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ABSTRACT

C. H. SEYMOUR

'Aspects of musicality in the industrial regions of Lancashire and Yorkshire between 1835 and 1914 with reference to its educational, sociological and religious basis.'

This study examines the musical life of Lancashire and Yorkshire people during the Industrial Revolution and shows how music became involved in current social, educational and religious changes.

Changes also took place in music making itself, and these are observed through two contrasted case studies which show the transition from singing which took place informally in the semi-rural communities, where the singers used to meet in each others homes and perform in local churches, to the formal and institutionalised Choral Societies of the prosperous industrial towns. Popular song underwent a similiar transition as the songs of the ballad singer gave way to those of the Music Hall.

The evolution of public concerts further reflects the effects upon music of the changes in class and social structure which came with industrialisation and urbanisation.

Attitudes changed too, and aspects of the Victorian ethos such as competition and self-help as a means of 'getting on' were accommodated into music's wide-ranging rationale. These elements were evident in the brass band movement as well as in Competitive Festivals.

Music was capable of such a varied role in society that it became to some extent 'All things to all men' - a cause worthy to be championed by educationalists and social reformers alike.

Music therefore became an important ingredient in the developing state system of education, its most notable feature being the development of a systematic method of sight singing - Tonic Solfa.

The Church had long been a pioneer in education and a significant aspect of this related to the training of musicians to provide music for the Services. This interest continued and widened, and the musical, educational, sociological and religious links were even more strongly forged as increasing numbers of people became involved in religious choral music.

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Aspects of Musicality in the industrial regions
of Lancashire and Yorkshire between 1835 and
1914 with reference to its educational,
sociological and religious basis.

By

Christopher Howard Seymour

Submitted for the degree of Master of Arts
of the
University of Durham
School of Education
1986

(ii)



30. APR. 1987

Thesis
1986/SEY

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INTRODUCTION

This study will investigate the part played by music in the lives of the people in the industrial regions of the North of England between 1835 and 1914. It will reveal how music was so closely involved in the educational, social and religious changes of the time, that it may be regarded, not merely as a coincidental or fortuitous link, but as playing a crucial part in the process of change itself. Indeed the examination of the way and the extent to which music functioned and became used as an agent for change in nineteenth century society, is a major theme running throughout the various aspects of the study. So dominant is this theme in both building up a description and contributing to an analysis, that it could almost be accorded the status of subtitle.

The approach will be both descriptive and analytical by providing not only evidence of the strong musical culture that existed, but also addressing the crucial question of why it was so, and discovering causal relationships between different aspects of the study.

The date boundaries are significant in a number of ways: the State had just made its first tentative intervention into education and right from the start had been anxious to promote music. The Class Singing Movement was underway, hand in hand with the development of tonic sol-fa from its English and Continental antecedents. The earlier stages of the Industrial Revolution had resulted in the movement of people from the country to the growing industrial towns and a new pattern of urban life was emerging. The State and society in general were coming to terms with the enormous social implications of these radical changes, resulting in a programme of social legislation which began with the Reform Bill of 1832. The various branches of the Church were facing up to the challenge of the new age in their different ways. The Victorian Age was about to dawn, with its distinctive and pervasive attitudes. The developments which were taking place in music relate directly to these aspects of the Nations's life. The year 1835 also provided specifically musical markers: it was the year in which George Hogarth (Dicken's father-in-law, who was music critic of the Daily News



and secretary of the Philharmonic Society) published his 'Musical History, Biography and Criticism'. By this mid point in the decade the Brass Band Movement was well underway and its influential momentum unstoppable.

At the end of the period, the outbreak of the Great War provides a natural finishing point since it was a water shed in almost all aspects of the Nation's life. Even before the war there were signs that the old ways were soon to be outmoded. New standards of Art were set up and audacious departures from conventional musical style came about through the efforts of original young composers. At the other extreme, the conventional styles of the Music Hall found a revival in the new idiom of Ragtime. The desire for change was well in evidence, but as yet it remained a minority movement. After 1918, intellectual rebellion became the order of the day and created its own new age. It was also just before the war that Fleming had invented his thermionic valve, which proved to be a turning point in musical life. It marked the beginning of the movement for musical appreciation in education with its inevitable shift of emphasis from active to passive musical involvement, and ultimately spelt the end of widespread corporate music-making, that in recent times had been developed to such a considerable extent.

Before focusing specifically on those aspects of Northern musical culture which make it distinctive, it will be necessary to see music in both its own historical setting and in its wider national and cultural context.

The art of music has never existed in a vacuum. It has always had its being in a symbiotic relationship with man. It has been at once both an outlet for, as well as an expression of his spiritual and emotional nature. It has also been a means of recreation. Through this relationship both man and his music have changed and developed together. It is possible therefore to distinguish a number of aspects of music's utility: the opportunity it provides as a natural means of expression and as an outlet for his creative energies; the way it reflects and becomes a response to those energies and events in society; and the way in which it has been consciously used by man to induce a particular response from his fellows. Musical history, it will be argued, is an inseparable part of social history.

From earliest times, man's emotions, whether of sorrow or joy, have found a natural outlet and expression through music. Music has become an integral part of many of his social rituals, and though these rituals change along with his cultural development, music has retained its place in them. Music-making, whether individually or socially in groups, fulfils a social need in man. It is this almost instinctive need which is the natural force underpinning the developments in man's singing, playing and dancing.

Although it is the individual genius of men that has provided the primary source of music's development, a secondary source has been man's political, social and religious activities in which music has become caught up, and has become changed as well as used in the process. The religious changes of the Reformation are an instance of man's diversionary intervention which had an immediate effect upon music.

Music has also responded to and reflected the spirit of its age. Before the Enlightenment, music was seen in an almost supernatural way. It was a gift from God and at its best when used to His praise and glory. Such an attitude is at the heart of the 'style consciousness' which musicians discern as a feature of the Baroque period, when the great social/secular divide called for the adoption of the Style Antico or Style Moderno and the following of the Prima/Secunda Pratica.

The Classical period however, had quite a different rationale which reflected the Age of Reason. During this time we see music beginning to change its relationship with the different classes in society and the prevailing political spirit: Haydn and his art prospered under a system of aristocratic patronage, whilst the younger Mozart found it irksome and offensive. But it was Beethoven's defiant and democratic spirit that liberated Art music from its aristocratic exclusiveness and enabled it to become a manifestation of man's free spirit, and be increasingly accessible to the growing middle classes through the growth of public concerts. This widening of the musical franchise was carried further as the nineteenth century progressed but brought with it new stylistic distinctions based not so much on the sacred/secular distinction but on one that was closely related to class structure and the social utility of music.

It was through the conscious manipulative use of music to serve a social cause that some of the degenerative stylistic changes occurred. It is ironic that the greatest harm was done to musical taste by those who acted from the highest motives; and a paradox that the men who heralded an age of industrial progress and national prosperity created social and artistic disintegration.

England, unlike Germany for example, where in any case the industrial revolution came later, did not have strong, long-established musical institutions to resist and counter the debasing of musical taste. Nor had she, since the death of Purcell, had a native school of composers comparable with the continental giants, who made such a decisive contribution to European music. England had had to rely upon musical imports - most notably Handel, and in the early nineteenth century, Mendelssohn. They each made a major contribution to English music both in terms of repertoire and the establishment of a second hand compositional style - particularly of choral music. This influence was nowhere more strongly felt than in the North. In terms of producing great musical works and possessing musical institutions to sustain a healthy musical climate, England was indeed a 'land without Music'. Its people were however, particularly in the industrial north, passionately fond of music and it played a major part in the lives of many of them. Generally speaking, musical taste was compromised and high art sacrificed in the cause of wider involvement and popular usefulness. Perhaps at this time and in this situation the price was not too great. An elitist philosophy held ground in some concerts which were deliberately restricted in access, but on the whole, the trend towards music for the mass of people was irreversible. Although the correlation between social class and musical culture is infinitely complex and varied, the sections of society which seem to have been most closely linked with and involved in musical activities, and therefore the greatest beneficiaries, are the artisans and the lower middle classes. The relationship between social class and musical culture will be an important dimension throughout the study and will be a significant factor in the overall analysis.

If earlier events in non-musical history such as the Reformation, had a bearing on the development of music itself and people's involvement

with it, it is hardly surprising that the Industrial Revolution, which is arguably the most important event in human history since the development of agriculture, should have repercussions on music and musical life. Although there are some limited effects upon music in a purely technical sense (particularly in aspects of instrument making,) the main effects in this case came indirectly through the effects it had on society.

In an age which saw the harnessing, use, and even exploitation of natural, scientific and human resources to the cause of advancement, it is understandable that music should be fostered and used as a public utility. It had always been recognised for its power to refine the coarser side of man's nature - now it became linked up with practically every agent of social reform - Sunday schools, mechanic's institutes, the Temperance Movement, popular education, religion, cheap literature and open spaces.

How music met and was affected by the calls made upon it, will then be a central issue of the study. In the way that the industrialist harnessed nature, the elements as well as man himself, and often defiled them in the process, so music by being made to serve an unwanted purpose, paid a price for its utility. Yet it did survive and in some respects did gain ground. Towards the end of the period covered by the study, the signs of the renaissance are evident, which in the twentieth century developed to put Britain again in a prominent position on the world's musical stage.

Because the North of England was the cradle of the Industrial Revolution, the social consequences are more apparent there. Therefore, because of the close relationship between music and social changes, it would be neat and convenient to explain the nature and extent of Northern musical culture in terms of the Industrial Revolution. It could also explain why it was a predominantly working/lower middle class concern. There is undoubtedly some foundation in such an explanation. It would however be too simplistic and fail to take account of the Northern musical culture in earlier times. This too will need to be referred to in order to create a context and perspective.

It would be futile and fantastic to seek explanations from the natural features of the region, such as its air and water, yet there will be geographical considerations affecting the development of communities which will have a bearing. Once the conditions have been conducive to the growth of the musical culture, then in a relatively static society, this will tend to persist both within families and communities and become a regional phenomenon.

The pinpointing and evaluation of the elements reacting together in this fascinating cultural alchemy will be the key to the analysis of the musical developments that occurred, whether they be in brass bands, church choirs, choral societies, development of public concerts, education or self-help through music.

CHAPTER 1
CHOIRS AND COMMUNITIES

'In the densely populated districts of Yorkshire, Lancashire and Derbyshire, music is cultivated among the working classes to an extent unparalleled in any other part of the kingdom. Every town has its choral society, supported by the amateurs of the place and its neighbourhood, where the works of Handel, and the more modern masters, are performed with precision and effect, by a vocal and instrumental orchestra consisting of mechanics and workpeople Their employers promote and encourage so salutary a recreation by countenancing, and contributing to defray the expenses, of their musical associations; and some provide regular musical instruction for such of their workpeople as show a disposition for it Wherever the working classes are taught to prefer the pleasures of the intellect, and even of taste, to the gratification of sense, a great and favourable change takes place in their character and manners Sentiments are awakened in them which makes them love their families and homes; their wages are not squandered in intemperance, and they become happier as well as better.'

George Hogarth (1835)

Industrialisation and urbanisation brought with them changes not only in people's working lives, but in their whole social environment. Both these processes affected community life significantly and therefore the opportunities for corporate music-making among the working classes.

Early industrialisation did not necessarily imply urbanisation, since while it depended solely upon water power, small industrial communities could exist in villages and small towns outside the great centres of population. It was the coming of steam that finally resulted in the vast migration to the exploding factory towns. Most of the migrants came from surrounding rural areas and some of the handloom weaving villages, for example, became practically deserted. By 1830, most of the Lancashire handloom weavers had already been forced to abandon their domestic patterns of work. The towns were a totally new type of community, in which the old social and work patterns had largely broken down. Writing in 1854, Samuel Bamford who himself had been a handloom weaver, pointed out that:

'The great changes which have taken place in the nature of employment ---- have not only caused the old appearances of the country to pass away, but they have altered nearly everything apertaining to it or resulting from the life and condition of man.'

1

Whilst most historians endorse this view, their concentration has generally been upon social conditions and standards of living, rather than upon aspects of community life as such. Although the final stage of the domestic system was no paradise, as workers struggled to compete with the factory system and adverse economic conditions Engels maintained that preindustrial workers remained,

'in some respects little better than the beasts of the field.'

2

Elbourne quotes evidence³ that for all their hardships, they preferred it to the new patterns of urban life and work. In 1834, for example, Richard Needham, a weaver from Bolton testified to the select committee to the effect that he would rather starve than work in a factory. A report to the 1841 commission also instanced a weaver who had given up factory work in a town to return to his village community in spite of the hardships. It was undoubtedly the concentration and supervision of workers in an employer's establishment, together with the rigid working hours and consequent changes in community life that were most disliked. The new industrial workers had to adapt to these changes in work and employment, but it was not an easy or quickly-made transition.

In the 'putting out' system, weavers in widely scattered, small communities received warp and raw cotton from the manufacturer and returned the finished cloth. The domestic out-worker was a piece worker in a highly capitalist system. It demanded much fetching and carrying, and waiting for materials, so strict observance of schedules was impossible. Work could be irregular and unmethodical, with periods of intense toil, compensated for by hours or days of leisure. The uneven working rhythms of these pioneers of 'flexitime' gave, on the one hand opportunity for heavy bouts of drinking (as was reported by William Sedgewick to the 1816 Select Committee on the state of the children employed in the manufactories of the United Kingdom), but on the other, time for more sober pursuits of instrument making and choral singing as exemplified by the Larks of Dean.

Elbourne warns against too sweeping a generalisation:

'Although the rapid growth of industrial cities undoubtedly brought a degree of social disorganisation, the social changes involved in urbanisation and industrialisation were not sharply-defined, uniform in their content and consistent in their effects. The Industrial Revolution was not a single homogeneous process, but rather an extraordinarily complex phase of transition from one way of life to another. The transformation was not an abrupt one, and there were important similarities and continuities between preindustrial and industrial structures.'

4

In recognising this we can therefore only examine specific cases and situations and make some assessment of how representative they are in this complex pattern of variable factors.

Through a number of important, contemporary sources, we are able to gain valuable information about the musical life of Lancashire communities before the effects of urbanisation were widespread. There is always the tendency for writers of this time to romanticise the condition of the working classes, but for the most part, the contemporary local writings of Samuel Bamford and Edwin Waugh avoid this. There is evidence to suggest that a distinct, cultural pattern was discernible in the weaving communities. It has been described by Thompson as "a unique blend of social conservatism, local pride and cultural attainment".⁵ Waugh also states his belief that,

'There is no part of England, in which the practice of sacred music is so widely and lovingly pursued amongst the working classes, as in the counties of Lancashire and Yorkshire.'

6

People living in the scattered Pennine communities used to meet regularly in each others houses to practice sacred and secular music. Waugh recounts attending some of these gatherings as a boy.

'My mother's relatives both on the father's and mother's side were all ardent lovers of music ... and I can well remember that in those days of my early youth, when I accompanied my mother to her native village and we went from one house to another amongst her kinsfolk, and have often heard them sing and play James Leach's touching melodies, with tears in their eyes.'

7

James Leach came from a small village near Rochdale. His parents were humble folk and he received little schooling and probably no formal instruction in music either. However, he was naturally gifted as a musician and became a proficient instrumentalist. He also achieved distinction as a teacher of singing and as a choir trainer. He was a renowned counter tenor and performed in the great festivals held in Westminster Abbey. Leach was best known as a composer of psalm and hymn tunes, many of the best being written whilst he was still a weaver. From the age of twenty seven, he worked full time in Rochdale as a singer, teacher and composer.

Weavers took part in all kinds of musical activities - fairs, fetes, harvest homes, rushbearing ceremonies etc., and in almost every village, there was a stock of well known songs. Waugh records how the weavers of Smallbridge,

'Clustered together in their cottages, but oftener at the road side or in some favourite ale house, and solaced their fatigue with such scraps of news and politics as reached them, or by pithy, idiomatic bursts of country humour and old songs.' 8

Few of these were ever printed, even on broad sheets.

Littleborough was a village only a few miles away from Smallbridge, and Waugh tells of the variety of music available in the Royal Oak Inn. This public house,

'... used to be a great resort on Saturday nights and fair days and holidays, and it was often crammed with the villagers and their neighbours from the surrounding hillsides and no small addition from Rochdale and Todmorden.' 9

As well as fiddle playing and clog dancing, ballads would be sung

'... and many songs commemorating the wars of England ... and a few rough humorous songs in the Lancashire dialect.' 10

It is clear that the music popular with these people was not just local material and was not the product of a culturally isolated community.

It is in the field of what could be called 'popular art music' that the region is most distinctive and best recorded. William Millington published his 'Sketches of Local Musicians and Musical Societies' in 1884 with the express purpose of placing on record,

'what a high state of efficiency was attained in the music study and practice of vocal and instrumental music ... in the early part of the nineteenth century especially in the ancient parish of Eccles.' 11

This is a fascinating document: a warm, evocative and detailed contemporary account of the people and their musical societies. It contains a fund of anecdotes, informative, humorous and moving, about

the activities of the musicians. His style vividly conveys the enthusiasm and commitment of the people to their music. It is particularly valuable for the indication it gives of the levels of skill, methods of learning, repertoire, size and make up of choirs and instrumental bands.

The accounts centre upon a group of choirs in the parish of Eccles on the outskirts of Manchester, which at the end of the eighteenth century formed a society to meet for the performance of vocal and instrumental music - principally oratorios of Handel, Haydn and other eminent composers. The choirs attending these quarterly meetings were from Eccles Parish Church, Monkton Chapel, Ellen Brook Chapel and Swinton Chapel. At each quarterly meeting, they would agree what to perform at the subsequent meeting and in between these meetings, each choir would hold its own monthly club at which the music would be rehearsed.

Long before the formation of the monthly clubs, Ellen Brook had been noted for its musicians. In the days before the widespread introduction of organs into churches, these would include a band as well as singers. According to Millington,

'For a century past few places have had more influence in cultivating music than in the small village of Ellen Brook. The chapel choir, with its excellent small band, formed a very good school for the study and practice of both vocal and instrumental music. Many of its members were handloom weavers, who made music a special study. Many of them were very good copyists and by this means and constant practice, became good performers, and had a large experience and knowledge of Handel's music, Dr Croft's, Dr Green's, Dr Boyce's, Dr Nare's, Kent's Webb's and other anthems. At the quarterly meeting the proceeds were divided between the four choirs, with which they generally bought a score copy of some oratorio, or anthem, and from this copy, the instrumental parts were copied, and, in process of time they got a good library of music that is in use even at the present day. These worthy men made a large sacrifice of time and labour in the cultivation of music, principally for the love of music. Most of them were very intelligent and well-conducted men, much more so than the generality of men in their station of life. Their influence on music in this district is felt unto the present period. --- During the past thirty years the proper orchestral wind instruments, such as the flute, oboe, clarionet, bassoon, French horns, slide trumpet and alto trombone, have been much neglected. This has been caused by the introduction of organs into churches and chapels to the exclusion of orchestral instruments; and secondly to the formation of brass bands in preference to reed bands, consequently there has been very little opportunity for learning the proper orchestral and wind instruments.'

12

From this account we learn of the excellence of both choir and band, the sizeable number of handloom weavers involved, the repertoire, their organisation, personal character and intelligence vis a vis their fellow workmen. We can only speculate as to whether music making helped to shape men of such virtue or merely attracted them.

Throughout Millington's sketches, twenty six are referred to as weavers and a number more associated with weaving. It is not surprising to find many references to musical skill and involvement running in families. The Cordwell brothers, James and Adam, came from a gifted family.

'Music seems to have been inherent in the Cordwell family for generations.'

13

Both James and Adam were taught to sing by their uncle, Mr Thomas Domville, who instructed them in Lancashire Solfa. This was a method of solmisation applied to normal staff notation and will be discussed in more detail later. James achieved a reputation as a singer beyond Lancashire and was very often engaged at the great festivals held in Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Chester, York, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford and other large festivals. It was his character as,

'a man of high principle and very punctual in fulfilling any engagements.'

14

that accounts for one of the most widely recounted and moving incidents first recalled by Millington.

'To show his zeal and promptitude in fulfilling any engagements he made, his brother Adam, Mr W. Barlow, and several other Lancashire chorus singers, were engaged to sing at a festival at St Nicholas's Church, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne; Mrs Sheply and some other female singers were engaged to sing there. There were no railways then, only one stage coach and all the seats in this were occupied. They started about six o'clock on Sunday night. These veterans said there was nothing for it but walking, consequently they set off and walked all Sunday night and got well into Yorkshire by daylight on Monday morning. To make things worse it rained most of the night. They called at a roadside inn, got breakfast, a good rest, and dried their clothes, then set off and walked all day and part of Monday night, and got to Newcastle about two o'clock on Wednesday afternoon, wet, weary and tired. They went straight to

St Nicholas's Church and found the principals, band and chorus, rehearsing 'Israel in Egypt'. The chorus was rather unsteady. The conductor asked Mrs Shepley where the other Lancashire chorus singers were. She told him they had started on Sunday evening to walk all the way up to Newcastle. He said no one but a fool would do that. At that moment in walked these weary tired travellers; Mrs Shepley saw them and told him. He asked her to bring them up at once. He said to Mr Barlow he must sing on with the first altos, Mr James Cordwell with the second altos, and the other four, one on each part. The rehearsal went on afterwards to the conductor's entire satisfaction.'

15

Brother Adam was involved in a somewhat humorous and telling incident which Millington recounts with relish.

'There was a great singing day at the Eccles church, and the choir had some very good extra singers on the occasion, it being the annual collection in aid of the Choir Fund. Mr A Cordwell was anxious for the choir to make a good display. He had the singers placed in the pews at the front of the gallery, a little distance from the organ. This the organist did not like, and said if the singers did not come into the singing pew he would not play the organ. Mr Cordwell told him it would not matter, as the choir could sing without the organ. The organist went away, and left the singers to it. Mr Cordwell, nothing daunted took a pitchfork out of his pocket and gave the key note. The choir sang the whole of the psalms, chants, anthems and choruses in a most excellent manner, and many of the congregation liked the service better without the organ than with it.'

16

Flashes of northern humour must have spiced many rehearsals and even performances. One such incidence is recounted by Millington. It concerns John Newton, another fine singer with, we are told, a fine tenor voice capable of a two octave range, who sang not only with the local church and chapel choirs, but in the festivals at Liverpool and Chester. We are also told that he,

'was a very good teacher of the Lancashire solfa, and made some good singers by this method of teaching',

17

but on one occasion:

'he was singing a long tenor solo in an anthem, and in making a cadence at the end, he got off the key. His father, Samuel Newton, was parish clerk in Ellen Brook Chapel, and when he heard his son fail in making the cadence, he shouted, "Jack thou art in the ditch; get out as soon as thou can." Of course John got right again and made a good finish to the great delight of his father.'

18

The question arises as to how typical of Northern musical life in general such accounts are. Millington himself remarks that although the groups included intelligent, well-conducted men they were

'much more so than the generality of men in their station of life.'

19

This seems to indicate that their skills and attitudes were not so widespread as to be the norm indeed unless they had been to some degree noteworthy, they would not have become the subjects of Millington's sketches. But neither should we regard them as unique since Aspin maintains that,

'Millington's account ... would have applied equally to scores of similar groups throughout the county.'

20

The size and location of the community does however, seem to have some bearing on this situation. Such communities though becoming industrialised, were not part of the vast urban areas. They had retained some identity and tradition which had not been broken down in the way that the isolated rural communities had. Perhaps the physically enclosed nature of smaller industrial communities and their limitations for growth, allowed areas like the Rossendale Valley to survive the worst artistic effects of urbanisation. They were large enough to be able to develop as industrial areas, yet small enough to retain their identity, where the stabilising influences, like the Church and being part of a community and neighbourhood in which people were known and belonged, could have effect. The musicians were almost exclusively skilled artisans who came together for the joy of making music within the churches to which they belonged, which were in turn an important part of the wider community. The factory system did not destroy music making in the Rossendale Valley. Moses Heap, whose writing on the Larks of the Dean will shortly be referred to, managed to attend singing lessons as a youth of fifteen whilst working more than seventy hours

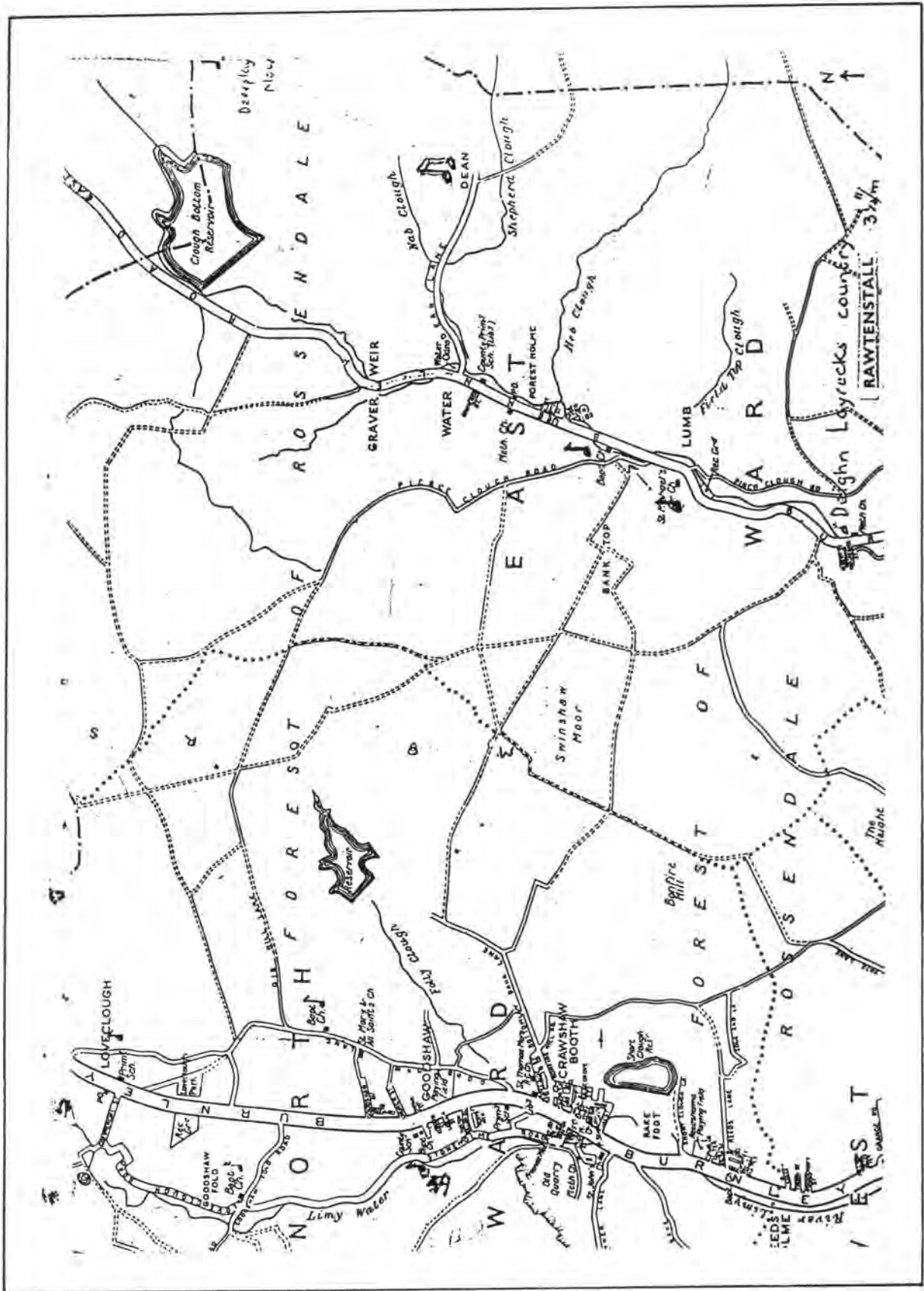
a week in a mill. Forty others attended the same class in the tiny hamlet, but this somewhat later, when the class singing movement was underway.

At this stage, music had not become universalised, either through popular education or because of its adoption as an agency for social betterment. It was in the second half of the century that these influences became more apparent. It was as the growing industrial towns began to settle down and new urban communities became established, that music became to some extent, institutionalised in the form of choral societies and concert societies, which mirrored the scale and inspiration of these times. In these, the new dimensions of class changes, the competitive ethos and the use of music to improve the quality of men's lives, will play a significant part. These will be the issues which will concern the second part of this chapter, but before discussing them, this first section will conclude with an outline account of a remarkable tradition of music making in rural Lancashire in the early stages of the Industrial Revolution. A comparison of this with the corresponding case study at the end of part two will illustrate how, in spite of the fundamental differences in social context across a period of immense change, choirs continued to come together within communities to make music; though their organisation and rationale are to some extent, an expression and result of that difference and change.

THE LARKS OF DEAN

The Larks of Dean (or the Deighn Layrocks as they are generally known in dailect spelling) were a community of rural musicians who lived in the Pennine villages of the Rossendale Valley, most of them working as handloom weavers, and flourished there from about 1750 until the late nineteenth century. They were non-conformists, many of them Baptists, (the Baptist denomination being particularly strong in this area at the time), and their music had a strong religious basis. They were not only singers but composers too, and a number even made their own musical instruments. Their relative isolation and limited access to printed music allowed them to develop a vigorous and highly individualistic style, both in composition and performance. What they may have lacked in finesse, they made up for with enthusiasm. There does not seem to have been any comparable group of musicians anywhere else in the kingdom at this or any other time and whilst their existence is noted, albeit in passing by Mackerness and Nettel, with some more detailed quotation in Elbourne, there is so far as the writer is aware, no comprehensive, published work dealing with these remarkable men and women. There was, at the turn of this century, a move to bring about a publication, but in the event, this did not materialise. Anyone wishing to study the history of the Larks, will find records, diaries, documents, manuscripts, instruments and articles relating to them in the Rossendale Museum and the Rossendale Collection in Rawtenstall Library. This brief case study can be no more than an introduction to an important artistic and cultural legacy.

Perhaps the most important primary source in terms of contemporary writings, comes from Moses Heap (born in 1824), who was a cotton spinner, one of the later Larks, and himself a pupil of a notable Lark - Robert Ashworth 'O'th Carr. Moses Heap was eighty when he wrote his account of the Larks and this provided the basis for a series of thirteen lengthy articles, written by Councillor Samuel Compston J.P., F.R.H.S. an enthusiastic local historian and former mayor of Rawtenstall, published in the local press between 1904 and 1907. These are all available at Rawtenstall and the material quoted below, (unless otherwise indentified), including the account of Robert and James Ashworth's 'masterpiece' are from these writings.



Deighm Loughs Country

The Larks of Dean were well known outside their immediate area and were even represented in the Handel Festival at Westminster Abbey in 1784. But their homeground was the area of Rossendale, extending from the village of Dean in the east, circling south west round through Lumb, Crawshawbooth up to Loveclough to the north west, with many isolated, moorland farms around the region. Most of the villages and tiny hamlets are the setting for various anecdotes about the Larks, and often certain Lark's families are strongly associated with particular places. So, for example, we come to associate the Nuttalls with Lumb and the Hudsons with Loveclough. In fact, throughout Moses Heap's writings, personalities are often identified by place as well as genealogy. Such identification is inclined to be confusing for the reader, even after he has deciphered it, but it is quite clear why it was necessary since the same family names recur and Christian names too are passed down the generations.

As well as writing about the Larks, Moses Heap undertook the marathon task of compiling a collection of their music. The manuscript is a large quarto volume, containing two hundred and fifty five tunes all clearly 'pricked' out in his hand. The gathering and transcribing of these tunes was invaluable work. The composer's name is usually attached to each tune and occasionally there is a brief remark about the piece or its author. The majority of tunes were written by the Larks, but there are about a hundred which, though in their repertoire, were by other composers.

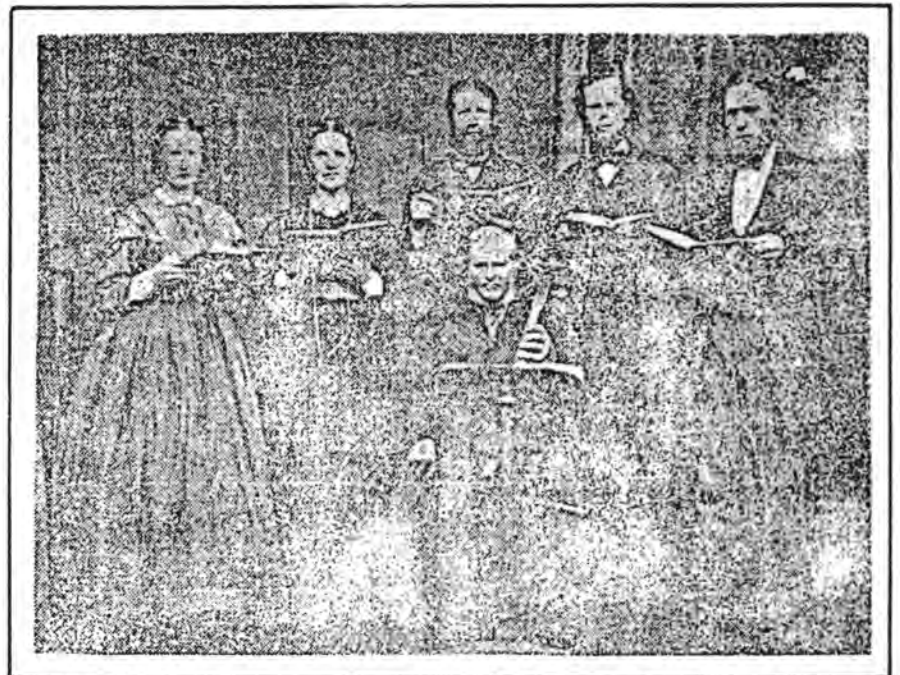
'We are brought by this book of music into such a rural musical atmosphere as occasionally does one good, and largely because severe classical style and high culture are not here. It is like getting away for a time from cultivated lands and well laid parks, on to the rude rugged fells, where broom and broken rock take the place of prim flower bed and precise lawn; and instead of smooth walk and regular steps our feet have carefully to pick their way amid uneven ground and interrupted path. Frequently in following this old time music, we can proceed four abreast, but often the quartet is broken up into single file, or a pair may go a little way arm-in-arm, or occasionally three in even step; or one rushes on while the others are left behind to run up later; or to chase up and down in fugitive or fugal fashion over irregular tracks, requiring no little care and skill the while, till we come abreast again when reaching the climax. We can well imagine the old choristers and fiddlers enjoying their vigorous musical exercises, in rehearsing at each others houses in winter, or in the fields



James Nottall, grandson of the Rev. John Nottall, founder 'Lark'.



George Hudson, son of Reuben Hudson.



Drighn Layrocks at the latter half of the 19.

in summer, and then sitting down to remark on the refreshing 'air', the need for keeping up to 'time', the effect of the quiet or forte passages, and the altogether 'fairly grand piece': how nice the treble alone here, or the treble and counter duet there, the tenor passage elsewhere, the solid bass throughout and the 'job' they had to get all in time and tune. Oh, how they should revel in the harmony and enjoy tracing out again the rollicking runs and full cadences.'

21

The tunes are printed in open score using C clefs common at the time, and display a generally high tessitura, Compston gives us a clear indication of their considerable individuality:

'By your demure and very proper singers of today, some of these compositins with, it may be, nine or twelve different notes in a bar of brisk movement, with rests of variable catchy length and many top notes and deep, would be deemed a veritable gymnastic performance requiring too much breath and strength, and involving no little risk to voice and reputation: quite as trying as parts of an oratorio.'

22

As to other aspects of the music's character we are told,

'While the majority of the Dean Songsters' tunes are of the florid type, with plenty of runs, fugal passages and strength rather than delicacy, our local repertoire has also many plaintive melodies, most of them in the minor mode.'

23

The names given to the tunes are as characterful as the music itself, quite at odds with the sacred words with which they are associated.

'Yet they are doubtless redolent of the men, their time and their common modes of expression. 'Bocking Warp' suggestive of handloom woollen weaving, is mixed up with 'Solemnity'; 'Lark' and 'Linnet' with 'Robin Hood' and 'Whirlwind'; 'Mount Zion' with 'Nabb'; 'Plover' with 'Whineing Tune'; 'Sunday' with 'Phlymphlam'; 'Time in Truth' with 'Lively Sandwidge', 'Old Crack', 'Ten Commandments', 'Heavenly Church Meeting', 'Judgement Realised', 'Spanking Roger', 'Skylark', 'Scrap Tune', 'Flea', 'Flats and Sharps' etc.'

24

Tunes were often spread out, involving repeating and re-repeating parts of lines of words. Although this could be to good effect, it sometimes produced incongruous and ridiculous results - 'and Love thee Bet .. Bet

.. Bet' or 'Bring down sal .. sal.' Amongst the non Lark composers, James Leach of Rochdale, already referred to, was represented by 'Pern' and 'Jacob's Well' - both popular throughout Lancashire in the nineteenth century. These musicians of course had no cheap publications. Their tunes were notated on plain rough paper on which they had to rule the staves by hand and then bind into book form. The scarcity of oratorio scores meant that if one was borrowed it would have to be laboriously copied by hand, often by candlelight. In spite of this, their penmanship was very neat. Such was the keenness of these men and their reverence towards printed oratorio scores, that Moses Heap tells us of the moving incident when Henry Whittle walked all the way to Manchester just to see a copy of Handel's 'Samson'. We are also told that when the first scores of 'Messiah' were brought to one of the villages, the men of the Dean Larks met the cart and escorted it singing extracts from 'Messiah' which they knew by heart.

It will only be possible to make a brief reference to some of the more important Larks. It is hoped the selection will bring out a few of the more notable anecdotes as well as amplify facets of their life and music.

Three families are particularly important: the Nuttalls, the Hudsons and the Ashworths.

The Reverend John Nuttall is regarded as the Lark's founder and it is recorded that as early as 1745, he and his friends would meet in each other's houses to make music. Heap's manuscript collection contains two of his tunes. In 1750 a small Baptist chapel was built at Lumb which for some ten years was the centre of their spiritual and musical life, before they moved their meeting place to Goodshaw.

Pastor John Nuttall had two sons, James and Henry. James was the composer of twenty six tunes including "Spanking Roger" and an extended anthem 'Salvation', which takes half an hour to perform and with parts for horn and other orchestral instruments. James had a granddaughter, Nelly, who is remembered for singing, 'But thou didst not leave' from Handel's 'Messiah' during a service at the opening of the organ at St Johns, Bacup. She was thirteen and sang standing on a chair. Henry Nuttall wrote even more than his brother James, his tally for tunes being seventy seven. On one occasion,

"SPANKING ROGER" (C.M.)

John Nuttall.

The first system of musical notation consists of two staves. The top staff is in treble clef and the bottom staff is in bass clef. Both staves are in common time (C). The music features a simple melody with eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The piece begins with a treble clef and a common time signature.

The second system of musical notation consists of two staves. The top staff is in treble clef and the bottom staff is in bass clef. Both staves are in common time (C). The music continues with a melody that includes some sixteenth-note patterns. A bracket labeled "organ" spans across the bottom staff, indicating a specific accompaniment part. The system ends with a common time signature.

The third system of musical notation consists of two staves. The top staff is in treble clef and the bottom staff is in bass clef. Both staves are in common time (C). The music concludes with a final melody line. The system ends with a common time signature.

XX
Rawtenstall, E. M. No. 11

The first system of the musical score consists of five staves. The top staff is a vocal line with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). It begins with a treble clef, a sharp sign, and a common time signature. The notes are written in a simple, clear hand. The second staff is a piano accompaniment line with a bass clef. The third and fourth staves are also piano accompaniment lines, with the third staff having a treble clef and the fourth a bass clef. The fifth staff is a bass line with a bass clef. The music is written in a simple, clear hand, with notes and rests clearly visible.

The second system of the musical score consists of five staves, continuing the piece from the first system. It follows the same instrumental arrangement: vocal line (treble clef, one sharp), piano accompaniment (bass clef), piano accompaniment (treble clef), piano accompaniment (bass clef), and bass line (bass clef). The notation is consistent with the first system, showing a continuation of the melody and accompaniment.

A copy, in Mosses Heaps' hand, of the hymn tune 'Rawtenstall' composed by John Lord, an early Leek.

'... he gave to three other persons - John Nutall, H. Ashworth and James Ashworth a 'pricked' bass, to which each was to compose a melody, alto and tenor to his own taste. Henry has his own arrangement of course. So 'Whitsunday' appears in the M.S. book with four different melodies, altos and tenor, but all to the same bass, a testimony to the ingenuity and skill of all four men in producing good though differing harmony.'

25

Henry died tragically when a warehouse in Bacup collapsed, killing him and his daughter Sally.

The Nuttalls also continued as prominent Larks until the next generation. James had three sons, John, James and Richard who were known according to the tradition of the times as, 'John O'th James' O'th Parson's, Jemmy O'th James's O'th Parson's and Dick O'th James's O'th Parson's; so specifying the three generations. John wrote a number of tunes, but is also remembered as a 'cellist:

'... many times on Sunday in Lumb chapel sitting on the pew back with a skull cap on his head. I think he must have known harmony well, for whilst playing the most simple psalm tune, he would keep dropping variations in.'

27

The other two brothers were violinists and also wrote a number of tunes.

Reverend John Nuttall's early musical companion and co-founder of the Larks was Richard Hudson of Loveclough. The two men married two sisters by the name of Grindrod. These two Yorkshire lasses were reputedly fine singers and, so it is said, considerably enhanced the musical fame of the Nuttalls and Hudsons.

Richard Hudson's son Reuben is, after the Nuttalls, the tune writer most fully represented in the Larks repertoire, there being seventeen pieces, one of which is described as 'an ingenious canon or continuous fugue'. Not surprisingly there was a degree of almost clan like rivalry between Hudson and the Dean composers. Reuben taught many local singing classes and enjoyed a degree of notoriety outside his music as, 'the little lawyer' to whom people would turn with their conflicts and legal problems. By coincidence, James Nuttall and Reuben Hudson, sons of the founders, were born in the same year, and also died in the same year. Reuben's grandson, John, is the fourth generation of Hudsons and composed fifty tunes. He was known for his,

which made him a good choir leader. John like so many of the Larks, lived to a ripe old age, and died in 1899 at the age of eighty seven.

One of the earliest references to a member of the Ashworth clan was when Lawrence Ashworth, better known as 'Old Lol O'th Long-biggin', actually carried his pew on his back, several miles over the hill from the chapel at Lumb to the one built at Goodshaw in 1760. A later Ashworth, James of Moss Barn, is reputed to have achieved no less remarkable feat, when at the age of sixteen he carried his father, who was both blind and lame, a mile over rough ground and across a river to enable the old man to sing tenor solos in a performance of 'Messiah' in a house at Spring Gardens, Dean. James wrote several tunes and was held in great esteem as, a musician, and being the choir master at Lumb chapel for many years. He died in 1861 at the age of eighty four. One of the most picturesque and humorous Lark stories concerns James' eldest son Robert and his son James. Compston's account is given in full order to give a sample of the atmosphere and colourful detail conveyed in his writings.

'The full story of Robert Ashworth and his son James of the Moss Barn and then of Carr, both lonely farmhouses in the Dean, would be a long one. Robert, familiarly known in his latter days as "Old Bob o't' Carr" or "o't' Deighn", was a man of various parts, and of Rossendale independence of mind. Above all he was a musician; he was also a banksman at a small coal mine (the Nabb coal pit); and did some farming of the land - when he had time; and we have already seen that he was a lay preacher. "He was a tallish good looking man, with sandy hair". His son James was also a musician, and a handloom weaver.

Both father and son were genuine musical enthusiasts. When the father had written some new piece, and James found it he would ask what it was, and might get the reply, 'Ca'it what tha likes'. Thus some of the compositions got odd names. Not seldom, the Layrock composers conceived strains of music at their work, and lest they should lose a specifically inspired passage or phrase, would mark it on a wall, a flag, a board, or even a spade.

One story of Robert and James has been briefly told more than once, and this sketch would be seriously defective without it. But it must now be narrated with greater fulness than heretofore. I have visited the identical ancient homestead and rooms, and talked with old folks who knew both men. The period was before Robert had become "old" Bob, and before he had moved to the Carr farm.

Moss Barn farmstead is on an elevated plateau across which still runs the ancient track between the Broadclough side of Bacup on the South-East, and Water, the Crosses, Whalley and Clitheroe Castle on the North-West. But the buildings stood with their gable-end towards the path, and front southwards.

A somewhat long and difficult piece of music had been a stiff exercise for Robert and James, the father playing the big fiddle and James the violin. One evening they had tried till midnight, and still were baffled in their attempt to properly execute the piece. Even a pot of good home-brewed ale, which Robert could appreciate, had not helped. The violin was put into its box, the 'cello reared in its corner, and the fire was "raked" for the night: that is, the fire was raked together, ashes and all, in the big fireplace, and covered with turf sods and a little coal, so as to keep in till morning. The light was that of a candle - a sixteen's tallow candle, rarely seen now-a-day, being strands of goodly cotton wick dipped into melted tallow toll of an ounce weight sixteen to the pound. Robert went to bed, James looked round before following, caught sight of the big fiddle head (which he thought wore a frown), blew out the candle and retired also. No blinds were drawn, for of what use were window curtains in a moorland solitary house? Both men were soon asleep, dissatisfied as they were. But after a time James dreamt and in his dream it came to him how the music could be executed! He put out his hand to grasp his violin but it struck the wall, and he woke up. If he were to try now he could do it; and he would. Still he would have his father's part going too. He slipped out of bed on to the cold stone floor - in those days these bedroom floors were flagged and the rooms open to the very flags of the roof - and felt his way to his father's bedside: it must be now or never.

Such things have happened before, incredible as they may seem. My readers will know the story of Archimedes and the metal alloy of King Hiero's crown; how it had perplexed Archimedes for long, and how that one day, while he was in his bath, the solution to the problem suddenly flashed upon him, and so excited and delighted was he that he sprung out naked into the streets of Syracuse city crying: "Eureka, eureka! (I have found it)."

"Fayther, fayther, get up," "eh, James lad, whatever is there to do; is th' heifer cauving?" "No, no fayther, but just get up neaw," "Why, is t' pit fo-in' in, or t' banking tumbled da-an?" "Not it, but that music, yo know: I feel sure we can do it if we try just neaw; be sharp and let's try." "Why lad tha'rt i' thi' shirt; go and put some clooas on, and I'll get up a bit." "Eh fayther, if I stop to don me I shall miss it otogether." Thus father and son responded to each other, till a feminine voice piped from under the bed clothes --- "Get away to bed wi' tha, James, tha'll get thi deeach o' cowd; music agen! be fiddled!" "Ay," replied James, "That's just what it'll have to be; an' I say, fayther, dooant yo' stop to don yo', or it'll be too lat." So James went down the stone-built staircase on to the hearth stone, which was more or less warm, and found a brimstone match. Now, those "matches" did not "strike"; there were non then which did.

They were thin slips of wood pointed at one end, which end was tipped with brimstone, and must be lit either by the fire or the flint-and-steel of the tinder box. In this case the slowly-burning fire had the match thrust into it, the tip gave its pale blue sulphur flame and fired the chip, by the light of which, James found a new slim candle.

By this time Robert had realised the position, had come down and had strode across the floor to his big fiddle, which now seemed in better humour. It must be admitted that while they were as bare-footed as angels are represented to be, they were also bare-legged, and their robing was not exactly the angelic costume, being neither white nor long, flimsy or flowing. Still they were more becomingly attired than Archimedes. Moreover, they did not intend to rush out on to the moor or down to the hamlet that night.

Short work was made of tuning; the music and candle were so arranged that both could see and the excited, impatient rehearsal began. It was better than before; but they must do it again. Now it was one of the disadvantages of the old candles that they needed frequent snuffing or the light became dull. There was no time, however, to hunt up snuffers; fingers preceded snuffers, and were often used instead - were more handy; so James plucked off the snuff between thumb finger, flung the char into the fire and wiped his digits down his side, as though it were, as ordinarily, covered by working trousers. A clearer light beamed on their faces and music and the performance went better than before, "Agen, fayther," "Ay, agen James;" the father's eyes twinkled; and James snuffed the candle once more. This time the rendering was all but perfection. Their countenances now were illuminated by more than candlelight; the very 'cello seemed to smile and quiver with resonance, while the violin simply thrilled with melody. They must have one other 'go.'

Now it so happened that a man journeying by starlight from Bacup and over Smallshaw Height, to take up an early job Whalley way, was approaching Moss Barn, and was surprised to see a dim steady light through the distant house window. As he drew nearer the night wind brought about his ears grand sounds, which almost seemed heavenly sometimes and to blend with the beauty of the heavens above. Yet it was uncanny. He looked around not without dread lest some fearful object should spring out of the clough. Where could the sounds come from? Was there indeed some wraith about? It was "fair awesome". He went on with more slowness and circumspection. He knew the way well, but had not travelled it for years. Then he remembered that a musician used to live at the house: could he be dead, and haunting the place with ghostly glow and sound? Then a star shot across the sky and seemed to fall towards the house. He tried to think of his prayers, "From the crafts and assaults of the devil, good Lord, deliver us. Amen." He was now near the farmstead, and it was clear the sounds came from within. He left the track, turned to the left into the fold, came nearer to the lighted

'The Masterpiece'



Nineteenth century illustration of 'The Masterpiece'

naked window, and with great timidity glanced in, just catching sight of the old man. It was "gradely fearsome". "Lord ha' mercy! ther's the ghost o' the' fiddler!" The arm and bow were flying to and fro; the face of the owner beamed with an unearthly light; and the costume of the wraith was certainly not for this rough-and-stumble world. The observer's scalp felt creepy, and his cap fitted less firmly on his head. Nevertheless, he stole a step nearer, and saw more. "Oh nay! - there's two on' em'. Good Lord deliver us!" And he pressed his hand on his cap to keep it down. Yet, could it be a ghostly scene? He had heard of the harps and harping of the other world, but surely never of fiddles and fiddlesticks! And then there was the music book propped up "as natterable as loife". He began to feel assured; and as the final glorious cadence was reached he became calm, surveyed the scene more closely and the misgivings he had had before were steadily dissipated; the sandy whiskers, the bare legs and the remains of the sixteen's tallow tip settled it! He returned to the track and his journey. And Robert and James, refreshed and invigorated by their completely successful rehearsal, put their instruments away, and stole over the cold stones to bed again for a couple of hours, mentally chuckling over the fact that they had managed to do what nobody else in the valley could, and that they would have something to tell their acquaintances on the morrow. They did not know, happy men, what the third party had to tell also.

Neither Robert nor his son ever denied this midnight rehearsal: I have spoken with men of four score years to whom they admitted it (without any amplification) and even gloried in it. The piece of music, which still exists at Dean, was fittingly called "the Masterpiece".'

28

The Larks could be capricious. There are several accounts of their rough and ready humour. Robert Ashworth from the above story, once indulged his temperamental musical nature by walking out of a chapel, closely followed by his singers, when a visiting preacher presumed to criticise the sound of the band 'tuning up' before the service. The service of course 'fell flat' and there had to be skilful acts of diplomacy before the next service.

Some of the older Larks, like the old of any age, were always ready to believe that the best was in their past. Heap recounts one saying:

'Eh, there's ne'er such singing and playing as there were then! There fairly were some grand music! Folks winnot tak th' same trouble i' these times. Why, we used to go ower th' hills i' o' sorts o' weather, and think nought o' practicin' till one o' clock i' t' morning; aye, till two and three o' clock sometimes.'

29

They were always quick to impress upon the aspiring young Larks what was expected in order for them to perfect their art.

'A young man after a day's work had walked five miles (from Dean to near Haslingden Grane) to a "practice". Midnight passed in practicing; later as the hour of two a.m., approached, he ventured to say he thought he should be getting home, as he "had to be up middlin' soon on i' t' morning" (as if it were not morning already). An enthusiastic old man (who had got two ranges of hills to cross over on his way home) reprovingly said, "Do'st 'yer what aw'm bown to say, young chap; if tha'rt allus i' such a hurry as that tha'll never mak a musician as long as aver tha lives!'

30

These musicians, like those of Ellen Brook, introduced by Millington, were remarkable people. They sang and played works by the great composers of their time and were also capable of writing their own tunes. Their music-making was embedded in the traditional social structure of their communities. It was made possible to a great extent by the flexible working hours characteristics of the domestic system and not even industrialisation appears to have disrupted it.

It is appropriate that Samuel Compston has the last word on the Larks:

'The fact stands out that from beginning to end the Layrock men and women were mainly religious, their music was chiefly psalmody and oratorio, and associated with the house of God. Their own compositions were for hymn or anthem. Their singing and playing were hearty and serious. If their tunes were often more florid than refined, and their renderings more robust than elegant, the faults were those of a strong ruder age, and not greater than the too common opposite ones of tame tunes and spiritless singing and playing by some choirs and congregations today.'

31

As a footnote to these references to the Larks of Dean, it can be recorded that music still flourishes in Rossendale. It has been suggested that the Rossendale Male Voice Choir, founded in 1924 is in direct line of descent from the Larks of Dean. There are indeed social, cultural, geographical and musical links with the Larks and they have, on occasions performed Larks tunes - notably an arrangement of 'Spanking Roger' by the conductor's distinguished musical son Ernest Thomlinson, for a television broadcast. At the time of writing, the choir's founder and conductor for over fifty years, Mr Fred Thomlinson M.B.E., recounts enthusiastically at the age of ninety the pattern of individual 'part'

rehearsals in member's houses and of the choir's proud contest record culminating in first prize at Llangollen. His wife, a delightful and vivacious ninety two year old lady, told the writer of the solfa singing classes held by her father in the cellars of the house where they still live, and began involuntarily to sing folk songs to solfa and hand signs.

CHOIRS AND COMMUNITIES II

In order to widen the perspective of Northern music-making and attempt to see further into the nineteenth century from the extraordinary example of the Larks of Dean, and the speculatively representative, though somewhat limited scene in Millington's sketches, it will be necessary to bring into focus the effects of urbanisation, the changing class structure and the multi-faceted rationale for the promotion of music that resulted in such an unparalleled interest in music among all levels of society.

It is tempting to subscribe to the popular and somewhat romantic view, held even by some contemporary writers, that the process of urbanisation was responsible for the destruction of a rich rural culture. Such a view is to say the least simplistic, and if urbanisation is seen solely in terms of the migration of rural workers into the towns, is untrue. To have any substance, such an argument would need to define urbanisation in a very much wider sense as to accommodate many inter related issues which account for the changes which took place. Gaskell³² distinguishes sharply between the rural domestic and urban factory workers and there is an assumption that the characteristics of the two are quite distinct, separate and mutually exclusive. In this polarised view, the rural is invariably seen as superior. Thompson³³ argues that such a view is misleading and that it cannot be seen simply as the displacement of rural values by urban values and associated cultural activities. The new industrial town did not so much displace the countryside as 'grow over' it and that this purpose of 'growing over' was not a violent disruption of rural tradition. It is evident that at a time of unprecedented increases in urban population a wide variety of rural amusement continued. Elbourne lists many examples of these and concludes that through wakes and fairs,

'There must have been a good deal of interchange between town and country dwellers on these occasions, with townsmen going to the countryside and villagers coming to the towns. They provided a crucial link between old and new ways of life.'

34

Not all opinion looked nostalgically upon the rural customs that persisted in the towns. All these occasions, and others, like rushbearing ceremonies and May Day celebrations, would have provided musical entertainment, but there is an indication that they were coming to be seen as rather quaint³⁵. There were those whose attitude went beyond patronising amusement - there was a crusade against working class pastimes and a deliberate attempt to eliminate traditional culture. The motives for this will be discussed shortly.

Undoubtedly, though common elements existed and the rural culture did persist, slowly new patterns of cultural life emerged in the growing industrial cities, but it will be argued that these relate to changes in class and community structure, attitudes and an increasingly prevalent bourgeois ethos, than to geographical relocation - though this of course, had to be the first move in this sequence of social and cultural change.

In seeking to explain these changes that came with urbanisation, some reactionary writers saw moral degeneration caused by the separation of a trusty peasantry from the influences of a beneficent and noble aristocracy as the problem, whilst others like Bamford recognised something crucial in the social chemistry. It was a consequence of what he described as 'the crowding towards the great hive of many people of all industrial classes'.³⁶

Nettel makes the same point though the creatures in his metaphor are somewhat larger.

'There is a kind of personality in such an environment that influences all who live in it - a herd personality. This is strongest in communities that are obliged to submit to the same limitations; where only a few avenues of self-expression are open. The advantage of combination for mutual benefit come quickest to be recognised in such communities, and so the Lancashire and Yorkshire people early learned the value of mutual aid societies, trade unions, co-operative trading societies and choral singing. The basis for all these ... lay in the herd life that Cobbett so detested'

37

Later, Nettel emphatically concludes,

'Community feeling was the reason for the choral establishment in the North.'

38

Nettel's herd community does of course refer to urban communities where music was bound up with the complex issues of social aspiration on the one hand and social engineering on the other. The sense of a 'musical community' was much simpler in the case of the Larks of Dean, where personal enthusiasm and commitment were the prime movers.

The lack of agreeable amusements for the working class as a result of the decline in rural pastimes was commonly believed to be a principle cause of drunkenness, and since the customary drinking habits hindered the establishment of new modes of work and social conduct, it was deplored, and an antidote actively sought. The forms this took were as varied as the motives that inspired them, but all were 'worthwhile' forms of recreation and improvement. Music may not have been highly valued for its intrinsic worth as art, but its instrumental value was widely recognised. As well as being an innocent recreation, music was an agent for self-help and social betterment, an alternative channel for energies which might be directed towards dissent, and a powerful tool of the zealous religious reformers. These issues will be discussed more fully in the chapters dealing with education and religion, but it is significant to note at this stage that the non-conformist denominations that held the religious sway in the industrial towns, were strongly opposed to those social activities that involved 'profane' songs and dances. In fact even literature or art without a devotional bearing were to be eschewed.

The positive virtues of the growing urban culture obviously met with the approval of the new wealthy middle class industrialists who were usurping the power of the rural aristocracy. Henry Ashworth the mill owner remarked,

'... other manifestations of social changes it has been observed that the ruder enjoyments of a previous period are fast passing away, and the people are now becoming more delighted with those pleasures which are refined and intellectual.'

39

A major theme running through this period of transition, is the contest for authority between the aristocracy and the new influential middle class whose claim came through newly acquired wealth rather than birth and inherited wealth. Whether they exhibited more or less paternalism

on the other hand is another issue. The interesting point made by Elbourne is that,

'the rural aristocracy championed old customs and pastimes as a rather ineffective bulwark against the rising tide of industrialism, with its novel values and forms of behaviour.'

40

A contemporary article argues that it was,

'in places where the middle classes have most authority, that the desposition to repress amusement most prevails. ... A nobleman or gentleman of large estate in the country generally favours the amusements of the lower classes; but the magistrates of towns almost uniformly seek to repress them. The greatest crime in the opinion of many of them is to sing or play a musical instrument.'

41

Presumably this refers to the bawdier form of rural/urban folk music rather than art music which was being incorporated into the fabric of an ordered social structure. Whilst there was unquestionably a taste for serious music developing amongst a significant proportion of the factory operatives in the North of England, it would be wrong to conclude that every single artisan, especially in the more dissolute parts of Manchester and Leeds, was consumed by a need for personal fulfilment and improvement through art music. The masses as a whole were satisfied with something less than the works of Handel, Haydn and Mozart, and they had recourse to what Mackerness terms 'urban folk music.'⁴² Although the involvement of the masses in urban folk music did not generally require the skill and commitment of those performing art music corporately in church choirs, glee clubs and choral societies, the popularity of the broadside ballad and the emergence of the music hall were so much part of the social/musical ambience that they require at least a passing reference even though they were less distinctively associated with the industrial North.

The popular form of the ballad had also moved with the times and was reflecting as it had done since Elizabethan times, events in the nation's and individual's lives. Cecil Sharp⁴³ claims that the single melody line modal folk song continued to be created up to the 1840's by solitary workers unaffected^c by the industrial urbanising process. When the common lands were enclosed, he argues, the solitary pattern of rural work, which had been conducive of these songs declined. The economically

depressed workers would now share evenings in each other's houses to save light and fuel. These changed conditions encouraged a new type of song. The experience of singing in such a group bound them together and gave them a greater sense of unity. The Methodists capitalised on this to a remarkable degree. Indeed Methodism had a great deal to do with the change from ballads to hymns. It is interesting to note in this context that it was from the Broadside ballad that the common metre hymn tune derived.

The Broadside ballad continued to have wide popularity throughout the country amongst the working classes up to the middle of the nineteenth century. They were cheaply and easily produced, often by the printers of chap books and pamphlets, whose simple presses used only a small stock of type and one or two decorative blocks. Broadsides were printed on single unfolded sheets of thin almost transparent paper and were retailed by the thousand in towns and villages everywhere. They were used for reading as well as singing. Their subject matter reflects many aspects of local and national life, with a high proportion of news value and as such were in great demand by the common people. Ballad singers would often act as vendors as well as performers. Broadside ballads printed for singing rarely contained any musical notation, but its tune would be indicated by a phrase such as "To the tune of the Gallant Hussar". The demand for the Broadside ballads indicates both a fair degree of literacy among the masses even before popular education and also the knowledge by heart of quite a large number of secular melodies.

In 1875, John Harland produced his collection, "Ballads and Songs from Lancashire", which is a valuable social document and contains for example 'The Handloom Weaver's Lament' - a petition from the handloom weavers who were being replaced by steam power.

'So come all you cotton weavers, you must rise up very soon,
For you must work in the factories from morning until noon:
You musn't walk in your garden for two or three hours a day,
For you must stand at their command, and keep your shuttles
in play.'

44

A little earlier, the Luddite's risings had brought into being songs such as "Come all you croppers stout and bold" and "The Roving Heckler Lad". In others, places and the people themselves are celebrated:

"Victoria Bridge Manchester on a Saturday Night", and "The girls of Lancashire". Sports and pastimes are also described; for example, "The Bonny Grey", which describes cock fighting was heard by Sharp as late as 1905 at a folk singing competition in Kendal. It had been printed on a Broadside by Harkness of Preston.

Inevitably, there were those which satirised people and institutions - the constabulary, temperance enthusiasts and politicians. In view of the vast quantities of broadsheets that were produced, it is perhaps surprising that relatively few have survived. Harland, who was becoming aware of this in 1860, gives as an explanation,

'Being printed only on single sheets, which would fall chiefly into the hands of the vulgar, who had no better method of preserving these favourite compositions than by pasting them upon a wall, their destruction is easily accounted for.'

45

From the middle of the century, both the ballad singer and his material declined. Lee gives as reasons for this,

'... an advance in education accompanied by the arrival of cheap newspapers (thus making the topical ballad largely redundant); the music hall, which took over comic and amatory topics; the introduction of penny song books, which clearly gave one more for one's money; and the opposition of the recently formed police.'

46

It is not chance that the ballad's decline coincides with the emergence of the Music Hall. Music had been performed in taverns and similar places since time immemorial, but had usually been informal and spontaneous. During the nineteenth century however, a move towards a more formalised entertainment began to take place. Since the Beer Bill of 1830, there was a rapid increase in the number of beer houses (not licensed to sell spirits) especially in the poorer districts and many of these often provided some musical entertainment. Publicans too had to match this attraction to retain trade and made provision for musical entertainment. Many public houses found musical entertainment so popular that they put on special performances in back rooms and charged a small entrance fee. Thus these early singing saloons or Music Halls grew out of the drinking habits of the lower levels of society. The popularity of these was such that rooms were extended and new ones

constructed with entertainment in mind. The Public House was clearly an important centre of musical culture in the industrial areas and the Music Hall was destined to take on a life of its own. It was estimated that in Manchester and Salford alone, there was upward of fifty such places at an average of not more than a quarter of a mile from each other. By the time John Ashton produced his "Modern Street Ballads" in 1888, he had to conclude,

'A new generation has arisen who will not stop in the street to listen to these ballads being sung, but prefer to have their music served up to them 'piping hot', with the accompaniment of warmth, light and beer and tobacco (for which they duly have to pay) at the Music Hall; but whether this be for the better or not may be a moot question.'

47

After the 1843 Theatre's Act, bar parlour concerts led inevitably to the establishment of Music Halls in which adaptations of ballad material - some of which was in any case spoken - were ready made 'acts'. Many of the ballad singers themselves were likely talent as performers for the Music Hall. As Mackerness points out,

'... the music hall lyrics were the legitimate successors to the ballads.'

48

In a similar vein, Raynor maintains that the,

'Music Hall invented a style of popular song developed from the tastes, habits and manners of the industrial working class who grew up with no contact with the world of high culture except perhaps, the language of the authorised version of the Bible.'

49

The Music Hall also provided the first, no frills social centre other than the public house, from which it grew, for the new city culture. It drew upon the talents of the common people for whom the career as an entertainer offered hitherto undreamt of opportunities for prosperity and escape from drudgery. The culture of art music was becoming increasingly accessible and important to ordinary people, but not all felt able to express themselves through this medium - they felt a certain uneasiness with serious music.

Notwithstanding its working class origins, the music hall, particularly

in its more opulent form, reached a wider class of people and had a degree of universality. Raynor argues that this was largely achieved through the outstanding star quality of the great entertainers, to whom wide selections of the community were devoted and that as a result, barriers of class were broken and a classless appeal for music hall developed:

'The music halls eventually created their community, an entirely classless one, not through its music but through the startling, flamboyant and extraordinary gifted people who became its stars. Their gifts were not, perhaps, primarily musical, although one of their central abilities was to be able to project songs, comic, satirical, pathetic or simply sentimental, with the maximum point. It is not that the wealthier patrons of the 'halls' necessarily became aware either emotionally or intellectually of the world in which a tandem bicycle became more a suitable wedding conveyance than a coach, or of the pathos of entering a workhouse where, after forty years of happy married life, they would be parted from their old Dutch. It was the 'star quality' of a handful of great entertainers whose gifts were often for satire which were the life blood of the music hall. It offered membership of a classless community and created a social unity almost without attention to the music or poetry which it used.'

50

Again we have returned to the socialising, unifying, liberating and fulfilling effect that music generally can have in the lives of individuals and communities.

If the music halls, particularly in its embryonic days, represented the light 'down market' side of the working class culture, then sacred choral music in its various forms represented serious or art music in its most widely accessible and experienced form.

Choral singing along with the brass band movement, provided the principle means of participation in music for the working classes in the industrial North. The already established choral tradition received a great impetus from the class singing movement and the interest shown in music by educational pioneers and the various movements for adult education. These movements were astonishingly successful and many contemporary writers were impressed by the singing skills they experienced. Thus grew the base skill, upon which the great northern choral tradition was built. It is not just that the lower classes

gained access to this experience, it was seen essentially as their genre and tended therefore to be socially confined. It also came to be considered inferior in musical standing, to orchestral concerts - a tendency which has not entirely disappeared at the present day. As can be inferred from the quotation from Hogarth's writings which preceded this chapter, it became widely believed that great moral benefits and improvements accrued from working people being involved in singing. Such benefits were commonly claimed by the philanthropists and the religious reformers of the time, and as the industrial areas were the heartlands of non-conformity, it was no exaggeration for Raynor to claim,

'... that English choral music in the nineteenth century was largely the result of a union between music and non-conformity as they acted together upon a depressed and degraded working class.'

51

Such was the general situation, but as the century progressed and the industrial towns grew and prospered, a shift in class involvement in choral singing started to occur. Local pride in a town's prosperity was reflected in the imposing town halls that were built and these provided a home base for the large prestigious choral societies which had grown up. These town halls, symbols of opulence and optimism, often also contained equally impressive concert organs (Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds and Huddersfield all possessing outstanding examples) upon which the local organists as well as the most brilliant players of the day would give recitals and bring not only the organ repertoire, but through transcriptions, the great orchestral classics in their most accessible form, to the large audiences that would attend them. With these developments, choral music making became more formalised and institutionalised. The chapel choirs, were, as it were, the grass roots of choral singing and for choral societies provided the majority of singers. But the membership of many of these town chapels had prospered too and non-conformity had (for the Wesleyan Methodists at least) moved somewhat 'up market' from its origins along with the self made men it had nurtured. These members of the aspirant working class were becoming the lower middle class, still consciously or unconsciously remembering their religious/social/musical roots, happily indentified with their choral societies. This social/class dimension therefore was of course not fixed and was infinitely fluid, but there is enough evidence to

consider it a general trend in the larger, more prosperous towns. Huddersfield is an excellent example and will be the second case study for this chapter.

The question of class has a significant bearing on both choral and orchestral music. During the thirties and forties, town choral societies became widely established musical institutions and are representative of what historians call 'social modernisation'. One factor which distinguishes these musical institutions is the presenting of formal public concerts. The aspiration towards this type of leadership in public musical life from these singers from a lower-middle class or artisanry, is evidence of the emergence through musical activity of what R. S. Neale called a 'middling class'⁵² made up of ambitious but frustrated people, and this movement in class played a powerful role in challenging privilege and the old social order. It was this that the aristocracy feared when they championed the preservation of rural customs. Choral societies in some of the large towns (Manchester, Liverpool, and Huddersfield each provided evidence) were strongly orientated towards middle-class values. Weber says,

'Their activities epitomise the bourgeois ideas of self-improvement (through disciplined musical training), moral uprightness (through the performance of religious music), and philanthropic benevolence (through the dedication of concerts to charitable purpose).'

53

Halle settled in Manchester in 1848 and after two years - eight years before the founding of his famous orchestra - was able to write,

'So many amateurs with fair voices and an ear for music that I was able to found the 'St Cecilia Society' in imitation of the German Gesangverein, which dwelt in my memories since the days of my childhood. It consisted of ladies and gentlemen of the best society, at first about fifty in number.'

54

Manchester, as will be shown in the next chapter, developed a strong orchestral concert tradition in which the issue of class was even more pronounced and varied. Liverpool also had a Cecilian Society (a common choice of name for many choral societies) but somewhat untypically this drew largely upon Anglican choirs. Liverpool, as we shall see had a tradition of social exclusiveness in music, created in part by rich

merchants, whose wealth was founded on the slave trade. In spite of the evidence pointing towards choral singing at large, town choral society level, edging towards being a middle-class music activity, Raynor maintains that these,

'... were not typical of the large choral societies of the industrial towns which provided the vast majority of the English people with their only real contact with music.' 55

Clearly there are no absolutes in such a fluid and variable situation. All that can be said generally is that choral societies drew most of their numbers from the vigorous non-conformist choirs made up from all but the lowest section of the working class, and that there is a noticeable tendency for the larger, more formalised and prestigious choirs giving public concerts in the large prosperous towns to exhibit middle-class attitudes and draw upon middle-class personnel.

Whatever the class of people that were involved in music making, it became a universal and virtually unchallenged truth that there were wide ranging benefits to be received from music - particularly choral singing. The attitudes and ethics that were the underpinning rationale for this belief were very much those of the time. However close some of the motives might have come to enlightened self-interest on the part of some of music's champions and promoters, though undoubtedly many were genuinely humanitarian, one of the principle benefits and the one that has provided the unifying theme for this chapter, is that of social cohesion. An activity which is both a corporate and co-operative one and offering personal aesthetic fulfilment, was undoubtedly highly desirable. Irrespective of their station in life, the performers could, in this activity, gain self respect and take pride in their attainment. This kind of local patriotism is a two edged sword: it creates pride in achievement and makes men wish to be worthy of the honour that they are helping to inspire. Singers certainly jealously guarded the prestige of their choir and town wherever they sang. This common attitude transcends social and political divides. In this at least there was a breaking down of class barriers through a corporate musical activity.

Pride and self respect are important both for individuals and communities. Many of these singers were skilled workmen and they

brought to their choral work that same commitment to developing that skill and perfecting their product. The transfer of the attitudes into social situations is profoundly important and beneficial to the community.

'... being a member of a choral society - however amateur raises a man's opinion of himself and makes him careful of other people's opinions. It may be conceit, but it bears out Hogarth's theory that music elevated the character of men. When a man begins to consider the importance of his place in society, he may become an asset to society instead of a liability.'

56

By the end of the period, music had increased enormously in popularity with all sections of society and became established and recognised as playing an important part in local and national life. So far as choral music is concerned, the great choral tradition arose as a result of a demand for good music which could be produced cheaply, by a relatively simple and effective system of mass musical training and the composers and conductors capable of inspiring ordinary working people.

One beneficial consequence that even the most ardent champion of music for the people could not have envisaged, was the part the choral tradition would play in restoring England to a prominent position on the world's musical stage. It could be argued that without such skilled choirs as a native resource, and the demand for music they provided, the great choral works of Parry, Stanford and Elgar, which heralded the English Music Renaissance, might never have been written and England remain 'a land without music'.

The Huddersfield Choral Society provides an example par excellence of the institutionalisation of this great choral tradition that came with the social changes already discussed. Its musical standing and the calibre of those professional musicians who worked with it, make it of national as well as regional importance. It is fitting therefore to conclude this chapter with some detailed references to this fine choir which was to become a national institution. It also shows how far the organisation of choral music making within the community had moved by the height of the Industrial Revolution from the ad hoc musical activities of the Larks of Dean in their rural community during the early days of the Industrial Revolution.

THE HUDDERSFIELD CHORAL SOCIETY

Even in 1800, Huddersfield was an isolated, obscure township, with a population of some seven thousand, most of whom were illiterate and uncouth. Only forty one years before, John Wesley, visiting Huddersfield on his evangelising tour wrote,

'a wilder people I never saw in England.'

57

Most worked at the textile trade domestically. There were no railways or steam power. Transportation was by pack horse or by the newly opened canal. They were a conservative people in a period of increasing unrest and change.

During the ensuing thirty years, the people became increasingly educated and the town, due to its large mills and factories, became an important commercial centre. From their harsh lives and environment, the 'wildest people in England' had evolved into some of the most gifted and famous exponents of one branch of the most spiritual of the arts.

An isolated community often turns to singing for its entertainment and part singing was practised in this area for centuries, and only with the spread of non-conformity did this raw material become organised into choirs of both sexes. The established church was at a low ebb in the eighteenth century and non-conformity, catering for the needs of the people, built large chapels which were both religious centres and centres of enthusiastic singing. These church choirs were the first training ground for choral society members.

The emergence of the great German masters, like Beethoven and Mendelssohn, which did much to widen and elevate musical levels, was virtually contemporaneous with that of the Industrial Revolution. They were the product of the liberation of the spirit that can be traced back to the Reformation and their music reflected the emancipation of society from slavery to the new democracy.

The foundation and growth of the Society, which incidentally concurs with another Northern phenomenon, the Brass Band Movement, stems from the

inherent musicality of the people and its relationship with the town's expansion and the musical development of the country as a whole.

The foundation of the Society dates from 7 June 1836, on which date a group of musicians who had previously met together for vocal and instrumental practise in the hamlet of Paddock, met at the Plough Inn and drew up the following preamble:

'We whose names are hereunto subscribed agreed to establish a musical society to be called the 'Huddersfield Choral Society' the first meeting to be held in the Infant School room, Spring Street, on Friday the 15th day of July 1836 at eight o'clock in the evening; the succeeding meetings to be held on the Friday on or before the full moon, in every month.

Dated at the Plough Inn, Westgate, Huddersfield, this seventh day of June 1836.'

58

Sixteen men founded the society and from their ranks were elected secretary, treasurer and a committee of seven. The full moon meetings facilitated members being able to see their way home during the winter months, as indeed was the case in Eccles and Ellen Brook. Quarterly meetings were also held for performances and members, on rotation, were allowed to select the oratorio to be performed and were also at liberty to criticise the choir's performance, provided it was done so in a 'respectable, friendly and becoming manner'. Fines were imposed on latecomers and a half yearly subscription of 'half a crown' levied on all male members. Women paid no subscription. At each meeting, all members were allowed 'three gills of ale and bread and cheese'.⁵⁹

The financial arrangements were reminiscent of the Co-operative Society, since members each had a financial interest in the Society's assets and were entitled to 'sell' their shares on resignation or death. Bad manners were discouraged by fines.

'Musicians being, like poets, proverbially an irritable race, provision was also made against breaches of good manners; any member being intoxicated or using obscene or abusive language or calling any other members 'bye-names' at any of the meetings shall forfeit sixpence for each offence.'

60

It is possible here to form a picture of this group of working class people - devoted to music and anxious to educate themselves and others through rehearsal and performance. The first list of members ever recorded shows some fifty four male members - available for both singing and playing, and some eight female members.

By 1842 the Society was still very much a private music club for those who lived within six miles of Huddersfield. The church and chapel background of its members was sharply contrasted with those of another 'rival show' which threatened, not only to challenge the 'Choral', but worse still, poison the populace with subversion and immorality. These 'socialists' met at the Hall of Science and in order to disassociate themselves from them, the Society drafted a new rule which ran as follows:

'... that no person shall be a member of this Society, who frequents the 'Hall of Science' or any of the 'Socialists Meetings', nor shall the librarian be allowed to lend any copies of music (knowingly) belonging to this Society to any Socialist, upon pain of expulsion.'

61

The first outsider permitted to conduct the Society was Robert Senior Burton, who took up his office in 1858, being already conductor of several other choral societies in the West Riding and was organist of Leeds Parish Church.

Hitherto, all singers and players had been recruited from the ranks and certainly the measure of a good choir had been the volume of sound which it could produce. Burton slowly persuaded these insular people to engage soloists and extra instrumentalists for a small fee and with patience and persistence, he moulded them into a choir of such standing, that by 1862, they sang in a great concert at Crystal Palace.

Robert Burton retired in 1875, and for the next twenty five years the choir maintained its standing and increased its repertoire and reputation. The town grew as trade boomed and the Society reflected this period of tremendous optimism and determination. The new Town Hall was opened in 1881 and at a festival to celebrate its opening, the choir, now numbering two hundred sang under the direction of Charles Halle. At the close of the festival he was reported to have said that,

'... he had conducted many choruses but never had found a better or indeed one so good. For refinement, perfect truth of intonation and expression and especially for power, it could not be surpassed or equalled for the same number.' 62

In 1901, with the birth of the new century, Henry Coward became the Society's new conductor. His career deserves special mention not so much because of his distinguished work at Huddersfield, but because of his enormous influence generally as one of the great choral conductors of his age. Coward is also fascinating as a man typical of his age and embodying so many of the issues involved in this study. He was a dissenter and sturdy supporter of the temperance movement. By means of his native ability and single minded energy, he was able to transform his life and advance himself on his chosen course. In his case, music was both the means and the end of this advancement in life.

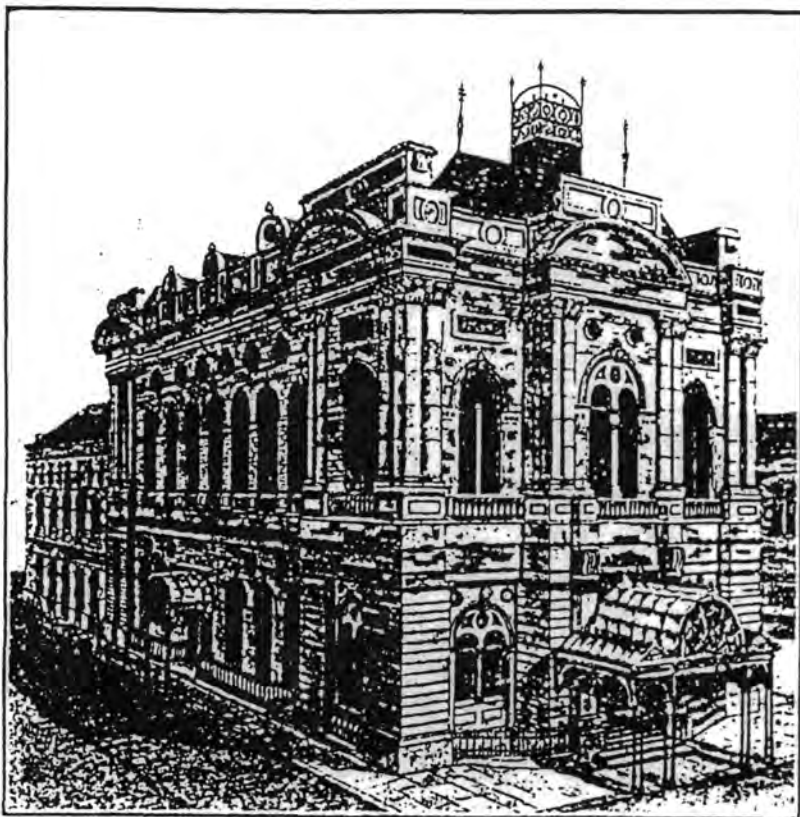
Cowards' background was musical. His parents had both been entertainers; entertainment having been his father's means of escape from the debilitating effects of the Sheffield steel industry.

As a youth, he joined a singing class and long before he was out of his apprenticeship as a cutler, he ran a class of his own. By his eighteenth birthday this group had given a public concert. The significance of this concert by young Coward's apprentice boy's choir is that it indicates the social change that came about through the spread of music - giving young men something worthwhile to strive towards and have a pride in attainment that was so public.

Although he was recognised as an outstanding craftsman - his last lot of knives earning him the very high rate of three pound per dozen, - yet he was unfulfilled and had ambitions to become a teacher which he did - initially on the strength of his ability with choirs. From a very limited scholastic base, he furthered his own education, eventually gaining a music degree from Oxford which equipped him with a comprehensive knowledge of music. Coward was very active in music whilst still teaching. He ran choruses at the Church Institute and the Mechanics Institute in Sheffield and was appointed conductor of the Sheffield Band of Hope festival, at which, we are told, three thousand sang. The extent of his involvement with music caused him to give up teaching and become a professional musician. His Sheffield tonic-solfa



Sir Henry Coward
Conductor, 1901-1932



The Huddersfield Town Hall. Opened October
1881, with a Musical Festival by the Choral Society.

Association, started as a singing class, developed into a famous concert choir - the Sheffield Musical Union. Coward was in great demand as a chorus master, and as well as working with the Huddersfield and Sheffield choirs, conducted choirs in Leeds, Newcastle-upon-Tynes and Glasgow.

From the beginning of this century, he determined to introduce other countries to the excellence of English choral singing. The first trip was to Cologne in 1906. In 1911, the Society undertook a world tour including Canada, parts of the United States, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.

Coward is an outstanding and prominent example of the valuable work done by the choirmasters of the town and its choirs in bringing great choral music to the masses - both performers and listeners.

When talking of Coward, Makerness concludes:

'Coward is a representative figure because he appreciated the sense of solidarity which choral singing gave rise to among members of the social classes he was familiar with. His career as a trainer of choirs was thus productive of something more than purely musical results.'

63

In Coward's own words,

'Choralism is possibly the most socialistic - using the term in its proper anti-bolshevist sense - of all the amenities of life.'

64

CHAPTER 2
CONCERTS, CONTESTS AND COMPETITIVE FESTIVALS

I

The concert life of Northern England during the nineteenth century underwent a process of evolution and change, brought about by the political, social and religious thinking which was also shaping other aspects of the new society of the Victorian Age. Concert activities were responding to the formidable forces of the new democracy, with its changing social structure, free enterprise economy, Christian socialism and attitudes which defined value primarily in materialistic and utilitarian terms, and which were very conscious of prestige both local and national. The growth of the public concerts will therefore be seen in relation to these other issues as well as in an historical and national context. The principle references will be to Liverpool and Manchester since they provide an interesting contrast and yet together, are representative of trends in general. They are also two important cities in the region which have not been discussed elsewhere in this study.

There had been an enormous increase in public and semi-public concerts during the eighteenth century, as can be seen in the activities of institutions such as The Academy of Ancient Music, The Concerts of Ancient Music, The Philharmonic Society and The Gentlemen's Concerts that were a feature of musical life in many towns and cities.

It was however a characteristic of these organisations that their concerts were for audiences made up of the socially acceptable and the well-to-do. This explicit social barrier was most obvious in the field of instrumental music. The popularity of Oratorio created audiences and large bodies of performers which were far less socially restricted. It is one of the important features of concert life in the latter part of the nineteenth century that it became accessible to far more people of a wider social background than had hitherto been the case. As the example of Liverpool shows, conservative attitudes and activities inevitably remained, but although the middle classes were predictably the dominant social group, the democratic process was having

its effects on this aspect of musical life and the Music for the People campaign was underway. In fact such influential figures in the national musical life as Jullien, Manns and Wood were concerned that music should not be exclusive, and directed much of their attention and efforts to this wider and more numerous clientele.

Brief mention deserves to be made of Jullien, as a representative of this popularising influence, since it was he of the three men mentioned above, who had the most contact with, and impact upon Northern audiences.

Louise Antoine Jullien arrived in England in 1839 and was the most colourful, not to say flamboyant and eccentric musical personality of the age. He was the son of a bandmaster, and a composer of popular light music including marches, waltzes and quadrilles. He also became involved in music publishing. It was however, as a musical director and impresario that he made his mark.

In the year he arrived in England, the conductor Negri had introduced popular promenade concerts on the Parisian model. This successful venture was copied by the violinist Eliason who, for his second season in 1840, was joined by Jullien as his assistant conductor. In the following year, Jullien produced his own proms which achieved unparalleled success. This success was due to his choice of music, the excellence of its performance and particularly to his own brand of charismatic showmanship.

'Jullien's concerts were characterised by an extraordinary 'bravura', the conductor himself engaging in an histrionic display designed to keep the audience amused and attentive. Apart from the music itself, which was cleverly varied, Jullien introduced a range of 'effects which in New York included an outbreak of artificial fire to accompany the the 'Firemand's Quadrille'. As a conductor Jullien was a good disciplinarian. He was dynamic without being slapdash and his concerts set a high standard of instrumental ensemble. He also gave renderings of major choral works. And by intermingling movements from symphonies with a miscellaneous collection of lighter pieces, he persuaded his audiences to accept a good deal of serious music while at the same time acquainting them with attractive 'bonnes bouches'.'

1



Louis Antoine Jullien.



Sir Charles Hallé.

In spite of his flamboyant sensationalism (at the climax of a performance, he was liable to seize an instrument from one of the players and join in himself with the orchestra before collapsing into his gilt chair - kept behind him on the podium - during the applause and adulation), he was a genuine and fastidious musician, respected as well as perhaps envied by his fellow musicians.

Jullien made repeated tours outside London where he was received with at least equal enthusiasm. On these tours he brought to many places a new experience by showing what a full scale professional orchestra could do. His contemporary, Enderby Jackson who we shall meet later as an influential figure in the Brass Band Movement, wrote of Jullien's Northern concerts in the following laudatory vein.

'The good effected by M Jullien can never be overestimated; unparalleled success always attended his Yorkshire and Lancashire tours. The 'Jullien' concerts proved in the north the opening of a new era in advance of general musical art. Never before had such perfection been held up to our homely toilers as models for their guidance and imitative power. New readings of works supposed well known, new forms of phrasing, new colourings of extremes in light and shade, peculiar rendering of uncommon harmonies, and beautiful clear rendering of novel contrapuntal devices, rendered by the very highest procurable artists on their respective instruments These all proved sources of wonder and emulation to our music loving workmen, and educational to our local professors and band teachers.'

2

We are told by Jackson of the enthusiastic discussions which took place in the mills, founderies and workshops, by the workmen, some of whom were themselves bandsmen, following Jullien's concerts.

An example of this skilful programme building can be seen in the music chosen for part 1 of his programme in the Theatre Royal, Bradford on March 30th 1848.

Overture	Zampa	Herold
Quadrille	The Standard Bearer	Jullien
Symphony	The Allegro of Symphony in F	Beethoven
Grand Scene	from Ernani	Verdi
Valse	Ravenswood	Jullien
Aria	Non piu andrai	Mozart
Sacred Music	from Elijah	Mendelssohn
Romanza	Dulcet Music	Balfe
Quadrille	The Swiss	Jullien

Such was his method of introducing Beethoven and the Classic to his musically deserving, but unsophisticated audiences. It is utterly typical of the man that the special deference due to Beethoven was symbolised by his putting on a pair of white gloves, brought to him on a silver salver and using a jewelled baton for the piece.

Jullien's short but brilliant career ended tragically. In spite of the considerable sums of money he made, he never seemed to be free from debt and he died in a lunatic asylum at the age of forty eight. Perhaps his greatest achievement was that,

'He created audiences for others to sustain and in this way was responsible for developments in more normal musical fields.'

4

His popularising influence J W Davison sums up as follows:

'Jullien was essentially and before all a man for the people. He loved to entertain the people; he loved to instruct the people; and the people were just as fond of being taught as of being amused by Jullien.'

5

The example of Jullien as a musical import into the national cultural life is by no means unique. In fact in the provinces, as well as in London, newly founded concert societies owed much to the influx of Central European musicians particularly in respect of the repertoire and orchestral standards they established. Liverpool and Manchester both provide excellent examples of this trend.

The appointment of foreign musicians was invariably justified by the results they achieved. It can also be seen as a further manifestation of the same aspirant municipal attitudes which built the opulent town halls. It was just one other assertive gesture of status and optimism by the city fathers of the prosperous industrial towns.

Liverpool's Philharmonic Society was founded in 1840, though it had previously had a Festival Choral Society of over two hundred voices with its own semi-professional orchestra. For its first two years, the Society relied upon local church organists for its conductors. In 1843 Jacob Zeugheer Hermann was appointed after having served for a number of years as the conductor of the Gentlemen's Concerts in Manchester. The

next prestigious acquisition for the Society was a new concert hall. The Philharmonic Hall opened in 1849 and was able to accommodate audiences of over two thousand and an orchestra and choir of two hundred and fifty. The Society was managed by local businessmen who were anxious that it should be socially exclusive, reflecting their own social attitudes and ambitions. This was manifestly clear when the Society's rules were published. There were to be four 'Full dress' and six 'un dress' concerts each year. The requirements for dress were just one indicator of the desire for exclusiveness. Even more explicit and intimidating was the notice that appeared in the programmes from time to time.

'The attention of proprietors and those who rent boxes and stalls is drawn to the following regulation, which will be strictly enforced:

No gentleman above twenty-one years of age residing or carrying on business in Liverpool or within ten miles thereof, and not being an officer of the Army or Navy, or Minister of Religion, is admissable to the Boxes or stalls unless he be a proprietor, or member of the family residing in the House of a Proprietor, or have his name upon the List of Gentlemen having the Entree exhibited in the corridor.

Resident Gentlemen who are not Proprietors can acquire the Right of Purchasing Tickets or of making use of Proprietors Tickets during the season on the Payment of an Entrance Fee of 10s. 6d.

N.B. Gentlemen above twenty-one, although members of the family residing in the house of those who simply rent Boxes and Stalls, are only admissable after payment of the Entrance Fee.'

6

The list of 'Gentlemen having Entree' referred to remained displayed in the corridors until the hall was destroyed by fire in 1933. There was even concern at one time that the 'Proprietors' of the boxes might allow socially unacceptable people to have occasional use of their boxes. Quality rather the quantity was clearly the order of the day in Liverpool so far as audiences for the Philharmonic Society's concerts were concerned.

As to the music, in spite of the Society's social pretensions, its programmes were designed to appeal to all tastes. The programme of the opening concert in 1840 was as follows:

I

Overture	(first time in Liverpool)	Kalliwoda
Glee		Bishop
'Fire, fire'		Morley
Round - 'The Sun has been long on Old Mont Blanc'		Bishop
The Music in 'Macbeth'		Matthew Locke
Finale - Chorus, 'Bright Orb'		Bishop

II

Overture, 'La Fiancée (first time in Liverpool)	Auber
'Fair as a Bride' William Tell	Rossini
'Flora gave me Fairest Flowers'	Wilbye
Sextet	Onslow
Trio, Azor and Zemira	Spohr
A Glee and a Chorus	Bishop

7

Whilst not all Philharmonic Societies were as socially ambitious as Liverpool's, the underlying attitudes were often remarkably similar. The new men who had come to the fore through the opportunities presented in the Industrial Age, were not always anxious to share the position which they had achieved.

The ethos of Manchester's Gentlemen's Concerts initially had much in common with the Liverpool Society, that was until Charles Halle took up the appointment as conductor on January 1st 1850. It is an indicator of the esteem which Halle had achieved during his previous season's chamber concerts in Manchester that he was able to impose important conditions before accepting the appointment. These included the right to discharge unsatisfactory orchestral players, appoint new ones and rehearse works until he was satisfied with their standard before including them in a programme. By the time of the Art Treasures Exhibition in 1857, Halle had produced an orchestra which the authorities were proud to present as a contributory attraction. Such was the orchestra's success that Halle decided not to disband the group of players specially gathered for this event but to retain them and promote a series of concerts of his own during the following season. So within a decade of his arrival in Manchester the Halle Concerts became established and were the vision and personal responsibility of one man. He saw, as his potential audience, the numbers and social cross section which he had played to at the Art Treasures Exhibition. He did not subscribe to the social preconceptions of Manchester's leading citizens as to the type of people who should

enjoy orchestral music. In fact, the rigid class consciousness of the English was quite alien to his background. From his first concert, he resolved to have seats at prices that would be within reach of the lower paid. The cost of tickets for his first concert was 2/6 for reserved seats and 1/- for unreserved seats. At this time, the artisan would be earning between 15/- and £2 per week.⁸ The response to Halle's policy amply justified it. It is clear from his autobiography that he valued greatly the letters of appreciation he received from the occupants of the cheaper seats. One of these⁹ was from a workman, after his first experience of a Halle concert in November 1873 and was accompanied by a gift of two yards of fine white flannel. The letter was anonymous being signed only 'an operative'. In their contribution to his autobiography, his son and daughter who completed the work, wrote as follows:

'How many a factory hand or office clerk in the busy towns of Manchester and the North of England may have owed his only knowledge of what was beautiful, to the music he had an opportunity of hearing at my father's weekly concerts during the dreary winter months. It is impossible to believe that some element of refinement has not developed in the large audience of working men who, standing packed together in great discomfort, have yet listened for hours, and evidently with much appreciation, to much intricate and delicate music; or that the taste thus formed in one direction should not have its effect in others, and possibly have coloured their whole lives?'

10

Here again, this is an example of a characteristically nineteenth century assessment of music's value where it was felt necessary for it to be spelt out in terms of personal benefit and 'refinement' of nature.

His programme policy was not that of the promenade concerts, where audiences were weaned onto the classics via a mixture of light popular music, but rather simply to play great music as well as his orchestra could. The programme of his first concert on January 30th 1858 was;

Overture, 'Der Freyschutz'	Weber
Andante in A Flat	Mozart
Concertstück in F Minor	Weber
Symphony No 1 in C	Beethoven
Overture 'La Sirene'	Auber
Ballet des Sylphes, Faust	Berlioz
Selection, 'II Travatore	Verdi
Three Songs without words	Mendelssohn
Overture 'Le Siege de Corinthe'	Rossini

11

The following contemporary press comment shows his concerts were reaching a wide section of society.

'Mr Charles Halle's Manchester concerts are becoming the vogue with all classes, from the rich merchant and manufacturer to the middle-class tradesmen and bourgeois, and from the middle-class tradesmen and bourgeois to the respectable and thrifty, albeit humbler, artisans'

12

Another scheme to provide cheap concerts for Manchester workers was formulated by the Council of the Working Men's Clubs Association. The Conductor appointed by the Council was another continental import into Northern England, a Dutchman, Edward De Jong, who had played as a flautist under both Jullien and Halle. The Musical Times, in an article 'Music for the People' describes De Jong's concert in the following way -- and which concludes with more than a hint of patronage.

'The character of the music is mainly popular and vocal, varied by selections performed by military bands and instrumental solos, while local choral societies lend their aid for the performance of glees, choruses, part-songs and other concerted music. The soloists are generally local professionals, and the bands are those of the garrison. All performers are paid for their services and the pecuniary result is very satisfactory, the net receipts thus far more than covered the expenses of the concerts. It is pleasant to add the experience of the Director ... that 'the behaviour of the audience has always been most orderly; they listen most attentively and their discretion in applause is most wonderful.'

13

These concerts, at which the average attendance was three thousand four hundred and for which the charges ranged from 4d to 1/-

'...proved an immense success, and every night, tax the extraordinary capacities of the Free Trade Hall to their utmost extent. Seldom is there present ... an audience of fewer than four thousand persons, whose appearance and demeanour bear comparison with those of the frequenters of the highest class of concerts.'

14

As well as Halle's concerts and those organised by the Working Men's Clubs Association, there was another initiative to bring music to the ordinary people of Manchester and this has been described by Young as

'One of the most interesting attempts in the late Victorian Era to bring Art into relationship with the facts of industrial life.'

15

This venture arose through the Settlements Movement, which itself was a product of Christian Socialism.

Settlements were communities where those who were aware of their privileges and blessings in life chose to live amongst those who were less fortunate, seeking to understand, share, and where possible, improve their lot.

'The Settlers hoped by their presence both to civilise working-class people and make them Christians.' 16

Ingliss describes such settlements as,

'Gestures from the classes which had the largest share of education and wealth to the classes which had the least.' 17

Their primary aim is identified by Sir John Gorst as being

'... to make friends with the neighbourhood - to become part of its common life; to associate with the people on equal terms, without either patronage on the one hand or subserviency on the other; to share in the joys and sorrows, the occupations and amusements of the people; to bring them to regard the members of the settlement as their friends.' 18

The first steps towards the movement were taken in Oxford where Samuel Barnett read a paper to a group in St John's College in November 1883. It remained a feature of the Movement that many settlements grew from within universities and most were specifically religious in basis. By the end of the period covered by this study, there were forty five such groups.

One of the best known settlements outside London was the one which opened in Ancoats, Manchester in 1895 and was known as the Ancoats Brotherhood. It built on the pioneer work in this district of Charles Rowley, a native of Ancoats and a city councillor from 1875 who was influenced by the conditions of the time and by Christian Socialism. He was as concerned with improvements in the cultural life of the people as he was in such practical matters as sanitation and general living conditions. It was through his initiative that the Ancoats recreation committee organised Sunday afternoon concerts during the winter and open

air choral and band concerts during the summer, as well as arranging flower shows and exhibitions of pictures. Upon this foundation the Brotherhood pursued a programme of intellectual and artistic activities as part of their broad based social policy. The artists who contributed to the musical dimension included Halle and other eminent contemporary musicians such as Nerada, Leonard Borwick, Ludwig Straus and the Brodsky Quartet. The venue for these performances was not a society salon but a worker's cottage at 78 Canning Street, Ancoats, Manchester.



between 1800 and 1825. These wind bands themselves originate from three sources of instrumental music making, viz. the city waits (which were officially ended by the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835), the Church bands and the Military bands. Arguably the most important group was the last. The period of the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars saw the British Army with its bands involved in unprecedented activity at a previously unheard of strength and it is likely that the demobbed soldiery would provide a source of musical talent which could now be exercised in civilian life. A writer in the 'British Bandsman' of 1887 was to sum up this military dimension as follows;

'The social causes for the growth of the wind band during the last century are to be found in the military music and greatly multiplied public recreations.'

21

The multiplication of public recreations more properly belongs to the second half of the nineteenth century but in these early days the transformation of the function of the military or volunteer band to a civilian context was of critical importance.

The military roots of bands, probably account for two of the four distinctive features of these ensembles given by Taylor namely that they were 'civilian, amateur, outdoor and functional'.²² Certainly it is a universal fact of band life that they became involved in civic, political, social and religious activities. In fact it could be said that serving such functional purposes is part of their *raison d'être* and that this often took them out of doors. It is equally likely that they would also be on the move. The tradition of splendid, colourful uniforms in many bands may also be accounted for in their military roots. It might be noted in passing that it requires an additional dimension to normal performing skill for a brass player to play in procession - especially over the cobbled streets of industrial areas as many bandsmen will still testify.

There are numerous references throughout band histories and local reporting to bands performing in this way. They were such a distinctive feature of Northern life and culture that they became an indispensable part of any Northern caricature. One or two examples of this will suffice: The reports of the 1841 election in Rochdale tell of parades

on several evenings prior to polling day, when the supporters of the opposing parties paraded through the streets, each headed by a band which became caught up in the ensuing affray. In a more profoundly serious situation many of the columns of marchers to Peterloo were lead by their own bands and when news of the 'massacre' became known there was a spontaneous outbreak of demonstrations throughout the North and these too were accompanied by martial or mourning music.

One of the occasions during the year when bands were in greatest demand was for the Whit Walks - another distinctive feature of Northern life. Here again bands became caught up in a social phenomenon - in this case a unique mixture of Christian witness, sectarian rivalry and public carnival.

Whether it was major public events such as these or some other civic occasion, or merely the band playing in the park or the village street on a Sunday afternoon, it was through this range of activities that brass bands became an inseparable and indispensable part of the fabric of Northern life and its musical culture. This functional role of the brass band could in part account for the nature of its repertoire of marches and transcriptions - it was what Hindemith was to call 'Gebrauches Musik'.

Brass band music as a genre undoubtedly lacks the richness, history and musical stature of the literature of other ensembles and this has been the major source of criticism directed to it from serious musicians. For, in spite of its immense popularity with players and audiences, the brass band has tended to exist in isolation from the mainstream of music like some freak of a musical subculture.

Reginald Nettel in a speech discussing the influence of the Industrial Revolution on English music begins the section dealing with brass bands as follows:

'The failure of the brass bands to become musically great, in spite of their fine technique, is historically interesting.'

23

He goes on to compare the brass band's early dependence upon hymns and transcriptions of popular pieces of the period such as Spofforth's 'Hail

Smiling Morn' with the way in which the sixteenth century consorts drew upon vocal forms in their repertoire. The parallel is valid only up to a point since the material the seventeenth and eighteenth century consort transcribed was art music and essentially aristocratic, whereas the source of the band repertoire was religious or urban folk music. To develop this comparison further and perhaps more significantly, it does illustrate the force of democracy at work in music and it is interesting to note that in neither case did the ensemble seek material from outside its artistic station.

The sense in which Nettel regards the Brass Band Movement as a musical failure must be in terms of some absolute musical criteria against which the musically uncultivated brass band is found wanting. There is a sense however in which the Brass Band Movement is an overwhelming success. In many social respects and especially in the respect of the democratic movement towards wide participation in music and its mass enjoyment, the brass band made a crucial contribution. Perhaps the price of a musically inferior repertoire was not too much to pay when set against the beneficial value of mass contact with live music. Weighing such issues takes us into deep philosophical waters but from an educational view point it is very relevant. Whatever Nettel's value judgement musically, he does not fail to recognise the social roots and benefits of the Brass Band Movement.

'The brass band supplies a very real need in many industrial areas to this day, because in spite of the wireless, the social functions of the brass band persist.

24

The lack of an extant band literature was only part of the repertoire problem. The social ambience and the important part in the Brass Band Movement played by the contest were equally decisive factors.

As already mentioned, at first the brass bands played arrangements of glees and of movements from popular operas and oratorios together with the marches which like their brightly coloured uniforms reflected their military roots. As the century progressed they became increasingly satisfied to live in a world of their own with their repertoire enlarged by pieces written for bands competing in local or national festivals. It was these events which became the real focus for the effort of many bands.

It was pointed out above that the military bands of the Napoleonic Wars were a training ground for bandsmen of the early ensembles. There is also a further French connection in respect of the contest movement, in that there are strong grounds for believing that these contests, which were to become so vital a part of the Brass Band Movement and Northern musical culture, came in the first place from France. The case for this is made by Mackerness²⁵ whose argument is as follows: Musical contests of one sort or another were as old as music itself, and particularly so far as the North of England was concerned where there was a strong tradition of bell-ringing contests amongs the village musicians. However, so far as bands were concerned, France was ahead of England and it was argued that by following their example, it would encourage standards of performance.

One of the first brass band contests of any historical significance was held at Burton Constable near Hull in 1845. The French connection lies in the person of Lady Chichester who besides being the contest's patron and sister-in-law of Sir Clifford Constable, was familiar with the band festivals in France and believed that such events should be encouraged in Yorkshire. There are two further aspects of the Hull contests that are of importance. Firstly, they introduced a restriction on the number of players in each band to twelve. Secondly that one of the participants was Enderby Jackson who was to become a highly influential figure in the contest movement and have charge of the ambitious Crystal Palace contests which began in 1860.

It is widely recognised that the history and success of the Brass Band Movement is inseparable from the development of the Brass Band contest. Indeed they are so closely linked that one provides the rationale for the other. It was Enderby Jackson who claimed at least by implication to have initiated the great contests which began at Belle Vue, Manchester in 1853, by recognising the spur that rivalry in competitions could be to the working class bandsman striving for higher standards. George Millar by the turn of the century was well aware of the part that competitions had played in the general enthusiasm for the brass band in the North.

'Brass Band contest is the one and only successful rival to the football match in the affection of a certain section of the British public --- its home is an English Bohemia which lies between the Trent and the Tweed.'

In spite of its source, there is an unmistakable hint of disdain for the musically isolated subculture of the Brass Band. Later, Russell and Elliot looking back over the history of the movement concluded that,

'By 1860 the brass band was firmly established in the favour of the English working man. It was the recognised outlet for his musical enthusiasm and it is more than probable that the sporting thrills of contesting added just the necessary spice to tempt the palates of many whose musical ambitions alone were not sufficiently urgent to compel them to partake. The Brass Band Movement as a whole was then and still is inseparable from the competitive assembly.'

27

Clearly the sporting element was undoubtedly a prominent one as can be judged from the occasional outburst of horse play which occurred when a band objected to the judgement against it. By comparison, choral festivals were very staid events.

It is difficult to trace precisely the personalities and sequence of events that gave rise to the Belle Vue contests in Manchester as it is to establish which is the oldest band. Perhaps it is not all that important. What is clear is that the Brass Band Movement was in a state of ferment and small contests occurred spontaneously and apparently independently prior to the first one at Belle Vue. Enderby Jackson who has been referred to in connection with the Burton Constable contest in his native Hull, became an active and influential figure in the band and contest movement from that time. Much of the historical record of this time comes from Jackson's extensive writings which he began in the 1890's, so it must always be borne in mind that this is the view of one closely involved person and many years after the events in question.

The Great Exhibition of 1851 seems to have been influential in a number of ways. Not that band contests were staged as such, but military bands and professional orchestras were in attendance on most days and there were extensive exhibitions of brass instruments made by both English and foreign manufacturers - notably Adolf Sax. In these socially quieter and more settled times since the Reform Bill of 1832, working people were happy to come to the Crystal Palace from all over the country to admire rather than to demonstrate. Their attendance was helped by the system of cheap excursion trains. Inevitably Enderby Jackson was there

and reported meeting two young musicians - Tallis Trimnell from Chesterfield and James Melling from Staley Bridge - and telling them about the progress of amateur bands and particularly the system of prize gifts at Fetes, Fairs etc. in the East Riding. On the basis of this conversation, which presumably Melling is thought to have relayed to John Jennison, the manager and owner of Belle Vue Gardens, Jackson justifies his accusation of Jennison stealing his idea. Certainly Enderby Jackson had no direct participation in the first Belle Vue contest, but this was probably because he was involved in preparation for a Royal visit to Hull at that time. In any case, Jennison had opened the Belle Vue Gardens as early as 1837 and there are records from at least 1850 of his having bands playing there as an attraction. In collaboration with Melling, he also organised a contest for drum and fife bands in 1852 which was a great success, after which he announced that not only would this event be repeated the following year but that,

'He would further organise an advanced tested system of educating higher culture in the loftier spheres of musical art among the working classes of Lancashire and Yorkshire ... through the medium of organised competition for amateur bands.'

28

These events do not indicate that Jennison and Melling were incapable of independently thinking of a major contest without the idea coming from Enderby Jackson. In fact it is probable that both Jennison and Melling deserve more credit for the Belle Vue contest and its immense influence upon the movement than they have hitherto received. They had both been dead for twenty years before Enderby Jackson began his writing.

Enderby Jackson must of course receive due recognition for his great entrepreneurial skill in the Brass Band world. The contest he organised in Hull in July 1856 was immensely successful. He composed a test piece for the event, visited the bands that were to take part, giving advice on performance, purchase of instruments and other details that were to improve and unify standards. He also negotiated with the railway companies for cheap excursion rates along the lines of the Great Exhibition. The advent of railways and the introduction of these cheap excursion rates was a major factor in the growth of the Brass Band Movement - in fact it made it possible. It was a very different situation from the occasion when the Staley Bridge Band trudged across

the Pennines to an early contest in Sheffield in 1818 only to be beaten. Jackson's genius for organisation and publicity were the key to the success of the event. Other features such as the test piece, judges being hidden from view and the massed concert at the end of the day had all been features of the Belle Vue concerts. A unique and attention catching feature was that each band signalled its arrival by marching and playing along the route from the station to the Hull Gardens. An estimated twelve to fourteen thousand people attended to witness the band of the Leeds Railway Foundry under its conductor Richard Smith win the day, with the Black Dyke Mills taking second place. The Leeds band had also won the Belle Vue contest the previous year.

Following this success, Jackson set out to spread brass band contests to other areas. In the next few years competitions were organised in Newcastle, Lincoln, Bristol, Grantham, Birmingham, Liverpool, Doncaster, Sheffield, Boston, Darlington, Norwich and Leeds. Jackson was firmly established as a brass band impresario, and in 1860 planned the first contest at Crystal Palace, a venue which was to remain a great brass band centre until the 1930's. In spite of their success, he abandoned these abruptly after the 1863 contest to pursue an idea of an international meeting of musical workmen, also to take place at Crystal Palace. This came to nothing and he subsequently directed his attention to theatrical and music hall activities. However, in 1868 he organised one last contest in Hull before disappearing from the musical scene until the 1890's when his writings brought him briefly to people's attention again.

Lancashire and Yorkshire however, still the centre of the movement and Jackson himself wrote:

'In a few years almost every village and group of mills in these districts (i.e. Lancashire, Yorkshire east and west of the Pennines) possessed its own band. It mattered not to them how the bands were constituted or what classification of instruments was in use; each man made his own choice and the teacher found music suitably arranged for their proficiency. If these things were cleverly managed music was the result; music was the love and pride of these people and their ever abiding pastime.'

29

Although the size and make up of some of these bands was very much ad hoc there was a gradual move towards what was required for the major contests, and by 1870 an instrumentation very similar to that of the present day became the established norm.

A typical band might be subdivided as follows:

- 1 E-flat soprano cornet
 - 3 B-flat 'solo' (first) cornets
 - 1 B-flat 'ripiano' cornet
 - 2 B-flat second cornets
 - 2 B-flat third cornets
 - 1 B-flat flugelhorn
 - 3 E-flat tenor horns ('solo', first and second)
 - 2 B-flat baritones (first and second)
 - 2 B-flat euphoniums (unison)
 - 2 B-flat tenor trombones (first and second)
 - 1 G bass trombone
 - 1 E-flat bombardons (unison)
 - 2 B-flat bombardons (unison)
- 24

30

The Belle Vue contests have been the natural focus for the Northern bands, although they did suffer a decline in the late 1850's as Jackson organised contests elsewhere. It must be remembered however that for one Jennison at Belle Vue, the Brass Band contests each September were only of the activities he planned to draw visitors to Belle Vue Gardens during the summer months, whereas they were Jackson's total preoccupation.

The Belle Vue contests soon re-established themselves as the premier Brass Band event. The first contest in 1853 had been won by Mossley Temperance Band, one of eight competitors involving some one hundred players. They caused something of a surprise at this time by their use of the Saxhorns which were to become universally popular. The event was a huge success despite certain organisational 'hiccups' - seriously late trains carrying contestants and an unexpectedly large audience estimated at sixteen thousand which exhausted the refreshment stalls before the proceedings were half over! Russell and Elliot bring to life the history of some of these events and capture the atmosphere of enthusiasm as well as that of the community and the commitment of the bandsmen.

One such account concerning the Mossley Band, tells how the Bandsmen

used to get up at four a.m. to practice the test piece before starting work. The euphonium player appointed himself knocker up and rattled the bedroom windows of his colleagues with a clothes prop. There was also a memorable occasion when the drummer acquired a new instrument, and was overcome during the night by a desire to give it a trial.

'Neighbouring cottagers who were aroused from their sleep by the unwanted disturbance were compensated on peeping through their curtains, by the spectacle of a nightshirted bandsman drumming himself up and down the road in the moonlight.'

31

The second contest in '54 had fourteen entrants and was won by the Richard Smith's Leeds Railway Foundry Band. The number of spectators increased to twenty thousand and the Manchester Guardian wrote enthusiastically about the event and the musicians taking part.

'Not professionals, but country bands --- of hard working artisans who found in almost unaided study an intellectual and elevating pursuit during the interval between labour and repose.'

32

It should be noted here the patronising overtones of the remarks so characteristic of the age when self help and virtuous endeavour amidst honest toil were approved character traits. Such worthy social and personal benefits of an activity were never lost sight of; in fact anything that would promote them was actively encouraged. The benefits did not accrue entirely to the performing workers. There were vested interests behind the work ethic and the directing of working energies into 'worthwhile' recreational pursuits. Retaining the status quo of the social order and a diligent and amenable workforce were two important ones. Taylor sees this situation in these terms:

'Many industrialists saw a work's band as a symbol of their own benevolence, a focus of company loyalty and an advertising device all rolled up in one neat package.'

32

Hogarth sees it in the paternalistic light of his time:

'The experience of the present day has shown, and is showing more and more, that even the classes who earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow may find in music a recreation within their reach, full of innocent enjoyment and pregnant with moral and social benefits.'

34

It was the third contest in 1855 that saw the introduction for the first time of a set piece. There were fifteen bands comprising of two hundred and forty performers and at this contest M Louis Antoine Jullien, whose concerts had such a dramatic influence upon the English concert scene, had travelled up from London to be in the audience. This contest also saw the first disqualification - Harden Mills Band from Bingley which had not practised the test piece for the required four months and more importantly contained members of another band.

For the next few years Enderby Jackson dominated the contest scene. During this period of the late 50's the band movement received a boost from the revival of the volunteer movement as a Government contingency in the face of further threats from France. The new Volunteer Corps absorbed and encouraged brass bands, often providing rehearsal rooms, instruments and uniforms. One of the bands to benefit from this situation was the revitalised Bacup Band which was to become one of the most famous bands of the time. Its great rival at this time of expansion in the movement was the Black Dyke Mills band and on its first entry in 1862 it came fourth with Black Dyke as winner. The following year Black Dyke again won but only by a small margin over Bacup whose performance of the test piece was better and both bands were played off in second selection. This band, coming from that hub of musical activity, the Rossendale Valley, achieved great distinction as the fortunes of the Belle Vue contest picked up in the 60's. Its fortunes are fully recorded and offer an insight into the part brass bands played in the life of the community. As the 1864 contest approached, Bacup's supporters were in optimistic mood and Isaac Leach the band's historian records how the town became passionately involved.

'The excitement in the neighbourhood was intense and for days before the contest the fate of the band at Belle Vue was almost the sole topic of conversation. The rehearsals in the yard of Broad Clough Mill on the Sunday before the contest were attended by thousands. On the morning of the contest, special trains were run from Bacup and the Mills had to close.'

35

On the morning of the concert itself over two thousand supporters packed the local excursion trains to become part of a huge crowd at Belle Vue. They saw their own band win, and their rivals Black Dyke, come fifth.

The band was successful again in 1865 and Leach reports even greater numbers of supporters whose enthusiasm as they returned from the contest, walking through the streets to the railway station at midnight - 'could not have been surpassed if they had been a victorious army returning from the wars'.³⁶ As the 1866 contest approached the possibility of a hat trick caused near hysteria in Rossendale. It is reported that between 9.30 a.m. and 11.00 a.m. on the contest day, three thousand people left the Valley for Belle Vue on the special excursion trains and that, according to Taylor

'There was no one left in Bacup except a few old women to keep the fires in.'

37

The contest went on late into the evening but success was not theirs. The day belonged to Dewsbury, a band which had come second at Belle Vue on a number of occasions. Bacup Band achieved consecutive wins again in '69 and '70 but as in '66, failed to complete the hat trick.

The band had a short but brilliant life. It won thirty three first prizes in forty three successive contests, thirteen of which were in unbroken succession. It is this sort of achievement that accounts for the belief of the Rossendale people that Bacup Band was the greatest band ever.

Another indicator of its remarkable skill has come to us as a result of a request made to the Band's inspirational tutor/arranger George Ellis (who also had connections with the Accrington Band) to allow other bands to use their popular song arrangements. He was unable to help because they were not written down but were 'made up' as they went along. They also apparently employed this technique at Christmas time. This remarkable ability to listen to each other and improvise harmonies, must have been one of the secrets of their success. It also provides a striking instrumental parallel to the choral skill of the Larks of Dean.

More recently there is evidence of the same instrumental skill. Blackburn Salvation Army Band during the 1920's was possessed of a remarkable euphonium player whose skill in busking a quasi obligato part was such that the then Cathedral organist, Dr Herman Brearly, frequently used to ask one of the choir men (the writer's father-in-law) to play

the final hymn so that he could go and join the band's Sunday morning procession. The good Doctor was regularly to be seen walking alongside the band through the streets of the town delighting in the flights of fancy of this naturally gifted amateur player.

The following passage from Aspin indicates the happy link with the sudden waning of the Bacup Band after its short but brilliant life and the newly emerging star Band of Irwell Springs which also was to engage John Lord, Bacup's erstwhile conductor.

'Amongst the supporters at the 1864 contest were six enthusiasts from Weir, who decided on the way home that they would form a band in the village. The result was the celebrated Irwell Springs Band, which held its first practice in a bedroom with a bedstead serving as a bandstand. The spirit of the pioneers may be judged from the laconic entry that was made in the minute book when players were being recruited:

Name: L Hey
Choice of Instrument: Aught

Not to be outdone by their neighbours at Weir, a group of working men in the village of Goodshawfold collected enough money to buy some old instruments, which were put in working order by a local tinsmith. The men practiced for some months in a cellar and at length decided they were competent enough to march through the streets. Every inhabitant turned out to discover what the funny noise was (one of the players recalled later) and when they found it was the band there was such jubilation as never occurred in the fold before. Home-brewed ale was brought out and this seemed to put courage into the bandsmen. A few weeks later, the band went on Hameldon Moor for the next attempt to play a march. All the fold residents went with them. On striking up, horses, cattle, sheep and wild animals flew in terror. I never could tell which made the most noise - the band or the animals. From inauspicious beginnings such as this scores of Lancashire bands became town and village institutions and many attained a standard of proficiency that was outstandingly high.'

38

The contests of the 1850's and 60's were dominated by those organised by Enderby Jackson and those at Belle Vue. It must be remembered however that there were hundreds of lesser contests put together on a less spectacular basis and featuring less well-known bands. These were a testimony to the enthusiasm, dedication and enjoyment from music of thousands of brass band musicians.

In 1895, the year of Richardson's second issue of 'Brass Band Annual' there are definite records of two hundred and twenty two contests in Britain. This was in no way exceptional and may be taken as representative of the period. In that Journal Richardson also observed that bands were flourishing as never before and attributed much of the progress of the last two decades to the incentive of contests.

'Without doubt the main factor in this all round advancement is the contesting movement. Contesting has literally revolutionised the whole world of brass music, and its beneficial influence has more or less affected every brass band in the country. Bands everywhere are awaking and striving to improve their position; the introduction of contests has imbued them with a commendable desire to press to the front; and as a result we have better instruments, better music, better teachers, better officials and better bandsmen.'

39

There is no doubt that 'Banding' was a widespread and consuming interest of Northern working men though the extent is difficult to establish in terms of exact numbers. Enderby Jackson's reference in his writings towards the end of the century, to there being a band in almost every village and groups of mills in the Lancashire and Yorkshire Pennines gives some indication of the possible numbers. Dunstan's Cyclopedic Dictionary⁴⁰ estimates that there were between four and five thousand bands in Lancashire and Yorkshire at the turn of the century. The largest number to be suggested came from the 'Amateur Band Teachers' Guide and Bandsman's Advertiser' of 1889 where it is stated that

'There are at present forty thousand amateur bands in the UK and they are rapidly increasing.'

41

The Guide also indicates an average membership of fourteen. Even allowing for the fact that this covers the golden age between 1860 and 1900 it hardly seems a credible number. Taylor⁴² projects a more likely figure of five thousand based upon reasonable inferences drawn from Richardson's Brass Band Annual and Bandsmen's Companion, which recorded the contest results in what it claimed was an average season. If this figure is taken, which is in line with Dunstan's, and multiplied by Dunstan's average membership it would give as a probable number of brass players something in excess of seventy thousand.

Obviously the standards of the bands and the individual players would vary considerably but it is reasonable to assume at least an acceptable level of competence as the norm. The relative ease and speed with which proficiency could be attained on brass band instruments coupled with their enthusiasm and the competitive ethos ensured a generally creditable standard of playing. The technical virtuosity of the best band players is widely recognised and still the envy of many orchestral brass players. The very nature of the brass ensemble lent itself to attaining a good level of skill in a fairly short time which for workers with hard manual jobs and long working hours would have been impossible with other instruments. Of crucial importance of course were the developments which took place in the manufacture of brass instruments. In particular the introduction of valves made it possible on the cornet-a-pistons for example, for a moderately persistent player to master a melodic line without the years of application called for by the more delicate woodwind instruments. The great advantage of valves which applied to most instruments was that it took a great deal of the strain from the lips and throat and gave control to the the fingers. The refinement of instruments continued and those of Adolph Sax became particularly popular on account of their free and full power, good intonation and especially for their ease in blowing and simple fingering.

The popularity of Sax's instruments in England is to a large extent the result of them being adopted enthusiastically by the Distin family - a group of touring English musicians who happened to meet Sax in Paris and at once recognised the superiority of the Sax's horn in terms of tone, tuning and articulation to the Cornopeans and Cornet-a-pistons which had gone before. They promptly re-equipped themselves with a family of Sax's horns of different sizes and pitches including tenor and bass. They never looked back and their new instruments were acclaimed wherever they went. There is no doubt that the introduction of Sax's horns as a closely related family of valved instruments was crucial to the development of brass bands in this country. The modern Brass Band consists of instruments of the Sax horn type, ranging from alto to contra bass with cornets and trombones added.

The method of notation and scoring was a further factor which promoted easy learning and versatility. A uniform system of fingering was used

that was applicable to all instruments and parts were always written in the treble clef. It was therefore the size of the instrument and the key in which the part was written that provided the pitch and transposition required.

It was largely from within the bands themselves that players learnt to read and play as well as from local private teachers. Some Mechanics' Institutes encouraged the formation of bands but as yet instrumental tuition formed no part of the education system. In view of this the achievements are all the more remarkable, resulting as they did from individual initiative. The choral scene was different. Here the formation of choirs was greatly helped by the singing classes and tonic-solfa system which were part of elementary education. There was therefore a correspondingly greater participation by the mass of the people in this natural and accessible form of music-making which like the Temperance and Works' Bands also had a religious and social underpinning. What is significant is that they each flourished on a common territory where industrial workers had a thirst for self help, moral and material improvement, as well as enjoyment in a communal artistic activity.

III

Musical gatherings called Festivals have taken place over a long period. Two of the oldest in England are the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy (dating from 1655) and the Three Choirs Festival (dating from 1724) both of which were founded for charitable purposes. Festivals held for the purpose of musical competition, are even older and notable examples include the Welsh Eisteddfod beginning in the seventh century and the famous contests of the German Minnesingers of the thirteenth century.

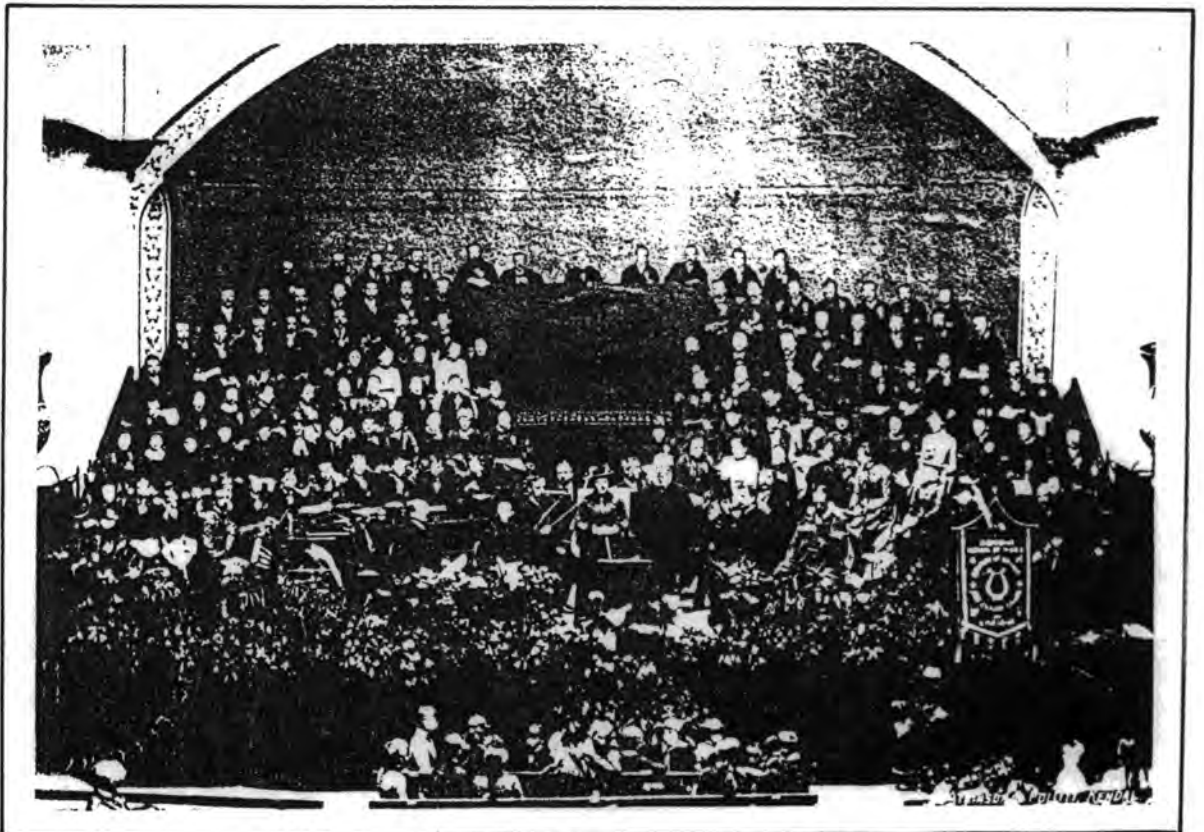
The type of festival which concerns this chapter is however a distinctly late nineteenth century phenomenon and became particularly prevalent in the North of England.

The Kendal Festival of 1885 organised by Mary Wakefield is generally regarded as marking the beginning of the Competitive Festival Movement in England. It was to grow in scale and importance to become nothing less than a national institution. Mary Wakefield never claimed to be the originator of this type of event, indeed they were to some extent anticipated by events in Workington in 1872 and by Curwen's Festival in Stratford, Essex in 1882. Nonetheless, it was from the work of Mary Wakefield - performing musician, lecturer, and tireless promoter of music for the people and her Kendal Festival, that the philosophy, example and main impetus for the Competitive Festival Movement sprang. Predictably there are variations in size and scope of individual festivals, but there is one fundamental difference which should be noted. Some events were solely concerned with the various competitive classes whilst others saw these as a means to an end. So far as the choral classes were concerned, the festival would culminate in a combined concert usually involving a major work which each of the competitors would have worked at prior to coming together at the festival. It was this approach that Mary Wakefield favoured and promoted at Kendal, believing as she did in the wider educational role of competitive festivals.

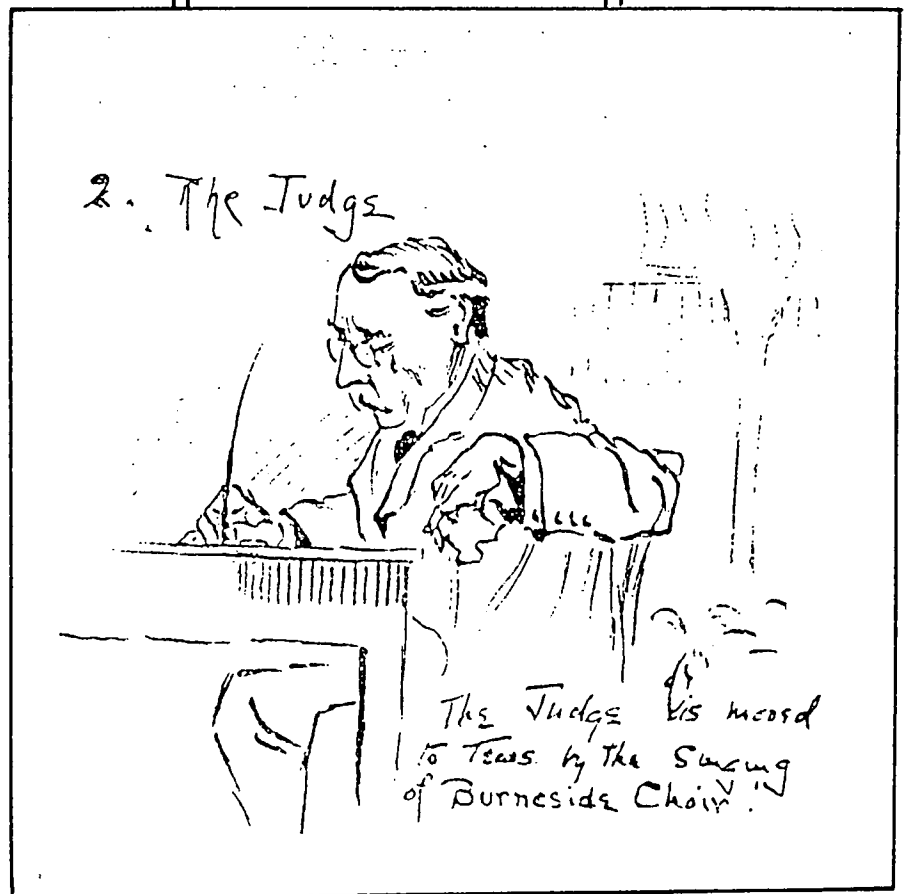
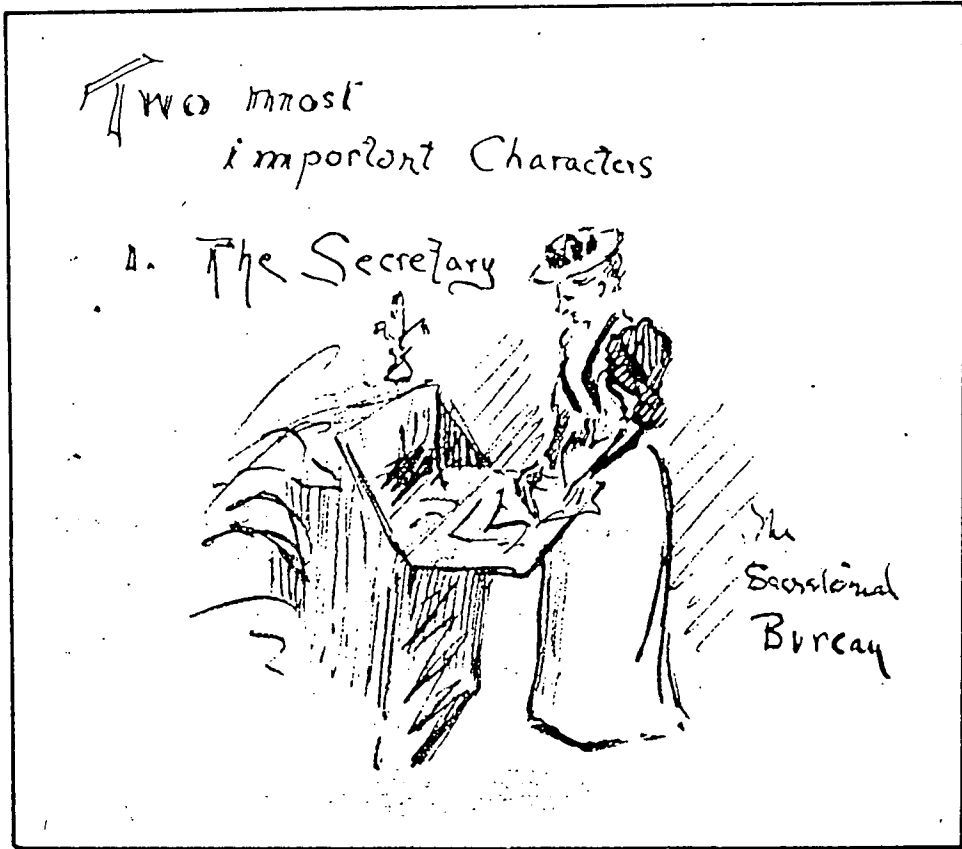
Because of Mary Wakefield's influence upon the movement and the stress she laid upon its educational value, it is necessary to appreciate the beliefs that shaped her philosophy and its practical application through festivals.



Mary Waterfield



Kendal Festival 1887



THE

Junior Choirs



A New and most attractive feature
of the Programme —
the String Quartettes



A pair of
Prize Winners
Windermus B



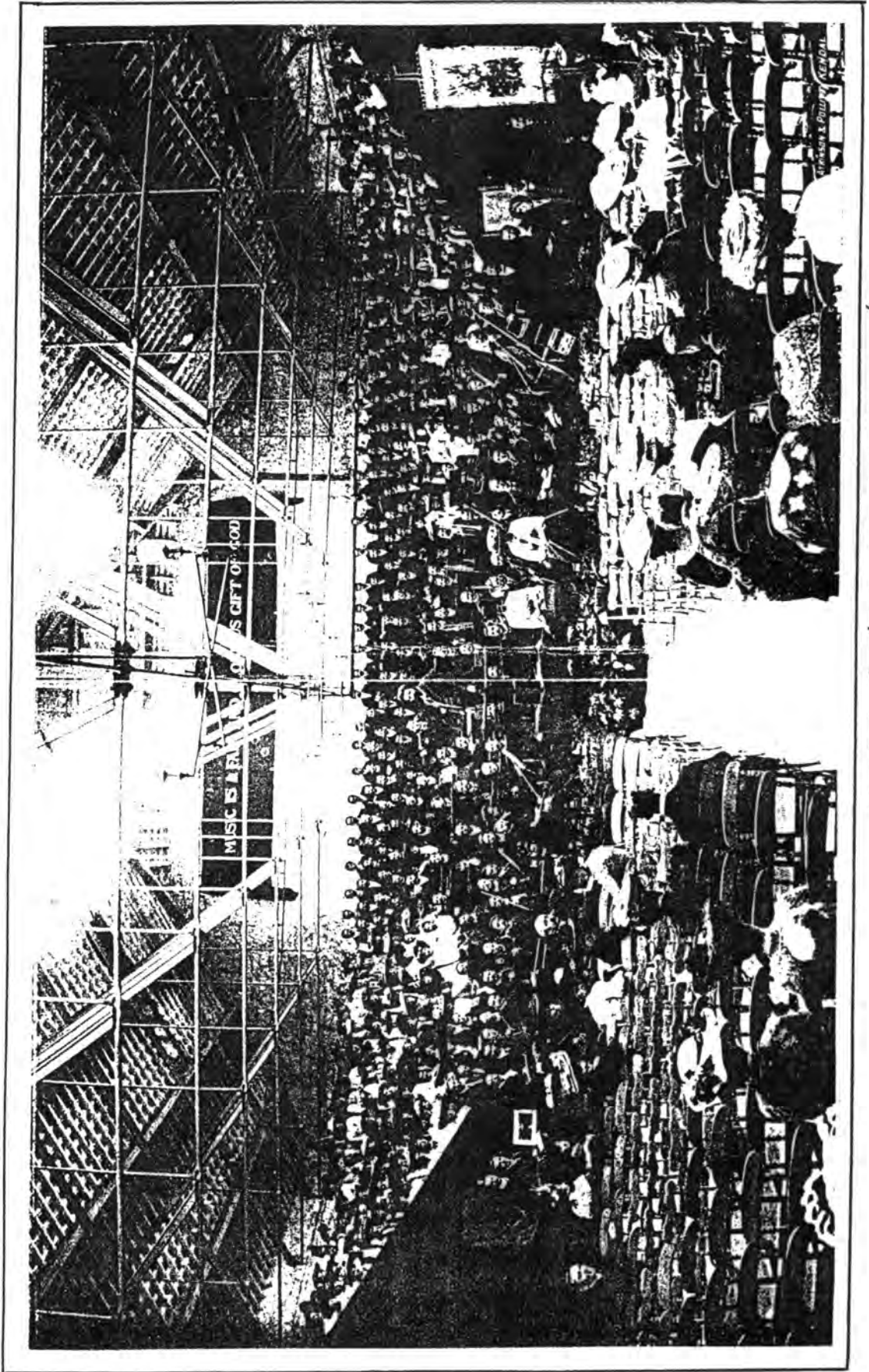
1901.

CANTATA	...	...	" THE DEATH OF MINNEHAHA "	...	...	Coleridge-Taylor
CANTATA	...	...	" HIAWATHA'S DEPARTURE "	...	...	Coleridge-Taylor
CANTATA (Children)	...	...	" THE WAITS OF BREMEN "	...	...	Luard Selby
CHORUS	...	...	" Be not afraid "	...	...	Mendelssohn
PART SONG	...	...	" The Miller's Wooing "	...	...	Eaton Fanning
PART SONG	...	...	" Evening "	...	...	Sullivan
PART SONG	...	...	" Ye Mariners of England "	...	...	H. Pierson
TREBLE VOICES, 2 parts	...	...	" The Old Green Lane " (c)	...	...	G. Rathbone
TREBLE VOICES, 2 parts	...	...	" To Victory "	...	...	Barwell
MALE VOICES, 4 parts	...	...	" The Lotus Flower " (c)	...	...	Schumann
PART SONG, 4 parts	...	...	" Persevere " (c)	...	...	Goetz
PART SONG, 4 parts	...	...	" There Rolls the Deep " (c)	...	...	Parry
PART SONG, 6 parts	...	...	" Serenade "	...	...	Brahms
PART SONG, 4 parts	...	...	" Come pretty Wag " (c)	...	...	Parry
MADRIGAL	...	...	" In Pride of May " (c)	...	...	Weelkes
VILLAGE ORCHESTRA	...	...	Military Symphony (1st and 2nd movement)	...	...	Haydn

1902.

CANTATA	...	...	" SLEEPERS WAKE "	...	...	Bach
CANTATA	...	...	" SONG OF DESTINY "	...	...	Brahms
CANTATA	...	...	" LORD ULLIN'S DAUGHTER "	...	...	Hamish McCunn
CANTATA	...	...	" ELEGY "	...	...	Arthur Somervell
CANTATA (Children)	...	...	" VILLAGE SCENES "	...	...	F. H. Cowen
TREBLE VOICES, 2 parts	...	...	" The Coming of May " (c)	...	...	Ethel M. Boyce
TREBLE VOICES, 2 parts	...	...	" The Arethusa " (c)	...	...	Schumann
VOCAL QUARTETTE	...	...	" Summer Time " (c)	...	...	Walford Davies
MALE VOICE QUARTETTE	...	...	" Hymn before Action " (c)	...	...	Reinecke
FEMALE VOICE CHOIR	...	...	" The Dreaming Lake " (c)	...	...	Needham
PART SONG	...	...	" How dear to me the hour "	...	...	Dvorak
PART SONG	...	...	" Slavonic Cradle Song "	...	...	Nicholson
MADRIGAL	...	...	" Phillida Flouts me " (c)	...	...	Handel
BRASS BAND	...	...	March from " Scipio "	...	...	Mozart
VILLAGE ORCHESTRA	...	...	Overture to " Idomeneo "	...	...	Mozart

Kendal Festival Programmes.



Kendal Festival 1905 (Sir Henry Wood conducting)

To think of Mary Wakefield simply in terms of a pioneer in the Competitive Festival Movement is perhaps to underestimate her breadth of vision and missionary zeal in the cause of music education. Of music's wide ranging appeal and social value, she had no doubt.

'The rapid spread of the movement only shows what numbers of people there are willing to give time and money to a musical effort of this sort; a democratic musical movement I call it. It is for everyone: that is its strength, and that is why it has prospered.'

43

It is not surprising therefore that the objective should be so positive and stated so uncompromisingly, namely, to 'create the love and in and consequence, the demand for the greatest music by the greatest number.'⁴⁴

She was equally adamant that the target group, 'the great general public', must represent a wide section of society. Music as a social force and agent of democracy has already been discussed in other chapters, but she makes this point quite explicitly.

'The Festivals have formed a great social platform on which everyone, irrespective of religion, politics, class or education can meet freely, with a common cause, and a common ideal and interest. This is really a very great position, to which few abstract pursuits attain. Politics, and alas, religion (or rather religious questions), class and education are often, all of them, separators; music as practiced in this scheme makes for union; politics have no place in it; religious differences can be sunk; in many of our districts, church and chapel members work together to make one Choral whole as good as it can be. Everyone connected with a district can, and should, have his or her place in connection with this movement.'

45

Everything else was a consequence of this conviction and a means to its realisation.

Mary Wakefield was not just an idealist, but a realist with drive, imagination and the tactical skill to make her vision a reality. She recognised that the first essential was to seize the people's will and create a desire to participate and learn. It was here she believed, that the competitive element was a powerful stimulus, a means of overcoming natural inertia and reluctance which would lead to the desired end.

'These public trials of excellence, in whatever line are a very old and tested method of procuring and deciding a standard and of placing respective values. Undoubtedly the sound of instruction with competition at the end of it is an inducement to work, and rouses a certain pleasant fighting stimulus; it is a specially English inborn quality to love trials of strength, whether it be of muscles or of vocal chords. For, to begin with, one must have a stimulus. Let it not for an instance be imagined that people want to learn at the commencement. They don't. To create this desire is the first and most difficult part of the whole matter. Once the desire is created, difficulties fly like chaff before the wind. Here then, the (at first sight) catchpenny idea of competition is of value. Here is a recognised outside element brought to bear upon my imaginary unwilling learners who would much rather at first be left to sing nigger songs in unison than learn chorus from a Bach Cantata.'

46

Having engaged the attention and enthusiasm of participants through competition, it was also an activity which she believed to be the most effective approach to an individual study of music and the only way to a proper appreciation of it.

'You may plant your bands in parks, you may double your people's concerts - greatly do I admire all such endeavours - but I do not believe that these undertakings will in many years create the understanding interest in music that one winter's individual study of it will produce.'

47

Mary Wakefield's strategy for implementing her beliefs and ideas was quite definite and she was ready to advise others to follow her example. In 1907 when she published 'The Aims and Objectives of Musical Competition Festivals and How to Form Them', there were already thirty six other Festivals established along the lines of Kendal. Although this movement has had a considerable influence in the wider field of music education it needs to be stressed that it could not be as all embracing as perhaps her reference to it as a 'system of music teaching' seems to imply. It was, so far as her great general public was concerned, in fact an approach based upon the well established and universally accessible means of choral singing. What it did was to generate and stimulate choral activity, impose a programme of work and provide a focus for disciplined, structured technical development. This was in many ways a secular and institutionalised parallel to what had for a long time, been occurring spontaneously and unsystematically from

a religious base of which we have seen ample evidence from Millington and others.

The development of instrumental skills was outside its scope. Instrumental classes were included in the competitions, though not surprisingly these were outnumbered by the various vocal classes. This emphasis was to shift gradually and other forms like speech and drama also became included.

One of the most valuable and distinctive facets of Mary Wakefield's Festival plan was the non-competitive combined performance which provided the culmination and focus of the whole event. This was valuable in a number of ways. It enabled choirs which alone were incapable of performing a major work to do so in combination with others, and the preparatory work on the piece was to receive a major share of competitor's attention in the period prior to the festival. This would extend the scope of performance. She herself favoured the idea of competing choirs being required, as part of the competition, to perform a section of the work for combined performance which would not be specified beforehand, but selected by the adjudicator on the day.

Although these combined choral performances were not universally adopted, there was usually, in these cases, a concluding concert in which the winners of the respective classes performed.

Such was the growing popularity of Music Festivals, that in 1905 Mary Wakefield was instrumental in founding an 'Association of Competition Festivals' which in 1921 became the 'British Federation of Music Festivals'. As well as being an advisory body, the Federation nominates suitable adjudicators and has considerably raised the standard of music.

In addition to any altruistic motives which festival promoters might have or their belief in the beneficial role that festivals could play in the musical development of the participants, there were practical and social benefits which were also important. In an age where 'getting on' was part of the life ethic and a strong social force, music could provide an avenue for this in terms of accomplishment and attendant status if this was not available through material prosperity. It was

also practically useful in an age of live music and might also be lucrative. Festival success for a singer brought them to the attention of conductor, concert organiser, and could provide entree to the oratorio circuit - a big market which flourished at several levels. Festival success and the recognition of talent by an adjudicator has been the beginning of many outstanding musical careers. The singing career of Blackburn's Kathleen Ferrier resulted from a chance entry in a Festival singing class from someone who believed herself to be a pianist!

By the turn of the century the movement had gathered such momentum that festivals varying in size and prestige were organised throughout the region. Some were provincial and somewhat homespun in character, whilst others even in their early days had their pretensions. The double edged competitiveness of festivals is interesting since not only did they provide an opportunity for competitive music-making amongst performers, but the events themselves vied with one another for size and status in the festival market. There was an understood if unspecified pecking order of festivals through which organisers tried to advance, and by which performers could measure themselves and their progress as they climbed the competitive festival ladder.

Whatever the believed educational basis and value for music festivals, and the competitive ethos which encouraged their growth, they do have an additional importance to the student of musical social history in that they afford a number of valuable and recorded insights into many aspects of contemporary musical activity. For example, contemporary programmes and reports provide pointers as to the current orthodoxy in terms of repertoire, the levels and standards of technical attainment; aesthetic norms - especially in respect of song texts; the relative popularity of particular instruments; the general dominance of singing in its various forms; the extent to which it continued to have a religious foundation; the extent of popularity (through numbers of participants) and scale of influence (through distances over which competitors travelled) of particular festivals, and the possible regional variation on all these points which comparison might reveal.

Each of these factors will be examined briefly in an analysis of two festival programmes of differing size and from different parts of the

region. Examination of samples of other Festivals show that the observations made in respect of the two quoted programmes may be taken as generally representative of the early days of Music Festivals.

The Colne Musical Competition was founded in 1900 and when its third Annual Festival took place on two consecutive Saturdays in December 1902, it was still quite a modest event. There were six classes as follows:

Contralto Solo (12)	Children's Choirs (4)
Violin Solo (5)	Male Voice Choirs (7)
Tenor Solo (13)	Mixed Voice (6)

Immediately noticeable is the fact that five out of the six classes are for some form of singing, the solo voice classes being the most popular. In two of the choral classes most of the choirs had a church basis or connection and this also applied to two choirs in the Male Voice section. It is noteworthy that the only instrumental class was for violin (not piano) solo. This perhaps reflects the popularity of the instrument - an impression borne out by a comment made by Mary Wakefield in interview, when referring to her own musical background.

'I was nine years old when I developed a desire to learn the violin; this was (I regret to say!) years before every other child was bound to learn the violin, as is almost the case nowadays.'

48

The selection of music is interesting. Like any age, it shows a preoccupation with the works of generally contemporary and fashionable composers. Eight out of the twelve are by foreign composers which reflects the nationally self-effacing vogue for foreign musical imports. Only one work - Thomas Bateson's madrigal, 'Two Cupids', comes from a period before the nineteenth century. There is a notable absence of mainstream repertoire of the great masters and also no evidence yet of the works of the first generation of composers of the late nineteenth century English Renaissance.

Although objective judgements about music's quality are difficult, it is doubtful whether the stature of these works would measure up to the contemporary repertoire of later Festivals - works by Ireland, Vaughan^a Williams, and Howells et alia.



Colne Musical Competition.

THIRD ANNUAL



MUSICAL 
FESTIVAL

MUNICIPAL HALL, COLNE.



Saturdays, Dec. 6th & 13th,
1902.



J. DUCKWORTH, COLNE.

Programme, Saturday, December 6th.

ADJUDICATORS.—Vocalists, H. H. PICKARD, Esq. (Conductor of the Armley and District Choral Society), Leeds.

Violinists, JOHN NICHOLLS, Esq. (Sir Chas. Halle's Orchestra) Manchester.

Accompanist, MR. TOM TAYLOR, L.R.A.M., A.T.C.L., Burnley.

CONTRALTO SOLO.

First Prize, £1 10s., and Silver Medal.

Second Prize, £1.

Order of Singing	COMPETITORS	Order of Singing	COMPETITORS
1	MISS E. PETTY, Colne	7	MISS E. HORNE, Silsden
2	MISS C. BIBBY, Barrowford	8	MISS S. H. HUDSON, Colne
3	MISS S. COWGILL, Earby	9	MISS M. GRAVE, Barrowford
4	MISS C. HOYLE, Barnoldswick	10	MISS E. CHADWICK, Brierfield
5	MISS E. BARKER, Glusburn	11	MISS FOULDS, Earby
6	MISS F. SMITH, Barrowford	12	MISS M. YOXALL, Brierfield

Afternoon Test Piece.

"Sunshine and Rain" *Blumenthal*

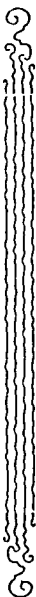
The rain is on the river, but the sun is on the hill;
 And I know the clouds will sever, when the storm has had
 its will;
 Set your heart then, on the morrow, if the sky be grey
 to-day,
 For the darkest of your sorrow be ye sure will pass away.
 Lift your eyes to yon Day-giver, look up higher, hoping
 still;
 Tho' the rain is on the river, yet the sun is on the hill.

'Tis the winter's white snow shower that defends the
 shiv'ring root;

'Tis the falling of the flower that gives birth unto the fruit,
 Then arise from helpless moping, nor repine at each annoy,
 There is room for wider hoping if your days are void of
 joy.

Time is kind and will deliver all your days from every ill:
 Tho' the rain is on the river, yet the sun is on the hill.

F. WYVILLE HOME.



Evening Test Piece.

"Who'll buy my Lavender" *German*

Ladies fair, I bring to you
 Lavender with spikes of blue;
 Sweeter plant was never found
 Growing on our English ground.

Who'll buy my lavender,
 Sweet, blooming lavender?
 Who'll buy my lavender,
 Sweet, sweet lavender?

Lavender shall turn your rooms
 Into gardens full of blooms:
 You shall almost hear the bees
 Humming drowsy melodies.

Who'll buy my lavender? etc.

Velvet gown and dainty fur
 Should be laid in lavender,
 For its sweetness drives away
 Fretting moths of silver-grey.

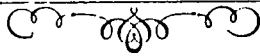
Who'll buy my lavender? etc.

Ladies fair, I pray that ye
 Like the lavender may be,
 And your fauce, when you are gone,
 Still in sweetness linger on.

Who'll buy my lavender? etc.

CARYL BATTERSBY.

CHILDREN'S CHOIRS.



First Prize, £2, and Silver Mounted Baton to Conductor. Second Prize, £1.

Order of Singing	COMPETITORS	Conductor	No. of Voices
1	PARK BOARD SCHOOL, COLNE	Mr. G. Hardacre	... 30
2	BRIERFIELD WESLEYAN DAY SCHOOL	Mr. E. E. Folley	... 30
3	NELSON ST. JOHN'S CHILDREN'S CHOIR	Mr. T. Wilkinson	... 28
4	BARROWFORD ST. THOMAS'S JUNIOR CHOIR	Mr. H. Howarth	... 30

Afternoon Test Piece.

“The Undertone of the Bells” *Rogers*

Boom !
 Now borne on the breeze of the morning,
 A glad wild music swells,
 From high in the ancient belfry,
 Are pealing the sweet May bells.
 And yet of their tuneful voices,
 I hear not the joy alone,
 For a sound as of chasten'd sorrow
 Is heard in their undertone.

Clang !
 A-far o'er the spring-green meadows,
 Their joyous greeting floats,
 It fills all the new-leaved woodlands,
 And blends with the song-birds' notes.
 But ever amid their gladness,
 That voice subdued sings on,
 Like a strange and lingering echo
 Of the May-days past and gone.

How oft when the heart rejoices,
 And sounds of mirth are high,
 'Mid all our joy there mingles,
 A thought of the days gone by.
 And thus the old bells remind us,
 Throughout their harmonious play,
 Of voices now hushed in silence,
 That greeted a by-gone May.

S. WENSLEY.

Evening Test Piece.

“Huntsman's Chorus” *Weber*

The joy of the hunter on earth all surpasses,
 The fountain of pleasure for him doth abound,
 Thro' wood and thro' flood, where the stag flits
 and passes,
 He flies in pursuit while the horns gaily sound.

Oh this is a pleasure that princes might envy,
 For health and for manhood the chief of delights,
 'Mid echoes replying, When daylight is dying,
 To rest and enjoyment our labour invites.
 Then on, follow on, follow on, follow on, follow
 on, follow on, follow, la la la la la la la, on,
 Follow on, follow, la la la la la la la, on, follow
 on, on, follow on, on, follow, follow on.

Diana by night doth illumine her bower,
 Where oft we are sheltered from day's angry
 glare,
 We know in what caverns the wolf flies to cower,
 We follow the boar to his dark wooded lair.

Oh this is a pleasure, etc.

“Der Freischutz.”



VIOLIN COMPETITION.



First Prize, £1 10s., and Silver Medal.

Second Prize, £1.

TEST PIECES:—

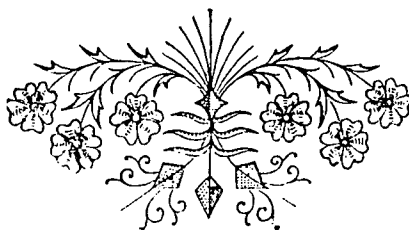
Afternoon: "Romance in G" Op. 26 Svendsen

Evening: "Saltarella" (Souvenir de Sorrento) Papini

Order of Playing.

COMPETITORS.

1	...	...	...	...	MR. A. LLOYD, Keighley
2	...	...	...	...	MISS CLARA FARRIMOND, Wigan
3	...	...	...	...	MISS FANNY WILKINSON, Skipton
4	...	...	...	...	MISS EDITH A. AYRTON, Keighley
5	...	...	...	...	MISS SYLVIA HARTLEY, Burnley



MALE VOICE CHOIRS.



First Prize, £5 and Silver Medal to Conductor.

Second Prize, £3.

Third Prize, £1 10s.

Order of Singing	COMPETITORS	Names of Conductors	No. of Voices
1	LANESHAWBRIDGE GLEE UNION	Mr. H. Riley	25
2	BARROWFORD GLEE UNION	Mr. H. W. Howarth	25
3	NELSON CARR RD. WESLEYAN GLEE UNION	Mr. R. Nutter	25
4	NELSON ORPHEUS	Mr. C. H. Bateson	25
5	BRIERFIELD ARION GLEE UNION	Mr. S. Sutcliffe	22
6	BLACKBURN MALE VOICE CHOIR	Mr. G. Bateson	—
7	NELSON ST. JOHN'S GLEE UNION	Mr. T. Wilkinson	25

Afternoon Test Piece.

“To Phoebe” *Bridge*

“Gentle, modest, little flower,
Sweet epitome of May,
Love me but for half-an-hour,
Love me, love me little fay.”

Sentences so fiercely flaming
In your tiny shell-like ear :
I should always be exclaiming—
If I loved you, Phoebe dear !

“Smiles that thrill from any distance,
Shed upon me while I sing !
Please ecstaticise existence ;
Love me, oh, thou fairy thing !”

Words like these, outpouring sadly,
You'd perpetually hear,
If I loved you, fondly, madly ;—
But I do not, Phoebe dear !

W. S. GILBERT.

Evening Test Piece.

“Music, All Powerful” *Walmisley*

Music, all powerful o'er the human mind !
Can still each mental storm, each tumult calm ;
Soothe anxious care on sleepless couch reclin'd,
And e'en fierce anger's furious rage disarm.

At her command, the various passions lie,
She stirs to battle, or she lulls to peace,
Melts the charm'd soul to thrilling ecstasy,
And bids the jarring world's harsh clangour cease.

Soft thro' the dell the dying strains retire,
Then laurst majestic, in the varied swell,
Now breathe melodious as the Grecian lyre,
Or on the ear in sinking cadence dwell.

Oh ! surely Harmony from Heav'n was sent,
To cheer the soul when tir'd with human strife ;
To soothe the wayward heart by sorrow rent,
And soften down the rugged road of life.

H. K. WHITE.

NOTE.—It is particularly desired that the audience will withhold their applause at the conclusion of each piece, until the chord has been struck on the piano.

Programme, Saturday, December 13th.

ADJUDICATOR H. H. PICKARD, ESQ.

TENOR SOLO.

First Prize, £1 10s. and Silver Medal.

Second Prize, £1.

Order of Singing	COMPETITORS
1	MR. J. DUCKWORTH, Nelson
2	MR. J. E. WALMSLEY, Padigham
3	MR. J. BLACKBURN, Nelson
4	MR. F. BRADLEY, Nelson
5	MR. J. W. BARTON, Colne
6	MR. R. WALLBANK, Nelson
7	MR. W. JACKSON, Preston

Order of Singing	COMPETITORS
8	MR. F. G. WHEATLEY, Baildon
9	MR. T. HURLEY, Burnley
10	MR. S. TRAVIS, Colne
11	MR. S. KIRK, Blackburn
12	MR. S. LAYCOCK, Bingley
13	MR. J. W. MIDGLEY, Nelson

Afternoon Test Piece.

"The Last Watch" *Pinsuti*

Watch with me, love, to-night !
This is the last, last time we meet,
For I must leave thee, O my sweet,
Our fate is fix'd, our dream is o'er,
Our ways lie parted evermore !
The fault was mine, be mine the pain !
To never see thy face again,
To watch by wood, and wold, and shore,
We two together never more !

Dear love, those days were bright,
But we have lost their light ;
But, O beloved, watch with me—
Watch with me here to-night !

Watch with me, love, to-night !
My heart is torn, my brain is fire,
Thou art my life, my sole desire,
My queen, my crown, my prize, my goal,
Heart of my heart, sun of my soul.
Farewell ! farewell ! it must be so,
But kiss me once before I go,
Only this once, dear love ! Good-bye,
But I shall love thee till I die.

Dear heart, those days were bright !
But we have lost their light,
But, O beloved, watch with me—
Watch with me here to-night.

F. E. WEATHERLY.

Evening Test Piece.

"Lend Me Your Aid" *Gounod*

How frail and weak a thing is man ! How poor
this work of ours ! Hideous and vain it standeth,
A dwelling for luxury ! A temple fit for pride !
Hardly worthy of man ! All nobleness a-wanting !
This they call building for all eternity ! Sons of
Tubal Cain, O strong and noble race, benefactors
of man ! High and God-like minds ! In your
path thro' the world ye left a track of greatness ;
Libanus beareth witness in vast noble ruins. Where
far the sand heaps high the desert plain, Even
there rise the wondrous forms ye have made, From
out the past in solemn grandeur ! Ah ! before
your awful pow'r I bow the head.

Lend me your aid, Oh race divine,
Fathers of old to whom I've pray'd ;
Spirits of pow'r, be your help mine,
Lend me your aid.
Fathers of old, to whom I've pray'd,
O lend your aid !

Oh grant that my wild dream be not vain,
That future time shall owe to me
A work their bards will sing in their strain
Tho' chaos still an iron sea !
From the caldron the molten wave
Soon will flow into its mould of sand,
And ye, O sons of Tubal Cain,
O fire my soul and guide my hand !

Lend me your aid, etc.

HENRY FARNIE.

MIXED VOICE CHOIRS.



First Prize, The Catlow Challenge Shield, £5 and Silver Medal to Conductor.

Second Prize, £3.

Third Prize, £1 10s.

Order of Singing	COMPETITORS	Names of Conductors	No. of Voices
1	NELSON CARR ROAD BAPTIST CHOIR	Mr. T. Croasdale	35
2	KEIGHLEY CLARION	Mr. W. S. Wilkinson	24
3	UNION ST. WESLEYAN CHOIR, ACCRINGTON ...	Mr. W. S. Walker	31
4	BETHEL CHAPEL CHOIR, COLNE	Mr. H. Walton...	35
5	PRIMITIVE METHODIST CHOIR, COLNE	Mr. J. P. Hey ...	35
6	PRESTON LYRIC... ..	Mr. F. Leech ...	35

Afternoon Test Piece.

"Two Cupids" *Batson*

There was once a gentle time,
When the world was in its prime,
And ev'ry day was holiday,
And ev'ry month was lovely May,
Cupid then had but to go,
With his purple wings and bow,
And in blossomed vale and grove,
Every shepherd knelt to love.

Then a rosy dimpled cheek,
And a blue eye fond and meek,
And a ringlet wreathen brow,
Like hyacinths on bed of snow,
And a low voice silver sweet,
From a lip without deceit,
Only those the hearts could move
Of the simple swains to love.

But that time is gone and past,
Can the summer always last?
And the swains are wiser grown,
And the heart is turned to stone;
And the maiden's rose may wither,
Cupid's fled, no man knows whither.

But another Cupid's come,
With a brow of care and gloom,
Fix'd upon the earthly mould,
Thinking of the sullen gold,
In his hand a bow no more,
At his back the household store,
The bridal, bridal gold must buy.

Useless now the smile or sigh,
But he wears the pinion still,
Flying at the sight of ill
Oh for the old true-love time,
When the world was in its prime.

GEO. CROLY.

Evening Test Piece.

"Shepherd's Waking" *Fanning*

On a time the faithful Silvy
Said to her shepherd, "Sweet, how do you?
Kiss me this once, and then God be wi' you,
For now the morning draweth near,
My sweetest, sweetest dear!"

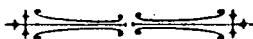
With that, her tender passion showing,
Opening her lips, rich perfumes blowing,
She said, "Now kiss me and be going,
My sweetest dear!"

With that the shepherd waked from sleeping,
And, spying where the day was peeping,
He said, "Now take my soul in keeping,
Since I must go."

JOHN ATTEY (1622).

NOTE.—It is particularly desired that the audience will withhold their applause at the conclusion of each piece, until the chord has been struck on the piano.

LIST OF GUARANTORS.



Alderman Foulds, Esq., J.P.

Alderman S. Catlow, Esq., J.P.

Councillor S. Cork, Esq.

Councillor H. Hewitt, Esq., J.P.

Councillor A. B. Newall, Esq., J.P.

J. L. Wildman, Esq., J.P.

W. Bateman, Esq., J.P.

Mrs. Clegg

Mrs. J. P. Hey

Dr. Robertson

Dr. Heys

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C. Duckworth, Esq.

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C. Blakey, Esq.

J. P. Robinson, Esq.

Jas. Greenwood, Esq.

W. J. Titcomb, Esq.

I. Watson, Esq.

L. Watson, Esq.

F. Duckworth, Esq.

R. Aldersley, Esq.

W. H. Hey, Esq.

B. Ingham, Esq.

A. Wadsworth, Esq.

H. Maunder, Esq.

F. Mitchell, Esq.

W. H. Tillotson, Esq.

And the Members of the Harmonic
and Orpheus Unions.

Hon. Secretaries : W. HAZLITT and W. WATSON.

Hon. Treasurer : R. HARTLEY.

The pieces represented in this programme are drawing room music which served as a vehicle for the competition and would be popular and fairly light in character for the audience to enjoy. The piece by Blumenthal reflects some of the social ambiance. Blumenthal was a native of Hamburg who settled in London, became pianist to Queen Victoria and was much in demand as piano teacher to the ladies of the aristocracy. His light, tuneful vocal and instrumental music found a ready market in the musical recreation of the popular drawing room. If there is any uncertainty about the musical quality of these pieces the same cannot be said for the texts of many of the songs, which at a century's distance are more unpalatable than the music. In some respects, the two are 'of a piece' - naive, shallow, lacking any feeling for reality and often escapist and sentimental. However, judging on aesthetic and artistic taste cannot be absolute or divorced from an historical context. Perhaps the strong national feeling expressed in later contemporary songs now, seems in some senses, even worse. Perhaps the real point is that music can rarely, if ever, stand outside its wider context as pure art. It inevitably becomes caught up in it as a public utility which, if not being directed Godward or put to some 'beneficial' social cause, can just as well serve as a means of recreation or the expression of social aspirations.

The adjudicators of the Colne Festival of 1902 were specialists of distinction in their field and their engagement by the organisers indicates an intention that the event be taken seriously by musicians and be judged by objective criteria of excellence.

We can see from the programmes what technical levels were set by the chosen pieces, but for some indication of the standard attained by the performers we must seek evidence from contemporary sources. Fortunately, full accounts of these Festivals have survived in the local press. The earliest of these is for the Festival of 1912 when the Colne Times of December 13th 1912, carries a full report on the Festival. From this we can gather some idea of the enthusiasm of the participants as well as the high level of attainment. This is particularly so since the report contained not only the music correspondent's account, which might be expected to be fulsome and positive in vein, but more crucially there was verbatim coverage of the adjudicator's marks and comments of

each participant in the various classes. An assessment of attainment is further helped by a detailed break down of marks according to the adjudicator's criteria which for the vocal/choral classes were specified as follows:

1. Accuracy	10
2. Tone, Blend and Intonation	20
3. Attack, Pronunciation and Enunciation	10
4. Pace, Rhythm, Expression and Phrasing and Interpretation	20
5. General Effect	20

An analysis of mark allocations shows that the range of marks for the various sections was as follows:

1. 9 - 10
2. 13 - 18
3. 7 - 10
4. 14 - 18
5. 13 - 19

These marks, together with the comments, show a high level of basic competence with quite a number of performances showing a meticulous, professional attention to choral/vocal technique as well as artistic sensitivity. From the tone of the remarks it is clear that this Festival, though small and serving mainly the local Pennine community was a serious musical event. Throughout, comments were detailed and constructive and where necessary, unequivocally forthright. It is to some extent reassuring to today's choral conductors that even in those days of many flourishing choirs, there were wayward singers with excessive vibrato and an inclination to 'scoop' and 'slide'! However, in his general remarks, the adjudicator spoke highly of the singing of the competing choirs. In 1912 there were no instrumental classes at Colne - a further indication of the dominance of vocal music in festivals at this time.

The winner of the 'Local Choirs' class on this occasion was the choir of the United Methodist Free Church, which, with its conductor Mr L Greenwood, earned the following comments from the adjudicator concerning the two pieces performed.



i) Who is Sylvia (German)

'Clear tone. Soprano a little unsettled and shrill occasionally; other voices very good. Capital bass. Alert, vivacious. Capital attack and speech. The interpretation was very good, much of the grace and delicacy caught, and the contrasts were all well managed. Intonation very good, and the reading was more accurate. Kept pitch.'

ii) Call of the Breezes (Forrester)

'Very good stacato. The a tempo was late at bottom of page and again later, and rit on page 4 was not done. Excellent utterance. Soprano, high note not successful; but there were many artistic touches and the technique was superior. There was fine vitality all through.'

Marks i) 10, 17, 10, 18, 17 - 72
 ii) 10, 17, 10, 17, 18 - 72 - 144

Over thirty years later, a further tribute, this time a posthumous one, was paid to this conductor, when in 1948 the name of the festival was changed to The Luther Greenwood Memorial Festival in recognition of both his distinguished services to the Festival and to local choirs.

Blackpool's famous Musical Festival began in 1901 and even in its first year was an ambitious undertaking extending over three days with twenty four classes involving one hundred and twelve competitors or groups of competitors. Although the Festival was primarily a competitive event, it included three concerts given by the Halle Orchestra - two of them combining with the two hundred and fifty voice Festival Choir. The twenty four classes were as follows;

		No. of Entries
Choir Competiton for Men and Boys only	Open	1
String Quartet	Open	1
Female Voice Choir Competition	Local	3
Male Voice Choir Competition	Local	3
Mixed Voice Quartet	Open	4
Male Voice Quartet	Open	5
Local Choir/Choral Society		2
Sight Reading (old notation)	boys and girls u/16	6
Sight Reading (tonic Solfa notation)	boys and girls u/16	8
Solo Singing	girls under 16	8
Solo Singing	choir boys	10
Violin Solo	boys and girls u/16	8
Piano Solo	boys and girls u/16	17
Public Elementary School	Singing Competition	1
Public Elementary School	Choir Competition	Open 6
Public Elementary School	Choir Sight Test (either notation)	3
Church and Chapel Choirs		7
Female Voice Choir Competition	Open	2
Full Orchestra	Open	1
String Orchestra	Open	1
Male Voice Choir Competition	Open	4
Mixed Voice Choir Competiton	Open	3
Mixed Voice Choir	Sight test	3
Mixed Voice Choir Competition		5

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Here again we see overwhelming importance of singing as a musical activity - (nineteen of the twentyfour classes being in some way vocal and fifteen of these being for choral groups). It is interesting that there were no solo singing classes for adult voices. Also worthy of note are the sight singing test classes for both choirs and solo voices with the option of 'old notation' or tonic solfa. The religious basis of choral activity is again evident in the designation of a number of the classes. It is an interesting sign of the times that the largest number of entrants in any of the singing classes was that of choir boys with the girls solo and tonic solfa sight reading coming next in popularity.



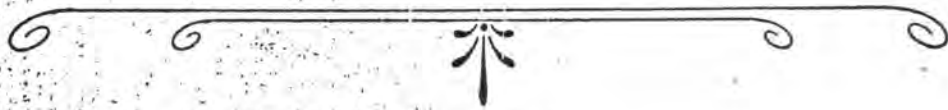
M. Goubaef

BLACKPOOL

MUSICAL FESTIVAL

THURSDAY, FRIDAY, SATURDAY,

May 16th, 17th, 18th, 1901.



OFFICIAL PROGRAMME

.. OF ..

COMPETITIONS.

T61(P)

Printed at the
GAZETTE-NEWS Works,
Church Street,
Blackpool

MUSICAL FESTIVAL and COMPETITIONS

TO BE HELD ON

*Thursday and Friday, May 16th and 17th,
In the ALHAMBRA THEATRE OF VARIETIES,
Promenade.*

AND ON

*Saturday, May 18th,
In the WINTER GARDENS PAVILION,
Church Street, Blackpool.*

ADJUDICATORS:

Dr. VARLEY ROBERTS, Magdalen College, Oxford.
W. G. McNAUGHT, Doc. Mus., Cantuar, F.R.A.M.

HON. ACCOMPANIST:

G. W. FISHER, Mus. Bae., Cantab.

HON. SECRETARY:

L. H. FRANCEYS.

ASSISTANT HON. SECRETARY:

J. E. TURNER.

HON. DIRECTOR OF COMPETITIONS:

Counsellor JOHN COLLINS.

COMPETITION STEWARDS:

F. SUTCLIFFE	L. COHEN
H. MORGAN	R. NICKSON
T. P. FLETCHER	D. HARDMAN

BOOK OF WORDS, Price 3d.

FIRST DAY, Thursday, May 16th.

Class 12.—VIOLIN SOLO COMPETITION, at 11-0 a.m.

For Boys or Girls under 16 years of age.

First Prize, £1 1s. Second Prize, 10s. 6d.

SOLO "Thirty Melodies" *Berthold Tours*

The last four to be prepared. Any one to be played, as selected on the day by the Adjudicator.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Werry, Elsie. | *5. Sumner, Kate. |
| 2. Seahill, Mary Elizabeth. | *6. Hodgson, Wm. Edgar. |
| 3. Adamson, William. | 7. Nasmith, George. |
| *4. Jones, Elsie | *8. Woods, May. |

(* Nos. 4, 5, 6, and 8 only will compete here, the balance of Competitors and the Judge's Award being held over until Friday.)

Class 13.—PIANOFORTE SOLO COMPETITION, at 11-30 a.m.

For Boys or Girls under the age of 16.

First Prize, £1 1s. Second Prize, 10s. 6d.

SOLO "First Song of the Mill" *Kullak*

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Halliday, Jenny. | *10. Jackson, Edith N. A. |
| *2. Taylor, Anne. | 11. Power, Harry. |
| 3. Jackson, Mary Ellen. | 12. Matthewman, Juanita Maud |
| *4. Lumb, Edmund. | 13. Leech, May. |
| *5. Ashworth, Harold. | 14. Jones, Nora. |
| 6. Bretherton, Annie. | *15. Jackson, Lillie. |
| *7. Hargreaves, Elsie Vera. | 16. Watkinson, May E. |
| *8. Ridgway, Nellie Tomlinson | *17. Stubley, Beatrice Ethel. |
| *9. Wilcock, Alfred William. | |

(* Nos. 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 15, and 17 only will compete here, the balance of Competitors and the Judge's Award being held over until Friday.)

THURSDAY**Class 5.—MIXED VOICE QUARTET (Open),
at 12-30 p.m.**

First Prize, £4 4s. Second Prize, £2 2s.

QUARTET "O come, every one that thirsteth" *Mendelssohn*O! come every one that thirsteth,
O! come to the waters; come unto Him.
O! hear, and your souls shall live for ever!

- 35
50
1. Lancaster Primitive Quartet.
 2. Blackpool Quartet (A).
 3. ~~Blackpool Quartet (B)~~
 4. Shaw's Quartet.
- 35

INTERVAL.**Class 2.—STRING QUARTET (Open), at 2-0 p.m.**

Prize, £4 4s.

QUARTET G Major, No. 12, Peters Edition *Mozart*

The whole Work must be prepared. The Adjudicators will choose one or more movements for the Competition.

1. Mr. Greenhalgh's Quartet.

Class 1.—CHOIR COMPETITION, at 2-20 p.m.

Prize, £5 5s.

Open to Choirs in the Fylde District and Blackpool (Men and Boys only). Competitors must be bona-fide Members of the Choir they compete with. Any recognised Psalter may be used.

PSALM LXIX., Verses 1 to 22, to Chant 137 and 138 *Cathedral Psalter Chants*ANTHEM "Come unto Him" *Gounod*

Come unto Him, all ye who labour; your Lord will give you rest and peace, comfort for all your sorrows; ye weary, He will give you rest for your souls.

O turn from the pleasures of sin, and behold your Lord on His cross, who dies for the sins of the world.

Behold on His cross, our Redeemer, nailed there by our transgressions, calls all men to Himself; He pleads His blood, He shews His streaming wounds as He makes intercession; He cries, "Come ye to Me, and I will save your souls."

i. Holy Trinity Church Choir, South Shore.

THURSDAY

Class 3.—FEMALE VOICE CHOIR COMPETITION, at 2-40 p.m.

First Prize, £4 4s. Second Prize, £2 2s.

Open to Choirs in the Fylde District and Blackpool (Blackpool Glee and Madrigal
excepted). Choirs to consist of not less than 12 nor more than 18 Voices.

PART SONG "In the dell and dingle" G. J. Bennett

In the dell and dingle,
Where the flowerets mingle,
Scenting with their summer air,
Let us blithely rove.
Joyous Carols singing,
When the birds are winging,
Merrily from tree to tree,
Amid the leafy grove.

There the primrose golden,
Lies in fern enfolden,
And the purple violet
In loveliness is seen.
Mid the waving grasses,
And the verdant mosses,
Bluebells sound their tiny chime
Within the bower of green.

1. Catholic Ladies Choir. Conductor, Mr. H. Whittaker.
2. Mr. Huck's Choir, Fleetwood. Conductor, Mr. W. Huck.
3. Mr. Higgin's Ladies Choir, Blackpool. Conductor, Mr. J. E. Higgin.

Class 4.—MALE VOICE CHOIR COMPETITION, at 3-10 p.m.

First Prize, £4 4s. Second Prize, £2 2s.

Open to Choirs in the Fylde District and Blackpool. Choirs to consist of not less
than 12 nor more than 18 Voices.

PART SONG (a) "The Hunter's Farewell" Mendelssohn

Who aloft thy head did raise,
Forest green the mountains crowning?
Glad in heart, thy beauty owning,
I will sing thy Maker's praise.

Fare thee well thou forest old.

We must seek our home below,
Leave the deer in peace reposing,
Ere for us the chase is closing,
Once again our horns we blow.

Fare thee well thou forest old.

What beneath thy shade we swore
In the distant world shall bind us,
True to thee each year shall find us,
Faithful children ever more.

Fare thee well thou forest old.

THURSDAY

COMPETITION PART SONG ... (b) "The Northman's Song" Küchen

Freedom dwells in mountain,
Mountains tall and proud,
O'er the clouds their summits raising,
There the Northman fierce, unbent, unbroken, dwells,
On the plain below him gazing.
Wild unclaimed, unconquer'd, lives he bold and strong,
Scorning fetters, sings his battle song,
Either free or dead,
Ne'er I'll bow my head,
Here I stand no danger fearing.

- 44-47-91 1. Mr. Huck's Choir, Fleetwood. Conductor, Mr. W. Huck.
- 52a 102 2. Blackpool Glee and Madrigal (A). Conductor, Mr. H. Whittaker.
- 3. ~~Blackpool Glee and Madrigal (B) Conductor, Mr. H. Whittaker.~~

Class 6.—MALE VOICE QUARTET (Open),
at 3-40 p.m.

First Prize, £4 4s. Second Prize, £2 2s.

QUARTET "Tell me, where is fancy bred" Pinsuti

Tell me where is fancy bred,
Or in the heart or in the head?
How begot, how nourished?
Reply, reply, reply.
It is engendered in the eyes,
With gazing fed, and fancy dies
In the cradle where it lies.
Let us all ring fancy's knell,
I'll begin it,
Ding dong bell.

- 54 1. Nelson Excelsior Quartet. 44 4. Accrington Orpheus.
- 46 2. Orpheus Quartet (Warrington) 53 5. St. Cecilia Quartet (Preston).
- 53 3. Lancaster Centenary.

Class 7.—LOCAL CHOIR or CHORAL SOCIETY
COMPETITION, at 4-10 p.m.

Prize, £8 8s.

Open to Choirs in the Fylde District and Blackpool (Blackpool Glee and Madrigal excepted). Each Choir to consist of not less than 30 nor more than 60 Voices.

PART SONG "The sea hath its pearls" *Pinsuti*

The sea hath its pearls,
The Heaven hath its stars,
But my heart hath its love.
Great are the sea and the Heaven,
Yet greater is my heart,
And fairer than pearls and stars
Flashes and beams my love.
Thou little youthful maiden,
Come unto my great heart;
My heart, and the sea and the Heaven
Are melting away with love.

- 52 1. Mr. W. Huck's Choir, Fleetwood. Conductor, Mr. H. Whittaker.
50 2. Blackpool Orpheus Glee Society. Conductor, Mr. J. C. Higgin.

PRIZE SELECTIONS (Morecambe Contest, 1901),
at 4-30 p.m.

BLACKPOOL LADIES' GLEE AND MADRIGAL SOCIETY.

PART SONG ... (a) "Weep you no more" *P. C. Pech*

Weep you no more, sad fountains,
What need you flow so fast?
Look, how the snowy mountains
Heaven's sun doth gently waste!
But my sun's heavenly eyes
View not your weeping,
That now lies softly sleeping.

Sleep is a reconciling,
Sleep is a rest that peace begets,
Doth not the sun rise smiling,
When fair at eve he sets?
Rest you then, rest, sad eyes,
Melt not, melt not, in weeping,
While she lies softly sleeping.

PART SONG ... (b) "Welcome to this place" *Bishop*

Welcome, welcome to this place,
Fav'rite of our Fairy Queen;
Zephyrs play around his face,
Wash, ye dews, his graceful mien.

Pluck the wings from butterflies,
To fan the moonbeams from his eyes;
Around him, in eternal spring,
Grasshoppers merrily, merrily sing.

ADJUDICATORS' AWARDS.

SECOND DAY, Friday, May 17th.

Class 8.—SIGHT-READING COMPETITION, at 11-0 a.m.

OLD NOTATION. For Boys or Girls under 16 years of age.

First Prize, 10s. 6d. Second Prize, 7s. 6d.

- | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Foster, Herbert. | 4. Hargreaves, Elsie Vera. |
| 2. Marsden, Robert. | 5. Ridgway, Nellie Tomlinson. |
| 3. Steele, H. J. | 6. Matthewman, Juanita Maude. |
-

Class 9.—SIGHT-READING COMPETITION, at 11-30 a.m.

TONIC SOL-FA. For Boys or Girls under 16 years of age.

First Prize, 10s. 6d. Second Prize, 7s. 6d.

- | | |
|---------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Hulme, Frank. | 5. Hargreaves, Elsie Vera. |
| 2. Towler, Gertie. | 6. Carr, Mabel. |
| 3. Foster, Herbert. | 7. Milnes, Beatrice. |
| 4. Marsden, Robert. | 8. Winter, Alice. |
-

Class 10.—SOLO SINGING FOR GIRLS, at 12-0 noon.

Under 16 years of age.

First Prize, £1 1s., given by H. Whittaker, Esq., Blackpool. Second Prize, 10s. 6d.,
given by H. Whittaker, Esq., Blackpool.

CANTATA "The Hours" *Rochel*

The whole of the Solos to be prepared. One Solo will be chosen by the Adjudicator
on the day for Competition.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Matthewman, Juanita Maude. | 5. West, Elsie. |
| 2. Hargreaves, Elsie Vera. | 6. Taylor, Anne. |
| 3. Crookall, Mary. | 7. Ridgway, Nellie Tomlinson. |
| 4. Milnes, Beatrice. | 8. Bentley, J. Campbell |

FRIDAY**Class 12.—VIOLIN SOLO COMPETITION, at 12-45 p.m.**

For Boys or Girls under 16 years of age.

First Prize, £1 1s. Second Prize, 10s. 6d.

SOLO "Thirty Melodies" *Berthold Tours*

The last four to be prepared. Any one to be played, as selected on the day by the Adjudicator.

For list of entries see page 3. Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 7 will conclude the Competition.

**Class 13.—PIANOFORTE SOLO COMPETITION,
at 1-15 p.m.**

For Boys or Girls under the age of 16.

First Prize, £1 1s. Second Prize, 10s. 6d.

SOLO "First Song of the Mill" *Kullak*

For list of entries see page 3. Nos. 1, 3, 6, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 16 will conclude the Competition.

**Class 11.—SOLO SINGING FOR CHOIR BOYS,
at 2-15 p.m.**

Open to Boys only who are Members of a Choir at the present time.

First Prize, £1 1s., given by Councillor John Collins, Blackpool. Second Prize, 10s. 6d., given by Councillor John Collins, Blackpool.

SOLO ... "O, for the wings of a dove" ... *Mendelssohn*

O! for the wings of a dove,
Far away would I rove;
In the wilderness build me a nest,
And remain there for ever at rest.

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Warburton, S. | 6. Marland, Alfred. |
| 2. Ward, Herbert. | 7. Dicken, Alfred. |
| 3. Hayton, William Mitchell. | 8. Marsden, Robert. |
| 4. Freeman H. | 9. Bentley, Thos. R. |
| 5. Steele, Herbert Jas. | 10. Evans, E. |

FRIDAY

Class 14.—PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
SINGING COMPETITION, at 3-5 p.m.

Open to Villages in the Fylde District under 2,000 Inhabitants. Choirs must consist of not less than 10 nor more than 20 Voices. Scholars in actual attendance only are qualified to take part.

Prize, £3 3s.

SONG "Golden Slumbers" 17th Century

1. Ribby-with-Wrea Public Elementary School.

Class 16.—SIGHT-TEST COMPETITION, at 3-15 p.m.

For Public Elementary School Choirs competing in Class 15 only.

Either Notation will be allowed.

First Prize, £3 3s. Second Prize, £2 2s.

The full Choir must compete.

1. Wesleyan Day School Choir. Conductor, Mr. J. E. Cunliffe.
2. St. John's Elementary School Choir. Conductor, Mr. J. R. Roberts.
3. Christ Church Girls' Choir. Conductor, Miss Edith Preston.

Class 15.—PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHOIR
COMPETITION (Open), at 3-40 p.m.

Each Choir must consist of at least 30 and not more than 50 Voices. Scholars in actual attendance.

First Prize, £3 3s. Second Prize, £2 2s. (Given by W. P. Parker, Esq.)

Third Prize, £1 1s.

A Challenge Banner, presented by Alderman Joseph Heap, J.P., C.C., will be given to the Choir obtaining the best aggregate of Marks in Classes 15 and 16, to be held for twelve months.

FRIDAY

PART SONG ... (a) "Playtimes Golden Hours" *Ketelbey*

Over the golden meadows,
Come with dancing feet,
Through the tangled grasses,
Through the clover sweet.
Songs the birds are singing,
Fragrance of the flowers,
Fill with joy and gladness,
Playtimes golden hours.

Never a thought of sadness,
Dulls our hearts delight,
Sweet content is with us,
Making young lives bright.
Simple joys and pleasures
Are the fairest flowers,
Filling with their gladness,
Playtimes golden hours.

PART SONG ... (b) "I sing because I love to sing" *Pinsuti*

I sing because I love to sing,
Because instinctive fancies move,
Because it hurts no earthly thing,
Because it pleases some I love.
Because it cheats night's weary hours,
Because it cheers the brightest day,
Because, like prayer and light and flow'rs,
It helps me on my heavenly way.

Because above the changing skies,
The spirit saith, good angels sing;
Because wherever sunshine lies,
The woods and waves with music ring.
Because amid earth's Babel voice,
All happy things that go or come,
Give to their grateful hearts a voice,
Then why should I alone be dumb?

1. Wesleyan Day School Choir. Conductor, Mr. J. E. Cunliffe.
2. St. John's Elementary School Choir. Conductor, Mr. J. K. Roberts.
3. Victoria Schools, Tyldesley Road. Conductor, Mr. C. J. Fox.
4. Revoe Board School. Conductor, Mr. J. R. Rigby.
5. Christ Church Girls' School. Conductor, Miss Edith Preston.
6. South Shore Public School. Conductor, Mr. S. S. Lomax.

At 4-30 p.m.

CANTATA "The Hours" *Roschel*

By 300 School Children.

Conductor - - Mr. H. WHITTAKER.

THIRD DAY Saturday, May 18th.

Class 17.—CHURCH or CHAPEL CHOIR COMPETITION, at 11-0 a.m.

Competitors to be bona-fide Members of the Choir.

First Prize, £5 5s., given by A. E. Rhodes, Esq., Blackpool. Second Prize, £3 3s.

ANTHEM "Prepare ye the way" Garrett

The voice of one crying in the wilderness: Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a high way for our God.

Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill made low; the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain:

And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.

The voice said, Cry. What shall I cry? All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field.

The Grass withereth, the flower fadeth, but the word of our God shall stand for ever.

451. Holy Trinity Choir. Conductor, C. W. Fisher.
2. ~~Congregational Church, Alexandra Road, South Shore.~~ Conductor, Dr. H. Woolley.
- 55 3. Colne Road Wesleyan Chapel, Burnley.
- 35 4. Adelaide Street Wesleyan Church Choir. Conductor, J. C. Higgin.
5. ~~Lytham Congregational Choir.~~ Conductor, C. C. Pearson.
- 40 6. Brunswick Choir, Bury. Conductor, Jno. T. Schofield.
- 50 7. Brunswick Wesleyan Choir, Pendleton. Conductor, G. T. Macdougall.

Class 18.—FEMALE VOICE CHOIR COMPETITION (Open), at 11-50 a.m.

Each Choir must consist of not less than 20 nor more than 30 Voices.

First Prize, £6 6s. Second Prize, £3 3s.

PART SONG (a) "Good-Night" M. Wurm
Unaccompanied. Chord of key given.

Speed on ye winds and showers,
Are fragrant breath of flowers,
And nightingale withal.
Flow waves in countless numbers,
And cradle her in slumbers,
Splash on thou waterfall.

Ye moon-rays softly beaming,
Ye stars above me gleaming
So watchfully so bright.
In accents soft and tender,
Go, tell my Love I send her
A gentle, sweet "Good night."

CHORUS (b) "Spinning Chorus" Wagner
Accompanied. Accompanist provided.

The Solo Part to be sung by the Sopranos in unison.

Hum, hum, hum, good wheel, be whirling,
Gaily, gaily turn thee round!
Spin, spin, spin, the threads be twirling,
Turn good wheel with humming sound!
My love now sails on distant seas,
His faithful heart for home doth yearn,
Couldst thou, good wheel, but give the breeze,
My love would soon to me return.

Spin, spin, spin, we duly!
Hum, hum, wheel go truly!
Tra la ra, la la la la la!

Ah! duly, duly, are they spinning,
Each girl a sweetheart would be winning;
Dame Mary, hush, for well you know
Our song as yet must onward go.
On distant seas my love doth sail;
In southern land much gold he wins;
Then turn, good wheel, nor tire, nor fail;

The gold for her who duly spins!
Spin, spin, spin, we duly!
Hum, hum, wheel go truly!
Tra la ra, la la la la la!

- 45 46-91
52-56-108
1. St. Helens Ladies Vocal Choir. Conductor, H. Berrey.
 2. Blackpool Glee and Madrigal Society. Conductor, H. Whittaker.

Class 23.—MIXED VOICE CHOIR SIGHT-TEST COMPETITION, at 12-20 p.m.

Open to Choirs competing in Class 22. Either Notation allowed. The whole
Choir must compete.

First Prize, £3 3s. Second Prize, £2 2s.

- 30
18
20
1. Morecambe Madrigal Society. Conductor, R. G. W. Howson.
 2. Brunswick Wesleyan Choir, Pendleton. Conductor, G. T. Macdougall.
 3. Blackpool Glee and Madrigal. Conductor, H. Whittaker.

SATURDAY

Class 24.—MIXED VOICE CHOIR COMPETITION,
at 2.0 p.m.

All Choirs competing in Class 22 are expected to take part in this Class.

First Prize, £4 4s. Second Prize, £3 3s. Third Prize, £2 2s. Fourth Prize, £1 1s.

CHORUS (a) "Hail, bright abode" in B flat Wagner

Hail! bright abode, where song the heart rejoices,
May lays of peace within thee never fail;
Long may we cry with glad and loyal voices,
Prince of Thuringia, Landgrave Hermann, hail!

ANTHEM (b) "By Babylon's Wave" Gounod

Here by Babylon's wave,
Though heathen hands have bound us,
Though afar from our land,
The pains of death surround us;
Sion! Thy mem'ry still
In our heart we are keeping,
And still we turn to thee,
Our eyes all sad with weeping.

Through our harps that we hung on the trees
Goes the low wind wearily moaning;
Mingles the sad note of the breeze,
With voice as sad of sigh and groaning.

When mad with wine our foe rejoices,
When unto their altars they throng,
Loud for mirth then they call,
"A song! a song of Sion sing, lift up your voices!"

O Lord, though the victor command
Our captivity sad and lowly,
How shall we raise thy song so holy,
That we sung in our fatherland.
Jerusalem, if we forget thee,
Let our hands remember not their power,
And our tongues be silent from that hour.

Woe unto thee! Babylon, mighty city,
For the day of thy fall is nigh;
For thee no hope, for thee no pity,
Though loud thy wail riseth on high.
Then shalt thou, desolate, forsaken,
Be torn from thy fanes and thy thrones,
In that day shall thy babes be taken
And dashed against the stones;
Then unto thee, O Babylon the mighty, be woe!

- 46 1. Brunswick Choir, Bury. Conductor, Jno. T. Schofield.
- 54 2. St. Helens Choir. Conductor, H. Berrey.
- 49 3. Failsworth Co-operative Society Choir. Conductor, W. D. Bailey.
- 48 4. Morecambe Madrigal Society. Conductor, R. G. W. Howson.
- 47 5. Blackpool Glee and Madrigal Society. Conductor, H. Whittaker.

SATURDAY

**Class 21.—MALE VOICE CHOIR COMPETITION,
(Open), at 3-0 p.m.**

Each Choir must consist of not less than 18 nor more than 36 Voices.

First Prize, £12 12s. Second Prize, £6 6s. Third Prize, £3 3s.

- GLEE (a) "At that dread hour" S. S. Wesley
PART SONG ... (b) "The Beleagured" Sullivan

Each Choir will Sing the Piece marked (a) in the Afternoon, and the piece marked (b) at the Evening Concert.

The Prizes will be awarded to the Choirs gaining the highest total of marks.

At that dread hour, when beams celestial day
And the world's idle pomp dissolves away,
When, dreadful in His wrath, the Almighty shrouds
His awful thunders in a night of clouds.
When pow'rs vast fabrics shall be rent in twain,
And monumental flat'ries plead in vain.
On thy lone grave the star of peace shall shine,
And saints thy hallowed form enshrine,
And saints they hallowed form enshrine,
Breathe Life immortal o'er thy humble sod,
And bear thee, winged with hope, triumphant to thy God.

46-49-95
59-59-108
50-52-102

1. St. Helens Male Voice Choir. Conductor, H. Berrey.
~~2. Nelson Excelsior Glee Union. Conductor, T. Hartley.~~
3. Manchester Orpheus Prize Glee Society. Conductor, W. S. Nesbit.
4. Salford Mendelssohn Glee Singers. Conductor, T. B. Maude.

**Class 20.—ORCHESTRAL COMPETITION (Open)
STRING ORCHESTRA, at 3-30 p.m.**

Each Orchestra must consist of at least 14 Members, and will be allowed the services of not more than four Professional Players.

Prize, £7 7s.

- SERENADE in E minor Elgar
1. Nelson Congregational Orchestra. Conductor, Charles Townsley.

**Class 19.—ORCHESTRAL COMPETITION (Open)
FULL ORCHESTRA, at 3-50 p.m.**

Prize, £15 15s.

- OVERTURE "Di Ballo" Sullivan
1. Nelson Congregational Orchestra. Conductor, Charles Townsley.

SATURDAY

Class 22.—MIXED VOICE CHOIR COMPETITION
(Open), at 4-15 p.m.

Each Choir to consist of not less than 34 nor more than 50 Voices.

First Prize, £15 15s. Second Prize, £10 10s.

PART SONG (a) "My love dwelt" *Elgar*

My love dwelt in a Northern land,
A dim tower in a forest green
Was his, and far away the sand
And gray wash of the waves were seen,
The woven forest boughs between.

And thro' the Northern summernight
The sunset slowly died away,
And herds of strange deer silver white,
Came gleaming through the forest gray,
And fled like ghosts before the day.

And oft, that month, we watched the moon
Wax great and white o'er wood and lawn,
And wane, with waning of the June,
Till like a brand for battle drawn,
She fell, and flamed in a wild dawn.

I know not if the forest green
Still girdles round that castle gray,
I know not if, the boughs between,
The white deer vanish ere the day;
The grass above my love is green,
His heart is colder than the clay.

MADRIGAL (a) "Thine eyes so bright" *Leslie*

Thine eyes so bright bereft my sight,
When first I viewed thy face;
So now my light is turned to-night.
Ah, me! I stray from place to place.

Then guide me of thy kindness,
So shall I bless my blindness.

PART SONG (b) "The Shepherd's Waking" *Fanning*

For words see page 19.

Each Choir will Sing the Pieces marked (a) at the Afternoon Contest. The Adjudicators will then select the four best Choirs to compete at the Evening Concert with the Piece marked (b).

The Prizes will be awarded to the Choirs gaining the highest total of marks.

1. Failsworth Co-operative Society Choir. Conductor, W. D. Bailey.
2. Morecambe Madrigal Society. Conductor, R. G. W. Howson.
3. Blackpool Glee and Madrigal Society. Conductor, H. Whittaker.

5-0 p.m., REHEARSAL.

7-0 p.m., CONCERT.

37-36 = 1
58-56 = 1/2
56-54 = 1/3

SATURDAY

WINTER GARDENS ... PAVILION ...



Evening ..



Concert ..

Saturday, May 18th, 1901, at 7-0 o'clock.

PROGRAMME.

1.—OVERTURE ... "Di Ballo" Sullivan

NELSON CONGREGATIONAL ORCHESTRA.

Conductor - - - Dr. W. G. McNAUGHT.

2.—MIXED VOICE CHOIRS (Class 22) FINAL TEST PIECE. (See page 18.)

PART SONG ... "The Shepherd's Waking" Fanning

1
2
3

40-113

577-171

54-170

On a time the faithful Silvy
Said to her shepherd, "Sweet how do you?
Kiss me this once, and then God be wi' you,
My sweetest dear!
For now the morning draweth near.

With that her tender passion showing;
Opening her lips, rich perfumes blowing.
She said, "Now kiss me and be going,
My sweetest dear."

With that the shepherd waked from sleeping,
And, spying where the day was peeping,
He said "Now take my soul in keeping,
Since I must go, now day is near."

SATURDAY

- 3.—PART SONGS { (a) "Good-Night" ... *M. Wagner*
 (b) "Spinning Chorus" ... *Wagner*

First Prize Winner Class 18 (for words see page 15.)

4.—MALE VOICE CHOIRS (Class 21) FINAL TEST. (See page 17.)

- PART SONG "The Beleagured" *Sullivan*

Fling wide the gates! come out!
 Dauntless and true. Brothers, of heart be stout.
 We are but few. Bring from the battlements our flag again.
 Though by the leaguer rent, it hath no stain.
 Mothers and wives to pray'r, from morn till eve,
 The Lord of Hosts will care for all we leave;
 Plead that we sought not fight, nor chose the field,
 But every free heart's right we dare not yield.

Who needs the trumpet blown to make him bold?
 Who speaks in undertone of ransom gold?
 Let such his counsel hide in vault or cave,
 We have no time to chide a willing slave.

Mothers and wives to prayer, relief is nigh,
 For you each arm will dare deeds not to die,
 For sure as fire doth blaze, or foams the sea,
 You shall to-night upraise Songs of the Free.

- 5.—SERENADE for String Orchestra *Elgar*

NELSON ORCHESTRA.

- 6.—CHORUS "Hail, bright abode" *Wagner*

- ANTHEM "By Babylon's Wave" *Gounod*

For words see page 16.

Combined Choirs in class 24, accompanied by Nelson Orchestra.

- 7.—IRISH BALLAD for Chorus and Orchestra "Phaudrig Crohoore"
 [C. Villiers Stanford]

Words by Sheridan Le Fanu.

The combined Morecambe Madrigal, and Blackpool Glee and Madrigal Societies accompanied by the Nelson Orchestra.

Conductor **Dr. W. G. McNAUGHT.**

IRISH BALLAD for Chorus and Orchestra "Phaudrig Crohoore."

Oh! Phaudrig Crohoore was the broth of a boy,
 An' he stood six foot eight;
 An' his arm was as round as another man's thigh—
 'Tis Phaudrig was great!
 An' his hair was as black as the shadows of night,
 An' hung over the scars left by many a fight;
 An' his voice like the thunder, was deep, strong, and loud,
 An' his eye like the lightning from under the cloud.
 An' all the girls liked him, for he could spake divil.
 And sweet when he liked it, for he was the divil.
 An' there wasn't a girl from thirty-five under,
 Divil a matter how cross—but he could get round her.
 But of all the sweet girls that smiled on him but one,
 Was the girl of his heart, an' he loved her alone.
 For warm as the sun, as the rock firm and sure,
 Was the love of the heart of Phaudrig Crohoore.
 An' he'd die for one smile from his Kathleen O'Brien,
 For his love like his hatred, was as strong as a lion.

But Michael O'Hanlon loved Kathleen as well
 As he hated Crohoore, an' that same was like hell.
 But O'Brien liked him, for they were the same parties,
 The O'Briens, O'Hanlons, and Murphys, and Cartys;
 An' they all went together and hated Crohoore.
 For its many's the batin' he gave them before,
 An' O'Hanlon made up to O'Brien, an' says he,
 "I'll marry your daughter, if you'll give her to me!"

An' the match was made up, an' when Shrovetide came on—
 The company assembled, three hundred, if one.
 There was all the O'Hanlons, an' Murphys, and Cartys,
 An' the young boys an' girls of all of them parties.
 The O'Briens, of course, gather'd strong on that day,
 An' the pipers an' fiddlers were tearin' away;
 There was roarin', an' jumpin', an' jiggin', an' fingin',
 An' jokin', an' blessin', an' kissin', an' singin',
 An' they wor all laughin'—why not to be sure?
 How O'Hanlon came inside of Phaudrig Crohoore.
 An' they talk'd, an' they laugh'd the length of the table,
 Atin' an' drinkin' all while they were able;
 An' with pipin' an' fiddlin', an' roarin' like thunder,
 Your head you'd think fairly was splittin' asunder.
 An' the priest call'd out "Silence, ye blackguards, agin,"
 An' he took up his prayer book, just going, to begin.
 An' they all held their tongues from their funnin' an' bawlin',
 So silent you'd notice the smallest pin fallin'.
 An' the priest was just beginnin' to read, when the door
 Sprang back to the wall, an' in walk'd Crohoore.

Oh! Phaudrig Crohoore was the broth of a boy,
 An' he stood six foot eight;
 An' his arm was as round as another man's thigh,
 'Tis Phaudrig was great!
 An' he walked slowly up, watch'd by many a bright eye,
 As a black cloud moves on thro' the stars of the sky;
 An' none strove to stop him, for Phaudrig was great,
 Till he stood, all alone, just opposite the sate—
 Where O'Hanlon and Kathleen, his beautiful bride,
 Were sittin' so illigant out side by side.
 An' he gave her one look that her heart almost broke,
 An' he turn'd to O'Brien, her father, and spoke;
 An' his voice like the thunder, was deep, strong, and loud,
 An' his eye shone like lightnin' from under the cloud.

SATURDAY

"I did not come here like a tame, crawlin' mouse,
 But I stand like a man in my enemies' house.
 In the field, on the road, Phaudrig never knew fear
 Of his foemen, an' God knows he scorns it here;
 So lave me at aise, for three minutes or four.
 To spake to the girl—I'll never see more."
 An' to Kathleen he turn'd, an' his voice changed its tone.
 For he thought of the days when he call'd her his own.
 An' his eye blazed like lightning from under the cloud,
 On his false-hearted girl, reproachful and proud,—
 An' says he, "Kathleen bawn, is it true what I hear,
 That you marry of your free choice without threat or fear
 If so, spake the word, an' I'll turn an' depart,
 Cheated once, an' once only by woman's false heart."

Oh! sorrow and love made the poor girl dumb,
 An' she tried hard to spake, but the words wouldn't come;
 For the sound of his voice, as he stood there forinst her,
 Went cold, cold on her heart, as the night wind in winter.
 An' the tears in her blue eyes, stood tremblin' to flow,
 An' pale was her cheek, as the moonshine on snow.
 Then the heart of bold Phaudrig swell'd high in its place,
 For he knew by one look in that beautiful face,
 That, tho' strangers and foemen their pledged hands might sever,
 Her true heart was his, an' his only for ever.
 An' he lifted his voice like the eagle's hoarse call,
 An' says Phaudrig "She's mine still, in spite of you all!"
 Then up jump'd O'Hanlon an' a tall boy was he—
 An' he look'd on bold Phaudrig as fierce as could be;
 An' says he, "By the holy before you go out,
 Bold Phaudrig Crohoore, you must fight for a bout."

Then Phaudrig made answer "I'll do my endeavour!"
 An' with one blow he stretched bold O'Hanlon for ever.
 In his arms he took Kathleen, an' stepped to the door,
 An' he leap'd on his horse, an' flung her before.
 An' they all were so bother'd that not a man stirred
 Till the galloping hoofs on the pavement were heard;
 And up they all started, like bees in a swarm,
 An' they riz a great shout, like the burst of a storm;
 An' they roar'd, an' they ran, and they shouted galore;
 But Kathleen and Phaudrig they never saw more.

Oh! Phaudrig Crohoore was the broth of a boy,
 An' he stood six foot eight;
 An' his arm was as round as another man's thigh,
 'Tis Phaudrig was great!

But them days are gone by, an' he is no more,
 An' the green grass is growin' o'er Phaudrig Crohoore:
 For he could not be aisy or quiet at all;
 As he lived a brave boy, he resolved so to fall,
 An' he took a good pike, for Phaudrig was great,
 An' he fought, an' he died in the year ninety-eight;
 An' the day that Crohoore in the green field was killed,
 A strong boy was stretched, an' a strong heart was still'd.

 ADJUDICATORS' AWARDS and DISTRIBUTION of PRIZES

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Unlike the Colne Festival, there was a piano class and this had the highest number of entrants of any class. Violin was still the only other solo instrumental class. From an educational point of view, the classes for public elementary school pupils are of particular interest.

So far as the type of music chosen for the Festival was concerned, there are characteristics in common with Colne. The difference was mainly one of scale rather than kind, for even allowing that at Blackpool there was a wider range of classes and therefore musical material, and also a somewhat larger number of English pieces, there is a discernible similarity which gives an insight as to the norms of popular taste at the time. These two Festivals are perhaps more accurate touch stones in this matter than the more 'enlightened' programmes of Kendal in the same two years. Where Blackpool did come closer to the Kendal model was in the presentation of the final Evening Concert with the inclusion of a combined choral work along with contributions from the individual class winners.

In each of the areas of corporate music-making and experience which have been discussed in this chapter there is a common factor which, though varying in intention and emphasis was present in each case. This was one of educational benefit. In the case of Mary Wakefield and the Festival Movement, this was an explicit and somewhat paternalistic aim underpinning the activity. So far as the rise of the Brass Band Movement was concerned, the initial impetus half a century earlier was not specifically educational but rather one of creative recreation, spiced with the element of competition. The movement for a variety of reasons, which were often non-musical, gained support and momentum. It did of course have its educational benefits in terms of the development of educational skills and in the wider sense of providing a musical experience for a large number of people. The changing patterns of concert life, whilst again being of obvious educational value in terms of life enrichment for an increasing number of people, also show that music had become part of the complex process of social change in which anything educational was of central importance.

Identifying the many facets of music's multi purpose nature and therefore its varied usefulness is a major aspect of this study. It is

however the key to why it has found itself promoted in a wide variety of educational contexts. These reasons and the educational mechanisms employed, will be the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3
MUSIC FOR THE MULTITUDE

This chapter examines the contribution of education in its various forms, to the musical development of Northern people. It will show that the impetus for training in music came, on the one hand from the church which hoped thereby for an improvement in its music and, on the other, from society's leaders, who believed that there were benefits of a social and personal kind that might be gained. The people themselves also became caught up in the nineteenth century obsession with self-improvement, and were ready to find this in music as in other things and take it from whatever source it was offered.

Thus music albeit for utilitarian reasons, regained a status in society it had not enjoyed since the end of the seventeenth century, and a position in education and the curriculum that it had not had since the Middle Ages.

Accordingly, three distinct aspects will be examined: i) the instruction in literacy that came through church music, ii) the formalised contribution of the state in terms of music curriculum for schools, and iii) the part music played in the movement for 'self-help' and adult education. The common thread linking these educational enterprises will be the development of a system of singing at sight from our native solfa methods, through the various continental inputs, to Curwen's synthesis which proved to be the key to popular participation in music. All these issues will be discussed from a distinctly Northern standpoint.

Up to the end of the eighteenth century, formal musical instruction as distinct from rote singing, came through one of the following channels: instrumental teaching on some sort of private basis; the intensive training given to choristers in the long-established cathedral song schools; and the ad hoc direction given to amateur choristers by itinerant singing masters, latterly with the aid of the instructional prefaces found in the many psalm collections which were in circulation.

It will be necessary to examine each of these briefly and to trace their developments into the nineteenth century to see how they relate to the provision that then became established.

Whilst instrumental skill, like vocal competence, was formerly a mark of educational and social accomplishment, from the end of the seventeenth century it became regarded as at best irrelevant for men, and for women, merely a harmless way of passing the time. It is not surprising therefore that relatively few people from any class, either because of inclination or opportunity, learnt to play instruments privately. This was thus insignificant as a means of access to music for the mass of the people. This situation remained throughout the eighteenth century and only during the Victorian era did instrumental playing, (mostly through the domestic piano, the church organ and the instruments of the brass band) make any significant contribution to ordinary people's musical experience.

Of even less importance to the Northerner was the contribution to music education made in the Cathedral choir schools. The new diocese to serve the growing industrial areas were in process of being carved out of the ancient diocese and therefore such opportunity as they presented was extremely limited. Many of the town parish churches were to establish high musical reputations but these did not provide the kind of instruction given in the song schools.

In one important respect however, that tradition was of service to the North of England. The system of musical training that had prevailed in the old song schools was based upon the awesome complexities of the Gamut, and for eight centuries into the mid nineteenth century, this continued to be used. From this there were various somewhat simpler derivatives, one of the most widely used being the four note solfa known as 'Lancashire Solfa' which will be described later in the chapter. Prior to the growth of the singing class movement and the promotion of sight singing in popular education from the 1840's this method was the most likely means of musical instruction to be encountered for the mass of the people. The contribution of religion and the church to Northern music-making in the period, will be the subject of the last chapter in this study. Such references as are made here are necessary merely to establish the educational link.

In post Restoration England, the basic diet of congregational music was the metrical psalm, and a number of important collections existed in the late seventeenth century, notably Playford's Psalter and that of Tate and Brady. As the number of collections increased, and consequently, the number of tunes in circulation grew larger, it became a matter of some importance that some means be found of familiarising congregations with these, other than just by rote learning. The psalmody preface was the means by which it was hoped that this would be met. It became the norm for collections of psalms to include such a preface, and this virtually amounted to a text book from which choristers, congregations and pupils could be taught.

An important eighteenth century collection was John Arnold's 'The Complete Psalmodist', which was published in 1750 and subsequently ran into seven editions. It contained a detailed instructional preface which expounded the Lancashire four note system of solfa, adapted to staff notation. This system had such wide currency that it might justifiably be known as Old English Solfa. It did however remain in use in Lancashire longer than anywhere else. Another collection of psalmody much used in Lancashire and Yorkshire from the early eighteenth century was that by John Cheetham of Skipton. It is interesting to note the changes that took place in successive editions, particularly in the use of the tenor clef and the allocation of the melody. This was at first set for men's voices, but was subsequently changed, making provision for sopranos to be used ad lib. Temperley¹ argues that this reflects the musical as well as social dominance of men.

The outstanding achievements in choral singing of the Larks of Dean and the choristers of Eccles have already been referred to in Chapter 1. Their chroniclers also make some significant observations relevant to this context.

Millington, in writing about Samuel Newton, of the famous Ellen Brook Chapel choir, says:

'He was taught to sing by Peter Edge. He had a good tenor voice of two octaves range. He was a good reader and well versed in Handel's music and the old anthems. He was a very good solfa singer in the Old Lancashire system.'

2

In writing about John Fawcett (the elder), a notable Bolton musician, he tells us that he was a

'decent performer on the clarinet, flute, violin, 'cello and double bass. He could also play decently on the organ and pianoforte.'

3

As well as this, Fawcett was a composer of anthems, hymns and services, some of which were published, Millington goes on to say that

'He wrote a very good instruction book for organ, piano and harmonium. He also wrote a very excellent singing instructor, founded on the Old Lancashire solfa.'

4

This was his 'Lancashire Vocalist - a Complete Guide to Singing at Sight', published in 1857.

Further evidence of this came from Compston⁵ in his writings on the Larks of Dean. He recalls that when he was a boy - (he was born 1842), his father explained Lancashire solfa to him, but also the better continental system. Whether the whole of the Hullah approach was considered better, including its fixed doh, or merely the allocation of separated syllables to each note of the scale, is uncertain. If it was the former, it points to the influence of the officially promoted Hullah adaption of Wilhelm's method in schools prior to Curwen's method becoming recognised for its superiority. It is in any event curious, that Compston should in 1904, repeat this, without any qualification of hindsight, after Curwen's method had been unchallenged and enormously successful and contributory to the growth of music education for virtually half a century.

Another pointer to the relatively late use of the Hullah method can be found in the records of St James' C.E. Primary School, Brindle, Near Chorley, Lancashire. Both the village and the school have a long history reaching back far earlier than the industrial development of the area. The school has existed in several forms: ancient Grammar School, Parochial Elementary School and more recently, C.E. Primary School. The references to music are sparse, but there are one or two interesting points. In the period 1863/4 there are several references to singing - a visit made to the school by the Rector's daughters, the Misses Lund, who

sang to the children and records (without details) of singing lessons having been given. More significantly however, are two entries for 1872;

'Sept 29th Children learning 'The Lark' by John Hullah
 Sept 30th The children are now learning a round. It is a short one viz 'the Kine are onward going' re Hullah Method Part 11 page 137.'

6

This shows not only was the Hullah method still in use in 1872, but that (unless the work had been taken out of context) the difficulties of Part 11 were being tackled. This is contrary to the more general experience, as indicated by Rainbow,⁷ which seems to have been that pupils found this too complicated.

The last published tutor of old Lancashire solfa, was also by a Lancastrian - James Greenwood's 'The Solfa System of Teaching Singing as used in Lancashire and Yorkshire', first published in 1867 and remained in print, if unused, until at least the 1950's, as one of Novello's primers. This evidence points to Lancashire solfa remaining in use into the second half of the nineteenth century, beyond its early expositions in the psalmody prefaces, into the era of popular education and 'improvement' of the individual.

In outline, the Lancashire solfa method requires that in every major scale, the first three notes be called fa, sol, la and the next three notes fa, sol, la also. The seventh degree of the scale was called mi. In view of the possible ambiguity arising from the repetition of fa, sol, la within the scale, identifying the position of the leading note for mi was of vital importance. In Arnold's Preface, he sets out on the first page, the treble clef as follows:

FA	SOL	LA	FA	SOL	LA	MI	FA	SOL	LA	FA
----	-----	----	----	-----	----	----	----	-----	----	----

C	D	E	F	G	A	B	C	D	E	F
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

8

He follows this by a carefully staged explanation of the problems concerning accidentals. This use of rhyming rules as an aid to instruction is quite common from the time of Playford onwards, and the following extracts illustrate this procedure:

'The effects of Flats and Sharps as to sound, may be remembered by these rules, viz:

Under the flat each half note lies,
And o'er the Sharp the half doth rise.'

From this he goes on to elucidate the theory of the leading note which as can be seen above has the solfeggio name Mi.

'Also Flats and Sharps are used to regulate the Mi, or Master-note in the transposition of keys; the way to find your Mi is by the following rules.

When e'er no Flat your B does grace,
Then Mi stands in its line or space.
But when a Flat is found on B,
That Flat is Fa, and E is Mi.
If both be Flat, your B and E.
Then in A standeth you Mi.
But if your B, E and A be Flat,
Then D is Mi, be sure of that.
If B, E, A and D all flattened be,
Your Mi is on the letter G.
But if a Flat is in B, E, A, D, and G,
Then in C you'll find your Mi.
But if a Flat is in these six,
Then in your E your Mi is fixed.
But if in all seven the Flats do come,
They've brought your Mi carefully home.

Thus I have shown you Mi by Flats; but to render more easily what I have said, it is necessary to keep the following verse in your memory:

If that by Flats your Mi you do remove,
It must be called the fourth above - or fifth below.' 9

He continues in similar vein to teach key signatures. The course was complete and undoubtedly many people did learn music by this means - both theory and part singing. Arnold's account of Lancashire Solfa was, however, not easy to grasp, and certainly difficult to memorise. It really required the help of a teacher. This came in the form of the itinerant singing teacher, who would often be a pedlar, dealing in tune books for psalmody and hymnody. Often these peripatetic instructors would visit a village at the invitation of the squire or parson, who was anxious, not so much about the musical enlightenment of his people, but concerned to improve the standard of musical performance in church.

While such singing classes helped to provide individual churches with a nucleus of singers to lead the worship, their influence was inevitably limited. Certainly there was no widespread musical competence among congregations generally, and the poor standard of music, particularly in the Anglican church, continued to be cause for concern.

One of the major challenges to this situation came from Beilby Porteous, Bishop of London, who in 1790, delivered his charge in which he not only condemned the state of parochial psalmody but stated that there was little hope of improvement until some rudimentary training in singing was provided for children. This gave a major stimulus to the teaching of singing in schools.

'When it is considered that there are now thirty thousand Sunday School children in various parts of the kingdom, if one third of them can be taught to perform psalm tunes tolerably well, these useful institutions will contribute no less to the improvement of parochial psalmody, than to the reformation of the lower orders of the people.'

10

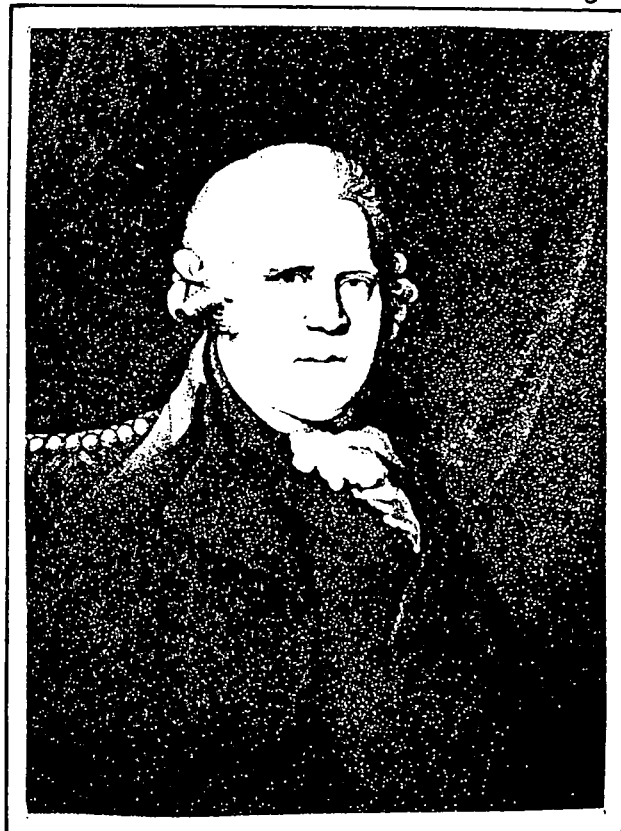
Bishop Porteous' charge exemplifies what was unquestionably the driving force behind the moves to promote music teaching - namely the concern of the church to improve its music.

A prompt response to Bishop Porteous' charge occurred within just a few weeks of it being issued, when Dr Edward Miller, organist of Doncaster Parish Church, announced his intention to give instruction in singing on one evening each week and before the morning and evening services on Sunday. It was his intention that teachers of day and Sunday Schools should attend with their pupils, as well as Governesses of boarding schools for young ladies.

Concern to improve church music through instruction in vocal music was still evident half a century later, when in 1841, John Curwen, a congregationalist minister, accepted the commission given to him at a conference of Sunday School teachers held in Hull, to find the simplest way of teaching music. This, as we shall see later, was to become the main work for the rest of his life, and revolutionised music education for the mass of the people. By this time however, other attendant advantages were being claimed for music, which brought it to the attention of others besides churchmen.



Bishop Beilby Porteus



Dr. Edward Miller

The quote given above from Bishop Porteous' charge, already indicates a concern that goes beyond the self-interest of the church, and touches upon the next most important of the motives for the promotion of singing - the beneficial effects it would have on the individual's character. It was therefore the utilitarian and instrumental value of music, which accounted for its promotion, growth in popularity and re-established status.

It is not surprising therefore, to find music so much in evidence in the industrial North, where the needs of the many new churches springing up in the fast-growing towns and the scope for social, educational and personal betterment was so great.

So the rationale behind the promotion of music and the singing movement became explicit, and it grew in popularity. By the 1840's music was fast becoming the panacea of the age. It was pursued with fervour by all - churchmen, educationists, philanthropists, temperance workers, social reformers, politicians, anxious about the stability of society and the aspirant artisan himself. The industrial North was at the sharp end of all this social activity, and music, part and parcel of the forging process, thereby became an important element in its people's lives. So great was the upsurge of enthusiasm for music, - vocal music in particular - that the publication of instructional material, independent of psalmody collections became a minor industry.

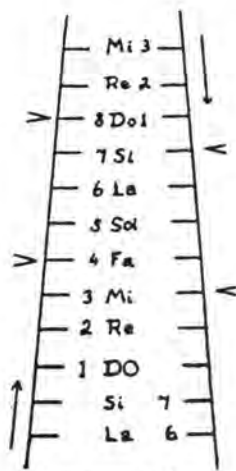
Two important publications, pre-Curwen, deserve mention, and are representative of the two major sources of the movement's impetus already referred to. These are John Turner's 'Manual for Instruction in Vocal Music' published in 1833 with the help of the S.P.C.K., and as its subtitle indicates 'Chiefly with a view to Psalmody'; and William Hickson's 'Singing Master' (1837) which was the first publication to bring regular singing into elementary schools. Turner's book was the more traditional in that it provided a thorough grounding in movable Doh solfa. Its presentation was also very pedantic. Hickson, on the other hand, although he failed to realise the real value of solfa, was less theoretically structured and his sympathetic approach was ahead of its time. He was concerned that children should enjoy singing - an experience that would be a life-long joy. His approach was not tied to the needs of the church and his book contained sixty four songs suitable for children.

One of the most important of the early pioneers in sight singing was Sarah Glover, the eldest daughter of a Norfolk Anglican clergyman. She, like others, responded to the needs of church music at large, and her father's church in particular, in seeking to improve singing in church by giving musical instruction to children. As a young woman, she read the posthumously published writings of Bishop Porteous, and in the following year, gave some guidance to a Sunday School teacher, who was himself, unable to read from notation. From this early experience, and from some experimental teaching of pupils from Norwich charity schools, she evolved, apparently quite independently, a system of solfa which she used with considerable success. The reputation of her choristers spread, and other clergy enquired of her methods. The experience taught her the necessity of regular pitching of notes from solfa, to build up an association between sound and symbol. For this, she devised her solfa ladder - the forerunner of the modulator. She followed the English tradition of the moveable Doh, but extended the four note Lancashire solfa to provide a name for each step of the scale. It was only after the first stage of aural work, using the ladder, that she introduced pupils to individual copies printed in solfa notation. Her method, 'Scheme to render Psalmody Congregational' was published in 1835, and in spite of its merits, had only limited influence at the time - she lacked the prestigious support that Turner and Hickson had. It was nonetheless destined to be profoundly influential through its adoption and development by Curwen. Its instructions show an enlightened and less theoretically pedantic and oppressive approach than other contemporary methods.

'In teaching children music, I think it best to instruct them on the same principle as they are taught speech; viz by deducing theory from practice rather than practice from theory. At the commencement of scientific instruction in music, let all theory, not immediately connected with practice, be omitted and let technical terms and signs be as simple as possible.'

11

Sarah Glover's methods were exemplified in her own girl's day school in Norwich, which she ran with her sister's help and where the remarkable results she obtained in sight singing earned a reputation which drew many visitors, most notably, John Curwen in 1841.



Elementary Ladder

CONTRASTS IN SOLFEGGIO SYSTEMS



Chromatic Ladder

(From John Hullah's *Wilhem's Method of Teaching Singing*)



Sarah Glover.

THE MODULATOR.
(CORRECTED.)

d'	f
t	n
l	r
DOH'	f
TE	n
LAH	r
SOH	d
FAH	f
ME	l
RAY	r
DOH	f
L	r
DOH	f
L	r
DOH	f
L	r
DOH	f
L	r

The evolution of the Modulator

So whilst the major impetus for the development of vocal music in Sunday Schools and the various types of day schools, came initially from the church, the provision was inevitably ad hoc, patchy and piecemeal. Because of the straightened economic situation, parents were less able to afford to send their children to such schools as were available. Their earning power was necessary to the family's survival. It is ironic that industrialisation which highlighted the need for education, in fact militated against day time schooling and initially caused a deterioration in the situation which was met by various types of part time education. In any case, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the social benefits of music were only just beginning to be proclaimed and its function was therefore still religious rather than social. Soon however, speeches and writings would abound which would extol the benefits of this cheap social utility.

During the second quarter of the nineteenth century, education became an issue of increasing national concern. It was even suggested by the Reverend Sidney Smith in a sermon in St Paul's Cathedral in 1837, that the new Queen should give highest priority to the education of her people. This concern was no mere idealism; it was founded in necessity and national pride. It has been estimated¹² that at the beginning of the nineteenth century only one in twenty children attended school. The demand created by the Industrial Revolution for skilled workers from the rapidly increasing population, highlighted the inadequacy of the educational provision as it then existed. This was most conspicuously the case when comparison was made with the vastly superior provision made by continental countries.

Education had hitherto been largely the concern of independent charitable bodies, most notably the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor - (an Anglican foundation dating from 1812) and the British and Foreign Schools Society - (a Non-Conformist foundation, established in 1814). Bell and Lancaster were the respective leaders of these bodies and each promoted their own approach based on the monitorial system. Neither however, found much place for music, though the National Society was later to encourage school music as a means of enhancing the services of the Anglican church.

In the period before education became compulsory, it was Sunday Schools that provided the basics of education for those children who could not afford not to be at work, and as mentioned above, some rudimentary instruction in music was often given. Sunday Schools also catered for adults anxious to learn to read and write.

As to the relative importance of day and Sunday Schools in providing education for the working classes in the early part of the period, Sanderson¹³, after providing considerable detailed evidence, makes the conclusion that they each ministered to about half of the group in question who received education, and that the educational provision of night schools was significant for only a minority. He also notes that in rural areas, children tended to go to day schools rather than Sunday Schools. Sanderson's findings are in broad agreement with the figures quoted by Hempton¹⁴ in respect of Anglican schools in the Diocese of Ripon in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. For example in 1858, fifty seven thousand one hundred and eighty attended day schools, fifty seven thousand five hundred and forty two attended Sunday Schools and two thousand nine hundred and twenty five attended evening schools.

Music had also found a place in some experimental schools such as Robert Owen's in New Lanark. All these provisions were, of course, for the working class. The Public Schools and old Grammar Schools catered for the upper and middle classes, but music for over a century had had no place in their curriculum.

The religious and social pressures did however cause an increasing number of educationists to press for more serious attention to be given to the development of vocal music in schools. A notable champion of the cause was W E Hickson, who has been nicknamed, 'The Father of English School Music'. In an address given by him in 1837, he expounded his belief in music and saw the benefits as twofold.

'It has a tendency to wean the mind from vicious and sensual indulgences; and if properly directed, has a tendency to incline the heart to kindly feelings and just and tender emotions.'

15

In 1833, sufficient concern had already been generated for the government to make a grant of twenty thousand pounds for public education and six years later, in 1839, a bill was passed increasing this to thirty thousand pounds, and setting up a special committee of the Privy Council to supervise national education. The committee's first chairman was James Kay-Shuttleworth, a Northerner, whose family home was Gawthorpe Hall in Burnley. From the start, he was anxious to promote music and his reasons are typical of the age. The value of music as he saw it lay in its being,

'An important means of forming an industrious, brave,
loyal and religious people.'

16

Kay-Shuttleworth had travelled on the Continent and had been much impressed with the education he had found there, particularly so in respect of music and it was this experience that influenced him to promote a system of musical training different from the indigenous system that had evolved. These systems were to develop and run in parallel for a couple of decades until one became universally accepted.

One of Kay-Shuttleworth's first actions was to appoint a team of Inspectors to report on

'The method and matter of instruction and the character of
the discipline established.'

17

Their first reports paint a pretty dismal picture of the state of education in the country. They conclude that,

'Vocal music has been successfully cultivated in
comparatively few elementary schools in Great Britain.'

18

There are very few references to creditable music work being done and those were in Cornwall and the Norwich area where Hickson's 'Singing Master' and Sarah Glover's 'Schemes to Render Psalmody Congregational', respectively were in use. So far as the North was concerned, it was noted that factory workers sang at their work despite the absence of musical training and the following was recorded:

'In the Northern counties of England, choral singing has long formed the chief rational amusement of the manufacturing population. Weavers of Lancashire and Yorkshire have been famed for their acquaintance with the great works of Handel and Hadyn, with the part music of the Old English school and those admirable psalms, the music of which it is desirable to restore to common use.'

19

These findings provided evidence that in spite of the poor state of music in schools,

'The natural genius of the people would reward careful cultivation.'

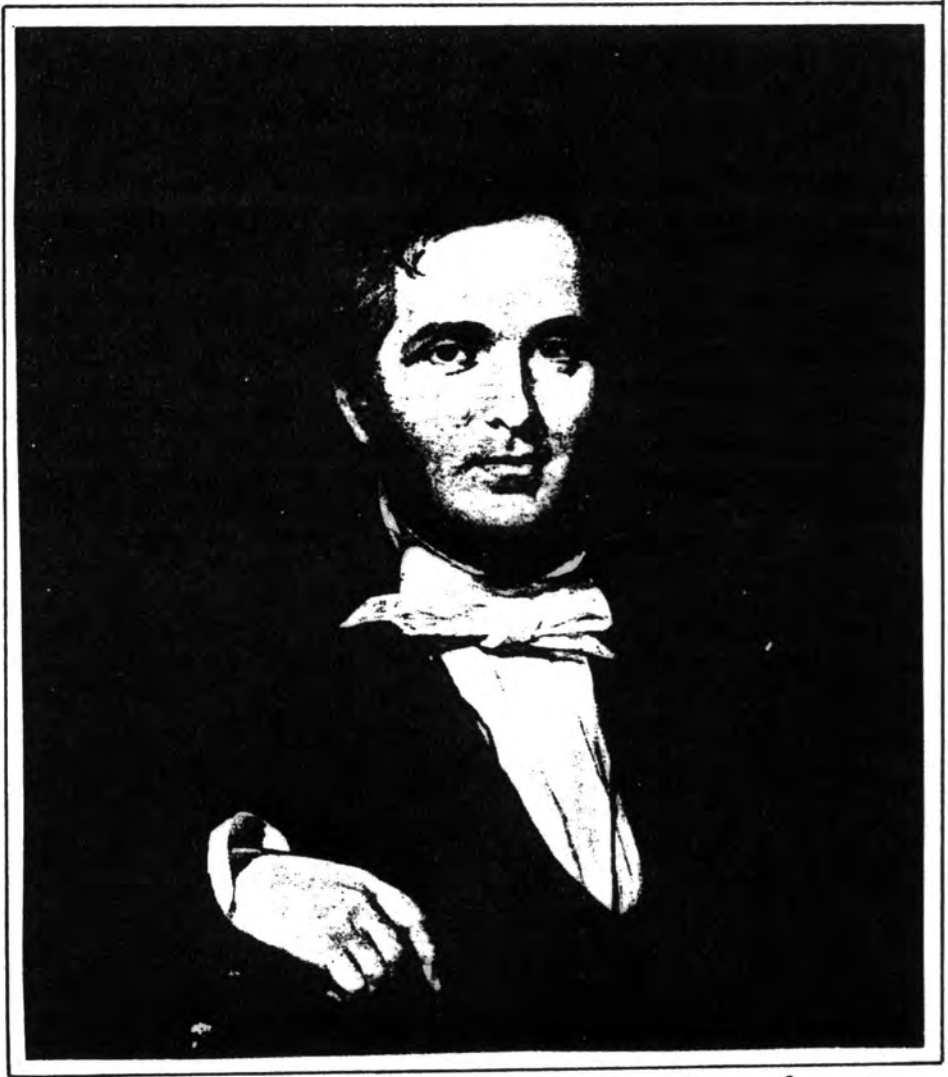
20

Kay-Shuttleworth himself was quite convinced of music's instrumental value. He also succeeded in convincing those who hitherto had regarded English children as by nature, unmusical and therefore considered musical training a waste of time. It remained for him to plan the mammoth task of introducing music into the Nation's schools. Kay-Shuttleworth's other resolve on taking office, was to institute a system of teacher training. This initially met with rejection in 1839, because of the religious differences between the two major societies. But Kay-Shuttleworth was so determined, that he founded a private institution in an old manor house in Battersea, which opened in 1840. Enquiries as to a suitable person to train students in music, led to his inviting John Hullah to undertake the work. Hullah, like Kay-Shuttleworth, had first hand experience of music teaching methods on the Continent and was also an enthusiastic disciple of the Wilhem system. Hullah had also been impressed by Mainzer's singing classes and wished to introduce his own in London. Kay-Shuttleworth and Hullah made a further visit to France and on their return, Hullah began to adapt Wilhem's 'Manual Musical' and in 1841, it was published and granted official approval for use in schools. It followed closely Wilhem's text, but at Kay-Shuttleworth's request, Hullah incorporated traditional English airs, and he also made the text suitable for either simultaneous or monitorial teaching. Although Hullah names the degrees of the scale according to the Old Gamut terminology, a crucial and decisive feature is the retention of the French fixed Doh system.

Hullah was an able musician with an engaging and enthusiastic personality and with a natural aptitude as a teacher. He was very

successful with his students at Battersea and they were soon impressing London audiences at the Exeter Hall, with their skill. These singing classes, together with the singing school for singing masters, also held in the Exeter Hall, achieved wide and enthusiastic recognition for his work. According to contemporary estimate²¹, at least fifty thousand children and four hundred teachers passed through these classes in the first year. More classes followed, and throughout, Hullah's approach was entirely altruistic. Kay-Shuttleworth was gratified by the desire amongst the people for self-improvement that the singing classes had stimulated. Other new training colleges also used Hullah's manual and therefore a high proportion of the new teachers were disseminating Hullah's method invariably with some limited success. Even though Hullah's method was to prove fundamentally flawed and ultimately stand redundant before Curwen's, it did meet Kay-Shuttleworth's original aim of bringing song to life in the schools and giving the general public a new social experience. It was the novelty of this phenomenon rather than the method's soundness which accounted for the initial public enthusiasm. The overwhelming complexities that caused Hullah's method to fail have been well documented (by Rainbow, Simpson and others), and by the time his new treatise, 'Time and Tune in the Elementary School' was published in 1875, the case had been lost to Curwen.

One of the first public criticisms of Hullah's method came from Hickson (author of 'The Singing Master') who, in the Westminster Review in 1842, roundly condemned not only Hullah, but the board for its ban on all other methods. Hickson believed that Mainzer's 'Singing for the Million' (1841) was superior, for although it used a fixed Doh, it was simpler. Mainzer also enjoyed considerable success with his singing classes in London after his earlier success in Paris, but resented the blinkered monopolistic outlook of the committee of the council. Whatever the limitations of Hullah's or Mainzer's work, the momentum it generated was to be wholly positive. The distinguished music critic Joseph Bennett was to say that it provided the basis for



John Curran



John Hollah

During the middle years of the nineteenth century, there was a divergence of methods used to teach sight singing. The impetus and early development which had come through church music continued but ran along a course parallel to the officially approved method of Hullah. The native pioneer work of music education for the service of the church, that had been undertaken so successfully by Sarah Glover, was continued by John Curwen. He could have had little idea in 1841 (significantly, the same year as the publication of Hullah's method) that his work, which began on purely moral and religious grounds, was to revolutionise music education as a whole, and ultimately supersede Hullah's approach, to become a means of access to music for great numbers of people and remain unsurpassed as a relatively simple method of sight singing. It is an indication of his progressive attitude towards education and 'feel' for methodology, that he pioneered work on the 'look and say' method of reading and also approaches to mathematics teaching.

There are many sources (Rainbow, Scholes, and the publications of the Curwen Institute for example) of information providing the detail and application of Curwen's method. It is sufficient here to relate these to the developing educational scene and assess their importance to music and society.

Curwen's is essentially a synthetic approach. Unlike Hullah, he did not try to import a foreign method in total, nor did he develop an entirely new approach. His method stands in a clear line of descent from the old Gamut, through Lancashire solfa and most recently, the decisive influence of Sarah Glover's work. Perhaps the most important difference in comparison with Hullah was his retention of the English movable Doh. This is implicit in the title of his method 'Tonic Solfa' which stresses the mental effect which he believed individual notes had in relation to the key note and prevailing tonality at any given point in a piece. Of central importance is the emphasis that is placed upon the correct aural relationship between sounds.

'The mental effect of each degree of the scale, teaching by chords rather than scalar progression, and the use of the Modulator, were all dwelt upon, while Curwen was already working his way to a realisation that "we sing by calling the character of the tones of the scale rather than by mere intervals".'

23

Prior to the Sunday School Teacher's Conference in Hull in the Autumn of 1841, Curwen had been shown a copy of Sarah Glover's 'Scheme to Render Psalmody Congregational' and had found in using it with his Sunday School children at Stowmarket, that her emphasis on sound before symbol was of fundamental importance. The method was immensely successful and he began to use it in his Children's Hymn Book and in articles he wrote entitled 'Lessons on music' in the new periodical 'Independent Magazine', of which he had become editor. Perhaps it was Curwen's enthusiasm that caused him to succeed with his project and modification to Sarah Glover's work, without first consulting her. This unfortunately resulted in a certain amount of friction between them and her refusal to endorse his modifications. She did however, agree to allow him to visit her school in Norwich and he was deeply impressed by this visit. Curwen's modifications were slight but practically and educationally significant - the use of small letters, the adoption of less ambiguous spellings for the steps of the scale, the practice of not singing with the children, but of patterning first, stating the pitch of doh in terms of the letters of the staff in order to facilitate transfer. There were also some minor alterations to the rhythmic notation.

Rainbow describes Curwen's method as 'inspired eclecticism'²⁴ and concisely summarises the sources that he drew upon to produce his synthesis as follows:

'From the writings of Pestalozzi and his English and European followers Curwen learned the value of humanity in the teacher's equipment, and the importance of 'sense-impression' (Anschauung) in the learning process. Miss Glover revealed to him the basic principles of Tonic Solfa - the use of the solfa initials, the superiority of the movable doh and the method of securing in-learning of the degrees of the scale by means of the Modulator. Jue de Berneval introduced Curwen to the theory of the 'mental effects' of the various degrees of the scale, and also gave him the square-headed note to indicate the position of the Tonic upon the stave. Lowell Mason first drew his attention to the works of Naegeli and Pfeiffer, from whom Curwen borrowed extensively for his first detailed exercises upon musical expression. The Reverend J J Waite expounded to him the principle of Rousseau's 'bridge tone' device, by means of which Curwen denoted modulation in terms of solfa. Although it is not possible to connect Waite directly with either Rousseau or Galin, Curwen in his later writings would cite Rousseau in justification of the principle of the movable doh. On the other hand, John Curwen remained adamant in his belief that a notation of solfa initials was preferable to the figure - notation of Rousseau, Galin and Waite. And it is indisputable that Rousseau had been led to adopt

cipher-notation only because of the immobility of traditional French solfa. From Galin's successor, Aimé Paris, Curwen adopted the 'Langue de durees', anglicising the original terms and making them widely known in this country as the 'French time names'. The publications of W E Hickson, Joseph Mainzer, Natorp, Zeller and Lowell-Mason were acknowledged as the source of many of Curwen's singing exercises, part songs and other vocal literature. Joseph and Anton Gersbach provided the raw material for Curwen's first Harmony course; Waldmann, Reismann, Nauenberg, Garcia and Sabilla Novello were all drawn upon for material in his published chapters on Voice Production. Only Wilhelm and Hullah appeared to Curwen so wrong-headed as to afford nothing to his eclectic system.'

25

Although Curwen's original intention was to produce a method which would assist in the promotion of music in Sunday Schools, it soon began to be used in day schools and evening classes. Unlike Mainzer and Hullah, whose work was popularised by the success of their singing classes, Curwen's influence and contact with pupils came through his writings and the addresses he was invited to give, such as those in Manchester and Salford in 1842. This, together with the state promotion of Hullah, made the growth of the Tonic Solfa movement initially rather slow. By the mid 1850's it could however, boast thirty thousand members throughout the country and by the 1860's had become sufficiently widely used in schools to be noted in Inspector's reports. In 1853, Curwen published his 'A Grammar of Vocal Music' which was a revision of his 1843 'Singing for Schools and Congregations'. By 1882, Curwen's son claimed that his father's method was in use in 80% of the country's elementary schools. From 1872, vocal music was a compulsory element in the curriculum. There was also a financial inducement to encourage schools to undertake more than just rote singing. In the Inspector's Report of 1873, on Up Holland Grammar School near Chorley, Lancashire, there is a comment 'The Singing by note was not satisfactory', together with the statement as follows:

'Grant paid per child - Singing

a) Ear	6d	
b) note	1/-	26

Curwen had always envisaged his method as an approach which would ultimately lead to performers being able to read from staff notation. However, spurred on by the great success of the method and the

enthusiasm of his followers, he became less insistent on the transfer from his solfa notation to staff notation. This reliance on solfa notation to the exclusion of staff was made possible by the range of choral music available in solfa editions. In 1864, he also began to produce instrumental music in that notation. In spite of the open access to music that his method provided for the masses, these late developments, allowing total dependency on Tonic Solfa notation, did considerable harm to the method and undermined its positive values. It certainly strengthened opposition to it from orthodox musicians.

John Curwen died in 1880 and two years later his son, John Spencer Curwen, wrote of his father's work,

'The Tonic Solfa movement touched almost all efforts for the elevation of mankind. By simplifying musical notation, the art in its domestic and religious aspects entered thousands of homes which had before been without music. Thus the method was the indirect means of aiding worship, temperance, and culture, of holding young men and women among good influences, of reforming character, of spreading Christianity. The artistic aspect of the work done by the Tonic Solfa method is indeed less prominent than its moral and religious influence.'

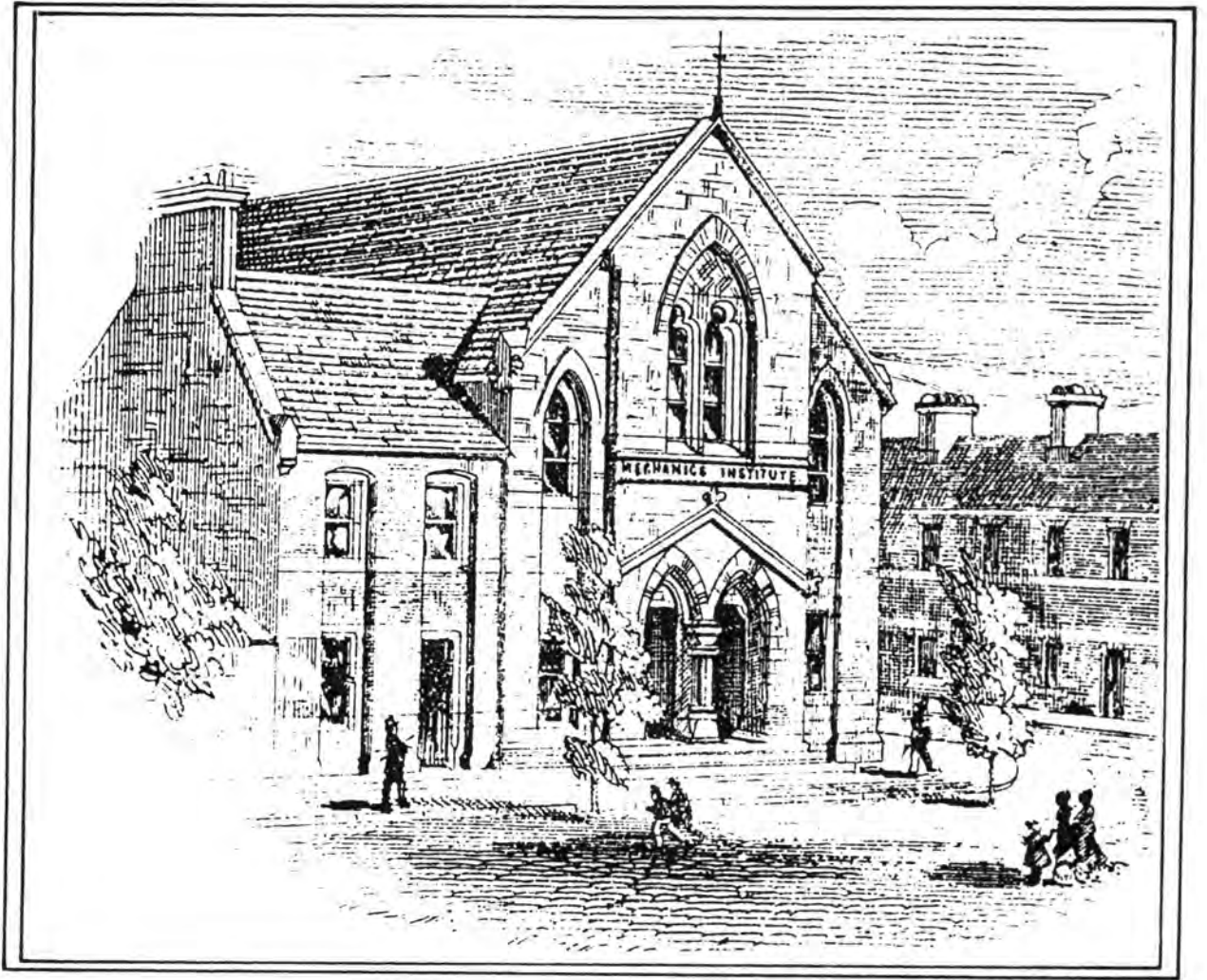
27

Scholes considers the naivety and lack of musical taste of its members an impediment to the movement's recognition in cultured circles. He does however, acknowledge that it enabled Elementary school teachers who had no regular education themselves, to do successful sight singing work, and for artizans to become efficient choralists, so bringing into existence,

'A new musical class which possessed technical skill without (at first) musical taste.'

28

There is a close parallel here with the Brass Band Movement, which was discussed in the last chapter. The social consequences of the movement were as important as its technical aspects. Tonic Solfa choirs were formed throughout the country and were very effective agents of the self-help movement.



A Village Mechanic's Institute



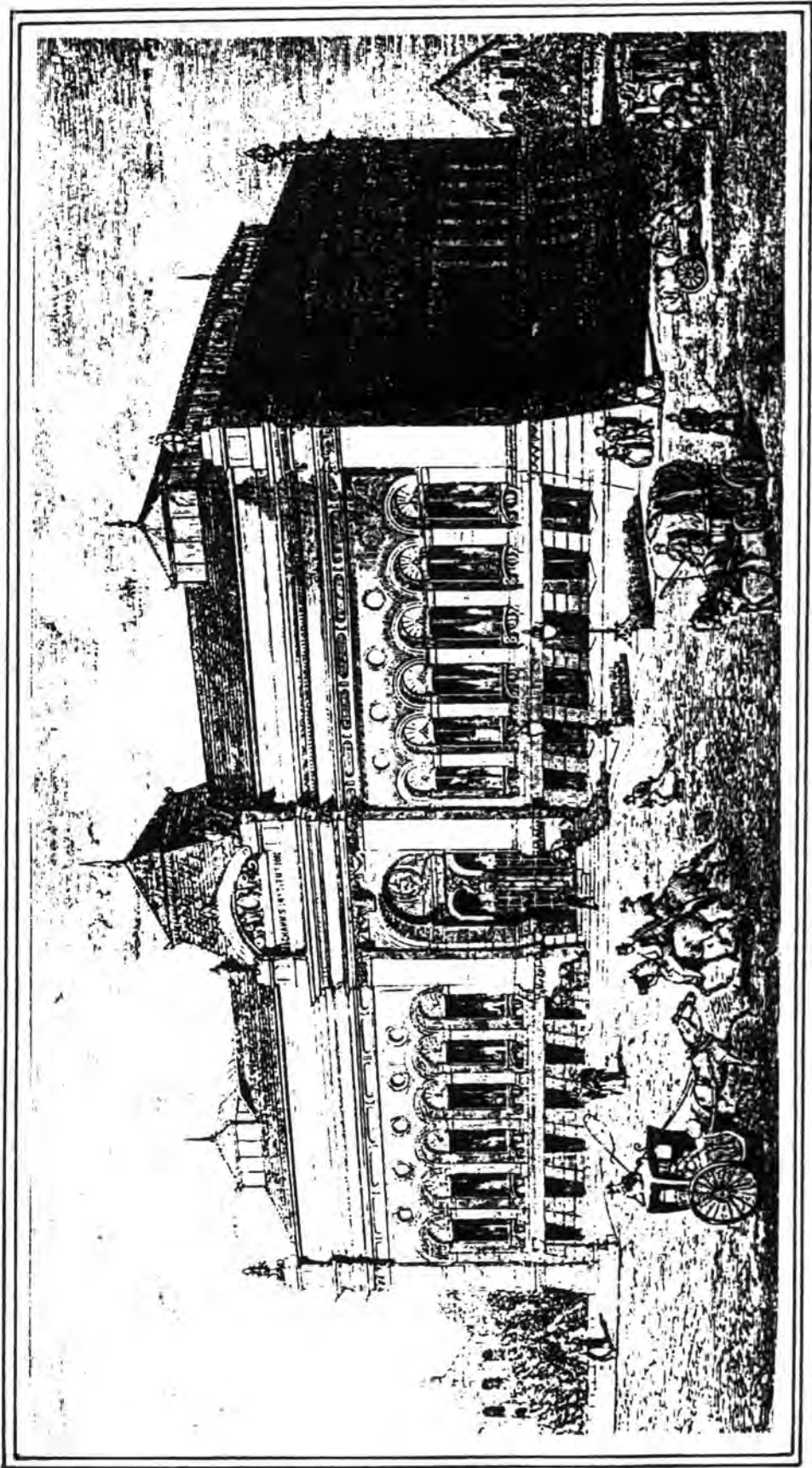
Samuel Smiles

The final section of this chapter will deal with the provision of music education as it existed for adults, particularly in Mechanic's Institutes. The musical activities of Mechanic's Institutes and the like will of course have a bearing on the next chapter, but so far as this chapter is concerned, reference will be limited to their role in the teaching of sight singing and the promotion of choral activities.

An important characteristic of Victorian society, and reflection of its value, was the desire for self-improvement. 'Getting on' through hard work became almost a national obsession, and this was reflected in a wide range of agencies for self-help. One of the most outstanding manifestations of this ethos was the growth in all facets of adult education. Education was seen as not only worthwhile and valuable in itself, but also as a means of getting up the social ladder and increasing material prosperity. There were all kinds of provisions being developed to meet this demand: books, periodicals and various organisations providing part time adult education, including night schools, mutual improvement societies, Peoples' colleges and Church Institutes and Mechanic's Institutes. As has been noted earlier in this study and will be so again, this fervour of aspiration and activity was most evident in the upper working class and lower middle class.

Probably the most outstanding writer of 'success literature' was Samuel Smiles, whose four volumes published collectively as 'The Social Gospel' provided the prototypes of the self-made man and set out to analyse the secrets of their success. The first and most popular of these was 'Self Help' which was published in 1859 and sold a quarter of a million copies in his lifetime. Significantly this book began as a series of talks given to a mutual improvement society in Leeds in 1845. Smiles did not advocate the pursuit of education for its attendant benefits, but rather did he emphasise self-culture as its own reward and the value of liberalising elements in adult education such as music.

Amongst the many self-help articles in their issues, John Cassell's 'Popular Educator' will serve as a representative with particular relevance here. It was for this magazine in 1852, that Curwen was invited to contribute a series of articles on music. These articles were on Tonic Solfa and did a great deal to bring Curwen to public notice and popularise his method.



Leeds Mechanics' Institute

Although as has already been mentioned, Curwen's method was originally intended for musical instruction in Sunday Schools, it acquired a universal usefulness in music education including evening classes. There are many references to the place of music in Mechanic's Institutes. Henry Coward, the famous Sheffield Choral conductor referred to in the last chapter, is a prime example of a self-made man of his age, who owed his early musical training to the Solfa movement. He in turn ran solfa classes in Church Institutes and Mechanic's Institutes.

The formation of Mechanic's Institutes was probably the most ambitious of the philanthropic ventures to provide some basic education for the working class. The original intention was to give artizans the specialised knowledge which would make them better workers. The success that the Mechanic's Institute had was not that which was intended, and it was not particularly with the working classes, nor in the field of technical education. So far as this study is concerned however, it can be recorded that music played an important part in many of these Mechanic's Institutes and there is much evidence which related to the North of England, thereby contributing to the emerging picture of music in Northern society. Though there is a record of a Mechanic's Institute having been suggested for Leeds in 1821, the earliest Mechanic's Institute was founded in London in 1823. They soon became formed throughout the country and developed especially quickly in Yorkshire. By 1825, many major towns in the West Riding had Institutes, though they were far from being self-help organisations of the working class, since for the most part they relied upon middle class support and guidance. This was so in Leeds, where the principal offices were held by the leading textile Magnates of the city - an indicator of the changing social hierarchy of an industrial society, where paternalism of the squire had been transferred to the industrialist. By the middle of the century, there were almost seven hundred Institutes throughout the country. Having failed in their basic educational mission to the working class, through an over-estimation of the workers appetite for culture, their function widened and they gradually became clubs for the lower middle class. John Ella, founder of the Musical Union, writing in 1869 made his assessment of Mechanic's Institutes in these terms:

'The attempt to establish Mechanic's Institutes throughout the country has proved a single failure, and instead of being arenas for instruction to the illiterate mechanic, most of them have become places of popular entertainment, in which music, in some form or other, holds a large share. Abstruse theories and technical science, however clearly expounded, must ever fail to enlist the sympathies of the great mass of the lower orders who lack the commonest elements of education.'

29

Notwithstanding the middle class image of the Mechanic's Institutes, they did contribute something of value in terms of musical culture, and music, both vocal and instrumental can be found in the programmes of the larger institutes. The procedure generally adopted was to establish a singing class which would work towards a concert and build other musical activities on this base. References testifying to this activity can be found in contemporary writings and minutes of particular institutes and it can be reasonably assumed that these may be regarded as representative examples of music making in adult education in the North.

- 'Manchester: an expression of the appreciation for good work done by the music instructor, Mr Ward, from whose singing classes had developed other groups which met to practice glees and psalmody.'
- Bradford: In 1845 "a course of weekly concerts for working classes."
- Leeds: In 1849 a series of lecture recitals
- Patley Bridge: In 1848, a vocal and instrumental concert (Nr Harrogate) of music by Handel and Haydn, in which most of the performers were members.'

Of the formal institutions which came after Mechanic's Institutes, and other evening institutes, it was the W.E.A. that was perhaps the most influential. It was founded in 1903 and its North Western committee established in 1904. The movement was the idea of Albert Mansbridge, who brought together personalities from the political, religious and educational worlds and united them in the cause of adult education. In its early years it was partly an agency to co-ordinate existing adult provision and it had links with university extension classes. But with

the passage of time it became more of a general adult education organisation and there was a demand for shorter, less exacting courses than the tutorial classes. So the W.E.A. became a universal provider and classes contributing to a broad liberal education were introduced. These frequently included music, though with less emphasis on performance than had been the case in Mechanic's Institutes. Inevitably in such a federation, there were likely to be wide regional and even local variations, dependent upon the area. One of the branches which came closest to the ideals of the founder, was in Wakefield, where in order to avoid any possible controversy over the classification 'Workers', called itself 'The Wakefield Educational Guild'. This branch enjoyed the support of local dignitaries including the Bishop, the Headmaster and Headmistress of the Grammar Schools, the Town Clerk and various other professional people. The Guild promoted a wide programme of courses including musical appreciation. After the first World War, the movement never quite recovered the scale of its early years.

In conclusion, some assessment must be made at this stage in respect of education's contribution to the development of music in Northern society.

The educational provision that developed laid such positive emphasis on music and pioneered methods of practice, that it might seem to have a case for being regarded as having made a decisive contribution. There are strong grounds for regarding its effects as contributory rather than decisive.

In seeking criteria for making this assessment, a useful indicator would be the extent to which people demonstrated a voluntary, skilful involvement in some musical activity which was directly attributable to the education process. The evidence in the case of the singing class movement is conclusive. Large numbers became voluntarily involved and acquired skills in performance from some system of notation. Whatever the motivation, the response was there. What is uncertain, is the extent of any carry over from these classes into a continued commitment to music and an involvement in other musical activities. There are parallels here with mass evangelism. They did at least raise the level of musical awareness by providing experience in developing practical skills.

The situation in day schools is less clear. Music was taught with varying levels of skill and children were put through the hoop of whatever method happened currently to be in use. However, it is not sufficient to regard exposure to the process of music education as either evidence of, or reason for musical growth in society. This can only be assessed in respect of pupil's response to that process, that is, it requires evidence of what in currently fashionable educational parlance, is the concept of 'ownership'. It is because of the difficulty in even attempting an adequate 'a priori' definition of what constitutes a regional musical propensity that this study has of necessity been descriptive, choosing to refer to the many forms of musical expression and involvement and accept the evidence of these within their inevitable limitations. So in assessing the contribution of elementary education, we look for the evidence of ownership and response. Many children would become equipped with some basic singing skills, but whether without this training, church choirs would have been without singers, choral societies would not have developed, or fewer people learnt musical instruments, is impossible to say. What can be said is that we know from a variety of sources previously referred to, that all these activities were pursued and often to a high standard, prior to 1840. All that can be said is that schools provided a training which either itself or with a stimulus from elsewhere, motivated people to continue their musical activities. As has already been pointed out, the extrinsic values of music had a wide and strong currency. It was perhaps these culture-based stimuli that were the really decisive factors, rather than the input of education itself. It is in the extent to which these correlate with distinctive features of Northern life, that it is possible to begin to account for the musical dimension of its culture. The People's religious life is one of the most important examples of these distinctive and decisive cross-connections and will be the subject of the last chapter.

CHAPTER 4
MUSIC OF THE NEW JERUSALEM

This final chapter concerns the relationship between music and religion and how far these two potent forces interacted and influenced the personal and cultural development of Northern people. It will try to reveal the extent of, and reason for the adherence of different groups and classes of people to the various denominational bodies, and identify the type of music associated with each.

It would be helpful to begin by making some assessment of the religious character of the period - a period which is frequently stated, and generally believed, to have been a religious one. Harrison for example begins his chapter on 'Religion as a Social Force' with the unequivocal statement that, 'The Victorian era was essentially a religious age'.¹ This view was also often expressed in a popular, anecdotal form by ordinary people - as when an Accrington man, recalling his own involvement with his Wesleyan Methodist church as a young man, stated that, 'People were religious in those days'.² Such is the general impression which for most people constituted the norm. Yet it is a view, which however widely held, needs qualification if the hypothesis - that people's musical experience and development was to a large extent linked with, and influenced by their religious life - is not to be based upon too general an assumption.

A useful indicator of the importance of religion in people's lives is provided by information on church allegiance and habits of church worship, and there is sufficient data available to form a reasonably accurate impression of this situation. For the first and only time, the census of 1851 included details of attendance at Sunday worship and the information was compiled into a report by Horace Mann.³ The returns for Yorkshire for example, show that out of a population of one million seven hundred and eighty nine thousand and forty seven, some nine hundred and eighty three thousand four hundred and twenty three attendances were made. The figures need some analysis and interpretation and even then cannot be absolutely conclusive. In accordance with Mann's formula (i.e. counting all the morning

attendances, half those of the afternoon and a third those of the evening) to deduce the number of attenders from total attendances, the West Riding figure, for example, is 35% of the population, as against a national average of 40.5%.⁴ But bearing in mind that he estimated that, allowing for unavoidable absences owing to work, infirmity and extremes of age, only 58% of the population of Yorkshire would have been able to attend, Harrison⁵ concludes that it is reasonable to believe that a high proportion of the population attended church or chapel.

However important or otherwise Mann's statistics are as an indication of the country's religious strength, there is another sense in which this can be judged. This is typified by the concerned response to the census figures, namely that religious issues were a national concern. Trevelyan cites national preoccupation with religious affairs as one of the two unifying characteristics of the age (the other being the absence of war).

'The whole period was marked by interest in religious questions and was deeply influenced by seriousness of thought and self-discipline of character, an outcome of the Puritan ethos.'

6

It is significant that contemporary churchmen, rather than relaxing with complacency, were concerned by the picture that emerged of non-attenders at worship. One which confirmed with alarming uniformity and accuracy a belief that had been prevalent for some time and which had already influenced revivals and reforms in the church, that it was the working class that constituted the main body of absentees.

Engels had written in 1845,

'All the writers of the bourgeoisie are unanimous on this point, that the workers are not religious and do not attend church.'

7

Mann himself also stated that,

'In cities and large towns, it is observable how absolutely insignificant a portion of the congregation is composed of artisans.'

8

Inglis confirmed this situation with special reference to the industrial North when he wrote:

'The areas in which worship was least popular included every large cotton town, the two greatest woollen towns Bradford and Leeds, every large coal town except Wolverhampton, the two great hardware towns Sheffield and Birmingham, and every large town in Lancashire except Wigan and Rochdale. In a score of the largest towns in England fewer than one person in ten, according to estimates made in the report, attended any place of worship on census Sunday.'

9

Such was the concern at this state of affairs, that there was no shortage of analyses seeking explanation. Generally the causes were attributed to the lower levels of the Working Classes losing their religious roots during the social upheavals of the Industrial Revolution and feeling no affinity with organised religion, its style of public worship and other classes of worshippers.

'It is easy to see how the artizan and labourer fresh from the country villages where, at least, they might find room, and often sought it, in the House of God, should gradually lose the habit of worship and devotion where there was neither place for them to worship nor pastor to lead them in the ways of God.'

10

A frank response to the collective failure of the churches to evangelise a significant portion of the Working Classes in the industrial areas, came from the Reverend ~~A~~ F Winnington-Ingram, who said that,

'It is not that the Church of God has lost the great towns; it has never had them.'

11

Mann's evidence showing the absence of the disaffected poor from public worship would not come as a surprise to anyone in the 1850's. Each of the religious denominations had for some time been focusing attention on the problem and facing up to its challenge. It was the malaise within the Anglican church, evident in its neglect of the poor, its failure to adapt its ministry to the needs of the new age and especially, its identification with the ruling classes, that had provided much of the impetus to the dissenting religious groups in the previous century.

'The special difficulty of the Church of England lay in its close association with the act of governing and with the classes that governed.'

12

It is not surprising that the rapidly growing industrial areas, where non-conformist energies had so purposefully been deployed, should have become strongholds of those religious bodies. Although the religious complexion of the Industrial North was in general non-conformist, it was specifically Methodism that was the dominant religious influence.

'Methodism was firmly established in Yorkshire by the end of the eighteenth century, and by the middle of the nineteenth century it had become almost the 'traditional' religion of the West Riding.'

13

The pervading non-conformist ethos, which found its fullest expression in Methodism, is well explained by Harrison:

'The impact which Methodism made upon working men was not confined to attendance at chapel on Sundays. It coloured their whole lives, and guided their daily thoughts and actions. Their need was for a type of religion which did not outrage their social and political hopes, a religion in which they could feel genuinely at home, and which they felt 'could speak to their condition'. The contribution which Methodism was thus enabled to make to the working-class movement, through the experience of leaders who were or had been influenced by Methodism, was considerable. The Methodist class system provided a useful model for Chartist and radical organisation, and a class or band meeting could as easily study the works of Thomas Paine as the Old Testament. Camp meetings and chapels were institutions which could serve secular as well as religious purposes, and the eloquence and self-discipline acquired through preaching from a chapel pulpit was a useful training for addressing mass meetings of Chartists or Short Timers. As schools of practical democracy and self-government, the Methodist chapels rendered inestimable service to the working-class movement. Not only did working men utilise directly Methodist forms and techniques for other causes, but they also assimilated Methodist thought and attitudes into popular movements for reform. Life for the working men was not to be lived in separate compartments; his religion and his social strivings had to be harmonised.'

14

This influence was wide-ranging and with reference to the West Riding Harrison says;

'On the one hand it reached down to the multitude of Little Bethels, Mount Zions, and Zoars of the industrial villages, where the chapels were centres of such social life as had yet emerged from the chaos of urban industrialism; and on the other hand it reached up to the fashionable chapels of Leeds.'

15

The movement's vigour was such that between 1800 and 1850 its membership increased twice as fast as the population and in the West Riding its membership, without taking into account other non-conformist bodies, provided almost half the church attendances on census Sunday and significantly exceeded the attendances of Anglicans.

Many men testified to the formative influence of Methodism on their lives. A contemporary account of a flourishing Methodist circuit, emphasising its influence upon people's lives stated:

'It was she (Methodism) that saved him from rags, put him on his feet, gave him a character and placed him in the path of industry in which he has found both affluence and position.'

16

Edwards concluded that 'Methodism was becoming a movement which drew its largest number of members from among the middle classes who had made and been made by the Industrial Revolution'.¹⁷

The situation is neatly summarised by Inglis as follows:

'Methodism was helping people up the temporal ladder; but there is little evidence that in any form it was extending its ministry far into the great body of working-class people who attended no religious worship.'

18

Almost inevitably, Methodism, which began as a radical dissenting body, was becoming conservative. It was as a reaction to this conservatism and in an attempt to reassert the principles of its founders, that splits occurred within the Methodist movement. One such was the formation of the Primitive Methodist Connection in 1811. This group according to Wickham in his detailed study of Sheffield, noted that it made its greatest contribution after 1850 when it enjoyed -

'an astonishing awakening and growth',

and that it,

'embraced more of the artizan class than any other church in the second half of the nineteenth century.'

19

At this time, the ratio of Wesleyan Methodists to Primitive Methodists was three to one.²⁰ Wickham believed that,

'The broad generalisation and conclusions that emerged are substantially those of any large industrial city in the country.'

21

During this time of evangelical revival, when the Primitives were providing a fundamentalist dimension in the movement, the Anglican church, which had lost the initiative in ministering to the inhabitants of the growing industrial towns of the new age to the non-conformists, was being revitalised and facing up to this challenge.

'Socially, the Church of England and Methodism were moving in opposite directions; the Church was turning slowly and clumsily to face the classes which it had long ignored, and the Methodists, sprung from these same classes were, in many cases, shedding their humble associations.'

22

The revival within the Anglican Church became apparent in a number of ways. From the 1830's Anglicans like the non-conformists, recognised the need for building new churches. As a result of the Million Act of 1818, government money was made available for the building of new Anglican churches, but even so, they did not keep pace with the non-conformists. In the industrial areas of the West Riding for example, Anglican churches between 1800 and 1813 increased from eighty seven to one hundred and sixty seven, whilst non-conformist chapels increased from one hundred and sixteen to six hundred and seventeen during the same period.²³ By census year, in the whole of Yorkshire there were three thousand five hundred and fifty six places of worship of which two thousand four hundred were chapels of the dissenters.²⁴ All these were not only important centres of religious and social activity, but were bases for corporate musical experience and expression.

It was not just church building which provided evidence of new life within the Anglican Church. New dioceses were being carved out of the large ancient diocese. The diocese of Ripon for example was formed to cater for the West Riding, and new parishes were formed in the areas of growing population. Working in these was a new breed of clergy - the so

called 'slum parsons' - men fired with a zeal for pastoral ministry and social reform.

It is important to distinguish within the Anglican Church two fundamentally different approaches to religious renewal, and associated with each were different ideas on liturgy and its music. The evangelical wing, which had much in common with non-conformity, was preoccupied with belief, acceptance of scriptural teaching and the securing of salvation for the individual. Associated with this were the behavioural traits like thrift, industry, temperance etc. which we think of collectively as the Protestant Work Ethic, by which men advanced themselves in the world. This was the religion of 'getting on', of the aspiring working classes and middle classes. By contrast, the emphasis of the emerging Oxford Movement was upon ministry to the people through the sacraments - administered in an atmosphere heightened by liturgical ceremonial and refurbished buildings - and complementing this by practical good works. It is interesting to note in this context that Richard Oastler, the social campaigner against child labour in the Yorkshire Mills, rejected Methodism and turned to the Church of England which was now becoming more concerned with the care of the poor and with the social issues of the day.

One of the important churchmen of the time, representative of the new men, was the redoubtable Reverend Dr W F Hook, vicar of Leeds from 1837 to 1859.

'It was his achievement that he, a High Churchman in the midst of a strongly evangelical community, rehabilitated the Church of England in the eyes of the middle classes, and won the respect and even affection of many of the working classes. That he earned the epithet of the "working man's vicar" was largely due to his obvious and sincere concern for projects of social reform.'

25

Other denominations also experienced growth (it was only the Quakers who actually declined). The Baptists were a radical, democratic body and were particularly strong in Lancashire. Perhaps of all denominations they had the widest social mix including all social strata below the Aristocracy. The Roman Catholics were a relatively small group and tended to be strongest in the industrial towns around the Northern ports

where they had arrived from Ireland during the potato famine. Wickham summarises the religious allegiance in nineteenth century England as follows, discerning in the England of 1850,

'... a return to the church on the part of the upper classes ... continued religious habits of the growing middle classes with some of the superior, more respectable and individualistic of the artizan class ... and the labouring class, itself capable of cultural subdivision, generally outside all the religious institutions. ... Great social change took place in the century, but the pattern of religious habit in the second half of the century, certainly of the middling and labouring classes, is basically determined by the habits of the first half.'

26

From the above it is possible to gain some impression of the scale of influence of religion generally and the various churches individually, the types of people they each ministered to, and something of the religious ethos underpinning and affecting the character of their worship. All these factors have direct bearing upon an assessment of the musical dimension. Not that it was only musical expression that came through religion. Writing specifically about Lancashire - but it is equally applicable elsewhere - Aspin remarks:

'The religious groups which sprang up in such great numbers during the nineteenth century influenced Lancashire people more than any other movement. Besides inspiring or enforcing a disciplined way of life, they provided education and social centres for the masses, and gave people who were denied a say in local and national affairs a sense of responsibility that came from helping to run an organisation of their own. They also narrowed the gap between the employing and working classes, which the factory system made so dangerously wide.'

27

Having established the importance of religion in nineteenth century Northern society for all except the lower labouring class, we can begin to examine the musical experience that came through that aspect of their lives. Because the Methodist and Anglican Churches account for the great majority of church people, illustrations will mostly relate to these groups, though the multi-form nature of both these bodies will take in a very wide spread of religious music. Special attention will be given to hymns as developed and used by the different churches, seeing to what extent they provide a musical common factor and yet have

musical and textural variety which reflect social as well as doctrinal differences.

The kind of musical experience the nineteenth century Northern worshipper might have would vary widely across the spectrum of Anglican and Methodist practice. These differences in practice would seem to be the result of two fundamental governing criteria; firstly the extent to which the musical offering was the province of the congregation, choir or both, and secondly, what the liturgical requirements were upon music.

So far as the Methodists were concerned, their position on both these points was perfectly clear. It was fundamental to their worship that there was involvement and participation by all. Nor were there any liturgical requirements which affected the music. From the earliest days of its outdoor meetings, music in the form of hymn singing had been a characteristic feature and it is undoubtedly the case that the emotional appeal of the hymns and the excellence of the singing was one of the most powerful attractions of the movement.

Although the early stages in the evolution of the hymn predates Methodism, it was a form which they made specially their own. The Wesley family was a musical one. Both John and Charles showed a considerable appreciation for music and one of Charles' sons Samuel and grandson by Samuel, Samuel Sebastian, were amongst the foremost musicians of their age. It is worth noting in passing that one of the most complementary unions of words and music in hymnody, where the quality of both is outstanding, is to be found in Charles Wesley's hymn 'O Thou who camest from above' to his grandson's tune 'Hereford'.^A It is interesting that S S Wesley was an Anglican (as we shall see later, on p.187 he was for a time organist at Leeds Parish Church during the incumbency of Dr. Hook), though the tune does in fact exhibit many of the characteristics we shall be identifying as those which were typically Methodist in origin.

An important stage in the history of the hymn after the Sternhold and Hopkins collection of metrical psalms (which incidentally John Wesley pronounced as 'shameless dogerel',²⁸) and its successor by Tate and Brady, came with the great liberating influence of Isaac Watts. Watts

was essentially a Calvinist in outlook and brought the influence of the New Testament to hymnody. He can be regarded as the father of the liturgical hymn.

It was however the Wesleys who brought 'The warm stream of Lutheran devotion'²⁹ to join the Calvinist stream of psalmody which had been so influential upon English Protestantism. If Isaac Watts was the father of the liturgical hymn, Charles Wesley was the father of the enthusiastic devotional hymn. This distinction is well-expressed by Routley.

'Watts, the cultured Calvinist, is conscious of the magnificence and grandeur of God, and of man's insignificance and smallness ... and the organised magnificence of the physical universe in Watt's day was still something of a new discovery. Wesley, seeing the world of Hogarth, sees man not as a puny reptile but as an uncontrolled and rebellious giant, the multitude of whose sins is yet unable to defeat the love of God.'

30

So Charles Wesley's hymns - over six thousand in number - were written for, and used as powerful tools in, his evangelistic missions around the country. It was through these hymns and their rousing tunes that he communicated his religious message to those outside the influence of the established church.

'Christianity was first brought home to the minds and hearts of millions of uneducated people, who had previously known it only as a mysterious rite to which they were expected to conform.'

31

Thus hymn singing became and remained a fundamental feature of Methodist worship even after it had moved from outdoor meetings into the prosperous Wesleyan chapels of the towns and villages throughout the North.

But what influence did this tradition have upon the musical culture of the masses? Scholes³² maintains that this was considerable, and we know of the fervour and excellence of Methodist singing from the legacy that still remains even in this irreligious age. There were many references made to the fine quality of Methodist singing - often by the religious 'rivals', concerned at the challenge it represented. The celebrated Dr Miller, organist of Doncaster Parish Church and referred to in Chapter

two, wrote on this matter at the end of the eighteenth century, acknowledging the superiority of Methodist singing.³³

It is possible to conclude therefore that most, if not all of the very significant number of Methodists would be enthusiastic singers. But this tradition goes beyond just full participation. As part of the growth of the Methodist movement away from its roots, it became the norm for hymns to be sung in harmony by at least some, and often many of the congregation. Even allowing that some of the harmony would be of the 'busked' variety (not that this is a skill to be despised - rather the reverse), and that harmonies would be passed on from parents to children by oral (and aural) tradition, many would undoubtedly acquire some skill in singing in harmony, and, where music copies were available, become familiar with notation, if only by dint of much repetition. As the century progressed, solfa would undoubtedly have an impact here.

It would be impossible to give anything like a representative cross-section of Methodist hymns and tunes, but in considering the musical skills associated with their singing and the artistic experience it would bring, one or two typically Methodist hymns will be examined.

Methodists drew upon a number of sources for their hymn tunes. Many of these were distinctly secular such as the traditional song 'Drink to me only', and the adaption of Handel's 'See the conquering Hero'. Handel in fact wrote three hymns specifically for the Methodists, the best known of which is 'Gopsal'. As well as these tunes borrowed from secular sources, Methodists established a new type of tune which again had marked secular qualities. An example of this type of tune is 'Helmsley'^B. Perhaps the most obvious point is that it has moved away from the syllabic treatment of the old metrical psalm tunes. Furthermore, it is in the new trochaic metre which according to Temperley³⁴ was the Wesleys' chief contribution to English prosody. Its distinctive musical features (evident in the early editions if less so in later re-harmonisations) will be seen to include melodic lines of a rather florid kind with appoggiaturas, feminine ending cadence points, melodic leaps on the half pulse to other notes of the harmony and repeated or sequential patterns, accommodated by repetition of a line or part of a line of the text.

(A)

O thou who camest from above
The fire celestial to impart,
Kindle a flame of sacred love
On the mean altar of my heart.

Jesus, confirm my heart's desire
To work and speak and think for thee;
Still let me guard the holy fire
And still stir up the gift in me.

There let it for thy glory burn
With inextinguishable blaze,
And trembling to its source return
In humble prayer and fervent praise.

Still let me prove thy perfect will,
My acts of faith and love repeat;
Till death thy endless mercies seal,
And make the sacrifice complete.

C. Wesley

(D)

LYNGHAM. C.M. T. JARMAN, 1776-1861.

(E)

DIADEM. C.M. J. ELLOE, 1819-99.

Martin Madan: arrangement of anonymous tune 'Helmsley', set to John and Charles Wesley's hymn 'Lo, he comes with clouds descending' (1769)

[1st Treble]
Lo, he comes with clouds - descend - ing. Once for fa - vour'd sin - ners slain!

[2nd Treble]

[Organ]

Thou - sand thou - sand saints - at - tend - ing Swell the tri - umph of his train.

Hal - le - lu - jah, hal - le - lu - jah, hal - le - lu - jah: God ap - pears, on earth to reign.

William East: fuging tune set to Sternhold's Psalm 15 (1750)

Who shall in
Who shall in
With - in thy ta - ber - na - cle, Lord,
With - in thy ta - ber - na - cle, Lord, Who shall in -
- ha - bit still? In thy most ho -
- ha - bit still? In
Or whom wilt thou re - ceive to dwell
- ha - bit still? Or whom wilt thou re - ceive to dwell
- ly hill, in thy most ho - ly hill? hill?
thy most ho - ly hill, in thy most ho - ly hill? hill?
In thy most ho - ly hill, in thy most ho - ly hill? hill?
In thy most ho - ly hill, in thy most ho - ly hill? hill?

There are also tunes known as 'Old Methodist Tunes' or more correctly, fuguing tunes in which one or more of the voice parts rests and then comes in in imitation of some preceding voice. The last line of words was often repeated in such a way as to be taken up by men and women in succession and then both together. There is a clear link here with the Larks' tunes referred to in Chapter one. The influence of Handel's choruses as well as the secular part song, is reflected in this type of tune, and the stirring and exhilarating effect produced by the simple technique, when a large full-voiced congregation was experiencing the thrill of part singing, is not difficult to imagine. From the training grounds of such congregations came the members of the small, local choirs and large choral societies which flourished throughout the region. Fuguing tunes were not specifically Methodist, but were used in all denominations. In fact, in spite of traditional belief, Temperley³⁵ maintains that they were Anglican in origin. An example of this type of tune is William East's tune to Sternhold's version of Psalm 15.^C A rumbustious nineteenth century development of the idea can be seen in the tune 'Lingham'^D, though this example was actually written by a Baptist. It is often sung to Charles Wesley's hymn, 'O for a Thousand Tongues to Sing'. The tune 'Diadem' also exhibits some independence between upper and lower parts in its second half, but in this case without being imitative. It is also an example of the growing popularity of triple metre and of the influence of the secular part song on hymn writing. The practice, in Yorkshire of ranting 'While Shepherds' to the tune of 'Ilkley Moor' shows this same inclination towards florid, secular, non-syllabic treatment and antiphonal effects with varied vocal groupings. This is perhaps an extreme example of the unsophisticated (not to say downright uncouth) vigour, which the Methodists brought to hymn singing. This last example (unlike 'Helmsley, Lingham, Diadem and others to be referred to later) has not achieved the acceptance and status of being included in the Methodist Hymn Book. Nonetheless, the concept of the hymn tune was widening to an extent that would have been undreamt of in the days of the old metrical psalm tunes. They were developments unlikely to have met with Wesley's approval. His directions were quite specific. He attacked,

'Complex tunes which it is impossible to sing with devotion,'

and maintained,

'Repeating the same words so often (but especially while another repeats different words - the horrid abuse which runs through the modern church music), as it shocks the common sense, so it necessarily brings in dead formality and has no more of religion in it than a Lancashire hornpipe.'

36

Provided they were not fugal, thereby obscuring the words, Wesley did however welcome Anthems - more correctly, Set Pieces, which involved little text, repetition and no overlapping of words. Although choirs did develop within churches, these were not contrary to the democratic principles of Methodist music, and early anthems could be congregational as was the case in the Congregational Church. Some of these simple Set Pieces Wesley included in his hymn books. One of them was the highly popular 'Vital Spark' by Harwood, the musical character of which can be seen in example^F. Wesley's own emotive account of a performance in Bolton is perhaps too subjective.

'I desired forty or fifty children to come in and sing "Vital spark of Heavenly Flame". Although some of them were silent not being able to sing for tears, yet the harmony was such as I believe could not be equalled in the King's Chapel.'

37

It would be interesting to know more precisely the nature of the harmony which these children made. 'Vital Spark' was still in use at the turn of the century - born out by the personal experience of no less an authority than Percy Scholes - the then youthful organist of a village Methodist chapel in Yorkshire.

Choirs continued to develop and flourish in chapels and their skill was a matter of local pride and honour. There was however never the uncertainty that occurred in the Anglican churches as to their role or responsibility in the service. They never represented a threat to full corporate expression by the congregation. What did occur in most chapels, and to a lesser extent, the Anglican churches too, was the periodic 'musical spectacular' which often took place in the context of an act of worship. These occasions were the focus of much corporate activity amongst the musicians of an area with a build up of rehearsals over a period, culminating in the great day itself. The flavour of these occasions, as well as their musical significance, can be caught in the last of Millington's sketches:

Largo
[1st Treble]
Vi - tal spark of heav'n - ly flame. Quit, oh quit this mor - tal frame.

[2nd Treble]
Vi - tal spark of heav'n - ly flame. Quit, oh quit this mor - tal frame.

[Bass]
Vi - tal spark of heav'n - ly flame. Quit, oh quit this mor - tal frame.

5 *p* Tremb - ling, ho - ping, ling' - ring, fly - ing, Oh the pain, the bliss of dy - ing!
cresc.

Tremb - ling, ho - ping, ling' - ring, fly - ing, Oh the pain, the bliss of dy - ing!
cresc.

Oh the pain, the bliss of dy - ing!
cresc.

10 *p* Cease, fond Na - ture, cease thy strife, And let me lan - guish in - to life.
cresc. [♩]

Cease, fond Na - ture, cease thy strife, And let me lan - guish in - to life.
cresc.

And let me lan - guish in - to life.

20 *p* sen - ses, shuts my sight Tell me, my soul, can this be death?
cresc. [♩]

sen - ses, shuts my sight, Tell me, my soul, can this be death?
cresc.

sen - ses, shuts my sight, Tell me, my soul, can this be death?

Largo affettuoso
50 The world re - cedes, it dis - ap - pears, Heav'n o - pens on my
p

The world re - cedes, it dis - ap - pears, Heav'n o - pens on my
p

The world re - cedes, it dis - ap - pears, Heav'n o - pens on my
p

Con spirito
55 *cresc.* eyes, my ears With sounds se - raph - ic ring. Lend, lend your wings, I
cresc.

eyes, my ears With sounds se - raph - ic ring. Lend, lend your wings, I
cresc.

eyes, my ears With sounds se - raph - ic ring. Lend, lend your wings, I
cresc.

60 mount, I fly, O grave, where is thy vic - to - ry? O grave, where is thy vic - to - ry? O
mount, I fly, O grave, where is thy vic - to - ry? O grave, where is thy vic - to - ry? O
mount, I fly, O grave, where is thy vic - to - ry? O grave, where is thy vic - to - ry? O
mount, I fly, O grave, where is thy vic - to - ry? O grave, where is thy vic - to - ry? O

Andante
15 Hark, they whis - per, an - gels say, they whis - per, an - gels
Hark, Hark, they whis - per, an - gels
Hark, Hark,

20 say, Hark, hark, they whis - per, an - gels
say, they whis - per, an - gels say, Hark, they whis - per, an - gels
Hark, they whis - per, an - gels say, Hark, they whis - per, an - gels

30 say, Sis - ter spi - rit, come a - way, sis - ter spi - rit,
say, Sis - ter spi - rit, come a - way, sis - ter spi - rit,
say, sis - ter spi - rit,

35 *p* come a - way. What is this ab - sorbs me quite, Steals my
come a - way. What is this ab - sorbs me quite, Steals my
come a - way. What is this ab - sorbs me quite, Steals my

*The repeat is probably meant to be from bar 13 only.

45 death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy vic - to - ry? O death, where is thy sting?
death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy vic - to - ry? O death, where is thy sting?
death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy vic - to - ry? O death, where is thy sting?
death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy vic - to - ry? O death, where is thy sting?

65 Lend, lend your wings, I mount, I fly, O grave, where is thy
Lend, lend your wings, I mount, I fly, O grave, where is thy
Lend, lend your wings, I mount, I fly, O grave, where is thy

70 vic - to - ry, thy vic - to - ry? O grave, where is thy vic - to - ry, thy vic - to - ry? O
vic - to - ry, thy vic - to - ry? O grave, where is thy vic - to - ry, thy vic - to - ry? O
vic - to - ry, thy vic - to - ry? O grave, where is thy vic - to - ry, thy vic - to - ry? O
vic - to - ry, thy vic - to - ry? O grave, where is thy vic - to - ry, thy vic - to - ry? O

death, where is thy sting? O death, where is thy sting? Lend, lend your wings, I

death, where is thy sting? O death, where is thy sting? Lend, lend your wings, I

death, where is thy sting? O death, where is thy sting? Lend, lend your wings, I

Adagio

mount, — I fly. O grave, where is thy vic-tory, thy vic-tory? O

mount, — I fly. O grave, where is thy vic-tory, thy vic-tory? O

[Tenor]

mount, I fly. O grave, where is thy vic-tory, thy vic-tory? O

80 [p]

death, O death, where is thy sting?

death, O death, where is thy sting?

death, O death, where is thy sting?

death, O death, where is thy sting?

RIMINGTON, L.M. F. DOCKWORTH, 1862-1941

(H)

- 1 Jesus shall reign where'er the sun
Doth his successive journeys run;
His kingdom stretch from shore to shore,
Till suns shall rise and set no more.
 - 2 For Him shall endless prayer be made,
And praises throng to crown His head;
His name like sweet perfume shall rise
With every morning sacrifice.
 - 3 People and realms of every tongue
Dwell on His love with sweetest song;
And infant voices shall proclaim
Their young hosannas to His name.
 - 4 Blessings abound where'er He reigns;
The prisoner leaps to lose his chains;
The weary find eternal rest;
And all the sons of want are blest.
 - 5 Where He displays His healing power,
Death and the curse are known no more;
In Him the tribes of Adam boast
More blessings than their father lost.
 - 6 Let every creature rise, and bring
Its grateful honours to our King;
Angels descend with songs again,
And earth prolong the joyful strain. Amen.
- Isaac Watts, 1674-1748.

Deep Harmony

L.M.

Dr. WATTS

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BANDEL PARKER

(G)

Sweet is the work, my God, my King,
To praise Thy name, give thanks and sing;
To show Thy love by morning light,
And talk of all Thy truth at night.

My heart shall triumph in the Lord,
And bless His works and bless His word;
Thy works of grace, how bright they shine
How deep Thy counsels, how divinest —

Sweet is the day of sacred rest,
No mortal care shall disturb my breast;
O may my heart in tune be found,
Like David's harp of solemn sound.

And I shall share a glorious part,
When grace has well refresh'd my heart,
And fresh supplies of joy are shed,
Like holy oil, to cheer my head.

Then shall I see, and hear, and know
All I desired or wish'd below:
And every power find sweet employ
In that eternal world of joy.

A - men.

A DAY AT UNSWORTH PRIMITIVE METHODIST CHAPEL, NEAR BURY

'The school sermons are generally held in the latter end of April or beginning of May, and on these occasions Mr Bradbury gets up a very good performance of sacred music with a complete orchestra and chorus, and several principle solo singers. The orchestra generally numbers about thirty five performers, viz. - six first violins, five second violins, three violas, three violincellos, three double basses, two flutes, two oboes, two clarionets, two bassoons, two horns, two cornets, two trombones and one euphonium. The choir consists of about thirty young women as trebles, eight altos. Ten tenors, and ten basses. Some of the players and singers are professionals, the others are all good performers. For some months before the day Mr Bradbury provides copies of the hymn tunes, anthems solos and choruses, and practices the trebles until they can sing the whole from memory. On the great day there is a full rehearsal of both band and chorus. Between nine and ten o'clock on Sunday morning may be seen vocalists and instrumentalists coming in all directions to the rehearsal. Some come a long distance, and all seem delighted to render assistance on these occasions. The music performed is of a very high class, consisting at each service of three hymns (sung very often to tunes composed by Mr Bradbury for the occasion), one or two anthems of his composition, one or two songs from Handel's oratorios or from Haydn's Creation, and one or two choruses from the same, so that the performance is as good as a concert. Mr Bradbury is very zealous and painstaking in getting up the different pieces performed in a proper manner. His whole heart and soul is in it, and both band and chorus do their best to second his efforts. It is but a small chapel, and the vocalists and instrumentalists take up nearly half of the space. The congregation is often as large outside as inside. The village is but thinly populated, but such is the interest the people take on these occasions, that they come a long distance to support it, and the large collection in money shows their zeal in supporting it.'

38

The examples of hymns referred to above, however representative of innovative trends in certain respects, remain harmonically straightforward. It was in the latter half of the nineteenth century that hymn tunes and church music generally acquired the harmonic character which we think of as being typically Victorian. If the rhythmic vigour can be attributed to the Handelian chorus and part song tradition, the source of the Affective harmonies can be found in Romantic music itself, for example, in fastidiously pretty parlour pieces like Mendelssohn's 'Songs Without Words'. Where the harmonies of these are distilled into the short compass of a hymn tune, it takes great skill and judgement to prevent them from becoming merely a

sequence of emotional, harmonic cliches without the internal strength to sustain a sense of harmonic progress and structure, necessary in even such a short passage. That this was not avoided is demonstrably clear in the large quantity of Victorian tunes which are so frequently denounced as sentimental and musically poor, and have resulted in a wholesale condemnation of Victorian music. Such condemnation is undoubtedly deserved in many, if not most instances, but it should not be passed without some defence - this will be made when referring to Anglican Hymnody. At this stage however, it needs to be acknowledged and recorded that tunes such as 'Deep Harmony'^G and 'Rimington'^H constitute something of a phenomenon on account of their universal appeal both then and even today, within the region and beyond. These tunes, harnessed to words which related to the people's condition, have astonishing power to stir the emotions, and it would be a very resolute and single-minded aesthete who would dismiss such music outright without at least considering its social and religious relationships. When the new industrial world was changing life and attitudes as never before, and even the foundations of religious belief were being undermined, there must have been a yearning for security. Even the aspiring Working Class and prosperous Middle Class, which we have identified as constituting the main body of worshippers, would be affected by this, even if not by other deprivations. Religion and the emotionalism of Victorian music came together to meet this need.

'What we are used to - still in most churches the normal criterion of good music - is identical with symbol of security, and for the possessing classes no less than for the dispossessed, some symbol of security was urgently needed. It is the lack of tension, challenge, adventurousness, and judgement in Victorian music which make it so flaccid, and it is precisely these qualities that made the worshipper cling to it so helplessly.'

39

An example in microcosm of this cause and effect relationship can be seen in the hymn tune 'Rimington' sung to Wesley's 'Jesus shall reign'. Although it defies musical analysis, the emotional power of these few simple chords is present there - though whether it is revealed only to Northerners whose temperaments have undergone the forging experience of the Industrial Revolution cannot be established.

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Handel Parker's Hymnary

Romance of a Hymn Tune.

By T. K. WILSON.

1

TO thousands of people all over the world the name of Francis Duckworth is inseparably associated with the famous hymn tune *Rimington*, which takes its name from the little Yorkshire village in Ribblesdale where the composer was born.

When young Francis was five years old the family removed to Stopper Lane, nearby, where his father took over the village store which is situated next door to the Wesleyan Chapel. It was there, at the age of twelve, that Mr. Duckworth took his first and only music lessons, for which he paid the modest sum of ten shillings. Shortly afterwards he began to play the organ at the services in the chapel.

At the age of twenty he left his native village for Colne, where two of his brothers were in business. After working for one of them for about six years, Mr. Duckworth commenced business on his own account, and this he still continues.

He had not been at Colne long before he was appointed deputy organist, then organist, at Albert Road Wesleyan Chapel, where he continued playing until his resignation in January, 1929, after having completed fifty years' honorary service, reckoning the years played at Stopper Lane.

"As a thank-offering for the many blessings received," there accompanied his resignation a cheque for £50 (being £1 for every year served) towards the Organ Improvement Scheme Fund.

Though *Rimington* was not published until 1904, the seed from which it sprang was planted when Mr. Duckworth was quite a boy. One day he overheard a conversation between his uncle and several others in which the merits of hymn writers were discussed. His uncle revealed a marked partiality for the older poets, and particularly for Dr. Watts, from whom he quoted,

"Jesus shall reign where'er the sun,"
he recited in a deep, eloquent voice. "Where'er the sun," he repeated in impassioned tones. "Ah! Watts had the conception; he said more in one line than your modern hymn-writers say in a whole hymn."

The look of admiration on his face, as he uttered this emphatic declaration, made such an impression on his nephew's mind that there and then he was overwhelmed with a desire to compose a tune to Watts' great words.

However, many years elapsed before that youthful desire showed signs of reaching fruition. The purchase of a wonderful "Mustel" organ—to-day a most cherished possession—somehow gave him the extra inspiration that was needed to crown his attempts with success.

To say the least, *Rimington* has enjoyed a phenomenal success. At the present time there are over two million copies of the tune in circulation. It has been included in ten English Hymnals, and has been printed by permission for special occasions by no fewer than 200 Sunday Schools in Lancashire and Yorkshire.

United to one of our greatest missionary hymns, it made a special appeal to all Missionary Societies, and has been included in no less than eight Foreign Hymnals. Together with three other of Mr. Duckworth's tunes, *Rimington* has been published in the Salvation Army "Brass Band Journal," the first edition of which numbered 20,000, and was circulated to their bandsmen in every country in the world.

As an item for broadcasting and community singing, *Rimington* has been a special favourite. At Halifax it was sung by 40,000 people, at Nelson by 20,000 and at Pendleton by 22 massed choirs. It has been recorded on the gramophone by the famous "Besses o'th Barn Band," and by the B.B.C.'s own choir, &c.

Rimington was sung on Mount Calvary by a party of Lancashire Fusiliers on the Sunday following the capitulation of Jerusalem, and on Mount Pilatus by a party of tourists. Its notes have made the walls of Armley prison resound, and they have cheered a handful of lonely folk on the Pitcairn Island. Mention cannot be made of all the unusual places where *Rimington* has been sung, however; to do the tune justice, one would really need the pages of a good-sized volume.

"THE RIMINGTON HYMNAL."

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Francis Duckworth, composer of 'Rimington'

In this perhaps we come very close to identifying one of the elusive yet elemental factors underlying this study. Incidentally, 'Rimington' is an example of a tune which like many others takes its name from a particular locality, in this case, a village near Colne where its composer, Francis Duckworth was a member of a family that ran a grocery and jam manufacturing business.

It was said above that some trends and characteristics of Romantic music in general, influenced church music. More specifically, we can note the influence of Mendelssohn, particularly in the North of England, where his oratorios would be principal items in the repertoires of the choral societies. Mendelssohn was a relatively early Romantic (he died before the middle of the century) so passages, such as 'O rest in the Lord'^I and 'Cast thy Burden',^J from 'Elijah' would be assimilated into the harmonic/stylistic vocabulary of lesser composers, anxious to use such characteristics to induce what we might call Style Religioso - an interesting development of the style consciousness referred to in the Introduction. The problem was that this was fatally easy to do by the amateur composer within the limited scope of the hymn tune. Very poor examples proliferated and still survive. The advent of cheap music publishing greatly assisted the proliferation of all kinds of music. The question is, why such a style took hold after, and alongside the more boisterous tunes - and especially in the North? It is clear that such music struck up a sympathetic resonance with the emotional temperament of the people - a people lately exiled from rural communities, coming to terms with the harshness of nineteenth century urban industrial life and finding comfort and companionship through such music. This music was essentially a product of the people and their age and reflects that situation. In this sense it may be considered as folk music. The idea of expressing aspirations and seeking solace and escape through music must not be considered too fanciful. The popularity of the Mendelssohn movements - their texts as well as their musical idioms referred to above is no accident.

The Primitive Methodists provide another and more striking example of this use of music as a means of expressing feeling often too strong and complex to articulate in any other way. From the mid point in the nineteenth century the Primitive Methodists increased in popularity and this was all bound up with the Revivalist fervour which was preoccupying

ATR.—"O REST IN THE LORD."

VOICE
Andantino. THE ANKLE.
O rest in the Lord, wait patient-ly for Him, and He shall

A
will because of do-ers. O rest in the Lord, wait patient-ly for

give thee thy heart's de-sires, O rest in the Lord, wait patient-ly for

Him, wait pa-tiently for Him, O rest in the Lord, wait pa-tiently for

Him, and He shall give thee thy heart's de-sires, and He shall

Him, and He shall give thee thy heart's de-sires, and He shall give thee thy heart's de-

give thee thy heart's de-sires. Commit thy way un-to Him, and trust in

sires, and He shall give thee thy heart's de-sires. O rest in the Lord, O rest in the

Him, commit thy way un-to Him, and trust in Him, and fret not thy

Lord, and wait, wait pa-tiently for Him.

8020.

8020.

QUARTET.—"CAST THY BURDEN."

Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass, Piano
Cast thy bur-den up-on the Lord, and He shall sus-tain thee; He nev-er will suf-fer the right-ous to fall;
Cast thy bur-den up-on the Lord, and He shall sus-tain thee; He nev-er will suf-fer the right-ous to fall;
Cast thy bur-den up-on the Lord, and He shall sus-tain thee; He nev-er will suf-fer the right-ous to fall;
Cast thy bur-den up-on the Lord, and He shall sus-tain thee; He nev-er will suf-fer the right-ous to fall;
Cast thy bur-den up-on the Lord, and He shall sus-tain thee; He nev-er will suf-fer the right-ous to fall;

far a-bove the heav-ens. Let none be made a-sham-ed, that wait up-on Thee!
far a-bove the heav-ens. Let none be made a-sham-ed, that wait up-on Thee!
far a-bove the heav-ens. Let none be made a-sham-ed, that wait up-on Thee!
far a-bove the heav-ens. Let none be made a-sham-ed, that wait up-on Thee!

He is at thy right hand. Thy mer-cy, Lord, is great, and He is at thy right hand. Thy mer-cy, Lord, is great, and He is at thy right hand. Thy mer-cy, Lord, is great, and He is at thy right hand. Thy mer-cy, Lord, is great, and

He is at thy right hand. Thy mer-cy, Lord, is great, and He is at thy right hand. Thy mer-cy, Lord, is great, and He is at thy right hand. Thy mer-cy, Lord, is great, and He is at thy right hand. Thy mer-cy, Lord, is great, and

He is at thy right hand. Thy mer-cy, Lord, is great, and He is at thy right hand. Thy mer-cy, Lord, is great, and He is at thy right hand. Thy mer-cy, Lord, is great, and He is at thy right hand. Thy mer-cy, Lord, is great, and

He is at thy right hand. Thy mer-cy, Lord, is great, and He is at thy right hand. Thy mer-cy, Lord, is great, and He is at thy right hand. Thy mer-cy, Lord, is great, and He is at thy right hand. Thy mer-cy, Lord, is great, and

8020.

this end of the religious market. The Revivalist Movement which began with America's Kentucky Revivals at the beginning of the nineteenth century relied heavily on the emotional power of music as a companion to the hellfire sermons. Transferred to England, the intention was the same, and though it found a parallel in a depressed section of society, ready to turn to religion for hope, the musical form which the escapists cry took, was fundamentally different to that of the Negro. The Negro Spiritual was indigenous, musically distinctive and original and charged to burning point with intensity and sincerity. Moody and Sankey, the American Evangelists who brought the revivalist movement to England had no such musical tradition on which to draw in the deprived urban areas which were their mission field. The rural, agricultural worker had been too long exiled from his musical roots for Sankey (the musician of the partnership) to draw upon traditional folk songs for their campaign songs and choruses. So instead, it was the light, Continental music which had been imported into the music hall repertoire that provided the resource. The characteristics of the revivalist hymn and chorus are therefore simplicity, a 'catchy' rhythm and melody, and rudimentary harmony. Two examples of how these fundamentalists cries for comfort and hope - so similiar on a social and spiritual level to the negro spiritual - took a new musical form, can be seen in 'From Sinking Sands He Lifted me', and 'Will your Anchor Hold'.^K The fact that these were for the working classes in the industrial areas where the rationale for the musical and religious form was strongest, makes them a distinctly if not exclusively Northern phenomenon. In fact the overall picture that has emerged of music and non-conformist worship gives substance and heightened significance to Raynor's remarks quoted in Chapter one

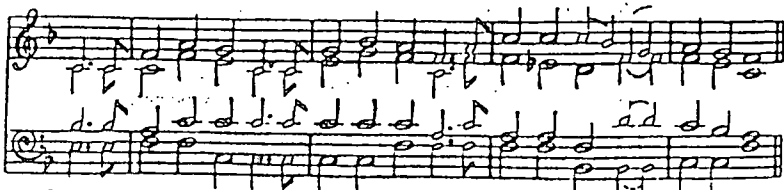
'To say that English Choral music in the nineteenth century was largely the result of a union between music and non-conformity as they acted together on a depressed and degraded working class is hardly an exaggeration.'

40

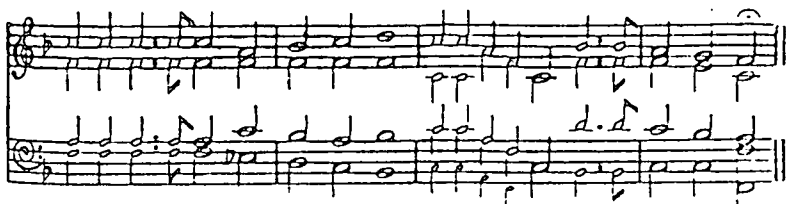
So far as music in Anglican worship was concerned, the picture is less uniform than in non-conformity. In fact the picture is one of bewildering diveristy as E J Crowest found in 1881 when he was writing about the,

(K)

Irregular and refrain.
WILL YOUR ANCHOR HOLD? W. J. КИРКАТИЧ, 1838-1921.



REFRAIN.



1 WILL your anchor hold in the storms
of life, [of strife ?
When the clouds unfold their wings
When the strong tides lift, and the
cables strain, [main ?
Will your anchor drift, or firm re-
We have an anchor that keeps the
soul [roll ;
Steadfast and sure while the billows
Fastened to the Rock which cannot
move, [Saviour's love !
Grounded firm and deep in the

2 Will your anchor hold in the straits
of fear ? [is near ;
When the breakers roar and the reef

While the surges rave, and the wild
winds blow, [o'erflow !
Shall the angry waves then your bark

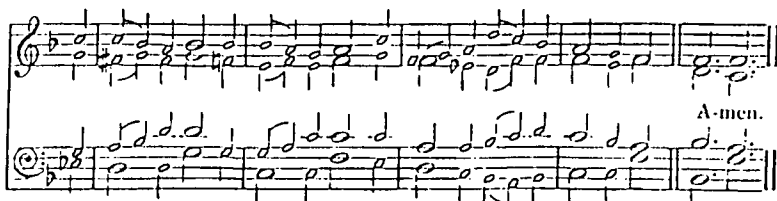
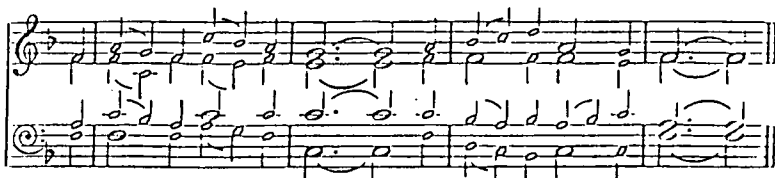
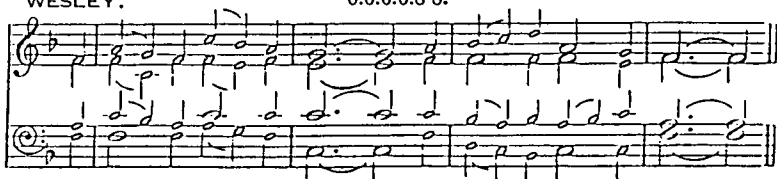
3 Will your anchor hold in the floods
of death, [latest breath !
When the waters cold chill your
On the rising tide you can never fail,
While your anchor holds within the
veil.

4 Will your eyes behold through the
morning light [bright !
The city of gold and the harbour
Will you anchor safe by the heavenly
shore, [evermore !
When life's storms are past for
Priscilla Jane Owens, 1829-99.

(L)

WESLEY.

6.6.6.6.8.8.



A-men.

'Prevailing fashions in Church music - with the kind of musical services that most frequently obtain,'

and declared that all was

'Glorious confusion.'

41

Unlike non-conformists, Anglicans lacked freedom to order their services as they pleased. They were bound by the requirements of the Prayer Book and though this provided opportunity for richer and more varied liturgical music, it presented considerable organisational problems. Nor was there the unquestioned assumption that music was the province of the congregation. When these issues became related to sectarian differences within Anglicanism, and the general changes in musical taste, it is not surprising that such variety existed. Whilst it might not have been expected that the North of England would be as much in the forefront in the development of Anglican music, as was the case in non-conformity, it is therefore all the more interesting to find that this was in fact the case, and that Yorkshire in particular, seems to have been very much in the van of change and development. In order to achieve as much continuity as possible, the first aspect of Anglican church music to be examined will be that in which there is most commonality with the Methodists, namely, the hymn.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the evangelical party was stronger in Yorkshire than anywhere else in the country and their influence on Anglican music was decisive. Evangelicals sought to remove coldness and formality from their worship, and whilst retaining the liturgy, sought to involve the hearts and voices of the congregation. In some respects, the evangelical Anglicans can be regarded as the true heirs of Wesley - especially those who shared his Armenian belief (paradoxically associated with high churchmanship) concerning the universality of access to God's grace and salvation. Although Methodists and evangelical Anglicans had much in common at this time and Anglicans were slowly adopting hymns in their services, it must be remembered that the services of the Prayer Book made provision for only psalms and canticles, and that hymns were technically illegal.

Inevitably, as hymns had increasingly begun to be included in a desire to increase congregational participation and response, this issue was put to the test. A Sheffield clergyman, Thomas Cotterill, who compiled a selection of psalms and hymns for use in his church, was the subject of an action brought by a group of his parishioners in the consistory court of the Diocese of York. On July 6th 1820 the Chancellor ruled that the status of hymns was exactly that of metrical psalms. This important decision safeguarded the hymn in the Anglican church and recorded its general acceptance, so making possible the numerous hymn books which began to appear in the first half of the 1800's. One of these was 'The York Psalm and Hymn Book' which went through many editions up to about 1850. This collection was the sequel to 'A Collection of Psalms' made by William Richardson, the evangelical minister of St Michael-le-Belfrey in York, a church which also enjoyed the musical services of Matthew Camidge who was organist at the Minster. The later volume, made with his approval, was the work of Jonathan Grey, a lawyer by profession and an accomplished amateur organist and composer. Grey was one of the most influential men of the city and was keenly interested in national issues of the day including foreign missions, treatment of the insane, and slavery, as well as being an advocate of improvements to church music along evangelical lines. His family home - Grey's Court, is now part of St John's College. In 1821, Grey wrote a pamphlet arguing the cause of hymns in worship and also for the development of congregational chanting. Chanting will be discussed later (p 185), but in the context of the emergence of the hymn in this crucial stage of transition in the Anglican Church, this influential document, according to Temperley,

'Laid the foundation for the Victorian development of Anglican hymnody.'

42

A place having been established for hymnody in the Anglican Church by the early 1800's, the developments up to the middle of the century consisted of the recovery of treasures from the past - traditional psalm tunes, plain song melodies and German chorales. There were however, signs of the boldness and freedom that brought about the great Victorian development of hymn tunes, for example, S S Wesley's tune 'Wesley'^L, written shortly before his appointment to Leeds. After this period of consolidation and localised development, the time was ripe for a major compilation of hymns to serve all Anglican churches. This came in 1861

with the first edition of 'Hymns Ancient and Modern' which drew together the separate trends of the period in a synthesis which became acceptable to all shades of Anglican opinion within the church.

'The degree of its success makes it indisputably the representative book of Victorian hymns.' 43

It epitomised,

'The folk music of religious bourgeoisie in England.' 44

It should be said that the importance of the English Hymnal is not being ignored, but since its publication was so close to the end of this study, references will be confined to Hymns Ancient and Modern.

'Upon its first appearance in 1861, Hymns Ancient and Modern was found to contain some 273 hymns, most of them old, but including a few new tunes of a distinctive type the work of Dykes, Ousely and Monk. Other original tunes, but of a traditional cast, had been supplied by Redhead, Gauntlett and others. For the rest, the book comprised a wide range of melody drawn from many sources. Old psalm tunes and plainsong melodies stood alongside German chorales and English church-tunes.

Not unexpectedly, bearing in mind the standard of churchmanship of most of the committee responsible for its content, Hymns Ancient and Modern was at first regarded as an exclusively high church collection. But with the appearance of an Appendix in 1868, the book began to achieve wider circulation.' 45

In these later editions, the proportion of modern hymns was considerably increased and with that increase came the now familiar criticism of the Victorian hymn tune. In writing about these tunes, and citing Dykes as composer of the genre, par excellence, Phillips states the generally current view of the professional musician.

'The tunes are very vocal, rhythmically unadventurous and approximate in type to the Victorian partsong with its self-satisfied and unctuous optimism. Their harmonisation a watering down of the Spohr-Mendelssohn tradition, dates them more than anything else. At its worst, at in 'Hark my Soul, it is the Lord', it matches

the bland pietism of the text by harping with maddening insistence on the dominant seventh, a weak chord of fateful fascination to the Victorian. The melodies of Dykes' hymns are, however, always good and with some simple harmonic changes might be accepted by any musician. These nineteenth century hymns have as definite an atmosphere as a Bourgeois psalm of an eighteenth century hymn, and man's soul being the varied organism it is these rather personal, sometimes smug, emotional words and tunes can, if we are not just prejudiced, produce an effect of happy confidence. The worst of them are no worse than the dross of any other period; the best of them, especially after careful re-editing of some of the more emotional moments, are quite worthy of a place in the repertory of English Hymnody.'

46

Routley also accords Dykes a key position in the story of Victorian hymnody.

'In the first three editions of this book (Hymns Ancient and Modern) the rake's progress of English church music is dramatically set forth. The hero of the tale is John Bacchus Dykes (1823-76), of whose hymn tunes seven (his seven best oddly enough) appear in the first edition (1861, 273 hymns), and 57 in the third (1875, 473 hymns).'

47

Dykes position in this study rests not on any particular Northern Association (though he was in fact born in Hull and had an important influence further North in Durham whilst serving as Precentor at the Cathedral and at St. Oswald's church). It is rather upon the impact his tunes had upon those many Northerners so much of whose musical experience came in the performance of Victorian hymn tunes and upon which his influence was so decisive. Sadly Anglican congregations never approached hymn singing with the vigour of the Nonconformists. Whilst discussing Dykes, Routley suggests a reason for this lack of active involvement.

'The secret of his style is, of course, the concert-goer's attitude which had infected the Victorian parish church. Hymns were made not to sing but for the people to listen to choirboys singing.'

48

Perceptive though Routley's observations are, and describing accurately a consequence of high church ideology which will be discussed later, a more interesting analysis is put forward by Temperley⁴⁹ which not only



Rev. Thomas Helmore



Rev. J. B. Dykes

examines the musical nature of the Victorian tune, but even more significantly, how this would affect the experience of the performer - an experience not restricted to choir members recreating the harmonies. The new type of melody brought to even the unison singing congregation a novel harmonic experience. The outline of his argument, inevitably complex to the musical layman is as follows: melodies which are quite conventional in themselves are transformed in their effect, by the harmonies they embody, when performed by a large choir, strongly supported by an organ. Melodic lines in such a context were capable of carrying greater emotional power than was previously the case where the melody was the essential music, and other parts sung or played were merely an accompaniment. Furthermore, each syllable in the text even if sung to several notes, had had one harmony - even allowing for passing dissonance, decorative of the basic harmony. Now tunes were written in which the harmonic motion was independent of the succession of syllables in the text. The soprano part therefore, ceased to be the tune in total or even its foremost element. A simple illustration of this point can be seen in the tune 'Deep Harmony' where in the third and fourth bars of both lines the melody approaching the cadence is three repeated notes. Beneath these notes however, the harmonic movement creates, albeit on a small scale, emotional tension in which all singers - even those singing the melody line - will feel to be participants. Temperley underlines the significance of this in respect of understanding about the nature of people's musical experience;

'Hymn singing, therefore, had become an artistic form of expression, comparable to the performances at concerts which were now experienced by so large a part of the population. The concert hall as well as the cathedral was a possible model for imitation. Accomplished professional musicians of wide experience were providing new kinds of hymn tune in which these models were followed; their tunes were not simply aids to congregational worship, they aspired to be works of art in their own right.

The congregation, as an untrained, intractable element in the performance, must either be silent, or must be made to appear artistic by adroit management of the music it was asked to sing. Here the skills of the new generation of composers were brought into play. The people would sing in much the same way as before. But the notes that they sang

were not treated simply as a tune, but as an element in a more complex musical texture. Congregations, it is clear, enjoyed their new status. Singing hymns was now almost like singing in an oratorio chorus - the summit of many Victorians' musical ambitions. Thanks to the skill of the Dykes, Barnby or Stainer, they could sing a tune that was no more difficult than one of the traditional psalm tunes, but in doing so could feel the thrill of participation in something that sounded like great art music.'

50

Temperley illustrates this argument by analytical reference to two tunes by Dykes - 'Hollinside', and ' Dominus Regit Me'.

In trying to achieve a balanced assessment of Victorian hymn tunes, more than the detached objective judgement of the musician is necessary. It will involve a philosophical assessment of the nature and value of the emotional response which is part of their purpose. Hutchings provides a useful 'rule of thumb' as follows,

'A good hymn is one that wears well, makes the simple folk enjoy its words and remember those words because of the musical appeal, yet is not found contemptible by the musically educated and half-educated. It is congregational yet not wearisome for choirs. Like all worthy music it seems to have been composed spontaneously.'

51

These apparently straightforward criteria emerged out of his strong and emotional defence of the Victorian hymn tune, the social basis of which has marked relevance to the Northern aspect of this study.

'In the longed-for Paradise, Jerusalem, Galilee - whatever the symbol was - there was cosiness in the home and arms of God, and respectability which gave security from poverty and oppression. Except in the arts, the creation of men's imagination, the expression of their aspirations, the Victorian age was one of rigours for most people who included in their worship contemplation of Heaven's cosiness and respectability. It was by no means the whole of their religion. Most church folk fasted, prayed, read and gave alms better than we do. Most forms of employment on Monday were wearisome and health-sapping, hours were long, winter was still to be feared, wealth and rank could inflict misery on those without them, men and women could obey their employers or starve, and starvation was not uncommon; age had no pension, sickness was costly,

disability tragic, surgery terrible, domestic duties a drudgery, child mortality and death in childbirth frequent. To arraign the Victorians for expressing yearnings after cosiness and respectability is as unintelligent as to arraign medieval poets for being ecstatic about the arrival of spring.'

52

It was not only hymnody that underwent radical change in the nineteenth century. The psalms were an integral part of the Anglican liturgy and the various approaches to their performance was a major issue peculiar to the established church. This went beyond successive improvements to metrical psalmody but involved the widescale adoption of chanting, which hitherto had been largely confined to cathedral worship. According to Temperley,

'The innovation of congregational chanting was nothing less than revolutionary, for there was no precedent for it either before or after the reformation.'

53

Elsewhere he states that,

'The innovation of congregational chanting can be wholly attributed to the efforts of the evangelical party, particularly at York.'

54

We have noted earlier some of the important Northern developments in respect of psalm singing (Cheetham's Psalmody and Miller's work at Doncaster, and more recently at York, where Grey and his friend were leaders in the practice of congregational chanting). In spite of piecemeal resources in the form of Anglican chants included in some hymn and psalm collections, and miscellaneous psalm and canticle pointings, there remained no complete pointed psalter to meet the needs of the increasing number of congregations anxious to sing the psalms. So far as the methods of Anglican chanting were concerned, a widespread use, comparable to that achieved by Hymns Ancient and Modern, did not come about until 1875 with the publication of 'The Cathedral Psalter' - the title chosen, being itself indicative of the musical aspirations of the churches where it was destined to be used.

Both Scholes and Rainbow credit Robert James, organist of Ely Cathedral with the first printed Psalter in 1837, but Temperley⁵⁵ has shown that

there was in fact one produced by a Wakefield man in 1831 - J E Dibbs' 'Key to Chanting'. We can thus see, how through the endeavours of the evangelicals, both the hymn and the chanted psalm became accepted parts of congregational worship in the Church of England.

Increased congregational participation was not however exclusively the concern of the evangelicals. It was one of the ideals of the Oxford Movement, though this tends to be lost sight of in the light of the Movement's development, and by equating it to the High Church party.

The Oxford Movement's beginning in 1833 (the date of John Keble's Assize Sermon on National Apostasy) coincides almost precisely with the opening years of this study. Although the Movement was primarily concerned with theology - especially restoring the traditional authority of the Church against the prevailing trend of Liberalism - it also sought to enhance the beauty and impressiveness of worship, and this had clear implications upon the music - by the cultivation of a style divorced from secular music. Key manifestations of this were the revival of early music and the chanting of psalms to plainsong. Thomas Helmore, one of the pioneers of the choral revival, saw the reinstatement of plainsong as a means of ensuring,

'The joining of all the people in sacred song.'

56

Helmore's model service as exemplified at St. Mark's college Chelsea where he was Vice Principal and Precentor (and where Hullah taught) was for congregational participation through chanted responses and psalms and hymn singing, whilst also making provision for choir items in the form of anthems and canticle settings. Unfortunately his ideal so far as plainsong chanting was concerned, did not enjoy a wide following and there is little evidence, especially in the North, of plainsong and choral music in 'The Sublime Style' (a term widely used in the Romantic Age to designate Renaissance church music). Furthermore, the polarisation of the two main sections of high and low within the church has tended to link the choral revival with the ideals of the former, which almost by definition, shifted attention away from congregational singing towards that provided by a choir. This conflict of interest between the Right of the congregation to be participants in the music of

worship and the wish to exploit the growing professionalism of choirs as a means of heightening the aesthetic of liturgy was fundamental to the varied practise that continued to be evident into the twentieth century. A typically English compromise did eventually emerge providing a new middle ground which we would now identify as traditionally Anglican.

Although the manifestations of the Oxford Movement, the Choral revival and the high church tradition in general, emerged from the mid 1830's (evident in liturgical ritual, fully choral services, robed choirs in refurbished chancels etc.), there were a few isolated instances (Rainbow 57 cites three), earlier than this that were the heralds of change. Significantly, one of these was Leeds Parish Church, which remained a pacesetter in the new Cathedral-style worship, and provided a model which would be emulated in parish church worship throughout the country. The following references to Leeds will therefore serve as a representative illustration of this dimension of Anglicanism and as an indicator of the new musical experience that this would bring to some Northern worshippers. In no sense however, must this be considered a unique Northern example. Many other important centres of influence could be found throughout the region - Halifax Parish Church and St. Peter's Manchester to mention only two.

As early as 1815, a professional body of singers was formed to sing the services and in 1818 (more than twenty years before the generally accepted date), a surpliced choir of men and boys was installed. The momentum of change increased following the appointment of Hook as vicar. He introduced daily choral services along cathedral lines in the new building of Gothic style. The plan of positioning the choir and organ in the chancel originated in Leeds under the influence of Hook's high church friend John Jebb, a man incidentally, strongly opposed to congregational singing. In 1842, Hook's efforts were crowned when he appointed the most eminent church musician of his generation as organist - S S Wesley, and the achievements of Leeds Parish Church were the first landmark in the Anglican choral revival.



Halifax Parish Church 1840



Opposition to the innovations of the Oxford Movement.
Contemporary cartoon.

'He (Wesley) produced a pointed psalter and an elaborate Service in E major for the Leeds Choir, which indeed became one of the most efficient in the country. In 1850 it consisted of sixteen boys and twelve to fourteen men on Sundays, a larger number than almost any cathedral could boast at the time; on weekdays there were twelve boys and eight men. The Leeds model of fully choral services was imitated, first at a few churches in London and other large towns, and before long in many small town and even village churches.'

58

Detailed analyses of the musical characteristics of the Anglican choral repertoire as it developed through the Victorian period showing increasing indebtedness to Mendelssohn, Spohr and Gounod and paralleling the changes in Hymnody, are readily accessible elsewhere (e.g. in E H Fellows 'English Cathedral Music' - chapter 18). What is more important here is the social underpinning of that development insofar as it represents another aspect of music's utility and experience. Hook's religious idealism in promoting musically lavish choral services is not in doubt. What is likely however, is that that idealism became flawed by the mixed motives of those who came in on the tide of its popularity as it swept the country.

'While the high churchman strove for the greater glory of God, there were many in that age who saw church music as an extension of themselves, and who wanted it to reflect their own progress through the ranks of society It is important to recognise in the Victorian's acceptance of 'fully choral' services the same desire for decorum, elegance

and propriety that had activated their Georgian ancestors. Added to it was a love of grandeur, which expressed in part their conviction of superiority to all preceding ages, induced by the rapid material progress they saw around them. Factories, bridges, town halls, railway stations were getting bigger, more imposing and more efficient year by year; improvements and reforms of all kinds were heightening the quality of secular life. A commensurate change might be looked for, not only in the architecture of the parish church, but in its services. More and more did the old psalmody, of both the town and the country varieties, seem a relic of an unenlightened past.

In a period of great social mobility, the new and growing middle-class public was anxiously looking for symbols of its new status. It turned its back on both rural traditions and the industrial society that supported it. Hence there was great appeal in the paid, semi-professional, robed parish



Rev. Walker Farquhar Hook.



Samuel Sebastian Wesley

church choir, singing cultivated liturgical music which was in sharp contrast with the congregational hymnody of dissenting chapels, and which approached the aristocratic dignity of cathedrals. The urban poor, made acutely conscious of class divisions, found the activities of most Anglican churches irrelevant to their lives.'

59

But the distinction between cathedral and parochial music began to some extent to break down and a broad church came together that was to unite Anglicanism as the century progressed in spite of sectarian differences.

'So it was that the middle ground of parish church music was won by an originally high-church form of service that was nominally congregational, but in which the choir and organ tended in practice to monopolise most of the music.'

60

Thus although the underlying problem was not resolved with any clarity either in ideology or practice, Ouseley - high churchman, baronet, clergyman, professor of music at Oxford and tireless promoter of the new ideal in church music - saw this breaking down of distinctions as a matter for congratulation when he addressed a church congress in Leeds in 1878. He also attributed this development to the sight-singing movement of John Hullah, the introduction of organs and harmoniums, the removal of the choir to the chancel, the rise of choral unions and the widening of musical experience due to the availability of rail travel.

So some of the links in the complex pattern of cause and effect became specific. They were not absolute, uniform or conclusive, but are sufficient to show that the various forms of church music would constitute the most accessible and therefore the most influential factor in musical experience of the time. Speaking of the religious life of the age as a whole, Aspin concludes,

'Church membership whether voluntary or enforced, gave to large numbers an austere respectability that was in sharp contrast to the easy-going vulgarity of the previous generation. It also gave a sense of companionship and opportunity for self expression.'

61

If these things may be said of Church life, they may also be claimed with equal justification for music, since as an Art form it proved to be of wide-ranging value in society, not least because in a rapidly changing world it provided a stabilizing bridge back across time which remained as a unique and personal form of self expression. It was in fact a language of a heightened kind, capable of giving expression to man's deepest feelings, needs and aspirations.

'We can enlarge our understanding of human experience by a specifically musical view of it the most articulate language of the unconscious is music.'

62

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