacobs (1994), p. 142.

of the Second World War: invitations extended to women from 1914 were withdrawn as swiftly as they had arrived at the conclusion of the Great War in 1918.²⁰⁰

The ‘preponderance of girls’ that characterised the RCM’s 1891 intake posed a considerable challenge in placing students within such an inflexible job market: out of an intake of some 50 students, 21 were violinists.²⁰¹ In the absence of a national operatic company, the inability of the music profession to take account of women orchestral players continued to require an imaginative response from Grove if female students were not be relegated to unsuitable marriages, precarious careers as freelance teachers and performers or the workhouse. If security was provided by an appointment at one of the increasing number of schools with newly-established music departments, celibacy was often obligatory. Grove attempted to do all he could ‘to establish the College as a place for supplying good teachers [and] in a few years the College will be recognized, and then the girls can fight their own battles....’²⁰² Adopted as official RCM policy in the absence of better employment prospects for women, and in accordance with the requirements of the 1883 charter, it served to reinforce the College’s influence at the grass roots, albeit on a small scale.

Delia Tillot had gone to teach singing and piano at St Leonard’s School, St Andrews where she had turned into a ‘good teacher...with a great gift of enthusiasm & power of communicating [music]’; however, Grove had already been distressed that extreme poverty had required her to work through an illness and she was dead within three years from exhaustion.²⁰³ At Jersey Ladies’ College the RCM scholar, Louisa Kincaid, had taken over from Harriet Lilley (also a RCM scholar), whom Grove described as ‘the idol

²⁰⁰ Ehrlich, (1995), pp. 271-282.

²⁰¹ Cyril Ehrlich: *First Philharmonic: A History of the Royal Philharmonic Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 271 The orchestra lists do not include a single woman until 1900 and, even then, only as harpists. See also: MS AL GG to EO (4 October [1891]), RCMA, f. 410; No 77.

²⁰² MS AL GG to EO (14 October, 1890), RCMA, f. 308; No 77.

²⁰³ MS AL GG to EO (27 January, 1889), pp. 221f.; No 89. See also Scholars’ Register (1883-1893) Vol. 1, RCMA, p. 57. The daughter of a Suffolk farmer, Tillot had studied piano and singing at the RCM with Taylor and Gertrude Mayfield. See also MS AL GG to EO ([11] September, [1892]), RCMA. See also MS AL GG to EO (19 March, 1893), RCMA.

of her pupils'. Lilley's success had caused a substantial increase in pupils, which had left Kincaid unable to manage alone and Grove was forced to find a suitable assistant from outside the RCM.²⁰⁴ In October 1890, Hester Wallas had returned from nearly two years in Frankfurt learning German, where she had mixed in musical circles.²⁰⁵ Having spent three years at the College, she had been recommended by Grove for the post of third teacher at the Wyggeston Girls' School in Leicester.²⁰⁶ Emily Daymond's good fortune was unusual: on leaving the RCM on 5 April, 1887, she had secured a position at the newly-inaugurated Holloway College for women at Egham.²⁰⁷ Maud Fletcher's appointment as teacher of cello at Holloway College under Daymond in January 1892 was simply another example of the RCM network Grove hoped would expand throughout the music profession in due course.²⁰⁸ Daymond and Fletcher's appointments were exceptional. Despite his efforts, the threat of poverty had forced other female students into unsuitable and incompatible marriages, a matter to which Grove himself was only too sensitive. An impediment to the RCM's ability to perpetuate its reputation, the demands made by marriage on some of the female students, Grove felt to be a waste of a good education, regardless of other considerations.

You know all our marriages good and bad? Marion Osborn marries Arthur Leaf—thoroughly rich and respectable, & also very good and full of interests—art, literature, philanthropy[.] But our £700 is wasted, and a promising artist gone! (2.) Miss Beauchamp (student organ player) marries Count von Arnim[.] a great Prussian nobleman. (3.) Annie Roberts has married (if indeed she be married)—the whole thing [is] a mass of lies & deception, such as I am very sorry to think of. I look on her as ruined now—a little whipper snapper of a worthless husband who has not a pound a week and nothing to make up for his poverty, who first ruined her and now can't keep her. I was fond of her and am sorry.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁴ MS AL GG to EO (30 January [1890]), RCMA, f. 253; No 77. He eventually found Eva Helms, a pupil of Ernst Pauer.

²⁰⁵ MS AL GG to EO (12 October, 1890), RCMA, f. 306; No 77.

²⁰⁶ MS AL GG to EO (12 October, 1890), RCMA, f. 306; No 77. See also *Students' Register* ((1885-1889) Vol. 2, RCMA, p. 382. A student at the RCM between 28 September 1887 to 24 July, 1889, where she studied harmony with Bridge and piano with Taylor, Hester Talbot Wallas was the daughter of a Crediton clergyman, Gilbert Innes Wallas.

²⁰⁷ Young (1980), p. 197. Daymond went on to become Parry's amanuensis and the first woman to supplicate for the Oxford D.Mus. in 1921.

²⁰⁸ MS AL GG to EO (18 January, 1892), RCMA.

²⁰⁹ MS AL GG to EO (25 November [1889]), RCMA, ff. 245-7; No 77. See also MS AL GG to EO (3 March, 1889), RCMA, ff. 226-8; No 77. Annie Roberts had disappointed Grove and her patrons, Sir Henry Leslie, Lady Harlech and Lady Wynn who were 'all much annoyed with her', by marrying beneath her. Grove goes on to say that '...I and the Board [of Professors] would have advised a very different course.'

One way to obviate the need for female scholars to find a husband prematurely was by allowing existing scholars to extend their scholarships for up to three years.

4.14 EXTENSION OF THE SCHOLARSHIPS

Grove's clashes between him and the Board of Professors on the issue of scholarship extension lent a fractious atmosphere to the various RCM committees he was obliged to attend.²¹⁰ His resolute opposition to 'send every one [scholar] away at the end of 3 years, fit to go or not, and elect fresh raw creatures in their places' ensured that civility was only barely maintained during meetings of the Board of Professors.

We had a long meeting last night in one of the upstairs rooms, and settled who of the scholars whose time expires at Easter were to be extended, and how that vacant scholarships thus gained were to be allotted to the new competitors. All were there except Stanford who is on his way back from Italy—It is a curious scene: the prominent speakers are Pauer, Parratt, Parry, Taylor, Holmes occasionally. Bridge, Vissetti, Blume, form a sort of phalanx who say little, but vote. Pauer makes most noise of all, and he is, I venture to say in profound ignorance of all that goes on from beginning to end, his only object is to prevent every one from being extended, and to shew his scorn...of the others...His speech is plentifully loaded with 'alzōs' and 'etceteras' and his common expression is 'Well you are too kind'—Parry and Parratt don[']t improve in controversy[.] Parratt's pugnaciousness makes him often obstructive and Parry develops a cynicism and an intrigue, and an independence pushed to extreme, which is often dreadfully irritating especially to a Director who has got to get the tram driven on, and the distance done somehow, however the horses kick and scramble.²¹¹

The Professors were not Grove's only adversary on the subject of extending scholarships. Stainer's status as a revered musician ensured a following on the Council that made him a powerful adversary whose views could not be easily dismissed:

They [the Council] have got it into their heads that 3 years is the time, and that to give anyone 6, 5, or even 4 is defrauding some deserving outsider (a perfect fallacy; because who is best worth support? A tried pupil whom you know or a possible outsider whom you don't know & who may turn out a failure?)²¹²

In this case, some of Grove's problems were caused by Stainer's view of his abilities as a musicologist, as mentioned by William Henry Hadow (1859-1937) in a letter to his mother on 13 December, 1891:

I am trying to organise some public Musical Lectures next term, especially one on a Symphony of Hubert Parry's! which is to be performed at one of our concerts. I asked Stainer to undertake it. He can't as he is off for a holiday.

²¹⁰ MS AL GG to EO (26 October, 1890) RCMA ff. 310-312; No 93.

²¹¹ MS AL GG to EO [6 October, 1890], RCMA, f. 302.

²¹² MS AL GG to EO (26 October, 1890) RCMA ff. 310-312; No 93.

I have asked him to let me write to Sir George Grove. 'No' he said 'Grove is too much of an Amateur.' Then he asked me to do it. This I take to be one of the greatest compliments that have yet fallen to my lot. But I am not sure whether I have the courage to rush in where Grove is forbidden to tread.²¹³

Hadow evidently did not wholly agree with Stainer's assessment of Grove. During the summer vacation in 1891, Grove was involved in academic projects and in continuing to secure the College's reputation within the European arena. Frequent trips to Switzerland, France, Germany, and Austria (where his Viennese colleagues referred to him as the 'Herr Direktor Grove') enabled students such as Sidney Waddington and Ethel Sharpe to study in Vienna and Berlin.²¹⁴ His excursion to Berlin at the start of September 1891 enabled him both to inspect Joachim's *Hochschule* and to begin research on a critical commentary and facsimile edition of Beethoven's symphonies. Conscious of the onus of responsibility in looking at the autograph scores, he undertook the work of with considerable apprehension.²¹⁵ Grove's Beethoven facsimile was to be sold by public subscription and the Queen was prevailed upon to join the list of subscribers. The paltry amount she had promised irritated Grove: 'the Queen has told me she will subscribe to my Beethoven facsimiles—"£1 a year to your undertaking"—isn't that mean? I call it desperate for a woman rolling in wealth.'²¹⁶ The commentary remained in print well into the twentieth century; consequently, Stainer's perspective on Grove's ability as a musicologist would appear to have been informed both by innate prejudice at Grove's lack of a university education and no small amount of jealousy rather than any genuine deficiency. As Sullivan's successor at the NTSM, Stainer may well have assumed that the RCM Directorate would be his for the taking. In any event, in spite of Stainer's objections, Grove's initiative on the extension of scholarships and his persistence in opposing both the Board of Professors and Council, far from proving detrimental,

²¹³ WHH to his mother (13 December, 1891) WCOA

²¹⁴ MS AL GG to EO (20 August, 1892), RCMA; MS AL GG to EO (23 October, 1892), RCMA. Postmarked 'Oc 24 92' and headed 'Sunday' by Grove.

²¹⁵ MS AL GG to EO (25 August, 1891), RCMA; see also MS AL GG to EO (1 September, 1891), RCMA.

²¹⁶ MS AL GG to EO (8 November, 1891), RCMA.

actually reinforced the RCM's reputation for excellence and affected future students such as Benjamin Britten as late as the 1930s.²¹⁷ Grove, it seems, was not the only target of Stainer's invective. Stainer's apparent dislike for Parratt—'as long as Parratt suffers he cares for nothing'—had done little to ensure Council meetings progressed more smoothly.²¹⁸ While Grove encouraged healthy rivalry, 'he had no stomach for petty jealousies.'²¹⁹ Parratt had succeeded Stainer as Organist and *Informator Choristarum* at Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1872. Parratt claimed to have remedied the 'absenteeism among the men' and a number of other deficiencies endured by his predecessor and this may have contributed to difficulties in their relationship.²²⁰ Moreover, by the 1890s, despite being Professor of Music at Oxford, Stainer was yesterday's man. Parratt, on the other hand, had become a formidable presence as Britain's premier organ teacher and arguably the leading British organist of his day. In addition, Parratt was a progressive whose views were in tune with the pioneering RCM philosophy. Grove's resilience in defending his policy on the extension of scholarships proved to be a defining achievement: it was directly responsible for many of the improvements in RCM performances noted by the music critics during the 1890s.

On 25 March, 1891, Stanford conducted Beethoven's Piano Concerto in G major, the Overture to *Tannhäuser* and the first three movements from Beethoven's Choral Symphony as part of the RCM concert at St James's Hall. The performance, reviewed in the *Musical Times*, was said not only to have surpassed that of any student orchestra from the RAM, the GSM or Trinity College, it had exceeded that of the majority of professional London orchestras in terms of the musicianship demonstrated. 'Old faces'

²¹⁷ MS AL GG to EO (17 October, [1891]), RCMA, f. 414; No 77.

²¹⁸ MS AL GG to EO [21 October, 1894] RCMA. See also Parratt Papers RCOA Correspondence from Stainer to Parratt. The Parratts had been to stay with the Stainers in Oxford during the 1890s. While Stainer's correspondence has a somewhat patronizing tone, their relationship would seem to have been civilized.

²¹⁹ Stanford (1914), p. 219.

²²⁰ Donald Tovey and Geoffrey Parratt: *Walter Parratt Master of the Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1941), p. 49.

such as Arthur Best, Arnold Dolmetsch, Isabella Donkersley, Zoe Pyne, Joseph Field and William Squire had been brought back to play in the concert: it had proved a wise decision and the policy of inviting former students to swell the ranks of the orchestra and opera was maintained well into the next century (see Appendix 3.19).²²¹

Although we have become accustomed to hear the most difficult symphonic works played at the College in a thoroughly adequate and even excellent manner, we were scarcely prepared for the truly remarkable performance of the first three movements from Beethoven's Choral Symphony at the Concert of March 25. Nobody present will accuse us of exaggeration if we assert that a finer display of all the qualities which go towards making a wholly satisfactory rendering of a great masterpiece has never been heard at a Students' Concert in England. There is no need to judge it by any but the highest standard, for it was equal, and in some respects superior to that which the majority of our professional orchestras have accustomed us to.²²²

Two months later, the annual examinations seemed to confirm the positive press coverage. The Belgian violinist, Eugène Ysaÿe (1858-1931), who had been an examiner at the 1891 examinations, had been sufficiently impressed with the teaching and the performances he had encountered at the RCM to write to Grove in glowing terms.

Monsieur Le Directeur,

L'examen des classes *d'ensemble-instrumental* que j'ai eu l'honneur de passer au Collège Royal m'a démontré que votre corps professorial était l'un des premiers de l'Europe et que l'enseignement était bien à la hauteur de sa tâche.

La classe supérieure de violon ainsi que la classe d'orchestre m'ont paru dirigées d'une façon particulièrement artistique et je suis heureux de reconnaître ici que les efforts des deux maîtres ont été couronné de plein succès; je me permets d'appeler votre bienveillante attention sur les cours *d'ensemble d'instruments à vent* qui sont appelés plus spécialement encore les *cours d'orchestre* à rendre à l'art et aux élèves d'éminents [*sic*] services; il me paraît que votre haute initiative ferait œuvre méritée en donnant à ces cours une extension plus large.

Je me fais un devoir d'appeler aussi votre attention spéciale sur les soins à donner à l'enseignement élémentaire, ce degré m'a paru se dégager trop prématurément de son rôle pour courir à des travaux auxquels ne doivent aspirer que les élèves déjà maîtres de la technique pure à leur instrument—à ce sujet, il serait urgent, ici comme ailleurs, que le titulaire de la classe supérieure de violon eût des pouvoirs étendus, que son contrôle et son influence puissent s'exercer dans tous les degrés de l'échelle enseignante et sur *le mode*, qu'il soit le *chef-principal* de toutes les classes de violon, et que sa direction morale s'exerce surtout dans les *petites* classes d'où les éléments sortiraient alors connaissant au moins les principes artistiques de leur dernier maître et n'ayant nul besoin de *tout recommencer* comme de coutume.

Il est certain que là où tout le monde est libre d'enseigner selon son goût et ses vues, ou l'on peut dépasser à sa guise les lois de l'enseignement-primaire, là où des éléments de tous degrés, de toutes les nuances se heurtent pêle-mêle, il y a à craindre que le goût des mieux doués ne s'altère en écoutant des observations (forcément les mêmes) sur des principes élémentaires qu'ils connaissent à fond; c'est le contact de l'éternel d'autre part il est à craindre que le voisinage des élèves qui possèdent déjà du talent n'exerce une fâcheuse influence sur les commen[ç]ants et que ces derniers ne s'essayent trop hâtivement à vaincre des difficultés bien au dessus de leur pouvoir.

²²¹ MS AL GG to EO (10 June, 1891), RCMA, f. 377; No 77.

²²² 'Royal College of Music' MT (1 May, 1891), pp. 281f.

En r[é]sumé, je ne saurais trop appuyer sur les excellents résultats qu'on obtiendrait en suivant une marche graduée ration[n]ellement, comportant trois classes ou degrés distincts travaillants sous l'impulsion d'un chef suprême.

Le système des directions et impulsions différentes, le mélange dans les classes, de trop hâtifs désirs, chez les élèves et quelques fois aussi chez les maîtres de gravir en courant les pentes abruptes, créent des *essoufflés* dont le mérite n'est qu'extérieur et qui manquent de base solide, de cette assurance artistique que donne *seul* un métier honnêtement et patiemment acquis.

Je vous réitère mes compliments ainsi qu'à vos professeurs, et vous prie, Mons. Le Directeur, de recevoir l'expression de ma haute consid[ér]ation.

E. Ysaÿe²²³

Ysaÿe's initial comment alone represented a landmark for the RCM and served further to reinforce Grove's acumen in engaging established Continental musicians as examiners.

The following month, the RCM's concert at St James's Hall, Piccadilly was reviewed on 10 June by the socialist, playwright, polemicist and critic, George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950), in *The World*.²²⁴ The programme included Brahms's Symphony No 4 in E minor, Beethoven's violin concerto, Schumann's Concert Allegro for pianoforte and orchestra and Berlioz's song *Absence* and only serves to demonstrate to what extent concert programmes at the RCM were influenced by those at the Crystal Palace.²²⁵ The Brahms symphony and the Beethoven Violin Concerto had been conducted by August Manns two years earlier at the Crystal Palace on 9 March 1889.²²⁶ The Brahms, which Grove had considered 'very hard for 9-10ths of the [RCM] audience', had also proved no easier for the *Musical Times* critic attending the Crystal Palace.²²⁷

With the exception of the beautiful slow movement, the [Brahms] Symphony did not greatly please. For direct inspiration, the work is of less value than the any of the earlier Symphonies, though it is a monumental example of mere musicianship. Mozart and Beethoven knew how to combine the one [method and procedure] with the other [musicianship]; Brahms, less gifted, sometimes succeeds, and sometimes, as in the present instance, fails.²²⁸

²²³ 'Report of the Eighth Annual Examination' (May, 1891), RCMA.

²²⁴ Stanley Weintraub: 'George Bernard Shaw' *DNB* Vol. 50 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 83-96. A 'spellbinding speaker' and critic who emerged as force behind the Fabian Society, newly-founded in 1884, Shaw had been drawn to the meeting rooms in which political debates could often be found. A fervent believer in equal opportunities, he viewed the absence of food, clothing, fuel, taxes, respectability and children as millstones to social progress.

²²⁵ 'Royal College of Music' *MT* (1 July, 1891), p. 411.

²²⁶ 'Crystal Palace Concerts' *MT* (1 April, 1889).

²²⁷ MS AL GG to EO (10 June, 1891), RCMA, f. 377; No 77.

²²⁸ 'Crystal Palace Concerts' *MT* (1 April, 1889), p. 215.

The RCM performance of the Beethoven Violin Concerto received high praise from a normally acerbic Shaw: the students, he considered were ‘probably individually better solo players than the members of the best professional orchestra Beethoven ever saw in his life’, had responded with ‘affectionate goodwill, and achieved a really excellent performance.’²²⁹ All that was required to enable the RCM to rank alongside its European counterparts was ‘a fresh charge of electricity.’ Sutcliffe’s performance, while neat and refined, had ‘lacked brilliancy’;²³⁰ indeed, Shaw described the performance as humdrum and sleepy and one that ‘would have filled a pupil of the Brussels Conservatoire with disrespectful amusement.’²³¹ According to Parry, Sutcliffe had demonstrated only ‘half the fire that Joachim had’. While Holmes’s pupils gained a reputation for musical ‘taste & correctness’, Joachim felt their playing lacked spontaneity and exuberance.²³² Grove was quick to spring to Sutcliffe’s defence: after all, given its technical and mental exigencies, he had ‘played the Concerto extraordinarily well.’²³³ Moreover, he thought it ‘a perfectly absurd observation—comparing a lad of 23 with a man of 55, at the climax of his powers, who has played the work for 40 years, over & over, till he is so familiar with it that he can bring all his force and sentiment into play.’²³⁴ That Norman Neruda had turned to the concerto late in her career suggests Grove and the RCM professors continued to ignore the remarks of its examiners: students routinely tackled music revered by the premier instrumentalists of the day for which they were mentally and technically unprepared.²³⁵ Holmes was simply incapable of seeing faults in pre-eminent pupils as borne out by his allocation of the Brahms Violin Concerto to Wall, which

²²⁹ George Bernard Shaw: ‘Mireille’ *The World* (17 June, 1891) reprinted in Dan H. Laurence: *Shaw’s Music* Vol. 2 1890-1893 (London: The Bodley Head, 1981), p. 373.

²³⁰ ‘Royal College of Music’ *MT* (London: Novello and Company Ltd, 1 July, 1891), p. 411.

²³¹ George Bernard Shaw: ‘Mireille’ *The World* (17 June, 1891) reprinted in Dan H. Laurence: *Shaw’s Music* Vol. 2 1890-1893 (London: The Bodley Head, 1981), p. 373.

²³² MS AL GG to EO ([30] April, 1892), RCMA. Written from 6 Rue d’Albarde, Biarritz.

²³³ MS AL GG to EO ([10] June, 1891), RCMA, f. 377; No 77.

²³⁴ MS AL GG to EO ([10] June, 1891), RCMA, f. 377; No 77.

²³⁵ MS AL GG to EO ([10] June, 1891), RCMA, f. 377; No 77.

Grove viewed as a 'great mistake'.²³⁶ Not only was it considered to be well beyond the capabilities of any pupil, Grove considered Wall to be 'the coldest of all the pupils, so very stiff....'²³⁷ Bernard Shaw had nonetheless commended Holmes, who, he claimed had elicited from his charges 'quite a different class of work' compared with his colleague, Stanford.²³⁸ While Shaw's favourable remarks about Holmes may have been prejudiced by their shared socialism, Holmes seems nonetheless to have been a formidable orchestral conductor and teacher; indeed, it appears that Henry Wood had consulted him for lessons, as the former RCM student, E. Godfrey Brown's account attests:

At the majority of [the orchestral] rehearsals a little dark young man—a stranger to us—appeared all aglow with keenness and with scores and a notebook. Many years after I was staying at Chorley Wood, the likeness suddenly struck me and so I brought the conversation round to the RCM and my host admitted that his early knowledge of conducting was from Henry Holmes—it was Henry J. Wood [see Fig. 20].²³⁹

Despite Shaw's commendation of the RCM orchestral performance, the singing department, seemed to have improved little since Henschel's departure.

4.15 PROBLEMS IN THE SINGING DEPARTMENT

Count Ferrero had examined the RCM singing candidates in May, 1891, and claimed to have observed 'far more excellent work than at the previous Examination, the Music studied and performed was of the most exacting kind, demanding skilful instruction, together with industry and intelligence on the part of the pupils.'²⁴⁰ Yet, according to Shaw, the singing tuition at the College was 'as hopeless as ever' and he attacked performances by Charlotte Russell and Mary Ann Richardson, and all but accused the RCM of making fraudulent claims for its system of tuition.

Of the two young ladies who sang—both announced as holders of scholarships—one was as ignorant of the artistic use of her voice as it is possible for any naturally musical person to be in a civilized country; and the other, though she had plenty of warnings and cautions from some musician of considerable taste, seemed to have had no positive instruction worth mentioning. In

²³⁶ MS AL GG to EO (12 February, 1893), RCMA.

²³⁷ MS AL GG to EO (12 February, 1893), RCMA.

²³⁸ George Bernard Shaw: 'Mireille' *The World* (17 June, 1891) reprinted in Dan H. Laurence (ed.): *Shaw's Music* Vol. 2 1890-1893 (London: The Bodley Head, 1981), p. 374.

²³⁹ PL EGB to GD (7 January, 1949) RCMA 69380.

²⁴⁰ Report of the Eighth Annual Examination (May, 1891), RCMA, p. 1.

fact, any second rate elocutionist could teach both young ladies all they know about the production of their voices. Considering how every young innocent provincial with a voice will henceforth turn to the Royal College with its scholarships as the one trustworthy chance of getting that voice artistically trained, I would suggest that a board with the inscription *Lasciate ogni speranza, &c.* be placed over the doors of the singing rooms at the College, and a policeman stationed to explain it to novices from the country.²⁴¹

In more candid correspondence to Edith Oldham, Grove conceded that Charlotte Russell, one of the scholars anonymously referred to by Shaw would ‘never do anything remarkable[.] She is too solid and good...to do anything wild—and that is necessary for anything great in music.’²⁴² Paradoxically, the spontaneity required of successful musicians was at odds with the moral and ethical milieu in which the RCM was obliged to survive. Despite Shaw’s swingeing attack, the singing students had demonstrated promise at the earlier March examinations where much of the repertoire for the June concert had been presented.

The exams have been very interesting—great improvement in all the branches—some of the singers have astonished me for the development of their voices; and the style of songs is improving. A great deal of our old shortcomings was due to our short existence....All finished on Wed. with Stanford’s Concert[.] 9th Symphony 3 movements, selection from Fidelio, overture to Tannhäuser, Liddle’s P.F. Concerto played by Spiller, &c &c[.]²⁴³

The following October, Ethel Sharpe had begun a meteoric rise being awarded the Worshipful Company of Musicians’ medal; however, this came as a mixed blessing. Thoughts of the forthcoming ceremony did little to assuage Grove’s apprehension that the group of RCM singers selected to perform at the banquet would not be ‘fit for the ears of the musicians who are present’.²⁴⁴ Fortunately, a harbinger of hope arrived in the form of (Sir) Joseph Barnby (1838-1896), Precentor of Eton and conductor of the Royal Choral Society at the Royal Albert Hall.²⁴⁵ Barnby had invited Grove to bring seven

²⁴¹ George Bernard Shaw: ‘Mireille’ *The World* (17 June, 1891) reprinted in Dan H. Laurence (ed.): *Shaw’s Music* Vol. 2 1890-1893 (London: The Bodley Head, 1981), p. 374. The words inscribed above the entrance to Hell in Canto III of Dante’s *Inferno*: ‘Abandon hope, all ye who enter.’

²⁴² MS AL GG to EO (12 & 13 February, 1891), RCMA, ff. 345-7; No 77.

²⁴³ MS AL GG to EO (21 March, 1891), RCMA, f. 362; No 93. The comments from Grove were added in pencil at the end of Ernest Oldham whose letter was sent on to Edith Oldham.

²⁴⁴ MS AL GG to EO (17 October, [1891]), RCMA, f. 414; No 77.

²⁴⁵ Nicholas Temperley: ‘Sir Joseph Barnby’ *NGII* Vol. 2 (London: Macmillan and Company Ltd, 2001), pp. 379f. In 1872 Barnby had amalgamated Mr Joseph Barnby’s Choir with the Royal Albert Hall Choral Society, which, in 1888 became the Royal Choral Society. In 1892 he became Principal of the Guildhall School of Music (where he remained until his death) and was knighted the same year.

singers to audition as paid members of the chorus.²⁴⁶ The performances had been heard from the back of the Royal Albert Hall amphitheatre:

Not only were the voices so much better than I fancied; but the way they carried and the style of the singers quite astonished me—Barnby paid me a regular compliment at the end (nay twice in the course of it.) ‘I consider[?] he said [?]that you ought to be proud of such teaching. I had a lot of singers before me on Monday who have been before the public for long, and they sang like school girls in comparison of these.’²⁴⁷

Despite Barnby’s words of encouragement, Grove was concerned to find a remedy to some of the perceived problems affecting the singing department. As a result, he instituted classes for training ‘singers not only in the management of their voices, but singing from intervals’ and additional classes in choral direction, opera and dramatic training were also included.²⁴⁸

By 1892, Grove’s improvements to the singing department had begun to have long-term effects. The College performance of Gluck’s *Orpheus*, in December 1892, had been a bold choice ‘and the number of those who prophesied disaster was not small’; however, ‘their doubts disappeared before the curtain had been up ten minutes giving place to admiration and astonishment.’²⁴⁹ Not only was the performance described as ‘the best operatic performance yet given by the College, but...the most satisfactory rendering of Gluck’s beautiful work heard in London by the present generation.’²⁵⁰ Acting on the advice of Henry Irving, the performance served to convince the Executive Committee to form a permanent Dramatic Class.²⁵¹ Clara Butt, who had entered the College as a Foundation Scholar in 1890, had taken the eponymous role and her performance ‘gave

²⁴⁶ The Royal Choral Society’s performance of Stanford’s oratorio *Eden* took place at the Royal Albert Hall on 18 November: see ‘Royal Choral Society’ *MT* (London: Novello and Company Ltd, 1 December, 1891), pp. 722f. Soloists were: Miss Macintyre, Ben Davies, Mrs Brereton, Madame Hope Glenn, Mr John Probert, and Mr Norman Salmond. See also: MS AL GG to EO (4 October, [1891]), RCMA, f. 410; No 77. Grove attended rehearsals of *Eden* but found the work a difficult one: ‘the words seem to me unnecessarily bald & odd and it is difficult to look at the subject from the wrong side—(the devil’s). The music seemed to be full of fire and force, & much melody....’

²⁴⁷ MS AL GG to EO [26 October, 1891], RCMA, f. 417; No 77. The audition took place on Wednesday 21 October, 1891.

²⁴⁸ MS AL GG to EO [20 May, 1892], RCMA. Annotated May 21 92 in ink but ‘Friday night’ written by Grove at letterhead.

²⁴⁹ ‘Royal College of Music’ *MT* (London: Novello and Company Ltd, 1 January, 1893), pp. 24f.

²⁵⁰ *MT* (London: Novello and Company Ltd, 1 January, 1893), p. 24.

²⁵¹ RC(RCM) 30 April, 1892, p. 37.

signs of so much talent that her future career may be spoken of as a matter of national rather than local importance.²⁵² Grove himself had been astonished by Butt's sensitivity in the role:

Butt has quite surprised me. No one could help acknowledging that she had a splendid great voice—but there it ended; I gave her credit for no intellect or feeling, or power of acting. It turns out she has all three—and she has been able to go through one of the most difficult parts in opera—a part with the least possible amount of incident to found the action on—wanting tenderness[,] delicacy, refinement, and most susceptible of exaggeration—to go through that really with distinction—I thought that she would probably carry out (even if she did that) what her teachers told her—but she has done far more—she has cast them off & has gone on the promptings of her own feelings, with the greatest success[.]²⁵³

Grove had been to see Sofia Ravogli in the lead role at Covent Garden the following Wednesday where 'she used too much stage action, threw herself about, & attitudinized—and she was miserably seconded by the others and the chorus were simply brutes and the scenery and dresses wretched...'²⁵⁴ Ravogli had attended the College performance and she had been impressed with the singing and acting, and 'wished that she could hear as good a *mise-en-scène* in Covent Garden!'²⁵⁵ Encouraged by the success of *Orpheus* Grove had used Ravogli's remarks to convince Sir Henry Ponsonby to petition the Queen to host a performance at Windsor.

Private
Royal College of Music
Kensington Gore,
London, S.W.

Dec^r.17.92

Dear Sir Henry Ponsonby,

Thank you for your letter. I have not heard yet from Sir Fleetwood Edwards. Meantime may I say without impropriety that I think that the *Orpheus* as we performed it last Sat. would strike the

²⁵² *MT* (London: Novello and Company Ltd, 1 January, 1893), pp. 24f.

²⁵³ MS AL GG to EO ([11] December, 1892), RCMA 303.

²⁵⁴ MS AL GG to EO (1 November, 1893), RCMA 355. See also 'Royal Italian Opera' *MT* (London: Novello and Company Ltd, 1 May, 1891), p. 279: Augustus Harris had opened the season at Covent Garden with a performance of *Orfeo* with Sofia and Giulia Ravogli in the lead roles; however, the review was far from complimentary. 'Much was expected from Mr. Harris's *mise-en-scène*, and much was done; but it cannot be said that good taste had a voice in the matter. The Elysian Fields were positively offensive to one's notions about the appearance and occupations of the Blessed Shades. Fancy the plump form of Miss Palladino executing modern ballet solos in a sort of modified Greek costume, which was much more indecent, as a dancer's dress, than the conventional short petticoats! In the result, although the Ravoglis were as good as ever, and greatly applauded, the opera left an indifferent impression behind it, and was badly attended when given a second time. Since then it has been put aside.' Despite the review, it is evident from Grove's account two years later, that little had changed.

²⁵⁵ MS AL GG to HP (12 December, 1892), RAPPVIC 1892/5471.

Queen as a much higher spectacle than that at Covent Garden for instance? I saw it there last Wednesday. Mad^m Ravogli is of course far superior to our representative of Orpheus. She is one of the finest artists in the world. But the general effect of the piece was far less refined and impressive than that of ours. It was absurdly dressed, conventional, stagey and often vulgar, the choruses were always verging on the common stage ballet, and the whole result except in one or two places was to me destruction of the absorbing effect which I found from the refined and elevated style which we infused into it. It was really quite peculiar at the Lyceum, and I know that others besides myself found it to be. Pardon this enthusiasm on my part, but I believe that the Queen would be touched by it and therefore I write to you.

I hope none of my expressions are libellous!

Yours very truly

G. Grove²⁵⁶

The Queen's aversion to 'old operas' had led Grove to suggest the *The Barber of Bagdad* instead; however, 'the Queen says it is not a good piece and [she] will wait till she hears the College of Music have some performance that will be agreeable.'²⁵⁷ Instead, it was arranged that Clara Butt would sing at a state concert to be held at Windsor during the third week in May, 1893. Concerned that, even at the age of 21, her voice would be too large for the room, Grove engaged Sullivan 'to coach her right'; however, her musical abilities were not the only consideration.²⁵⁸ 'How I wish we had a better superintendent at Alexandra House—Miss Palmer is so terribly deficient in everything necessary to form the girls!'²⁵⁹ With Butt's imminent departure from the RCM in view, concert engagements began to fall into her lap. Whether he felt Butt had outgrown the RCM or simply that such success was premature, Grove intended to send her to Paris during the summer for additional tuition; however, finding a suitable teacher was by no means straightforward as 'Paris is empty—all artists are at the sea....'²⁶⁰

²⁵⁶ MS AL GG to HP (17 December, 1892), RAPPVIC 1892/5471

²⁵⁷ MS Memorandum (23 December, 1892), RAPPVIC 1892/5471.

²⁵⁸ MS AL GG to EO (14 May, 1893), RCMA.

²⁵⁹ MS AL GG to EO (14 May, 1893), RCMA.

²⁶⁰ MS AL GG to EO (6 August, 1893), RCMA. See also 'Norwich Musical Festival' *MT* (London: Novello and Company Ltd, 1 November, 1899), p. 747. The Norfolk and Norwich Festival had taken place between 3 and 6 October, 1899 and had included two RCM successes. The first was Elgar's *Sea Pictures* (Op. 37) written for and premiered by Clara Butt. The other was the a performance of Samuel Coleridge-Taylor's *Hiawatha's Wedding Feast*, the first performance of which had been conducted by Stanford at the RCM on 11 November, 1898.

Like Butt, Ethel Sharpe had also been invited to perform before the Queen in 1893, this time at Osborne House. The Queen had been “‘particularly delighted with her’ especially with her Liszt study’ and Major Bigge, the Queen’s equerry, himself a musician, had described her accompaniments to Wolff as ‘very good’.²⁶¹ In many respects, this must have alleviated the disappointment of her Crystal Palace debut the year before. While she had

played well, she had [had] a bad piano (Broadwood and chosen by her) with no carrying or telling power at all; and then the Schumann is a most ineffective piece with all its beauty. There is no climax, nothing in which a display can be made. I rather quake for the notices in the papers tomorrow.²⁶²

As a result, the notices in *The Musical Times* neither condemned nor commended the performance:

At the Concert held on March 26 Miss Ethel Sharpe, an ex-scholar of the Royal College of Music and the winner of the valuable medal given by the Musicians’ Company, made her *début* at these Concerts. For her principal effort, she chose Schumann’s Concertstück in G (Op. 92), her rendering of which was free from affectation and eminently legitimate. Miss Sharpe showed more promise, however, in Chopin’s Study in C sharp minor and the great Polonaise in A flat, though somewhat over-weighted in the latter piece.²⁶³

4.16 PARRATT’S ETON DILEMMA

In the meantime, Parratt’s ability and influence as a pioneering teacher, performer, examiner, ensured he had become an indispensable member of the RCM’s professorial staff yet the series of events that led to the appointment of a new Principal at the Guildhall nearly caused him to resign his RCM post. Weist Hill’s death in December 1891 had thrown Grove into a quandary and his attempts to ensure the appointment of ‘a good musician—a superior person’ to the post of Principal of the Guildhall School of Music might well have backfired.²⁶⁴ In persuading the Guildhall to appoint Barnby, Parratt’s name was put forward to fill the vacancy left at Eton.²⁶⁵ Despite viewing the

²⁶¹ MS AL GG to EO (27 July, 1893), RCMA.

²⁶² MS AL GG to EO (27 March, 1892), RCMA.

²⁶³ ‘Crystal Palace Concerts’ *MT* (London: Novello and Company Ltd, 1 May, 1892), p. 276.

²⁶⁴ MS AL GG to EO (28 December, 1891), RCMA. Postmarked ‘DE 29 91’; annotated ‘Dec 28 91’ in pencil.

²⁶⁵ Donald Tovey and Geoffrey Parratt: *Walter Parratt: Master of the Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1941), p. 85.

prospect as absurd—‘it would be like the Prime Minister taking the Board of Health’—Grove was anxious that the handsome salary would nevertheless tempt him to accept the post with devastating consequences for the RCM.²⁶⁶ The Eton post would have required Parratt (see Figs 50 and 51) to relinquish both his existing posts forcing Grove to address the difficult task of finding a suitable replacement. His mind was finally put to rest when, on 26 June, Parratt declined the offer:

He & I had a private talk about it on Monday, and to my extreme astonishment he told me that what decided him was the prospect of having to leave me....However we have still got him. I really do not know what I should have done if he had gone. There is no one in England to take his place at College[.]²⁶⁷

Parratt’s decision had been influenced by Parry, who, hearing of the approach from Eton, had written to Parratt to persuade him against taking it.

If music was one of the foremost considerations at Eton, and on an equality with other branches of work, and likely to take a prominent place in the interests of the boys thereafter, they would have the right to command the services of the best men to superintend their music. But of course hardly any of the boys are likely to make music their profession, and very few to keep up a subordinate interest in it hereafter in relation to the usual occupation of mature Etonians, such as politics and law, matters ecclesiastical and magisterial, and classical knowledge and sports. Those are the life occupations for which Eton boys are mostly destined, & not for music. The people you are dealing with now are going to make music the work of their lives, and to exercise a considerable influence on their neighbours. The organists are on the whole the solid backbone of artistic music throughout the country, and an immense deal depends upon their standard of taste and general proficiency. Hitherto there has been no place where aspiring Organists could make sure of a first-rate training; and you are the first person to whom the responsibility of forming a large body of such representative musicians has been entrusted; and no-one could be more worthy of that responsibility. You are turning out year after year young Organists who are thoroughly well trained, thoroughly inspired with healthy enthusiasm for good music of all sorts, and fit to exercise a healthy influence wherever they go. I think you cannot abandon or shirk that responsibility without doing a great wrong to your art. We know of no-one who could take your place. Those with such aptitude are not to be had for the asking. There is no branch of the College work which is more thoroughly first-rate than your Organ department, and there is no department in which good work can be so sure of fruitful result; and the loss of your influence there would be quite irreparable. I don’t generally venture to give advice in this way, but the issues at stake seem to be too great to be ignored.²⁶⁸

Parry’s uncharacteristically candid correspondence had included a number of important truths. Parratt’s work attracted deep admiration from his colleagues and particularly from Grove, who described him as ‘so full of spirit, and as sharp as a needle,

²⁶⁶ MS AL GG to EO (29 June, [1892]), RCMA.

²⁶⁷ MS AL GG to EO (29 June, [1892]), RCMA.

²⁶⁸ MS AL CHHP to WP (27 June, 1892), RCOA Parratt Papers.

and altogether on a higher platform as to music and performance.²⁶⁹ At the suggestion of Grove, he had been invited by Archbishop Benson to join the panel of assessors for the Lambeth degrees in music in 1891.²⁷⁰ Stainer and Stanford had also been approached in their capacity as professors of music at Oxford and Cambridge but Stanford declined and Grove agreed to serve in his place.²⁷¹ This ensured that decisions concerning the conferring of Lambeth music degrees either by examination of *jure dignitatis* were effectively in the gift of those with RCM allegiances. This gave the RCM enormous control over cathedral organists who, like bishops, could apply for a Lambeth degree on payment of the correct fee. During the December examinations in 1892 Parratt's methods were consolidated: the organ department had continued to attain excellent results and Guilmant had observed 'striking progress...in [organ] improvisation' and the performance of short extempore pieces had been commended, even if Parratt himself had been less easily satisfied with the results.²⁷²

I find among my Organ Pupils such timidity in the practice of extemporizing and such constant unwillingness to display their attempts before others, that I wish to ask if the Council could be prevailed upon to offer a Prize for the best impromptu performance at the Outside [annual] Examination next Easter. The faculty is a most important one for the Organist who is often called upon during services to play pieces of uncertain length.²⁷³

From the late 1888, Parratt's RCM pupils had begun to plough successful furrows within the music profession yet from 1890, his work had started to become consolidated. As a teacher, Parratt was a strict taskmaster yet his pupils evidently thought of him, not only as an oracle, but a mentor to whom they could go for advice. This was particularly the case for T. Tertius Noble for whom Parratt had been '...a born teacher, with a keen ear and a clear brain[, h]e possessed a personality which glowed with sunshine, and, of the

²⁶⁹ MS AL GG to EO (22 January, 1891), RCMA, f. 338; No 3.

²⁷⁰ Lawford *JBIOS*, p. 148.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 148. This was a position Parratt served with some distinction and after the deaths of Grove and Stainer, seems to have become the sole assessor. As Timothy Lawford asserts: 'Parratt took his work very seriously and was more stringent than his colleagues. He felt that each recipient should enhance the status of the degree.'

²⁷² 'Report of Ninth Annual Examinations' (May 1892), RCMA, p. 2.

²⁷³ EFM(RCM) 3 (8 December, 1892), RCMA S0013-3, p. 276.

three men [Stanford and Bridge were the other two], was the most brilliant. During the years I studied under him, I rarely saw this patient soul in the least bit ruffled.²⁷⁴

Noble's positive experience caused him to confide in Parratt over his appointment at Trinity College, Cambridge. On 1 April 1890, Noble had received a letter from Stanford informing him that the post of sub-organist at Trinity College, Cambridge had become vacant. Having replied to say that he would need time to think the matter over, nothing further was done until 10 June when another letter arrived from Stanford offering him the post. Having consulted Parratt and Martin, both of whom advised him to take Stanford up on his offer, Noble finally accepted the offer two days later at '£150 a year and very little to do, and good prospect of teaching.'²⁷⁵ The prospect of such a close working association with 'a man of Stanford's professional abilities as well as the many other opportunities at the University of Cambridge would undoubtedly be maturing influences' as he soon found.²⁷⁶

Trinity College could be a very interesting place, Stanford had among his friends and acquaintances a number of famous men. I remember one Sunday morning being asked to act as page boy during the service. Upon arriving in the organ loft I was introduced to Dvorak, Tchaikovsky, Saint-Saens, and the Italian poet and composer, Boito, all in Cambridge to receive honorary degrees. That morning, most of the music was by Stanford.²⁷⁷

Just a month after he had been in post Stanford wrote to Parratt to say that 'Noble is a vast success. Such a delightful person to work with & beloved of his boys. He is a godsend to me in every way. What a brick you are to train people!'²⁷⁸ Despite such an uncharacteristic accolade, Noble's memory of Stanford's erratic composition classes undoubtedly effected their relationship as he observed a similar application to the chapel music at Trinity.

Often my lesson would last for no more than ten minutes. During this time, Stanford would glance hastily at my manuscript, sometimes tear it up, and throw the contents into the waste paper basket, after which he would go to the piano and extemporize magnificently for five minutes, finally

²⁷⁴ Noble (c. 1947), p. 22.

²⁷⁵ MS AL GG to EO (22 June, 1890), f. 270; No 77. See also Noble (c. 1948), p. 45. Noble's appointment at Trinity raised his salary by £50 a year.

²⁷⁶ Noble (c. 1948), pp. 44f.

²⁷⁷ Noble (c. 1948), pp. 46f.

²⁷⁸ MS AL CVS to WP (22 October, 1890) RCOA Parratt Papers.

exclaiming: 'Now, my boy, go home, and eat a box of chocolates, and, next week, model your work on what you have just heard me play!'²⁷⁹

Noble's appointment was a significant milestone in his career. Stanford's busy career ensured that while Noble's colleagues in similar positions were relegated to the professional scraps thrown from the tables of their masters, the opposite was the case at Trinity.

I took up work under Stanford at the end of September, and, in a few months, had knocked the choir into fairly good shape. I found as a choirmaster that I was able to satisfy Stanford's searching standards. Stanford had warned me that I should find the choir at Trinity Chapel very run down, and what he said proved to be true. The tone quality of the boys was far from good, and the pronunciation of the English language appalling, a condition that one did not expect to find in one of England's most distinguished seats of learning. The fault of course was entirely with my predecessor. As professor of Music at Cambridge, and as a teacher at the Royal College of Music, in London, Stanford had so many duties to do outside the chapel work that he rarely took the choir rehearsals, this duty being performed by his assistant. In some ways this was fortunate for the youngsters, because Sir Charles had a most ungovernable temper and when the boys did not please him he would rave and shout at them until they became frightened and were unable to sing at all. On a rare occasion Stanford would take a full rehearsal when there was some difficult anthem to perform, but this was largely for his own sake, for as great an all round musician that he was, he was not at times very accurate in making correct shots with his feet on the pedals, and needed the practice.²⁸⁰

Noble's formative experience of Stanford's teaching methods may explain why he decided to turn instead to Parratt for advice on composing a setting of Evening Canticles in B minor.²⁸¹ It was to Parratt to whom he turned once more when, two years later his relationship with Stanford finally deteriorated. For some time, Stanford had been unable to set aside sufficient time to fulfil his role as organist at Trinity, 'a fact that was patently evident to the Choir Committee [who had] finally expedited his resignation to the College Council in May 1892.'²⁸² Noble, and Alan Gray, who had been music master at Wellington College, had been considered for the post.²⁸³ On Stanford's advice he had turned down a the post of Director of Music at Holy Trinity, Sloane Street—a post later

²⁷⁹ Noble (c. 1948), p. 23.

²⁸⁰ Noble (c. 1948), pp. 45f.

²⁸¹ Noble (c. 1948), p. 29. 'Sir Walter Parratt persuaded me to compose an Evening Service, taking as my model Walmisley's Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in D minor, a rugged and masculine setting to the evening canticles. I dedicated this work written in the key of B minor to Sir George Martin, then the organist of St Paul's Cathedral, London. For two years I could find no publisher who would accept these efforts of a young composer. All the leading houses in London turned me down in spite of the fact that Parratt, Stanford, Bridge, and Martin recommended the music and offered to sing it, when it was published.'

²⁸² Dibble (2002), p. 240.

²⁸³ Ibid., p. 240.

held by another RCM scholar, John Ireland—only to find that Stanford had supported Gray's appointment.²⁸⁴ When Gray was finally appointed, Noble was left with little choice but to resign.

After this verdict, for a time I was quite down and out, feeling, above all things utterly disgusted with Stanford. Under the circumstances, I could not possibly have stayed on as assistant at Trinity, therefore I found myself in the awkward position of having no job. Actually I took the earliest possible moment to get out of Cambridge, going directly to Windsor to talk the whole matter over with Sir Walter Parratt. He was very sensible and understanding, assuring me that all would turn out for the best.²⁸⁵

Parratt's advice had indeed proved prophetic: it was in 1892 that Noble was appointed as Organist and Master of the Music at Ely Cathedral, a post he served with distinction for six years before moving in 1898 to a similar position at York Minster. From there he would go on to establish the choral foundation at the newly-built church of St Thomas, Fifth Avenue, New York in 1912. His 35 years at St Thomas's saw the establishment of a choir school on an extended English pattern, pioneering daily choral services, the first of their kind in the U.S.A. and the construction of the renowned four manual Ernest Skinner organ. Like Charles Wood and Noble, Arnold Culley (1867-1947) was also one of Parratt's early successes. Upon leaving the RCM in 1888, having already achieved the FCO diploma, he had been appointed organist at Christ Church, Surbiton. In 1891 he had taken up the appointment of organist at Emmanuel College, Cambridge where he supplicated for the degrees of BA and Mus.B. in 1895, following ordination the previous year.²⁸⁶ Following appointments as curate of the Chapel Royal Brighton (1894), he was appointed Priest-Vicar Choral at Exeter Cathedral; from there he went to Durham Cathedral as Precentor and Minor Canon in 1906, succeeding Philip Armes (first Professor of Music at the University of Durham) as organist the following year, a position he held for nearly thirty years until 1932. Watkins Shaw suggests that both Wood and Culley were organ scholars; however, this is a twentieth-century term and,

²⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 240.

²⁸⁵ Noble (c. 1948), p. 38.

²⁸⁶ Watkins Shaw: *The Succession of Organists* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 94f.

given Stainer's appointment at Magdalen College, Oxford, it is more likely that they were simply appointed as organist. Like Culley and Wood, Percy Carter Buck (1871-1947), who had first been a student from 1888 and subsequently had been elevated to a scholarship the following year, was subsequently appointed organist at Worcester College, Oxford on leaving the RCM. From there he went on to be organist at Wells (1896-9) and Bristol (1899-1901) cathedrals; however, in 1901, he was appointed Director of Music at Harrow School in succession to Eaton Fanning, a post he held until 1927. From 1910, he succeeded Prout as professor of music at Trinity College, Dublin and in 1925 succeeded Bridge as King Edward VII professor of music at the University of London. Between 1927 and 1936, he served as music advisor to London County Council. Throughout this period he was also on the Board of Professors at the RCM. Henry Walford Davies (1869-1941), had left the RCM in March, 1894 and joined the RCM as an assistant professor the following year. Having been organist at St Anne's, Soho, he was appointed organist at the Temple Church in 1898, a post he held with considerable distinction until 1918, when he became Director of Music for the RAF. Walford Davies had also been one of Stanford's successes: his Symphony in D major had was yet to be performed at the Crystal Palace in October, 1895 (see Appendix 3.24) and his *RAF March Past* and *A Solemn Melody* for organ would both become well-established in the repertory.

It seems that Parry's letter had brought Parratt to his senses and the crisis was averted. Parratt's decision to turn down the Eton post was rewarded the same year with a knighthood and appointments as organist to Queen Victoria's private chapel, and Master of the Queen's Music the following year, in 1893. Hughes and Stradling's claim that, as a consequence, 'he [Parratt] brought the court and its patronage within the orbit of the

College and the Renaissance' is misleading.²⁸⁷ First, the RCM had essentially been an initiative pioneered by the Prince of Wales and hence already enjoyed unrivalled support from the royal family and a number of high-ranking courtiers, as the wealth of correspondence from 1882 attests. Secondly, Parratt was evidently somewhat self-conscious of his new honour, as Grove's description demonstrates:

We 'opened' on Thursday & it was quite a pleasant day—I had to present Parratt with an address of congratulation from the pupils—a nice short affair—I think it gratified him but he was sadly, and I think absurdly, disturbed with the consciousness of his new title—A man may be annoyed with these things, but he should learn at 51 years of age not to show his annoyance as a public grievance.²⁸⁸

Rather, Parratt's honours had ensured *his* inclusion, albeit reluctantly, in a select coterie of musicians who were permitted to enjoy royal patronage, which allowed the RCM to bask in reflected glory.²⁸⁹ For Parratt, the post of Master of the Queen's Music was the musical equivalent of the royal warrant and accordingly attracted a wealth of able pupils to the RCM during his remaining years there.

4.17 'A POWERFUL MAGNET'

In every sense the 1890s were a period of consolidation for the RCM. The College had begun to establish an international reputation as a conservatoire of the premier league.²⁹⁰ Its ability to attract first-rate students gave the impression that many of its earlier teething troubles had vanished, partly through Grove's diligence but also the professors' attention to detail such that at the 1893 examinations Henschel had remarked to Grove 'how delightful it must be to you to find everything going on so wonderfully well'.²⁹¹ The involvement of August Manns as an examiner for both sessions for 1892 and 1893 was a shrewd move and doubtless one intended to open the Crystal Palace orchestra to RCM

²⁸⁷ Hughes and Stradling (2001), p. 33.

²⁸⁸ MS AL GG to EO [2 October, 1892], RCMA.

²⁸⁹ See Lawford *JBIOS*, p. 139. During Parratt's time at Magdalen College, Oxford, he struck up a friendship with Queen Victoria's youngest son, Prince Leopold, who was at Christ Church. Their mutual love of music and chess ensured their friendship that endured beyond their days in Oxford.

²⁹⁰ MS AL GG to EO (30 April, 1892), RCMA.

²⁹¹ MS AL GG to EO (26 March, 1893), RCMA. Annotated 'Sunday March 26' by Grove and postmarked 'MR 27 93'.

students once they had completed their training. He had commended the woodwind and orchestral playing:

The performances of Brahms's 'Academic Festival Overture,' and the reading at sight of Grieg's overture 'In autumn,' gave renewed evidence of the high class teaching which the students of the instrumental classes of the Royal College receive.²⁹²

This was not surprising: more than one observer had commended the standard of orchestral and ensemble playing at the RCM. Joachim's report for the May examinations in 1892 had claimed 'that every member of the band is filled with enthusiasm for the works of the great masters—an enthusiasm with which their conductors know how to inspire them. The reading at sight of an overture of Grieg's showed considerable skill and practice in each individual player, and the ensemble was admirable.'²⁹³ According to Grove,

The sound of the fiddles was so fresh and young and delicate, that it occurred to me at once what a pity it is that there is not a larger infusion of young players in the great orchestras[.] I am sure it would produce an immense effect—Our strings often give me (especially when the subject of the piece is weird or romantic) an effect which no other orchestra does or can. Think of the dried up, dirty, snuffy, dead-alive, old creatures of 60 years old that the ordinary orchestral players are—I have often stood by Manns at rehearsals when he was cheering on the band—"Sigh your souls away gentlemen", "Your beloved is by you, trembling in your hand" "Think, your wife is dead, dead"! &c[.] &c[.] and have often thought how impossible it must be for them to rise to such thoughts—They are too old.²⁹⁴

Although the RCM orchestra seems to have exceeded the standards attained by London's professional orchestras, as Grove's account confirms, the only occasion when instrumental students from the RCM had played in a professional orchestra during Grove's Directorate appears to have been the 1891 performance of Sullivan's grand opera, *Ivanhoe*. Produced by D'Oyly Carte in the lavish new Savoy Theatre Grove was uneasy about its chances for success given the sums D'Oyly Carte had invested in it. While the orchestra had included between six and eight College boys, their inclusion had

²⁹² Report of the Ninth Annual Examination (May, 1892), RCMA, p. 3.

²⁹³ Report of the Ninth Annual Examination (May, 1892), RCMA, p. 2.

²⁹⁴ MS AL GG to EO (26 March, 1893), RCMA. Annotated 'Sunday March 26' by Grove and postmarked 'MR 27 93'.

been motivated primarily by monetary concerns.²⁹⁵ To Grove's eternal frustration, London's orchestral world was a close-knit environment, where there was little, if any mobility. In the meantime, Grove simply persisted in maintaining high standards in the knowledge that the situation would be bound to change in due course.

Thanks to the exertions of Grove and the reputations of Parratt, Stanford and Parry, the RCM had already become 'a powerful magnet' for a formidable student intake.²⁹⁶ Weist Hill, who had been Principal of the Guildhall School of Music and Drama, had been sufficiently impressed to send his son, Thomas Egerton Hill, to the College as a scholar in 1889. More significantly, Thomas Dunhill (1877-1946), Fritz Hart (1874-1949), William Yeates Hurlstone (1876-1906)—whom Stanford was to describe as his 'best pupil' and Walford Davies as 'his most beloved pupil', John Ireland (1879-1962)—who later joined the RCM as a professor of composition, Samuel Coleridge Taylor (1875-1912), Ralph Vaughan Williams—who later joined the RCM staff in 1919 as a professor of composition, and Gustavus Von Holst had all joined the RCM as students by 1894 (see Appendices 3.9 and 3.13).²⁹⁷ The presence of such men produced an intoxicating environment both within the classroom and elsewhere as Vaughan Williams would later testify: 'we [Dunhill, Ireland, Howard Jones, Hart, and Holst] used to meet in a little teashop in Kensington and discuss every subject under the sun, from the lowest note of the double bassoon to the philosophy of *Jude the Obscure*.'²⁹⁸ Indeed, Vaughan Williams claimed to have 'learnt more from these conversations than any amount of formal

²⁹⁵ MS AL GG to EO (22 January, 1891), RCMA, f. 338; No 3. See also MS AL GG to EO (1 February, 1891), RCMA, f. 341; No 77. Grove attended the performance of *Ivanhoe* on 31 January, 1891 and was not convinced by Sullivan's single attempt at grand opera: 'I went last night to the production of *Ivanhoe*—a wonderful theatre and astonishing scenery, so astonishing that one could not pay proper attention to the music—but much of it was beautiful; & it was full of spirit from end to end. The house is astonishing for gold, marble, carving, light—and every material comfort & convenience and has cost a fortune. It's quite a lottery whether it will ruin D'Oyly Carte or not. If it will run for 6 or 8 months, he will come out well, if not—I am uneasy about it—I cannot help telling myself that I fear the music is not better or more spontaneous than that of the *Gondoliers* or *Mikado*....'

²⁹⁶ MS AL GG to EO (30 April, 1892), RCMA.

²⁹⁷ MS AL GG to EO (30 April, 1892), RCMA.

²⁹⁸ Quoted in Foss (1950), p. 28.

teaching, but...felt at a certain disadvantage with these companions: they were all so competent and I felt such an amateur.²⁹⁹ In this sense Grove's university dimension was finally realised, not so much in the RCM's privilege to award degrees in music but more in terms of ability to create an environment where student and professor alike could exchange ideas on a variety of subjects. As a consequence, a series of important friendships and associations began during these early years.

It was at the RCM that Holst and Vaughan Williams had become friends. In 1892 Holst had failed to secure a scholarship to the RCM.³⁰⁰ Having practised Liszt and Chopin on the piano for five hours a day, neuritis had forced him to give up all thoughts of becoming a concert pianist and he had turned his hand to composition instead.³⁰¹ During the autumn and winter that followed, he had composed an operetta, *Lansdowne Castle*, which had subsequently been premiered at the Cheltenham Corn Exchange on 7 February, 1893 (see Appendix 3.24). His father, Adolph, had been sufficiently impressed with the work to borrow £100 from a relative to send him to the RCM as a paying student under Stanford from May that year.³⁰² It appears that Holst's early days at the RCM were not easy: 'week after week he was to hear his distinguished teacher say: "It won't do, me boy. It won't do."'³⁰³ Stanford's creed 'that a composer, however gifted, must learn his technique so completely that he can afford to forget it' was combined with a 'genius for quoting exactly the right musical example to illustrate any point he was criticizing.'³⁰⁴ Holst's first association at the College was with Fritz Hart, who had joined the RCM the same year. The son of a commercial traveller, Hart had been a chorister at Westminster Abbey under Frederick Bridge: he had entered the RCM on 27 April, 1893 to study piano and organ, where he naturally came under the influence of Stanford. Early

²⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 28.

³⁰⁰ Imogen Holst: *Gustav Holst: A Biography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1938; 2nd Edn 1958), p. 8.

³⁰¹ Imogen Holst: *The Music of Gustav Holst* (London: Oxford University Press, 1951), p. 2.

³⁰² Holst (1938; 1958), p. 10.

³⁰³ Ibid., p. 11.

³⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 11.

in their student days, Hart had converted Holst to Wagner when they had been to hear *Götterdämmerung* conducted by Mahler at Covent Garden. Holst 'had been shocked to the core of his being to find it full of unresolved discords.'³⁰⁵

Vaughan Williams had also become enamoured with Wagner during 1890, when, at the age of 18, he had been to see *Die Walküre* in Munich during his first summer vacation from the RCM. The first of two periods of study at the College—he later returned in 1896—it appears, by Vaughan Williams's own account, not to have been particularly distinguished.

I was painfully illiterate in those days...Parry could hardly believe I knew so little music. One day he was talking to me about the wonderful climax in the development of the *Appassionata* Sonata. Suddenly he realized that I did not know it, so he sat down at the pianoforte and played it through to me. There were showers of wrong notes, but in spite of that it was the finest performance I have ever heard.³⁰⁶

Studies with Parry had only been facilitated by his passing examinations in harmony and counterpoint.³⁰⁷

By a wise ruling of the College, which I fear no longer obtains, no one was allowed to study composition until he had passed Grade V in harmony. So for two terms I did my theoretical work with Dr. F. E. Gladstone. Under his guidance I worked through every exercise in Macfarren's *Harmony*, a discipline for which I have ever since been grateful.

After two terms I passed my Grade V harmony [and counterpoint] and was allowed to become a pupil of Parry. I will not try to describe what this experience meant to a boy. I was very elementary at the time. I blush with shame now when I think of the horrible little songs and anthems which I presented for his criticism. Parry's great watchword was 'characteristic'. He was always trying to discover the character revealed in even the weakest of his students' compositions.³⁰⁸

Two years later, on 24 March 1893, Vaughan Williams left the College to go up to Cambridge, where he studied for the Mus.B. with Charles Wood. Having begun his RCM days being repelled by Beethoven, he had subsequently been sufficiently indoctrinated to change his view: 'Bach, Beethoven (*ex officio*) and Brahms [he claimed] were the only composers worth considering.'³⁰⁹

³⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 11.

³⁰⁶ Foss (1950), p. 23.

³⁰⁷ Ursula Vaughan Williams: *R.V.W. A Biography of Ralph Vaughan Williams* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 31.

³⁰⁸ Quoted in Ibid., p. 31.

³⁰⁹ Quoted in Foss (1950), p. 25

Like Vaughan Williams, John Ireland spent time getting to know the standard repertoire at the RCM:

I was able to attend many concerts, both chamber and orchestral. There were the Monday and Saturday 'Pops' at the old St. James's Hall where one constantly heard Chamber Music under such exponents as the Joachim Quartet, and so one became familiar with the classics, and the works of Brahms....Also I attended the bi-weekly rehearsals of the RCM orchestra, which familiarized me with many works.³¹⁰

Ireland had joined the RCM as a paying student. He had begun his College career on 28 September 1893, at the age of fourteen, as a first study pianist with organ as second study; however, less than a week after his enrolment at the College, his mother had died and his father had died the following year. This had obliged him to take work as an accompanist at smoking-concerts to supplement his income.³¹¹ Possibly because of the rigors imposed by such performances, Ireland passed the FRCO examination at the age of fifteen, having had organ lessons from Parratt. In 1894 he added harmony as a second study as a prelude to his taking composition lessons with Stanford two years later (see Appendix 3.13).³¹²

The year 1893 marked the beginning of Coleridge-Taylor's career as an instrumental composer. On 9 October, he had been given permission by Grove to perform a concert at the Public Hall in Croydon with fellow RCM students Jessie Grimson and William Boxall (violins), Charles Jacoby (viola), Alice Elieson (cello), Charles Draper (Clarinet) and Ethel Winn (voice). Coleridge-Taylor used the concert primarily as a vehicle to present some of his early instrumental compositions for the first time (see Appendix 3.24).³¹³ In addition to the Mozart Clarinet Quintet, a violin piece by Hans Sitt, three of his own songs were presented along with a Clarinet Sonata in F minor and his Piano Quintet in G minor (see Appendix 3.24). The programme was remarkable but particularly because Coleridge-Taylor himself had played the piano, an instrument he had

³¹⁰ Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 13.

³¹¹ Richards (2000), p. 13.

³¹² *Ibid.*, 13.

³¹³ Stephen Banfield and Jeremy Dibble: 'Coleridge-Taylor, Samuel' *NGII* Vol. 6 (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001), p. 191.

only taken up since entering the RCM three years earlier.³¹⁴ Coleridge-Taylor had been sponsored by his mentor and patron, Colonel Herbert Walters who had paid for him to join the RCM as a violin student at the age of fourteen on 27 April, 1890; however, his early years at the College do not appear to have been easy.³¹⁵ From the outset, Grove had been concerned how the students would react to the inclusion of a mixed-race student; indeed, Coleridge-Taylor shared his apprehension and on more than one occasion had to be encouraged to acknowledge applause at concerts. It may also explain his absence from Parratt's music class from which Grove later excused him. Berwick Sayers's explanation that '[Coleridge-Taylor's] shyness and reticence amounted almost to terror, and more than once [the chief Clerk of the College] Mr. Hayles caught him creeping quietly up the stairs and shrinking into corners to avoid encountering his fellows' certainly seems to be plausible.³¹⁶ It appears the stigma of being the illegitimate progeny of a mixed-race union in Victorian England sat heavily on his young shoulders.³¹⁷ Initially, Coleridge-Taylor had studied violin with Henry Holmes, piano with the Leipzig-trained Algernon Ashton, analysis with Frederick Bridge and harmony with Charles Wood (see Appendix 3.9). By the time he entered the RCM in 1890, Coleridge-Taylor had already had written a number of hymn-tunes while a setting of the *Te Deum* dates from the same year.³¹⁸ These were followed by a series of anthems, which he had sent to Walters for approval. The first of these, *In thee, O Lord*, was published in 1891 by Novello and this had led Walters to write to Grove to ask whether Coleridge-Taylor would be eligible for a scholarship in composition. On 4 October, Grove had replied:

Kensington Gore,
London, S.W.

³¹⁴ Berwick Sayers (1915), p. 17.

³¹⁵ W. C. Berwick Sayers: *Samuel Coleridge Taylor: Musician. His Life and Letters* (London: Cassell and Company, 1915), p. 15. Walters had been choirmaster at St George's Presbyterian Church in Croydon, where Coleridge-Taylor had sung in the choir as a chorister.

³¹⁶ Berwick Sayers (1915), p. 16.

³¹⁷ Banfield and Dibble *NGII* Vol. 6 (2001), p. 101.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

4 October, 1892

Dear Mr. Walters,

I have arranged with Dr. Stanford to take Taylor with composition as his first study. Both Dr. Gladstone and Dr. Stanford were much pleased with the anthems, which I think show a great deal of feeling and aptness for that style of work. I have talked the matter over with Mr. Holmes—and he thinks it will be really best for him to drop the violin and take piano for second study, and to work rather harder at it than he does at present. I do not myself see what the violin is to lead to, whereas the piano is all important to the composer.

I enclose a new time sheet in which I hope your wishes have been met. You will see that for this term I have excused him the music class.

Yours very truly,

G. Grove
Director³¹⁹

Fortunately it appears the environment he encountered at the RCM eventually helped to assuage his anxiety as he gained in confidence and secured lasting friendships.

His closest association while at the RCM was with fellow student, William Hurlstone. Like Coleridge-Taylor, Hurlstone also came from Croydon and had received financial assistance from a wealthy benefactor and amateur musician, Captain Beaumont of South Norwood Park.³²⁰ Hurlstone had entered the College as a composition scholar on 26 April, 1894 and also studied piano with Ashton. Like Coleridge-Taylor and Holst, Hurlstone had been active as composer before his arrival at the RCM. His father had published his set of Five Easy Waltzes for him when he was only nine and in interviewing him prior to the scholarship examination, Grove and Stanford, had observed a formidable knowledge of harmony and counterpoint.³²¹ The presence of so many promising students from 1890, had resulted from Grove's assiduousness in establishing the College's curriculum and facilities on an equal footing with its Continental rivals. Not only did it herald a bright future for the RCM and for British music, it provided an intoxicating environment that paid dividends in improving standards across the board.

³¹⁹ Quoted in Berwick Sayers (1915), pp. 18f.

³²⁰ Hurlstone (1948), p. 15.

³²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

The final college concert had been outstanding: held in the Imperial Institute on 12 December, it included Weber's Overture to *Oberon*, 'Lascia Amour' from *Orlando* by Handel, and an aria from Goring Thomas's *Nadeshda*. The finale, Tchaikovsky's *Symphonie Pathétique*, was played as a memorial to Anton Rubinstein, 'the greatest virtuoso Russia has ever produced' and the symphony was described as 'the highest achievement of the Russian School of Composition'.³²² *The Musical Times* review could not have been better if Stanford had written it himself. The editor, Edgar Jacques, formerly editor of the *Musical World* who had succeeded Barrett in 1891, was 'sympathetic rather than passionate in the cause of the Musical Renaissance'.³²³ His remarks were all the more significant given his allegiance to the RAM and were included in Parry's first report to the Executive and Finance Committee as Grove's successor.³²⁴

As we have already said, the performance of the extremely difficult work was splendid. We very much doubt whether there is a conservatoire of music on the Continent which could equal this achievement of the 'College' pupils, under their able Conductor, Professor Stanford.³²⁵

Jacques's favourable comparison between the RCM and its former rival is intriguing: two years earlier, he had claimed that the RAM's performance of Gounod's *Le Médecin malgré lui* had given 'general satisfaction in musical circles, as it was felt that Tenterden Street ought to be in a position to compete on equal terms with Kensington Gore in regard to this department of educational work'.³²⁶ Perhaps this was what had led Grove and Parry to attend the RAM's subsequent opera at the Lyceum Theatre on 25 March when Gustav Albert Lortzing's (1801-1851) opera *Peter the Shipwright* (*Czar und Zimmerman*) had been performed. While Grove claimed it had been 'tolerably good', he had evidently expected it to be far better: 'I had always had an idea that the R.A. were so far beyond us in that

³²² 'Royal College of Music' *MT* (1 January, 1895), p. 26.

³²³ Hughes (2002), p. 96.

³²⁴ EFM(RCM) 4 (24 January, 1895), RCMA S0013-4, pp. 268f.

³²⁵ 'Royal College of Music' *MT* (1 January, 1895), p. 26.

³²⁶ 'Royal Academy of Music' *MT* (1 April, 1891), p. 217. Gounod's opera had been staged in English at the Avenue Theatre on 26 February, 1891.

branch'; however, the orchestra had been thin and 'not nearly so good as ours.'³²⁷ Grove was also astonished to find that the voices were immature and 'not perfect in [their] notes'; praise was reserved for the chorus who had sung with fire and effect and 'looked very well, not I fancied...so worn out as our people look.'³²⁸ Grove's apparent ignorance of the RAM's progress is surprising, especially given his association with Mackenzie. Between its foundation and 1893, the RAM had staged only four opera performances (1828, 1830, 1891 and 1893) and while Jacques had confirmed that there had been 'sufficient reasons for holding back until the present time [1891]', no precise explanation appears to have given for this decision. Rather, it seems likely that the RCM's eighteen opera performances in the decade between 1885 and Grove's retirement at the end of 1894 had spurred the RAM into action an effort to compete with its rival but it was a vain attempt.

The final operatic performance of Grove's directorate, the eighteenth since 1885, took place the following evening at The Prince of Wales's Theatre and was Delibes's *Le Roi l'a dit*.³²⁹ Premiered in Paris in May 1873, *Le Roi l'a dit* was staged as part of Stanford's policy to create a RCM tradition for exposing new works to the London public.³³⁰ The performance 'spoke highly for the system of training in vogue at Kensington Gore'.³³¹

There were no 'stars'—no performers, that is to say, who showed genius, or even talent, above the average; but intelligence of a high order showed itself in every direction, and an *ensemble* of quite exceptional merit was the result. 'Le Roi l'a dit' was admirably chosen for the end in view. It contains a great number of characters, and demands grace of movement, humour, finish, and refinement, both of acting and singing, rather than depth or intensity of feeling. The 'young and inexperienced' performers who were responsible for the chief characters found themselves consequently saddled with duties beyond their means. They were not called upon to be tragic, or to deal with emotions needing a life-time for due comprehension. They had to deal with matters within their ken—love-making, humorous deceit, mischief, bumptiousness, comic distress, and the like....It is no small achievement to have moved gracefully through a comedy of the Louis Quatorze [sic] epoch, and to have carried off successfully the humorous episodes with which this particular specimen of the kind abounds. Where so much excellence was shown it is difficult to particularise without unfairness; but we cannot help thinking that the daily and weekly press notices

³²⁷ MS AL GG to EO (26 March, 1893), RCMA. Annotated 'Sunday March 26' by Grove and postmarked 'MR 27 93'. See also 'The Royal Academy of Music' *MT* (1 April, 1893), p. 219.

³²⁸ MS AL GG to EO (26 March, 1893), RCMA. Annotated 'Sunday March 26' by Grove and postmarked 'MR 27 93'.

³²⁹ 'Royal College of Music' *MT* (London: Novello and Company Ltd, 1 January, 1895), p. 26.

³³⁰ *MT* (1 January, 1895), p. 26.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

have scarcely done justice to the singing or acting of the two young ladies (Miss Pierpoint and Miss Sim) who played the lovers, and the four who impersonated the daughters of the *Marquis*. The chief characters were played with far less tact than these, and have hitherto obtained the lion's share of praise.³³²

The review summed up the achievements of Grove's directorate and served to demonstrate how far the RCM had travelled since 1883 and finally served to put an end to Grove's paranoia over the singing department.

4.19 CONCLUSION

During the twelve years of Grove's directorate, he had endowed the RCM with the long-term potential to lead the music profession in Britain. Through the rigorous selection of professors and students he had created an institution whose reputation for excellence and success had already begun to spread across Europe and certain parts of the Empire. In theory, both the establishment of the capital fund and a constant increase in the numbers of paying students was intended to render it capable of attracting able students from across the class divide; in practice, however, the scholarships combined with maintenance grants were seldom sufficient to allow those from the poorest backgrounds to attend the RCM without the additional support of a sponsor as Coleridge-Taylor and Hurlstone were to find. Students such as Vaughan Williams who were from moderately affluent families and perhaps were fortunate enough to be supported by an allowance were unaffected by such financial considerations. Thanks to Grove's exertions, the RCM seems fortunately to have been impervious to such problems. Between 1884 and the end of 1894, the RCM had undertaken 204 concerts, of which 60 were orchestral (see Appendix 3.21). There had been 18 opera performances, eleven chamber recitals, two vocal recitals and two choral concerts. It had been a mammoth undertaking by any standards. Was it any wonder that Watson had become ill and Grove and the RCM students had looked so exhausted by the end of 1894? The high standards of

³³² Ibid., p. 26.

performance for which the RCM had already become renowned had been achieved by a policy where only the finest students were routinely allowed to perform in public. Criticism of student compositions and performances was informed by Grove's obsession to conquer a deep-seated psychosis that had defined England and the English as unmusical. It engendered an attention to detail from professor and pupil that ensured exceptional reviews for concerts and opera performances that established the RCM orchestra class and opera school as leading exponents not merely in London but also across Britain. For over thirty years from 1892, RCM professors, Council members and former scholars occupied music professorships at Oxford (Stainer who was followed by Parry and then Parratt) and Cambridge (Stanford who was followed by Charles Wood). In addition, the Gresham professorship in music was held by the RCM's own Frederick Bridge. Although Grove had established the RCM as a formidable presence in the music profession, in order to influence it for the better, the RCM's institutional prejudice against anything other than the Austro-German school of composers, a philosophy supported to some degree by Parratt and Parry, ensured its far-reaching influence restricted the ability of British composers to discover a distinctive voice in the long-term. In the years leading up to the Great War, the RCM would develop a sclerosis that ensured its position had become so entrenched that the latest compositional developments in Italy, France and Russia were all but ignored. This was partly caused by the untimely deaths of two of the RCM's most promising students. While Coleridge-Taylor later acquired the soubriquet, 'the black Mahler' and was described by Elgar as 'the cleverest fellow...amongst the young men', Hurlstone had been lionised by his Stanford.³³³ Had Coleridge Taylor and Hurlstone survived to fulfil their potential both as composers and educators, RCM composition students might have been permitted to

³³³ Coleridge-Taylor (1979), p. 29. Quotation from a letter to Herbert Brewer (Organist of Gloucester Cathedral) from Edward Elgar to persuade the Three Choirs' Committee to commission a work (the *Ballade* in A minor) from Coleridge-Taylor.

pursue an altogether more adventurous path; instead, RCM composers often required sufficient strength of character to shake themselves free from what Richard Terry later described as ‘a Brahms cult that hampered the RCM during later years’.³³⁴ Attempts to extend the RCM’s influence through the establishment of the Associated Board from 1889 were all part of Grove’s plan to create a RCM stranglehold over the music profession. Moreover, it was a final attempt by the South Kensington authorities to exert influence over the RAM. It was a direct attempt to influence elementary music-making at the grass roots and also to realise the RCM’s imperial dimension, as outlined in the 1883 charter.

³³⁴ Richard Runciman Terry: *On Music’s Borders* (London: T. Fisher Unwin Ltd, 1927), p. 24.

CHAPTER FIVE

Healing the rift

The Foundation of the Associated Board

5.0 INTRODUCTION

The Associated Board of the RAM and RCM was established in 1889. Born out of attempts to amalgamate the RAM with the NTSM and RCM in 1873 and 1878 respectively, it became a powerful alliance whose influence was greater than the sum of its parts. First, it established examinations in theory and performance as an alternative to the meagre provision supplied by the Forster Education Act of 1870. Secondly, the Associated Board Examinations were intended to generate a constant source of well-educated potential students for the RAM and RCM from across the Empire. Thirdly, acting under the auspices of the Associated Board, the RAM and RCM successfully opposed Government attempts to implement an Act of Parliament for the Regulation and Organization of teachers in May 1891 and also thwarted Charles Hallé's petition to obtain a royal charter for the Royal Manchester College of Music in 1893. The sea-change in attitudes that permitted the RAM to consider any kind of joint venture was brought about by the appointment of Grove's Sydenham neighbour, (Sir) Alexander Mackenzie (1847-1935) as Principal in 1888 in succession to Sir George Macfarren. That the RAM needed complete reformation if it were to compete with the success of the RCM was widely acknowledged. The establishment of Local examinations administered by the RCM, in direct competition to the RAM, was announced in the press. This drew Mackenzie and the RAM authorities to seek to combine forces to offer joint examinations under an Associated Board of the Royal Academy of Music and the Royal College of Music from 1890.

5.1 AMALGAMATION RECONSIDERED

On 31 October 1887, the Principal of the RAM, Sir George Macfarren, had died. Prospects for amalgamation between the RAM and NTSM and subsequently the RCM and RAM had proved fruitless: Macfarren had had every reason to be suspicious of the motives of the 1851 Commission in attempting to effect an amalgamation. As Professor of Music at Cambridge, he had attempted to oppose the RCM's capacity to grant music degrees in 1883. His death potentially renewed the prospects for better relations between the two institutions; indeed, a memorial concert was presented in his honour by RCM scholars in the concert hall at Alexandra House (see Appendix 3.21; Concert 58, p. 356). Apart from Beethoven's *String Quartet in F minor* (Op. 95), the programme featured music entirely by Macfarren. Works such as his *Piano Quintet in G minor* were programmed alongside two songs ('The Willow Bird' and 'Pack clouds away'). To have included his *String Quartet in G major*, played from a manuscript dated 1878, seemed to be a gentle reminder to the RAM authorities of the thwarted amalgamation attempts nine years earlier. More importantly, the power vacuum left by Macfarren's death led the Prince of Wales to consider the prospect of amalgamation once more and Grove was asked to prepare a proposal. Grove wrote to the Prince of Wales with a proposal to unite the RAM with the RCM on the Kensington Estate. His ambitious plans were to have involved the Imperial Institute, although it is not clear in what capacity.¹ Mindful of the mixed emotions surrounding the failed amalgamation attempt five years before, he was determined that history would not repeat itself; consequently, he intended not merely to recommend the constitution of two confederate institutions under one president and one Director but the complete subjugation of the RAM by the RCM.

I have your letter and will do all in my power to carry out the Prince of Wales's wishes.

¹ MS AL FK to GG (11 November, [1887; misdated 1888 in original]) RCMA 0096/2.

It is very difficult for me to feel the pulse of the R. A. without implying that we want them to amalgamate. Chappell however may be more able as he is a member of their body and more in the way of seeing them and I have been with him and asked him to do what he can, and I myself will lose no opportunity which is not likely to be misrepresented.

I perfectly agree with you that any offer must come from them and I think this not only on the ground of their treatment of us, but on the fact of the change in our relative positions since 1882. We are now an established institution, with £120,000 invested, and with a certain amount of prestige—and if amalgamation with us means anything, it ought to be absorption. It means the two bodies being united under one roof provided there is but one director—for no man can govern a College at Kensington and another in Hanover Square.

That is one plan: another would be that each body should go on in separate localities with one President and one board of outside examiners. I should be very glad to know if either of these plans would roughly be approved by H.R.H. or whether he has any other idea. Either of the new plans named above would involve their fees being assimilated to ours and that would be distasteful to them I should think.²

Thomas Chappell, who was both a director of the RAM and a RCM Council member, allowed Grove and the Prince of Wales to become acquainted with RAM politics. It naturally raised the question of who would succeed Macfarren as Principal. Grove evidently entertained the thought that he would be invited by the Prince of Wales to become Principal of the RAM in addition to his role as Director at the RCM. As it was, Grove found that there were barely enough hours in the day to allow him to execute his RCM duties; consequently, it was with some reservation that he wrote to Edith Oldham on the subject of the RAM to say: 'what could I do as head of a place so full of humbug and which I could not in justice to myself allow to go on without great changes? No, I trust we shall go on by ourselves.'³ In fact, the Prince of Wales had had other ideas in mind, as Francis Knollys's letter elucidates:

I very much doubt whether the R. Academy of Music would consent to unite under one roof and under one Director, and what you say at the end of your letter confirms me in that opinion.

² MS AL GG to FK (n.d. [possibly 11 November, 1877]), RCMA 0096/2.

³ MS AL GG to EO (2 November, 1887), RCMA, p. 81; No 158

I think therefore it will be best to try for Plan No. 2 viz. that the two Institutions should be in separate Buildings, with separate Principals with one President but with uniform laws.⁴

The appointment of Alexander Campbell Mackenzie, as the new Principal of the RAM on 22 February 1888 at last improved prospects for inter-collegiate relations.⁵ Mackenzie's progressive mindset immediately put him at an advantage in relation to his predecessor. He was personally acquainted with composers such as Verdi and Von Bülow. Furthermore, his comprehensive RAM reforms caught its dilettante staff unawares.⁶ He was forced to make his mark as Principal in a role that had been consistently undermined by what Duncan Barker describes as a “‘professor’s [*sic*] club” where the teaching staff would meddle in the affairs of the school, rather than restrict[ing] themselves to their respective pedagogic[al] tasks.”⁷ The RAM had two sets of examinations open to the general public: the Metropolitan examinations or LRAM for professional musicians, the equivalent to the RCM’s certificate of proficiency (ARCM), and the local examinations ‘for pupils or those who have just left a state of musical pupillage [*sic*].’⁸ The RAM’s attempts to duplicate the system of local examinations already in place at Trinity College of Music were somewhat haphazard: candidates from London were examined by two RAM professors, while those in the provinces were assessed by one professor alongside the local representative, whose

⁴ MS AL FK to GG (11 November, 1887), RCMA 0096/2.

⁵ Duncan James Barker: ‘The Music of Sir Alexander Campbell Mackenzie (1847-1935): A Critical Study’ (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis: University of Durham, 1999), p. 14. See also Hughes and Stradling (2001), p. 33. See also: MS AL GG to EO (6 May, 1888) RCMA, f. 101; No. 198. Not only does it appear that RCM students were able to compete successfully against their RAM contemporaries but Grove’s relationship with Mackenzie was characterised by mutual respect: ‘Did you hear that Emily Squire had gone in for the Parepa Rosa Scholarship at the Academy and had carried it off from 65 candidates? The same as Crabtree did—very good but I don’t care to be always a preparatory school for the R.A.M. Mackenzie and I are very friendly indeed. I went yesterday to hear his inaugural address—it was very good and you shall have a copy—much warmer than I anticipated—O dear[] if I could be put back to his age how much I’d do!’

⁶ Barker (1999), pp. 15f.

⁷ Ibid., p. 15.

⁸ DM(RAM) (29 March, 1884), RAMA, p. 197.

professional ability and civility could not be guaranteed.⁹ Provincial centres were further penalised by the requirement that a quorum of at least twelve candidates were to have entered before the RAM would allow the examination to proceed.¹⁰ The format for the RAM's local examinations had been put forward at the meeting of Directors in March 1884; however, Macfarren referred the matter for further consideration. The four subject areas were techniques (harmony, counterpoint, basic analysis and composition), singing (where candidates were tested for the quality, power and compass of their voices), piano and orchestral instruments; with the exception of the techniques exam, which was to last an hour, all others were 20 minutes in length.¹¹ In any event, the RAM local examinations required a thorough overhaul.

The RCM's own brand of regional music examinations was launched in 1888 in direct competition to the RAM as part of its remit immortalised in the charter of 1883 to promote and supervise musical instruction in schools and elsewhere.¹² Initially piloted in Glasgow, the RCM examinations were subsequently held at centres across the country.¹³ Influential honorary local representatives were appointed to each centre to administer examinations held in prominent municipal or collegiate buildings. Unlike the RAM representatives, none of the agents for the RCM were to be professional musicians and, as such, had no power to examine students. Two grades, junior and senior, established a principle later adopted at the

⁹ DM(RAM) (29 March, 1884), RAMA, p. 198. See also MS AL Mrs Augusta Bishop to AM (18 October 1889), RAMA, f.6. The uneven qualities of the local representatives, some of whom went on to represent the Associated Board, proved a perennial problem: 'In acknowledging your letter received today, I must express my surprise at your disowning responsibility in the conduct of your local representatives. All heads of Institutions must be responsible for their subordinates & employee's [sic], otherwise what securities would there be in any undertaking or investment conducted on a large scale. According to your view, the local representatives all over the country, appointed by you, may be guilty of any neglect, carelessness, or rudeness, and there is no redress for any who suffer by them.'

¹⁰ DM(RAM) (29 March, 1884), RAMA, p. 198.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 199.

¹² EFM(RCM) 2 (11 October, 1888), RCMA S0013-2, p. 213.

¹³ EFM(RCM) 2 (13 December, 1888), RCMA S0013-2, pp. 231 to 235. The centres were Edinburgh, Glasgow, Newcastle, Dublin, Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds, Birmingham, Oxford, Cambridge, Swansea and Plymouth.

Associated Board. The junior grade, assessed by a single examiner, was available to those under sixteen in all branches except singing while the senior grade, assessed by two examiners, was open to all.¹⁴ Grove's decision to announce the RCM initiative in the press paid dividends for it predictably precipitated an informal deputation from the RAM led by Mackenzie (see fig. 21) on 3 May, 1889, which resulted in the inauguration of a powerful alliance without causing embarrassment to either institution.¹⁵ In June Grove wrote to Edith Oldham to report on his progress.

Theirs [the RAM local examinations], as you know, have been for long very unsatisfactory and we received so many complaints and requests, that at last we announced our intention of holding some next year. Mackenzie was as dissatisfied with the state of the R. A. exams as anyone could be, and directly he joined them, began to reform: & seeing this notice came to us to know if we could amalgamate. So far all has gone well and I believe that the result will be that the standard will be very much improved, the exams be more thorough, and the result to the Country a great benefit. It is not ripe for mentioning yet but there will be a proper notice put out before the end of July.¹⁶

The mere suggestion of 'such an "unholy alliance"' with an institution the RAM professors had consistently 'viewed with disdain and not a small amount of jealousy' inevitably stuck in their craw;¹⁷ however, their objections fell on deaf ears.

5.2 THE FOUNDATION OF THE ASSOCIATED BOARD

The Associated Board of the Royal Academy of Music and the Royal College of Music was founded on 17 June 1889 at a meeting at the Royal Institution.¹⁸ Essentially a RCM initiative, the inaugural meeting was chaired by the Royal Commissioner and RCM Council member, Lord Charles Brudenell-Bruce who later became Chairman of the Associated Board. An amateur organist who practised daily at the RCM, Bruce had worked with Grove on the foundation of the College from 1882. For all the semblance of egalitarianism between the two institutions, it was all too evident that the RCM held the trump cards. Not only was the

¹⁴ EFM(RCM) 2 (13 December, 1888), RCMA S0013-2, pp. 233f.

¹⁵ EFM(RCM) 2 (16 May, 1889), RCMA S0013-2, pp. 285f.

¹⁶ MS AL GG to EO (24 June, 1889), RCMA, p. 117, No. 232.

¹⁷ Barker (1999), p. 16.

¹⁸ CMM(RAM) 11 June, 1884 to 9 April, 1892, (29 June, 1889), RAMA, p. 281.

chairman a RCM man, those who had been invited to attend inaugural meeting included the some of the most significant representatives of British music with RCM connections. Grove, Stainer, Sullivan and Parry (who later went on to represent the RCM on the Board of Management) all enjoyed enviable reputations on a national scale. By contrast those representing the RAM—Mackenzie, Randegger (in lieu of Thomas Threlfall who was absent abroad), James Dewar and Frederick Westlake—were neither as accomplished nor did they enjoy similar recognition or influence.¹⁹ Membership of the first Board of Management was biased in favour of the RCM at a ratio of 7:5 (see above) and included Stainer in his capacity as Professor of Music at Oxford and Inspector of Schools.

THE ASSOCIATED BOARD OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF MUSIC AND THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF MUSIC (1889)

The Right Hon. The Lord Charles Bruce ^{RCM}
 Dr Alexander Mackenzie Mus.D. Oxon., Cantab., et Dunedin ^{RAM}
 Sir George Grove, C.B., D.C.L., LL.D.* ^{RCM}
 James Dewar ^{RAM}
 Sir Edward Hamilton ^{RCM}
 Dr Hubert Parry, Mus.D. Oxon et Cantab. ^{RCM}
 Alberto Randegger ^{RAM}
 Sir John Stainer, D.Mus. Oxon *Professor of Music in the University of Oxford* (1889) ^{RCM}
 Sir Arthur Sullivan, Mus.D. Oxon et Cantab. ^{RCM}
 Franklin Taylor ^{RCM}
 Thomas Threlfall ^{RAM}
 Frederick Westlake ^{RAM}
 His Honour Judge Meadows White, Q.C.

George Watson added the position of Registrar at the Associated Board to the one he occupied at the RCM since 1884. Similarly, membership of the list of Associated Board Local Centre examiners was weighted in favour of the College at a ratio of 22:19 (see Appendix 4.1). As such, nobody could deny that the 'list of examiners...testifies to the importance which the Board attach to these examinations being carried out on a sound basis in the presence of two examiners at each centre indicates the thoroughness with which it is

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 281.

intended they shall be conducted.²⁰ By any standards, the RCM representatives were formidable members of the Board compared with those from the RAM, even accounting for Mackenzie.

The concept of regional examinations in music had emerged from a perceived need to provide authoritative, specialised and sophisticated instruction in music to a broader demographic than that devised by Forster in the 1870 Education Act. As outlined in the RCM charter of 1883 (see Appendix 3.2, p. 36), such an initiative had originally been anticipated to complement and reinforce elementary school music; however, the Associated Board effectively circumvented it altogether. The proliferation of private nineteenth-century institutions offering worthless diplomas, certificates and medals for profit had provided an alternative impetus for its establishment.²¹ The Board's remit was established to complement the philosophy of the RCM; consequently, it was also established to raise the standard of musical taste in England and also to improve the standard of taste more generally.²² Notice of the first examinations was published in *The Times* on 16 November, 1889.²³

Without exception, candidates were required to pass a preliminary assessment in the rudiments of music before being presented for the examination itself. This comprised harmony questions on triads and their inversions formed on the degrees of the major and minor scales but no four-part writing was required.²⁴ Given the considerable RCM bias on the various Associated Board committees, it was hardly surprising that proposals to establish local examinations drawn up by Grove and Mackenzie bear all the hallmarks of the original

²⁰ 'Local Examinations in Music' *The Times* (16 November, 1889), p. 9.

²¹ See MS AL GG to EO (10 June, 1888), RCMA, p. 204; No 77.

²² 'The Royal College of Music' *The Times* (21 July, 1891), p. 8. Report of the second annual meeting of the Associated Board.

²³ MS AL GG to EO [2 February, 1891], RCMA, f. 343; No 77. See also MS AL GG to EO (16 February, 1888) RCMA.

²⁴ CM(RCM) 1 (24 October, 1889), RCMA S0011-1, p. 128. See draft of Local Examinations syllabus dated 1890 and pasted onto p. 128.

RCM scheme. That profits and expenses alike were to be defrayed equally by each institution proved to be the one egalitarian gesture.²⁵ Local Centre examinations in Theory, Instrumental Music and Vocal Music were each divided into two grades, Junior and Senior. By any standards the pieces set for the Junior Grade required an advanced level of accomplishment from candidates (see Appendix 4.0). None of the repertoire set for the Junior Grade could ever have been described as elementary. As such the examinations did nothing to nurture the talent of the novice. The predominance of works from the German canon by Bach, Beethoven, Handel, Mozart, Mendelssohn and Schumann, in the examination repertoire certainly suggests Grove's input. This was a policy adopted by Grove for RCM concerts (see Appendix 3.23) Moreover, the standard set for the Senior Grade was more rigorous still. To have set such demanding requirements for both examinations was a bold step. A principle adopted by Cole that underpinned the NTSM entrance examinations, it had significantly undermined the School's ability to field the full complement of orchestral instruments. For the Associated Board Junior Grade in Theory, candidates were required to complete an analysis of Beethoven's *Piano Sonata No 2 in G Minor*, Op. 14., realize exercises on common chords, discordant triads and their inversions, and chords of the seventh, both diatonic and chromatic and the option existed for a viva voce. Seniors were required to provide an analysis of Beethoven's *Piano Sonata No 3 in D Major*, Op. 10; harmonise a melody; add parts to a figured bass, exemplifying diatonic and chromatic concords, passing notes, suspensions and discords of the seventh and ninth (diatonic and chromatic), and augmented sixths, and to analyse species counterpoint in not more than three parts.

Successful candidates were to receive a certificate signed by both the Director of the RCM and the Principal of the RAM; however, these were intermediate examinations and

²⁵ Ibid., p. 9. See also CM(RCM) 1 (24 October, 1889), RCMA, pp. 127f. See schedule contained between pages 127 and 128. See also DM(RAM) 29 March 1889 to 22 March 1892 (24 June, 1889), p. 138.

successful candidates were accorded no right to append letters to their names, nor were they provided with any qualification to teach. In short, the Board was ‘actuated by a desire to make the standard of qualification so high that the certificate granted by them may be regarded as a distinction worthy of attainment and one which will encourage its recipients to persevere in the cultivation of music.’²⁶ Initially the approach seemed to have paid off. A year later 1,141 applications had been received from 46 different centres: 764 for the senior and 377 in the junior grade.²⁷ Of the 904 candidates who finally presented themselves for examination, 431 passed in the following subjects:

SUBJECT	EXAMINED	PASSED
Theory	110	27
Piano	666	327
Organ	19	13
Violin	43	25
Cello	1	1
Harp	1	1
Singing	64	37

The first Local Centre examinations took place on 10 March, 1890 (see Appendix 4.0). Forty-five percent of those examined had entered for the Senior Grade while 54% had entered for the Junior Grade;²⁸ however, the Local Centre Examinations had proved too difficult for many, such that a second set of Local School Examinations were established as a preliminary examination.²⁹ Once again examiners from the RCM outnumbered those from the RAM 9:4 (see Appendix 4.2). In many respects the Local School Examinations were also established to exercise a beneficial influence on the ‘elementary teaching of the Art, which at present is too often of a kind but little calculated to further the development of sound musical culture.’³⁰ The initiative proved successful: in 1891, a total of 3,612 students applied to be examined under both systems (see Appendices 4.3 and 4.4). Entrance was by no means

²⁶ ‘Local Examinations in Music’ *The Times* (16 November, 1889), p. 9.

²⁷ AR(ABRAM&RCM) ABRMSA, p. 2.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 4f.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 2f.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 4f.

restricted to the school age population and the certificates were intended to be much more than a mere vehicle for licensing musicians.

For the most part the objects which approve themselves to us are not so much the award of well-deserved certificates—which is supposed by the mass of unthinking people to be the main object—but to give people something definite to work for; to counteract a tendency to sipping and sampling which so often defeats the aspirations of gifted beings, and also to give people all over the Empire opportunities to be intimately acquainted with the finest kinds of musical art, and to maintain standards or interpretation and an attitude of thoroughness in connection with music which will enable it to be most fruitful of good.³¹

In theory, the Associated Board was intended to provide the widest class of musician with rigorous instruction from new, meticulously prepared performing editions, thereby establishing a reputation for excellence from the outset. Ernst Pauer, and his son Max, had fingered the piano repertoire with ‘exhaustive care’.³² The majority of candidates presented themselves for examinations in piano and singing. This was caused partly by an emphasis on singing by ear in the elementary school music curriculum, which was encouraged by a state grant to schools of £43,000 per annum.³³ To some extent, it was a policy reinforced by the Associated Board, whose examinations were offered in piano, voice, organ, violin and cello; consequently, it did little at this stage to improve the paucity of woodwind, brass, viola and double bass players presenting themselves for the RCM scholarship examinations. Stanford’s solution was to suggest publishing officially authorised text books under the auspices of the Associated Board in the hope that singing by ear would be abandoned in favour of singing by note. The introduction of an efficient system of music education founded on folk music—‘the germ from which great composers have come’—would eradicate what he felt to be the existing mischievous and haphazard system of training and contribute to the RCM’s ability to improve England’s musical taste at the grass roots; however, the inability of many

³¹ Quoted in *The Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music 1889-1948* (author not named; London: The Associated Board, 1948), p. 7.

³² ‘Recent Music’ *The Times* (26 December, 1890), p. 2; Issue 33205; col. D.

³³ Stanford (1908), p. 47. From a lecture ‘Music in Elementary Schools’.

schoolmasters to read music naturally presented a significant hurdle and one that the RCM considered resolving alone.³⁴

The establishment of an elementary junior RCM, once Charles Freake's building had been vacated, was proposed in September 1892; even though Grove drew up a constitution, it came to nothing during his tenure as Director and Parry was left to implement the initiative in February, 1896.³⁵ In practice, the concept of the Associated Board as a vehicle for improving national musical taste across the class divide was nothing short of a Utopian aspiration; however, it did not prohibit the Board of Management from extending its remit to include India and the colonies from March, 1893. In many respects, this marked the realisation of the colonial objective set out in the 1883 charter of the RCM; however, profits were to be channelled into a special fund to support music in the dominions rather than initiatives closer to home.³⁶ The examinations were aimed at pupils whose instrumental instruction was often, if not invariably, provided by private music teachers, which all but ensured that the Local Examinations were exclusively the preserve of the middle classes or the *nouveau riches* who could afford such luxuries. As such, the Liberal philosophy, enshrined in the RCM charter and policy, was powerless to effect any solution.

Given the situation only six years earlier, considerable progress had been made and the language of *The Times's* coverage of the fourth annual dinner speaks of two institutions with shared objectives, 'actuated by the same spirit'. The improvement in their relationship can be no better illustrated than by the Duke of Edinburgh's appointment as President of the RAM, having cut his teeth nearly a decade earlier as Chairman of the Committee of Management of

³⁴ Ibid., p. 53. From a lecture 'Music in Elementary Schools'.

³⁵ MS AL GG to EO (24 September, 1892), RCMA and MS AL GG to EO (4 December, 1892), RCMA. See also CM(RCM) 2 (10 February, 1896), RCMA S0011-2, pp. 89f.

³⁶ EFM(RCM) 4 (16 March, 1894) RCMA S0013-4, p. 35.

its fiercest rival, the NTSM.³⁷ The establishment of the Associated Board represented the conclusion of further attempts at unification until the abortive 1980s reforms proposed by the Education Minister, Sir Keith Joseph. Mutual co-operation between the two schools ensured the success of a number of initiatives throughout the 1890s and first decade of the twentieth century and opposition to two initiatives that threatened to undermine the autonomy exercised by each royal school.

5.3 OPPOSITION TO THE BILL FOR THE REGISTRATION OF TEACHERS

The first of these was the ‘vile Bill’ before Parliament for the Registration and Organisation of teachers in May 1891. Grove considered it an usurpation not only of the RCM’s remit as outlined in the 1883 charter but also of the Associated Board.

There is a bill in Parliament for the Registration and Organisation of teachers which has occupied and excited us all very much. It proposes to exercise absolute command over all teachers and examinations of music. We, the Royal College of Music—whose charter gives us all but perfect command over the teaching and examination of music in England—are to be subject to the ignorance and caprice of a great random Board composed of university men, and heads of colleges and presidents of learned societies, no one of whom has any knowledge of the most intricate and peculiar subject in the world....³⁸

It seems, however, that Grove was more concerned that the Board of Inspectors would ‘have the power to walk into our House, and question me and tell me that we are all wrong and that our certificates are inaccurate &c.’³⁹ He also objected to the principle of ‘allowing so vast a mass of persons to be registered without examination’ for he feared it would be perceived to confer a licence where none was warranted.⁴⁰ In summary Grove maintained

It would seem...that the registration of teachers *en masse*, in the manner proposed by the Bill, is at present undesirable and virtually unattainable. And if it were attainable would it answer the purpose contemplated? Our experience shows that examination of teaching powers of candidates is very difficult and not wholly satisfactory; and we believe that a much surer way of testing teachers is to examine their pupils.⁴¹

³⁷ *The Times* (20 July, 1893), p. 7.

³⁸ Quoted in Graves (1903), p. 370.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 370.

⁴⁰ CM(RCM) 1 (15 May, 1891), RCMA S0011-1. The Petition to Sir William Hart Dyke is contained between pp. 171 and 172.

⁴¹ CM(RCM) 1 (15 May, 1891), RCMA S0011-1, p. 2 of the Petition.

Grove convened a committee comprising Charles Morley, Franklin Taylor, Walter Parratt, George Watson, and Lord Charles Bruce to draw up a manifesto uniting the RAM and the Associated Board to oppose it.⁴² Sullivan, Mackenzie and W. H. Cummings were heard in evidence before the Parliamentary Select Committee and Frederick Bridge was only prevented from attending in consequence of illness.⁴³ Whether or not Parliament was qualified to appoint suitable inspectors, there were certainly legitimate grounds to impose regulation. England was saturated with unqualified music teachers and bogus music colleges dispensing diplomas 'not worth the price of the paper on which they are printed'.⁴⁴ The foundation of the Musical Graduates' Union in 1892, supported by both university professors of music at Oxford and Cambridge, had been a response to the 'manufacture of degrees and the traffic in bogus diplomas'.⁴⁵ The Associated Board had already established its own list of recognised music teachers and the Bill was doubtless perceived to be a threat to the autonomy enjoyed by the Board itself.

Two years ago, we joined the Academy and formed the Associated Board of Examination for the purpose of starting a system of exams. on a proper basis, and with a proper band of competent examiners so as to put an end to the wretched system which has sprung up and is gradually substituting the possession of a certificate for the fact of being a good player. Already we have begun to exercise considerable influence in the right direction, not by examining teachers but by examining their pupils. And now all this 'promising beginning' is to be put a stop to. Each of our three bodies has sent in a remonstrance, and the whole matter is now before a Select Committee. All we want is to be let alone. But you can imagine the endless meetings and the weary conversations and debates before the whole thing came on me; and with my usual slowness it took me a great deal of trouble.⁴⁶

⁴² MS AL GG to EO (15 May, 1891), RCMA, f.369; No 77.

⁴³ AR(ABRAM&RCM) ABRMA (20 July, 1891), p. 22.

⁴⁴ 'The Manufacture of Degrees and Diplomas' *MT* (1 April, 1892).

⁴⁵ 'The Musical Graduates' Union' *MT* (1 November, 1892), pp. 654f. The Union had issued a circular in the names of Stainer (Oxford), Stanford (Cambridge), Bridge (Gresham Professor of Music), Henry Hiles (1826-1904) (Victoria University, Manchester) and Philip Arnes (1836-1908) (Durham).

⁴⁶ Quoted in Graves (1903), pp. 369-371. PL GG to ew (24 May, 1891).

That the Bill was passed excluding any specific mention of music demonstrates the power exercised by Grove and the two music colleges under the auspices of the Associated Board.⁴⁷ Nonetheless, the Government's attempt at regulation, with its potential to diminish the RCM's influence had served as a warning to Grove; consequently, he saw to it that Franklin Taylor was appointed to the Board of Inspectors. '[Taylor is] going to the Cape of Good Hope in July to examine all the schools of the Colony....That's my doing!'⁴⁸

5.4 OPPOSITION TO THE CHARTER OF THE ROYAL MANCHESTER COLLEGE OF MUSIC

The second initiative involved Sir Charles Hallé's Royal College of Music in Manchester. The foundation of a conservatoire in Manchester had been on Hallé's mind since 1852 (see p. 97) and Dr Bertram Mark had succeeded in founding two royal colleges of music there in 1858. Hallé had never been convinced of the merits of confining the finest music education to the capital in any country and dispelled the view that such multiplication was injurious to high standards in music, believing that such proliferation would provoke healthy and mutually beneficial competition as it did in Germany.⁴⁹ Hallé had called a public meeting at Manchester Town Hall on 3 December 1891 to discuss the expediency of establishing a conservatoire of music; however, his 'ridiculous tale that "there was more really good music going on and cultivated in Manchester than in London, and students would really have more opportunities of learning in the former city than in the metropolis," was evidently specially manufactured...to appeal to the vanity of the Manchester audience.'⁵⁰ If Hallé had intended not to antagonise the RAM and RCM, he was unsuccessful. Eagleton was not alone in thinking that 'a local school should be established...in close relation with the Royal Academy

⁴⁷ CR(RCM) 8 (30 April, 1891), RCMA p. 12.

⁴⁸ MS AL GG to EO [12 April, 1894], RCMA. Date annotated in pencil: 'Ap. 13 94'.

⁴⁹ Sir Charles Hallé: 'The Royal Manchester College of Music' *SMM*, Vol 1 (1895) p. 323.

⁵⁰ S. M. Eagleton: 'The Proposed Manchester College of Music' *MN* Vol. 3 (21 October, 1891), p. 394.

of Music and the Royal College of Music, much in the same way as is done in France with the local *Succursales* of the Paris Conservatoire.⁵¹

As if its inauguration on 4 May, 1892 had not sufficiently antagonised both London schools, Hallé had been directed by the RMCM Council to secure the services of the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Edinburgh in petitioning the Privy Council for a royal charter.⁵² Consent to allow use of the royal prefix had come directly from the Queen and contributed to an unfounded belief that chartered status would follow as a foregone conclusion, just as it had for the RCM:

Greenheys,
Manchester

5 May 93

Dear Mr Withers,

I see from the first page of the Petition it is said: 'the undersigned, being members of the Commons the approved &c. &c.' I cannot possibly ask the Prince to sign this, as the above description can not apply to him, but I will endeavour to get the Prince to say a good word for us to the President of the [Privy] Council and I feel certain that he will do so. I return you the Petition which, I think, ought to receive signatures without any delay. You will know best to whom to apply.

I am going to London to-day, but before then I expect Dr. Hiles'[s] visit at one o'clock and shall let you know the result.

Yours very truly,

Charles Hallé⁵³

The College was formally opened as the Royal Manchester College of Music on 2 October, 1893 with 76 students in what was described as a handsome building on land given by the College Treasurer and Council member, Charles Lees.⁵⁴ The premises included a large concert hall with seating for over 400 people. Unlike the provision at the RCM, the hall at

⁵¹ Eagleton (1891), p. 393.

⁵² CM(RMCM) (18 April, 1893) RNCMA, paragraph 44.

⁵³ MS AL CH to SW (5 May, 1893), RMCMA. Dr Hiles was later appointed professor of harmony and composition.

⁵⁴ Sir Charles Hallé: 'The Royal Manchester College of Music' *SMM* (1895), pp. 324f.

the RMCM was sufficiently insulated to allow classes to continue on three of its four sides undisturbed.⁵⁵

The historian and first Vice-Chancellor of Victoria University, Dr (later Sir) Adolphus William Ward (1837-1924), was appointed Chairman of the RMCM Executive Committee, which later became the Council. A pioneer in the arts, Ward was at the vanguard of university education: it was he who transformed history into a professional university discipline. In 1875, with three other members of staff, he had advocated the transformation of Manchester's Owens College into an independent university; instead, the federal Victoria University was founded in 1880, to which the colleges at Liverpool and Leeds were subsequently added. Ward's involvement with the RMCM allowed the Council the opportunity to establish an 'organic association' with Owens College by virtue of which students of the College of Music could proceed to musical degrees granted by Victoria University, which in theory gave it equal status with the RCM.⁵⁶ £1,800 had been provided to cover the inauguration costs and an additional annual emolument of £2,000 for 5 years.⁵⁷ Its name alone had provoked Grove's initial objection: simply styled the College of Music, the subsequent royal appellation had inevitably caused confusion and Hallé wrote to the College Registrar, Stanley Withers, to suggest an alternative.

To-day I have received your letter regarding Sir G. Grove's objection to our title. I shall willingly see him on the subject, but I must honestly confess that I also think the similarity of title most unfortunate & liable to lead to much confusion and misconception. Of course this similarity has only become conspicuous through the addition of the title 'Royal', which has been an afterthought, but gives us the appearance of either being a copy of, or in opposition to the London Royal College. If the Council could see their way to change the appellation to Royal Conservatoire of Music any objection would be removed, I think, and on the whole I believe the title to be a better one & more comprehensive. Everybody knows what a conservatoire means, and we should, I believe, be the only 'Royal' one in the Kingdom. Please summon the Council at once to submit this idea and get their decision upon it, for in the meantime, I shall be unable to do anything decisive.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 324.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 324.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 19.

I will take the first opportunity to ask the Prince of Wales to become our first President, but, supposing he did not feel inclined, might I then ask the Duke of York?

...Should we have to change the title to 'Conservatoire' (the only one possible) we could easily announce that we do so in order to avoid possible confusion with the Royal College, London. The trifling cost & trouble of changing the Prospectus would be well repaid by the removal of any aspiration between us and the London Institutions.⁵⁸

If the ubiquitous Parisian model had informed Grove's philosophy for the RCM, it was fundamental to Hallé's vision for the new Manchester College. Like the RCM, the RMCM was to be cast in the mould of the Continental conservatoire; however, Hallé's thinly veiled desire to distance the Manchester College from the RAM and RCM, had little effect and the title, Royal Manchester College of Music was retained. The application to the Privy Council for a royal charter was signed by northern MPs and the case in favour of the RMCM shared many of its objectives with those contained within the RCM prospectus of 1882; indeed, the correspondent in *The Times* claimed that establishment of the RCM in 1883 had 'stimulated the desire for a similar college in the north.'⁵⁹ Projected to educate 252 musicians at capacity, the RMCM had already enrolled 110 fee-paying students by the end of the third term, who contributed an additional annual income of £3,300.⁶⁰ The College's provincial remit all but guaranteed grants from regional bodies in a way that had hitherto been denied Grove and the national RCM, which had been required to consider approaching Parliament directly. Both Lancashire and Cheshire County Councils had agreed to set aside funds to support the three state-funded scholarships and Hallé pressed for the establishment of an endowment to create open scholarships on the foundation. Similarities to the RCM were inevitable: even some of the language employed in the petition to the Privy Council had been lifted straight from the RCM prospectus.

⁵⁸ MS AL CH to SW (7 July, 1893), RMCM/ See also: Hallé *SMM* (1895), p. 324. Evidently both the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York refused for Sir William Houldsworth, Bt, MP was appointed President instead.

⁵⁹ Hallé *SMM* (1895), p. 19.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

The purposes for which the petitioners seek to be incorporated are: First, the advancement of the art of music by means of a teaching and examining body charged with the duty of providing musical instruction of the highest class and of rewarding with diplomas and certificates of proficiency and otherwise persons educated at the college who on examination may prove themselves worthy of such distinction: and, secondly, the promotion and supervision of such musical instruction in schools and elsewhere as may be thought most conducive to the cultivation and dissemination of the art of music in the North of England.⁶¹

In one sense this should have come as no surprise. In 1890, perhaps due to the influence of Edith Oldham, the Royal Irish Academy of Music had begun to award a similar certificate.

...the Board had under consideration the question of a suitable course for examinations for Diplomas and Certificates of Proficiency...and suggest to the Governors one annual examination, and to adopt as far as possible the regulations laid down for similar purposed by the Royal College of Music, London...⁶²

The RCM was an institution Hallé knew well: he had attended the various meetings at which the College manifesto had been published in the early 1880s and had acted as an examiner on many occasions throughout Grove's Directorate. Hallé's philosophy for his Manchester college was more straightforward than Grove's vision for the RCM: 'one vital aim of the College was by the thoroughness in its teaching, if possible, to make artists of its students.'⁶³ In Dublin, the RIAM had been founded in 1848 but its position in Ireland posed little or no threat to the RCM; if anything, the opposite had been true. Three out of six Irish students to enter the RCM in 1883 had begun their initial training at the RIAM: Francis Bulkley, Edith Oldham, and Louisa Kellett from Dublin.⁶⁴ By contrast, the foundation of the RMCM was perceived by Grove to represent a serious threat to the London schools.

The RMCM's application for chartered status in 1893 provoked a response from Grove and Mackenzie as representatives respectively of the RCM and RAM and also of the Associated Board. They sent a joint petition to the Privy on behalf of the RAM and RCM in which six objections were sustained against the RMCM's own petition to the Privy Council

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 19.

⁶² Pine and Acton (1998), p. 436.

⁶³ Hallé *SMM* (1895), p. 325.

⁶⁴ Pine and Acton (1998), p. 112.

for chartered status. As a new foundation, the RCM's reputation as a teaching institution had yet to be established, despite Hallé's protestations that this was unnecessary. Yet this had not been a requirement for the RCM a decade earlier. Furthermore, the RCM's financial security appeared only to be assured for five years, just as it had been at the NTSM. The indiscriminate award of chartered status, they claimed, would not only have served to undermine the authority of those institutions that already possessed it, it would have diminished the cachet enjoyed by the two senior foundations. Reformation of the LRAM (Metropolitan Examination) and the high standards required for the ARCM (Certificate of Proficiency) had established the diplomas of the royal schools as some of the most coveted in the land and exclusivity merely increased their value. By far the most significant of the Hallé's proposals was his attempt to ally the RCM with the Government as an inspectorate of school music. Both Grove and Mackenzie understandably interpreted it as a direct attempt to usurp the national remit of the RCM and the Associated Board (see Appendix 5.0; p. 503, paragraph D).

The Council may enter into any engagements with the Government respecting musical instruction in elementary or other Government Schools, including the inspection of Schools, the conduct of examinations, the providing wholly or partially for the supply or education of musical teachers, the appropriation of scholarships or otherwise to persons educated in such Schools, and any other matter in relation to the promotion of Music in connection with Government aid which may be thought expedient.⁶⁵

While concepts enshrined in the RCM charter, including its name, had been taken from Dr Bertram Mark's short-lived 1858 foundations, at least Grove and the Prince of Wales had not deliberately set out to undermine an existing institution.

With the return of Gladstone and the Liberals to power in 1892, the RCM had been granted a meagre government grant of £500 per annum a year earlier: any competition would not simply have diminished its chances to effect an increase, it would have removed

⁶⁵ EFM(RCM) Vol. 4 (1894) RCMA S0013-4, p. 162.

any opportunity to attain the comprehensive state funding anticipated in the 1882 prospectus. Naturally both the RAM and RCM were keen to retain their monopoly not only over the music profession but over music education. The establishment of the Associated Board of the RAM and RCM, with the Prince of Wales as its President, effectively granted both London schools the whip hand. One hundred and seven local centres had been established between 1889 and 1894 to administer the Associated Board's Local School Examinations and there were more than 400 schools on its register; consequently, affordable music education, with qualifications recognised by the music profession, had been put within the reach of even the most impecunious. The three final objections were perhaps the most withering:

One of the chief difficulties which the existing chartered institutions have to encounter in their efforts to improve the general musical education of the country is the increasing number of examinations for musical diplomas, certificates, and marks of distinction offered by irresponsible bodies. The results of such multiplication of examinations are: (1) a want of uniformity in the standard of excellence required; (2) the temptation to make the granting of certificates, &c., a matter of private speculation; (3) the endeavour to secure large numbers of candidates by making a 'pass' so easy as to be no real test of merit, whereby the public are deceived, and the standard of musical education and the *status* of the profession itself are lowered.⁶⁶

The establishment of the RCMCM was not simply destined to complement the RCM and RAM; rather, it was seen by Grove and Mackenzie as a direct threat to the autonomy enjoyed by the senior institutions. Grove's primary objection was that the RCMCM claimed 'to do all the things that our Charter authorizes us to do "in the Kingdom"'.⁶⁷ Hallé's desire to create a College intended to be 'a Manchester institution only in the accident of its locality [to] serve the needs and requirements of as large a portion of the north of England as should be inclined to take advantage of it' naturally caused Grove great concern.⁶⁸ The area surrounding Manchester, including the towns and cities of Liverpool, Leeds, Bradford,

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 162.

⁶⁷ MS AL GG to EO (4 March, 1894), RCMA.

⁶⁸ Hallé *SMM* (1895), p. 324.

Sheffield, Blackburn, Bolton, Stockport and Warrington represented fertile ground to raise funds for the RCM's provincial scholarships. It was this very constituency, with its census of over six million people, that the campaign for RMCM scholarships was intended to target; consequently, Hallé's foundation threatened to remove a valuable income stream and destabilise the RCM at a stroke. The scale of the design would inevitably draw attention away from the London.

The professors comprised Helen Lemmens-Sherrington, the celebrated English soprano, to head the singing department; Willy Hess as conductor of the College Orchestra; Vieuxtemps, who had been on Grove's provisional list, and Carl Fuchs for strings; Kendrick Pyne, Organist of Manchester Cathedral, as professor of organ; Dr Watson as professor of the choral and sight-reading class and Hallé himself, Olga Neruda (Lady Hallé) and Frederick Dawson for piano.⁶⁹

The RCM charter had permitted it to form alliances with other institutions but this had been effected to allow it comprehensive control of the music profession through the affiliation of existing institutions. The manner in which Hallé and the Council of the RMCM had proceeded inevitably enraged Grove and Mackenzie who exacted a high price in revenge: not only did the RAM and RCM object individually, they were able to appeal to the Privy Council corporately through the Associated Board.⁷⁰ At the RMCM Council Meeting held on 4 July, 1894, it was 'reported that the case for the charter had been fully argued before the Privy Council and that the application of the College [RMCM] had been

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 324.

⁷⁰ 'The Royal Manchester College of Music' *The Times* (30 June, 1894), p. 19.

refused.⁷¹ The RAM and RCM had won and the RMCMA had incurred costs of £350 and had been required to pay Victoria University £60.14.0.⁷²

In 1895 an article on the RMCMA was published by Hallé as part of a series on English conservatoires in *The Strand Musical Magazine* where the opportunity was not missed to strike a blow at the RCM and RAM who had opposed the RMCMA petition for a royal charter:

In music there is no *royal road* to success. Alas! so many promising young students are led astray by the injurious praise of friends who think that an artist is born and not made, and that musicians of talent need little or no training. The theory so widely held that a 'few lessons' will do all that is necessary is a very mischievous one, and cuts at the root of all genuine musicianship. Indeed, it would be a much sounder maxim to propound that the more musical aptitude a pupil shows the greater is his need for thoroughly drastic training. Facility is the veritable pitfall of many would-be musicians. They learn easily, and are satisfied with mediocrity. Only those who are earnest enough to sit with patience at the feet of the great masters, and endeavour with infinite labour to wrest from [them] their secrets, can ever hope to be imbued with the true spirit of music, and become artists themselves. They must place themselves under the moulding influences of Bach and Beethoven and the rest, like clay in the hands of the potter, and try to apprehend their methods, and for the time of pupilage, as it were, *within* music itself. Such have been the traditions of the great music schools of the Continent, and our own aim has been, in a like way, to foster and develop the budding musician by placing him in an atmosphere saturated with music.⁷³

The RMCMA students were also required to observe rehearsals of Hallé's orchestral concerts at the Free Trade Hall and arrangements were made for students to attend the Gentlemen's Concerts, the Chamber Concerts and those of the Manchester Vocal Society. To all intents and purposes, there was little to distinguish the RMCMA from the RCM; despite Hallé's eloquence, chartered status was only finally awarded on 5 May, 1923, long after he had died, after a delay of nearly thirty years.⁷⁴

The third initiative that united both College and Academy was the debate over the foundation of a Faculty of Music attached to the University of London. The University had awarded both a B.Mus. and D.Mus. along conventional lines since 1879. Destined to add 'weight and authority to the University Faculty of Music', both the RAM and RCM had been

⁷¹ CM(RMCMA) (4 July, 1894), paragraph 264 RMCMA

⁷² CM(RCM) (4 July, 1894), paragraph 264. RMCMA

⁷³ Hallé *SMM* (1895) p. 325.

⁷⁴ Printed Copy of the Royal Charter of the Royal Manchester College of Music (5 May, 1923) RMCMA/C/3, p. 20. The application was made on 14 November, 1920. See also CM(RMCMA) (10 May, 1923), p. 257 RMCMA/

invited to become affiliated 'Schools of the University' assuming a position 'in relation to the University of London analogous to that existing between the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge and their respective Universities.'⁷⁵ An initiative that had been first discussed at the Executive and Finance Committee in 1887, Grove and Lord Charles Bruce had spoken at the preliminary meeting before the University of London Royal Commission in 1893.⁷⁶ In preparing his argument, Grove returned to many of the ideas that had informed the speeches in support of the RCM as part of the Manchester campaign in 1881:

I had a pleasant time on Thursday when I and Lord Charles went before the Royal Commission on the proposed new London University [Faculty of Music], and I had to describe College and answer questions as to our possibly becoming a part of it. Such things are generally a great nuisance to me, but I felt in good heart and enjoyed it very much. My evidence was interspersed with interludes on the relation of music to the other arts, history of English music, were Englishmen musical &c. all of which I enjoyed.⁷⁷

Grove can only have viewed the prospect of the RCM's involvement in the scheme as another opportunity to extend its sphere of influence over the music profession and this was one of a number of issues that finally brought discussions to an end. Four years after Grove's retirement, the matter came to a head. Despite six years of discussions, it had become clear that the scheme was unworkable. In reply to the London University Commission, the RCM Council stated that they 'cannot entertain the idea of applying for the College to be admitted as a School of the University in the absence of absolute and permanent guarantees against any interference with its course of teaching and Regulations, and against any risk to its Charter rights.'⁷⁸ Shortly afterwards, the RAM Directors followed suit and published their own report. In short, neither institution perceived there to be any advantage to be gained from such an arrangement. Given that London University music degrees were already available to anybody who wished to supplicate for them, whether

⁷⁵ CM(RCM) 1894-1900 Vol. 2 (2 November, 1899)

⁷⁶ EFM(RCM) (25 October, 1887), RCMA S0013-2, p. 140.

⁷⁷ MS AL GG to EO (12 February, 1893), RCMA.

⁷⁸ DM(RAM) (1 December, 1899), RAMA, p. 99a.

matriculated or not, neither the RCM nor the RAM could expect to see any increase in student numbers. While the RCM Council offered to provide members of its own staff to satisfy the dearth of competent University music teachers, it was a vain attempt to maintain lines of communication once negotiations had failed. The Report of the RAM Sub-Committee appointed to look into the issue had been signed by E. Macrory, W. Hugh Spottiswoode, Thomas Threlfall and Mackenzie. The RCM had yet again taken a leading role in matters concerning both institutions and this had put a strain on relations between them. Moreover, had the RAM proceeded, it could have been placed in a vulnerable situation; consequently, some of the old rivalries began to re-emerge.

[The] Sub-Committee holds strongly the opinion that the Royal Academy of Music would suffer a diminution of prestige by becoming associated on equal terms with inferior schools, and especially when the other Chartered Institution stands aloof; and [the] Sub-Committee holds this view without losing sight of the circumstance that the Royal College of Music already possesses the power of conferring degrees and may at some future time decide to exercise that power without consideration of the interests of the Royal Academy of Music.⁷⁹

As a result the matter was dropped.

5.5 CONCLUSION

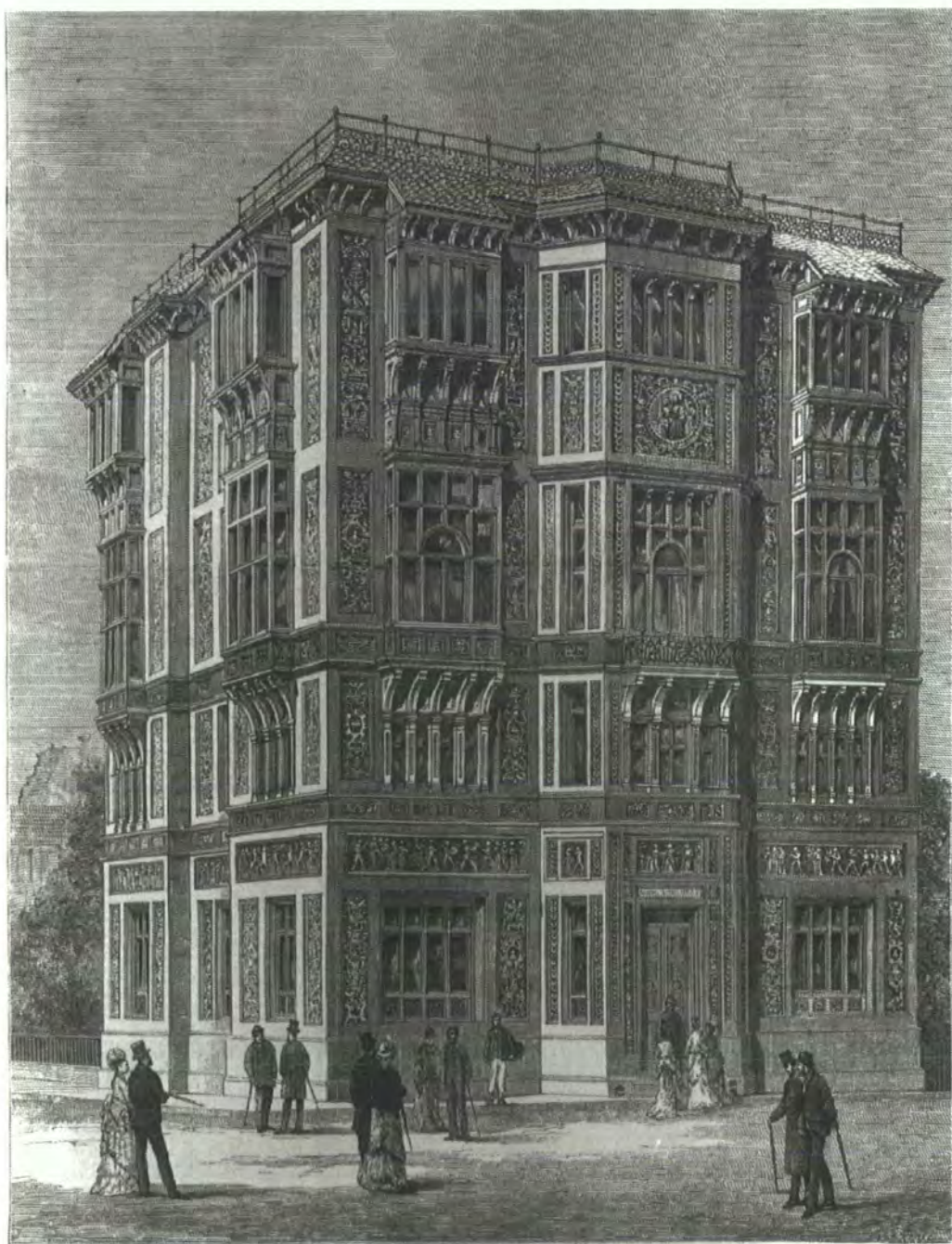
The foundation of the Associated Board in 1889 represented the final successful attempt to merge the work of RAM with that of the RCM. In 1878 amalgamation between the RAM and NTSM to form a new Royal College of Music had been motivated by financial considerations. By 1889, the RCM's reputation for excellence had been established such that Mackenzie viewed an alliance, not merely as a more convenient manner in which to administer the RAM's regional examinations but rather as an attempt to improve the RAM's beleaguered reputation by association. While Grove had hoped to incorporate the RAM completely into the RCM, the more measured approach adopted by the Prince of Wales led directly to the RAM's approach to establish a joint examination board.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 99.

Within five years the Associated Board had become a formidable and powerful presence within the music profession. As an institution with an imperial dimension from 1893, it conformed to Grove's vision for the RCM outlined in the 1883 charter. Insofar as its examinations were aimed at school children, it provided a systematic education that appeared to be absent from elementary school provision and helped to raise the standard of imperial and individual music making from the grass roots. By now the RCM and RAM were established at the head of the music profession. Opposition to Hallé's petition to gain chartered for the RMCM was justified. He had attempted to undermine and usurp the sphere of action occupied not only by the RAM but particularly the RCM. While Grove and Mackenzie succeeded in eliminating the RMCM's prospects in gaining chartered status within Hallé's lifetime, they were not equally successful in eradicating its establishment in direct competition to both royal conservatoires in London. If the foundation of the Associated Board and opposition to the RMCM and the Bill for the Registration of Teachers had stimulated a new-found co-operation between the RCM and RAM, discussions surrounding the involvement of both institutions in the creation of a new Faculty of Music at the University of London in 1893 had proved less fruitful. The RCM's domination of all joint initiatives finally proved to be an insurmountable obstacle. That the RCM enjoyed a monopoly on all the committees of the Associated Board was testament to Grove's intention to influence day-to-day RAM business in general and Mackenzie in particular. In opposing the Bill for the Registration of Teachers in 1891, Grove was able to extend the influence of the RCM further by seeing to it that Franklin Taylor was appointed to the Board of Inspectors. The failure of attempts to establish a Faculty of Music seems to have been caused in part by superciliousness on the part of the RCM, such that other than the

Associated Board further joint ventures appear not to have been undertaken until well into the twentieth century.

1. CHARLES FREAKE'S BUILDING FOR THE NATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOL FOR MUSIC
(USED FOR THE RCM BETWEEN 1883 AND 1894)



THE NEW NATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOL FOR MUSIC, KENSINGTON

1851 ROYAL COMMISSIONERS



2. The Right Honourable William Ewart Gladstone



3. Sir Philip Cunliffe-Owen ('Paris Exhibition')



4. Lord Charles Brudenell-Bruce ('Marborough')



5. Sir Lyon Playfair ('Chemistry')

NATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOL FOR MUSIC



6. H.R.H. The Duke of Edinburgh ("First Violin")



7. Sir Henry Cole ("King Cole")



8. Sir Arthur Sullivan ("English Music")



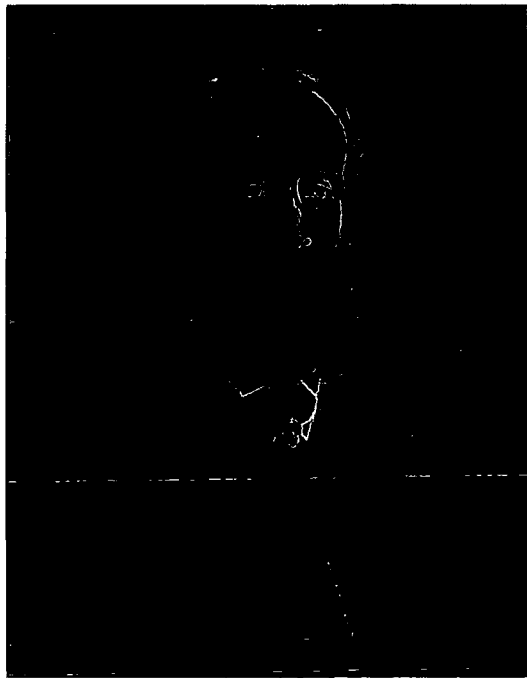
9. Sir John Stainer ("Oxford Music")



10. Harmony, or the Prince of Wales's Royal Minstrels



11. The Royal College of Music and International Fisheries Combination Cartoon
HRH Arion playing the scales to the Fishes



12. Sir Henry Leslie
RCM Council Member and formerly
Principal of the National College of Music



13. RCM Concert
(Duke of Edinburgh as Leader)

PUNCH'S FANCY PORTRAITS.—No. 92.



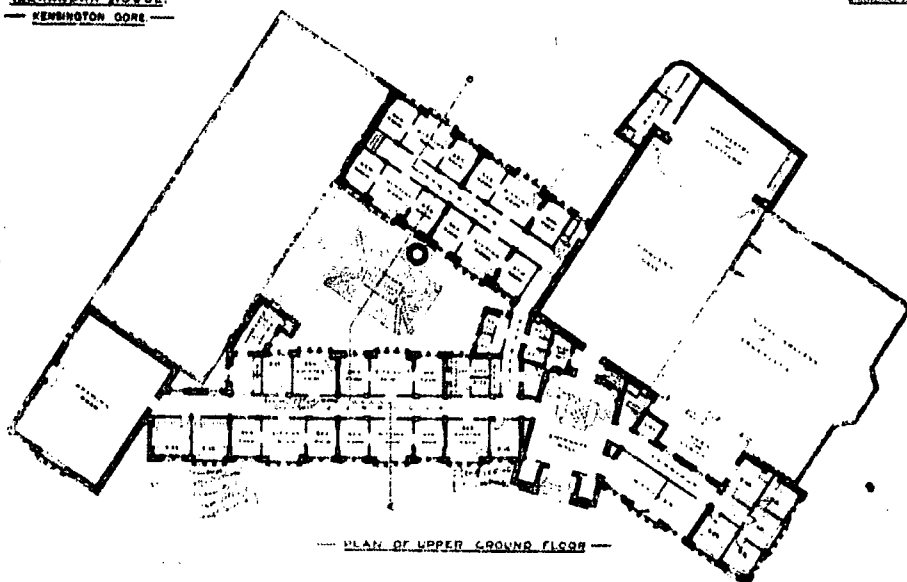
A FREAK OF FORTUNE.

"There was the weight that pulled me up, O Cromwell! Read!"
Shakespeare (South Kensington Edition).

14. Sir Charles Freake
(Benefactor and Builder)

ALEXANDRA HOUSE
— KENNINGTON GORE —

DRAWING NO. 2



— PLAN OF UPPER GROUND FLOOR —

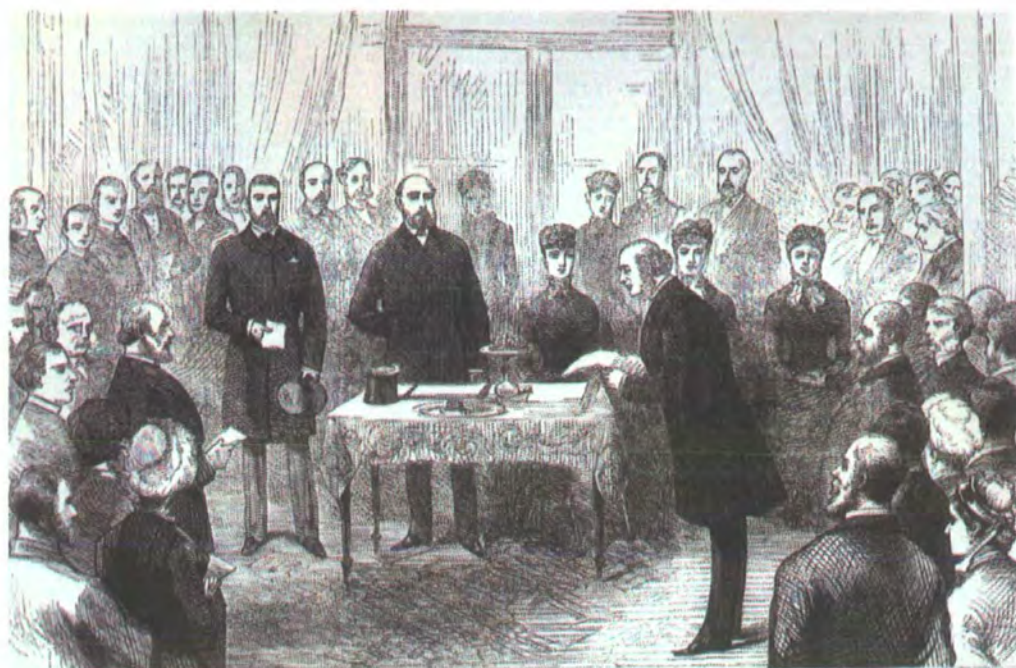
15. Upper Ground Floor Plan of Alexandra House
including Charles Freake's NTSM building (listed as Royal College of Organists).



16. Sir George Grove CB ('G')



17. Sir Frederick Bridge ('Westminster Bridge')



18. The Opening Ceremony of the Royal College of Music, 7 May, 1883

LONDON CONDUCTORS



19. Sir August Manns ("Crystal Palace")



20. Sir Henry Wood ("Queen's Hall")



21. Sir Alexander Mackenzie ("R.A.M.")



22. Sir Michael Costa ("Covent Garden")



23. RCM PROFESSORS 1912

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16.
 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26.
 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35.

1. Mr Aveling
 2. Mr Dan Price
 3. Mr Herbert Sharpe
 4. Mr Whitehouse
 5. Mr Rivarde
 6. Mr Marmaduke Barton
 7. Mr Egerton
 8. Mrs Bindon
 9. Mr Wotton
 10. Mr Holtnehoff
 11. Sir Charles Stanford
 12. Signor Rossi
 13. Mr Sons
 14. Mr Souton
 15. Mr Reakes
 16. Dr Davan Wetton
 17. Mr Garcia
 18. Mrs Hutchinson

19. Miss Daymond
 20. Miss Heywood
 21. Mr Pownall
 22. Sir C. Hubert H. Parry
 23. Madame Elieson
 24. Madame Henson
 25. Madame Thémoin
 26. Madame Oudin
 27. Mr Draper
 28. Mr Waddington
 29. Mr Visetti
 30. Mr Dunhill
 31. Dr Read
 32. Mr Franklin Taylor
 33. Sir Walter Parratt
 34. Senor Arbos
 35. Mr Sewell



THE LEEDS-FORGE BRASS BAND as it appeared at the ROYAL COLLEGE OF MUSIC.

(Photographed expressly, by kind permission of SAMBON FOX, Esq., C.E., J.P.)

24. The Leeds Forge Band



25. Charles Santley ('Student and Singer')



26. John Sims-Reeves ('The English Tenor')

ROYAL COLLEGE OF MUSIC



27. Sir George Grove at his RCM desk in 1894

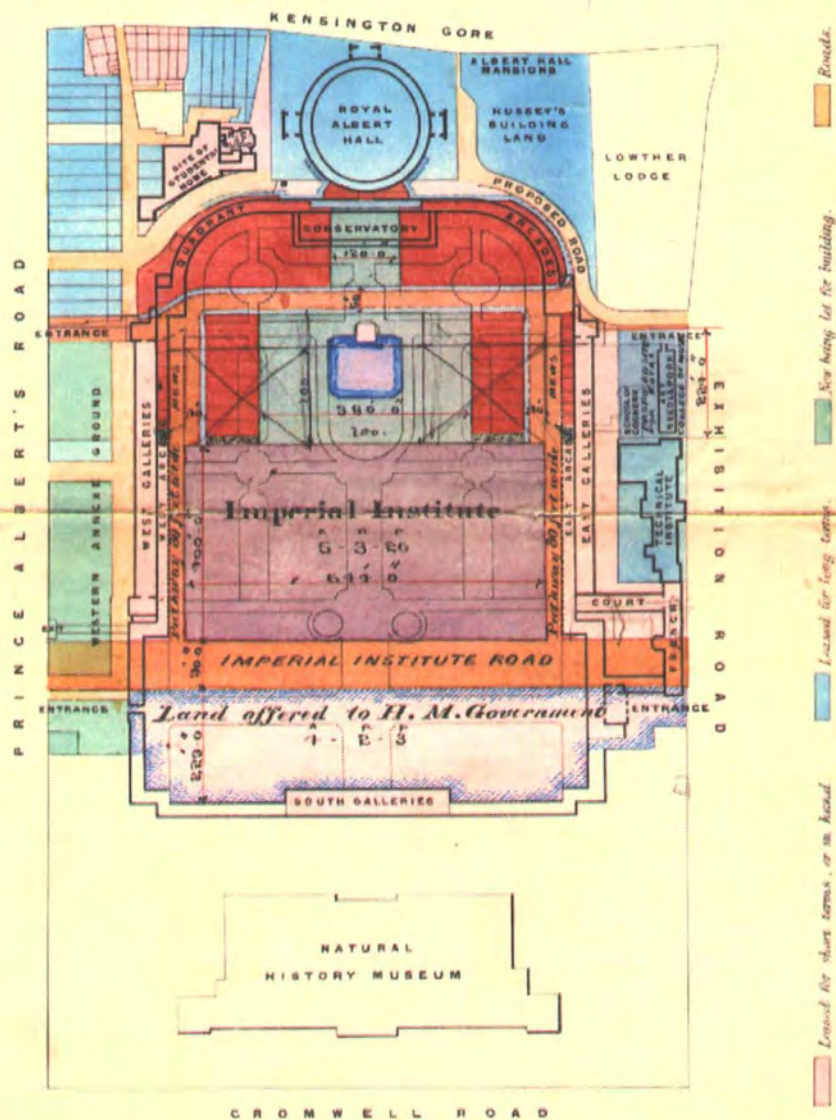


28. George Watson RCM Registrar

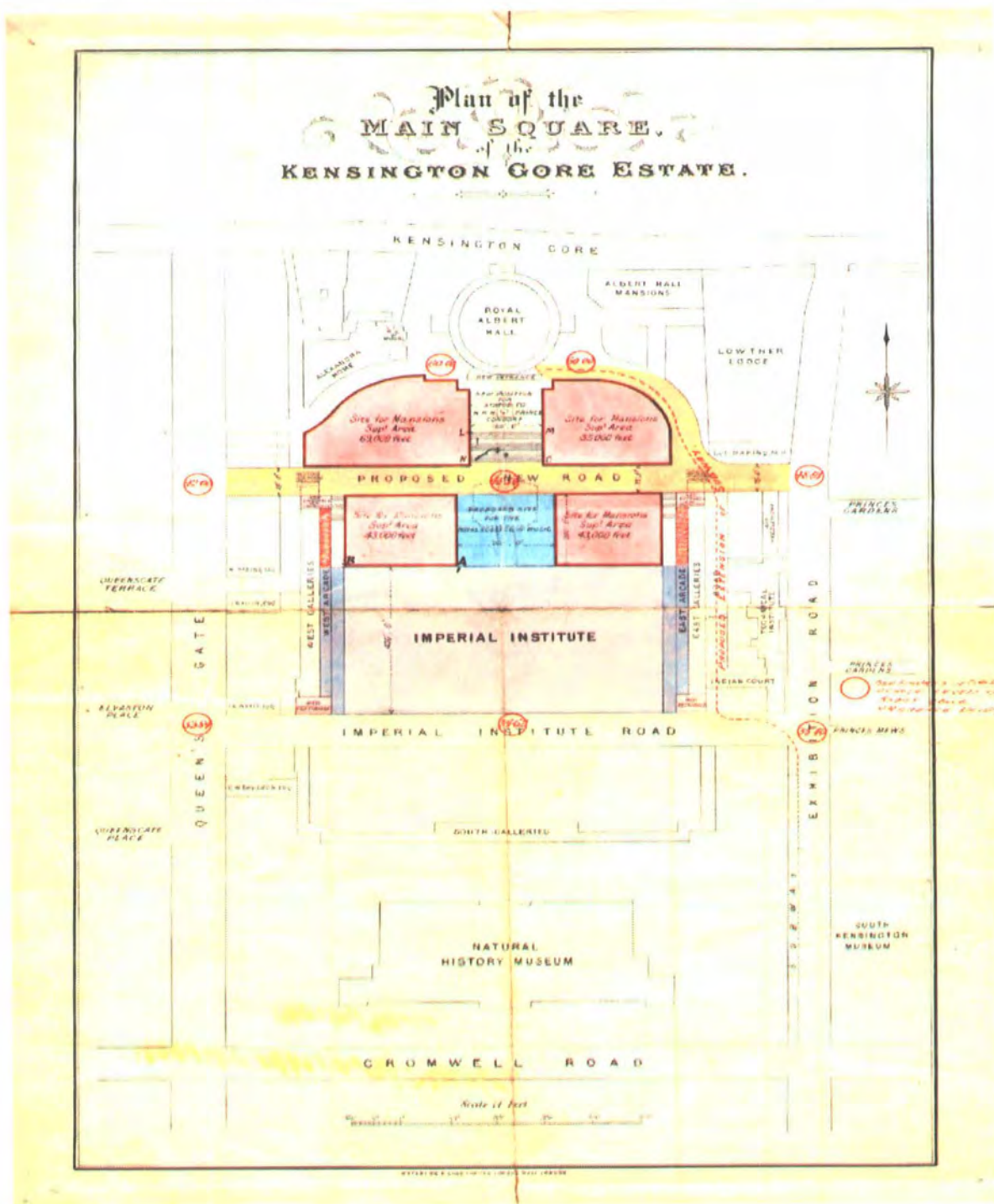


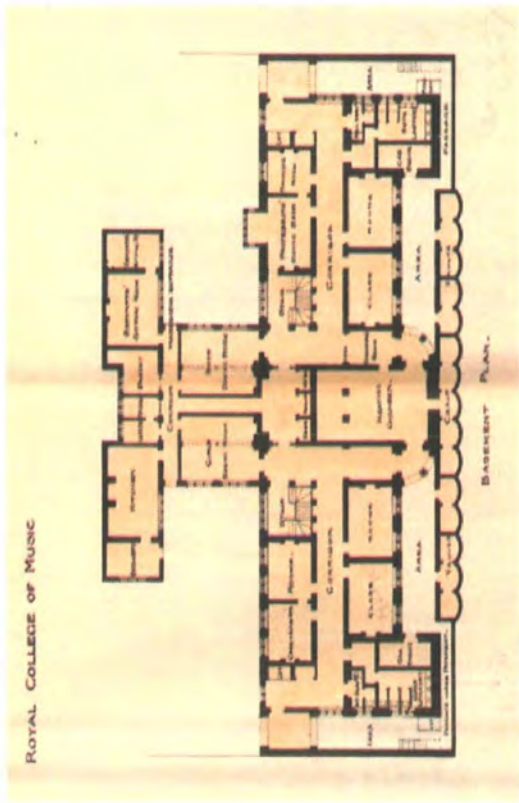
29. The 1894 RCM Building as originally envisaged by Grove: note wings stretching towards the Imperial Institute to create a quadrangle.

Plan of the
MAIN SQUARE
of the
KENSINGTON GORE ESTATE.

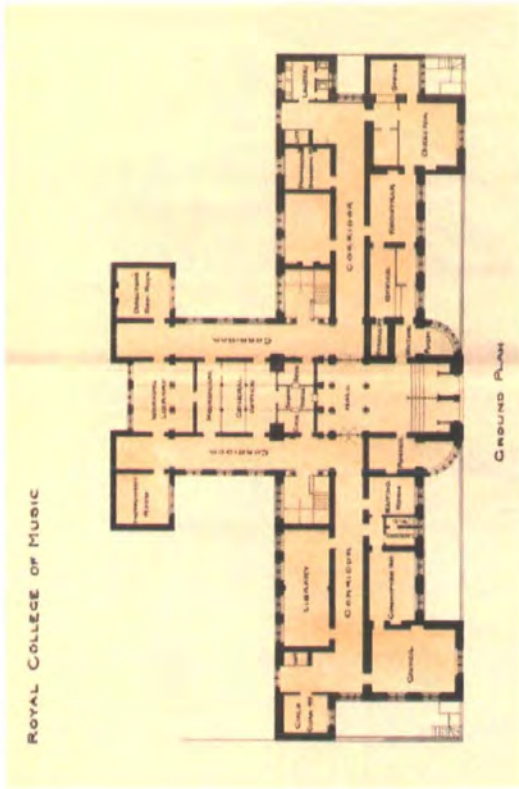


Wagon and Van Sales London

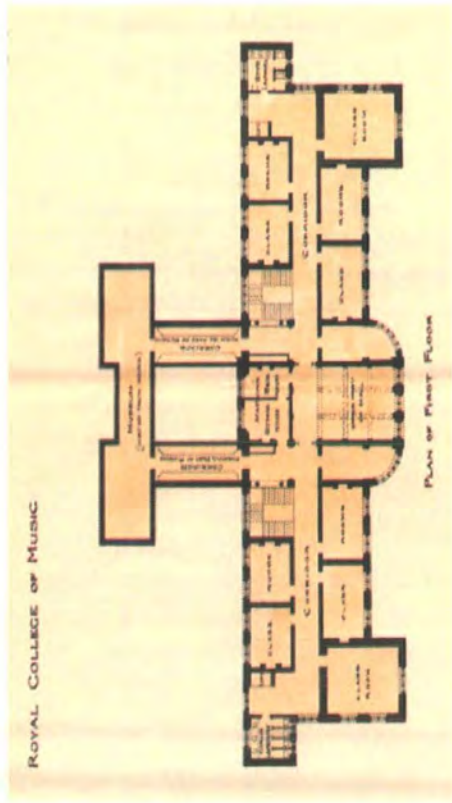




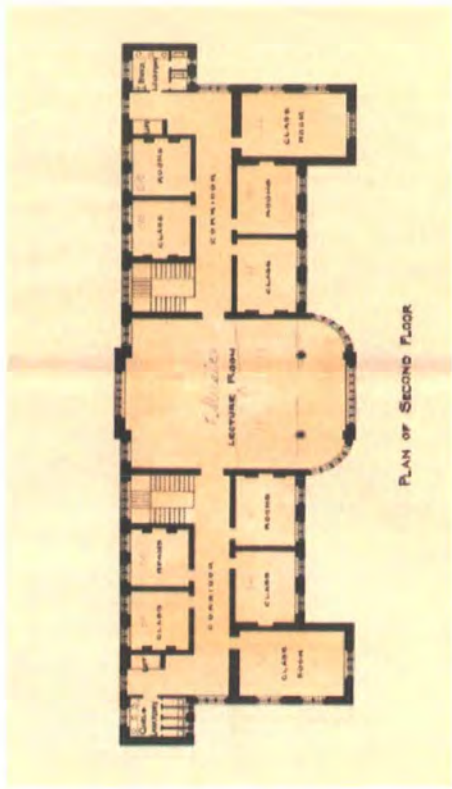
32.



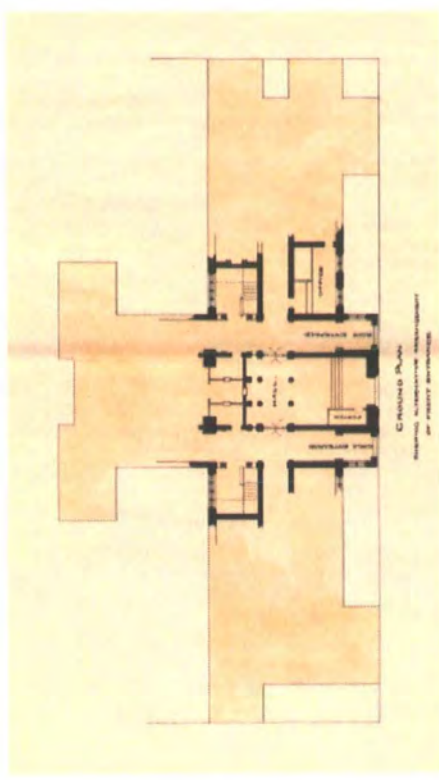
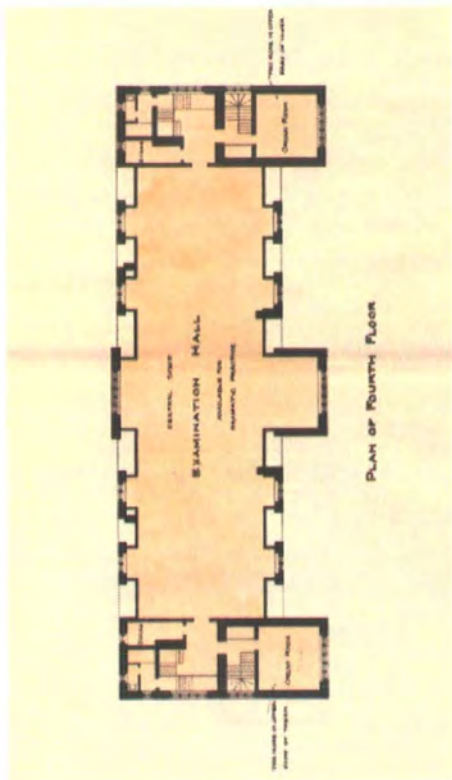
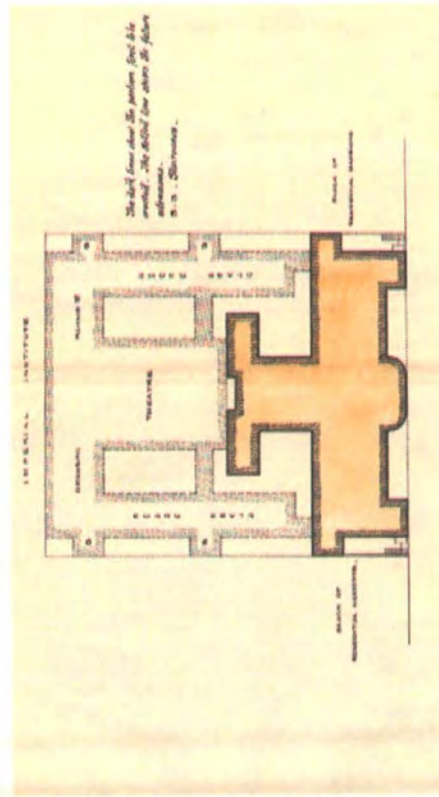
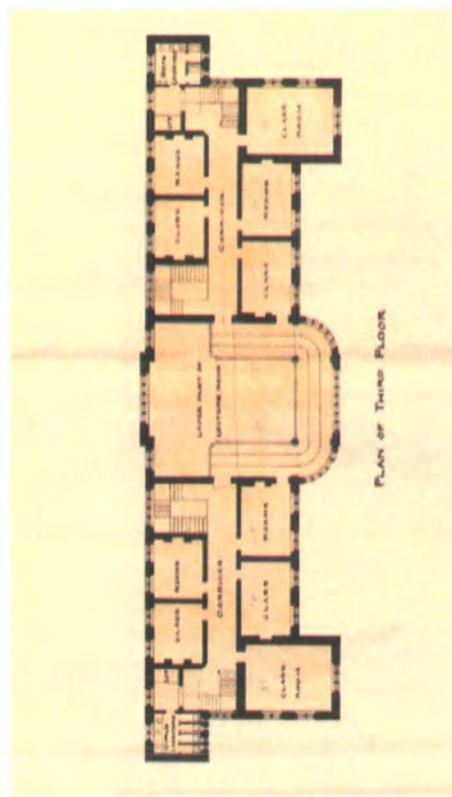
33.



34.

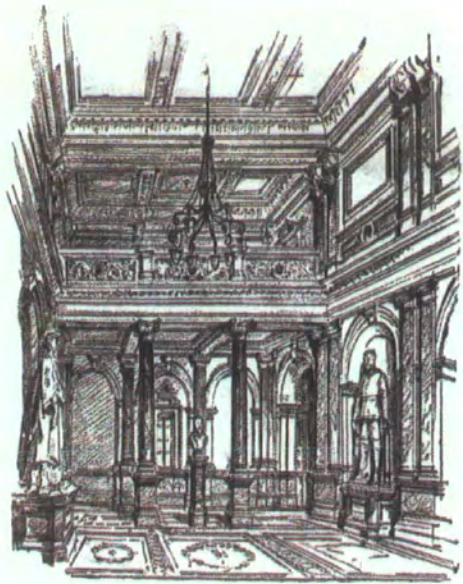


35.





40. Samson Fox hands the diamond-encrusted gold key to the new RCM Building to the Prince of Wales.



41. The RCM Entrance Hall decorated in marble and adorned with a bust of Samson Fox.



42. The George Donaldson Museum



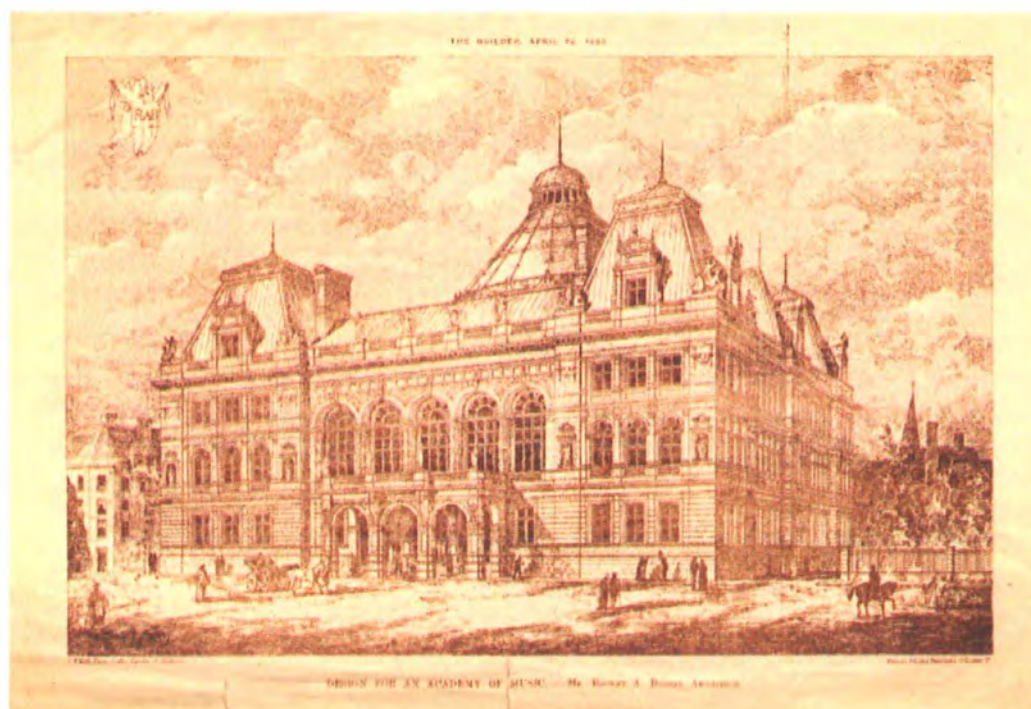
43. The State Opening of the new RCM Building in May 1894



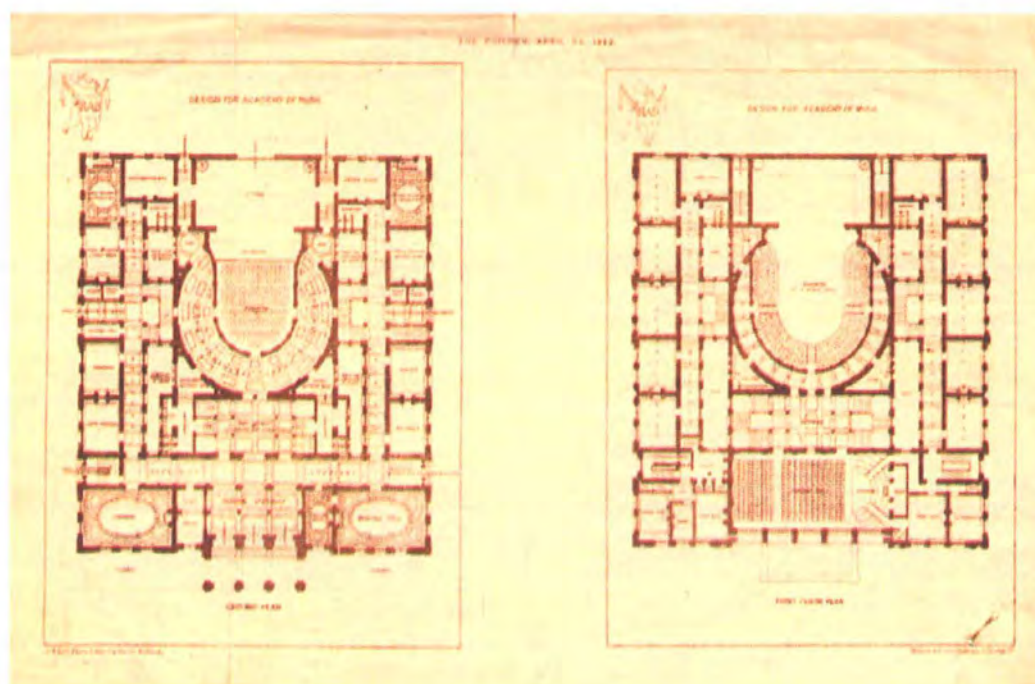
44. Samson Fox



45. Letter from R. A. Briggs to George Watson



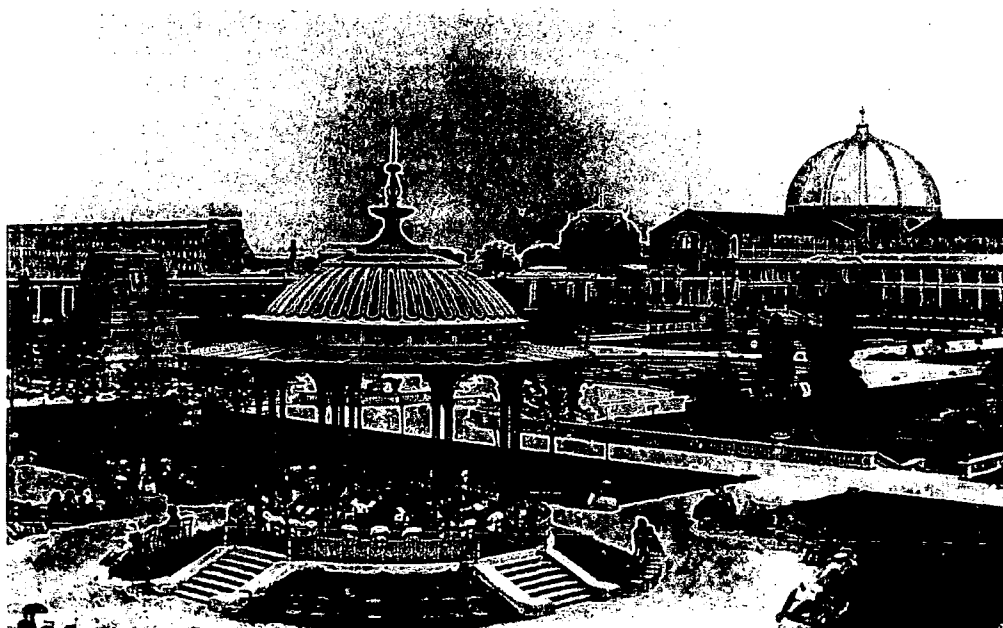
46. R. A. Briggs's Design for an Academy of Music



47. Floor Plans of R. A. Briggs's Academy



48. North Perspective of the Royal Horticultural Society Gardens.
The final position of Blomfield's RCM Building was just below the statue (see Fig. 30).



49. The Royal Horticultural Society Gardens looking South-West.



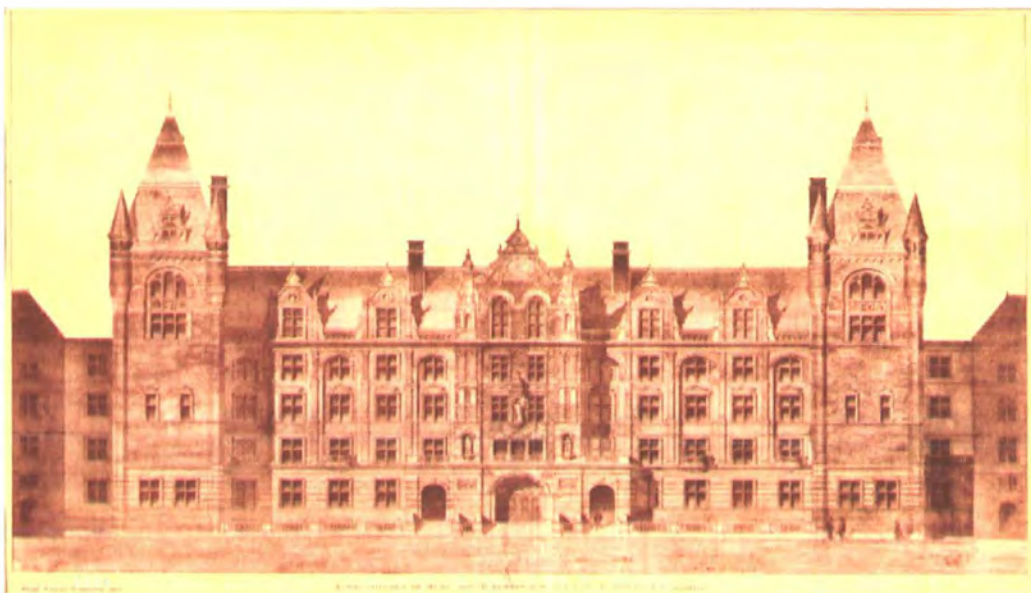
50. The Prince and Princess of Wales arrive for the State Opening of the Building in May 1894.



51. Sir Walter Parratt



52. Sir Walter Parratt's Room



53. The RCM as featured in the 1894 Edition of *The Builder*.



54. Prince Consort Road bedecked in bunting for the State Opening of Sir Arthur Blomfield's Building in May 1894.



TEMPORARY 'CONCERT' ROOM.
A Rheurnit, conducted by Dr. C. Villiers Stanford.

55. The 'Tin Tabernacle' at the RCM



56. Sir Charles Villiers Stanford
(He found Harmony in Ireland)



57. Joachim during a London performance of the
Beethoven Violin Concerto with the
Philharmonic Society Orchestra.

PART THREE

A School for Scandal?

CHAPTER SIX

Preparing the Ground for 'Chateau Fox'

CHAPTER SEVEN

The End of an Era:

The Circumstances leading to Grove's Resignation

CHAPTER SIX

Preparing the ground for 'Chateau Fox'¹

6.0 INTRODUCTION

The quest to provide the RCM with a new building had been part of Grove's agenda since the St James's Palace Meeting on 28 February, 1882. This was confirmed by the Prince of Wales in his inaugural speech on 7 May 1883 (see Chapter Three, p. 95). Between 1883 and 1894 the College temporarily occupied premises originally built for the NTSM with funds donated by Henry Cole's friend and ally, Sir Charles Freaque (see Fig. 14). Despite having been designed by Cole's son, the Royal Engineer, Lieutenant H. H. Cole for 300 scholars and staff, Freaque's building was later described by Parry as 'about the worst ever constructed for any purpose'.² From the outset Freaque's building was inadequate. Even with a mere 94 RCM students and scholars, the absence of sufficient space either for teaching or to allow for proper segregation of the sexes, alongside the substantial increase in the numbers of paying students from 1886 onwards, led Grove and the RCM Council to seek additional ground on the Kensington Estate on which to erect new College buildings. To this end, Grove began to petition the 1851 Commission for additional land from March 1887; however, a suitable benefactor had still to be found. By January, 1888, Grove and the Prince of Wales had succeeded in persuading the Yorkshire businessman, Samson Fox, to agree to fund the whole project at a cost of £45,000, possibly in return for a baronetcy.

The first site offered by the 1851 Commission to the RCM was that used by the Royal School of Art Needlework on Exhibition Road, adjacent to the Imperial Institute; however, Fox and Grove both considered it too small, not least because it offered little prospect for

¹ Archive of the Royal Commission of 1851: MS AL AE to LP (3 July, 1888), p. 127.

² Sir C. Hubert H. Parry: *College Addresses delivered to the Pupils of the Royal College of Music* ed. Henry Cope Colles (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd, 1920) p. 49.

expansion. It was after some discussion that the 1851 Commission and the RCM Council finally settled upon the considerably grander site behind the Royal Albert Hall, formerly the Royal Horticultural Society Gardens. Grove and the Prince of Wales had planned an ostentatious opening ceremony in May 1894 that had been designed to draw attention to the RCM. During May 1894, it had become clear that Fox's donation had unwittingly been financed by the share holders of his various water-gas companies rather than from his personal fortune; consequently, the RCM found itself embroiled in a controversy that was rehearsed in the pages of Jerome K. Jerome's magazine, *To-day*. While Fox's donation did fund part of Grove's vision for new premises, the absence of a Concert Hall was a serious failing for an institution that hoped to lay claim to the accolade of providing the finest facilities of any conservatoire across the Empire. During the early years of the RCM's occupation of Charles Freake's NTSM building, the absence of a concert hall seems to have stimulated a proposal to link the Royal Albert Hall with Freake's building by means of a bridge or tunnel in order to allow access to two small theatres, practice rooms, sitting rooms, and dining rooms under the 1851 Commissioners' control;³ however, the erection of Alexandra House with its own concert hall at least allayed some of the more pressing accommodation problems affecting the RCM in the short-term.⁴

6.1 ALEXANDRA HOUSE

On 30 June, 1884 the foundation stone was laid by the Princess of Wales for Alexandra House, the female students' hostel for those studying at the music and art colleges on the Kensington Estate, and Eaton Fanning, professor of the choral class, composed an anthem.⁵

³ Speeches at the St James's Palace Meeting (28 February, 1882) Appendix p. 11. See also *MMR* (1 April, 1882), p. 80.

⁴ RCM Prospectus (15 November, 1882) CPH(RCM) Appendix p. 3.

⁵ Hobhouse (2002) p. 190. For reference to Fanning see EFM(RCM) 1 (3 July, 1884), p. 83. Unfortunately, the name of Fanning's anthem seems to appear neither in the RCM Executive Committee minutes nor in the review

To the *nouveaux riches* the lure of pedigree and a title was sufficient to encourage substantial munificence. (Sir) Francis Cook (1817-1901), a member of the RCM Council, who like Sir Charles Freake before him, was created a baronet on 10 March 1886 in return for his donation, had inherited a considerable fortune and his father's retail linen company, which had become one of the largest concerns of its type in the country.⁶ He had approached the Commissioners in 1883 through Sir Philip Cunliffe-Owen, depositing £30,000 for Alexandra House. The final cost of the building, a colossal £60,000, some six times the disbursement required of Freake for the altogether more ornate *sgraffito* NTSM, was significantly more than the sum paid by Samson Fox (see Fig. 44) in 1889. In preparation for his design, the architect, Sir Caspar Purdon Clarke (1846-1911), who was Keeper of the Indian Museum from 1883, later serving as Director of the South Kensington Museum between 1886 and 1905, had conducted a tour of student hostels in the United States of America.⁷ All students were provided with a set of rooms that included a shared sitting room between two bedrooms, one on either side; in the public areas there were common rooms, a dining room, a concert hall and practice rooms.⁸ At the opening ceremony on 14 March 1887 Charles Wood's setting of *Song of Welcome* had been performed. The organ was played by Walter Parratt and two of his pupils, Frederick Sewell and Rosamond Philpott.⁹ On 17 March the first concert was held in the new concert hall.¹⁰ The erection of (Queen) Alexandra House (see Fig. 15) came as a mixed blessing. On the one hand, it provided the RCM with a much-

of the ceremony in *The Times*. Furthermore, there is no reference to it in 'Eaton Fanning' *MT* (1 August, 1901), pp. 513-26.

⁶ Charles Welch, 'Cook, Sir Francis, first baronet (1817-1901)', rev. Helen Davies, *DNB Oxford University Press*, 2004 [accessed 13 Dec 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32541>] Sir Francis's father, William Cook (1784-1869), had amassed a fortune of over £2 million by the time he died.

⁷ P. G. Konody, 'Clarke, Sir Caspar Purdon (1846-1911)', rev. Tessa Murdoch, *DNB Oxford University Press*, 2004 [accessed 13 Dec 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32424>] See also: Hobhouse (2002), p. 190.

⁸ Hobhouse (2002), p. 191.

⁹ EFM(RCM) 2 (24 March, 1887) RCMA S0013-2, p. 80.

¹⁰ 'Royal College of Music' *MT* (1 April, 1897), p. 219.

needed concert hall at close quarters and on a more manageable scale than the Albert Hall's West Theatre.¹¹ What it lacked 'in seating power, as compared with the West Theatre of the Albert Hall, it more than makes up in comfort beauty and acoustic properties...[which were] 'of quite phenomenal excellence.'¹² On the other, its position immediately abutting both south and west walls of the College thwarted any prospect for expansion and forced Grove and the Council to begin the search for a new site in earnest, as outlined in the 1882 prospectus.

Long before it could possibly have been considered a benefit, Alexandra House had seriously disrupted the College's work.

The progress of Alexandra House continues more and more to impede our light and air, the back rooms of the College are all but uninhabitable. The noise is also very prejudicial and I have been obliged to ask for the loan of two empty rooms in the Albert Hall Mansions, for the use of pupils doing paper work, which was promptly granted by Mr. Hussey the proprietor.

The necessity for a proper College building is becoming day by day more apparent. We want a quadrangle to contain working and living rooms (the former in the basement, so as to obviate the necessity and labour of climbing so many stairs) with lodge and gates and other necessities for the enforcement of due Collegiate discipline.¹³

Despite the installation of a celebrated new organ by Gray and Davison in the concert hall, two days before the College's Annual General Meeting Parratt wrote to the Executive and Finance Committees to complain that there were inadequate facilities for organ practice; he recommended the advisability of establishing a fund for a new, independent building.¹⁴

¹¹ EFM(RCM) 2 (24 March, 1887) RCMA S0013-2, pp. 80f. Grove had been informed by Wentworth Cole that the RCM would be charged for the use of any space it chose to occupy in the Albert Hall. See also: EFM(RCM) 2 (12 May, 1887), p. 97

¹² 'Royal College of Music' *MT* (April, 1897), p. 219.

¹³ EFM(RCM) 1 (21 May 1885), RCMA S0013-1, pp. 175f. See also: EFM(RCM) 1 (8 October 1885), RCMA S0013-1, p. 213. The rooms provided by Hussey in the Albert Hall Mansions were provided free of rent.

¹⁴ EFM(RCM) 1 (2 July 1885), RCMA S0013-1, p. 193. See also: EFM(RCM) 1 (8 October 1885), RCMA S0013-1, pp. 212f. Two sets of pedals for piano, presented to the College by Messrs Wedlake and Rummens provided a temporary solution to the dearth of organs available to Parratt's pupils. See also: EFM(RCM) 2 (19 January, 1888), RCMA S0013-2, p. 157. See also Grove's reply to Parratt MS AL GG to WP (1 August, 1885), RCOA Parratt Papers.

Precipitated either by his complaint or in an endeavour to secure a donation for the RCM on the scale provided by Sir Francis Cook, Charles Morley reported at the second annual general meeting of the RCM Corporation on 4 July 1885, that

the present [RCM] building and the rooms available in the Albert Hall are even now far from sufficient for the present purposes of the College, and the gradually increasing numbers of Scholars and Students during the past year point to the necessity of providing at no distant day such further accommodation, both for teaching and residence, as may be necessary for carrying out the objects for which the Royal College of Music was founded.¹⁵

As a temporary solution to the restricted conditions, work had commenced on opening a passage-way over the Alexandra House concert hall roof to practice rooms beyond, access to which was to be provided through a doorway in the external wall on the second floor.¹⁶ Grove was anxious about losing Parratt and wrote to him on 1 August in an attempt to placate him:

Royal College of Music,
Kensington Gore, S. W.

Aug. 1, 1885

Dear Parratt,

I am determined to do all I can to take away our reproach as to the want of Organ practice—Will you please think over the matter and let me know if any thing occurs to you as possible[?]

One thing certainly might be done—we might have more Pedal Pianos. Johnson told me yesterday that 9/10^{ths} of his practice had been got on them. And he recommended Rummens's. Do you agree? We already have one and he would gladly give us others on good terms.

Also can you suggest some way of making the Organ lessons better for yourself[?] If Jones's organ in the West Theatre were altered to your mind would you give lessons there?

I am most desirous to do all I can to remedy these two serious evils—and should be very grateful to you for any suggestions.

Yours ever affect^{ly}

G. Grove¹⁷

¹⁵ RC(RCM) (4 July, 1885) RCMA S0013-1, p. 14.

¹⁶ EFM(RCM) (8 October 1885), RCMA S0013-1, p. 214.

¹⁷ MS AL GG to WP (1 August, 1885) RCMA.

By the start of the Easter Term 1886, Grove had managed to negotiate an increase in the number of rooms lent to the College in the Albert Hall Mansions but it barely alleviated the cramped confines and impracticalities of Freake's building. The College was simply unable to function adequately given the numbers of pupils and staff occupying the space.¹⁸

It is not however only in the want of rooms that we are inconvenienced. The single entrance and the narrow hall, and the position of the Office cause much undesirable crowding close to the door, and it is impossible that order can be maintained which is essential in an institution for mixed sexes as long as this exists, and the number of operating rooms for both Boys and Girls is so inadequate.¹⁹

At the commencement of the Christmas Term 1886, the additional rooms in Albert Hall mansions were let and accommodation for the College had to be found in the crush room of the Royal Albert Hall, where a fourth organ was installed.²⁰ A fifth instrument was donated by the firm of Gray and Davison and installed in the cottage of the Royal Albert Hall.²¹ Grove proposed adding a Mansard roof to the main College building, obviating the need for rooms at the Albert Hall Mansions; however, it would have provided solutions to few of the remaining accommodation problems.²²

6.2 FINDING A SUITABLE SITE FOR A NEW RCM BUILDING

At the conclusion of the fourth year of operations, the meteoric rise in student numbers and inadequate facilities forced Grove to concentrate his efforts in a new direction and the acquisition of a suitable site for new, purpose-built premises occupied the majority of his time. Between 14 and 21 March 1887, Grove petitioned Sir Lyon Playfair for first refusal on a site on the west side of the Kensington Estate, facing Queen's Gate but nothing came of

¹⁸ EFM(RCM) 1 (4 February 1886), RCMA S0013-1, p. 243 Easter Term Report of the Director.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 244.

²⁰ EFM(RCM) 2 (21 October, 1886), RCMA S0013-2, pp. 37f.

²¹ EFM(RCM) 2 (19 January, 1888), RCMA S0013-2, p. 157. It is not clear exactly what Grove meant by the term cottage. It is possible that it was an ancillary building owned by the Royal Albert Hall Corporation; however, the term 'cottage' does imply a small structure and further serves to underline the cramped conditions for RCM staff and students alike at this stage.

²² EFM(RCM) 2 (21 October, 1886), RCMA S0013-2, pp. 37f.

it.²³ By 12 May, when the Executive Committee next met, the accommodation crisis had considerably worsened: the College had been given notice to quit both the crush room and the west theatre in the Royal Albert Hall—use of the latter having been granted by the 1851 Commission in 1883. Each room contained organs belonging to the College: Grove had no choice but to re-erect the organ from the crush room at the RCM in room 19; however, the room was already home to two other organs, each in constant use.²⁴ The organ formerly erected in the west theatre was moved to the east theatre but this was used for storage and to mix paint; consequently, students were deprived of practice.²⁵ As a consolation, the 1851 Commission had offered the use of rooms formerly occupied by the Albert Hall housekeeper as classrooms but the situation was far from ideal.²⁶ On 13 May Grove petitioned the Commission's Board of Management for a grant of land for a new building, guaranteeing to raise £25,000. The Commission agreed to reserve a plot of land adjoining the northern end of the Central Technical Institute with a frontage on Exhibition Road for three years once a formal request had been received (see Fig. 30).²⁷ Meanwhile, on 15 July 1887, Sir Lyon Playfair resigned from the RCM Council and Finance Committee, presumably fearing a conflict of interest on the pressing building question.²⁸

By Christmas that year, the substantial increase in the student intake had rendered the larger rooms too small for ensemble work, lectures or examinations.²⁹ To make matters worse, the new concert room attached to Alexandra House, the only substantial space

²³ EFM(RCM) 2 (24 March, 1887), RCMA S0013-2, p. 81. See also: MS AL GG to LP (17 March 1887) 1851RCA. Playfair had been appointed as Honorary Secretary in 1883 with a remit to reorganize the Kensington Estate and resolve its disagreeable financial position.

²⁴ EFM(RCM) 2 (12 May, 1887), RCMA S0013-2, p. 97.

²⁵ EFM(RCM) 2 (13 October, 1887), RCMA S0013-2, p. 121.

²⁶ EFM(RCM) 2 (12 May, 1887), RCMA S0013-2, p. 97. See also: BMM(1851RC) (13 May, 1887), p. 132.

²⁷ BMM(1851RC) (13 May, 1887), p. 133.

²⁸ Hobhouse (2002), p. 215. See also: Graeme J. N. Gooday, 'Playfair, Lyon, first Baron Playfair (1818-1898)', *DNB* Oxford University Press, 2004 [accessed 22 Dec 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22368>] and Roger Fulford *The Prince Consort* (London: Macmillan, 1949), p. 218. See also: RCM Council Minutes Vol. I (1883-1894) Minutes of the Meeting held on 15 July, 1887.

²⁹ EM(RCM) 2 (13 October, 1887), RCMA S0013-2, p. 121.

available to the College, was, as Grove put it, 'loaded with drawbacks'.³⁰ Despite earlier claims, the acoustic was, in fact, so resonant when unoccupied by an audience that it became an impediment to chamber music and intelligible speech; during concerts, the noisy heating system had to be temporarily disabled for fear of interruptions, starving the residential parts of the building of warmth.³¹ Having been deprived of the use of the Albert Hall's west theatre, the College had temporarily been granted permission by Sir Francis Cook to hold its Christmas examinations in the basement of Alexandra House but Grove feared that the promise would not be renewed and urged the necessity of a new building on his Executive Committee.³²

6.3 SAMSON FOX THE BENEFACTOR

As luck would have it, a suitable benefactor materialized and, in a letter dated 18 January, 1888, Grove wrote to Edith Oldham to say that he had

secured the money for building the new College!—This week I took a rich Yorkshireman to the Prince, and he promised H.R.H. £30,000 and if 30 wasn't enough 40, and if 40 not enough, £50,000!...I am determined to have a building with the character of a college—that all the pupils shall remember with love and affection.³³

The Yorkshireman was Samson Fox (1838-1903) whom Grove described to Edith Oldham as 'a self-made man, but with a noble disposition, and not at all a slave to his business or his money making'.³⁴ Born at Bowling, near Bradford on 11 July 1838, he was one of three sons of James Fox, a Leeds cloth-mill worker. From the age of ten, he had worked in a mill with his father. He was apprenticed to the Leeds firm of machine tool manufacturers, Smith, Beacock and Tannett, later becoming its foreman. In 1874 Fox founded the Leeds Forge Company and was managing director until 1896. In 1877 he had patented the Fox

³⁰ EM(RCM) 2 (13 October, 1887), RCMA S0013-2, p. 122.

³¹ Ibid., p. 122.

³² Ibid., p. 123.

³³ MS AL GG to EO (18 January, 1888), RCMA, 6864/165.

³⁴ Ibid.

corrugated boiler furnaces and, in 1886, he also patented the manufacture of pressed steel underframes for railway wagons, which led to the establishment of a factory at Joliet near Chicago. Fox was the first to use water-gas as a cheap alternative to coal-gas to reduce manufacturing costs and he established a plant in 1887 that produced 40,000 cubic feet of water-gas per hour. He was the pioneer of acetylene-gas in Europe with works in Inverness-shire. The RCM Council minutes state that he was ‘anxious to present a sum of money to His Royal Highness...for the benefit of the College.’³⁵ Fox had been determined to cover the entire cost of a new building himself. Following an interview at Marlborough House on 12 January 1888, a deed of gift was prepared between him and the Prince of Wales in respect of £30,000, to be paid in annual instalments of £10,000.³⁶ Fox had been introduced to Grove by Franklin Taylor’s wife, Minna, and her friend Madame Nordica: ‘...all [Grove had] had to do was to lead it up to a successful conclusion & take him to the Prince.’³⁷ Fox, however, claimed that Grove had courted him: ‘As to the Royal College of Music. Sir George Grove had suggested to him the claims of that institution.’³⁸ Like Grove, Fox had been a member of the Society of Arts from 1879, being awarded its Howard gold medal for his invention of corrugated iron flues in 1885.³⁹ It is likely that it was in this capacity that he had first become acquainted with the Prince of Wales and it is possible that Grove had originally come across him there.

Grove found Fox a tiresome individual who required a great deal of attention at times he could least afford it: ‘my time is sadly wasted in lunching with him & attending to him in every way—and then there’s a great deal of business arising out of it, and letters galore to

³⁵ CM(RCM) 1 (1883-1894), (10 May 1888), RCMA, p. 62.

³⁶ CM(RCM), pp. 62-66.

³⁷ MS AL GG to EO (2 March, 1888) RCMA, p. 172; No. 88 See also ‘Fox v. Jerome and Others’ in *The Times* (1 April, 1897), p. 12.

³⁸ No. 88 See also ‘Fox v. Jerome and Others’ in *The Times* (1 April, 1897), p. 12.

³⁹ W. B. Owen, ‘Fox, Samson (1838-1903)’, rev. Ian St John, *DNB* Oxford University Press, 2004 [accessed 22 Dec 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33235>].

write though it may be long before we can get the land & really begin to do anything.⁴⁰ The visits he was obliged to make to Yorkshire came as a mixed blessing for he enjoyed the train journey but found the family ‘rather hard work’ and ‘not interesting.’⁴¹

Fox’s donation precipitated the Commissioners’ consideration of a site of just over an acre, south of the Albert Hall (see Fig. 31), partly occupied by the Royal Horticultural Society gardens and conservatory. Proposed by Sir Lyon Playfair at a meeting of the 1851 Board of Management on 17 February (see Figs 48 and 49), the offer precipitated a letter from Francis Knollys to Grove, which confirmed that the Prince of Wales thought the site the ‘most excellent one....’⁴² The indenture made on 11 April confirmed Fox’s desire publicly to manifest ‘his thankfulness for his success in life by aiding the promotion of music in his native land....’⁴³ With financial backing assured and the promise of a site in view, a formal application was prepared and signed by Prince Christian on behalf of the President and Council of the RCM and sent to the Commission of 1851. In order to execute the vision set out in the charter, it was

...highly desirable that the new Buildings should be erected in a commanding position, on a site of sufficient area for the construction of an edifice which in size, proportions, and Collegiate character should be appropriate and adequate to the requirements of the College; such site to be capable of extension as the operations of the College increase in the directions named in the charter.

Your Memorialists therefore pray the Royal Commissioners to grant them such a site on their property as shall enable them to carry out the purposes above mentioned, and to erect a Building worthy of the objects of the College, of the honourable position conferred upon it by Her Majesty in her Royal Charter, and of the progress which it has hitherto made, and which it may be expected to maintain.⁴⁴

At the Board of Management meeting attended by Grove and Lord Charles Bruce on 13 May, the site proposal was discussed. Fox’s donation of £30,000 was viewed as insufficient

⁴⁰ MS AL GG to EO (1 February, 1888) RCMA. Grove had been forced to dismiss two clerks, Barnes and Levitt. Barnes had borrowed in the region of £150 from his colleagues and had unpaid butcher’s and baker’s bills amassing to £200, while Levitt was an alcoholic. The consequences were severe and Grove says ‘it almost broke my heart to send him [Barnes] off (to the Union as he said)—and haunted me ever since: but it had to be done. Then the Exams are soon going to begin & that brings no end of work....’

⁴¹ MS AL GG to EO (10 April, 1888), RCMA, p. 189; No. 88.

⁴² Letter from Sir Francis Knollys to Sir George Grove marked Private (15 January, 1888) RCMA. MS 0096/2.

⁴³ CM(RCM) 1 (7 March 1888), p. 62.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 69f

to meet the requirements of a college building in so prominent a position.⁴⁵ Given the close proximity of residential properties, classrooms would need to be placed on the inner sides of any quadrangle.⁴⁶ Grove and Bruce had argued that Fox's donation would indeed be adequate to support completion of a central building but supplementary funds would be required for the addition of wings.⁴⁷ By now, the allocation of an adequate site had become a contentious issue. Sceptical of Grove's ability to raise sufficient capital to support a building of the character required by the original conservatory site, the 1851 Commissioners suggested the alternative site on Exhibition Road, to be vacated by the Royal School of Art Needlework of which the Duke of Westminster was President.⁴⁸ In the event, further discussion was postponed until plans for the new College had been received by the Board.⁴⁹

Grove's original design, showing a central building including the addition of wings (see Figs 29 and 38), was submitted to the Board of Management on 19 June; however, Stevenson, the Commissioners' architect, who had inspected the designs, estimated the work on the main building, excluding fixtures and fittings would cost a minimum of £50,000.⁵⁰ Samson Fox's absence in America led the 1851 Board of Management to assume that £30,000 was his capacity; consequently, attempts by the RCM to acquire the conservatory site were blocked. At the request of the Prince of Wales, the Secretary to the Commission's Board of Management, Colonel (later Major-General Sir) Arthur Ellis, sent out a three-line whip to Sir Henry Ponsonby (Queen Victoria's Secretary), Lord Thring, the Right Hon. Anthony John Mundella MP (1825-1897) and Hugh Culling Eardley Childers (1827-1896) to

⁴⁵ BMM(1851RCA) (13 May, 1888), pp. 155f.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

attend the next meeting of the Board on 4 July 1888 at Sandringham.⁵¹ Having been commanded by the Prince to inform him of the advantages and disadvantages of the RCM's building question, Ellis's letter to Playfair, the previous day, not only discloses the extent to which the Board members' views had become entrenched before the meeting had taken place, it suggests the Prince of Wales had changed his mind:

H.R.H. does not at all hold to the conservatory site and is inclined to the view that unless Mr. Fox comes with a sufficiently large assured sum in his hand, it w[oul]d be wiser to offer Sir G. Grove & Co. the other site.

At Windsor C[astle] yesterday we had some talk with Sir H. Ponsonby about it and the P. of W. thinks that it might be useful if Sir H. Ponsonby's views could be brought forward.

I have therefore to suggest that he be asked to attend. Perhaps you w[oul]d kindly write him to this effect to W. Castle.⁵²

Ponsonby, who had been appointed to represent the interests of the Council of the Royal Albert Hall, who had their own, unspecified agenda, did not favour the conservatory site for a number of reasons. A building of any scale would naturally interrupt the vista through the south door of the Hall to the Prince Consort's statue (the Albert Memorial); should a crescent of private houses be erected, an opening would render the aspect unimpaired while the Commission could extract an income from the leases, thus 'relegating Chateau Fox to the other site.'⁵³

Undaunted by such formidable opposition, and confident of his powers of persuasion, Grove wrote to Playfair the same day pressing hard for the original site on the south side of the Albert Hall:

I cannot get my Executive Committee together just now, and must write to you myself about the site in unofficial style.

The site which the Comm[issione]rs were good enough to speak of offering us in Exhibition Road is not large enough for our purpose. The College is progressively increasing, and there is no reason why in a few years we should not double our numbers, and go on beyond that.

A new building always brings an accession of pupils, and as there is every prospect of our being ultimately the one National Institution of this sort, we ought not to build at all unless it be on an ample piece of ground.

⁵¹ Hobhouse (2002), p. 229.

⁵² BMM(1851RCA) (3 July, 1888) MSL AE to LP, p. 127.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 127 See also RA M HP to HMQ (9 July, 1888).

Mr. Fox's splendid gift—he distinctly told the Prince that £30,000 was not his ultimatum—will enable us to erect a sufficient building to start with. His example is sure to be followed as the requirements arise; and I think that without being over sanguine we may hope to have ultimately a fine group of buildings, forming a "College" worthy of the name.

No site could be finer or more appropriate for this than the ground which you suggested as possible [on] the [Royal Horticultural] Conservatory [site], South of the Albert Hall, and we should take care that before the design for the buildings is submitted to the Comm[issione]rs, should [be] worthy of the situation and a fit pendant to the Imperial Institute which would face it on the South. The moment you suggested the possibility of that spot in our conversation, it was obviously the very place: and this is amply confirmed by the report which I received from Sir F.[rancis] Knollys of the Prince's warm approval of the idea. To this report you will yourself be able to add from your own recollections of the conversation at Sandringham.

I heartily trust that you will be able to bring your colleagues on the Committee of Management to this way of thinking, no method of appropriating the ground could be more in accordance with the intentions of your charter; and I trust you will agree with me that in approving of the spot in question for a Royal College of Music our President is fully in agreement with the views of the Prince Consort. Indeed, the Prince has already expressed himself publicly on the point, when I said at S. James's Palace on Feb. 28 1882 that the Comm[issione]rs would be prepared to erect new Buildings as soon as the funds are forthcoming.⁵⁴

On 18 July, the Board of Management discussed both sites at length with Grove, Bruce and Fox and it was mutually agreed, given the additional costs involved in erecting a building on the conservatory site, that the RCM Council would accept the plot on the corner of Prince's Gate and Exhibition Road with a frontage of 224 feet and a depth of 125 feet, which was formally granted on 24 July.⁵⁵ The College had also been permitted to retain Freake's building, so long as it was required for the purposes of the charter.

6.4 THE 1851 COMMISSIONERS GRANT A NEW MORE PROMINENT SITE

Having accepted the Commissioners' offer, a building committee was established by the RCM Council on 19 June.⁵⁶ Grove's diagram showing an increase in student numbers from 92 at Easter 1883 to 248 by Christmas 1888 gave rise to serious concerns that the Exhibition Road site would not give room for expansion of any kind.⁵⁷ Having once again inspected the

⁵⁴ BMM(1851RCA) (4 July, 1888): MSL GG to LP, p. 135.

⁵⁵ RCM Council Minutes Vol. I (1883-1894) Minutes of the Meeting held on 24 July 1888, p. 77. See also: BMM(1851RCA) (18 July, 1888), pp. 167f.

⁵⁶ BCM(RCM) RCMA 0037, p. 1. The Committee comprised: The Duke of Westminster, Lord Charles Bruce, Lord Henry Thring, Sir Philip Cunliffe Owen, Sir John Stainer, Sir Joseph Barnby, Mr Thomas Chappell, Mr Samson Fox, Mr Otto Goldschmidt, Mr Charles Morley, Sir George Grove, Mr Edward Hamilton, Sir Horace Farquhar Bt, and Sir Arthur Blomfield (the architect).

⁵⁷ BCM(RCM) (7 December, 1889) RCMA 0037, p. 4.

location and, endorsed by the Committee, Samson Fox concluded that it was 'too confined to be the site of a building for so important an institution as the College; especially when he took into account the great possibility of so large an increase taking place in the numbers, and the operations of the College in the course of a few years as would render an extension of the premises necessary.'⁵⁸ Unwittingly or not, Fox had grasped an opportunity for self-aggrandisement: benefactions of such magnitude for prominent buildings on the Kensington Estate were invariably followed by a baronetcy, as surely as night followed day.

Both Grove and Fox were requested to furnish the Building Committee with precise information regarding the maximum number of pupils who could be accommodated at the proposed site according to the RCM curriculum. On 22 February, the 1851 Commissioners finally capitulated and plans were received for the preferred site south of the Albert Hall.⁵⁹

Referring to the correspondence of last year on the subject of the grant by Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851 to the Corporation of the Royal College of Music of a site for a new College building, I am directed by the Commissioners to inform you that they have recently had under consideration a plan for laying out the northern portion of their Gardens, a copy of which accompanies this letter having on the South side a piece of ground 200 feet deep extending to the northern boundary of the site of the Imperial Institute.

In considering the best manner of disposing of this ground, it occurred to the Commissioners that the Council of the College may probably be of [the] opinion that the central portion of it...having a frontage of 200 feet to the new road, is more desirable than that in the Exhibition Road already accepted by the Council.⁶⁰

The conservatory site in many ways threw up as many problems as it solved. The imposing position now proposed for the RCM, the most prominent remaining on the Kensington Estate, required a building consonant with its salubrious surroundings, which implied considerable additional expense, and the Prince of Wales used it as another stick with which to beat the Chancellor of the Exchequer for an annual grant.⁶¹ While Grove had hoped to go abroad himself to look at the building designs of Continental conservatoires in person,

⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 4-6.

⁵⁹ BMM(1851RCA) (22 February, 1888), p. 177. see also: BCM(RCM) (24 January, 1889) RCMA 0037, p. 9.

⁶⁰ BCM(RCM) (1 March, 1889), p. 88. See MSL LP to GG (25 February 1889).

⁶¹ CM(RCM) Vol 1 (12 November, 1889) RCMA S0011/1, p. 130.

Charles Morley was dispatched instead to procure the ground plans, the cost of construction and the number of pupils at each of the new conservatoires at Leipzig, Frankfurt, Vienna, Rome, Milan, Boston (New England Conservatory), Cincinnati and the Guildhall School of Music.⁶² The Council had passed a resolution on 24 July 1888 to select the architect by competition but this was rescinded by the Prince of Wales; consequently, (Sir) Arthur Blomfield (1829-1899) was appointed on 4 March, 1889. He accepted the position on 29 March and was knighted within the year.⁶³ Prior to 1894, Blomfield had designed, among other buildings, a library and the Master's Lodging at Trinity College Cambridge (1876-1878), the chapel and additional buildings at Selwyn College, Cambridge (1882-1889), Sion College Library on the Thames Embankment (1886), and the lower chapel for Eton College (1889-1891).⁶⁴ Nevertheless, a number of architects sent in designs for the proposed building: Robert A. Briggs, whose comprehensive design had been featured in *The Builder* on 28 April 1883 (see Figs 45 to 47), had written again to George Watson on 3 September, 1888, to offer his services by which time Blomfield had already been instructed to submit plans and elevations for the new building to Grove's specifications. These were unanimously approved by the Building Committee and subsequently submitted to the 1851 Commission for their approval.⁶⁵ By March 1889, Fox, supported by Grove, had remained adamant that he would not increase his donation; however, he was forced to relent when a London gentleman had offered to pay half the additional of £15,000 outlay for a superior building on

⁶² MS AL GG to EO (1 April, 1888), RCMA, f. 94 No. 188. See also BCM(RCM) (7 December, 1889) RCMA 0037, p. 4.

⁶³ BCM(RCM) (4 March, 1889), p. 12 See RCM Building Committee Minutes of the Eleventh Meeting (28 February, 1890) p. 41: Sir Arthur Blomfield's fees were set at 5% (£2,250 on the final cost of £45,000). See also: Paul Waterhouse, 'Blomfield, Sir Arthur William (1829-1899)', rev. John Elliott, *DNB Oxford University Press*, 2004 [accessed 22 Dec 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2667>].

⁶⁴ Paul Waterhouse, 'Blomfield, Sir Arthur William (1829-1899)', rev. John Elliott, *DNB Oxford University Press*, 2004 [accessed 22 Dec 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2667>].

⁶⁵ BCM(RCM) (15 May, 1889), p. 19.

the new site saying 'we won't have two at the job.'⁶⁶ Fox's decision to increase his donation coincided with the confirmation of the new site from Arthur Ellis following a meeting between Blomfield and the Commissioners on 16 May. The block of land, 200 feet square, was leased for 999 years at a peppercorn rent of £5 a year, subject to the designs being approved by the Commission and the RCM obtaining adequate resources.⁶⁷ Fox's donation of £45,000 had provoked an obsequious response in the Council minutes and on 19 June it was announced in the press that the money was lodged in the bank.⁶⁸

From 12 December 1889, a building sub-committee, including the Director, Sir Arthur Blomfield, Otto Goldschmidt, Lord Charles Bruce and Charles Morley, was established to look into sundry issues such as heating, ventilation, drainage and the other, more general arrangements.⁶⁹ While central heating was to be supplied by hot water piped through to all the corridors and large rooms, both class-rooms and common rooms were to be heated by open fires. Water tanks were to be constructed in each of the two towers to provide for all the mechanical requirements of the College, such as hydraulic lifts, organ blowers and in the event of fire;⁷⁰ however, for other requirements such enormous quantities demanded reservoirs of vast proportions, lodged at a height that would have necessitated walls 'of very great thickness where it [would] be most inconvenient to place them.'⁷¹ In addition, the annual cost of using a London water provider would have been exorbitant; as an inexhaustible supply of fresh water could be supplied from a spring below the sub-basement, Blomfield recommended that a well be sunk into the foundations and that gas engines be placed in the vaults under the pavement in front of the building to pump water to street level

⁶⁶ Young (1980), p. 199 n. 13. See also: MS AL GG to EO (3 March, 1889), RCMA, pp. 226-228; No. 77.

⁶⁷ BCM(RCM) (5 November, 1889), p. 22.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 23. See also MS AL GG to EO (24 June, 1889) RCMA, p. 116, No 232.

⁶⁹ BCM(RCM) (30 January, 1890), p. 37. The Minutes of the Sub-Committee are contained within the Building Committee Minutes from p. 26.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 37.

⁷¹ BCM(RCM) (2 June, 1890), p. 48. Letter from Sir Arthur Blomfield to Charles Morley of the same date.

for the use of the College.⁷² The additional requirements were projected to add £7,000 to the overall cost of the building; however, the building contractor chosen by Blomfield, Thompson of Peterborough, returned a conservative estimate of £41,096, which had anticipated £1,380 for the erection of a retaining wall abutting the College on the south side of Prince Consort Road.⁷³ In the event, water was pumped from the Royal Albert Hall to the College at a cost of £30 per annum.⁷⁴ The issues concerning the building provisions were complex, yet this was not alleviated by two of the Council members 'trying to do all the nasty mischief they can.'⁷⁵

On 2 June, 1890 the plans hit a serious obstacle: Sir Arthur Blomfield had assumed the access road (Prince Consort Road) to the College to be at a lower level than Arthur Waterhouse (1830-1905), the architect for the 1851 Commission, had anticipated.⁷⁶ The cost of effecting the changes, which necessitated a deeper basement, was prohibitive. Grove advocated reducing the height of the building by one storey in order that expenditure might be kept within the £45,000 already accrued; however, this was not approved by Waterhouse, who claimed the building would lack height in comparison with those planned to surround it.⁷⁷ In order to release funds to provide a solution to the dilemma, the plans were further amended: the proposed lecture room, concert room and theatre were all combined in one and the large lecture room was removed to the rear of the building, which alleviated 'several

⁷² BCM(RCM) (28 February, 1890), p. 48.

⁷³ BCM(RCM) (2 June, 1890), p. 47 (Letter from Sir Arthur Blomfield to Charles Morley of the same date) and p. 53.

⁷⁴ BCM(RCM) (8 February, 1894), p.122.

⁷⁵ MS AL GG to EO (30 January, 1890), RCMA f. 253; No 77. Unfortunately, it is neither clear neither from Grove's correspondence to Edith Oldham nor from the Council minutes or the minutes of the Executive Committee who the difficult Council members were.

⁷⁶ BCM(RCM) (28 February, 1890), p. 44.

⁷⁷ BCM(RCM), p. 45.

grave difficulties both in design and construction.⁷⁸ Compensating for the loss of space, Blomfield added three large rehearsal rooms and six dressing rooms underneath the theatre.⁷⁹ In addition, a proposal was made to surrender a large area of ground to the south of the site, which Blomfield claimed would cause ‘no injury to the efficiency of the College, or materially curtail the possibilities of future extension, but would in some ways be a positive improvement of the Plan hitherto proposed.’⁸⁰ The additional costs guaranteed that the plans executed were considerably less ambitious than Grove had originally intended; while the new building provided many more rooms for individual and class teaching than the current premises, the lack of an adequate concert hall (see Fig. 55), one of the pre-requisites for erecting a new building, or the proposed wings to include accommodation for professor and pupil alike, were serious obstacles to the establishment of a model conservatoire.

The additional workload involved in finishing the building made Grove nervous: ‘on Tuesday [8 July] the Prince [of Wales accompanied by the Princess of Wales and Princesses Maud and Victoria] lays the first stone of our new building, the increased responsibility of which makes me quake.’⁸¹ Prior to the arrival of the royal party, music was provided by the band of the Leeds Forge under the baton of the distinguished Mancunian bandmaster (see Fig. 24), Alexander Owen (1851-1920).⁸² As the royal party was conducted to its seats on the platform, Charles Villiers Stanford (1852-1924) directed the College orchestra in a performance of Beethoven’s overture, *Die Weihe des Hauses*. During the ceremony, it fell to Samson Fox as benefactor to invite the Prince of Wales to lay the foundation stone. In giving his address, Fox failed to resist the opportunity to advertise the output of the Leeds

⁷⁸ BCM(RCM) (28 February, 1890), p. 46. MSL AB to CM of the same date. See also: EFM(RCM) (7 December, 1893), p. 103.

⁷⁹ BCM(RCM), p. 47. EFM(RCM) (7 December, 1893), p. 103

⁸⁰ BCM(RCM), p. 47.

⁸¹ MS AL GG to ES (4 July, 1890), BL 42233.

⁸² BCM(RCM) (25 July, 1890), p. 51. See also: Dave Russell, ‘Owen, Alexander (1851-1920)’, *DNB Oxford University Press*, 2004 [accessed 28 Dec 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/48781>].

Forge to the assembled gathering and the reportage in *The Times* reveals more than a scintilla of self-satisfaction:

Anxious as I was to assist as best I could in the advancement of the cultivation of the musical art for the benefit of my countrymen, I believed that I could most effectively do so by furthering in some practical way the interests of the Royal College of Music. My attention had already been called to the highly satisfactory system under which its finances were regulated, and the favourable opinion I formed of its management and efficiency was further strengthened by a visit to the college itself and by a performance by the pupils at a concert in the Prince's Hall on December 10 1887. A yet closer acquaintance with the college showed me that its operations, successful as they were, were hampered by the very inadequate accommodation....I have now the honour to invite your Royal Highness to take the first step towards the realization of my wishes and to lay the first stone of what I trust may prove to be a home not unworthy of so important a national institution as the Royal College of Music. It may not be uninteresting to your Royal Highness to know that this trowel which I have now the honour of handing to you is made from the metal of the corrugated boilers of the troopship Pretoria, which, owing to her possessing those appliances to her boilers, which I had then but recently invented, was enabled to convey the 91st Highlanders to Durban for the Zulu war in 1879 with extraordinary speed. The boilers have now been broken up, after performing voyages of more than 600,000 miles.⁸³

While the gratitude and admiration expressed by the Prince of Wales was genuine, it unwittingly served to bamboozle the assembled gathering about Fox's genuine objectives.

To Mr. Fox personally let me once more tender my thanks for his extreme liberality and munificence. After an arduous and laborious life he has taken up and is anxious to promote one of the greatest boons of mankind, the love and appreciation of music.⁸⁴

After the stone had been laid, the College Orchestra and Chorus performed *Blest Pair of Sirens* under the direction of the composer and professor of music history, Dr C. Hubert H. Parry (1848-1918) and the proceedings were concluded with the National Anthem.⁸⁵

By 22 July, Blomfield had heard nothing from Fox and wrote to Grove to voice his concerns. Optimism caused by an initially favourable quotation from the builders and

⁸³ 'The Royal College of Music' in *The Times* (9 July, 1890), p. 8. The following attended the ceremony: The Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Christian, the Duke of Cambridge, the Earl of Latham, Lord Aberdare, Lord Thring, Lord Charles Bruce, the Archbishop of Canterbury and his Chaplain, the Rev'd A. H. Baynes, Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild, Sir George Grove, Sir Frederic Leighton (President of the Royal Academy), Sir Arthur Sullivan, Sir Herbert Oakley, John Baring (merchant banker), George Spencer-Lyttelton, Sir John Stainer, Joseph Barnby, Thomas Chappell, Otto Goldschmidt, Sir Charles Hall Q.C., M.P., A. H. Littleton, Charles Morley, Kellow Pye, John Rutson, Frederick Cook, Alfred James Hipkins, Mr and Mrs William Kendal, Sir Lyon Playfair, Sir Samuel Saul, Alberto Randegger, Sir Sydney Waterlow, Hugh Culling Eardley Childers M.P., Lady Millais, Alexander Mackenzie (Principal of the RAM), Arthur Cecil, Alfred Caldicott, Miss Macintyre, and Alfredo Carlo Piatti.

⁸⁴ BCM(RCM) (7 December, 1889), p. 8.

⁸⁵ BCM(RCM) (25 July, 1890), p. 52.

Grove's conviction regarding Fox's boundless liberality had done little to assuage the gravity of the situation.

I have been daily expecting Samson Fox to appoint a time for going through Thompson's estimate in detail, which he wishes to do before it is submitted to the Committee, but I have not heard a word from him as yet.

I myself have been through it with Thompson, and I am sure that it is only by practising the greatest economy and being content with the plainest details internally that the building can be done for the money.

I find that in working out the system of warming by separate class rooms the cost exceeds that of warming by hot water pipes by at least £1,000. Then the retaining wall for the road (over 18ft high) with wing walls—which ought to be looked on as part of the building—costs about £1,500.

These things must be met by reductions in other directions—such as the use of pitch pine instead of oak, and the exclusion of all details of an ornamental character except in the Entrance Hall [see Fig. 41].⁸⁶

Blomfield advised against putting the building work out to tender for a number of reasons: first, he was not convinced that a lower tender could be obtained; secondly, he was eminently satisfied with Thompson's work and did not conceive that the work could be better executed; thirdly, he felt that any competition would result in considerable delays of between six weeks and a couple of months, just at a time when the weather conditions were ideal for such work to be undertaken.⁸⁷ Fortunately, £2,000 representing two years' interest accrued on Fox's donation provided for a number of emergency costs, including architect's fees.⁸⁸ With his legacy established, a pedestal and bust of Fox were commissioned from Prince Victor Hohenlohe by the Executive Committee on 31 January 1891 at a cost of 300 guineas (£315).⁸⁹

The building was intended to have been completed by 1 May 1892; however, there were a number of delays.⁹⁰ From 20 March 1891, the Building Committee began a series of experiments to achieve the most effective reduction in noise-pollution and Franklin Taylor

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁸⁸ BCM(RCM) (25 July, 1890), pp. 55f. MS AL AB to GG (22 July, 1890).

⁸⁹ CM(RCM) 1 (12 March, 1891), RCMA. 00001, pp. 167f.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

and Walter Parratt were assigned to draw up a report.⁹¹ Unfortunately their results were not encouraging: sound from adjacent rooms could still be heard to the detriment of anyone engaging in theoretical work nearby; consequently, they recommended that the experiment had not been sufficiently successful to warrant any considerable expenditure in completing the remainder of the rooms in a similar fashion.⁹² It was finally agreed to add a double layer of cork pugging between the floors to block vertical sound travel.⁹³ While battening had failed to prove similarly efficient, Blomfield curiously assumed that it would offer some resistance if inserted between the walls.⁹⁴ The incorporation of spaces between the rooms and floors, the only genuinely effective means of reducing noise-pollution, would have been prohibitively expensive.⁹⁵

With the completion of the building in sight, at the beginning of December 1892, the Council began to plan for a grand state opening by Queen Victoria at a date between 1 May and 1 June 1893; however, the response from Osborne to Sir Francis Knollys's petition on Grove's behalf was not encouraging. The Queen felt that her lameness prevented her from attending more than one great ceremony in any year and 'she thought it better to appear on important occasions.'⁹⁶ The Queen's response had not been entirely unexpected: for many years she had had to be persuaded to attend to important matters of State.⁹⁷ There were more problems ahead: in January, 1893 Major-General Sir Arthur Ellis wrote to Grove to say that it would be impossible to complete the steps immediately in front of the College, between the Royal Albert Hall and Prince Consort Road, in time for the opening of the new

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 62. See also: CM(RCM) (11 May, 1892), p. 71.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁹³ CM(RCM) 1, (9 June, 1892), p. 77.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁹⁶ CM(RCM) 1 (5 January, 1893), p. 93. HP to FK (29 December 1892).

⁹⁷ CM(RCM) 1, p. 92.

building.⁹⁸ As a result, the Building Committee asked the Duke of Westminster to write to Ellis to urge the Commissioners to have the road completed and the hoarding set back to the curb stone.

On 8 June the building was complete with the exception of minor details; however, Blomfield was far from satisfied. The façade of the College had been designed, with the Commissioners' approval, to coincide with the height of two tall blocks of flats to be placed on either side; however, Blomfield felt it was

probable that nothing like them will now ever be erected, and I take this opportunity of saying that had it been possible to foresee what has since occurred, I should have designed (and I believe Mr. Waterhouse would have approved) something entirely different.

As it is, the two flanks of the College will be left exposed probably for many years to come, and until the two wings at each end (for future extension) are built, the view of the building—approaching it from either end of Prince Consort Road—will be most unsatisfactory.

For this unfortunate result I must disclaim all responsibility.⁹⁹

In fact, the spaces had been leased by the 1851 Commissioners for building and it was hoped that repossession could be obtained before the opening ceremony.¹⁰⁰ Despite Blomfield's misgivings, the RCM building, completed in the Renaissance style in red brick with bands and dressings of Weldon stone, was ready to be inaugurated (see Fig. 53); however, no response had been received from the Commissioners regarding progress on the steps to the Albert Hall. Ellis's condescending justification for the delay finally materialized on 26 June, well after the two provisional dates for the opening ceremony had passed; however, the matter was not addressed by the Building Committee until the following October:¹⁰¹

In reply to your letter I am sorry to say that since mine of 20 December last no progress has been made with the arrangements for constructing the steps from the courtyard of the Royal Albert Hall to the Prince Consort Road.

Mr. Newman, the lessee of the adjoining building plots has failed to complete his Contract, and is now languishing in penal servitude. His mortgagees have not yet resolved what course of action to take, and until the future of these plots is decided on, H.M.'s Commissioners will not know if Newman's representatives are going to construct the steps or who.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 95.

⁹⁹ BCM(RCM) (9 June, 1893), p. 104.

¹⁰⁰ EFM(RCM) 4 (8 March, 1894)

¹⁰¹ BCM(RCM), (19 October, 1893), p. 89.

I can only assure you that however anxious the Building Comm[itt]ee of the College may be to have the work completed, the Commissioners are far more so, for the subject is bound up with others which to them are of the highest importance.

Sir George Grove is well acquainted with the difficulties of the position, and can no doubt give the Building Committee any information they may further require about the matter. I presume he has asked you to urge the Commissioners on. I hope you will tell him that knowing all our immense difficulties through Newman's insolvency, I am surprised he has not more patience.

The Commissioners have been able happily to push on the completion of the Prince Consort's Road and we hope that its early completion will be a satisfaction to the Council of the College.¹⁰²

The delay had been fortuitous for two reasons: first, it allowed the builders to finish off all the remaining work on fixtures and fittings; secondly, it reawakened the possibility of the Queen's officiating at the opening ceremony.¹⁰³ On 26 February, Grove reported that he had received a letter from Sir Francis Knollys saying that she would be unable to perform the ceremony; instead, her place would be taken by the Prince of Wales who would declare the building open in her name.¹⁰⁴

Meanwhile, Sir Arthur Blomfield had been instructed to submit plans for marquees and a temporary iron building to be used during the opening ceremony.¹⁰⁵ On 5 December the previous year, the Building Committee had received specifications and drawings for an iron structure to be used as a temporary concert and examination hall from the builders, Messrs Humphreys and Co.¹⁰⁶ Having declined to proceed, the Committee then agreed to rent the building for the opening ceremony, at a cost of £345 for the first year's rent, with the proviso that it could be purchased for an additional £255 before 21 March 1895.¹⁰⁷

6.5 THE OPENING CEREMONY OF BLOMFIELD'S NEW RCM BUILDING ON 2 MAY, 1894

Despite the considerable delays caused by matters entirely outside the control of the RCM Council and Executive Committee, the opening ceremony of Sir Arthur Blomfield's new

¹⁰² BCM(RCM) (9 June, 1893), pp. 108 to 110.

¹⁰³ BCM(RCM), (15 December, 1893), p. 115.

¹⁰⁴ BCM(RCM), (26 February, 1893), p. 125.

¹⁰⁵ BCM(RCM), (13 March, 1894), p. 126.

¹⁰⁶ BCM(RCM), (5 December, 1892), p. 88.

¹⁰⁷ BCM(RCM), (25 May, 1894), p. 135.

building finally took place on 2 May 1894, as suggested by the Queen. At 11.30 am the royal party, together with members of the royal household, left Marlborough House accompanied by the 1st Life Guards.¹⁰⁸ The procession, which included four open carriages complete with state livery, followed a route through St James's into the Mall and up Constitution Hill to Hyde Park corner. From there they drove into Hyde Park along the South Road and finally left into Prince's Gate, before turning into Prince Consort Road (see Fig. 50).¹⁰⁹ If the pageantry had been intended as a glorious display to draw attention to the aims and significance of the College from an appreciative and supportive public, it back-fired; far from being paved with thousands of cheering well-wishers, the route was lined with a few women and children 'whose position in life enables them to be out and about at any hour of the day...thus the incidents of the Royal progress were not of an exciting character.'¹¹⁰ Grenadier and Scots Guards lined the whole length of Prince Consort Road on either side to salute the arrival of the royal party (see Fig. 54).¹¹¹ The scaffolding for Newman's unfinished steps opposite the College had been disguised with flags and festooned with swathes of material held in place by masts and columns. The ceremony, conducted in Humphrey's temporary iron hall (see Fig. 43), was attended by 3,000 statesmen, foreign diplomats, representatives of science, literature and the arts in military, court and academical dress, which *The Times* correspondent described as the most 'brilliant assembly [to] be collected throughout the present season.'¹¹² Shortly after the arrival of the royal party at midday, the Prince of Wales was handed a diamond-encrusted key in richly-chased gold with which he opened the College before returning to his carriage to be taken to the royal pavilion attached

¹⁰⁸ 'State Opening of the Royal College of Music' in *The Times* (3 May, 1894), p. 8.

¹⁰⁹ *The Times* (3 May, 1894), p. 8.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 8.

to the great hall (see Fig. 40). The band of the 1st Life Guards had played a selection of music as guests arrived, conducted by Joel Englefield. While the inclusion of works such as Waterson's *Triumphal March*, Balfe's *Excelsior*, Douglas's *English Beauty*, Cowen's *Better Land* and Sullivan's *Utopia* were undoubtedly intended to engender feelings of national pride, the inclusion of such a 'trivial selection of operatic and other arrangements...seemed strangely out of keeping with the high artistic aims of the Royal College.'¹¹³ The College Orchestra's comparatively edifying performance seemed to have retrieved the situation; however, for an institution dedicated to fostering an indigenous musical language, it seemed particularly curious that the ceremony to open the new RCM building included

not a note of English music for orchestra, though Chas. Wood was to the fore. Coleridge Taylor played at my desk and, if my memory be correct, Vaughan Williams performed on the triangle in August Mann's [*sic*] arrangement of the Schubert March and I think that Walford Davies did something too. They had both left the College by then, but were incorporated for the occasion.¹¹⁴

Rather, the Solemn March from Gluck's *Alceste* was played as the party took its seats on a dais lined with a forest of palms beneath which were drawn up the Corps of Gentlemen at Arms. Stanford conducted the overture from *Die Meistersinger*.¹¹⁵

Had Tennyson not died prematurely, Grove would naturally have turned to him to commission a poem for the state opening of the new RCM building.¹¹⁶ Instead, Algernon Charles Swinburne's (1837-1909) ode, *Music*, was selected.¹¹⁷ Waddington, Walford Davies and Charles Wood were among the eight students who entered the competition to set

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 8. See paragraph 5.

¹¹⁴ PL EGB to GD (7 January, 1949) RCMA. 69380. E. Godfrey Brown had been a student at the RCM between 1890 and 1894: see Appendix 3.13).

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 8.

¹¹⁶ MS AL GG to EO (11 October, 1892), RCMA. Grove knew Tennyson well and attended his funeral at Westminster Abbey on 12 October, 1892 as one of the followers of the coffin.

¹¹⁷ MS AL GG to EO (2 March, 1892), RCMA. Rikky Rooksby: 'Swinburne, Algernon Charles (1837-1909)', *DNB* Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36389>, accessed 4 Aug 2006]. While at Oxford, Swinburne mixed with the circle that started the Aesthetic Movement, where he had been a protégé of Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882). Initially, Aestheticism had much in common with Grove's vision for the RCM as an institution to improve public taste. Aesthetes such as William Morris, and the Rossetti brothers, William and Dante had endeavoured to educate the general public to better things as originators of the Arts and Crafts movement.

Swinburne's ode to music.¹¹⁸ The competition was judged by Parratt and Bridge. Given that the candidates had all been composition pupils of Stanford and Parry, they had both judiciously declined to take part in the process in the interests of impartiality. Grove had also considered soliciting Gounod's opinion.¹¹⁹ Charles Wood's setting for orchestra and chorus was chosen for performance at the conclusion of addresses by Samson Fox and the Prince of Wales; however, the press reviews were all too restrained on an occasion that should have provoked unreserved admiration.¹²⁰

It is never very easy to glorify music in music itself, and the Cecilian odes which used to be in vogue seldom inspired the composers who undertook them to their highest utterances, though Purcell, Handel, and, in our own time, Hubert Parry, have produced noble exceptions to the rule. Here the musician's task was especially hard, since the greater part of the ode deals directly with the negation of music. This primary difficulty has been most successfully overcome, and the description of the soundless universe in the opening chorus is perhaps the best thing in the ode. The second stanza is set as a soprano solo (carefully and unaffectedly sung by [RCM scholar] Miss Una Bruckshaw), and the choir and soloist join in the third in the course of which passages occur that are evidently suggested by the allusions in the poem to the song of birds. It must be confessed that in this final chorus there is no very remarkable manifestation of either power or beauty, although the traces of the thorough training the composer received at the college are plainly, perhaps too plainly to be observed.¹²¹

At the conclusion of the proceedings the procession left the hall to August Manns's arrangement of Schubert's March in D.¹²²

Despite the minor reservations expressed in *The Times* article, for Grove the day had been a tremendous achievement:

Lower Sydenham,
S. E.

Weds. Night May 2
94

My dearest friend,

I am deadly tired, but I can't help telling you of our great success at our 'Opening'. It began to rain 2 hours after it was all over, but during the whole time we had sun and gentle breeze: the hall was wonderfully pretty, gay, and good for sound; the music was excellent; all the people one wanted were there (except a dear angel at Dublin)[;] the royalties were most affable, and there really was not what M'

¹¹⁸ MS AL GG to EO (2 March, 1892), RCMA.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ MS AL GG to EO (11 October, 1892), RCMA.

¹²¹ *The Times* (3 May, 1894), p. 8.

¹²² Ibid., p. 8.

Samson Fox would call 'an 'itch, your Royal 'Ighness' through the whole day. Yes, there was one—I could not succeed in catching Albani with the Bouquet before she went away!

Wood's ode improves every time I hear it, and I think it very good music, which would have been better to better words[.] He conducted it in some nice kind of radiant gown & looked very well indeed—Bruckshaw, who sang the solo might have had a stronger voice (she's only 19)—but it was very well sung. What I liked about the whole thing was that its good fortune was so unvarying, and also that there was no air of pretension or extravagant state about it. Everybody looked cheerful and not solemn....

Minna Taylor, May & F. T. were all there! Minna was certainly a sight—so big, so fat, so over powdered, patched, dressed. I am not sure she is not a good wife for T. at least he always seem to look to her for everything—even criticism on music!!!

Taylor is a very strange person—so shrewd, clever, & practical, and yet little advanced from what he was 12 years ago! and then how rude! how unable to put himself into another[']s feelings.¹²³

Regardless of Grove's comparatively restrained picture, the State Opening of the new RCM was ostentatious even by Victorian standards: according to E. Godfrey Brown it was described in the Press as 'one of the most glittering ceremonies of recent years'.¹²⁴ 'Everyone had been ordered to wear Court [or military] dress'.¹²⁵ Grove described Fox and Watson, who had called for him in their new tail coats and silk stockings, as '2 very fat sheep [and] surely no sheep ever had their fleeces tighter—Watson's legs were perfectly enormous—the largest & shiniest I ever saw—Fortunately neither of them tumbled over his sword or made any other blunder....'¹²⁶ Fox, who was Mayor of Harrogate, appeared in his robes and chain of office.

Henry Labouchère's description of events at the opening ceremony at the very least seemed to suggest that the attire of the guests was outlandish.

There were high jinks at South Kensington last Wednesday, when at eleven o'clock in the morning a certain number of otherwise sane men put on the claw-hammer coats and white ties of evening dress, or clad themselves in Windsor, military, or naval uniforms, or in academical robes to hear the Prince of Wales declare the new Royal College of Music open. Most of us have looked pretty foolish in adopting this outlandish garb at such an hour, and, indeed, a couple of gentlemen bound for the ceremony who happened to be sauntering down Piccadilly in evening attire shortly after ten o'clock in the morning,

¹²³ MS AL GG to EO (2 May, 1894), RCMA. See also EFM(RCM) 3 (20 October, 1892), RCMA S0013-3, p. 253. Charles Wood had been elected a lecturer in music at Cambridge from October 1892 and successfully supplicated for the Cambridge Mus.D. two years later, hence the 'radiant gown' of cream brocade and dark cherry satin worn to conduct the College orchestra.

¹²⁴ PL EGB to GD (7 January, 1949) RCMA 69380.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ MS AL GG to EO (18 April, 1894), RCMA.

were met with affectionate enquiries as to whether they had just been bailed out, and whether it was not almost time to go to bed. There seemed to be something delightfully incongruous in the fact that for the inauguration of a temple to so peaceful an art as music, the Prince of Wales should have found it necessary to put on the uniform of a Field-Marshal. While we were all, as it were, in masquerade, the Prince would have been far more appropriately clad as a troubadour. Then also, at the back of the Royal party on the dais, were the gentlemen-at-arms, critically inspected by the composer of 'Utopia, Limited,' who declared he knew to a yard what their clothes cost; while in front was Mr. Irving in the Irish University gown and hood of a science which he, of course, does not pretend to know anything about; and in the orchestra was that excellent performer on the contra-bass, Mr. White, who for some occult reason had donned the uniform of an officer in the Artists' Rifle Volunteer Corps. In short we were all in a sort of carnival costume at the time of day when people are supposed to be discreet.¹²⁷

6.6 THE RCM COLLECTIONS

While the state opening had an element of farce about it, it did precipitate philanthropy from a number of different directions. During 1893, the Scottish art collector and dealer (Sir) George Hunter Donaldson (1845-1925) approached the College with an offer to deposit his celebrated collection of historic instruments and manuscripts, along with a ring given by Handel to his publisher, Randell, in 1755.¹²⁸ Initially on permanent loan, the collection, said to be worth £20,000, was subsequently presented as a deed of gift and housed in the basement lecture room decorated at Donaldson's expense in the Venetian Renaissance style, which included the erection of a sixteenth-century minstrels' gallery (see Fig. 42).¹²⁹ Open to the public, the collection was insured for £15,000 and all but preserved in aspic, for the conditions attached to the gift prohibited any addition or subtraction without his consent.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ Henry Labouchère (Ed.) 'The New Royal College' *Truth* (10 May, 1894), p. 1085. See also 'Gossip of the Day' *The Yorkshire Evening Post* (3 May, 1894): Irving's degree was a 'Dublin LLD', possibly from the Royal University of Ireland, and awarded *honoris causa*.

¹²⁸ EFM(RCM) 4 (7 December, 1893), RCMA S0013-4, p. 103. see also Sorrel Hershberg: 'Sir George Hunter Donaldson' *DNB* 16 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 505f. Possibly named after that other celebrated Scottish philanthropist, William Hunter (1718-1783), Donaldson moved to London in 1871 where he established his art dealership in New Bond Street. He built up outstanding personal collections of English and European furniture from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries and counted among his clients the South Kensington (from 1899 the Victoria and Albert) Museum. He was juror in the furniture section of the Paris Exhibitions in 1867 and 1889.

¹²⁹ EFM(RCM) 4 (24 May, 1894), RCMA S0013-4, p. 189. See also: 'The State Opening of the Royal College of Music' in *The Times* (3 May, 1894), p. 8. For further information concerning the RCM Donaldson Collection see Elizabeth Wells: 'The Donaldson Collection in the Royal College of Music Museum of Instruments, London' *Musique-Images-Instruments* [, Revue Française d'organologie et d'iconographie musical] No 9, Les Collections d'Instruments de Musique, 2ème partie, (Paris: CRNS Editions, 2007) [in press].

¹³⁰ EFM(RCM) 4 (24 May, 1894), pp. 197f.

Donaldson's donation was significant: the collection not only included a number of important examples of baroque and renaissance instruments, but also a Venetian treatise from 1492 and the manuscript of the Piano Concerto in C minor by Mozart (K. 491). Despite its shortcomings, Blomfield's new building threw up room to house important collections from the Sacred Harmonic Society and the Concerts of Ancient Music and, of course, Grove's own music library that had been housed at his home in Sydenham. Founded in 21 August, 1832, the Sacred Harmonic Society's high moral ethos and social objective were in tune with the RCM's approach to educate those from impecunious backgrounds for its membership was drawn largely from the lower classes. By 1872, the year William Henry Husk's *Catalogue* was published, the Society's Library represented the largest collection of music and musical literature ever gathered together by a musical body in England.¹³¹ In some senses this was unsurprising for at the time of the Handel Festival in 1859, the Sacred Harmonic Choir numbered 2765. The Library had been acquired for the RCM in 1883 at a cost of £3,000 with funds donated by Sir Augustus Adderley (£2,000) and fifteen subscribers; however, Sir Charles Freake's building did not allow space for it to be catalogued and shelved.¹³² Included within the 3129 printed and manuscript scores, treatises, and poetry, there was an important collection of autograph letters. In addition to a large collection of printed music, including a complete edition of Handel by Dr Samuel Arnold, there were a number of important autograph scores. These included seven operas by Sir Henry Rowley Bishop, autograph scores of church music by John Beckwith (Anthem: 'My

¹³¹ William H. Husk: 'Sacred Harmonic Society' *Grove II* Vol. IV (London: Macmillan, 1922), p. 202. For a full catalogue of the Sacred Harmonic Society Library see William H. Husk: *Catalogue of the Sacred Harmonic Society. A New Edition, Revised and Augmented* (London: Sacred Harmonic Society, 1872).

¹³² William H. Husk: 'Libraries and Collections of Music' *Grove II* Vol. II (London: Macmillan, 1922), p. 706. See also William Barclay Squire: *Catalogue of Printed Music in the Library of the Royal College of Music, London* (London: William Clowes and Sons Ltd, 1909), p. iii. The additional subscribers, who contributed £10:10 had been the Duke of Westminster, Baroness Burdett-Coutts, Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild, Sir Charles Freake Bt, Sir John Kelt Bt, Sir William Armstrong, Samuel Morley MP, and J. J. Bibby, J. J. Colman, J. Colman, Thomas Chappell, G. Matthey, A. Morrison, J. Reiss, and C. W. Siemens.

Soul is weary'; f. 1661), William Croft (Anthems: 'Try me O God', f. 1689; 'O Lord will I praise thee', f. 1690; and Te Deum in D major, f. 1691), Maurice Greene (Te Deum in D major, f. 1714; The Complete Verse Service in C major, f. 1716; anthems: 'O God, thou art my God' and 'O give thanks', f. 1717), George Jeffries (a collection of Latin and English motets, ff. 1723-4), Henry Purcell (fourteen anthems with instrumental accompaniment, a portion in the composer's autograph, f. 1787), a signed copy of Samuel Wesley's *Dixit Dominus* (f. 1804) and an autograph score of Haydn's opera, *Armida* (f. 1855). By contrast with the Sacred Harmonic Society, the Concerts of Ancient Music, founded in London in 1778, had been patronised by a largely aristocratic clientele. After its demise in 1848, the Library from the Concerts of Ancient Music was preserved at Buckingham Palace and presented to the RCM by Queen Victoria in 1894. With few exceptions, the repertoire had been largely restricted to choral music of the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, which included early manuscript and printed copies of Handel and autograph manuscripts of church music by Bishop and Croft and an opera by Keiser.¹³³ Perhaps more significant was the donation of a quantity of Grove's personal library from February, 1891.¹³⁴ This included a number of periodicals, such as 34 volumes of *The Musical World*, *The Athenaeum*, and Proske's *Musica Divina*, and a large quantity of miscellaneous music:¹³⁵ 'it will make quite a department in the Library and will serve to keep my name green after I am passed away.'¹³⁶ Grove's collection of autograph scores of Beethoven, Mendelssohn and Schubert (the Unfinished Symphony No 7 in E major) arrived in 1898, which 'he had been unable to part with earlier.'¹³⁷ Certainly one of the finest music collections in Britain to be established at the

¹³³ Ibid., p. 706.

¹³⁴ Peter Horton: 'The Documentary Legacy: Grove's Library and Papers at the RCM' *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture* Ed. Michael Musgrave (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 275.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 276.

¹³⁶ MS AL GG to EO [1 February, 1891], RCM MS 6864/173.

¹³⁷ Horton (2003), p. 276.

end of the nineteenth century, the creation of the RCM Library had at least fulfilled one of the requirements set out in the Report on the RAM by Henry Cole's Music Education Committee at the Society of Arts in 1861. While the establishment of a library had undoubtedly been an aspect of Grove's vision to establish and develop an English tradition and culture of musicological research, RCM students and professors seldom seem to have availed themselves of the treasures that lay within their own institution until well after the turn of the century.

William Barclay Squire (1855-1927) was brought in by Grove to begin cataloguing the collections at an annual honorarium of £150 for four days a week from May 1894 in addition to his daily work at the British Library, where he was music librarian.¹³⁸ Having written articles for Grove's *Dictionary* from 1878, he graduated from Cambridge in law the following year. Squire's interest in music had been stimulated during his student days by Stanford who turned him from law to musicology, introduced him to the musical holdings of the Fitzwilliam Museum and appointed him librarian of the Cambridge University Musical Society (CUMS).¹³⁹ Squire had good reason to be grateful to Grove, who, along with A. D. Coleridge, Leslie Stephen, W. H. Husk, W. S. Rockstro and J. F. Bridge, had provided a testimonial which led to his appointment as curator of the collection of printed music at the British Museum from 12 October, 1885.¹⁴⁰ The organologist and musicologist, Alfred James Hipkins (1826-1903) was appointed at the same time as Squire to oversee the formation of a general museum of instruments at the RCM at an annual salary of 50 guineas a year. His expertise on non-western musical instruments made him an obvious choice to act as

¹³⁸ EFM(RCM) 4 (24 May, 1894), pp. 180f. The resolution was confirmed at the subsequent meeting of the Executive and Finance Committees: EFM(RCM) 4 (18 October, 1894), p. 232.

¹³⁹ Alec Hyatt King: *William Barclay Squire, 1855-1927 Music Librarian* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1957), p. 3.

¹⁴⁰ King (1957), p. 2. See also Young (1980), p. 150. Squire was related by marriage to another of Grove's protégés, J. A. Fuller Maitland (1856-1936), who had married his sister Charlotte.

honorary curator to the RCM's collections of Indian musical instruments and paintings presented by the musicologist, educationalist and patron of Indian music, (Rajah Sir) Sourindro Mohun Tagore (1840-1914).¹⁴¹ Hipkins, himself a collector, was involved in setting up the music section of the Inventions Exhibition of 1885. By the time of his appointment, he had written 134 articles for the first edition Grove's *Dictionary* in 1879 and collaborated with A. J. Ellis, who was said to be tone deaf, in producing *On the Musical Scales of Various Nations*, published *Musical Instruments, Historic, Rare and Unique* in 1888 and *The Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India and the Decan* (1891).¹⁴² His legacy to the RCM was a spinet, thought to have been owned by Handel, a harpsichord and a painting of musicians, now in the Donaldson Room. Yet for all the euphoria connected to the new building and the various donations, Grove's sense of achievement was tempered by an imminent scandal surrounding the RCM's chief benefactor, Samson Fox.

6.7 THE SCANDAL SURROUNDING SAMSON FOX'S DONATION

Samson Fox's involvement with the RCM was clearly a marriage of convenience, which served a number of purposes; however, soon after the opening ceremony had taken place his genuine motives were exposed between May and August 1894 and in January 1896 in a series of articles in the London-based weekly newspaper, *To-Day*, edited by Jerome K. Jerome. The articles were said to have been precipitated by Yorkshire businessmen who had invested in Fox's water-gas companies and were naturally incensed by the descriptions of Fox's munificence in the national and regional press.¹⁴³

I am reminded of this incident by the opening of the Royal College of Music, when Mr. Samson Fox posed as a benefactor, and the Prince of Wales held him up to admiration. If the Prince had known as

¹⁴¹ EFM(RCM) 1 (29 July, 1884), RCMA S0013-1 p. 97.

¹⁴² Anne Pilmot Baker: 'Alfred James Hipkins' *DNB* 27 (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 304.

¹⁴³ 'Fox v. Jerome and others' in *The Times* (1 April, 1897), p. 12. The report of the opening ceremony had been covered in every national newspaper of note and a large majority of provincial newspapers including the *Yorkshire Evening Post* and the *Harrogate Advertiser*.

much about Mr. Samson Fox as he was told about Baron Grant he would have thought twice, and even thrice, before countenancing him as he did at this opening ceremony.¹⁴⁴

Fox had not been as honourable as might have been hoped. Jerome alleged that his significant benefaction to the RCM was the result of fraudulent business activities of immense proportions.

In the Spring of 1889, Fox and his associates had bought out the following companies:

| | CAPITAL | PAID
VENDORS | BOUGHT
OUT | DIVIDENDS |
|-------------------------------|----------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|
| Leeds Forge Company | £600,000 | £564,000 | February 1889 | None since 1891 |
| British Water Gas Company | £300,000 | £217,250 | March 1889 | Nil |
| Yorkshire Water Gas Syndicate | £181,000 | £101,000 | April 1889 | Nil |
| North British Gas Syndicate | £306,000 | £251,000 | May 1889 | Nil |

Within sixteen weeks over £1,350,000 had been taken from the public at little or no return.

To-Day claimed the investors had been induced to subscribe capital of over £450,000 to the New Leeds Forge Company 'by gross and deliberate misrepresentation as to the patents and processes sold.'¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, *To-Day* charged Fox with having obtained the £46,000, (actually £45,000 for the building and an additional £1,000 to decorate the ornate entrance hall) donated to the RCM to pay for the new building, from the Company under false pretences.¹⁴⁶ Investors were also asked to subscribe £60,000 in respect of the Nottinghamshire and Derby Company, which had also been bought out; however, 'all passed into liquidation without returning a single stiver in the way of dividend.'¹⁴⁷ To compound matters, Fox was accused of knowingly floating water-gas companies on the stock market after the process had been rendered obsolete.¹⁴⁸ The publication of Fox's

¹⁴⁴ Jerome K. Jerome (ed.): 'Birds of a Feather' in *To-Day* Vol. 3; No 27 (12 May, 1894), p. 14.

¹⁴⁵ *To-day* 3; 27, p. 14. For statistics see 'High Court of Justice Queen's Bench Division' in *The Times* (2 April, 1897), p. 14.

¹⁴⁶ 'High Court of Justice Queen's Bench Division' in *The Times* (2 April, 1897), p. 14.

¹⁴⁷ *To-day* 3; 27, (12 May, 1894), p. 14.

¹⁴⁸ Jerome K. Jerome (ed.): 'The Amalgamated Water Gas Company Meeting' in *To-Day* Vol. 9; No 114 (11 January, 1896), pp. 302f.

business dealings led to a torrent of correspondence in *To-Day* such that he was even compared unfavourably with the infamous MP and charlatan, Baron Grant.¹⁴⁹

You deserve hearty thanks for your outspoken comments on Mr. Sampson [sic] Fox and his gift of £46,000 [sic] to the Royal College of Music. I took 150 shares in the Leeds Forge Company, largely influenced by the representation in the prospectus as to a practical monopoly which did not, in fact, exist....¹⁵⁰

On 26 May another director wrote in to complain that the same capital of £301,000 had been used both for the British Water-Gas Syndicate as for the North British (Scottish) Water-Gas Company; while a return of 5% had been paid on shares on investments in the latter company, nothing had been forthcoming otherwise. Nine-tenths of the capital had disappeared; 'where, nobody is yet able to discover.'¹⁵¹ The most damning indictment was yet to come. The correspondent who had referred to Fox's business transactions as a 'miserable and dirty business' asked the most crucial question of all: 'did the Prince of Wales know how he, like many others, have been used for a special line[?] I know he would never allow the Court or his family to be stained by such filth.'¹⁵² In fact a letter from Knollys to Grove on 24 July 1887 suggested that, at the very least, Grove and the Prince of Wales had been unwise to place so much trust in Fox.

I am much obliged to you for your letter containing the memorial to the '51 Commission.

I do not however think that you have given me any information as to how the money is to be raised, beyond stating that 'no doubt seems to be expressed of the probability of Funds being forthcoming and that there is a "Dark Horse" in the background who is supposed to be anxious to do the whole thing himself.'

¹⁴⁹ See also Thomas Seccombe, 'Grant, Albert, Baron Grant in the Italian nobility (1831-1899)', rev. Michael Reed, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [accessed 30 Dec 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11241>] Baron Grant (formerly Abraham Gottheimer) was elected MP for Kidderminster in 1865 losing his seat in 1868; he was re-elected in 1874 but deselected once the mendacious nature of his business-dealings came to light. His title was conferred by Victor Emmanuel II of Italy for services to the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele in Milan. Like Fox, he floated a number of companies that delivered precious little by way of a return to the investors. The most notorious of these was Emma Silver Mining Company of Utah for which a prospectus was printed in 1871. The capital was fixed at £1,000,000 in shares of £20 and the promise of a return of £800,000; in fact, all the investors received was a shilling in return for their shares. By contrast, Grant received £100,000 for the promotion.

¹⁵⁰ *To-Day* 3; 28 (19 May, 1894), p. 46. From a letter from a director of one of Fox's water-gas companies.

¹⁵¹ *To-Day* 3; 29 (26 May, 1894), p. 78.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 78.

The Prince of Wales would require to be further enlightened on the subject before he could lend himself to the proposal to erect a College.¹⁵³

The reference to Samson Fox as a 'Dark Horse', while not an indication of impropriety in itself, certainly suggests he had been successful in keeping his questionable business transactions from both Grove and the Prince of Wales. That Fox's donation was accepted, without having a clear notion of its origin, was not only profoundly naïve, it was irresponsible. Grove's anxiety concerning the College's status and its ability to meet the targets set out in the 1882 prospectus had muddied the waters; consequently, it is evident that funds of such magnitude would have been accepted from almost any quarter with very few questions asked.

By 23 June, Jerome attempted to goad Fox into the witness box to deny the fraud. On 14 July, Fox responded in *To-Day*, claiming that the articles and letters had been based on 'downright falsehoods and misleading statements'; however, the final blow was delivered two years later on 11 January, 1896 when *To-Day* accused him of attempting to cover up 'great misdeeds [and] misstatements to deceive the public..., [gambling on the] Stock Exchange ...with other people's money [and] the debauching ...officials by bribery.'¹⁵⁴ Desperate to restore his tattered reputation, Fox turned to the courts, where, on 1 April 1897 he began a libel action against Jerome K. Jerome and the proprietors, publishers and printers of *To-Day* before Mr Baron Pollock and a special jury.¹⁵⁵ At the conclusion of the case, the court had been sitting for over a month. In summing up, the judge said that the case 'had occupied a longer time than any action for libel that he could recollect, and his recollection as a member of the profession went back over 50 years. But he did not suggest that one moment of time

¹⁵³ MS AL FK to GG (24 July, 1887), RCMA. 0096/1.

¹⁵⁴ *To-day* 3; 36, p. 302. See also *To-Day* 9;114 (11 January, 1896), p. 302.

¹⁵⁵ 'High Court of Justice Queen's Bench Division' in *The Times* (1 April, 1897), p. 12.

had been unnecessarily expended.¹⁵⁶ The jury returned a verdict in Fox's favour but awarded him the token costs of one farthing (¼ penny), the smallest unit of currency available to them.¹⁵⁷ The case failed to achieve his desired objective and, if anything, compounded an already unenviable situation.¹⁵⁸ Fox had not been able to deny bribing Mr Parker, the engineer-surveyor from Lloyds, at £300 per annum. He had also been unable to refute the accusation that the £45,000 donation to the RCM had come directly from public subscriptions to the New Leeds Forge Company rather than from his personal fortune: he simply claimed that he could have paid it himself.¹⁵⁹ Nevertheless, he won the case on a technicality and the judge, summing up, offered little restitution on behalf of the investors.

If a libel was true in part and false in part, the law was that if one chose to attack a man, one's defence must be complete. One could not say that, taken as a whole, he was a bad man. A jury would not dissect each word. They would rather deal broadly so long as they could do so fairly, but still the rule must be remembered. A more governing consideration for the jury than any other would be this—what did they intend to say was the fair standard of commercial morality...? The transaction with Parker was entirely apart from the issue. Although it was a very bad act, they must not necessarily say that because a man had done a wrong act therefore they were to assume that he had done wrong in other things. His Lordship then proceeded to go through the evidence given by Mr. Fox, and pointed out that the money given to the Royal College of Music came out of moneys that had been received from time to time in connexion with these companies. But that was nearly, if not quite immaterial. Long before that the plaintiff had promised the money and was in a position to pay it.

Despite the verdict, Fox remained on the Council of the RCM until the 1898 elections but his reputation had been permanently tarnished and the baronetcy he might reasonably have expected under different circumstances never materialised.¹⁶⁰ Despite the unfortunate circumstances surrounding Fox's donation and the bad publicity from his Libel trial, Grove had much for which to be grateful and there is no hint of malice in his farewell address to

¹⁵⁶ 'High Court of Justice Queen's Bench Division' in *The Times* (8 May, 1897), p. 18.

¹⁵⁷ *The Times* (8 May, 1897), p. 18.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹⁵⁹ 'High Court of Justice Queen's Bench Division' in *The Times* (2 April, 1897), p. 14.

¹⁶⁰ MS AL GG to EO (15 June, 1894) Grove had sent a telegram to congratulate Watson on his recovery: 'Splendid news. College illuminated tonight.' This had been misinterpreted by the Watsons, who had assumed that Grove had been genuine: 'Why is the College to be illuminated? George and I most anxious to know; has Mr. Samson Fox been made a baronet?'

the students on 14 July, 1895: nor must I forbear a word of grateful reference to that remarkable man whose princely liberality placed us in this noble building.¹⁶¹

6.8 CONCLUSION

By any standards, the successful completion of the RCM building project was a prodigious achievement. Along with the establishment of the College Library, it represents Grove's most significant legacy to the College. By the end of May 1894, the Queen had awarded him the Companion of the Order of the Bath (CB), 'in recognition of the eminent services...rendered to the public in connection with the Royal College of Music.'¹⁶² Such an eminent award, routinely the preserve of the civil service, clearly pleased him: 'it does not make it less pleasant that it is an honour which is rarely given to any one not in the actual employment of the Government.'¹⁶³ Nonetheless, Blomfield's building by no means provided a solution to all the RCM's accommodation problems. The additional costs caused by the miscalculation of the height of the RCM building in relation to Prince Consort Road ensured funds were not available to execute the building in the style originally envisaged by Grove; consequently, only the entrance hall was adorned with the grand marble interiors originally planned for the other public areas. The scandal associated with Samson Fox's benefaction had effectively eliminated any thoughts of securing additional funding; consequently, the RCM staff and students were forced to rely in the short-term on the unsatisfactory concert hall in Alexandra House until the temporary 'Tin Tabernacle' was made ready for rehearsals and performances. Despite Grove's intention to provide a building

¹⁶¹ RCM MS 7297, ff. 1-8.

¹⁶² MS AL GG to TBG (25 May, 1894) quoted in Graves (1903), p. 408. See also MS AL GG to EO (19 May, 1894), RCMA. He was originally offered an alternative by the Prince of Wales who had given a choice between an additional annual increase to his salary of £200 or the CB. Although sceptical of the Prince's ability to obtain an award strictly reserved for servants of the government, Grove opted for the latter.

¹⁶³ Graves (1903), p. 408.

to rival conservatoires on the Continent, the lack of a suitable concert hall was a significant disadvantage. A permanent concert hall was eventually built in 1901 and opened in June that year; however, the difficulties concerning the building had only represented a small proportion of the problems facing Grove in the last years of his Directorate.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The End of an Era

The Circumstances leading to Grove's Resignation

7.0 INTRODUCTION

The period from 1890 leading up to Grove's resignation at the end of 1894 was the most turbulent in the RCM's early history. The personal 'piques and jealousies' of the staff and Grove's clashes with the Board of Professors over the extension of scholarships had lent a fractious atmosphere to the various RCM committees he was obliged to attend.¹ To compound matters, George Watson's illnesses had forced Grove to take on the combined work of Registrar and Director from January 1890. At 64, Grove had been an old man by Victorian standards when he had taken on the task of Director of the RCM in 1883. To have added another post to an already punishing schedule, as he entered his seventy-first year, left him exhausted for the remaining period of his Directorate. Unsurprisingly, he had seriously contemplated resignation from February, 1891. From 1893, the RCM found itself embroiled in a scandal that had been brewing for two years concerning the violin Professor, Henry Holmes, who had embarked upon unprofessional relationships with a number of his female students. In attempting to resolve the situation, Grove had been prevented from resigning any sooner. While Grove's relationship with the Irish pianist, and former RCM scholar, Edith Oldham, was also morally questionable, it seems to have been the only occasion on which he traversed professional boundaries during his time as Director. Significantly, it was a relationship to which Oldham obviously did not object and Grove's letters to her provide valuable insights into the various machinations played out during his Directorate.

¹ MS AL GG to EO [29 December, 1889], RCMA, ff. 249f.; No 77.

7.1 WATSON'S FIRST ILLNESS

On 29 December 1889 Grove reported to Edith Oldham that the 'College is going on well. Many of the old difficulties have vanished. Of course others come & others are shewing their nasty heads in the distance; but on the whole the coach goes more easily.'² In retrospect, Grove could not have been more wrong: the following month, the RCM was hit by a domestic setback. As the student intake increased, both Director and Registrar had been obliged to work considerably longer hours to compensate for the College's inability to afford to employ extra clerical staff.³ Watson had briefly endured unsustainable roles as Registrar of the RCM and Secretary of the newly-established Associated Board. He had assisted in the organisation and development of the complete system of examinations for the Associated Board and his workload had begun to take its toll on his health.⁴ After administering the December set of RCM examinations, he had spent over a month in the Middlesex Hospital having a tumour removed from his leg after which he had developed influenza and pleurisy: this should have been a warning to both men.⁵ Watson's illness had ensured that preparations for the ARCM examination syllabus had 'fallen almost entirely on [Grove]...and [were an] immense addition to work which was already as much as could be got through.'⁶ In order to execute both jobs efficiently, Grove had been compelled to work sixteen-hour days. During Watson's absence, Grove's exhaustion had contributed to a deep-seated sense of remorse that he had become utterly inadequate as Director.

I do stupid things, forget events, & in consequence take steps I ought not to, and neglect the most obvious things, and get bewildered; and then worry myself so sadly, not only at the faults which I have made but at the fact that I am so deteriorated as to make them: and then I think at once that I shall be disgraced and shewn to be a mean humbug, and altogether get into a dreadfully bad way.⁷

² MS AL GG to EO [29 December, 1889], RCMA, ff. 249f.; No 77.

³ MS AL GG to EO (10 June, 1888), RCMA f.204; No 88.

⁴ AR(ABRAM&RCM) ABRSM [?]July, 1890], p. 4.

⁵ MS AL GG to EO (29 December, 1889), RCMA 249f.; No 77.

⁶ MS AL GG to EO (25 November, 1889), RCMA f.245; No 77.

⁷ MS AL GG to EO (3 March, 1889), RCMA, p. 226 to 228; No 77.

In one sense, failing ability were only to be expected as the ‘inevitable consequence of being so near the limit of three score & ten!’ Another explanation was that his *Dictionary*, which was to have been completed in just three years had, in fact, taken twelve, the final volume appearing in 1889.⁸ To Grove and to the RCM, Watson had been the ‘main pillar of our house.’⁹ When he did finally return, his pallor made Grove anxious that he would ever fully regain sufficient stamina demanded by his role. There were more difficulties to come.

7.2 THE HOLMES AFFAIR

During the summer vacation of 1889 Grove had received an anonymous letter concerning the violin student, Isabella (Bell) Donkersley (1864-1938), describing ‘Holmes’s conduct with her; that they usually went across to the park together; and hinting[,] though very darkly[,] at improprieties.’¹⁰ In the belief that he was neither wicked nor dishonourable, Grove wrote to ask Holmes to desist from any ‘*open* [my italics] intimacy’ that could lead to remarks being made.¹¹ It suggests that a clandestine relationship, however undesirable in principle, would have been tolerated in practice. Grove later claimed that Parry had talked ‘of [the RCM

⁸ Leanne Langley: ‘Roots of a Tradition: the First *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*’ *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture* ed. Michael Musgrave (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 168f. See also MS AL GG to JM (12 November, 1883) RCMA. From the outset Grove’s commitments at the RCM had been onerous: he had hoped to write a biography of his great friend and brother-in-law, the Very Rev’d Arthur Penrhyn Stanley (1815-1881), the celebrated Liberal Dean of Westminster; however, much to his disappointment, work at the RCM compelled him to decline John Murray’s invitation. ‘...I see no reason to suppose that the labour and responsibility at the College will decrease sufficiently to allow me to give the time which is necessary for me to do an adequate biography of the Dean....’

⁹ MS AL GG to EO (30 January, 1890), RCMA, f. 253; No 77.

¹⁰ MS AL GG to EO (26 October, 1890) RCMA ff. 310-312; No 93. See also Students’ Register (1883-1885) Vol. 1, RCMA, 0015/1, p. 102. See Kevin Allen: ‘August Johannes Jaeger (1860-1909)’ *DNB* Vol. 29 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 576f. The daughter of a Huddersfield wool merchant, Isabella Donkersley was a fee-paying student (violin, organ and harmony) who had joined the RCM on 14 January, 1884 as a pupil of Holmes. She left the College in December 1890 and gained the ARCM at the Easter examinations the following year (see Appendix 3.25). In 1898 she married the German music critic, friend of Parry and promoter of Elgar, Walford Davies and Coleridge Taylor, August Jaeger (1860-1909) (see Appendix 3.13).

¹¹ MS AL GG to EO (26 October, 1890) RCMA ff. 310-312; No 93. Anna Williams’s father had been a reader for the publishers Smith and Elder, who were said to have discovered *Jane Eyre* at a time when it had been rebuffed by every other London publisher.

student, Anna Williams] as if he were in love with her'.¹² If Grove's supposition were correct, Parry's fondness seems to have been tolerated. Initially, Holmes's response seems to have pacified Grove. In the meantime, however, both Watson and the Lady Superintendent, Mrs Thompson, had expressed concern that Donkersley had been given extra lessons *à seul*; furthermore, she had taken lunch to Holmes and performed 'other personal services'.¹³ Concerned for the threat such behaviour posed to Donkersley's honour, Grove wrote to Holmes once more to insist that he refrain from continuing to see her alone. In reply, Holmes had

appreciated my [Grove's] good feeling, and everything should cease & c. By Jove! Yesterday, I go up between 1 and 2 to consult H. as to having a junior orchestra, and if I don't find him and B. D. alone in the room together! Isn't it foolish & absurd? And also very unfair to D. herself.¹⁴

Despite Holmes's infraction, no further action appears to have been taken at this stage. Grove's failure to provide a more incisive solution was undoubtedly clouded by Holmes's ability as a teacher and a conductor. The examiners' report for the 1891 Examinations had incorporated Eugène Ysaÿe's eulogy to the violin department and Holmes in particular (see Chapter Four p. 208). But Ysaÿe had also talked of the importance of 'direction morale' and it was on this very issue that Holmes finally came awry.¹⁵

Just before Christmas 1893 a 'horrid row' regarding Holmes erupted. Holmes had continued to ignore Grove's advice not to see female students alone. He had been lecturing his students on atheism and socialism and it had come to Grove's attention that the discussions had included 'matters which no man ought to talk to any woman about.'¹⁶ The allegations against Holmes implied that he had perpetrated his indiscretions 'in the presence

¹² MS AL GG to EO (13 April, 1893), RCMA. Annotated '95' in pencil but postmarked 13 April, 1893.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Report of the 1891 RCM Examinations RCMA, p. 3.

¹⁶ MS AL GG to EO (10 December, 1893), RCMA.

of several girls.¹⁷ Perplexed, Grove sought verification, which arrived the following afternoon (11 December). Holmes was dismissed immediately both from the RCM and the Associated Board, where he had been a Local Centre Examiner. Grove sought the advice of the Lord Chancellor, 1851 Commissioner and RCM Vice-President, Lord Herschell (1837-1899) after which the Executive Committee formally confirmed the decision.¹⁸ In the meantime, he wrote to Edith Oldham in an altogether more direct manner.

Deadly Private

Lower Sydenham, S. E.

Sunday Evening [17 December, 1893]

Your dear little letter is most welcome. Bless you my darling. I am so glad to think of your getting a few days:—I am in a horrid hole. Last Monday aftⁿ. I heard from the guardian of one of my girl violin scholars that Holmes was in the habit of committing, and enticing to commit the grossest immorality with his female pupils—It was given to me in such a form that I could have no alternative—so I at once wrote a letter to him forbidding him to enter College again till I had laid the matter before the Council. This I did on Wednesday aftⁿ. and he was then formally deprived of his position & appointments at the College—Meantime I had had to find out 3 of the girls whom he had tried (ineffectually) to seduce, and take their evidence—Meantime he wrote—not denying—not defending—but saying that he thought it expedient to resign! Thus admitting the charge—Imagine what the week has been to me, and what it will be till I have found out some to supply his place! And imagine what a teacher we have lost! No doubt he had his drawbacks (as a teacher)—but on the whole he certainly did improve them all wonderfully....

I know you will be thinking about me. If you were here to help me!—To influence the girls!—for many of them I know will stick to him, not realizing what he is turned away for!—He seems to have attempted 3 (and probably many more) and to have actually succeeded in ruining 4. Those I know of but there may be dozens. His wife and children are all in the same way of thinking!

Now dear I have so much to do I must have off. Of course you won't breathe a word to anyone[;] I have not even told my wife yet. Good bye[.]

Your ever loving

G.

He tried to represent it as a necessary accompaniment to music & art, and to freedom in Politics and everything else.¹⁹

¹⁷ MS AL GG to EO (10 December, 1893), RCMA.

¹⁸ EFM(RCM) 4 (14 December, 1893), pp. 114f.

¹⁹ Ibid. See also Young (1980), p. 238 where the letter is also printed; however, Young omits to include discussion of the repercussions of Holmes's actions once they found their way into the public domain and warrants re-assessment.

Holmes's actions caused him to be cast out and all members of College staff were forbidden from contacting him on pain of dismissal.²⁰ Incensed, Grove had wanted to send a candid circular to the parents and guardians of the College pupils.

The Director regrets to have to inform the parents & guardians of the College pupils that the valuable & artistic services of Mr. Henry Holmes have had to be dispensed with, as his appointments at College have been terminated by the Executive Committee of the Council in consequence of their discovery of his immoral practices and attempts to corrupt his pupils, the facts of which are not disputed.²¹

In an attempt at damage limitation, the Lord Chancellor, who thought such wording 'most inexpedient', successfully persuaded Grove to relinquish such provocative language in favour of a more oblique explanation: '[Holmes's] appointment has been terminated...in consequence of circumstances which came to their knowledge, and which rendered this course absolutely unavoidable.'²²

Details of the Holmes affair had been leaked to *The Pelican*, and the appearance of a paragraph summarising the sorry business appeared on 20 January, 1894. That the information had been published four days prior to the Executive Committee's resolution on the matter suggests that the information had been leaked by someone connected with the RCM. Louis Brousson, styled as the City Editor of the *Truth* Magazine in the RCM Student Register (see Appendix 3.13), had sent his daughter, Amelie, to the College in May 1893 where she had studied the harp and singing for two years before leaving in July 1895. It is possible, given Brousson's press connections, that the leak had emanated from him with information supplied by his daughter.

Despite the attempts of the very highest authorities to keep matters quiet, there appears to be every prospect of the details of a very grave scandal indeed in connection with a great musical institution becoming public, and that they may become public I most heartily trust, for a more iniquitous state of things can scarcely be imagined. When I say that some ten or twelve girls or young women, have been ruined by the distinguished musician who was their instructor, my meaning will be apparent. Some time ago when there was a scandal in connection with the school, or college, the wooden doors of the teaching rooms were all removed, and those, half of glass, which now prevail, took their place.

²⁰ EFM(RCM) 4 (25 January, 1894), RCMA S0013-4, p. 125.

²¹ Ibid., p. 126.

²² Ibid., pp. 127f.

Apparently there is not entire safety in glass doors for young ladies who happen to be away, for the time being, from their homes.²³

While the information in *The Pelican* was not entirely correct, it gave the impression that Holmes's indiscretion had merely been the tip of the iceberg. It is not known what the circulation statistics of *The Pelican* were and therefore whether or not it reached a wide audience; however, it is clear that the RCM Executive Committee took it sufficiently seriously to pass the following resolution at its next meeting:

Resolved to ask the Executive Committee for an interview at their next Meeting on Thursday next, as to the means which the Committee propose to take to safeguard the Professors in the event of further paragraphs appearing in the public papers. That Professors Stanford and Parry be a deputation to meet the Executive Committee.²⁴

The situation placed both the RCM and its professors in an invidious position.

In any event, the plate glass panels inserted into the classroom doors and mentioned in the paragraph in *The Pelican* remained Holmes's legacy to the RCM rather than his considerable accomplishments as teacher and conductor and only served to emphasise the obvious distinction between sinners, and saints whose labours remain immortalised in stained glass.²⁵ Bernard Shaw, a fellow socialist, had described Holmes as 'the only English violinist [of his day] whose praises could be sounded without the tongue in the cheek.'²⁶ Naturally, his dismissal threw up a number of problems for Grove, the least of which was finding a replacement violin professor and deputy to Stanford. Holmes's flight from London to Bucharest (described by Grove as 'the modern Sodom & Gomorrha [*sic*] which is an appropriate place for him') ensured that for many months he vanished into obscurity.²⁷

²³ 'All my I' *The Pelican* Vol. 12 (20 January, 1894), p. 3.

²⁴ EFM(RCM) 4 (25 January, 1894), RCMA S0013-4, p. 128.

²⁵ Percy Alfred Scholes: *The Mirror of Music 1844-1944* (Oxford: Oxford University Press; London: Novello and Co. Ltd, 1947), p. 474. See also Guy Warrack 'The Royal College of Music: The First Eighty-Five Years and Beyond' Vol. 1 (Unpublished thesis, RCM, 1968), p. 43.

²⁶ George Bernard Shaw: 'Mireille' *The World* (17 June, 1891) reprinted in Dan H. Laurence: *Shaw's Music* Vol. 2 1890-1893 (London: The Bodley Head, 1981), p. 373.

²⁷ MS AL GG to EO (23 August, 1894) RCMA.

During his sojourn in Romania, he had written a pamphlet, *Man's Faith: His God-Given Attributes. The Creed of an Artist*.²⁸ Published under the pseudonym Ilex Illuminati on his return to Britain in 1895, Holmes's philosophies turned a Biblically-informed moral code on its head. Tenets enshrined in Christian doctrine were dismissed in favour of a licentious brand of hedonism, whose elements were to be found 'in the seed—innate with our children', and which redefined sexual freedom as a virtue and declared abstinence a vice.²⁹ For many Victorians, the title alone, with its distortion of Christian terminology, would have been sufficient confirmation of calumny. A copy of the pamphlet had been given by Arthur Hill (1860-1939) of the family of violin and bow-makers, to the lawyer and scholar, Edward Heron-Allen (1861-1943).³⁰ It had contained a letter from Hill, marked 'private' in which the implications for the RCM were self-evident: 'wouldn't the Royal College "dance" if Labouchère got hold of this!'³¹ A well-known anti-Establishment figure, Labouchère was renowned for his hostility to concepts such as royal prerogative and the hereditary peerage.³² Despite being a Liberal MP, Labouchère was also a pugnacious opponent of homosexuality and other forms of sexual emancipation. That the scandal caused by Holmes's peccadilloes had erupted within the portals of an establishment under royal patronage would seem to have added grist to the mill and provided Labouchère with the perfect context to unite his

²⁸ Ilex Illuminati: *Man's Faith: His God-Given Attributes. The Creed of an Artist* (Manchester: The Labour Press Society Ltd, 1895) RCMA The Heron-Allen Collection.

²⁹ Ilex Illuminati (1895), p. 56.

³⁰ EFM(RCM) 1893-1895 Vol. 4 (12 July, 1894), RCMA S0013-4, pp. 211-213. The minutes include a letter from the violinmakers, William Hill & Sons offering a prize of a violin, a bow and case to be awarded, not by competition, but to the student whose progress has been the most significant during the year on the advice of the and Director and Board of Professors in 1893.

³¹ MS AL AFH to EH-A (14 October, 1895), RCMA The Heron-Allen Collection. Letter pasted into the front of Ilex Illuminati: *Man's Faith: His God-Given Attributes. The Creed of an Artist* (Manchester: The Labour Press Society Ltd, 1895). See also Brian Harvey 'Edward Heron-Allen' DNB Vol. 1 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 783. Edward Heron-Allen bequeathed the rare violin book content of his library, which in total comprised some 12,000 volumes, to the RCM. Heron-Allen had contributed articles on the violin to the second edition of Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*.

³² Sidebotham (2004), p. 164. As a Liberal MP Labouchère had added the clause to the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885 by which Oscar Wilde had been tried, which would have sanctioned a more severe sentence of seven rather than the two years hard labour Wilde had received.

prejudices into a single outpouring of invective.³³ Holmes's bare-faced effrontery in advertising for pupils in the London press provoked a searing attack in *Truth* on 14 May, 1896. Whether or not Holmes's pamphlet had been supplied to the magazine by Hill or Heron-Allen, information supplied by Amelie Brousson may also have contributed to the article. The paternal tenor of the *Truth* article certainly suggests Louis Brousson's input, even if he was not the author. It would justify the delay in publication: publication of the Holmes scandal had the potential to implicate every female RCM student; however, if Brousson had approached Grove directly, reference to it is curiously absent from the Oldham correspondence that survives, where it would certainly have appeared. Whatever the case, the RCM was left to console itself that *Truth* had erroneously styled Holmes 'a musician of undoubted ability, who was for many years a professor at the Royal *Academy* [my italics] of Music':³⁴

If it were merely the cause of one solitary indiscretion, it might be thought that by his punishment he has expiated his offence, and that there is no justification for visiting the consequences further upon him. But the matter does not stand so by any means. So far from manifesting any sense of having done wrong, Mr. Holmes has had the audacity to put forth certain statements, which are in print, and which, if they mean anything mean that he glories in his offence, and regards himself as more sinned against than sinning. He holds, it would seem, moral views at variance with those usually countenanced in decent society. He has even gone so far as to publish his sentiments in a little pamphlet, which I have before me, and which is, without exaggeration, as indecent and demoralising a publication as has ever been issued from the press. Without entering into a detailed description of Holmes's tenets, it is enough to say that no one who had seen this delectable brochure would ever allow any young person in whose moral welfare he was interested to associate with Holmes on any footing—least of all in the relationship of teacher and pupil.³⁵

As if that had not been sufficient censure, the author of the article had viewed Holmes's unconscionable position on sexuality as evidence of insanity and advocated transportation or imprisonment as recompense: either way, he was perceived to be 'the last person to whose

³³ Stanford (1914), pp. 289-298. In 1900, Stanford had cause to threaten going to law after an article appeared in *Truth* implying that had been practically guilty of 'bribery and corruption' in order to secure the vacant conductorship of the Leeds Festival.

³⁴ *Truth* (14 May, 1896).

³⁵ Ibid.

influence any youth or maiden should be entrusted.³⁶ Predictably, Holmes fled England never to return and ended his days in San Francisco.

Without doubt, the new violin professor would have to be cast in a fundamentally different mould; consequently, Grove consulted his Board of Professors for guidance. In the absence of unanimity, Grove and the Prince of Wales agreed that it would ‘very desirable to avoid importing a fresh foreigner.’³⁷ Rather Grove believed it would be ‘better [to] get a man from England, if possible, whether foreigner or native, [as] a fresh foreigner must always have to understand our ways and modes of action.’³⁸ Had Grove succeeded in appointing Joachim, the problems caused by Holmes’s indiscretion would naturally have been eclipsed; however, his reply, saying ‘thanks but improbable’, put an end to the matter and Grove was left to console himself that ‘an Emperor would always find it hard to manage himself in a Republic....’³⁹ Grove then approached a number of other contenders for the post for which musical ability was only one consideration:

I tried Willy Hess[:] very able, very nice, very suitable—but after 2 interviews I fear he won’t leave his dear Manchester. Then there is Arbos, a pupil of Joachim [and Vieuxtemps], who has been here for 3 or 4 years and has a certain reputation, and is recommended strongly by Sarasate & J. Him I have seen, but don’t quite care for him. He is bound in a certain degree to the Spanish Court; but what I least liked was a want of interest in the matter. Evidently no great desire to come. Then there is Wolff, an elegant effective drawing-room player, strongly backed by all sorts of great people but the idea of him as the first teacher in England is absurd. Fancy his attitude for instance towards Bach’s Chaconne!

There remains Heermann of Frankfurt, of whom I hear a very high character as musician, player, teacher, gentleman, cultivated person and nearly everything else. He is playing at Brussels today and may come over tomorrow; and with him the matter at present seems to rest. However I must tell you that out of all this Gompertz has managed very well. He has been extremely loyal [and has] taken Holmes’s pupils on his own shoulders, and has evidently made great strides towards being a fine player. How it will all turn out I do not know—but you shall hear. All is at rest & peace in the v. classes for this term and the excitement among the pupils has extraordinarily calmed down, & much attachment to Gompertz has begun to shew itself.

I only hope the P. of W. won’t be an ass and try to force Wolff on us but I hardly anticipate that, and I think he has reliance enough on me to do what I advise, when I have half made up my mind. If

³⁶ Ibid.; see also MS AL GG to EO (26 October, 1890) RCMA ff. 310-312; No 93 in which Grove had resisted involving the Police in the matter.

³⁷ MS AL GG to EO (14 January, [1894]), RCMA 6864/361

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

Heermann does not come over tomorrow I almost think I must go across & see him for I feel that his musical eminence is so assured that his personality is the great element in the question.⁴⁰

In fact, the term 'foreigner' was only really applied by Grove to those of Latin birth. The German violinist Hugo Heermann (1844-1935) had, after all, never lived in England: at the time of Holmes's dismissal, he was Professor of violin at the *Hoch Konservatorium* in Frankfurt. As a Protestant Teuton with a reputation for honour, intellect and musicianship, he satisfied the quintessential requirements for the position.⁴¹ Indeed on 17 January 1894 Grove wrote to Edward Speyer to inquire about him:

You are so good to me and so musical, and know Frankfurt so well, that I do not hesitate to ask you to tell me something about H. Heermann.

Circumstances have obliged me to change my violin professor and he has come to my mind. His reputation as a solo player I know, but I want to know if he is also a fine quartet player, also what he is as teacher and musician, and as a man. If I were to arrange with him could I be sure that the College would hold all his interest, that he would throw himself thoroughly into it—as I do, and Stanford and Parry and Taylor?

Again, can you give me any estimate of the value of his work at the Conservatoire?

Again, do you know of Joachim's opinion of him? He is more of the De Beriot School, I suppose, than J. J. is: but I do not know.

I should like my colleague to be a gentleman and a man of culture, and personally agreeable. Any information on all these points I should be very grateful for.⁴²

The criteria for the new violin professor give some indication of the considerable abilities possessed by Holmes and the efforts to which Grove was prepared to go to find a suitable replacement. Speyer's answer had not provided the desired information about Heerman and five days later he wrote to Henschel to ask his view:

I saw Henschel yesterday. He has written me a very strong letter in favour of Heerman; but he could not answer my definite questions as to his mode of teaching. I must know whether he is enthusiastic and sympathetic—etc. This he has promised to get for me...⁴³

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ W. W. Cobbett and John Moran 'Heermann, Hugo', *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 26 May, 2005), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>

⁴² BL Add. MS 42233 Edward Speyer Letterbook: Letter from Sir George Grove to Speyer marked 'Private' (17 January, 1894).

⁴³ MS AL GG to ES (22 January, 1894), BL Add. MS 42233.

By 4 March the choice appeared to be between Heermann and Willy Hess. The previous Friday, Heermann had been interviewed by Grove. They had both sat in on the rehearsal of the College orchestra at which Beethoven's Symphony No 7 had been rehearsed for the first time. Heermann had been deeply impressed saying: 'they [the RCM students] don't play like pupils...how good the wind is...I have been watching those 6 girls for ever so long and they have an admirable method [*sic*']'.⁴⁴ Whether or not Grove had been swayed by Heermann's preoccupation with the female students, his 'distrust of a mature German, who does not know England or English ways intimately, and [a] dislike of inducing a man in a great, settled position...to abandon security for uncertainty' contributed to his decision not to appoint him.⁴⁵ Despite earlier reservations, Enrique Fernández Arbós (1863-1939) succeeded Holmes on 15 May, 1894, remaining at the RCM until 1915.⁴⁶ A witty raconteur, his 'unaffected style of conducting produced extraordinarily effective results; [unlike] his violin playing, which was nervous and uncertain'.⁴⁷ In the meantime, Gompertz had redistributed Holmes's teaching so that any disruption was kept to a minimum and Grove had every reason to be grateful for his loyalty.⁴⁸ This was just as well: during the previous year's examinations (1892), Joachim had criticized the performances by the solo violinists. According to Grove, these had been marred by technical shortcomings in rhythm and intonation caused by the

⁴⁴ MS AL GG to EO (4 March, 1894), RCMA.

⁴⁵ MS AL GG to EO (4 March, 1894), RCMA.

⁴⁶ EFM(RCM) 4 (24 May, 1894) S0013-4 RCMA, p. 187. See also Arthur Jacobs: 'Enrique Fernández Arbós' *NGII* rev. Tully Potter Vol. 1 (London: Macmillan Ltd, 2001), p. 843. A Spanish violinist, composer-conductor, Arbós had studied violin with Jesús Monasterio at the Madrid Conservatoire, with Vieuxtemps at the Brussels Conservatoire and with Joachim in Berlin. From 1891 he had appeared as a soloist in London, teaching at the RAM. In 1914, he published his treatise: *Del violín, de su estilo y de su relación con la evolución de la música* (Madrid: 1914). In addition to his work at the RCM, he was appointed conductor of the Madrid Symphony Orchestra in 1904, resigning the conductorship at the outbreak of civil war in 1936, and was a guest conductor with the Boston Symphony Orchestra and other American orchestras from 1928. He conducted the first Spanish performance of Stravinsky's *The Rite of Spring* in 1932.

⁴⁷ Eugene Goossens: *Overture and Beginners. A Musical Autobiography* (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd, 1951), p. 252.

⁴⁸ EFM(RCM) 1893-1895 Vol. 4 (25 January, 1894), RCMA S0013-4 p. 123.

'slovenly way in which Gompertz's pupils are taught'.⁴⁹ Grove had had Joachim 'all to myself' on the journey between Paris and Calais in April 1892 and used it as an opportunity to seek his advice on a number of issues concerning the RCM.⁵⁰ It was on this journey that Gompertz's fate would seem to have been sealed and Grove determined he should be replaced: 'he must go and I want Straus in his place'.⁵¹ In the event his loyalty over the unforeseen difficulties imposed by the Holmes scandal was rewarded: on 23 April 1894 he was elected to the Board of Professors where he remained until March 1899 when he was replaced by the maverick Serge Achille Rivarde (1865-1940).⁵² While Gompertz had alleviated the practical difficulties caused by the Holmes affair, the scandal irrationally contributed to Grove's paranoia that the moral integrity of the RCM would be irreparably compromised and that his own, somewhat unconventional relationship with Oldham, which he had been at pains to conceal, might be discovered at considerable personal cost to all involved.

7.3 GROVE'S RELATIONSHIP WITH EDITH OLDHAM

Grove's relationship with Edith Oldham had been initiated by a letter of condolence on the death of her father. Written on 6 October 1883, when she was a seventeen-year-old RCM scholar in Grove's charge, this was the start of a correspondence that went on to last until

⁴⁹ MS AL GG to EO ([30] April, 1892), RCMA.

⁵⁰ MS AL GG to EO (19 April, [1892]), RCMA.

⁵¹ MS AL GG to EO [30 April, 1892], RCMA. Annotated 'Ap 92' in ink.

⁵² BPM(RCM) (29 March, 1899), RCMA 0023-1, p. 103. This is the last time Gompertz's name appears as a member of the Board of Professors. See also Warrack (c. 1968) p. 58. A violinist of mixed parentage (his father was Spanish and his mother American), Rivarde moved from the U.S.A at the age of eleven to Europe where he became a pupil of Charles Dancla at the Paris Conservatoire and won first prize in 1879 with the Czech violinist, František Ondříček (1857-1922). After a brief spell back in the U.S.A., where he temporarily abandoned playing altogether, he returned to Paris and spent five years as leader of Lamoreux's orchestra. He gave the appointment in 1891 and after his London debut in 1894 took up the post of assistant violin professor at the RCM. A conceited eccentric, he revelled in waging feuds with colleagues and friends alike: 'it never occurred to him that he was not the greatest living violinist or that he could be wrong about anything. He had green hair wound round his skull over which he wore a strange black hat giving him the appearance of a brigand in the Carl Rosa chorus.'

the end of September 1899, by which time they had communicated with one another on over 500 occasions.⁵³ That Oldham's replies were destroyed by Lady Grove soon after her husband's death for fear they might be used by a biographer, suggests that his feelings for her were reciprocated, even if it is impossible to gauge, with any accuracy, the precise nature of their relationship.⁵⁴ From 1884, Grove's letters had contained views on a variety of aspects of the RCM along with the examination results of Oldham's contemporaries and it says something for her discretion and upbringing that this did not cause problems for Grove during the initial stages of his Directorate.⁵⁵ By the start of 1886, Grove's paternal instincts for Oldham had matured into a fixation.⁵⁶ Mrs Oldham had already become perturbed that her daughter had been seen alone at concerts with him.

...The supervision in the College seems of a very indifferent character....It surprises me that there is not an escort provided to bring the girls to concerts when presented with tickets by musical societies[.] That was one of the inducements held out in the prospectus of the College....I cannot understand why Sir George gave you permission or why as director he should not provide some respectable way for the girls to go to the concerts open to them[.] This may seem all very absurd to you but remember if those kind of things led to any bad conduct it would give such a low character to the College that it would be most undesirable to be connected with it in any way.⁵⁷

In June, Edith fell ill with measles. Terrified at catching a disease that could have implicated him in what had already been planted as a thought in the minds of more diligent RCM observers, he offered a series of unconvincing excuses as to why they would be unable to meet.

I am rather shaky, and indeed am going to cut the College for a day. But I fear very much that you are not well. Mine is merely tiredness, which a day in bed will cure; but, dear, you must not begin fighting and struggling with your music, you will simply ruin yourself. If I could but ask you to come down to Sydenham & vegetate there for a fortnight. But I daren't propose your going away, lest Lovetia should fix the Westwood claws into you again! We must be cautious.⁵⁸

⁵³ MS AL GG to EO (6 October, 1883), RCMA MS6864/1.

⁵⁴ MS AL HG to EO (29 June, 1900) RCMA Harriet Grove had written to Oldham on 31 October, 1899 to say that Grove had been 'almost unconscious' for over a month hovering between life and death. After Grove's death the following year, Harriet Grove wrote once more to say 'I have been tearing up heaps of your letters, which I felt you would not wish to be read by a publisher, if such person should appear....'

⁵⁵ MS AL GG to EO (26 December, 1884), RCMA, f. 9.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

⁵⁷ MS AL NO to EO (17 November, 1883), RCMA, f.100

⁵⁸ MS AL GG to EO (15 June, 1886), RCMA, p. 32.

If Grove had been concerned that his attentions had aroused suspicions, he did not need to invent reasons why he was prohibited from seeing Oldham.

I was disappointed not to come today, but could not contrive it. I was driven like a leaf every moment of the day, up to 6.20. Nor shall I be able to come tomorrow I fear—for I must be at College at 9 to instal [*sic*] Madame Haas as Pf teacher—then to the Theatre for rehearsal and then to countless places....Well good-bye my precious child—it was lovely to see you the other day—you looked really beautiful, and I am always your affectionate G.⁵⁹

At Easter 1886, Oldham's scholarship had been due for renewal but her mother was adamant for a number of reasons that she should return home to Ireland to earn a living. Neither the Liberal social policy enshrined in the RCM charter, nor the absence of any attempt at segregation of the sexes at the RCM Kensington Gore premises had assuaged Mrs Oldham's concern for her daughter's virtue.⁶⁰ Furthermore, she was vehemently opposed to the idea of her daughter being 'condemned to the society of Miss Kellett and the mill hands.'⁶¹ Mrs Oldham hardly seems to have been enamoured of any of the other Irish girls who attended the College: Louisa Kellett was a 'very bad companion' and Anna Russell came from 'one of the worst [streets] in Limerick.'⁶² To make matters worse, Edith's brother, Hubert, had barely held down a job and the incompetent management of the family firm of drapers by Eldred, her half-brother, had all but plundered its assets and plunged the family into penury, where bankruptcy had only narrowly been avoided.⁶³ Bereft at the thought of losing her, Grove enlisted the help of her piano Professor, Franklin Taylor, to persuade her mother to sanction a year's extension at the College. As Director, Grove was well aware of the family's financial predicament as he had personally offered to alleviate Edith's poverty on many occasions. His unscrupulous exploitation of the Oldhams' Achilles' heel—he had

⁵⁹ MS AL GG to EO (25 June, 1886), RCMA, p. 33.

⁶⁰ Young (1980), pp. 171f.

⁶¹ Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 172.

⁶² Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 172.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 171f & 178.

threatened to charge a term's board and tuition had Edith returned to Dublin prematurely—had been uncharacteristically spiteful and only served further to alienate an acutely suspicious Mrs Oldham who considered his letter 'most ungentlemanly, and in the worst possible taste.'⁶⁴ Grove's determination to see Edith remain in London had compromised his judgement. Dependent on obtaining Mrs Oldham's acquiescence, the renewal of her scholarship for a further year, until Easter 1887, was actually accomplished by Taylor who had written to Mrs Oldham in 'such a different tone'.⁶⁵

From August 1886, Oldham had been to stay with the Groves at Lower Sydenham. Evidently, Grove's interest in her had begun to develop into something altogether more profound: '...it has been nice to have you: you are so pleasant and nice to talk to, and fit into me so perfectly that it's the greatest pleasure to me to have you. Also I'm sure my people like you immensely—I never saw my wife take to anybody so easily.'⁶⁶ It seems that Lady Grove and Oldham had taken to each other from the outset and this evidently came as something of a relief to Grove. The Groves' connubial relationship was complex. Characterised by respect and a superficial level of affection on the one hand, they had little in common: in short they were 'tombs to one another' and Grove nevertheless found himself isolated from his family and in need of the company of compassionate colleagues and sympathetic friends.⁶⁷

Lady G....is one of those uncommunicative people who do themselves so much [~~deleted:~~ harm] wrong. I know that at this moment she is suffering fearfully with Rheumatism but wild horses would never make her confess. It's a sad loss to me because one must talk & let out to some one, else one dries up; and there is nothing on which I can talk to her. The College she has no interest in—Music ditto—my friends d[itt]o. I would as soon speak to Dickson or William about poetry or books &c. &c. I have the

⁶⁴ Quoted in Young (1980), p. 185.

⁶⁵ See Pine and Acton (1998), p. 166.

⁶⁶ MS AL GG to EO (3 August, 1886), RCMA, f.43.

⁶⁷ MS AL GG to EO (12 February, 1893), RCMA.

nicest friends outside[.] Mrs Wodehouse, you, Olga von Glehn but she knows & will care for none, and there is no inducement to have them here as a rule.⁶⁸

In writing to Edith about matters of the heart he was altogether less oblique:

To me 'water' has always been thicker than 'blood'. I have been driven outside my own family for affection and have often looked on with the keenest envy at brothers and sisters who, like you, are all in all to one another.⁶⁹

Victorian protocol demanded that invitations to stay at Lower Sydenham were issued by Lady Grove: Grove's temptation to invite Oldham home during his wife's visit to Penn in September 1886 had been resisted; however, he was less circumspect on RCM premises. The rules in place at Alexandra House strictly forbade men from entering girls' rooms; instead, they were required to wait in the public waiting rooms downstairs.⁷⁰ Two months later Grove wrote to Oldham to say 'I meant to come to see you yesterday before I left; but I was told not to go to the girls' rooms and so that makes me cautious.'⁷¹ Grove's admonishment by the Lady Superintendent understandably made him nervous that his 'secret' infatuation would be discovered. In 1883, at the Prince of Wales's encouragement, Grove had considered making redundancies to reduce the costs of an outsized ancillary staff when he had considered discharging the Lady Superintendent. Sir Dighton Probyn, Comptroller to the Prince of Wales, had written to Grove to try to dissuade him. Scandals between students and professors at both the RAM and the National Art Training School had originally influenced Cole's decision to appoint a Lady Superintendent at the NTSM and Probyn felt that 'in the absence of authority...it can hardly be expected...that the Royal College of Music will escape from scandals, which will naturally be disastrous to its reputation, if the

⁶⁸ MS AL GG to EO (2 March, 1888), RCMA f.172; No 88. Grove had also been ill with Rheumatism and had therefore not been in touch with Oldham, hence his remark about Lady Grove for he had been uncommunicative too.

⁶⁹ MS AL GG to WBS (21 November, 1884), BL Add. MS 39679, folio 106.

⁷⁰ 'Rules of Alexandra House' RCM CPH(RCM) 88D2

⁷¹ MS AL GG to EO (6 November, 1886) RCMA. See also Young (1980), p. 188.

post of Lady Supdt. be abolished.⁷² If the Lady Superintendent had failed to prevent Holmes's indiscretions, she had proved an invaluable deterrent against a potential charge of impropriety against Grove.

In the meantime, Oldham's projected return to Dublin, at Easter 1887, spurred Grove into action once more and he secured a placement for her in the service of Lord Lyttleton at Hagley House. Anticipating Mrs Oldham's opposition to such an appointment, he brought pressure to bear on Eldred Oldham, citing the post's financial and social merits and his sister's obligation to the College:

It is a pity that your sister should give up so very eligible an opening as that at Hagley, if she can possibly combine it with her family claims. She will make a good income, live like a lady, and be in an excellent position in the place, and I have reason to believe that Lord Lyttleton's people would be kind to her.

I do Edith all honour for her unselfish wish to sacrifice herself to her mother but the opportunity is one that can never occur again, and there is surely some consideration due to the College which has maintained and taught her during four years, and which looked to this post as a means of getting its teaching put into practice in so advantageous a way. On these grounds I urge you to consider the possibility of Mrs. Oldham living at Hagley....⁷³

While Oldham's acceptance of the Hagley job would have ensured her continued residence in England, where Grove would have been at liberty to pursue her, it would have relegated her to a life of relative servitude. By contrast, her appointment as Assistant Professor of piano at the Royal Irish Academy of Music (RIAM) in Dublin, announced in *The Musical World* in November 1887, allowed her far greater professional and social freedom. From Grove's perspective, Oldham's acceptance of the Dublin post also thwarted any opportunity to consummate the relationship at this juncture.⁷⁴

In February 1888, Grove met Sir Francis Brady (1824-1909). Brady was a county court judge, chairman of the Quarter Sessions in County Tyrone and Vice-President and a founder of the RIAM. It was in this last capacity that he had come into contact with Edith Oldham,

⁷² MS AL DP to GG (28 June, 1883) RCMA 0096/1.

⁷³ MS AL GG to EldO (2 July, 1887), RCMA p. 70.

⁷⁴ *MW* (5 November, 1887), p. 879.

who had evidently written to Grove about him. Suspicious that Oldham's attentions were being diverted by Brady, Grove had become jealous and he wrote to try to persuade her against seeing Brady.

He's so cruelly ugly and then has a way of pushing his own affairs which I did not quite like—but there's no reason why you should not take all he gives you and not lose your heart to him! Please don't do that, to him or any other man but me.⁷⁵

The following year Grove attempted to convince Oldham to return to England: 'only suppose that you were in London, at the fountain head of everything, able to hear music and take part in Society according to your heart's desire! Now, dear, just tell me, may I be on the look out for some post for which you will make it worth your while to come and live in London? I wish you would think over this point and give me some hope about it.'⁷⁶ The impracticality of establishing any kind physical intimacy was a constant cause of frustration for Grove: 'I am sincere in saying that the distance between us is a serious drawback to my life. Is it never to be removed?'⁷⁷ Despite his entreaties, Oldham remained in Dublin. Assured of the support of Pauer, Taylor and Parry, Grove later attempted to persuade Oldham to come to London with the lure of a RCM post but nothing came of it.⁷⁸ Oldham had not been enamoured with London in 1884, which she doubtless found clogged by the filth and degradation common to all Victorian cities, and it seems little had transpired to change her perspective for nothing came of the invitation.⁷⁹ On the rare occasions she had made the journey to London to stay with her Aunt in Sydenham, her meetings with Grove were often restricted to ten-minute assignations on the doorstep.⁸⁰ In late July, Oldham finally spent time with Grove during which she was taken to the Crystal Palace and

⁷⁵ MS AL GG to EO (1 February, 1888), RCMA.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 250; No 89.

⁷⁷ MS AL GG to EO (29 December, 1889), RCMA, f. 250; No 89.

⁷⁸ MS AL GG to EO (13 April, 1893), RCMA. Annotated in '95' in pencil but postmarked 13 April, 1893.

⁷⁹ MS AL GG to EO (26 April, 1884), RCMA, f. 6.

⁸⁰ MS AL GG to EO (3 March, 1889), RCMA, ff. 226 to 228; No 77.

Windsor.⁸¹ For the most part, however, protracted expressions of affection were restricted to letters:

For myself it is no exaggeration to say that I long to see you—You hold a place in my memory different from any other pupil, from any other of my friends—our intercourse was so free and intimate, you were so peculiarly agreeable and delightful to me and your education and the high qualities of your mind raised you so far above the ordinary pupil that as I say you always occupied a distinct place in my thoughts. Forgive my writing in this strain which I daresay you won't like, but I am not sorry for once to have the chance of telling you the fact.⁸²

Such plain speaking, even at the expense of Oldham's blushes, was by no means uncommon in Grove's correspondence, some of which all but required an immediate reply. Letters with salutations such as 'my dearest Edith' or simply 'my darling' often contained recommendations to read passages of Tennyson, Browning or 'Shakspeare' [*sic*].⁸³ These routinely concluded 'your ever loving G.' or 'Good by [*sic*] Je t'embrasse et je te serre à coeur.'⁸⁴ By contrast, Oldham's salutations were considerably more formal; indeed, Grove pleaded with her: 'Couldn't you open your dear letters in some other way? That dreadful "Dear Sir George" is so horribly stiff—"Dear friend"[,] "Dear G." or some other less formidable way of address?—Do try.'⁸⁵

Grove's letter to Edith Oldham in August 1891, in which he confessed that he was 'dreadfully in love' with her was an admission of serious impropriety.⁸⁶ He wrote to her again, on 23 February 1891, to say 'You're working away like a nigger (lovely nigger) over some wretched brats in a stuffy little room in the Academy. How I wish I could come up softly behind you, and put my hands round you, and bend my head over!'⁸⁷ Had either letter got into the wrong hands, such expressions of devotion could easily have had catastrophic consequences for the RCM and exposed both Grove and Oldham to blackmail. While

⁸¹ MS AL GG to EO (1 August, 1890), RCMA, f. 276; No 77.

⁸² MS AL GG to EO (2 October, 1889), RCMA, f. 119; No 239.

⁸³ MS AL GG to EO (29 December, 1889), RCMA, f. 250; No 89.

⁸⁴ MS AL GG to EO (2 March, 1888), RCMA, f. 172; No 88.

⁸⁵ MS AL GG to EO (29 December, 1889), RCMA, f. 250; No 89.

⁸⁶ MS AL GG to EO (4 August, 1891), RCMA, f. 390; No 77.

⁸⁷ MS AL GG to EO (23 February, 1891), RCMA, f. 351.

Grove's feelings were only to be expected as a consequence of Harriet Grove's self-imposed exclusion from her husband's affairs, it was not the first time that he had found himself in such a situation:

I wanted to have had the College people—whom I have so dreadfully neglected & kept aloof from (or she has) to dinner, & shewn them some little warmth of attention—But it[']s the same thing that attended our life all through. She [Lady Grove] alas! has no interest in or sympathy with anything I like, do, or wish—not even any sensible desire to help me materially in the objects of life—By God I often wonder how I bear it. How I don[']t get wild under it. For years I have borne it somehow, always trying to take the blame on myself—Many women do what they can to help their husbands, by being nice to their colleagues—pushing their husbands' [sic] interests &c. but no! not one grain of this have I ever known. All through my C. Palace work, my Bible dictionary work, investigation of Palestine, Musical Dictionary: College—all countless things I have tried—to everything she has been absolutely cold. At one time I violently rebelled by getting head over ears in love with another woman, a perfectly pure though most passionate attachment, which lasted for 20 years & only ended with her death....⁸⁸

Grove's 'attachment' had been to Emily Marie von Glehn, a distant relation by marriage of Harriet Grove. To have mentioned it to Edith Oldham seems to have been an attempt to attract her into a similar arrangement.

7.4 GROVE'S RETIREMENT LOOMS

Rumours had begun to circulate concerning Grove's and Oldham's relationship from 1886 and it is likely that Henry Holmes was aware of the situation; consequently, Grove's attempts to discipline him over his relationship with Isabella Donkersley in 1889 had proved fruitless. Possibly in view of this, or, more likely, motivated by old-age, exhaustion and ill-health, Grove had contemplated resignation from 1891; however further thoughts of it had to be deferred until the consequences of the Holmes affair could be satisfactorily resolved.⁸⁹ Attempts to rescue the music profession from a tarnished reputation had been part of the RCM's unofficial remit. The Holmes affair only help to contribute to a climate of moral paranoia that became commonplace at all London's music schools at this time, which continued until well into the twentieth century.

⁸⁸ MS AL GG to EO (13 February, 1891), RCMA, ff. 345-347; No 77. See also Young (1980), pp. 83 and 215f.

⁸⁹ MS AL GG to EO (4 August, 1891), RCMA, f. 390; No 77.

In England we have made music far too genteel. With our bourgeois academies and respectable students, and general atmosphere of chaperoned mediocrity, we deliberately encourage music as an accomplishment for the weaker brethren to the detriment of the true artist who must certainly be independent and probably unconventional.⁹⁰

A memorandum recorded in Grove's notebook on 1 February reveals that he intended to write to the Prince of Wales to nominate Parry as a candidate to succeed him as Director.⁹¹

I often wonder who will succeed me! Parry is the only one who can carry on my work in my spirit; and I believe that he would do so well—while being a real musician he would in some respects be far better than I. Parratt had many good qualities, but he is too impulsive, and also when you get into the sort of rut that he has at Windsor it is frightfully difficult to get out of it. Either of them would be good, but I think Parry the better.⁹²

Parratt had effectively been ruled out of the process because of Stainer's fiendish hatred for him—'as long as Parratt suffers he cares for nothing'.⁹³ While Grove encouraged healthy rivalry, 'he had no stomach for petty jealousies'.⁹⁴

If old-age and exhaustion had not been ample grounds to consider resignation, his propensity for accidents simply contributed to Grove's general physical malaise. He had been 'thrown down and run over and shaken and dirtied' by a cab in Knightsbridge on 10 November, 1886, which had caused him to take to his bed for ten days.⁹⁵ Four years later, on 18 June 1890, he had crushed his foot in the heavy door of a railway carriage and, on 18 February 1891, at the age of 70, he had been lucky to escape death in another accident with a Hansom cab:

Trying to cross from Apsley House...towards Victoria Station, in the thickest of fogs, a Hansom charged me. I clung to the shaft and was carried on a few feet but my legs drooped & the wheel went over my left leg just above the ankle [*sic*] grinding the ankle bone well into the road & bruising me badly, but breaking nothing.⁹⁶

⁹⁰ Comment from *The Bystander* (1911) quoted in Barty-King (1980), p. 70.

⁹¹ Grove's notebook entry is mentioned in Graves (1903), p. 364.

⁹² MS AL GG to EO (1 February, 1891), RCMA, ff. 340-341; No 77.

⁹³ MS AL GG to EO [21 October, 1894] RCMA.

⁹⁴ Stanford (1914), p. 219.

⁹⁵ Quoted in Graves, (1903), p. 318. See also MS AL GG to EO (22 June, 1890), RCMA, f. 270; No 77; MS AL GG to EO ([30 June or 7 July], 1890), RCMA, f. 271; No 77. See Young, (1980), p. 188.

⁹⁶ MS AL GG to EO ([21] February, 1891), RCMA, f. 349; No 3.

Despite Grove's understatement of the severity of the accident, it had taken him over three months to recover normal use of his ankle.⁹⁷ By March 1892, Grove's schedule had altered little and he had 'undergone a curious attack' from Thring and Lord Charles Bruce, who, noticing his exhaustion, had 'assaulted [him] violently'.⁹⁸ On 17 March the members of the Executive and Finance Committee prohibited Grove from working for more than three days a week. At Easter he was ordered to take a six-week holiday abroad and given a cheque for £100 to cover expenses;⁹⁹ however, his vacation was cut in half by the end of the ARCM examinations and the start of the new term on 26 April.

In May 1894, Watson suffered a stroke: initially paralysed down his right side, he had lost the use of his hand and leg, which brought to an end his RCM career.¹⁰⁰ While he had recovered sufficiently to travel to his cottage in Borstal before the month's end, he had been forbidden to work by his doctor and consequently Grove was left once more to pick up the pieces, which led him to an inevitable conclusion.¹⁰¹ 'I have now quite made up my mind that in a reasonable time—say a year—I shall bid good bye to the College.'¹⁰² Despite his intention, issues surrounding his pension and the matter of a suitable successor had prevented his acting sooner. By 1894 he had become less convinced of Parry or Parratt's fitness for the post and the unlikelihood of finding a suitably qualified musician to take the RCM forward in a similar vein.

He ought to be a non-musician if possible: and yet I look everywhere in vain for one. Of my present colleagues Parratt has for long appeared to me the most likely (Parry is too shaky in health)—but of late I have noticed several things in Parratt which I don[t] like—increased sensitiveness & jealousy & want of balance. Also if he comes to the College he must give up his beloved Windsor, & that I don't think he ever would—No! Bridge is rather rising in my estimation[.] He is perhaps a lower order of nature

⁹⁷ MS AL GG to EO (22 April, 1891), RCMA, f. 367; No 77. '...my ankle [*sic*] continues so bad, and it is such a drawback to life to have to limp about.' In the event his ankle had only finally healed by the time he wrote to Edith Oldham again on 15 May.

⁹⁸ MS AL GG to EO (13 March, 1892), RCMA.

⁹⁹ EFM(RCM) 3 (17 March, 1892), RCMA S0013-3, p. 209.

¹⁰⁰ MS AL GG to EO (19 May, 1894), RCMA.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

than Parratt but he is very good—has improved vastly of late and has managed his Gresham Professorship thoroughly well steering it through difficult waters with great tact and ability—Also he knows the College thoroughly, and is liked by the pupils.¹⁰³

The principle of appointing a second Director with Grove's unique qualities understandably proved an impossible task. An internal appointment was inevitable if the original vision for the RCM was to be maintained and developed.

By September, the move had been made to the new building on Prince Consort Road and Grove had settled into his new office; however, Watson had made slow progress, such that it was debatable whether he would ever return to active duty.¹⁰⁴ Grove felt his loss acutely. An uncommon bond of trust had developed between the two men and Watson had been Grove's closest ally. In the absence of additional staff to take on the remaining duties of the Registrar, Grove found himself quickly exhausted and the inertia of the Executive and Finance Committee, who had not yet launched a search for a replacement, temporary or otherwise, simply exacerbated the situation. Watson's absence only served to compound Grove's anxiety:

What is to become of the countless parts of the establishment which he [Watson] did? He was accountant and registrar and secretary and general referee about everything—he himself did the work of 4 or 5 single men—knew everything that had happened—the weak points and strong points of the whole, was always on the lookout for economy on the one hand and extension on the other—in short he was the acting moving heart and muscle of it all.¹⁰⁵

Grove had hoped that Watson's clerk would step into the Registrar's shoes; however, he declined the position, saying he was not man enough for the post.¹⁰⁶ Watson's continued absence from the College eventually prompted the Executive Committee to appoint a book-keeper to alleviate Grove's workload but it was too little too late: his decision had already been made.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ MS AL GG to EO (13 September, 1894), RCMA.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ MS AL GG to EO (13 September, 1894), RCMA.

¹⁰⁷ EFM(RCM) 4 (18 October, 1894), RCMA S0013-4, pp. 238f.

Grove had quipped privately to Edith Oldham that he might consider resignation:

I don[']t think I could make you believe how very much I distrust myself and disbelieve in myself—I sometimes at College get into the mood of thinking myself a perfect impostor. It is true that I am wanting in real practical musicianship which any Director ought to have, and in thorough knowledge on many points—But on the other hand I have certain qualities which are good. But when these moods come, all my good points vanish & to myself I am just a poor incapable being who ought to go to the Prince tomorrow & resign his directorship.¹⁰⁸

Parry had been Grove's favourite to succeed him long before he had formally submitted his resignation to the Prince of Wales, dated 10 October 1894, and finally sent four days later, after discussions with Dean Stanley, Lord Bruce and Edward Hamilton.¹⁰⁹

Royal College of Music

10 October, 1894

Sir,

I am afraid that the time has arrived when I must ask permission to restore into your Royal Highness's hands the direction of this College, which I had the honour to receive from you in 1882, and which I have maintained to the best of my ability.

To do this causes me very great distress, but I have no alternative; my health has of late suffered considerably, I have lost much of my energy, nerve, and spirits; my faculties are not what they were, and I have been at length most unwillingly forced to the conviction that it will be for the interests of the College that should resign my trust in favour [sic] of a younger and more active man.

I have no wish to do this in a hurry, or in any way to embarrass your Royal Highness in the appointment of my successor. My one desire is to act as may be deemed best for the good of the College, and I shall at all times be ready to render any assistance that I can to a work to which I am heart and soul devoted.

In surrendering this important and dearly loved charge, I humbly take leave to express my deep gratitude for the confidence reposed in me by your Royal Highness through the past twelve years, and for the many opportunities afforded me of approaching your Royal Highness on all occasions on the subject of the College.

I have the honour to be

Sir,

Your Royal Highness's

Most grateful, humble, and devoted servant,

George Grove

His Royal Highness

The Prince of Wales. K.G.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ MS AL GG to EO (31 July, 1891), RCMA, f. 388; No 77.

¹⁰⁹ MS AL GG to EO (14 October, 1894), RCMA. See also MS AL GG to EO [13 September, 1894] RCMA '...I believe that some arrangement has been made with Parry to succeed me. But of course I can't go now it would simply be disloyal and impossible...' See also MS AL GG to EO (1 February, 1891), RCMA, ff. 340f.; No 77. Grove had first written to Oldham to discuss Parry as a contender for the directorate in February 1891.

The Prince of Wales's reply was symptomatic of the unusually close relationship both men had enjoyed and he heaped praise on Grove:

I and all connected with it [the College] deeply regret your decision. It would not perhaps be fair upon you to ask you to reconsider your present decision, but I know full well how difficult it will be to find a successor, and you will I am sure not leave us in a hurry.¹¹¹

Perhaps more compelling had been the advice of Grove's doctor of 30 years, who, concerned for his health, had been obdurate that he should not continue at the RCM.¹¹² In the meantime, he wrote to Thring—'the man to whom the establishment of the College is really due'—to explain his decision. At the subsequent extraordinary Council meeting Thring's response had been uncharacteristically warm.

Lord Thring wished, as the oldest man in the room, to say a few words....He pointed out that it had often been his duty to appear to oppose Sir George Grove: that he feared his opposition had sometimes had an unpleasant aspect, but which he need not say was solely activated by a sense of his responsibility as a Member of the Committee. He wishes further to add that he never knew any man who bore the reproaches, or he would rather say the ill temper, of his Colleagues so kindly or so generously as Sir George Grove, nor did he ever know any man who worked with such singleness of purpose.¹¹³

The Council meeting had been attended by many of Grove's 'best friends...Bruce, Hamilton, Hall, Sullivan, [the] Duke of Westminster and about seven more [with] Prince Christian in the chair' and he had been overwhelmed at their reaction:

...I assure you I listened in wonder—twofold wonder 1. that so much praise—so lavish & also so discriminating—could be given to any individual, (I never remember hearing anything like it), and 2. that that individual should be me...¹¹⁴

Thring it was who finally secured Grove's pension of £700 and the next available seat on the Council, while the students had a bust made for the College.¹¹⁵ To have been awarded such a generous annuity, a testament to his success as Director, was nevertheless extraordinary by

¹¹⁰ CM(RCM) 2 (5 November, 1894), RCMA S0013-4, pp. 33-35.

¹¹¹ Ibid., pp. 35-37.

¹¹² MS AL GG to EO (14 October, 1894), RCMA.

¹¹³ CM(RCM) 2 (5 November, 1894), RCMA S0013-4, pp. 38f.

¹¹⁴ MS AL GG to EO (10 November, [1894]), RCMA.

¹¹⁵ Ibid. See also: EFM(RCM) Vol. 4 (5 November, 1894), RCMA S0013-4, p. 249. See also: MS AL GG to EO [17 February, 1895], f. 409; No 359. See EFM(RCM) Vol. 1 (31 May, 1883), RCMA S0013-1, p. 5. Grove's original salary had been £750 but the intention to raise it to £1,000 as funds allowed never materialised.

Victorian standards and a considerable drain on the RCM's moderate resources over the ensuing five years.

At the following Council meeting on 4 November, Parry was 'virtually chosen'; however, under the provisions of the charter, it had been necessary to submit five names to the Prince of Wales.¹¹⁶ An internal appointment was a foregone conclusion for the candidates were all on the Board of Professors: the names of Parry, Parratt, Bridge, Stanford and Taylor were submitted, with a unanimous expression in favour of Parry.¹¹⁷ While Grove believed Parry to be the pre-eminent preference, he had reservations: 'he's the best, but...in many things he will be very poor—no backbone or power of saying no, or of resisting those whom he likes'.¹¹⁸ By contrast Stanford's hot-headed temperament had all but removed him from the selection process:

I came in from a very tiresome Board [of Professors] meeting at 11 last night where somehow the spirit of the d...l himself had been working in Stanford all the time—as it sometimes does, making him so nasty and quarrelsome and contradictory [sic] as no one but he can be! He is a most remarkably clever and able fellow full of resource and power—no doubt of that—but one has to purchase it often at a very dear price....¹¹⁹

If Grove had been uncertain of Stanford's suitability for the directorship, his reputation outside the College made him unsuitable, in spite of his undeniable gifts as a composition professor and orchestral conductor.

...someone said to me the other day that he was the most disliked man in England. He can be very disagreeable; but I have never yet seen that side of him towards myself. As to music I cannot honestly say that I have ever cared for any of it. But on the other hand he is a very valuable member of College. His energy and vigour and resource are quite extraordinary. And above all he is so affectionate to me, and I am so fond of his wife...that I hope I shall never experience his rough side.¹²⁰

His students often found him to be an equally brutal critic:

¹¹⁶ MS AL GG to EO (10 November, [1894]), RCMA.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ MS AL GG to EO (2 July, 1891), RCMA.

¹²⁰ MS AL GG to EO (21 February, 1892), RCMA. See also Dibble (1992), p. 317. Stanford had applied to Trinity College, Dublin to succeed Sir Robert Stewart as professor but Grove was not disposed to his appointment there either.

Stanford was always thoroughly aware of his abilities and expressed them with amazing energy. Though respected and admired as musician, particularly as a teacher of composition, he was one of the most difficult men to get along with, unless you understood him thoroughly, for his moods were many and varied....As a teacher, he had the ability, in most cases, to get the very best out of his pupils. During the early days, such men as Gustave [sic] Holst and Ralph Vaughan-Williams [sic] felt the full power of his influence. At times, Stanford's wit was devastating, and his remarks could be hard, but, as a teacher, they were truthful and constructive.¹²¹

The appointment of such an explosive personality could well have proved disastrous for the RCM, just as it had for the NTSM nearly a decade earlier. Both Stainer and Bridge had opposed Stanford's reforms to the music degrees at Cambridge. As Organist at Westminster Abbey, Bridge had been responsible for the music at Tennyson's funeral held there. Bridge's selection of his own setting of 'Crossing the bar' rather than Stanford's only served to exacerbate their relationship further and Grove claimed that Stanford had been 'mortified at his "Crossing the bar" not being done in the Abbey'.¹²² Bridge's decision did little to improve Stanford's already contemptuous view of his musical abilities, as Grove testified: 'fancy C.V.S. giving up to B. If the conditions were reversed!'¹²³ In fact, Stanford had had little choice in the matter. By contrast, Grove had avoided 'all quarrels...at College, so that not even with Stanford did I fall out, and that when old Pauer assaulted me in the rudest manner at a meeting of the Board of Professors, he got nothing by it, because I would not be made angry[.]'¹²⁴ Put simply, Grove had refused to rise to the bait; however, Stanford's move to Kensington in 1892 and his closer proximity to the RCM ensured Grove was on the 'look

¹²¹ Noble (c. 1947), p. 23.

¹²² Jeremy Dibble: *Charles Villiers Stanford: Man and Musician* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 246f. Acceptance of the new degree regulations coincided with the CUMS Golden Jubilee in 1892 at which Saint Saëns, Grieg, Tchaikovsky and Boito received honorary degrees. See also MS AL GG to EO (17 October [1892], RCMA. Annotated '1892' in ink.

¹²³ MS AL GG to EO (17 October [1892], RCMA. Annotated '1892' in ink.

¹²⁴ MS AL GG to EO (15 November, 1896), RCMA No 359. See also MS AL GG to EO (22 January, 1891), RCMA, ff. 335-336.; No 77. Despite their differences, Grove and Pauer did enjoy cordial a relationship for Grove says: 'Crusty as he is, and tussles as we have had, he's [Pauer] very fond of me.'

out for all sorts of capers.¹²⁵ Such slights did not augur well for meetings of the Board of Professors or the Council.

Following an interview, his fears concerning Parry's suitability as Director were allayed.

My going and Parry's coming were in yesterday's papers. I had a long talk with P. on Friday and was immensely comforted. His sweet young face, and his affection, and the way he made light of things that have been worrying me for ever so long went to my heart and filled it with warmth, hope and joy.¹²⁶

That his successor's vision for the College was attuned to his own helped to temper any resentment when the time eventually came for him to retire. Indeed he wrote to Florence Coleridge to say how 'encouraged [he was] by Parry's appointment. He has all my virtues and others which I could never aspire to. It depends upon the pupils to make him an excellent Director. If they put the same confidence in him that they have put in me, he will rise to the occasion; so please remember *that* and act upon it....'¹²⁷

News of Grove's retirement was greeted with mixed emotions. Parry's sentiments expressed in the *Scottish Musical Monthly* not only demonstrated a sense of the enormous responsibility ahead but were echoed by a proportion of the RCM staff. Parry had been only too aware that Grove had paid a high price for leadership and his own uneven health inevitably gave cause for concern. In a private letter addressed to Grove in December 1894, Parry expressed his apprehension about the task ahead of him:

I can't express myself about the situation....I realize too vividly and painfully what it must be to you, with all your energies and sympathies fully alive, to be giving up a thing so engrossing and valuable as the College work....It may be a comfort to you to feel how intensely everyone, from the topmost Professor to the smallest boy, feels your going. I hope it is. I feel very strongly that my first efforts will be enveloped in gloom! It will be a long while before the place regains any of its cheerfulness.¹²⁸

Parry's public view of his new appointment was no more sanguine and gives some indication of the mood felt by the staff and students alike at Grove's decision.

¹²⁵ MS AL GG to EO [21 May, 1892], RCMA. Annotated May 21 92 in ink.

¹²⁶ MS AL GG to EO [25 November, 1894], RCMA.

¹²⁷ Graves (1903), p. 416.

¹²⁸ Graves (1926), p. 357.

I cannot say the appointment makes me in any degree jubilant, for the loss of such a friend as Sir George Grove, and the irreparable gap his retirement will make at the College, makes everyone connected with the place feel depressed.¹²⁹

The series of farewells, personal tributes and accolades received by Grove did little to disguise a belief expressed in some quarters that the College's future was far from certain without him at the helm.

...first Visetti who absolutely burst into loud sobs & kissed me, very touching I assure you. Next Parratt who (à l'anglaise) did not cry but who twisted my hands about in an even more touching manner than Visetti's tears—his grief was quite extraordinary and his evident belief—which astonished and also hurt me—that tout était fait avec le Collège—which I do think is nonsense. Next came old Pauer and that was the most characteristic of all—Not a word of sentiment or affection (tho' he felt it I am sure) but an enquiry if I was going at once—because then he should go too—He would never stay to serve under anyone else &c. I assured him that it would be some time before my successor, whoever he was, could get into office and that until then & probably after it I should be constantly about the place, and with them all as much as I ever was. He confessed to me that he had saved an income of £600 a year besides his 'lovely place' at Jugenheim—House gardens fields &c. &c. I saw nobody else[,] but no doubt others will come in on Monday. Taylor perhaps, but there'll be no tears there.¹³⁰

Grove's decision to retire *per se* may have contributed to speculation surrounding his departure. A comparatively uncommon concept, Victorians routinely died in post. Officially, he had '...all but broken down[:]...thank God I have escaped a "stroke" or any other blow which might have incapacitated me'; however, his last remark is open to interpretation.¹³¹ By the end of his Directorate, his relationship with Oldham had become a source of anxiety to him: as a married man, it left him vulnerable to blackmail. From 1884, Oldham had not only acted as a sounding-board, she had been Grove's confidante. Predictably his fondness for her had developed into affection during the time she was a student. From 1886, his feelings had grown into an obsession. It is not evident whether the rumours concerning Grove's relationship with Oldham had reached Brousson or Labouchère at *Truth*, however, the fourth paragraph of Stanford's letter does seem to suggest, albeit obliquely, that the justification for Grove's retirement may have been more complex.

¹²⁹ 'Dr. Hubert Parry' *Scottish Musical Monthly* Vol. 2; No 16 (London: Edwin Ashdown Ltd, January 1895), p. 75. Quoted in Dibble (1992), p. 317.

¹³⁰ MS AL GG to EO (10 November, [1894]), RCMA.

¹³¹ MS AL GG to ES (17 November, 1894), BL 42233.

50 Holland Street,
Kensington. W.

Nov. 23, 1894.

My dear old G.

I could not say anything before fuzzy[-]headed Pauer today, but now that it's all over I must write you one line of the most heartfelt gratitude for all the love & kindness you've shewn me all these years at the College & for making the last 10 years the happiest I have ever spent. Any good I have done has all been from your loyal help & splendid initiative, & the effect of that will last longer than you or I. I've always felt somehow as if your influence was like Arnold's at Rugby, & certainly he was not loved & honoured [sic] more than you. You dear, bless you.

We'll try to keep to your standard if it is only for your sake & for what you have done. And forgive me for having often been a hot-headed & worrying chap always turning up at y^r. busiest moments & making your life a burden to you generally.

And do preach to Hubert, to be methodical, & not to wear himself out and to keep some of his time always for his own work.

I'm afraid what I told you the other day was a great trial to you, & I hated doing it. But I do not like to have secrets from you, especially in the position in which at that moment we both were. I loath [sic] intrigue, & it would not have been right of me to have known of it & not to have confided in you. So forgive me if I hurt you: tho' you could not have been more hurt than I was myself.

Goodbye, my dear[,] dear G, till Monday. We must all, as Parratt says, keep a special armchair in our rooms for you to drop into at any hour of the day or night.

Y^r. loving

C. V. S.¹³²

If Grove were being blackmailed to relinquish his role as Director of the RCM, mention of it is absent from the surviving correspondence to Edith Oldham.

On 21 December Grove went into the RCM for 'the last day of my kingdom.'¹³³ The final set of examinations had gone well: students and scholars alike had achieved marked improvement in piano, composition, violin and wind instruments where the 'extraordinary progress is obvious.'¹³⁴ Since 1881, the RCM had dominated his life and it was 'a terrible wrench' to leave:

I did not know how much I should feel it till the moment actually came, and even now I am not at all happy as to the result—one never knows what turn events will take—I often think that my health may go,—that my powers—freshness, memory, ability to work & many others—may shew that I have worn

¹³² MS AL CVS to GG (23 November, 1894), RCMA.

¹³³ MS AL GG to EO (21 December, 1894), RCMA f. 401.

¹³⁴ MS AL GG to EO (21 December, 1894), RCMA f. 401.

them out. However the first thing I have to do is to take a rest and see if they will not come back. I think perhaps I may take a voyage—to the Cape or so—which I suppose is one of the best restoratives a man can have. Certainly I am perfectly satisfied with my successor[.] He has all my virtues and many others which I can't pretend to, and I believe that he will look back on the work a good deal from my point of view and think that the breeding up of good young men and women is as much the duty of the Director as making them good musicians. I think with great satisfaction on my efforts (they are no more) in that direction, and on the great goodness and teachableness [*sic*] of the pupils as a whole.¹³⁵

At least the pain on leaving was sweetened by the pupils' affection for Grove. On 14 July 1895, Grove was presented with an address by the pupils, past and present of the RCM who were 'anxious to express...our deep regret at your resignation of the Directorship, & our heartfelt gratitude for the ever ready sympathy and assistance you yourself have given to us, take this opportunity of presenting you with an address and bust of yourself as a slight token of our affection & esteem.'¹³⁶

7.5 CONCLUSION

Hughes and Stradling's claim that Grove's position had been 'fatally weakened' by the Holmes affair is unlikely. In the first instance, the paragraph printed in *The Pelican* seems not to have reached a wide audience, given that no further action seems to have been taken by the RCM Executive Committee. Rather, it was the publication of Holmes's pamphlet combined with his attempt to establish a private teaching practice in London that provoked the article in *Truth*. That coverage of the Holmes affair was kept out of the press until over a year after Grove's retirement may possibly be explained by the presence of Brousson's daughter, who was a student at the RCM. In any event, Grove had demitted office before the publication of either Holmes's pamphlet or the *Truth* article. Secondly, the onus of responsibility was clearly directed at Holmes rather than Grove, and, by a quirk of fate, the RCM's name had not even been mentioned in the *Truth* article. Certainly the article serves to

¹³⁵ MS AL GG to HWD (23 December, 1894), RCMA. See also John Francis Barnett: *Musical Reminiscences and Impressions* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1906), p. 184. Grove's memory as a younger man had been prodigious: he had been able to quote whole pages from various works he had read.

¹³⁶ RCM MS 7297, f. 2.

demonstrate the claustrophobic and prurient moral climate in which the RCM was obliged to survive but it has little direct bearing on Grove's retirement. Grove had had ample reasons to retire four years earlier. It was delayed principally to pilot the RCM through the aftermath of the Holmes affair in an attempt to restore the College's moral probity. Even if Grove had been forced to retire, it would seem to have been of little import. He received the Companion of the Order of the Bath, a permanent seat on the Council and a handsome pension in recognition of his achievement in successfully establishing the RCM as Britain's first national conservatoire to offer a free education.

EPILOGUE

In 1895, Grove returned to the RCM to receive a gift from the students in honour of his tenure as Director. In his letter of thanks for the bust, which had been paid for by the students, he outlined his many successes at the RCM.

My dear friends,

I thank you heartily for your kind and appreciative Address, and especially for the signatures appended[,] many of which are those of dear friends whose recollection I hope always to cherish.

I am sure that I need not tell you what a touching occasion this is to me, because I know that you are feeling very much the same as I do myself. I am now, as I send [this], addressing the whole body of pupils past and present, whom I have done my best to serve during the twelve happy and earnest years in which I was Director of the College. During that time I worked as hard for you as ever I could; not only that you might get all the advantage possible out of the splendid, thorough instruction of your excellent Professors and teachers, but that after you had left the College you might have good opportunities of turning your gifts, your knowledge, and your character, to the best account for the composing and performing of good music, and for the education of others in the same sound methods in which you had yourselves been brought up here. I hope that I have never forgotten that to form good teachers is as important a function for a College of music as it is to form brilliant and fine performers.

To these objects I have given all my energies, and all my strength; and though time has been short, and you are still young; and though, on the other hand, I had passed the climax of my life before I was placed here, and have not been able to do nearly all the that I wished, still I cannot but feel that much has been done. No one can deny that in composition we have made some very promising beginnings: that through us orchestral playing in London has been much benefited; that the standard of execution of chamber music has been splendidly maintained by the Musical Guild and by our College concerts; that in the case of more than one Opera we have really been able to shew how operas should be put on the stage and performed; that we have furnished many competent organists of Cathedrals and Parish Churches, and several good singers to the stage, the concert room, and Divine service; and that at St Andrews, Jersey, Dublin, Gateshead, Middleboro', Rugby, Cambridge, Oxford and many other places, we have shewn what thorough good teaching means[.]

The real credit of these happy results is due to several causes. First it is due to the able, devoted, enthusiastic (in some cases I might almost say inspired) band of Teachers, many of them in the heyday of life, and as eager as boys whom you see by me. Also in no small degree to the kind exertions outside College of the wives of some of these gentle men. Next it is due to the generous, sympathetic, and enlightened manner in which our efforts have been seconded by our Royal President (whom I can never think of without gratitude and affection), and by the Council—foremost among whom has always been our dear 'Lord Charles'. Next it is due to the wisdom and the indefatigable (I might justly say gigantic) industry of Mr. Watson—an industry which last year all but cost him his life. Nor must I forbear a word of grateful reference to that remarkable man whose princely liberality placed us in this noble building. And lastly very great credit is due to yourselves. Many of you have taken full advantage, and have done as well as we could hope or wish; and, unless you had done so, of what use would have all the inspiration[,] all the wisdom and industry, all the encouragement, all the liberality, that I have been attempting to enumerate? Of myself I say nothing; no man was ever so much helped by his colleagues and his pupils. All that I have done has been to strain every nerve to make successful use of such unrivalled circumstances.

Yes, one thing I have tried to do. I have tried to shew you that authority is strengthened by affection; that enthusiasm and esprit de corps are strong motive powers; that ability and hard work are of no avail unless backed by character; that, great work as the study or music is, there is one thing still greater—to be good, to be unselfish, to be thoughtful of others. And hereafter, when the bust which you so kindly intend to present me with shall be set up in its resting place here, I trust that it may be recognised as the likeness of one to whom that was the great object of his life.

I now leave you in the hands of my successor of whom I will only predict that much as he has done for us in the past, he will do much more in the future.¹

By any standards, Grove's legacy in establishing the Royal College of Music was prodigious. The Capital Fund had given the College financial autonomy in the absence of comprehensive government funding; consequently, the introduction of fee-paying students alongside scholars had proved an essential component of the RCM's financial constitution. Despite the absence of state subvention, Grove's failure to raise his original target of 300 scholarships was of little import. While it might conceivably have had an adverse effect on the RCM's ability to rival its Continental counterparts in literal terms, in practice, it was debateable whether suitably qualified students existed in sufficient numbers to fill the additional scholarships between 1883 and 1895. This appears to have been borne out in the RCM student demographic and musically literate students were more highly represented in the middle classes. Thus for all the talk of attracting those from socially diverse backgrounds, the majority of scholars and students had come from moderately wealthy families, while a significant minority had come from Grove's aristocratic connections. The numbers of students from working-class backgrounds were marginal. In one sense this was fortuitous: RCM scholarships, even those with maintenance grants, did not provide sufficient living expenses without additional income. Grove's judgement in making good appointments to the professorial staff and the rigorous standards imposed by them was consistently justified by a steady increase in student numbers throughout his Directorate and beyond. The increased student intake from 1886 led Grove to begin plans to provide the RCM with a new building, a project that was to occupy him for the remainder of his Directorate and represents a significant legacy to the College. Grove had been directly responsible for the establishment of the Associated Board, which had satisfied two aims set out in the 1883 RCM charter. In the

¹ Grove's Letter of Thanks RCMA ff. 3-8.

first instance, the Board's examinations had radically improved upon the meagre musical provision set out in the Forster Education Act of 1870, even if the benefits could only be felt by a small minority; secondly, its remit had included an imperial dimension from its inception. From 1889, the RCM set the standard in its relationship with the RAM and the Associated Board; consequently, existing rivalries became intensified and led to improvements all round. Mackenzie's RAM reforms had been implemented in a direct attempt to compete with the RCM.

For all the clamour brought by the excitement surrounding the completion of the new building and Grove's many other achievements, Henry Labouchère saw little aesthetic difference between the RAM and RCM and further questioned the wisdom of sentencing yet more musicians to a life of certain penury.

At present the only result would seem to be that the Royal College of Music is established in a Palace while the Royal Academy of Music is still lodged in a hovel. The College has a hundred thousand pounds invested in it...plus...a museum of ancient instruments worth £20,000; while the Academy is in leasehold premises in a street off Hanover-square, perpetually announcing its intention to rebuild, though never finding the money to do it, and, in fact, dragging along an existence which might be more precarious than it is, were it not for the £500 a year doled out to it by the Government, and its share of the profits of the Associated Board. And what is worse, both institutions are engaged upon the apparently hopeless task of educating more professors [students] to further crowd an already overcrowded profession. The directory that contains the mere names and addresses of musicians is even now a thick volume. Hundreds of teachers cannot obtain remunerative work, but still the two professional training schools send out nearly three hundred young men per annum to increase the vast army of the musical unemployed. An organist thinks himself lucky if he can get £50, and passing rich if he be paid £100 a year (wages which a skilled artisan would laugh at), but at the new Royal College there are nevertheless to be seven organ rooms for the education of still more of them. I do not believe there is a solitary profession whose members are more grossly underpaid than that of music. There is not in the whole land a single post worth a couple of thousand a year open to a musician. With the exception of two berths, one of them the Precentorship of Eton, I doubt whether there is a single office which brings the holder in a thousand a year.²

For all Labouchère's prejudice against the two royal schools (see Chapter Seven, pp. 261f), his perspective on the music profession was accurate.³ Despite the many achievements during Grove's tenure as Director, the complexion of the music profession had taken longer to change than might have been desirable. In securing suitable

² Henry Labouchère (Ed.) 'The New Royal College' *Truth* (10 May, 1894), p. 1086.

³ Herbert Sidebotham 'Henry Du Pré Labouchère' rev. H. C. G. Matthew *DNB* Vol. 32 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 164.

placements, former students were not simply able to rely on the name of the RCM; rather, they routinely found themselves indebted to Grove or their professors, without whose influence and personal connections their ability to earn a living from their musical training might have remained as precarious as ever. Indeed, with the exception of a few favoured instrumentalists, Labouchère believed ‘the money spent in music seemed to go chiefly to the singers.’⁴ In more than once sense he was right. The students Grove had placed with greatest ease had all been singers, teachers and organists (see Chapter Four, p.); however, the RCM had already begun to attract a calibre of composer that would later change the face of British music forever. By the end of Grove’s tenure as Director, these included Percy Buck, Samuel Coleridge Taylor, Fritz Hart, Gustav Holst, William Yeates Hurlstone (whom Stanford described as his most promising pupil), Hamish MacCunn, T. Tertius Noble, Sidney Peine Waddington, Ralph Vaughan Williams, Henry Walford Davies, and Charles Wood.

Initially, the RCM’s public reputation was established entirely through its fortnightly concerts in Kensington and Stanford’s annual opera performances at West End theatres, all of which were reviewed in the musical and mainstream press. Grove took the RCM’s remit to improve national musical taste seriously: his policy at the fortnightly concerts, where only the best scholars and students ever performed, was inherently pragmatic in establishing the College’s reputation for musical excellence alongside propriety: encores were strictly forbidden. Orchestral performances invariably focused on the music of the German canon from Bach and Beethoven through to Brahms and established contemporary English works by Sullivan, Goring Thomas and Sterndale Bennett and the RCM’s own student composers. Stanford’s opera performances, instituted from 1885, had helped to change the public perception of the art-form. Second to Stanford and Grove himself, Walter Parratt’s influence at the RCM was particularly significant during

⁴ *Truth* (10 May, 1894), p. 1086.

Grove's Directorate. The series of appointments held by Parratt and his success at the RCM ensured he became the most influential organist in Britain after Stainer. He became one of the most highly-respected organists and teachers of his day and, like Stanford, he went on to teach at the RCM for over forty years. During Grove's tenure, he produced a series of students who went on to form the backbone of the cathedral and parish church organists' profession, the most notable of which were Herbert Brewer (albeit briefly), Arnold Culley, T. Tertius Noble, Dr Frederick Shinn, Henry Walford Davies, and Charles Wood. Other successes during Grove's tenure had included Clara Butt, Arnold Dolmetsch, Isabella Donkersley, Landon Ronald, and Jasper Sutcliffe and the RCM had already begun to establish an enviable reputation across Europe and beyond.

As a consequence of Grove's success, he was awarded the Companion of the Order of the Bath (CB) at the end of May, 1894, by the Queen 'in recognition of the eminent services...rendered to the public in connection with the Royal College of Music.'⁵ Such an award, routinely the preserve of the civil service, clearly pleased him: 'it does not make it less pleasant that it is an honour which is rarely given to any one not in the actual employment of the Government.'⁶ In retrospect, it seems likely that Grove's honour and generous pension were not only awarded in recognition of the musical, educational and financial achievements that characterized his Directorate but in gratitude for his adroit handling of two scandals, both of which had had the potential to destabilize the RCM at a critical juncture. Even taking into account the paragraph printed in *The Pelican*, Hughes and Stradling's claim that Grove's position had been 'fatally weakened' by the Holmes affair seems unlikely. First, Grove had demitted office before the publication of either article, neither of which appeared in the mainstream press. Secondly, the onus of

⁵ MS AL GG to TBG (25 May, 1894) quoted in Graves (1903), p. 408. See also MS AL GG to EO (19 May, 1894), RCMA. He was originally offered an alternative by the Prince of Wales who had given him a choice between an additional annual increase to his salary of £200 or the CB. Although sceptical of the Prince's ability to obtain an award strictly reserved for servants of the government, Grove opted for the latter.

⁶ Graves (1903), p. 408.

responsibility was clearly directed at Holmes and by a quirk of fate the RCM's name had not even been mentioned in Labouchère's article. Thirdly, if Grove had been left with no choice in the matter, as Hughes and Stradling suggest, it seems unlikely he would have received the CB or been given a permanent seat on the Council and such a handsome pension. If he had been blackmailed over his relationship with Edith Oldham, as Stanford's letter to Grove on his last day as Director could possibly lead us to infer, the matter would surely have been discussed candidly in correspondence with her; however, no mention is made in that which survives. In any event, coverage of the Holmes affair was kept from the press until nearly two years after Grove's retirement. If anything, the Holmes affair contributed to a climate of moral paranoia that became commonplace at all London's music schools and endured well into the twentieth century.

In England we have made music far too genteel. With our bourgeois academies and respectable students, and general atmosphere of chaperoned mediocrity, we deliberately encourage music as an accomplishment for the weaker brethren to the detriment of the true artist who must certainly be independent and probably unconventional.⁷

To some degree, the exertions required of Grove in the completion of the RCM building project, the additional work provided by Watson's illnesses and the two scandals had proved a distraction and a number of projects remained incomplete at the time of his retirement. The establishment the RCM as a musical senate, comprehensively funded by Parliament but independent of it, had proved unworkable and never transpired; instead, its remit to regulate all aspects of the music profession, which had been a central aspect of its original constitution, had been dependent upon the success of Grove's endeavours to engineer influence on an individual basis wherever possible. Despite having the prerogative to award its own degrees, the RCM never availed itself of this privilege until well into the twentieth century. There would seem to be three possible explanations for this. First, discussions concerning the affiliation of the RAM and RCM to the University of London as constituent components of a new Faculty of Music would have delayed

⁷ Comment from *The Bystander* (1911) quoted in Barty-King (1980), p. 70.

implementation of this aspect of Grove's charter until discussions had been resolved. Secondly, RCM students could easily have supplicated for music degrees at the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, London and Trinity College, Dublin in the meantime, yet few chose to do so. Thirdly, the involvement of Stainer, who had been elected to the Oxford chair in music in 1889, and then Stanford who had become Professor of Music at Cambridge from 1892, militated against it. Not only was there a conflict of interest for Stanford, Stainer was opposed to the residential degrees in principle because he felt they discriminated against those already in the profession who might otherwise have wished to avail themselves of such a qualification. As a consequence the RCM degrees were not awarded until well into the twentieth century. Nonetheless the RCM's transformation both of music education and the music profession in Britain had begun in earnest and it was left to Parry to continue Grove's work. During the first decades of the twentieth century, the RCM usurped the position traditionally occupied by the Paris Conservatoire and provided the blueprint to which emerging institutions, such as New York's Juilliard School of Music, came to aspire. In its heyday, between 1883 and 1939, the RCM had produced a succession of worthy successors to Purcell, including Frank Bridge, Benjamin Britten, Herbert Howells, John Ireland, and Michael Tippett and its influence had led directly to the establishment of residential music departments at new universities across Britain, which ultimately irreparably diluted its influence and significance.

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