**Music and Power:
A Conservative Musical Soundscape in Britain, 1830-1850**

by

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

Music was pervasive in nineteenth-century life, but has seldom been considered as an integral form of political and social discourse. A core problem for cultural history is a reliable methodology for asking period audiences what music meant to their daily lives and formal politics. Building out from the private concert programmes and diary of the wealthy gentry woman, Lady Hunter, a whole landscape or “soundscape” of related sites of musical activity is found to have been a coherent, conservative community. Whether in drawing-room concerts, the private Noblemen and Gentlemen’s Catch Club of London, public, professional performances of opera and chamber music, or the short-lived Conservative Festivals (a form of convivial, political dinners), musical life was a form of cultural and political opposition to 1830s Reform. A wide range of documentation associated with private concert programmes, including private papers, newspaper reports, sheet music, and architectural drawings, is informed by extensive secondary scholarship in cultural, social, gender and political history, and musicology.

Records of musical life, like programmes, reveal audience musical preferences but rarely describe musical choices in terms of political values, ideas, or beliefs. A new lexicon for such intentions in musical life is developed through close analysis of the music and song lyrics chosen for the Conservative Festivals. Held between 1835 and 1841 to restore the political Party’s Parliamentary fortunes in the wake of Reform, the Festivals used a diverse range of music that was tightly consistent with Conservative arguments in favour of the heritable, hierarchical class system. The lexicon is applied across the many kinds of musical performance of Lady Hunter’s musical world.

The use of music in conservative politics and leisure between 1830 and 1848 was unified by the concept of a conservative musical soundscape, a virtual community supporting the idea that hierarchies of intrinsically different kinds of human beings marked by class and gender were natural, historic, and good. The silken drawing room concerts of the astoundingly wealthy Lady Hunter were at the heart of a class-crossing soundscape of conservative values, demonstrating that musical life of the time was a discourse of personal and civic power.

DEDICATION

For Janis Kazaks

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PREFACE

This tale about music and meaning in Britain between 1830 and 1850 began as a cultural history of Canadian nationalism before Confederation. Inevitably, it is a personal story as well as an academic study of history. When this study began, I had just finished a case study of a single private concert programme, Mrs. Widder's Toronto Soirée Musicale of 1844, learning to read private programmes as evidence of social, business, and political history. By developing a new approach to reading such programmes, the study showed that private concert hosts observed prevailing conventions that linked musical genre with the gender and class of performers. The concert hosts I found were often prominent in political and business circles, so extensive primary and secondary sources were readily available to flesh out the networks implied by the names of amateur as well as professional musicians named on the programmes. The methodological insights were significant. Private programmes of the mid-nineteenth century can reveal much of the interactive matrix in which personal considerations, social dynamics, economic factors and formal politics act and react with each other. The shibboleth of the ghastly, unaware woman amateur of the parlour was nuanced with the discovery of the thirty year career of Mary Jane Hagerman, bound to her amateur status not by lack of talent, skill, determination or strategic thinking, but by chains of class and gender. Cultural myths can be constructed, but reading the evidence with fresh questions can show the difference between an intrinsic, ineluctable reality and a cultural creation.

As an apostate classical singer, I had turned to studying academic history from a profound need to understand the role of gender in the music profession. On the cusp of departure from the music profession, I needed to see where I fitted in the history of women in music. Like my mother, a professional concert pianist who had stopped her career when she married and had children, I had not learned about gender as a factor in professional work during my training. Influenced by second wave feminism, I was increasingly troubled by the tensions between my sense of self-determined professionalism and the gender norms rife in the music I loved. My repertoire of choice was nineteenth-century art songs, exquisite miniatures that evoke whole lives in a single moment through the ephemeral artistic partnership between an unmiked singer and a player of an acoustic piano. Close study of text and music was, for me, a journey into past epochs. To make a three minute song come alive in my own imagination and in performance, meant grasping the personal implications of material realities and cultural norms. What did the spinning wheel drone in the piano accompaniment of Franz Schubert's 1814 song, "Gretchen am Spinnrade," mean when it stopped at the peak of Gretchen's yearning for an illicit kiss? How was her spinning—and her sudden not spinning—connected to the social and religious consequences at stake? Those tiny, perfect songs are slices from their moment in time, and as a singer it was my job to make them live again in performance. My teachers claimed that Gretchen's lust and shame were timeless, universal truths of intrinsic human nature. Why, then, did twenty-first century Canadians not clamour to buy tickets to art song recitals?

The Widder programme case study explained to me that categories of social identity, like gender and class, are cultural constructions, not eternal realities.

Rummaging through countless archives to find the music from the Widder programme, I also realised that music has historic epochs, and they can pass, taking with them much of the cultural clout of their music. Heresy to my lineage of committed classical musicians, Mrs. Widder taught me that even great music has meanings peculiar to the historic circumstances in which it is performed and heard.

The Widder programme study accounted for much, but it raised new questions. The Widder family and their star tenor, James Dodsley Humphreys, were English immigrants to Canada who had brought their repertoire and performance conventions with them from London. They were part of the history of music in Canada, but, try as I might, not everything about their Toronto concert could be explained from Canadian sources and circumstances. Humphreys had studied at the first national training school for musicians, the Royal Academy of Music in London, where, 150 years later, I had trained as a singer myself. When I sang in the late twentieth century, what was Canadian about it? When Humphreys sang in Canada, what was Canadian about that?¹

¹A.B. McKillop's imposing history of universities in what is now Ontario notes that in the mid-nineteenth-century, most colonial Canadians understood themselves and their society as "an evolutionary extension of the British and European inheritance." McKillop shares with many Canadian historians the aim of demonstrating what was local and not imported in the evolution of Canadian culture, but recognizes that British imperial governments used a variety of cultural devices aimed at recreating in North America the cultural essence of Britishness. McKillop, *Matters of Mind: The University in Ontario, 1791-1951* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), pp. xviii, 6.

So much Canadian nineteenth-century history determinedly ducks the country's colonial past, inflamed by the pursuit of a characteristic, national identity.² If we are Canadian, what cultural keynote is now and forever unique to "Canada"? I was raised on this pyrrhic quest by a nationalist Canadian musician who, in the spirit of the times, worked tirelessly to prove an intrinsic, unique Canadian aesthetic identity in music. It is the same quivering, transcendental patriotism that underlies so much Canadian history bent on seeking answers to what has happened here only in terms of here. I could not answer all my questions about the Widder programme that way, and it occurred to me that personal cultural choices, like deciding which music to programme for a concert at home, might have had something to do with the roots of that determined Canadian nationalism I had lived in music in the 1980s and in the study of academic history after 2000. How did it persist? What difference did it make?

The original frame of the present study was to examine the roots of emotional and cultural commitment to Canadian identity in the years just before Confederation. Just as the social and political structures of pre-Confederation Canada owed much to their imperial, British masters, the Widder programme had been shaped by British musical and social structures, but I still wondered what they were. I thought the answer could be found in a comparison of musical life in Britain and Canada between 1840 and 1860, using private concert programmes as a key evidentiary starting point. Ah, how the gods of history wept with laughter!

² Certainly not all, and the making of the many excellent histories of Canadian identity is itself a function of historical forces.

Mr. Humphreys had sailed to Upper Canada to help shape Canadian cultural life, and now, to understand it better, I tracked him back to England. It was important to establish whether there would be enough extant private concert programmes there. Oh, there were. I even caught sight of imperial links with pre-Confederation Canada. Applying the basic questions of the Widder programme methodology, I found three programmes named for a single concert hostess, Lady Hunter. Then I asked the question I had learned from women's history: what papers did the women leave? It is the question that too many British musicologists of nineteenth century musical life dismiss. One very famous scholar looked me in the eye at a conference and said, "Oh, you won't find much along those lines." But when I looked for more of Lady Hunter's papers, her magnificent six-year daily diary was waiting in what, for archival collections, was plain view. It led to every other site of the musical landscape in this study, because personal, domestic, emotional, musical experience is indissolubly part of human life. As it had for the Widder programme, situating Lady Hunter's private concerts in her historical moment once again required an exploration of the intersections of personal, social, economic, and political factors as together they wrought musical life. My sources kept me in England. The Canadian half of this comparative study will have to wait. Although the geographic scope changed, two central questions remained. What difference does music make? And how can historians tell? It is personally and professionally necessary for professional musicians to reject the common assumption that music and musicians are no more than a trivial garnish upon the body politic. Equally important for cultural historians trying to account for how culture can drive the big engines of political and economic change is to embrace the fullness of culture. Reasoned decisions do not

happen outside of personal inclination and experience, and often it is the non-rational factors of religious belief and emotional conviction that trump intellectual argument.

Musical life is a cauldron of cultural contest, negotiation, and construction of meanings. To see how music could shape serious political thought and action, the historian has to see politics and politicians as not separate from domestic and personal life, but motivated as much by emotion as by reason. Each of us carries an inner world populated by the music we know so well that we take it for granted. This study puts an individual musical world, Lady Hunter's, into the overlapping layers of family, acquaintance, community and national politics. Close analysis of the music and song lyrics, performance practices and performances shows some of the mechanics by which music and musical life made gendered and class-based levers of difference seem natural and good.

I could not bear to continue making a living from music when I turned to academic history. I did not know how to name my discomforts as a professional woman musician, but I could no longer face the lack of social respect as a musician and the lack of control over my own career. As a professional singer of great technique and biological vocal gifts just at the edge of first rate, I had to choose between music that maddened me with repetitive boredom but paid the bills, the prison that is the lucrative, long-running musical, or the abstruse music that brought me aesthetic and physical joy in the singing, but paid no bills at all. The Widder programme study, so shaped by popular culture theory studied with Brian McKillop and gender history studied with Deborah Gorham, explained much of the gendered and commercial forces that shaped the modern music industry. This study of Lady Hunter at the centre of a conservative

cultural opposition to equal rights I offer to working musicians and their audiences today, in the hope that we can all think more deeply about the social and political implications of the music we choose to perform, to write about, and to experience as audiences. I do not want to tarnish the spontaneous delight of a good tune or a nostalgic tear at hearing a song from an earlier time, but I do want to say that music is dangerous to precisely the degree that it is taken for granted as an apolitical adornment. Music creates social meanings and participates in the construction of values and beliefs that drive political and personal action. To identify some of the ways in which music can be dangerous will, I hope, allow new meanings to be created and loved for music that has for too long, unnoticed, been teaching that different kinds of people ought to have different kinds of rights.

CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION

Musical life was one of the ways in which culture reshaped politics and personal and social life. Music permeated British life between 1830 and 1850, weaving a cultural fabric of personal leisure, gender norms, and formal politics during a period of profound social and political upheaval, but until recently, nineteenth-century political histories and most cultural, social and gender histories have ached with silence. Conversely, audiences, professional musicians, the gatekeepers of public musical performance like artistic directors and conductors, and musicologists still tend not to consider musical performance as part of the cultural fabric that matters beyond aesthetics and entertainment. The present study is audience reception history, based on asking historic audiences what musical performance meant as part of their daily lives, and probing to discover how music achieved its political and social outcomes. This exploration of the wide horizon of the musical world of one individual, Frederica Emma, Lady Hunter, shows that nineteenth-century musical life was a discourse of power.

This chapter outlines the problem, the sources and method used, the historical context, and the scholarship from histories of culture, politics, music, and gender that informs the analysis, and provides a summary of the chapters to follow.

Historians of the nineteenth century tend not to engage with music, but music was pervasive. Occasional bursts of noise escape the mottled picture, as charivari or

tavern and street crowds jostle and riot.¹ But noise was not necessarily the most powerful sound in what Rhys Isaac calls “the paralinguistic forms of expression ... that make up the total communications repertoire of a society.”² Bell towers on stock exchanges and churches in town and country sang out familiar tunes, military bands played operatic medleys and folk tunes in public squares and for fancy dinner parties, gentlemen sang in private clubs, taverns presented semi-amateur musicians, and the world of professional musical performances expanded exponentially.

In this period before mechanically reproduced sound, almost everyone made music themselves, and everyone only heard music while it was being made, through the effort of a living human being.³ Musical experience was material, sound experienced in the body through singing, listening, and physically marching to band music, and held in the memory. It was also a representational form of communication that, in performance,

¹ For a recent discussion of Canadian charivari as an imported English tradition of using noise as oppositional power and intra-community regulation of gender norms, including a comprehensive review of international charivari historiography since 1949, see Pauline Greenhill, “Welcoming the Newlyweds: Charivari, Shivaree, Serenade, Banjo, and Saluting in Nova Scotia, 1917-c.1975,” *Acadiensis* 38, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 2009): 52-74. For music in London taverns, see Laurence Senelick, ed., *Tavern Singing in Early Victorian London: the diaries of Charles Rice for 1840 and 1850* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1997); for taverns, music halls and the associated “noise” of working-class culture, see Peter Bailey, *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

² Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia 1740-1790* (Chapel Hill, VA: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), p. 325.

³ Mechanically reproduced sound began its advance into wide-spread cultural life with Thomas Edison’s invention of the phonograph capable of recording musical sound in 1877. By the 1920s, the acoustic piano had already begun to be replaced by home phonographs and player pianos as the home entertainment technology of choice. Craig H. Roell, *The Piano in America, 1890-1940* (United States of America: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), pp. 46, 32-33.

constructed much of what it was understood to represent. It was particular to its historical epoch, created by the same class and gender differences that it continuously helped to re-construct.

Even political parties used music. Music was a mode of political discourse that linked formal politics with personal life. Far from being discrete aspects of society, as too many histories of politics, culture, and music imply, high politics and personal life were part of the same experiential fabric. By looking at musical life in diverse settings, it is possible to see that political thought and action, like social change and individual choices, were driven by cultural factors, including emotion, beliefs, and values. Rational thought, disinterestedness, and gender neutrality were far from being the sole or even the decisive factors in politics or in personal life. Intrinsically, musical life was—and remains—an amalgam of personal experience and public performance, so it can readily show how power, both as personal autonomy and as direct participation in governance, was exercised along a cultural continuum. Musical life, as one aspect of culture, was a mode of negotiating social, personal, and political change.

Political Conservatives in Britain between 1830 and 1850 created and enjoyed an ideologically coherent musical world, as the private concert programmes and magnificent, six-year diary of Frederica Emma, Lady Hunter, reveal. The shared ideological ground for musical life was embraced by men and women of many classes, but it was shaped by prevailing notions of both class and gender. An organic tranche method was adapted to limit the potentially vast array of potential primary and secondary sources of political, social, and musical history. This organic tranche aims

only to explicate the musical world of one individual: Lady Hunter. Fortunately, Lady Hunter's world encompassed the private leisure of domestic life, drawing-room concerts, the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, public opera and instrumental performances, and the Conservative party's political dinners known as Conservative Festivals.

Lady Hunter is a valuable core subject for such a history, first because the usually patchy evidence of musical life left three private programmes by the same amateur producer as well as her diary from the same period available in public archives. But her greater value to history is that she was so ordinary an amateur musician, and so ordinary in her use of music to enhance her life as best she could. Lady Hunter is important because no individual can function wholly outside of their social and political context. Across the horizon of Lady Hunter's world, and despite the diversity of heterogeneous musical genres, amateur and professional performers, and a range of performance venues, Conservative musical life constructed the impression that hierarchalism—the idea that human hierarchies of differing capacity for and right to personal autonomy and political power should be based on heritable class and gender—was natural, historic and good.

The problem for cultural history is to see how culture, that mixture of ideas, values, and beliefs, worked as an agent of historical change. Using musical life as a sample of culture, the approach taken in this study is to ask the audience of the time what they understood music to mean. Before particular musical compositions, musical genres, or performance conventions like concert programme formats can become so

ordinary that their meanings are taken for granted, layers of social meaning must be constructed.⁴ Throughout the musical soundscape, human agency continuously recreated the structure, content, and meaning of music through performances. The use of performance conventions, like concert programme formats, the sequence of toast subjects and music at events of political conviviality, and private musical club music lists, can thus reveal both personal tastes and a prevailing cultural code of non-musical meanings. Reflecting the sources used, special emphasis is placed on vocal music, its lyrics, venues, and performance conventions, although musical sound and form and instrumental music are included where they illuminate the central discussion of music as a discourse of power.⁵

The people who created concert programmes and music lists for such events as political dinners were exercising conscious agency, filtered through the half-conscious memories of previous musical experience. Documentation of musical life is patchy and scarce, but the historical practice of producing private concerts was documented in concert programmes, many of which are still extant. This study consults long-vanished audiences to ask why amateur musicians made their musical choices. When audiences for professional musical performances also made music themselves, their choices of repertoire, performers, and performance venues reveal what they thought the music they heard and made actually meant. Such meanings extended well beyond the aesthetic.

⁴ Cf. Hans Kellner, *Language and Historical Representation: Getting the Story Crooked* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), p. 65.

⁵ While some of the instrumental items performed at the Conservative Festivals, and aspects of glees as a form, will be discussed in terms of musical sound as such, a full exploration of sound, genre, and repertoire among publics of differing political convictions is beyond the scope of this study.

Amateur musicians' lists of repertoire and performers are evidence of decision-making processes, and, as I have argued elsewhere, when situated in the personal, business, and political contexts of the amateur musicians and their intended audiences, reveal patterns of choice that show consistent ideological content. For example, patterns linking decisions to assign musical genres according to the class and gender of performers in amateur settings have been shown to be parallel to public performance conventions.⁶ Such pattern identification is compelling evidence.

It would be further strengthened if it could be corroborated by evidence of non-musical intentions made by people of the period about their own musical choices. Such evidence is tiresomely rare, but Lady Hunter's diary and her extensive links with the Conservative Party provide statements of precisely such non-musical intentions. The Hunter diary, kept daily from 1840 to 1846, stated personal and social factors in her own music making. And a hitherto-little known gaggle of Conservative party dinners that were punctuated with carefully chosen music, provide the basis for a lexicon of Conservative values and beliefs in music that illuminates a variety of musical leisure.

Frederica Emma, Lady Hunter, was a wealthy, musical amateur and avid audience member at public, professional musical performances. She commented on the quality of all performances, including her own, and the musical world she recorded extended well beyond the silken drawing rooms of the wealthy. With her husband, Sir Richard Hunter, she attended over 70 private drawing-room concerts by professional and

⁶ For an extended case study, see Kristina Guiguet, *The Ideal World of Mrs. Widder's Soirée Musicale: Social Identity and Musical Life in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*, Mercury Series Cultural Studies, Paper 77 (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2004).

amateur musicians. Lady Hunter also recorded glimpses of her servants' private music making as well as her own efforts as an amateur composer, singer, keyboard, concertina player, and producer of private concerts. But her musical world included three other well-documented sites of musical life: the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club of London, the gentlemen's singing club to which her first husband, Sir Richard Hunter, belonged; the overlaps between amateur performance and the professional musical worlds of Italian opera, English oratorio, symphonic, and chamber music; and the Conservative party's "Festivals," for which her second husband, George John Danvers Butler Danvers, 5th Earl of Lanesborough, wrote and published a song.⁷

The Conservative Festivals were civic dinners held between 1835 and 1841 to develop electoral support for the Conservative party, and were filled with speeches defining Conservatism as a personal as well as political credo, and punctuated with music. The Conservative Festivals left traces in newspaper reports, published music, a few printed Festival toast lists, a little personal correspondence, and the architectural drawings of one of the temporary venues designed and built for several of the Festivals. Working class or "operative" Conservatives participated, as did professional women musicians and well-heeled Conservative women, showing the wide reach of the normative conventions of class and gender in musical life.

⁷ George John Danvers Butler Danvers, "Our Queen & Constitution, sung, with the most rapturous applause by Mr. Wykes at the Loughborough Conservative Festival April 25th 1838 composed, Expressly for the Occasion by G.I.D. Butler Danvers Esqr. [sic] President, and Dedicated to all The Conservative Societies, throughout the United Kingdom," arr. M. Corri (London: Published for the Author, at the Royal Musical Library, [ca. 1838].

The more than 50 pieces of music used at the Festivals were drawn primarily from the diverse music of daily life. The Conservative Festivals thus provide a lexicon linking familiar music with the concepts and proofs of conservative hierarchalism that were detailed in the Festival toast speeches. Applied to each site of musical leisure reviewed in this study, the Conservative Festivals lexicon reveals layers of non-musical meanings that were legible at the time whenever music was chosen for performance or heard. Both the Hunter diary and the Conservative Festivals sources are linked with a welter of related material: evidence that musical life was an indivisible part of social, political, and personal fabric of the time. Tellingly, the private personal and musical world of Lady Hunter was so interwoven with the social and political issues of her time that her private concert programmes and diary can only be understood within the whole context of her society.

Lady Hunter and her two husbands were committed but ordinary political and social conservatives. Lady Hunter's diary is, among many things, a record of her efforts to use music in order to change her own social position. As she applied what she learned through social experiences, she subtly changed the matrix in which she participated. The Hunter diary provides a three dimensional context, legible through cross-reading as well as frank statements of purpose and analysis. The Conservative Festivals provide a lexicon of ideological content—ideas, values, beliefs, and tropes—in music itself.

Music of disparate aesthetics could speak the same politics. The musical choices of nineteenth-century conservatives were coherent as a cultural force because they all made human hierarchy seem to be a natural and benevolent social structure. Most

sharply defined in the Conservative Festivals speeches, the ideological content of music and performance conventions was arguably more powerful as a social force in sites of musical leisure, where intellectual content was obscured by musical pleasure and shared conviviality. Lady Hunter's world encompassed an enormous variety of musical repertoire, genres, amateur and professional performers, and performance venues. Yet, to her, it was an unremarkable whole. To capture the coherence amidst the variety, this study considers musical life as a series of overlapping but distinct cultural sites of musical performance in Britain between 1830 and 1850 as an audible environment or musical "soundscape."

As an interpretive framework, the idea of an ideologically unified landscape of musical experience builds on Canadian composer R. Murray Schafer's original notion of soundscape as the ambient sound world of technology, music, and patterns of noise that are peculiar to each historic epoch.⁸ Musical soundscapes are portable because they are also internal, carried in the memory and the imagination.⁹ The concept of a conservative musical soundscape emerges from the question: why would people known to be political Conservatives choose to participate in a wide range of music and musical situations?

⁸ R. Murray Schafer, *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World* (Rochester, Vermont: Destiny Books, 1994), p. 178 and *passim*. Other musical soundscapes existed simultaneously. For an example of occupation-specific social practices as a form of musical soundscape, see Rachel Cowgill, "On the beat: the Victorian policeman as musician," in *Victorian Soundscapes Revisited*, eds. Martin Hewitt and Rachel Cowgill, Leeds Working Papers in Victorian Studies, vol. 9 (Leeds: Leeds Centre for Victorian Studies, and Leeds University Centre for English Music, University of Leeds, 2007), pp. 191-214.

⁹ For musical composition revealing a composer's familiar soundworld, see Stephen Banfield, "Roundtable: Victorian Soundscapes and the Potential for Interdisciplinary Exchange," in *Victorian Soundscapes Revisited*, eds. Hewitt and Cowgill, p. 10.

The far-reaching social power of the conservative musical soundscape was that much of its music overlapped with common musical knowledge and the cultural syntax of performance conventions. Association with the Conservative party provided a new degree of recognition of the conservative aspects of music heard and made by a broader public. Conversely, looking at the Conservative party through the music it used allows political history to incorporate culture among the constitutive factors considered to be at play. Some of the Conservatives' music has fallen away from common knowledge, but from their repertoire, glees like "Hail, Smiling Morn" were popular well into the nineteenth century in colonies as well as in Britain, and such songs as "Rule Britannia" are alive today.¹⁰ Understanding the conservative musical soundscape contributes to understanding how certain conservative values and beliefs persist over time. To account for musical activity in the past thus requires careful consideration of how the historic differences of place and technology, politics, class, and gender affected making, listening to, and remembering music.¹¹

Historical Context

It is impossible to understand musical life without situating it in the political and social changes of Britain between 1830 and 1850.¹² Two great political reforms placed in

¹⁰ For "Hail, Smiling Morn" in pre-Confederation Canada, for example, see David John Sale, "Toronto's pre-confederation music societies, 1845-1867" (M.Mus. thesis, University of Toronto, 1968).

¹¹ Cf. John M. Picker, "Victorian Soundscapes Revisited," in *Victorian Soundscapes Revisited*, eds. Hewitt and Cowgill, p. 39.

¹² Three survey histories were consulted for this section. From a social history perspective, Keith Robbins, *The Present and the Past: Great Britain: Identities, Institutions and the Idea of Britishness* (Harlow, Essex: Addison Wesley Longman,

motion inexorable processes of change leading Britain to secular and democratic state governance: the removal of civic disabilities for Catholics by 1829, and the passing of the 1832 *Reform Act*.¹³ Both reflected existing social tensions. By 1830, the rapid social and technological changes associated with industrialisation had bitten deep. Individuals lived the transitional decades between 1830 and 1850, as the British population mushroomed, agricultural populations declined and, by 1851, urban populations rose to become the majority.¹⁴ Industrial workers were still within walking distance of rural communities, but, as Robert Poole suggests in his study of how rural harvest home culture could be tragically misunderstood by urban authorities at Peterloo in 1819, urban

1998), emphasizes continuities of social and material conditions, effective popular agency or “pressure from without,” and minimizes, as many social historians do, the importance of legislation and political parties or politicians. Diametrically opposed is W.A. Speck, *A Concise History of Britain 1707-1975* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), who minimizes “pressure from without,” emphasizes macro-economics and formal politics, and gives more credence to the importance of religious belief for nineteenth-century conservatives. Balancing at the middle is David Powell, *Nationhood and identity: the British State since 1800* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2002), slightly privileging his native Wales in a survey that presents a steady unification of Great Britain as a nation and as a culture, during the nineteenth century. Agreement on empirical content is tempered by different interpretive perspectives. By 1851, most Britons lived in cities and the Conservative party had foundered on the touchstone of agricultural economy, the repeal of the Corn Laws.

¹³ A growing issue since the *Act of Union* (1800-1801) between Ireland, largely Catholic, and Protestant Great Britain, was the civil restriction of Catholics, who could not own property, vote, or hold public office. Under pressure from Irish discontent focused by activist Daniel O’Connell, a Catholic elected to British Parliament, the ruling Tories repealed the *Test and Corporation Acts* in 1828, and passed the 1829 *Catholic Relief Act*. Catholics henceforth could sit in Parliament, own property, and work in the civil service. For a thorough discussion of the restrictions on Catholics, Dissenters, and Presbyterians, see the still standard work of G.I.T. Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832-1868* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), pp. 1-27.

¹⁴ Speck, *Concise*, p. 51; Powell, *Nationhood*, p. 32.

and rural cultures were rapidly diverging.¹⁵ The conservative musical soundscape contributed to the cultural negotiation of the intense civic volatility over the shift to a predominantly urban, industrial society that developed from the end of the 1820s, as pressure for political and social reform increased from outside the formal political process.

The impact of musical life itself was intensified by changing technologies and prices of travel and communication. Between 1830 and 1850, “the swift, amalgamating power of railways” shrank travel time from weeks to hours and, aided by the penny post introduced in 1840, made newspaper and mail distribution faster and exponentially more powerful as a force of nation-wide culture.¹⁶ Press reports of musical performances reached a national audience, a key mode through which the Conservative Festivals could influence the rest of British musical life.

Historian Norman Gash emphasizes that the Conservative party used the national press as a critical feature of its 1830s campaign to develop grassroots cultural support and oppose the patently hostile electorate. Writing just after World War II, Gash perhaps saw nineteenth-century press manipulation through the lens of Nazi propaganda techniques, but more recent histories of the period concur that the 1820 to 1850 period was characterized by new and wide-spread use of public communications. William Hay tracks the Whigs’ strategic use of the press, Mervyn Busted uses a Gramscian lens for

¹⁵ Robert Poole, “The March to Peterloo: Politics and Festivity in Late Georgian England,” *Past and Present*, 192 (Aug. 2006): 109-153.

¹⁶ Powell, *Nationhood*, p. 38. Quotation attributed to Lord Rosebery (1882, no citation), cited in Keith Robbins, *Nineteenth-Century Britain: Integration and Diversity. The Ford Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford 1986-1987* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 28.

oppositional crowd culture, and John Plotz and Robert Poole show the public theatre of representation as a legitimate form of popular agency, but all emphasize the new speed and reach of the press as a form of cultural change.¹⁷ Non-literate publics participated in civic debates, informed, for example, by press reports read aloud and debated in taverns throughout the Empire.¹⁸

Political change, however, was also a manifestation of the tectonic change from a predominantly rural and agricultural economy to one based on urban industrialism. After losing power to Whig-led Reformers in 1831, the Conservatives lost the 1832 election over the single issue of electoral reform in a contest peppered with violence.¹⁹ A young stationer's clerk in London, William Rowsell, noted that "All the Borough & County Elections going on now ... creates [sic] a great excitement in the People's Minds

¹⁷ William Anthony Hay, *The Whig Revival, 1808-1830* (Houndsmill: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), situates Whig success in gaining Parliamentary domination in the 1830s as the result of combining local meetings with national press coverage; Mervyn Busted, "Parading the green—Procession as subaltern resistance in Manchester in 1867," *Political Geography* 24 (2005): 903-933; John Plotz, "Crowd Power: Chartism, Carlyle, and the Victorian Public Sphere," *Representations*, no. 70 (Spring 2000): 87-114; Poole, "The March to Peterloo;" cf. Robert G. Hall, "Chartism Remembered: William Aitken, Liberalism, and the Politics of Memory," *Journal of British Studies* 38, no. 4 (Oct. 1999): 445-470, which offers the case of a man who chose to construct a false identity as a working-class man in order to make sense to himself of his values and his life.

¹⁸ Jeffrey L. McNairn, *The Capacity to Judge: Public Opinion and Deliberative Democracy in Upper Canada, 1791-1854* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), p. 150.

¹⁹ Speck, *Concise*, pp. 74-75. For a contrasting view that the Reform Bill riots of 1831 were patriotic expressions of support for monarchy, see John Beckett, "The Nottingham Reform Bill Riots of 1831," *Parliamentary History* 24 (Supplement 2005): 114-138.

Riots have taken place & in some instance, with loss of lives.”²⁰ Such bitter, wide-spread civil unrest had greeted the failure of the first two Reform Bills that the House of Lords held its collective nose and passed the 1832 *Reform Act*, largely by abstention.²¹ The Lords rightly understood that the *Act* was a structural diminishment of unelected aristocratic, Church, and Royal control of governance. The impact on formal politics was profound, ushering in the modern era of party politics and decentralizing political party machinery.

The 1832 *Reform Act* literally changed the way politics was done. It reduced the number of inappropriate electoral constituencies, gave Parliamentary representation to the largest of the new industrial towns, increased the number of eligible voters by about 50 per cent, including a significant number of London shopkeepers, and reduced but did not eliminate aristocratic control of elections. Elections were still not held if there was no contest for the seat, and voting was still not secret, so major landowners could still exert significant pressure on voters to favour Conservative candidates.²²

Perhaps most importantly for political life, the 1832 *Reform Act* instituted the electoral register, annually updated, upon which voters’ names had to appear to qualify

²⁰ William Rowsell, diary (1 Jul. 1835 to 11 Jul. 1836), London, 15 Dec. 1832. William Rowsell emigrated with his elder brother Henry, who was one of colonial Canada’s early stationers. See *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, s.v. “Rowsell, Henry.”

²¹ For the argument that the Lords acceded to the authority of the King, see Speck, *Concise*, pp. 73-74; for the contrary view that they were responding to popular discontent, see Robbins, *Great Britain*, p. 154.

²² The secret ballot was introduced in 1872. Speck, *Concise*, pp. 74-75. For arguments in favour of a culture of deference, see Patrick Joyce, “The Factory Politics of Lancashire in the Later Nineteenth Century,” *Historical Journal* 18, no. 3 (Sep. 1975): 525-553; against it, see Speck, *Concise*, p. 75.

them to vote. Conservative leader Sir Robert Peel famously recognized that elections would thenceforth be won or lost at the registration stage.²³ Registration rules decentralized the political process, so political candidates could no longer wholly rely on aristocratic patrons but had to meet and woo a significantly broader electorate. As John Phillips suggests, the 1832 *Reform Act* “fundamentally altered England’s political landscape by politicizing the electorate to a degree and on a scale hitherto unimaginable.”²⁴

The Conservatives had to adapt to the new mechanisms of politics established by Reform legislation, but were only galvanized into active reconstruction after the Conservative 100 Days Ministry of 1834-1835. In 1834, William IV overturned electoral will by dismissing the elected Whig Ministry in favour of the Conservatives. Conservatives were inspired by this assertion of heritable, unelected political prerogative to return Britain to God’s ordered social and political structure by forming active Conservative Associations to aid the party at the polls.²⁵ The Conservative Festivals of

²³ Norman Gash, “F.R. Bonham: Conservative ‘Political Secretary,’ 1832-47,” *English Historical Review* 63, no. 249 (Oct. 1948): 522.

²⁴ John A. Phillips, ed. Philip Salmon, “England’s ‘Other’ Ballot Question: The Unnoticed Political Revolution of 1835,” *Parliamentary History* 24 (Supplement 2005): 139.

²⁵ For a view of the mechanics of party activity that is consistent with a cultural interpretation of political history, see Norman Gash, *Reaction and Reconstruction in English Politics 1832-1852: The Ford Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford in the Hilary Term 1964* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 142. For a thorough, recent review of the issues and historiography of Conservative Associations, see Matthew Cragoe, “The Great Reform Act and the Modernization of British Politics: The Impact of Conservative Associations, 1835-1841,” *Journal of British Studies* 47 (Jul. 2008): 581-603. Cragoe shows that between 1835 and 1841, the party created many new Conservative Associations to build grassroots support among voters and the unenfranchised.

1835 to 1841 were part of the Conservative party campaign to encourage Conservative voter registration by new voters without alienating traditional landed Conservatives.

To regain Parliamentary control, the Conservative party had to win over the inflamed public that had voted overwhelmingly for Reform politicians. To do so, they argued the morality and benefits of conservative hierarchalism, the notion that a hierarchical political and social structure based on the intrinsic, heritable characteristics of class and gender was moral and indeed inevitable. The Conservative Festivals bruited hierarchalism in speech and song to attract the new, urban, voters of working and manufacturing classes while retaining the loyalty of the agricultural aristocracy and gentry who were its traditional supporters: an ironic and ultimately unsustainable approach. The Festival speeches and music hammered home the morality, benefits, and historical proofs that conservative hierarchalism was the will of God, a truth which could not change. Conservatives were observing the new modality of greater accountability to regional voters, established by Reform legislation, not because Conservative ideas, values and beliefs were democratic or egalitarian, but because they had no choice.

The 1830 to 1850 period shows culture in full flood in the practice of high politics. Basic ideas, values and beliefs about the source of the right to govern were in contention, not just during elections. As Miles Taylor notes about this complex web of interactive pressure and response, no scholarly consensus has yet been reached about “the principal dynamics of ... early to mid Victorian politics.” Until recently, social history dominated, focussed on the bottom-up agency of the working and middle classes

in the march toward liberalism and the universal electoral franchise, but tempered by the messy persistence of hierarchical social and political structures.²⁶ Since the success of Margaret Thatcher's Conservative governments of the later twentieth century, which depended on significant working class support, scholarly interest in the persistence through the 1830s and 1840s of "Conservative ideas and discourses ... and their reception by the electorate" has revived.²⁷ Because of the long historiographic lag in attention to popular, nineteenth-century Conservatism, even the most recent histories of mid-nineteenth-century Conservatism still depend on the empirical depth and broad, perceptive context of earlier historians like Norman Gash and Richard L. Hill.

Alex Windscheffel notes that, in keeping with the Conservative party's predilection for "leadership and hierarchy," traditional scholarship about the party focussed on biographies of great men and institutions.²⁸ The new histories of Conservatism by such historians as Matthew Roberts, Matthew Cragoe, Jon Lawrence and Edwin Jaggard combine the insights from social and cultural histories with analysis of Conservative party machinations and electoral statistics to show that legislative changes "came ultimately from a combination of political will in parliament and, arguably more importantly, a good deal of pressure from without."²⁹ Of greatest use to

²⁶ Miles Taylor, Review article, "British Politics in the Age of Revolution and Reform, 1789-1867," *Historical Journal* 45, no. 3 (Sep. 2002): 661.

²⁷ Alex Windscheffel, "Men or Measures? Conservative party Politics, 1815-1951," *Historical Journal* 45, no. 4 (Dec. 2002): 937-951.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 938, fn. 4.

²⁹ Nicholas Rogers, "Review of *Aristocratic Government in the Age of Reform: Whigs and Liberals, 1830-1852*, by Peter Mandler," *American Historical Review* 101, no. 4 (Oct. 1996): 1207-1208.

this dissertation are the studies that incorporate the cultural turn to a broad range of sources and inter-disciplinary methodology.

As it adapted to the 1832 *Reform Act*, the Conservative party developed new mechanisms of party politics that made use of the overlapping social networks. Norman Gash attributes the development of “an age of ... ‘club government’” to the founding of the Carleton Club in 1832 and the new role of central organizer of a nation-wide political party developed by the sociable Sir Francis Robert Bonham.³⁰ Bonham assisted the development of new Conservative Associations throughout Britain, which in turn held local campaigns of voter registration and political conviviality. Matthew Cragoe concurs that 1835 was the beginning of the Conservative party campaign for grass roots support, but emphasizes local community participation in developing the Conservative Associations.³¹ Gash presciently acknowledges the power of public opinion and the cultural activities of the politicians themselves as part of a whole social context in which politics was carried out.³²

The newer conservative histories build on Gash’s arguments that the Conservative party set the stage for modern party political system, national political consciousness, and democracy. To establish the democratic bona fides of the Conservative party between 1830 and 1850, several recent histories focus on party and institutions of governance, largely restricting their analysis of culture to voting patterns.

³⁰ Norman Gash, *Politics in the Age of Peel: A Study in the Technique of Parliamentary Representation 1830 - 1850* (London: Longmans, Green, 1966), pp. 393, 413; Gash, “F.R. Bonham,” p. 522.

³¹ Ibid., p. 511; cf. Machin, *Religion*, p. 98; Cragoe, “The Great Reform Act,” pp. 582-593.

³² Gash, *Politics in the Age of Peel*, p. xiv.

Matthew Roberts outlines three main arguments against the longstanding dismissal of 1830s working-class Conservatism by social historians as “a form of political deviancy.”³³ The new conservative histories suggest that popular Conservatism was continuous in volume and content throughout the period, that the Conservative party between 1830 and 1850 was active and successful in developing grass-roots allegiance, and that popular Conservatism was not “the irrational, unthinking ideological void that it has traditionally been presented as by labour historians” but was driven by ideas and political issues.

Jon Lawrence, for example, shows that Conservatism was not wholly class-specific or driven by economics, since working men of the same occupations and living standards could be Liberal or Conservative.³⁴ The emphasis on intellectual and cultural disagreement within the same class valorizes the agency of working-class men making choices in a dynamic relationship with what political parties offered. Some features of personal life are given credence by Lawrence, notably a definition of manliness that

³³ Matthew Roberts, “Popular Conservatism in Britain, 1832-1914,” *Parliamentary History* 26, pt. 3 (2007): 387. Few social historians have agreed that operatives could freely embrace Conservatism, e.g., for the view that visible “in the radicalism of 1830-32 is an organized, independent working-class presence, sometimes working in co-operation with radicals from other classes, sometimes standing alone in opposition to all,” see Edward Royle and James Walvin, eds., *English Radicals and Reformers 1760-1848* (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1982), p. 148. Others, who identify working-class supporters of the Conservative party, usually attribute it to an oppressive culture of deference. Joyce, “The Factory Politics of Lancashire,” pp. 525-553.

³⁴ Jon Lawrence, “Class and Gender in the Making of Urban Toryism, 1880-1914,” *English Historical Review* 108, no. 428 (Jul. 1993): 641. Similar conclusions that non-gentry Conservative voters acted from their own political values rather than from deference to dominant landed aristocrats and gentry are reached based on analysis of voting patterns between 1832 and 1867 in Edwin Jaggard, “Small Town Politics in Mid-Victorian Britain,” *History* 89, no. 293 (Jan. 2004): 3-29.

involved excluding women from the right to vote and asserting working men's agency in caring for their families.³⁵

These historians view the Conservative party, too, as driven by thought and principle. Like Roberts, Lawrence sees the Conservative party after 1830 as an evolving organization "actively involved in the definition of political interests and the construction of political alliances."³⁶ While much of the empirical content of these studies is rigorously demonstrated, Roberts, Cragoe, Lawrence, and Jaggard avoid the tenets of Conservative hierarchalism as expressed by Conservatives of the time. These scholars correctly show that there were ideas at play and that mid-nineteenth-century Conservatives made thoughtful and often disinterested electoral choices, but, like Gash, they do not reveal the fundamental rigidity of Conservative commitment to hierarchical social structure.

As a result, these histories position mid-century Conservatism as intentionally supporting democracy. Matthew Cragoe, for example, in a solid exploration of the local Conservative Associations, emphasizes that the Conservative party of the 1830s was more inclusive than in the past—engaging the local community in the party as "a collective affair."³⁷ While Cragoe acknowledges the continuing power of "great landowners" on grassroots Conservative Associations, he suggests that the party organizations were no longer "simply extensions of local aristocratic power." However, he does not make clear where the locus of real power in these Associations did lie. Like

³⁵ Lawrence, "Class and Gender," pp. 644-647.

³⁶ Cragoe, "The Great Reform Act," pp. 587-588.

³⁷ Ibid.

the work of Roberts, Lawrence, and Jaggard, Cragoe does not address the intellectual and faith-based commitment of Conservatism of the period to a hierarchical class structure. The resulting conclusion, from Gash to Cragoe, that the Conservative party of the 1830s and 1840s was cutting a new path for democratic accountability, relies on a false dichotomy between communitarian sharing of civic life and anti-democratic hierarchalism. As the discussion of the Conservative Festivals toast speeches and music in Chapter Five suggests, the Conservative party of the 1830s was marketing asymmetrical access to personal and political power as its central hallmark.

The new Conservative histories also tend to downplay the role of religious belief as a central driver of Conservatism. Roberts, for instance, suggests that the party avoided identifying itself “exclusively with the Church of England.”³⁸ This may have been true in the latter part of the nineteenth century, but it was far from the case in the years of the Conservative Festivals. G.F.A. Best, for example, suggests that, once the 1829 *Catholic Emancipation Act* allowed Catholics to hold public office, Britain was inevitably set on a course of religious toleration in which there could be no single national faith. Best’s contemporary, Gilbert A. Cahill, recognized the crucial role of “the emotional force of conservatism as ideology” in the period.³⁹ Best and Cahill more nearly account for the

³⁸ C.S. Ford, *Pastors and Polemicists. The Character of Popular Anglicanism in South-East Lancaster* (Manchester, 2002), p. 125, cited in Roberts, “Popular Conservatism,” p. 399.

³⁹ G.F.A. Best, “The Religious Difficulties of National Education in England, 1800-70,” *Cambridge Historical Journal* 12, no. 2 (1956): 168; Gilbert A. Cahill, “Irish Catholicism and English Toryism,” *Review of Politics* 19, no. 1 (Jan. 1957): 64, arguing that religion was central to Conservatism, since the Tory party split over support for Catholicism in 1829 and 1845, but was unified between 1835 and 1841 by anti-

way speech and song at the Conservative Festivals expressed fear of chaos and religious collapse than those studies whose search for intellectual Conservatism ignores the role of belief and emotion. The academic belief in the foundational rationality of public political life dies hard. And yet pursuing the traces of emotion and belief is critical to understanding what, how, and how much of the intellectual and ideological content of party organizers and writers “filtered down to the grass roots.”⁴⁰

G.I.T. Machin downplays the 1828-1829 repeal of the *Test and Corporation* acts as largely symbolic, but in his thorough survey of the relationships between politics and the churches in mid-nineteenth-century Britain argues that the steady disestablishment of the Anglican Church was the manifestation of “the extension of religious plurality in a non-authoritarian society.” The Anglican Church was increasingly challenged in the nineteenth century by the demands of an increasing population, rising Dissent and Wesleyan congregations, and persistent Irish Catholic tensions. The 1832 *Reform Act* accelerated the weakening of the Anglican establishment by enfranchising the largely industrial regions where Dissent was clustered in the middle—and working-classes. Religious Dissenters’ dissatisfaction with Whig policies and legislation could turn elections in favour of the Conservatives, as Machin suggests occurred in 1834.⁴¹

Most Whigs and Conservatives shared the socially conservative view that the Anglican Church should remain Established in the State. Real pressures to retain Ireland

Catholicism. For a thorough survey of the issues, institutions, and prominent participants in politics and religion, see Machin, *Politics and the Churches*.

⁴⁰ Roberts, “Popular Conservatism,” p. 410.

⁴¹ Machin, *Politics and the Churches*, pp. 21, 380; 42-45. Dissenting and Catholic support of the Whigs varied, to achieve not disestablishment but basic religious rights (e.g., marriage and burial within their own denominations).

within the Union while ensuring equitable distribution of Church tithes among a majority Catholic population were as divisive for the Whigs as they had been for the Conservatives who, under Wellington, had repealed the *Test* and *Corporation* acts in response to similar pressures. Social conservatism was not the sole purview of political Conservatives.⁴² Reform, like Conservatism, was not allied in any simple fashion with Dissent, Catholicism, or class. Hierarchalism may have been most pungently expressed politically by the Conservative party, but it was shared by many a Reformer. The importance of tracing hierarchalism in musical leisure thus transcends party politics.

As will be shown, political party members took their politics home—and brought their personal, domestic experience into the political realm. Political histories that frame their questions about the meaning of politics solely in terms of formal political institutions, participants, and political outcomes limit the interpretative reach of what is otherwise productive empirical research into political behaviour. There is also a growing literature about political conviviality, but it too tends to dismiss music as a garnish and remain within the realm of formal politics.⁴³ Neither the literature on conviviality nor the

⁴² Ibid., pp. 31, 23.

⁴³ My warm thanks to Dr. Newton Key for a helpful discussion. In addition to Cragoe, “The Great Reform Act,” see Newton E. Key, “The Political Culture and Political Rhetoric of County Feasts and Feast Sermons, 1654-1714,” *Journal of British Studies* 33, no. 3. (Jul. 1994): 223-256; Peter Brett, “Political Dinners in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain: Platform, Meeting Place and Battleground,” *History* 81 (1996): 527-552; David Cannadine, “The Transformation of Civic Ritual in Modern Britain: The Colchester Oyster Feast,” *Past and Present* 94 (Feb. 1982): 107-130; Alex Tyrrell, “Paternalism, Public Memory and National Identity in Early Victorian Scotland: The Robert Burns Festival at Ayr in 1844,” *History* 90, no. 1 (2005): 42-61. For a fictional evocation, see James Kay-Shuttleworth, *Scarsdale: or, Life on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Border, Thirty Years Ago*, 3 vols. (London: Smith, Elder, 1860), e.g., I, pp. 216-7.

recent histories of mid-nineteenth century Conservatism addresses the core intellectual ideas of the Conservative party—conservative hierarchalism in its abstract, institutional, and personal forms—and the ways in which they were installed in the human landscape through emotionally powerful media like music. The present study identifies the Conservative Festivals as part of the broader national campaign, and for the first time links the music of formal politics with that of recreation. But the conclusion is not that the Conservative party was intent on, as Gash puts it, “subjecting government to the decision of the electorate, expressed and organized through party” but on arousing electoral support for continued independence of governance from the control of voters and from the “lower orders” of British society.⁴⁴ Music wove together the political thought of the Conservative party and the discourses of class and gender hierarchy embedded in personal leisure and domestic life. As social, economic, and political change rolled on, the conservative musical soundscape pushed back.

Music, Culture, and Theory

Politics did not take place in a sound-proof box. Musical life in the nineteenth century was so pervasive that it must be taken into account as one of “the ways in which people, often unconsciously, use cultural categories and forms to shape the world in which they live.”⁴⁵ People used music both consciously and unconsciously, but cultural histories have rarely discussed musical life as a medium of power, and like musicology, rightly

⁴⁴ Gash, “F.R. Bonham,” p. 522.

⁴⁵ Colin M. Coates, “Practices of Culture in Francophone Quebec,” Introduction to Special Issue: Practices of Culture in Francophone Quebec, *Canadian Historical Review* 88, no.1 (Mar. 2007): 4.

focussed on music as its subject, histories of musical life have not so far shown whether or how it functioned as an active force for change.

This study suggests that conservative musical life fostered the emotional conviction that hierarchalism and its associated political institutions were natural, but appearance is not proof. As Tracy C. Davis argues, “the exercise of skill [is] perceived as absolute naturalness.”⁴⁶ What, then, were the skills and cultural processes of musical life that made hierarchalism appear to be natural and good?

Music was a subtle tool in what Hans Kellner describes as the “process of transforming history into nature, by projecting historical moments in such a way as to deny their historicity.” Music as sound was one of those “gestures that reach beyond the text ... and suggest that there is a *context* that focuses the meaning of the segment that is the text itself.”⁴⁷ Kellner develops Hayden White’s concept of narrativity, in which a plot is “a structure of relationships by which the events contained in the account are endowed with a meaning by being identified as parts of an integrated whole.”⁴⁸ This study adopts Kellner’s approach to reading any cultural text “crooked,” testing to see whether the authoritative naturalness of historic narratives of power could have been created by the rhetorical devices of musical life. The narratives of musical life are found to have used historic events, individuals, and myths as proof that human hierarchy was natural, a function of the laws of nature created by God.

⁴⁶ Tracy C. Davis, “Theatricality and Civil Society,” in *Theatricality*, eds. Davis and Thomas Postlewait (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 139.

⁴⁷ Kellner, *Language and Historical Representation*, p. 65.

⁴⁸ Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), pp. 4, 9.

The representational turn, applied to musical life, tends to dismiss the peculiar characteristic of music: the materiality of musical sound and of the bodies that make and perceive it. John Shepherd argues for an inclusive synthesis of music with society by emphasizing the “powerfully corporeal” materiality of popular music.⁴⁹ Another Canadian historian, Joy Parr, completes the argument by combining representation with materiality, suggesting that “the situated material body ... exists socially and fancifully in a technologically and culturally specific context.” Materiality, like music as sound, does not stand outside time and representation, since the interpretation of human sensory experience is historically contingent.⁵⁰ As Naomi André notes in her discussion of women singers taking over the heroic, male operatic roles originally written for castrated men, the perception of musical sound is not just material but is historically constructed through a dynamic exchange between audiences and musicians. As André puts it, there is a “period ear.” Between 1800 and 1830, audiences accepted professional women singers performing heroic male opera roles originally written for the vanishing cohort of castrati (male singers castrated before puberty). Audiences remembered the sound of castrato singing and recognized it in the voices of women who had been trained in the same vocal technique. About 1830, “the aesthetics surrounding what was heroic, masculine, and feminine shifted.” By 1845, a new vocal technique was emerging, the tenor “doh di petto” (full-voiced high C) that gave operatic masculine heroism a heavier

⁴⁹ John Shepherd, “Music and Social Categories,” in *The Cultural Study of Music: a critical introduction* (New York & London: Routledge, 2003), eds. Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert, and Richard Middleton, pp. 72, 78.

⁵⁰ Joy Parr, “Notes for a more sensuous history of twentieth-century Canada: The timely, the tacit, and the material body,” *Canadian Historical Review* 82, no. 4 (Dec. 2001): 726, 730.

vocal quality that could not be imitated by female voices. André refutes the notion that gender representation in vocal music is determined by the biological sex of the singer, showing instead that it is the imaginations of audiences and artists that construct shared conventions about gender through repeated performances.⁵¹ Performance history is thus central to changing the subject of music history from the fixed, written text to the dynamic social matrix in which the written text is but a part of the functional meaning of music.⁵²

Related to issues of materiality are class and gender used as categories of analysis. Both categories are unstable, since, as Patrick Joyce notes, such social categories are “not prior to and constitutive of language.” Nevertheless, Joyce makes the compelling argument that discussions of political culture in Britain must include class because it was “part of the landscape” of the time.⁵³ Class divisions grew more marked during the 1830s, but path-breaking social historian E.P. Thompson’s assertion that the working class was exercising conscious revolutionary agency by 1830 is being challenged by accounts of continuous conservative political culture among the working and middle classes.⁵⁴ Crowd histories are linked with studies of Chartism, which has been seen variously as evidence that the 1832 *Reform Act* was a Whig device to

⁵¹ Naomi André, *Voicing Gender: Castrati, Travesti, and the Second Woman in Early-nineteenth-century Italian Opera* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006), pp. 6-7, 175.

⁵² Nicholas Cook, “Music as Performance,” in *Cultural Study of Music*, eds. Clayton, Herbert, and Middleton, pp. 204, 213.

⁵³ Patrick Joyce, *Visions of the People: Industrial England and the question of class 1848-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 9, 23.

⁵⁴ Powell, *Nationhood*, p. 39; Taylor, “British Politics,” p. 665.

dispossess unenfranchised working people of their pre-industrial political agency or as evidence of working class solidarity and class consciousness.⁵⁵ D.J. Rowe, by contrast, dispossesses workers of the agency of having written the Charter, suggesting that, since class consciousness was only nascent in the 1830s, middle class cooperation was required for workers to produce the Charter itself.⁵⁶ The notion of class was an ever-present feature of self-identification by individuals and groups of the time. Perhaps because so many of the then-prevailing beliefs about class were founded on culturally constructed myths, tight determination of class identity, particularly on the basis of economic strata and motivations, is elusive. More crucial for the present study is how individuals of the period applied their beliefs, values, and ideas.

The present study draws on the empirically reliable content of much of this scholarship, but assumes that working men were not welded by economic and social deprivation into a single class that struggled against oppression. The 1830s “operative” Conservatives like William Paul of Leeds, who spoke at several Conservative Festivals, identified themselves as working class and poorly educated, accepted their relative lack of formal political power, but disagreed with their anti-Conservative working colleagues. They have not been sufficiently credited as intellectuals and political agents

⁵⁵ I am indebted to Newton E. Key for recommending Frank O’Gorman, “Campaign Rituals and Ceremonies: The Social Meaning of Elections in England 1780-1860,” *Past and Present* 135 (1992): 79-115. For the similar point that the “Reform Act was significant in replacing wider, non-partisan participation in elections with voter participation mobilized by emergent national parties,” see Nancy LoPatin-Lummis, “The 1832 Reform Act Debate: Should the Suffrage Be Based on Property or Taxpaying?” *Journal of British Studies* 46 (Apr. 2007): 321. See also Royle and Walvin, eds., *English Radicals and Reformers*, p. 142.

⁵⁶ D.J. Rowe, “The London Working Men’s Association and the ‘People’s Charter,’” *Past and Present*, no. 36 (Apr. 1967): 76.

whose ideological commitments were of the same model as those of better-educated, richer, and more powerful Conservatives. Still the definitive study of operative Conservatives between 1832 and 1846, Richard L. Hill's empirically dense study attributes operative Conservatism to economic self-interest rather than civic activism or independent thought but notes that, after 1835, informed political action by Conservative working men replaced the earlier tradition of paid thuggery.⁵⁷ The present study amplifies Hill's primary evidence and offers a more positive interpretation of the agency of the operative Conservatives, linking operative Conservatism with music.⁵⁸ The agency and intellectual engagement of working people is better respected by histories that recognize the presence of well-argued differences of opinion and political views.

Similar considerations apply to gender as a category. Musical life was one of the performative forms in which gender was culturally constructed. There is a difference between musical performance and musical performativity. Musical performance reproduces a pre-existing musical work, whether that work was orally transmitted or written in musical notation. Judith Butler suggests that performativity is the re-iteration of ritualised behaviour that creates the very subject to which it seems to refer.⁵⁹ Musical performances are performative in the sense that musical performance creates as natural the cultural norms it is understood to represent. Musical genre is not an indicator of the

⁵⁷ Richard L. Hill, *Toryism and the people* (London: Constable & Co. Ltd., 1929), p. ix.

⁵⁸ A thorough study of the intersections of religion, operative activities, urban friendly societies, and high politics is still wanting.

⁵⁹ Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: on the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'* (New York & London: Routledge, 1993), p. 95.

performative capacity of music, although emphasis on genre can be an aspect of the intended performative content.

Truth is: people perform. Performativity is also a theory of agency, since if meanings are not the result of a fixed or intrinsic reality that exists outside of human communication, then it is possible to transform the meanings of cultural activities—and with them the cultural dynamics they appear to describe—through human agency. Much cultural and social history is attentive to performative subversion of the dominant social conventions, since effective performativity does not depend on the social actor(s) having high social status or political power.⁶⁰ This study addresses the performative construction of dominant social conventions, thrown into high relief during the social turmoil when Reform challenged the foundations of conservative hierarchalism in formal politics. The categories of class and gender, like musical works, existed prior to musical performances, but were themselves reconstructed with each socially or musically performative action. Musical performance is both the performance of aesthetic texts and the socially performative construction and reconstruction of the values, beliefs and ideas that constitute culture.

A central cultural value for conservative hierarchalism between 1830 and 1850 was that the “appointed sphere” of each person was determined by biological inheritance of class or gender, or both. As Julia Rudolph’s fine analysis of the roots of political thought shows, the Lockean theory of resistance to tyranny shared with Burkean conservatism the “common social and patriarchal assumptions ... which excluded

⁶⁰ E.g., Judith Butler, “Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory,” *Theatre Journal* 40, no. 4 (Dec. 1988): 519.

women and propertyless men from participation in the [social] contract.”⁶¹ Gender-based legal and social differences were legitimized by the cultural conviction that men and women had biologically-specific capacities for intellect and disinterested civic action. Conservative hierarchalism was not limited to political Conservatives, but was shared by social conservatives including some of the aristocratic Whig reformers of the same period.⁶²

Conservative hierarchalism, the view that there was and ought to be a fixed ladder of human difference in which class and gender were the markers of intrinsic capacity to govern oneself and share in the governance of society reasoning, was built upon the non-rational first premise of religious belief. Conservative Festivals speeches and music presented nature and history as the great circular justification of political and social hierarchies: the cause and the proof that the British “charter” of cooperative but fixed, heritable differences was the heaven-sent, virtuous, beneficial codification of natural law in human society.

Such reasoning inherited a long tradition of political thought. Edmund Burke’s eighteenth-century premise that God, not the human individual, “is the author of our place in the order of existence” was alive, for example, at the 1836 Conservative

⁶¹ Julia Rudolph, *Revolution by Degrees: James Tyrrell and Whig Political Thought in the Late Seventeenth Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 13, 29.

⁶² For Whigs as social conservatives, see for example Peter Mandler, *Aristocratic Government in the Age of Reform: Whigs and Liberals, 1830-1852* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990). Mandler accounts for the mixed success of Whig legislation in implementing reform by suggesting that, despite the altruism of some Whigs like Lord John Russell who wanted to improve the lives of working and poor people, many aristocratic Whigs intended only to moderate popular dissent to stem the pressure for full electoral accountability.

Festival when Lord Hotham urged each man to adhere to “his appointed sphere as the proper representative of his country ... by remembering those who rule to rule with diligence and fidelity, and those whose province is to obey, to obey with cheerfulness and promptitude.”⁶³ On this model, Truth is external to human agency, so the range of human agency is to perform the will of God. Benefits flow from commitment; disagreeable consequences flow from challenge.

Peelite Conservatives as well as arch-Tories understood the Reforms of the 1830s as an attack on the inherited privileges of unelected governance by aristocrats and Churchmen. The Conservative leader, Sir Robert Peel, in an 1838 Festival speech that captured the major issues discussed at all Conservative Festivals, emphasized that the Conservative party would defend the continuity of the prerogatives for unelected governance. Peel affirmed “the preservation and defence of that combination of laws, of institutions, of usages, of habits and of manners which has contributed to mould and form the character of Englishmen.”⁶⁴ Conservative hierarchalism conflated institutions of governance with the social order in which individual capacity for reasoned and disinterested civic action was inherited as class and gender.⁶⁵ But the first premise of the

⁶³ Edmund Burke, *Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs* (1791), cited in Frank O’Gorman, *British Conservatism: Conservative Thought from Burke to Thatcher* (London and New York: Longman, 1986), p. 13; and “East Riding Conservative Festival (Abridged from the *Hull Packet*),” *Times* (London), 19 Sep. 1836, p. 3.

⁶⁴ *Authentic Report of the Conservative Festival at Merchant Tailor’s Hall*, London, 12 May 1838 (London: Conservative Journal Office). Cited in Norman Gash, *Reaction*, p. 132, fn. 2. The right of the House of Lords to overturn legislation passed by the elected House of Commons lasted until 1911.

⁶⁵ Cf. Mandler, *Aristocratic Government*; Henry Richard Vassall Fox, 3rd Lord Holland, *The Holland House Diaries 1831-1840*, ed. Abraham D. Kriegel (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul), p. xix.

entire edifice was the non-rational premise of faith. Conservative hierarchalism asserted that, if God had made the existing social and political order as a manifestation of the natural world He had created and in accordance with natural law, then changing the basic framework of hierarchical differences was beyond the reach of human agency.

Reason cannot supply a sufficient argument for faith, so much of the Conservative party appeal in the period was made to emotion.⁶⁶ Human reason, as conservative historian of ideas Thomas Pangle puts it, can only strive for a cumulative sense of “the permanent, transhistorical, normative principles of nature and of God.”⁶⁷ Truth, on this reading, is the singular, stable matrix of all existence, so it can only be revealed: it cannot be created or changed by individuals or human society.⁶⁸ Support for hierarchalism at the Conservative Festivals between 1835 and 1841 appealed to three factors: the naturalness of hierarchical society, the benefits of hierarchalism, and history as proof of the naturalness and benefits of hierarchy. The logical relationships between nature, benefits, and history tended to be circular. Positive emotion, for example, was both the ultimate proof of the rightness of the established structures and a benefit of embracing one’s own place within them. The experience of fellowship was clearly designed to be part of attending a Conservative Festival, with special emphasis on the

⁶⁶ For the contrary view, that Conservative politicians in this period were coldly pragmatic but untouched by the emotional content of Conservative belief, see O’Gorman, *British Conservatism*, pp. 7-8. O’Gorman’s analysis of the key planks of Conservatism, however, is fully corroborated by the findings of the present study.

⁶⁷ Thomas L. Pangle, *The Spirit of Modern Republicanism: The Moral Vision of the American Founders and the Philosophy of Locke* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

⁶⁸ Religious pluralism, on this reading, was a betrayal of truth, hence the emphatic anti-Catholicism of the 1830s Conservatives.

happiness of fellowship in a diverse social order, an emotion that might be called “happy hierarchy.”

References to nature were often bound together with references to history, since history in this context was always understood to mean that the laws of Nature, governing humanity as well as the natural world, did not and could not change. Examples both real and fictional were provided to show that history proved that social and political hierarchies were merited by the superior achievements of those in the higher echelons. Excellence existed at every level in the hierarchy, but of differing kinds according to the heritable niche. To try to change hierarchies based on class and gender was ignorant or wicked or both. Conservatives attacked Reform legislation that expanded the functions of central government, reorganized municipal governance, and regulated the work and personal lives of working people as interference with natural social structures and thus flouting the will of God.⁶⁹

The benefits of embracing Conservative hierarchalism were both stated and demonstrated to be abundance (food, drink, music), warm emotional fellowship that cemented inter-class rapport without changing class differences, stable social order (peace, national wealth, familiarity, harmony at home with appropriately feminine women), and freedom in the very special sense of British Protestantism as opposed to Catholic subservience to Rome. The benefits were presented as natural outcomes of

⁶⁹ Often perceived as paternalistic, Reform achieved improvements in representative accountability and working conditions, for example in the early institution of the secret ballot within the 1835 *Municipal Act*, which gave more direct power over local governance to local voters, and the 1833 *Factory Act* regulating work hours for children under 13 and instituting a small inspectorate to enforce it. Phillips, ed. Salmon, “England’s ‘Other’ Ballot Question,” pp. 139-163.

accepting the divine laws of nature, but they were also aimed at political marketing.

Reason could not suffice to persuade and bind the new and established electorates to the Conservative party, so the Festivals were feasts of sensuous seduction designed to build emotional conviction through sharing food, drink, visual stimulation, and music.

Music was an apt vehicle for the Conservative credo that politics was the extension of personal, private, and social life because it generated emotion and fellowship. Music was liked for reasons of aesthetic excellence, familiarity, and variety, of course, but not all likeable or excellent music carried the same ideological content. Every musical selection was chosen for every performance with the goal of pleasing a particular audience, but also because programmers knew that the very sound of music could be a powerful force for cementing a sense of community.⁷⁰ In every performance situation, the question can be asked: what music was chosen, by whom, and for what non-musical purpose?

Music was also highly portable in the memories of anyone who knew it. If the music chosen for the Festivals was so apt for the message of Conservative hierarchalism in politics, what did it mean in private or recreational use? The Conservative Festivals laid bare the premises, arguments, promises, and tropes of hierarchalism, and by performing certain music, bound into it new cultural awareness of the conservative implications of familiar music. Where similar tropes of cultural meaning recurred in musical recreation, they were plainly understood by those who participated in or read about it.

⁷⁰ See discussion of instrumental versions of “Downshire March” and “Bonnetts of Blue” in Chapter Three.

Musical sound and the words carried by musical sound were not merely decorative or recreational. Audiences often believed that the singers were uttering their own convictions in the texts of the songs they sang. This was not necessarily true of professional performers, who are trained to create believable performances of whatever they are paid to perform, but it is an understandable confusion.⁷¹ As musicologist Carolyn Abbate suggests, the “epistemological uniqueness” of live musical performance causes singers to be “refigured subtly in the listener-spectator’s mind as creating what they sing.”⁷² Both as audiences and as amateur performers, people could choose music not only for aesthetic reasons, but to express their own core values, beliefs and ideas. Professional or amateur hosts or creators of privately produced programmes could also choose material they expected would resonate with the core convictions of their expected audiences. Here lies the central point of the methodology of asking the audience: amateurs made musical choices that were not driven by pure musical aesthetics alone.

How is it possible to discover what people thought about the music they heard, and made, and read about? The radical premise of cultural history is that what makes culture historically important is not the aesthetic value of high art but the way it

⁷¹ To my knowledge there is no study of the political values of professional musicians in this period. For Canadian musicians in mid twentieth century, see Graham Carr, “Nonstate Actors, Border Security, and Cultural Diplomacy in Canada’s Cold War,” paper delivered at the Canadian Historical Association Conference, Vancouver, May 2008.

⁷² Carolyn Abbate, “Opera; or, the Envoicing of Women,” in *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*, ed. Ruth A. Solie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p. 256. This was what drove social censure of amateur women musicians and it became acute in the formal concert format of the domestic Soirée Musicale. See Guiguet, *The Ideal World*, pp. 75-76.

functions as a mode of political, personal, and social power among the whole society. Informed by both social and intellectual history, cultural history re-centres the agency of amateurs and audiences in the construction of meaning in culture. Jonathan Rose, in a study of more than 2000 working-class autobiographies, concludes that class had nothing to do with the capacity to understand. Rose challenges the “receptive fallacy,” which misleads historians to “try to discern the message a text transmits to an audience by examining the text rather than the audience.”⁷³ Rose provides the present study with its methodological starting point by decentring the authority of the text in favour of the agency of the audience. The resulting histories of audiences expose the layers of meaning in a range of cultural practices often assumed to be innocent of political and social import, while uncovering reliable evidence of the agency of audiences and amateurs. On this model, cultural meaning is particular to its time and place, and sophisticated intellectual concepts are not limited to large urban centres and men with expensive educations.

Rose focuses on print culture, but print was part of a whole culture in which musical performance was a prominent feature. Music in turn did not stand alone to signify political and social meaning, but was integrated with other forms of cultural expression. As Laura Mason notes in her history of music during the French Revolution, music in historic periods before recorded sound and widespread literacy—and especially singing—was a flexible medium that “moved easily between oral and print cultures.” Mason notes that the meanings of a sung lyric depended as much on “contexts of

⁷³ Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (2001; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 3-4.

performance as ... upon content, format, or presumed authorial intent.”⁷⁴ Music was part of the processes of political and social change, but existing music and musical practices were in turn reshaped by the political and social changes of the period.

Musicology

Two main strands of the burgeoning field of nineteenth-century British musicology provide the musical history of the conservative musical soundscape of the 1830s and 1840s. The new musicology puts music into its social context, and patriotic British musicology, inspired by Nicholas Temperley’s interest in proving that Britain was highly musical, supplies essential empirical background.

While musicology has traditionally privileged musical aesthetics, the “new musicology” now aims to situate music as a “species of fundamental social action” interwoven with the historically contingent factors of society and politics.⁷⁵ Like social history, the new musicology combines material aspects of daily life with a subtle sense of the interactions among mobile layers of class, gender, and economics. In *The Cultural Study of Music: a critical introduction*, for instance, John Shepherd summarizes the changes in musicology since the 1970s, when the conventional view that the meaning of art music was stable because it was “beyond the influence of social and cultural forces”

⁷⁴ Cf. Laura Mason, *Singing the French Revolution: Popular Culture and Politics, 1787-1799* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1996), pp. 2-3. The period and country are different, but the key features of musical life are the same.

⁷⁵ Jackson and Pelkey, *History and Music*, p. xii, citing Leon Botstein, “Cinderella; or Music and the Human Sciences: Unfootnoted Musings from Margins,” *Current Musicology* 53 (1993): 128.

was blasted by the surge of social change across the academic world.⁷⁶ The study of popular music addresses the musical experiences of daily life and the great majority of the population who worked in conditions not of their own making, often understood in Gramscian terms of hegemony and popular resistance.

Popular culture histories of music, notably led by Dave Russell's *Popular music in England, 1840-1914*, focus on music and politics among the working class, applauding the musicality of working people but often seeing music as a mode of hegemonic control.⁷⁷ Like many social historians, Russell struggles to account for popular conservatism of the 1830s, concluding that music was hegemonically successful at derailing political resistance because it "provided artistic, social, economic and emotional satisfactions which made existence under capitalism far richer than might otherwise have been the case."⁷⁸ Russell's solid empirical work and often insightful analysis support a major premise of this dissertation, that music was a powerful form of social cohesion.

⁷⁶ Shepherd, "Music and Social Categories," pp. 69-79.

⁷⁷ Dave Russell, *Popular music in England, 1840-1914: A social history* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), pp. 249-252. See also Meirion Hughes and Robert Stradling, *The English Musical Renaissance 1840-1940* (1993; Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001); Peter Bailey, *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Mervyn Busteed, "Songs in a strange land—ambiguities of identity amongst Irish migrants in mid-Victorian Manchester," *Political Geography* 17, no. 6 (Aug. 1998): 627-665. Strongly polemical, Hughes and Stradling share with Bailey the conviction that class is a fixed category entailing analysis of oppositional cultural dyads. Bailey's work on London tavern culture accurately identifies the range of interpretive options offered by post-structural analysis, but concludes that "the mark of class ... remains among the more potent vectors of difference, however indeterminate or relativised." Bailey, *Popular Culture*, p. 5.

⁷⁸ Russell, *Popular Music in England*, p. 251.

There is a marked divide between popular culture specialists and those who focus on evidence of British taste for high musical aesthetics. Both want to prove that England and the English were musical, counteracting the dismissal of England in the nineteenth century as “*das Land ohne Musik*” (the land without music) on the basis of the scarcity of canonically “great” music composed there between 1785 and 1914.⁷⁹ London musical life has been most thoroughly studied because London was a unique locus of professional musical life internationally.⁸⁰

The early catalyst for the social context of nineteenth-century British music was Nicholas Temperley, whose 1985 collection of essays aimed to redress the “Forces hostile to British musical achievement” by revamping the performance canon of art music. The collection situated music in its social context, and urged the reconstituting of the body of British Victorian repertoire by identifying forgotten compositions and performance histories, valorising it with serious scholarship, and developing a consistent pedagogy for British repertoire and performance conventions in British training and performance institutions.

⁷⁹ Stephen Banfield, “The Artist and Society,” in *Music in Britain: The Romantic Age, 1800-1914*, ed. Nicholas Temperley (London: Athlone Press, 1981), p. 11.

⁸⁰ Regional musical identity is a growing strand of British nineteenth-century musicology; e.g., for Ireland as musical but under appreciated by the English, see Axel Klein, “Stage-Irish, or the National in Irish Opera, 1780-1925,” *Opera Quarterly* 21, no. 1 (2005): 27-67; Leith Davis, *Music, Postcolonialism, and Gender: The Construction of Irish National Identity, 1724-1874* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006). For the English provinces, see Rachel Cowgill, “‘The most musical spot for its size in the kingdom’: Music in Georgian Halifax,” *Early Music* 28, no. 4 (Nov. 2000): 557-575. Although the reach of English music in Empire remains to be more fully studied, for amateur music making in India as a form of cultural imperialism, see Ian Woodfield, *Music of the Raj: a social and economic history of music in late eighteenth-century Anglo-Indian society* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Temperley notes that both art music and popular music are necessary to see how “the whole musical life” of the time succeeded in “expressing the values of its audience.” In the absence of British composers who were as aesthetically innovative as Continental composers such as Ludwig van Beethoven and Gioacchino Rossini, proof of British musicality must reside in its performers, critics, and audiences. Building on Temperley’s lead and Cyril Ehrlich’s contribution of the economics of professional music making, a raft of scholarship continues to retrieve histories of professional and amateur performance, audiences, musical training, criticism, and the enmeshed musical world that included so many European performers, composers, and works.⁸¹ In 2000, Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley updated Temperley’s survey with a wide-ranging collection of the most active areas of scholarship in nineteenth-century British musicology.⁸² Bashford and Langley broaden the scope without changing the primary focus on the cumulative development of a British public for sophisticated art music.

Much of this strand of historiography implicitly supports the franker argument by Simon McVeigh that, since the State did not support nineteenth-century musical institutions, the commercial basis of public, professional musical performance enhanced artistic creativity by composers and performers. Britain’s free market of music attracted internationally stellar musicians, and audiences of every class demonstrated their

⁸¹ Nicholas Temperley, ed., *Music in Britain: The Romantic Age 1800-1914* (London: Athlone Press, 1981), pp. 1-2, 4; Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985). For a study of working British musicians that emphasizes class and gender, see Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

⁸² Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley, eds., *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

appreciation for great music by buying tickets to attend. McVeigh finds that, “what might have become a musical free-for-all, exacerbated by the London audiences’ febrile attachment to new sensation, remained tempered by patronal mediation, by critical and artistic vision, and by the influence of those idealists who viewed music as a tool for social improvement.” McVeigh accounts for the lack of towering British compositional achievement by celebrating Britain’s open market as evidence of admirable British cosmopolitanism on the one hand, and by noting that, unlike State-subsidized cultures on the Continent, “British music had to fight its own corner in an open market.” On this view, public concert programming was the “shopfront for product,” but McVeigh does not examine the underlying assumptions about working people who attended concerts. They constituted a “febrile” public who had to be steered away from “sensation” by idealists who understood the improving power of the right sort of music. The economic argument that the free market smoothed away heritable class structures and opened the door to social change is only part of the social history of musical life.⁸³

Empirically dense British musicology provides essential context for the present study. Christina Bashford’s analysis of the rise of chamber music in Britain through upper-class patronage is amplified in this study by tracing Lady Hunter’s failed attempts at it, noting the gender-specific features of the process of creating a public through amateur, private activity. Bashford’s work is consistent with the top-down process outlined by Simon McVeigh for late eighteenth-century concert life in London. E.

⁸³ Simon McVeigh, “A Free Trade in Music: London during the Long Nineteenth Century in a European Perspective,” *Journal of Modern European History* 5, no. 1 (2007): 77, 71, 89, 90.

Bradley Strauchen's biography of the concert fixer, Giovanni Puzzi, Michael Budds's history of Queen Victoria's concert-giving, and the glee scholarship led by Emmanuel Rubin and Brian Robins supply solid, accessible data that includes names of key audience members and amateurs as well as details of repertoire, performance venues, and musicians.⁸⁴

Historian and musicologist William Weber contributes to this study the perspective that there was a constant, reciprocal influence between musical culture, society, and politics. The present study continues Weber's analysis of the rise of historicism and a canon of superior musical works linking music and class in the eighteenth century by showing how historicism functioned in nineteenth-century taste publics. For example, his discussion of the Concert of Antient Music, organized by aristocrats concerned to reform musical life and assert the moral superiority of "older" music, is an essential precursor to the analysis in this study of the mid-nineteenth

⁸⁴ Christina Bashford, "Public Chamber-Music Concerts in London, 1835-50: Aspects of History, Repertory, and Reception, 2 vols. (Ph.D. Diss., Music, London University, 1996); Elizabeth Bradley Strauchen, "Giovanni Puzzi: His Life and Work. A View of Horn Playing and Musical Life in England from 1817 into the Victorian Era (ca. 1855)," 2 vols. (D. Phil. diss., Somerville College, University of Oxford, 2000); Michael J. Budds, "Music at the Court of Queen Victoria: A Study of Music in the Life of the Queen and Her Participation in the Musical life of her Time," 3 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Music, University of Iowa, 1987); Emanuel Rubin, *The English Glee in the Reign of George III: Participatory Art Music for an Urban Society* (Warren, Mich.: Harmonie Park Press, 2003); Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2006). Too late to be incorporated into the present study, Bashford's dissertation is now significantly reworked and published as *The Pursuit of High Culture: John Ella and Chamber Music in Victorian London*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2007.

century use of glees as an assertion of the transcendent truth of the values and social organization of an earlier time.⁸⁵

Building on Weber's work, the present study shows that the canonic historicism of conservative music lovers was connected to hierarchalism as well as religious belief in the Church as a constitutional feature of political power, whether at leisure or in party politics. In more recent work, Weber provides a pithy account of contestation between proponents of different musical genres, suggesting that a "new dichotomy of taste between light and serious music" created taste-specific audiences, blended members of different class identities, and thus contributed to the integration of the rising middle class with an expanded "upper class." Weber identifies the movement of musical idealism in the first half of the nineteenth century as the efforts by "self-consciously serious musicians, amateurs, and commentators" throughout Europe to "reform and reshape musical culture."⁸⁶ His focus on published, and often acrimonious, debates about different repertoires, however, does not explain the heterogeneity of musical tastes at work among the practices of Lady Hunter and her circles.

Concert programmes, ephemeral and multitudinous, are a critical resource for social and cultural history, as well as musicology. As a social historian, William Weber has been an early adopter of programmes as a body of evidence for historians. Weber notes that, between 1830 and 1850, when the conceptual underpinning of the legitimacy

⁸⁵ William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 13-15, and extended discussion in chapters five, six, and seven.

⁸⁶ William Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 91, 86.

of hierarchical governance was collapsing, concert programmes reveal a transition to increased professionalisation in music, with attendant changes in the relationships between professional and amateur musicians. Weber notes that social motivations often fostered musical activity among the “group of wealthy, influential people usually called the *beau monde*,” regardless of any genuine musical taste.⁸⁷ Through detailed analysis of a handful of programmes, the present study shows that, personal preferences aside, gentry society like the Hunters were constantly exposed to the music of many composers, in a range of genres, both serious and light. For the upper classes, a working knowledge of a range of musical genres was an essential language.

Programmes that do survive are held in scattered clusters, often held by descendants of professional or amateur musicians. Access to British concert programmes is now being improved through better cataloguing, and Rupert Ridgewell’s useful snapshot of the main British collections concludes that “concert programmes represent a potential goldmine of information ... that has remained relatively inaccessible” because programmes are hard to find.⁸⁸ Although he notes that some scholars read both form and content of programs as ideological narratives, the approach taken in this dissertation, Ridgewell, like many British musicologists, ignores feminist histories. He thus misses

⁸⁷ William Weber, *Music and the Middle Class: The Social Structure of Concert life in London, Paris and Vienna* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1975), p. 31; Weber, “Redefining the Status of Opera: London and Leipzig, 1800-1848,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 36, no. 3 (2005): 509-510.

⁸⁸ Rupert Ridgewell, *Concert Programmes in the UK and Ireland: A Preliminary Report* (London: IAML (UK & Irl) and the Music Libraries Trust, 2003), pp. 8, 9; 12-16; provides strategies for finding programmes in oddly named fonds, like “LONDON III. Miscellaneous Institutions, Societies, and Other Bodies.”

one of the most accessible paths to concert programmes and associated documentation: the papers of wealthy women.

Nineteenth-century gender ideology meant that the women of many reasonably wealthy families were constrained to amateur performer status but also produced private concerts.⁸⁹ Amanda Vickery challenges women's histories that ascribe the cultural manifestation of gendered "separate spheres" to the economy and social structure.⁹⁰ Vickery's call for close examination of women's own documentation rather than prescriptive literature is heeded in this dissertation, but is combined with the materialist bent of earlier work by Leonore Davidoff, Catherine Hall, and Deborah Gorham. Lady Hunter's programmes and diary were discovered by searching first for materials associated with women, a tactic recommended by feminist histories that outline the economic, legal, and social disabilities for nineteenth-century women, which Vickery tends to down play. This study finds that while public and private life were much more of a swirling continuum than sharply distinct spheres, Lady Hunter's lack of full personal autonomy and dependence on the men in her life were critical components of

⁸⁹ For women's social and musical history integrated in a case study, see Guiguet, *The Ideal World*, which builds on such scholarship as Leonore Davidoff, *The Best Circles: Society Etiquette and the Season* (London: Croom Helm Ltd., 1973); Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Deborah Gorham, *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982). For feminism as a latecomer to academic musicology, see Elizabeth Wood, "Women in Music: A Review Essay," *Signs* 6, no. 2 (Winter 1980): 283-97; and Ruth Solie, "Defining Feminism: Conundrums, Contexts, Communities," *Women & Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture* 1 (1997): 1-11.

⁹⁰ Amanda Vickery, "Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History," *Historical Journal* 36, no. 2 (Jun. 1993): 383-414.

her musical life. Gender in musical life was a reciprocal construction of both masculinity and femininity. Far more flexibility existed in masculine music making than is often assumed, but the gendered restrictions on powerful men performing music very well or in public was found to be generally the case in the Hunter circles.⁹¹

The Chapters

The study is presented in three unequal parts. In *Chapter Two*, Lady Hunter and her two husbands are introduced in terms of their family, class, and economic circumstances. *Chapters Three* and *Four* analyse the music of the Conservative Festivals as a lexicon of conservative hierarchalism in musical form. *Chapters Five, Six, and Seven* apply the lexicon of political musical conservatism to sites of elite musical leisure.

As Michel-Rolph Trouillot points out in his important analysis of historiography, “Any historical narrative ... is a particular bundle of silences, the result of a unique process, and the operation required to deconstruct these silences will vary accordingly.”⁹² Music is a socially important medium primarily through audience experience of musical performances. The sound of musical performance is evanescent to the ear, but lives on in individual musical memory. The effects of sound can be gauged through listening to the particular works heard in the past, and considering the contexts

⁹¹ Cf. Guiguet, *The Ideal World*, Chapter Three; Richard Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-cultural Formation in Eighteenth-century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Nancy B. Reich, “Women as Musicians: A Question of Class” in *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*, ed. Ruth A. Solie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 125-148.

⁹² Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), p. 27.

of specific performances. For example, by combining newspaper descriptions of Conservative Festivals processions with the sound of some of the instrumental marches played there, it is possible to assess some aspects of the materiality of music at a non-textual level. The non-musical aspects of musical life do leave traces in musical aesthetics, for example in the glee repertoire originally written for all-male clubs, but primarily in documentation like published music, concert programmes, periodical articles, and private papers. In each of the sites of the conservative musical soundscape, different sources required different methodology to unlock a different aspect of the political power of music.

Well-ordered empirical data from and about public, professional programmes reveals much about changing audience tastes, and, as Weber compellingly argues, about the parallels between musical life and social and economic structures.⁹³ The data is too vast to admit of a comprehensive study, but the organic tranche approach creates workable chronological, conceptual, and empirical limits.⁹⁴ For each of the cultural sites reviewed in this study, most of the music named in the sources was collected and analysed in terms of the central themes of conservative hierarchalism, and summarized

⁹³ William Weber, "Miscellany vs. Homogeneity: Concert Programmes at the Royal Academy of Music and the Royal College of Music in the 1880s," in *Music and British Culture*, eds. Bashford and Langley, pp. 299-320.

⁹⁴ An ambitious database of London concert life was begun in the 1990s but is still far from complete because the volume and variety of programmes exceeds the grasp of any individual scholar. Rachel Cowgill, "Roundtable: Victorian Soundscapes and the Potential for Interdisciplinary Exchange," in *Victorian Soundscapes Revisited*, eds. Hewitt and Cowgill, pp. 25-26; Christina Bashford, "Introducing the Concert Life in 19th-Century London Database," *Brio* 36, no. 2 (1999): 111-116; Christina Bashford, Rachel Cowgill and Simon McVeigh, "The Concert Life in 19th-century London Database," in *Nineteenth-century British Music Studies*, vol. 2, eds. Jeremy Dibble and Bennett Zon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 1-12.

in tables presented in the appendices to this study. Similarly, information was gathered about performance venues, audience members, and amateur and professional performers.

The whole edifice of data begins with Lady Hunter's three private concert programmes, so *Chapter Two* situates the author of those programmes in her material and family circumstances. It is no accident that the records of a leisured but ordinary amateur woman musician of unremarkable talent or achievement reveal so much of politics and society. As Linda Kerber and Amanda Vickery successfully argue, the Habermasian distinction between public and private spheres is a metaphor that does not capture the flexibility of domestic relationships nor the influence of either concepts of gender or women themselves on civic and political action.⁹⁵ Antoinette Burton's analysis of women's diaries, ephemera and personal memory uses "domestic space as an archival source from which [women] construct their own histories."⁹⁶ Burton's reading of twentieth-century Pakistani women's diaries argues that subjectivity for men and women functions in civic and high political arenas, "through historical processes embedded at least in part in everyday architectural apprehensions and imaginaries."⁹⁷ The recognition that "imagining home is as political an act as imagining the nation"

⁹⁵ Linda Kerber, "Separate sphere, female worlds, woman's place: the rhetoric of women's history," *Journal of American History* 74, no. 4 (Mar. 1988): 9-39; Amanda Vickery, "Golden Age to Separate Spheres?" p. 414, encourages intertextual studies of women's activities involving close examination of a variety of kinds of evidence of what women actually did and how they understood their own places in society.

⁹⁶ Antoinette Burton, *Dwelling in the Archive: Women Writing House, Home, and History in Late Colonial India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 5.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

echoes the definition of political conservatism of the 1830s.⁹⁸ As countless Conservative Festival toast speeches and the music chosen to punctuate them show, mid-nineteenth-century Conservatives considered political Conservatism to be no more than the civic manifestation of personal and social order. Lady Hunter's diary and concert programmes offer a representative window on the domestic and personal as central to political discourse.

Hunter's diary was both an archive and a creation of personal and civic history.⁹⁹ Lady Hunter created her diary as an *aide-mémoire* of what she was learning about the lore of the higher social rungs to which she aspired, but she framed her narrative as a history of the value of her own life to her society.¹⁰⁰ External documents like newspaper reports, antiquarian *mémoires*, the records of her husband's singing club, and the published musical and literary works of Lady Hunter and her second husband were used to corroborate the empirical record of Lady Hunter's diary.

Diary specialists concur that diaries and related ephemera are "'real' cultural artifacts with systems of logic and representation."¹⁰¹ The painstaking work of Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, who used an eighteenth-century American midwife's diary to

⁹⁸ Cf. Cynthia A. Huff, "Textual Boundaries: Space in Nineteenth-Century Women's Manuscript Diaries," in *Inscribing the Daily: Critical Essays on Women's Diaries*, eds. Suzanne L. Bunkers and Huff (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), pp. 123-138.

⁹⁹ Cf. Burton, *Dwelling*, p. 26.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Cythnia Huff's suggestion that many nineteenth-century women diarists wrote to construct both a self and a personal record "as the link among personal, familiar, national, and colonial bodies." Huff, "Textual Boundaries: Space in Nineteenth-Century Women's Manuscript Diaries," in *Inscribing the Daily*, eds. Bunkers and Huff, p. 136.

¹⁰¹ Burton, *Dwelling*, p. 27.

reconstruct the history of a whole community through identifying patterns of chronology, activity, family and social circles, inspired the organic tranche approach to Lady Hunter's diary and programmes.¹⁰² As Suzanne Bunkers and Cynthia Huff suggest, a diarist often uses a personal code to construct her subjective experience as well as a literal record of events. Diary analysis therefore requires close reading to deconstruct the rhetorical devices of special diction, anomolous silences and careful sequences.¹⁰³ Cracking the code of the Hunter diary revealed differences between men's and women's leisured and political uses of music, and between working— and leisure-class music. More striking, however, are the continuities of ideological content across gender-specific differences. The recreational musical activities of men and women reveal the same fundamental world view as that explained in detail by the toast speeches at the Conservative Festivals. The private concerts of Lady Hunter were the epicentre of this study because, as Phyllis Weliver notes, "the musical salon is highly significant for demonstrating how the reading, musical, social, and political worlds intersected."¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Thatcher Ulrich, *A midwife's tale: the life of Martha Ballard, based on her diary, 1785-1812* (New York: Knopf, 1990).

¹⁰³ Bunkers and Huff, "Introduction," in *Inscribing the Daily*, eds. Bunkers and Huff, p. 20.

¹⁰⁴ Phyllis Welliver, "Musical diplomacy and Mary Gladstone's diary," in *Victorian Soundscapes Revisited*, eds. Hewitt and Cowgill, p. 162. Little other British musicology addresses private concerts, but for the later nineteenth century see Jeremy Dibble, "Edward Dannreuther and the Orme Square Phenomenon," in *Music and British Culture*, eds. Bashford and Langley, pp. 275-298. For private concerts of the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries in context of the music profession and elite reception, see McVeigh, *Concert Life in London*, pp. 44-48; Bashford, "Chamber Music Concerts," pp. 45-83; Temperley, "Ballroom and Drawing-Room Music," in *Music in Britain*, ed. Temperley, pp. 116-121. For the influential, early recognition that private musical life could be related to public life, see Weber, *Music and the Middle Class*, p. 10, and throughout.

Lady Hunter's experience demonstrates for the first time the direct linkages between personal music making and the Conservative Party, showing how music was interwoven with broad, cultural consensus-building about class and gender, direct influence on political party activities and the reciprocal influence of Conservative hierarchalism on musical leisure.

Lady Hunter's conservative world view incorporated all aspects of society into a single, communitarian architecture in which her own role was as vital to the cooperative functioning of the whole as that of her housekeeper or the Queen. Chapter Two establishes her family and economic situation, demonstrating that she was conservative by association and by choice.

Chapter Three presents the Conservative Festivals organized by upper class men, aligning the explicit statements of conservative hierarchalism with the music performed and reported in the press. Appendix A: Conservative Festivals Chronology summarizes the sources for the Festivals. The lyrics and full source citations of most of the Festivals music are presented in Appendix B: Lyrics of Conservative Festival Music, which also tabulates the main themes of the Festivals music. The legend to Appendix B: Lyrics of Conservative Festival Music is the essential benchmark for the tropes and themes of conservative hierarchalism used throughout the dissertation.

In *Chapter Four*, two sets of less powerful Conservative supporters show that belief in Conservative hierarchalism did not depend on class or gender. Working class "operative" men organized several Festivals, and their religious zeal and intellectual capacity are shown through speeches, pamphlets, and the music they chose. Much of

their music was identical with that chosen by elite Conservative men, but the pinch of the most extreme musical statements of class subservience was absent. Only one known document reveals the presence of women professional musicians working in the political arena of the Conservative Festivals, the architectural rendering of the temporary pavilion erected for the 1837 London Festival. Elite Conservative women organized one Festival, and the gendered differences of that event are set in context of the whole. Values and beliefs were more fundamental to political conviction than personal advantage or abstract reasoning.

Chapter Five links the Conservative Festivals with elite masculine musical leisure at the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club of London (hereafter NGCC) by comparing musical genres, specific repertoire and performance histories, and individual amateur and professional musicians who participated in both. Glees were a constant presence at the Conservative Festivals, but were the special purview of the NGCC, to which Lady Hunter's first husband, Sir Richard Hunter, belonged. Lady Hunter's activities during Sir Richard's NGCC attendance are charted as part of the intersection of the largely gender-specific activities carried out by each member of this pair.

The NGCC's meticulous records of every participant and every musical work performed at each meeting between 1830 and 1847 show that the conservative theme of history as evidence of timeless laws of nature was present both in the diction of the works chosen and in their original date of composition: most of the music dated to the

eighteenth century.¹⁰⁵ The central conservative themes of hierarchy in nature and natural law, abundance of drink, food, and fellowship, were present in the repertoire as well as the membership and practices of the NGCC. This study presents a new analysis of the NGCC between 1830 and 1847, with the non-musicological perspective of its social and political discourses.

Excellent recent scholarship on the glee and the NGCC from inception in 1761 to the end of the period of stylistic innovation at about 1820, provides empirical context. The English glee, long claimed as the only characteristic English musical form, has been retrieved as a serious subject, first in first performance editions of “the true glee” that emerged in the late eighteenth century and reached its formal height in the early decades of the nineteenth, then in longer studies of the canon of aesthetically fine glees of the eighteenth century and the social and historical circumstances in which they were created.¹⁰⁶ None of the recent studies focus on the 1830 to 1850 period of glee use because the glees composed after about 1814 (when Samuel Webbe Sr., arguably the greatest stylistic innovator and composer of a vast range and number of glees, died) diluted the form. Glees, originally written only for the voices of men and boys singing one voice per part, continued to be written well into the nineteenth century. Then, often driven by commercial considerations, the form was gradually simplified from the polyphonic complexity of earlier works to the simpler musical and vocal challenges of

¹⁰⁵ Music, themes, and membership, and summaries of the results are presented in Appendices E: Catch Club Professional Members, G: Catch Club Repertoire Performed 1841-1847, and H: Catch Club Selected lyrics.

¹⁰⁶ Percy Young, ed., *The English Glee* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. vii; David Johnson, ed., *Ten Georgian glees: for four voices* (London: Oxford University Press, 1981).

having a single tune supported by more chordal harmonies. As Rubin notes, the stylistic changes of many nineteenth century glees were designed to accommodate mixed-gender performers and multiple voices per part.¹⁰⁷ Glees were an inescapable feature of later nineteenth-century musical life, regularly mentioned in scholarship, but seldom accounted for.¹⁰⁸ Why were the mid-nineteenth-century glee clubs like the NGCC so focussed on the eighteenth-century glees that, as Emmanuel Rubin suggests, were so precisely of and for their eighteenth-century context?¹⁰⁹ Chapter Five builds upon the accounts of eighteenth-century glee repertoire to account for its continued use at mid-century in the NGCC.

The enchanting manuscript songbook of an early 1830s Conservative Association called the Newark Red Club reveals similarities with the repertoire and gendered performance practices of the NGCC, suggesting that some of the musical choices of the slightly later Conservative Festivals may have been an extension of private musical leisure practices.¹¹⁰

Chapters Six and Seven return to Sir Richard and Lady Hunter at home, and situate the private concerts they gave in the whirl of upper-class musical socializing. Their eight known private concerts held between 1839 and 1846 were of two distinct

¹⁰⁷ Rubin, *English Glee*, p. 12.

¹⁰⁸ See for example, Budds, "Music at the Court of Queen Victoria."

¹⁰⁹ Rubin, *English Glee*, pp. 12, 19.

¹¹⁰ Appendix E: Other Conservative Music presents the lyrics of "Newark Red Club Anniversary Songs," ca. 1830-1840, manuscript, Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/MI/107/1, and summarizes their themes. My thanks to Mr. Bell and Mrs. Rees of the Nottinghamshire Archives, Richard Gaunt of Nottingham University, Sheldon Posen of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, and Elaine Keillor of Carleton University for their help in retrieving and interpreting this document.

types. The majority conformed to the prevailing taste for Italianate opera excerpts performed by professional singers; these are addressed in Chapter Six. But in the middle of the eight was a primarily instrumental concert featuring Lady Hunter as a performer. This was a change from the predominantly vocal and operatic repertoire of her other programmes, and Chapter Seven overlaps the chronology of the Italianate concerts to address this anomaly.

In *Chapter Six*, the Hunters' four Italianate concerts (1839, 1840, 1844, 1846) demonstrate that the use of music to enhance class status did not depend on the presence of innate, inherited musicality of those who used it. The mechanics of musical class meant learning the socially powerful features of private concert programming and spending a great deal of money. Lady Hunter learned by making mistakes in her Italianate programming and succeeded, when possible, by negotiating musical expenditure with her husband.

Operatic repertoire was an important factor in the conservative musical soundscape between 1830 and 1850, and dominated the programmes of most of the private concerts Lady Hunter gave and attended.¹¹¹ Private concert programmes were full of Italian opera, often sung by Italian singers, and even the serious chamber music series produced by John Ella relied on including Italian vocal music for financial

¹¹¹ William Weber shows that the "principle of miscellany" in public concert programmes since the eighteenth century required virtuosic vocal and instrumental pieces to alternate until the pressure of musical idealism in the 1840s supported greater homogeneity of programming. See Weber, *The Great Transformation*, pp. 41, 85-88. For empirical evidence of Italian opera preferred by Irish audiences, see Paul Rodmell, "'The Italians are coming': opera in mid-Victorian Dublin," in *Europe, empire, and spectacle in nineteenth-century British music*, eds. Rachel Cowgill and Julian Rushton (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 97-114.

survival.¹¹² A glance through the magnificent collection of concert programmes at the Royal College of Music shows Italian operatic excerpts on virtually every one. Jennifer Hall-Witt's exhaustive study of the professional, Italian opera in London between 1821 and 1861 provides valuable context, showing that the opera house was a site of cultural negotiation of the changing membership of the upper classes. By the 1860s, Hall-Witt concludes that although the aristocracy continued to attend the opera house, they were changing their public behaviour as they found themselves among "the expanded set of elites" that constituted the new audiences."¹¹³ The present study suggests that as the upper-class lovers of opera depended less on the public opera house for the performative construction of their sense of exclusive class membership, they continued it instead in private settings like the drawing-room concerts hosted by Lady Hunter.

The musical experiences of Sir Richard and Lady Hunter in the 1840s show that opera could still be used to elevate social status. Unlike the public concerts of the time, private concerts like those given by the Hunters held predominantly vocal music, most of it excerpts from Italian operas performed by the reigning Italian opera singers.

Considerable variation existed, however, and Chapter Six accounts for the Hunters' own inconsistencies of private programming by comparing their programmes with those

¹¹² Great Britain Royal College of Music Centre for Performance History, Concert Programme Collection (hereafter GB-LRCM CPH), Puzzi Album. My warmest thanks to Paul Collen at the RCM and to Oliver Davies, who initiated the collection there, for their help. See also Bashford, "Public Chamber-Music Concerts in London," I, pp. 344-345.

¹¹³ Jennifer Hall-Witt, *Fashionable Acts: Opera and Elite Culture in London, 1780-1880* (Durham, New Hampshire: University of New Hampshire Press, 2007), pp. 195-196. She also shows that because the British State did not support Italian opera, market sensitivity drove opera producers to attract as numerous an audience as their venues could sustain. *Ibid.*, pp. 146-184.

given by their personal acquaintance and by selected aristocratic and royal concert givers. Family economic strategies and Lady Hunter's calculated attempts to establish a somewhat autonomous public persona explain why the Hunters tried, retreated, and returned in costly glory to the stage of fashionable Italianate concerts between 1839 and 1846.

Lady Hunter's musical life was not limited to opera, however, and *Chapter Seven* discusses her brief foray into the fringes of the demanding world of serious chamber music. As musicologist Christina Bashford has shown, the rise of chamber music in the period was a product of the interest and financial support by wealthy elites of professional musicians like John Ella who pressed to create an audience for this intellectually and technically demanding repertoire while expanding the market for British musicians. The narrative of Lady Hunter's diary is strongly marked by silences and omissions in this period of her musical activity, but careful deconstruction of the evidence of her record reveals her strategic, determined attempts to use music to establish her own place in society.

Culture is like a sea, in which discrete elements and activities are in constant exchange. Music was an ineluctable presence that flowed through political and social culture like ink through water, permeating without eliminating distinctions of class and gender. But music only filled the air when people chose specific musical genres and works, performers, venues, and audiences. The musical soundscape created and shared by social and political conservatives of Lady Hunter's overlapping circles of

acquaintance was a form of cultural opposition to the fundamental reforms of politics and society during the 1830s and 1840s.

By their choices of the music they performed and the performances they produced and attended, the conservative community of which Lady Hunter was an active participant identified a body of music and musical practices as conservative. Though most sharply stated in the music and toast speeches of Conservative party gatherings, the musical arguments in favour of hierarchical conservatism spread perhaps most powerfully in recreational settings. Where the epistemological power of music as a medium combined with the assumption that music and leisure were innocent of politics, the conservative musical experience made inequities of power based on class and gender appear to be natural, moral, and necessary.

The dizzying variety of the conservative musical soundscape between 1830 and 1850 first emerged in this study through the traces left in concert programmes held in the drawing rooms of Lady Hunter. It is with Frederica Emma Hunter's life that this study begins.

CHAPTER TWO:

WORTHY OF RECORD: LADY HUNTER'S FAMILY ALBUM

Music in personal life played a crucial role in creating the illusion that political and social human hierarchies were natural and God-given. The diary of Frederica Emma Hunter spans January 1, 1840, to May 23, 1846, and reveals that this political and social conservative and the others with whom she shared her life used music as one medium in which they constructed and consolidated their social identities.¹ Their music, by virtue of their using it, was conservative music.²

Music appears on almost every page of the diary. Lady Hunter played the piano and the concertina, sang, composed, mentored a young amateur musician, and produced

¹ Diary of Frederica Emma, Lady Hunter, Diary, 1840 to 1846, (London) City of Westminster Archives Centre, Acc. 1621, (hereafter FEH Diary), 23 May 1846. The leather-bound volumes with gold-edged paper and brass locks are in chronological order, except for an undated introduction and a single page indexing the first four months of the first journal. Vol. I contains 1840 (pp. 1-159), 1841 (pp. 160-239), 1842 (pp. 244-335), blank pages 335-344, Partial Index of 1840, p. 345; vol. II contains 1843 (pp. 1-83, ending the year with a double line under the final entry on 31 Dec.), 1844 (pp. 84-183), 1845 (pp. 184-271); vol. III contains 1846 (pp. 1-37) and blank pages numbered but not written upon (pp. 38-233) and blank pages to the end of the bound volume.

² "Conservative" is capitalized to reflect the usage in primary documents or to indicate membership in the Conservative party, or the party itself. Since women could not join the party until 1918, Lady Hunter's conservatism, even when it is associated with support for the party, is not capitalized. For women first allowed to become members of British Conservative, Liberal, and Labour parties in 1918, see Joni Lovenduski, *Feminizing Politics* (Cambridge and Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2005), p. 38. The Conservative Carlton Club, founded in 1832, first allowed women to become full members in 2008, after granting Margaret Thatcher honorary membership in 1975. BBC News Channel, "Carlton Club allows women members," 22 May 2008, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/7414279.stm>, (viewed 22 Mar. 2009).

eight private concerts between 1839 and 1846. All of Lady Hunter's music activities were integrated with her personal, domestic life, shaped by the social rank and economics of her birth family and her two marriages. Her experience as an audience member and her private programmes must be situated in the broad context of her domestic musical life. Between 1840 and 1846, she attended at least 79 formal private musical evenings given by 39 different hosts in London and Brighton, as well as many other occasions of informal music making. She and her first husband, Sir Richard Hunter, had subscription boxes to the professional London Italian operas given at Her Majesty's Theatre in 1839, 1840, 1844 and 1846, and bought or were given tickets to single operatic and instrumental performances, and occasional oratorios.³ The depth of these details makes it possible to understand the relationships between personal musical activities, the professional music enjoyed by the same individuals, and the conceptual apparatus that underpinned it all.

Lady Hunter was a political conservative by birth, by marriage to two strongly conservative older men, and in her own thinking about politics. Her own social conservatism is demonstrated by her different behaviours with the musical lives of those below and above her in social status. Music was a mode of relationship, understood through the reiterations of daily life to be an unremarkable manifestation of the prevailing hierarchical social structures. Lady Hunter does not state her ideological premises but reveals them through her diction, the diary form, and her choice of what she considers "worthy of being recorded in this valuable Journal," an idea she constantly

³ FEH Diary, *passim*.

repeats.⁴ She writes of failings as well as achievements, but she does not write or include anything that she thought was not “worthy of record.” Through Hunter’s diary, a world of Conservative party politics and nominally apolitical leisure is seen as it was experienced: integrated, constructed, reproduced, and made meaningful through life at home.

Music for Lady Hunter and her circles embodied the prevailing social and political hierarchies based on differences of class and gender. Music appeared to be an abundant, natural resource that was omnipresent in personal and public life, but Lady Hunter’s unusually detailed diary shows how various meanings of music were constructed through use in daily life. Since music is a performative activity in real time, it both shapes non-musical meanings and is itself shaped by the circumstances of its performance.⁵ Frederica Emma Hunter was an ordinary amateur musician but an exceptional diarist who commented on politics and personal networks while giving details of professional and amateur musicians, servants’ lives, and musical rehearsals and performances in homes and in public. The Hunter diary speaks in a code that, once cracked, reveals the reciprocal dynamics of music and politics in daily life. Music was a human creation, made of its moment by people with very earthly goals in mind.

Lady Hunter was a political and social conservative by birth and by choice, and the music of her daily life was a discourse of conservatism that made social and political

⁴ FEH Diary, 31 Aug. 1840. Repetitions, *Ibid.*, 15 Feb., 19 Aug. 1840; 20 Nov. 1841; 10 Jun. 1842; 9 Jan., 16 Feb., 23 Nov. 1843; 1, 22 Feb, 1 Jul., 30 Oct. 1845.

⁵ A performative action creates that to which it seems to refer. Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: on the Discursive Limits of ‘Sex’* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993), p. 95.

hierarchies seem natural, God-given, historic, and good. For her, as for many who shared her *milieu*, music was an important medium of personal identification that was understood to vary naturally according to class and gender differences. Hunter's purpose in writing her journal was to create an archive that proved her life was valuable. As she wrote, she created a structure of meaning out of the stuff of her experience.

A Prodigious Memory: How Did She Do It?

Stung by the charge that she had a poor memory and the implication her life held nothing much worth remembering, on January 1, 1840, Frederica Emma Hunter started a daily journal that she maintained until May 23, 1846. Her stated purpose was to create a record "not merely of such daily engagements as are to be found in the pages of an ordinary pocket book, but likewise of such thoughts and observations as may be ... not wholly unprofitable, to look back upon at some future time, if it should please God to spare my life."⁶ Religious duty opens this diary and never leaves it.

The rest of the introduction is a prayer that "by the assistance of the Holy Spirit I may so improve the time thou wilt of thy goodness permit me to remain on earth, that when thou shalt see fit to call me hence, I may humbly hope through the merits of my Saviour, to be admitted to the mansions of eternal bliss."⁷ Frederica Emma Hunter thus frames not only her diary but her entire life and self as ordained by God, especially blessed by God, imbued by God with whatever talents and abilities she had. Her introduction claims that her religious responsibility is to "so improve the time" God

⁶ FEH Diary, 1 Jan. 1840 to 23 May 1846, Introduction, [1840 Jan. 1].

⁷ Ibid.

gives her on earth that she does not betray the purpose of her existence. She thought she had been “spared, when many around me have been cut off in their youth” because she mattered, and her diary records her efforts to use her gifts to improve her own social position in God’s world.

Her life as a good, feminine, Victorian wife functioned in home and public arenas alike. In her writing, she does not question the value or stability of the social hierarchies she records, but through her constant efforts to rise as high as possible reveals her belief that the cooperative structures of human beings of unlike value were natural and good. She states her belief that she must steward her gifts, discipline her weaknesses, and learn from experience how to direct her efforts to greatest effect. Proof of right action would be to succeed in raising her position in the social structure. Succeed she did: from birth as a commoner, she died a countess, wife to the 5th Earl of Lanesborough.

The act of writing the diary constructed a version of Frederica Hunter’s life that supported her often-repeated prayers to abide by God’s will. Hunter was able to remember a dazzling array of detail because she slotted everything she learned into the orderly categories of her inner mental landscape, a stable architecture of hierarchical structures. Her diary does not show a woman trying to create meaning out of chaos. It records her journey as she struggled to discover her best possible position in society as a form of her best possible relationship with God’s eternal verities.

Lady Hunter’s ability to remember had been attacked, and she wrote her diary to ensure that she would not forget what she considered to be “realities.” She writes, “I am

sometimes accused of forgetting bygone events, and perhaps not without reason; but when, like mine, happiness consists in realities, why should memory be called upon to add her share by recalling the minute occurrences of former years? By keeping this Diary, however, I shall in future be enabled to refer back to what might otherwise pass from any recollection.”⁸

But her memory was prodigious. Entries were not always made on the days to which they refer, but often much later, without sacrificing empirical accuracy. For example, her entry for 2 June 1843, that “Miss Perceval (since then become Mrs. Matheson) sang in the evening” must have been made at least five months after the event, since Mary Jane Perceval did not marry Sir James Matheson until 9 November 1843.⁹ The evidence shows that Hunter’s diaries were empirically accurate.

⁸ Ibid., p. 1. Undated, but presumably 1 Jan. 1840.

⁹ Ibid., 2 Jun. 1843. For wedding date, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2000) (hereafter ODNB), s.v. “Matheson, Sir James.” FEH Diary provides reliable empirical information, as spot verifications with other sources verify. For example, for identical records of Sir Richard Hunter’s attendance at the Noblemen and Gentlemen’s Catch Club of London (hereafter NGCC), compare FEH Diary 8 May, 8, 15, 22, 29 Jun. 1841; 15 Mar., 3, 10, 17, 24 May, 14, 21, 28 Jun., 11 Jul. 1842; 14 Mar., 4, 11, Apr., 9, 16, 30 May, 6, 20, 27 Jun. 1843; 19, 26 Mar., 2, 9, 16, 23, 30 Apr., 7, 14, 21, 31 May, 11, 25 Jun. 1844; 11, 25 Apr., 2, 9, 16 May, 6, 13, 27 Jun., 4 Jul. 1845; 27 Mar., 3, 17, 24 Apr., 1, 8, 22 May 1846 with NGCC, President’s Book—Members and Honorary Members with attendances 1828-1850, British Library (hereafter BL) H2788.aaa, Microfilm MUS.MIC A4611 (1966) (hereafter NGCC, Attendances). Another example: Hunter’s diary details of dates, names, and legal proceedings about the elopement of two of the Hunters’ Brighton friends, Mrs. Heaviside, who played the piano after a Hunter dinner, and Dr. Lardner exactly match a local antiquarian account. Compare FEH Diary, 17 Mar., 1 Aug. 1840, with Antony Dale, *Fashionable Brighton 1820-1860* (London: Country Life, 1947), p. 138. Dale gives no sources, but gives identical details of the date of the running away, the August Assizes at Lewes at which Sir Richard Hunter was one of the judges, and the amount of damages awarded. Since the FEH Diary was not publicly available at the City of Westminster Archives Centre before its purchase in 1991, Dale, publishing in 1947, is unlikely to have consulted it. Finally, FEH Diary

Nor did she have any trouble remembering a dense array of facts, names, and detail. The Hunter diary presents to the reader from a later era a maze of family and social relationships, delivered in a shorthand peppered with “&c” to indicate that a full set of associations is implied by what precedes it.¹⁰ A name or two followed by “&c” indicates one of her overlapping circles that consisted of family, both her own and her husband’s, unrelated members of high society to whose company she aspired, servants, villagers, and professional service providers like dentists and musicians.¹¹ The Hunter diary is at the centre of an elastic web of politics, high society, and music.

Recognizing the main family names showed that the Hunters inhabited changing social worlds: elite status by birth or wealth was neither fixed nor monolithic. Family was a gradually expanding matrix, as marriages incorporated new families and produced children who married in turn. For example, the Hunters gave opera tickets to each branch of their respective families approximately once a year. While the Hunters aspired

details of two of her concert programs exactly corroborate newspaper clippings pasted into archival copies of the programmes held at the London Royal College of Music, Centre for Performance History (hereafter GB-LRCM CPH), Private House Box, Hunter Programmes 1839 (periodical not found) and 1842, reported in “Fashionable Parties, *Brighton Gazette*, 17 Feb. 1842, p. 2.

¹⁰ For women’s diaries as a kind of code that is best understood as part of the full social and political setting of the writer’s situation, see Helen Buss, “A Feminist Revision of New Historicism to Give Fuller Readings of Women’s Private Writing,” in *Inscribing the Daily: Critical Essays on Women’s Diaries*, eds. Suzanne L. Bunkers and Cynthia A. Huff (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), pp. 86-106.

¹¹ Every name in the FEH Diary and on her programmes was researched using standard reference works of biography, city directories, genealogical resources like wills and marriage settlement documents, and on-line periodicals searches. Where memberships in organizations were mentioned, those organizations’s records were sought, and where found were trolled for evidence of musical and political affiliation or activity. Without such specific detail about relationships and relative social status, the distinctions between the Hunters’ musical socializing with family and non-family would be invisible.

to increasing their social matrix beyond family, and used music to do so, they also used music to enrich the lives of their families.

Lady Hunter could remember all the names and events of her diaries because she attached each one to an architecture of social meaning through which she filtered experience. She had the intellectual capacity for holding in her mind a vision of her world as a structure composed of layers of interlocking factors that ranged from genealogy to the cost of a house in London. Family gatherings and informal contact with people of exactly the same rank were of a different order of importance to her than events she described as “grand,” which invariably include titled nobility. She was acutely aware of her place in a class system based on blood lines, noting, for example, “I should be very glad to be on visiting terms with Mrs. Pechell, ... but as she is of higher rank than I am, ... of course she must call upon me first.”¹² In this regard, she was surely typical of many other women among her circles.¹³

Lady Hunter wanted to change her own social position by expanding her acquaintance with those of higher rank. Born without aristocratic blood in her own veins, she believed in the superiority of heritable aristocracy. She also saw it as her duty to make the most of what she saw as the blessings she had been given by God. Ironically, what Hunter understood as evidence of carrying out her duty in a stable social hierarchy was her own changing social status as she rose through it. She understood the laws of human society to be fixed: blood was blood, difference was difference.

¹² FEH Diary, 21 Oct. 1840.

¹³ See Leonore Davidoff, *The Best Circles: Society Etiquette and the Season* (London: Croom Helm, 1973), pp. 15, 41.

Ironically, through her own efforts, Frederica Bishop changed her place in society from commoner to wife of a lifetime Knight, and finally to wife of an Earl. Music was one of her most important levers of change, and she saw it as a stable resource for humanity.

The architecture that Lady Hunter held in her mind was composed of conceptual structures attached to individual people whom she knew personally. The distant echelons of her conceptual world were personalized through her known contacts as well as through public presentation in person or in the media. For example, through her cousin, Cecilia Fremantle, Lady Hunter felt personally linked with Queen Victoria. After her marriage to Lord William Hervey, Cecilia was presented at court, and Lady Hunter in her diary vividly recreates the scene when “Our little Queen kissed & talked to her.”¹⁴ The Hunters were invited to join Sir John and Lady Kirkland in Queen Victoria’s box at the Haymarket Theatre because Louisa Kirkland was Frederica Hunter’s sister. Both Lady Hunter’s diary and newspapers of the time recorded occasions when the Hunters attended the opera or concerts on the same occasion as royalty.¹⁵ Culture shapes perception and thus shapes action through exactly this kind of perceptual matrix in which individuals identify themselves with groups, and specify their groups through personal associations.¹⁶ Lady Hunter perceived herself as part of a matrix of hierarchies,

¹⁴ FEH Diary, 15 Oct. 1844. The Queen normally kissed only the daughters of peers. See Davidoff, *Best Circles*, p. 52.

¹⁵ For the Hunters in the Queen’s theatre box, see FEH Diary, 23 May 1840, 20 Apr. 1844. For the Hunters at the theatre while royalty also attended, see *Ibid.*, *passim*, and “St. James’ Theatre,” *Freeman’s Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser* (Dublin, Ireland), 30 Apr. 1847.

¹⁶ Cf. Colin M. Coates, *The Metamorphoses of Landscape and Community in Early Quebec* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2000), p.166.

in which the grounds for her own superiority were embodied in the enormous number of individuals she knew, recognized, or with whom she felt a personal connection.

The conceptual architecture of Lady Hunter's world view included time as a constitutive feature of the present. Lady Hunter understood history to be evidence that the laws of nature did not change over time. What did change over time was the accumulation of understanding of the eternal Truths, in the form of the cumulative development of bloodlines through marriages, deaths, and births, and through arcs of individual growth through action and education. Hunter often gives the names of individuals not alone but in terms of their past or future. A dinner guest might be "Col. Campbell (Sir Colin's son)." With "A Miss Perceval (since then become Mrs. Matheson) sang in the evening," the historic genealogy of the granddaughter of a former Mayor of London and her marital future are both presented before the news of her singing is uttered.¹⁷ The very name of Dulany Cottage keeps Sir Richard's dead first wife, Rebecca Ann Dulany Hunter, in the present moment.¹⁸ Frederica Hunter with rare exceptions refers to the cottage by the name of the village in which it stood, Patching,

¹⁷ FEH Diary, 17 Feb. 1840; 2 Jun. 1843. For this Miss Perceval as the daughter of Michael Henry Perceval, of Spencer Wood, Canada, a member of the Quebec legislative council, and Miss Flower, the daughter of Sir Charles Flower, at one time Lord Mayor of London, see James MacPherson Le Moine, *Picturesque Quebec: a sequel to Quebec Past and Present* (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1882), pp. 227-229, 334-335.

¹⁸ The form of the name of Sir Richard Hunter's first wife used in this study includes her maiden name, Dulany, because the codicil of her will requested she be so named on her grave. Rebecca Ann Hunter (*née* Dulany), Will of Dame Rebecca Ann Hunter, Wife of Brighton, Sussex, proved 20 Apr. 1835, PROB 11/1845 (Gloster Quires 201-250), <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline>, (viewed 22 Apr. 2008).

perhaps as a way of staking her own claim.¹⁹ Hunter memorialised the past by recording family lineages, place names, and, on a national scale, decisive battles and the heroes, like Wellington, who won them.²⁰ Hunter thus situated each personal interaction in term of a fixed, historic past.

The time of each present moment subsumed the past in a kind of time that both moved forward through individual age, and stood still as God's timeless truth. Across British society at mid-century, the heroism of Wellington was not perceived to be contingent on the historic circumstances of his victory, but upon the superior human merit associated with inherited aristocratic status, a point the Duke seldom failed to make, even long after he had retired from physical battle.²¹ Among Lady Hunter's steady stream of adulatory mentions of the Duke of Wellington is her note of his annual dinner (which she did not attend) to celebrate the Battle of Waterloo, and the breathtaking occasions when she was physically near him. For instance, "As he sat nearly opposite to me, I was delighted to have so near & good a view of the Hero of the

¹⁹ "Dulany Cottage" is used about once a year: FEH Diary, 27 Nov. 1840; 5 Dec. 1842; 15 Dec. 1843; 1 Oct. 1844; 21, 23 Jun., 6 Oct. 1845. By comparison, for 1840 alone, Hunter refers to the same house as "Patching" 27 times: *Ibid.*, 28, 29 Jan., 10, 29 Mar., 20, 22, 25 Apr., 19, 27, 28 May, 12, 16 Jul., 3, 8, 16, 30 Aug., 3, 11, 17, 18, 19, 21 Sep., 8, 20 Oct., 9, 24, 25 Nov., 8 Dec. 1840.

²⁰ For a similar range of topics that situate the diarist as part of the politics of nation, see Cynthia A. Huff, "Textual Boundaries: Space in Nineteenth-Century Women's Manuscript Diaries," in *Inscribing the Daily*, eds. Bunkers and Huff, pp. 123-138.

²¹ For Wellington's political activities in support of the Conservative party in the 1840s, and asserting that aristocrats "do what they may" deserved respect, see Richard W. Davis, "Wellington, Peel and the House of Lords in the 1840s," *Parliamentary History* 24 (Supplement 2005): 177.

age.”²² Lady Hunter was like countless other political conservatives who constantly cited Wellington as an example of heroism that transcended time. History threw up examples of the timeless best of the fixed realities of human nature.

The form of the Hunter diary communicates its contents. Hunter’s diary entries are organized cogently, though composed of apparently disparate contents.²³ Only once, in 1842, does she create an index (see Figure 1). The index of 16 items includes music as well as deaths, marriages, sexual scandal, a treason trial, the technological advance of the new Brighton railway, and the reduction of Parliamentary postage privileges by the Reform Ministry.²⁴ The index presents a narrative in which all of the musical activities of which Lady Hunter was aware are presented as her own experience, whether she had only read about them or was an active participant as composer, performer, or producer. Lady Hunter understood musical life as a form of cultural expression in which ideas and values about politics, family, and self were communicated. The diary reveals that Lady Hunter found music meaningful by understanding it as part of her own experience, no matter how she learned about it. She saw herself as a member of a community of shared principles and experiences.

²² FEH Diary, 30 Mar., 8 Apr. 1840; 4 May 1842; 18 Jun. (Waterloo dinner), 31 Jun., 6 Jul., 23 Oct. 1843; 2, 5, 9, 12 Jun., 18 Jul. 1844; 17, 29 Jun., 2 Jul., 13 Dec. 1845. Quotation *Ibid.*, 13 Jul. 1843.

²³ For an index-like chronology as narrative plot, see Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), p. 9. For diary form as content, see Elizabeth R. Baer, “Ambivalence, Anger, and Silence: The Civil War Diary of Lucy Buck,” in *Inscribing the Daily*, eds. Bunkers and Huff, pp. 207-219.

²⁴ FEH Diary, I, p. 345.

Fig. 1. Diary Index, courtesy City of Westminster Archives Centre

Date.	Index	Page
1840	Introductory remarks	1
	Sir James All Souls's death & funeral	3
	Frost's trial for High Treason	4
	The privilege of franking letters by	
	Mr. H. ceased, & penny postage came in	7
	Landgraving of Hesse Homburg's	
	Minister (Sir H. of England)'s death	
	Description of A. Victoria's wedding dress	9
	Her Majesty's marriage	17
	Mr. Lobbly & Falop Fanny came to	
	tell us Mr. Haslewood had proposed	
	to her	21
	My cousin Fanny Heroe's death	24
	Brighton Railway to Town not finished	25
	Mr. Heaviside's elopement with	
	Dr. Gardner	27
	Fanny was married to Mr. Haslewood	30
	The little Duke of Cambridge's habit of	
	singing the responses at church soloed	33
	Charles Humble in school for scandal	
	at the age of 70. we were in Lady's	
	box with the Duke & Duchess of Devon	34
	Russian & Russian in a dinner room	38
	Grisi Rubini & Lablache in 'Puritani'	42
	Ancient Concert R. Albert the Director	
	for the 100th in the Royal Box with the	
	Young Queen & the Queen Dow.	43

Hunter begins the index as an abstract of the most significant factors of her daily life, but after seven discrete items, returns to the mixtures of her diary entries, combining her own composition with the beginning of a narrative about her sister's engagement, for instance, as she writes "My Waltz and Galop Fanny came to tell us Mr. Haslewood had proposed to her...." Her conceptual apparatus produced a narrative that blended unlike factors into a meaningful whole. This is a central premise of the principled conservatism of the time that saw hierarchy as a cooperative matrix in which people of intrinsically different capacities had mutually beneficial rights and duties. Negative outcomes of the differential access to personal autonomy or to power to contribute to formal governance of the society can be explained in this world view as individual failures, rather than systemic problems.²⁵

Mingled in the index with music, marriage, death, and the unfinished Brighton Railway is the elopement of Mrs. Heaviside with Dr. Lardner. Human frailty is thus considered to be part of life but, as the diary makes clear, as a failure of individual responsibility rather than of God's created laws of Nature. Of the adultery of her friend Mrs. Heaviside, Lady Hunter writes "while I condemn the sin, let me pity the sinner."²⁶ Hunter uses the example to pray for God's help to "take heed lest I pride myself ... on being better than this poor wanderer from the path of virtue." The wrong is attributed not to a fault in the laws of Nature created by God, but to individual failure of responsibility.

²⁵ Cf. Janice Potter, *The Liberty We Seek: Loyalist Ideology in Colonial New York and Massachusetts* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 153. Potter discusses New World British Loyalist thought as an extension of British political thought.

²⁶ FEH Diary, 16 Mar. 1840.

Lady Hunter, through pious care, God's mercy, and determination to develop her inborn gifts, aimed to avoid moral failure and succeed by rising steadily through the social hierarchy, using music as one of her levers.

Hunter abandoned her indexing, perhaps because she realized that the entire diary is in the form of an index, organized chronologically. She planned her bound journals, numbering hundreds of blank pages before she used them.²⁷ She wrote with discipline, structuring her entries by using a set list of topics including herself, her husband, and other people identified by class, occupation, and shared activities. She identifies significant beginnings, whether of cyclical activities like the hunting season or her first night at the annual opera season, historic innovations like the "electric telegraph," or personal first experiences of any kind, whether attendance at a particular concert series or a first interaction with a desirable social contact.²⁸ She includes her husband, always respectful or affectionate, but she distinguishes her own experiences from those of her husband in most entries. For instance, although she and her husband both dined and slept at Lady Newburgh's home, the point of the entry is to record the event as a step in her own social career because it was "the first time I had ever been to stay there."²⁹ In her diary, Lady Hunter is the independent subject, "worthy of record," whose own history is thought about before she inscribes it.

²⁷ The written text of FEH Diary ends on 23 May 1846 at the bottom of p. 37, but the pages of the volume are hand-numbered without a break to p. 233.

²⁸ Examples include FEH Diary, 7 Apr., 1 Oct. 1840; 26 Jul. 1844. First attendance at a Philharmonic concert is 30 Mar. 1846. For chronology in women's diaries as repetitive rather than heroic and linear, see Bunkers and Huff, "Introduction," in *Inscribing the Daily*, eds. Bunkers and Huff, p. 19.

²⁹ FEH Diary, 1, 2 Dec. 1842.

The hierarchical structure of Lady Hunter's world was constantly reconstructed with every action that supported it. Lady Hunter wrote her diary to remember the meanings she had made for her own experiences. She learned the family histories of every person she knew or wished to know, as well as the mechanisms of social leverage available to her. Lady Hunter's diary was a didactic device to help her recognize and remember the critical features of the social hierarchy to which she was by birth an outsider. She constructed her understanding of her world as she created her diary entries.

A Conservative Born, Required, and Voluntary

Lady Hunter was conservative by birth, by association, and by choice.³⁰ Born Frederica Emma Bishop (1808-1870), she was seven when her father, Charles Bishop, Procurator-General to King George III from 1804 to 1815, died.³¹ Through her father's position as the advisor to the Royal Treasury about prize distribution when military engagements resulted in the capture of foreign vessels, the Bishop family was closely associated with

³⁰ My warm thanks to Bruce Elliott and Jane Glasson for discussions about the finances, status and motivations of the Hunter-Lanesborough circles.

³¹ Frederica Bishop's birth date from FEH Diary, 13 Feb. 1842 states it is her 34th birthday. For family members, see Charles Bishop, Will of Charles Bishop, His Majesty's Procurator General of Doctors Commons London, proved 8 Nov. 1815, PROB 11/1574 (Pakenham Quires 543-587), <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline>, (viewed 10 Apr. 2008); Marianne Bishop, Will of Marianne Bishop, Widow of Sundbury, Middlesex, proved 13 May 1832, PROB 11/1574 (Tenterden Quires 251-300), <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline>, (viewed 1 May 2008). Lady Hunter consistently notes the same dates for her own and family birthdays, e.g., her brother Freeman's is noted as 22 May in Ibid., 1843, 1844, 1845, and 1846.

other professional service providers to the royal family.³² This may have been how Charles Bishop met and married Marianne Fremantle, the sister of Admiral Sir William Fremantle and the aunt of Cecilia Fremantle, Lady Hunter's cousin and close musical friend.³³ Lady Hunter was in constant contact with the wealthy and well-connected Fremantle families, which included Cecilia Fremantle's brother, the Conservative politician Thomas Fremantle (1798-1890), later 1st Baron Cottesloe, who, during the 1830s and 1840s held senior cabinet positions in the Conservative party under Sir Robert Peel.³⁴

Frederica Emma Bishop rose socially with each of her two marriages to older, conservative men. She was the second wife of both her husbands, and neither she nor either of them had any children. Both of her parents were dead by 1832, and although in her elderly uncle, Sir William Fremantle, she had a fond guardian, by 1837 when she married Sir Richard Hunter, Frederica Bishop was at the perilous end of marriageable appeal: she was 29 and had no saleable skills.³⁵ Her mother left her £6000, capital for a

³² National Record Office at Kew, s.v. "Bishop, Charles," holds Bishop's "Entry books ... of papers relating to cases referred to him by the Treasury for report. Most of the cases concern claims from shipping agents, owners of private ships, etc., regarding the distribution of prize money or claims to the estates of deceased persons when the property has become *bona vacantia* owing to the deceased having died intestate or without a lawful heir."

³³ For Fremantle family tree, see <http://www.dukesofbuckingham.org/people/trees/fremantle_family.jpg>, (viewed 8 Jan. 2008). For Cicely ("Cicey") Fremantle and FEH, see FEH Diary throughout.

³⁴ ODNB, s.v. "Fremantle, Thomas." Where birth and death dates are given for individuals, it is to distinguish them from others of the same name or to situate them in the chronology of the narrative.

³⁵ For her mother's bequest and guardianship see Marianne Bishop, Will, *op.cit.* For fondness of her guardian, FEH Diary 20 Feb. 1844, "The sight of his handwriting gave me great pleasure."

modest competence that, invested at the prevailing 3 per cent, would produce only £180 per year.³⁶ After her marriage to Sir Richard Hunter, subscription to the opera boxes alone that she so enjoyed in 1839 and 1840 cost £300 a season.³⁷

For those hovering at its edges, acceptance as members of high society had to be earned, and music was an effective way of developing new social relationships. It is important to situate the families and activities of Frederica Bishop and her husbands to understand how their positions in society shaped their use of music. The Hunter diary is stuffed with names, and without knowing who was family, it would be impossible to recognize the differences in patterns of social activities involving family and non-family in the Hunter diary. For example, the guests taken to the opera by Sir Richard Hunter are but a jumble of names until knowledge of family connections shows that Hunter regularly treated each branch of his and his wife's families to the opera once a year.

Marriage of one family member could extend upward the social reach of other siblings, but not all of Frederica Bishop's four sisters and three brothers enjoyed superior wealth or status.³⁸ When her sisters and cousins married, the Hunters socialized

³⁶ The 3% interest rate is taken from the many wills researched for this project.

³⁷ Jennifer Hall-Witt, *Fashionable Acts: Opera and Elite Culture in London, 1780-1880* (Durham, New Hampshire: University of New Hampshire Press, 2007), p. 280.

³⁸ Further research might reveal the source of apparent anomalies in Lady Hunter's family history. It was unusual for any person to rise from commoner to aristocratic status in a single lifetime. Lady Hunter and two of her sisters did so, suggesting that their family connections on their mother's side, Marianne Fremantle, may have been loftier than those of their father, Charles Bishop. Lady Hunter's cousin and close musical confidante, Cecilia Fremantle, was the sister of Thomas Fremantle, later 1st Baron Cottesloe, and married Lord William Hervey in 1844, an aristocrat and diplomat. See Dukes of Buckingham, <http://www.dukesofbuckingham.org/people/contemporaries/fremantle/wynne_sisters.htm, (viewed 16 Apr. 16, 2007). Similarly, Sir Richard Hunter's background is oddly

with their families, although in the cases of the most socially exalted, like the Kirklands and Herveys, the Hunters were not invited to the highest-status gatherings.³⁹ When Frederica Bishop married Sir Richard Hunter, her own social position was enhanced by his title, her access to costly musical and other luxuries jumped exponentially, and her own finances were improved by the wealth she subsequently inherited from him. The benefits to her siblings of Sir Richard Hunter's presence, properties, and munificence depended on their pleasing Sir Richard. When her brother, John Bishop, rudely did not call upon them when he was staying nearby, Lady Hunter's diary entry sided with her husband, and distanced herself from "Poor John [who] has been often his own enemy, & now from his rudeness & incivility he has lost the invitation hitherto given him since I married to come to us in Sept. for a few days shooting with Sir Richard."⁴⁰

Not all of Frederica Bishop's four sisters married titled men, but in 1815, Marianne Bishop married Sir East George Clayton East [sic], who became 1st Baronet Clayton East in 1838.⁴¹ Louisa Bishop became the second wife of Sir John Kirkland.

inconsistent. Rumours that his father may have been an aristocrat not married to his mother exist but cannot yet be substantiated. Both Sir Richard and Lady Hunter clearly made the most of their connections with the Fremantles and with his professional contacts, and for both of them, music was a significant element in establishing themselves among the upper social circles to which Lady Hunter's diary makes it clear she aspired but did not feel she belonged. While further investigation of the family histories is unfortunately beyond the scope of this study, sufficient context exists to inform this history of Lady Hunter herself.

³⁹ For example, Lady Hunter's sister Louisa, as the second Lady Kirkland, met Queen Victoria, but the Hunters were not invited on such occasions. FEH Diary, 15 Oct. 1844.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 18 Sep. 1840.

⁴¹ Charles Mosley, ed., *Burke's Peerage, Baronetage & Knightage*, 107th ed. (Wilmington, Del.: Burke's Peerage (Genealogical Books) Ltd., 2003) (hereafter *Burke's Peerage*), I, p. 814.

Lady Hunter's sister Selina's second husband, however, was Robert Mangles; Frances married a Mr. Haslewood of Haugham Park to her brother John's manifest (but in the diary unexplained) displeasure; Frederica Hunter's brothers were Archibald, who died young leaving his widow, "dear Ellen," to wander the family branches; the unmarried Reverend Freeman, whose flute playing Frederica accompanied at home; and the eldest, John, who inherited the bulk of the parental estate.⁴² Awkward distances continued with John Bishop, but the Hunters engaged in a steady exchange of visits with the whole family. The Reverend Freeman Bishop did not reciprocate, probably because as a church minister he was too poor to invite guests, but often visited the Hunters to be treated to dinner and a concert.⁴³

Sir Richard Hunter was warmly involved with most of Frederica Hunter's family, dispensing advice on finances, wedding settlements, real estate, and medicine, and giving valuable gifts, like the silver cup he gave as the godfather of even such a remote connection as Louisa Kirkland's step-granddaughter, named after her by her step-son Vesey Kirkland and his Canadian wife.⁴⁴ The warmth that the childless Sir Richard Hunter displayed to children of friends and family is touching.

⁴² For family relationships to 1832, see Marianne Bishop, Will, *op. cit.* For John Bishop's view of Frances' (Fanny's) marriage to Haselwood, see FEH Diary, 18 Sep. 1840.

⁴³ The FEH Diary provides so much of this information that full citations could only confuse.

⁴⁴ For cup and god-parenting, FEH Diary, 25 May 1843. For John Vesey Kirkland marriage, *Ibid.*, 27 Apr., 14, 25 May, 9 Jun. 1841; 18, 25 May, 4 Jul. 1843; 15 Apr., 9 Jun. 1844; 9, 11 Oct. 1845; 7 Feb, 1 Apr. 1846. Vesey Kirkland married Canadian Susan Paterson (Quebec 1840), and left a scrapbook of his career as an imperial administrator. See Jim Burant, "Record of Empire, 1835-90: The John A. Kirkland Album," *Archivaria* 22 (Summer 1986): 120-128.

At the time of her 1840s diary, Frederica Hunter was married to her first husband, Sir Richard Hunter, a medical doctor who was knighted in 1825 for his “many years” of serving King George IV with “great attention, affection, integrity and fidelity.”⁴⁵ Like her father, Lady Hunter’s first husband was among the professional service-providers to royalty and the aristocracy. Sir Richard Hunter (d. 16 Mar. 1848) did not inherit aristocratic status. He worked for the nobility professionally, and through his musical and other civic and charitable activities expanded his right to socialize with those above his birth station. His age and family of origin are germane to the circumstances of his marriage to Frederica Bishop and to understanding his social rank.

It is difficult to pin down Sir Richard Hunter’s birth date. It is likely that he was 54 when he married the 29-year-old Frederica Bishop, but he may have been 75. Not born to great wealth, he may have had a difficult family history, since two sets of known sources do not agree: he was born in either 1783 or 1762. To pinpoint Sir Richard Hunter’s age and family history, it was assumed that when he died in 1848 he was not over 100 years old, and that, when he was knighted in 1825 he was at least 25, to allow

⁴⁵ Arthur Aspinall George, Charles Kingsley Webster, *The Letters of King George IV, 1812-1830*, (London: The University Press, 1938), p. 412. Hunter was not a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians (RCP), but may have been a Licentiate, although he is not listed in the earliest editions of the Medical Directory (1845-1849). Fellows had higher qualifications and participated in running the RCP, a regulatory body that granted licenses to practice as a physician but recorded minimal information about licentiates. My thanks to Peter Basham, Heritage Collections Assistant, RCP, for personal communication 2 May 2008. In 1823, Hunter was elected an Honorary Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of Ireland (RCPI), a recognition given to “worthy doctors who were not eligible for regular fellowship because they did not have a degree from Dublin, Oxford or Cambridge Universities.” Personal communication to author from Robert Mills, Librarian, RCPI, 15 Jan., 5 Feb. 2009. See RCPI College Journals (College Minute Books, manuscript), 7 Apr. 1823, VI, pp. 127, 129.

time for education and “years of service.” He was thus assumed to have been born between 1750 and 1800. Lady Hunter’s empirically reliable diary records Sir Richard’s mother’s family name as Roberts, and his birthday as January 29th.⁴⁶ Birth and christening records searched for 1750 to 1800 show only one Richard Hunter born to a Mrs. Hunter *née* Roberts, in 1762.⁴⁷ This would make Sir Richard 63 when he was knighted, 86 at death, and 75 on the day he married 29-year-old Frederica Bishop in 1837: possible, but, given Lady Hunter’s records of his indefatigable hunting in his last years, unlikely.

The other source is the obituary in the *London Medical Gazette*, which states that Sir Richard Hunter, of Great Stanhope Street, London, died in 1848 aged 65.⁴⁸ The name, profession and address are correct for Frederica Hunter’s husband, but the stated age would make his birth year 1783, a year for which no birth or christening records are known for any Richard Hunter, nor for any son born to a Mrs. Hunter *née* Roberts.

The Hunter diary and several family wills suggest that one of Sir Richard’s parents remarried, perhaps amid considerable family animosity.⁴⁹ Sir Richard was

⁴⁶ FEH Diary, 16 Sep. 1845; for Jan. 29 as his birthday, *Ibid.*, yearly from 1840 to 1846.

⁴⁷ Ann Roberts m. John Hunter, 24 Feb., 1761, Caddington, Bedford, England. Their son Richard Hunter was christened 31 Jan. 1762, consistent with Lady Hunter’s record of 29 Jan. as Sir Richard’s birthday. Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, http://www.familysearch.org/Eng/Search/frameset_search.asp, s.v. “Hunter, Richard,” and “Roberts, Ann,” (viewed 19 Apr. 2008). *Ibid.*, s.v. “Hunter, Frederica Emma,” confirms 1762 as Sir Richard’s birth year, but does not confirm 29 Jan. as his day of birth.

⁴⁸ *London Medical Gazette* 41, no. 1074 (30 Jun. 1848): 524.

⁴⁹ For Sir Richard having a half sister, “Jane Souter of Newcastle upon Tyne,” see Will of the Right Honorable Frederica Emma Countess of Lanesborough late of Swithland Hall in the County of Leicester Widow, proved 30 Nov. 1870 at the Principal Registry of Her Majesty’s Court of Probate (York Probate-Sub Registry).

estranged from his family of origin, since Lady Hunter only met his elderly brother for the first time three years after her marriage, and was struck by the different appearances of the two brothers. “Sir R’d’s brother, Mr. Stanhope Hunter called. He does not at all resemble my husband in appearance, for he is tall, and *must have been* very fair. He lives in Worcestershire with Sir Richard’s eldest brother, who is a great invalid.”⁵⁰ The will of short, dark-haired Sir Richard’s other brother, John Hunter, does not mention Sir Richard among the list of family, several of whom are also named in Sir Richard Hunter’s will and the Hunter diary. None of the birth and christening records for a Richard Hunter between 1750 and 1800 contain all the relevant family names. The conflicting records suggest that some one blotted out the tracks of the family history. Perhaps Sir Richard himself wished to mask his age or his birth family to the Royal Medical Association, and perhaps to Frederica Bishop and her guardian when he proposed. The only source that specifically identifies the very Richard Hunter in question is the *London Medical Gazette*, so the most reliable (and least repulsive) conclusion is that Sir Richard Hunter was born in 1783, knighted at 42, and 54 when he married 29-year-old Frederica Bishop.

Marriage to a man nearly twice her age meant that Frederica Hunter was aware from the outset that she could expect to be widowed young, as she was in 1848, aged 40. When she notes the death of a gentleman “who tho’ advanced in years, was returning from hunting ...” Lady Hunter also reminds herself “that such warnings of the

⁵⁰ FEH Diary, 2 May 1840. Italics are mine.

uncertainty of Human Life, be not thrown away upon us!” Marriage to a much older man meant uncertainty for his wife.⁵¹

She therefore knew that she needed to establish a public presence in her own right, claiming her own identity as distinct to some degree from that of her husband. Much of her musical activity demonstrates the construction of her public identity as a knowledgeable, tasteful, and generous lover of music. The distinct differences in musical taste between her and Sir Richard Hunter may have grated occasionally, but they were important to her subsequent marital career. She may not have realized quite how wealthy she would be on Sir Richard’s death, but during their marriage she was well aware of their finances. She notes, for instance, that Sir Richard “went into the City to sell out money to purchase the house in Stanhope St.” and mentions twice that the £7000 price included all furniture.⁵² Precise financial information crops up often enough to suggest that Lady Hunter had given considerable thought to her own, as well as to her husband’s, finances.

Sir Richard Hunter’s family of origin was probably modest, since his brother John parcelled out in many small bequests a total estate worth about £1000 in a will he signed with an X.⁵³ Sir Richard Hunter’s own wealth before 1835 is unknown, but he received pensions of £288 for his service in Ireland, which he had to resign under public pressure from the Reform Parliament of the 1830s, a loss that doubtless confirmed his

⁵¹ FEH Diary, 28 Nov. 1841.

⁵² Ibid., 17, 18 Mar., 7 Apr. 1843.

⁵³ John Hunter, Will of John Hunter of Pershore, Worcestershire, proved 3 Nov. 1843, PROB 11/1988 (Will Registers, vol.16, Quires 751-800), <<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline>>, (viewed 18 Apr. 2008).

Tory convictions.⁵⁴ Intense criticism was levelled at such English Tory pensions drawn on the Irish purse and “lavished on court favourites, government spies, and parliamentary brokers.”⁵⁵ Hunter’s name was bruited in many newspapers within a year of his second marriage, with such comments as, “we do complain that some portion of this delicacy [manifested towards the parties on the pension-list] is not brought into operation when the feelings of the poor are in question. ... the sympathy which is excited by the silks and satins of the pension-pauper becomes converted into disgust and dislike by the tatters of the poor-rate pauper.” Hunter chose to relinquish his pension “rather than submit to parliamentary enquiry—a very commendable and exemplary spirit and deserving of a more general imitation.”⁵⁶ He had been publicly shamed by the Reform Parliament, but before his first marriage that annual £288 may have been a major portion of his income.

Although little is certain about Sir Richard Hunter’s original family and early career, he was a widower when he married Frederica Bishop. His first marriage was affectionate, but may also have been a fair exchange of his title and respectability for the riches of the untitled Rebecca Ann Dulany, whose divorced mother came from a wealthy family of slave-

⁵⁴ “Miscellaneous,” *Ipswich Journal* (Ipswich, England), 7 Apr. 1838; see also *The Black book of England, exhibiting the existing State, Policy, and Administration of the United Kingdom, in its executive Government, Legislature, established Church, electoral representation, courts of law, public offices, colonies, national universities, House of Commons, London corporation, with lists of the chief recipients of public pay in Church and State* (London: C. Mitchell Red Lion Court Fleet Street, 1847), p. 220. My thanks to Jane Glasson for drawing this source to my attention.

⁵⁵ “Savings’ Bank Contributors and National Debt Annuitants at the end of 1837,” *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle* etc. (Portsmouth, England), 6 Aug. 1838, citing reports of the House of Commons Committee appointed to investigate the pensions on the Civil List.

⁵⁶ “Politics of the Week,” *Bristol Mercury* (Bristol, England), 4 Aug. 1838.

holders in Maryland.⁵⁷ They met in Ireland, where Richard Hunter was a Gentleman of the Bedchamber and physician to Richard Wellesley, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from 1821 to 1828, brother of the Duke of Wellington, and married to a Miss Caton from Maryland.⁵⁸ Hunter and his second wife Frederica were both aware of the Caton connections in Maryland as part of their continual cultivation of the Wellesley family.⁵⁹ In particular,

⁵⁷ For marriage of Sir Richard Hunter and Rebecca Ann Dulany, see Edmund Burke and James Dodsley, *The Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politics, and Literature of the Year 1829* (London: Baldwin and Cradock, 1830), p. 201. For affection, see codicil to Rebecca Ann Dulany Hunter, Will of Dame Rebecca Ann Hunter, Wife of Brighton, Sussex, proved 30 Apr. 1835, PROB 11/1845 (Gloster Quires 201-250), <<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline>>, (viewed 22 Apr. 2008). Rebecca Ann Dulany Hunter was the daughter of Ann Dulany, who was divorced and owned slaves. Based on sound civic collections of legal records in Alexandria, Georgia, a Negro woman, Abarilla Clark, was purchased from Mrs. Rebecca Dulany 26 Apr. 1827. See Freeman's Cemetery, <<http://www.freedmenscemetery.org/resources/documents/manumissions.shtml>>, (viewed 21 Feb. 2008). Ann Dulany m. Sieur Arsenne Guillaume Joseph Barbier DelaSerre in Baltimore, Maryland, 1784. Acte de celebration de mariage d'entre Le Sieur DelaSerre et la Dem'le Anne Dulany, Extrait des minutes déposés en la Chancellerie du consulat de France à Baltimore, 22 avril 1784. They were divorced in 1798 in New Jersey, U.S.A., after the birth of Rebecca Ann, and Ann Dulany Dela Serre successfully petitioned to change the surnames of herself and her daughter to Dulany before moving to England. See Pierre de La Serre family history, <<http://gw4.geneanet.org/index.php3?b'pdl&lang'fr;p'arsenne+guillaume;n'de+la+serr+barbier>>, (viewed 2 Jan. 2009). My thanks to Pierre de La Serre, for digital images of the marriage certificate and family history outline in email of 1 Jan. 2009.

⁵⁸ For Hunter as doctor and meeting Dulany in Ireland, see *Baltimore Patriot*, 29 Sept. 1829, citing *London Court Journal* of 15 Jul., 1829. For Hunter in Ireland with Wellesley, see FEH Diary, 25 Feb. 1840; and "The bedchamber: Gentlemen of the Bedchamber," *Office-Holders in Modern Britain: vol. 11 (revised): Court Officers, 1660-1837* (2006), pp. 14-19, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid'43766>>, (viewed 27 Apr. 2008). The American wife of Lord Wellesley, (Richard Colley Wesley, 1760-1842) was Marianne Caton Patterson of Maryland. ODNB, s.v. "Wellesley, Richard" and "Godolphin, Francis" (7th Duke of Leeds).

⁵⁹ For Lady Stafford as the former Miss Caton and as sister of Lady (Richard) Wellesley to whom Sir Richard paid condolences on the death of Richard Wellesley, FEH Diary, 31 May 1844; 1 Oct. 1842.

Frederica Hunter likely knew that the source of her husband's treasure was from Dulany slave-holding, recording that "A Black man, named Peter Simms, called at the hotel to see Sir R. He was formerly in the service of the Dulany family in America."⁶⁰

Sir Richard Hunter did not give up his Irish pension until after his first wife had died in 1835, leaving him an exceptionally wealthy man. Rebecca Ann Dulany Hunter left an estate worth over £100,000. Sir Richard inherited absolutely £60,244.8s.10d in 3.5 per cent console bonds ("consolidated" bank bonds). He also had lifetime use of the annual proceeds of £30,000 in 3.5 per cent consoles, £53,300 in 3.5 per cent annuities, £26,700 in 3 per cent investments, and US \$22,984 in New York State stocks at 5 per cent. The latter were expected to produce US \$1150 annually, which in 1835 was worth approximately £239.⁶¹ There were also 5,000 shares in the American Manhattan Company, which the will assumes produced annual revenue.⁶² On Sir Richard Hunter's death, most of the capital investments and the American stocks went to his first wife's niece, Rebecca Dulany, in America, but during his lifetime he had no obligation to share his inheritance.

Moreover, the estate included a house at 47 Grand Parade in Brighton and a "cottage" at the Sussex village of Patching (see Figure 2) which could sleep 20 and seat

⁶⁰ Ibid., 14 Mar. 1843.

⁶¹ Exchange rates from H. Officer, "Measuring Worth," <<http://www.measuringworth.com/datasets/exchangepond/result.php>>, (viewed 9 May 2008), s.v. "1835-1845."

⁶² Since the revenue of the other investments alone would have made Sir Richard Hunter so rich as to be effectively free to pursue any action he chose, details of the Manhattan Company shares have not been researched.

36 to dinner, and had related agricultural lands producing rent.⁶³ Both were left to Sir Richard and his assigns, who ultimately included his second wife, Frederica Hunter. Sir Richard Hunter's annual income after 1835 was at least £6,000.⁶⁴ Many aristocratic incomes were less, and many a middle-class family lived safely on £200 a year.⁶⁵

So when Sir Richard Hunter married Frederica Bishop, he did not need her money, nor did he need to work for an income.⁶⁶ He could afford to live precisely as he pleased, although he chose to live within his ample means.⁶⁷ His leisure preferences were for as much hunting and whist as possible, but he also had musical and scientific interests. He belonged to the Royal Asiatic Society, perhaps first introduced to "oriental"

⁶³ Charles R. Dod, *The Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage of Great Britain and Ireland, including all the titled classes, sixth year* (London: Whittaker & Co. Ave Maria Lane, 1846) (hereafter Dod's *Peerage*), p. 216, s.v. "Hunter, Knt. Bachel." Patching Cottage capacities, FEH Diary, 5 Dec. 1842; 11 Sep. 1844; Cottage image, H.A. Ogg after T. Henwood, "Dulany Cottage. The seat of Sir Richard Hunter," *Views of Sussex (The History, Antiquities, and Topography of the County of Sussex)*, T.W. Horsfield, 1835). As of 21 Feb. 2009, no further bibliographic details are available from the seller, accessible at <<http://www.heatons-of-tisbury.co.uk/sussex5.htm>>.

⁶⁴ My warmest thanks for help deciphering this complex will go to Jim Phillips, Constance Backhouse, and most particularly to Bruce Elliott, who took much trouble to help interpret it; final calculations are my own.

⁶⁵ For middle-class sufficiencies, see Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), p. 361, noting a reasonably comfortable family income falling between £50 and £400. Cf. annual incomes at the Carlton Club, where in 1857, men servants earned between £26 and £50, and women servants between £11 and £52. Charles Petrie, *The Carlton Club* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1955), pp. 93, 106.

⁶⁶ FEH Diary accounts for most of Sir Richard's time, and shows only sporadic, volunteer medical activities, e.g., one Sunday after church, "Sir R went to see two poor people who were ill, & Mr. Nourse who had hurt his knee." FEH Diary, 23 Nov. 1845.

⁶⁷ Sir Richard ensured that on his death, he would leave his second wife a significant estate, as Lady Hunter's marriage settlement with her second husband in 1851 shows.

culture by Richard Wellesley.⁶⁸ Hunter's charitable contributions included giving financial support to geological and archaeological research at the British Museum and in Brighton.⁶⁹ Belief in archaeology and geology as sciences that could reveal the timelessness of the laws of God's creation would have been a form of deistic teleology congenial to Sir Richard Hunter's political Conservatism.

Hunter, perhaps influenced by his pious first wife, also made a major investment in refurbishing the village church at Patching in 1835, reconstructing the decayed roof and adding a massive spire that is still clearly visible from neighbouring Clapham. The Hunters often attended both churches on the same Sunday, sharing the farmers' service at Patching and mingling with higher society in the congregation of Clapham. Marble memorials to the first Lady Hunter remain a dominant decorative feature of the Patching Church of St. John the Divine.⁷⁰ In 1835, Rev. John Wood Warter acknowledged Sir Richard Hunter's restoration of the Patching Church as a social and political, as well as a religious, act: "In these days when the general cry is *overturn, overturn, overturn*,—when religion is nigh in men's mouths but far from their reins, —when ... 'the hinges of unity are taken off and all sects mingled' ... for the Destruction of the Established Church in

⁶⁸ ODNB, s.v. "Wellesley, Richard."

⁶⁹ For Hunter's membership, see "Proceedings of the Royal Asiatic Society," *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register*, 27, Ser. 1 (Jan.-Jun. 1828): 191. For scientific subsidies, see FEH Diary, 21 Jul. 1842, and W.E. Swinton, "Gideon Mantell and the Maidstone Iguanodon," *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 8, no. 2 (Apr. 1951): 261-276.

⁷⁰ For the degree of ruin prior to refurbishment by Hunter, and the class of congregation of both churches in mid-nineteenth century, personal conversation with author by Patching resident Richard Prior, deacon of St. John the Divine at Patching, 30 Jul. 2009.

Fig. 2. Dulany Cottage at Patching, H.A. Ogg, after T. Henwood, “Dulany Cottage. The seat of Sir Richard Hunter,” in *Views of Sussex: The History, Antiquities, and Topography of the County of Sussex* (T.W. Horsfield, 1835), n.p.

these realms; —at such a time, my dear Sir Richard, you have gained to yourself the honourable distinction of being one of those who has repaired the outer breaches of the Temple. ... [the Patching Church] now beautified and repaired at your sole expense.”⁷¹

The Hunters’ charitable support of the Anglican Church was part of a contemporary surge in Anglican church building and congregational development.⁷² Sir Richard

⁷¹ John Wood Warter, Vicarage House, West Tarring, to Sir Richard Hunter, Dulaney Cottage, 13 Jul. 1835, cited in Samuel James Allen, “What does the Church for the People? A sermon preached at the visitation of the Right Reverend John Bird, Lord Bishop of Chester, in the Parish Church of Blackburn, on Tuesday, July 7, 1835” (London: J.G. & F. Rivington, 1835).

⁷² For discussion of the rise in Anglican expansion in the 1830s to serve new industrial districts and counteract the growth of Dissent, see G.I.T. Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain 1832 to 1868* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), pp. 16-17, 26-27. Hunter was a gentry example of the Anglican revival also supported by some working class Conservatives of the time. See discussion of operative Conservative

Hunter's ideas and values were thus publicized to a targeted public through his development of intellectual interests, membership in related associations, and charitable donations that included support of the Established Church.

Sir Richard was a political Conservative, once driving from London to Brighton to vote for his friend, Tory candidate Sir Augustus Dalrymple in 1840, as well as taking his wife to see "the new Conservative Club in St. James's Street" from kitchens to public rooms.⁷³ A firm social conservative, he sang at the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club of London (hereafter NGCC), surrounded by Tory peers and politicians who revelled in repeating the eighteenth-century glees that celebrated a mythic Albion populated by clearly-marked classes who kept their place.⁷⁴

Sir Richard's support for gender hierarchy was expressed in action. His were the decisions about what money would be spent on musical activity. When he decided not to subscribe to the opera, they did not subscribe, and Lady Hunter wistfully noted of an isolated visit to the opera that, "I enjoyed the evening all the more, I think, fm. having been seldom to the Opera during the Season."⁷⁵ Sir Richard controlled the decisions about travel, where they would live, and all expenditures, and though not unkind, when there was a difference of interests between them, they did what he liked. Lady Hunter did not always react well, nor to her own best advantage.

William Paul, in his *A history of the origin and progress of operative Conservative Societies*, Fourth Edition (Doncaster: R. Hartley, printer, n.d. [1842]), Chapter Four.

⁷³ For Dalrymple voting, FEH Diary, 30 Jun. 1841; for Club, *Ibid.*, 19 Mar. 1842. Women could not join, but members could show friends over the premises during the daytime, by custom. Petrie, *Carlton Club*, p. 103.

⁷⁴ A detailed discussion of the NGCC in the 1840s is given in Chapter Five.

⁷⁵ FEH Diary, 20 Jul. 1841.

Her diary was a stage upon which she rehearsed her management of the constraints of being married to a man whose decisions governed much of her own activity. Lady Hunter records her shame that “infirmity of Temper ... is one of my besetting sins.”⁷⁶ Frederica Hunter’s diary records of her outbursts of anger are always followed by prayers for divine help to improve herself. In 1842, she had an attack of fury when the Hunters left London before the season was quite done, for Sussex, where her husband’s hunting and the whist she loathed dominated their time.⁷⁷ Her contrite prayer is curious. “May God of his infinite mercy so fill my heart with love & gratitude to him for the five years of happiness he has been graciously pleased to bestow upon me that I may be enabled, by the assistance of His Holy Spirit, to subdue my wayward & irritable temper, to be a comfort to my dear husband, who has been all goodness & indulgence to me!”⁷⁸ She asks God to help her change her own emotions about her husband, and thanks God, not her husband, for the years of marriage to a husband whose “indulgence” includes at least part of a London season. Two days later, she does not leave the future of her marriage in God’s hands alone, but rehearses to herself her acceptance of her husband’s decision-making, with the bright assertion, “How different, at this time of the year, is the life I had at Patching in point of air & exercise to what it necessarily is in London. Here since our arrival, I have been out almost daily before breakfast, in the afternoon, & after dinner. It must be considerably better for the health,

⁷⁶ Ibid., 26 Feb. 1841.

⁷⁷ Hunting references are so frequent that to cite them would only confuse. For herself as a bad whist player, see Ibid. 25 Jan. 1840; 2 Jan. 1841; 21 Feb. 1843; 8 Oct. 1844. The diary mentions “whist” 80 times, usually in Sussex.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 24 Jul. 1842. Departure from London had been two days before.

& is very enjoyable.”⁷⁹ Three times a day, she exhausted herself physically with vigorous exercise, chanting in her diary to construct the new and necessary consciousness within herself of the joys of her husband’s choices. The diary performances, like her physical exertions, were actions driven by the iron will of a woman who understood the limits of her personal autonomy and decided to change herself in order to survive.⁸⁰ It was more palatable, perhaps, to position her adaptation as spiritual growth in service to God than as constrained obedience to the man on whom she depended for her daily bread. Frederica Hunter did not question the naturalness of gender-based differences in personal autonomy, but embraced the difficulties of living them as her own religious duty.⁸¹

Lady Hunter’s first husband was musical in his own way. In addition to his membership in the aesthetically and socially conservative NGCC, Sir Richard Hunter owned a violin and a viola which he loaned to a professional musician Antonio James Oury, the violinist husband of virtuoso pianist, Anna Carolina de Belleville Oury (hereafter Anna Oury).⁸² Such loans to working musicians were socially conservative *noblesse oblige* of a particularly visible kind, and Sir Richard Hunter may have been influenced to buy and lend string instruments by P.J. Salomons. Salomons had seconded

⁷⁹ Ibid., 27 Jul. 1842.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 23 Apr. 1845. Cf. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A midwife’s tale: the life of Martha Ballard, based on her diary, 1785-1812* (New York: Knopf, 1990), p. 123.

⁸¹ For internalising gender ideology, see Deborah Gorham, *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), p. 58.

⁸² For violin and viola loans, FEH Diary, 20 Dec. 1841. For NGCC membership start, see Ibid., 18 May 1841. For his NGCC attendance and repertoire, 1841-1847, see “Attendances, 1791-1868,” BL. H.2788.xx, zz, aaa, and Appendix D: Catch Club Music 1841-1847.

Sir Richard's membership at the NGCC, and was probably the Philip Salomons, a good amateur musician and professional banker, who once played a double bass and keyboard duet with Lady Hunter after dinner.⁸³

The Ourys were closely associated with Sir Lawrence and Lady Elizabeth Parsons, with whom they played chamber music in Brighton, sometimes using Hunter's instruments.⁸⁴ Lady Elizabeth Parsons was the daughter of a duke, and her husband the son of an earl, both far outranking either Hunter.⁸⁵ The instrument loans were judiciously made where they could impress the Hunters' social superiors, while genuinely supporting professional musicians and chamber music. Lending valuable instruments affected precise class relationships above and below the social position of the lender.

Lady Hunter's diary reveals the life of choice of her first husband, a social and political conservative. She leapt from the far end of her youth into Sir Richard's abundant embrace, an orphan of modest means averting the fate of an unemployable

⁸³ NGCC, Catch Club Minutes 18 Jan. 1831-6 Jul. 1841, BL H2788.uu, Microfilm MUS.MIC A4605(1996), 18 May 1841. The Philip Salomons described as "a fine performer on the double Bass" in the diary is probably the same man. See FEH Diary, 11 May 1846. Philip J. Salomons (1796-1867) was the son of a wealthy merchant, and one of his nieces married Aaron Goldsmid [sic]. *Jewish Encyclopedia*, <<http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/view.jsp?artid'89&letter'S#351>>, (viewed 20 May 2008), s.v. "Salomons." The connection between Hunter and Salomons may have begun through Sir Richard Hunter's first wife, who left a legacy to a Sarah Goldsmid [sic]. Rebecca Ann Dulany Hunter, Will, *op. cit.*

⁸⁴ E.g., FEH Diary, 20 Dec. 1841.

⁸⁵ Hon. Laurence Parsons (1805-1894), son of Laurence Parsons, 2nd Earl of Rosse (Ireland) (1758-1841), and Alice Lloyd. Lady Elizabeth Graham-Toler (d. 1844), daughter of Hector John Graham-Toler, 2nd Earl of Norbury and Elizabeth Brabazon, m. Laurence Parsons 10 May 1836. L.G. Pine, *The New Extinct Peerage 1884-1971: Containing Extinct, Abeyant, Dormant and Suspended Peerages With Genealogies and Arms* (London, U.K.: Heraldry Today, 1972), p. 226.

spinster dependent on her relations. Given the shared professional circuits of her father and her first husband, Frederica Emma Bishop may have known Sir Richard as a family friend who appreciated her musicality, and could make her financially and socially safe for life. His political and social conservatism need not have been a factor in her decision to marry him, but any ideological content in Lady Hunter's musical activities had to conform to her husband's views. She knew when it did not. Newspapers helped such music lovers by reciting details of opera plots, for instance, and explaining that international repertoire was adapted to conform to British sensibilities about having biblical characters portrayed on the stage.⁸⁶ Lady Hunter ended her diary on May 23, 1846, condemning Verdi's opera *I Lombardi* because "part of the story is most objectionable for representation on the ..."⁸⁷ Lady Hunter could identify at once music or plots that did not support her husband's conservative values.

Upon Sir Richard's death in 1848, Frederica Emma Hunter reaped a financial reward. Although she had brought to her first marriage only whatever remained of her mother's bequest of £6,000, in 1851, her marriage settlement with the 5th Earl of Lanesborough shows that from Sir Richard she had inherited over £60,000 in excellent bonds, a house in London worth £7,000, and the properties in Brighton and Patching.⁸⁸ As a widow left wealthy in her own right, Lady Hunter had continued to socialize with

⁸⁶ "Her Majesty's Theatre. Opening Night," *Times* (London), 4 Mar. 1846, p. 5.

⁸⁷ FEH Diary, 23 May 1846. She obviously meant "on the [public stage]."

⁸⁸ For the marriage settlement between Lady Hunter and George John Danvers Butler Danvers, 5th Earl of Lanesborough, see Leicester, and Rutland Record Office, Herrick Manuscripts, Papers of William Perry Herrick as trustee of the marriage settlement of Lord Lanesborough and Lady Hunter (22 Nov. 1851), DG 9/2253. For London house price and address, see FEH Diary, 7 Apr. 1843.

aristocratic neighbours.⁸⁹ Marriage to Sir Richard had given Frederica Bishop financial security and a step up in social status.

Her second marriage was thus financially unnecessary, so it was prompted by some combination of love, loneliness, and a desire to rise even further. When she married again, she freely chose a companion with whom she wished to live. While her first marriage may have been more pragmatic than romantic, making the political views of her first husband of secondary importance to her primary purpose, Lady Hunter chose a zealous Conservative for her second husband, suggesting that her own views were conservative.

Of her second husband, George John Danvers Butler Danvers, 5th Earl of Lanesborough (1794-1866), little is known. At their marriage in 1851, he was rather older than she, 57 to her 43 years of age, and he published fiction and songs. Lanesborough was a political Conservative who was elected in 1849 as a representative peer for Ireland and “returned” a “staunch conservative” MP from his riding in Leicestershire.⁹⁰ A widower with a family seat in Ireland and Swithland Hall in Leicestershire, he stated his social conservatism as a divinely-ordained hierarchy of differing human value in an address to his Irish tenancy in 1852, with Frederica, by then his wife, beside him. He said, “In the structure of this beautiful world which we are privileged to inhabit, as well as in all the details connected with it, subsequent to its

⁸⁹ For example, a year and a half after Sir Richard’s death, the Duke and Duchess of Norfolk “honoured Lady Hunter with their presence at dinner at Patching,” *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle* (Portsmouth, England), 20 Oct. 1849.

⁹⁰ *Burke’s Peerage*, I, p. 917; *Anglo-Celt* [periodical] Cavan, County Cavan, 6 Apr. 1849, citing *Dublin Evening Herald*.

completion, the power of the Omnipotent Architect is powerfully displayed. How scientifically and appropriately has everything been arranged, even to the relative position and duties of the different classes in society.”⁹¹

Lanesborough considered that class was one of the categories that ought to determine rank, and that gender was another that rightly determined limits to social and personal power. Both were mirrored in cultural life, one of the “details” of the Architect’s creation. One of Lanesborough’s songs, “The Good-natured Friend,” portrays society women as false, self-seeking and brutal, masking jabs at each other as pleasantries and concluding “There’s always a sting at the end, / Of the praise of a good-natur’d Friend!” The women in the song are emotional and vicious, befuddlers of “elderly men” driven to “dyeing their hair” to attract younger women.⁹²

His published story, “A Wife in Abeyance,” is about a bad-tempered woman who “loses” her husband because he is so devoted to hunting, and tries to marry again before he is proven dead. The male protagonist, a lawyer trying to help the putative widow, is held hostage to the machinations of women by his code of honour. He is finally relieved not to have to marry his client because she “*flared-up* [sic] to such a

⁹¹ “Lord Lanesborough and His Tenantry,” *Belfast News-Letter* (Belfast, Ireland), 30 Aug. 1852. George John Danvers Butler Danvers succeeded to title of 5th Earl of Laneseborough 15 Jun. 1847, and died with properties at 8 Great Stanhope Street, London, Belturbet Lodge, Co. Cavan, Ireland, and Swithland Hall, Loughborough, Leicestershire. Edmund Loge, Anne Innes, Eliza Innes, and Maria Innes, eds., *The Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire as at present existing. Arranged and printed from the personal communications of the nobility. Under the gracious patronage of The Queen’s Most Excellent Majesty*, 46th ed. (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1877), p. 341, s.v. “Loge, Edmund.”

⁹² George John Danvers Butler Danvers, 5th Earl of Lanesborough, “The Good-natured Friend!! Song” (London: J. Dean, [1836]).

degree that the lawyer ... had no desire whatever to deprive [her husband] of such an inflammable appendage.”⁹³ Published a year after he married Frederica Hunter, the references to vile temper and a hunting husband smack of an attack on her.

Lanesborough's tale is a fable of gender hierarchy. The gender-based legal and financial advantages men had compared to women are shown to be associated with gender-specific superiority of men's reason, morality, self-control, and good will.

By the time Lady Hunter married him, Lanesborough had expressed his conservative political values in music he published and dedicated to the Conservative party.⁹⁴ As two musical people contemplating marriage, he and Frederica Hunter most likely exchanged their musical compositions. Lady Hunter could not have been unaware that Lanesborough was an elected Conservative peer.⁹⁵

Lady Hunter need not have held the same conservative political and social values of her family and her first husband, although it would have been difficult for her to express or act on real differences, since she was entirely financially dependent upon them. Once she was financially independent, however, her free choice of a passionate arch-Tory for a second husband suggests that she too believed in the merits of social and political conservatism.

Even during her first marriage, Frederica Hunter was interested in party politics, supporting the Conservatives under Sir Robert Peel, in one case with the comment, “In a

⁹³ George John Danvers Butler Danvers, 5th Earl of Lanesborough, “A Wife in Abeyance, A Tale” (London: Henningham & Hollis, [1852]), p. 22.

⁹⁴ George John Danvers Butler Danvers, “Our Queen & Constitution ...,” arr. M. Corri (London: Published for the Author, at the Royal Musical Library, [ca. 1838]).

⁹⁵ For Lanesborough as elected peer, *Dod's Peerage*, p. 342.

political point of view, the glorious termination of our two wars in the East ... will claim for the last few months a bright page in History, and tend to increase the Nation's confidence in Sir R't Peel's energetic administration."⁹⁶ Like party members in the heat of electoral battle, she sniffed at Whig tax policy more than once, for example announcing, "I think that unquestionably it will occasion a great loss to the Revenue and our Whig ministers will have to look out for some new Tax to levy, in order to make up the difficiency [sic]." She read news as well as social circulars in newspapers including *The Times*, and stayed informed about British imperial interests, for example in Afghanistan. For example, she notes, "An account appeared in 'The Times,' of some terrible warfare in India (on the banks of the river Sutlej) against the Sikhs of the Punjaub [sic], in which, although we were victorious over a greatly superior force, yet our loss had been very severe, & a fearful list was given of killed & wounded, both officers & men. The Governor General of India, Sir Henry Hardinge, was second in command of our army, the Commander-in-Chief Sir Hugh Gough being himself present."⁹⁷

On occasion, several adjacent diary entries cite newspapers, perhaps because when Lady Hunter was writing well after the dates she was filling in, she may have summarized newspapers lying before her on the desk. But since she intended her diary to

⁹⁶ FEH Diary, 13 Dec. 1842. Tory politics are mentioned throughout, for example, *Ibid.*, 20, 24 Aug., 3, 7 Sep. 1841; 2 Oct. 1842; 13 Dec. 1845; 17 Feb. 1846.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 24 Feb. 1846.

hold only with significant content, her decision to record national and imperial politics shows that she thought that politics were important and were part of her own life.⁹⁸

Frederica Hunter mixed specific political records with mentions of “music” after large dinner parties, for which lists of attendance are given, as well as social calls.⁹⁹ The Hunters hired the Kirchner dance band, perhaps after hearing them while meeting Sir Robert Peel at his brother’s home in Brighton.¹⁰⁰ Lawrence and Lady Jane Peel often hired Kirchner’s Band for private social events.¹⁰¹ Hunter’s choice of musicians and supplying dance music after a private concert mirrored the conventions of others in her circles. Her family and most of her social connections were politically and socially conservative. Lady Hunter saw herself as an integrated and functioning part of a world in which politics and music were interwoven features of a unified matrix of differences.

A Lady’s Eye at the Kitchen Keyhole

Although Lady Hunter’s privileged social circles are the central focus of her writing, her diaries also record examples of working-class music making and class-crossing musical

⁹⁸ Cf. Buss, “A Feminist Revision,” p. 136.

⁹⁹ E.g., FEH Diary, 8 Feb. 1840, combines reference to a discussion of a party the previous day at which Lady Hunter had played the piano with meeting “in our way thither Mr. James Anderson and Mr. Laurence Peel walking together—the former apparently very angry at Capt. Poulett’s [?] attack upon him in the House of Commons (for a speech Mr. Anderson had made at a Conservative dinner which took place lately at Brighton).”

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 9 Aug. 1841. Probably the same Mr. Kirchner who was organist at St. Peter’s Church, Brighton, and a player in the King’s Band, Brighton, until it was disbanded in 1830 at the death of George IV. Adam Carse, “The Prince Regent’s Band,” *Music & Letters* 27, No. 3 (Jul. 1946): 153-154.

¹⁰¹ Dale, *Fashionable Brighton*, pp. 105-106. Peel was the brother of Sir Robert Peel, and married to Lady Jane Peel.

experience. The Hunters depended on the house labour of servants and the agricultural and trades work of villagers and service-providers. The diary records servants as part of her every-day matrix, and despite real affection between her and her housekeeper, Hunter considers servants to be of another order of humanity.¹⁰² After the wedding festivities of her housekeeper, paid for by Sir Richard Hunter, Lady Hunter records the servants' music-making. "In the evening, our servants had a party to supper, and they danced & had some music, keeping up their festivities till near 3 o'clock in the morn'g—We peeped into the Servants' Hall to see the dancing. The Footman was mounted on the table performing the part of Fiddler."¹⁰³

These benevolent employers did not stop the noisy party, even at three in the morning, but peeped at it, slightly covert, observing socialising in which they did not belong. The violinist is described only in terms of his service function as "Footman" for the Hunters, and there is an echo here of condescending laughter. He is only "performing the part" of a musician. Hunter's implicit premise is that real music with violins required education and was performed professionally or in drawing-rooms, so her Footman could only ape real musicianship. Like anthropologists observing a specimen of primitive culture, the Hunters are presented as having the right to be external observers of the activities of the lower classes, revealing that they usually saw

¹⁰² The affection was reciprocal: three years after Mrs. Hawes, the Hunters' former housekeeper, had married and left their service, she gave Lady Hunter a new lapdog in 1845, to replace a pet that had died. FEH Diary, 15 Jul. 1845. The Hunters visited Hawes socially in London, and Hawes visited the Hunters at Patching for a week. Ibid., 1 Apr. 1844, 6 Oct. 1843. Frederica Hunter's antecedents were modest, and although she successfully rose in rank, she may have been able to relax with Hawes as with few others.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 27 Oct. 1842.

servants in terms of their service functions rather than as human equals. Hunter simultaneously reveals that she understands a difference between authentic identity and performing a role to which one has no intrinsic right.¹⁰⁴

Their servants, by contrast, were frank observers of the Hunters' own music making as a legitimate function of their employment. The Hunters snatching a peek were not "condescending" in order to foster cordial relations, but were looking in like hidden observers of an exotic tribe, ensuring that what they saw was authentic servant culture by hiding their own presence from the partiers. Their servants had to hear the music at their employers' dinners and parties, but could not assume the same posture of audience members as hosts and guests.¹⁰⁵ The servants heard the music of the conservative musical soundscape while they were working, but had no choice about what they listened to. Whether or not they subscribed to the conservatism of the music they heard must be determined by other means (and in a different study). It is the case, however, that the Hunters consciously considered their own leisure choices in part in terms of their moral duty to their servants. They heard a sermon to this end, which "particularly reprobated the conduct of those who gave a bad example to their servants, & employed

¹⁰⁴ Cf. the song sung at Conservative Festivals of the 1830s, "Going Out A Shooting," in which shopkeepers cannot enjoy their attempts to ape the recreations of the upper classes. See Appendix B: Lyrics of Conservative Festival Music.

¹⁰⁵ Canadian historical sociologist Bruce Curtis observes that the option to disregard norms of class difference is usually "only at the choice of the great. To be small and to transgress the barriers separating oneself from the great is most likely to commit an arrogant presumption." Bruce Curtis, "The 'Most Splendid Pageant Ever Seen': Grandeur, the Domestic, and Condescension in Lord Durham's Political Theatre," *Canadian Historical Review* 89, no. 1, (Mar. 2008): 61.

them on the Sabbath, by exercising an untimely hospitality on that day.”¹⁰⁶ On Sundays, the Hunters preferred not to use the carriage and Lady Hunter notes that dining out “is an unusual thing for us to do on a Sunday.”¹⁰⁷

The repertoire of wealthy private drawing-rooms was related to the music of working people in other ways. Music travelled across baize doors as easily as it carried in the open air of military band concerts in public parks. The Hunters heard at least 18 such concerts between 1840 and 1846, in Brighton on the Chain Pier and in London’s Zoological Gardens, for instance, where any passer-by would hear the same music.¹⁰⁸ Lady Hunter does not identify her servants’ experience of music she personally enjoys, but her narrative reveals homes as well as urban settings as public spaces in which a common musical soundscape was under constant negotiation. What made any aspect of musical experience an effective message of conservative hierarchalism was that such content was clearly legible at the time, whether or not listeners or performers agreed with the contents.

¹⁰⁶ FEH Diary, 1 May 1842, London.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 18 Oct. 1840; re dining out Ibid., 11 Dec. 1842, 18 May 1843. When they did dine out on Sundays, it was usually at the invitation of a social superior like the Duke of Norfolk. On most Sundays, guests were either family who “dined quietly,” which may have meant a cold meal, or, in Brighton or Patching, were welcomed because their schedules required arriving on a Sunday for legal or political duties. E.g., Ibid., 21 Feb. 1841: Lord Surrey arrived to be able to attend a Monday meeting about local roads. “Quiet” Sundays were widely observed, e.g., “The anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo! From its happening this year on a Sunday, the Duke of Wellington’s annual Banquet to the Officers present in the action took place the following day.” Ibid., 18 Jun. 1843. The Hunters usually attended church twice on Sundays, or, if ill or facing bad weather, read sermons or had Lady Hunter sing sacred music at home. Sir Richard Hunter is never recorded as hunting on a Sunday between 1 Jan. 1840 and 23 May 1846, the whole extent of the diary.

¹⁰⁸ For example, Ibid., 19 Feb. 1842 (Brighton); 14 Jun. 1845 (London).

Lady Hunter's political and social conservatism was consistent with the web of political and musical activities of her two husbands and family network. Her musical life taught her how best to perform social conservatism. She accurately saw her relative social position and knew precisely which strands of the web she could bend in order to rise socially. She understood perfectly that her blood lines could not change but that through a judicious use of an array of opportunities for action, including music, she could improve her social position, the better to enjoy her life and serve God's purpose in putting her on earth. Through her framing perspective of a hierarchical world, she determined relative value. Better than being a spinster of modest competency circulating through the family residences was being married to a wealthy and kindly man who, though nearly twice her age, had genuine musical interests: she married Sir Richard Hunter and conscientiously adapted to his preferences. She herself saw the lower classes as "the mob" whose clamour for political change blotted out rational debate at election time.¹⁰⁹ Lady Hunter saw her musical choices as a mirror of what she regarded as the truth of interlocking social and aesthetic hierarchies.

Music? A Lady Prefers to Notice Her Musical Companions

Frederica Hunter and her husband Sir Richard Hunter were not born the social equals of aristocrats and landed gentry, but had to construct the public perception of their right to higher status than their birth could claim.¹¹⁰ Lady Hunter was more devoted to music as

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 12 Jul. 1841.

¹¹⁰ Cf. The argument that, because prestige was not wholly determined by rank or wealth, continuous cultural demonstrations, including knowledge of and attendance at musical performances had to be made. See Hall-Witt, *Fashionable Acts*, pp. 16-17.

a social tool than as a purely aesthetic experience. She saw her own musical activity as part of her public identity as a feminine participant in civic life. In her diary, she seldom clearly names the music she herself performed, but invariably names the people with whom and for whom she performed it. Civic life, as Hunter saw it, took place with other people, whether at home or in public locations like village schools, the opera house, or courts of law. Like her diary entries, her musical experiences blended formal politics with a theory of society as naturally hierarchical, a function of God's will, and with a history that demonstrated stable social values and structures.

As an ordinary part of her upbringing, she had clearly been educated to have musical accomplishments, but the variety of her musical activities suggests both tension and desire about her relationship with music. She considered musical participation to be a duty, often describing her own performing as an expected contribution.¹¹¹ In Brighton, for instance, she "went to Fanny's Soirée, and did my part towards amusing her company by playing two duetts [sic] with Cicey. Miss Grant sang, also Eliza Smith and Mr. Price."¹¹² Lady Hunter was one of many who gave musically to facilitate social life.

Throughout her diaries, Hunter is constructing her own public identity as an especially musical person, but she takes care to frame her musicality as appropriately feminine. She identifies some limits of proper femininity, observing of a neighbouring woman who had driven her own carriage herself, "I do not think it has a pleasing or

¹¹¹ Cf. Davidoff, *Best Circles*, pp. 16, 78, 39; Richard Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 29.

¹¹² FEH Diary, 7 Feb. 1840. Eliza Smith was one of the daughters of Horace Smith, whose home was a lively salon of music and intellectuals in Brighton from 1826 to his death. ODNB, s.v. "Smith, Horace;" and Dale, *Fashionable Brighton*, p. 178.

feminine appearance in a Lady, to drive such large carriage horses, however good a coach-woman she may be.”¹¹³ Hunter’s musical choices had to be consistent with her perception of proper femininity, just as her diary reveals her perpetual sensitivity to her own social class.

Hunter’s criteria for inclusion in her diary excluded musical work done when she was alone. She never mentions practising or choosing music or learning it. She must have studied the piano, and she certainly studied the concertina, listing four lessons in ten days with the reigning concertina master, Giulio Regondi.¹¹⁴ She must have spent time practising what she performed, but the only rehearsals she records take place with others. Her essential criterion for music “worthy of record” is that it demonstrated her own part in a matrix of other people.

Musical rehearsal with others was also of course aimed at improving performances, and she consistently notes that she rehearses at least once and usually twice before performing duets with others even for dinners that were not formally

¹¹³ FEH Diary, 8 Sep. 1840. Emphasis in the original.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 17, 19, 23, 26 Dec. 1845. This concerted effort to improve her skills was about a year after having been asked to be prepared to play the concertina at Arundel Castle, Ibid., 23 Jan. 1844, although no concertina performance is mentioned after the lessons. The only other mention of her concertina playing is several years earlier at a family christening. Ibid., 22 Apr. 1841. Neither as Hunter nor under her maiden name, Bishop, does Frederica Hunter appear in the transaction records of concertina-maker, Wheatstone and Co., 1835-1846, but teachers commonly bought instruments to resell to their students. For a good empirical account of amateur women concertina playing of the period, see Allan W. Atlas, “Ladies in the Wheatstone Ledgers: the Gendered Concertina in Victorian England, 1835-1870,” *Research Chronicle, Royal Musical Association* 39 (2006), <<http://www.concertina.com/atlas/ladies/atlas-ladies-in-the-wheatstone-ledgers.pdf>>, (viewed 1 Oct. 2008): 1-234.

organized as private concerts.¹¹⁵ But like all of her other musical activity, rehearsal is recorded as a way in which music took her into her community as an authoritative agent. Within two months of beginning her diary, Hunter records her own musical creation as “my Waltz and Galopp [for piano] that I originally composed for the Fancy Sale here in Nov. [1839] last, at which I held a stall, but I have improved and added to them since.”¹¹⁶ By framing the composition as part of her upper-class charitable responsibilities, Hunter’s diary entry could position her public presentation of herself as an original, creative musical artist but retain her domestic femininity by devoting her creation to charity.¹¹⁷ Intellectually and musically, she cared about the aesthetic quality of this composition enough to revise it. This may have been her only composition, at least in the form of a waltz, since she refers to “my waltz” as if there were no other when she copies it for a musical friend.¹¹⁸ Twenty years later, her only known musical publication, “The Swithland Valse and Galop” for pianoforte, again presented her publicly as a musical intellectual but protected her feminine and upper-class identity by

¹¹⁵ See for example FEH Diary, 22 Jan. 1840 rehearsal, 23 Jan. 1840 performance (accompanying Mr. Parsons playing violin); 23, 30 Apr. 1844 (rehearsals), 1 May 1844 (performance at her aunt’s party).

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 22 Feb. 1840. This may have been the waltz she played for dancing at a Brighton party the next year, see Ibid., 28 Feb. 1841.

¹¹⁷ For analysis of the normative parameters of gender in Victorian musical culture, see for example Kristina Guiguet, *The Ideal World of Mrs. Widder’s Soirée Musicale: Social Identity and Musical Life in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*, Mercury Series Cultural Studies, Paper 77 (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2004); Leppert, *Music and Image*; Nancy B. Reich, “Women as Musicians: A Question of Class” in *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*, ed. Ruth A. Solie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 125-148.

¹¹⁸ FEH Diary, 19 Apr. 1841.

naming the piece after her aristocratic second husband's English house.¹¹⁹ It is a slight piece, with splashy upper octaves making use of the full range of the piano, but not technically demanding.

What can be gleaned of Hunter's performances as a pianist mirrors her compositional work: a very short list of repertoire with modest technical demands. The only solo piano work she names among her personal repertoire is Sigismond Thalberg's piano variations on "Love's a Noddin."¹²⁰ Duets were more frequent, with Bertini's one-piano, four-hand duet on themes from the ballet, "*Lac des fées*," and a harp and piano duet based on the opera *Fra Diavolo, ou L'hôtellerie de Terracine* (*Fra Diavolo, or The Inn of Terracina*) by Daniel-François-Esprit Auber.¹²¹ After a dinner at the home of Philip Salomons, Hunter accompanied him in an unnamed duet for double bass and piano duet by Corelli.¹²² None of this music is difficult, nor is it particularly aesthetically interesting. Corelli, like his student Thalberg, and like Hummel, wrote extensively for

¹¹⁹ Frederica Emma Butler Danvers, Countess of Lanesborough, "Swithland Valse & Galop" (Dublin: Henry Bussell, [c. 1860]). Only one published work by this composer is known but since it is in the same form, waltz and galop, as the work she describes in 1840-1841, it may well have been the same piece.

¹²⁰ FEH Diary, 1 May 1841 (Brighton, at home); 11 May 1844 (London, at sister Louisa Fremantle's dinner).

¹²¹ Bertini: Ibid., Jun., Jul. 1840. Probably the minor composer (Benoît-) Auguste Bertini (1780-1843) who was resident in London from the 1830s to 1843, rather than his half-brother and pupil, Henri(-Jérôme) Bertini (1798-1876), who never lived in London. *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (2nd ed., 2001) (hereafter NGD), s.v. "Bertini, Auguste." Auber: FEH Diary, 22 Dec. 1841; 5, 31 Jan. 1842. All at Brighton, Hunter accompanying Lady Elizabeth Parsons on harp. Auber's *Fra Diavolo, ou L'hôtellerie de Terracine* (*Fra Diavolo, or The Inn of Terracina*) premiered in Paris in 1830. The plot hinges on a clever young woman who unmasks a plot by a then-famous Italian thief known as "Fra Diavolo" ("Brother Devil") to have her marry a rich older man rather than the man she loves. NGD, s.v. "Fra Diavolo."

¹²² FEH Diary, 11 May 1846.

salon performances by amateurs.¹²³ Although Hunter's concertina repertoire is not known, most of the repertoire used by amateurs was similar to most of the piano music Hunter is known to have performed: arrangements of other popular music, much of it originally for the voice.¹²⁴

A little serious chamber music erupted in 1841 and 1842, when Hunter played in at least two trios for piano, violin, and violoncello by Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827), and at least one each by Johann Nepomuk Hummel (1778-1837) and Louis Spohr (1784-1859).¹²⁵ Lady Hunter names none of these individual works, and since both Beethoven and Hummel wrote many piano trios but died well before Hunter played them, chronology gives no further clues about which she played. The Spohr, however, must have been his first piano trio, which the composer himself only saw in published form a month before Hunter's zealous chamber music colleagues played through it with her in London.¹²⁶ Piano trios were a new form for Spohr at this time, so there was no body of critical writing about them to guide Lady Hunter's response. Her comment that "none of us seemed to like it very much" was thus a moment of great aesthetic freedom,

¹²³ NGD, s.v. "Corelli, Arcangelo," "Hummel, Johann Nepomuk," "Thalberg, Sigismond."

¹²⁴ Atlas, "Ladies in the Wheatstone Ledgers," pp. 46-53. Based on one amateur woman player's known repertoire from the 1840s, Atlas suggests that difficult music written originally for the concertina was primarily played by professionals, but that in the 1850s, the concertina was sometimes advertised as an easier and more feminine way of playing chamber music.

¹²⁵ Lady Hunter only played serious chamber music with Algernon Greville, Charles Raper, and General Upton. See Chapter Seven for detailed discussion.

¹²⁶ Louis Spohr, "First grand Trio, for piano-forte, violin & violoncello ... Op. 119" (London: Wessel & Stapleton, [1842?]). My thanks to Clive Brown, violinist and scholarly biographer of Louis Spohr, for the timing of Spohr's own first look at the publication. Clive Brown personal communication with author, 6 Apr. 2008.

but she does not identify her own responsibility for the dislike. Spohr was implicated, but so was Hunter's playing.

Frederica Hunter claims to have been praised for good sight reading, but her narrow repertoire, often repeated, suggests that she conquered what little music she knew well enough for performance only by dint of more solitary practice than she cared for. She may have lacked talent, but she may simply not have valued the long hours of lonely practising that musical performance required. Hunter's criteria for inclusion in her diaries, that something be "worthy of record," excluded her musical work when she was alone. She must have spent time alone choosing music and learning to play it, but she never says so. Music had value enough to record only as part of her role in the criss-crossed webs of personal and social relationships.

She sang badly and she knew it, never choosing to sing on a formal concert programme. She names only one vocal work she knew, a duet from the opera *La Gazza Ladra*.¹²⁷ From 1841 to 1846, Hunter records singing no more than twice a year outside her own home, always informally, usually only at family dinners or when pressed by the much higher-status Duchess of Norfolk when the Hunters were staying at Arundel Castle. Frederica Hunter played the concertina hardly at all, but may have taken it up as a last hope that she herself had enough musical talent to perform for others.¹²⁸ The concertina may have appealed because it was small enough to carry and because so few of her acquaintance performed upon it.¹²⁹ In 1844, she was relieved not to have had to

¹²⁷ FEH Diary, 2, 7 Oct. 1840.

¹²⁸ One performance for family, *Ibid.*, 23 Apr. 1841.

¹²⁹ No mentions of other amateur concertina players occur in the FEH Diary.

play it, since she knew she was “but a poor performer” upon it.¹³⁰ Nearly two years later, the last wheeze of her concertina coughed into silence after another set of her sporadic lessons with “my former master,” Giulio Regondi, the instrument’s most famous proponent.¹³¹ These lessons recur after Hunter’s piano playing also came to an abrupt halt in 1842, suggesting that she was seeking some musical outlet that would be easy enough for her to master, require no rehearsal or performance with others, and, while charming through novelty preclude invidious comparisons with better musicians.¹³² Neither composers nor titles of any concertina works are ever mentioned.

While Hunter recorded no sign of wanting a professional performing career, she did want to perform well enough to elicit praise and enhance shared social occasions. The composers and titles of Lady Hunter’s personal repertoire were not as important to her as the names of the individuals with whom and for whom she performed, and the social and civic settings in which she presented herself as a musical artist. Her diary reflects similar criteria in newspaper accounts of amateur musical socializing in the upper reaches of aristocratic society. One such report said that the “Marquis of Donegall entertained at dinner ... The Marchioness had a *soirée*, at which Lady Elizabeth Parsons, Miss G. Byrne, Miss Fitz Wygram, Miss Hayes, and Miss Verner sang duets.”¹³³ The Hunters did not attend that dinner, but surely read the newspaper account of their own dinner and *soirée musicale* the following month, which was attended by many of the

¹³⁰ Ibid., 24 Jan. 1844.

¹³¹ Ibid., 17 to 26 Dec. 1845, four lessons in two weeks.

¹³² Details of her piano playing and chamber music career are given in Chapter Seven.

¹³³ “London,” *Belfast News-Letter* (Belfast, Ireland), 21 Jan. 1842, gives date as 14 Jan. 1842.

same people: Donegall, Parsons, FitzWygram, and featured Miss Georgiana Byrne singing.¹³⁴

Amateur musicianship was a matter of public record. These public records of private socializing documented membership in the upper ranks of social and political power. To make the contribution of amateur musicianship was a significant, civic act. For those who by birth were not part of the heritable ranks of power, like Sir Richard and Lady Hunter, the ability to contribute fine musicianship could push open the door.¹³⁵ What was important about the music at such events of social consolidation was the performative construction of musicality as a form of intrinsic superiority that qualified those amateurs to associate with each other. What music was performed and who wrote it was by no means as critical as who made it and who heard it and where.

Class Codings of Musical Life

Lady Hunter constructs her diary as an archive, recording her musical life in an organized, thoughtful way, often identifying musical firsts, whether of her own experience or of the musical scene she observed. As her writing skill develops over time, her entries become concise briefing notes that could trigger enough information to arm her for any ordinary social conversation. She captures characteristic features that situate each musical event in hierarchies of social status and aesthetic merit, working from broad to narrow detail, and often includes a juicy detail that would demonstrate her

¹³⁴ For Hunter musicale attended by Donegalls, Parsons, Byrne, FitzWygram, see FEH Diary, 14 Feb. 1842, and the report in "Fashionable Parties," *Brighton Gazette*, 17 Feb. 1842, p. 2. My thanks to Jane Glasson for finding this reference.

¹³⁵ Cf. Davidoff, *Best Circles*, pp. 76-77.

intimate knowledge of musical and social nuance. For instance, she notes attending “at the Hanover Square Rooms ... the first of a series of vocal concerts, to which Sir R was a subscriber, & which were under the direction of the Misses Birch & Hawes, & Messrs Hobb[e]s & Phillips. Of the performances, I particularly admired Knyvett’s Glee of ‘The Midges’ dance.’”¹³⁶ She gives specific memory triggers: her husband’s civic role in supporting the series, the name of the public concert venue, the names of singers. She finishes this admirably concise briefing note with a single, concrete example that gave her the name of an English composer, William Knyvett, stated the main genre of music for the concert, glees, and a real title that captured the irritating triviality of many glees: “The Midges’ Dance.” Hunter’s entry could prime the pump of a charming conversation with a glees lover or, to establish common cause with a lover of serious music, with a single humorous inflection as she uttered the glee title, an unmistakable but irreproachable dismissal of an entire genre.

Her view of glees and glee concerts, of such interest to her husband, is carefully appreciative of the social value of the music of the annual ladies’ concert by the NGCC, where, on each occasion, her diary entries are notably similar. Never, however, in any of her own repertoire or on any of her own private concert programmes, is a glee to be found. Some women of Hunter’s acquaintance did perform and programme glees in this period, but for Frederica Hunter, glees as a genre were associated with her husband’s musical preferences and with his social musical identity as a member of the NGCC.

¹³⁶ FEH Diary, 28 Apr. 1846.

Hunter uses individual names to refer to individuals and also to the subgroups of her society to which named individuals belonged.¹³⁷ Not all professional musicians were of equal aesthetic or social status. The names of professional musicians were wrapped in their class and the kind of music and musical publics in which they participated. The names of Knyvett and Birch situated the whole concert series as the work of English singers who were considered by Lady Hunter and many others to be second in capacity and musical value to their Italian counterparts in opera.¹³⁸ As the damning praise of one music critic put it, “I like to hear the Misses Rainforth, Birch, and Dolby, very well—occasionally, and in a certain school of music, but my ears are too cultivated to remain satisfied with them ... to the exclusion of others so much their superiors, whose only fault seems to be their foreign birth.”¹³⁹ These women were associated in their turn with male English musicians known for singing church music, notably at the Chapel Royal, and glees.¹⁴⁰ Sir Richard Hunter knew them as honorary members of the NGCC, and

¹³⁷ Bunkers and Huff, “Introduction,” in *Inscribing the Daily*, eds. Bunkers and Huff, p. 20, noting that “special phraseology” encodes meaning, particularly when, as in Lady Hunter’s case, the diary functions as a repository of the value and meaning of the writer’s own life in contributing to her society.

¹³⁸ Deborah Rohr, *The careers of British musicians, 1750-1850: a profession of artisans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 106-107.

¹³⁹ *Musical Examiner*, 11 Feb. 1843, p. 101, cited in Rohr, *Careers*, p. 112.

¹⁴⁰ For a good discussion of music and musicians in the royal household, see Michael J. Budds, “Music at the Court of Queen Victoria: A Study of Music in the Life of the Queen and her Participation in the Musical life of her Time” (Ph.D. diss., Music, University of Iowa, 1987), pp. 656-827. English musicians also gave concerts outside of London in the off-season, and Sir Richard Hunter may well have heard NGCC singers like Knyvett, Hawes, Phillips at, e.g., their 1828 sacred and secular concert festival in Brighton. “Brighton and Its Music,” *Musical Times* 50, no. 792 (1 Feb. 1909): 100-102.

other Conservative party members engaged them to sing songs and glees at party promotional events.¹⁴¹

English singers earned less, did not sing opera, and were not often hired for high society's private concerts, but made their livings with a diverse array of work that included oratorio and concert work.¹⁴² Lady Hunter dismisses the concert of Mr. Terrail, a professional English glee singer from the NGCC, by conflating class with musical genre and social value. Each of the names represents a distinct social tier in the entry. "Went to Mr. Terrail's Concert, Sir R having taken tickets of him, he being one of the honorary members of the Catch Club. It was very stupid. We went to one of a far superior kind in the evening at Mr. Tudor's, where we heard Grisi, Mario, &c."¹⁴³

An "honorary member" of the NGCC was a working musician of a lower social class than any regular member, acceptable when governed musically by his superiors in the choice of repertoire at the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, perhaps, but "very stupid" about choosing and producing his own material. Mr. Tudor was a regular, or voting, member of the NGCC, and a gentleman, rather than a working musician.¹⁴⁴ The private concert he produced at home featured the foreign-born singers referred to by the music critic, Italian opera stars Giulietta Grisi and Mario, undoubtedly singing a completely different repertoire: foreign language opera with occasional songs and exquisite instrumental obligatos by the most accomplished instrumentalists in town.

¹⁴¹ See Appendix C: Catch Club Professional Members.

¹⁴² Rohr, *Careers*, pp. 105-108.

¹⁴³ FEH Diary, 28 Jun. 1844.

¹⁴⁴ For NGCC distinctions, see Chapter Five.

When attached to “Grisi, Mario,” Hunter’s placeholder “&c” meant a whole phalanx of professional singers performing excerpts of Italian opera.¹⁴⁵

Did Mr. Terrail err by including a vulgar, commercial song, or was his voice as a soloist not attractive, or was he too uncultivated to present the Italian operatic repertoire so beloved of Lady Hunter and other fashionable music lovers? Lady Hunter’s assessment of his concert wrapped social and musical hierarchy into an organic matrix. Superior social class and superior music were linked. Even the foreign musicians were at their best when governed by their aristocratic employers. The two singers’ names she records, Grisi and Mario, were among the most prominent in opera in Europe at the time, but their names together at a private concert represent a raft of other musicians and a certain kind of repertoire organized into a certain kind of programme, all of which she subsumes under “&c.” Lady Hunter did not define the quality of the Tudor concert because of Grisi or Mario as individual singers. The phrase is a coded unit which cannot be usefully considered except as a whole: “Grisi, Mario &c.” Lady Hunter’s musical world was fully integrated into her conceptual map of what mattered in life: dynamic relationships with individuals who represented broader civic meanings.

Before important social occasions, Lady Hunter could refresh her memory about the musical interests of guests she expected to meet. For example, at one dinner, she was escorted to the table by Lord Burghersh, a musical expert who in 1822 had founded the Royal Academy of Music in London, and she notes that “we had a good deal of

¹⁴⁵ These artists and their relationship with the Hunters are discussed in Chapter Six.

conversation about music, Ancient Concerts &c.”¹⁴⁶ She had made sure to be acquainted with the Ancient Concerts the year before, attending with her brother when her husband declined. Sir Richard Hunter could opt out of music he did not like because he brought to his public identity his medical skills, his title, his long association with aristocratic clients, and fabulous wealth. Lady Hunter had assessed the musical terrain and ensured she was fully equipped to campaign for her own reputation as a knowledgeable music lover upon it.¹⁴⁷

Frederica Hunter had no title of her own, no comparable wealth or skills. Occasional dust from her family at court sparkled about her. At a dinner at Arundel Castle, “H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge ... kindly addressed me across the table, asking where my uncle Fremantle was, & remarking that he was a wonderful man; which led to a disquisition on his age. He afterwards made some mention of my sister Lady Kirkland, & said that he remembered my Father very well which made him feel very old—I did not tell him that he had been dead upwards of 28 years)—All this much gratified me.”¹⁴⁸ Even married to a Knight, what Frederica Hunter brought to the table of high society were skimpy, fading family connections to royal service, and her claim that she, herself, as distinct from her husband, was especially musical.

Sir Richard’s life was drawing to a close between 1846, when the diary stops. He died in London, perhaps having gone once more to consult London rather than Brighton

¹⁴⁶ FEH Diary, 15 Apr. 1841.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 8, 29 Apr. 1840.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 23 Jan. 1844.

doctors, about his terrifying “bilious enemy.”¹⁴⁹ Little more is known of Lady Hunter’s musical life with him after 1846. They occasionally attended the opera when Royalty was present, and Sir Richard sang with the NGCC until 1847. Of music during her marriage to the 5th Earl of Lanesborough, only her solitary music publication of 1862 is known. Musical life and musical meaning were shaped by the opportunities and obstacles of daily life. Money, health, family events like death and marriages, the perpetual gender-based imbalance of power, and her finely-calibrated class status all structured much of Lady Hunter’s musical life. She seems to have liked music, and applied her considerable intellectual capacity to organizing and remembering it, but she was no artist. Lady Hunter used music as one of God’s natural resources to construct an ever-higher position in the social hierarchy which she believed to be natural, historic, and good because it was created by God.

The journal was organized as an *aide-mémoire* to which she could refer as a kind of briefing note, in case she forgot the meanings she had constructed with and for music. She was far from alone in using music as an important mode of integrating and expanding personal relationships. Her cousin (and the first wife of the 5th Earl of Lanesborough), Arabella Fremantle, once established common ground with a new acquaintance by noting that they both knew a highly musical family, prompting the remark “How oddly these little ‘feltings’ of society go on in this way, working into one

¹⁴⁹ Sir Richard made such a trip during 6-23 Oct. 1845, summoning family from as far away as the Isle of Wight, and visiting his solicitor, apparently afraid he was dying.

another little fibres of connection so strangely!”¹⁵⁰ Lady Hunter’s musical life was a busy social machine, weaving and felting her relationships as she and her first husband, Sir Richard Hunter, pooled their mites of social power: money, musical activity, and cumulative status. Frederica Hunter wove a soft ladder from her music, her first husband’s intermediate title and the money from his first wife, Rebecca Ann Dulany Hunter, of the American South, and shimmied up it to the glittering heights of aristocratic power when she married her Earl. Thus did Frederica Bishop’s rise unite an Earl of the British realm with the blood money of American slavery.

Music was a significant mode through which Lady Hunter negotiated her changing place in a conservative social matrix. She saw her world as inclusive of servants, of the families to whom she was related by blood and marriage, and of her changing relationships with those who were of higher, heritable social status than she. She combined her pragmatic need for a semi-independent public identity as a musical lady with her sense that her religious duty was to make the most of her life and rise as high as she could in the social architecture of cooperative differences created as Nature by God.

Lady Hunter’s diary takes the history of music as a mode of power relationships from her domestic vantage point to the very public world of formal politics. Just as she used music to participate in civic life in the 1840s, so did the politicians who were resurrecting the Conservative party from the seismic changes of the 1832 *Reform Act*.

¹⁵⁰ Maria Edgeworth to Mrs. Edgeworth, Edgeworthstown, 29 Jan. 1835, in *The Life and Letters of Maria Edgeworth*, vol. 2, (Project Gutenberg Ebook, Maria Edgeworth series no. 8), <<http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/etext05/8edg210.txt>>, (viewed 10 Mar. 2007).

Before he married Frederica Hunter, George John Butler Danvers Butler, later 5th Earl of Lanesborough, supported the Conservative party in its time of need by writing a song.

CHAPTER THREE:

MUSIC AT CONSERVATIVE FESTIVALS

Music was a form of active negotiation of power in formal politics that overlapped with Lady Hunter's private musical leisure in Britain, as the phenomenon of the Conservative Festivals suggests. The Festivals were meaty, alcoholic dinners staged by the Conservative party between 1835 and 1841 as part of its struggle to regain Parliamentary power in the wake of the 1832 *Reform Act*.¹ Hundreds, sometimes thousands, attended, and the events were reported in vivid sensual detail in the local and national press. The Festivals brimmed over with music, including the song, "Our Queen and Constitution," especially written for the 1838 Loughborough Festival by the man who was to become Lady Hunter's second husband. By the time the Festivals ended, at least 55 musical works had been used.² All were chosen to support the central themes of political Conservatism of the time: hierarchalism, the view that different types of human beings, marked by heritable features of class and gender ought to have correspondingly different degrees of personal autonomy and political power. In the face of 1830s Reform, the Conservative party sought to woo the electorate in part through the music of the

¹ Full sources are given for all known Conservative Festivals in Appendix A: Conservative Festivals Chronology (hereafter Appendix A: CF Chronology), organized chronologically, with all known details of music performed. Text and citations do not repeat sources, and refer to each Conservative Festival (hereafter CF) by date and location only, e.g., CF 1836 Hull.

² Full lyrics known, full sources, and themes for all of the Conservative Festivals music collected are given in Appendix B: Lyrics of Conservative Festival Music (hereafter Appendix B: CF Music), organized alphabetically by title. Text and footnotes do not repeat sources.

Conservative Festivals that constructed the impression that hierarchalism was natural, divinely ordained, historic, and good.

Why was music used at all? Why was specific music chosen? What did the music of these political party festivals do that could be done no other way? Music performed the two critical functions of the Conservative Festivals. It made hierarchies based on heritable merit appear to be natural and good, and it helped to multiply the impact of individual Festivals through press reports. The excellent programmers of Conservative Festival music worked the magical transformation of ideas about hierarchy into apparently timeless and desirable realities by choosing familiar, singable, memorable music from the soundscape of daily life, sometimes left unchanged, sometimes expanded with new tunes or new words, but always overlaid with the conviction that emotional fellowship and material abundance were characteristic of political Conservatism. After being performed and widely reported in the press, the music was sent back to daily life as a perpetual humming repetition that Conservative hierarchalism was moral, historic, and natural.

Whether the same ideological considerations were at play in private, public, amateur, and professional sites of musical recreation throughout the musical soundscape is the subject of the following chapters. This chapter addresses the majority of the known Conservative Festivals, the 41 produced by upper-class and wealthy men.³ It

³ Women organized only one, CF 1841 Nottingham; working-class or “operative” Conservatives organized CF 1838 West Bromwich (2), CF 1838 Leeds, CF 1838 Manchester, CF 1838 Salford, CF 1839 Hull. Hereafter, all references to Conservative Festivals are to the cluster for which the evidence is presented in this chapter and summarized, with full source citations, in Appendix A: CF Chronology. Others probably

unpicks the content of the Conservative Festivals music and lyrics, and shows how music could be used to serve political and ideological purposes. After outlining the evidence for the Festivals and the importance of the Festivals to cultural history, a brief description of the cultural roots of such political conviviality is followed by a discussion of how the music and lyrics matched and layered the thematic content of the speeches. Music of disparate aesthetics worked literally and metaphorically to embody the conceptual framework of political conservatism expressed in the toast speeches.

Most of the evidence for the Conservative Festivals is drawn from newspaper reports in *The Times* of London. Between 1785 and 1900, only 48 appear, strikingly limited to the years between 1835 and 1841, the precise period of the renovation of the Conservative party.⁴ The press was by 1830 an established medium for nation-wide dissemination of musical as well as political information, and was essential for the success of the Conservative Festivals and their related Associations after 1835.⁵ In 1834, when *The Times* of London opted to support conservatism rather than reform, the Conservative party gained “an ally, whose skill in the manipulation of opinion was

occurred, but they are presumed to have been so similar in purpose, form, participants, and music that any variations are unlikely to affect the conclusions based on this sample of the most widely bruited Conservative Festivals.

⁴ The very last one occurred in 1842, but was so different from all the others between 1835 and 1841 that it is not included in this discussion of the phenomenon. For detail, see Appendix A: CF Chronology, s.v. “1842.”

⁵ Christina Bashford, “Public Chamber-Music Concerts in London, 1835-50: Aspects of History, Repertory and Reception,” (D. Phil. diss, University of London, King’s College, 1996), I, pp. 43-44; Matthew Cragoe, “The Great Reform Act and the Modernization of British Politics: The Impact of Conservative Associations, 1835-1841,” *Journal of British Studies* 47 (Jul. 2008): 597; Marc Baer, “Political Dinners in Whig, Radical and Tory Westminster, 1780-1880,” *Parliamentary History* 24 (Supplement 2005): 183.

unmatched.”⁶ *The Times* was an important site of national political discourse because, as Whig party historian Anthony Hay has shown, it “disseminated political discussion” among a large and expanding readership that “far exceeded the copies sold” through cooperative libraries and informal public gathering spots like taverns and coffee houses.⁷ Although *Times* reporters wrote many of the Conservative Festival reports, seven were probably written by regional journalists, since they were first published in regional papers.⁸ *The Times* articles are credible descriptions of the Conservative Festivals because the content and atmosphere they report is consistent for many Festivals over a wide geographic range, published in a variety of periodicals as well as *The Times*, and penned by different, albeit probably all Conservative, journalists.

A few other sources corroborate the press reports and show three more Festivals. Printed pamphlets and two programmes identify CF 1835 Canterbury and CF 1841 Shropshire, the Lanesborough song is the solitary trace of CF 1838 Loughborough, and there was a pamphlet for CF 1841 London. It is not always clear whether a politician or a journalist wrote a report. The structure of the pamphlets and newspaper reports is so similar that both kinds of documents could have been written by the same hand. A notable example is Conservative Member of Parliament (hereafter MP) Stephen Lushington’s 1835 pamphlet describing Canterbury events which closely resembles in

⁶ Gilbert A. Cahill, “Irish Catholicism and English Toryism,” *Review of Politics* 19, no. 1 (Jan. 1957): 67.

⁷ William Anthony Hay, *The Whig Revival, 1808-1830* (Houndsmill: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), p. 44.

⁸ *Times* (London) reprinted regional reports for CF 1836 Poole, CF 1836 Hull, CF 1836 Newry, CF 1836 Belfast, CF 1839 Sodbury (“from a correspondent”), CF 1839 Carlow and CF 1840 Oxford. Appendix B: CF Music citations state these regional first imprints and occasionally that a *Times* reporter was the author.

diction and in sequence of toasts and music most of the newspaper reports. On the other hand, local newspaper printers sometimes produced pamphlets based on newspaper articles, as was the case for the “Report of the proceedings at the meeting of the Bolton Operative Conservative Association.” The report was printed by the newspaper office, so a journalist may have written it.⁹ Some journalists were Conservatives: the publisher of *The Times*, John Walter, was a Conservative candidate in 1841.¹⁰ But the central direction of the party, Sir Robert Peel and Sir Thomas Fremantle (uncle of Lady Hunter), had a firm policy of refusing formal or financial support of newspapers, so the conservatism of *The Times* was probably not the result of collusion but of political principle.¹¹

People of the time rarely recorded in so many words that they understood their musical life to carry political or social meanings. The critical importance of the Conservative Festivals to cultural history is that, by combining music with speeches explaining political theory, they provide a lexicon of ideological meanings in music and musical practices. The lexicon can be usefully applied to the study of musical leisure outside party politics for two reasons. Much of the Festivals music was chosen because it was popular in ordinary recreational use, and the legibility of the non-musical

⁹ “Report of the proceedings at the meeting of the Bolton Operative Conservative Association held in the Little Bolton Town Hall, June 1st, 1836, extracted from the *Bolton Chronicle*, of June 4th” (Bolton: J. Heaton and Sons, Chronicle Office, [1836]). Lancashire Record Office, DDPR 51.

¹⁰ John Walter was recommended as the 1841 Nottingham Conservative candidate by Sir Francis Bonham. Norman Gash, “F.R. Bonham: Conservative ‘Political Secretary’, 1832-47,” *English Historical Review* 63, no. 249 (Oct. 1948): 514.

¹¹ Correspondence between Fremantle and Peel, among others, confirms this for 1840. Robert Stewart, “The Conservative Party and the ‘Courier’ Newspaper, 1840,” *English Historical Review* 91, no. 359 (Apr. 1976): 346-350.

meanings in the political arena depended on those meanings already being obvious themes in the prevailing culture. Conversely, the use of music from ordinary daily life shows that neither music nor politics was discrete from personal and social life. Music could speak conservative hierarchalism anywhere.

Formal political activity overlapped with private leisure, so political organizers and politicians were as likely to know the common musical repertoire as any voter. Beyond the still elastic boundaries of the Conservative party, where all supporters were by their own definition social as well as political conservatives, many Whig and Reform supporters were also social conservatives who held similar views about hierarchies of class and gender. Political thinkers of every stripe shared the same cultural environment, in which, since the seventeenth century, hierarchalism had been a normative cultural construct.¹² In the 1830s, most Whig government ministers supported key planks of social conservatism, like the continued power of the unelected House of Lords.

Music for the Conservative Festivals was chosen so carefully that all of it supported one or more of the key arguments of Conservatism: the naturalness, benevolence and benefits of hierarchalism. While much of the reasoning assumed or referred to the continuum of human hierarchies in personal and political life, the instrumental purpose of the Conservative Festivals was to gain and keep a Parliamentary

¹² Cf. Julia Rudolph, *Revolution by Degrees: James Tyrrell and Whig Political Thought in the Late Seventeenth Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 13, 29.

majority. To win long-term electoral support, the Conservative Festivals aimed to attract non-voters as well as voters by creating a culture of Conservatism.¹³

The key assertion of their political opponents, Reform, was that those who governed should be accountable to the people who elected Parliament.¹⁴ Conservatives, by contrast, insisted that the unelected members of the House of Lords who could—and did—overturn the decisions of the elected Parliament, were accountable only to God and to their individual consciences.¹⁵ Principled Conservatism was rooted in religious faith, often expressed as maintaining the established Anglican Church as part of government. For example, Rev. Joseph Coltman, at CF 1836 Hull, expressed dismay that Reform was “talking of turning the Bishops out of the House of Lords.”¹⁶

¹³ Many new Conservative Associations were created to build grassroots support among voters and the unenfranchised between 1835, after the Conservative 100 Days Ministry, and 1841, when Conservatives regained control of Parliament. Cragoe, “The Great Reform Act,” pp. 581-603.

¹⁴ Reform is contrasted here with the Conservative party of the 1830s, but for the complexities and contested political historiography of Reform, see Miles Taylor, “British Politics in the Age of Revolution and Reform, 1789-1867,” *Historical Journal* 45, no. 3 (Sep. 2002): 661-677. For Reformers as a mixed alliance with internal disagreement over the terms and degrees of such accountability, see Peter Mandler, *Aristocratic Government in the Age of Reform: Whigs and Liberals, 1830-1852* (New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press, 1990).

¹⁵ For a history of faith as central to conservatism between 1830 and 1850, including the idea that intervening in social structure was futile and impious, see Peter Mandler, “Tories and Paupers: Christian Political Economy and the Making of the New Poor Law,” *Historical Journal* 33, no. 1 (Mar. 1990): 81-103.

¹⁶ Many Reformers supported the Church, but Conservatives attacked the Whig alliance with Irish Catholic Reformers as a threat to the Church as part of governance. For political exigencies driving both Conservatives and Reform to contribute to the progress of religious tolerance (e.g., to preserve Union with predominantly Catholic Ireland), see G.I.T. Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain 1832 to 1868* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), p. 31.

Heritable (and thus fixed) class-based differences in capacities and correspondingly different degrees of personal and political power were the gritty crux of wooing the new electorate without alienating traditional Tories. The most urgent political aim of the Conservative Festivals was to attract the newly-enfranchised voters of urban and rural working classes to the Conservative party.¹⁷ At CF 1837 [Royal] Tunbridge Wells, for instance, “in an outer room ... a number of agriculturalists were seated and entered fully into the spirit of the scene.” At CF 1836 Hull, the aristocratic chairman, Lord Hotham, announced that

We see seated among us not only the large landed proprietor and the owner of small property, but the possessor of equal integrity and independence ... the landlord and the farmer; ... the merchant, the banker, the large trader, the shopkeeper—in short, there is no class, I believe, in the community, which is not represented in this place. (Cheers.) ... all equally desirous to ... avail themselves of an opportunity which belongs to every Englishman, of expressing themselves freely and openly with reference to the manner in which the affairs of the country are conducted.

Lord Wharncliffe explained to the working men, or “operatives,” who had organized the 1838 Leeds Operative Conservative Festival that the Lords had the duty to resist “the march of democracy” and to act “independent of the voice of the people ... so they could check it.” Such sparkling reasoning would not suffice to persuade all of the new electorate of the morality and benefits of Conservatism. Festival organizers used music

¹⁷ Cragoe, “The Great Reform Act,” p. 590.

to blend reasoned proofs and delicious benefits while arousing emotional commitment to the central theme of benevolent hierarchy.

Conservative Festivals: Cultural Roots

The Conservative Festivals were a short-lived phenomenon, produced between 1835 and 1841, usually by the propertied aristocrats and gentry men who represented the agricultural interest. They were part of the concerted campaign by the Conservative party to rebuild a culture of Conservatism by developing regional party Associations and activities, and were attended by between 130 (CF 1841 Stratford) and 3000 (CF 1841 Chelmsford) diners. The Festivals' format of civic conviviality was a strategic adaptation of long-standing civic ceremonial practices familiar to both urban and rural dwellers.¹⁸ In form, content, scheduling, and purpose, they closely resembled the tradition of urban and rural political dinners of the late seventeenth century, as well as those held by Whigs and Tories between 1820 and 1840, and the residual city feasts that lingered on into the twentieth century.¹⁹ Such civic dinners paid for by local nobility or gentry, eaten by men in halls decked with flags and greenery, preceded by parades, and

¹⁸ For Peterloo as a misunderstood rural festival, see Robert Poole, "The March to Peterloo: Politics and Festivity in Late Georgian England," *Past and Present* 192 (Aug. 2006): 109-153.

¹⁹ My warm thanks to Newton E. Key for his helpful discussion. See Key, "The Political Culture and Political Rhetoric of County Feasts and Feast Sermons, 1654-1714," *Journal of British Studies* 33, no. 3 (Jul. 1994): 223-256; Peter Brett, "Political Dinners in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain: Platform, Meeting Place and Battleground," *History* 81 (1996): 527-552; David Cannadine, "The Transformation of Civic Ritual in Modern Britain: The Colchester Oyster Feast," *Past and Present* 94 (Feb. 1982): 107-130. For similar format for a non-political party festival, see Alex Tyrrell, "Paternalism, Public Memory and National Identity in Early Victorian Scotland: The Robert Burns Festival at Ayr in 1844," *History* 90, no. 1 (2005): 42-61.

followed by grace, toast speeches in a conventional sequence, from most powerful subject—the Monarch—to least—local electors or women. Music, some of which might flatter women, was part of this characteristic British cultural activity that built community, promulgated ideas and values, and fostered, above all, intense emotional experience of fellowship. Women were often allowed to observe, seated apart from the men, but did not usually dine or speak. Through their silent witness, women stamped approval for the gendered distinctions represented in the masculine rituals and learned the ideas and music they could then disseminate in their own circles.²⁰

Rural traditions varied locally, but for example, near Liverpool, Northumberland shoemakers celebrated St. Crispin's Day on October 25 by dining at a tavern, then processing "with banners, music" and reassembling in the evening for "other festivities."²¹ The 1838 Liverpool Conservative Festival was held on 18 October, scheduled, perhaps, to avoid direct competition with an established community celebration it so closely resembled. Conservative Festival scheduling observed seasonal rhythms. March and April, a high season for agricultural labour, were largely avoided by schedulers of Conservative Festivals (see Table 1). Urban "operatives" held three in April, 1838, when Loughborough also held one that was probably organized by elite men; the only March Conservative Festival was held in the town of Carlow, Ireland. Most Festivals were held between August and January, when harvests were in and

²⁰ Brett, "Political Dinners in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain," p. 530; Baer, "Political Dinners 1780-1880," p. 202.

²¹ T.F. Thiselton-Dyer, *British Popular Customs, Present and Past; Illustrating the Social and Domestic Manners of the People: Arranged according to the calendar of the year* (1875; New York: AMS Press, 1970), pp. 388-389.

planting had not yet begun. The urban dinners were not much different from the rural harvest-homes that served as agricultural and church events, a sign, perhaps, that urban and rural cultural differences were not fully polarised.

Table 1: Place, Season of Conservative Festivals

YEAR	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
1835							X					
1836								X	X		X	X,X, X
1837					X	XL				X,X, X	X,X	
1838	O	X		O,O, O, X	XL			O(?),X		X	X	
1839	X,XL		X					X,O	X,X		X	X
1840		XL					X,X					
1841	X,X							X,X, X,X	X	X, X W	X	
Total	5	2	1	4	2	1	3	9	4	7	6	4
London Totals	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0

Legend

- O Operative Conservative Festival: organized by working-class men
- X Conservative Festival: organized by non-working-class men
- W Women-organized Conservative Festival
- L London location

Conservative Festivals were held primarily in new electoral areas where the Conservative vote was least secure, like the industrial towns of Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield, Bury, Oldham, Rochdale, Salford, South Shields and Wolverhampton.²² Most Conservative Festivals took place outside of London (see Figure 3).²³

²² Norman Gash, *Reaction and Reconstruction in English Politics 1832-1852: The Ford Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford in the Hilary Term 1964* (Oxford:

The traditional economic base in agriculture in Conservative Festival locations in the North West (Salford, Warrington, Manchester, Liverpool), Yorkshire (Hull, Leeds, Wakefield), and Midlands (Shrewsbury, Stone, Wolverhampton, West Bromwich, Stratford, Nottingham, Loughborough, Northampton, Sleaford), was changing from agriculture to industry, and many urban workers in the 1830s had migrated in from adjacent rural communities.²⁴ The bigger provincial towns like Birmingham were still small communities, making a convivial feast for the hundreds of people who attended these Conservative Festivals an important cultural event for most local people, even if they did not personally attend. Among Conservative electoral areas like Hull, Leeds, and Liverpool, there were working men who supported the Conservative party and took part in the Festivals.²⁵ These areas held key new publics to be won by the Conservative party.

“Festival” must have signified some key difference from the civic dinners of which they were a subset. Political Conservatives continued to hold events they called dinners during these years, too, so the political organizers who spent months carefully

Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 135; for Sheffield, Matthew Roberts, “Popular Conservatism in Britain, 1832-1914,” *Parliamentary History* 26, pt. 3 (2007): 389.

²³ Conservative Festivals locations were: London 4, Southeast (not London) 14, Midlands East and West 9, North (North West and Yorkshire) 9, far North 2, Ireland 5. With repeated festivals in four locations, the total is 48.

²⁴ Sidney Webb and Beatrice Webb, *The Development of English Local Government, 1689-1835*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), pp. 71-72; R.I. Woods, “The population of Britain in the nineteenth century,” in *British Population History from the Black Death to the Present Day*, ed. Michael Anderson (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1996), pp. 299, 301-311.

²⁵ For these areas as Conservative, see Roberts, “Popular Conservatism,” p. 389.

Fig. 3. Map of British Conservative Festivals, 1835-1841, by Christine Homuth

planning and advertising “festivals” were identifying some difference with the title.²⁶

One possibility is that, in 1834, the lively memory of violent political unrest prompted King William IV to criticize “giving grand dinners, which are a sort of political assembly at which topics are introduced, which necessarily lead to ... recrimination when parties are split as at present.”²⁷ Perhaps the use of the term “festivals” was adopted in 1835 by Conservatives who wanted to hold political dinners but did not want to antagonize the monarch.

Or Conservatives may have learned the word “festival” from their political rivals, the Whigs and Reformers who held eight Reform Festivals in 1832 to celebrate the passing of the *Reform Act*.²⁸ The Reform Festivals were far fewer and less musical, but the 48 Conservative Festivals, all of which took place after those of their rivals, used the same, traditional feast format.

Reform Festival toasts expressed social conservatism by trying to contain popular demand for more political power, and crediting the aristocracy for leadership in Reform. The premise was that the system was self-correcting because of the natural

²⁶ For volunteer stewards spending two months to prepare, see CF 1841 Chelmsford.

²⁷ Brett, “Political Dinners in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain,” pp. 528, 540.

²⁸ Only eight Reform Festivals were found, using the same parameters and sources as for Conservative Festivals (*Times* (London), the online catalogue of British archival holdings <<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/a2a/about.aspx>>, and secondary scholarship): “Bungay Reform Festival. (Letter to the Editor),” *Times* (London), 2 Jul. 1832, p. 3; “Guildhall Reform Festival,” *Times* (London), 12 Jul. 1832, p. 5; “Festival in Commemoration Of Reform-Dorking, Surrey,” *Times* (London), 26 Jul. 1832, p. 3; “Fulham Reform Festival,” *Times* (London), 3 Aug. 1832, p. 3; “Bridport Reform Festival,” *Times* (London), 13 Aug. 1832, p. 5; “Reform Festival. Farringdon Without,” *Times* (London), 30 Aug. 1832, p. 3; “Ward of Bishopsgate within Reform Festival,” *Times* (London), 28 Sep. 1832, p. 3; “Lincoln Reform Festival, (Abridged from *Drakard's Stamford News*),” *Times* (London), 17 Nov. 1832, p. 1.

capacities of those who held unelected political power. The Duke of Sussex, for instance, described Reform as having been “nobly conducted to its successful termination” and emphasized the legitimacy of unelected governance by describing the nobility as “all that is talented, all that is wealthy” in the Kingdom. He warned that “we should use [Reform] with that temper and moderation which would prevent us from losing it.”²⁹ Social conservatism was thus alive among the Whigs and Reformers. The ways in which music naturalized social hierarchies did not depend on the political party that used it. The Conservative Festivals’ use of music shows the links between music and conservative hierarchalism with great clarity, because, compared with the Whigs and Reformers, the Conservative party faithful defined Conservatism more bluntly and used much more music.

Reports of Reform Festivals named only three musical works.³⁰ Two, “God Save the King” and “Non nobis, Domine,” were common to Conservative Festivals. The third was the obscure glee, “Goddess of Freedom from on High Behold Us,” which may have been adapted from the better-known, “Glorious Apollo, from on High Behold Us,” since both titles have the same rhythm.³¹ The obvious reference of “Goddess of Freedom” was

²⁹ “Guildhall Reform Festival,” *Times* (London), 12 Jul. 1832, *op. cit.*

³⁰ All three pieces named in “Reform Festival Farringdon Without,” *Times* (London), 30 Aug. 1832, *op. cit.* and “Guildhall Reform Festival,” *Times* (London), 12 Jul. 1832, *op. cit.*

³¹ Samuel Webbe (Sr.), “Glorious Apollo,” in *Noblemen and Gentlemen’s Catch Club: Three Essays towards its History*, Viscount Gladstone, Guy Boas, and Harald Christopherson (London: Cypher Press, 1996), <<http://www.cypherpress.com/books/catchclub/catchclub.pdf>>, (viewed 23 May 2007). “Goddess of Freedom” was not found, but such topical adaptation was common, e.g., a Handel tune adapted in “Liddell, Northumbria’s choice. Liddell triumphant. A new song composed for, and sung at, the public dinner given to the Hon. H.T. Liddell, M.P. on

to freedom for the people. Giddy delight erupted at the 1832 Lincoln Reform Festival after a promise that Reform would upend the selfish aristocracy who “seem to consider intercourse with the people as pollution and thus remain ignorant of or indifferent to their feelings, wants, wishes, and opinions.” “Freedom” held partisan meanings, and Reformers defined it as opposition to “overwhelming aristocracy and an insolent priesthood” on the grounds of representing “the people, the source of all power.”³² No known Conservative Festival uttered such a toast.

Unlike the Reform Festivals of 1832, the Conservative Festivals were more musical and were held not to celebrate political power but to gain it. Held only while the Conservative party was out of power in the 1830s, the Festivals stopped with the Conservative victory in 1841. Far more music was reported at Conservative than at Reform Festivals. Music performed by paid, professional musicians may have been a Conservative strategy developed in part in response to the view expressed in one influential periodical that “the great” should “share their pleasures with those who support their political power.”³³ Given the amount of music used, these Conservative gatherings may have been called “festivals” as a reference to the continuing practice of music festivals. Since socially conservative aristocrats had organized the great Handel

Wednesday, 12th July, 1826, at the George Tavern, No. Shields, to celebrate his election for the county of Northumberland. Tune—“See the conquering hero comes.” ([North Shields]: J. Nicholson, Printer, 1826). For lyrics, see Appendix E: Other Conservative Music, s.v. “Liddell.”

³² “Lincoln Reform Festival,” (Abridged from *Drakard’s Stamford News*), *Times* (London), 17 Nov. 1832, p. 1; Rt. Hon. Charles Tennyson; Sir William Ingilby.

³³ *Blackwood’s* 35 (Jan. 1834): 70-76, cited in Jennifer Lee Hall, “The Re-fashioning of Fashionable Society: Opera-going and Sociability in Britain, 1821-1861” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1996), p. 205.

commemoration of 1784 in part to heal political rifts, the ritual of provincial as well as London musical festivals had continued in part as a form of political discourse supporting the established Church and the ruling classes.³⁴ The Conservatives of the 1830s, some of whom were personally interested in music, may thus have been using music as an established, historic mode of building political harmony.

While in power from 1830 to 1841, the Whigs and Reformers had no need to entice new supporters with festivals and music. Whether or not the Monarch or the Whigs prompted the term, the Conservative use of the term “festival” established the party as continuous with historic traditions of community cultures rural, urban, and religious, and provided emotional fellowship and physical abundance of drink, food, and other sensuous pleasures like music as evidence of the benefits of conservative hierarchalism.

But the Conservative Festivals changed established practice. A festival normally celebrates an existing reality rather than making an intellectual argument for a new one. Unlike church, agricultural, or urban guild festivals, which celebrated existing realities like church buildings and agricultural harvests, the Conservative Festivals aimed to create new realities by attracting new supporters to the party and inciting new political activism by existing Conservatives. In the face of manifest assertion to the contrary in popular opinion and elections throughout the 1830s, the Conservative party laid claim to representing authentic Britishness by presenting itself as continuous with existing cultural traditions. Political life was already woven into social and personal life through

³⁴ William Weber, “The 1784 Handel Commemoration as Political Ritual,” *Journal of British Studies* 28, no. 1 (Jan. 1989): 51, 56.

the long history of civic conviviality, so the Conservative Festivals embodied familiar traditions as evidence of the naturalness of conservatism as an explanatory model. With the word “festival,” the Conservative Festivals were performatively constructing that to which they seemed to refer.

Conservative Festivals Music: Overview

The music, like other sensuous appeals of these events, was intended by Festival planners to create wide public enthusiasm for the idea that hierarchy of class and gender was natural and good.³⁵ The music literally celebrated conservative hierarchalism as a manifestation of the singular truth of God’s Creation. Conversely, music painted the Conservative party’s opponents as incompetent or evil, with sly digs at unpopular Whig legislation and effective use of humour.

Music was certainly used in at least 30 of the 48 Conservative Festivals, but more music was probably performed than was reported. The rare extant programme for CF 1841 Shropshire (Figure 4) confirms all of the music named in *The Times*, but lists more songs than the newspaper report (“Hail, Smiling Morn” and an unnamed song to the “Ladies”). Surely the national anthem was always sung, and probably the ubiquitous grace, “Non nobis, Domine,” was chanted at the end of most dinners before the speeches began, performing its functions of making an audible change of pace and dedicating the proceedings to God. Music was likely a normal feature of all Conservative Festivals.

³⁵ Recent histories of the Conservative party rarely note this, e.g., Cragoe, “The Great Reform Act,” p. 590, identifying the “fundamental ideological argument” of 1830s Conservative Associations as a local sense of participating in national politics.

Although instrumental bands sometimes played, the vast majority of the Festivals music was vocal, so this study addresses primarily the vocal music, emphasizing the lyrics rather than musical form. After an overview of the kind and quantity of music and performers, the music is sorted to show that the same themes of the proofs and benefits of hierarchy found in the speeches appeared in the music chosen to punctuate them. Finally, the processes by which music embodied the conceptual framework of political conservatism is discussed, noting some of the ways that Conservative Festival performances reached back into the ordinary use of music in daily life.

At least 55 discrete pieces were performed at the Festivals.³⁶ The lyrics sometimes reveal that the same work was referred to by different titles (e.g., “Health to Old England” is the same as “Jolly Full Bottle”), but in some cases quite different works had the same title, like “Great Bacchus.”³⁷ Not all of the music performed was named: for instance, at CF 1836 Banbridge, what were those “appropriate airs”?

Much of the Conservative Festivals music was drawn from the music of personal recreation, often crossing class boundaries. Lady Hunter’s personal musical world, for example, overlapped with individual participants, performers, and musical works and genres. Her uncle, Sir Thomas Fremantle, attended CF 1836 Aylesbury.³⁸ Many a

³⁶ For music lists of individual Conservative Festivals, see Appendix A: CF Chronology; for music lyrics, sources, and themes, see Appendix B: CF Music.

³⁷ In such cases, several same-named but different works were collected for comparison.

³⁸ Comparing Conservative Festivals press reports with the Diary of Frederica Emma, Lady Hunter, 1840 to 1846, (London) City of Westminster Archive Centre, Acc. 1621, (hereafter FEH Diary), shows individuals in common. E.g., FEH Diary shows socializing with the family of her uncle, Sir Thomas J. Fremantle (e.g., 25 Sep. 1844), Rice R. Clayton (e.g., 28 Apr. 1842), Benjamin Disraeli (25 Jun. 1842), all present at CF

Fig. 4. Shropshire 1841 List of Toasts, courtesy Shropshire Archives

SHROPSHIRE
CONSERVATIVE FESTIVAL,
12TH NOVEMBER, 1841.
THE EARL OF POWIS, PRESIDENT.

LIST OF TOASTS.
(NON NOBIS DOMINE.)

1. The Queen. (*God Save the Queen.*)
2. The Duke of Cornwall. (*Hail Star of Brunswick.*)
3. The Prince Albert and The Princess Royal. (*Hail Smiling Alorn.*)
4. The Queen Dowager and the rest of the Royal Family.
5. Our Constitution in Church and State.
6. Lord Hill and the Army. *Genl. Dallas*
7. The Earl of Haddington and the Navy.
8. The Twelve Conservative Members for Shropshire. (*Song.*) *L. Doughty - Trumble*
9. The Lord Lieutenant, The Magistrates, and the Deputy Lieutenants of this County. *Kempson*
10. Sir Robert Peel and Her Majesty's Ministers. *Gaskell*
11. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Clergy. *D. Kennedy*
12. The Duke of Wellington.
13. Lord Lyndhurst and the House of Peers.
14. The Twelve Members for the Counties and Boroughs of Brecon, Carnarvon, Denbigh, Merioneth, Montgomery, and Radnor, who are all Conservatives; and the other Members of the House of Commons, who have honoured us with their presence this day. *Sir W. Arthur*
Hugh Chubbuck
15. The President.
16. The Vice Roy of Ireland, and may his Government promote the peace, prosperity, and happiness of that Country; and permanently secure the best Interests of the United Kingdom.
17. The Agricultural, Commercial, and Manufacturing Interests of the County.
18. Prosperity to the County of Salop.
19. The Mayor and Corporation of Shrewsbury. *The Mayor*
20. Sir Richard Jenkins, and those other Gentlemen who have formerly represented the Interests of this County in Parliament on Conservative principles.
21. The Ladies who have graced this Meeting with their presence. (*Song.*)
22. The Vice Presidents. *Sir W. Llewellyn*
23. All Friends round the Wrekin.

1836 Aylesbury; and with Sir Augustus Dalrymple (e.g., 19 May 1840) and Lord South (e.g., 11 Jun. 1840), both present at CF 1841 Shropshire.

Conservative Festival speaker was related to or broke bread with the Hunters in the 1840s.

The glee as a genre and individual glees, like “Hail, Smiling Morn” and “Mighty Conqueror,” were common to Conservative Festivals, to such gentlemen’s singing clubs, as the Noblemen and Gentlemen’s Catch Club of London (hereafter NGCC), to which Lady Hunter’s husband, Sir Richard Hunter, and Uncle William Fremantle, belonged, and to taverns.³⁹ Glees and catches are part songs, originally written for unaccompanied male voices to sing at men’s clubs, where amateurs were bolstered by professional musicians with limited membership rights.⁴⁰ In the mid-nineteenth century, glees and catches, redolent of fellowship and amateur musicality, were the masculine equivalent of women’s parlour music. Many of the performers named at Conservative Festivals, like Jonathan Hobb[e]s, were working musicians who held honorary membership in the NGCC and sang in many other venues, including the Chapel Royal.⁴¹

³⁹ E.g., “Hail, Smiling Morn” performed at CF 1841 Shropshire; for 18 times at a singing club between 17 Mar. 1829 and 27 Jun. 1837, see Noblemen and Gentlemen’s Catch Club of London (hereafter NGCC), “Glees performed, 1828-71,” British Library (hereafter BL) H.2788.ddd, eee. For taverns, see Laurence Senelick, ed., *Tavern Singing in Early Victorian London: the diaries of Charles Rice for 1840 and 1850* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1997), pp. 34, 95. For other Conservative Festivals glees at NGCC, see Appendix D: Catch Club Music 1841-1847.

⁴⁰ For masculine sociability as the impetus for the development and aesthetics of glee form, see Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2006) pp. 2, 37; Emanuel Rubin, *The English Glee in the Reign of George III: Participatory Art Music for an Urban Society* (Warren, Mich.: Harmonie Park Press, 2003), pp. 3-4.

⁴¹ See Appendix C: Catch Club Professional Members. For NGCC singers Hawes, Phillips in 1828 Brighton concert, see “Brighton and Its Music,” *Musical Times* 50, no. 792 (1 Feb. 1909): 100-102.

A few very well known (hence probably expensive) musicians were engaged. Thomas Cooke (1782-1848), who sang at CF 1839 and CF 1840 Coleman Street Ward, London, was an extraordinary Irish musician. Cooke composed, conducted such groups as the London Philharmonic Society and the Concert of Ancient Music, often sang principal roles at important London theatres like the Lyceum, Drury Lane, and published respected works on vocal technique and part song singing.⁴² Some Conservative Festivals mixed the famous, like popular composer and singer Edwin Ransford, with jobbing singers. The little-known Mr. Atkins and Mr. Fitzwilliam, for instance, did the same three Festivals as NGCC singer John Hobb[e]s (CF 1840 Croydon, CF 1841 Reading, CF 1841 Stratford). Musicians with rather different careers thus overlapped at the Conservative Festivals, due to some combination of shared political conviction and the grinding need of the freelancer for as much work as possible, most of it ill paid. Amateurs frequently performed at the Festivals, rarely named, except for “Mr. J. Izon” (CF 1838 West Bromwich) and repeated references to amateur glee singers (e.g., CF 1841 Maidstone). Professional glee singers were often engaged, sometimes described as “the professional gentlemen” (e.g., CF 1841 Shropshire). Instrumentalists included never-named trumpeters and bands, some of which were certainly local and provided marches and, more rarely, dance music (e.g., Redcliffe and Dunn[i]cliffe Quadrille Bands at CF 1841 Nottingham). The music and musicians of private leisure, whether professional or amateur, seeped into party politics.

⁴² Equally famous were Edwin Ransford and Frederick Horncastle, both known for popular music. NGD, s.v. “Cooke, Thomas;” “Ransford, Edwin;” “Horncastle, Frederick.”

Conservative Festivals also used music well known from taverns, which catered to a variety of clientele.⁴³ The repertoire of the hard-living, semi-professional 1840s tavern singer, Charles Rice, included a wide range of musical genres, from operatic excerpts like “Vive le roi” to commercial music aimed at working men like “We’re All Fishing” and “Well Do I Remember When First I Went to Sea,” all of which were chosen for Conservative Festivals.⁴⁴ Rice also sang in taverns such rough starvation tales as “Cat’s Head Apples” (in which a cat locked in a cupboard eats itself until all that is left is its head), which was not celebratory enough of the benefits of hierarchy to the working poor to be chosen for the Conservative Festivals.

Most of the music of the Conservative Festivals was vernacular; that is, familiar from daily lives and leisure of working and poor people, including “Heart(s) of Oak,” “Here’s a Health to the Queen (“Down among the dead men”), “Lass of Richmond Hill,” “Protestant Boys” (to the tune of “Lilliburlero”), “Roast Beef of England,” “Rule Britannia.”⁴⁵ Some of the Conservative Festivals music was new, but their generic forms were not, and, like many of the existing works, the titles alone pounded in the Conservative platform. For example, using standard song and chorus form, “Our Queen

⁴³ For musical genres not tightly bound to social class of audience, see Dave Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840-1914: A Social History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987).

⁴⁴ Senelick, *Tavern Singing*, pp. ixx-xiv, and Song Title Index, pp. 261-265; CF 1837 Brighton, CF 1839 Northampton.

⁴⁵ For vernacular as a term that incorporates “folk” music with all other music of daily use, including comic songs and popular examples of serious composition like “Rule Britannia,” see E. David Gregory, *Victorian Songhunters: The Recovery and Editing of English Vernacular Ballads and Folk Lyrics, 1820-1883* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2006), pp. 4, 5, 9. For this Conservative Festivals music as vernacular, *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 9, 88, 61, 65.

and Constitution” in title summarizes the Constitution and in lyrics affirms that “we will keep our places.” It thus resembles the established “Health to Old England, the King and the Church,” which was sometimes cited by its chorus, “Jolly Full Bottle.” Like that

**Fig. 5. Old England Forever
Verse 3**

“On that throne where once Alfred
In glory was seated,
Long, long may our Queen
By her people be greeted,
Oh! To guard her
We’ll be of one mind,
May religion, law, order
Be firmly defended,
And continue the blessings
They first were intended,
In union the nation to bind.”

chorus, the specially written “Let a Bumper Go Round” emphasizes the abundance and fellowship flowing from the “old” form of governance, and the masculinity of political citizenship.

The soundscape continually absorbed new music from commercially-produced entertainments, and so did the Conservative Festivals. Audiences of

different social ranks paid to attend the large pleasure gardens like Vauxhall and Ranelagh, taverns, and theatres. Fans of the Adelphi Theatre and of popular entertainers like Madame Vestris included wealthy gentry like Sir Richard Hunter and shopkeeper’s lads like young William Rowsell.⁴⁶ Because of licensing restrictions on purely theatrical performance from 1737 until 1843, many theatrical venues customarily incorporated music into plays in order to duck cultural policing.⁴⁷ Theatre audiences were thus familiar with much vocal music. Drawn from many recreational venues, most of the

⁴⁶ For Adelphi Theatre and Vestris: FEH Diary, 29 Apr. 1845, 4 May 1840; William Rowsell, diary (1 Jul. 1835 to 11 Jul. 1836), London, pp. 42, 57.

⁴⁷ Senelick, *Tavern Singing*, p. xi.

Conservative Festivals music was recognized by a wide readership when reported in the press.

Conservative Festivals also used band music, operatic excerpts, and sing-alongs for the crowd; and the national press reported the details of musical genres, titles, lyrics, performers, the quality of performance, and audience response. Identical ideas, values, and beliefs about Conservatism also appear in other political music, dedicated to the Conservative party but not known to have been performed at Conservative Festivals, like “Church, State, and Queen, a Conservative Glee for Three Voices.”⁴⁸ But most of the Festivals music was part of the ordinary, inner musical soundscape that could be set jingling when newspaper readers saw well-known titles like “Rule Britannia.” Conservative Festivals music was selected from the familiar musical resources of daily life to defend traditional conservatism against Reform.

While individual Conservative Festivals songs combined several themes, none could capture every aspect of Conservatism. A variety of individual works functioned together in individual programmes or “toast lists” to cover a range of Conservative ideas, values and beliefs, but repetition of the core theme of benevolent hierarchy was consistent across programmes created by all three types of organizers (elite men, women, working men) and evenly distributed across all six years of the Festivals. Benevolent hierarchy was a theme in all but 2 of the 13 musical works that were

⁴⁸ For this and other examples with full citations, see Appendix E: Other Conservative Music. Further research would be needed to establish whether such works were amateur effusions of non-commercial enthusiasm or were aimed at a sufficient market.

performed more than once between 1835 and 1841 (see Table 2). Variety and repetition combined to build new political meanings for music.

Table 2: Repeated Conservative Festivals Music

# CFs	Title	Date Range	Genre	SA	Org	Themes
22	God Save the Queen/King	1836-1841	song	SA	all	H-MON
18	Non nobis, Domine	1836-1841	catch		OP, E	H-CHU
09	Rule Britannia	1836-1841	song	SA	all	H-MON
08	Hail, Star of Brunswick!	1836-1841	glee		OP, E	H-MON
05	Health to Old England	1835-1839	glee	SA	OP	H-CHU
04	Fine Old English Gentleman	1837-1841	song	SA	E	H-HapHier
04	Health to All Good Lasses	1835-1841	glee	SA	OP, ♀	H-Gender
04	Adelaide [in title]	1839-1841	glee	?	E	H-MON
03	Health to the King & Queen	1836-1841	glee	?	E	H-MON
03	See the Conquering Hero	1840-1841	(oratorio)		♀	Victory
02	Health to the Queen	1835-1836	glee	SA	E	H-MON
02	Mighty Conqueror	1838, 1839	glee		E	History, Drink
02	Vive le roi/reine	1837, 1839	(opera)		E	H-MON

LEGEND	
# CFs	Number of known Conservative Festival performances
Genre	As named (or not) in the original documentation
SA	Sing-along chorus simple or well-known enough for most to sing
?	Music not found
Org	Organizers
E	Elite, male-organized Conservative Festival
OP	Operative-organized Conservative Festival
♀	Women-organized Conservative Festival
H	Hierarchy
H-CON	Constitution (hierarchical whole)
H-MON	Monarch
H-CHU	Church (God, Church, clergy, any clergyman)
H-HapHier	Happy Hierarchy: happiness results from hierarchical difference (Criteria in Appendix B: CF Music)

Of the 55 pieces of music known to be used, 45 (80 per cent) were located and the themes of their lyrics compared with the content of the speeches. The criteria for determining themes emphasize literal legibility to people at the time in performance. For example, any mention of the Constitution or its individual constituent features—Church, Monarchy, Lords, Parliament, and individual Lords—was deemed to be legible in performance as a reference to hierarchy. In “Old England Forever,” for instance, verse three has the lot: the throne, a couple of monarchs, religion or the Church, all implicitly created by God since they are “blessings” that “first were intended” (see Figure 5). The first intender was God.

Fig. 6. Themes Summary of 55 Works

HIERARCHY (class)	37		
HIERARCHY (gender)	04		
PROOFS 39	History	33	
	Nature	22	
	God	11	
BENEFITS 43	Emotion	30	Happy Hierarchy 12
			Love 09
			Fellowship 07
			Happiness 07
	Victory	26	
	Plenty	21	Drink 13
			Wealth 04
			Food, misc. 04
	Music	13	
	Freedom	07	
	Peace	04	

All of the 55 musical selections known to have been performed at Conservative Festivals, show cultural symbolism supportive of or consistent with hierarchalism.⁴⁹ This is no easy task or happy accident, since all music does not carry the same ideological meanings. If a large number of musical selections chosen for performance consistently support a particular ideological position, then ideology can fairly be assumed to have governed the final selection. True even within a single genre, such ideological consistency is more compelling as evidence of decision making processes when it is consistent across different musical genres selected for the same performance or type of performance (e.g., political dinners). Conservative Festival planners made conscious choices of music, guided by musical appeal, certainly, but consistently governed by the political aptness of each selection.⁵⁰

Within the same genre, for example, the Festival programmers had to choose between two songs about sailors, “Well Do I Remember When First I Went to Sea” (Ransford) and “A Sailor’s Yarn: When First I Went to Sea” (Monro).⁵¹ These songs were so similar that composer J. Monro introduced his published song with, “To prevent inconvenience to the public, I deem it necessary to intimate, that Mr. Edwin Ransford has lately published a Song, composed by himself, entitled ‘When First I Went to Sea,’ and beg, respectfully, that in ordering either, a distinction may be made between it and

⁴⁹ Not all of the music could be collected, but, as music named in the press, the 45 collected selections were publicly influential; the remainder would not change the conclusions reached about the proportions of themes, genres, and performers.

⁵⁰ Political histories tend not to consider that political organizers had to concern themselves with musical choices, whether directly or by delegating with precise conceptual requirements to professional musicians, e.g., Cragoe, “The Great Reform Act,” p. 594, fn. 83.

⁵¹ See Appendix B: CF Music.

this Song.”⁵² Both songs celebrate working sailors as brave, loyal, manly, and British, but Monro’s lowly tar wishes to change his class and become “a Peer before I die.” Ransford’s sailor is not concerned with changing his station, since “oh! I do not seek for change,” but revels in his natural bond with the sea. The Conservative Festival programmer who chose the Ransford for CF 1839 Northampton made no mistake about which was more apt as a message of the conservative credo that ranks were naturally determined by birth, and thus incapable of change.

All of the music, by being selected to celebrate the Conservative party as it hammered home the message of society as a changeless and benevolent matrix of intrinsic human differences, supported conservative hierarchalism. Rev. Hildyard at CF 1836 Hull urged that peace could only be achieved by “each man considering himself in his appointed sphere ... remembering ... those whose province is to obey, to obey with cheerfulness and promptitude.” Fixed hierarchy was the heart of the anti-Reform Conservative platform.

Conservative Festivals Music: Thematic Categories

Conservative Festivals music and its lyrics, both literally and figuratively, made human hierarchy seem natural and good by asserting its existence frequently, associating it with images of nature, emphasizing natural law as God’s will, and announcing proofs and benefits flowing from a hierarchical British society. History, both real and fictional, was offered as proof that fixed class and gender differences determining social and governance structure were not only a stable and benevolent reality but had produced the

⁵² Ibid., s.v. “Sailor’s Yarn.”

benefits of wealth and pride in the British Empire. Assertions, proofs, and benefits were layered and mingled, but always aimed at creating positive emotional allegiance to hierarchalism and the Conservative party.

Conservative Festival planners ensured that of the 55 known songs, 37 make positive reference to class hierarchy.⁵³ Four more refer to gender hierarchy.⁵⁴ Proofs that hierarchy was benevolent included references to nature (22), God or the Church (11), and history (33). Of the 55 Conservative Festival songs, 43 announce one or more of the 5 main benefits of hierarchy: positive emotion (30), victory (26), abundance or plenty of drink, food, or wealth (21), the sensuous pleasure of music itself (13), freedom from superstition and chaos (7 or 8) and peace in the sense of a stable society producing order, wealth, and happiness (4) (see Figure 6).⁵⁵ Musical lyrics and titles assert conservatism as British national identity, along with class-specific virtues. Throughout, the music's

⁵³ Literal reference to any of the following terms entails hierarchy as the central structure of society as an organic whole: the constituent features of political governance (Church, Monarch or Monarchy, Lords or House of Lords or any individual Lord but particularly the Duke of Wellington), the Constitution, which subsumes the whole structure, or praise of workers at the bottom of the hierarchy as a necessary part of the whole, like "Rule Britannia." Theme summaries for every song found are in Appendix B: CF Music, which also gives criteria for determining the presence of each theme in each song. Rigorous care was given to counting only literal, obvious references that were unlikely to have been mistaken by audiences of the time.

⁵⁴ Numerical totals do not add up to 55, the total number of discrete works identified, because some works contain more than one theme. Also, some works are known only by their titles, but only some song titles for which the lyrics have not been found are sufficient evidence of their thematic content, e.g., "With a Full Flowing Glass" clearly refers to abundance of drink. Pervasive cultural aspects of gender hierarchy are discussed in Chapter Four; the four songs referred to here are "Sleep, Gentle Lady," (context shaping gender reference), "To All You Ladies," "Steam Arm," and "Foresters, Sound the Cheerful Horn."

⁵⁵ Freedom may be referred to in "Maid of Judah," but it is not certain which work was used, and it is not referred to in both.

lyrics support the party's pragmatic calls to decisive political action in military language that metaphorically allies Reform with Britain's historic military foes, the Catholic or republican nations of France and Spain, and ties victory to Conservatism and the Conservative party.

A crucial and unique characteristic of music is its sound, which is at once material and experienced subjectively in the body.⁵⁶ Most of the Festivals music was vocal, but at least two works were performed only as instrumental music, "Downshire March," a well-known bagpipe number, and "Hurrah for the Bonnets of Blue," a popular Scottish vernacular song. The latter is in a lyrical 6/8 rhythm well suited to a stately parading-in of diners. As marches, both could organize an orderly forward procession through musical sound alone. It is difficult to resist a strong musical rhythm, so as each participant physically fell into step with a crowd of 700 to 1,000 other diners (CF 1839 Cullompton, CF 1841 Shropshire, respectively), he had a direct, bodily experience of shared experience.⁵⁷ The purpose of CF 1839 Cullompton was to celebrate a Conservative by-election win that had "rescued" the county from Whig control and "adopt ... measures of united and energetic action" to prepare for an anticipated general election. "Bonnets of Blue" was played during the procession to honour the four new MPs, a parade that took hours, with more than 80 carriages, many drawn by four horses, over 500 mounted "Yeomanry," and bells "ringing out a merry peal," as spectators

⁵⁶ A fuller discussion of the musical aesthetics of the vocal music and its genres in the conservative musical soundscape is an important topic that is, unfortunately, beyond the scope of this study.

⁵⁷ Similarly, at CF 1841 Shropshire, after gathering in a "densely crowded" central market-place, the diners, "displaying blue favours ... marched in procession to the place of dining."

contributed “the most vociferous cheering.” The rhythms of “Bonnets of Blue” helped to organize this riot of noise, a lived experience of Conservatives returning their local society to order after the destabilizing effects of Reform. In addition to the rhythms, the sound of this popular tune could create a social space and a sense of fellowship, if not of common cause, for the many who already knew it. As a familiar tune, “Bonnets of Blue” could trigger musical memory and establish common musical ground for all who could hum along, whether mentally or out loud.⁵⁸

The unique agency of music lies in its sound. Emotion derived from musical sound, and ideas associated with the sounding of certain aspects of music (like rhythm, melody, harmony) are linguistically constituted outcomes.⁵⁹ Lyrics are not constitutive of the power of musical sound, yet the context in which those sounds were chosen, performed, and experienced by listeners did add a layer of meaning to the participants’ experience of the musical sound. In addition to its sonorities, for example, the “Downshire March” at CF 1836 Banbridge was a tribute to, and perhaps understood as a musical expression of the power of, the Marquis of Downshire, who was present and whose “armorial bearings” decorated the wall behind the head table.

⁵⁸ “Downshire March, Irish, March (2/4 time). D Major. Standard tuning. AABB,” in P. (?) O’Farrell, *O’Farrell’s Pocket Companion*, vol. 1, ca. 1805, pp. 44-45, in *The Fiddler’s Companion*, ed. Andrew Kunz, <http://www.ibiblio.org/fiddlers/DOW_DOY.htm>, (1996-2009), (viewed 23 Jan. 2010); to see and hear the music itself, go to Irish Music Collections Online, Full Index, s.v. “Downshire March,” <<http://www.pipers.ie/IMCO/OFPC1044-TheDownshireMarch.htm>>, (viewed 23 Jan. 2010). To hear “Hurrah for the Bonnets of Blue,” go to Charles Saucon, sequencer of Alexander Lee’s (?) broadside version of “Hurrah for the Bonnets of Blue,” <<http://chrsouchon.free.fr/hurrah.htm>>, (viewed 23 Jan. 2010). My thanks to Elaine Keillor for these references.

⁵⁹ I am indebted to John Shepherd for a discussion on this point.

The sound of “Banners of Blue” was tightly linked to its title, since, as the newspaper report points out, it was chosen because blue was the Conservative colour. The textual references in “Bonnets of Blue” also support loyalty to unelected leadership, so for those who broke into song with the words they remembered, a central Conservative Festivals message was provided by the participants themselves.⁶⁰ But the musical rhythms, and the sheer sound of tunes they knew doubtless created for most participants a physical sense of ideological community. The instrumental marches supported the themes of community participation by galvanizing all participants to choose to cooperate and follow leadership. The experience of class-crossing commonality of bodily sensations not only did not blur class distinctions, but could create an intuitive sense of the naturalness of those distinctions. The diners marched, drove, rode, sang, and listened to express and experience their Conservatism physically, and they were literally, physically organized by music. The perceived naturalness of personal, physical experience gave the lustre of naturalness to the ideas, values, and beliefs of Conservatism itself. The Conservative Festivals programmers chose music to shape the experience of Conservative conviviality, governing specific choices in part because of the powerful effects of the materiality of music as sound.

Of the 55 selections, only 13 do not name specific features of political or social hierarchy, but they are consistent with the social or personal aspects claimed as central to Conservative hierarchalism. The contents of some are uncertain: “A Soldier Am I”

⁶⁰ However, since the tallies of textual themes in this study are based solely on texts known to have been uttered at individual events, the thematic contents of works performed only instrumentally have not been included in the thematic tallies.

and “Hurrah for the Brave” were found only by title, and there are two possibilities for “Maid of Judah,” so no conclusions can be drawn. Another, “For He’s a Jolly Good Fellow” (and what is probably a variation, “For He’s a Hearty Good Fellow”) is conceptually vacuous but by being present supported the Conservative purpose of celebrating hierarchy through the positive emotional of masculine fellowship.

The remaining exceptions are rural in tone or diction, like “Come Let Us Join the Roundelay,” (rustic dancing), “Lancashire Witches” (bewitching rural women), the nostalgic “My Native Hills” (yearning for natural beauty and home), “Hail, Smiling Morn” (whose “rosy fingers ope [sic] the gates of day”), all ripe with images of nature.⁶¹ They are works of obvious charm, in line with the Conservative message that adhering to obvious, natural behaviour is intrinsically rewarding. Soothing rhythms and tunes like those of “Sleep, Gentle Lady, the Flowers Are Closing” probably appealed to working people chronically exhausted by long working days. Rest was so desirable and so inconceivable to working people that the operative, William Paul, sarcastically singled out the Reform government’s broken promise to workers of “an Eden of repose” as a self-evident impossibility.⁶² More fool the worker who believed such self-serving, Whig hypocrisy. The Festival songs that do not explicitly name hierarchy are either unknown to this study, neutral about hierarchy, or strewn with images of the natural world.

Three proofs of the naturalness and goodness of hierarchy offered by Conservative Festivals music and its lyrics are interlinked: nature, divine will, and

⁶¹ The titles alone of some of the selections that could not be found make clear some thematic statements, like “Here’s a Health to the King and Queen.”

⁶² William Paul, *A history of the origin and progress of operative Conservative Societies*, Fourth Edition (Doncaster: R. Hartley, printer, n.d. [1842]), p. 7.

history. Changeless natural law was a crucial argument for the morality of hierarchy. Conservative hierarchalism depended on every rank playing its part, a particularly touchy issue during the decade of Reformist assertions that ranks could be changed through human reasoning or individual actions. Historical evidence that human nature is fixed implies that human agency cannot change what God or the laws of Nature have wrought, and, in the cases used at the Conservative Festivals music and lyrics, history also demonstrates benefits of a stable, hierarchical system.

The music and lyrics make hierarchy seem natural by associating the constitutive features of political and social hierarchies with images of nature, often overlaid with references to God and to history, and by weaving literal images of nature into Festival programmes.⁶³ Of the 55 Conservative Festivals songs, 22 have literal images of nature, and of those, 18 also contain some historic feature and 4 also refer to God. Some lyrics name Nature itself, like “form’d by Nature” (“British Oak”), or name specific natural features, like “My Native Hills,” and the flowers of “Sleep, Gentle Lady.”

One frequently used symbol of hierarchy that combines nature, divine will and history is the oak. The oak had been a symbol of British monarchy since the Plantagenet dynasty, acquiring intensity after 1651, when Charles II eluded Cromwell by hiding in the Boscobel oak.⁶⁴ It was also part of the daily lore of a country whose oak sailing vessels helped dominate the sea and a cultural symbol of manly strength in the working sailor. As “Brave Old Oak” shows, the image of the oak could represent cooperation

⁶³ See Appendix B: CF Music.

⁶⁴ Geoffrey Seddon, *The Jacobites and Their Drinking Glasses* (Woodbridge: 1995), p. 97.

among all ranks of people in an imposing natural figure that was so long-lived as to be nearly timeless. The oak presents unelected governance as natural, with the monarch at its “broad green crown” representing the historic monarchy which “has ruled in the greenwood long.” In descending order, beneath the crown are the nobility, “his fifty arms so strong,” the gentry in “the squire’s wide hall,” all dispensing the benefits of plenteous “good English fare” and protection to the small, since at its foot “crept maidens sweet.”

Praise for working men as being as solid and instrumental as the oak timbers of a ship was clearly aimed at the new electorate. A more explicit celebration of working men is “British Oak,” which presents class-specific virtues and duties mingled in an extended metaphor of nature. The Goddess Britannia, her mythic name lending historic and sacred weight, details the organic matrix of unlike kinds of human beings in which working men are described as “form’d by Nature of good solid stuff.” The benefits that flow from this natural hierarchy are justice (laws) for all, strength in cooperative union of the classes, morality and certainty through the divine mandate of the Church, material plenty, and a stability of meaning that transcends human agency and human experience of change over time. Promising comfort and happiness to the working classes, the oak made this song a good choice for attracting the new, lower-class voters so necessary to electoral success.

Similarly, the opening lines of “Rule Britannia” brilliantly combine and layer the notion of Britain as a land and a nation whose history was that God had created it from natural elements for the purpose of ruling nature: “When Britain first at Heav’n’s

command / Arose from out the azure main, / This was the charter of the land, / And guardian angels sung this strain! / Rule Britannia, Britannia rule the waves; / Britons never ... will be slaves!" Nature, God, and history combine to create a central benefit: freedom. All this, and an irresistible, rhythmic tune so narrow of vocal compass that nearly anyone could sing it!

References to changeless natural laws and history as evidence of changeless human nature circle back to the religious universe of "Non nobis, Domine," the second most frequently performed work.⁶⁵ At least 16 Conservative Festivals heard "Non nobis, Domine" as the musical grace that ended the meal and opened the speeches and music making, setting the overarching theme of their musical and toast programmes.⁶⁶

Despite the party's urgent need to welcome lower-class voters, not all titled Conservatives at Conservative Festivals were inclined to sentimental applause for their inferiors. Ferocious support for heritable privileges was the tone of CF 1836 Aylesbury, in the home county of Lady Hunter's uncle Sir Thomas Fremantle, when an earl rejected the right of the House of Commons to comment upon decisions taken by the Lords since they were not their "peers."⁶⁷ The only music noted at this event was "Non nobis, Domine" performed by professional musicians, and redolent of gentlemanly catch club

⁶⁵ The composer of "Non nobis, Domine" is unknown: Philip Brett, "Did Byrd Write Non Nobis, Domine?" *Musical Times* 113, no. 1555 (Sep. 1972): 855-857. For the music, see Anon, "Non nobis, Domine ... Canon, etc." (London: G.W. Bown, [1830?]).

⁶⁶ For the opening number establishing the central theme in a concert programme, see Kristina Guiguet, *The Ideal World of Mrs. Widder's Soirée Musicale: Social Identity and Musical Life in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*, Mercury Series Cultural Studies, Paper 77 (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2004), p. 31.

⁶⁷ CF 1836 Aylesbury, Earl of Orkney.

meetings and the Anglican Church.⁶⁸ The words of this hymn-like catch (a kind of round) mean “Not unto us, Lord, but to thy name give praise,” musically stating the central premise of conservatism, that human society is the creation of God, and its structure cannot be changed by human beings. As Sir George Murray explained on another occasion, the religion of the Church of England had been “established in the nation, as of divine origin.”⁶⁹ In “Non nobis, Domine,” the very form of the structurally endless, self-harmonizing tune has the capacity to revolve eternally, uttering the changeless hierarchical structure of God’s will for Man.

“Non nobis, Domine” thus affirmed the many toast speeches claiming that the Conservative party was the manifestation of God’s Truth revealed and unalterable by human beings in much the same way that Sir Robert Peel said at CF 1836 Belfast that “the rising spirit of Conservatism is the stone which was cut without hands.” Another toast claimed that Conservatism was as changeless as the structure of constitutional monarchy that “had been fixed by their forefathers on a rock more durable than the structures of human hands: that rock was religion.”⁷⁰ If human agency could not change divine structures, and if the only moral human purpose was to serve God, then “Non

⁶⁸ “Non nobis, Domine” was the standard grace at meetings of the NGCC and other eighteenth- and nineteenth-century formal singing clubs. Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, p. 92.

⁶⁹ “Westminster Dinner,” *Times* (London), 25 Apr. 1837, p. 5, given by the Westminster Conservative Society that also sponsored the 1837 London Conservative Festival. Conservatives who attended both party dinners and party Festivals included Lords Hotham, Wharnccliffe, and Sir James Graham, whose portrait decorated the hall at CF 1841 Shropshire. The same Conservative ideas, beliefs, and values were expressed at dinners as at festivals.

⁷⁰ “Canterbury Conservative Registration Dinner,” *Times* (London), 31 Oct. 1839, p. 5, Mr. Henry Plumptre Gipps, possibly the same Gipps who spoke at CF 1835 Canterbury.

nobis, Domine” implied that aristocratic privilege in constitutional monarchy was a God-given duty. As the grace after the dinner cloth was removed, “Non nobis, Domine” was the musical clearing of the palate that set the foundational theme for the speech and music programme.

History in all the Festival music is the implicit argument that natural law does not change over time, its benevolence demonstrated by historical examples of excellence and triumphant national identity. History was evoked or referred to in references to historical events or people, in the use of archaic diction, or in the use of historic music (music written 20 years or more before) or antiquarian musical form, like the madrigal. Aristocratic support for historic music reinforced an “established social order hallowed by tradition,” so the aristocratic organizers and audiences of the time were disposed to works with a historical ring, such as “Foresters,” or archaic musical forms like the madrigal “Come Let Us Join the Roundelay.”⁷¹ Since form determines much of what is heard in performance, the formal similarities between glees and madrigals were audible to the audiences of the time.⁷² Some Conservative Festivals works refer to historical

⁷¹ Since the eighteenth century in British concert life, music was deemed to be “ancient” if it had been composed at least 20 years before. Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 22-25; Bashford, “Public Chamber-Music Concerts,” I, p. 36. For an extended history of the veneration for old music from the early eighteenth— through the nineteenth centuries, see William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

⁷² For the NGCC and its glees aimed at reviving the historic English madrigal, see Robins, *Catch and Glee*, p. 37, fn. 37, citing John Wall Callcott, “On the Catch Club,” in Callcott, “Essays on Musical Subjects,” manuscript, ca. 1801, BL, Add. MS 27646. For the madrigal as audibly distinct and revived in the nineteenth century, see Michael Hurd, “Glees, Madrigals, and Partsongs,” in *Music in Britain: The Romantic Age, 1800-1914*, ed. Nicholas Temperley (London: Athlone Press, 1981), pp. 248-249.

military events, like “Death of Nelson,” in which the nobility of the self-sacrificing hero is central to the moral tale. Some lyrics indicate history implicitly by using archaic diction or referring to characters from Greek mythology (e.g., “Diana” in “Foresters”) or by assuming that time does not change the subject, for example the implicit eternity of the landscape in “My Native Hills.” Historic individuals, real or fictional, represent human iterations of the best of human nature, and are nearly always aristocratic, like the “Fine Old English Gentleman.”⁷³ Lyrics and musical form created the literal or metaphorical presence of history as a sense of the changeless, timeless power of natural law.

The Conservative Festival programmers chose music and musicians that supported the overarching argument that the Conservative party was a manifestation of the “real” Britain. By sharp contrast with the prestigious professional music scene then dominated by continental musicians and composers, the Conservative Festivals composers and musicians had solid British names like H.V. Smith (“Steam Arm”), John Hobb[e]s and John Bernard Sale.⁷⁴

⁷³ Appendix B: CF Music summarizes all these combinations. Literal references to nature and history appear in “Brave Old Oak” (diction, time), “British Oak” (diction, time), “Come Let Us Sing” (diction, form), “Conservative Twelve” (diction), “Death of Nelson” (historic incident), “Fine Old English Gentleman” (diction, mythic history), “Foresters” (diction, form), “Going Out A Shooting,” “Great Bacchus” (mythic diction), “Hail, Smiling Morn” (diction), “Hail, Star of Brunswick!” (historic incident and dynasty, diction), “Heart(s) of Oak,” “Lass of Richmond” (diction), “Mountain Maid” (form), “My Native Hills” (time as personal history), “Old England Forever” (diction), “Rule Britannia” (diction), “See the Conquering Hero” (form), “Sleep, Gentle Lady” (timeless laws of nature), “To All You Ladies” (form), “Well Do I Remember” (personal history, nature).

⁷⁴ Hobb[e]s and Sale also sang at the Chapel Royal and the NGCC. See Appendix C: Catch Club Professional Members. The arranger of the Danvers Butler Danvers song

Conservative Festivals continued the long tradition of adapting existing music but also commissioned new works, with the expressed purpose of fostering a national music. At an 1836 Conservative dinner in East Surrey, for instance, “A great number of songs written and composed for the evening were sung by the professional singers present, and the harmony of the meeting was kept up until nearly midnight.”⁷⁵ At the 1835 Canterbury Conservative Festival, lyrics for a new song had been “written, and originally intended to have been sung at the dinner; but ... the poor things died from a very natural complaint—want of air...” The report then excoriates a short list of well-known European musicians working in England, naming Meyerbeer, Paganini, De Beriot and Auber as besotted with “giggling” women, or as “ruralising with some Neapolitan brigands.” Sarcastically noting that “an English composer” had been sought as a last resort, but that “no native musician could be found, who could set the words in less than three weeks,” the article concludes with the unsung lyrics. One of the reasons for using so much music at the Festivals may have been to encourage an English national music. A decade later, when Lady Hunter and Queen Victoria were among the many who attended Auber’s thief-laden opera set in Italy, *I Briganti*, and programmed its highlights in their private concerts, British music had become a highly emotional topic in the press.⁷⁶ Among the stirrings of incipient musical nationalism throughout the British musical soundscape were the Conservative Festivals.

was more British than his name suggests: Montague Corri (1784-1849), music publisher, composer, was born in Edinburgh. NGD, s.v. “Corri.”

⁷⁵ “East Surrey Conservative Society,” *Times* (London), 9 Jun. 1836, p. 5.

⁷⁶ For Queen Victoria and Lady Hunter programming *I Briganti*, see Appendix H: Shared Repertoire, s.v. “Briganti.” For British music in 1840s press, see Bashford,

The Britishness presented by the Conservative Festivals music and speeches was characterized by different virtues for different classes. The main virtues of those with unelected power were superior capacity of discernment (not necessarily intellectual) and disinterested service to those of inferior capacity. One aristocratic speaker met the criticism that “wisdom was not hereditary” by asking, “Pray, ... was wisdom elective? Was there something so superior in the elective branch ... as to throw the hereditary branch wholly out of the scale?”⁷⁷ The music of the Conservative Festivals touches very lightly on intellectual capacity as a feature of any Conservative high or low; it is silent about existing politicians perhaps from tact, but programmers probably thought that the lower-class voters they were trying to attract were unlikely to hum songs telling them that they were stupid. The closest reference to differential intellectual capacity is “British Oak,” murmuring that “King, Lords, and Commons, fam’d union of three, / What are they, but the Head, Trunk, and Root of my tree.”

Stupidity is implied for working people only when they try to mimic their betters, as in “Going Out A Shooting,” where shopkeepers fail miserably when they ape the leisure pursuits of their superiors. Intellectual capacity was not thought to be as important as revealed truth that had been found to be stable over time. As historian Alex Tyrrell notes, one toast at the Burns Festival of 1844 preferred “the ‘wisdom of our

“Public Chamber-Music Concerts,” I, p. 146; Simon McVeigh, “The Society of British Musicians (1834-1865) and the Campaign for Native Talent,” in *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*, eds. Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 145-168.

⁷⁷ Sir George Murray quoted in “Westminster Dinner,” *Times* (London), 25 Apr. 1837, p. 5.

ancestors' versus 'the march of mind.'"⁷⁸ Far greater emphasis in the music's lyrics, as in the Festivals, is on belief directing effective action that results in positive emotions of legitimate, moral pride and fellowship. In presenting the sunny side of heritable hierarchy, emphasis on virtues like noble or heroic self-sacrifice to protect others, and justice (the rule of law, honesty, and fairness) was an implicit rebuttal of Reform criticisms that the aristocracy and the Conservative government they had run lacked precisely those virtues that were required to wield power.

Musical reference to working people was tailored according to the intended audience. Where no workers were reported in attendance, for instance at CF 1837 Coleman Street Ward, London, the small gathering of Conservative party "wealth and talent" were treated to the brutal class smack-down, "Here's a Health to John Bull" in which the good working man knows he has "must have" betters who ought to rule over him because "some must rule and some must till the soil." At this performance, "the cheers of the company almost drowned the voice of the singer and it was very plain that the auditors entered fully into the moral inculcated by the singer in his denunciation of the 'Destructives.'"⁷⁹ These were conservatives who meant to retain their inherited privileges, and understood the music to be a statement of principle by the person who was singing it. The "goodness" that qualified working men for freedom was docile deference. No operative-organized Conservative Festival is known to have programmed this song.

⁷⁸ Tyrrell, "Paternalism, Public Memory and National Identity," p. 44. The Eglinton Tournament of 1844 was held by conservatives, but was not a Conservative Festival.

Even in the more conciliatory tone of most Conservative Festivals, class difference was a prominent issue. The Duke of Wellington was a particularly useful icon of historic military success, superior ability, and rigid refusal to consider any abrogation of aristocratic independence.⁷⁹ One toast to the “Duke of Wellington and the House of Lords” described their intransigent resistance to popular support for Reform legislation as having “manfully performed their duties,” and praised Wellington for “the use he made of his abilities ... given to him by his Creator and for which he is responsible to his Maker.” The Lords were accountable to their superiors, including God, but not to their inferiors. Political legitimacy was vested in an unquestionable power that was superior to the human actor, and the musical response to this toast at CF Hull 1836 was “A Soldier Am I.”

The model of aristocrats answerable only up the chain of command is implicit in the military model of ranks of authority that cannot be questioned by those in subordinate positions. Conservative Festival songs referring to the military in this way include “See the Conquering Hero Comes.” Readers of these titles in press reports knew most of the songs, but many had probably also heard or participated in the peculiar form of cheering that depended on the militaristic model of unquestioned submission: the “fires.” A variation on the “three times three” cheers (i.e., three iterations of “hip, hip, hooray”), “conservative fire” was a memorable experience. For instance, at CF 1841 Maidstone, “The worthy vice-chairman, who is the general-in-chief of the fugelmen,

⁷⁹ Wellington’s 1830 speech against all reform damaged the Conservative party, which lost the election that year to Reformist Whigs. W.A. Speck, *A Concise History of Britain 1707-1975* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 71-72.

issued his stentorian command to his columns to 'Rise!' Instantly, every man ... was on his legs, and in obedience to the well-known signal of their veteran leader a series of cheers were delivered— quick, short, and sharp—as if they proceeded from one voice; the effect of which can only be compared to the rapid platoon firing of a well-drilled battalion of infantry.”

The “fires” were performative recreations of hierarchical, cooperative action under the “stentorian command” of a “veteran leader.” The “fires” used the human voice to mimic gunfire, thus presenting military action as “natural” and human, part of community order. Given the amount of rehearsal needed for such perfection, the “fires” were part of the prevailing soundscape, hence recognizable to many readers of Festival newspaper reports.⁸⁰

The benefits of Conservatism were announced or implied in 43 of the 55 Conservative Festivals songs, and of those, 30 referred to emotion. Emotion was both proof and benefit of Conservatism, since God’s truth by definition exceeds the capacity of human reason to comprehend or human agency to alter. Moreover, intellectual argument alone could not achieve the logically incoherent task of making contingent arguments for a changeless reality. The Festivals were thus designed to create intense, shared emotion. As Lord de La Warr announced at CF 1837 [Royal] Tunbridge Wells, a

⁸⁰ Similarly, the prevailing soundscape included in the ordinary musical vocabulary of “the weavers of Lancashire and Yorkshire ... [and] the manufacturing population of Norfolk” the singing of Handel and Haydn oratorio excerpts and “the part-music of the old English school, and those admirable old English songs.” “Prefatory Minute of the [Cabinet] Committee of Council on Education (1839),” cited in John Hullah, *Wilhem’s Method of Teaching Singing*, introduced by Bernarr Rainbow (Kilkenny, Ireland: Boethius Press, 1983, first pub. 1842), pp. iii-iv.

Conservative's best civic action was to "do what you have done today; communicate your sentiments to each other; let this be followed by a public expression of your feelings" by voting for Conservatives. All of the benefits expressed musically at the Festivals hinged on stating or generating positive, shared emotion among Conservatives.

The 30 songs referring to positive emotions touched on fellowship (8), happiness (7), and love or family (9). On offer in 12 of the songs was the special emotion of "happy hierarchy," in which the happiness results from combining different classes or genders without weakening class or gender boundaries. "Happy hierarchy" romanticizes cross-class relationships as exclusively delightful, with "plump tenants" ("Roast Beef of Old England") or rural workers not exhausted by their work but dancing in a circle singing "fa-la-la" ("Come Let Us Join the Roundelay").⁸¹ Happy hierarchy and fellowship appear together in some songs. In "Conservative Ten," the fellowship of "brother freemen and friends" celebrates the blessings of Conservative MPs supporting the system of unelected governance, since "The Duke's in the cabin, with Peel at the helm." But fellowship is not the same as happy hierarchy, since fellowship can be asserted without reference to class.

Fellowship is the democratic demon intrinsic to any claim that conservative social structure is a transcendent truth, because it can seem to blur class boundaries. Six of the eight fellowship songs mention class but emphasize the emotional experience of shared belief amplified by alcohol, like "Great Bacchus" and "Here's a Health to the Queen." Two others do not refer to class but only to masculine fellowship: "For He's a

⁸¹ Other examples are "Rule Britannia," "A Health to Old England, the King and the Church," "Fine Old English Gentleman."

Jolly Good Fellow,” and “Jolly Companions,” which was probably about the invariably drink-garnished singing at glee clubs.⁸² All “fellow”-ship excluded women, as did every song about drink, like “Foresters,” in which “Bacchus crown[s] the day,” since respectable women did not drink in public.⁸³ Three fellowship songs also have topically adapted lyrics (“Conservative Ten,” “Let a Bumper,” “Protestant Boys”), suggesting that organizers of Conservative party conviviality consciously intended to present masculine fellowship and drink as benefits of Conservatism. Men of different classes could share such rewarding emotion, alcohol, and singing without muddying the class boundaries in the slightest.

Magic of Music

Music, like the wordless, organized noise of the “fires,” adds the power of non-verbal sound to the ideas carried in song lyrics or introductory speeches or the contexts of performance, all of which can refer to ideas, values and beliefs prevailing at the time of performance. The materiality of sound made music seem to be part of the natural environment not least because the lived experience of music as sound works upon the body and the emotions without words.⁸⁴ All of the song lyrics were both more powerful

⁸² “Jolly Companions” was not found, but the caption of a woodcut of a men’s singing club by George Cruikshank, “Nightingale Club” is “Bravo! Bravo! Very well sung! Jolly companions every one,” cited in Senelick, ed., *Tavern Singing*, p. xiii.

⁸³ Julia Skelly, “Underground Drinking: Finding Traces of Female Alcoholics in Histories of Victorian Britain,” paper delivered at the Fourteenth Annual Underhill Graduate Student Colloquium, Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada, 6 Mar. 2008.

⁸⁴ Feminist musicologist Carolyn Abbate suggests that the “epistemological uniqueness” of live musical performance causes singers to be “refigured subtly in the listener-spectator’s mind as creating what they sing.” Abbate, “Opera; or, the Envoicing of

and more portable because they were experienced through musical sound. Once specific tunes were identified with lyrics and with Conservative ideals, those tunes by themselves uttered political ideas in apparently apolitical arenas. One famous example is “Liliburlero,” which is the tune of the Conservative Festival song, “Protestant Boys.” Although its political meanings changed over time, by 1827, the tune alone had taken on the strong, conservative message it has today.⁸⁵

Reform, even in the hands of aristocratic Whigs, made an irreversible challenge to the concept of heritable merit to govern. The Chairman of CF 1837 Brighton, promoting Sir Richard Hunter’s friend, Augustus Dalrymple, defended the need for concerted action but recognized the danger of “setting a bad example to form political associations however loyal and patriotic their object might be.” Conservatives traditionally mistrusted overt political action as vulgar faction, but organizers of the Festivals, driven by electoral concerns, nevertheless chided the faithful for being “apt to lend only feeble and indolent aid in upholding those principles they had met that day to uphold.”⁸⁶ Much of the military reference in the music was aimed at inspiring vigorous action by traditional Conservatives.

Some of the virtues trumpeted in the Conservative Festivals music applied to all classes, because they served the primary political purpose of goading conservatives to

Women,” in *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*, ed. Ruth A. Solie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p. 256.

⁸⁵ James Porter, “The Cultural Expropriation of ‘Lilibulero,’” *Scottish Studies Review* 5, no. 1 (2004): 27. Whistling the tune or drumming its rhythm were signals among Ulster insurgents in 1641. Ibid., p. 24, citing Thomas Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James II* (London, 1849), II, pp. 432-433.

⁸⁶ CF 1837 London.

electoral activism. When these musical calls to action refer to historic individuals, it is to cite them as especially good examples of changeless, natural law. Nelson, for instance, lived beyond his mortal death in Braham's song, "Death of Nelson," for "though he dies, his name shall live, in future ages ardour give, our tars inspire with martial ire." The pragmatic goal of winning elections is audible in such music, which also presented history as evidence of aristocratic virtue and the different but equally virtuous duties of non-aristocratic workers, like the "tars" in many a Conservative Festival song. History was used both as evidence that hierarchy was intrinsic to God's creation and as a call to action, inspiring in the living their duty to hold high the banner of historic heroes.

Different kinds of virtues were sung for working people than for the aristocracy and gentry: loyalty, duty, and bravery. Most of the music celebrates working people as different in kind from those who govern and presents a cornucopia of the benefits the lower classes derived from a stable, hierarchical society. Of the 20 works that speak of or in the voices of working people, 9 do so explicitly, and 11 implicitly, mixing class-specific virtues with assertions of class-specific qualities.⁸⁷ In some, humour uses inversion of the obvious to assert both. For example, "Mail Coach Adventures" mocks those who do not respect workers' special, pragmatic knowledge, an inverted statement of respect, but also implies that workers neither can nor should be educated. The ludicrous university graduate, boasting his new knowledge that "Hay is brought to town in carts," consistently orders ranks of difference, noting for example that "Pigs don't

⁸⁷ See Appendix B: CF Music. Unspecific about civic virtues, explicit praise of a working man from a woman's perspective is in "There is Nae Luck." See Chapter Four for discussions of "Going Out A Shooting," "Mail Coach," "Steam Arm," "Well Do I Remember."

read the Morning Post.” Higher orders who are literate read that paper, but certain lower orders do not and ought not. Implicitly referring to Reform goals of changing social structure and educating working people, the song is framed by the claim that an education allows “Simon Bore” to be an authority about reality: “In art and nature, all that is, / I’ll tell you, aye, and all that’s not.” The Festivals music made literal statements that the lower classes benefitted from a hierarchical society but also entrenched the notion that they were intrinsically incapable of thought.

In the 55 Festivals works, the virtues associated in the music with working men, including sailors, are loyalty to the existing order or some feature of the political hierarchy (11), courage at sea or at war (8), and duty literally expressed (1).⁸⁸ The virtue of “nobility” is self-sacrifice or protection of weaker others, and that of justice is found in songs that mention honesty or the law. Both are usually only associated with upper-class people. Two exceptions are “Old England Forever,” in which the Queen is protected by “her people,” and “Rule Britannia,” where “manly hearts ... guard the fair,” both conflating disinterestedness with masculine gender as a compliment to the manliness of working men. Nastily or nicely, songs about or in the voices of working men tied them firmly to their inferior social station on the grounds of nature, class-specific virtues and capacities, history, benefits to all, and warm, positive emotion.

⁸⁸ All summarized in Appendix B: CF Music; examples of songs referring to working men and the virtues of loyalty (L), bravery (B), and duty (D) include explicit praise for workers: “British Oak” (L, B), “Death of Nelson” (both versions) (B, D), “Heart(s) of Oak” (L, B), “Here’s a Health to Honest John Bull” (L, B), “Old England Forever” (B), “Protestant Boys” (L, B), “Scots Wha’ Hae” (L, B), “Steam Arm” (B), “Well Do I Remember” (L, B). Implicit praise for workers: “Health to Old England” (L), “Conservative Twelve” (L), “Our Queen and Constitution” (L), “Rule Britannia” (L, B), “Vive le roi/la reine” (L, B).

Conservative “freedom” could not be achieved through the “destructive” intent of what one Conservative toast giver described as “the democratic spirit which ... was striving to hurl the monarch from his throne.” The institutions of the British State and the stability, prosperity, and meaning of individual lives, could only “be preserved by conservative loyalty, for conservatism was the rock on which British freedom stood.”⁸⁹ Conservative freedom in practice varied according to rank. Freedom for the House of Lords meant they ought not to be accountable to commoners, with or without the vote. The few musical works that punctuated toasts to such freedom for the unelected Lords included “Vive le roi,” which cheers the Monarch.

Another such is “Heart(s) of Oak,” which focuses on working men cheering the whole structure of governance of “Our soldiers, our sailors, our statesmen, our King.”⁹⁰ Freedom for workers is contingent on carrying out the duties proper to their lower rank, but the lyrics are in the voice of the higher-class leaders. The dramatic structure of the song is of a leader encouraging the working sailors with a litany of different classes: “Then cheer up, my lads, with one heart let us sing, / Our soldiers, our sailors, our statesmen, our King.” With the line, “To honour we call you, / not to press you like slaves,” the poorly paid, dangerous, work of sailors who were often kidnapped or pressed into service on the orders of their “statesmen,” is not slavery, but honour, because work upon the sea preserves the British State as moral and as materially

⁸⁹ CF 1835 Canterbury.

⁹⁰ Two others have not been found in full: “With a Full Flowing Glass,” “In Legends Old.”

abundant for all Britons.⁹¹ The composite musical message was of cooperation among different classes with correspondingly different abilities and duties, all successfully defying enemies so that Britain could be the advantageous home of working people and aristocrats alike.

Such an idealistic definition of freedom made a faith-based moral code indivisible from political structures. As one typical Conservative Festival toast at CF 1837 Brighton said, “Our definition of Conservatism is very different: we consider that man, and only that man, a true Conservative who venerates his church and loves his King (hear, hear), and would maintain the independence of the House of Lords as the barrier against the encroachments of the Sovereign or the encroachments of the people (hear, hear), and who would exert his best energies to procure the return to Parliament of such men as really represent the feeling of the nation.” Church came first in this list, indivisible from the institutions of State and the duty of men of all classes to ensure that the House of Commons supported the Constitution. Religious and political duties were interdependent.

The freedom of conservative hierarchies was tightly linked with the notion of peace as the opposite of the perpetual upheavals of ongoing governmental Reform. At CF 1837 Brighton, one speaker said, “The Conservative deprecates the eternal agitation of political conflict as ... unsettling men’s minds, interrupting industrious habits, and by shaking public confidence inflicting a serious injury on the trade and commerce of the

⁹¹ Linda Colley suggests that resistance to state armed forces was always the result of impressment, and notes, as the song does not, that the poor were often motivated to join the militia so they would be clothed and fed. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 303, 314.

country.” Conservation of existing hierarchies and institutions was recommended as the only way to avoid such agitation, and most of the Conservative Festival music that literally referred to peace was sung to honour the royal family: “Hail, Star of Brunswick!” “Here’s a Health to the Queen,” and, toasting Princess Victoria, “Sleep, Gentle Lady.” The other two are “There is Nae Luck about the House” and “Health to Old England.” All but the latter refer to family; and all but “Nae Luck” and “Sleep” also mention wealth.

The dangers of political and religious plurality and the challenges to the stable, conservative hierarchical order of “old” were linked in “Here’s a Health to the Queen,” with its rollicking drinking chorus and lines like, “To faction an end, to wealth increase.” At CF 1838 Leeds, Sir Francis Burdett said, “Whatever the classes, all were of equal importance, all were equally honourable, equally to be respected, and all equally to be cemented.” Burdett finished by citing a historical quote from Lord Nelson so famous that it had been turned into the chorus of a popular song: “England expects that every man will do his duty.”⁹² With messages of freedom and peace properly meted out differently to different ranks, the music of the Conservative Festivals created pleasurable emotions as a means of denying the Reformist criticisms still vibrating in the air.

Music magically transformed the ideas of social hierarchies and political conservatism into enchanting laws of nature through strategic adaptation of the existing musical soundscape, both live and in the press reports. Music was a traditional gift of entertainment at civic gatherings, hence a well-established resource (perhaps even an

⁹² Appendix B: CF Music, s.v. “Death of Nelson.”

obligation) for Conservative Festival programmers: people liked music. As a Canterbury Conservative program explained, "That the hilarity and entertainment might be rendered as harmonious and pleasing as possible, the following gentlemen ... were engaged, and contributed their vocal talents during the evening in a manner ... delightful to the general company.... [one song] caused much laughter, as well by the effect with which it was given, as the humourousness of the sentiments of which it was composed."⁹³ Music was familiar and appealing.

Most of the Festival music was singing, which, to the perpetual exasperation of the professional singers who invest time, effort, and money in developing their skills, appears to many to be a natural feature of the human body and one that requires no training.⁹⁴ Professional singers make difficult music seem easy and sincere, so the technically demanding glees like "Brunswick" and comic songs, which are incomprehensible or fall flat without technical diction and acting skills, were probably most often performed by professional musicians.⁹⁵ The singing voice emerges with the breath from the depths of each singer's own body. Press reports of Conservative Festival

⁹³ The comic "Steam Arm" was performed at the 1834 Canterbury Conservative Dinner and at CF 1835 Canterbury; quotation from [Canterbury Dinner], "Report of the speeches, toasts, and other proceedings at the dinner to commemorate His Majesty's glorious declaration to support the constitution in church and the state, the Right Honorable the Earl of Winchilsea, in the chair, which took place at Bellingham's assembly rooms, Canterbury, on, Sept. 25th, 1834," British Library (hereafter BL) 1881.a.1.(52.), File 50.

⁹⁴ As theatre historian Tracy Davis notes, "the exercise of skill perceived as absolute naturalness." Davis, "Theatricality and Civil Society," in *Theatricality* eds. Davis and Thomas Postlewait (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p.139.

⁹⁵ Professionals were often named; terms like "very effective vocal band," "professional gentlemen in attendance," and "the vocal gentlemen" probably referred to professionals. See CF 1838 Leeds, CF 1841 Shropshire, CF 1836 Wakefield.

audience responses like, “it was very plain that the auditors entered fully into the moral inculcated *by the singer* in his denunciation of the ‘Destructives,’” show that listeners and press publishers understood song texts to express the singer’s own political views.⁹⁶ MP Steven Lushington made the link even clearer at CF 1835 Canterbury when he said “In the excellent song which had just been sung [“Health to Old England”], a wish was expressed, that all ‘plotters may be left in the lurch’, and ... there never was a more plotting bill” than the Reform *Municipal Act* then in process in the House of Commons. Words carried by music appeared to be natural because they emerged from the body, but the Festival programmers chose their music with conscious care.

The diners too were encouraged to utter their Conservative values in song, since programmers usually included some selections that were easy to sing, with memorable tunes and invigorating rhythms. Press reports mention that some works were “sung in a peculiarly animated style, the whole company joining in the chorus.”⁹⁷ About half of the selections—26 of the 55 identified—lie within a narrow vocal compass requiring no technical training to sing, and have sing-along choruses or were such well-known vernacular items that the audience had likely already sung them often, like “Rule Britannia.”⁹⁸ Even the lofty Lord Lanesborough provided for group participation by writing a simple chorus for his “Queen and Constitution.” Because all music is experienced by the body of each listener, even those who read the news, music appears

⁹⁶ CF 1839 Coleman Street Ward, London; italics are mine. More research is needed on whether working musicians’ political convictions influenced professional decisions.

⁹⁷ CF 1838 Leeds.

⁹⁸ Appendix B: CF Music identifies familiar works and singalong choruses, assuming amateur vocal range is anything equal to or less than a single octave; key signatures of printed music are not reliable indications of performance tonality.

to be a natural extension of ordinary physical experience. The Conservative Festivals' use of music as Conservative thus implicitly claimed music as evidence of the timeless laws of nature. As each participant could feel from their own physical experience of it, music was natural.

Music has the ideologically appealing ability to gloss cracks in reasoning by layering a number of arguments with punches of emotion and no appeal to reason at all. The "Mountain Maid," an eighteenth-century opera aria, metaphorically presents music, class, and gender as exhalations of the laws of nature. The song, "Mountain Maid," captures the populist purpose of the Conservative party, and at CF 1837 [Royal] Tunbridge Wells adorned a toast to the local electors. The folk-like tune is decorated with rapidly rising and falling runs that mimic the sound of a rustic panpipe, as the lyric tells the tale of a suitor who allays the "timid fear" in the object of his suit with music alone: "And so blithely gay were the notes he play'd / That he charm'd the ear of the Mountain Maid." The authenticity of the communication is based not in words but in the physical medium of music and the idea that gender hierarchy is a delightful law of nature: the two people are represented as integrated with their physical, rural scene. Performing this song in the context of a Conservative Festival with "agriculturalists" in a separate room being wooed by landowners makes it a metaphor for the naturalness of class hierarchy.

Music in this song is a medium of reliable community-building. Like the differences between upper and working classes, the shepherd has more power than the woman, and invites her to form a new but natural relationship through the sound of

music. History is also implicit in this song, not only in the sense of history as proof of the timelessness of natural laws, but because, by 1837, this eighteenth-century composition was old. The aria could be heard in its Conservative Festival setting as an extended metaphor of class relationships, reassuring the less powerful that the liaison would be beneficial and pleasurable because it was eternal and natural.

There were Conservatives who believed in the persuasive power of music. Thomas Atkinson sent the Duke of Wellington a “New Loyal Song” with the note that it was meant for use “by ‘the lower orders and street minstrels, remembering the high opinion Lord Chatham [William Pitt] had of such acting on popular feeling.’”⁹⁹ One Conservative Festival speaker believed that music heightened “devotional feelings,” an important aspect of Conservative political creed that the Church was inextricable from the mandate to govern.¹⁰⁰ Other Conservatives supported musical festivals as part of their support for the established Church in this period. Lord Hotham, for instance, was among the patrons of the 1834 Kingston-Upon-Hull Grand Musical Festival, at which secular and religious music was performed to raise funds for a church window.¹⁰¹ Belief in music as a powerful medium of class-crossing religious and political values was common.

⁹⁹ T. Atkinson to Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of Wellington, 27 Jul. 1830, University of Southampton Archives, Special Collections, Wellington Collection, WP1/1128/13.

¹⁰⁰ Lord de La Warr to Messrs. Hale, Buckhurst Park, Sussex, 1851, Centre for Kentish Studies, Sackville manuscripts U269/C451; de La Warr spoke at CF 1837 [Royal] Tunbridge Wells.

¹⁰¹ “Programme of the Kingston-upon-Hull Grand Musical Festival, 1834,” Lincolnshire Archives TdE/H/9/11.

The form of the performance of “Mountain Maid,” sung well by a professional singer who could present the difficulties of wide vocal leaps, precise rhythms, and fast notes with apparent effortlessness, enacted the conservative concept of the relationship between upper and lower classes.¹⁰² Just as the professional performer was better qualified to sing this aria than most of his listeners, so the unelected Lords were claimed to be more qualified to govern than those of lower rank.

The “agriculturists” dining away from the gentry in an outer room could hear the music spilling through the literal walls of class difference. Music created a shared cultural territory in which they participated as naturally as any blue-blooded Lord: all could hear, all could enjoy.¹⁰³ The “Mountain Maid,” one of the 13 Conservative Festival songs that literally name music as a benefit of conservatism, is an example of how Festival programmers may have expected the sound of music to work as a wordless, emotional force that embodied the non-rational premises of political conservatism.

Finally, music and its lyrics could construct cheerful myths. Conservative toast givers did not duck class differentials of wealth or power, but explained that, through generations of inherited wealth and custom, the aristocracy had become “almost by their own impulse the natural arbiters between the tyranny of the Crown and the

¹⁰² Significant vocal training is necessary to sing this song well; its composer, John Sinclair, was a professional tenor who developed agile singing skills while working with Gioacchino Rossini, well known for composing coloratura opera. NGD, s.v. “Sinclair, John.” A poor performance would thwart the purpose of performance, so one of the “professional gentlemen” at this event probably sang it.

¹⁰³ For music as sound that “converts space into territory,” see Peter Bailey, *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 211.

licentiousness of the people.”¹⁰⁴ Performed at four Conservative Festivals, the misty romanticism of the song, “Fine Old English Gentleman,” is a classic defence of aristocratic privilege within a reciprocal web of rights and duties.¹⁰⁵ The gentleman feeds his tenants and the poor “for he ne’er forgot the small.” His right to higher status is based on his historic military valour and loyalty to defending the nation, since “His hall so old, was hung around / With pikes, and guns, and bows, ... that / Had stood against many foes.” The monotonous music makes the words inescapable, with pitches changing only to emphasize certain words (Figure 7). The form of the song, so similar to a church psalm, embodies its text: the singer leads the political congregation with the verses, and all join in for the chorus, marked as different in kind by having a different rhythm (the chorus is in 6/8 time, the verse in 4/4). The most often repeated word is “old” because the message is that the changes experienced by individuals occur within a changeless eternal reality in which the laws of nature are ineluctable. No human being escapes death, but the virtuous gentleman achieves fond remembrance by those to whom he has done such good.

The gentleman remains unclear as an individual personality: he is a fictional construct that represents an ideal of a way of life. The romanticism of these lyrics is echoed in Conservative Festival toasts to the local gentry that so often preceded it, for instance at CF 1839 Northampton, where the toast was to Lord Westmorland [sic], the local Lord-Lieutenant of the County, “a gentleman to whom they all looked up with

¹⁰⁴ CF 1836 Belfast.

¹⁰⁵ Henry Russell, “The Fine Old English Gentleman, a Song of the Olden Time” (New York: New York Mirror, n.d.)

feelings of respect and regard.” There surely were affectionate relationships across class boundaries, but the Conservative Festivals applied the song to several different titled men.¹⁰⁶ Did every one of them have a charming porter, adoring tenants, and a good nose for wine? The music was the familiar carrier of a constructed fiction about an ideal relationship. For those who only read about each of these gentlemen in the newspaper

Fig. 7. “Fine Old English Gentleman” Excerpt, Henry Russell, “The Fine Old English Gentleman, a Song of the Olden Time” (New York: James L. Hewitt & Co., n.d.).

¹⁰⁶ CF 1837 [Royal] Tunbridge Wells (Earl of Aberdeen), CF 1841 Chelmsford (Lord Rayleigh, Baron), CF 1841 Maidstone (Sir John Croft, Baronet).

reports of the Conservative Festivals, the song functioned as a standardised model.

Readers who knew this very popular song could imaginatively recreate the warmth of a personal relationship with a man they had never met and allow it to confirm a feeling of the benevolence of social hierarchy. Music was a powerful means of creating emotional conviction that papered over the absence of real evidence for the conclusion.

Most of the ideas expressed in Conservative Festival music seemed natural because the music was already familiar as part of a historically specific soundscape. This was important for the pleasure of singing along at the Festivals themselves and for the acts of individual memory and imagination inspired by the newspaper reports that named so much music. Both the gentlemanly organizers of the Conservative party and the new, lower-class voters they had to attract shared the daily experience of music. As one period description puts it, music “crept through the woods and floated down the stream, speaking like a voice from another world, peace to the troubled tenants of this life.”¹⁰⁷ Most of the Festival music floated continuously in the class-crossing air.

Newspaper writers and editors had good reason to think that their readers carried the tunes of much Conservative Festival music in their own minds.¹⁰⁸ Standard song publication practice of the time was to print words without the musical notes.¹⁰⁹ Some vernacular items, like “Nae Luck,” were played on the Royal Exchange Tower bells, a daily reiteration that could set the tune ringing in a reader’s inner soundscape from the

¹⁰⁷ James Kay-Shuttleworth, *Scarsdale: or, Life on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Border, Thirty Years Ago*, 3 vols., (London: Smith, Elder, 1860), I, pp. 3-4.

¹⁰⁸ For editors determining topics of interest to their readers, see Brett, “Political Dinners in Whig, Radical and Tory Westminster,” p. 547.

¹⁰⁹ Gregory, *Victorian Songhunters*, p. 63.

printed title.¹¹⁰ Music was constantly ringing out from open-air concerts by bands and from church and parlour performances.

The press thought reporting the musical genres was important, naming most and sometimes identifying works only in terms of their genre, like “appropriate glee by the professionals” at CF 1839 Coleman Street Ward, London.¹¹¹ Familiar from the musical soundscape was the most commonly named Festival genre, the song (32), which, regardless of its formal genre, usually had an obvious narrative; in second place was the glee (19).¹¹² Most “songs” had a narrative component and were audible as single-line tunes. Songs with memorable tunes and rhythms could readily be repeated by individuals after the political Festival was over. Most of the Festivals included glees, in which different voices on three or more lines produced musical harmony and were audibly similar to church music.¹¹³ The glee as a genre could thus be read—and heard—as a trope of the Conservative creed of a matrix of unlike parts making up the excellent

¹¹⁰ Mrs. Lawrence to Lady Morgan, 11 Jan. 1838, cited in W. Hepworth Dixon, ed., *Lady Morgan’s Memoirs: Autobiography, Diaries and Correspondence*, 2 vols. (London: Wm. H. Allen & Co., MDCCCLXII), II, p. 434. More research is needed to collate a fuller picture of the sites and repertoire of the common musical soundscape for Britain and its Empire. For church bell tunes as soundscape elsewhere, see Alain Corbin, *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the Nineteenth-Century French Countryside*, trans. Martin Thom, European Perspectives: A Series in Social Thought and Cultural Criticism. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

¹¹¹ A few genres were misidentified: 2 vigorous marching choruses from opera were called glees (“Vive le roi,” “What Equals on Earth”); one English opera aria (“Mountain Maid”) was called a song; the only madrigal used was “Come Let Us Join the Roundelay.”

¹¹² The occasional use of “air” is understood to mean “song.” Some works were called both “glee” and “song” at different CF; some works were of other genres.

¹¹³ Most of the named Festival musicians included church performance as part of their professional livelihoods, e.g., Jonathan Hobb[e]s, Frederick Horncastle, John Bernard Sale. See Appendix C: Catch Club Professional Members.

whole of divine Creation. Naming the musical genre was a statement of cultural significance or it would not have been so consistently done.

Some Conservative Festival programmes may have combined sharply different kinds of music in order to appeal to both upper-class and labouring men. At CF 1837 [Royal] Tunbridge Wells, where wealthier Conservatives dined in an inner room and agricultural labourers next door, ten musical selections were performed by the hired “professional gentlemen.” Except for the grace and the national anthem, seven of the eight works were vernacular, narrative songs with accessible choruses, although one, “Jolly Full Bottle” was also known as a glee.¹¹⁴ “Mountain Maid,” however, was a vintage operatic aria and so conceptually apt that it might well have been an upper-class experiment in elevating working men with superior music. Two short years after this performance in 1837, State-subsidized music teaching was instituted for the children of working people. The curriculum included genteel adaptations of nine of the Conservative Festivals selections.¹¹⁵ Although State musical education was instituted by the Whig government in 1839, Peel’s Conservatives continued it, along with the same militaristic musical pedagogy that equated “the skill attained in music” with “Discipline very satisfactory.”¹¹⁶ Social conservatism in the musical curriculum transcended

¹¹⁴ CF 1835 Canterbury.

¹¹⁵ See Appendix B: CF Music, s.v. “EDU” notations, e.g., “Heart of Oak,” “Rule Britannia.”

¹¹⁶ Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education with Appendices, 1846 (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1847), p. 43.

political party distinctions.¹¹⁷ Music was understood as a mode of conservative discourse that did not depend on political party allegiance.

When individual Festival programmes were reported as fully as for CF 1837 [Royal] Tunbridge Wells, the music list alone gave a pithy summary of the central themes of Conservatism. As the annotated music list of CF 1837 [Royal] Tunbridge Wells shows (Figure 8), all of the music was focused on the themes of God as the moral and material imperative of social and political hierarchy of class and gender, and the plenty and pleasures of the British nation organized as a hierarchy of different kinds of human beings. Because the newspaper report records the chronological sequence of the event, it is likely that the sequence of music performed was accurately stated. The arc of the ten works, if taken as a concert programme, is consistent with typical Victorian programming conventions.¹¹⁸ The first item introduces the overarching theme of the whole programme, which is emphasized in the middle and in the penultimate numbers.

Intensity of audience experience builds from beginning to middle, with contrasts of tempo and emotional colouring, as well as of musical genre to keep the audience interest. In a carefully chosen programme, if there is a central theme, as there is in this

¹¹⁷ No consensus exists about who determined the curriculum. For the view that it was Whig and Tory politicians rather than Kay-Shuttleworth, first hired by Whigs but later retained by Conservatives, see D.G. Paz, "Working-Class Education and the State, 1839-1849: The Sources of Government Policy," *Journal of British Studies* 16, no. 1 (Autumn, 1976): 129-152. For the opposing view that Kay-Shuttleworth shaped the 1830s policy of state-provided education, see Lauren M.E. Goodlad, "'Making the Working Man like Me': Charity, Pastorship, and Middle-Class Identity in Nineteenth-Century Britain; Thomas Chalmers and Dr. James Phillips Kay," *Victorian Studies* 43, no. 4 (Summer 2001): 612.

¹¹⁸ See Guiguet, *The Ideal World*, pp. 27-50, for a case study of Victorian programming patterns.

Fig. 8. Music List for CF 1837 [Royal] Tunbridge Wells

Order	Genre	Title	SA	Themes
1		Non nobis, Domine		H-CHU
2		National Anthem	SA	H-CHU, H-MON, V
3	Song	Rule Britannia	SA	H-CHU, N, W, Freedom
4	Song	Brave Old Oak	SA	H, N
5	Song	Old England Forever	SA	H, N, W, Plenty, V
6	Song	Jolly Full Bottle	SA	H-CHU, W, Duty
7	Song	My Native Hills	SA	N, History, Family
8	Song	Health to All Good Lassies	SA	H-(gender), Plenty
9	Song	Old English Gentleman	SA	H, N, History
10	Song	Mountain Maid		H-(gender), Music

LEGEND

Genre As given in source document

SA Singalong: easy chorus or so familiar most participants could sing it

H Hierarchy (class unless gender is stated), or Happy Hierarchy

H-CHU Church, God

H-MON Monarchy

N Nature

V Victory

W Workers mentioned

(Criteria for all themes given in Appendix B: CF Music)

music list, no item undercuts the theme literally or conceptually.

This music list obeys these conventions. The ten works are introduced by the hymn-like “Non nobis, Domine,” dedicating the proceedings to God, and followed by the rhythmically square but stirring national anthem, tying the religious content to the Monarch and thus to formal governance. The third song, “Rule Britannia,” repeats the divine mandate of British governance, but breaks up the solemnity with rousing rhythms and a lively tune. From God and Monarch in the opening two works, the subject of the text in the third includes and praises working sailors, while introducing images of nature

and freedom. The naturalness of hierarchy is picked up as the central theme of the next song, “Brave Old Oak,” in which the oak is a symbol of the protective benefits of happy hierarchy. The climax of the “programme” at the middle of the musical list is split by “Old England Forever,” celebrating abundance and victory in images of nature and dutiful working men, and the “Jolly Full Bottle,” promising abundant drink to “good subjects” who support “Old England, the King, and the Church,” reject those who do not as “plotting contrivers,” and repetitively but effectively cheers the Monarch as justly ensuring “Peace, our Religion and Laws.”

A notable drop in intensity arrives with the seventh item, “My Native Hills,” a lyrical ballad of nostalgia for nature that evokes personal history for anyone who had left an agricultural life for the city. The following item again picks up and elaborates on a theme introduced in the previous item, with “Here’s a Health to All Good Lassies” celebrating women, abundance, and drink. At the penultimate spot, “Old English Gentleman” firmly restates the main theme of happy hierarchy, combining themes of history and nature in a hymn-like recitative reminiscent of church though musically quite different from “Non nobis, Domine.” The final item, “Mountain Maid,” is a decoration, a musical gift probably sung by a professional musician that offers a metaphor of gender hierarchy and human beings as part of nature. The only two works that do not have obvious sing-along qualities are the first and last items, providing formal unity. With 8 of the 10 works suitable for participatory singing, the programme embodied the goal of the Conservative party: to engage voters and those who influenced them in active voice in politics. Class hierarchy was present in 8 of the 10 songs, and

gender hierarchy in one, and the combination of different musical items weaves a tapestry of argument and emotion in its favour.

Once drawn from the soundscape to Conservative Festival performance, the music was sent back out freshly identified as politically and socially conservative. Music was such a condensed and flavourful summary of the principles, topical issues, and gender and class of the participants of these Festivals that reading the detailed newspaper reports of the musical information was enough to capture the ideas and atmosphere of the events. The gatekeepers of the public press considered music to be an integral feature of these events that would matter to their anticipated readers. The invariable layout on the page, whether the report was published in *The Times* or as a pamphlet, was to set the music information apart visually, sometimes allied with the toast subject as if the link were self-evident, for example in CF 1839 Northampton press report.¹¹⁹ The layout makes the music information highly distinct: a long article could be scanned quickly for the pointed musical titles alone. Music in the printed reports summarized the whole.

Live or in print, the political purpose of the Festivals coloured the simplest music. The national anthem could even be claimed for the Conservative party.

Conservatives constantly accused Reformers of trickery, for instance calling them “mere

¹¹⁹ For a pamphlet example, see [Stephen Lushington], “A full report of the Grand Conservative Festival, at the Old Palace, St. Augustine’s, July 17th, 1835, in celebration of the election of the Right Hon. S.R. Lushington, as one of the Representatives for the city of Canterbury, W.H. Baldock, Esq. in the Chair,” (Canterbury: Kentish Observer General Printing Office, [n.d.])

puppets, played by a master showman, concealed behind the scenes.”¹²⁰ So when the press reported that “loud cheers” rang out during the singing of “God Save the King” at the words, “Confound their politics; frustrate their knavish tricks,” readers and Festival participants understood it as criticism of Reform. Even the meaning of nature in “My native hills ... Where I in childhood play’d” was reshaped by being introduced by the claim that the purpose of the Festival was not just local but the preservation of the Constitution to protect “the whole kingdom.”¹²¹ Familiar music was reconfigured as politically Conservative as it was reproduced in readers’ own inner soundscapes. When this music then appeared in apparently apolitical situations, it carried a newly sharpened identification as politically conservative.

The soundscape was subtly revised by having certain musical works only applied to certain toast subjects. Conservative Festivals associated “Brunswick” only with members of the royal family, the “Jolly Full Bottle” only with the Church, and “Rule Britannia” was only ever sung for toasts to the military. Gender hierarchy was also present, inextricable from “Health to All Good Lasses:” no song sends a health to all good lads with whom “true joys are found” by women. Many of these were the standard loyal toasts customary at other civic, ceremonial, or even private occasions.

The Conservative party may have been trying to brand itself as delightful because particularly musical. By using any music, the Conservative Festivals constructed a new identification for that music as politically Conservative. The music done only once at Conservative Festivals was less substantially mailed back to the

¹²⁰ For quotation, CF 1836 Hull; for similar cheering of the anthem, CF 1837 Brighton.

¹²¹ Mr. Darby at CF 1837 [Royal] Tunbridge Wells.

echoing soundscape air as the sound of the Conservative party, but every selection literally and figuratively repeated the drill of political and social hierarchy. To those who are so accustomed to the loyal toasts or enamored of the charms of “Rule Britannia” that they might cry “pish tosh” to the suggestion that such toasts and such music were not necessarily political acts, this dissertation is addressed. The customary musical habitus was not innocent of ideology.

Music was a mode of political discourse uniquely capable of combining multiple layers of meaning into an appearance of naturalness and inevitability. By claiming these musical works as its anthems, the Conservative party marketed itself as a natural feature of inevitable daily life. Like feelings that rise apparently unbidden, catchy tunes rise in the mind for humming or whistling in daily activities. This ordinariness and frequent repetition can make music seem to arise by itself, a limitless natural resource. The Conservative party between 1835 and 1841 was adjusting to the legislated requirement that political parties would be chosen by individual voters making up their own minds. The music of the Conservative Festivals was like the Conservative claim that civic governance and the personal experience of religious truth were both personal and public.

The music of the Conservative Festivals punctuated, repeated, conflated, and imbued with powerful emotion the party calls to political activism and definitions of political theory. Music turned the speeches into hummable parcels, light to carry, ever present in the mind, easily triggered by errant bell tunes, military band concerts in public parks, church and tavern music, and parlour performances. The Conservative Festivals bottled the echoing air and slapped on a label that said: society was naturally organized

by God into a happy hierarchy of immutable differences of class and gender. Much of the Conservative Festival music came from the realm of personal experience of the musical soundscape and, glittering with its festive association with the Conservative party, returned to it, to spread conservatism on the echoing air. Some workers and some women sang along.

CHAPTER FOUR:

OPERATIVES AND WOMEN AT CONSERVATIVE FESTIVALS

The idea that class and gender differences were immutable inheritances that determined individual capacity to govern was not a law of nature but a social concoction aided by religious belief and music. The conservative qualifications for full participation in civic and personal power were religious faith, intellectual capacity for strategy, reasoning, and rhetoric, and self-sacrificing disinterest, often called nobility.¹ As operatives and women who organized Conservative Festivals demonstrate in their speeches and writing and in their skilful use of music and other appeals to the senses at the Conservative Festivals they organized, the idea that the qualifications for holding power occurred in gradations of degree based on class and gender was false.² Evidence that rank was intrinsic to class and gender was a social construct based upon the non-rational, highly emotional sand of religious faith. Reasoned arguments, based on these unsustainable premises did not alone achieve the cultural conviction that such hierarchies were natural and immutable. The linkages between music, class, and gender at the Conservative Festivals music show how culture created and embedded the impression that class— and gender-specific

¹ Capitals are applied to words like conservative or reform when they are part of a title like “Conservative party,” “Conservative politician,” “Reform legislation,” or in quotations to reflect the capitalizations in primary sources.

² Midlands operatives were “manual workers in the northern industrial districts.” See Patrick Joyce, *Visions of the People: Industrial England and the question of class 1848-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 21.

capacities were natural. Class and gender did not determine capacity, but they did, for the vast majority, limit access to political and personal power.

The civic agency of operative (working-class) Conservatives is discussed through the pamphlets and manifestos produced by operative Conservative associations, notably by working-class or “operative” Conservative leader, William Paul. The six known Operative Conservative Festivals from 1838 and 1839 are compared with those run by traditional Conservative elites for their use of sensory stimulation both visual and musical.³ The non-rational premise of religious belief drove the political commitment of the operative Conservatives, who expressed it beautifully, and built upon it with reasoning and rhetoric the equal of any supplied by elite male politicians and clergy at other Conservative Festival. The absence of women from printed documentation about Conservative Festivals belied their actual presence and participation, but was consistent with the gendered content of the festival music and of formal politics itself. Histories of politics that depend on such evidence do not identify women as direct political actors, but as the professional women musicians and the 1841 Conservative Festival organized by women show, women were there. Music created a masculine soundworld for formal politics, yet—as will be seen—at least one Festival was organized by Conservative women.

³ Operative Conservatives organized Conservative Festival (hereafter CF) 1838 West Bromwich (2), CF 1838 Leeds, CF 1838 Manchester, CF 1838 Salford, CF 1839 Hull. Full sources for all known Conservative Festivals are given in Appendix A: Conservative Festivals Chronology (hereafter Appendix A: CF Chronology), in chronological order. Footnotes and text identify each Conservative Festival by date and location only, e.g., CF 1836 Hull.

Smart, Noble Operative Conservatives

The first glimpse of operative Conservatives in this study came with William Paul's speech at 1836 Hull Conservative Festival, organized by aristocrats who congratulated the small, brave band of working men who proclaimed their Conservative political faith with courage and determination. William Paul was a flax spinner from Leeds, probably an upper tier worker who did some overseeing.⁴ Profoundly motivated by religious faith, he may have been in the vanguard of the revival of Anglicanism in Leeds, which accelerated in 1837 with the advent of a new Anglican Vicar of Leeds, Walter Farquhar Hook.⁵ But since Paul by his own account had already begun political activism in support of Conservatism and the Established Church by 1835, he was probably part of a grass-roots Anglicanism that opposed the predominantly Dissenting convictions of most urban workers and their municipal politicians.⁶

⁴ William Paul worked in the factory of J.R. Atkinson in the 1830s. See *Northern Star* (Leeds), 21 Apr. 1838, cited in Derek Fraser, *A History of Modern Leeds* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980), p. 281.

⁵ Leeds was firmly Dissenting in the 1830s, but Hook worked for social justice, education and dignity for working people, raising the attendance at church from 50 in 1837 to 400 by 1839. See *Ibid.*, pp. 253-254. Hence, William Paul's mixture of empowerment and humility may have been encouraged by the specific Anglicanism of the town in which he lived. Since Paul founded the Operative Conservative Society of Leeds in 1835, two years before Rev. Hook arrived as Vicar of Leeds, scholarship that emphasizes the role of Rev. Hook as a primary catalyst may be overlooking the intellectual and social agency of working people. More research into the roots of the Leeds Anglican revival is needed.

⁶ For urban working people as Dissenters and the new wave of Anglican church and congregation building of the 1830s, see G.I.T. Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain 1832 to 1868* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), pp. 8-10, 54-55. For Paul's self-description, see William Paul, *A history of the origin and progress of operative Conservative Societies*, Fourth Edition (Doncaster: R. Hartley, printer, n.d. [1842]), pp. 5-6 and CF 1836 Hull.

William Paul's own pamphlet, *A history of the origin and progress of operative Conservative Societies*, and his speeches reported in the press assert that he was an uneducated working man and an independent thinker who suffered much censure within his own community because of his political Conservatism. He claimed a moral high ground in terms and rhetoric similar to those of an aristocrat: proof of itself that class did not determine intellectual or rhetorical capacity, nor the capacity for principled, disinterested commitment of one's whole self to the public good and morality.

William Paul's speech to the 1836 Hull Conservative Festival is a gem, framed as a spontaneous effusion by "a poor working operative of Leeds" who "had not the least idea 26 hours ago that I should at this time have been assembled with you here, and of course ... cannot be supposed to be prepared with a speech."⁷ He suggests that "not having had the opportunity of having my mind cultivated by education, it cannot be supposed that I can fascinate your attention by my eloquence," but he presents a concise, often witty history of the Operative Conservative Societies that he and "two friends" had founded in 1835.

From 1835 into the early 1840s, a series of Conservative party organizations was formed by Midlands "operatives" or manual workers, who held dinners and Conservative Festivals. Within a year of William Paul's initial organization, 100 operative Conservative organizations were functioning. They have been dismissed as sops to workers paid for by local Conservative gentry, aristocracy, and financially comfortable tradesmen willing to trade on the economic self-interest of workers seeking

⁷ Ibid.

insurance, reading rooms, and a tasty annual dinner.⁸ Paul's speech at CF 1836 Hull and his pamphlet, as well as rules and regulations of two of the operative organizations, show instead that these working men were courageous, independent thinkers and committed Anglicans. They embraced the class-based differentials of rights, privileges, wealth and power not from servility but from their fervent belief that they had the right to say what they thought their religious convictions meant for social and political organization. Paul thought that Whigs and Reformers only saw working men as "having clear, correct views" as long as they agreed with Reform. But "let any of the Operative Classes of Society dare to think, to act for themselves—let them dare to refuse immolating themselves under the Juggernaut of Whiggery—let them refuse being—duped by the meteor of reform" and the Reformers and Whigs "insult them, treat them as slaves, ... and as men incapable ... of deliberating their rights and liberties as men and as Britons."⁹ Working class agency was not limited to opposition to the class system, and operatives like William Paul rejected the idea that class necessarily determined political values.¹⁰ He had thought through his politics and acted upon them.

⁸ Frank O'Gorman, *British Conservatism: Conservative Thought from Burke to Thatcher* (London and New York: Longman, 1986), p. 29. O'Gorman adds no new sources in his restatement of the much earlier scholarship, Richard L. Hill, *Toryism and the People, 1832-1846* (London: Constable & Co. Ltd., 1929). This is still the definitive work on operative Conservative organizations and uses extensive primary sources but is afflicted, as is all subsequent academic analysis of these working class Conservatives, with enormous condescension to the operatives.

⁹ Paul, *A history*, pp. 5-6.

¹⁰ Linda Colley points out that few historians of the age of Reform in Britain have addressed the Conservative choices of some working men as evidence of political agency. Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 284.

The operative political associations, like any other, needed money to provide benefits and an annual dinner to their members.¹¹ These operatives were not in the inner circle of party policy making, but they were an essential means by which the Conservative party developed favourable public opinion among the unenfranchised. The operatives worked with a different class of Conservative organizations run by tradesmen, to encourage electoral registration among “the lower class of voters.”¹² The operative Conservative organizations of the mid-1830s were not related to the earlier paid thuggery used for intimidation at election time, but an anonymous pamphlet of 1837 patronizingly dismisses the agency and integrity of the new groups by claiming that these operatives “imagined that the new type of Operative Conservative Society was the work of their own hands.”¹³ By the mid-1840s, perhaps because Conservative paternalism could not be reconciled with increasing class polarisation, the pragmatic, idealistic operative Conservative organizations of the late 1830s declined.¹⁴

Operative opposition to conservatism had been fierce all along, of course, and some of it erupted at Conservative Festivals. One observer of a tussle at Kidderminster in 1838, claimed that Conservative “tradesmen and certain operatives” had tried but failed to form “a joint association” because the operatives had been “jeered and taunted

¹¹ Hill, *Toryism*, p. 68.

¹² Ibid., pp. 68, 36, 53.

¹³ *Thoughts on the State and Prospects of Toryism, etc.*, by R.S.S. (1837), cited in Hill, *Toryism*, p. 52.

¹⁴ Hill, *Toryism*, p. 260.

by the Radicals that they were not numerous enough to form a society for themselves.”¹⁵

Apparently, 60 operatives nevertheless remained on good terms with the Conservative tradesmen and founded their own association, meeting “in the evening, after the operatives had done their day’s work.”¹⁶

Did working-class men create their own Conservative organizations or merely react to pressure or benefits by wealthier Conservatives who inveigled them into membership? Some employers did create operative organizations and may have forced their workers to join. In 1832, William Henry Hornby, a small-scale cotton manufacturer, founded the Blackburn Operative Conservative Association, still active in 1836.¹⁷ Hornby was a Conservative political activist, but a decent employer who later provided his workers with housing and supported the Ten Hours Bill, but was also suspected of election intimidation in the 1840s. Precise relationship between operatives and wealthier Conservatives in these Operative Conservative Associations are not yet known, and there was probably considerable variation.¹⁸ But between 1832 and 1841,

¹⁵ “The Conservative Operatives’ Society at Kidderminster,” *Times* (London), 8 Dec. 1838, p. 3.

¹⁶ For the astute insight that events timed during the working day excluded working men, see Peter Brett, “Political Dinners in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain: Platform, Meeting Place and Battleground,” *History* 81 (1996): 530.

¹⁷ See *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2000) (hereafter ODNB), s.v. “Hornby;” and Blackburn Operative Conservative Association, *Rules and Regulations of the Blackburn Operative Conservative Association, with the resolutions passed at a general meeting, on the 4th of January, 1836, and THE REPORT of the Provisional Committee* (Blackburn: J. Walkden, Northgate, 1836), Lancashire Record Office, DDPR 51/3a (hereafter *Blackburn Rules*).

¹⁸ It is not yet known whether Hornby exerted any pressure on his workers to join the Conservative Association, or whether the workers themselves freely chose to participate. For the view that Operative Protestant Associations were prompted by the Anglican

some of the Operative Conservative Associations were formed by independent-minded working men like William Paul, who states plainly that the Leeds Conservative Operative Association was founded in 1835 when “three humble individuals met together for the purpose of discussing the propriety of forming a society of this description.”¹⁹ The 700-member Hull Operative Conservative Society in 1840 was claimed to have only 50 “honorary members,” presumably of non-operative class status. The other 650 were “honest, industrious, respectable operatives, and they are continually adding to their numbers.”²⁰ At the 1838 West Bromwich Operative Conservative Festival, “a workman proposed that Lord Dartmouth’s health ought to be followed with the Conservative fire,” and the lack of a name for this speaker in the press report reveals operatives who felt free to roll with the spirit of the occasion.²¹ William Paul was not the only working man to speak publicly for political conservatism.

The operative Conservatives who flourished in the 1830s demonstrated fine reasoning (albeit based on arguable first premises), effective community strategies for promoting their political beliefs, and pragmatic work in electing Conservative MPs. In addition to the impassioned speeches and manifesto of William Paul, new evidence of the workers’ own activities includes printed regulations for running their formally constituted associations, printed pamphlets, and the sensuous content of the

Church and were “scarcely distinguishable from Operative Conservative Societies,” see Machin, *Politics and the Churches*, p. 98, citing William Paul.

¹⁹ Paul, *A history*, p. 8.

²⁰ “Hull Operative Conservative Society,” *Times* (London), 28 Nov. 1840, p. 6.

²¹ The “fires” were the salvos of coordinated vocal cheers.

Conservative Festivals they themselves produced.²² Working men could ill afford the costs of running Conservative associations, and wealthier Conservatives like Sir George Sinclair did support them with financial contributions and by attending their Conservative Festivals. Mr. Wilkins of Bolton announced that, since operatives had little money after necessities were paid, “He was not a rich man; ... yet he would put his name down for £5 to give the honest female Conservatives a treat on the very first opportunity.”²³ Wilkins emphasized that Conservative party festivals encouraged votes because they were a good meal, a gift of entertainment, and a way of fostering a culture of political conservatism among those who influenced votes without having the right to cast them. He went on to say, “in every town there should be ‘Female Conservative Associations’ established, and that once a year there should be held in each town a Conservative Festival ... [because] the best way to a man’s brains was through his stomach, and the best way to his heart was through his wife.”

The Operative Conservative Associations were strategic both locally and nationally. While some political Conservatives of the period may have been ideologically opposed to central control of regional Conservative party activism, operative Conservative organizations and festivals show signs of close coordination

²² No scholarship has been found that refers to: Blackburn *Rules*; Dodworth Operative Conservative Benefit Association, *Rules and Orders of the Dodworth Operative Conservative Benefit Association, Established December 10th, 1838*, (Barnsley: J. Ray, Bookseller, Stationer, and Hatter, 1839) (hereafter *Dodworth Rules*); “Bolton Operative Conservative Association, extracted from *The Bolton Chronicle*, of June 4th,” (Bolton: Bolton Chronicle Office, [1836]) (hereafter *Bolton Association*).

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

among themselves and with central London party organizers.²⁴ Nationally prominent Conservative politicians like Sir George Sinclair and Sir Francis Burdett were “honorary members” of the Salford Operative Conservative Association, and both also appeared as prominent speakers at Conservative Festivals held in London as well as in the provinces.²⁵ Sir Francis Burdett attended the Operative Conservative Festivals in Leeds, Salford, and Manchester between March and May of 1838, with timing so tight that it suggests all the dates were centrally coordinated. For the geographical logic of this timing, see the Map (Figure 3) and note the sequence in 1838 of April 16 (Leeds), 18 (Salford), 19 (Manchester), 25 (Loughborough).²⁶ There is no documentation for Loughborough except the Lanesborough song, but given the coherent geographic route and the timing, Burdett, known to have attended the other Festivals in this sequence, probably also attended 1838 Loughborough. If so, he could have stayed at the Leicestershire seat of the Earls of Lanesborough, nearby Swithland Manor.

Strategic activity is evident in the links among the regional Operative Conservative Associations that arose after 1835. The “Declaration” that begins the 1836 Blackburn “Rules and Regulations” is identical with the 1839 Dodworth *Rules*.²⁷ Both

²⁴ Sir F.R. Bonham was a key organizing link between the regions, the central party, and the national press. Few of Bonham’s papers remain, making it difficult to be sure if Bonham himself coordinated the regional Conservative Association events in order to create a chronological sequence to make the most of a nation-wide storm of press reports. See Norman Gash, “F.R. Bonham: Conservative ‘Political Secretary,’ 1832-47,” *English Historical Review* 63, no. 249 (Oct. 1948): 504-505, 510-511.

²⁵ For membership of Lord Francis Egerton, Lord Maidstone, Sir F. Burdett, Sir Geo. Sinclair in operative Conservative organizations, see Secretary of the Salford Operative Conservative Society to William Paul, cited in Paul, *A History*, p. 27.

²⁶ See Appendix A: CF Chronology.

²⁷ Blackburn *Rules*; Dodworth *Rules*.

groups aimed at attracting members by offering slightly different benefits: in Dodworth, health and burial insurance, and in Blackburn, a reading room. These organizations may have been influenced by contemporary working men's friendly societies, like the Ancient Order of Foresters, started about 1834 in Leeds.²⁸ A Foresters' meeting sounds like a Conservative Festival:

So early as nine o'clock, the members began to assemble at the Wellington Hall, and by half-past 11, the forces were marshalled ... dressed in various party-coloured habits, bearing flags, emblems, trophies, &c. The ... two bands of music which attended the procession, playing alternately several popular airs and tunes. Afterwards the whole repaired to ... a plentiful dinner ... provided by host Proctor. A number of loyal and patriotic toasts were given, and some appropriate speeches called forth, and 'music with his voluptuous swell' gave joy and hilarity to the numerous company.²⁹

This may solve the puzzle of why the musical response to William Paul's speech at the elite-organized 1836 Hull Conservative Festival was the glee, "Foresters, Sound the Cheerful Horn."³⁰ The hunting horn, whether in sound or words, was a reference to

²⁸ Working people formed new organizations in cities, from friendly societies for financial mutual help to societies for education and political activism. W.A. Speck, *A Concise History of Britain 1707-1975* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 51.

²⁹ 1841 Ancient Order of Foresters Meeting, <<http://www.isle-of-man.com/manxnotebook/history/socs/forrest.htm>>, (viewed 15 Jun. 2007).

³⁰ Glee and catches are part songs, originally written for unaccompanied male voices to sing in close harmony, but with single voices on each line of music. Glee is sung once through; catches are a type of round, in which a single, very long line, harmonizes itself by having different voices start at set points in the line. The glee as a genre was developed by and for social singing at male musical clubs, notably the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club of London. Minor variations later developed for female voices

aristocratic leisure in which the work was done by men of lower class. Only wealthy, upper class men hunted foxes and owned the horns their servants played; they did not play those horns themselves.³¹ Yet Bishop's glee was programmed as a compliment specifically to a worker from one of the newly-represented industrial towns who represented exactly the segment of political opinion the Conservative party most needed to woo. "Foresters" was surely not intended to offend these workers, but it may have been chosen as a compliment to workers' organizational abilities in their recent formation of urban friendly societies like the Ancient Order of Foresters. The glee was not written about the friendly society, since it had been published well before the society was founded, but its onomatopoeic imitation of horns recreates the actual sound of the idyllic setting painted by the lyrics.³² Nature is the backdrop within which human beings perform different tasks according to their social ranks, made audible in song.

in domestic contexts and for serious public performance by mixed voices, and the form changed ca. 1822 to include piano accompaniment and greater chromaticism that began to resemble the aesthetic of German part-songs by such composers as Felix Mendelssohn. See Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England*, (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 2, 37; Emanuel Rubin, *The English Glee in the Reign of George III: Participatory Art Music for an Urban Society*, (Warren, Mich.: Harmonie Park Press, 2003), pp. 3-4; Philip Olleson, *Samuel Wesley: The Man and His Music* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2003), pp. 269, 272. For the glee as a recognizable trope of masculine leisure parallel to that of parlour music for women, see Kristina Guiguet, *The Ideal World of Mrs. Widder's Soirée Musicale: Social Identity and Musical Life in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*, Mercury Series Cultural Studies, Paper 77 (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2004), p. 60.

³¹ Elizabeth Bradley Strauchen, "Giovanni Puzzi: His Life and Work. A View of Horn Playing and Musical Life in England from 1817 into the Victorian Era (ca1855)" 2 vols. (D. Phil. diss., Somerville College, University of Oxford, 2000), I, p. 4.

³² Not then a new composition. Henry Rowley Bishop, "Foresters, Sound the Cheerful Horn," in Bishop, *Twelve Original English Glees* (London, ca.1810), BL E.643.a.

In a similar vein, the mixed programme of CF 1835 Canterbury included “Going Out A Shooting,” to appeal to its working class diners. Clearly intended for skilled performance, “Going Out A Shooting,” is a comic song about working men who find disaster when they try to ape the leisure pursuits of their class superiors. Like hunting, shooting was an aristocratic pursuit touted as healthful and manly.³³ “Going Out A Shooting” might at first appear to be offensive to the working men so desperately needed to support the Conservative party, but at CF 1835 Canterbury it was used as a moral tale of class identity and the rural-urban divide. Both were of critical importance to Peel’s Conservatives in their search for electoral and popular support among the working people of the burgeoning industrial towns. A series of pathetic adventures befalls the shop-keeper protagonist, as he stumbles through the swamps of the London district of Camberwell but can find no game to kill nor any praise for manly valour.³⁴ His wife does not know what to pack for a hunter’s lunch, and he is arrested by the police for carrying a gun in the city.

This song neatly captures class difference and tensions between urban and rural regions. While landed gentry like Sir Richard and Lady Hunter enjoyed the annual

³³ “Hunting” at mid-century meant fox hunting, mounted on horses with dogs and servants called foresters. “Shooting” was hunting on foot with guns, for game. The distinction is always observed, e.g., in the *Diary of Frederica Emma, Lady Hunter*, Diary, 1840 to 1846, (London) City of Westminster Archives Centre, Acc. 1621, (hereafter FEH Diary). Lady Hunter recorded her husband’s hunting success when he brought her the dead fox’s bloody brush, or such single day kill tallies as “22 Pheasants, 6 hares, and 2 woodcocks.” FEH Diary, 3 Dec. 1840; 30 Jan. 1841.

³⁴ Of all the locations for Conservative Festivals, London was uniquely urban rather than rural, yet, as the song cover shows, stretches of London still resembled fields. For fields within another city’s boundaries in this period, Manchester, see Robert Poole, “The March to Peterloo: Politics and Festivity in Late Georgian England,” *Past and Present* 192 (Aug. 2006): 123-124.

season in London, they also spent two thirds of the year in their two regional residences in Sussex, where Sir Richard often invited other powerful men to “his Preserve at Trickles’ Wood on a shooting expedition.”³⁵ Lady Hunter provided appropriate support by watching from a hill top or organizing meals, for example when “Sir Richard then proceeded to his shooting & I took my usual station on the hill at Warminghurst.”³⁶ The London shooters in “Going Out A Shooting” are small tradesmen who are finally defeated by the futility of their attempt to emulate the leisure activity of a superior class. Their clumsy weapons, the unsupportive spouse, and the untrained dog who is carelessly killed all prove they literally do not know where they are—in the city, not the country, and on the lower rungs of the social ladder—nor where they are going, when, “At length so dreadful came the fog Poor Muggins fell into a bog.” The speaker, “Old Muggins,” finally “vows he ne’er again will roam, / At least to go a Shooting,” and contents himself with keeping his shop.

This was an apt conservative song, using humour to make the point that when the natural class differences are inverted by confused shopmen, they cannot gain the upper class advantages they seek and lose the benefits that naturally accrue to them from keeping their own station. The cover announces that this “comic song” is intended to be funny, but the humour depends on the audience accepting that the scene was ridiculously contrary to natural class differences. Since many of the new voters enfranchised by the

³⁵ FEH Diary, 10 Dec. 1842, when “Lord Drumtaurig & Mr. FitzPatrick came to breakfast here in their scarlet coats, & afterwards they & Sir R went out hunting.”

³⁶ Ibid., 1 Oct. 1842; for meals, e.g., Ibid., 19 Sep. 1840.

1832 *Reform Act* were shopkeepers and Londoners, it is no accident that this song attacked them for exaggerated pretensions.³⁷

It may well have been chosen as a dig at the 1832 Reform Festival at Camberwell, a location named in the song itself, where “600 of the working classes” had gathered to celebrate the *Reform Act*.³⁸ “Going Out A Shooting,” might not have graced aristocratic drawing-rooms, but it was popular enough to be reprinted often, and with the same kind of tone and diction as some of the tavern songs of the period.³⁹

Humour ducks the need for intellectual argument, and, like “Mail Coach Adventures,” this song attacked the Whig ministry for clever intellectualism that ignored what it presented as natural, obvious, and insuperable class differences. Class was not what one did: it was what one was. Class was internal, and each person just knew where they fit in the ranks. Laughter and music welled up from within the bodies as evidence of the internal class landscape of each individual who laughed at these songs. With

³⁷ The 1832 *Reform Act* extended the franchise to include £10 copyholders, £50 leaseholders, and, in towns to occupiers of property with a “rateable value” of £10. Because property values varied nationally, many more Londoners, notably tradesmen, shopkeepers, and skilled workers, were enfranchised than, e.g., Leeds residents, where real estate values were much lower. W.A. Speck, *A Concise History of Britain 1707-1975* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 75. There was a significant but exaggerated Conservative belief that the 1832 *Reform Act* was a revolution in which “power is transferred from one class of society, the gentlemen of England, to another class of society, the shopkeepers, being dissenters from the Church....” Duke of Wellington to Rt. Hon. John Wilson Croker, March 1833, cited in Machin, *Politics and the Churches*, p. 26, fn. 108.

³⁸ “Reform Festival,” *Times* (London), 12 Jul. 1832; p. 5.

³⁹ Lady Hunter cites comic songs in private venues, for example elite musical sarcasm about popular fads like the polka. FEH Diary, 2 May 1846. Class-crossing popularity is suggested by a probable adaptation of “Going Out A Shooting” in J. Labern, “Going Out A Shopping,” sung in a tavern 30 Apr. 1840. Laurence Senelick, ed., *Tavern Singing in Early Victorian London: the diaries of Charles Rice for 1840 and 1850* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1997), p. 79.

class-specific diction, visual imagery, and pulling in music familiar from the soundscape, “Going Out A Shooting” criticizes working-class supporters of Reform while drawing working-class Conservatives into a cosy circle of laughter and shared knowledge. Cross-classing fellowship, indeed.

For upper-class Conservatives to choose music like “Going Out A Shooting” shows that they expected operatives to understand and applaud criticism of Reform supporters. The very selection of music criticizing any members of the working classes was an implicit statement that commitment to conservative hierarchies was not a question of class membership. Conservatives claimed that all benefited from social and political conservatism, and that smart, practical members of the “lower orders” recognized it.⁴⁰

Conservative operatives demonstrated their sense of their own political agency as well as organizational skills in running their reading rooms.⁴¹ Operative Conservative reading rooms with plans for developing library collections and with extensive lists of periodicals existed in Leeds, Salford, Manchester, Blackburn, Barnsley, Ripon, and Bradford, among others.⁴² The 1836 Blackburn *Rules* outline cooperative sharing of the

⁴⁰ For a persuasive demonstration that class did not necessarily determine voting patterns later in the century, see Jon Lawrence, “Class and Gender in the Making of Urban Toryism, 1880-1914,” *English Historical Review* 108, no. 428 (Jul. 1993): 642. Lawrence does not show that class distinctions blurred; merely that they did not determine political party membership or electoral support in every case.

⁴¹ Hill, *Toryism*, pp. 58-9, suggests that wealthy Tories supported operative Conservative organizations, perhaps in part as a counter-move to Whig Mechanics’ Institutes (MI), whose fees were often expensive enough to exclude working people. See Ian Inkster, “Cultural enterprise: Science, Steam Intellect and Social Class in Rochdale circa 1833-1900,” *Social Studies of Science* 18, no. 2 (May 1988): 297.

⁴² Paul, *A history*, pp. 11-30.

work of maintaining the reading room. Working men managed the place, since the regulations imply that members had to travel on foot: “each member in his turn (unless he reside one mile or upwards from the news room) shall perform the office of door-keeper.”⁴³ The organizing committee delayed “application for contributions ... [from] opulent Conservatives of Blackburn until they themselves had got the reading room “fairly brought into operation.” Wealthier Conservatives may have supported them, but the working men themselves were creating and running the structures of their educational and benevolent organizations.

Equally clear is the desire of these working men for intellectual stimulation and education. The Blackburn group intended “that the reason rather than the passions may be appealed to, and that the heads as well as the hearts of the members may be enlisted in the cause of conservatism.” The reading material excluded “works of an immoral or irreligious tendency,” and emphasized conservative political writing as well as “works on arts and sciences, constitutional politics and history, biography, voyages, travels, and general literature.”⁴⁴ The Blackburn Conservative operatives worked at developing their minds.

There is a tension between actively seeking education and keeping one’s lowly place on the social ladder that seems to be addressed by one of the songs performed at the 1838 Leeds operative-organized Conservative Festival, “Mail Coach Adventures,” but is not. The song was an indirect dig at Whigs and Reformers who were seeking change by rethinking “natural” class-specific activities. Programmed by an operative

⁴³ Blackburn *Rules*, p. 6.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 5-6.

Conservative Association, it gives topsy-turvy praise to the pragmatic knowledge of agricultural and urban working folk, as the top-hatted, thus non-working-class, “Simon Bore” lists the absurdities he has learned at college. Rural workers needed no academic study to know that “they don’t feed cows on apple tarts” and urban workers never doubted that “Dustmen rarely drink champaign.” This young man has learned everything wrong by applying intellect to the realities of daily life that are none of his business: he is disrespectfully interfering outside his class. With so many musical images, like “fiddles are not made of cheese,” music itself is presented as natural, obvious, and specific in quality and kind to class. As their emotional response persuaded anyone who found this funny enough to laugh at it, nature cannot be improved upon by being fiddled with by humanity. The operatives who programmed and laughed at this song thought their place in society was as natural as their desire for education.

William Paul’s printed manifesto, like his speeches at Conservative Festivals, shows that working men had excellent minds to develop.⁴⁵ Beautifully organized and sparkling with rhetorical flourishes, Paul’s *History* outlines the principles of the Operative Conservative Association of Leeds, giving a series of reasons “why a poor man may be a Conservative” and criticizing the Whig ministry for specific legislation, and finishing with reports from other regional operative Conservative organizations summarizing their practical achievements.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Paul is often quoted too narrowly by scholars to show his full capacity for argument and wit, e.g., O’Gorman, *British Conservatism*, pp. 140-143.

⁴⁶ Paul, *A history*, p. 16.

Like Sir James Graham, who became a Conservative party member when his religious faith was challenged by Whig Church reforms, William Paul states the first principle of his political reasoning to be faith: "We acknowledge the being and government of God, and believe that his will is the source of all authority, inasmuch as by him 'Kings reign and Princes decree justice.'"⁴⁷ Reasoning cogently from these two premises, Paul clarifies his support for his own position at the lower end of the class hierarchy. "We believe that the different degrees and orders in society are so closely united and interwoven with each other that while we exalt them we raise ourselves ... While we maintain their rights, we secure our own."⁴⁸ Sir Francis Burdett, who renounced his Whig affiliation for the Conservative party on religious grounds, said, "The absence of orders and degrees in society would be fatal to liberty and incompatible with civilization."⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Religion was the precipitating issue for Sir James Graham, Lord Edward Stanley, the Dukes of Richmond and Ripon, and Sir Francis Burdett, who all left the Whigs over Whig Bills of 1833-1834 aimed at reforming the Church of England in Ireland, in part by appropriating some Anglican revenues to State purposes. In the context of markedly increased Dissent memberships in the areas newly enfranchised by the 1832 *Reform Act*, and on the arguments that breaching the integrity of Church revenues in Ireland would pave the way to doing so in the rest of Britain and contravened the special relationship between the Protestant Established Church and the State since 1688 (when it was a reaction against the Catholicism of the abdicating James II), Graham joined the Conservatives. See Machin, *Politics and the Churches*, pp. 36-38; cf. Norman Gash, *Sir Robert Peel: The Life of Sir Robert Peel after 1830* (London, 1972), pp. 66-67, cited in Matthew Cragoe, "The Great Reform Act and the Modernization of British Politics: The Impact of Conservative Associations, 1835-1841," *Journal of British Studies* 47 (Jul. 2008): 586. For William Paul, see Paul, *A history*, p. 8.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁴⁹ Burdett, "Speech at a Conservative Dinner," *Times* (London), 20 Sep. 1837, cited in Hill, *Toryism*, p. 91.

The programmers of Conservative Festivals music were appealing to the religious motivation of operatives as well as aristocrats when they chose the song, “Well Do I Remember.”⁵⁰ Like many other Conservative Festival songs, it celebrates the sailor as a special breed of Briton who is inspired by the “sacred spell” of nature because “his God ... dwells upon the deep.” The lyrics present the voice of a sailor, who piously announces “oh! I do not seek for change.” Modern sensibilities stagger a bit when trying to reconcile working men’s independent thinking with their embrace of their own permanently lower material and political advantages, but humility was one of the lessons of religion that perhaps made accepting the circumstances not of their own choosing more palatable to working class men.

From the divine mandate to govern, Paul outlines Constitutional Monarchy as “a form of Government best adapted ... to secure the happiness and liberties” of the people, with an independent House of Lords as “a bulwark and a safeguard to all those great liberties which Englishmen alone inherit and enjoy,” terms familiar to any elite Conservative Festival speaker. William Paul recognizes his faith-based premise, saying that “the principles of Conservatism are founded upon reason, justice, truth, revelation, and sound loyalty.”⁵¹ Sir Francis Burdett was also teaching a revealed truth, not questioning its validity as a rational premise, when he plainly stated that arguments against conservatism “influenced his mind not in the smallest degree.” Like the operatives assembled before him, he said, he never deigned to reply to arguments against the established hierarchy but relied instead on “the feelings and honest hearts ... of his

⁵⁰ CF 1839 Northampton.

⁵¹ Paul, *A history*, pp. 7, 16.

countrymen ... [who also] despised every attack of that kind.”⁵² William Paul, like Burdett, believed that emotion was evidence of sincerity and correct apprehension of God’s truth. He describes his own writing as “heartfelt and ... spontaneous effusions of a feeling mind ... this sincerity constitute[s] their richest worth.”⁵³ William Paul’s rhetorical skills are rather more impressive than those of any well-educated aristocrat because, as he points out, “rank, wealth, or education, to me are entire strangers.”⁵⁴ Understanding and being able to explain the conservative theoretical mixture of non-rational religious premises and the tottering logic built upon it was not a function of class inheritance but of religious belief and intellectual capacity.

Among Paul’s reasons for a poor man to be a Conservative are specific Whig legislation and seeing that working people were still poor and in other ways worse off. He notes that, after eight years of Reform rule, workers had no better wages, no more food, and no better clothing than under the Tories, and that Whigs “hypocritically pretended to take off two millions of taxes, and have placed on three millions in their stead.” Paul finds annual charitable giving by Whigs is less than by Tories, listing specific amounts of money given by both in a series of cities. He attacks the Corn Laws and the Municipal Corporation Reform Bill as covert taxation of the poor. Impassioned

⁵² CF 1838 Leeds. Staking belief against countervailing arguments and against majority rule was a common Conservative theme. Burdett was cited by John Cam Hobhouse in 1819 as refuting a point by saying “why he feels it and cannot help it” and “He would never follow the multitude in that which, in his conscience, he believed to be evil.” BL Add. MS 56540, ff.49-50; Hobhouse diary, 26 Jan. 1819, cited in Marc Baer, “Political Dinners in Whig, Radical and Tory Westminster, 1780-1880,” *Parliamentary History* 24 (Supplement 2005): 195.

⁵³ Paul, *A history*, Introduction, n.p.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

rhetoric floods the page as Paul reviles the Reform ministry's inspectorates of social and working conditions. They pried into workers' personal lives, "examining the teeth of factory children" and blighted working people's evening leisure, since "of a dark night, you will find a Whigling Alderman going disguised in a sailor's dress ... affecting some comical character ... and there he goes from public-house to public-house, peeping and spying out to see what immorality he can find within them."⁵⁵

Beneath the specifics that Paul has mastered lies the religious premise that Whig assertion of "'The people, the only true and legitimate source of power'" was hypocrisy because it could not change the divinely-ordered hierarchy of human difference. Paul's rhythmic cadences describe Whig liberalism as "a mere cuckoo cry, to decoy, ensnare, and insult," and, whether or not he was right about the source of legitimate political mandate, he correctly understood that no aristocratic Whig intended to level the social ladder with their claims to being "the friends of the people."⁵⁶ William Paul and his fellow operative Conservatives preferred the frankness of elite Conservatives. When, at CF 1836 Hull, he rose to address men of far greater wealth, privileged birth, and advanced education, he was secure in his own, respectable membership in a community of principle. He said, "I am an entire stranger to you, and am only known by the

⁵⁵ "Whigling" is a pejorative diminutive of "Whig." Paul, *A history*, pp. 17-23. Mary Poovey precisely captures the nub of this resentment in her analysis of the 1834 Poor Law Amendment which attributed poverty to "pauperism," the moral failings of the poor, flattened individuals into statistics, and exculpated governments and employers from their responsibilities in creating conditions of poverty for working people. See Poovey, *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation, 1830-1864* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), pp. 9-11, 74-97. For a similar sentiment among working-class Conservatives in the later nineteenth century, see Lawrence, "Class and Gender," pp. 644-646.

⁵⁶ Paul, *A history*, p. 8.

principles I profess.”⁵⁷ William Paul believed that the universal truth of political and social conservatism made him an honourable member of a hierarchical society.

For the working man like Paul, unprotected by wealth and surrounded by many other workers who were committed to Reform, public assertion of Conservative belief was an act of courage. Violent intimidation was common in elections in the Midlands, where William Paul lived, and even Conservative mill-owner William Hornby had his family threatened and his windows broken in the election of 1841.⁵⁸ Burdett, who had been much reviled for changing political party, said at CF 1838 Leeds that he had “never hesitated to put himself at the front of the battle when he thought the good of his country at stake.” How much more was at stake for William Paul, who knew that by taking a public stand against Reform, he would “expose myself to the lash, and the ridicule of these fig-leaved patriots.” At CF 1836 Hull, he seems to have been recounting personal experience when he said that Conservative operatives were called “fools, lickspittles ... slaves, the tools of the party.” Like Burdett, Paul did not care: “I am perfectly indifferent ... as I deem their censure my highest praise.”⁵⁹

Paul had long been singing in his writing, from the first pamphlet of the Leeds Operative Conservative Society, in which he quoted “Rule Britannia” to punctuate his belief that in his own station in life he would “exult that freedom is our birthright as Englishmen ... [and] triumphantly exclaim ... ‘BRITONS NEVER, NEVER WILL BE SLAVES.’” The message of every working man to do his duty for his country,

⁵⁷ CF 1836 Hull.

⁵⁸ ODNB, s.v. “Hornby.”

⁵⁹ Paul, *A history*, p. 6.

regardless of the cost to himself, is precisely the message of “Death of Nelson,” programmed and performed by the Salford Operatives for their Conservative Festival of 1838.

Passionate faith, fine reasoning, and the material benefits of the operative Conservative organizations were not all those working-class Conservatives aimed at.⁶⁰ William Paul and his operative colleagues had “truly national and elevated” objectives, aiming to get Conservative politicians elected locally and nationally. He notes that in the Municipal Elections for Leeds in 1838, the operatives were “actively and zealously engaged” in achieving the successful election of 10 Conservatives to the Town Council. He describes disinterested idealism among his fellow operatives, who “night by night, after they have finished their daily labour, come to the meetings, anxious, by information or otherwise, to do good to the cause which they are pledged to support.”⁶¹ The Salford Operative Conservative Association, for instance, was one of several that worked on the practicalities of “the registration of voters, and they succeeded in displacing about fifty bad votes.”⁶²

The logical wobble in the conservative notion that self-sacrifice or disinterestedness as a qualification for greater access to political and personal power was largely limited to the upper crust is apparent in the long hours that these labouring men

⁶⁰ For a compelling case from later in the nineteenth century showing different clusters of working people in the same area and with the same occupation choosing Toryism or Reform, see Lawrence, “Class and Gender,” p. 641.

⁶¹ Paul, *A history*, pp. 25, 14, 13.

⁶² Committee of the Salford Operative Conservative Association, St. Stephen’s-Street, Salford, 14 Sep. 1838, to William Paul, cited in *Ibid.*, p. 27. For Leeds operatives “attending to the Registrations,” *Ibid.*, p. 13.

devoted to disinterested civic goals. It is audible, too, in Conservative Festivals songs that claim disinterested courage for working men, like “Well Do I Remember.” The low-born sailor sings, “I’ve faced my death a hundred times” as he “kept the midnight watch,” maintaining his duties even when he saw “angry waves, / Like giants in their might, / O’erwhelm the best and bravest hearts.” Five of the six known operative-organized Conservative Festivals used music in exactly the same ways as the elite-organized events. Operatives used the same range of musical genres and many identical musical works (see Table 2). Operative and non-operative music selections had much in common. Reports of named music were identical for both CF 1838 Manchester (operative) and CF 1837 Sleaford: “Non nobis, Domine,” the anthem, and “Hail, Star of Brunswick!” Of the 13 most often-repeated musical works at all Conservative Festivals, operative festivals organizers chose five: “Non nobis, Domine” (5), “God Save the Queen” (4), the serious glee “Brunswick” (1), “Here’s a Health to Old England” (“Jolly Full Bottle”) (2), and “Here’s a Health to All Good Lass(ie)s” (1). Like elite-organized Conservative Festivals, operative festivals used comic songs like “Mail Coach” much less often than serious songs like “Death of Nelson.” Hunting themes and operatic excerpts were chosen by operative and elite organizers: “What Equals on Earth the Delights of the Huntsman” (opera; CF 1838 Salford Operative), “Foresters, Sound the Cheerful Horn” (1836 Hull non-operative), and “Vive le roi” (opera; CF 1837 Brighton non-operative).

No report of an operative-organized festival named as much music as was heard at some elite-organized festivals like CF 1835 Canterbury and CF 1837 [Royal]

Tunbridge Wells. Where working men, urban or rural, were present with upper-class men, the music was chosen to appeal to workers and gentry alike in part by using a range of musical genres roughly associated with each (e.g., “Steam Arm” combined with the probably operative “Maid of Judah” at CF 1835 Canterbury). Much of the Conservative Festivals music, like “Rule Britannia” and popular drinking songs like “Here’s a Health to Old England,” were basic to the prevailing musical soundscape regardless of class.

Evidence of operatives providing paid musicians is scant, with “sung by a full and very effective vocal band” possibly referring to amateurs at CF 1838 Leeds, and in CF 1838 West Bromwich (both festivals) no professionals but “an amateur party of glee singers” entertained.⁶³ More certain evidence of paid professionals like the Ransfords at CF 1837 London is associated with upper-class organizers, presumably as a gift of entertainment to the voters present. The goals of all the festivals were the same, whether organized by working men or aristocrats. Slight differences in musical repertoire where no operatives were in attendance, like the tough-minded “Here’s a Health to Honest John Bull” at CF 1839 Coleman Street Ward, London, are faint indications that the logical tensions of claiming that workers benefited as much as aristocrats from conservative hierarchies wheezed a relentless accompaniment to the Conservative song.

⁶³ What little is known of the West Bromwich Operative Association is that the Mr. Izon who chaired and sang was probably not an operative, but related to the long-standing Izon iron works firm. Late in the eighteenth century, Izons had supplied tubing to James Watt in his early work in Birmingham on steam power. ODNB, s.v. “Watt, James.”

For all the claims that the ability to govern was a function of class, inherited by aristocrats to far greater degree than by working-class men, the evidence of the operative Conservatives shows the contrary. Operatives like William Paul reasoned, spoke, and organized for disinterested civic action at significant cost to their own energies and time, and were brave in the face of heated Reform opposition from their own workmates and bosses. Using rhetoric liberally laced with wit, their arguments in favour of the hierarchies that bound them to economic and social disadvantage were as compelling and as profoundly based on the non-rational premise of faith as those of the upper classes who profited so much more from the same principles. The music for Operative Conservative Festivals was nearly indistinguishable from those organized by elites, with the possible exception that when no working men were by, certain Conservatives indulged in musical disdain in songs like “John Bull.” Musically, the operatives were more honest than their “betters.” Differences due to wealth and opportunity aside, operative Conservatives demonstrate that class did not distinguish those who were fit to govern from those who were not.

Operatives Used Sensuous Cultural Symbolism

The very venue of a Conservative Festival was a statement of the pleasures and clarity of a hierarchical social structure, blending urban and rural communities. Operative festivals, like their elite counterparts, were designed so that “not merely sensual gratification was consulted, but every sense—sight, smell, hearing, and taste—were

equally attended to.”⁶⁴ Engaging the senses was a critical feature of both the live festivals and their newspaper reports, and music was but one of the sensuous appeals that included spatial design, decoration, and the entertainment value of seeing modern technological innovations. Musical considerations shaped certain features of the visual impact of the Conservative Festivals and their reports, but all the elements of sensory appeal communicated the same cultural messages of hierarchy.

The decorations of the Conservative Festivals presented inescapable visual iterations of core conservative symbolism of nature, divinity, and plenty. The divine mandate to govern was linked with abundant food in table decorations of “large and costly models of churches, temples ... loaded with sweetmeats” at the 1838 Liverpool Operative Conservative Festival. Press reports recreated the visual impact of venues, for instance, the purpose-built site of CF 1837 Sleaford:

The tent was 180 feet long by 100 wide, and contained 54 tables, each lettered, and every seat numbered, corresponding with the tickets issued, so that every one of the 1500 who dined on entering found his place with the greatest ease. The pavilion was tastefully decorated with pink and white drapery, which produced a light and agreeable effect, with numerous banners and mottoes, and 1,200 variegated lamps, besides several large chandeliers. Over the arched seat of the president (the Earl of Winchilsea) was the Bible, surmounted by a crown and sceptre, composed of the choicest dahlias ... Over the orchestra was an excellent portrait of the Queen, surrounded with rays of eminent Conservatives ...

The lived experience of seeing this display of nature and the modern technology of gas chandeliers is recreated in print, as the textual “camera” sweeps into the venue and

⁶⁴ CF 1835 Canterbury.

describes it as if looking slowly up and down, then horizontally across the scene. Just as song titles could set off a sympathetic echo in the reader's mind, so describing images allowed the reader to imagine the live scene. For those present in the flesh who could not read, in this period when literacy was still not the norm for working people, the visual and musical media were important means of making political ideas clear and memorable.

Programmers could link music and visual symbolism. At CF 1837 Sleaford, the decor thus presented Conservative politicians as rays of the metaphorical sun that is the image of monarchy: the divine creation of nature is represented by individuals at the apex of political hierarchy. At the same festival, "Brunswick" makes a similar reference to the monarch as a great star.⁶⁵ The Hanoverian dynasty then on the British throne was also known as the House of Brunswick, and in the glee lyrics, as the Star guiding Britain, the Brunswickian monarch is identified as a force of nature, of historically long-standing through biological, family inheritance. In a country so bound to the sea, the guiding star was also an implicit reference to naval use of astronomy for navigation. Without thinking through the layers of references, listeners replete with their excellent dinners of Conservative beef and ale could swell with emotion as they heard this musical description of Empire, monarchy, and the power of the sea as part of God's natural world all indivisibly linked with political conservatism. "Brunswick," which captures all of these layers, was a Conservative Festivals favourite. Music with its own layers of

⁶⁵ "Brunswick" was designed for male singers and to please a monarchist, since Samuel Webbe wrote one of the parts for the Prince of Wales. See Rubin, *The English Glee*, p. 138.

meaning did not function in isolation from the other features of the Conservative Festivals.

As the advance notice for the 1838 Leeds Operative Conservative Festival noted, the “arrangements show that the coming festival will be immeasurably superior to anything of the kind ever seen in Leeds.”⁶⁶ Exceptional efforts were made to market the Conservative party as the purveyor of technological advances from the great metropolis into the regions.

Temporary pavilions were often raised to house the Conservative Festivals, perhaps none more utterly spectacular than that designed by H.E. Kendall for CF 1837 London (Figure 9). Kendall wrote a pamphlet about his design that shows the long planning that had gone into creating a solidly-built space in which the logistics of seating, serving, and music were beautifully planned. Care was taken to ensure that all diners could see the speakers, and Kendall outlines in detail the dressing room arrangements for the musicians as well as their heavenly gallery hovering above the grosser gratifications of dining to bring celestial music to all.⁶⁷ Seven massive gas chandeliers, each seven and a half feet high and seven feet wide, gave the main illumination. The use of gas light was not yet common in Britain in 1837, so by using it

⁶⁶ Compare with CF 1838 Salford, another operative festival with a purpose-built pavilion that was “tasteful and superb to a degree we never before witnessed in the provinces” and the description of the temporary structure for CF 1837 Sleaford is strikingly similar to that raised four months earlier at CF London 1837.

⁶⁷ H.E. Kendall, “Description of the Temporary Pavilion erected on the premises of Messrs. Cubitt, Grays-Inn-Road for the City of London Conservative Festival, 14 June, 1837, paper read at the Ordinary Meeting of the Institute of British Architects on June 26, 1837,” (London: John Williams, Library of Arts, 1837), Guildhall Library, Prints and Maps Division, M0068068CL, pp. 4-7. My thanks to Jane Glasson for acquiring a copy.

the party was aligning itself with modern technology. This temporary structure cost £900 pounds to build, and as Kendall points out, given its complexity and the speed with which it had to be assembled, it was cheap at the price.⁶⁸

The architect downplayed the political message of his design when he presented it to the Architectural Institute as an innovative structure in the history of London architecture. The Conservative party, however, was not spending such vast sums to

Fig. 9. London Pavilion 1837, courtesy the Guildhall Library

advance architectural style. The party was making a powerful marketing gesture so intriguing that it appealed to the many people of “all political creeds” who saw and liked

⁶⁸ The scale of this expenditure was huge, on the same scale as State expenditures. Taxable annual income began at £50, and a large family with resident servants, for instance, could be sustained for about £400 per year. See Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), p. 361.

it.⁶⁹ The conservative conceptual point about hierarchy was unmistakable in the spatial integration of men of different classes and functions, from head table speakers on their raised platform to waiters and musicians, each with their clearly-differentiated spaces in

Fig. 10. London Pavilion 1837 Seating Detail, courtesy the Guildhall Library

the architect's design. Musicians were quite distinct from the political participants, entering their special rooms without passing through the main dining hall, and ascending

⁶⁹ Kendall, "Description of the Temporary Pavilion," p. 8.

to their performing gallery via specially designated staircases outside the “Musicians’ Din^g [sic] Room” (Figure 10).⁷⁰

Music received careful attention in Kendall’s design, with the musicians placed in the heavens of the structure to perform (in Figure 10, note “Orchestra Over” the Musicians Dining Room and Hats). Festival coordinators made sure that the musical sound would work in this untried venue. Two nights before the event, the room was “lighted up in order to try the general effect of the interior arrangements.” The gas chandeliers probably needed rehearsal, since the gas piped in for the temporary event had to be safe and was probably noisy enough when such large fixtures were lit that the music had to be rehearsed with them on. The newspaper reported that in rehearsal, “it was found that the voice could be heard in every quarter, notwithstanding the vast extent of the apartment. An experiment to this effect was tried by Mr. Jolley, the vocalist, and Master Walker, who sung ‘God Save the King’ and several duets, while seated in the music gallery, and every note was fully and distinctly heard at the further end of the room.”⁷¹ This promotional article emphasized the excellence of the professional musicians hired by announcing that “the Coldstream Guards ... is engaged for the occasion, besides almost every professional singer of celebrity at present in London.” Music was so important to this gathering that the organizers, faced with a financial choice between building a “separate and distinct” location for women observers or for

⁷⁰ The diners held tickets designating their seat by table letter and number and all entered the room through such walkways after passing ticket-checkers stationed at a point beyond the lower right hand side of this image.

⁷¹ CF 1837 London. Women and other “respectable” people were allowed to view the scene for several days afterwards, but not attend the event.

the musicians, chose the musicians. Naming well-known musicians in print could set memories of their voices—and their most frequent repertoire—ringing in the readers' inner soundscapes. Whether for operative or elite, regional or London consumption, Conservative Festival organizers integrated music with a full array of sensual pleasures to market the Conservative party as a national source of delight, plenty, and modernity.

Fig. 11. London Pavilion 1837 Musicians' Gallery, courtesy the Guildhall Library

Women Were There Too, Though One Might Not Have Read About It

The Conservative Festivals created a masculine soundworld and, like all the others, this press report gives the impression that women were neither part of the formal political activity nor among the professional musicians engaged. But the soundworld was constructed socially, and the reports did not represent the whole truth. Professional women musicians were carefully included in Kendall's design. When the architect was planning the special venue for CF 1837 London, a plan remarkably similar to those

described in other locations, the organizers had already instructed him to make space for a “dressing closet, appropriated to the ladies of the vocal choir.”⁷²

The view of the musicians’ gallery (Figure 11) shows 51 musicians, of whom at least 10 on the left side of the image are women singers clearly wearing dresses or bonnets. The configuration of the stairs to the gallery would have had to take those women’s bonnets into account. A planner of a different gathering, an 1828 music festival, noted that the configuration of a proposed venue for a concert was inadequate because “no ladies can possibly get up the stair particularly with ... Bonnetts.”⁷³ The Conservative Festival organisers had to decide to engage women musicians well in advance so their architect could design and build to accommodate them. No other documentary evidence identifies women as professional musicians at Conservative Festivals, but they were there. The numbing silence about women in political music was not a representation of their actual absence, but a cultural construction of politics as a wholly masculine activity. Women musicians might work, but printed reports constructed an impression that only men were active in music at political gatherings.

Women musicians probably did perform at other Conservative Festivals even outside London, since working women musicians in the provinces carried on professional careers. For example, in 1828, Joanna Atkinson of York negotiated on her own behalf with a music festival programming committee. Atkinson was tactful but

⁷² Kendall, “Description of the Temporary Pavilion,” p. 4.

⁷³ East Riding of Yorkshire Archives and Records Service (Beverley), 1828 Correspondence concerning a musical Festival, to raise an Organ Fund for Christ Church, PE 165/521 (hereafter E.Yorkshire PE 165/521), B. Cottingham to J. Woodall, Scarborough, East Yorkshire, 19 Aug. 1828. Bonnet sizes were similar in 1828 and 1836.

tough in insisting on her contractual conditions, including limiting the number of glees she had to sing to one.⁷⁴ She wrote, “I will make a point of singing the Glee Loadstars in compliment and out of sincere respect to Mr. Shield but I wish you and Mr. White would select & arrange the others independently of me.”⁷⁵

Why should a professional woman singer care how many glees she sang?

Professional singers of the most glittering rank participated in ensemble work, so she could not afford to be offended by non-solo repertoire. She may have thought neither she nor the glees preferred by the festival organizers would sound to best advantage with a woman’s voice mixed with the other lines sung by men. Some glees were written for women’s voices, usually for domestic consumption, and some serious glees were intended for performance by mixed voices, but most were written for male voices, since the genre had been developed by male composers for male singers at private music clubs. Composers designed certain music for the timbre and ranges of male voices with such skill that female singers would not enhance the intended effect and would likely find the music uncomfortable to sing.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Her toughness at managing the competing obligations no male musician faced is revealed in E. Yorkshire PE 165/521, Joanna Atkinson, 17 South Parade York, to J. Woodale, Esq., 12 Jul. 1828. She requested that the dates of the entire festival be changed so her husband could travel with her, to protect her respectability. His obligations to the Archbishop of York conflicted with her original festival dates. This was contentious, late in the planning process, and resulted in festival organizers successfully negotiating with the Archbishop to release Mr. Atkinson for the required dates.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 30 Jul. 1828, York, Mrs. J. A. Atkinson to T. Woodale.

⁷⁶ The compositional intention and performance tradition of all-male voices in this genre may have made pragmatic musicians like Mrs. Atkinson leery of singing them. Rubin, *The English Glee*, p. 53, notes that eighteenth-century glees were designed only for male

Fig. 12. “Hail, Star of Brunswick!” Excerpt, courtesy James Wright

For example, the often-programmed “Brunswick” is a four-voice glee for male alto, two tenors and a bass that can only be well done by male singers (Figure 12). Which part or parts might women sing? It may seem simple enough to put women singers on the alto or one of the tenor parts, but it is not. A woman singing the first tenor part would change the close texture between the two tenor parts (vocal lines 2 and 3) because women sing an actual octave higher, even though the tenor line is written in the same location as a female soprano line on the musical staff. Since the second tenor and the bass

singers; and from 1830 to 1850, the NGCC still used primarily eighteenth century repertoire. See Appendix D: Catch Club Music 1841-1847.

(the bottom vocal line) often sing in unison on the same pitch (although the music on the staff looks as if they are an octave apart), to assign a female voice to the second tenor line at the normal female pitch of an octave higher would mar the intended balance and change the unisons. The top vocal line of “Brunswick” was written for male alto or boy soprano, again written an octave higher than it sounded. Women altos can sing the line if they transpose it down an octave from where they are reading it in the music. At sight, this can be a significant obstacle even for experienced choral musicians, since women altos are not accustomed to reading at the top of the staff.⁷⁷ Professional singers often had to prepare quickly or even sight read in performance. For the male singers for whom these lines were written, the sight of the music was familiar. Unlike male singers, women trying to sing most glees are thus constantly reminded that this music was not intended for them.

Another approach to adapting the glees for women’s voice might be to transpose them to different keys. But when the bass part spans the full range of most bass voices, as it does in “Brunswick,” the musical work cannot easily be transposed into other keys:

⁷⁷ My thanks to Barbara Robertson and Stuart Robertson who helped develop these insights into glee performance by arranging a sing-through of representative samples of Conservative Festival repertoire in March 2008 with experienced amateur choral musicians at Vankleek Hill, Ontario. The works sung were “Non nobis, Domine,” “Brunswick,” “Foresters Sound the Cheerful Horn,” “Sleep, Gentle Lady,” “Here’s a Health to the Newark Red Club.” Other singers might react differently, but this group of interested men and women singers deeply disliked “Brunswick,” which was so beloved in mid-nineteenth-century glee clubs, finding it unsuccessful with women’s voices mixed with men’s and visually and vocally uncongenial for women to sing. The historical perception of musical quality in this instance had changed largely because of the historical change in performance conventions. Without the ambient social context and political purpose of mid-nineteenth-century Britain, this music was found to be ugly and unnatural.

most basses have no other notes to offer. Such full-span bass lines might be adapted to other keys by shifting individual notes or short sections up or down an octave, but this interferes with tunes and the composer's textural intentions, creating leaps in melodies where none were intended, for example, and disfiguring the whole aesthetic. Wide-ranging bass lines limit the flexibility of adapting a harmonized work for other voice types.⁷⁸

Bass lines of much narrower compass, like the Bishop glees, "Sleep" and "Foresters," are accessible to more amateur basses, and are often found in glees with narrower compass in the other vocal lines.⁷⁹ These works can be transposed to different keys without disfigurement, but works in which the compass for each singing voice is limited to a single octave do not usually need transposition to be manageable by most amateur singers. Bishop's "Foresters" is an excellent example of narrow compass lines that can merrily be taken on by women's voices without subverting the melodies and most of the textures. But even here the fact that hunting was almost exclusively a masculine pursuit would shape period audience expectations that all of these lines would be sung by men.⁸⁰ Bishop's "Sleep" is more accessible to women singers or mixed gender performances, with lullaby lyrics that could be suited to women singers and a bass line that does not have as wide a compass as "Brunswick," nor does it sit as low in

⁷⁸ Cf. Rubin, *The English Glee*, Chapter Eight, "Defining Voice Configurations."

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 167, says that such later works were a sub-genre of "public glees" designed to adapt to women's voices and meet commercial demand for mixed genders in public glee concerts.

⁸⁰ A few women, e.g., Lady Hunter and her sister-in-law Ellen Bishop, occasionally went on shooting expeditions, without carrying a gun. FEH Diary, 10 Sep., 16 Dec. 1840; 3 Jan. 1843.

the voice. What made this glee a statement that masculinity was the preferred gender for those with political power was the toast to Princess Victoria that preceded it at CF 1837 London. Speaking six days before the death of King William IV, who was then widely known to be dying, George Palmer said of Princess Victoria that he was “sure that her prayers at this moment ascended with theirs to the throne of the Almighty that the occasion of her accession to the British Crown might be long delayed.” Mr. Palmer presumably preferred to sing “God Save the King.”

One glee was an insider joke, probably hilarious to male church musicians as a form of mildly oppositional culture, but also attractive to listeners. “Great Bacchus,” probably performed at CF 1841 Chelmsford, has the sound of a church anthem, with each of five voices demanding considerable vocal and musical skill. After the somewhat polyphonic independence of the voices in the introduction, composer Samuel Webbe wittily introduces hushed, hymn-like chords to make audible the religiosity of the lyrics about wine that tell the god, Bacchus, “behold here thy altar and vot’ries prepared.”⁸¹ The hymn-like sound unmistakably refers to church-going, another example of the importance of the sound of music as a form of communication. The religious diction,

⁸¹ Polyphony, in which independent musical lines are performed simultaneously, is audibly distinct from chordal harmonies in which all lines but one support a single, dominant tune. While there were some polyphonic stylistic roots in glee writing, Rubin compellingly argues that, since polyphony obscures text, and since the glee as a form integrated poetry into the musical structure, the glee is not fundamentally polyphonic. He credits Samuel Webbe (Sr.), however, with witty combination of musical styles in the service of expressing musically the poetic texts. Rubin, *English Glee*, pp. 69-73, 287-288. Church hymns tend to be more chordal than polyphonic to accommodate congregational singing. The Robertson sing-through at Vankleek Hill showed this glee to be vocally imbalanced with women on the upper lines, but found its audible parody of sacred music praising the god of wine charming and instantly recognizable as hymn-like.

too, makes the piece a reference to sacred duty, but by using a mythic god, Bacchus, any possibility of offending the pious by referring to drink is removed. The text conflates the monarch with Britain and with nature itself with “No pow’r on earth can with thine be compar’d” in a pompous, hymnal final cadence.

For choral musicians who worked long hours for church and Catch Club employers and had for their pains far less income than the opera stars and less social status than their (usually) musically inferior employers, the sound of this glee could be read as a mild poke at the idea that choral music was intrinsically religious. Here are working musicians, many of them composers as well as performers, slyly announcing their agency by demonstrating that their musical skill was what created the actual sound of religiosity, regardless of the lyrics, which in this case are nominally secular. The sound of musical religiosity may have seemed natural to the inattentive church-goer, but it was created by clever musicians. Without careful attention to the constructedness of the musical sound itself, secular audiences might assume, half-consciously, that such musical religiosity was natural.

In this musical joke, gender definitions are part of the musical structure. “Great Bacchus” is representative of the culture of glee-club meetings, because it is a celebration of masculine social culture involving alcohol and mild secularism. Low male voices dominate. One of two bass lines announces the opening theme, and throughout the piece the lower voices carry most of the interest and energy, with the two highest vocal lines as harmonic and textural garnish. The reference to nature is both textual and

aural: men are presented here as naturally liking wine and wine is the “patron of social delights” that fosters homosocial fellowship.

In the print record, many of the references to music supported the notion of politics as an exclusively masculine preserve, not least because women musicians were not named even when they did sing. Naming the genre of the glee signalled the masculine vocal timbres associated with typical glee performances in all-male musical clubs of the time. Genre was not the only signifier of masculinity. Many of the named songs had titles that were obviously about male-specific activities, like military and naval work (“A Soldier Am I,” “Heart of Oak,”) masculine recreation (“Going Out A Shooting,” “What Equals on Earth the Delights of the Huntsman”), male gallantry to women (“Here’s a Health to All Good Lasses,” “Lass of Richmond Hill”). All of these works, whether in terms of gendered vocal characteristics or text or both, stamped the action of the Conservative Festivals as a masculine domain. That the newspapers mentioned only male musicians was consistent with the cultural construction of politics and political music as naturally masculine.

Unlike the glees, the songs needed only a single line of tune to be recognizable, and many of these were narrow enough in vocal compass that the whole work could be transposed to accommodate any necessary changes if some parts were to be sung by women as well as men. Many of the texts are sufficiently flexible that women or men could sing them. Even “Rule Britannia” qualifies, since its reference to gender is limited to “manly hearts, to guard the fair,” which women could sing without impropriety as description. The genres of glee and catch were masculine because formative

performance traditions had shaped composition; the use of masculine musical genres at political party conviviality mirrored and entrenched the exclusion of women from formal political life.

Six of the 10 most-repeated selections are glees or catches (Table 2). The remaining four are one song (“Fine Old English Gentleman”) and one oratorio excerpt (“See the Conquering Hero Comes”) about men; one is the militaristic “Rule Britannia” and one the national anthem. The texts of the last two could have been sung by men and women together with no difficulty, particularly since they need not have been harmonized.

Of the 55 discrete musical selections of the Conservative Festivals, a third (19) are glees. Most of the selections were songs (31), and 25 were clearly chosen by organizers so diners could sing together in the choruses or in familiar, vernacular songs (noted in Appendix B: CF Music as sing-alongs). Only men sang along at the Conservative Festivals, since only men organized and dined there.⁸² It is no surprise, then, that whether organized by operatives or aristocrats, Conservative Festivals music is either about men or expresses a masculine perspective.

Women and Conservative Festival Music

Of the 45 Conservative Festival songs collected, 22 refer to women, most of them gallantly. Only one has lyrics in a woman’s voice, “There is nae luck about the house ... when our guidman’s awa,” in which the protagonist drops her own work to focus on her returning man. It was sung to the Marquis of Downshire, presumably as a testament to

⁸² The sole exception is the 1841 Nottingham Conservative Festival discussed below.

how indispensable a “guidman” he was to the local community. Most of these songs refer to women as a reward for masculine heroism, with words like “beauty” (“Rule Britannia”) or a goddess rewarding hunters (“Foresters”). Women are romanticized as part of nature in another handful (“Brave Old Oak,” “Come Let Us Join the Roundelay,” “Mountain Maid”) or are implicit in references to family as inspiration for the heroic sailor (Braham’s “Death of Nelson”). Women are toasted in “Health to All Good Lasses,” not for their own benefit but because “with them true joys are found” by the singing men.

A handful of songs (five) are decidedly hostile to women who challenged male control at home or in civic and working life, regardless of class. Masquerading as gallant concern, the genteel “Sleep, Gentle Lady” was given new meaning by the preceding toast wishing that Princess Victoria might remain innocent of political action. More obvious and pervasive in the musical soundscape is the cultivated glee, “To All You Ladies Now at Land,” in which sailors explain to their women “How hard it is to write” letters. They appeal to natural forces beyond themselves, “The Muses ... and Neptune” to write on their behalf. In lyrics using elevated diction like “indite” and educated references to mythology, these naval men claim to be prevented by nature from pleasing their women.

Similarly, the workman in the angry “Steam Arm” cannot help himself from beating his shrewish wife with the mechanical arm that is beyond his own control: “His Wife her abuse began to pour— / He turn’d a small peg, and before / He’d time to think—She fell on the floor.” Both songs suggest that enforcing gender hierarchy was a

force of nature, and seal it with a laugh. Masculine solidarity among working-class as well as upper-class men was part of the associational life of the time.⁸³ The “Steam Arm” is socially conservative because it asserts gender hierarchy as the husband’s right to control a wife with physical violence.

The song is also politically conservative. The “Steam Arm” lyrics show a working man protagonist who must overcome the emasculating power of the layers of State control personified as policeman, magistrate, and Mayor. The steam arm biffs the Mayor and pulverizes the jail. This could only be a Conservative party song. No Whig or Reform gathering would sing such hostile references to their own legislation, from the Mayor representing the Reform *Municipal Act* of 1835 to the resentment of working men against Whig officials policing pub and personal life so reviled by William Paul.⁸⁴

But the use of oppositional, working-class music was an edgy choice. “Steam Arm” stakes a claim to the right to full personal autonomy and civic power by the working men who had fought in the Napoleonic wars, and backs it up with the threat of violence.⁸⁵ The Mayor and the police cannot contain the protagonist, in much the same way that government forces had been unable to quell the Reform riots that had forced the hand of the House of Lords in passing the 1832 *Reform Act*. The protagonist is a war veteran and the image of the relentless steam machine to which his whole body is

⁸³ For the point that later nineteenth-century worker Conservatism “appealed as much to gender-based as to class-based social identities,” see Lawrence, “Class and Gender,” p. 629. Dror Wahrman notes several studies showing patriarchy in working class life in this period. Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class: The political representation of class in Britain, c. 1780-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 380, fn. 7.

⁸⁴ Paul, *A history*, p. 14.

⁸⁵ After their military service, working men continued to feel increased civic and political entitlement. See Colley, *Britons*, p. 318.

harnessed is a powerful reference to the steam power that was at that very time changing communities and working life, for example in the shift of weaving from cottage industry to manufacturing in the Midlands.⁸⁶ It was no coincidence that at the 1839 Conservative Dinner at Bolton, the operative, Mr. G. Marsh, who “acknowledged the toast in a very sensible and appropriate speech which was loudly cheered,” was a handloom weaver.⁸⁷

The standard conservative rejection of interfering with natural law concludes the song, as the mutated man can no longer embrace his wife, stay home, or sleep: “He left his House, at length, outright / And wanders now just like a Sprite— / For he cant [sic] get sleep either day or night / And his Arm keeps moving with Two Horse might.” Unlike Conservative Lord or Whig manufacturer, the modern working man, injured in war, chronically exhausted, and jangled by 12-hour days at a steam machine, was no longer fully human. He could not be controlled in part because he was no longer part of a natural community. There were class-specific concerns that could not be papered over by sharing beer and beef. “The Steam Arm” is a Conservative lyric that spoke to both the working people and the landed elites who experienced the loss of community in the shift from the communitarian ideal of agricultural life to the urban world of

⁸⁶ These operatives lived through the change from artisanal loom-work to steam power during this precise period. For example, William Hornby’s mill business at Blackburn, Brookhouse, connected with the Blackburn Operatives Association, changed from central coordination of putting out to artisanal weavers to centrally-located power-loom in 1830 and steam power by 1841. The technology changed communities and individual lives, since Hornby was among the paternalistic manufacturers who built family housing and provided schools for his workers adjacent to his factories. ODNB, s.v. “Hornby.”

⁸⁷ “The Bolton Operative Conservative Society [Dinner],” *Times* (London), 15 Nov. 1839, p. 6.

industrialism. But the song also captures some of the tensions of the Conservative Festivals as a construction of cross-class idealism.

Yet operative Conservatives continued to seek common ground. The “spirited members of the Warrington Operative Conservative Society” [WOCS] organized the 1837 Warrington Conservative Ball attended by 250 operative men and their wives and daughters and 50 others. The WOCS officers, Messrs. Wilson, Hibberson, and Whittle, engaged an orchestra in front of which Mr. Hibberson addressed the women:

He “congratulated them on the good feeling between the higher class and the operative part of the community, which was evidenced, not merely at the festivals in which men only could take part, but now more forcibly in the familiar and condescending manner in which the ladies had joined in the social tea party, and the other enjoyments of the evening. To the wives of the operatives he pointed out the comforts which they enjoyed in the sober and orderly conduct of their Conservative husbands, and recommended them to look with pity and compassion on those families who were reduced to misery and want by the drunkenness of Radical husbands and fathers. To the daughters of the operatives, his advice was, to look out for Conservative husbands, for they might depend upon it, the man whose motto was” Fear God, honour the King’ never could be a vicious or bad husband.⁸⁸

Since this was the only speech reported, it probably captured the main purpose of the event: to encourage working-class women to bestow themselves only on men who voted Conservative. England apparently expected every woman to do her duty, too. The awkwardness of a ball where operative families had to compare their clothing and dancing skills with those of wealthier families may have been the reason that no

⁸⁸ “Warrington Conservative Ball,” (from *Manchester Chronicle*), *Times* (London), 1 Feb. 1837, p. 7; event was 31 Jan. 1837.

evidence for any other such event could be found. The very attempt, however, underscores the presence in the prevailing culture of respect for the power of women's political opinions.

Women were not usually direct actors in the main proceedings of political gatherings. Mr. Hibberson stated as obvious that at festivals "men only could take part," but since women were often reported as observers, he meant that taking active part in a festival was limited to dining and being in the dining area after the meal was over. Entry to the festivals was by ticket only, and women who did attend probably usually only did so if a man provided them with a ticket. Tickets could often be bought only at taverns, where no respectable woman could seek them, although women might have had greater access to buying tickets when they were also sold by other businesses, like the London book publisher, Messrs. Ackermann's, and volunteer stewards.⁸⁹ Despite the obstacles, and despite scholarly claims to the contrary, the evidence of Conservative Festivals shows that women and operative men were sometimes active participants in formal, political conviviality.⁹⁰

Even reference in these political gatherings to women as primarily domestic creatures was political. Mr. Bradshaw, Conservative MP for Canterbury, was introduced at an 1839 Conservative Registration Society Dinner as a man whose domestic virtues would preclude him being absent from his duties in the House of Commons in order to

⁸⁹ For Ackerman's and tavern ticket selling, see CF 1841 Chelmsford. For tickets sold at a newspaper office, CF 1838 Leeds. For stewards selling tickets, "City Of London Conservative Festival," *Times* (London), 23 May 1837; p. 4.

⁹⁰ Brett, "Political Dinners," p. 530, asserts that active participation in political conviviality was restricted to a "male elite" and that women and "not 'gentlemen'" were always only observers.

pursue illicit love affairs. The rigidity of conservative gender idealism extended on occasion to Queen Victoria, attacked by a Mr. Bradshaw as helpless in the face of the Whig politicians who advised her because she was a woman (a reference to Victoria's attachment to Whig leader Lord Melbourne).⁹¹ Other Conservatives, like a Mr. Slade at Bolton, thought that criticizing the Queen was "disloyal" to the Constitution, and that allowances should be made because she was a "youthful female" who had been surrounded by "reckless men and ... profligate advisers." Mr. Slade excused the monarch's failings as an inescapable consequence of her gender. While the Queen could be protected or attacked because of her gender, the political conviviality of the Conservative party, ironically enough, opened the door to uncomfortable but incremental social changes in gender norms.

The only known Conservative Festival to have been organized by women was in 1841 at Nottingham. Discomfort about women in a formal, political forum is palpable throughout the press report. Women—Mrs. and Miss Walters and Miss Chamberlayne—sat at the head table during the actual meal, acknowledged by the speakers as responsible for devising, fundraising, and organizing the event. CF 1841 Nottingham's women dining at a Conservative Festival at all, let alone at the head table, were unique among the sources reviewed for this study, and the music and the content of toasts emphasized women and domestic life.

The awkwardness of women in a formal political setting was mitigated by adapting what had become, since 1835, the established political festival model for male

⁹¹ Elizabeth Longford, *Victoria R.I.* (1964; London: Abacus, 2000), pp. 71-75.

political conviviality to express familiar tropes of Victorian femininity. Different from all the other Conservative Festivals that offered dinner, the women's 1:00 event was called a breakfast, or "*dejeuner à la fourchette*." The organizers did not speak for themselves, but asked a man, Mr. F. Hardwick, to chair it "in the name of the Conservative ladies of Nottingham." Rather than associating themselves with powerful men, the women organizers allied themselves with that other group who did not merit the right to vote, the very poor. The women had raised funds for their gift of silver plate, encouraging the "poor and lowly" to contribute by setting no minimum limit on donations. The reported enthusiasm of the poor for such contributions had the advantage of presenting the Conservative candidate, Mr. Walter, as "the poor man's friend." The women's Conservative Festival was thus helping to construct the impression of public opinion friendly to the Conservative party. Women and poor operatives in political party activities like the Conservative Festivals shared the task of demonstrating to the voting public that the people excluded from power by the definitions of the Conservative creed thought it was beneficial to them.

The music reflects the emphasis on women and domestic life at this Conservative Festival. A high proportion of the music, four of the six selections, mentions women. The anthem, which referred to the Queen, was performed not once but twice. No other Conservative Festival report records such a repeat, giving the women's event a sense of gendered stasis.⁹² The gift of plate was intended to "adorn [the] hospitable board" of the

⁹² This section on tropes of Victorian concepts of normative femininity is influenced by Richard Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-cultural Formation in Eighteenth-century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 28-

recipients, making it charming but not essential and domestic rather than public. The music addressed to the gift was “Roast Beef of Old England,” referring to the right food as sustenance for manly English warriors, as opposed to “effeminate France.” The musical toast to the women themselves was “Health to All Good Lasses.” The other two songs referred to women obliquely. The women organizers were described as beautiful (“collected loveliness”) and “Rule Britannia” ends by appealing to “manly hearts, to guard the fair.” Women’s political function was described as “witness to this tribute” and “unremitting exertions to smooth our pathway through existence.” They were congratulated for being emotional and instinctively perceptive of “what is really and essentially good,” and the music provided appropriate applause for a male hero in “See the Conquering Hero Comes.” Although the music includes references to women, none of it comments upon women’s intelligence or political acumen.

Despite speeches explaining that the women’s action of organizing the Conservative Festival was “wholly detached from politics,” and that “The introduction of much politics before such a company would be in bad taste,” every speaker chatted about politics and some discussed women as political participants. Mr. Hicklin, in answer to the toast to the ladies who had organized the event, raised the issue of why women “should step aside from the quiet walks of domestic life to mingle with the excitement of political contention, and to encounter the asperities of party feuds.” He suggested that since women’s role in a nation was to teach their husbands and children

29, e.g., that women’s experience of time was static or retrograde as opposed to masculine time, which moved forward; similarly, women were seen to engage in evanescent or repetitive activities rather than forward-moving, masculine action designed to achieve material outcomes like wealth or power.

and bring comfort, the Nottingham Conservative women were concerned with the welfare of the poor on civic issues that “have a direct bearing on the comforts of domestic life.” Women in politics were positioned by music and speeches as domestic beings who functioned as witnesses to male heroism and intermediaries between classes.

The genial tone of the Nottingham festival suggests that these women intended no challenge to existing limits to women’s participation in politics. But they need not have constructed a public forum to make their gift of plate, and they could expect that their event would be reported in *The Times*, since two of the women involved, Mrs. and Miss Walter, were wife and daughter of John Walter, Conservative candidate and owner of the newspaper.⁹³ The form of this event as a public, political festival raised the subject of women as voters. Mr. Charlton, that day, said he was against universal suffrage but imagined that if Nottingham women had the right to vote, Conservative votes would have increased 100 per cent. The 1841 Nottingham Conservative Festival publicized respectable women and poor people as political activists and public actors. Perhaps neither the participants nor the newspaper concluded that this was a significant change in political or social culture, but it demonstrates that the Conservative Festivals were real opportunities for active cultural negotiation.

Conservative women and operatives who lived at the edges of political and social power show that political conservatism was felt by some to be a personal religious and moral duty. They understood themselves to be intrinsically less capable of formal, political governance and as civic agents whose value to their society lay in exerting their

⁹³ Walter was in close contact with Conservative party organizer Sir Francis Bonham before arriving as the Nottingham candidate. See Gash, “F.R. Bonham,” p. 514.

best efforts to support it and at the same time saw themselves as important civic actors. Reform had changed the culture by attacking the conservative concept that God was the sole source of the mandate to govern, shaking the corollary that heritable hierarchies of class and gender were inevitable. Pious operative men and Conservative women rose to defend their religious belief and their accumulated layers of personal identity. No greater evidence of the ironies of hierarchical society is needed than to observe how strategically women and working men used sensual appeals to eye and ear as part of their disinterested activity on behalf of the civic good. No upper-class Conservative politician uttered his religious and intellectual credo of conservatism with more clarity or passion than operative William Paul. The Conservative party needed the operative men and committed Conservative women to carry out the daily grind of electoral activism. The power of faith and personal history allowed these liminal Conservatives to believe it was to their advantage to do so. Like Lady Hunter, these Conservative women and operatives used music to express their sense that their personal values and actions were of consequence to their society, making explicit their sense that their daily lives were highly political.

The music of the Conservative Festivals created a masculine sound world that straddled class differences, despite the actual presence of women as professional musicians and volunteer fundraisers, organizers, and observers. The impressions that the Conservative Festivals music was naturally masculine and that the very familiarity of the music meant that any messages it carried were obviously true, was drawn from the prevailing musical soundscape. That musical soundscape had a history that continually

constructed incremental layers of gender and class for certain music in part through the musical leisure of upper-class women and men. Some of those men had sung and composed glees for decades at the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club of London.

CHAPTER FIVE:

MEN, MUSICAL LEISURE, POLITICS

The musical soundscape of the 1830s, from which the Conservative Festivals drew and to which they contributed, had developed over time, accumulating musical forms and performance practices from personal as well as semi-public and civic life. Men's musical clubs were a combination of personal and public life, where networks and friendships were nourished by shared singing. Long before the desperate Conservative Festivals of the 1830s, the same form of socializing was used by the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club of London (hereafter NGCC or Catch Club), with their convivial, meaty dinners at taverns followed by "Non nobis, Domine" and a raft of sung music celebrating nature, history, heroes, and the happiness of all members of a romanticised idyll of human hierarchy.

The habit of promoting new music for particular purposes was hardly new to the Conservative Festivals, but their use of glees was only possible because the glee as a musical form had been created in the eighteenth-century by NGCC.¹ The number of glees expanded steadily largely because the singing clubs like the NGCC held annual

¹ The two now standard works of glee scholarship agree on this point: Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2006); Emanuel Rubin, *The English Glee in the Reign of George III: Participatory Art Music for an Urban Society* (Warren, Mich.: Harmonie Park Press, 2003). Both agree in major respects with J. Merrill Knapp, "Samuel Webbe and the Glee," *Music & Letters* 33, no. 4 (Oct. 1952): 346-351. Between 1760 and 1825, the glee was a usually short, "unaccompanied secular composition for solo, [usually male] voices," with a male alto taking the highest part. *Ibid.*, p. 347.

competitions for new glees that blessed the winners with cash, honour, and repeated performances. The NGCC also held nearly annual Ladies' Concerts for invited audiences, and, as a member from 1841 to 1847, Sir Richard Hunter brought his note-taking wife, Frederica Hunter. Scant scholarly attention has been paid to the NGCC between 1830 and 1847, but as the records of the NGCC from that period drawn on for this chapter show, upper-class men at their musical leisure at the NGCC used music to communicate to audiences that included women the conservative values of hierarchy as natural, historic, and good.²

Men's musical clubs may have been one antecedent to the use of music by the Conservative party during the 1830s. One intermediate cultural step between male musical leisure at the NGCC and music as part of the aggressive electioneering of the Conservative Festivals was the little-known Newark Red Club (NRC), formed in 1831 in reaction against the Reform Parliament. Before the concerted party campaign of Conservative Associations holding Conservative Festivals began in 1835, the lyrics of

² Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club of London (hereafter NGCC) sources from the British Library (hereafter BL): "Laws and Regulations of the Catch Club (Instituted November 1761) as Revised by a Committee and confirmed by The Club 1828," amended 25 Jan. 1831, BL H.2788.qq (hereafter NGCC, Laws); "Members Elected, 1779-1868," BL H.2788.bbb (hereafter NGCC, Members Elected); "Attendances, 1791-1868," BL H.2788.xx, zz, aaa (hereafter NGCC, Attendances); "Glees performed, 1828-71," BL H.2788.ddd, eee (hereafter NGCC, Glees performed). The large volume of detail is organized for ease of reference into appendices, which include full source citations and state links with Conservative Festivals and Lady Hunter. See Appendices C: Catch Club Professional Members (name, NGCC dates 1828-1847, voice type, links with taverns, Chapel Royal); D: Catch Club Repertoire 1841-1847 (all 314 titles with genre, composer, composers' links with NGCC and Conservative Festivals, NGCC performance dates during Sir Richard Hunter's membership); and Appendix F: Lyrics of Selected Catch Club Music. NGCC research was ably assisted by Jane Glasson, who carried out detailed instructions to retrieve copies of required documents.

one NRC song said that NRC members gathered to “chat, laugh and sing” about their politics and their fellowship.³ The founding 9 NRC members left a manuscript collection of 11 songs similar in musical style to the NGCC repertoire, but adapted to their political goals of electing Conservative Members of Parliament (hereafter MPs). Tracing the webs of connection from the musical leisure of upper-class men and women like Sir Richard and Lady Hunter shows that music was inextricably woven into formal politics because music was a widely shared mode of political discourse. Taken together, with the Conservative Festivals as context, Lady Hunter’s diary, the NGCC records and the NRC song book reveal a conservative musical soundscape in cultural opposition to the Reforms these political and social conservatives saw as fragmentation, democratisation, and destruction. Both the music and the performance practices of the NGCC and the Newark Red Club constructed a cultural wall against social and political change.

The Conservative Festivals and Lady Hunter’s life as she archived it in her diary show that the NGCC was a source of historic repertoire and musical practice in the wider musical soundscape. The Festivals, the Hunters, and the NGCC had many people in common. Most of the professional musicians named in reports of Conservative Festival were members of long standing at the NGCC. The meticulous NGCC records of attendance and nearly every piece of music performed at each meeting between 1830 and 1847 include the years of the Conservative Festivals as well as Hunter’s NGCC membership. Many of the same musical genres—and often the same musical works—

³ “Oh the Newark Red Club is a Glorious Thing,” in “Newark Red Club Anniversary Songs,” ca. 1830-1840, manuscript, Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/MI/107/1, (hereafter “NRC Song Book”). For all NRC lyrics, see Appendix E: Other Conservative Music.

appeared at Conservative Festivals and in Lady Hunter's diary; the latter also show the intersections of gender-specific musical activities within the Hunters' marriage. In all of these cultural sites, hierarchies of class and gender were constructed as natural, historic, and beneficial, confirmed by performance conventions linking class and gender with amateur or professional status.

The NGCC repertoire and membership lists for 1830 to 1847 changed so slowly that the major themes and practices of hierarchalism present during Sir Richard Hunter's tenure, 1841 to 1847, hold true for the whole period. The bulk of the repertoire was the eighteenth-century glee canon, in which most of the lyrics describe a society that was authentic, rural, small-scale, and based on a web of personal relationships in which different sorts of people had mutual, though different, rights and responsibilities. By contrast, the contemporary reality between 1830 and 1850 was the fundamental economic shift to an urban, industrial economy based on noisy mechanical machinery rather than low-technology agrarian work, and so large scale that cross-class relationships were more impersonal and based more on competitive economic interest. The hierarchical communitarian experience was fragmenting. From 1830 to 1847, the NGCC repertoire, lyrics, and performance and club practices proclaimed the biologically determinate social hierarchy of the pre-industrial, agrarian pastorate as the timeless truth of authentic, British society. The NGCC's most frequently performed works between

1830 and 1847 show that these themes acquired a patina of naturalness through persistent repetition over time.⁴

Despite the consistency of the overarching themes, telling nuances in NGCC repertoire occurred during the period of the 1830s, when the Conservative Festivals were mounted to counteract the first shock of Reform control of Parliament.⁵ Politically topical issues crept into the NGCC repertoire choices of the 1830s, reflecting the cultural contests of the wider world as well as the political convictions and activities of some individual NGCC members. Both the long-term stability of the main themes and the temporary emphasis on certain works as allegories of urgent contemporary issues demonstrate the interplay between politics and recreation among men in Lady Hunter's social circles.

Catch Club Conservatism

The use of certain music at the political Conservative Festivals shows two important features of the musical soundscape. Political culture was an extension of private life, since the Conservative Festivals used repertoire from the private musical clubs attended by some politicians and political supporters. Conversely, sites of private musical leisure

⁴ Frequency of NGCC performance was not by itself an indicator of a work's degree of public popularity, since "Hail, Smiling Morn," arguably the most popular glee of the nineteenth century, was not the most often performed glee at the NGCC frequency list; did Club members do it too often elsewhere? For "Hail, Smiling Morn" popularity, see *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (2nd ed., 2001) (hereafter NGD), s.v. "Spofforth, Reginald;" Rubin, *English Glee*, p. 53.

⁵ For ease of reference, full citations for Conservative Festivals (hereafter CF) and their lyrics are not given in the notes to this chapter, but as notes in Appendix A: Conservative Festivals Chronology (hereafter Appendix A: CF Chronology), and in Appendix B: Lyrics of Conservative Festival Music (hereafter Appendix B: CF Music), for each title.

like the NGCC were not nearly so devoid of political ideology and formal politics as is usually presumed.⁶ Despite regulations forbidding the discussion of religion and formal politics, the NGCC was politically and socially conservative in form and in music, as its personnel and repertoire between 1830 and 1847 show.⁷

Founded in 1761, the NGCC met weekly during the London “season” at the Thatched House Tavern, which was also an early home of the Conservative Carlton Club.⁸ Like Conservative Festivals, Catch Club meetings began with a meaty dinner, followed by toasts in a prescribed “loyal” order, each marked by singing a catch, glee, madrigal, or round from the Club repertoire, which trundled up and down the table in

⁶ Glee musicology to date does not account for the canon-like continuity of the active glee repertoire at the NGCC between 1830 and 1850, emphasizing instead the history of musical form and sociable performance practice as characteristic of British musical identity. Like Rubin and Robins, Knapp considers the best glees to have been written between 1760 and 1825, though Robins tightens the scope to 1816, when Webbe died. Knapp, “Samuel Webbe,” p. 346. Rubin and Robins, contrary to the argument of this dissertation, claim shared music-making as a form of perviousness of class boundaries. Rubin, *English Glee*, pp. 12-16, 35; Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, pp. 13, 154, and Chapter Seven. Both scholars recognize gender-specific differences in performance practice without suggesting that musical conventions shaped social gender norms. Rubin, *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 54; Robins, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 19. For the development of eighteenth-century canons touching on social aspects of glees and catches, see William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 1-20, 148-149, 153-154.

⁷ Written rules for meetings included topics of conversation: NGCC, Laws p. 10.

⁸ Charles Petrie, *The Carlton Club* (London: Eyre, 1955), p. 39. Men’s club dinners had since the eighteenth century included members “singing songs in chorus.” Percy Colson, *White’s, 1693-1950* (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1951), p. 122. London club and musical life ticked sharply up during “the Season,” which coincided with Parliamentary sessions, ran from about March to about July, and saw landed gentry and aristocracy move from their rural homes to often rented accommodation in London. Jennifer Lee Hall, “The Re-fashioning of Fashionable Society: Opera-going and Sociability in Britain, 1821-1861” (Ph.D. diss. (History), Yale University, 1996), p. 5; Leonore Davidoff, *The Best Circles: Society Etiquette and the Season* (London: Croom Helm Ltd., 1973), pp. 21-30.

little carts filled with music. The NGCC members were nearly equally divided between two kinds of members. The “regular” members were landed noblemen and gentry who paid dues and voted but were amateur musicians. The “honorary” members were British professional musicians drawn from the cream of London church vocalists, including members of the Chapel Royal, brought in to enhance the sound.⁹ Working musicians were not the social peers of the “regular” members, nor of those who employed them elsewhere, and at the NGCC the “honorary” members had no vote and held no office.¹⁰ The hierarchy of class was thus upheld in the very form of the club membership rules. Women, of course, were not permitted to be members of any kind at the NGCC.¹¹

The NGCC was a small, private, social club, but its members were active in formal politics of both Conservative and Reform. Formal politics was so much a part of NGCC members’ lives that club rules excused the president “if serving on a Committee of the House of Commons.”¹² During the Conservative Festivals and Sir Richard Hunter’s NGCC membership, from 1835 to 1847, of the 49 NGCC amateur members, 23 were political Conservatives; only 6 were Whigs or Reformers; and the political

⁹ Rubin, *English Glee*, p. 138. The profession of church musician declined economically and socially during the nineteenth century, which may be one reason that such excellent church musicians continued to work at the NGCC. See Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians 1750-1850: A Profession of Artisans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 68.

¹⁰ NGCC, Laws define the differences in terms of rights, responsibilities, and financial penalties. For ambiguous but middling to working class status of musicians, see Rohr, *Careers*, pp. 21, 61.

¹¹ For the difficulties facing women professional musicians in Britain, see Deborah Rohr, “Women and the Music Profession in Victorian England: The Royal Society of Female Musicians, 1839-1866,” *Journal of Musicological Research* 18 (1999): 307-346.

¹² NGCC, Laws, p. 4.

affiliations of the remaining 20 could not be identified.¹³ The political conservatism of NGCC membership reached back to earlier years, when members included Sir Richard Hunter's friend, Col. Hugh Baillie (1828-1840) and Frederica Hunter's uncle, Sir William Fremantle (1803).¹⁴ Several NGCC members also attended a Conservative Festival (CF): Lord Ashley (CF 1836 Pool), Sir Harry St.-John Mildmay (CF 1841 Chelmsford), 7th Duke of Beaufort (CF 1839 Sodbury).¹⁵ Since so many of its members also belonged to the Conservative party, the NGCC repertoire reveals some of the musical preferences of at least some political Conservatives.¹⁶ Political Conservatives

¹³ For all NGCC amateur members, see NGCC, Attendances, 1791-1868, BL. H.2788.xx, zz, aaa (hereafter NGCC, Attendances). Conservative political affiliation was determined by party affiliation or, rarely, by association, using the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) (hereafter ODNB), and by Parliamentary voting records and political club membership (Carlton Club for Conservatives; Reform Club) largely drawn from Charles Dod, *The Parliamentary Pocket Companion for 1833 including a compendious peerage, third edition* (London: Whittaker, Treacher, & Arnot, 1833). Dod's categories of Whig, Reform, and Radical have been conflated as "Reform" to point the contrast with Conservative. Except for immediate members of the royal family, like the Duke of Cambridge, friendship or family association is not sufficient evidence of political affiliation since families, e.g., that of Robert Palmer Harcourt, could be politically divided. ODNB, s.v. "Harcourt, George Granville." Thus, although John Lodge Ellerton nominated the Conservative Algernon Greville to the NGCC, Ellerton's own political association is unknown for lack of other evidence. Sam Cartwright, however, was deemed Conservative because he was dentist to George IV. Reform members of the NGCC during Sir Richard Hunter's membership were: 6th and 7th Dukes of Argyll, John Bowes, William Dixon, Col. Hawkins, and William Fitzhardinge Berkeley 1st Baron Segrave and Earl Fitzhardinge.

¹⁴ For Fremantle membership, see Viscount Gladstone, Guy Boas, and Harald Christopherson, *Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club: Three Essays towards its History* (London: Cypher Press, 1996), <<http://www.cypherpress.com/books/catchclub/catchclub.pdf>>, (viewed 23 May 2007), p. 111; for Baillie, *Ibid.*, p. 112 and NGCC, Attendances.

¹⁵ See NGCC, Attendances; for presence at a CF, Appendix B: CF Music.

¹⁶ Regular members had to call for and sing in a glee at every meeting, and when each took a turn as President, he chose the first two works. NGCC, Laws, p. 7. Records named Presidents, so it is possible to identify some choices made by the regular

and Whig Reformers did sing together at the NGCC, but in music laden with the values, beliefs, and ideas of social conservatism. The easy conviviality of Conservative, Whig, and working musicians sharing such repertoire suggests that shared assumptions about social conservatism were not limited to political Conservatives.

Professional musicians created another avenue of musical exchange between formal politics and personal leisure. Most of the professional musicians who were named at Conservative Festivals were honorary NGCC members.¹⁷ The number of all NGCC members was fixed, so new honorary members were only elected on the death or departure of an existing member. Professional musicians valued their NGCC membership, retaining it for years, and occasionally transferring it from father to son. Those who also performed at the Conservative Festivals had unbroken records of NGCC membership over many years.¹⁸ NGCC honorary members who sang at Conservative Festivals included Thomas Cooke (NGCC 1828-1847), J. Hawkins (NGCC 1831-1846), Jonathan Hobb[e]s (NGCC 1829-1847), Frederick Horncastle (NGCC 1828-1833), James King (NGCC 1836-1847), John Sale (NGCC 1828-1845), and Charles Taylor (NGCC 1828-1847).¹⁹

members. E.g., Conservative Sir Richard Hunter chose “Fill Me Boy” and “Cloud Cap’t Towers.” NGCC, Glees performed, 24 May 1842. For Sir Richard Hunter as a political Conservative, see Chapter Two.

¹⁷ For honorary members, see Appendix C: Catch Club Professional Members. Unusually for a professional musician, Theodore Hook, whose “Lass of Richmond Hill” was sung at CF 1837 Brighton, was nominated as a “regular” NGCC member, but not elected. NGCC, Members Elected, 14 Apr. 1841. For Theodore Edward Hook (1788–1841) as son of composer James Hook (1746-1827) and his wife, Elizabeth Jane Madden (*d.* 1795), see ODNB, s.v. “Bayly.”

¹⁸ Appendix C: Catch Club Professional Members, s.v. “Goulden,” “Terrail.”

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

Audience members at Conservative Festivals took the political and emotional content of the lyrics sung by professional musicians as statements of the musicians' own values.²⁰ Professional performers are trained to present any music with the appearance of real conviction, so persuading their audiences is not sufficient evidence of the musicians' personal political values. But it may be that constant association with their conservative clients and constant repetition of socially conservative music was congenial to musicians who held conservative views themselves, or, over time, came to share the views of their best clients. Regardless of their actual political convictions, professional musicians were apparently trusted to provide relevant repertoire for political gatherings like CF 1839 Coleman Street Ward, London: "The musical arrangements, under the management of Mr. T. Cooke and Mr. C. Taylor were very good." Both longstanding honorary NGCC members, Cooke and Taylor well knew what the Conservative gentlemen preferred in glees and catches.²¹ For years, they had sung repertoire chosen by NGCC regular members, who each called for and sang in at least one work in each meeting.

Political gatherings were in a sense another marketplace for professional British musicians who used the NGCC as one of their few opportunities of building networks of

²⁰ See Chapter Three discussion of CF 1839 Coleman Street Ward, and "Here's a Health to Honest John Bull," above.

²¹ Like NGCC work, other patronal settings accustomed professional musicians to requests by clients, including Chapel Royal work, where the Queen "controlled the occurrence of encores." Michael J. Budds, "Music at the Court of Queen Victoria: A Study of Music in the Life of the Queen and her Participation in the Musical life of her Time," 3 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Music, University of Iowa, 1987), II, p. 629. For NGCC colleagues of Cooke and Taylor at Chapel Royal, see Appendix C: Catch Club Professional Members.

patronal subscribers and clients.²² It was to their necessary financial advantage that they know and provide music that appealed to their audiences. Not all external engagements were political, nor were all concerts successful. Mr. W. Terrail sang at the NGCC from 1839 until 1844, when he successfully sold tickets to one of his concerts to Sir Richard Hunter. Alas! Lady Hunter found that concert “very stupid,” although she enjoyed a subsequent concert run by other NGCC professional singers that included glees by established NGCC composers like William Knyvett to which her husband subscribed.²³ The NGCC was small in numbers, but its music and performance practices steadily permeated the musical soundscape.²⁴

Catch Club Repertoire Was Conservative

The NGCC repertoire of 1828 to 1847 was a living archive of musical and social historicism that made it apt for Conservative party Festivals. The NGCC repertoire created the appearance of naturalness for social and political hierarchy by combining literal images of nature with layers of historicism. The society described by most of the NGCC repertoire is romanticized and organic, a scene of pastoral pleasure of all classes and of men and women happy in their respective niches. In most of the NGCC music, a

²² For British musicians having fewer opportunities for developing patronal networks than foreign musicians, see Rohr, *Careers*, pp. 49-51. A study could be done to explore whether professional musicians were associated with patrons of distinct political stripe, by choice of the musicians or the patrons.

²³ Diary of Frederica Emma, Lady Hunter, Diary, 1840 to 1846, (London) City of Westminster Archives Centre, Acc. 1621, (hereafter FEH Diary), 28 Jun. 1844, 28 Apr. 1846; for e.g. of Knyvett at NGCC, see Appendix D: Catch Club Music 1841-1847, s.v. “Merrily Rang the Bells.”

²⁴ Cf. Rubin, *English Glee*, p. 39.

sense of historic timelessness provides implicit evidence that such durability was both natural and benevolent. Additional support for the goodness of social hierarchy was provided by associating benefits of abundance (drink, food, wealth), and love (in references to women and family). The NGCC repertoire sometimes contrasted the peace and good order of the pastoral idyll with the ruinous chaos of discord and attempts to overturn the natural order. Similar comparisons were made during the 1830s' Conservative Festivals, with more explicit reference to the naturalness of conservative hierarchalism and the destructive attempts of Reform to subvert it.

The English glee as a musical form reflected the gender and class hierarchies of the club that created it, and the age, musical form, and lyrics of the NGCC music were consistent with the structural bones of the Club. Membership and repertoire revolved slowly, so the most popular musical choices in the 1830s overlapped with the most popular works of the 1840s.²⁵ Thus, much of what can be said about the NGCC repertoire of the 1840s applies equally to the 1830s.²⁶

The NGCC repertoire from 1828 to 1847 was redolent of history. Most of the music had been sung at the NGCC since the eighteenth-century. Of the 314 works performed during Sir Richard Hunter's NGCC tenure in the 1840s, fully 60 per cent (195) were written in the eighteenth century or before 1825, usually by then-members of the NGCC. The remaining items were written largely by NGCC members of the 1828 to

²⁵ See Appendix D: Catch Club Music 1841-1847 showing performance frequency and age of composition.

²⁶ Special focus is given to the period of Sir Richard Hunter's NGCC membership, 1841-1846, to allow demonstrations of links with personal musical life outside the NGCC, through Lady Hunter's Diary, and politics.

1847 period, and 37 (11 per cent) create the impression of historicism with lyrics or titles using antique diction or referring to a mythical figure, or by using the self-consciously historicist musical form of the madrigal.²⁷ Between 1828 and 1847, the sound of history as evidence of the timeless laws and beauties of nature, God's creation, lived in the eternal present of the NGCC repertoire.

The English glee is a close partnership of words and music in which the words are of critical importance, so it is reasonable to think that the NGCC members paid attention to the lyrics of the repertoire they chose.²⁸ They likely believed the words they sang: why should they sing for pleasure lyrics they thought were false or that challenged their sense of personal identity? The musicians who wrote for them produced music on lyrics that celebrated the fundamental premises of social hierarchies of class and gender. Few of the NGCC lyrics were as overtly political as much of the Conservative Festivals music, but some were. "My Pocket's Low," sung 11 times during Sir Richard Hunter's tenure, is a witty overturning of complaints about taxes, urging that "the times may mend, ... Propitious fortune yet may smile / On fair Britannia's sea girt isle." The glee asserts that loyalty to monarchy, hence to the existing, hierarchical, system, "shall us befriend," and repeats "God Save the King" as its chorus.

The thematic range of the eighteenth-century glees that formed the bulk of the NGCC repertoire between 1830 and 1847 is narrow, but includes pastoral, sentimental,

²⁷ Appendix D: Catch Club Music 1841-1847.

²⁸ Rubin, *English Glee*, pp. 33-35, 59.

humorous, and more serious topics.²⁹ The lyrical content, like the form of the club itself, was laden with the central premises of social conservatism that the NGCC repertoire shared with the Conservative Festivals: human hierarchies as a function of the natural laws of God's Creation, history as evidence of the timelessness and benevolence of nature and of hierarchy, and the positive emotions of happy hierarchy in which the low are as contented as the high.

The Club Secretary recorded the music performed in sequence at NGCC meetings, and between 1828 and 1847 these lists each contained between 8 and 15 selections, but show no evidence of calculated advance programming. Private concert programmes were carefully planned, however, according to period conventions that often placed works with certain features in habitual places in programme sequences. For instance, first items were chosen to set the tone for the whole programme, the items at the mid-point of each half of a concert were often an emotional or musical high point, and the final item in each half was usually an ensemble piece of gentle charm. Certain works became conventionally used only as closers in private concerts of this period, like Gioacchino Rossini's "Mi manca la voce."³⁰ At the NGCC, individual works appear in no fixed place in the sequence. For example, "Mine Be a Cot" was sung second, third, in

²⁹ For an able summary of glee themes, see Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, pp. 141-149. All fit into Knapp's categories: drinking, pastorage, serious. Knapp, "Samuel Webbe," pp. 350-351.

³⁰ Kristina Guiguet, *The Ideal World of Mrs. Widder's Soirée Musicale: Social Identity and Musical Life in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*, Mercury Series Cultural Studies, Paper 77 (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2004), pp. 27-32. For repeated use on private programmes in London, 1830-1850, see London Royal College of Music, Centre for Performance History (hereafter GB-LRCM CPH), Private House Box and the Puzzzi Album (1850s).

the middle, second-last, or last.³¹ Programme planning is aimed at audience satisfaction, and the NGCC at its private meetings sang for the satisfaction of its own singers, not for an audience. Repertoire choices by the regular members were tempered by judicious awareness of the chooser's personal vocal scope and musical readiness.³² Applause and criticism by the other members present did occur, but each of them knew they themselves were soon to sing, if they had not just done so.

Thematic coherence for each meeting was decidedly achieved through the entire repertoire list of the club, but the basic religious premise of social conservatism was set by opening every meeting with the sung grace, "Non nobis, Domine."³³ The idea that music-making is a form of religious worship is the theme of other, more secular NGCC works, like "Glorious Apollo," where musical harmony, in the person of the minor goddess "Polyhymnia," is sent to "us" (the singers) to shield them as they worship the divine.³⁴ Similarly, in "Great Apollo," music is the mead of fellowship and joy, provided by divinity: "Sure, no mortal sweeps the strings; Listen!—'tis Apollo sings!" Of the several other glees about music itself, Samuel Webbe's "Music's the language of the

³¹ Performed 2nd of 10 on 13 Jun. 1845; 3rd of 10 on 2 May 1845; in the middle as 6th of 11 on 21 Mar. 1843 and 11 Jun. 1847; second-last as 7th of 8 on 9 May 1843 and 10th of 11 on 9 May 1844; and last as 14th of 14 on 24 Jan. 1832 and as 9th of 9 on 22 Jun. 1841. NGCC, Glees performed.

³² Regular members had to sing at each meeting. NGCC, Laws, p. 9.

³³ Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, pp. 6, 58 fn. 136, 73, for "Non nobis, Domine" as regular after-dinner grace into the early nineteenth century. The NGCC records of 1828-1848 do not name it as performance repertoire, perhaps because it was understood to be a prayer. Given its constant use at Conservative Festivals of the 1830s, it was probably still current at the NGCC.

³⁴ For lyrics of all NGCC works discussed, see Appendix F: Lyrics of Selected Catch Club Music, organised alphabetically by title (not including initial articles).

blest above” captures the sense that music is not only a gift from heaven where it is “by angels understood” but is “Nature’s dialect, design’d / To charm and to instruct the mind.” Music itself was described in many glees as a force of nature sent by God. Made at the NGCC by men of sharply different class status singing together, such music embodied the harmony of differential human types cooperating from their respective niches.

Many the Conservative party speech of the 1830s that warned against trying to change the hierarchical status quo, and pastoral metaphors, so thick in the NGCC repertoire, carry the same idea that divinely ordained natural law is impervious to human agency, most persuasively, perhaps, in beautiful music.³⁵ The exquisite but difficult “Thyrsis, When He Left Me” must have been pure pleasure when each line (but one) was sung by one of London’s finest choral musicians in a small room. The sadness of love betrayed is heightened by lovely music, as the singer pleads with Spring to wait, for the beloved had promised to return before Spring and is not yet back. Glees so aesthetically rich were surely loved at the NGCC because they were fine music and ideally suited to small performance venues, perhaps the more so when they suited particular singers, including the amateurs who had gone to the trouble of learning them. The heart-breaking beauty of the glee rests on the folly of trying to overturn nature, an example of the fundamental premise of social and political conservatism that human agency cannot affect the laws of nature. The intimate beauties of “Thyrsis” would have

³⁵ E.g., the “destructive” intention of “the democratic spirit which ... was striving to hurl the monarch from his throne,” CF 1835 Canterbury.

been drowned in large venues, but the lyrics would have been conceptually coherent at a Conservative Festival.

Magic of Music Repeated at the Catch Club

The same themes reappear in different works, allowing their common premises steady repetition from NGCC meeting to meeting even when individual works were not always repeated. Each new member of the NGCC gradually absorbed the lyrical contents as they sang them into their own inner musical soundscapes. The gentlemen singers had a high tolerance for repetition, perhaps because Club rules forbade rehearsing during Club meetings. Since amateurs members were also required to sing at each meeting, some may have preferred to learn a few numbers well to minimize their own private rehearsal time.³⁶ Of the 16 most frequently-performed works, at least one was performed at virtually every NGCC meeting between 1828 and 1847.³⁷ While each individual work carried only a few themes, there was enough congruity among these 16 works that music performed at each NGCC meeting was sure to include the central premises of political and social conservatism (happy hierarchical relationships as God's will and natural law, and the eternal present of history) and the key benefits (fellowship, abundance, drink). Conservative hierarchalism was glossed as natural in lyrics using natural images to convey the biological determinism of class status and gender. In "Nightingale," for

³⁶ Since no practising of music was allowed during meetings, members had to invest time and effort in mastering their personal repertoire. Some may have chosen to focus on few musical items and repeat them rather than learning new music for each meeting. NGCC, Laws, p. 9.

³⁷ Appendix D: Catch Club Music 1841-1847.

example, the bird sings most sweetly when dying as “hawthorns pierce her breast.” The sacrifice is part of the bird’s nature, since she “ne’er presumes” to sit at ease among flowers. The difference between the horrifying self-sacrifice of the nightingale and the pleasing rest to which she “lulls” the natural world requires no remediation because it is part of natural law.

Similarly, in “L’ape e la serpe,” intrinsic, biological differences determine that although both the Bee and the Serpent feed on “liquid from the same flower,” the liquid is turned to poison by one and to honey by the other. The biblical overtones of the “serpent” that turned the learning of knowledge into banishment from the Garden of Eden make this glee an argument for fixed, biological class and gender differences.³⁸

NGCC lyrics rang with the historical present of heroism and dead heroes, including the generic “fallen chief” from far land or sea of “Some of My Heroes,” or the specific mention of military heroes like Nelson and Wellington still alive to living memories of British victories over Napoleon (e.g., “Death of Nelson”).³⁹ The notion that history proved the changeless laws of nature was repeated in works like “With Sighs, Sweet Rose,” where the singer’s sorrow for the dying rose is tempered by the knowledge that “returning spring thy beauties shall renew.” The glee lyric is a metaphor for assuaging human yearning for what is past through song. Although the singer must

³⁸ Compare with the Conservative Festival song, “Going Out A Shooting,” which shows upper class leisure attempted by shopkeepers to be a similarly unpalatable inversion of natural law. See Appendix B: CF Music.

³⁹ Only the lyrics that were sung are drawn on for these analyses, in order to address only the effect of actual performances. Excerpts from longer works, such as “Some of My Heroes,” thus stood alone in performance. Broad, common cultural references, e.g., to core narratives of the Bible, however, are deemed to have been part of the contemporary cultural vocabulary.

“with unavailing Tears deplore” that certain “Dear happy hours ... can return no more,” he notes that the beauty of the rose “shall live forever in the poet’s Song.” During Sir Richard Hunter’s membership (1841 to 1847), the NGCC performed “With Sighs, Sweet Rose” every year, an apt metaphor for a historicist celebration of nature.⁴⁰

Politics was a constant presence, either through the contemporary political activities and convictions of the NGCC regular members, or in metaphors of the British State as especially beloved of God’s creation. The musically glorious glee, “When Winds Breathe Soft,” for example, performed 11 times between 1841 and 1847 (and a favourite from the earlier decade), claims divine intervention to make sailors safe at sea.⁴¹ In a nation so closely identified with naval prowess, no specific mention of Britain is necessary for the NGCC singers to have understood it as an allegory of the British State.⁴² In 1847, it was performed one month after a similar lyric that plainly refers to Britain. In “Hail, Happy Albion!” the dangers of Britain’s naval activity from “the wild waves as they roar” are accepted by sailors of “dauntless mien” who rely on the monarch, “the star of Brunswick,” who “gilds the horrors of the deep.”⁴³

Benefits of hierarchy in the NGCC repertoire included reference to abundance, especially of drink, and fellowship, often in the same glee. For instance, in “Fill Me

⁴⁰ Other NGCC selections with the eternal present of history expressed specifically as cyclical time include “Are the White Hours,” “Cloud-Cap’t Towers,” “Gaily I Liv’d,” “Return Blest Days.” See Appendix F: Lyrics of Selected Catch Club Music.

⁴¹ For 17 club performances 1833-1840 of “When Winds Breathe Soft,” NGCC, Glees performed.

⁴² Rubin, *English Glee*, p. 289.

⁴³ The last NGCC performance of “Hail, Happy Albion!” prior to 1847 was 27 May 1834. NGCC, Glees performed.

Boy,” so popular that it was the single most frequent choice for first work sung between 1834 and 1847, moderation tempered “as deep a draught / ... as e’er was quaff’d” to prevent “wild excesses” and ensure that “Ours be the joy that soothes and blesses!”⁴⁴ Within the NGCC, different works presented selections of a consistent body of premises and benefits of social conservatism.

The NGCC was not a sealed vessel: the musical soundscape from beyond the Club walls poured in. Music recorded as performed at the NGCC did not include nearly as many songs as at the Conservative Festivals, nor are any of the Conservative Festivals songs named, but they sometimes echo within some of the most frequently done NGCC works. “Rule Britannia,” a Conservative Festivals favourite, was not done officially at the NGCC, but Samuel Webbe’s glee, “O Liberty!” was.⁴⁵ No one singing the “O Liberty!” chorus of “Britons never, never shall be slaves,” could have missed the reference to the same chorus in “Rule Britannia.”⁴⁶ The Conservative Festivals as part of the musical soundscape echoed within the musical enclave of the NGCC.

The meaning of individual musical works was tempered by the historic epoch of their performance. The NGCC met throughout the 1830s, when the Reform Parliaments

⁴⁴ “Fill Me Boy” was first choice 23 times, spaced evenly 1834-1847. NGCC, *Glees Performed*; Appendix F: *Lyrics of Selected Catch Club Music*.

⁴⁵ “O Liberty!” NGCC performances included 21 Jun. 1831; 23 Apr., 18 Jun. 1833; and 19 Jan., 9 Feb. 1836. NGCC, *Glees Performed*. For 9 performances of “Rule Britannia” see CF 1836 Hull, CF 1837 Brighton, CF 1837 London, CF 1837 [Royal] Tunbridge Wells, CF 1839 Warrington, CF 1841 Reading, CF 1841 Stratford, CF 1841 Chelmsford, CF 1841 Nottingham.

⁴⁶ For lyrics, see Appendices B: CF Music and F: *Lyrics of Selected Catch Club Music*. “Rule Britannia” may have been among the other songs sung after formal NGCC meeting had ended. See note “and Ten Songs after 10 o’clock,” in NGCC, *Glees Performed*, 25 Jun. 1833.

and the social changes their legislation wrought were in full swing. In this context, the NGCC performances in the 1830s of “Cold is Cadwallo’s Tongue” and “Discord, Dire Sister” may have been, in part, commentary on the times. Their lyrics are statements of history as a living presence on the one hand, and sentiment about peaceful and orderly living on the other. “Cadwallo’s Tongue” was chosen as the first selection at more meetings than any other work between 1830 and 1840, thus setting the tone for the meeting, and its popularity as a first pick declined in the 1840s. “Cadwallo’s Tongue” and “Discord” were done at least twice in every year between 1830 and 1840, often in the same session. Rarely did a month pass without at least one of these, except for snoozy July when much of London society was drifting back to their rural homes.⁴⁷

In “Cold is Cadwallo’s Tongue,” the protagonist is no longer sad for dead heroes who have protected the nation in the past because, “they do not sleep; / On yonder cliff, a grizzly band, / I see them sit; they linger yet, / Avengers of their native land” Heroism and the heroes of the past are active in the present moment, joining the singer in “dreadful harmony” to “weave” the continuity of their heroism, their bloody successes, and their patriotism. By itself, “Cadwallo’s Tongue” is a history lesson made more enjoyable by being sung. In the context of the 1830s, when Conservative Festivals were using military history and metaphors to rouse political opposition to Reform “destruction” of the institutions of British governance, “Cadwallo’s Tongue” at the NGCC was a musical continuation of the charged political discourse familiar to every NGCC member who sang it.

⁴⁷ NGCC, *Glees Performed*.

“Discord” is similar in the temporal context, since a much-repeated Conservative party statement of the time was that Reform disrupted the peace that was only possible in a Conservative Britain. The glee positions discord as opposite to God’s will, since “lovely peace” appears “in angel’s form.” The men who chose to sing “Discord” or “Cadwallo’s Tongue” at the NGCC may not have intended a musical argument against Reform, but they certainly chose both of them far more often in the 1830s than they did when the Conservative party was in power from 1841 to 1846. Most of the NGCC music lists of the 1830s included one or both of “Discord” and “Cadwallo’s Tongue,” as well as works with similar implications: “When Winds Breathe Soft,” “O Liberty!” “Hail, Happy Albion!” During the six Reform years between 1834 and 1840, “Cadwallo’s Tongue” was done 41 times compared with the 20 during Conservative Parliamentary power from 1841-1846.⁴⁸ Similarly, “Discord” was sung 23 times between 1834 and 1840, evenly distributed at 2 to 5 times each year. By contrast, during the Conservative years of 1841 to 1846, “Discord” had only eight NGCC performances, with one to three performances per season, and skipping 1844 entirely. Both songs carried the same overtones of Conservative criticism of Reform politics. Both were called for during the 1830s by friends of Sir Richard Hunter: Col. Hugh Baillie and the Hon. Archibald Macdonald.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ For fair comparison, performance totals have been compared for two runs of six years. The Conservatives’ 100 Days’ Ministry of 10 Dec. 1834 to 8 Apr. 1835 was not due to Parliamentary majority but to royal intervention in asking the Conservatives to form the ministry, so was a minor interruption of Reform Parliamentary dominance in the 1830s.

⁴⁹ As NGCC Presidents in turn at the beginning of the Reform domination of Parliament, Baillie called for “Cadwallo’s Tongue” 22 Mar. 1831; Macdonald for “Cadwallo’s

Catch Club and Conservative Festivals

The lyrical social conservatism of the NGCC repertoire remained constant even as individual works ebbed and flowed in NGCC popularity between 1830 and 1847. The awareness—at the NGCC as elsewhere in the musical soundscape—that certain works carried associations with formal political conservatism, however, may have changed when those works were performed at the Conservative Festivals between 1835 and 1841. The Conservative Festivals drew some music from the NGCC, so widely known as the source of the glee as a musical form that naming glees in newspaper reports was a recognizable reference to the private musical leisure of landed aristocrats and gentry. In addition to the Conservative Festivals' single most frequently performed work, "Non nobis, Domine," seven other NGCC works were performed at the Conservative Festivals: "Great Bacchus," "Come Let Us Join the Roundelay," "Foresters, Sound the Cheerful Horn," "Hail, Smiling Morn," "Hail, Star of Brunswick," "Sleep, Gentle Lady," and "Mighty Conqueror."⁵⁰

Each of these works carried only some of the themes of conservative hierarchalism, but all were consistent with each other. Musical life gave social and political conservatism the appearance of naturalness by layering the various arguments and benefits within individual works and also by programming multiple musical works

Tongue" 8 Jan. 1830 and 18 Jan. 1831; Macdonald for "Discord" 16 Jul. 1830 and 13 Mar. 1832: see NGCC Glees Performed. For Baillie and the Hunters, see FEH Diary, 23 Jan., 16 Feb. 1840; 15 May 1841; 31 May, 6 Jul. 1844; 12 May, 18 Jun. 1845; 15 Apr. 1846. For Macdonald and the Hunters, see *Ibid.*, 7 Jan. 1840; 27 Feb., 13 Mar., 15 Apr., 6 May 18 May (NGCC invitation), 5 Jun. 1841; 5, 12, 13 Jan. 1842; 19 Dec. 1845. For Baillie and Macdonald together at the Hunters, *Ibid.*, 2 Jul. 1845.

⁵⁰ See Appendices A: CF Chronology, B: CF Music, and D: Catch Club Music 1841-1847.

together. The physical experience of musical sound also tied the text to the realm of material reality because it was carried on the breath and in the throats of those who shared in singing the choruses and, whether vocal or instrumental, poured in through the ears of all present. Musical sound literally felt natural.

Performances in specific cultural sites created new layers of meaning for individual musical works. The Conservative Festivals, for example, brought the social conservatism of the pastoral confections, “Foresters,” “Hail, Smiling Morn,” and “Sleep, Gentle Lady,” to the surface of consciousness, associating each with party politics.⁵¹ While all glees carried the stamp of the NGCC as the creative source of the form, the choice of certain glees for Conservative Festivals may have been linked to the NGCC participation of political Conservatives like the 7th Duke of Beaufort, Col. Baillie, and William Tyringham Praed. A tight chronological sequence of performances at the NGCC and a Conservative Festival make this case. The glee, “Sleep, Gentle Lady,” was performed on 14 June 1837 at the London Conservative Festival for which NGCC member Praed, was a steward.⁵² Whether or not Praed suggested “Sleep, Gentle Lady” to the Conservative Festival organizers, he had certainly heard it at the NGCC. “Sleep, Gentle Lady” enjoyed a steady stream of NGCC performances between 1833 and 1847. In 1837, Conservative party members Beaufort, Baillie, and Praed were all present at the NGCC when “Sleep, Gentle Lady” was done on May 2 and June 27, six weeks before

⁵¹ For Conservative Festivals, see Appendix A: CF Chronology for “Foresters” at CF 1836 Hull; for “Hail, Smiling Morn,” at CF 1841 Shropshire; for “Sleep, Gentle Lady,” at CF 1837 London; for NGCC performances see Appendix D: Catch Club Music 1841-1847, and NGCC, Glees performed.

⁵² For W.T. Praed as Conservative Festival Steward, “City of London Conservative Festival,” *Times* (London), 23 May 1837, p. 4.

and two weeks after the Conservative Festival performance of 14 June that year.⁵³ Praed might well have discussed the idea that this glee was appropriate to political party Conservatism with other NGCC members, or been inspired to suggest it for the Festival by singing it at the NGCC. Once music had been performed at Conservative Festivals and widely reported in the press, when it was subsequently done at the NGCC, it carried newly intensified harmonics of political Conservatism. The amateur NGCC singers, most of whom were politically active, understood the political implications of their repertoire.

The amateur and professional members of the NGCC were constantly recreating a living memory of a historical present by repeating and gradually expanding the glee repertoire as a historic form of perpetual significance. Although stylistic changes developed in this period, the bulk of the NGCC repertoire came from the glory days of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when Samuel Webbe (Sr.) and other innovative glee composers had brought the form to what many concur was its highest point.⁵⁴ But between 1830 and 1847, when the earlier NGCC repertoire was constantly being repeated, the members of the NGCC continually engaged with the stable idealism and the still-recognizable images of rural life during a period of social change that was reshaping their world.

⁵³ NGCC, *Glees Performed*, 30 Apr. 1833; 13 May 1834; 3 Mar. 1835; 3, 17 May 1836; 2 May, 27 Jun. 1837; 27 Mar., 19 Jun. 1838; 6 Jun. 1845; 26 Jun. 1846.

⁵⁴ Robins marks the end of the development of the pure glee form as the death of Samuel Webbe (Sr.), 1816. Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, pp. 4-9; cf. NGD, s.v. "Webbe, Samuel." Rubin notes 1830 as the point beyond which the characteristic polyphony of the eighteenth-century glee was replaced in new glee compositions by a melody in the top line supported by chordal structure and multiple voices on each part. Rubin, *English Glee*, p. 12.

Catch Club Music Was Personal

The tropes of nature and the pleasant emotion of happy hierarchy had been dominant in NGCC repertoire since the eighteenth century. For 1840s members like Sir Richard Hunter who spent much of the year as rural squires, the natural images of rural life were a lived reality. Hunter could directly relate his own extensive hunting to the lyrics of “Foresters, Sound the Cheerful Horn.” A well-established favourite at the Club, “Mine Be a Cot,” is a good example of a work that creates a romanticized image of pre-industrial, rural peace. Twice in 1831, the Conservative Cabinet Minister, Sir George Warrender, chose “Mine Be a Cot,” which represents an ivy-bedecked rural scene when mill technology was still powered by a brook, not by steam.⁵⁵ The swallow’s wattle and daub nest echoes early modern peasant building techniques, bringing the past into the present moment of the 1830s. Women’s rural work is orderly and musical: “Lucy” sings as she spins. Human life is firmly placed within the natural world, and all of it is overseen by the “village church” which points “with taper spire, to heav’n” and blends human sounds of church bells with nature when the bells with “merry peal ... swell the breeze.” Religious teaching is a regular visitor as the “pilgrim” is welcomed to the generous board. The message of happy hierarchy is implicit in the lyrics, but more so in the context of a Conservative peer calling for this song. Warrender was 4th Baronet of Lochend, a remote nook of rural Scotland. This song was performed 10 times between 1841 and 1847 alone, perhaps in part because it spoke to the rural lives of many of the landed members.

⁵⁵ NGCC Glees Performed shows Warrender as President choosing “Discord” and “Mine Be a Cot,” 7 Mar. 1831; “Mine Be a Cot” and “Cadwallo’s Tongue,” 15 Feb. 1831; “Discord,” 7 Mar. 1830 and 21 Apr. 1835.

The cumulative effect of the glee lyrics as a pastoral idyll of agrarian social conservatism glossed the poverty and political constraints of agricultural workers in the 1840s. Lady Hunter's diary mirrors the benevolent tone of the glees. Lady Hunter thought that the press had "too severely" criticized the Duke of Norfolk for twice making a "somewhat infelicitous speech" suggesting that when potato blight created "great want among the poor, he recommended their using Curry Powder with water, which would warm their stomachs!"⁵⁶ Lady Hunter noted that "he is very kind to the poor." The Hunters regularly gave to "the poor," but accepted the wide gulf between their own and others' living standards. Like the persona of "Mine Be a Cot," however, Lady Hunter took a moral lesson for herself from the living conditions of poor villagers. When she saw "poor old Mrs. Jones, who had been obliged to give up her daily school from ill health," she did not record the likely drop in Mrs. Jones' living standards but thought, "It would have been a lesson to many a better-educated person to witness her resignation to the Divine Will ... She said she deserved all she suffered—that without Sin, there would be no Sorrow."⁵⁷ The social conservatism of politicians like Warrender and gentry like Lady Hunter was the same. As a steady cultural trope of happy hierarchy, "Mine Be a Cot" helped to construct an impression of happy hierarchy as part of nature, as much a present reality as a historic benevolence.

Personal impact of NGCC membership was not limited to club meetings, but rippled into the personal and professional lives of members and their personal circles of

⁵⁶ FEH Diary, 9 Dec. 1845.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 8 Jan. 1843.

acquaintance. The personal and domestic implications of gentlemen's membership in the NGCC are seldom noticed, perhaps because evidence for this exclusively male association has been sought only in men's documents of the time. Through the eyes of Lady Hunter, however, more of Sir Richard's experience at the NGCC is visible, including the impact of his visits to men's clubs on his wife's social life. From the NGCC to Conservative Festivals use, certain repertoire certainly slithered, whether carried there by individual NGCC members recommending music or professional musicians they knew from NGCC meetings, or because the NGCC repertoire had floated out into the general musical soundscape in other ways.

Sir Richard Hunter was elected to the NGCC on 25 May 1841, and attended 55 meetings of the club between 1841 and 1847. He always paid his dues and fines, and ended his attendance on 9 April 1847, a year before his death (see Table 3). He took NGCC attendance so seriously that he—and Lady Hunter—left the deathbed of her brother, Archy Bishop, to attend the NGCC Ladies' Concert on 24 May 1842, for which he was the designated President. Lady Hunter is identified in the newspaper account as present, but her own diary entry says only that her husband went to the concert.⁵⁸ As a doctor, Sir Richard may have known he could no longer help the patient, but Lady Hunter felt enough conflict not to record in her diary her own absence from her brother's side.

According to Lady Hunter's record of her husband's club visiting, joining the musical NGCC significantly increased the total yearly number of club visits Sir Richard

⁵⁸ "The Catch Club," *Caledonian Mercury* (Edinburgh, Scotland), 18 Jul. 1842, identifies Lady Hunter among the audience; FEH Diary, 24 May 1842, does not.

made. It may be that the value of the NGCC depended on more regular and frequent visits than did Hunter's other clubs, the Sussex, the Arthur, and an unnamed Brighton club where he played whist and talked politics. NGCC attendance meant singing at every private meeting, so Sir Richard must have enjoyed singing the antique pastorale of most NGCC music. He may also have expanded his personal, social networks, although, with a few important exceptions like the Duke of Argyle, Hunter could as readily have

Table 3: Sir Richard Hunter Club Visits

Year	Catch	Sussex	Arthur	Brighton	Total Annual	Total Annual London
1840	-	04	-	-	04	04
1841	05	-	-	02	07	05
1842	09	01	-	03	13	10
1843	09	02	-	04	15	11
1844	13	04	01	-	18	18
1845	09	02	02	01	14	13
1846	07	03	-	02	12	10
Club Totals	52	16	03	12	83	71

socialized with the NGCC membership elsewhere.⁵⁹ When he joined, he already had friends among the membership, so he must have wanted to sing the NGCC music.

Hunter joined the NGCC only after he was appointed Sheriff in 1841, perhaps to improve his speaking voice through regular singing. Lady Hunter's diary is dotted with references to the quality of the speaking voices of public officials and church

⁵⁹ The 7th Duke of Argyll was present at some large social gatherings attended by the Hunters, but the intimacy of the NGCC setting would present better opportunities for developing real connections. See *Ibid.*, 31 Apr. 1842.

ministers.⁶⁰ She notes of her brother Freeman Bishop, a church minister, that she “was delighted with his voice, distinct utterance;” and mentions the “clear & sweet voice” of Queen Victoria opening Parliament. When Sir Richard presided as Sheriff at an important election in July, 1841, Lady Hunter wrote, “His speech from the Hustings was delivered in a very distinct & clear manner.”⁶¹ Vocal skill was important to several professions, and many lawyers, church ministers, and politicians invested in elocution training to improve the clarity and volume of their speaking voices.⁶² Sufficient singing can also improve the speaking voice, and the amateur members of the NGCC were occasionally coached by the “honorary” members, professional musicians who were among the most experienced choral directors and teachers in London.⁶³ Singing will only improve the voice if it is done regularly, however, which may have motivated Hunter’s regular NGCC attendance.

The NGCC was a small club, with new members nominated by existing members only to fill a vacancy created by death or resignation. Lady Hunter’s diary shows the layers of personal connections that enabled Sir Richard Hunter to join. His nominator, the Hon. Archibald Macdonald, and the long-time NGCC member Hunter seems to have

⁶⁰ in February 1841, Sir Richard was presented at Court to the Queen as Sheriff of Sussex. *London Gazette*, 5 Feb. 1841, p. 303. He had been nominated repeatedly since 1837, but did not hold the office until 1841. See *London Gazette*, 14 Nov. 1837, pp. 2919-2920; *Ibid.*, 15 Nov. 1839, pp. 2187-2189. in 1842, he no longer held the office: *Ibid.*, 25 Mar. 1842, p. 830. My thanks to Jane Glasson for these references.

⁶¹ For example, FEH Diary, 21 Mar. 1841; 1 Feb. 1844; 5 Jul. 1841.

⁶² For reference to the 1830s practice and clientele of London elocution teacher Richard Jones, see Edward Walford, “The Western Suburbs: Belgravia,” *Old and New London*, vol. 5 (1878), <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=45218>>, (viewed 14 Feb. 2008), pp. 1-14.

⁶³ See Appendix C: Catch Club Professional Members.

replaced, Col. Hugh Baillie, both socialized often with the Hunters during the 1840s, as did Lady Hunter's guardian, Sir William Fremantle, an NGCC member in 1803.⁶⁴ After meeting the Hunters three times at musical evenings in early 1841, Macdonald first invited Sir Richard to try the Catch Club, and Hunter "was much pleased. The music was charming."⁶⁵ Philip Joseph Salomons, the banker and NGCC member who seconded Hunter's NGCC nomination, also made music with Lady Hunter. In 1845, after a "grand party & recherché dinner" hosted by Salomons at which guests included "the Duke of Leinster & his son Lord Kildare, Lord & L'y Ponsonby, the Anthony Rothschilds," Lady Hunter "played a duett of Corelli's in the evening with Mr. Salomons, who is a fine performer on the double Bass."⁶⁶ The NGCC memberships and activities were part of a much larger web of music, politics, finance (Salomons and the Rothschilds were important financiers), in which women also participated musically.⁶⁷ Within a single marriage, the overlapping musical worlds of husband and wife were part of the dynamic interaction of class and gender distinctions that were continually recreated in the conservative musical soundscape.

⁶⁴ See NGCC, Attendances for Baillie's NGCC membership stopping the same year that Hunter's began; for Baillie and Macdonald references in FEH Diary, see n. 49 above.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 18 May 1841.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 11 May 1845.

⁶⁷ For Salomons family details, see *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Salomons, Levi," <<http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/view.jsp?artid'89&letter'S#351>>, (viewed 20 May 2008).

Fig. 13. 1842 Catch Club Ladies' Concert

*+ Fill Me Boy
 *Cloud-Cap't Towers
 *Some of My Heroes
 *What Ho Shepherd
 *At Her Fair Hands
 *My Pocket's Low
 *Blow Light
 *Blest Pair of Syrens
 *When Time Was Entwining
 +Look, Neighbours, Look!
 +Thou Art Beautiful
 +Here's a Health to All Good Lasses

Legend

* noted in NGCC, Glees Performed, 24 May 1842.
 + noted in "The Catch Club," *Caledonian Mercury* (Edinburgh, Scotland), 18 Jul.

Gender-specific differences of civic life, like full citizenship and legal rights, were reflected in gender-specific musical activities and clubs.⁶⁸ Women could not join the NGCC and had no parallel world of formally organized, quasi-public musical activities that definitively excluded men. Wealthy women like Lady Hunter tended to be the producers of private concerts of Italian operatic excerpts, but men as well as women attended these events. Unlike the absolute exclusion of women from NGCC membership, some men, like Sir William

Abdy, also produced private, Italianate concerts with social impunity.⁶⁹

Far more typical of elite male musical activity were all-male clubs. Sir Richard Hunter often dined at one of his four clubs, only one of which was musical. Sir Richard

⁶⁸ Colson, *White's 1693-1950*, pp. 119-20. Well into the twentieth century, some London men's clubs excluded women and non-aristocratic men to retain their character as "an oasis of civilization in a desert of democracy; perhaps the last stronghold of aristocracy. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁶⁹ For Hunter concerts, see Chapters Six and Seven. For Abdy, a divorced man with no wife to whom he could attribute the private concerts he gave, see, e.g., GB-LRCM CPH, London, Private Houses, Sir William Abdy Programme, 15 May 1843, with Italian opera singers Brambilla, Mario, Fornasari, Grisi, with Pilotti at the keyboard in a programme of opera excerpts by composers including Pacini, Mercadante, Bellini, Puzzi, Rossini, Donizetti, and Ricci. For Sir William Abdy, 7th Bart., 1779-1868, divorced 1816 and never remarried, see George Edward Cokayne, ed., *The Complete Baronetage* (Gloucester, U.K.: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1983), II, pp. 99-100.

did not dine on every club visit: never at the Brighton club and occasionally not at Arthur's or the Sussex Clubs. Before or after club visits, Sir Richard Hunter often joined Lady Hunter to socialize with others, sometimes going from his own amateur singing at the NGCC to hear other musicians. He discussed at least some of his NGCC meetings with Lady Hunter, since she commented periodically on the "excellent" or "charming" music she could not herself have heard.⁷⁰

Men's leisure choices affected the lives of the women in their households. During her husband's 67 club dinners, Lady Hunter usually dined alone or did not record her own dining arrangements (51 times), or dined with family (12 times). As the years ticked by, Lady Hunter mentioned less and less often in her diary that she was alone when her husband was out, perhaps taking it more easily for granted, but her record-keeping shows that the way she thought about her own activities was shaped in part by her husband's activities, even when she was not part of them. While she did not always have alternative musical activities when Sir Richard attended the NGCC, she did occasionally go as the guest of friends to the opera or make recreational music at home with her brother or cousin. She often recorded her own activities while her husband was at all of his clubs, but of all of the dates on which she recorded his club visits, she only named her own musical activities when his club was the musical NGCC. It is clear that Lady Hunter continually compared her own activities with those of her husband.

Gender-inflected though they were, musical activities were also shared by husband and

⁷⁰ In 1843, Lady Hunter noted that the "music was excellent" at a "grand meeting" of the NGCC, but implied that no women attended, since Sir Richard Hunter took her brother-in-law, John Kirkland "as his guest" and she herself "dined quietly at home." FEH Diary, 27 Jun. 1843.

wife. Occasionally, the Hunters met after Sir Richard's NGCC meeting, to share other music together, for instance when Miss Dolby sang after a small dinner party.⁷¹

NGCC records do not fully record the involvement of women in the Club, but like the organizers of the Conservative Festivals, the men of the NGCC produced musical performances for audiences that included women. Lady Hunter's diary is the only known evidence that in 1841 there was an invited audience for an NGCC meeting in the middle of that season. Hunter records guests being placed behind a screen to listen and comments that "Ladies occasionally go to hear the music."⁷² The NGCC usually held an annual Ladies' Concert at the end of the season, but it is unlikely that the amateur members used their meetings to rehearse for the annual concert. The 1842 Ladies' Night concert programme lists 12 selections, an average number for most NGCC meetings (Figure 13).⁷³ But the 1842 Ladies' Night concert contained three works that could not have been rehearsed at the NGCC because they had not been sung at any of the 1842 NGCC meetings before the concert. "When Time Was Entwining" was only performed that year at the concert itself, and "At Her Fair Hands" was only sung once

⁷¹ Ibid., 3 Apr. 1843. The English Miss Dolby had also been hired to entertain informally after one of the Hunters' private dinners, a smaller, less formal event than a private concert. Ibid., 13 Jul. 1842.

⁷² Ibid., 5 Apr. 1841. There was no season-ending Ladies' Concert in 1841. See "The Catch Club," *Caledonian Mercury* (Edinburgh, Scotland), 18 Jul. 1842. In 1842, NGCC members' wives sold tickets for the Ladies' Concert. FEH Diary, 9 Jul. 1842 selling tickets to the "Ladies Dinner" and Ibid., 11 Jul. 1842, describing the dinner for 70 held in a "Ballroom with the President at the head table sitting with the Duke of Beaufort & the Duchess, the Duke of Cambridge, Lady Fitzroy Somerset, Lord & Lady Poltimore &c."

⁷³ For example, in 1842, in chronological order, the 18 NGCC meetings performed the following number of items: 13, 15, 13, 12, 15, 12, 13, 12, 12, 10, 12, 11, 9, 8, 11, 10, 12, 10, for an average of 11 per meeting.

more that year on 21 June, after the concert.⁷⁴ “Here’s a Health to All Good Lasses” was performed only at the concert and not recorded in the Club records. It was not part of the official NGCC repertoire between 1841 and 1847, but was often used at the Conservative Festivals for the same reason it appeared at the NGCC Ladies’ Night: it addressed the women in the audience. The 1842 NGCC Ladies Concert also differed from regular meetings by including professional women singers, Misses Woodyat and Dolby.⁷⁵ Even for a private musical club, concert programming was strongly influenced by the intended audience.

The reason the amateur musicians of the NGCC felt no need to rehearse for their quasi-public concert was that they did not sing it. While every member of the Catch Club was required to sing at private club meetings, it is likely that only the professional musicians performed when the Club meetings were performances for invited audiences. No amateur singing is reported or implied in the 1842 newspaper review, which refers repeatedly to the professional musicians performing, and specifies that “Look, Neighbours, Look!” was “sung by Hobb[e]s, C. Taylor, King.” Similarly, at the 1845 NGCC Ladies’ Concert, Lady Hunter records that the Duke of Beaufort was president of the occasion, on which guests dined with NGCC members, and that “after dinner glees

⁷⁴ NGCC records list only nine works for 24 May 1842: see NGCC, *Glees performed*. The three not named there, “Thou Art Beautiful Queen of the Valley!” “Look, Neighbours, Look!” and “Here’s a Health to All Good Lasses,” were named in “Catch Club,” *Caledonian Mercury*, *op.cit.*

⁷⁵ This is the only known record of women singing with the NGCC. “The Catch Club,” *Caledonian Mercury*, *op.cit.*

were sung by the professional men present.”⁷⁶ The NGCC was an exclusive male club designed for the benefit of the amateur members.

Few elite men performed for others in public. Even the passionate amateur musician and NGCC member, the Duke of Cambridge, who sang egregiously loudly in church and informally played his violin late into the night at parties, is not known to have performed at the NGCC’s formal, semi-public concerts.⁷⁷ The sparse records of NGCC concerts suggest that the gentlemen members sponsored rather than performed at them, confirming that politically, economically and socially powerful members of the NGCC did not perform music for others.⁷⁸

Sir Richard Hunter, probably like most of the other “regular” members, sang at the NGCC the pastoral ideal which he might well have thought represented his own life. He hunted, did good works for the poor, and preferred the healthful air of the unspoiled countryside to the city. When he sang “Non nobis, Domine,” he was singing his belief that Protestant religion was fundamental to good, British society. At the NGCC, Hunter sang in “Glorious Apollo” of building a temple for worship, and at home in the Sussex countryside, he literally shored up the bulwarks of social structure by paying to overhaul the local church building.⁷⁹ Hunter’s musical recreation was coherent with his domestic and civic works.

⁷⁶ FEH Diary, 27 Jun. 1845.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 29 Mar. 1840, 23 Jan. 1844.

⁷⁸ Cf. Guignet, *The Ideal World*, pp. 51-63.

⁷⁹ John Wood Warter, Vicarage House, West Tarring, to Sir Richard Hunter, Dulany Cottage, Patching, Sussex, 13 Jul. 1835 cited in Samuel James Allen, “What does the Church for the People? A sermon preached at the visitation of the Right Reverend John Bird, Lord Bishop of Chester, in the Parish Church of Blackburn, on Tuesday, July 7,

Sir Richard Hunter's musical life was part of the unbroken continuum of his socially and politically conservative life and world view. Personal values were expressed in musical recreation, and the musical organizations like the NGCC communicated ideas and beliefs about the way society ought to be. It is not surprising that the musical genre developed by the NGCC, the glee, as well as specific selections from its repertoire and individual members, both "regular" and "honorary," should work their way into formal political life at the Conservative Festivals. The conservative musical soundscape, woven of the musical experiences in private clubs, formal politics, domestic family life, and the personal consciousness of such women as Lady Hunter, were so constant that they begged no attention: key to the power of musical culture as political and social ideology.

Newark Red Club

Such a segue from musical leisure to musical politics may have been at work when the Conservative Association called the Newark Red Club (hereafter NRC) produced a manuscript book of 11 songs, dated between 1831 and 1833, making it the earliest of the music known to have been created specifically for Conservative party gatherings during the 1830s. Inscriptions on the NRC Songbook pages and the lyrics themselves suggest that the lyrics are evidence of the thoughts and feelings of the NRC members for whom they were produced.⁸⁰ The music was a core feature of this political association.

1835" (London: J.G. & F. Rivington, 1835). Cf. "Patching," in *A History of the County of Sussex*, vol. 6, part 1: Bramber Rape (Southern Part) (1980), pp. 185-192. <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=18249&strquery=Patching>>, (viewed 14 Feb. 2008).

⁸⁰ Song lyrics alone are not sufficient documentation of the occurrence of non-musical events, but the lyrical contents claim to state the history and purpose of the NRC.

Although the Conservative Festivals did not begin until 1835, the NRC had already produced its manuscript song book by 1833. Local Conservatives in the Newark ridings long controlled by the Duke of Newcastle-under-Lyne founded the Newark Red Club to rebuild local electoral support for the Conservative party within four days of the stunning defeat of one of the Duke's preferred Conservative candidates in the election of June 14, 1831.⁸¹ According to the inscription on the song "Here's a Health to the Parent Club," the NRC songs are "Ballads for celebrating the first Red Club anniversary: June 18, 1832."⁸² The nine founding members of the Newark Reds prided themselves on their speed, for as one lyric says, "'t'were well quick done." As prominent in the song lyrics as their political purpose is the sense of warm, emotional fellowship primed by drink. As

Empirical reliability is more likely because the results of the 14 Dec. 1832 election noted in the manuscript songbook as [William Ewart] Gladstone 888, [William Farnsworth] Handley 798, [Serjeant Thomas] Wilde 726, are corroborated by official poll results. A scholarly assessment of the official poll results, which weighs often conflicting period sources, differs by only one vote, showing Gladstone with 887. F.W.S. Craig, ed., *British Parliamentary Election Results 1832-1885* (London: MacMillan Press, 1977), pp. xv, 215.

⁸¹ Serjeant Thomas Wilde beat the Duke's candidate, Sir Roger Gresley in an election so bitter that several potential candidates approached by the Duke declined to run. Henry Pelham-Clinton, *Unhappy Reactionary: The Diaries of the fourth duke of Newcastle-under-Lyne 1822-50*, ed. and introduction by Richard A. Gaunt, Thoroton Society Record Series 43 (Nottingham: Thoroton Society of Nottingham, 2003), p. xlvii and diary entries 3 Feb. 1831 to 30 Apr. 1831, pp. 76-79. The Duke refused to join the NRC on 17 Jul. 1831 because they disagreed with his choice of W.F. Handley as a candidate; *Ibid.*, p. 83. Yet the NRC adopted red as the Duke's hallmark colour, per Newark-Sherwood Government, "The Gladstone Banners," <<http://www.newark-sherwooddc.gov.uk/pp/gold/viewGold.asp?IDType'Page&ID'12487>>, (viewed 20 Jul. 2007), and the songbook is inscribed "Songs in honour of the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Lincoln & Countess of Lincoln." For the view that Newark Conservatives during the 1830s voted their own consciences rather than subservience to the Duke of Newcastle, see J.R. Fisher, "The Tory revival of the 1830s: An uncontested election in South Nottinghamshire," *Midland History* 6 (1981): 101, 103.

⁸² For all NRC lyrics, see Appendix E: Other Conservative Music.

one song notes, the founders “warm’d by friendship and wine” had begun “a prime Club of sound Reds,” and 6 of the 11 songs name friendly drinking or raising toasts.⁸³

The NRC had significant common ground with the NGCC. Both involved drink, all-male conviviality, and singing harmony together, probably aided by professional musicians.⁸⁴ Both were founded by nine men, and the “mystical nine” of the NRC song may be a reference to the coincidence of both the NRC and the NGCC having nine founding members. Certainly, “To Our Newark Red Club” was consciously drawn from the third volume of the NGCC repertoire that had been compiled and published by Edmund Thomas Warren, the first secretary of the NGCC, since the manuscript attributes the catch “Warren.”⁸⁵ The NGCC model had long since spread to provincial towns, and the NRC may well have been founded by amateur singers who had already been part of a glee club.⁸⁶ The dominant tone of the NRC lyrics, like that of much of the NGCC repertoire, is of intensely emotional fellowship.

The NGCC themes of nature and history, as well as drink and fellowship in the happy hierarchy of a true, Conservative Britain blessed by God, are present in the NRC.

⁸³ Ibid., “On This Day Is Compleat.” The other five drink references are in “Come Jolly Reds,” “Here’s a Health to All Good Reds,” “Here’s a Health to the Parent Club,” “Oh the Newark Red Club,” “To Our Newark Red Club.”

⁸⁴ For Charles Ridge and James Wilson, named in the NRC MSS as probably professional musicians, see Newark-Sherwood Government, “The Gladstone Banners,” fn. 81 above. My thanks to Elaine Keillor and Sheldon Posen for reviewing the NRC music, and to Dr. Keillor for the insight that stylistic components suggest that a professional musician composed “Though Danger Cannot Blanch Thy Cheek” in the 1830s.

⁸⁵ Warren collection compiled from works performed at NGCC 1763-1794. Knapp, “Samuel Webbe,” p. 347.

⁸⁶ Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, pp. 32, 33, 88.

The single song, “On This Day Is Compleat,” captures all of these themes. The religiosity of the “mystic nine” founders blends with the sense of history as a “circling year,” an eternal present in which the cyclical laws of nature are the expression of political Conservatism. The Red Club, has, “Like the Oak—Britain’s bulwark and pride,” flung its branches “So ample so numerous and wide.” The national history of Britain is summed up in Wellington’s victory over tyranny, and both the hierarchy of the unelected House of Lords and the happiness of “Britons more proud of the name” as a result of aristocratic military prowess are warmed by the convivial “bowl” over which the local Conservatives first gathered.

It is tempting to see the NRC as an early forerunner of the use of music in the Conservative party campaign for grass-roots support that took flight around 1835.⁸⁷ The NRC purpose was the same as that of the Conservative Festivals: to achieve Conservative Parliamentary domination by expanding regional communities of active Conservatives. The beginning of such a long-term strategy for building continuous Conservative party support has been thought to be 1835, in response to the temporary success of the Conservatives’ 100 Days’ Ministry (1834-1835).⁸⁸ Perhaps instead it was such small, regional groups who first imagined the British Conservative party as a

⁸⁷ Certainty would require more research into the membership, creation, and activities of the NRC than is possible within the scope of this dissertation.

⁸⁸ For attribution of impetus to regional Conservatives, Matthew Cragoe, “The Great Reform Act and the Modernization of British Politics: The Impact of Conservative Associations, 1835-1841,” *Journal of British Studies* 47 (Jul. 2008): 587-588; for attribution of impetus to London-based party organizers like Sir Francis Bonham, Norman Gash, *Politics in the age of Peel: a study in the technique of parliamentary representation, 1830-1850*, (Hassocks, Sussex, Eng.: Harvester Press & Humanities Press, 1977), p. 400.

political oak tree, with roots in a “Parent Club” and branches spreading across the country, sustained by group singing. The NRC song book is evidence that, by 1831, music already had a foot in the door of the Conservative party renaissance.

For a Conservative Parliamentary majority, it would not have been enough to elect Conservatives in Newark, and several NRC songs state the goal of increasing Conservative membership outside Newark, in “Here’s a Health to All Good Reds,” for instance, wishing “success now to every Red branch, / May their numbers yet greatly increase.” In “Here’s a Health to the Parent Club,” the wish is for “health to the Branches all,” which picks up the oak tree metaphor of “On This Day Is Compleat.” The increase in membership of the NRC parent club, from nine to more than 700 in one year is noted literally in “Here’s a Health to the Parent Club.” Like the Conservative Festivals, the NRC song book taught the Conservative theory of hierarchy in nature and history and urged right-thinking Britons to fight for Conservative victory: “Whoe’er would serve his Country well must join the Newark Red Club.”⁸⁹

The NRC offered prospective members several advantages, including excellent music sung in an atmosphere of warm fellowship. Political differences were acrimonious enough at the time that the relaxed sociability of the Newark Red Club was one of the attractions of joining, for as “Oh the Newark Red Club” says, “Oh the Newark Red Club is a glorious thing; / For freely, when there we can chat, laugh and sing; / Without any fear of the slightest commotion / While turning our views to our Gladstone’s promotion.”

⁸⁹ Appendix E: Other Conservative Music, s.v. “You’ve Asked Me for a Song.”

The form of the NRC songbook hints at the possibility of a Club concert, perhaps for an audience of potential new members. The length, 11 items, is similar to the 12 items on the NGCC 1842 Ladies' Concert, perhaps in imitation of Catch Club practice. The sequence in the song book itself had been thought about. At the top of "Come Jolly Reds" is inscribed "This song should have appeared last in the Book; but there was no place to insert it." The actual sequence of performance might well have varied even from the sequence in the book, but the intention to present a thoughtful sequence of music accessible to the intended participants was clearly present. The music chosen for inclusion is vocally accessible to most amateurs, with a narrow range usually not much greater than an octave. Two songs are noted in the book as having been transposed to a lower key ("You've Asked Me for a Song" from the key of A to the lower key of F, and "Oh the Newark Red Club" down from D to C), making both easier for untrained voices. The music arrangements could accommodate amateur participants singing along.

Musical satisfaction in a programme requires a variety of keys and time signatures. The keys of these songs are somewhat varied, the mood largely cheerful. The NRC Songbook keys are all major. Although the musical effects of "Auld Lang Syne" and "Remember Me" are wistful or dark, major keys (in the Western musical traditions) tend to be more associated with happiness than minor keys. Most of the music is energetic, with rhythmic variety scattered about in triple times (3/4 and 6/8) and vigorous 4/4 times. Nearly half of the songs are in vigorous 2/4 march time, befitting the purpose of the NRC as a catalyst for electoral action, and consistent with the martial tone of lyrics like "Here's a Health to the Parent Club." Independent of the text in the

lyrics, the effect of the sound of these vigorous rhythms was likely to have been physically stirring, giving listeners a personal, material experience that could further galvanize emotional commitment to the texts being sung and thought about.

It is just possible that a professional woman singer sang with the NRC. The lyrics to the song “Remember Me Tomorrow” are odd for the NRC songs, because they are from the perspective of a woman. The protagonist knows that the person she is singing to is a brave warrior who never pales “though battle din confound thee” when “glory bids thee honour seek.” But the protagonist is not going into battle with the warrior; instead, sheds “one parting tear” and is comforted by knowing that even when the warrior is away, their two lives are “entwin’d” and his every thought is of the singer. The stasis and the definition of the protagonist through another person are typical of Victorian gender ideals for women.⁹⁰ It is possible though unlikely that a professional woman singer was brought in to provide variety at the private meetings. More probable is that, if the NRC planned a concert at which they expected women listeners, a female singer or at least this song from a female perspective, was included to appeal to the women audience members.⁹¹

Much of the NRC music, like that of the Conservative Festivals, was a mix of popular folk tunes and cultivated NGCC compositions, adapted to topical, political

⁹⁰ The character has no active goal of victory, but expresses a sense of being defined through love, loss, and a person other than herself, all of which amount to a standard prescriptive trope of Victorian femininity. See Guiguet, *The Ideal World*, pp. 19-23.

⁹¹ Only professional women musicians were likely to perform in public due to Victorian gender mores. For professional women musicians, never amateurs, performing at eighteenth-century, all-male regional music societies, William Weber, “The Fabric of Daily Life and the Autobiography of John Marsh,” *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 59, no. 1 (1995): 163.

purposes. The gorgeous folk song “Liberty Hall,” for example, is set to political words, but the accompaniment is suitable for a high, agile instrument like a fiddle or pipe, and must often have been heard at dances. The lyrics to all of these songs were created for the club and use sturdy vernacular diction set to appealing music. This collection would provide a gratifying sing as well as steady focus on the goal of supporting political conservatism.

The lyrics not only teach the political issues and the brief history of the NRC, but promise the delights of music. More than half of the songs are about music or mention music either for its own sake or as a symbol of social harmony. The lyrics of “Returning thanks” hinge entirely on the conceit that the singer should “your kindness attempt to repay with a song.” Since the electoral candidate in question was named in several songs as William Ewart Gladstone, known for excellent singing of part-songs and solo music, Gladstone himself might have sung this to the club.⁹² In “Let No One Envy,” the club meetings are described as “Joyous in harmony and in friendly glee,” surely referring to the glee as a musical form, and perhaps to an earlier history of this group of men as a singing club. The NRC lyrics emphatically stress music as a benefit associated with political Conservatism.

The great promise of the NRC songs is heightened emotionalism in a cosy community. Rather than intellectual argument, feelings are emphasized, like “the true

⁹² For Gladstone as a musician, see W.T. Stead, “Mr. Gladstone Part II, ‘As a Statesman,’” *Review of Reviews* V (May 1892): 453-466; and “William Ewart Gladstone,” *Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 39, no. 664 (1 Jun. 1898): 381. There is no evidence that Gladstone participated in the NRC.

Red feeling,” repeated references to delight, and even intense distress.⁹³ One of the most striking features is the focus on the NRC and the members themselves. The songs paint a membership delighted with themselves as agents of Conservatism, a set of values to which they are idealistically, emotionally, and intellectually committed with “minds unfetter’d sound and free.”⁹⁴

It may be that the lyrics congratulated the membership because two probably professional musicians, Charles Ridge and James Wilson, were flattering their patrons, but it may not: there is no evidence that money was paid for this music, nor that the musicians themselves were not equally ideologically committed. The fellowship that echoes through most of these songs includes loyalty to local aristocrats on a personal basis, rather than on any abstract belief in the independence of the House of Lords. The Duke of Newcastle-under-Lyne is noted, for instance in “O the Newark Red Club is a glorious thing,” as having opposed “crude schemes,” but, unlike Conservative Festivals speeches, there is no thundering about the necessity for the Lords to be an unelected force that should legitimately oppose legislation from the elected House of Commons. The NRC members were building a sense of political agency through their activism, and music was one of the means of creating an identity and potentially of attracting new members.

The lyrics express real pride in creating a movement that is spreading like a force of nature. Several songs mention some variation on the “Club firmly rooted its branches

⁹³ Appendix E: Other Conservative Music, s.v. “Let No One Envy,” “Here’s a Health to the Parent Club,” “Remember Me.”

⁹⁴ Ibid., s.v. “Let No One Envy.”

has flung so ample so numerous and wide.”⁹⁵ The agency of flinging is intentional, since the more passive alternate word, “spread,” is crossed out in the copy. The image is of the Newark Reds as the embodiment of Conservatism as a force of nature, abundant, welcoming, unified, and natural. Complex, intellectual argument is absent. The religiosity of the “mystical nine” in the title is reinforced by the sacramental undertone of wine as the medium of fostering warm fellowship. Drunkenness was explicitly not the purpose of sharing wine in the NGCC’s most frequent starting number, “Fill Me Boy:” wine is “the temperate bowl we wreath ... / With harmony of soul and song!”⁹⁶ The NGCC themes of nature, history, and divine creation as part of a benevolent hierarchy of human differences are present in the NRC lyrics as they soon were to be in the lyrics of the music of the Conservative Festivals.

The NRC has a focus on working men that is largely absent at the NGCC but became the critical political goal of the Conservative Festivals. While the membership of the NRC is not yet known, the song book is held in the papers of the Nottingham Mechanics’ Institute, and perhaps some of the actual or hoped-for members were working men. In language that operative Conservatives would have recognized, “Here’s a Health to All Good Reds” utters the key criticism that Reform politicians’ claims to being the “friend of the people” were wicked hypocrisy: “Some will tell you, you’re only Red slaves, / The Sons of oppression, and fools; / But beware of the cozening knaves, / They wish but to make you their tools.” The NRC Songbook was created just

⁹⁵ Ibid., s.v. “On This Day Is Compleat.”

⁹⁶ Appendix F: Lyrics of Selected Catch Club Music, s.v. “Fill Me Boy!”

before 1835, when the Operative Conservative Associations were founded in Leeds. Operative William Paul, too, thought that Reformers were only using working men.

The themes of the NRC lyrics foreshadow those of the later Conservative Festivals, but with subtle differences that further support the possibility that the NRC was an early model of the use of music in the later gatherings. NRC lyrics present virtue, loyalty and true principles of an organically unified society as rewarded with fellowship and drink, and occasional slightly bleary toasts to women. The strong emotionalism prefigures later Conservative Festivals and their slightly shriller rejection of intellectual cleverness, associated with blundering and corrupt Whigs. Victory was a future goal rather than an achievement for the NRC, with much of the music focussed on the need for political battle until victory is achieved (e.g., “Here’s a Health to the Parent Club”). Occasional references to loyalty to “the country” would later be replaced at Conservative Festivals by a jingoistic thumping on the theme of the Constitution and its component parts.

The NRC Song Book reveals a club of politically active men for whom music was not so much a decorative fillip as it was a characteristic feature of their political lives. Music helped the NRC to create the sense of a community of shared political values and goals. Conceivably rooted in experience of Catch Club singing by one or more of the members, the NRC Songbook’s use of music for political party goals may well have inspired the vigorous use of music in the Conservative Festivals.

Music, to stay current in a culture, must be heard continuously. To be remembered, it must be repeatedly heard or performed by each individual who carries it

in their inner musical soundscape. The musical world of the NGCC was a stable twilight of romanticized rural pleasure, filled with emotion, lubricated by drink, and crystalline with the transparent beauties of one voice per part in an intimate setting. In the 1828 to 1847 period, with the heavy preponderance of older music, and the self-conscious historicism of much of the contemporary Catch Club music, the audible moment of the Catch Club was the eternally refreshed past. In the face of Reform challenges to the morality and stability of exclusionary hierarchy, the NGCC lyrically reconstructed a nice and permanent vision that congratulated the landed and powerful men who ran the Club on their right to their superior social and political power.

The personal musical leisure of these gentlemen and their working musician colleagues continually recreated their own version of musical and social history. The NGCC repertoire contributed to the musical soundscape beyond its walls, as the professional musicians took their well-rehearsed compositions to concerts and any willing bidder for their services, including the Conservative party during its Festivals of the 1830s. The models of NGCC and political conviviality have obvious links to other long-standing traditions of beefy civic dinners followed by music, but the particularity of amateur men musicians singing in close harmony is notable in the Newark Red Club. With the move to overt political party activism, the musical genres of the NRC broadened from the NGCC's cultivated glees and catches to include vernacular songs, all adapted to whip up Conservative party support and cry down the "bitter Whig draught" of Reform.⁹⁷

⁹⁷ Appendix E: Other Conservative Music, s.v. "O the Newark Red Club."

Men's musical and political clubs did not function in isolation from their domestic lives. Lady Hunter murmured no complaints about her solitary dining while Sir Richard sang glees at his Club, but his recreational choices partially shaped her own musical and leisure activities. In a thought-provoking echo of the 1841 Nottingham Conservative Festival organized by the wife and daughter of the Conservative candidate, the wives of Newark Red Club members "commissioned a colourful banner, seven feet by nine feet, which they presented to the Newark Red Club at a special meeting in the Old Assembly Rooms (in Cartergate) on December 4th, 1832."⁹⁸ All-male musical leisure, like all-male political action, did exist, but it was part of a reciprocal fabric that affected and was affected by women taking their own actions for political or, as in the case of the professional women musicians at the 1842 NGCC Ladies' Concert and perhaps with the NRC, professional purposes.

The conservative musical soundscape was not heaven sent, not an ahistoric natural resource, but a canon of musical composition and performance practice. As music was created, performed, and adopted in different performing venues for reasons that were not always aesthetic, new meanings accumulated. The apparently apolitical male musical leisure of the NGCC predated the Reform politics of the 1830s, ran parallel to it, and continued well after it. Long habituation at leisure to music built on hierarchies of class and gender made the masculine sound of power seem natural and historic. Music was an important mode for emotional, masculine fellowship as part of male political activity. This is not to say that reason had no part in politics, nor even that

⁹⁸ "Gladstone Banners," *op. cit.*

musical activity is devoid of reasoning. But the personal, emotional convictions of politics and social power ran deep in part because some political men loved to sing together.

As the insights from Lady Hunter's records of her husband's NGCC experience suggests, there were personal considerations and outcomes for the men in these musical and political associations. For the public speakers, cultivation of their speaking voices through singing was likely an intentional outcome. For the professional musicians, in addition to their incessant interest in expanding their paid client rosters, there may have been personal satisfaction in socializing with public figures. For all the participants in the NGCC and perhaps also the NRC, excellent performances by the finest choral voices applying their musicianship in one voice per part to music designed in many cases for the individual singers who sang them, and in all cases for the circumstances of a small room, must often have been an irresistible pleasure. The music could travel to other places and other voices, but projected above the gabbling gas chandeliers to 2,000 Conservative Festival diners it was not the same. The exquisitely small scale of the private Catch Club meetings mirrored the charm so rosily painted in the pastoral glees of a small society, webbed together through personal relationship over long years. During the 1830s and 1840s, that rural society was shifting into a louder, mechanized gear, as populations rose and rural communities dwindled with the exodus into the cities. At the large dinners of the Conservative Festivals, the glees were sung, sometimes by musicians long experienced at them in the private Catch Clubs, but they were not the same. The transfer to the larger forum changed the music aesthetically, and changed its

social and political implications, as the society of which they sang was changing beyond recognition.

The private musical lives, repertoire, and preferences of the powerful classes were brought into the formal arena of politics through music. Less well marked, even by the participants at the time, was the ideological content of other musical recreation by social and political conservatives. Because of the far reach of social conservatism into every aspect of personal life, committed social conservatives could see their personal preferences as the natural benchmark of appropriate music for public consumption.

While the glees were still sounding, some of the women and men who listened to them were engaged with other music that carried many of the same messages of hierarchy, nature, and history. Among them were the private concerts given by Sir Richard and Lady Hunter.

CHAPTER SIX:

THE MECHANICS OF MUSICAL CLASS IN THE HUNTERS' ITALIANATE CONCERTS

Expensive, varied, and high stakes for the amateur producers who hosted them, private concerts busily hummed throughout English high society in the mid-nineteenth century. For private concerts, the still-dominant conventions of using primarily vocal music, most of it from Italian operas and sung by professional musicians, were different from those of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club of London (hereafter NGCC) or the Conservative Festivals, but they, too, made conservative hierarchalism—the notion that class and gender marked heritable, innate, and fixed, ranks of humanity—seem natural and historic. The metaphors of abundance linked with Conservative hierarchalism were experienced at first hand in the Hunters' private concerts. The myth of an inherently class-specific repertoire was bolstered by the creation of a class-specific musical history. Private concerts made it difficult for any individual within their social circle to avoid learning a great deal of music, much of it Italian opera.

Lady Hunter, in consultation with her glee-singing husband, Sir Richard Hunter, and with professional concert brokers, gave eight private concerts between 1839 and 1846, of two distinct types: Italianate opera excerpts performed by professional musicians, and chamber music featuring amateurs. This chapter addresses only the Italianate private concerts given by the Hunters (1839, 1840, 1844, 1846), situating them in the world of public professional performance of Italian opera of the time. In the

middle of the chronological sequence of the Hunter Italianate concerts is their unusual chamber music concert of 1842, which will be addressed separately in the next chapter.

Although women were usually formally named as producers of such concerts, domestic musical life was not exclusively feminine, and the history of the Hunter concerts reveals how closely woven the musical activities of a nineteenth-century married couple could be.¹ Women experienced gender-specific constraints, however, and like other women of her class who lived in circumstances not entirely of their own making, Frederica Emma Hunter used musical life to build a degree of personal cultural autonomy as a participant in the public life of her time. The Hunter concerts changed over time as Lady Hunter discovered and adapted to her own limitations as a performing musician (through the chamber music attempts discussed in the next chapter) and her husband's variable willingness to spend money on music, but they consistently show that she aimed to use music to help herself rise in the hierarchical social matrix she perceived and applauded.

This chapter situates Lady Hunter's Italianate concerts of 1839, 1840, 1844, and 1846 in the elite musical soundscape of private and public musical performances. The musical markers of upper class status were not innate: the mechanics of musical class had to be learned and paid for. Lady Hunter's Italianate programs show that she learned by making mistakes, adapting to her husband's tastes and variable budgets, and

¹ For women as private concert producers, see Kristina Guiguet, *The Ideal World of Mrs. Widder's Soirée Musicale: Social Identity and Musical Life in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*, Mercury Series Cultural Studies, Paper 77 (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2004), Chapter Four.

adjusting her programming to conform to the performance techniques and conventions she observed over the seven years.

The Hunters' choices of repertoire, performers, programme structure, and seasonal timing were part of the continuum of their musical soundscape, comprised of Italian opera, professional concert brokerage, and programming form. On close analysis, the 1839 Hunter programme demonstrates how a flexible template of standard programme format could serve the negotiated process of creating an individual programme. The social and financial aspects of private concerts are illuminated by analysing the failure of the 1840 Hunter programme, and the final two Italianate Hunter concerts (1844, 1846) are set in the context of public opera performance and the practices of other private concert hosts.

The historicism of Italianate private concerts was less remote than that of the Catch Club, with its eighteenth-century repertoire, or the Conservative Festivals' musical references to historic naval triumphs by Admiral Nelson, but it functioned in exactly the same way. The sense of history as evidence of the changeless truth of human existence was combined with constructing a class-specific musical history for the upper classes. Italianate private concerts resonated with the same hierarchalist messages of music at the NGCC and, through the Conservative Festivals, in formal politics.

The choices made by the hosts are revealed by private programmes, by newspaper accounts, and by personal papers like Lady Hunter's six-year diary covering

1 January 1840 to 23 May 1846.² The Hunter diary makes it possible to link private programming with a range of personal musical experiences. Like many other such concerts, details of guests, artists, repertoire, and the names and addresses of the hosts were reported in the press for some of the Hunters' private concerts, giving these putatively private venues a role in civic discourse.

There are no known extant programmes for the Hunters' 1840 and 1846 concerts, but the other two Italianate concerts have typical, two-movement programmes filled with Italian opera excerpts and professional, European musicians.³ The sheer volume of musical activity in London alone during this period, and the ephemerality of records, makes comprehensive comparison impossible.⁴ Instead, context for the Hunters' concerts is provided by a handful of contemporary private programmes and by the Hunter diary commentary on their attendance at 79 private musical events hosted by 39 families between 1840 and 1846. Among them was Lady Combermere's concert in 1845 (hereafter Combermere 1845), which received significant critical attention.⁵ Lady

² Diary of Frederica Emma, Lady Hunter, Diary, 1840 to 1846, (London) City of Westminster Archives Centre, Acc. 1621, (hereafter FEH Diary).

³ 1839 Hunter Programme, 1844 Hunter Programme, both from Great Britain, London Royal College of Music, Centre for Performance History (hereafter GB-LRCM CPH), London Private Houses. Hunter records her aspects of her own private concerts in FEH Diary 3 May 1844; 2 Jun. 1840; 13 May 1846.

⁴ Christina Bashford and Simon McVeigh, "The Concert Life in Nineteenth-Century London database project," in *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies*, 2, eds. J. Dibble and B. Zon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 1-12; FEH Diary gives details of the private events throughout.

⁵ John Ella, "Viscountess Combermere's Concert Belgrave Square, May 30, 1845," *Report of the Musical Union*, 1 (1845): 52 (hereafter Combermere 1845) and FEH Diary 30 May 1845, naming no music or musicians, only "plenty of grand people to look at." Ella's annotated programmes were published annually. See Christina Bashford, "John

Hunter, music lover, social climber, and avid retailer of society news throughout her diary, surely knew of the Queen's private Italianate concerts.⁶

The Hunters may also have known of Sir William Abdy's concert of 1843 (hereafter Abdy 1843), which, like the Hunters' 1846 concert, was brokered by Giovanni Puzzi.⁷ Puzzi's name on a programme often meant that he had organized it. Puzzi was a powerful concert fixer of London high society who succeeded financially, socially, and musically because he was a brilliant French horn player who developed a masterful network of musicians and society patrons. His compositions and programmes were precisely tailored to a historically specific set of circumstances: the musical fashions of the English aristocracy who loved Italian opera. As a horn player with the opera orchestra, he had early developed a stable of the finest singers of Italian opera.⁸ In a period when private concerts were largely shaped by performers, the Abdy 1843 programme and the Hunter 1846 programme had such similar performers—Grisi, Brambila, Mario, Puzzi, and Pilotti—that the similarities of their repertoire and concert structure are unsurprising. The Hunter diary and programmes, compared with those of

Ella and the Musical Union," in *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914*, eds. Bashford and Leanne Langley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 195, fn. 2.

⁶ Unless otherwise stated, the source for all Italianate State concert programmes given by Queen Victoria (1837-1846) is Michael J. Budds, "Music at the Court of Queen Victoria: A Study of Music in the Life of the Queen and her Participation in the Musical life of her Time," 3 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Music, University of Iowa, 1987), III, Appendix D: The Palace Commands: The State Concert Programmes [1837-1846], pp. 927-942.

⁷ "Sir William Abdy Programme, 15 May 1843," GB-LRCM CPH, London Private Houses (hereafter Abdy 1843). FEH Diary records meeting Abdy 5 Feb. 1845, 5 May 1846.

⁸ Elizabeth Bradley Strauchen, "Giovanni Puzzi: His Life and Work. A View of Horn Playing and Musical Life in England from 1817 into the Victorian Era (ca. 1855)," 2 vols. (D. Phil. diss., Somerville College, University of Oxford, 2000), pp. 243-246.

Abdy 1843, Combermere 1845, and those of the Queen (1837-1846), thus provide insight into the world of elite musical leisure centred on Italian opera.⁹

Musical Conventions: Italian Opera, Concert Fixers, Programming

Italian opera performed by Italian and Italian-trained singers was the best in the world, and during the reform decades of the 1830s and 1840s, attendance at the London professional Italian opera house was a hallmark of belonging to upper-class society.¹⁰

Why did the upper ranks prefer Italian opera and Italian singers? English opera in the earlier nineteenth century continued the eighteenth-century practice of cobbling together new tales from existing works, often called *pasticcio*, reacting to rather than advancing the form.¹¹ Good British singers existed, but many trained in Italy, since until the 1820s there was no major music performance school in England.¹² German opera was also a constant presence in London, with operas by such composers as Carl Maria von Weber popular well into the 1840s, and performed at the King's Theatre (1832-1833) and Her

⁹ See Appendix G: Four Programmes.

¹⁰ Jennifer Hall-Witt, *Fashionable Acts: Opera and Elite Culture in London, 1780-1880* (Durham, New Hampshire: University of New Hampshire Press, 2007), p. 100. Italian opera was performed at the King's/Her Majesty's Theatre (1820-1855), and at the Royal Italian Opera, Covent Garden 1847-1855. Strauchen, "Puzzi," II, pp. 285-297.

¹¹ Defending the artistic integrity of *pasticcio* is Lowell Lindgren, "Bits and Pieces: Music for Theater," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, New Series 2, no. 4 (Winter 1991): 17-30. For the explanation that British theatrical regulation was in part to blame for poor British opera composition, see Bruce Carr, "Theatre Music: 1800-1834," in *Music in Britain*, ed. Temperley, pp. 288-306. For an outline of early attempts to establish English opera houses, some by English opera composers like John Barnett, see Michael Hurd, "Opera: 1834-1865," in *Ibid.*, pp. 307-329. Hurd condemns with faint praise "a select handful" of the English operas of this period that "could be revived without embarrassment."

¹² Leanne Langley, "Sainsbury's Dictionary, the Royal Academy of Music, and the Rhetoric of Patriotism," in *Music and British Culture*, eds. Bashford and Langley, p. 66.

Majesty's (1851).¹³ A few German singers, like Herr Pischek, joined the Italians in fashionable private concerts as well as at the opera house, but there was no discrete German opera house in London.

Italianate private concerts between 1830 and 1850 reflected the central place of Italian opera in British aristocratic culture since the eighteenth century, when British aristocrats regularly undertook the "grand tour" of Europe.¹⁴ From its seventeenth-century inception as court entertainment in Italy, opera had flourished as a characteristically Italian form. By the end of the eighteenth century, Italian castrati (male singers castrated before puberty to retain their ethereal singing voices) had also developed the singing technique known as "*bel canto*" ("beautiful singing"), which remained the dominant technical approach until the mid-nineteenth century development of a more robust, less agile vocal technique. Many of the great Italian singers of the first half of the nineteenth century had studied with the castrato singing masters, and the composers of Italian opera designed their works for specific interpreters who were still working in London at mid-century.¹⁵ The celebrated "Puritani Quartet" of Grisi, Mario,

¹³ Strauchen, "Puzzi," II, p. 293.

¹⁴ My thanks to Rachel Cowgill for this insight; for Italian opera as a trope of upper-class identity, see for example William Weber, "Redefining the Status of Opera: London and Leipzig, 1800-1848," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 36, no. 3 (Winter 2006): 517.

¹⁵ John Rosselli, "The Castrati as a Professional Group and a Social Phenomenon, 1550-1850," *Acta Musicologica* 60, fasc. 2 (May-August, 1988): 143; Rosselli, "From Princely Service to the Open market: Singers of Italian Opera and Their Patrons, 1600-1850," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 1, no. 1 (March 1989): 1-32; Naomi André, *Voicing Gender: Castrati, Travesti, and the Second Woman in Early-nineteenth-century Italian Opera* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006), pp. 6-7, 36-44.

Rubini, and Lablache had premiered Vincenzo Bellini's *I Puritani*, a favourite of Queen Victoria, and toured it constantly through the European-British circuit.¹⁶

As a form developed to entertain absolutist rulers, much of the political content of Italian opera celebrated non-elected, monarchical political regimes.¹⁷ In London, direct aristocratic control of the Italian Opera House had waned since the 1820s, but throughout the 1830 to 1850 period, attendance there and knowledge of Italian operatic repertoire and the reigning operatic stars was still a signal of social status.

Private concerts provided special access to a wider range of repertoire and closer contact with the great artists of the day than was available in the public performances of a given year. Access to private performances was only by personal invitation, rather than by paying for an opera house ticket, which made both the concerts and the cultural history they created dependent on authentic, personal connections. The finest Italian singers could be engaged for private concerts, as Lady Hunter's own programmes show, so the intersecting worlds of public, professional opera and private concerts continued the patronal dynamics of the previous century.¹⁸

Professional concert fixers were an important resource for private concert hosts. The history of the Hunter programmes shows that such private Italianate programmes were created through cooperative negotiation between professional musicians and their

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 167-168.

¹⁷ For patronal influence on opera composition, see Timothy King, "Patronage and Market in the Creation of Opera before the Institution of Intellectual Property," *Journal of Cultural Economics* 25, no. 1 (Feb. 2001): 21-45.

¹⁸ Simon McVeigh, "'An Audience for High-Class Music': Concert Promoters and Entrepreneurs in Late-Nineteenth-Century London," in *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists*, ed. William Weber (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004), p. 165.

clients. Such private concert hosts were often amateur musicians as well as frequent audience members at public, professional performances. Programmes recorded decisions about repertoire, performers, and the sequence of both, as well as timing (seasonal, day of week), location (London, the regions), and quality of private venue. Aesthetic preferences in repertoire, performers and sequencing were juggled with the hosts' social and financial goals and the professionals' availability and current personal repertoire.¹⁹ Private concert programmes were a point of direct social negotiation that produced new meanings for the music of the soundscape.

Table 4: Program Size

Date	Host	# items in each half	Total items in programme
1839	Hunter	8/6	14
1844	Hunter	7/5	12
1843	Abdy	7/6	13
1845	Combermere	7/7	14

As comparison of the four Hunter programmes with those of Abdy 1843 and Combermere 1845 and the Queen (1835-1846) shows, the format of fashionable private concerts using opera excerpts between 1830 and 1850 was flexible enough to reflect incremental change in taste and available repertoire and performers, but programme formats were becoming standardised through the demands of musical commerce and of

¹⁹ The approach to programme analysis used in this study is based on a case study of an 1844 private concert programme held by British upper-class emigrants to Canada, in Guiguet, *The Ideal World*, Chapter Two; cf. for eighteenth-century programmes, Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 101-118 (programming) and 167-181 (concert costing).

social functions.²⁰ For instance, the Italianate programmes devised for each of the three private hosts held about the same number of selections presented in two unequal halves (Table 4 and Appendix G: Four Programmes).

Juggling the schedules and repertoires of several performers and multiple concert hosts, the concert fixers would have been well served by working from a kind of standard programme template in which different “slots” in the sequence of the programme had distinct functions to contribute to aesthetic unity through patterns of balance, repetition, and variety. Sir George Smart, for example, was a busy musician and fixer whose extensive annotations on concert programmes suggest that he thought in terms of a standard programme template. He numbered the items in each concert he participated in, noted during performances how long each item took, whether or not and why it was successful and how the actual performance sequence deviated from the printed plan.²¹ Given the time constraints on professional musicians who had to pack their calendars tightly to make a living in the short London “season,” it is reasonable to suppose that programme formats were standardized to some extent because the format worked aesthetically, satisfied audiences, and saved the professionals doing the programming considerable time and effort.²²

²⁰ William Weber, *Music and the Middle Class: The Social Structure of Concert life in London, Paris and Vienna* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1975), p. 31.

²¹ Sir George Thomas Smart, ed., [Programmes. London, Philanthropic Society’s Chapel], “Books of the words of eight performances of sacred music in 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828, 1829, 1831 and 1833,” (London: Philanthropic Society, [1825-33]). Smart’s notes were manuscript. My thanks to John Carnelly for discussions of Smart.

²² Clusters of works appropriate for each slot could be developed by each performer and fixer. Programmers benefitted from having a standardized concert format that need not be reinvented for each event.

Concert fixers had to consider the hierarchies of talent and fame among the artists they programmed for private concerts. Not all performers carried the same cachet, but every performer was surely tenderly solicitous about where they appeared on each programme and what they were asked to perform. Those with greater clout—fame, availability, or exceptional capacities—had greater leverage, and the most famous singers doubtless negotiated very little about the list of repertoire they were prepared to include on private concerts.

Audiences and performers had different needs that could be met by creating a standard sequence of musical functions in programmes: audiences need variety, familiarity, and emotional impact; performers pace themselves for display and fatigue; both are gratified by aesthetic unity which, in this period, was often achieved through repetition and symmetry. The function of the specific slots for specific kinds of music allowed concert programmers to tailor programmes for individual clients by seeing the lists of available repertoire, well known to concert fixer and performer alike, in clusters of specific types of performance function. Within the genre of opera alone, excerpts can easily be found that create emotional variety of all kinds: excitement, sorrow, repose, laughter, awe, mystery. Audible variety could be achieved by considering different kinds of voices—male, female, large, small, high, low—and individual voices, depending on the singer, could be programmed to display a wide range of vocal skills, including extremes of fast and slow speed, and extremes of vocal range and volume. All of these features are part of the technique of programming concerts, and affect audience enjoyment whether or not audience members consciously identify them.

The opening numbers and sequence of the first half of a programme allowed the programmer to introduce all the artists to the audience, and a recognizable high point of musical and dramatic intensity in the middle of each half gave a programmes the focus essential for a satisfying emotional journey for the audience. If there were a non-musical theme to unify the whole, it could be stated in the opening, at the climax of each half, and just before the ending of each half. Closing each half with a familiar ensemble was standard practice, and made the conceptual point that combining different kinds of voices in lines of music appropriate to each resulted in an organic whole of beautiful harmony. It was a statement consistent with the concept of conservative social hierarchies of different kinds of people occupied in appropriately different kinds of activity.

Among these structural pillars, the programmer could layer consistent thematic content or simply provide auditory, emotional, and to some degree stylistic variety by varying patterns of musical genre, and the number, gender and voice or instrument type of the performers, to keep the audience attention fresh.

It is possible to design concert programmes for thematic relevance to the personal and professional lives of the concert producers, since stitching together works from different sources to create a new and topical “plot” in the form of a *pasticcio* was still a living memory in the 1840s and part of the cultural equipment of most educated music-listeners.²³ Prince Albert, for example, created programmes that evoked his own youth in Germany, and, more broadly, emphasized such composers as Mendelssohn and

²³ For the concert programme as an inherently adaptable form see Weber, *Music and the Middle Class*, p. 17.

Mozart in the music he oversaw for Queen Victoria.²⁴ In the Italianate programmes of Abdy 1843, Combermere 1845 and Hunter (1839, 1844), such *pasticcio* thematic unity was largely absent, except superficially in the Hunter 1839 programme.

Record of Decision Making: The Hunter 1839 Programme

Lady Hunter's first known Italian programme, with a newspaper clipping glued to it from 1839, reveals how it was created. Driven by choices of performers and sequencing made by the concert fixer and host, the repertoire selections were primarily shaped by the performers, with room for the host producer's personal quirks.²⁵ The Hunter 1839 programme is a showcase of Italian *bel canto* opera style by Italian composers of about the same vintage; the lone British composer, the Irish Michael Balfe, had trained in Italy. Even the non-operatic songs were written by the dominant opera composers of the time: Gioacchino Rossini, Vincenzo Bellini, Gaetano Donizetti, and Saverio Mercadante.²⁶

²⁴ Budds, "Music at the Court of Queen Victoria," II, pp. 433, 147.

²⁵ For performers as the focus of concert life in this period, Strauchen, "Puzzi," I, p. 190. Each performer, professional and amateur, named on the programmes reviewed was researched for their London or local performance history and their relationships with the programme repertoire, composers, host family, prominent guests, and concert fixer. Information about non-professional musicians is from the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter ODNB), s.v. family name, unless otherwise specified.

²⁶ Most of the music of the Hunter Italianate (1839, 1844, 1846), Abdy 1843 and Combermere 1845 programmes was collected; some was unavailable or misnamed in the programmes. Items in each programme were numbered and each numerical "slot" was assessed for genre, date of composition, performance history, technical difficulty, and theme or plot; all five programmes were compared for similar functions in similar slots. Parallel slots in two-part programmes were compared for symmetry of kinds of music, the gender, vocal or instrumental quality of performers, or any obvious thematic content. Thematic content was deemed legible to the audience only from the material on the programme, so overarching themes of the larger works from which excerpts were taken were considered extraneous to programme themes. Patterns of thematic or aesthetic

No obvious thematic unity binds the programme, which achieves a balanced presentation of the four singers and the French horn player, Giovanni Puzzi. The Hunters hired two of London's most dazzling opera stars, Antonio Tamburini and Emma Albertazzi, and a newcomer known to have aristocratic supporters, Giacinto Marras.²⁷ Marras was temporarily in England in 1839, not fully ensconced in a British career until 1846. Miss de Rivière, probably a soprano, also sang, and may have been one of those whose early careers glow with a little promise but expire without incandescence.²⁸

Tamburini was one of the excellent singers for whom *bel canto* opera composers wrote what have become standards of the operatic repertoire. Among the finest interpretive artists of their epoch, their private performances must usually have been vocally and musically splendid, but to hire them was also the height of social prestige, since they were often engaged by Queen Victoria herself. These were not the only singers at high society private concerts. Queen Victoria, like the other concert hosts including the Hunters, added new singers as they emerged and occasionally new instrumentalists for a little novelty, but more striking is the stability of the casting. Other

unity were looked for, and intentions to emphasize features (themes, particular performers, musical genre) were assumed if any one such feature appeared in the opening number, the middle of each half, and in the penultimate work. The dramatic function of each operatic excerpt and its position in the original opera were compared with those of the programmes, but no patterns of similarity indicate that programmers had consciously mimicked the dramatic structures of the operas.

²⁷ Information about professional composers and performers, and performance histories of musical works is from *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (2nd ed., 2001) (hereafter NGD), s.v. name of person or work unless otherwise specified.

²⁸ De Rivière may have been the "Mlle L. Rivière" who sang with Royal Academy of Music (hereafter RAM) students Messrs. Burnet and Humphries at a Soiree [sic] Musicale at 19 Charing Cross Road, London, 3 Mar. 1835, Bodleian Library, John Johnson Collection, Box 7 #86. She may thus have been an inexpensive, recent graduate of the RAM.

artists associated with Puzzi and favoured by high society included sopranos Julie Dorus Gras, Fanny Persiani, mezzo-soprano Pauline Viardot-Garcia, contraltos Emma Albertazzi (*née* Howson), and Marietta Brambila, character singer Amalia Corbari, tenor Giovanni Battista Rubini, and bass Luciano Fornasari. As older singers faded, newer singers were introduced, like soprano Jeanne Anaïs Castellan. These names were shuffled and dealt as trumps of taste, wealth, and social prominence by fashionable private concert givers in Britain between 1830 and 1850, and Sir Richard and Lady Hunter played with the best.²⁹

In their 1839 concert, the Hunters invested in a prominent concert fixer, Puzzi, two well known Italian opera stars, Tamburini and Albertazzi, and probably softened the financial cost with newcomers Giacinto Marras and Miss de Rivière. The repertoire of the programme was a combination of repertoire closely associated with some performers and a few of Lady Hunter's own choices. The duet from *Roberto D'Evereux*, for instance, was a showcase written for Albertazzi's low, agile voice by Donizetti, in which she had starred in the opera's London premiere in 1838.

Tamburini was the most prominent of the singers on this programme, singing Balfe's "Il Postiglione," a comic showpiece for baritone and horn recently composed with Puzzi in mind, but the rest of the music he sang for Lady Hunter came straight from repertoire he had been performing for years.³⁰ In 1836, Tamburini had created the role of Hermann in *I Briganti* in Paris, and had known *Corradino* since performing it in Milan

²⁹ Budds, "Music at the Court of Queen Victoria," III, pp. 927-942 to note the changes in artists engaged; see also Appendix G: Four Programmes.

³⁰ Musicologist Basil Walsh, personal communication with author, 25 Jan. 2007, that "Il Postiglione" was composed for Puzzi ca. 1835 but not published until ca. 1839.

in 1822.³¹ Since two years before the Hunter 1839 concert, Queen Victoria had been commanding private performances of excerpts from *I Briganti*, with Tamburini among the soloists, perhaps from interest in new works well sung, but Tamburini did not first learn Hermann for Queen Victoria. The Queen, like all other patrons of Italian opera singers, chose from performers' existing repertoire lists.

Patterns of performer sequence in the 1839 Hunter programme show that balancing the performers symmetrically in both halves of the concert was a primary concern. Each half opens with a reigning opera star, Albertazzi in the first half, Tamburini in the second, singing in an ensemble. The third position in each half is occupied by Tamburini, and, in the fourth position in each half, Albertazzi sings in a duet that is thematically concerned with characters returning to amity. The sixth position in each half features Giacinto Marras in a duet, in the first half with Puzzi and in the second half with de Rivière. Consistent patterning in each of these "slots" is achieved primarily in terms of performers chosen.

If the architecture of the programme can be discerned from the opening and middle and penultimate selections of each half, then Albertazzi anchored the whole programme, appearing in positions evenly spaced in both halves, but occupying first, middle, and penultimate spots in the first half. A very even hand split the middle of the second half between two duets, each featuring one of the big stars, Albertazzi and Tamburini, each of them singing with one of the less known singers, but Tamburini

³¹ World premiere of *I Briganti* was in Paris, Théâtre-Italien, 22 Mar. 1836. See Stanford University, <http://opera.stanford.edu/Mercadante/creators.html#TT>, (viewed 23 Aug. 2007), s.v. "Tamburini."

opened the second half and had the penultimate spot of the whole programme. These were the positions of highest cachet, and placing a performer both famous and genuinely extraordinarily fine just before the end of the programme was sure to generate warm applause and a lingering impression of excellence among the audience.

The newcomers, Marras and de Rivière, were introduced in the first item of the concert and concluded the whole programme in a duet together, and both of them appeared in the middle of the first half again with each other and with Albertazzi. De Rivière sang the simple song “Nizza,” in the middle of the first half, and the final works in both halves. As the least well-known singer present, she was perhaps a protégée of Lady Hunter or the musician who put the programme together, probably Puzzi. De Rivière was given the audition-like opportunity of a duet with each of Tamburini and Albertazzi, major stars who could easily have introduced her to the opera house circuit, although there is no evidence that they ever did so. These singers occupying prominent positions in the sequence suggest that one of Lady Hunter’s purposes was to show off two newcomers.

Private printed programmes were often changed on the spot to accommodate performers’ schedules, as another busy concert fixer, Sir George Smart, noted had occurred on account of “W. Balfe not coming in time, Mrs. Bishop & Mr. Hobb[e]s being at Mr. Forbes’ Concert ‘Societa.’” Smart prided himself on his own efficient scheduling, which he wove into programme structure while tailoring concerts to multiple clients. He once contentedly remarked that he “had to leave the concert to accompany Mr. Blagrove at St. James’s Palace in the same Fantasia he played at this Concert, but I

returned in sufficient time to accompany these Pieces, without anyone else being required to take the Pianoforte for me.”³² Smart’s notes scribbled during or immediately after these concerts paint a picture of the musical mile of London’s Belgravia and Mayfair whirring in the dark as professional musicians raced from house to house to earn their seasonal living. The Hunters in London always lived in these districts.³³ In their 1839 programme, only a single, solo item was assigned to Tamburini in the first half, thus ensuring that if he were late from another engagement that night, no ensembles in the first half of the Hunter programme would be affected.

The non-operatic vocal repertoire of the 1839 Hunter programme was slightly unusual, compared to the other Italianate programmes under review, because there was so much of it: two works by Marras and one each by Rossini, Donizetti, and Balfe.³⁴ Performers may have driven some of these choices. Lady Hunter’s enthusiasm for Marras, evinced in her diary comments about how “charmingly” Marras and his wife sang as they “lent their valuable assistance” to other performances, may have encouraged Marras to press that his own compositions be included, but Frederica Hunter may well have been pleased to present new compositions that she herself liked.³⁵ Hunter’s experience as an audience member informed her choice of artists, and they, in

³² Smart, Programmes, MS notes on the programme for Mr Hawes’s concert, Willis’s Rooms, King Street, St. James’s, 24 Mar. 1836.

³³ FEH Diary states their London accommodation as: 4 Feb. 1840 rented 10 Hill St., £800 the season; 4 May 1841 rented 130 Park Street with view over Hyde Park; 21 Mar. 1842 rented Dowager Duchess of Roxburgh’s house in Lower Grosvenor Street; 17 Mar. 1843 bought 8 Great Stanhope St.

³⁴ Appendix G: Four Programmes.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 13 Jan., 9 Feb. 1841.

turn, brought their own repertoire with them to her drawing-room concerts. As the host, however, Lady Hunter had some influence.

Some of the works may have had to be learned by the performers especially for the Hunter 1839 concert, particularly the songs bearing geographical references to Nice and Pausilippe that were placed in each half of the concert. Like all private concert singers, even Tamburini had to learn a handful of non-operatic works, especially the popular ensembles, like Rossini's "Ridiamo, cantiamo," that closed both halves in so many fashionable programmes, including the Hunters' in 1839.³⁶ A short, fixed list of such concert-specific repertoire was a sound investment for opera singers who profited from private concerts. For just such purpose, Puzzi, who performed a little on most of the concerts he arranged, composed a number of concert works that would blend his liquid singing tone on the French horn with the voices he knew so intimately.³⁷ Learning new works is a significant cost to performers in terms of time, physical effort, probable expense on coaching, and lost opportunities for alternative work. Single-use selections new to the performer would only be learned for a compelling reason.

The famous Tamburini did not invest in off-beat songs for the Hunter programme. Albertazzi, the liminal de Rivière, and Giacinto Marras sang them. Marras did not have to learn his own composition, but Albertazzi, who sang a Marras song, did. Albertazzi was well established, but English, not Italian by birth, which placed her at something of a disadvantage in the heavily continental population of prominent opera stars in London. Her career in 1839 was also about to slide off the Italian operatic stage

³⁶ For examples of ensemble programme closers, see GB-LRCM CPH Puzzi Album.

³⁷ See Strauchen, "Puzzi," I, pp. 213, 218.

as her technique gave way, a factor of which she was probably fully aware. She may have compensated for these insecurities by learning a new song for Lady Hunter.

But why should Lady Hunter have wanted these geographic references? Attracting illustrious audiences to her concerts was perhaps Lady Hunter's most important concert goal, and she may have programmed with certain guests in mind. Two songs may have been programmed to draw attention to Lady Hunter's prominent family members, Thomas Fremantle, later 1st Baron Cottesloe, and Sir William Fremantle, Lady Hunter's uncle and former guardian, who attended the concert.³⁸ Rossini's canzonetta "Nizza" is about Nice, where Thomas Fremantle had owned an estate and the family had met the tenor known as Mario. Lady Hunter records that "He is a gentleman of the name of Le Candia, and is son of the governor of Nice, where my Aunt Tom and the girls knew him before he went on the Stage."³⁹

In the second half, the final duet referring to Pausilippe may have been a subtle nod to Sir William Fremantle. Oddly, the duet title is wrong. Donizetti did write a set of songs and duets called *Nuits d'été à Pausilippe*, but none of the twelve individual works has that title.⁴⁰ There was no good reason for printing the wrong title since two of the artists, Tamburini and Puzzi, surely knew the set of songs: one was dedicated to Tamburini and the others to equally famous opera singers known to Puzzi. Lady Hunter

³⁸ For guests, see press report attached to 1839 Hunter Programme; for family and guardian, see Marianne Bishop, Will of Marianne Bishop, Widow of Sundbury, Middlesex, proved 13 May 1832, PROB 11/1574 (Tenterden Quires 251-300), <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline>, (viewed 1 May 2008).

³⁹ Gioacchino Rossini, "Nizza, je puis sans peine," (Paris: n.p., ca. 1835); FEH Diary, 23 Jun. 1840.

⁴⁰ Domenico Gaetano Donizetti, *Nuits d'été à Pausilippe: A set of six songs and six duets* (London: Mori & Lavenue, [1836]).

may have wanted “Pausilippe” printed on her programme as a reference to Brighton. Her husband’s main residence was in Brighton, and her uncle Sir William Fremantle was a prominent resident of a Brighton development where the sea coast was said to resemble “the grotto at Pausilippe,” an Italian resort town.⁴¹ Fremantle had chaired the local committee that successfully engineered a Parliamentary dispensation for this Brighton neighbourhood to become essentially an independent municipality, freeing it from being regulated by or contributing to the finances of the rest of Brighton as the town expanded rapidly in the 1830s.⁴² With such a reference to a class-specific residential enclave, class politics shivers through Lady Hunter’s programme.

The 1839 Hunter programme would have been very carefully weighed by Lady Hunter and her husband, since they could expect it to reach a wider public than their own drawing room. Private concert programmes were documents that were sent with descriptions of the event to those who had not attended. Lady Hunter’s own correspondence shows for example that Louisa Fremantle in London invited the Hunters to travel from Brighton to attend her private concert, and, since they did not go, sent them a detailed report afterwards.⁴³ Announcements prior to private musical socializing were common. In 1841, the local press announced three days in advance and stating the date of the event to take place, that “Sir Richard and Lady Hunter will entertain a dinner

⁴¹ J.D. Parry, *An Historical and Descriptive Account of the Coast of Sussex*, cited in Antony Dale, *Fashionable Brighton 1820-1860* (London: Country Life, 1947), p. 89, fn. 1.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 126-127.

⁴³ FEH Diary, 25 Feb., 8 Mar. 1844.

and evening party at their residence in the Grand Parade.”⁴⁴ The Hunters could expect their concert to be reported afterward in the public press, and so it was, with highlights of the guest list, the names of the performers, and the Hunters’ London address.⁴⁵ Lady Hunter, like other private concert producers, was making music in part as a form of civic participation. Her programme can be read as a document that claimed social status for the hosts from the musical cachet of Tamburini, Albertazzi and Puzzi, and from the aristocratic guests who attended at a residence in the heart of impressive London real estate.

High society hosts of private concerts thus took credit and responsibility for their programmes, but developed them in consultation with professional musicians. Mistakes could be made by hosts that the fixers could not prevent. Lady Hunter may have injected her own interests into the package of music and artists that was probably presented to her as a whole by Puzzi early in their negotiations. The slight anomalies of the 1839 Hunter programme, with five non-operatic songs and the second half not ending with the

⁴⁴ “Fashionable Parties,” *Brighton Gazette*, 23 Feb. 1841, p. 2. The subsequent review of the event stated that “Lady Hunter gave a musical *soirée* to a numerous party of the *haut ton* at which M. and Madame Oury attended professionally; and the evening concluded with dancing to Kirchner’s music.” See *Ibid.*, 4 Mar. 1841, p. 2.

⁴⁵ The press report (periodical not found) was glued to the copy of the Hunter 1839 held at GB-LRCM CPH. Press reports of other Hunter musical evenings include the 1840 Hunter concert noted as “a dinner and evening party in Hill Street” in “Fashionable Journal,” *Brighton Guardian*, 10 Jun. 1840 and the 1842 Hunter concert reviewed in *Ibid.*, 17 Feb. 1842, p. 2. The less formal 1843 Hunter musical evening, at which amateurs and the Ourys performed without a fee, was announced one day before the event as “Sir R. and Lady Hunter, a dinner party,” in *Ibid.*, 28 Dec. 1843, p. 2. No reports of Hunter musical events for 1844, 1845, or 1846 were found, and no mention of Hunter musical events was found in *Musical World*, *Times* (London), or *Morning Post*. My thanks to Jane Glasson for these periodical searches.

more conventional ensemble of all the artists on the programme, may have been have been the result of Lady Hunter's insistence on differences from the conventional practices. Her own *entrée* to aristocratic society clung to the titles of her husband and her uncle, and she may have wanted to programme the extra songs as references to her family to help cement her own public claim to the higher reaches of a heritable social hierarchy.

The 1839 programme had Lady Hunter's name in its title, placing her as the centre of attention in the press and among her private audience for her taste and knowledge of the private concert as a form. The minor peculiarities of the 1839 Hunter programme may have raised some eyebrows, but in her 1840 programme, Lady Hunter faced what she thought was failure.

Mistakes on the Learning Curve: The Hunter 1840 Programme

Lady Hunter's diary is the only known evidence of the concert the Hunters gave on a Tuesday in June 1840. This private London concert featured Anna Carolina de Belleville Oury (hereafter Anna Oury), a virtuoso professional pianist and concert fixer, her husband, Antonio James Oury, a fine professional violinist, soprano Sophie Ostergaard, and an unknown musician named Signor Musatti, probably using the Erard piano with which their house at 10 Hill Street, London, had been rented to them.⁴⁶ The event was divided, as usual, into a dinner for a few guests followed by a party attended by many more. The dinner guests included music lovers like Sir Matthew Tierney, who, like Sir

⁴⁶ FEH Diary, 26 Mar. 1840. The singer "Signor Musatti" could not be traced.

Richard, was a physician to aristocracy and whose daughters the Hunters had taken to the opera the day before.⁴⁷

The diary states none of the 1840 concert repertoire. Lady Hunter's primary concern was her assessment of social failure because only 100 people attended. She notes, "A great many excuses for last night. It ... is rather provoking in giving a party that one never knows how many to depend upon as being likely to come to it, particularly in London, where so much gaiety is going forward. The fear of having one's rooms too crowded often leads to the other extreme, which is the worse error of the two, as regards the credit of a London event."⁴⁸ Lady Hunter coldly calculated the success or failure of her private concerts in terms of meeting or beating the number of guests at other private concerts or perhaps by the attendance or absence of targeted guests of maximum aristocratic rank. On another occasion, for example, she identifies "some few disappointments in regard to company, the Duchess of Norfolk & Lady Wellesley having both sent excuses."⁴⁹ Not all guests were of equal value, socially, and public knowledge of who was socialising with whom was circulated through the public press as well as by word of mouth.⁵⁰ Lady Hunter and the newspaper reports both listed the names of her guests in identical order. For example, in 1842, Hunter's sequence was

⁴⁷ West Sussex Record Office, Petworth House Archives, PHA/684, finding aid states that Sir Matthew Tierney was physician to 3rd Earl of Egremont. For Tierney girls as opera guests, FEH Diary, 1 Jun. 1840.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 3 May 1840.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 3 May 1844.

⁵⁰ For example, *Times* (London), 4 Dec. 1846; p. 5, lists over 35 party but not dinner guests at Arundel to meet the Queen, including the Hunters and others named in FEH Diary, e.g., the Primes (e.g., 17 Sep. 1841) and Haslers (e.g., 30 Jul. 1845).

“Lord Donegall & the Miss Verners, Lord Dillon, Ellertons, Mr. & Lady Elizabeth Osborne, Lady Eliz’th Parsons & her sister L’y Georgiana Toler,” and the only difference in the newspaper report was the inclusion of more names.⁵¹ Lady Hunter understood the social hierarchy perfectly and slotted everyone she knew into their precise spot in the vertical mosaic which she perceived as the structure of her world. Sequence of social rank was a trope of social structure, ever present in print and in individual diaries, until it was internalised by individuals as their own perception of natural order. Lady Hunter’s thinking about musical life was done through the same filters of her concept of social structure as every other daily thought in her diary. Part of the impression that such hierarchies were natural and delightful was achieved through conscious musical strategies tied to the repeated reading and writing out of the sequences of merit.

What could account for a disappointing crowd? The answer shows that successful concert giving was not a natural or innate feature of class membership but had to be learned and paid for. The day of the week was a consideration, but the quality and number of performers, and the repertoire were critical. Ultimately, what it took to present private concerts irresistible to the upper crust was money and a solid working knowledge of upper-class musical fashion. Mistakes could be made but were forgiven if subsequent private concerts were sufficiently appealing to the target audience.

The Hunter programmes of 1839 and 1840 were learning experiences for a couple whose knowledge of private concert giving was not as great as it was by 1846,

⁵¹ For the Hunter 14 Feb. 1842 programme review in the *Brighton Gazette*, see Chapter Two, fn. 134, above.

when they had been invited to at least 79 private musical evenings. Both Frederica Hunter and her husband came from non-aristocratic families where neither may have gained much experience of presenting private concerts. By 1844, after attending dozens of them, the Hunters' own productions conformed exactly to the most aristocratic formats of performers and repertoires, and landed over 200 guests, many titled.⁵² In 1839 and 1840, Hunter may still have been learning her craft as a programmer of high society concerts.

With Tuesday for the 1840 concert, Lady Hunter may have chosen the "wrong" day of the week. Because Tuesdays and Saturdays were opera nights in the London season, and Wednesdays were reserved for Almack's Balls, Mondays and Fridays are often thought to have been the weekdays of choice for private musical parties.⁵³ This was not a fixed rule, however, since the Hunters attended private concerts on every night of the week. One of the hosts they knew, Mrs. Tunno, gave concerts on a Wednesday, a Thursday and a Friday in the same year.⁵⁴ In London during the "season" (March or April until late July, to coincide with the Parliamentary session), Wednesdays and Fridays were clear favourites, but the Brighton private concerts were evenly spaced throughout the week. London and Brighton practices were not wholly separate, since some Brighton residents, Lady Hunter among them, were invited to go up to London for

⁵² FEH Diary, 3 May 1844; 13 May 1846.

⁵³ Diaries of Marianne Eden, Lady Brougham, 1815-63, Brougham Papers, University of California Library, entries for 1824 and 1825, cited in Hall, "Re-fashioning," p. 118, fn. 63.

⁵⁴ FEH Diary, 1 May (Wed.), 31 May (Fri.), 20 Jun. (Thurs.) 1844, all in London.

private concerts.⁵⁵ The vast majority of private London concerts attended by the Hunters took place during the season, when professional opera was also available. The Brighton concerts tended to occur between August and March, the off-season, and were more evenly spaced throughout the week in part because there were fewer fixed schedules for professional entertainments. Social favouring of Mondays for private concerts is not borne out by Lady Hunter's experience. Whether in London or Brighton, the private performances she attended tended to cluster on Wednesdays and Fridays. Tuesdays were markedly less popular for private London concerts, but Lady Hunter was not the only Tuesday concert giver in London.⁵⁶

In 1840, however, she may have needed to be better informed about competing events, since on the same evening as the Hunter private concert, a favourite ballet dancer, Marie Taglioni, made her season debut to a house "exceedingly well attended."⁵⁷ Ballets were usually performed after operas on regular subscription nights, thus drawing the same opera-loving segment of high society that attended private concerts. In later years, Hunter was careful to assess the competition for the dates of her concerts. In 1846, she summoned Puzzi, "about the Concert we intended giving, as I had rather wished to alter the evening fixed upon because of its being one upon which an Almacks ball would take place, but as these balls are not so exclusive & fashionable as they used

⁵⁵ Ibid., 25 Feb. 1844 invitation to Lady Hunter at Patching from Louisa Kirkland in London for the latter's concert to be given there on 6 Mar. 1844.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 12 Jul. (Tues. evening) 1840 (Jack Clayton, London).

⁵⁷ "Her Majesty's Theatre," *Times* (London), 3 Jun. 1840, p. 6.

to be, & as no other night seemed so eligible, we determined to abide by our former intention.”⁵⁸

The patient creativity of the working musician trying to keep a date for which he had probably already scheduled several busy artists and perhaps declined other hosts, is audible here. Lady Hunter’s diary captures moments in musicians’ working lives, because she was interested in them and respected their superior musical skills. For example, she engaged an expensive coach for her amateur singing *protégée*, Emma Halliday.⁵⁹ Hunter “[l]eft my young guest for half an hour or so at Madame Puzzi’s “pour monter” (as the latter expressed it) the songs she was to sing in the evening.”⁶⁰ One can hear the voice of Giacinta Puzzi, a well-known voice teacher in London who charged half a guinea or a guinea per lesson.⁶¹

The day of the week could make little difference to the quality of the music at a private concert, since even the great Italian opera stars were not too tired to perform at private concerts on the same nights as they appeared at the opera, as Tamburini had for the Hunters in 1839. The quality of the performers was another matter, and, in soprano Sophie Ostergaard, Lady Hunter may have chosen a performer for her 1840 concert who could not compete artistically with the extraordinary accomplishments of Grisi, Mario,

⁵⁸ FEH Diary, 1 May 1846.

⁵⁹ FEH Diary, 1842-1843, *passim*. After presenting Halliday in 1842, Hunter hosted her for several long visits to Sussex, during which the guest sang daily. In 1843, Hunter provided her with tickets to London concerts and introductions to other private concert hosts, e.g., Mrs. Bonham (no relation to the unmarried Sir F.R. Bonham), *Ibid.*, 2, 7 Jan. 1844.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 8 May 1844; emphasis in original.

⁶¹ Strauchen, “Puzzi,” I, p. 73.

Tamburini, and Lablache.⁶² Hunter may have thought that Ostergaard was a good enough artist because she had sung for Queen Victoria at the Chapel Royal in Brighton to a good review.⁶³ Lady Hunter might even have heard and liked Ostergaard's singing on that occasion, since the Hunters were often invited to the Chapel Royal.⁶⁴

Lady Hunter may have been wrong about Ostergaard's abilities, whose other reviews were muted at best. She made a short-lived career, with scattered references in contemporary periodicals from 1836 sputtering out by the end of 1842. While she never reached the operatic stage, she got concert work in part through her teacher, the famous tenor Giovanni Battista Rubini. Ostergaard was praised in print for tasteful interpretation, so Lady Hunter may have thought she would not overpower a drawing-room venue.⁶⁵ But Ostergaard was not a star and was named by no other private concert giver in the Hunter diary.

⁶² E.g., FEH Diary, 6 Jun. (Sat.) 1840 cites the Caldwells of Audley Sq. (London) hosting a concert featuring Dorus Gras, Grisi, and Rubini.

⁶³ *Times* (London), 7 Jan. 1839, p. 5.

⁶⁴ Chapel Royal invitations, all Sunday and Brighton unless otherwise stated: FEH Diary, 5 Apr., 26 Jul. 1840; 13 Feb. 1842; 17 Sep., 15 Oct., 24, 31 Dec. 1843; 14 Jul. 1844 (London); 5 Feb. (Ash Wed.), 16 Feb., 21 Mar. (Good Fri.), 21 Dec. 1845. Hunter's 1839 details are unknown.

⁶⁵ For singing with taste, *Times* (London), 28 Jun. 1842, p. 5. Ostergaard is not in NGD, and on-line searches of *Times* (London), s.v. "Ostergaard" produced only 12 advertisements or reviews between 1836 and 1842, including self-produced concerts. *Times* (London), 10 Jun. 1840, p. 1, shows Ostergaard as the sole seller of tickets for her concert. She may have tried to supplement a meagre income by publishing a song, but it sank without trace of commercial or critical success. [J.G. Cochrane?], "Review of Sophie Ostergaard, 'The Fisherman, a Scandinavian Melody,'" (London, 1840), *Foreign Quarterly Review* 26 (Oct. 1840 and Jan. 1841) (London: Black and Armstrong, 1841), p. 469, described it as "an original northern melody, simple, and depending entirely upon the expression of the words."

The Hunters may have chosen Ostergaard because she was cheaper than the big name Italian opera singers. In 1840, the Hunters switched fixers from Puzzi to Anna Oury. Less well connected with the Italian opera stars and a more recent arrival in England, Oury and her artists may have charged less than Puzzi. In 1840, tickets for an Ostergaard concert were 10s.6d., compared with a Puzzi concert advertised on the same day that cost £1.1s per ticket, exactly twice the price.⁶⁶ Lady Hunter was a patroness of that very Puzzi benefit at Lady Southampton's house, so she already had personal experience of the Puzzi roster of Grisi, Persiani, Dorus Gras, Rubini, Tamburini, and Lablache in a private setting as well as at the opera house prior to her own May 1840 concert.⁶⁷ Lady Hunter knew that Ostergaard was a new performer whose fee was lower than that of the Puzzi roster.

After their expensive 1839 concert, the Hunters' 1840 concert required less money. The financial drain on hosts of private concerts depended on the number and fame of the artists engaged and how many concerts were produced year after year by the same host. While it is true that for the musical parties (as opposed to private benefit concerts whose proceeds went to the performing artists) only an invitation, not a purchased ticket, achieved entrance, money was absolutely required in order to host a private concert. Exact fees charged for private concerts by the reigning opera stars may be estimated in comparison with the cost of a private concert with good British

⁶⁶ *Times* (London), 10 Jun. 1840, p. 1. The one guinea (21s) Puzzi price for a benefit concert was higher than, e.g., the highest price charged by the famous Rubini on tour in 1842, which, like Ostergaard's 1840 concert, was 10s. 6d. See Strauchen, "Puzzi," I, p. 67. More research is necessary to better understand musicians' fees in this period.

⁶⁷ Hunter at Puzzi concert, FEH Diary, 10 Jun. 1840; Hunter at the opera with these singers performing, *Ibid.*, 11, 28 Apr. 1840.

musicians that was fixed by Sir William Sterndale Bennett. Sterndale Bennett, English composer, performer, teacher, and concert fixer, kept detailed accounts that show the fees for one 1844 concert he organized as £99.15s.⁶⁸

Concert fixing could pay well. Puzzi gave up orchestral work worth about £275 a year in order to broker private concerts and tours, an indication of just how lucrative private concert work could be for some. Some concert fixers may have been able to charge an additional commission of five per cent to eight per cent on the total fee.⁶⁹ In May of 1844, Sterndale Bennett seems to have extracted his fixing fee from some of his singers in exchange, perhaps, for giving newcomers experience and introductions. By charging for Dolby and Banister but not paying them, Sterndale Bennett netted about eight percent of the total, and together with his own performance fee earned a total for the evening of £18.9s. The private concert market may have been profitable for only a few fixers. Private concerts were certainly given and fixed by British musicians, but it appears that the most lucrative market was for Italian operatic stars. Sterndale Bennett paid Dorus Gras £26.5s in 1844, and since Dorus Gras also sang at concerts with Grisi and Rubini, their fees may have been comparable to hers.⁷⁰ Luigi Lablache and Rubini earned £25.4s for performing in the public Concert of Ancient Music (1830, 1835), which perhaps suggests that their private concert fees of 10 years later, in the 1840s,

⁶⁸ Sterndale Bennett 1844 Pocket Book E 1, Broadwood concert, from the private collection of Barry Sterndale Bennett. My warmest thanks to Barry Sterndale Bennett and the late Jane Sterndale Bennett who graciously gave me access to their collection.

⁶⁹ Strauchen, "Puzzi," I, pp. 48, 50, noting such commissions for Puzzi for procuring singers abroad for London's King's Theatre.

⁷⁰ FEH Diary, 6 Jun. 1840.

Table 5: Sterndale Bennett Concert Fees

Artist	Fee Received	Fee Paid
Dorus Gras	26.6.0	26.05.0
Brizzi	10.10.0	10.10.0
Self	10.10.0	10.10.0
Fr?ion	21.00.0	21.00.0
Dolby	05.00.0	—
Blagrove	03.03.0	03.03.0
Banister	02.02.0	—
Totals	£99.15.0	£91.7.0

were similar.⁷¹ A conservative estimate of the fee for a major opera star at a private concert in the 1840s, then, is £26.5s.

Lower level singers for Sterndale Bennett, like Madame Brizzi at the end of her moderate operatic career, were paid £10.10s, and for those with even less clout, the fee charged to the host ranged from £5.5s to £2.2s. A pianist usually accompanied soloists, and Sterndale Bennett charged £10.10s for playing the 1844 concert. Other accompanists probably earned similar fees, and Puzzi surely charged no less than £10.10s. for playing the horn at a private concert.

The musicians alone for the 1839 Hunter concert fixed by Puzzi thus cost approximately £78.16s.⁷² If the Hunters' 1840 artists, fixed by Oury, charged half as

⁷¹ "List of receipts of payments to performers," in "Volume on Concert of Antient Music," Royal College of Music.f.15, 25, 36, 38, cited in Hall, "Re-fashioning," p. 234.

⁷² The calculation of Tamburini and Albertazzi each charging £26.5, Marras £10.10, De Rivière £5.5 and Puzzi £10.10., assumes that Marras sang and, as a skilled composer, played the piano to accompany. De Rivière may have been working her way up the pay scale. See fn. 28, above.

much as a Puzzi slate, the Hunters in 1840 had a much cheaper concert.⁷³ By 1844, however, the Hunters were again splashing out financially on their musicians. In 1844, with four singers, Grisi, Mario, Castellan, and Fornasari, each at an estimated £26.5s, and Pilotti and Puzzi each estimated to charge £10.10s, the total would have been £127.00. At the same rates, the total for the Hunters' 1846 programme, with five stellar Italian singers, Pilotti at the keyboard, and Puzzi fixing and playing the horn, would have been £153.5s.⁷⁴

In addition to music costs, concert hosts provided food and drink to 200 guests at a time. Labour costs probably included paying fees to extra servants and gifts for extra service from regular household servants, since private homes could be extensively reorganized to accommodate big parties. The Hunters once had "brown Holland, well stretched ... nailed down over the Carpets—a good substitute for a well-polished floor" for dancing.⁷⁵ After their 1844 concert, the Hunters "sat down stairs in the Library in the morning, whilst the rooms were being put to rights."⁷⁶ The Hunters literally gilded their newly ornamented ceiling in London, and commented on decor they saw at other private

⁷³ The calculation is an estimate without further documentation, but might have been even cheaper if the fees were: Anna Oury £10.10, Antonio Oury on violin comparable to Blagrove for the Sterndale Bennett concert at £3.3, and Musatti and Ostergaard both at the rate Bennett paid Dolby, £5.5. The total in this case would have been £25.3, or about a third of the 1839 Hunter concert cost. Even if Antonio Oury matched his wife's fee, the total would still have been only £35.13, less than half the cost of the Hunter's 1839 concert.

⁷⁴ These are rough estimates and fees may well have been higher for established leading singers like Grisi, Mario, Lablache, Fornasari, and Tamburini by contrast with fine but more recent and non-Italian artists like the Belgian Dorus Gras, the English Albertazzi, and the French Castellan.

⁷⁵ FEH Diary, 26 Feb. 1841. For gifts to servants for extra service, *Ibid.*, 20 Jan. 1846.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 4 May 1844.

musical evenings, noting for example when rooms were “most elegantly & expensively fitted up in the French style, the ceiling of the music room being beautifully painted.”⁷⁷ There was no point inviting the lions of society if the venue were not as splendid as the music.

For a single evening’s entertainment, the cost was extremely high when compared with £300 for an opera box for an entire season, which the Hunters paid in 1839 and 1840. Knights of Sir Richard Hunter’s rank typically spent about £90 on entertainment in a year.⁷⁸ The Hunters were thus investing heavily in their musical socialising, with an opera box and a single set of concert fees alone in 1839 ringing in at around £328. Their 1840 concert was much cheaper but socially disappointing, and the Hunters learned their lessons. When they returned to the conventions of Italianate high society concert giving, from 1844 to 1846, the Hunters produced private concerts of the most dazzling kind.

Concerts to Rival the Queen: The Hunter Programmes of 1844, 1846

Lady Hunter discovered that the key to attracting the cream of London society to a private Italianate concert was to hire as many of the most famous Italian opera singers of the day as possible. Few of the Hunters’ acquaintance could hire more than one or two of these singers at a time, but Lady Combermere in 1845 engaged five singers, Grisi,

⁷⁷ Ibid., 28 May 1845. Sir James Matheson bought the house in 1844, “adjoining Sutherland House,” home of the Earl of Durham. “England,” *Glasgow Herald* (Glasgow, Scotland), 2 Feb. 1844.

⁷⁸ Hall, “Re-fashioning,” pp. 50-54, for Knights spending 3 % of average annual incomes of £3000 on entertainment.

Mario, Fornasari, Lablache and Vera, all accompanied by Michael Costa.⁷⁹ Queen Victoria's Italianate programmes, literally the highest pinnacle of the social hierarchy, had from five to eight singers, but usually six, and usually the Puritani Quartet, accompanied by Michael Costa.⁸⁰ Sir Richard and Lady Hunter experienced a hiatus of Italianate concert giving from 1841 to 1843, as shall be seen in the next chapter, but in 1844, they blazed back onto the opera-loving society scene with a private concert featuring four singing stars and two instrumentalists. In 1846, the Hunters rivalled the Queen, with a concert displaying five singing stars, the dominant fixer and horn player, Puzzi, and a pianist.⁸¹ The Hunters eventually outstripped most of the private concert givers they knew.

All that is known of their 1846 programme comes from the Hunter diary entry, "We gave a delightful Concert at home, having engaged for it the prima donna of the Opera Mad'e Grisi, Mesd'elles Corbari & Brambila [sic], Si'i Mario & Lablache, Puzzi on the French Horn, & Pilotti to accompany at the Piano. Our guests amounted to more than 200, & the party went off most agreeably."⁸² Lady Hunter records only the number and names of the artists, the number of guests, and her summary that it went well. The specific repertoire gets no mention before or after the event, but can be assumed to have been coordinated by the experienced Puzzi.

⁷⁹ John Ella, "Viscountess Combermere's Concert Belgrave Square, May 30, 1845," *Musical Union* 7 (10 Jun. 1845): 52.

⁸⁰ Budds, "Music at the Court of Queen Victoria," III, pp. 927-942; e.g., "The Queen's May Concert," *Times* (London), 14 May 1839, p. 5.

⁸¹ See Appendix I: Hunter Musical Chronology for performer names 1839-1846.

⁸² FEH Diary, 13 May 1846.

The Hunters learned the craft of high society concert programming through constant exposure to London high society practice, but, in addition to her social goals, Lady Hunter enjoyed music. Surely the dazzling qualities of these singers performing music written for them must have inspired much of the desire to hear them as often as possible, but they were not always on display for the performances of the opera house subscription season, so private concerts in which they starred were an attractive opportunity available only to the upper tiers of the social hierarchy. Lady Hunter's comments always emphasise that hearing these artists was a special "musical treat."⁸³

The private concerts to which the Hunters were invited from 1840 to 1846 occasionally featured one or two of these stars, but more often gave a mixture of amateurs and lower-level singers.⁸⁴ Some gave several concerts in a single year. The Turners of Upper Brook Street, London, for example, stretched their 1843 budget by giving one concert that combined two amateurs, Misses Wethered and Vernal, with the professional Adelaide (Kemble) Sartoris in May; one "Grand Concert" with at least two Italian opera stars, "Grisi, Brambilla, &c," the following week; and a lighter evening of "comic french [sic] songs" with Sartoris and the professional pianist Charles Hallé, who were not Italian opera singers at all, a month later.⁸⁵ Pleasure in music was real and not

⁸³ E.g., *Ibid.*, 17 May 1841.

⁸⁴ Puzzi did occasionally perform with amateurs in private settings. See Strauchen, "Puzzi," I, pp. 113-114.

⁸⁵ FEH Diary, 26 May, 7 Jun., 5 Jul. 1843. Charles Hallé was not yet settled in English concert life; Sartoris was probably Adelaide Kemble Sartoris, a professional English soprano who retired from professional work when she married Edward John Sartoris 25 Jul. 1842. ODNB, s.v. "Sartoris."

limited to expensive Italian opera. Of the three Turner concerts, Lady Hunter's enthusiasm was the highest for the last, which she "enjoyed exceedingly."

Only 7 of the 39 private concert hosts who invited the Hunters to their private musical entertainments featured the Italian opera stars, and among them they produced only nine such concerts in the six years of the Hunter diary.⁸⁶ Of these nine hosts, only Viscountess Combermere in 1845 hired five stars. Hunter records only two hired by the Pembertons in 1845. Lord Southampton in 1840 mixed the newcomer Franz Liszt with singers Dorus Gras and Lablache and Puzzi on horn. The Hunter concerts of 1844 and 1846, then, were exceptional displays of Italian operatic riches, not readily available in such quantity on private programmes even for the music-loving fashionables of London.

Few hosts invited the Hunters to more than one private concert a year, and of those who gave the Grisi-level concerts, such families as the Tudors hired perhaps only two of the biggest names at a time for concerts spaced three years apart. The Hunter diary only records those concerts to which the Hunters were invited, so the hosts Hunter names may well have held other private musical events. Two hosts, however, invited the Hunters to Italian-star concerts a year or two apart. The Caldwells in 1840 presented Dorus Gras, Grisi and Rubini, but it was not until 1844 that they invited the Hunters to a private concert with Italian stars again, and then only two: Grisi and Mario. The Tudors of Portman Square did the same thing, offering Grisi, Mario, and Tamburini in 1841 but

⁸⁶ FEH Diary, 6 Jun. 1840, 10 Jun. 1844 (Caldwell); 30 May 1845 (Combermere); 30 Apr. 1845 (Pemberton); 10 Jun. 1840 (Southampton); 16 Jun. 1841; 28 Jun. 1844 (Tudor); 14 May 1845 (Tunno); 7 Jun. 1843 (Turner).

perhaps only Grisi and Mario in 1844.⁸⁷ The Hunters seem to have adopted alternate year extravagance as a strategy, giving no private concert at all in 1845, between the five—and six-star galas they hosted in 1844 and 1846.

While the Hunters seem to have aimed at a narrow audience that could best be enticed with Italian opera stars, the Hunters themselves attended private concerts of every description. They went when Mr. FitzHerbert combined good amateur singers like Henrietta Beauclerk with “the lion pianiste” Meyer and harpist Félix Godefroid, and they said yes to the Culpepers to go and hear the “Infant Sappho” and her “gibberish kind of music.”⁸⁸ More often than not, Lady Hunter simply notes that there was “delightful amateur music” or a “musical party.” Her tone is always warm when she records socializing with congenial hosts like Horace Smith of Brighton, where music was most often light hearted comic songs in an atmosphere of musical sharing among amateurs.⁸⁹ The Hunters’ broad range of musical taste was probably similar to many others who participated in upper-class musical socializing.

Other hosts of Italian opera concerts also had a range of musical interests, including glees and catches. Sir George Warrender, for example, had concerts arranged by chamber music promoter John Ella that “consisted almost exclusively of excerpts from Italian operas performed by professional singers.”⁹⁰ Warrender and Sir Richard

⁸⁷ FEH Diary, 28 Jun. 1844, refers only to “Grisi, Mario, &c.”

⁸⁸ FEH Diary, 25 Jun. 1845 FitzHerbert; 13 May 1842 Culpeper.

⁸⁹ FEH Diary, 12 Feb. 1840, for example.

⁹⁰ Christina Bashford, “Public Chamber-Music Concerts in London, 1835-50: Aspects of History, Repertory, and Reception, 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Music, London University, 1996), I, p. 59.

Hunter were fellow NGCC members, which suggests that the fashionable fare of private, Italianate concerts was consistent with the social values of NGCC members. Other NGCC members who gave, or whose wives gave, similar private concerts that the Hunters attended included Viscountess Combermere (1845), the Duke of Cambridge (1839), and the Tudors of Portman Square (1841, 1844).⁹¹ The musical worlds of the Catch Club and the private concerts overlapped in part because the ideological implications of class hierarchy were common to both. Both the Catch Club and private concerts allowed those who wanted to rise in class status, like Lady Hunter, to do so as long as they learned what constituted “the choice of music executed in the circles of royalty and of our nobility.”⁹²

The custom of having amateur musicians of elite social status perform with well-established professional musicians was reinforced by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, who personally sang with Rubini, Costa, and Lablache, for example, at Buckingham Palace.⁹³ The repertoire on that occasion was liked by the royal amateurs but was already familiar from the public operatic performances by the same cadre of professional opera singers. For other private concert givers, mixing amateurs with professional performances was probably a combination of satisfying some amateurs’ desire to

⁹¹ This may have been the Thomas FitzHerbert who attended the Noblemen and Gentlemen’s Catch Club of London (hereafter NGCC) with Sir Richard Hunter. NGCC, “Attendances, 1791-1868,” BL. H.2788.xx, zz, aaa (hereafter NGCC, Attendances). For Tudors hosting concerts, see FEH Diary, 16 Jun. 1841 (Grisi, Tamburini) and 28 Jun. 1844 (Grisi, Mario); for Combermere hosting, *Ibid.*, 30 May 1845 (Puzzi, Grisi, Brambilla, Mario, Lablache).

⁹² Ella, *Musical Union* 7 (10 Jun. 1845): 52.

⁹³ “Program for Grand Vocal Concert at Buckingham Palace on 12 Jun. 1840, *Musical World* XIII (18 Jun. 1840): 387, cited in Budds, “Music at the Court of Queen Victoria,” I, p. 145.

perform, mitigating the cost to the concert hosts, and providing an exceptional musical pleasure that could not be had in public, professional settings.⁹⁴ Amateurs did not charge at all for performing, but some were known for such musical excellence that they attracted eager listeners. Lady Hunter once went to a party “(although still troubled with my cough) being tempted so to do by the prospect ... of hearing Miss Grant sing, which she seldom does out of her own house.”⁹⁵ The best amateur performers were among the private offerings of rarity and excellence available only to the select audience of drawing-room concerts. Society events were worth going to for music lovers like Lady Hunter who wanted as much and as fine music as possible, and wanted to chat about it.

Some amateurs were surely programmed because they were available or too eager to deny. Lady Hunter really thought about the performers she listened to, and she had no aesthetic mercy, even for amateurs of high social status, once commenting that “Sir John Harington’s bass voice was likewise in requisition, & did not sing so out of tune as is sometimes the case. Miss Baudoin [sic] sang a ballad, but seemed frightened.”⁹⁶ Hunter was careful indeed about those she invited to perform in her own home. She heard the excellent amateur singer Henrietta Beauclerk three times before inviting her to sing in one of the Hunter private concerts.⁹⁷ The Hunters socialized with other music lovers and, for the sake of the aesthetic sensibilities of all concerned, Lady

⁹⁴ For discussion of a good musician constrained by class and gender to remain amateur, see Guiguet, *The Ideal World*, pp. 83-100.

⁹⁵ FEH Diary, 2 Mar. 1842.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 30 May 1844 .

⁹⁷ For Beauclerk singing elsewhere, Ibid., 19 Jul. 1841; 11 Jan., 11 Feb. 1842. At Hunter’s 1842 concert, Ibid., 14 Feb. 1842.

Hunter did her best to ensure that even the amateur entertainers she presented in her own home were excellent and reliable.

The private concert world of the 1840s to which the Hunters belonged had room for a range of repertoires and both professional and amateur performers. The Hunters' own musical tastes were broad. But if they wanted to attract a certain segment of the society to which they aspired, they had to offer Italian opera as spectacular bait. By 1844, the Hunters had decided to spend the necessary money to establish their reputations as among the wealthiest of musical cognoscenti.

Taking the Opera House Home: Private Programmes in Public Context

The repertoire for private concerts was important. Even with the best Italian stars at her concert in 1844, Lady Hunter comments, "The selection of music was excellent."⁹⁸

Artists and concert fixers may have limited private concert hosts to their existing repertoire, but these were artists who knew a great deal of music. Did the concert hosts' personal experiences as audience members influence the specific repertoire they agreed to use for their private Italianate programmes? Performers did drive much of the repertoire choice, but the performing repertoire of any epoch is an exchange of influence among audiences, composers, producers, and performers. The easiest thing for the performers would have been to use their own repertoire from their current London season in private concerts. The Hunter (1839, 1844), Abdy 1843, Combermere 1845 and royal programmes (1837-1846) suggest, however, that fashionable Italianate private concerts did not primarily reflect the public, professional opera season of the same year.

⁹⁸ FEH Diary, 3 May 1844.

Private concert fare gave a select group access to more repertoire in a given year than could be had from attending public opera productions, and it created a class-specific cultural history.⁹⁹

The private programmes reflected more than recent London opera history. They also kept alive the cultural memory of certain operas from as far back as the 1820s. By creating a continuous living memory of the slowly expanding body of repertoire of the most famous opera singers working in London, private concerts constructed a sense that a certain operatic repertoire was a stable body of work that did not depend on public London productions. The hosts and guests of private Italianate concerts created and learned a musical history of their class. The failure of the Hunters' 1841 Italianate concert was followed by triumphant success in 1844 and 1846 because they had participated for long enough to learn the telling details. Lady Hunter's diary is a chronicle of her self-directed education.

In her diary, Lady Hunter so lovingly details many of the operas attended by the Hunters that their private programmes can be matched to the chronology of their opera attendance. The Hunter private concerts did not use the music just from those operas the Hunters had ever seen in full professional performance in London nor from those operas that were being professionally performed in London in the same year as a given private

⁹⁹ See Appendix H: Shared Repertoire, which charts the chronology of use of excerpts from specific operas in all four concert givers (Hunter 1839, 1842, 1844; Abdy 1843; Combermere 1845; and the Queen 1837-1846) against the chronology of London professional opera performances. The authority for professional opera performances is Strauchen, "Puzzi," II, Appendix 4: "Operas performed in London's major Italian opera venues 1820-1855," pp. 284-297.

concert. Like that of other comparable programmes, the Hunters' private concert repertoire was predominantly drawn from the recent past of London professional performances.

Lady Hunter was so keen on opera going that she likely recorded every attendance between 1840 and May 1846 in her diary. Although the Hunters had an excellent box at the opera house in 1839, the specific operas they attended that year are unknown. Similarly, no public opera attendance by Abdy and Combermere is known, but they could not have attended except when the operas were presented, so the well-known chronology of public opera performances in London provides context.¹⁰⁰ A few of the works on the programmes by the Hunters, Abdy, Combermere and the Queen were from the professional opera season under way in the same year as each concert, but not the majority. Of the 13 works on Abdy 1843, 4 were publicly produced that year in London; and of the 14 works on Combermere 1845, the same number. In 1844, the Hunter programme had 3 same-season works out of a total of 12. Private concerts were thus not primarily programmed as a commentary on the current London opera season.

Much of the Queen's musical life was a form of public performance, but the construction of private concert programmes does not seem to have been driven primarily by Queen Victoria's State concert programming habits or public opera attendance.¹⁰¹

Rarely had the Queen programmed excerpts from an opera before it was used by the

¹⁰⁰ Strauchen, "Puzzi," II, Appendix 4: "Operas performed in London's major Italian opera venues 1820-1855," pp. 284-297.

¹⁰¹ FEH Diary, 20 Jul. 1843, records a group visit "to the Kirklands' house in Pall Mall (they being out of town) to see the Queen pass in State to the Opera." For this as the Queen's attendance at Rossini's opera, *Barbiere di Siviglia*, see Ivor Guest, *Fanny Cerrito: The Life of a Romantic Ballerina* (1956; London: Dance Books, 1974), p. 63.

three private concert hosts. The Queen had often, but not always, seen public productions of works before the three private hosts programmed from them. Usually the time lag was so great that emulation seems unlikely, for instance with excerpts from *La Sonnambula* programmed for Queen Victoria's concerts in 1838 and 1839 but for Hunter only in 1844.¹⁰² Works programmed for the Queen did not always appear on private programmes, nor were they always performed professionally in public. For example, the Queen's programmes (1836-1847), but not those of Hunter (1839, 1844), Abdy 1843, or Combermere 1845, featured Count Marco Aurelio Marliani's *Il degonda* between 1839 and 1846, when it was not produced publicly in London. Individual excerpts of Italian operatic material that dominated elite private concert programmes in Britain were thus not primarily chosen to refer to Queen Victoria's opera going or her own concert programming.

Nor were the non-operatic works used by the Queen, like Karl Friedrich Curschmann's "Addio, delizia," necessarily copied by private producers. With the exceptions of popular concert closers, like Gioacchino Rossini's "Ridiamo, cantiamo," programmed by the Queen in 1836 and by Hunter in 1839, there was no direct copying of each other's non-operatic selections. The specific repertoire of private concert programmes was not driven primarily by Queen Victoria's State concert programming habits.

Private concert programmes were also not primarily chosen to demonstrate that the hosts were attending the operatic season in the same year as their concerts. This did

¹⁰²See Appendix H: Shared Repertoire.

happen, but fewer same-season works were excerpted for the three private hosts than works from previous public seasons. Private programmes were not restricted to repertoire the hosts had personally attended recently or perhaps ever. Lady Hunter, for instance, is not known to have attended *La donna del lago* between 1840 and 1842, but programmed an excerpt from it in 1842. Her 1842 programme had two references to *Robert le Diable*, but the opera had not been publicly performed in London since 1832. Conversely, not every opera the Hunters attended found its way onto one of their private programmes. For example, Rossini's *Il turco in Italia*, which they saw in 1841, was not programmed by them between 1841 and May, 1846, when the Hunter diary ends. Private programmes did not necessarily make statements about the concert hosts' personal attendance at specific operas.

Nor did the Hunters choose repertoire for their private programmes to commemorate visits to the opera house with illustrious guests. Their opera house guests were primarily family members. In 1841, Lord and Lady Trimleston took Lady Hunter to the opera as their guest to see *Norma*, but neither the Trimlestons nor *Norma* are recorded at any of the Hunters' known concerts.¹⁰³

Private Italianate concerts like the Hunters' recycled material from previous seasons, usually a year or two before. Hunter used excerpts from *Lucrezia Borgia* repeatedly in years when it was not publicly produced in London. For example, *Lucrezia* excerpts appeared on the Hunter 1842 programme, when the last public London production had been in 1841; and on the Hunter 1844 programme, when the opera had

¹⁰³ FEH Diary, 18 May 1841.

last been done in London in 1843. A *Beatrice di Tenda* excerpt was programmed by the Hunters in 1839 and by the Queen in 1840, although its last professional London production had been 1836. Combermere used a portion of *Beatrice di Tenda* in 1845, but the opera had not then been done professionally in London since 1842. Private programmes could refer far back in the history of public opera performance. In 1845, Lady Combermere referred back seven years, by programming Michael Costa's *Malek Adel*, the last public performance of which had been in 1838. Even the Queen, for whom Costa created many concert programmes, had not programmed *Malek Adel* on a State concert since 1840. Abdy in 1843 programmed from *Arabi nell Galli* in 1843, 11 years after its last public production in London.

Operatic repertoire was a growing body of work with a living history among its audience, but its history reached back into the 1820s, allowing older works to share the musical consciousness of audiences who were also hearing newer works by Donizetti and Mercadante for the first time. Rossini's *La donna del lago*, for instance, had been heard steadily in London since 1823 through the 1840s, and excerpts from it were programmed on concerts by Queen Victoria (1840, 1841, 1845), Lady Combermere (1845) and Lady Hunter (1839, 1842).¹⁰⁴ Private concert producers like these thus revealed their knowledge of the recent history of professional opera production. These private Italianate programmes thus created a sense of a cumulative cultural history that

¹⁰⁴ See Appendix H: Shared Repertoire. William Weber suggests that Mozart operas were part of a cosmopolitan "Franco-Italian" opera repertoire rather than part of "Austro-German instrumental music." Weber, "Redefining the status of Opera," p. 516.

appeared not to be dependent on the historical moment of performance but on timeless, intrinsic value.

Some repertoire may have landed on private concert programmes when the hosts had heard it only at other private concerts. Even attending the opera house on the night of a performance did not entail seeing the whole work, since, as Lady Hunter periodically notes, audience members often arrived late and left early.¹⁰⁵ But the many private concerts to which the Hunters were invited over the five and a half years of the Hunter diary show just how constant the exposure of the Hunters' social set was to music, much of it excerpts of Italian opera. For members of the upper classes, it was virtually impossible to escape this class-specific cultural history.¹⁰⁶

Private concerts of Italian opera excerpts taught a specific repertoire to a class-specific audience over a number of years, creating the impression through repetition that Italian opera was a natural medium of musical life for the British upper classes. The Italian opera repertoire was drummed into the living memory of those who were entertained by music in homes, even in informal renditions of transcriptions of operatic melodies for domestic amateurs. Lady Hunter and her friend Lady Elizabeth Parsons, for instance, repeatedly played a harp and piano version of a duet from Daniel-François-Esprit Auber's opera, *Fra Diavolo*, in short succession, presumably with rehearsals

¹⁰⁵ For example, FEH Diary, 20 Jul. 1841.

¹⁰⁶ Weber, "Redefining the status of Opera," p. 514, suggests by contrast that by the 1830s, including excerpts from earlier operas was a programming tactic designed to satisfy both "traditionalists who enjoyed opera and idealists scornful of excerpts." Musical satisfaction of individuals who liked only one kind of music may not have been possible, but there may have been few who were so musically exclusive. Apart from the early adapters of new musical ideals and repertoires, throughout the period many individuals experimented with different musical repertoires.

between dinner-time performances.¹⁰⁷ Anyone within earshot, from servants to spouses, could not help learning the music they so constantly heard. Attendance at the professional opera could mean hearing the same work twice in a single week, as the Hunters did with Auber's *Le Brigand de Terracina*, for instance, and Rossini's *Il barbiere di Seviglia* in 1840.¹⁰⁸ The Italianate private concert programmes worked together with the public professional productions of the same operas over as much as a decade at a time to teach and entrench a specific repertoire as the living musical history of the privileged classes. Socialising in upper class circles was not restricted to those who were born to the aristocracy, as the Hunters themselves demonstrate, but musical membership took time to develop.

In addition to the perceived merit of the work being programmed, there is a steady sense that private concert hosts were incorporating the past into the present that is reminiscent of the elderly repertoire of eighteenth-century glees favoured by the London Catch Club (NGCC) during the 1840s.¹⁰⁹ Catch Club members and Conservative party supporters like Viscount Combermere and Sir Richard Hunter were equally at home at Italianate private concerts, and accustomed from political gatherings like the Conservative Festivals of the 1830s to citing history as evidence of the changeless truth of God's creation of hierarchies of human difference.¹¹⁰ Although the Italian operas were sung in Italian whether in public or in private venues, the opera-going public

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 22 Dec. 1841; 5, 31 Jan. 1842.

¹⁰⁸ *Brigand*: Ibid., 21, 25 Jul. 1840; *Barbiere*: Ibid., 9, 13 Jun. 1840.

¹⁰⁹ See Appendix D: Catch Club Music 1841-1847.

¹¹⁰ ODNB, s.v. "Combermere" for Stapleton Cotton, 1st Viscount Combermere (1773-1865), as an "old fashioned Tory" who opposed the Reform Bill.

understood the ideological implications of the plots through detailed press reports and, in many cases, because they spoke Italian.¹¹¹ The timeless present of such historicism in performance canons, as well as the perpetual familiarity of core works, the plots of which were often based on congratulatory histories of royalty, gave the great majority of private concert repertoire the impression of being ever-present. Music was a slowly spreading pool of natural delight that could be dipped into at the will of the informed concert host. Human history could be told and retold as a series of tropes of changeless social hierarchy. Demonstrating knowledge of cultural history and living the present sound of music from the past was an important message of these private concert programmes.

Music was not then and is not now intrinsically expressive of class. Professional musicians were working people, and even at the most exalted level of the Puritani Quartet and their concert brokers like Giovanni Puzzi, they tailored their repertoire to client demands for private concerts. What the Hunter records of private, Italianate concert programming show is the mechanics of transforming a particular repertoire into the musical history of a particular class. The format, casting, and repertoire of the private Italianate concerts of London high society could vary, but for those who aspired to rise in the social hierarchy through the use of such concerts, the requirements were simple: the expenditure of enormous sums of money to hire four or more of the most famous

¹¹¹ Lady Hunter wrote in Italian and French, always used correct spellings, and revealed her understanding of both languages by commenting on humour, e.g. “‘Se fiato in corpus avete’ by the two latter was ... highly amusing.” FEH Diary, 7 Jun. 1843.

Italian opera stars, access to a skilled concert fixer, and a mixture of repertoire from the current and past London public opera seasons with a little non-operatic material.

Music was a prominent activity in Frederica Hunter's diary, framed as a record of her pious aim to make the most of God's gift of life. Her Italianate concerts were part of her personal mandate, focussed on improving her own position within a hierarchy she saw as natural, and, as part of God's will, good. In the face of her 1840 failure, it must have seemed to Lady Hunter that she had much to learn about what constituted "real" concerts of the highest quality. Heritable social hierarchies were natural, in Lady Hunter's view, so the musical ways of that aristocracy may also have seemed to be part of nature. Ironically, what she thought was historic about the "nature" of social hierarchy was constructed in part by people like her using music as an elevator. Fashionable private concerts were not at all the manifestation of unmediated natural law, but an ongoing historical process of human agency. The sequence of the Hunters' private, Italianate concerts in 1839, 1840, 1844, and 1846 shows a non-aristocratic couple learning the counters of musical prestige by making mistakes and absorbing the practices of their betters in the social hierarchy. In 1844, Lady Hunter was starting over again with Italianate opera programmes. The interval from 1840 to 1843 had been a bumpy ride, and it is to the personal and musical complexities of Lady Hunter's journey through the periphery of the new chamber music movement that the story now turns.

CHAPTER SEVEN:

TRYING CHAMBER MUSIC, 1840-1843

The Hunters' 1842 concert programme is startlingly different from the Italianate concerts they produced with professional musicians in the years before and after. The only known copies are handwritten, not printed (Figure 14). Lady Hunter herself played the piano on the 1842 programme, a one-piece structure with instrumental music and amateur performers mixed in with professionals and operatic vocal music. Examining the Hunters' changing musical patterns reveals the dynamic interactions between the musical soundscape and personal considerations of economics, domestic life, and musical talents. The same individuals could participate in different repertoire niches of the musical soundscape, governed not only by their aesthetic tastes but by unstable financial resources, changing personal relationships, and by prevailing class and gender hierarchies. Lady Hunter tried to develop her own musical performance career as an amateur pianist in the heady world of the emerging enthusiasm for chamber music. When she failed, she and her husband returned to producing Italianate concerts that rivalled those of the Queen.

From 1840 to 1843, Sir Richard and Lady Hunter's private concerts declined markedly in number and cost, with fewer professionals and more amateur performers.¹

¹ Appendix I: Hunter Musical Chronology summarizes the main patterns of changing musical activity between 1839 and 1846; all drawn from the Diary of Frederica Emma, Lady Hunter, Diary, 1840 to 1846, (London) City of Westminster Archives Centre, Acc. 1621, (hereafter FEH Diary).

In their 1842 concert, they embarked on a new approach to repertoire, emphasizing instrumental and chamber music, but by 1843 had what could best be described as a musical party of amateurs, rather than a concert. Their expenditure on public, professional performances of music dropped in lockstep. Why? Three different factors may have been at play, perhaps simultaneously. The Hunters' other expenses rose dramatically, the musical tastes of husband and wife were quite different, and Lady Hunter may have been exploring her own potential as a serious, amateur musician. The Hunter diary gives details of civic or public activity, health, deaths of close family, and major expenditures, as well as indications of the musical preferences and abilities of Sir Richard and Frederica Hunter. For the Hunters, as for every married pair, gender and family relationships were part of the musical decision-making.

Inequalities of power based on gender and class shaped chamber music activities as much as any other kind of music making. Chamber music for and by amateurs required money, and economic power was unequally distributed according to gender. Women amateur musicians like Frederica Hunter could not make any musical decisions that required money unless they negotiated the expense with the man who held their family purse strings. Class was also a powerful determinant of amateur involvement with serious chamber music. Actual musical talent was an unavoidable factor, and, through public, personal failure, Lady Hunter discovered that she was not gifted or perhaps not skilled or confident enough to be taken seriously as a performing musician. As a would-be artist, Frederica Hunter met the brutal reality that in serious musical

performance, the deference normally accorded on the basis of class or gender was absent. The anomalous interlude in the middle of the chronological sequence of the Hunters' Italianate concerts provides a case study of how personal considerations of economics, gender, and musical talent intersected with broader changes in public musical life.

Musical Value to the One Who Paid: a Husband's Economies and Tastes

Gender was one of the constitutive factors in private musical life. Lady Hunter's name was on her concert programmes, but her diary shows that she often consulted her husband about their concerts. His musical tastes were not the same as hers. The prudent habits of a life-long medical professional grown rich too late to become comfortable with extravagance may have reined in Sir Richard Hunter's discretionary spending on music when he had other large expenses.² Perhaps, too, other life events crimped the Hunters' musical style.

The Hunters spent less on music and attended fewer performances between 1841 and 1843 than they did in the years before and after. After spending approximately £300 for season opera boxes in each of 1839 and 1840, no season box was purchased again until 1846.³ The number of attendances at the opera dropped from 11 in 1840 to 6 in

² My thanks to Bruce Elliott for noting that the will of Sir Richard Hunter's first wife shows she was richer than he when they married and wanted to ensure he remained wealthy if she predeceased him. Rebecca Ann Hunter (*née* Dulany), Will of Dame Rebecca Ann Hunter, Wife of Brighton, Sussex, proved 20 Apr. 1835, PROB 11/1845 (Gloster Quires 201-250), <<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline>>, (viewed 22 Apr. 2008).

³ FEH Diary, 11 Apr. 1840, states their opera subscription to Piet Tier 22/S for 1839 and 1840. For the price of a whole box subscription for the period, see Jennifer Hall-Witt,

each of 1841 and 1843 and only 2 in 1842. The Hunters hired expensive Italian opera singers for their annual private concerts in 1839, 1844, and 1846, but in 1840 their performers were cheaper, in 1841 they were cheaper and fewer, and in 1843 they hired no professionals at all. Amateur performers were presented in private concerts by the Hunters instead, in 1841, 1842, and 1843, but never in their formal Italianate concerts of 1839, 1840, 1844, and 1846.

Spending less on music from 1840 to 1843 coincided with a series of high costs and family deaths. Shortly after marrying Frederica Bishop in 1837, Sir Richard began extensive house renovations that continued from 1840 to 1843. He had the library floor at the Brighton house raised, and did such extensive work on the Patching villa, including installing a new wine cellar and a new roof gable, that the Hunters found it uninhabitable for over a month. Hunter invested in elaborate new furnishings for both Sussex properties (rural Patching and 47 Grand Parade, Brighton), including sculpture and carpets. In 1843, after buying a London house at 8 Great Stanhope Street, another spate of major renovations included “the new ornamented ceiling in the Dining-room ... and too much gilding on the Drawing-room ceilings,” as well as glass, linens, china, and a new Erard piano. Other significant expenses included constant entertaining, including dinners for as many as 36 at a time, and the steady drain of renting a house, carriages, and horses for the London season.⁴

Fashionable Acts: Opera and Elite Culture in London, 1780-1880 (Durham, New Hampshire: University of New Hampshire Press, 2007), p. 280.

⁴ FEH Diary, 29 Jul. 1840 (Brighton floor); 8 Aug., 14, 16 Sep. 1840 (Patching); 11 Sep., 8 Oct. 1840; 1 Feb. (ceilings), 7 Apr. (glass, linens), 29 Mar. (piano), 29 Nov. (china); 28 Apr. 1842 (horses cost 70 guineas for the year).

Lady Hunter comments on her husband's attempts to economise in other ways, like seeking cheaper London rent by attending only part of the season.⁵ In 1843, when the Hunters attended very few private concerts and gave the cheapest of their own known concerts, Sir Richard cashed in investments to buy a furnished house in London for £7000.⁶ There may have been limits to his wealth.

When Sir Richard did spend large sums on opera boxes (1839, 1840) and a lavish private concert (1839), it may have been part of his own campaign to be appointed High Sheriff of Sussex, as he was in 1841.⁷ Nominated unsuccessfully in 1836 and 1838, he had been shamed in the press into giving up an Irish pension in 1838.⁸ Perhaps to restore his public good name, in 1840, Sir Richard was busy with such community activities as making "a sketch ... of what he thinks would be an available kind of life preserver for fishermen's boats." His charitable giving in 1840 was on a large scale and well received, as for example, when he "having kindly determined to give Rabbits & a Shilling to every poor family in the parishes of Patching & Clapham for their Christmas Dinner, many of them came to receive so acceptable a present."⁹ In the year before his appointment to public office, Hunter was making highly visible and expensive donations

⁵ Ibid., 24 Apr. 1841. The Hunters usually began the London season earlier than this late date in April; e.g., they rented 10 Hill St., London, for £800, by 4 Feb. 1840.

⁶ See Appendix I: Hunter Musical Chronology; FEH Diary 17, 18 Mar. 1843.

⁷ "Appendix to Chronicle, Sheriffs for the Year 1841," *The Annual Register, or, A View of the History and Politics of the Year* (London: J.G. & F. Rivington, 1842), p. 141.

⁸ "Politics of the Week," *Bristol Mercury* (Bristol, England), 4 Aug. 1838; for a Reform attack on Tory misrule of Ireland proven by such pensions to those who did not need or deserve them, see "Savings' Bank Contributors and National Debt Annuitants at the end of 1837," *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle* (Portsmouth, England), Aug. 1838.

⁹ FEH Diary, 11 Feb., 1, 24 Dec. 1840.

to community charity. His contributions to the poor continued after his tenure as sheriff ended, but, in 1840, his charitable donations were on a visible scale.

If his goal for using music was to create a sparkling public presence from 1839 to 1840 in order to win the office of High Sheriff of Sussex, then his need for further high expenditure on music fell away when he was appointed in 1841, for the normal one-year term.¹⁰ Moreover, as High Sheriff, Hunter immediately faced other cost increases. Lady Hunter noted that, with 13 special attendants, “the expences [sic] of his Shrivalty would be much increased by having so large a troup [sic] of Cavalry to dress & equip,” but she was glad enough that her own brother Freeman Bishop was “to be Sir Rich’d’s Chaplain during his Shrivalty” and that “Sir Richard is to give him a suit of Canonicals.”¹¹ The High Sheriff made an impressive public display with his own staff, but he paid for it.

Sir Richard decided what the Hunters would spend on giving private concerts or buying tickets to Italian opera, and he spent less on music from 1840 to 1843.¹² Deaths in Sir Richard’s and Frederica Hunter’s families seem not to account for why the Hunters’ musical expenses declined. A mere two opera outings in 1843 might be explained by mourning for the death at a young age of Lady Hunter’s brother, Archibald Bishop, the year before, but his death did not slow their politically active socialising.¹³ A steady stream of elaborate dinners included one in 1842, when the Hunters “Dined with

¹⁰ The High Sheriffs’ Association of England and Wales, “The Office of High Sheriff,” <<http://www.highsheriffs.com/SHR02.HTM>>, (viewed 17 Jun. 2008).

¹¹ FEH Diary, 11 Jan., 12 Feb. 1841.

¹² For Hunter opera attendance by year, see Appendix I: Hunter Musical Chronology.

¹³ FEH Diary, 20 May 1842 (Archibald Bishop death); 31 Oct. 1841 (Sir Richard’s sister’s death); 25 Sep. 1843 (his brother John’s death, after the 1843 London opera season).

the Chancellor of the Exchequer & Mrs. Goulburn, in Downing Street. Met there the Recorder & Mrs. Law, Mr. & Mrs. Dawson (sister of Sir Robert Peel), Lord Canterbury &c. Sat between Mr. Bonham and Mr. D'Israeli."¹⁴ A month after her brother's death, Lady Hunter was conversing with two of the most powerful political party Conservatives in the country. These men owed their Parliamentary power of the day in part to the success of the music-laden Conservative Festivals of the 1830s that were such a part of Bonham's strategy to restore the party to power. Did they discuss music with Lady Hunter?

Sir Richard's musical tastes may have influenced his decisions to economize musically. He did not like Italian opera as much as Lady Hunter, whose diary entries constantly described the performances of the Italian stars in detail, for example praising Tamburini "who acted with the greatest activity and spirit ... [in] his best character [Figaro in Rossini's *Barbiere di Seviglia*]." She enjoyed and understood the plots sung in Italian, for instance saying she was "highly amused with 'Il Matrimonio Segreto.'" She paid close attention to the music and the plots of operas new to her, commenting on first hearing Costa's *Don Carlos*, "There is some pretty music in it & the story is very effective," and of Bellini's *Il Pirata*, remarking, "I do not remember to have ever seen it performed before, & I was delighted with the music." She disliked German vocal music because she found the language too "guttural" for singing, but of Mozart's *Don Giovanni* sung in Italian by Grisi she found "beautiful singing to give effect to the charming music." Lady Hunter would have liked to attend more full length Italian

¹⁴ Ibid., 25 Jun. 1842.

operas, dropping such tactful, sideways comments in 1841 as, “I enjoyed the evening all the more, I think, fm. having been seldom to the Opera during the Season.”¹⁵ Lady Hunter was actively interested in the opera and the singers she heard.

It is too cynical to reduce all musical activity solely to considerations of social and political commerce, but Sir Richard’s ticket-buying record suggests that he preferred musical experiences that promised him variety, social prestige, an outing for family members, and the possibility of networking in the upper reaches of society. Compared to the opera, attending the Noblemen and Gentlemen’s Catch Club of London (hereafter NGCC or Catch Club) to sing glees gave him greater variety of composers, shorter compositions that taxed his musical concentration less, and vocal exercise that polished his speaking voice. Lady Hunter’s diary portrays him as a kindly person, so he probably also wished to please his wife, but apparently not at the cost of boring himself too often.

Sir Richard Hunter did not like opera as much as Lady Hunter did, and the Hunters’ opera attendance dropped between 1841 and 1843, when the Hunters had no opera box subscription. The operatic performances they did attend during these years included free tickets, for example on 18 May 1841, when Lady Hunter was the guest of Lady Trimleston at *Norma* while Sir Richard went to the NGCC. Sir Richard Hunter paid for tickets to benefits that held more variety than regular opera nights, and occasional one-night box purchases for the Italian opera to which the Hunters took their own relatives. Of six 1841 opera attendances by Lady Hunter, Sir Richard attended four:

¹⁵ Ibid., 9 Jun., 11 Jul. 1840; 30 Jul. 1844; 13 May 1845; 21 May 1840; 16 Apr. 1846; 20 Jul. 1841. Quotations observe the formatting of the originals.

one Italian opera, two German operas and one benefit. Two of these sets of tickets were free, and he ducked even one of those in favour of glees.¹⁶

In 1842, Sir Richard did not buy any tickets to a full-length opera, although he sprang for tickets to a variety-laden benefit featuring pianist Sigismond Thalberg and horn-player Giovanni Puzzi as well as opera singers. Lady Hunter did get to one full opera in 1842, as the guest of friends while her husband was at the NGCC. In 1843, Sir Richard accepted two sets of free tickets to treat his family and friends. He paid for boxes for two operas, *La Gazza Ladra* and *Lucrezia Borgia*, and for three benefits: one each for Lablache, ballerina Fanny Cerito, and composer and conductor, Julius Benedict. For the latter, he bought a box at the last minute to treat his family, arrived late and left early, his wife scrambling to dress at short notice.¹⁷ Sir Richard could not avoid Italian opera, but limited his own exposure to full-length operas to evenings when royalty was present, or when variety was offered up in a benefit filled with excerpts and incidental pieces performed by pianists, horn players and violinists as well as singers, or when the opera was by a German or Austrian composer.¹⁸

¹⁶ Sir Richard Hunter paid for tickets, per FEH Diary, on 17 May (Benedict benefit with “all the best Singers” and instrumentalist 1841), 11 Jun. (Mozart’s *Die Zauberflöte*, with Royalty present), 20 Jul. (Donizetti’s *Anna Bolena*), 27 Jul. (Rossini’s *Il Turco in Italia* and last act of Bellini’s *I Puritani*). The Hunters received free tickets, per *Ibid.*, on 18 May (Bellini’s *Norma*, Lady Hunter alone as the guest of Lady Trimleston, while Sir Richard was at the Noblemen and Gentlemen’s Catch Club of London (hereafter NGCC)), 22 May (Mozart’s *Don Giovanni*). NGCC President’s Book—Members and Honorary Members with attendances 1828-1850, British Library (hereafter BL) H2788.aaa, Microfilm MUS.MIC A4611 (1966) (hereafter NGCC, Attendances).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 30 Jun. 1842; 17 May 1842 (Otways treated Lady Hunter, Sir Richard Hunter at NGCC); 10 Jun., 29 Jul. 1843 (free tickets); 13 May, 25 May 1843 (Hunter paid for operas); 29 Jun., 17, 27 Jul. 1843 (benefits); NGCC, Attendances.

¹⁸ FEH Diary, 11 Jun. 1841.

It is notable that, with Sir Richard deciding which tickets to buy, the Hunters often attended opera nights that had the added fillip of season or career debuts by good artists, including the ballerina Fanny Cerito, or notable gossip, like the spectacular Tamburini opera riots which had been under way for several nights before the Hunters attended.¹⁹ Lady Hunter may have been equally keen about such special features but might also have made a point of staying informed about them in order to encourage her husband to go to the opera. His purpose in buying opera tickets seems to have been generous: in addition to his opera-loving wife, his choice of guests at the opera was largely limited to family and long-time friends like the Tierneys.²⁰

This is not the record of a passionate lover of Italian opera. The decline in the Hunters' opera attendance from 1840 to 1843, like the steady decline in the cost, quality, and number of professional musicians in the Hunters' private concerts, may have been due to Sir Richard Hunter not being willing to spend much money on music he did not like.

¹⁹ For example, Lady Hunter attended on 2 May 1840, noting it was Cerrito's London debut. For the presence there of Queen Victoria, Dowager Queen Adelaide, the Duke of Wellington, and Prince Louis Napoleon (pretender to French throne), see Ivor Guest, *Fanny Cerrito: The Life of a Romantic Ballerina* (1956; London: Dance Books, 1974), pp. 23-24. For Tamburini riots as elite audience opposition to opera house management decisions, see Jennifer Hall-Witt, *Fashionable Acts: Opera and Elite Culture in London, 1780-1880* (Durham, New Hampshire: University of New Hampshire Press, 2007), pp. 208-222.

²⁰ Every named opera guest of the Hunters' was researched, and findings are too numerous to list, but, for example, for friendship with Sir Matthew Tierney, see FEH Diary, *passim*. For family, e.g., see FEH Diary 26 May 1840, noting that the Hunters took Selina East and Freeman Bishop to the opera. For Freeman and Marianne Bishop as Lady Hunter's siblings, see Chapter Two, fn. 31, above. For Selina East as the daughter of Marianne East, *née* Bishop, see notice of Henry C. Morgan marrying Selina-Louisa East in 1847 in *The Gentleman's Magazine* (1851): 551.

A Lady Takes a Run at Performing

There is another possibility. The Hunters' concert programming from 1840 to 1843 could also have been a function of Lady Hunter implementing a long-term strategy to develop her own amateur performing career. At the same time, she may also have been trying to adapt to her husband's financial constraints by using fewer professionals in favour of more amateurs, including herself. But her enthusiasm about her own performing in 1840 suggests that she wanted to develop her own musical creativity or at least construct a social persona for herself as a *fine musician*. By May 1842, she had clearly failed, and her musical patterns changed abruptly. She was willing to take calculated risks in attempting to perform, but hard-headed enough to act on a firm assessment of her personal musical limitations.

The first step in establishing an amateur career for Lady Hunter, in 1840, was to change concert fixers, to Anna Oury, whom she had heard performing with other local amateurs.²¹ Next, she followed her private concerts of 1840, 1841, and 1842 with hectic music-making of her own, clearly capitalizing on the momentum of each concert. In 1840, nine days after the Hunters' private concert, "Mad'e de Belleville Oury, who is a brilliant Pianiste, came this morning to play over a piano-forte duett of Bertini's with me ... Mad'll Ostergaard called after she was gone, and sang duetts with me, so that I had

²¹ For Oury performing with other Brighton amateurs, see FEH Diary, 13 Jan. 1841. Like many fixers and composers, Oury also arranged works for amateurs, e.g., Mme. Oury, "Rome et Naples," Op. 65 (London: Lonsdale Co., 1860), held at Burton Constable, E. Yorkshire, and inscribed to a family member there, "Lady Clifford Constable Avec les souvenirs affectueux de Mme. Oury 2 Oct. 1860."

quite a musical day. We were interrupted every now and then by visitors, amongst whom was Elizabeth Dundas.”²²

Oury and Ostergaard were professional musicians who had just worked together at the Hunters’ private concert. The following month, Ostergaard once more “came at her own request to sing duetts with me, and Emma Fremantle came as Audience.”²³ The professionals were solidifying their connection with a paying client through free performances and flattering willingness to perform with the amateur. Hunter was using them to demonstrate her own musical prowess to the visitors who so coincidentally “interrupted” the music-making.

From informal rehearsals at home with professionals in 1840, Lady Hunter’s next step, in 1841, was to put herself on her own private concert programme in a piano duet with Anna Oury (Figure 14).²⁴ It may have been Hunter’s own first performance at a formal concert. When the moment arrived, what was probably stage fright emerged as anger. Her report of the 1841 concert opens with abject shame:

What sinful, erring, creatures are we! & what a guard should we at all times keep upon ourselves, praying earnestly for the Grace of god to enable us to respect the insidious attacks of our spiritual Energy! That infirmity of Temper, which is one of my besetting sins, & to rectify which it behoves me to be so careful, led me this day to behave towards my dear & excellent Husband most disrespectfully, & to say what I afterwards regretted. May God in his mercy pardon my many backslidings, & fortify

²² FEH Diary, 11 Jun. 1840.

²³ Ibid., 8 Jul. 1840. Emphasis in the original.

²⁴ Ibid., 14 Feb. 1842; Hunter 1842 Programme, Great Britain, London Royal College of Music, Centre for Performance History (hereafter GB-LRCM CPH), London Private Houses.

my resolutions of amendment. Truly hath it been said 'Let him who thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall.'²⁵

Some amateur musicians may have been nearly as good as professionals, but surely many more learned through such experience that their own music-making was of a lesser aesthetic order.²⁶ Lady Hunter had set herself up to be compared as a musician with a working professional in front of an audience hand-picked in part for their own love of music.²⁷ Before or after the concert, she had obviously raged at her husband, although she did not name nervousness or disappointment about her own performance as the fuel for the conflagration.

Lady Hunter's performance nerves may have been an unwelcome signal to herself that she lacked musical talent. Nerves about the quality of her voice had already finished her amateur singing career. In 1840, noting that her duet partner sang in a "nice, clear voice," she records that she was "... so foolish as to break off abruptly in the middle of a duett I was singing with Miss Albinia Evans & leave the Piano from nervousness. I wish I could conquer this absurd feeling, for it has the appearance of great

²⁵ Ibid., 26 Feb. 1841.

²⁶ For excellence in amateur musicians, see Kristina Guiguet, *The Ideal World of Mrs. Widder's Soirée Musicale: Social Identity and Musical Life in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*, Mercury Series Cultural Studies, Paper 77 (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2004), pp. 69-71 and Chapter Five.

²⁷ Hunter 1842 guests and amateur performers who were also later to subscribe to the chamber music society, the Musical Union, included composer John Lodge Ellerton, cellist Algernon Greville, amateur singer Sir John Harrington, violinists Antonio Oury and Lawrence Parsons, and composer and singer Charles Raper. See John Ella, "List of Members of the Musical Union," *Report of the Musical Union*, 1847, (n.p.); FEH Diary, 14 Feb. 1842.

affectation & schoolgirlish nonsense.”²⁸ Sir Richard’s voice is perhaps audible in this diary entry, a much older man attributing his wife’s failure to her youth and immaturity, and quoted as she wrote in the diary to make sense for herself of the whole experience. At 32, Frederica Hunter was hardly a schoolgirl and, unlike Miss Evans, she was doing double duty, both playing and singing. Before this event, Hunter sang at other people’s homes, but after it, she never sang outside her own home except informally after family dinners or when pressed by a social superior like the Duchess of Norfolk, or in sacred music on Sundays.

In all of the informal cases, the value of her singing lay not in the quality of her voice but in her intention to worship God. By singing with family or her social superiors, she was carrying out her moral obligation to assist her family or to obey those whom she saw as above her in social rank. Such social obligations were in a sense an extension of religious belief, since the aristocratic hierarchy was understood by social and political conservatives like Frederica Hunter to be the social structure resulting from the laws of nature created by God. Hunter’s diary opens with the prayer that God would help her to “so improve the time” she spent on earth, that she would thereby earn the reward after death of being “admitted to the mansions of eternal bliss.”²⁹ She repeated similar prayers throughout her diary, framing her own history, including her own musical activities, as part of her religious duty to make the most of God’s gifts to herself of talents and opportunities.

²⁸ Ibid., 7 Oct. 1840.

²⁹ Ibid., Introduction, n.p., n.d. [1840 Jan. 1?]; 28 Nov. 1841; 24 Jul. 1842; 8 Jun. 1843; 14 Aug. 1844; 24 Jul., 29 Dec. 1845 (prayers).

Performance nerves are seldom described by diarists who were amateur musicians in this period, but they must have been widespread. The tension between intention and realisation in music making must be resolved by each performer: the sound of music made by the body occurs in an irretrievable moment and cannot be later talked away if it did not match the performer's intention or the audience's expectation. Moral and social intentions determined much of the value of informal amateur performance, but the formal, private concert featuring amateur performers brought together judgements about aesthetic outcomes and personal intentions. As an audience member, it was an important duty to learn to identify and appreciate aesthetic quality. Audiences consumed cultural goods and demanded, according to taste and their purse, the best. They judged each other on the quality of musical entertainment they each provided.

Lady Hunter may have suffered as a performer from her behaviour as a listener who constantly slotted her musical and social activity into her hierarchical world view. She regularly judged the performers she heard, and no amateur escaped her merciless ear. "Miss Grant sang delightfully" but "a vocal duett was executed by two gentlemen, the Honble Mr. Arundell and Mr. Price, which excited the risibility rather than the admiration of the audience."³⁰ Personal talent and skill as an amateur musician were at issue in private, formal concert performances.

Hunter's diary entries about singing, piano playing, and composition do not mention studying or solitary practice. She must have practised to develop any skills and learn any music, but presents herself in her diaries as a finished artist, not a student. She

³⁰ Ibid., 31 Jan. 1840.

emphasizes that Anna Oury wanted to make music with her “not by way of giving a lesson—but she had requested permission to do so, and I was delighted with the opportunity of playing with so good a performer.”³¹ Lady Hunter described herself to herself not as a student but as an artistic peer of a working professional of considerable reputation.

Lady Hunter’s performing may have suffered from lack of disciplined preparation. She thought that musical activity was only “worthy of record” in her diary if it included others, so perhaps she did not find solitary practising worth doing. Because rehearsing often occurred when others could hear, it could contribute to constructing Lady Hunter’s public reputation as a musician, but she may not have devoted sufficient rigour and frequency to developing musical, rather than social, skills. Despite her nerves at her 1841 private concert, Lady Hunter pressed on with her amateur performing career.

Trying Chamber Music: The Hunter 1842 Programme

It was a short, intense sequence of just such strategic rehearsals and informal performances in late 1841 and early 1842 that formed Lady Hunter’s next phase as an amateur performer and led directly to the creation of the Hunters’ 1842 concert programme (Figure 14). It is a peculiar programme, containing the shadowy skeleton of an earlier version within the final programme that Lady Hunter inscribed in her diary. Like all private concert programmes, it is the manifestation of the personal and social processes through which it was constructed, but without Lady Hunter’s diary, it would be no more than a muddled mystery to historians. The programme itself was a

³¹ Ibid., 11 Jun. 1840.

Fig. 14. Hunter 1842 Programme, courtesy City of Westminster Archives Centre

Condensed public announcement about the civic, even national, importance of the private, amateur musical lives of its hosts and participants. For the Hunters to offer this largely instrumental concert programme that opened with serious chamber music was to step onto a higher rung of musical accomplishment and of aesthetic ambition.

In repertoire and structure, the 1842 Hunter programme was a radical departure from all their others, and the tottering height of Lady Hunter's performing career. It contains a programme within the programme, a ghostly skeleton of the original intentions. The original social purpose seems to have been to present Lady Hunter as a serious musician to a circle of elite chamber music lovers. As the Hunter diary entries make clear, the original programme had been only 10 works long.³² Two days before the planned concert, Lady Hunter had added amateur singer Emma Halliday to the programme. Without Halliday's selections, fully half the music on the original programme was instrumental, and there was a tight pattern of alternating instrumental and vocal music one after the other (see Figure 15).

In both the original and the final form, the Hunters' 1842 programme was in a single movement, not two halves. If unifying themes were intended by placing similar kinds of music at the first, middle, and penultimate points in the programme, the opening number of both the original and final forms of the Hunters' 1842 programme announced chamber music by English musicians, with amateur composer John Lodge Ellerton's manuscript piano trio performed by amateur cellist Algernon Greville and the professional Oury's on piano and violin. The central purpose of the whole concert was

³² The single programme item "Bouquet of piano morceaux" held two discrete works.

thus framed as a presentation of serious and instrumental music, and good, amateur English musicians.³³ Such a purpose was supported by the programmers' choice of an unusually large amount of instrumental music rather than the fashionable fare for private concerts of Italian operatic and vocal music excerpts. Of the 13 selections in the final programme, 6 were instrumental, and only 5 were operatic excerpts. In the skeleton original programme, fully half of the works were instrumental.

At the centre of the original programme Lady Hunter was featured in a piano duet with the professional Anna Oury that drew its themes from ballet, *Le lac des fées*, rather than opera, so fulfilling the instrumental music and amateur performer promise of the opening.³⁴ At the middle of this emphatically instrumental programme was Lady Hunter at the keyboard.

The penultimate point in the original 10-work programme had Antonio Oury playing a violin solo: an unadorned display of the quintessential chamber music instrument, the violin, as a restatement of the chamber music theme. Structurally, this tidy skeleton had considerable internal unity, with repetition provided, for example, by having a composition by Charles Raper played by Mme. Oury before Raper sang a

³³ From the date, this may have been Ellerton's second piano trio; he eventually published eight. The first, Op. 27 in A/A-flat (London: [Augener]) was published in 1829, 13 years after he wrote it. The second, Op. 45 in G (London: Augener) was published in 1855, 13 years after the 1842 Hunter concert. Catherine Anne Horan, "A Survey of the Piano Trio from 1800 Through 1860," 2 vols., (Ph.D. diss., Music, Northwestern University, 1983), I, pp. 309-322, II, pp. 491-495.

³⁴ Lady Hunter had often seen this ballet in London, e.g., FEH Diary, 7 Jul. 1840.

German song which he may have written himself.³⁵ On the original programme, instrumental and vocal selections neatly alternate one after the other.

Fig. 15. Skeleton 10-Work Original Programme 1842

Genre	Instrument / Work	Performers	Composer
1 Trio (M.S.)	Piano, Violin, Violincello	M. Oury Made Oury Mr. A. Greville Mr. Ellerton	Ellerton
2 Terzetto	Voice <i>Lucrezia Borgia</i>	Miss Smith Mr. Raper Sir John Harington	[Donizetti]
3 Concertante	Violin & Piano <i>Robert le Diable</i>	M. Oury Mad'e Oury	Oury
4 Aria	Voice	Miss Henrietta Beauclerk	Costa
5 Piano Forte	Piano à quatre mains <i>Le lac des fées</i>	Lady Hunter Mad'e Oury	Bertini
6 Duett	Voice <i>Il Giuramento</i>	Miss Henrietta Beauclerk Miss Smith	Mercadante
7 Solo "Bouquet" of "Piano Morceaux"	Piano "Romances sans paroles" "Tarentella"	Mad'e Oury	Thalberg Mr. Raper
8 German Song	Voice	Mr. Raper	[Raper?]
9 Solo	Violin "Airs Suisses"	M. Oury	[Oury?]
10	Voice "God save the Queen"	solos by [Miss E. Halliday] Sir John Harington Miss Henrietta Beauclerk [and] a Chorus	[Callcott?]

³⁵ Franz Schubert songs were sometimes sung at this period, particularly "Ave Maria," but this could have been the singer's own setting of a German text. Charles Raper, "Das Weib des Räubers [The Robber's Wife]" (Wien: Bei Artaria & Comp., [1838]).

Englishness is another unifying theme for the original programme, with good English amateur composers in the opening item, one or two compositions by Raper, and the patriotic national anthem possibly given in a fairly recent version by an English composer. The precise version used in the 1842 Hunter programme is unknown, but a composer associated with the emphatically English Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, William Hutchins Callcott, had published such a version as recently as 1837.³⁶ There are other hints of Sir Richard Hunter's membership in the NGCC here, since Ellerton and Greville were fellow-members.³⁷ Good English amateur performers dominated the list of artists, from Greville in the opening work to Sir John Harington in a trio and the anthem. Harington was a well-known musical amateur, but chosen perhaps for his cachet rather than his musical skills, since Lady Hunter later criticized him for singing out of tune.³⁸ The final internal evidence that the original programme was created without Miss Halliday is that a single-act concert without intermission would work better for an audience if it were shorter. The original programme held only 10 selections, rather than the 13 that appeared on the final programme inscribed by hand in Lady Hunter's diary.

The final version of the 1842 Hunter programme was the result of the hostess placing her creative stamp as a programmer on it, by discovering and at once presenting a new singer in her private concert. Lady Hunter had added Emma Halliday and her

³⁶ William Hutchins Callcott, "God Save the Queen, national air of Great Britain & Ireland," (London: C. Lonsdale, 1837).

³⁷ See NGCC, President's Book—Members and Honorary Members with attendances 1828-1850, British Library (hereafter BL) H2788.aaa, Microfilm MUS.MIC A4611 (1966) (hereafter NGCC, Attendances).

³⁸ FEH Diary, 30 May 1844.

three vocal items just before the concert was to be held, diluting the instrumental music aesthetics of the original programme with a dazzling new vocal talent. Ten days before the concert, Lady Hunter had heard Emma Halliday sing and the next day auditioned her. Finding that Halliday sang “splendidly, particularly ... “From Mighty Kings,” she summoned the Ourys, the professional concert fixers, a scant two days before the planned concert so she and Sir Richard could “talk over & arrange with them about our *Soirée Musicale* on the following Monday.”³⁹

The final programme expanded the original skeleton programme to showcase Lady Hunter’s new find. Halliday sang more solos than any other amateur (four; Miss Beauclerk sang three), but sang no ensembles, except as a soloist in the national anthem: there was no time to rehearse with the others. She was placed in the second and third most prominent positions in the programme: splitting the middle with Lady Hunter and taking over the penultimate spot of thematic focus. The original aesthetic purpose of the concert, emphasizing serious rather than fashionable music, was retained in the final form to some degree, introducing Halliday as a serious musician in her first selection of oratorio, not opera, described by Hunter as that “beautiful and difficult” aria from Handel’s *Messiah*. Halliday also sang two very demanding operatic arias, the last an exciting flourish before the national anthem, giving Halliday, rather than Oury and his violin, the last solo spotlight before the ensemble ending of the whole programme. Lady Hunter may have made this choice because she was inspired by her discovery of a new

³⁹ Ibid., 2, 4 Feb. 1842 (auditions); 12 Feb. 1842 (Oury).

amateur musician in Halliday, or she may have been pressured by Ellerton, who played for Halliday when she auditioned for Lady Hunter.⁴⁰

Or perhaps Lady Hunter lost her nerve at the prospect of giving a largely instrumental programme. The fashionable private concert convention of the time was to present Italian opera selections, and nearly all vocal music.⁴¹ For individual hosts of private concerts, the choice of repertoire and performers was not entirely a question of personal aesthetic freedom. A full-blooded aristocrat like Lady Elizabeth Parsons, daughter of the Duke of Norfolk, could not be budged from her high social status if she chose, as Parsons did, to give largely instrumental concerts.⁴² For Frederica Hunter, daughter of a commoner and married to a mere life-time knight, the social stakes of private programming were higher. Lady Hunter was vulnerable musically, since she was constructing a public, personal identity with each of her concert programmes and, by 1842, she well knew that Italianate private concerts were preferred by most of those at the top of the heritable heap. Class played a part in the development of a public audience for a new concert repertoire, as gatekeepers of class status assessed newcomers for how well they achieved the nuances of high society concerts.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 5 Feb. 1842 .

⁴¹ Jennifer Hall-Witt, "Representing the Audience in the Age of Reform: Critics and the Elite at the Italian Opera in London," in *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914*, eds. Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp.127-136.

⁴² Lady Elizabeth Graham-Toler (d. 9 Dec. 1844), daughter of Hector John Graham-Toler, 2nd Earl of Norbury and Elizabeth Brabazon, married Hon. Laurence Parsons (1805-1894), son of Laurence Parsons, 2nd Earl of Rosse (Ireland) and Alice Lloyd, 10 May 1836. L.G. Pine, *The New Extinct Peerage 1884-1971: Containing Extinct, Abeyant, Dormant and Suspended Peerages With Genealogies and Arms* (London: Heraldry Today, 1972), p. 226; for instrumental concert, FEH Diary, 31 Jan. 1842.

If the programmers of the 1842 Hunter concert, the Oury's and the Hunters, had been trying to protect Lady Hunter from her performance nerves or from unhappy comparison with better amateur performers, the sequence in both the original "skeleton" and the final 1842 Hunter programmes would have suited very well. Lady Hunter's performance nerves and her probably modest musical talent were carefully blanketed in both the internal "skeleton" and the final programme. Playing one piano, four hands, with Oury, Hunter's contribution was aurally cloaked, and as a pianist flanked by two very good women amateur singers, she could be outshone by other women amateurs without being directly compared on the same instrument. The late addition of Halliday at least ensured that, even if Lady Hunter herself did not perform well, her presentation of a new amateur singer would demonstrate her own personal generosity and musical perspicacity. Like the performance of a chamber work so new it was not yet published, the presentation of a new singer was a performative construction of the hostess as a musical expert at the cutting edge.

The 1842 Hunter concert was emphatically English and patriotic. The concert and its concluding anthem were reported in the press, so the 1842 programme placed the Hunters on public record as musical nationalists and supporters of English chamber music. In addition to English amateur composition and performers, the entire programme was coloured with patriotic Englishness through the unusual use of the national anthem as the conclusion to the printed programme. Seldom seen in the private programmes reviewed for this study, the anthem was given full soloist and chorus treatment by English amateur singers.

The Hunter 1842 concert was a manifestation of the Hunters' participation as amateur musicians at the edges of the rising interest in serious chamber music in England.⁴³ Lady Hunter's own network of musical socialising was changing in the months before her 1842 concert, as she adapted to new opportunities and perhaps was spotted as a likely recruit by a core group of chamber music enthusiasts. Chamber music activities in the Brighton set of amateurs like Lawrence and Elizabeth Parsons, John Lodge Ellerton, Algernon Greville, Charles Raper, and General Upton were already well under way in the early 1840s, encouraged by the Ourys.⁴⁴ Lady Hunter dropped by to hear string quartet work-throughs with Parsons and the Ourys in late 1841, made possible because her husband had already loaned them "valuable instruments," a violin and a viola.⁴⁵

These Brighton music lovers also supported the chamber repertoire in London. After gathering momentum during the 1830s, public chamber music concerts increased through the efforts of several concert organizations, most notably the London Musical

⁴³ Private chamber music-making from 1835 to 1850 was "often closer in spirit to private soirées than to popular entertainments open to people from a wide social sphere." Christina Bashford, "Public Chamber-Music Concerts in London, 1835-50: Aspects of History, Repertory, and Reception, 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Music, London University, 1996), I, p. 22.

⁴⁴ These musical men were of landed or aristocratic families, but did not themselves hold much political power. For instance, Algernon Greville (1798–1864) was the second son of the fifth son of William Henry Cavendish, 3rd Duke of Portland, which granted him aristocratic status as well as sufficient liminality to free him to pursue music with great intensity, while he worked well into the 1840s as the private secretary to the arch-conservative Duke of Wellington. See ODNB, s.v. "Greville, Algernon." For aristocratic hierarchy, see Ellen Countess of Desart and Constance Hoster, *Style and Title (A Complete Guide to the Forms of Social Address—Written and Spoken)* (1924; London: Christophers, 1925), p. 81. My thanks to Jane Glasson for this reference.

⁴⁵ FEH Diary, 20 Dec. 1841.

Union founded by John Ella in 1845. Lawrence Parsons, Ellerton, Raper, Upton and others in the Hunter musical circles subscribed.⁴⁶ Anna Oury and Antonio Oury participated in some of Ella's concerts, and when, in 1847, they formed the Brighton Musical Union, cannibalising the format and some of the instrumentalists from the London group, Lawrence Parsons also subscribed to that.⁴⁷

Ella aimed to change the taste of wealthy lovers of Italian opera to what he called "the higher species of instrumental Music." His strategy was to develop a core group of upper-class subscribers whose fees would underwrite an annual series of chamber music concerts. Ella and his fellow musicians also intended to create reliable, persistent paid work for English instrumental musicians and composers by developing an educated audience base, providing a venue for performance and creating a printed discourse in which the nationality of musicians was a significant factor. Ella argued that this more intellectual repertoire could be appreciated by learning about it, so provided analytical programme notes in his reports and encouraged "practical Amateurs" to play through the chamber repertoire at home before attending professional performances. In his first annual collection of annotated programmes, the 1845 *Report on the Musical Union*, Ella criticized vocal music as inferior to instrumental music, and announced "the omission of vocal performances at the meetings of the Musical Union is obviously necessary, since

⁴⁶ My summary of the Musical Union (MU) is based on Bashford, "Public Chamber-Music Concerts in London, 1835-50," I, pp. 151-179. Fellow NGCC members with Sir Richard Hunter who were also MU members included Benjamin Bond Cabbell (*Ibid.*, I, p. 152, fn. 1); Prince Adolphus Frederick, 1st Duke of Cambridge (*Ibid.*, I, p. 153); Alexander George Fraser, 16th Lord Saltoun of Abernethy (*Ibid.*, I, p. 153); see also NGCC, Attendances.

⁴⁷ Bashford, "Public Chamber-Music Concerts in London, 1835-50," I, pp. 179-180.

nothing short of perfection in vocalization could satisfy the exigencies of a fastidious audience, assembled to appreciate classical instrumental music delivered in the highest style of excellence”⁴⁸ But to change the taste of those who loved Italian vocal music without alienating their support for the Musical Union required judicious adaptation, and Ella had to include vocal music in his programmes to attract enough ticket buyers. One of the ways he salvaged the original mandate of superior musical aesthetics was to print Lady Combermere’s full 1845 programme of fashionable vocal music “as an historical record of the choice of music executed in the circles of royalty and of our nobility.”⁴⁹ Ella thus situated vocal concerts as historical, while suggesting that instrumental programmes were the music of progress.

The Hunters had connections with several different circles in the musical soundscape of the time, including Sir Richard’s membership in the NGCC to opera attendance, Lady Hunter’s informal domestic music making for family and as a substitute for prayer when the Hunters could not get to church on a Sunday, and private concerts of Italianate opera. But in 1842, the Hunter programme featured some of the new, more intellectual chamber music and emphasized English amateur musicianship.

The Hunters knew many people who were serious enough about music to belong to Ella’s Musical Union (MU), including some private concert givers, like her own sister, Louisa Fremantle, and Mrs. Tunno. The Hunters heard MU members who

⁴⁸ John Ella, *Report of the Musical Union* 1, (10 Jun. 1845): 9. For Musical Union publications, see Christina Bashford, “John Ella and the Musical Union,” in *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914*, eds. Bashford and Leanne Langley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 195, fn. 2.

⁴⁹ John Ella, “Viscountess Combermere’s Concert Belgrave Square, May 30, 1845,” *Report of the Musical Union*, 7 (10 Jun. 1845): 52.

performed privately as amateurs, including Miss Bernal, Sir John Harington, Mrs. Hartopp, her sister Miss Gent, and the daughter of Lady Quentin. Sir Richard Hunter had less intense interest in serious music than his wife, since he declined some of the concerts she attended, like “Handel’s Messiah - that sublime composition!” in favour of taking “a drive.”⁵⁰ Among his fellow Catch Club members, however, Bernard Cabbell, John Lodge Ellerton, and the Duke of Cambridge were also MU members. Both Sir Richard and Lady Hunter socialized with MU members like Lord Trimleston and hired professional musicians who also played for the MU, most notably the Ourys.⁵¹

The Hunters were thus well known to many of the specialist music lovers who were trying to build a new audience for instrumental chamber music. Few amateur musicians played chamber music with professionals because of the difficulty of the music, and seldom did private concerts among the aristocracy and gentry feature chamber music.⁵² But those who supported chamber music were encouraged by John Ella to engage in active listening to the formal structures of music, a highly intellectual approach that Ella fostered by printing extensive analytical programme notes.

The private musical passions of these aristocratic and gentry amateurs preceded the formation of these quasi-public concert-producing institutions, and their related publications. The Ourys had established a Brighton network that could make their own chamber music organization viable before taking the step of formalizing it. Lady

⁵⁰ FEH Diary, 30 Jan. 1843.

⁵¹ For annual lists of Musical Union subscribers, see Ella, ed., *Record of the Musical Union*, 1845 through 1850, *passim*; references to the Hunters’ social circle are from FEH Diary, *passim*; see NGCC, Attendances.

⁵² Bashford, “Public Chamber-Music Concerts in London, 1835-50,” I, p. 82.

Hunter's diary gives a glimpse of how intended audiences participated in creating a public musical organization and perhaps in creating a broader audience for a new concert repertoire.

While Musical Unions were private, subscription-based organizations, they were a step toward the fully open public concert series of the later nineteenth century.⁵³ Most of the members of the Brighton MU went back and forth to London: certainly Ellerton, Greville, Raper, Upton, Parsons, and Oury all feature in Hunter's London diary entries. Brighton amateur chamber musicians nevertheless found it important to develop local cultural activities and organizations, a pattern which likely occurred in other regions outside of London, whether in the British isles or in British colonial territories abroad.

This is the context in which Sir Richard and Lady Hunter were drawn into a close musical friendship with Lawrence Parsons and Lady Elizabeth Parsons in Brighton. The Parsons participated in chamber quartet playing at home with Antonio Oury, gave private concerts that were sometimes primarily instrumental, and nurtured Lady Hunter's ambitions as a pianist. Chamber music activities with the Parsons also offered both of the Hunters a chance to expand their social network, and they both

⁵³ Ibid., I, pp. 33-34, notes that until the later nineteenth-century, ticket prices were an obstacle to concert attendance by any but the very wealthy between 1830 and 1850. For the differing view that the middle-class shaped public concert life before 1850, see William Weber, *Music and the Middle Class: the Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris and Vienna* (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishing, 1975), pp. 65-67. Bashford's view that John Ella's intention in founding the MU was intellectual and aesthetic (*op. cit.*, p. 164) is likely correct; but Ella could not control whether MU members used it for social or ideological purposes, as Lady Hunter's experience at the fringes of the private amateur pursuit of serious chamber music shows. Ideological content in performance practice was at least in part a question of the social exclusivity of the MU and its adherents.

worked at the connection. Musical success depended on Lady Hunter, who propelled it with an intense burst of instrumental musical activity between April 1841 and May 1842. The Parsons were good musical amateurs of aristocratic families, he on the violin, she on the harp and piano. Lady Hunter first established her intellectual grasp of musical composition by sending Lady Parsons a copy of her own composition, a waltz.⁵⁴ While the two women and Mr. Parsons practiced and performed with each other informally over the summer of 1841, Sir Richard took Mr. Parsons to the Catch Club and on shooting trips to his estates in Sussex. The Parsons reciprocated, inviting the Hunters to dinners and concerts at which they encountered other chamber musicians like Ellerton.⁵⁵

Lady Hunter's rehearsals and low-pressure informal performances with the Parsons built in frequency and intensity with four meetings in December 1841, and five in January.⁵⁶ Increasingly serious about the quality of the instrumental music she was making, Lady Hunter had a harp hired for a dinner party so she and Parsons could perform a duet they had been working on, and the Hunter dinner parties of 1842 were populated with chamber music lovers like General Upton and Catch Club members like "the blind Mr. Macdonald."⁵⁷ These two months show Lady Hunter with her most concentrated focus on rehearsal for the whole diary.

⁵⁴ Lady Hunter thought Mr. Parsons's violin playing was "first-rate." FEH Diary, 17 Sep. 1841; 19 Apr. 1841 (waltz).

⁵⁵ Ibid., 6 May 1841.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 10, 14, 20, 24 Dec. 1841 (quartet); followed immediately in 1842 by 5 Jan. (harp hire), 11 Jan. (Oury concert), 13, 15 Jan. (two women playing or rehearsing), 31 Jan. (Hunter on Parsons' mainly instrumental programme).

⁵⁷ Bashford, "Public Chamber-Music Concerts in London, 1835-50," I, p. 78, cites Upton as a frequent performer with John Ella and a subscriber to the Ella Musical Union. For Macdonald, FEH Diary, 5 Jan. 1842.

Frederica Hunter's pianism seems to have held promise and some skill, since her musical friend, Lady Elizabeth Parsons, eagerly introduced her to serious chamber music amateurs Charles Raper, Algernon Greville, and John Lodge Ellerton over a period of several months in 1841 and 1842. Parsons heard Hunter sightreading at the keyboard in 1841, accompanying her husband, the fine amateur violinist Lawrence Parsons. An intense spate of rehearsals, musical dinners, and concerts shared by the Hunters and the Parsons ensued. Twice in one week, Lady Hunter then dropped in while quartet rehearsals were under way at the Parsons' house. She recorded that "Mr. Parsons, M. Oury, & two others, playing Quartetts & I staid some time to hear them. M. Oury was playing on Sir Richard's Violin, and the Tenor, upon which another performer was playing, likewise belonged to him and is an excellent & valuable instrument." The second time, she was invited into the chamber music clique by being asked to play a duet with Elizabeth Parsons during the quartet rehearsal.⁵⁸

In January 1842, the Parsons invited the Hunters to three private concerts. At the third, Lady Hunter's diary records that there was only one vocal number, "and the rest of the music was instrumental, Ldy [sic] Elizabeth and I playing our "Fra Diavolo" duett."⁵⁹ This is Hunter's first diary entry identifying instrumental repertoire as a possibility for private concert programming, and her diary entry positions her own participation as part of that instrumental focus.

One month later, in February 1842, the Hunters gave their own emphatically instrumental *Soirée Musicale*. Lady Elizabeth Parsons had laid the ground work for what

⁵⁸ Ibid., 20, 24 Dec. 1841; 22 Dec. 1841.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 31 Jan. 1842.

could be seen as a radical experiment by Lady Hunter in private concert programming. She had introduced Hunter to chamber music and presented Hunter as a musician to local instrumentalists. There may have been a discussion between Lady Elizabeth Parsons and Lady Hunter about the artistry of concert programme construction, and a suggestion that Lady Hunter try it herself. The 1842 Hunter programme is the only one written out in full in the diary, perhaps because Lady Hunter felt artistic ownership of the programming process.

A Lady Fails to Impress

Lady Hunter's career as a performing chamber musician expanded instantly after her 1842 concert, which for her had been a radical musical change. Although she thought producing concerts exhausting, the very next morning, "Lady E. Parsons called early, & I walked back with her to Adelaide Crescent, where she wished me to play a Trio with Messrs Greville & Raper, which I accordingly did, & they gave me great credit for playing it at sight."⁶⁰ The amateur chamber musicians she had given such high profile in her concert had pounced.

Women were given serious consideration among the amateur chamber musicians being sought by Messrs. Greville, Raper, and Upton. After sightreading well several times, Hunter was given the opportunity to learn her part before meeting the others to play trios by Beethoven and Spohr. Hunter does not identify the works they played on 9 May 1842, except by composer, but the Spohr must have been his first piano trio, Opus

⁶⁰ Ibid., 20 Mar. 1842, said she thought her sister "must have been so tired!" the day after her own private concert. For Trio sight reading, Ibid. 15 Feb. 15 1842.

119. The composer finished writing it in May 1841 and first saw the printed publication in March 1842. Algernon Greville in England had acquired the Spohr score barely two months later, and delivered it to Lady Hunter on May 2.⁶¹

After a week to prepare, Lady Hunter played with Greville and Charles Raper on 9 May 1842. She recorded that “none of us seemed to admire” the Spohr, but that “we afterwards played some of Hummel’s which I liked extremely.”⁶² She wrote on behalf of all the players to dismiss the Spohr, but for herself alone to approve of the Hummel trios. It may be that none of these players did Spohr’s Opus 119 justice on first acquaintance, since, as Clive Brown, a violinist as well as a musicologist, suggests, it is “remarkably difficult, much more than any of the Hummel.”⁶³

The men were so keen to grapple with it, however, that Greville had procured the trio practically wet off the German presses, evidence of how closely he stayed in touch with the latest works of German art music. These serious chamber music amateurs may

⁶¹ Louis Spohr, “First grand Trio, for piano-forte, violin & violoncello ... Op. 119” (London: Wessel & Stapleton, [1842?]). My thanks to Clive Brown, violinist and scholarly biographer of Louis Spohr, for pointing out that the composer himself first saw the printed publication of Op. 119 in Mar. 1842. Personal communication from Clive Brown 6 Apr. 2008, noting that Trio #1, Op. 119, was published by Hamburg publisher Schubert in 1842 (plate no. 452), but that it is not certain whether the London edition by Wessel and Stapleton (Pl. no. 4634) was issued first. The Op. 119 trio was reviewed in *The Atlas*, Dec. 1841, but could at that point have been performed or reviewed from manuscript. On 2 May 1842, Hunter could only have seen Spohr’s Op. 119, since his second piano trio, Op. 123, was still being composed at that time. See Clive Brown, *Louis Spohr: A critical biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 261-265.

⁶² FEH Diary, 9 May 1842.

⁶³ Personal communication from Clive Brown to author, 7 Apr. 2008. Cf. Brown, *Louis Spohr*, pp. 266-267.

have lost interest in Lady Hunter as a musician because of her marked preference for Hummel rather than the musically and technically more challenging Spohr.

The meeting of 9 May 1842 was also a test of Hunter's ability and willingness to prepare technically. Until this point, she was known as a pianist to Greville, Ellerton, Raper, and Upton only in salon *morceaux* and as a sightreader. Delivering the Spohr in advance was an acid test of Hunter's technical and intellectual capacity for music. Greville and Raper might have been more accustomed to working harder at understanding a new aesthetic and learning to perform it well than Hunter, and Ellerton's own piano trios show traces of Spohr's influence.⁶⁴ Lady Hunter may have demonstrated lack of conceptual understanding of Spohr's aesthetics, or displayed a taste too readily satisfied by the more old-fashioned and simpler Hummel, or simply been insufficiently skilled or prepared to match the playing of these men who so enthusiastically embraced the very latest compositions from abroad.

After 9 May 1842, Lady Hunter was firmly and finally dropped by these serious amateur performers. Her diary records no further contact with Greville or Raper for the next four years, and no further musical exchanges with the Upton family. Hunter must have noticed that General Arthur Upton, an experienced amateur violinist who had heard

⁶⁴ Horan, "A Survey of the Piano Trio," I, p. 431. For Ellerton piano trios in the history of musical style, see *Ibid.*, pp. 309-322; Ellerton publication dates, *Ibid.* II, pp. 491-495. Horan, on the basis of extensive analysis of piano trios of the period, suggests that trios were often written for amateur performers, particularly the pianists: "the piano part demands, at best, a modest technique for the amateur" (*Ibid.*, p. 437) and she cites Bertini's Op. 20, no. 1 as a good example of the use of "salon devices" for piano amateurs (*Ibid.*, p. 438), which may also have been the case for the Bertini duet performed by Lady Hunter. Horan observes that although much of the piano trio repertoire of this period was really "Hausmusik" and not suitable for professional performance today, it was an important aspect of musical life at the time (*Ibid.*, p. 445).

and played with Lady Hunter, chose not to open more musical doors for her.⁶⁵ Her performance that day was observed by her brother Freeman Bishop, an amateur flute player with whom she often played duets informally, and perhaps she discussed it with him, as an intimate with adequate musical skills who could tell her the truth of what she had done as a performer.

Whatever her process, she clearly reached the conclusion that she had no future as an amateur performer of stature, and acted on the news. Not only was there no further mention of her playing music by demanding composers like Beethoven and Spohr, but the scope of her performing suddenly shrank in frequency and was limited to playing at home and for family.⁶⁶ The only exception was when she was pressed into musical service by the Duchess of Norfolk while visiting Arundel Castle, where she could hardly refuse the request of a social superior who was not only her host but had been her husband's employer.⁶⁷ From 24 mentions of her own music-making in 1842, Lady Hunter only mentions making music herself 10 times in 1843.

Even the Hunters' private concert giving withered. Later in the 1842 London season, the Hunters hired only two, low-key musicians—the English contralto, Charlotte

⁶⁵ Upton continued to socialize on a non-musical basis with the Hunters, see FEH Diary, e.g. 29 Dec. 1843, 2 Jul., 19 Dec. 1845. He belonged to the Societa Lirica and John Ella's Musical Union. Bashford, "Public Chamber-Music Concerts in London, 1835-50," I, p. 80.

⁶⁶ For summary of total mentions of her own music-making, see Appendix I: Hunter Musical Chronology.

⁶⁷ For the Arundel Castle performance, FEH Diary, 23 Jan. 1843. For Duke of Norfolk of Arundel, as Sir Richard's employer, see "Patching," in *A History of the County of Sussex*, vol.6, part 1: Bramber Rape (Southern Part) (1980), <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=18249&strquery=Patching>>, (viewed 14 Feb. 2008), pp. 185-192, fn. 44.

Dolby, whose London debut was in 1842, and a Signor Rizzi—to provide musical entertainment after an important dinner. Hunter recorded nothing of the repertoire that these probably inexpensive performers offered, noting only that the evening “passed off very agreeably.”⁶⁸ The following year, 1843, was the only one from 1839 to 1846 in which the Hunters did not hire professionals for a private concert. They were adamant: “Miss Tierney called, & interceded for Mad’e Oury, who was very desirous of coming to our Soirée, & whom we did not wish to engage professionally. I therefore sent M. Oury & her an invitation.”⁶⁹ Oury doubtless wanted to avoid any public appearance that a former client was losing interest in hiring her. Despite the pressure, the Hunters firmly refused to turn their amateur evening of fun into anything like a formal concert, allowing the Ourys to play only one duet as unpaid guests.

The Hunters may have avoided giving a full private concert featuring amateurs because of social repercussions to Lady Hunter’s failure as a performer. Chamber music and the Parsons may have introduced the Hunters to new social contacts, but some connections for liminal members of aristocratic society like the Hunters seem to have been firmly fixed to their demonstrating genuine commitment and capacity for serious chamber music. In 1841, the 2nd Baronet Sir Robert FitzWygram and his family first appear in Lady Hunter’s diary, through music at the Parsons’, where two FitzWygram daughters

⁶⁸ FEH Diary, 13 Jul. 1842. Since Dolby’s fee in 1844 charged by Sterndale Bennett was a mere £5.5, it was likely no higher two years earlier in 1842. See Sterndale Bennett 1844 Pocket Book E 1, Chapter Six, fn. 69 above. Signor Rizzi’s fees were likely as modest as his now-invisible career.

⁶⁹ FEH Diary, 29 Dec. 1843.

performed on harp and piano, as did Ladies Hunter and Parsons.⁷⁰ Lady Hunter subsequently dragged herself, nearly voiceless from a sore throat, to a FitzWygram *soirée musicale*.⁷¹ After a single exchange of dinners at each others' homes in 1842 before Lady Hunter's May 9th chamber music debacle with Ellerton and his fellow amateur musicians, the FitzWygrams and Hunters apparently met no more until four years later they were all guests at a very large dinner party in London.⁷² The FitzWygrams were collateral social advantages of Lady Hunter's foray into chamber music, and when she failed as a musician and the Hunters produced no more private concerts of largely serious music, the FitzWygrams faded from the Hunters' view.

Lady Hunter was trying to create a space for herself as a performing musician that was to some degree independent of her husband's tastes and social identity. When she failed with the musicians to whom Lady Parsons had introduced her, Frederica Hunter seems to have found no other means of engaging with other musical amateurs. Parsons might have risked making other introductions for her, but women could only mentor each other in the interstices of what could be constant pregnancies. Lady Elizabeth Parsons had children in 1843 and in 1844, when she died of childbirth complications. Lady Hunter's affection for Parsons was real: "Oh, what a loss is she ... So amiable, so very attractive a person as she was! We were extremely partial to her."⁷³

⁷⁰ Sir Robert FitzWygram was the only son of the 1st Baronet Wigram, Sir Robert Wigram (1744–1830) to change his name to FitzWygram, which he did in 1832. ODNB, s.v. "FitzWygram." FEH Diary, 22 Dec. 1841.

⁷¹ Ibid., 21 Feb. 1842.

⁷² Ibid., 8 Feb., 5 Mar. 1842; 15 May 1846.

⁷³ Ibid., 27 Apr. 1843; 9, 11, Dec. 1844.

Without such an intermediary, a woman of real musical accomplishment and wide personal network among musicians, Frederica Hunter could not, in all propriety, seek even musical relationships with men other than her husband and family.

When Lady Hunter had finally capsized as a pianist and singer, she once again took up the concertina. She herself recorded no other concertina amateur of her acquaintance, so perhaps she hoped the concertina was novel enough to give her some musical activity without presenting invidious comparisons.⁷⁴ It was a small, easy instrument, and in the 1840s, the concertina was still in the early years of its brief popularity, expensive enough to be restricted to middle-class or wealthier families, but not yet selling at the fast rate it achieved in the 1850s.⁷⁵ Apart from a single family gathering in 1841, there is no record that Lady Hunter ever performed on it. Her four concertina lessons in 1845 seem to have been a last flicker of hope for her own musical creativity.⁷⁶ By May 1842, Lady Hunter had learned that her own performing could not create for herself a public musical identity.

Frederica Emma Hunter, like other women of her class, used musical life to build and express her identity as a participant in the public political life of her time and her

⁷⁴ It is unknown whether the Hunters knew that a few of their acquaintances owned concertinas. Lady Combermere bought one in 1839, and Lord Saltoun, known to Sir Richard Hunter through their membership in the NGCC, bought one in 1840. Allan W. Atlas, "Ladies in the Wheatstone Ledgers: the Gendered Concertina in Victorian England, 1835-1870," *Research Chronicle, Royal Musical Association* 39 (2006), <<http://www.concertina.com/atlas/ladies/atlas-ladies-in-the-wheatstone-ledgers.pdf>>, (viewed 1 Oct. 2008): 96, 11. Atlas uses the nearly complete transaction records of the oldest and most fashionable concertina-maker, Wheatstone and Co.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 52, 18, 22.

⁷⁶ FEH Diary, 22 Apr. 1841. Most concertina music for amateurs was simplified transcriptions of opera and other popular music, but its modest reputation as a feminine mode of playing chamber music may also have attracted Lady Hunter.

circle. With intellectual acuity and relentless determination, she used music as one mode in which she worked with the levers of power as she knew them. Class, gender, money and personal talents, fears, and determination all wove together to create the Hunters' 1842 concert programme. The demands of radical new aesthetics included radical personal reassessment for Lady Hunter. All of her skills at using music to facilitate an apparently organic rise through the social hierarchy were futile when it came to engaging with men who cared only about her intellectual and technical musicianship.

Musicians Were a Different Sort of Creature, Really

The Hunters' decline in music expenditure was reversed in 1844 and 1846, when Lady Hunter stopped trying to perform at their private concerts. Instead, the Hunters returned with considerable flair to producing private concerts of fashionable, Italianate repertoire of the most expensive possible quality, hiring four or five of the most famous Italian opera stars at once. The reasons for the hiatus from conformity with Italianate private concerts may have been financial, personal and artistic. Perhaps Sir Richard and Lady Hunter had planned a step-wise campaign of upgrading their houses to enhance their public presence between 1840 and 1843, and had cut costs on music while major capital expenditures and the extraordinary costs of Sir Richard's year as High Sheriff were under way. They might have agreed to make musical experiments between 1840 and 1843 only to find themselves not sufficiently gratified musically or socially to continue. Lady Hunter could only advise, not control, their music expenditures, but perhaps her tactful pressure, including pointed diary entries that she probably expected him to read, finally influenced her husband to reconsider spending more on music. The Hunters,

tacitly or frankly, may also have concluded that amateur performances by Lady Hunter could never achieve the social prestige of hiring professional musicians because fine musical performance was a feature of a lower class of human beings. Lady Hunter's personal lack of musical talent was irrelevant to the Italianate private concert world, where the very finest members of society, the concert hosts and their audiences, demonstrated their class superiority by recognizing and hiring the very finest examples of musical talent.

The operatic world of professional composition and performance was like a natural resource. Its contents and laws appeared to be stable but growing in an organic fashion, like the rest of God's Creation. Professional musicians, in this world view, were of a different social order. Musical life was but one aspect of the culture in which the Hunters lived; scientific perspectives were developing in this same period. The sciences of human differences of race and ethnicity, anthropology, archaeology, that science of human history so ancient it was material rather than written, were developing at the time, and music-lovers like Sir Richard and Lady Hunter kept themselves informed of scientific developments. Sir Richard, for instance, helped to buy a Sussex fossil for study by Brighton archaeologist Gideon Mantell, and took his wife "to the British Museum ... to pay Mr. Richardson the Curator, for his elementary work on Geology."⁷⁷ Science and music populated the Hunters' minds together, perhaps allowing them to understand opera as an organic musical repertoire practised by a special ethnic tribe of performing musicians, virtually all Continental Europeans, as a model of God's creation.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 21 Jul. 1842; see also Chapter Two, fn. 68, above.

Lady Hunter thought musical composition and performance were characteristic of different nationalities, for instance, rejecting German opera because “The language is not in my opinion well suited to music from being so guttural, and the [German] women’s voices are not generally pleasing. The Germans certainly excel more in instrumental music, than vocal.”⁷⁸ Others of their acquaintance also saw musical characteristics as specific to ethnicity and class. The Hunters may have shared the view of their friend, Lady Morgan, author of the Irish nationalist novel *The Wild Irish Girl*, about professional, European musicians.⁷⁹ Morgan organized “a dinner and soire for [Italian virtuoso violinist and composer, Nicolo] Paganini. I asked him, not as a miraculous fiddle-player, but as a study. ... I had copied a Florentine dinner as closely as I could ... he seems to me, to be a stupified [sic] and almost idiotic creature.”⁸⁰ Morgan identifies the divine in this “miraculous” violinist, attributing his musicality not to his own agency but to his suitability as an empty vessel to convey divine musicality to humanity. She sees Paganini’s Italian ethnicity as central to his identity, and, like an anthropologist in the field, feeds him what she hopes will be food so familiar that he will trust her enough to reveal his true self to her. She subtly indicates that she herself is not Italian, since her version of a “Florentine dinner” was not completely authentic. For the

⁷⁸ Ibid., 21 May 1840.

⁷⁹ For Hunters exchanging visits and musical parties with Morgan, see Ibid., 6, 7 May 1840; 15 Nov. 1841; 11 May 1842; 5 Jun. 1843; 22 Mar., 24 Apr., 14 May, 9, 10, 12, 18 Jul. 1844; 2 Jun., 16 Jul. 1845.

⁸⁰ Dixon, W. Hepworth, ed., *Lady Morgan’s Memoirs: Autobiography, Diary and Correspondence*, 2 vols. (London: Wm. H. Allen and Co., MDCCCLXII), II, pp. 327-329. For Lady Morgan and Irish musical nationalism, see Leith Davis, *Music, Postcolonialism, and Gender: The Construction of Irish National Identity, 1724-1874* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), pp. 120-139.

British, one of the charms of brilliant foreign musicians may have been that they were not British.⁸¹ Certainly, the working musicians who exposed their innermost feelings to the public gaze did not enjoy the same kind of personal privacy as the upper classes who could afford to hire them to perform in their private homes,.

Lady Hunter did not see professional musicians as her social peers. She respected their special gifts, commenting of the Turners' private concert, for instance, that "Grisi, Brambilla, Fornasari, & Lablache were a host of talent in themselves. 'Se fiato in corpus avete' by the two latter was beautifully sung"⁸² Of the same singers, Grisi and Fornasari, in her own home in 1844, however, Hunter focussed on the physical spectacle of the singers' bodies, as well as on her own demonstration of power and taste in calling for knowledgeable encores, and on her guests' response. Of the greatest singer of her generation, Giulia Grisi, Lady Hunter remarks, "Grisi was in very good voice, & looked extremely well. She was beautifully dressed in blue, with a profusion of diamonds."⁸³ The full names of musicians paid for by her husband, regardless of their talent or skill, had no place in Hunter's record of what she thought was valuable. "With Corno accompaniment, and at my request Mario sang the Serenade from *Il Don Pasquale* 'Com

⁸¹ There is real irony in Morgan (née Owenson) patronizing a musician for ethnically-specific musicality as evidence of being a "creature" of a lower order of humanity, since that was much the English view held of the Irish in the period. Morgan's own life work, which included her own private harp and singing performances costumed as the heroine of her Irish nationalist novel, *The Wild Irish Girl*, was in a sense to valorise the Irish "people" on the grounds of their musicality. As literary critic Maureen O'Connor notes, Morgan was complicit in her own victimization as a commodified form of "Irishness." O'Connor, "Sydney Owenson's *Wild Irish Girl*," *European Legacy* 10, no. 1 (Feb. 2005): 23-24.

⁸² FEH Diary, 7 Jun. 1843.

⁸³ Ibid., 3 May 1844.

è gentil.’” After three years with no opera box, in 1844 Lady Hunter had seen Mario in that opera three weeks before and, with this request for a work that had not been on her printed programme, could demonstrate that she knew the opera well. No reigning monarch at the top of the social hierarchy could command a greater talent to carry out her musical vision than Frederica Hunter requiring encores of Mario and Fornasari at her private concert.

She waved her hand again, and, like magic, she created music. “[A]fter all that was printed in the programme had been performed, Fornasari obligingly sang again the Canzonetta composed for him by Pagni.”⁸⁴ Cesare Pagni was primarily a ballet composer active in London in the 1840s, and closely associated with the famous dancer, Fanny Cerito.⁸⁵ Ballet was one of Lady Hunter’s personal cultural jewels; her diary recorded detailed commentary about ballet, and her programmes of 1842 and 1844 both refer to ballet. In her 1842 programme, her piano duet had the same title as the ballet, “*Le lac des fées*,” in which Cerito had made her first appearance in the 1841 London season, attended by Lady Hunter.⁸⁶ On her 1844 programme, Hunter included a Pagni “canzonetta” which the Hunters might well have commissioned.⁸⁷ Lady Hunter drew attention to ballet and Cerito by asking for this encore. Mention of Cerito could have stoked conversations that would allow Lady Hunter to discuss her personal and family

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Guest, *Fanny Cerrito*, p. 83; Guest, “Cesare Pagni,” *Dance Gazette*, no. 1 (1979): 22.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 18 May 1841.

⁸⁷ It has not been possible to trace an edition of this work, so it may never have been published; this would support the supposition that it was so new that it was in manuscript form only for the Hunter 1844 concert.

cultural history. The year before, Lady Hunter had been “much amused at Stephen Fremantle’s mortifying failure in his attempt to throw a Bouquet of flowers to Cerito, as it unfortunately took a wrong direction, & fell into a Box occupied by gentlemen. However, he was more successful with another Bouquet, which fell on the Stage.”⁸⁸ And perhaps in preparatory conversations with her fixer, Puzzi, or with any of the singers on her programme, Lady Hunter had received advance news that Pugini’s new ballet for Cerito, *La Vivandière*, would be premiered shortly at Her Majesty’s Theatre.⁸⁹ Her requests for encores were performative constructions of her reputation for having superior, innate capacities of artistic discrimination.

Individual hosts could create the impression of superior musical understanding by asking for esoteric repertoire or by identifying and presenting new musicians before public consensus about their abilities was common knowledge. Lady Hunter stayed informed about new performers, noting for instance “the new baritone of this season Fornasari” and made a point of engaging brand new artists to demonstrate that her musical knowledge was cutting edge. Hunter triumphed by presenting Jeanne Castellan on 3 May 1844, just days before Castellan’s public London debut on 13 May, and in her diary emphasizes that “Mad’e Castellan was then very little known, but the following year she came out at the Opera with great success.”⁹⁰ On all but the 1843 Hunter

⁸⁸ FEH Diary, 29 Jul. 1843.

⁸⁹ Guest, *Fanny Cerrito*, p. 82.

⁹⁰ FEH Diary, 13 May 1843; 3 May 1844.

concert, Lady Hunter persisted in presenting new performers, a high-risk strategy given her early failures in casting de Rivière and Ostergaard.⁹¹

Perhaps for a social newcomer like herself, giving musical newcomers a chance to show that they were innately meritorious was irresistible. Each time she personally identified real talent in a newcomer, Lady Hunter might claim she had demonstrated an innate gift of musical perception. It was an ironic strategy for one who believed in heritable class hierarchy. Yet if Lady Hunter could rise in status, as indeed she did, then the hierarchy was proven to be merit-based. Capacities could still be inherited, but for those without full, biological inheritance of aristocratic status, the right to participate publicly in the highest levels of society required clear demonstration of the innate merit of the newcomer.

So exclusive is Lady Hunter's focus on the social aspect of her later concerts that for 1846 she does not even note the programme, but describes it only in terms of the artists hired, the number of guests, and the social impact the following day: "We gave a delightful Concert at home, having engaged for it the prima donna of the Opera Mad'e Grisi, Mesd'elle Corbari & Brambila, Si'i Mario & Lablache, Puzzi on the French Horn, & Pilotti to accompany at the Piano. Our guests amounted to more than 200, & the Party went off most agreeably. [Next day] Sir Charles Dalbiac & others called, & of course quantities of cards were left at the door."⁹² Lady Hunter purrs about private musical experiences for the next week, aglow as she willingly bestows contented approval on the

⁹¹ See Appendix I: Hunter Musical Chronology.

⁹² Ibid., 13, 14 May 1846. Lieutenant-Governor Sir James Charles Dalbiac (1776-1847) strongly Tory. ODNB, s.v. "Dalbiac."

party at “Mrs. Gent’s, where we heard some good music, & I particularly admired a Mrs. Boody’s playing on the Piano. It was most brilliant & graceful;” and “a Concert at Mr. John Clayton’s, where I was very glad to hear the German singer Herr Pischek, who has a fine voice and sings beautifully.”⁹³

There is no nervous fury, no sniping at amateurs singing flat. None of the private concert hosts Lady Hunter names in 1846 matched the Hunters’ cornucopia of a private concert with five singing stars and Puzzi on horn as well as Signor Pilotti at the keyboard.⁹⁴ Lady Hunter in 1846 was gratified by her musical life. The Hunters’ attendance at the public opera house was now marked not only by the company of family members, as they primarily had been hitherto, but by aristocratic visits to their boxes “from Sir William Abdy, & Mr. Ellerton.”⁹⁵ Lady Hunter need risk no musical disaster as a performer herself. She and her husband had learned what counted as a demonstration of class-specific musicality and with her husband consenting to pay for the requisite number of extraordinary professional performers, at least every other year; the Hunters were no longer musical outsiders.

Lady Hunter’s musical journey was worthy indeed of record. She undertook a campaign to construct a higher place for herself in Society through music. Aware from the start of her marriage to Sir Richard that she would likely be a young widow, she made for herself a public identity as a private concert producer of the highest quality. Her attempts to find the right instrument through which she could channel her apparent

⁹³ FEH Diary, 15, 18 May 1848.

⁹⁴ See Appendix I: Hunter Musical Chronology.

⁹⁵ FEH Diary, 5 May 1846.

conviction that she was innately musical in her own right were brave, determined, and strategic. Once a musical instrument had proven inadequate for her purposes, she moved on, from voice to keyboard to, finally, a wheezy little concertina. Like the original hurdy-gurdy beggars who preceded the fashionable craze for the concertina, there is something poignant in Hunter's final gasp at her own performing.⁹⁶ Once she had failed as a musician, Lady Hunter soared to much greater social heights, negotiating with the husband who footed the bill to host private concerts featuring only professional musicians. Returned from the musical wilds of cheaper amateur performances and chamber music, Frederica Emma Hunter, counting the diamonds on Grisi's neck in the Hunter drawing-room, began again to construct her public identity as a lady so musical, so refined, so high class that she might some day marry an Earl.

Concert programming was indivisible from personal life. The private concerts of Lady and Sir Richard Hunter were of the same fabric as their shared, sometimes competing social goals and musical tastes. From 1839 to 1846, Lady Hunter tested her own musical abilities and, with her husband, experimented with each of the factors of a socially successful private concert of the time: casting, repertoire genre, and cost. The factors shaping the Hunters' musical lives were not entirely within their individual control. Their private concert programmes are an unerring record of the personal but also the social forces that wove musical life from the politics and cultural values, beliefs, and ideas of the time.

⁹⁶ Richard D. Leppert, *Arcadia at Versailles: Noble Amateur Musicians and Their Musettes and Hurdy-gurdies at the French Court ca. 1660-1789* (Amsterdam and Lisse: Swets & Zeitlinger B.V., 1978), pp. 1, 106.

Broader public change in musical repertoire and programming was part of the Hunters' experience, but also informed by it. The rise of chamber music in Britain in the 1840s was not simply a function of a superior musical aesthetic gradually gaining ground through education. Inequalities of personal and civic power in the class and gender identities of those involved were fundamental features of creating a public for the new repertoire. Chamber music gained ground in part through upper-class women encouraging each other to stretch themselves musically, and through all the varieties of experiment and compromise within a complex and hierarchical social matrix. The possibility for a musical amateur like Lady Hunter to play her way up to the next level of the social hierarchy drove her to musical efforts that ended in failure. Frederica Hunter learned from chamber music that fine musical performance, even for amateurs like Algernon Greville and John Lodge Ellerton, took talent and hard work, neither of which she could give to music. Did they, or she, ever whisper that Frederica Hunter lacked musical talent and lacked intellectual understanding of music because she was a woman?

Lady Hunter did not need musical talent or skill to create a public identity as an especially musical upper-class lady, but she and her husband did have to learn what counted, socially, in the details of constructing a private concert. Professional guidance by concert fixers like Puzzi and Oury helped Lady Hunter and in the process helped to standardize the form of concert programmes. The professional musicians who composed and performed drove most of the repertoire selection. There was very little room for personal taste or amateur self-indulgence on a private concert programme if it were to succeed in attracting social approbation of the upper classes. The Hunter private concerts

shone the public spotlight on Lady Hunter, who was formally credited with producing them. The professionals performed in 1839, for instance, but the newspaper declared that “in the evening *her Ladyship* had a concert, at which Mesdames Albertazzi and Di Riviere [sic], Signori Tamburini, Marras, and Puzzi *assisted*.”⁹⁷ The Hunters finally learned that private music-making was a mode of civic engagement that could change the social status of those who were able to learn the techniques and pay the high financial cost. It was no accident that their private concerts of 1844 and 1846 were socially successful.

Lady Hunter’s concert programmes reflect her personal journey, her gendered lack of financial autonomy, and her conservative belief in class hierarchy. Within a single marriage, each spouse might have different musical tastes and abilities, but, as the Hunters show, neither could escape exposure to the other’s musical interests. Her programmes were a performative construction of class excellence, since, by learning to hire working musicians, she rose socially. She did not want a musical career, but only to be musically successful in her preferred social milieu. To do so, she had to embrace and work hard the musical levers of gender and class.

The musical soundscape was composed of overlapping circles of musical interest and shaped by overlapping hierarchies of class and gender. Different cultural sites developed simultaneously, and individuals could and did participate in more than one kind of music. In all of these apparently discrete repertoires and publics, the ideological content flowed unimpeded.

⁹⁷ GB-LRCM CPH, London Private House Box, Hunter 1839 Programme, newspaper clipping attached. Emphasis added.

CONCLUSION

In the nineteenth century, music so permeated daily life and the processes of high politics that it ought to inform histories of politics, culture, gender and music. For musicians and audiences of today who value nineteenth-century music, it is equally important to understand that musical performances mattered, and in which sorts of ways. Focussing on Britain between 1830 and 1850, this study asks audiences themselves what they made of the music in their lives. Whether they heard music, programmed it, or performed it themselves informally at home or in private clubs, in formal private concerts, in public, professional performances of opera and instrumental music, and at political party dinners known as Conservative Festivals, their music was woven into their thinking, their decisions, and their personal prospects in life. As the many cultural sites in *Lady Hunter's* musical world show, British social and political conservatives between 1830 and 1850 constructed a conservative musical soundscape in cultural opposition to Reform. Nineteenth-century musical life was a discourse of power.

The study shows how culture functioned politically and socially. A musical lens applied to the organic tranche approach of explicating the experiences of a single individual produced a new interpretive framework: the conservative musical soundscape. Such an ideologically-bounded musical soundscape is a virtual community whose musical choices share and performatively re-create the same ideological content. It is not necessarily coherent through musical homogeneity, and in the case of mid-nineteenth century conservatism, the diversity of musical aesthetics reflected the

diversity of ranks that conservatives were anxious to preserve. More research could be done to explore other ideological musical soundscapes, which would present an opportunity to see whether some differences in musical aesthetics, possibly linked with differences in the literal sound of the music, are associated with the musical expression of ideology.

A series of related findings brings new insights to political, gender, and music history. Political Conservatism was so central to Lady Hunter's life, that her tranche of history sheds new light on the important use of music by the Conservative Party and their little-known "Conservative Festivals" of the 1830s. Careful analysis of political toast speeches and the music chosen for the Festivals reveals a new lexicon of the musical themes, tropes, and performance practices of conservative culture of the time. The gender-specific differences of musical opportunity and experience within the Hunter marriage provides an engaging example of the gendered tensions of wealthy gentry, and shows how personal musical recreation extended into civic activities. Seldom considered in musicology, the mid-century repertoire and membership of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club of London, to which Lady Hunter's first husband belonged, is discussed. One aspect of its political importance may be the influence of such private musical men's clubs on the Newark Red Club, formed by Conservatives to combat the march of such political reforms as the 1832 *Reform Act*. New insights are offered into the nuances of repertoire and cost of private concerts and their relationship with public professional performances of Italian opera and chamber music.

The approach taken in the present work is strongly influenced by Canadian intellectual historians like A.B. McKillop, S.F. Wise, and Colin Coates, who show that only when ideas are in action in daily life across society do they function as a cultural force for political and social historic change.¹ Ideas alone do not drive action and change, but are blended with values, beliefs, and the material conditions that together form the active, cultural matrix of human life. Implicit but crucial is the underlying respect for the agency of all members of society in forming and acting upon their own decisions. The guiding principle of this study is therefore to ask the audiences what musical performances meant to them as part of their lives. This is not grand sweep history, but a close analysis of how audiences within a narrow chronological period understood specific performances. The long reach of history is composed of a series of moments experienced as “now.” The purpose of this study was to see how musical life worked as a mode of ideological persuasion and community construction for people who lived it and together created it.

The rigorous methodological condition that informs all of the analysis is to focus on meanings that were obvious to the producers and audiences during actual musical performances. Some evidence, like the private concert programmes and personal diary of Frederica Emma, Lady Hunter, and the music lists of the Noblemen and Gentlemen’s

¹ For example, A.B. McKillop, *Matters of Mind: The University in Ontario, 1791-1951* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994); A.B. McKillop and Paul Romney, eds., *S.F. Wise: God’s Peculiar Peoples: Essays on Political Culture in Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1993); Colin M. Coates, *The Metamorphoses of Landscape and Community in Early Quebec* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2000).

Catch Club of London or the political Conservative Festivals, shows direct choice. The challenge there is to recognize what drove choices, particularly where jumbings of different musical genres seems to be at odds with the high stakes of the performance events: why did producers and programmers think such heterogeneous programmes would please their intended audiences? The second layer of analysis focuses on how music achieved its ideological outcomes for a broader public. The challenges here are to recognize rather than impose conceptual unity on real variety, and to identify accurately the factors (like repetition and literal, physical sound) that can be shown to have had the effect of making culturally constructed notions—like hierarchies based on inherited characteristics identified by class and gender—seem natural, historic, and good. The complexity of such a three-dimensional analysis mirrors the real complexities of how culture works.

Fugitive primary sources inform such an approach. The evidence of the past is intrinsically partial and its meaning is fundamentally shaped by the historic epoch and the purposes of those who think about it. Particularly ephemeral, perhaps, are private concert programmes, used in the present study as springboard evidence. Building on the approach to pattern analysis in private concert programmes developed in an earlier study, the present work provides, as has seldom so far been done, a deep analysis of several private concert programmes.² Private programmes lead to many related sources, but they tend to be fragmentary and scattered. To limit the project to manageable size,

² Kristina Guiguet, *The Ideal World of Mrs. Widder's Soirée Musicale: Social Identity and Musical Life in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*, Mercury Series Cultural Studies, Paper 77 (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2004).

the organic tranche method was adopted: chronology, subjects, and interpretive framing were all designed to explicate the musical world of one individual, Lady Hunter.³

Lady Hunter is an obvious subject because, most unusually, she left three programmes huddled in the same archive. The three (1839, 1842, 1844) are quite different from each other, inviting curiosity about what produced such changes within the private musical choices of a single concert host. Moreover, Lady Hunter's magnificent, six-year diary linked her with a wide range of other musical venues: informal domestic music-making for both sacred and secular purposes, her first husband's musical club, the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club of London, a multitude of other private musical concerts, public and professional performances of opera and instrumental music, and, through her second husband's dedicated composition of a song, the political conviviality of the Conservative Party of the time. Glimpses into the musical life of house servants, professional musicians, and the echoing public air laden with band concerts and the music of bell towers are all present as the diary reports on life in London, Brighton, and rural Sussex. Lady Hunter participated through musical activities in multivalent webs of connection, self-conscious of herself as an important contributor to civic society. The social conservatism apparent in her programmes and diary resonates with the Conservative party contention that political Conservatism was but the expression of normal, daily life as it had been decreed by the laws of nature and by the will of God.

³ The potential of the organic tranche based on a woman's diary is brilliantly developed in Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A midwife's tale: the life of Martha Ballard, based on her diary, 1785-1812* (New York: Knopf, 1990).

Lady Hunter is a particularly good core subject because she was so ordinary. Her talents and achievements as an amateur musical performer were deeply modest, and her use of music to change her quality of life—as well as her station in life—was surely not unique. This study reveals in detail some of the processes by which amateur women among wealthy, landed gentry used music to pursue their personal goals. Women of the wealthy, landed gentry have not often been shown to have needed strategies for negotiating elasticity within the serious legal, economic, and civic constraints they experienced by virtue of being women. Lady Hunter, wealthy and, for a time, landed in her own right, understood her acute vulnerability as the wife of a much older man. The records of her musical life show her foresight, persistence, and acuity in using music to create sufficient personal distinction to ensure that she could thrive after her first husband died. Music, for Lady Hunter, was a critical means of establishing herself as a contributing member of the civic realm, in order that she could survive economically and socially.

Lady Hunter is particularly interesting because she strove in a variety of musical roles and failed dismally before she learned how to succeed. Successful musicality of the kind that was socially important in the upper classes of the period was thus not innate at all, but learned through experience and through observing many, many other musical amateurs in private settings.

So much variety of musical genre, repertoire, performers, and venues was crammed into Lady Hunter's documents that it might confuse a modern observer, but it did not confuse her. The interpretive framework of an ideologically-bounded musical

soundscape, a virtual community whose values, beliefs and ideas shaped the music they chose, helps to explain why. Lady Hunter contributed to the performative re-creation of a conservative musical world that she considered to be natural and rather obvious. Familiarity through repetition, and the personal experience of hearing, making, programming, discussing, and reading about music gave the musical soundscape much of its power. The conservative ideological content, in retrospect so clear because of the Conservative Festivals lexicon, was rendered more potent in ordinary musical recreation because the Conservative Festivals had drawn attention to the conservative values and beliefs in certain music.

Sound is a defining feature of music in performance, making it appealing and powerful. But the effect of musical performance is less ephemeral than the literal sound of music upon the ear. People carried their musical memories in their individual, inner musical soundscapes, an evolving, personal context that informed new experiences, like reading the morning paper or choosing music for a dinner party. In the many sites in Lady Hunter's conservative musical soundscape, myths about the fixed and heritable characteristics of class and gender were created and sustained through musical performances. The ideological musical soundscape is a flexible framework that integrates individual successes and failures with collective action and consensus. The conservative musical soundscape emerges from exploring how one individual was a part of an integrated whole. Since no individual functions wholly outside of their social and political context, the musical experiences of one individual can reveal much about the intersecting forces of social and political power.

The methodology of private concert programme analysis assumes conscious choice on the part of all those who programmed concerts or music lists for such events as political dinners. Since programmers, like other members of society, make musical decisions based on a combination of aesthetic and social values, ideas, and beliefs, important questions for research and analysis include: why did this programmer choose this music, these performers, and this sequence for the intended audience of a particular performance at a certain kind of venue? Where different genres of works were chosen for a single music list or programme, what made them coherent to the mind of the programmer? When the programming decisions were a collaboration between, for example, private concert hosts and a professional concert fixer, the answers take into account the dynamics between them.

Retrospective pattern recognition in cultural analysis is a compelling analytical tool, but it is strengthened in this study by the development of a new lexicon of ideological meanings for music. The lexicon of themes and effective rhetorical practices in the Conservative Festivals use of music was developed by comparing political speeches, sung texts, and the musical sound of certain works. Applying the central themes, tropes, and practises of Conservative Festivals musical lexicon to the other sites in Lady Hunter's musical world reveals the ideological unity of the musical soundscape to which she contributed.

The organic tranche narrows the historical gaze to only those with some demonstrable link to Lady Hunter. Since conservative political allegiance was an important feature of Lady Hunter's life, it is not surprising that there were so many

overlaps of family, acquaintances, professional musicians, specific repertoire and musical genres between her direct experience and the Conservative Festivals. The study shows that organizers of the Conservative party Festivals chose music that was consistent with the themes, tropes, and performance practices of the same core features of conservatism as defined by the toast speeches at the political party Festivals.

The intersection of high politics with cultural history and musical life was significant. Legislation had real effects, but always in a reciprocal relationship with individual and collective cultural action. As the musical perspective on the Conservative Party shows, subjectivity and non-rational factors like emotion and religious belief were prominent factors in party political action. The riot of emotion and non-rational convictions that underpinned the Conservative credo of the time challenges the view that civic life and high politics might only be rational, disinterested and gender-neutral.

Music was important to the successful Conservative Party strategy for regaining Parliamentary party in part because it could make a direct, memorable, and personal connection with voters and those who influenced them. In this period before recorded music, most people ordinarily heard and made music as part of their daily lives. By adding a sharply political layer of meaning to familiar music like “Rule Britannia,” the Conservative Party sent its message of hierarchalism into personal musical soundscapes across the nation. Politics and daily life did not exist on separate planes, but as a performative matrix of reciprocal influences. This study may not change deep-seated beliefs to the contrary, but it does aim to encourage the integration of music into the study of political history.

In speeches and music, political conservatism of the time trumpeted hierarchalism, the idea that rights and capacities for different degrees of personal autonomy and civic participation in the levers of high political power were fixed, because they were biologically inherited according to class and gender. A circular buffet of supportive proofs included references to God as the creator of natural law, history as evidence of the timelessness and benefits of human hierarchy, abundance of drink, food and wealth as a result of hierarchical organization, and a range of positive emotions, including “happy hierarchy,” in which the positive feelings were generated from experiencing hierarchical relationships themselves.

Conservative Festivals speakers engaged in much sound reasoning, but it was built upon the non-rational premise of religious belief. The fundamental premises of Conservative thought were thus impervious to reason. Many a political Conservative, from Sir Robert Peel to the working-class William Paul, noted that emotional feeling was the ultimate proof of the benevolence of divine will. The Conservative Festivals plainly described the truth of human society as a matrix of unlike human beings with correspondingly unlike degrees of personal autonomy and civic power. As the manifestation of God’s natural law, this matrix was presented as stable throughout history, benevolent, and delightful. The music chosen to accompany these speeches was largely vocal, and its texts and the powerful effects of the sounds of all of the music were selected to foster emotional commitment to Conservatism and to the Conservative Party.

The careful choices that produced aesthetic variety, accessible singalongs, and virtually no ideological inconsistency among the Festivals music show that Conservative party organizers were consciously concerned to win emotional commitment at a personal level among voters and those who influenced voters. Further, by showing that the working-class “operative” Conservatives and the unenfranchised upper-class women who organized the 1841 Conservative Festival at Nottingham held the same Conservative convictions and used the same sensuous and emotional appeals to woo voters and prove their points, this study shows that restrictions on voting rights could not legitimately be ascribed to febrile inferiority inherited in the form of class or gender. The intellectual capacity, disinterestedness, self-knowledge and self-sacrifice of the rhetorically splendid working-class Conservative, William Paul of Leeds, are a gripping demonstration that these were not class-specific attributes.

The Conservative Party between 1830 and 1841 was indeed at the forefront of forming modern political party machinery and consulting constituency voters. After the 1832 *Reform Act*, it had no choice but to reorganize and court popular support. The ethos of hierarchalism was genuinely populist but only in the sense that hierarchy was considered to be an interdependent matrix of different but reciprocal rights and responsibilities. Commitment to communitarian charm, or “happy hierarchy,” did not amount to proto-democracy. The themes and processes of Conservative Festivals music shows how musical performance could give hierarchalism the gloss of being natural, divinely ordained, benevolent and historic.

The notion of an ideologically-bounded musical soundscape, continually re-created by musical choices made by people of different class and gender in a wide range of settings, is flexible enough to suggest further exploration. There surely were simultaneous musical soundscapes associated with different political beliefs, values and ideas. While this study touches lightly upon the social conservatism of Whigs and other Reformers, much more remains to be discovered. What, for example, of the genres, the instrumentation and performance conventions, and the very sounds of the music that was not present in the conservative musical soundscape?

For musicologists, the Hunter programmes and the 79 private musical events attended by Sir Richard and Lady Hunter in just over six years between January, 1840, and May, 1846, show concert programming conventions that differed from public concerts. In public programmes, instrumental and vocal music alternated until the 1840s, when William Weber suggests that “major arenas of musical activity began to separate,” resulting in distinct taste publics in contest over aesthetic idealism.⁴ The private concert programmes in Lady Hunter’s circles show by contrast that the most desirable private, Italianate concerts held very little instrumental music and were heavily dominated by Italian vocal repertoire, largely operatic, and all of it sung by reigning Italian opera professionals.

This, the first detailed comparison of the repertoire of such concerts with that of the public opera repertoire, showing that private concerts offered quite different operas

⁴ William Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 47-48, 85-121.

to the select guests than was available to the ticket-buying public in the same year. Public opera attendance was an important part of Lady Hunter's world.⁵ The present study reveals that the private musical lives of many of the upper classes constructed a class-specific repertoire and a sense of a class-specific musical history. Few of Lady Hunter's acquaintance could have failed to learn a much wider operatic repertoire at the relentless rounds of private musical socializing than those who attended only public performances.

As Leonore Davidoff remarked of the power of personal invitations to create social standing, "[t]he roof is an introduction."⁶ For those who trod not beneath the gilded ceilings of music rooms like Lady Hunter's, there was limited access to learning—and enjoying—the class-specific repertoire and performance conventions of the upper reaches of society. This was a period when hearing live performance was the only way to learn any music that one did not or could perform oneself (for example, large instrumental or operatic works), so such privileged and repetitive exposure created a class-specific knowledge of operatic repertoire. The operas used for private concerts cycled through works that had been performed within living memory, but decidedly in the past. Private, Italianate concert repertoire choices thus helped to construct a myth of a class-specific music. The gate-keeping requirement that prospective newcomers to the upper classes learn a class-specific set of repertoire, musical performance and producing conventions, and musical history was not mythic, but quite real.

⁵ Jennifer Hall-Witt, *Fashionable Acts: Opera and Elite Culture in London, 1780-1880* (Durham, New Hampshire: University of New Hampshire Press, 2007), pp. 195-196.

⁶ Leonore Davidoff, *The Best Circles: Society Etiquette and the Season* (London: Croom Helm Ltd., 1973), p. 42.

The fillip of novelty remained. Lady Hunter consistently presented new artists and a few new compositions on her programmes. Her diary entries record wide range of musical tastes, from the amusement value of the “gibberish kind of singing” of the “Infant Sappho, (perched upon the Piano),” to socially and musically pleasurable “Ladies’ Nights” of glees and songs produced by the Noblemen and Gentlemen’s Catch Club of London.⁷ Although the Hunters participated in the outer edges of the musical idealism of serious chamber music, they and their associates did not limit themselves to one musical camp or another. Heterogeneity of taste, venue, and quality of performance was persistent in their circles.

Aspects of the costs of Lady Hunter’s musical experiences are sketched in, contributing to ongoing work on the economics of the music profession and a slowly growing body of scholarship that addresses the material aspects of audience and amateur musicality.⁸ Given the staggering cost of producing private concerts and subscribing to an imposing opera box for a whole season, private concert hosts developed strategies for easing the annual financial burden of their musical lives.

The gendered aspects of musical life are shown to have been co-constituted by men and women. The comparison and interaction of the gender-based differences of Sir Richard and Lady Hunter’s musical lives could provide an attractive teaching example for histories of gender. Lady Hunter’s view that her musical activities were a

⁷ Diary of Frederica Emma, Lady Hunter, Diary, 1840 to 1846, (London) City of Westminster Archives Centre, Acc. 1621, (hereafter FEH Diary), 13 May 1842, emphasis in the original.

⁸ For example, Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

contribution to civic life illuminates some of the ways in which women's personal and domestic activities continuously constructed a social consensus that heritable hierarchy was natural and good. Her determined and largely successful development of a public identity that was to some degree independent of that of her husband reveals the need for gentry women of the time to protect themselves from the serious economic, legal, and normative constraints of being female.

Professional women musicians appear in flashes across the conservative musical soundscape. As Michel-Rolf Trouillot has noted, "When reality does not coincide with deeply held beliefs, human beings tend to ... devise formulas to repress the unthinkable and to bring it back within the realm of accepted discourse."⁹ Silenced by omission in every written newspaper report, the women were literally drawn into the picture of the 1837 London Conservative Festival's temporary pavilion by an architect who had had to plan the material logistics of accommodating women's clothing. Similarly, at the 1841 Nottingham Conservative Festival that had been organized by women, speaker after speaker asserted to those women seated in plain view before them that real women had no conceivable connection with high politics. This history of musical life scatters the clouds of the cultural disbelief of the time to show women working and volunteering at nominally all-male political events.

Such omissions encouraged the search for other patterns of female participation. Faint traces of feminine perspective in the Newark Red Club's political song book suggest that women performers may have been involved with small, private political

⁹ Michel-Rolf Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), p. 72.

clubs as well as at the nominally apolitical Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club of London, where women performed at the 1842 "Ladies' Night" concert. The ways in which gender was mutually constituted within the Hunters' marriage inform the ways in which civic discourse was also gendered.

Among the related sites of personal musical leisure that contributed to civic discourse was the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club of London. The membership and repertoire of the Catch Club in the 1840s, when Sir Richard Hunter belonged, has received little scholarly attention hitherto. By considering both in the broader context of the conservative musical soundscape, the Catch Club can be seen as a pivotal link between personal life and high politics. In terms of gender, most men's clubs have been situated in history only in terms of their members, but the picture of the Catch Club is sharpened by noting the effects on Lady Hunter when her husband attended. Members' wives, like Lady Hunter, sold tickets to Club concerts, and when women were expected in the audience, women performers were engaged to sing with the Club's professional musician members in repertoire tailored to appeal to women. The Catch Club repertoire and performance practices were highly gendered, but not exclusively male.

The Catch Club membership overlapped with the Hunters' social and family circles, and included many Conservative supporters. Politically, the determined historicism and other tropes of hierarchalism in the repertoire were so apt to Conservative Party themes of the time that it seeped into some Conservative Festivals music lists. The Catch Club format and repertoire had spread throughout England by the 1830s, and, through similar networks of personal musical leisure and political conviction

in the regions outside of London, may have influenced the Conservative Party use of music as a political tool. While little political history addresses music as central to its subject, the Newark Red Club left a manuscript Song Book that refers to the music of the London Catch Club and reveals that music was an important feature of the political club. The song lyrics, tailored for the Red Club, describe the passionate emotionalism of club members' political bond. More work could be done to discover whether the Newark Reds were a uniquely musical political club, whether they influenced the use of music by the Conservative party, and what other linkages they may have had with personal musical leisure activities.

The choice of which music to program, perform or listen to was always influenced by the full historic and personal context of the choosers. Context shapes musical meaning, and through repetition in conservative contexts, in which hierarchy was a structural aspect of the relationships involved, certain music and certain musical sounds helped to create a conservative consensus that hierarchalism was a timeless feature of human nature. The conservative musical soundscape did not exist as a fixed, material place, but, continually re-created through performances, individual memory, and discussion, it stretched across Britain. Politicians at work read newspaper reports of political dinners laden with music, as they did of women musical amateurs performing at society dinner parties. Servants heard all the music in private homes and in churches, and everyone reproduced in their individual, inner musical soundscape the tunes they heard from bell towers, military bands playing in public parks, and the music drifting

beyond the boundaries of paid admission to outdoor pleasure gardens or town hall concerts.

Music is dangerous to the degree that it is ignored as a platonic aesthetic ideal or dismissed as trivial recreation. Whether in a public venue, a private club or gilded drawing-room, as sound, discussed in print, or in the quiet deeps of individual memory and imagination, the British conservative musical soundscape between 1830 and 1850 made human hierarchy feel natural, divinely ordained, historic, and good. Lady Hunter started her diary to hold fast a happiness that “consists in realities” and preserve “what might otherwise pass from any recollection.” Her gift to history is a glimpse of how the musical pleasures in which she played such a part contributed to giving many of those “realities” tenacious cultural hold.

APPENDIX A: Conservative Festivals Chronology

Notes:

- 1) Conservative Festivals are listed in chronological order, with full source citations.
- 2) One entry marked DINNER shows that Conservative Dinners and Festivals were different in the eyes of those who organized them. Both practices existed simultaneously and did not depend on the operative or non-operative status of the organizers. For music citations see Appendix B: Lyrics of Conservative Festival Music.
- 3) What is known about musicians is in notes, except for members of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club of London (indicated by *); see Appendix C: Catch Club Professional Members for more detail.
- 4) Where known, time of day, number of diners, ticket prices, mention of purpose-built venues, and notable special guests are given. Where numbers of diners are stated in primary source as "nearly" or "upwards of," only the number stated is given here.
- 5) Organizers are assumed to have been landed gentry, aristocratic or wealthy middle-class men, except where OPERATIVE or WOMEN is given.
- 6) All musical commentary in original documentation is noted here.
- 7) Musical genre is given as stated in the original sources.
- 8) Coincidental festival or feast days have been given in endnotes; no pattern linking Festival dates with feast days emerged.

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Date / Time / Price	Place / # diners / Venue	Music	Musicians / Music Notes	Speakers / Notes
1834 DINNER	Canterbury, Kent ¹	Song—May Britannia's True Sons Rally Boldly Around ² Air—Rule Britannia Song—How Merrily We Live Song—Man with the Patent Steam Screw-Arm Song—Man of Kent		
1835 17 Jul. ³	Canterbury, Kent ⁴ 850 dined	Band—See the Conquering Hero Comes Air—God save the King Kentish fire Glee—Health to the Queen Glee—Health to Old England, the King, and the Church Song—Alteration Glee—Let the Bumper Song—Maid of Judah! Song—Steam Arm Song—Going Out A Shooting	"Band;" Local militia (Kentish fire)	
1836 9 Aug. 11:00	Pool, Dorsetshire ⁵ 400 dined	MUSIC not stated.		
1836 14 Sep.	Hull, Yorkshire ⁶ 840 dined	Non nobis, Domine God Save the King Glee—Health to the King and Queen Glee—Hail, Star of Brunswick! Song—Rule Britannia Glee—A Soldier Am I Glee—Foresters Sound the Cheerful Horn	"A party of glee singers stationed in the gallery"	Ld Hotham, Rev. Hildyard William Paul
1836 22 Nov. ⁷	Banbridge, Northern Ireland ⁸ 340 dined	"appropriate airs" Downshire March Protestant Boys Scots Wha' Hae There is Nae Luck	Music after each toast	

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1836 6 Dec.	Wakefield, Yorkshire ⁹ 400-500 dined	Non nobis, Domine Yorkshire Yeomanry: trumpet flourish God Save the King Glee—Here's a Health to the Queen Glee—Hail, Star of Brunswick!	Trumpeter; “the vocal gentlemen present”	Ld Wharncliffe, William Paul
1836 9 Dec. 11:00- 2:30 arrivals	Aylesbury, Bucks. ¹⁰ 900 dined 1100-1200 in 3 rooms at adjacent inns; speeches at only one	Non nobis, Domine	“Several professional vocalists attended”	Sir Thomas Fremantle, Sir George Nugent, Rice Clayton “yeomanry, nobility, gentry, clergy, freeholders;” many from the country
1836 20 Dec. 6:00 p.m.	Belfast, Northern Ireland ¹¹ 1158 dined specially built hall “a proud proof of the spirit and enterprise of ... Conservatives of Belfast.”	God Save the King Hearts of Oak		
1837 22 May	Brighton, Sussex ¹² 500 dined	Non nobis, Domine Lass of Richmond Hill Rule Britannia Glee—Vive le roi Glee—To All You Ladies	“the glee- singers”	
1837 14 Jun. Evening	City of London ¹³ special pavilion built	Non nobis, Domine God Save the King Here's a Health to the King and Queen Glee—Sleep, Gentle Lady Tune—Rule Britannia	“the vocalists in attendance”	C.N. Hullah

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1837 12 Oct. 3:00	Sleaford, S. Lincolnshire ¹⁴ 1500 dined	Non nobis, Domine God Save the Queen Hail, Star of Brunswick!	"vocalists were in attendance"	
1837 13 Oct. ¹⁵ 4:00 p.m.	[Royal] Tunbridge- Wells, Kent ¹⁶ 350 dined	Non nobis, Domine National Anthem Song—Rule Britannia Song—Brave Old Oak Song—Old England Forever Song—Jolly Full Bottle Song—My Native Hills Song—Health to All Good Lassies Song—Old English Gentleman Song—Mountain Maid	"sung by several professional gentlemen"	
1837 23 Oct.	Belfast, Northern Ireland ¹⁷	MUSIC not stated.		
1837 1 Nov. evening	Hull, Yorkshire ¹⁸ 800 dined	MUSIC not stated.		
1837 3 Nov. evening	Walton-on-the- Naze, Suffolk ¹⁹	MUSIC not stated.		
1838 1 Jan.	West Bromwich, Staffordshire ²⁰ 3 rooms needed to seat diners	Non nobis, Domine Song and Chorus—God Save the Queen Glee—With a Jolly Full Bottle Song—British Oak	"well sung by amateur glee singers;" Mr. J. Izon "sang ... in excellent style"	OPERATIVE
1838 16 Feb.	Durham, Co. Durham ²¹	MUSIC not stated.		

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1838 16 Apr. Easter Mon. tickets: 1 guinea	Leeds, Yorkshire ²² 1100 dined temporary structure designed by Mr. Chantrell	Non nobis, Domine National anthem Glee—What Equals on Earth the Delights of the Huntsman? Glee—Health to All Good Lasses Song—Mail Coach Adventures	Vocal band “full and very effective” Anthem: “sung in a peculiarly animated style, the whole company joining in the chorus”	OPERATIVE Sir Francis Burdett; Ld Wharncliffe
1838 18 Apr.	Salford, Lancashire ²³ 1600-1700 dined special pavilion built	Non nobis, Domine Song and recitative—Death of Nelson		OPERATIVE Sir Francis Burdett
1838 19 Apr.	Manchester, Lancashire ²⁴ 700 dined Corn Exchange: demand greater than supply: named guests “having accepted the invitation given by the industrious artisans”	Non nobis, Domine “chanted” ²⁵ Anthem Glee—Hail, Star of Brunswick!	Anthem: “sung in good style”	OPERATIVE John Ridley, Pres. Operative Conservative Association, Sir Francis Burdett, Sir George Sinclair, Ld Maidstone
1838 25 Apr.	Loughborough, Leicestershire ²⁶	Song—Our Queen & Constitution	“sung, with the most rapturous applause by Mr. Wykes”	
1838 12 May ²⁷	London, Middlesex ²⁸ Merchant Tailor’s Hall	MUSIC unknown.		Sir Robert Peel

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1838 14 Aug.	Sodbury, W. Gloucestershire ²⁹ 500 dined	Trumpet call Band—God Save the Queen		
1838 27 Aug. 2:00	West Bromwich, Staffordshire ³⁰ 500 operatives dined special marquee	Non nobis, Domine “sung in excellent style by an amateur party of glee singers.” Song and chorus—God Save the Queen Glee—With a Jolly Full Bottle	“A capital band of musicians were in attendance, who played at intervals during the dinner;” amateur glee singers	OPERATIVE Chair: Mr. T. Williams “one of the most extensive ironmasters”
1838 18 Oct. ³¹ evening Tickets: 1 guinea	Liverpool, Lancashire ³² 2081 Conservative Association members dined 300 ladies in gallery after dinner	Glee—Mighty Conqueror [Lancashire Witches]		
1838 1 Nov. evening	Brentwood, Essex ³³ 200 dined	MUSIC not stated.		
1839 16 Jan.	Coleman St. Ward, London ³⁴ 150 dined	Non nobis, Domine “chanted by the professionals.” National Anthem “appropriate glee by the professionals” “appropriate song” Health to John Bull “Mr. Hawkins sang” In legends old, we’ve oft been told of Arthur, Britain’s King “appropriate song” “song”	*T. Cooke, *Hawkins, *C. Taylor; “The musical arrangements, under the management of [Cooke, Taylor] were very good”	

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1839 21 Jan.	Durham, Co. Durham ³⁵	Non nobis, Domine God Save the Queen Glee—Hail, Star of Brunswick!	“excellent style”; whole company joined the chorus	
1839 5 Mar. 6:00	Carlow, Ireland ³⁶	MUSIC not stated.		
1839 20 Aug.	Sodbury, W. Gloucestershire ³⁷ 450 dined	MUSIC not stated.		
1839 27 Aug.	Hull, Yorkshire ³⁸ 400 dined	MUSIC not stated.		OPERATIVE
1839 19 Sep. ³⁹ evening	Cullompton, Devonshire ⁴⁰ 700 dined 100-150 ladies Temporary tent	Band—“Hurrah for the Bonnets of Blue” Non nobis, Domine Song—God Save the Queen Glee—With a Jolly Full Bottle	Band; “vocalists in attendance”	
1839 30 Sep. ⁴¹ 4:30	Northampton, Northants. ⁴² 300 dined “Ladies ... in full dress”	Grace—“was sung” Song—God Save the Queen Glee—Health to Queen Adelaide Song—Well Do I Remember Glee—Mighty Conqueror Song—Fine Old English Gentleman Song—We Are All Fishing	Ransford ⁴³ Ransford Jr. Atkins ⁴⁴ Collyer	
1839 11 Nov. evening	Warrington, Cheshire ⁴⁵ 500 dined Venue “recently ... enlarged” especially	Band—Jolly Companions Rule Britannia Chorus—For he’s a hearty good fellow	Band Toasts were “Drunk with musical and other honours”	
1839 13 Dec. 6:00	Newry, Northern Ireland ⁴⁶ 150 dined	MUSIC not stated.		

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1840 19 Feb.	Coleman St. Ward, London, Middlesex ⁴⁷ 200 dined	Non nobis, Domine “sung in a most admirable manner” Singers “in the course of the evening regaled the company with several appropriate glees and songs.”	*T. Cooke *Hawkins *Sale “Wass,” ⁴⁸ Davidson, ⁴⁹ Stoker	
1840 9 Jul.	Oxford, Oxfordshire ⁵⁰ 450 dined	MUSIC not stated.		
1840 22 Jul.	Croydon, Surrey ⁵¹ 200 dined	“A benedictus sung” National Anthem Come Let Us Join the Roundelay See the Conquering Hero Comes	*Hobb[e]s, *Hawkins, Fitzwilliam, Atkins, Master Coward	
1841 5 Jan. night	Wolverhampton, Staffordshire ⁵² 300 dined	MUSIC not stated.		W.E. Gladstone
1841 19 Jan. night	Stone, N. Staffordshire ⁵³ 250 dined	MUSIC not stated.		
1841 11 Aug. 4:00	Reading, Berkshire ⁵⁴ 600 dined Town Hall	Band—See the Conquering Hero Comes Glee—Health to Royal Adelaide Glee—Hail, Star of Brunswick! Comic Song—[Fitzwilliam] Rule Britannia Solo—’T’is He, the Duke	Band; Vocalist: Fitzwilliam ⁵⁵	
1841 12 Aug.	Ashford, Kent ⁵⁶ 150 dined	MUSIC not stated.		
1841 20 Aug. 3:00	Hertford, Hertfordshire ⁵⁷ 400 dined	MUSIC not stated.		
1841 23 Aug. evening	Stratford, Warwickshire ⁵⁸ 130 dined	Non nobis, Domine God Save the Queen Glee—Hail to Queen Adelaide Glee—Health to the Prince and the Queen Rule Britannia Song—Hurrah to the Brave	“those excellent vocalists”: *Hobb[e]s Jolley Fitzwilliam Atkins	

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1841 23 Sep. 2:00 process; 3:00 at venue; 4:00 dinner	Chelmsford, Essex ⁵⁹ 3000 dined specially built venue "attracted much ... attention;" good sight lines noted	Air—God Save the Queen Glee—Health to Queen Adelaide Glee—Hail, Star of Brunswick! Glee—Vive la reine Rule Britannia Song—Conservative Ten Glee—With a Full Flowing Glass Glee—Great Bacchus Song—Old English Gentleman	trumpet; *Horncastle; "A trumpet will be sounded before each toast and it is particularly requested that on these occasions perfect silence be maintained."	Sir Francis Burdett
1841 7 Oct. Evening (counted with 8 Oct. as one festival)	Maidstone, Kent ⁶⁰ 1000 dined Corn Exchange	Constitutional Watchword "written expressly for the Maidstone Constitutional Society, and adapted to a popular air."	"a large party of gentlemen belonging to the Cecilian Society offered their musical assistance and executed the national anthem, and several other pieces arranged for a full choir, in a very spirited and effective manner."	
1841 8 Oct.	Maidstone, Kent ⁶¹ 150 dined	Non nobis, Domine "by four amateurs" Fine Old English Gentleman	Amateurs, W. Mercer	

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1841 12 Oct. 1:00 <i>breakfast with wine</i> 8:00 <i>ball, midnight supper</i>	Nottingham, Notts. ⁶² 2 events same day 250 breakfasted at the Exchange Hall ladies and gentlemen ate together	<i>Breakfast Music:</i> God Save the Queen Band—Roast Beef of Old England Rule Britannia Here's a Health to All Good Lasses See the Conquering Hero Comes National Anthem (to close)	<i>Breakfast:</i> Mr. Dunn[i]cliffe and his “excellent brass band” <i>Evening Ball:</i> Mr. Redgate and his quadrille band	WOMEN
1841 14 Oct.	Hastings, Sussex ⁶³ 150 dined	MUSIC not stated.		
1841 12 Nov. 3:30 process	Shropshire (Shrewsbury) ⁶⁴ 1000 dined Market Hall	Band—Bonnets of Blue (marching in) Non nobis, Domine “admirably sung by the professional gentlemen” Anthem—God Save the Queen Chorus—Hail, Star of Brunswick! [Glee—Hail, Smiling Morn] Song—Hark! ‘T’is the Trumpet of Glory [Song—to the Ladies]	band; vocalists: “professional gentlemen in attendance”	
1842 26 Aug. 4:00 guest of honour appeared 6:00 speeches Free to “working classes.”	Nottingham, Notts. ⁶⁵ 8000 Tea served in afternoon Temporary buildings created over two weeks.	Quadrille and country dance music “a selection of interesting and appropriate glees” Fireworks after dark National Anthem at 9:00 p.m. to disperse the crowd	Mr. Dunn[i]cliffe and his band; vocalists: Maxfield, Smith, Ratcliffe, Revill, Scotney, Foulds ⁶⁶	J. Walter; James Holwell Lee, Pres. Loyal & Independent Lodge of Ancient Druids

Endnotes

¹ "Report of the speeches, toasts, and other proceedings at the dinner to commemorate His Majesty's glorious declaration to support the constitution in church and the state, the Right Honourable the Earl of Winchilsea, in the chair, which took place at Bellingham's assembly rooms, Canterbury, on Sept. 25th, 1834," British Library (hereafter BL) 1881.a.1.(52.), 50.

² Probably written for the occasion; not found.

³ 17 Jul. is St. Kenelm's Day Fair, Worcestershire. T.F. Thiselton-Dyer, *British Popular Customs, Present and Past; Illustrating the Social and Domestic Manners of the People: Arranged according to the calendar of the year* (1875; New York: AMS Press, 1970), p. 341.

⁴ [Stephen Lushington], "A full report of the Grand Conservative Festival, at the Old Palace, St. Augustine's, July 17th, 1835, in celebration of the election of the Right Hon. S.R. Lushington, as one of the Representatives for the city of Canterbury, W.H. Baldock, Esq. in the Chair," (Canterbury: Kentish Observer General Printing Office, [n.d.]), BL 1881.a.1.(52.)

⁵ "Grand Conservative Festival at Pool. (From a correspondent of the *Dorsetshire Chronicle*)," *Times* (London), 23 Aug. 1836, p. 3.

⁶ "East Riding Conservative Festival. (Abridged from the *Hull Packet*)," *Times* (London), 19 Sep. 1836, p. 3.

⁷ Nearest festival date is the beginning of Advent, St. Andrew's Day, the nearest Sunday before or after 30 Nov., which in 1836 was 27 Nov. Thistleton-Dyer, *British Popular Customs*, p. 429.

⁸ "Banbridge Conservative Festival. Grand Dinner to Lord Hillsborough and Viscount Castlereagh, (*Newry Telegraph* and *Saunders's News-Letter*)," *Times* (London), 28 Nov. 1836, p. 3.

⁹ "Great Conservative Festival in the West Riding of Yorkshire. BY EXPRESS," *Times* (London), 7 Dec. 1836, p. 4.

¹⁰ "Bucks Conservative Festival. By Express," *Times* (London), 10 Dec. 1836, p. 3.

¹¹ "Great Conservative Festival. Fourth Anniversary of the Belfast Society. (Abridged from the *Ulster Times*)," *Times* (London), 27 Dec. 1836, p. 2.

¹² "Brighton Conservative Festival (Abridged from the forthcoming number of the *Brighton Gazette*)," *Times* (London), 24 May 1837, p. 6.

¹³ "City Of London Conservative Festival," *Times* (London), 15 Jun. 1837, p. 5; preceded by article requesting stewards to sell tickets: "City Of London Conservative Festival," *Times* (London), 23 May 1837, p. 4; and advertisement noting music to be performed: "City of London Conservative Festival," *Times* (London), 13 Jun. 1837, p. 5.

¹⁴ "South Lincolnshire Conservative Festival," *Times* (London), 14 Oct. 1837, p. 5.

¹⁵ St. Luke's Day in Kent is 18 Oct. Thiselton-Dyer, *British Popular Customs*, p. 387.

¹⁶ "[Royal] Tunbridge-Wells Conservative Festival," *Times* (London), 16 Oct. 1837, p. 3.

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- ¹⁷ "Conservative Festival at Belfast (from our own correspondent)," *Times* (London), 23 Oct. 1837, p. 7. Date of event is uncertain from the brief report.
- ¹⁸ "Hull Grand Conservative Festival," *Times* (London), 7 Nov. 1837, p. 2.
- ¹⁹ "Grand Conservative Festival at Walton-On-The-Naze," *Times* (London), 4 Nov. 1837, p. 2.
- ²⁰ "Operative Conservative Festival at West Bromwich," *Times* (London), 5 Jan. 1838, p. 3.
- ²¹ "Durham County Conservative Festival," *Times* (London), 22 Feb. 1838, p. 6.
- ²² "Leeds Conservative Festival," *Times* (London), 18 Apr. 1838, p. 5, promotional article "Leeds Conservative Festival," *Times* (London), 20 Mar. 1838, p. 5.
- ²³ "Grand Conservative Festival in Salford," *Times* (London), 19 Apr. 1838, p. 4.
- ²⁴ "Manchester Conservative Festival," *Times* (London), 20 Apr. 20, 1838, p. 4.
- ²⁵ "Chant" meant "sing," also in tavern performances. See Laurence Senelick, ed., *Tavern Singing in Early Victorian London: the diaries of Charles Rice for 1840 and 1850* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1997), p. 105.
- ²⁶ George John Danvers Butler Danvers, [later 5th Earl of Lanesborough], "Our Queen & Constitution ... throughout the United Kingdom," arr. M. Corri (London: Published for the Author, at the Royal Musical Library, 75, Lower Grosvenor Street, Near Bond Street, [ca. 1838]).
- ²⁷ Whitsun Tuesday is 12 May. Thiselton-Dyer, *British Popular Customs*, p. 290.
- ²⁸ *Authentic Report of the Conservative Festival at Merchant Tailor's Hall* (London: The Conservative Journal Office, 12 May 1838), cited in Norman Gash, *Reaction and Reconstruction in English Politics 1832-1852: The Ford Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford in the Hilary Term 1964* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 132, fn. 2. Peel there gave his most complete definition of Conservatism, i.e., "the maintenance of the prerogative of the Crown and the just constitutional powers of King, Lords, and Commons; that along with perfect equality of civil rights 'there shall always be in this country an established religion, fostered and encouraged by the State; and that that established religion shall maintain the doctrines of the Protestant reformed faith'; and that the alienation of Church property from spiritual uses would be resisted. Finally, 'by Conservative principles we mean the maintenance of our settled institutions in Church and State and also the preservation and defense of that combination of laws, of institutions, of usages, of habits and of manners which has contributed to mould and form the character of Englishmen.'" (Ibid., p. 132.) Extensive searching failed to find the document.
- ²⁹ "Conservative Festival for West Gloucestershire (From a Correspondent)," *Times* (London), 17 Aug. 1838, p. 5.
- ³⁰ "Conservative Festival at West Bromwich," *Times* (London), 30 Aug. 1838, p. 5.
- ³¹ Shoemakers marked St. Crispin's Day on 25 Oct., e.g. at Hexham, Northumberland, where they traditionally dined at a tavern, elected their royalty for a day, then processed "with banners, music," and reassembled in the evening "for dancing and other

festivities." Thistelton-Dyer, *British Popular Customs*, pp. 388-9.

³² "Liverpool Conservative Festival," *Times* (London), 22 Oct. 1838, p. 6; "Lancashire Witches" was named in a toast; it at least referred to the well-known local song.

³³ "Conservative Festival in Essex," *Times* (London), 3 Nov. 1838, p. 3.

³⁴ "Coleman-Street Ward Conservative Festival," *Times* (London), 17 Jan. 1839, p. 3.

³⁵ "Durham Grand Conservative Festival (From the *Standard*)," *Times* (London), 25 Jan. 1839, p. 6.

³⁶ "Conservative Festival in Carlow (Abridged from the *Dublin Packet*)," *Times* (London), 11 Mar. 1839, p. 3. Carlow had long been a Conservative borough controlled by Lord Charleville. See Norman Gash, *Mr. Secretary Peel: The Life of Sir Robert Peel to 1830* (London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1964), p. 104.

³⁷ "Grand Conservative Festival for West Gloucestershire," *Times* (London), 22 Aug. 1839, p. 5.

³⁸ "Hull Conservative Festival," *Times* (London), 30 Aug. 1839, p. 6.

³⁹ St. Matthew's Day is 21 Sep. Thistelton-Dyer, *British Popular Customs*, p. 374.

⁴⁰ "Grand Devonshire Conservative Festival. (Reviews)," *Times* (London), 20 Sep. 1839, p. 6.

⁴¹ A Goose Fair at Nottingham and in Lancashire a harvest-home are both held 2 Oct., but Northampton is not in these counties. Thistelton-Dyer, *British Popular Customs*, p. 384.

⁴² "Northampton Conservative Festival," *Times* (London), 2 Oct. 1839, p. 3.

⁴³ Edwin Ransford (1805-1876), well-known English singer, composer of glees and songs, publisher. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2000) (hereafter ODNB), s.v. "Ransford, Edwin." His son, William Edwin Ransford, d. 1890, also sang and published.

⁴⁴ Atkins is unknown except for singing at three Conservative Festivals: CF 1839 Northampton, CF 1840 Croydon, CF 1841 Stratford.

⁴⁵ "Warrington Grand Conservative Festival," *Times* (London), 14 Nov. 1839, p. 6.

⁴⁶ "Conservative Festival in Newry (from the *Newry Telegraph*)," *Times* (London), 20 Dec. 1839, p. 3.

⁴⁷ "Coleman-Street Ward Conservative Festival," *Times* (London), 20 Feb. 1840, p. 5.

⁴⁸ Possibly misspelled name of Willoughby Hunter Weiss (1820-1867), famous English bass oratorio and opera singer and composer who premiered much English music. *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (2nd ed., 2001) (hereafter NGD), s.v. "Weiss."

⁴⁹ Perhaps Henry George Davidson, (?1800-1875), probably a singer before becoming in 1844 a high-volume London music publisher of cheap editions of popular music including opera excerpts. NGD, s.v. "Davidson, Henry George."

⁵⁰ "Oxford Conservative Festival (Abridged from *The Oxford Herald*)," *Times* (London), 13 Jul. 1840, p. 6.

⁵¹ "Croydon Conservative Festival" *Times* (London), 23 Jul. 1840, p. 5.

⁵² "Conservative Festival at Wolverhampton (from our own correspondent)," *Times*

(London), 6 Jan. 1841, p. 5.

⁵³ "Conservative Festival at Stone," *Times* (London), 22 Jan. 1841, p. 3.

⁵⁴ "Conservative Festival at Reading," *Times* (London), 12 Aug. 1841, p. 5.

⁵⁵ Singer, composer, unknown except for three Conservative Festival performances at CF 1840 Croydon, CF 1841 Reading (his own song), CF 1841 Stratford.

⁵⁶ "Ashford Conservative Festival (From our own reporter)," *Times* (London), 14 Aug. 1841, p. 3.

⁵⁷ "Conservative Festival at Hertford," *Times* (London), 21 Aug. 1841, p. 6.

⁵⁸ "Stratford Conservative Festival," *Times* (London), 24 Aug. 1841, p. 5.

⁵⁹ Advertisement: "Essex Conservative Festival," *Times* (London), 6 Sep. 1841, p. 4; report: "Grand Conservative Festival at Chelmsford (By Express)," *Times* (London), 23 Sep. 1841, p. 5.

⁶⁰ "Conservative Festival at Maidstone, (Abridged from the *Maidstone Journal*)," *Times* (London), 13 Oct. 1841, p. 6.

⁶¹ Ibid. The two events on different days were reported as linked, in one press report.

⁶² "Conservative Festival at Nottingham (From the *Nottingham Journal*)," *Times* (London), 15 Oct. 1841, p. 5.

⁶³ "Conservative Festival at Hastings," *Times* (London), 16 Oct. 1841, p. 5.

⁶⁴ "Shropshire Conservative Festival, 12 November 1841, List of Toasts," Shropshire Archives, 549/438; Anon., "The Conservative Twelve," Ibid., 549/437. For being scheduled to coincide with "the musical festival," see "Shropshire Conservative Festival," *Times* (London), 12 Nov. 1841, p. 5. Songs listed in [] are only from programme, not newspaper report.

⁶⁵ "Conservative Festival," *Times* (London), 29 Aug. 1842, p. 6. After 1841, the last "Conservative Festival" mentioned in *Times* (London) before 1865 was this non-alcoholic, mixed-gender afternoon fete to celebrate winning a by-election with dancing around an 80-foot "May-pole" of self-conscious historicism, hosted by the 4th Duke of Newcastle on his grounds. Ballooning to 8000 participants, it seems to have exploded the practice of political party festivals. After 1842, only 6 Conservative Festivals were reported in *Times* (London), one each in 1865 and 1867, neither mentioning music. Between 1928 and 1934, there were a few "Conservative Song Festivals," in which political Conservatives awarded prizes first to musical competitors who were members of local Conservative Associations, then to the Conservative constituencies gaining the most such prizes. See "Conservative Festival in North Warwickshire," *Times* (London), 12 Aug. 1865, p. 12; "Conservative Festival at Cambridge," *Times* (London), 19 Jan. 19, 1867, p. 12; "Conservative Song Festival," *Times* (London), 12 May 1928, p. 11; "Conservative Festival Of Song," *Times* (London), 13 May 1930, p. 14; "Conservative Song Festival," *Times* (London), 21 Apr. 1931, p. 12; "Conservative Festival of Song," *Times* (London), 2 May 1932, p. 8 (prizes for "glee parties"); "Conservative Song Festival Names Of Prize Winners," *Times* (London), 14 May 1934, p. 12.

⁶⁶ All singers local; Foulds may have been related to the bassoonist who worked with the

Hallé orchestra, Manchester, and whose son, John Herbert Foulds (1880-1939) was a professional composer of note. NGD, s.v. "Foulds."

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Notes:

- 1) Full citations are presented only in this appendix and in the bibliography; articles in song titles are not included in the list.
- 2) Tallies were made only of clearly discrete musical works performed at Conservative Festivals between 1835 and 1841. Unless otherwise stated, the works in this appendix have been counted in the tallies. Tallies in the text are based on the works listed here.
- 3) Tallies summary:
 - a. Total number of clearly discrete musical works (including those for which only titles or first lines could be found) at Conservative Festivals 1835-1841: 55;
 - b. Total number of these works or lyrics collected: 45 (80%);
 - c. Total number of these works not collected: 10 (20%).
- 4) Additional song lyrics of music not known to have been performed at a Conservative Festival are provided for comparison (e.g., "A Sailor's Yarn" with "When First I Went to Sea" and in cases where it is not clear which song was intended by the title given in the primary source (e.g., "Great Bacchus," "Death of Nelson"). Repetitions have been removed from lyrics to save space, but many works used repetition effectively.
- 5) "Sic" is rarely used: to preserve the flavor of the original, apparent errors in spelling or syntax have been retained
- 6) Music is from Conservative Festivals, not from Conservative Dinners, because the latter have received fine scholarly attention and because similar, sometimes identical, music was performed at some Conservative Dinners, e.g., "The Steam Arm" at Canterbury dinner in 1834 and Canterbury festival in 1835.¹
- 7) Analysis summaries: criteria are stated in the legend. Themes column gives statements of hierarchy first, then proofs or statements of naturalness (nature) and history.
- 8) The overriding criterion in analysis was to estimate the effect in live performance of sounds and references in the lyrics on the intended listeners of that time.

LEGEND

Title	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Where a given work had title variations in different primary sources, each title variation is in the list in alphabetical order, and each entry notes the other variants in the list (<i>in brackets</i>); all variants were counted in tallies as the same work. Analytical information is given for only one variant. • Where works had similar or identical titles with discrete other works, at least two examples are given, but only the work most likely to have been used was analysed or counted in tallies.
Genre	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Musical genre stated in the table is that given by the original document; where scholarly assessment of a stylistic genre varies from the report, it is given in [brackets].
CF	Conservative Festival
Organizer	<p>OPERATIVE Operatives organized the Conservative Festival</p> <p>WOMEN Women organized the Conservative Festival</p> <p>Since most CF were organized by elite men, only exceptions to this rule are noted.</p>
VENUE	<p>Three types of performance venue were considered for each work:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CF: Conservative Festivals with CF performance dates; numbers in brackets, e.g., (2), indicate 2 CF performances in same year; numbers in brackets with x, e.g. (8x), indicate number of CF performances over the range of years given; see Appendix A: Conservative Festivals Chronology; • NGCC: Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club of London performance 1830-1847; for sample performance details see Appendix D: Catch Club Repertoire 1841-1847; full details are found in NGCC "Glees performed, 1828-71," British Library (hereafter BL) H.2788.ddd, eee. • EDU: Included in music textbooks used in state-subsidized music curriculum after 1839, by William Edward Hickson (1836) or John Hullah (1842); title notes give citations. Inclusion in curriculum indicates the music was widely known, and, because both Conservatives and Whigs supported the use of music in state-supported schools curriculum, EDU also shows social conservatism as independent of political party.
SA	Sing-along chorus or song so familiar and of narrow vocal range that all could sing along.

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Hier	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hierarchy: referred to with mention of one or more of the following features of political and social hierarchy: Constitution, Church, Monarchy, Lords, Wellington; • Workers and women as natural lower ranks in a beneficial hierarchy • For virtues associated with class, see Virtues, below. • Gender hierarchy is an underlying presence, only occasionally becoming overt. See ♀ symbols.
H-CON	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Constitution of Church and State, sometimes with House of Lords, implies the whole governance structure with divine mandate for hierarchy
H-MON	Monarchy; reference to a monarch is a reference to monarchy
H-CHU	Church as part of State; to conserve it as part of governance; stands for God's will on earth; reference to God; names of both Christian and mythic divinities are deemed to be legible as reference to God and the sacred. The sound of church music was also a recognizable reference to the Church and to God, e.g. in "Great Bacchus" which sounds hymnal in places using religious diction like "altar."
H-Lords	House of Lords; reference to nobles, lords, individual lords (e.g., Duke of Wellington) and the House of Lords is seen as reference to the belief that aristocratic rights were based on special, heritable abilities to govern without being elected.
H-W	Working men as main subject or voice in a hierarchical setting
H-W-hostile	Hostile to working men seeking to rise in status; usually humorous, as a criticism of Reform
H-(W)	Working men secondary subject or implied
H-♀	Gender hierarchy: women defined in terms of their relationship with men, whether successful or failing in it
W	Worker(s) not in a hierarchical setting
Virtues	<p>Specific virtues are noted:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Worker virtues: bravery, duty, loyalty • Aristocratic or royal virtues: heroism (often named heroes), nobility (self-sacrifice or disinterestedness, sometimes also attributed to workers), justice (rule of law), wisdom, (sometimes also bravery, duty). • Bravery was a form of manliness common to aristocrats and working men • Duty was a virtue for both aristocrats and workers, but the duties themselves were different according to class.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women's virtues: not stated as such, but tend to be obedience, providing service (e.g., food), often inverted in humour; see ♀
Nature	Any mention of Nature, flora (e.g., oak; people depicted as part of nature); rural setting, agriculture is a subset of nature
History	<p>Reference to or evocation of history as changeless or proof of benefits of hierarchical social or governance system; may be explicit or implicit. Specific references to history are noted:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Event—real historic event, obvious to listeners at the time • Person—real historic person, obvious to listeners at the time • Myth—mythic character, event • Diction—archaic words • Time—time as changeless; naming historic time periods or persons; personal past (e.g., childhood) • Form—archaic musical forms of madrigal or “fa-la;” or composition date 20 years or more prior to 1830²
V	Victory; a theme for the Conservative party; echoed in references to military battle or victory, heroes real or mythic, heroism; and critical toward Reform, Whigs, Catholics (including references to Catholic Spain or other non-Protestant religion)
BENEFITS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identified from the perspective of protagonist of the lyrics. • Include: emotion, plenty (food, drink, wealth), freedom, peace, music
Emotion	Positive emotion, delight, happiness, pleasure, love and family (♀)
E: Fellow	Emotion of fellowship, rich emotionalism
E: Hap Hier	Emotion of happy hierarchy, where the happiness is a function of clearly different social ranks enjoying themselves together
Plenty	Abundance (general), abundant food
Plenty: D	Drink
Plenty: £	Wealth or local commerce
Freedom	Hierarchy supports this view of freedom often as opposed to the “slavery” of Catholicism or hypocritical assertions of class-crossing equality
Peace	No war or civil disturbance; e.g., contrast with French Revolution
Music	Music as a good in itself or as a trope of social harmony; not hunting horns or ceremonial trumpets (both are organized noise used to direct traffic, whether of people or foxes)
♀	Women are referred to with words like beauty, love, heart, family; are

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presented as benefits to men, but are not presented as a main subject nor as autonomous agents; sole exception is "There is Nae Luck"

- ♀(hostile) **Hostile to women** or their demands
- (♀) **Women as secondary**, passing or implicit reference

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TITLES / Lyrics	Venue / Genre / SA	Themes	Benefits
ADELAIDE SONGS³ <i>None found.</i> <i>Counted in tallies as 2 separate works.⁴</i>	CF 1839 1841 (3) Glee	H-MON	
ALTERATION⁵ Come listen my neighbours and hear a merry ditty, Of a strange alteration in ev'ry town and city, I'll tell you of the times when Queen Bess rul'd the nation, And take view of things in their present situation, O what an alteration is now to be seen Since the happy times when Elizabeth was Queen. Then the ladies wore their pleated ruffs in a neat and pretty order With close ear'd caps as white as snow, all crimp'd around the border, But now the ladies head dress would frighten ye to stare at They've a long head of hair behind, friz'd, curl'd, and greas'd with bear's fat, No perfume about their dresses then, nor no foreign tawdry, No frippery of chintzes then or the spangle of embroidery, But now in every gaudy fashion, the ladies dress in that they can wish, Feeding other foreign nations to starve their own. They eat bread and milk for breakfast out of a wooden noggin, The ladies stomachs were not delicate, they never fit clogging, But now twenty shilling tea, and fine sugar how they swallow down, With hot butter'd rolls, and the roll must be a French one. Mechanics then and tradesmen there were few that were unable,	CF 1835 Song	H-MON H-CHU H-(W) <i>History:</i> Person Diction Time	E:HapHier Plenty ♀-hostile

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<p>On Sunday to provide a good hot joint upon the table, A plumb pudding for their children, to please their little creatures, But now many hungry children fill their bellies with potatoes,</p> <p>Then good cloathing was provided for the poor in winter weather, For the rich and the poor were hand in hand together, But now the poor's degraded, and if ragged their clothes [sic] is, The rich keep at a distance and turn up their noses,</p> <p>Good ladies then twice a day kept the sabbath with decorum, Walk'd to church with a bible and their family before 'em, But now they're drove in coaches and when the church they push in, Instead of bibles carry lapdogs and shock must have a cushion,</p> <p>Then good friendship it was found in every neighbour's dwelling, The whispering of slander was their pride to be dispelling, But now everybody's business some people make their own, And if they see [?] they'll strive to pull you down,</p> <p>Thus happy they did live sir, as you may plainly see And liv'd a bright example to their posterity, May we follow their steps till we happily attain, And then restore the King to his throne again, And long may he reign with glory and success, And may he reign hereafter in heaven's happiness.</p>			
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<p>BONNETS OF BLUE⁶ <i>(Hurrah for the bonnets of blue) Counted in tallies of total works, but not in tallies of textual themes because performed only instrumentally at a CF. Criteria for lyrics' analysis is legibility of themes during specific performances.</i></p> <p>v.1 Here's a health to them that's awa', And wha winna wish guid luck to our cause May never guid luck be their fa', It's guid to be honest and wise, It's guid to be honest and true, It's guid to support Caledonia's cause, And bide by the bonnets o' blue. CHORUS: Hurrah! for the bonnets o' blue, It's guid to support Caledonia's cause, And bide by the bonnets o' blue.</p> <p>v.2 Here's a health to them that's awa', Here's a health to Donald the chief o' the clan, Although that his band be but sma' ; Here's freedom to him that wad read, Here's freedom to him that wad write, There's none ever fear'd that the truth should be heard But they who the truth wad indict. CHORUS</p>	<p>CF 1839 1841</p>		
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<p>BRAVE OLD OAK⁷ A song to the oak, the brave old oak, Who has ruled in the greenwood long, Here's health and renown, to his broad green crown And his fifty arms so strong. There's fear in his frown when the sun goes down, And the fire in the west fades out; And he showeth his might on a wild midnight When the storms through his branches shout. CHORUS Then here's to the oak, The brave old oak, Who stands in his pride alone; And flourish he, a hale green tree, When a hundred years are gone. v.2 In the days of old, when the Spring cold, Had brightened his branches grey, Through the grass at his feet crept maidens sweet, To gather the dew of May. And on that day, at the rebeck gay, They frolick'd with lovesome swains, They are gone—they are dead— In the churchyard laid, But the tree it still remains. CHORUS v.3 He saw the rare times when Christmas chimes Was a merry sound to hear, When the squire's wide hall, and cottage small, Was fill'd with good English fare, Now gold hath the sway, we all obey, And a ruthless king is he— But he never shall send our ancient friend To be tossed on the stormy sea. CHORUS</p>	<p>CF 1837 Song SA</p>	<p>H-MON H-W Nature <i>History</i> Diction Time <i>Virtue</i> Bravery</p>	<p>V Emotion E: HapHier Plenty (♀)</p>
<p>BRITISH OAK⁸ OPERATIVE The Gods and the Goddesses once were inclin'd To select each a tree, as best suited their mind; The Myrtle chose Venus— for the Vine, Bacchus spoke— But Britannia, with eagerness, seiz'd on the Oak. v.2 'Tis an emblem,' said she, 'of my own darling isle, To the clime best adapted, as well as the soil. In virtue, worth, character, both coincide— That, the chief of the Wood—</p>	<p>CF 1838 Song</p>	<p>H-CON H-MON H-Lords H-W Nature <i>History:</i> Myth Time <i>Virtues:</i></p>	<p>V Plenty: £</p>

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<p><i>this</i>, of Nations, the pride.</p> <p>v.3 The King, Lords, and Commons, fam'd union of three, What are they, but the Head, Trunk, and Root of my tree, With the sap of pure freedom Diffus'd through each pore, Giving vigour and health to the heart's very core.</p> <p>v.4 As the wide-spreading branches luxuriant shoot, British commerce extends, yielding plenty of fruit. And my sons, like the Bark, in appearance are rough, But within, form'd by Nature of good solid stuff. Then with freedom and bravery, this honest band, Make Mercy and Loyalty go hand in hand; Kings & Princes distress'd, to their bosoms shall flee, And be shelter'd by them, as Charles was by my tree.</p> <p>v.5 This likeness throughout will be found to pervade; Britain's Laws are the Leaves, yielding shelter and shade. Of her Church, too, my Oak as a type may be given; Deep-rooted in earth but with head rais'd to heav'n!</p> <p>v.6 Of this tree of my choice, Britons ever shall boast, And should foreign invaders dare threaten their coast, Wooden walls she'll provide as their bulwark by sea, And Neptune hath promis'd their guardian to be.</p> <p>v.7 A brave race, call'd my Tars, a peculiar tribe, Shall be nurs'd in my tree, and her nature imbibe. Undaunted shall they met the enemy's stroke, And Nelsons and Thompsons be true hearts of oak.</p> <p>v.8 Though the daemon of Discord should stalk through the world, And state after state into chaos be hurl'd— Though the blast of Destruction should ravage the land,</p>		<p>Loyalty Justice Wisdom</p>	
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Like MY OAK, ' <i>midst the STORM, FIRM, GREAT BRITAIN SHALL STAND!</i> '			
COME LET US JOIN THE ROUNDELAY⁹ Come let us join the roundelay And sing the jocund time away Fa la la la la la, Fa la la la ... While the Fauns and Satyrs round Dance along on Fairy ground And the merry nymphs and Swains Gaily trip these rural plains. Fa la la la la la ...	CF 1840 NGCC [No genre given: madrigal]	Nature <i>History:</i> Diction Form	Emotion (♀)
CONSERVATIVE TEN¹⁰ And does not a toast such as this make amends For our portion of trouble and fear? Then fill to the brink, brother freemen and friends, For the men of our choice are all here! The battle is over, the day is our own, We have fought, we have conquered like men: Such a day, such a triumph, has never been known! We've returned our Conservative Ten! v.2 'T'is the voice of the county, look all around, How they throng from all parts to the field! The contest was sure with success to be crown'd With such men for our buckler and shield! Even beauty the light of her countenance lends, Delighted to hold in her ken, So respected, so lov'd, brothers, husbands, or friends, In our gallant Conservative Ten! v.3 The Destructives, compel'd to acknowledge and feel That the nation was tired of their yoke, Laid the desperate train of a corn law repeal, Though their plot only ended in smoke! But their sugar is melted, their timber decay'd, E'en their 'Lamb' is shut out from his pen, Of such men and their measures, old Essex, afraid, Has return'd its Conservative Ten! v.4 Nay; Britannia herself, shrinking back at the view Of the storms and the breakers ahead, 'Ere the state ship be wreck'd, has disbanded her crew, And press'd abler hands in their stead!	CF 1841 Song	H-CON H-MON H-Lords Nature <i>History:</i> Diction Time <i>Virtues:</i> Loyalty Justice	V E: Fellow

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<p>The winds of sedition may threaten our realm, And its waves may break o'er us—what then? The Duke's in the cabin, with Peel at the helm, And on deck, our Conservative Ten!</p> <p>v.5 Then long may this worthy Decemvirate stand, In defence of our country and Queen! Such a firm, such a trusty Conservative band, In our memory has never been seen! If oppos'd, we'll support them— If sadden'd, we'll cheer, We'll return them again and again, Then away with all doubt, apprehension, or fear, Long live our Conservative Ten!</p>			
<p>CONSERVATIVE TWELVE¹¹ <i>(Hark! 'Tis the trumpet of glory!)</i> Hark! Hark! 'tis the Trumpet of Glory—Lo! Fame Twines a wreath of bright laurel Round each noble brow; Whilst thousands rejoicing, the Vict'ry proclaim, And breathe forth with fervor the patriot's vow. CHORUS: <i>Hurrah!</i> Our Vow is to cherish Britannia's renown, And deep in the Mine of her Glory to delve; To stand firm alike To the <i>Church</i> and the <i>Crown</i>, 'T'is for this—Proud <i>Salopia</i> Sends forth her TWELVE.</p> <p>v.2 Yes proud is <i>Salopia</i>, the first is Her Name, On the record that blazons the loyal and true, & may those who despise her example, see shame, <i>Feel</i> the Chain of the Slave, and be desolate too; CHORUS</p> <p>v.3 Hurrah! Then for <i>Darlington</i>, <i>Clive</i>, <i>Hill & Gore</i>; <i>North</i> and <i>South</i> for <i>Salopia</i>, they gallantly stand, Hurrah too for <i>Bridgnorth</i>, —<i>Pigot</i>, and <i>Whitmore</i>, For <i>Gaskell</i> and <i>Forester</i>, <i>Wenlock's</i> staunch band. CHORUS</p> <p>v.4 Hurrah! For the Members of <i>Salop's</i> old Town, For <i>Tomline</i>, <i>Disraeli</i>, its Champions true, For <i>Botfield</i> and <i>Ackers</i>, of <i>Ludlow</i> renown, Hurrah! Rend the skies for our noble true blue.</p>	<p>CF 1841</p> <p>Song SA</p>	<p>H-CON H-MON H-(W)</p> <p>Nature</p> <p><i>History:</i> Diction</p> <p><i>Virtues:</i> Loyalty Nobility Heroism</p>	<p>V Plenty: D Freedom</p>

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CONSTITUTIONAL WATCHWORD <i>Not found. Likely written locally for the occasion.</i> <i>Counted in tallies.</i>	CF 1841 Song	H-CON	
<p>DEATH OF NELSON¹² <i>Alternative version. Not counted in tallies.</i> 'T'was in Trafalgar's bay, We saw the Frenchmen lay, Each heart was bounding then; We scorn'd the foreign yoke Our ships were British oak, Hearts of oak our men. Our Nelson mark'd them on the wave, Three cheers our gallant seamen gave, Nor thought of home or beauty; Along the line this signal ran— CHORUS: England expects that every man This day will do his duty.</p> <p>v.2 And now the cannons roar Along the affrighted shore, Our Nelson led the way, His ship the Vict'ry nam'd; Long be that Vict'ry fam'd! For vict'ry crown'd the day! But dearly was that conquest bought, Too well the gallant hero fought For England, home, and beauty; He cried, as 'midst the fire he ran— CHORUS: v.3 At last the fatal wound, Which spread dismay around, The hero's breast receiv'd; Heav'n fights on our side; The day's our own, he cried; Now long enough I've liv'd! In honour's cause my life was past, In honour's cause I fall at last For England, home, and beauty! Thus ending life as he began CHORUS: England confess'd that ev'ry man That day had done his duty.</p>	<p><u>No</u> CF</p> <p>Song SA</p>	<p>H-W</p> <p>Nature</p> <p><i>History:</i> Event¹³ Person</p> <p><i>Virtues:</i> Bravery Duty Heroism</p>	<p>V</p> <p>Emotion Freedom</p>

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DOWNSHIRE MARCH <i>Not found.</i> <i>Counted in tallies</i>	CF 1836 [No genre given]		
FINE OLD ENGLISH GENTLEMAN ¹⁴ <i>(Old English Gentleman)</i> I'll sing you an old ballad That was made by an old pate, Of a poor old English gentleman Who had an old estate, He kept a brave old mansion At a bountiful old rate With a good old porter to relieve The old poor at his gate CHORUS: Like a fine old English gentleman, All of the olden time. v.2 His hall so old, was hung around With pikes, and guns, and bows, With swords, and good old bucklers, that Had stood against many foes; And there his worship sat in state, In doublet, and trunk-hose And quaffed a cup of good old wine, To warm his good old nose. CHORUS v.3 When winter cold brought Christmas old, He opened house to all, And, though three score and ten his years, He featly led the ball; Nor was the houseless wanderer Then driven from the hall, For, while he feasted all the great, He ne'er forgot the small. CHORUS v.4 But time, though old, is strong in flight, And years roll'd swiftly by, When autumn's falling leaf foretold This poor old man must die! He laid him down quite tranquilly, Gave up life's latest sigh, While heavy sadness fell around, And tears bedewed each eye. CHORUS	CF 1837 1839 1841 (2) Song SA	H-W Nature <i>History:</i> Myth Diction Time	V E:HapHier Plenty Plenty: D Music

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FOR HE'S A HEARTY GOOD FELLOW <i>OPERATIVE</i> <i>Not found, probably same as "Jolly Good Fellow."</i> <i>Not counted in tallies.</i>	CF 1839 Warrington		
FORESTERS, SOUND THE CHEERFUL HORN¹⁵ Foresters sound the cheerful horn, Hark to the woods away! Diana with her nymphs this morn Will hunt the stag to bay. At length return'd from healthful chase Let BACCHUS crown the day, While VENUS with seducing grace Shall all our toil repay.	CF 1836 NGCC Glee	H-(W) Nature <i>History:</i> Myth Diction	V E:HapHier Plenty: D (♀)
GOD SAVE THE KING/QUEEN¹⁶ <i>OPERATIVE, WOMEN</i> God save our noble King! Long live our gracious King! God save the King. Send him victorious, happy and glorious, Long to reign over us, God save the King. v.2 O Lord our God, arise! Scatter his enemies, And make them fall! Confound their politics, Frustrate their knavish tricks; On Thee [alt: on him] our hopes we fix, God save us all [alt: O save us all]. v.3 Thy choicest gifts in store, On Him be pleas'd to pour, Long may he reign. May he defend our laws, And ever give us cause, To sing, with heart and voice, God save the King!	CF 1836 to 1841 (22) Song SA	H-MON H-CHU <i>Virtues:</i> Loyalty	V Emotion Plenty Music ♀
GOING OUT A SHOOTING¹⁷ Some friends of mine for mirth and glee, Fix'd on a day to have a spree, When 'twas agreed upon that we, Should all go out a shooting, There was Will Smith and Stephen Shore, With Harry Grant and Bob Blower, Besides old Muggins and Dickey Moore, I think in all full half a score, Towards the autumn's dreary close, When frost begins to nip the toes, These friends of mine they did propose, We should go out a shooting.	CF 1835 Song SA	H-W Nature	V E:HapHier E: Fellow Plenty: D ♀-hostile

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<p>CHORUS With power wadding dog and gun, Up Sportsmen up the day's begun, I never shall forget the fun, We had going out a shooting.</p> <p>v.2 'T'was at old Muggins' house we met All ripe for fun a jovial set We had Cigars and just a wet Before we went a shooting Old Muggins he a musket had Which was his father's when a lad While Bob Blower made a pretty fuss About his uncle's blunderbuss Determin'd all things should be right We prim'd and loaded over night Since full four hours before 't'was light We were to start a shooting.</p> <p>CHORUS</p> <p>v.3 As off down Fenchurch Street we set Towards Saint George's Church to get A lot of the new Police we met As we went out a Shooting The Sergeant quick did collar me The rest as they the guns did see Sung out Lads here's a burglary What's in those bundles come let's see With that a dreadful fight arose And Muggins got a broken nose When off we to the station goes Instead of out a Shooting.</p> <p>CHORUS</p> <p>v.4 At length by paying something each As we for freedom did beseech We did contrive to mend the breach And started off a Shooting. Every thing then went on well No pleasure sure could ours excel Untill we come to Camberwell When we a precious fog did smell So thick and in such clouds arose Like cobwebs it hung on our cloaths None saw an inch before his Nose As we went out a Shooting.</p>			
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<p>CHORUS v.5 Disasters still did follow nigh For as we cross'd o'er Peckham Rye Bob pok'd his gun in Bill Smith's eye As we went out a Shooting At length so dreadful came the fog Poor Muggins fell into a bog His gun went off and shot his Dog As dead as any wooden log And when he again on dry ground stood We laugh'd tho' forc'd to chew the cud To see his mouth stuff'd full o' mud Thro' going out a Shooting. CHORUS v.6 We halted just about day break As all our legs began to ache And thought we'd each some breakfast take Ere we commenc'd our shooting Upon a stile then snugly moor'd We had of meat a perfect hoard The gin and water we had stor'd Into our tumblers then we pour'd But it seems misfortune never halts For Muggins' Wife who had her faults Instead of Gin had <i>put up Salts</i> For him to take a Shooting. CHORUS v.7 We every step thro' rain did come At last we saw poor Muggins home Who vows he ne'er again will roam At least to go a Shooting For my part I can only say I never spent so sad a day And as to Birds black white or grey We did not see one all the way Muggins sits at home and crams Sells his Butter Eggs and Hams But as for sporting fairly D—s The day he went out Shooting. CHORUS</p>			
<p>GREAT BACCHUS¹⁸ Great Bacchus, O aid us to sing thy great glory; Thou chief of the gods, we assemble before thee! Wine's first projector, Mankind's protector, Hail.</p>	<p>CF 1841 Glee</p>	<p>H-CHU Nature</p>	<p>E: Fellow Plenty: D Music</p>

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Patron of social delights, we adore thee. All nature rejoic'd when thy birth was declar'd, Behold here thy altar, and vot'ries prepar'd! Crown with thy blessing all who confessing No pow'r on earth can with thine be compar'd!		<i>History:</i> Myth Diction Form	
GREAT BACCHUS¹⁹ <i>Alternative version. Not counted in tallies.</i> Great BACCHUS is mighty, in giving us WINE, from ITALY, SPAIN, and from FRANCE to the RHINE, but of all the great Blessings he to us conveys, his WINE, of OPORTO, must carry the Praise, who's Beauty's transcendent, and vigour so stout as other WINE gives, this still eases the Gout, that Scurvy it cures of the Body and Mind, both the Aged, and Young by experience do find, Of Foes it makes Friends, the dull it makes witty, and pleases each Pallate, of Country and Citty, then if any wou'd know which of WINE'S the best sort, let him take for his answer, a Bottle of PORT.		H-CHU <i>History:</i> Myth	E: Fellow Plenty: D
HAIL, SMILING MORN!²⁰ Hail, smiling morn, That tips the hills with gold, Whose rosy fingers ope the gates of day. Hail! Who the gay face of nature doth unfold, At whose bright presence darkness flies away. Hail!	CF 1836 1841 NGCC Glee SA	Nature <i>History:</i> Diction	V Emotion
HAIL, STAR OF BRUNSWICK!²¹ <i>OPERATIVE</i> Hail, hail, hail, Star of Brunswick! If War's ordain'd, this Star shall dart its Beams thro' that black Cloud Which rising from the Thames with Thunder form'd of Brunswicks Wrath Is sent to claim the Seas and awe the Continent. Hail, Star of Brunswick! This shall direct it where the Bolt to throw, a Star for us a Comet to the Foe, If Peace shall smile by this shall Commerce steer a steady Course in Triumph round the Sphere. And gath'ring Tribute from each distant Shore In Britain's Lap the Worlds Abundance pour.	CF 1836 to 1841(8) NGCC Glee	H-MON Nature <i>History:</i> Person ²² Diction <i>Virtue:</i> Heroism	V E:HapHier Plenty: £

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HARK! THE VOICE OF TRIUMPH! <i>Not counted in tallies. (Conservative twelve)</i>			
HEALTH TO OLD ENGLAND, THE KING, AND THE CHURCH²³ <i>(Here's a Health to Old England, Jolly Full Bottle, With a Jolly Full Bottle)</i> OPERATIVE With a jolly full Bottle let each Man be arm'd We must be good Subjects, when our Hearts are thus warm'd. Here's a Health to Old England, the King, and the Church, May all plotting contrivers be left in the lurch, May England's great Monarch bravely fight his just Cause, Establish long Peace our Religion and Laws.	CF 1835 1837 1838 (2) 1839 Glee, Song SA	H-CON H-MON H-CHU (W) <i>History:</i> Diction <i>Virtue:</i> Loyalty	V Emotion E: HapHier Plenty: D Peace
HEART (HEARTS) OF OAK²⁴ Come, cheer up my lads, 't'is to glory we steer, To add something new to this wonderful year, To honour we call you, not to press you like slaves, For who are so free as the sons of the waves. CHORUS: Hearts of oak are our ships, Jolly tars are our men, We always are ready, steady, boys, steady, We'll fight and we'll conquer again and again. v. 2 We ne'er see our foes but we wish them to stay; They ne'er see us but they wish us away, If they run, why we follow and run them ashore, For if they won't fight us we cannot do more. CHORUS v. 3 They swear they'll invade us, these terrible foes, They'll frighten our children, our women, our beaus; But, should their flat bottoms in darkness get o'er, Still Britons they'll find to receive them ashore. CHORUS v. 4 [in Jackson only] We'll still make them fear, and we'll still make them flee, And drub them on shore, as we've drubbed 'em at sea, Then cheer up, my lads, with one heart let us sing, Our soldiers, our sailors, our statesmen, our King.	CF 1836 EDU Air SA	H-MON H-W Nature <i>Virtues:</i> Loyalty Bravery	V Freedom Music (♀)

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HERE'S A HEALTH TO ALL GOOD LASSES <i>(LASSIES)²⁵ (Let a bumper toast go round)</i> Here's a health to all good lasses, Pledge it merrily, fill your glasses, Let a bumper toast go round. May they live a life of pleasure, Without mixture, without measure, For with them true joys are found.	CF 1835 1837 1838 1841 Glee SA	H-♀	Emotion Plenty: D ♀
HERE'S A HEALTH TO HONEST JOHN BULL²⁶ CHORUS Here's a health to honest John Bull When he's gone we shant find such another And with hearts and with glasses brimful Here's a health to old England his Mother. SOLO: She gave him a good Education Bade him keep to his Church & his King Be loyal and true to the Nation And then go be merry and sing. CHORUS DUETT: Now John is a good humour'd fellow Industrious honest and brave Not afraid of his betters when mellow Tho' betters he knows he must have. CHORUS SOLO Rights of Man make a very fine sound Equal Riches a plausible tale, Some must govern and some till the ground Or all riches would speedily fail. CHORUS DUETT That Knaves are for Levelling no wonder 'Tis easy to guess at their views, 'tis they would get all by the Plunder 'tis they who have nothing to lose. CHORUS SOLO Then away with such nonsense and stuff Full of Treason confusion and blood Ev'ry Briton has Freedom enough To be happy as long as he's good. CHORUS	CF 1839 Song SA	H-CON H-MON H-CHU H-W <i>History:</i> Myth Diction <i>Virtues:</i> Bravery Loyalty	E:HapHier Plenty: D Music
HERE'S A HEALTH TO OLD ENGLAND, THE KING AND THE CHURCH <i>Not counted in tallies. (Health to old England), (Jolly full bottle), (With a jolly full bottle).</i>			
HERE'S A HEALTH TO THE KING AND QUEEN <i>Not found. Counted in tallies.</i>	CF 1836 (2) 1837 Glee	H-MON	

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HERE'S A HEALTH TO THE PRINCE AND QUEEN²⁷ <i>Not found. Counted in tallies. (Here's a health to the King and Queen).</i>	CF 1841 Glee	H-MON	
HERE'S A HEALTH TO THE QUEEN²⁸ Here's a health to the King, and a lasting peace, To faction an end, to wealth increase. And come, let's drink it while we have breath, For there's no drinking after death. CHORUS: And he that will this health deny, Down among the dead men let him lie. v.2 Let charming beauty's health go round, In whom celestial joys are found; And may confusion still pursue The senseless woman hating crew! CHORUS v.3 In smiling Bacchus' joys I'll roll, Deny no pleasure to my soul; Let Bacchus' health round briskly move, For Bacchus is a friend to love: CHORUS v.4 May love and wine their rites maintain And their united pleasure reign! While Bacchus' treasure crowns the board We'll sing the joys that both afford: CHORUS	CF 1835 1836 EDU Glee	H-MON <i>History:</i> Person Diction	Emotion E: Fellow Plenty: D Plenty: £ Peace (♀)
HURRAH FOR THE BONNETS OF BLUE²⁹ <i>(Bonnets of Blue) Counted in tallies of total selections but not for textual references.</i>	CF 1839 1841		
HURRAH TO THE BRAVE <i>Not found. Counted in tallies.</i>	CF 1841 Song	<i>Virtue:</i> Bravery	
IN LEGENDS OLD³⁰ In legends old, we've oft been told, Of Arthur, Britain's King, sir; But let all here, with heartfelt cheer, A greater Arthur sing, sir.	CF 1839 Song	H-MON H-Lords <i>History:</i> Person ³¹ Myth Time	V
JOLLY COMPANIONS EVERY ONE³² <i>Not found. Counted in tallies.</i>	CF 1839		E: Fellow
JOLLY FULL BOTTLE <i>Not counted in tallies. (Health to old England), (Here's a health to old England), (With a jolly full bottle).</i>			

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<p>LANCASHIRE WITCHES³³ In vain I attempt to describe The charms of a favourite fair, She's the sweetest of mother Eve's tribe, With her there is none to compare, She's a mirror of beauty so bright, Her image my fancy enriches, My charmer's the village delight, and the pride of the Lancashire Witches. Then hurrah for the Lancashire Witches Whose smiles every besom enriches Oh dearly I prize the pretty blue eyes, Of the pride of the Lancashire Witches. They may talk of the dark eyes of Spain, 'Tis useless to boast as they do, They attempt to compare them in vain With the Lancashire ladies of blue Only view the dear heavenly belles, You are seiz'd with love's sudden twitches, Which nought could create but the spells From the eyes of the Lancashire witches. CHORUS The Lancashire ladies, believe me Are beautiful, every one, But mine, or my fancy deceives me, Is the prettiest under the sun; If the wealth of the Indies, I swear, Were mine, and I wallow'd in riches, How gladly my fortune I'd share With the pride of the Lancashire witches.</p>	<p>CF 1838 [No genre given: Song] SA</p>		<p>Emotion ♀</p>
<p>LASS OF RICHMOND HILL³⁴ On Richmond Hill there lives a lass More bright than May-day morn Whose charms all other maids' surpass A rose without a thorn. CHORUS: This lass so neat, with smiles so sweet Has won my right good will I'd crowns resign to call thee mine Sweet lass of Richmond Hill. v. 2 Ye zephyrs gay that fan the air And wanton thro' the grove O whisper to my charming fair "I die for her I love." CHORUS v.3 How happy will that shepherd be</p>	<p>CF 1837 EDU Song SA</p>	<p>H-MON (CF context only) Nature <i>History:</i> Diction</p>	<p>Emotion ♀</p>

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Who calls this nymph his own! O may her choice be fix'd on me! Mine's fix'd on her alone. CHORUS			
LET A BUMPER GO ROUND³⁵ <i>Not: (Let the bumper toast go round)</i> Let a bumper go round, for the toast that we give Is one that in each loyal memory will live, While Conservative principles prosper the land, And extinguish the flame which sedition has fanned. Fill your glasses, and, while at success you rejoice— Drink health, and long life, to the man of your choice; And let nine hearty cheers with your harmony blend, For Lushington, proved the Conservative's friend. CHORUS: Fill your glasses, &c. v.2 Triumphant—though faction denied him his right; Triumphant, he passed through the national fight; And supported by those, whom around us we view, He defeated the wiles of the infidel crew; Their malice was stingless, and powerless their strength, And their purse was by no means renowned for its length, For their funds quite exhausted, they beat a retreat When they found that our Member they could not unseat. CHORUS v.3 Long may Lushington live, to support our good cause, To uphold all our rights, and to strengthen our laws; May he represent us for years yet remote, As he will, if it only depends on our vote. And oh! In that kingdom, where all things are pure, When he leaves us, may he his election secure; But when that time arrives only we shall feel pain, For on Lushington's like we shall ne'er look again.	CF 1835 Glee SA	H-MON <i>Virtues:</i> Loyalty Justice	V E: Fellow Plenty: D Music
LET THE BUMPER TOAST GO ROUND. <i>Not counted in tallies. (Here's a toast to all good lasses)</i>			
MAID OF JUDAH³⁶ When the trump of Fame Loud sounding Freedom's call Bids in Freedom's name, To Fight or bravely fall, Bold the Hero goes,	CF 1835 Song	<i>History:</i> Diction <i>Virtues:</i> Heroism	V Emotion Freedom ♀

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<p>Where madd'ning War shouts rise, And 'midst countless Foes he flies. Bright the Sword now gleams, And Banners wave on high, Round the life-blood streams, 'Mid cries of 'Yield or die,' 'Till Victory uprears Her pennon red with gore, And shouts to Patriot ears That Slav'ry reigns no more.</p> <p>v.2 When the voice of Love To rescue calls the Brave Who so base would prove He would not fly to save? Love whose torch in Hall And Pow'r doth brightly flame, Champions finds in all Who Manhood claim. Then shame befall the Knight Who false to Honour's laws, Shuns the listed fight In injured woman's cause; May he from the Foe In Battle recreant fly, And by some traitor blow, Unpitied fall and die. CHORUS.</p>		Nobility	
<p>MAIL COACH ADVENTURES³⁷ <i>OPERATIVE</i> I'm Simon Bore, just come from College, My studies I've persued so far; I'm call'd for my surprising knowledge, The walking Cyclopedia. Though some perhaps may call me quiz, Their jeers I value not a jot, In art and nature, all that is, I'll tell you, aye, and all that's not, So you must all acknowledge O, I've made good use of college O, While I was there completely bare, I stripp'd the tree of knowledge O.</p> <p>v.2 Hay is brought to town in carts, Ham sandwiches ar'nt made of tin; They don't feed cows on apple tarts, Nor wear gilt spurs up on the chin; Bullock's don't were Opera hats, Fiddles are not made of cheese; Nor pigeon pies of water rats, Boil'd salmon does not grow on trees.</p>	<p>CF 1838 Song</p>	<p>H-W Nature</p>	

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<p>v.3 Putty is not good to eat, Frying pans ar'n't made of gauze; Penny rolls are made of wheat, Straw bonnets, too, are made of straws; Horses don't wear Hessian boots, The Thames is not mock turtle soup; A child can't eat an iron hoop, And pigs don't play the German flute.</p> <p>v.4 Kittens are but little cats, Mouse-traps are not county jails, Whales are full as large as sprats, They don't stuff geese with copper nails; A German waltz is not a hymn, The French are mostly born in France; Fishes ar'n't afraid to swim, And turkies seldom learn to dance.</p> <p>v.5 Twenty turnips make a score, Dustmen rarely drink champaign; A cow's tail seldom grows before, They don't make wigs of bamboo cane; Dutchmen sometimes lie in beds, A cabbage cannot dance a jig; Grass does not grow on ladies heads, A bull dog need not wear a wig.</p> <p>v.6 Fifty pounds of yellow soap, Weigh more than 25 of cheese; An oyster cannot chew a rope, Poor people have a right to sneeze; Pigs don't read the Morning Post, Watch chains are not roasting jacks; They don't make boots of butter'd toast, Red herrings don't pay powder tax. So you must all acknowledge, O ... etc.</p>			
<p>MIGHTY CONQUEROR³⁸ The mighty conqueror of hearts His pow'r I here deny With all his flames, his fires and darts, I champion-like defy. I'll offer all my sacrifice Henceforth at Bacchus' shrine,</p>	<p>CF 1838 1839 NGCC Glee</p>	<p>H-CHU <i>History:</i> Diction <i>Virtue:</i> Heroism</p>	<p>V Emotion Plenty: D ♀-hostile</p>

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The merry god ne'er tells us lies, There's no deceit in wine.			
MOUNTAIN MAID ³⁹ The Mountain Maid from her bow'r has hied, And sped to the glassy Rivers side Where the radiant moon shone clear and bright, And the willows wav'd in the silver light. On a mossy bank lay a shepherd Swain He woke his pipe to a tuneful strain. CHORUS And so blithely gay Were the notes he play'd That he charm'd the ear Of the Mountain Maid. v.2 She stepp'd with timid fear opprest While a soft sigh swells her gentle breast, He caught her glance and mark'd her sigh And triumph laugh'd in his sparkling eye, So softly sweet was his tuneful ditty He charm'd her tender soul to pity. CHORUS	CF 1837 Song [Opera]	H-♀ Nature <i>History:</i> Diction Form	V Emotion Music ♀
MY NATIVE HILLS ⁴⁰ I love the hills, my native hills, O'er which so oft I've strayed, The shady trees, the murmu'ring rills, Where I in childhood play'd. I love to feel the breezes blow Upon the hills so [free?], CHORUS: Where'er I am, where'er I go, My native hills for me. v.2 I love the hills, my native hills, All purple with the heath: Those fertile grounds to peasant tills, And the woodlands far beneath. When fancied joys in hope I view I think those hills I see: CHORUS	CF 1837 Song SA	Nature	Emotion
NON NOBIS, DOMINE ⁴¹ <i>OPERATIVE</i> Non nobis, Domine: Sed nomini tuo da gloriam. [Not unto us, O Lord, but unto thy Name give praise]	CF 1836 to 1841 (18x) NGCC Catch (round)	H-CHU <i>History:</i> Diction Form <i>Virtue:</i> Duty	

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O THE ROAST BEEF OF OLD ENGLAND <i>Not counted in tallies. (Roast Beef of old England)</i>			
OLD ENGLAND FOREVER⁴² Since our foes to invade us have long been preparing, They consider we've got something worth sharing, And for that mean to visit our shore, It behoves us however with spirit to meet them And though 't'will be nothing uncommon to beat them, We must try how they'll take it once more. CHORUS: So fill, fill your glasses, Be this the toast given, Here's England forever, The land boys we live in, ... Here's England forever, huzzah. v.2 Here's a health to our tars, On the wild ocean ranging, Perhaps even now some broadsides are exchanging, We'll on shipboard and join in the fight, And when with the foe we are firmly engaging, 'Till the fire of our guns lulls the sea in its raging, On our country we'll think with delight. CHORUS v.3 On that throne where once Alfred In glory was seated, Long, long may our Queen by her people be greeted, Oh! To guard her we'll be of one mind, May religion, law, order be firmly defended, And continue the blessings they first were intended, In union the nation to bind. CHORUS	CF 1837 Song SA	H-CON H-MON H-CHU H-W Nature <i>History:</i> Diction <i>Virtues:</i> Bravery Justice	V E:HapHier Plenty: D
OUR QUEEN AND CONSTITUTION⁴³ The good old times alas! are past, And oh! how chang'd the nation, Its institutions falling fast, Thro' reckless innovation. Then let us all at once withstand The friends of revolution, And struggle for our native land Our Queen and Constitution. CHORUS: Your voices raise and loudly praise, Our Queen and Constitution. v.2 Let those who like new measures try,	CF 1838 Song SA	H-CON H-MON <i>History:</i> Person Diction <i>Virtue:</i> Loyalty	E:HapHier Freedom Music (♀)

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<p>But we will keep our places, Nor with each frantic scheme comply, Which anarchy embraces; We will not seek to gain applause, Blind to a revolution, But advocate our Sovereign's cause; And save our Constitution. CHORUS v. 3 In days of old they chose in France, The kingly power to banish: And if much further we advance, The monarchy will vanish; Up then, true patriots, and with zeal Avert its dissolution, Our watch-words are Old England's weal, Our Queen and Constitution. CHORUS: Then let us sing, while echoes ring, Down, down with revolution. v. 4 From all who dare to tyrannize, May Heaven still defend us; And should another Cromwell rise, A quick deliverance send us; May then our future days be bright, And free from revolution, And may we ever keep in sight, Our Queen and Constitution. CHORUS: Then let us sing, while echoes ring, Down, down with revolution. Your voices raise, & loudly praise, Our Queen and Constitution!</p>			
<p>PROTESTANT BOYS⁴⁴ Tell me my Friends, why are we met here? Why thus assembled, ye Protestant Boys? Do mirth and good liquor, good humour good cheer, Call us to share festivity's joys? O no, 't's the cause of King, freedom and Laws, That calls Loyal protestants now to unite, For Orange and Blue will be faithful and true, Our King to support and sedition affright. v.2 Great Spirit of William! From Heaven look down, And breathe in our hearts our forefathers' fire, Teach us to rival their glorious renown,</p>	<p>CF 1836 EDU [No genre given: Song] SA</p>	<p>H-CON H-MON H-CHU H-W <i>History:</i> Person⁴⁵ Diction <i>Virtues:</i> Bravery Loyalty</p>	<p>V E: Fellow Plenty: D Music</p>

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<p>From Papist or Frenchmen ne'er to retire. Against Jacobin, Jacobite, all to unite Who dare to assail our Sovereign's Throne, Orange and Blue will be faithful and true, And Protestant Loyalty ever be known.</p> <p>v.3 In that Loyalty proud let us ever remain, Bound together in Truth and Religion's pure band, Nor Honor's fair cause with foul Bigotry stain, Since in Courage and Justice supported we stand. So Heaven shall smile, on our Emerald Isle, And lead us to conquest again and again, While Papists shall prove our brotherly love, We hate them as masters—we love them as men.</p> <p>v.4 By deeds of their fathers to Glory inspir'd, Our Protestant Heroes will combat the foe, Hearts with true Honor and Loyalty Fir'd, Intrepid undaunted to conquest will go. In Orange and Blue still faithful and true, The soul-stirring music of glory they'll sing, The shades of the Boyne in the chorus will join, And the welkin re-echo with God save the King.</p>			
<p>ROAST BEEF OF OLD ENGLAND⁴⁶ <i>(O the roast beef of old England)</i> WOMEN When mighty roast beef was the Englishman's food, It ennobled our hearts, and enriched our blood, Our soldiers were brave and our courtiers were good. CHORUS: Oh, the roast beef of Old England! And oh, for old England's roast beef.</p> <p>v. 2. But since we have learn'd from effeminate France To eat their ragouts as well as to dance, We are fed up with nothing but vain complaisance, CHORUS</p> <p>v.3 Our fathers of old were robust, stout and strong, And kept open house with good cheer all day long, Which made their plump tenants rejoice in their song: CHORUS</p> <p>v.4 When good Queen Elizabeth sat on the throne, Ere coffee and tea, and such slip-slops were known, The world was in terror if e'en she did frown: CHORUS</p>	<p>CF 1841</p> <p>EDU</p> <p>Song SA</p>	<p>H-MON</p> <p><i>History:</i> Diction Time</p>	<p>V E:HapHier Plenty Music ♀-hostile</p>

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<p>v.5 In those days, if fleets did presume on the main, They seldom, or never, returned back again, As witness the vaunting Armada of Spain: CHORUS v. 6 Oh, then we had stomachs to eat and to fight, And, when wrongs were cooking, to set ourselves right; But now we're a—h'm—I could, but good night.</p>			
<p>RULE BRITANNIA⁴⁷ <i>OPERATIVE, WOMEN</i> When Britain first at Heav'n's command Arose from out the azure main, This was the charter of the land, And guardian angels sung this strain! CHORUS: Rule Britannia, Britannia rule the waves; Britons never, never, never will be slaves! v.2 The nations not so blest as thee, Must in their turns to tyrants fall; While thou shalt flourish great and free, The dread and envy of them all. CHORUS: v.3 Still more majestic shalt thou rise, More dreadful from each foreign stroke; As the loud blast that tears the skies, Serves but to root thy native oak. CHORUS v. 4 Thee, haughty tyrants ne'er shall tame, All their attempts to bend thee down Will but arouse thy generous flame; But work their woe, and thy renown. CHORUS v.5 To thee belongs the rural reign, Thy cities shall with commerce shine, All thine shall be the subject main, And every shore it circles, thine. CHORUS v.6 The Muses, still with freedom found, Shall to thy happy court repair; Blest Isle! With matchless beauty crown'd, And manly hearts, to guard the fair.</p>	<p>CF 1836 to 1841 (9x) EDU Song SA</p>	<p>H-CON H-CHU H-(W) Nature <i>History:</i> Myth Diction <i>Virtues:</i> Bravery Nobility</p>	<p>V Emotion Plenty: £ Freedom Music (♀)</p>

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<p>SAILOR'S YARN: WHEN FIRST I WENT TO SEA. Events in the life of Adml. Lord Exmouth (supposed to be related by himself) (Monro)⁴⁸ <i>Not counted in tallies; (often mistaken for Ransford, "Well do I remember.")</i> When first I went to sea, An orphan lad was I, And knew 'twas hard to earn reward, But I thought at least I'd try. So I said, 'I won't despair, But I'll do my duty there. CHORUS: That was the way with me, my boys, When first I went to sea. v.2 When waves ran mountains high, I felt a little queer, But then I thought how Rodney fought, And how he became a Peer! So I said – Why should not I Be a Peer before I die? CHORUS v.3 While taking Captain's pay, It seemed to me unfair, To tell the crew (brave lads) to do What I did not dare. So wherever danger lay, I sought to lead the way. CHORUS v. 4 'Twas oft my happy lot A drowning man to save; To fly—to swim—to rescue him While struggling with the wave; Down—whether dress'd or not—I darted like a shot. CHORUS v.5 A rich reward to gain, We anchor'd off Algiers, And made the Dey for his crimes to pay With his house about his ears. We broke the captain's chain, Ne'er to be forged again! CHORUS: O! what a glorious close, my boys, To a life at sea!</p>	<p>NO CF Song SA</p>	<p>H-CON H-W <i>History:</i> Person Event⁴⁹ <i>Virtues:</i> Bravery Duty</p>	<p>V E:HapHier Plenty: £</p>
<p>SCOTS WHA' HAE⁵⁰ Scots, wha hae wi' Wallace bled, Scots, wham Bruce has aften led; Welcome to your gory bed, or to victorie. CHORUS: Now's the day, and now's the hour; See the front o' battle lower; See approach proud Edward's pow'r; Chains and slaverie! v.2 Wha will be a traitor knave?</p>	<p>CF 1836 EDU [No genre given: Song] SA</p>	<p>H-CON H-W <i>History:</i> Person Event⁵¹ <i>Virtues:</i> Bravery</p>	<p>V Freedom</p>

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<p>Wha can fill a coward's grave? Wha sae base as be a slave? Let him turn and flee! CHORUS v.3 Wha for Scotland's King and law Freedoms sword will strongly draw, Free-man stand, or free-man fa'? Let him follow me! CHORUS v.4 By oppression's woes and pains! By your sons in servile chains! We will drain our dearest veins, But they shall be free! CHORUS v.5 Lay the proud usurpers low! Tyrants fall in every foe! Liberty's in every blow! Let us do or die.</p>		<p>Loyalty Heroism</p>	
<p>SEE, THE CONQUERING HERO COMES⁵² <i>WOMEN</i> See, the conqu'ring hero comes, Sound the trumpets, beat the drums; Sports prepare, the laurel bring, Songs of triumph to him sing. See the god-like youth advance, Breathe the flutes and lead the dance: Myrtle wreaths and roses twine, To deck the hero's brow divine.</p>	<p>CF 1840 1841(3x) EDU Chorus [oratorio]</p>	<p>H-CON H-Lords Nature <i>History:</i> Diction <i>Virtue:</i> Heroism</p>	<p>V Music</p>
<p>SLEEP, GENTLE LADY⁵³ Sleep, gentle Lady, the flow'rs are closing, The very winds and waves reposing. O may our soft and soothing numbers Wrap thee in sweet softer slumbers. Peace be around thee Lady bright, Sleep while we sing, Good night, good night.</p>	<p>CF 1837 NGCC Glee</p>	<p>H-MON (CF context only) Nature</p>	<p>Peace ♀</p>
<p>SOLDIER AM I <i>Not found. Counted in tallies.</i></p>	<p>CF 1836 Glee</p>		
<p>STEAM ARM⁵⁴ O! wonders, sure, will never cease While works of Art do so increase, Its plain, at least from works like these Men can do whatever they please. CHORUS Ri too ra loo ra loo ra loo ra too ra loo ral v.2 A curious tale I will unfold To all of you—as I was told, About a <i>Soldier</i> stout and bold Whose <i>Wife</i>, 'tis said, was an arrant scold.</p>	<p>CF 1835 Song SA</p>	<p>W <i>History:</i> Event⁵⁵ <i>Virtue:</i> Bravery</p>	<p>V (♀)-hostile</p>

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<p>CHORUS</p> <p>v.3 At <i>Waterloo</i> he lost an <i>Arm</i> Which gave him pain and great alarm, But he soon got well and grew quite calm For a Shilling a day was a sort o' balm.</p> <p>CHORUS</p> <p>v.4 The Story goes, on every night His Wife would bang him left and right, So he determin'd out of spite To have an Arm cost what it might.</p> <p>CHORUS</p> <p>v.5 He went at once, strange it may seem, To have one made to work by <i>Steam</i>— For a ray of hope began to gleam That by force of Arms, he'd win her esteem.</p> <p>CHORUS</p> <p>v.6 The Limb was finish'd and fix'd unto His stump of a Shoulder neat and true You'd have thought it there by nature grew For it stuck to its place as tight as glue.</p> <p>CHORUS</p> <p>v.7 He started home and knock'd at the door His Wife her abuse began to pour— He turn'd a small <i>peg</i>, and before He'd time to think—She fell on the floor.</p> <p>CHORUS</p> <p>v.8 With Policemen soon his Room was fill'd But every one he nearly kill'd For the Soldier's Arm had been so drill'd That once in <i>Action</i> 't cou'dn't be still'd.</p> <p>CHORUS</p> <p>v.9 They took him 'at length before the Mayor, His Arm kept moving all the while there The Mayor cried '<i>shake your fist if you dare</i>' When the Steam Arm knock'd him out of his Chair.</p> <p>CHORUS</p> <p>v.10 This rais'd in Court a bit of a clamour The Arm going like an <i>Auctioneer's</i> hammer But more, in weight, like a <i>Paviour's</i> rammer And many with fear began to stammer,</p> <p>CHORUS</p> <p>v.11 He was lock'd in a <i>Cell</i> from doing harm, To satisfy those who had still a qualm—</p>			
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<p>When all at once they heard an alarm Down fell the <i>Walls</i> and out popp'd the <i>Arm</i>. CHORUS v.12 He soon escap'd and reach'd his door, And knock'd—at least raps half a score— But as the <i>Arm</i> in power grew more and more <i>Bricks, Mortar</i> and <i>Wood</i> soon strew'd the <i>Floor</i>. CHORUS v.13 With eagerness he stepp'd each stair— Popp'd into the room, his <i>Wife</i> was there, O! come to my <i>Arms</i>, he cried, my dear; When his <i>Steamer</i> smash'd the <i>Crockery Ware</i>. CHORUS v.14 He left his <i>House</i>, at length, outright And wanders now just like a <i>Sprite</i>— For he cant get sleep either day or night And his <i>Arm</i> keeps moving with <i>Two Horse might</i>.</p>			
<p>THERE IS NAE LUCK ABOUT THE HOUSE⁵⁶ And are ye sure the news is true? And are ye sure he's well? Is this a time to think o'wark? Ye jauds, fling by your wheel., Is this a time to think o'wark, When Coolin's at the door? Rax down my cloak, I'll to the quay, And see him come ashore, CHORUS: For there's nae luck about the house, There's nae luck at a', There's nae luck about the house, When our guidman's awa'.... v. 4 Sae sweet his voice, sae smooth his tongue, His breath's like cauler air; His very fit has music in't, As he comes up the tair. And will I see his face again? And will I hear him speak? I'm downright dizzy wi' the thought; In truth I'm luck to greet.</p>	<p>CF 1836 [No genre given: Song] SA</p>		<p>Emotion Peace Music ♀ voice</p>
<p>TIS HE, THE DUKE⁵⁷ <i>Counted in tallies.</i> 'Tis he the Duke who ne'er forsook The cause of England's honour. ... Long may he live Again to give our Queen and Church protection.</p>	<p>CF 1841 Song</p>	<p>H-MON H-CHU <i>History:</i> Person⁵⁸ <i>Virtues:</i> Loyalty Nobility</p>	<p>V</p>

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TO ALL YOU LADIES NOW AT LAND.⁵⁹ To all you ladies now on [at] land, We men at sea indite; But first would have you understand, How hard it is to write: The Muses now, and Neptune too, We must implore to write to you. CHORUS: With a fa, la, la, la, la, la ... v.2 In justice you cannot refuse, To think of our distress, When we, for hopes of honour, lose Our certain happiness; All these designs are but to prove, Ourselves more worthy of your love. CHORUS v.3 And now we've told you all our loves, And likewise all our fears, In hopes this declaration moves, Some pity for our tears; Let's hear of no inconstancy, We have enough of that at sea.	CF 1837 EDU Glee SA	H-♀ Nature <i>History:</i> Form	Emotion ♀-hostile
VIVE LA REINE <i>Not counted in tallies. (Vive le roi)</i>			
VIVE LE ROI⁶⁰ (Vive la reine) Swearing death to traitor slave Hand we clench – sword we draw; Heav'n defend the true and brave, Vive le roi! v.2 Hearts that Patriot thoughts inspire Rebel threat ne'er shall awe! Thus, till life's last throb expire, Vive le roi!	CF 1836 1841 Glee [Opera] SA	H-MON H-(W) <i>Virtues:</i> Bravery Loyalty	V Freedom
WE ARE ALL FISHING⁶¹ <i>Not found. Counted in tallies.</i>	CF 1839 Song		
WELL DO I REMEMBER WHEN FIRST I WENT TO SEA⁶² <i>Compare with "Sailor's Yarn," above</i> Oh! Well do I remember still, When I first went to sea, I was a merry laughing boy, As happy as could be; I longed to lead a Sailor's life, Amid the true and brave, And my bosom felt as buoyant,	CF 1839 Song	H-CHU H-W Nature <i>History:</i> Time <i>Virtues:</i> Bravery Loyalty	

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<p>And as bounding as the wave.</p> <p>v.2 Since then I've seen strange sights and scenes, But none have struck my mind, Like when I saw a tall ship first, Her wings spread to the wind, I've roved for many a night and day, In gloominess and glee, But never did I once regret, When first I went to sea.</p> <p>v.3 I've seen the waves around me dash, When man could not avail, I've heard the winds and seen them rend To tatters every sail; I've faced my death a hundred times, But Providence was good, And I for years and years the storms, And tempests have withstood.</p> <p>v.4 Yet I have seen the angry waves, Like giants in their might, O'erwhelm the best and bravest hearts, And bear them from my sight; But oh! I do not seek for change, The scene, whate'er it be, For never did I once regret, When first I went to sea.</p> <p>v.5 Oh! I have kept the midnight watch, Beneath a starry sky, And listened to the legends wild, That landsmen so descry; For on the deep and mystic sea, There is a sacred spell, That none but sailors know and fear, And none but them can tell.</p> <p>v.6 I care not, they may scoff at us, Who safe in harbour sleep, But ne'er can he forget his God, Who dwells upon the deep. A moment and his dwelling place,</p>			
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The Sailor's grave may be, But never did I once regret, When first I went to sea.			
WHAT EQUALS ON EARTH THE DELIGHTS OF THE HUNTSMAN? ⁶³ <i>OPERATIVE</i> CHORUS To follow the stag thro' the forests & meadows, When brightly the beams of the morning first glow. What equals on earth the delight of the huntsman, For whom does life's cup more enchantingly flow? v.1 Oh, this is a pleasure that's worthy of Princes And health in its wand'rings can ever be found, When echoing caverns and forests surround us, More brightly the pledge of the goblet will sound. CHORUS: Hark, follow &c. v.2 The light of Diana illumines our forest, The shades where in summer we often retreat, Nor is then the fell wolf in his covert securest, The boar from his lair is laid at our feet.	CF 1838 Glee [Opera]	H-MON Nature <i>History:</i> Myth	Emotion Plenty
WITH A FULL FLOWING GLASS <i>Not found. Counted in tallies.</i>	CF 1841 Glee		Plenty: D
WITH A JOLLY FULL BOTTLE <i>Not counted in tallies. (Health to old England), (A jolly full bottle), (Here's a health to old England)</i>			

Endnotes

¹ Peter Brett, "Political Dinners in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain: Platform, Meeting Place and Battleground," *History* 81 (1996): 527-552.

² Since the sixteenth century, the "fa-la" has been a form of dance-song using nonsense syllables like "fa la" for refrain; NGD, s.v. "fa-la."

³ Unknown whether all three Conservative Festival (hereafter CF) songs referring to Adelaide are identical; none has been found.

⁴ Three different titles are cited in CF sources, and are counted in the tallies as two separate pieces: "A Health to Queen Adelaide" is probably the same as "Here's a Health to Queen Adelaide;" but "Hail to Queen Adelaide" is probably different.

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- ⁵ "Alteration of the times" (London: J. Pitts [ballad broadsheet], [1802-1819]), Bodleian Library Broadside Ballads, Harding B 17(4a).
- ⁶ National Library of Scotland, "The Word on the Street," a digital collection including broadside ballads, L.C.1269(147a), < <http://www.nls.uk/>>, (viewed 23 Jan. 2010).
- ⁷ Axon Ballads Collection No. 54, <http://www.chethams.org.uk/axon_ballads/054.htm>, (viewed 23 Jul. 2007). Chethams is a private library, with a major collection of mid-nineteenth century street broadsides.
- ⁸ Probably "The British oak, a song," in *Patriotic verses from The British Press, a daily newspaper* (London: J. Asperne, J. Hatchard, J. Ginger, [c. 1803?]), Bodleian Library Broadside Ballads, Curzon b.10 (134).
- ⁹ William Beale (1784-1854), "Come let us join the roundelay, a third madrigal for four voices" (London: Rt. Birchall, 133 New Bond Street, [1815]), British Library (hereafter BL) H.2829.a.(3.) One of his best-known works. *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (2nd ed., 2001) (hereafter NGD), s.v. "Beale, William."
- ¹⁰ Frederick Horncastle, "The Conservative Ten," in "Grand Conservative Festival at Chelmsford," *Times* (London), 23 Sep. 1841, p. 5.
- ¹¹ Anon., "The Conservative twelve," (Shrewsbury: John Davies, Printer, 1841), Shropshire Archives Ref. S49/437. First page notes "Shropshire Conservative Festival, November 12th, 1841." Salopia had a tradition of election songs cannibalising known tunes, e.g., "The worthy member (to the tune of Roast beef of old England)" (Shrewsbury: T. Howell, [1822]), Bodleian Library Broadside Ballads, Harding B 32(48c).
- ¹² Anon., "Death of Nelson," in *Fashionable Songs* (Kilmarnock: Printed for the Booksellers, n.d. [1820?]), Guelph University, McLaughlin Library, Rare Collection s0499B33; lyrics without music. At least two songs by this name could have been used at the Conservative Festival. This lyric is provided to show how similar they are.
- ¹³ Admiral Nelson, in his ship the H.M.S. Victory, led the decisive British victory of the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815) at the Battle of Trafalgar (21 Oct. 1805), against the French and Spanish Navies. Nelson himself was the son of an Anglican Vicar and through his mother related to Horatio, Lord Walpole. As a reward for naval successes, he was made a Knight of the Bath (1797) and a Viscount (1802). He was socially anomalous but an icon of genuine heroism and disinterested support of his men. ODNB, s.v. "Nelson, Horatio."
- ¹⁴ Henry Russell, "The fine old English gentleman, a song of the olden time," (New York: James L. Hewitt & Co, [1837?]).
- ¹⁵ Henry R. Bishop, "Foresters, Sound the Cheerful Horn," in *300 Years of English Partsongs: Glees, rounds, catches, partsongs, 1600-1900*, ed. Paul Hillier (London and Boston: Faber Music, 1983), pp. 50-54.
- ¹⁶ John Bull (1563-1628), "God Save the King," in *English Melodies from the 13th to the 18th Centuries: One Hundred Songs*, ed. Vincent Jackson (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1910), pp. 202-203.

¹⁷ John Chas. White, "Going Out A Shooting. A comic song as sung with unbounded applause by Mr. W.H. Williams" (New York: E. Riley & Co., 29 Chatham St., [n.d.]), The Lester S. Levy Collection of Sheet Music, Special Collections, Sheridan Libraries, The Johns Hopkins University (hereafter Levy Collection), Box 027, Item 043.

¹⁸ Samuel Webbe (Sr.), "Great Bacchus," in *The Scholars' Book of Glees*, ed. David Johnson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), pp. 29-34. Since the source does not specify which "Bacchus" selection was performed, two lyrics are given for comparison.

¹⁹ An earlier example is Anon., "A Catch Upon Port Wine," in *The Catch Club or Merry Companions, being A Choice Collection of the Most Diverting Catches for Three and Four Voices*, part 2, ed. Joel Newman (1730; , New York: Da Capo Press, 1965), p. 30. Either was apt for CF use. "A catch upon port wine" is easier and shorter than the Webbe, and begins with "Great Bacchus is mighty." It implies that the British Empire was cosmopolitan, and is a musically simple celebration of drink.

²⁰ Reginald Spofforth (1770-1827), "Hail, Smiling Morn," in *The English Glee*, ed. Percy M. Young (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 153-159.

²¹ Samuel Webbe (Sr.), "Hail, Star of Brunswick!" pp. 2-8 of a publication bound into Henry Evatt's personal music folio, ca. 1800, belonging to James Wright, whom I thank for granting access. The Evatt folio states no publication information, but shows exactly the same pagination for exactly the same repertoire as Charles Knyvett, ed., *A collection of favorite glees, catches and rounds*, ed. (London: C. Broderip & Wilkinson for C. Knyvett. [1800]), listed in the online finding aid for BL E.318.(1.) Consulting this publication is now beyond the scope of this dissertation research.

²² The Hanoverian dynasty of British kings, also known as the House of Brunswick because members of the family also governed the Duchy of Brunswick-Lüneburg, ruled in Britain from 1714 (George I) to 1901, with the death of Queen Victoria. See Official Website of the British Monarchy, <<http://www.royal.gov.uk/HistoryoftheMonarchy/KingsandQueensoftheUnitedKingdom/TheHanoverians/TheHanoverians.aspx>>, (viewed 23 Jul. 2007).

²³ J. Wright, "A health to old England, the King and the Church" (London: B. Williams [1856]), No. 429 of the "Cyclopedia of Music. Miscellaneous Series of Songs," BL H.2342. 1778 is the date of composition noted on the first page.

²⁴ William Boyce (1710-1779), "Heart of Oak," in *English Melodies*, ed. Jackson, pp. 174-175; *The Song Book: Words and Tunes from the Best Poets and Musicians*, ed. John Hullah (London and Cambridge: MacMillan, 1866), pp. 78-79. Some versions have "Hearts of oak."

²⁵ Felice Giardini (1716-1796), "Here's a Health to All Good Lasses. A celebrated glee for three voices," (London: Duncombe, ca. 1835), BL H.1650.hh. (19.) This song was so well known throughout the Empire that when it was proposed after a toast to the ladies at a political dinner in New Zealand in 1856, "'Here's a Health to All Good Lassies' [was] roared stentoriously." *New Zealand Spectator*, 23 Oct. 1856, in, "Early Wellington," by Louis E. Ward, <<http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-WarEarl-t1->

body-d14-d2.html> (viewed 24 Nov. 2007).

²⁶ "Here's a Health to Honest John Bull. A new loyal song ... Composed by a well wisher to King and Country" (London: L. Lavenu, [1797?]), BL H.1653.uu.(9.)

²⁷ Henry R. Bishop, "Here's a Health to the Prince and Queen," Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS.Eng.6.2075—Nicholls, Fol. 365, Concert Programme, 9 Nov. 1842.

²⁸ "Here's a Health to the Queen ("Down among the dead men") in *One hundred songs of England; for high voice*, ed. Granville Bantock (Boston, Mass.: O. Ditson, 1914), pp. 50-51; *Song Book*, ed. Hullah, pp. 60-61.

²⁹ "Hurrah for the Bonnets of Blue" is not the same as "Blue Bonnets Over the Border," in *Fashionable Songs*, n.p.

³⁰ Found only as lyrics in press report; counted in tallies. Refers to Arthur, Duke of Wellington, as the "greater Arthur" but also to a long tradition of Arthurian legend songs, e.g., Trad. (Lancashire), "King Arthur," in *100 Songs*, ed. Bantock, pp. 53-54.

³¹ Historical legend claims King Arthur as a sixth-century warrior who defeated invading Saxons.

³² May have been a catch with the line, "Bravo! Bravo! Very well sung! Jolly companions every one," cited in *Tavern Singing in Early Victorian London: the diaries of Charles Rice for 1840 and 1850*, ed. Laurence Senelick (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1997), p. xiii.

³³ Anon., "The Lancashire Witches," Axon Ballads No. 69, <http://pc08.chethams.org.uk/axon_ballads/069.htm>, (viewed 23. Jul. 2007). Deemed to have been sung, though music is not mentioned in the CF report, because of the famous vernacular song of the same name; counted in tallies.

³⁴ James Hook (1748-1827), "The Lass of Richmond Hill," in *One hundred songs*, ed. Bantock, pp. 166-167; *Song Book*, ed. Hullah, pp. 136-137.

³⁵ [Stephen Lushington?], "Let a Bumper Go Round," in [Lushington], "A full report of the Grand Conservative Festival, at the Old Palace, St. Augustine's, July 17th, 1835, in celebration of the election of the Right Hon. S.R. Lushington, as one of the Representatives for the city of Canterbury, W.H. Baldock, Esq. in the Chair," (Canterbury: Kentish Observer General Printing Office, [n.d.]), BL 1881.a.1.(52.) Music may have been the tune of "Old England Forever," which has the same chorus, "So fill, fill your glasses."

³⁶ Gioacchino Rossini, "When the Trump of Fame, Martial Song in the Opera *The Maid of Judah*" (Philadelphia: Kretschmar & Nunns, no. 70 So. Third & 190 Chestnut Sts, n.d.), Levy Collection. This was the probable CF choice, since its theme of martial triumph is consistent with the CF tone of pep rallies for electoral "war." A second work by the same title is Anon., "Maid of Judah," in *Eight Popular Songs* (Glasgow: Printed for the Booksellers 36, n.d. [1850?]), pp. 6-7, Guelph University, McLaughlin Library, Rare Collection s0451b26; it was discounted as a CF probability because its lyrics refer to a sorrowful "lay of the Jewish maid."

³⁷ Thomas Mitchell, arr., "Truisms or Incontrovertible Facts, a favorite song, as sung with great applause by Mr. Mathews, in his *Mail Coach Adventures*" (London: Duncombe, [c. 1825]), BL G.425.00.(19.)

³⁸ Samuel Webbe (Sr.), "The Mighty Conqueror. A glee," in *A Vth Book of Catches, Canons and Glee*s (London, [1820?]), BL H.2830.g.(87.)

³⁹ John Sinclair, "The Mountain Maid, a ballad, as sung with universal applause by Mr. Sinclair; at the Theatre Royal Covent Garden in the Burletta of Midas, and also at the Oratorios" (London: W. Dale, 19, Poultry, n.d.), BL H.1652.d.(60).

⁴⁰ "My Native Hills," [Ballad Sheet, Printer, Location, Date, unknown], Bodleian Library Broadside Ballads, John Johnson Collection, Johnson Ballads 2366. Also set as a glee, Henry R. Bishop, "My Native Hills, sung by Mr. Robinson, Mr. Allan, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Templeton, Mr. Clement White etc., the poetry by George Inman," (London: D'Almaine & Co., 20 Soho Square, c.1834-1858.)

⁴¹ "Non nobis, Domine" was reprinted constantly between 1800 and 1840, e.g., "Non nobis, Domine ... Canon, etc." (London: G.W. Bown, [1830?]), BL H.1650.f.(21.).

⁴² Anon., "Old England Forever," Axon Ballad No. 67, <http://www.chethams.org.uk/axon_ballads/067.htm>, (viewed 23 Jul. 2007).

⁴³ George John Danvers Butler Danvers, "Our Queen & Constitution, sung, with the most rapturous applause by Mr. Wykes at the Loughborough Conservative Festival April 25th 1838 composed, Expressly for the Occasion by G.I.D. Butler Danvers Esqr. President, and Dedicated to all The Conservative Societies, throughout the United Kingdom," arr. M. Corri (London: Published for the Author, at the Royal Musical Library, 75, Lower Grosvenor Street, Near Bond Street, [ca. 1838]), with MS additions, BL copy, ref. 004294305. Inscribed beneath the author's name is "now Earl of Lanesborough;" the handwriting of the final MS verse resembles Lanesborough's in his letter to Lord Derby, London, 2 Mar. 1858, Liverpool Libraries, doc 920 DER (14) 112.

⁴⁴ Anon., "Tell Me My Friends, Why Are We Met Here? The Protestant Boys. A favorite new song" ([Dublin], c.1800), BL H.1654.n.(11.); W.E. Hickson, *The Singing Master*, (1836; , Kilkenny, Ireland: Boethius Press, 1984), p. 21.

⁴⁵ William III (r. 1689-1702) was an icon of Protestant triumph over Catholicism, since he was crowned after the Catholic-leaning James II was deposed, and crushed opposition by the "Jacobite" supporters of James II and VII. Official Website of the British Monarchy,

<[http://www.royal.gov.uk/HistoryoftheMonarchy/Scottish%20Monarchs\(400ad-1603\)/TheStewarts/WilliamIIandIIIandMaryII.aspx](http://www.royal.gov.uk/HistoryoftheMonarchy/Scottish%20Monarchs(400ad-1603)/TheStewarts/WilliamIIandIIIandMaryII.aspx)>, (viewed 2 Jul. 2007).

⁴⁶ Richard Leveridge (1670-1758), "The Roast Beef of Old England," in *100 Songs*, ed. Bantock, p. 133; *Song Book*, ed. Hullah, pp. 52-53.

⁴⁷ Thomas Arne (1710-1778), "Rule Britannia," in *English Melodies*, ed. Jackson, pp. 166-167; *Singing Master*, ed. Hickson, p. 72.

⁴⁸ J. Monro, "A sailor's yarn, or, 'When first I went to sea.' Events in the life of Adml. Lord Exmouth, (supposed to be related by himself)" (London: Monro and May, Western

City Musical Repository, 11 Holborn Bars, [n.d.] but before 1839], Levy Collection Box 048, Item 097.

⁴⁹ The lyrics exaggerate but essentially capture the career of Edward Pellew, first Viscount Exmouth (1757–1833). Born to non-aristocratic parents whose patronage connections with the Conservative Lord Falmouth and the noble Boscawen family enabled him to start his naval career as a captain's servant, Pellew inched up the chain of command, making him an example of the slight elasticity in social ranks available in naval work. He became a famous hero in 1796 for rescuing an endangered crew in a storm with high waves at great personal risk, when no one else dared; became Baron Exmouth in 1814. At the end of the Napoleonic wars, after Exmouth had concluded treaties for the abolition of Christian slavery, the dey of Algiers had 200 Christian fishermen killed. Exmouth led the immediate, retributive naval attack that decimated the well-defended Algiers in August, 1816, resulted in the release of 1200 Christian slaves, and saw Exmouth raised in rank to Viscount. ODNB, s.v. "Pellew, Edward."

⁵⁰ Traditional, "Scots Wha Hae Wi' Wallace Bled. A Favourite Scotch Air" (Philadelphia: G.E. Blake, No.13 South 5th St., [n.d.]), Levy Collection, Box 063, Item 114; *Song Book*, ed. Hullah, pp. 178-179.

⁵¹ Sir William Wallace (d. 1305), was a ferocious, long-successful leader of Scottish resistance to English domination, finally executed by William II. See ODNB, s.v. "Wallace, Sir William." Scots saw Wallace as a symbol of opposition to English domination of Scotland, but the form of governance being celebrated is unelected leadership, with loyalty by those lower down the ladder signifying their support for hierarchy. The success of the English in defeating such an iconic anti-English leader may have been one of the messages intended for this song at CF 1836 Banbridge (Ireland), since Irish resistance to English religious domination of Ireland was a key issue in the Reform politics of the 1830s. The lyrics romanticise Wallace's brutal control of his fighters as the agency of "freemen" to unite to overcome oppression; coupled with the emotive lyrics inspiring battle, it may have been thought to be a message apt for Conservative calls to non-English working men in Ireland. No English CF programmed this song.

⁵² George Friedrich Händel, "See the Conquering Hero Comes," (*Judas Maccabeus*), in *Singing Master*, ed. Hickson, p. 42.

⁵³ Henry R. Bishop, "Sleep, Gentle Lady! Serenade for four voices in the Opera of *Clari, or the Maid of Milan*" (London: Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter, & Co., 20 Soho Sq., n.d.), BL H.1202.b.(2.).

⁵⁴ H.V. Smith, "The Steam Arm, sung with rapturous applause at Vauxhall by Mr. Buckingham and also by Mr. Knight at the Ranelagh Gardens and Mr. W.H. Williams and Mr. Fitzwilliam at the London theatres" (London: Dale, Cockerill & Co, [c. 1835]), BL H.3400.t.(12.) Probably the same as "The Man with the Patent Steam Screw-Arm" performed at the 1834 Canterbury Conservative dinner. See "Report of the speeches, toasts, and other proceedings at the dinner to commemorate His Majesty's glorious

declaration to support the constitution in church and the state, the Right Honorable the Earl of Winchelsea, in the chair, which took place at Bellingham's assembly rooms, Canterbury, on Thursday, Sept. 25th, 1834," BL 1881.a.1.(52.), 50.

⁵⁵ Many references are layered here, including the Napoleonic Wars, 1803-1816, and the continued use of steam-powered "arms" in manufacturing, which, by 1825, had been wide spread. ODNB, s.v. "Watt, James."

⁵⁶ Trad., "There is Nae Luck About the House," in *Scottish Songs*, ed. Robert Chambers (Edinburgh: n.p., 1829), I, p. 40; *Song Book*, ed. Hullah, p. 202.

⁵⁷ Found only as a partial lyric in "Conservative Festival at Reading," *Times* (London), 12 Aug. 1841, p. 5.

⁵⁸ From context, clearly the Duke of Wellington.

⁵⁹ John Wall Callcott, "To All You Ladies Now at Land," Boosey's National Edition of English Glees, No. 29 (London: Boosey & Co. [1884]), pp. 130-133, BL G.346; *Song Book*, Hullah, ed., pp. 44-45.

⁶⁰ Michael William Balfe (1808-1870), "Vive le roi; or, swearing death to traitor slave. Grand Chorus, etc." [*The Siege of Rochelle*] (London: Cramer, Addison & Beale, [1835]), BL H.1652.d.(21.), Mus.Mic.A.8275.

⁶¹ Sung 2 May 1840, at London tavern, The Grapes, by Charles Rice. Senelick, ed., *Tavern Singing*, p. 80.

⁶² [Edwin Ransford], "When First I Went to Sea" (London: J. Pitts, [1819-1844]), Bodleian Library Broadside Ballads, Harding B 11(4123).

⁶³ Carl Maria von Weber, "Chorus of Huntsmen in *Der Freischütz*," in *The golden violet* (London: J. Catnach, J. [between 1813 and 1838]), Bodleian Library Broadside Ballads, Harding B36(17). The original opera, very popular in London ca. 1819, was Weber's *Der Freischütz*. NGD, s.v. "Weber, Carl Maria von, Works."

APPENDIX C: Catch Club Professional Members

Notes:

Where first names have not been given in the original sources, an unbroken run of year over year of attendance by an individual identified only by last name has been assumed to be the same person. Uncertainty exists where a particular last name is occasionally identified by different initials or first names. In this case, continuity of the first-specified individual is assumed until it is broken by a specification of another first name or initial. This applies to: Hobbs (Hobbes?) Jno and William; King (never specified by first name or initial after 1841); Phillips (no first name or initial after 1841); Terrail (two noted: J or John and W.).

LEGEND

FEH	Mentioned in Lady Hunter Diary
CF	Performed or composition performed at a Conservative Festival
CHAPEL ROYAL	Chapel Royal musician ¹
TAVERN	Known as a tavern singer
NGCC member	Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club of London honorary member

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FEH	CF	Tavern	Chapel Royal with voice type	Name	NGCC member
no		no		Barnby	1847
no		no		Bellamy, T.L. ²	1828-1842
no		George Bennett 1840s ³		Bennett	1843-1847
1842 ⁴		no	Bass	Bradbury, Orlando ⁵	1833-1847
no		no		Chapman	1838-1847
no		no		Clarke, R.	1838-1839
1842 ⁶		1850 ⁷	Bass	Clark, Wm.	1828-1837 ?1840-1842?
1842 ⁸	1839 1840	no		Cooke, Thomas Simpson ⁹	1828-1847
1842 ¹⁰	no	1837 1840 ¹¹		Duruset, William	1828-1843
1842 ¹²		no		Elliott, James ¹³	1828- 1847
1842 ¹⁴	no	no	Alto	Evans, Charles	1828-1843
		no		Francis	1847
no	no	no		Gore, Israel (d. 21 May 1831)	1828-1831
no	1840? Wass?	no	Singer, organist	Goss, Sir John ¹⁵	1828-1847
no		no	Alto	Goulden, Henry	1828-1833
no		no		Goulden, William	1834-1837
no	no	no		Greatorex, Thomas	1828-1831
1842 ¹⁶	no	no	Any vocal part	Hawes, William ¹⁷	1828-1845
1844 ¹⁸	1839 1840	uncertain		Hawkins, J. ¹⁹	1831-1846
1846 ²⁰	1840 1841	no	Tenor	Hobb[e]s, Jno. ²¹	1829-1847

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no	1841	no	Tenor	Horncastle, Frederick W. ²²	1828-1833
1842 ²³	no	no		Horsley, William	1828-1847
no		no		Kench	1847
1842 ²⁴				King, James ²⁵	1836-1847
1846 ²⁶		no	Alto	Knyvett, William ²⁷	1828-1843
no		no		Leete, Robert	1828-1835
1842 ²⁸		no	Baritone	Machin, William ²⁹	1836-1847
no		no		Moxley	1839-1847
no		no	Tenor	Nield, Jonathan ³⁰	1828-1842
1846 ³¹		no		Phillips, Henry ³²	1828-1844
no	1840	no	Bass	Sale, John Bernard ³³	1828-1845
1842 ³⁴		no		Spencer, C.	1836-1847
1842 ³⁵	1839	no		Taylor, Chas.	1828-1847
1844 ³⁶	no	no		Terrail, John	1828, 1837, 1845
no	no	no		Terrail, W.	1838-1844
no		no		Turle, James ³⁷	1834-1847
1842 ³⁸		no	Tenor	Vaughan, Thomas ³⁹	1828-1842
1842 ⁴⁰		no		Walmisley, Thomas ⁴¹	1829-1847

Endnotes

¹ Michael J. Budds, "Music at the Court of Queen Victoria: A Study of Music in the Life of the Queen and her Participation in the Musical life of her Time," 3 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Music, University of Iowa, 1987), II, pp. 664-685, unless otherwise mentioned.

² L.T. Bellamy may have been related to the bass and choirmaster, Richard Bellamy, who was a member of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club of London (hereafter NGCC) 1790, 1807. See Viscount Gladstone, Guy Boas, and Harald Christopherson, *Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club: Three Essays towards its History* (London: Cypher Press, 1996), <<http://www.cypherpress.com/books/catchclub/catchclub.pdf>>, (viewed 23 May 2007), p. 85; Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2006), p. 159.

³ Laurence Senelick, ed., *Tavern Singing in Early Victorian London: the diaries of Charles Rice for 1840 and 1850* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1997), pp. 222-234.

⁴ Jul. 1842 NGCC concert attended by Lady Hunter. "The Catch Club," *Caledonian Mercury* (Edinburgh, Scotland), 18 Jul. 1842, names professional singers Misses Dolby and Woodyat, Messrs. Vaughan, Elliott, Hawes, Evans, C. Taylor, Tyrrel [not listed in NGCC records], Durusset, Clarke, Dr. Horsley, T. Cooke, Hobb[e]s, Walmisley, Bradbury, King, Machin, Spencer and "etc."; and names Lady Hunter as present at this concert. The "etc." likely meant that most of the honorary members of that year sang, but there is no further evidence to show that any but those named in the review were heard on that occasion by Lady Hunter. Cf. Diary of Frederica Emma, Lady Hunter, Diary, 1840 to 1846, (London) City of Westminster Archive, Acc. 1621, (hereafter FEH Diary), 11 Jul. 1842, commenting on the concert: "enjoyed the evening extremely."

⁵ Orlando Bradbury, Secretary of the Club 1852-1873, Gladstone, *Noblemen*, p. 107.

⁶ See n. 4, above.

⁷ Senelick, *Tavern Singing*, p. 165.

⁸ See n. 4, above.

⁹ 1782-1848, Emanuel Rubin, *The English Glee in the Reign of George III: Participatory Art Music for an Urban Society* (Warren, Mich.: Harmonie Park Press, 2003), p. 380.

¹⁰ See n. 4, above.

¹¹ John Durusset (1791-1842) Drury Lane actor, Senelick, *Tavern Singing*, p. 19.

¹² See n. 4, above.

¹³ James Elliott (1783-1856, RU 380), Secretary of the Club 1836-1852, Gladstone, *Noblemen*, p. 107.

¹⁴ See n. 4, above.

¹⁵ *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (2nd ed., 2001) (hereafter NGD), s.v. "Goss, John," for Sir John Goss (1800-1880) as a church musician who wrote glees and a little opera; Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, p. 159.

¹⁶ See n. 4, above.

¹⁷ Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, p. 159, names a William Hawes. NGD, s.v. "Hawes, William," for Hawes (1785-1846) as a good London musician, busy in wide range of theatre and church music.

¹⁸ See n. 4, above.

¹⁹ NGCC President's Book—Members and Honorary Members with attendances 1828-1850, British Library (hereafter BL) H2788.aaa, Microfilm MUS.MIC A4611 (1966) (hereafter NGCC, Attendances), for Hawkins replacing Gore, d. 1831.

²⁰ See n. 4, above, for other Hunter links to Hobb[e]s; FEH Diaries, 30 May 1844, notes "voices of Hobb[e]s, Hawkins ... conspicuous for sweetness;" Ibid., 28 Apr. 1846, Sir Richard Hunter subscribed to a concert series co-directed by Hobb[e]s, Hawkins, Phillips and others, and attended the first concert with Lady Hunter.

²¹ Budds, "Music at the Court of Queen Victoria," III, p. 875, for Hobb[e]s singing in an 1843 Philharmonic Society concert with singers Birch, Staudigl, and Spohr conducting. Hobbs and Hobbes probably same as occasionally different spelling of "John William Hobbs."

²² NGD, s.v. "Horncastle, Frederick W." Horncastle toured widely; e.g., 1856 performances in Toronto with Pyne Opera Company. David John Sale, "Toronto's pre-confederation music societies, 1845-1867" (M. Mus. thesis, University of Toronto, 1968), p. 353.

²³ See n. 4, above.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ James King may have been the "King" in the NGCC, Attendances, although in the 1840s the record gives "King" with no first name or initial. James King may have been part of a musical family. A William King sang in London taverns in the 1840s. Senelick, *Tavern Singing, passim*. For a Matthew Peter King (1773-1823), see Rubin, *English Glee*, p. 358.

²⁶ Lady Hunter "particularly admired Knyvett's Glee of 'The Midge's' dance." FEH Diaries, 28 Apr. 1846.

²⁷ His brother Charles Knyvett was an alto and organist of the Chapel Royal, Gladstone, *Noblemen*, p. 86.

²⁸ See n. 4, above.

²⁹ Budds, "Music at the Court of Queen Victoria," III, p. 877, notes that at an 1844 Concert of Ancient Music performance, a baritone named Machin sang with vocal luminaries Caradori-Allan, Castellan, Shaw, Mario, Corelli, Lablache, and Staudigl.

³⁰ As NGCC member 1792, Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, p. 159.

³¹ Phillips was one of the directors of a concert series, subscribed to by Sir Richard, the first of which was attended by Sir Richard and Lady Hunter. FEH Diaries, 26 Apr. 1846.

³² For Phillips, Henry, 1801-1876, Budds, "Music at the Court of Queen Victoria," III, p. 908.

³³ John Sale, Secretary of the Club, 1812-1828, Gladstone, *Noblemen*, p. 107; NGCC member 1799, Robins *Catch and Glee Culture*, p. 159. As teacher of Queen Victoria, Budds, "Music at the Court of Queen Victoria," III, pp. 89-94. For Sale family, F. Standfield, "John Sale: John Bernard Sale: George Bernard Sale," *Notes and Queries* CLI, Nov. 13 (1926): 357-358.

³⁴ See n. 4, above.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ FEH Diary, 28 Jun. 1844, Lady Hunter disliked the Terrail concert she and Sir Richard attended.

³⁷ As organist of Westminster Abbey for over 50 years, Gladstone, *Noblemen*, p. 86.

³⁸ See n. 4, above.

³⁹ A Vaughan was an NGCC member in 1805, Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, p. 159.

⁴⁰ See n. 4, above.

⁴¹ As organist at St. Martin-in-the-Fields for 40 years, Gladstone, *Noblemen*, p. 86).

APPENDIX D: Catch Club Music 1841-1847

Notes:

- 1) This appendix lists all the works recorded as performed at the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club of London (hereafter NGCC) during the membership of Sir Richard Hunter, 1841 to 1847.
- 2) Performance dates, name and title spellings are from the NGCC records held at the British Library (hereafter BL): "Laws and Regulations of the Catch-Club (Instituted November 1761) as Revised by a Committee and confirmed by The Club 1828,"" amended 25 Jan. 1831, BL H.2788.qq (hereafter NGCC, Laws); "Members Elected, 1779-1868," BL H.2788.bbb (hereafter NGCC, Members Elected); "Attendances, 1791-1868," BL H.2788.xx, zz, aaa (hereafter NGCC, Attendances); "Glees performed, 1828-71," BL H.2788.ddd, eee (hereafter NGCC, Glees performed).
- 3) Because of the volume of repertoire, only representative samples of the lyrics were collected and analysed; these are given in Appendix F: Lyrics of Selected Catch Club Music.
- 4) Where works were performed at both the NGCC and at Conservative Festivals (hereafter CF), CF dates are noted; those lyrics are given only in Appendix B: Lyrics of Conservative Festival Music.
- 5) Endnotes give details, where known, for the first mention of each composer; the records of NGCC, Glees performed, noted composers' family names. The purpose of these details is to inform the analysis of historicism present in the NGCC repertoire as it was chosen by its active members from 1841 to 1847.
- 6) Genre is given as stated in the NGCC records, although these occasionally vary for the same work. Most works are glees. Despite minor formal differences among catches, canons, rounds and between glees and madrigals, in practice it is difficult to distinguish them.¹ Only madrigals have been identified in terms of genre, in order to establish the self-conscious historicism of the form and its sound.
- 7) Criteria for determining historicism or historical reference are the same as those in Appendix B: Lyrics of Conservative Festival Music. The principal thematic demonstration in Appendix D: Catch Club Music 1841-1847 is that the repertoire for those years was largely historical; when it was not from a period earlier than 20 years prior to 1841, the music often sounded like madrigals and the lyrics often contained references to mythic or historic persons or events.

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LEGEND

CF	Sung at a Conservative Festival 1835-1841
H	Historicist <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diction: in lyric or title, spelling • Reference to historic or mythic figures • Form or musical sound like a madrigal, based on scholarly assessment
HH	Music composed before 1820, based on: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Composer's life dates or having been an NGCC "old member" (see MO) • An extant edition • Scholarly reference
GENRE	<i>Madrigal</i> is the only genre specified, as having a particular, historic sound; glees were preponderant, though not always audibly distinguishable from madrigals.
M	Composer was NGCC member between 1828 and 1847
MO	Composer was NGCC member before 1828
COMPOSER	Family name as it is in the NGCC record, with birth and death dates where known; thereafter last name, initial where necessary for clarity, and life dates; where the composer is uncertain, no dates are given.
TITLE	Endnotes indicate historicism: publication date prior to 1825 <i>Alternative Title</i>
<i>Genre</i>	Madrigal is stated as notable genre, to indicate historicism
<i>NGCC prize</i>	Dates for NGCC prizes are from Brian Robins, <i>Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England</i> (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 160-161, unless otherwise stated.
#	Total number of NGCC performances between 1841 and 1847

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H / HH	CF	TITLE	COMPOSER Dates	M / MO	#
HH		ADIEU YE JOVIAL YOUTHS	Cooke, R. ² 1768-1814	MO	2
HH		ADIEU YE STREAMS <i>NGCC prize 1778</i>	Atterbury 1735-1796 ³	MO	1
HH		AH HOW SOPHIA	Callcott, J. ⁴ 1766-1821	MO	2
HH		AH ME WHERE IS MY TRUE LOVE <i>madrigal</i>	Anerio ⁵ 1560-1614		3
		AH WELL A DAY	Horsley, W. ⁶ 1774-1858	M	1
HH		ALAS CRIED DAMON	Callcott (?) ⁷	MO?	7
HH		ARE THE WHITE HOURS	Callcott 1766-1821	MO	8
		AS DICK RETURNING	King ⁸		1
HH		AS FAIR AS MORN <i>madrigal</i>	Wilbye 1574-1638 ⁹		1
HH		AS I SAW FAIR CLORA	Hayden, G. ¹⁰ d. ca. 1722		1
HH		AS I WAS GOING TO DERBY	Callcott 1766-1821	MO	1
		AS IT FELL UPON A DAY	Cooke, T. ¹¹ 1782-1848	M	4
H		AS ON A SUMMER'S DAY	Stafford Smith, J. ¹² 1750-1836	MO	11
HH		AS THE MOMENTS ROLL	Webbe, S. Sr. ¹³ 1740-1816	MO	1
		AT HER FAIR HANDS	Elliott, J. ¹⁴ 1783-1856	M	10
HH		AWAKE AEOLIAN LYRE <i>NGCC prize 1783</i>	Danby, J. ¹⁵ 1757-1798	MO	5
H		AWAKE MY LYRE	Horsley, W. ¹⁶ 1774-1858	M	4
HH	1841 ¹⁷	BACCHUS, GREAT BACCHUS <i>NGCC prize 1821</i>	Evans, C. ¹⁸ 1768?-1849	M	3

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		BALMY GALES	Horsley, W. 1774-1858	M	4
HH		BEAUTIES HAVE YOU SEEN <i>NGCC prize 1812</i>	Evans 1768?-1849	M	9
HH		BEE VOLUPTUOUS	Webbe ¹⁹ 1740-1816	MO	3
		BEE WHERE VARYING	Elliott 1783-1856	M	7
HH		BEVIAMO TUTTI TRE	Giardini ²⁰ 1716-1796	MO	3
		BLEST IS / ARE THE FAIRY HOUR(S)	Horsley, W. 1774-1858	M	3
HH		BLEST PAIR OF SYRENS <i>NGCC prize 1775</i>	Stafford Smith ²¹ 1750-1836	MO	6
HH		BLOSSOM SO PLEASING	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	1
		BLOW GENTLE GALES	Bishop ²² 1786-1855		2
		BLOW LIGHT	Horsley, W. 1774-1858	M	2
HH		BLOW ON YE WINDS	Mornington ²³ 1735-1781		1
HH		BLOW THOU WINTER WIND	Stevens, R. ²⁴ 1757-1837	MO	2
HH		BLOW WARDER BLOW <i>Red Cross Knight</i>	Callcott 1766-1821	MO	2
H		BODY OF GREAT ELIZABETH	Hook, J. ²⁵ 1746-1827		1
H		BOLD ROBIN HOOD	Bishop 1786-1855		1
		BOY I HATE	Walmisley, T. ²⁶ 1784-1866	M	1
HH		BREATHE SOFTLY YE WINDS	Paxton, W. ²⁷ 1725-1778	MO	1
		BRING ME FLOWERS	Hawes, W. ²⁸ 1785-1846	M	1
HH		BRITISH SENTIMENT <i>May Our Heroes</i>	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	1
H		BUDS OF ROSES	Stevenson, Sir		9

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			John A. ²⁹ 1761-1833		
		BUSY CURIOUS THIRSTY FLY	Walmisley 1784-1866	M	6
HH		BUZ [sic] QUOTH THE BLUE FLY	Arne, T. ³⁰ 1710-1768	MO	1
HH		BY CELIA'S ARBOUR ³¹	Horsley, W. 1774-1858	M	13
HH		BY THE WATERS OF BABYLON	Nares, J. ³² 1715-1783		1
HH		CANS'T THOU LOVE <i>madrigal</i>	Ravenscroft, T. ³³ ca. 1592-ca. 1635		1
HH		CECILIA	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	1
HH		CHI MAI D'INI <i>round</i>	Buononcini ³⁴		1
		CHOIR OF BRIGHT BEAUTY[IES]	Elliott 1783-1856	M	21
		CHOUGH AND CROW	Bishop 1786-1855		1
HH		CLOUD CAP'T TOWERS	Stevens, R. 1757-1837	MO	12
		CLOUDS OF NIGHT	Cooke, T. ³⁵	M	10
HH		COLD IS CADWALLO'S TONGUE	Horsley, W. 1774-1858	M	23
HH		COME ALL NOBLE SOULS	Rogers, B. ³⁶ 1614-1698		1
H		COME BEAUTEOUS/BOUNTEOUS MAY	Spofforth ³⁷ 1769-1827		7
HH		COME BIND MY HAIR <i>NGCC prize 1771</i>	Battishill, J. ³⁸ 1730-1801	MO	2
H		COME BUY MY CHERRYS [sic]	Stevenson ³⁹		3
HH		COME FAIREST NYMPH	Mornington 1735-1781		2
		COME GENTLE ZEPHYR	Horsley, W. 1774-1858	M	10
HH		COME LET US ALL A-MAYING GO	Atterbury 1735-1796	MO	2
H	1840	COME LET US JOIN THE	Beale, W. ⁴⁰	MO	2

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		ROUNDELAY <i>madrigal</i>	1784-1854		
HH		COME LIVE WITH ME	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	6
		COME O'ER THE BROOK	Bishop 1786-1855		1
		COME SEE WHAT PLEASURES	Elliott 1783-1856	M	23
HH		COME SHEPHERDS <i>madrigal</i>	Bennet ⁴¹ 1599-1614?		1
HH		COME SHEPHERDS COME	Mornington 1735-1781		2
		COME SPIRITS OF AIR	Cooke, T. ⁴² 1782-1848	M	2
		COME THOU MONARCH	Bishop 1786-1855		1
		COME 'TIS NOW	Wilson, H. ⁴³		1
		COULD A MAN BE SECURE	Goodwin, S. ⁴⁴ d. 1774		1
HH		CRABBED AGE AND YOUTH	Stevens, R. 1757-1837	MO	10
		CRIER/CRYER	Horsley, W. 1774-1858	M	3
HH		CYNTHIA THY SONG <i>madrigal</i>	Croce ⁴⁵ 1557-1609		4
HH		DAUGHTER SWEET	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	1
HH		DEH DOVE SENZA ME DOLCE MIA VITA	Cooke, B. ⁴⁶ 1734-1793	MO	1
HH		DISCORD DIRE SISTER <i>NGCC prize 1772</i>	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	9
HH		DRINK TO ME ONLY	Mellish, P. ⁴⁷		1
HH		DRINK TONIGHT	Callcott 1766-1821	MO	1
HH		DULL REPINING SONS <i>NGCC prize 1785</i>	Horsley, W. 1774-1858	M	1
		ETHEREAL RACE	Horsley, W. 1774-1858	M	6
HH		EVERY BUSH NEW SPRINGING <i>madrigal</i>	Cavendish ⁴⁸ 1565-1628		1
HH		FAIN WOULD I	Cooke, B.	MO	2

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			1734-1793		
H		FAIR IS MY LOVE	Spofforth 1769-1827		1
HH		FAIR SUSAN DID HER WIFEHODE	Cooke, B. 1734-1793	MO	1
HH		FAIREST DAUGHTERS	Danby 1757-1798	MO	2
HH		FAIREST FLOWERS <i>NGCC prize 1786</i>	Danby 1757-1798	MO	1
HH		FAREWELL TO LOCHABOUR	Callcott 1766-1821	MO	1
HH		FATHER OF HEROES <i>NGCC prize 1792</i>	Callcott 1766-1821	MO	4
H		FAYRE IS MY LOVE	Ellerton, J. ⁴⁹ 1801-1873	M	1
HH		FEAR NO MORE	Nares, J. 1715-1783		4
HH		FIE NAE PRITHEE JOHN	Purcell, H. ⁵⁰ 1659-1695		1
		FILL ME BOY	Cooke, T. 1782-1848	M	23
HH		FILL SWEET GIRLS	Battishill 1730-1801	MO	2
HH		FILL THE BOWL <i>NGCC prize 1768</i>	Dyne, John [fl. 1768] ⁵¹	MO	1
HH		FLORA GAVE ME	Wilbye 1574-1638		4
H		FLORA NOW CALLETH FORTH <i>madrigal</i> ⁵²	Stafford Smith 1750-1836	MO	2
		FLOW SOFTLY FLOW	Ellerton, J. 1801-1873	M	5
	1836	FORESTERS SOUND	Bishop 1786-1855		1
		FROM FLOWER TO FLOWER	Walmisley 1784-1866	M	1
HH		FROM OBERON	Stevens, R. 1757-1837	MO	2
HH		GAILY I LIV'D	Cooke, B. 1734-1793	MO	2
HH		GALES OF EVENING	Cooke, R. 1768-1814	MO	1

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HH M O		GENEROUS FRIENDSHIP <i>NGCC prize 1768</i>	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	8
		GIRL OF MY SOUL	Walmisley 1784-1866	M	1
HH		GIVE ME THE SWEET DELIGHTS	Harrington, H. ⁵³ 1727-1816		4
HH		GLORIOUS APOLLO	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	5
HH		GO BURNING SIGHS	Paxton, S. 1734-1787	MO	3
HH		GO DAMON GO <i>madrigal</i>	Paxton, S. 1734-1787	MO	1
HH		GO FEEBLE TYRANT	Jackson, W. ⁵⁴ 1730-1803		2
HH		GO IDLE BOY <i>NGCC prize 1789</i>	Callcott 1766-1821	MO	17
		GO ROSE	Beale 1784-1854	MO	1
		GOOD FOLK FOR GOLDEN HIRE	Horsley, W. 1774-1858	M	3
HH		GREAT APOLLO	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	1
HH		GREAT FATHER BACCHUS	Paxton, S. 1734-1787	MO	1
HH		GREEN THORN OF THE HILL	Callcott 1766-1821	MO	1
		HAIL, BEAUTEOUS STRANGER	Walmisley 1784-1866	M	9
HH		HAIL, HALLOW'D FANE	Mornington 1735-1781		1
HH		HAIL, HAPPY ALBION!	Callcott 1766-1821	MO	1
H	1836 1841	HAIL, SMILING MORN!	Spofforth 1769-1827		8
HH		HAND IN HAND	Cooke, B. 1734-1793	MO	1
HH		HAPPY ARE WE MET	Atterbury 1735-1796	MO	1
HH		HARK HARRY	Eccles, J. ⁵⁵		1

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			1668-1735		
		HARK HOW PLAINLY	King, E. ⁵⁶		2
HH		HARK THE LARK	Cook, B. ⁵⁷ 1734-1793	MO	1
		HARMONY	Beale 1784-1854	MO	2
HH		HAST THOU LEFT THY BLUE	Callcott 1766-1821	MO	4
HH		HEALTH TO MY DEAR ⁵⁸	Spofforth 1769-1827		1
HH		HENCE ALL YE VAIN DELIGHTS	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	9
		HER EYE THE GLOWWORM	Horsley, W. 1774-1858	M	2
HH		HERE IN COOL GROT <i>NGCC prize 1779</i>	Mornington 1735-1781		1
HH		HERE LET ME LIE	Mornington 1735-1781		1
HH		HERE'S THAT WILL CHALLENGE	Purcell 1659-1695		1
HH		HEY HO	Hilton, J. ⁵⁹ d. 1609		1
HH		HITHER ALL YE LOVES	Webbe 1740-1816		1
		HOW BEAUTIFUL IS NIGHT	Ellerton, J. 1801-1873	M	2
HH		HOW MERRILY WE LIVE <i>madrigal</i>	Estes, M. ⁶⁰ 1580-1648		2
HH		HOW OFTEN HAVE I SEEN	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	1
HH		HOW SWEET HOW FRESH <i>NGCC prize 1779</i>	Paxton, S. 1734-1787	MO	8
HH		I CANNOT SING THIS CATCH	Harrington 1727-1816		2
HH		I LOVED THEE BEAUTIFUL	Battishill 1730-1801	MO	15
HH		I WAIT ENSLAVER	Atterbury 1735-1796	MO	1
		I WISH TO TUNE	Walmisley 1784-1866	M	9

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HH		I'LL BACK THE MEALY GREY	Arne 1710-1768	MO	1
		I'LL THINK OF THEE LOVE	Ellerton, J. 1801-1873	M	1
		IF LIFE BE A DREAM	Walmisley 1784-1866	M	3
HH		IF LOVE AND ALL THE WORLD	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	5
H		IN THE FRAGRANT MONTH OF MAY	Hatton, J. ⁶¹ 1808-1886		1
HH		IN THE LONELY VALE	Calcott 1766-1821	MO	3
HH		IN THE MERRY MONTH ⁶² <i>NGCC prize 1773</i>	Cooke, B. 1734-1793	MO	3
HH		IT WAS A LOVER <i>NGCC prize 1786</i>	Stevens, R. 1757-1837	MO	4
HH		JACK THOU'RT A TOPER	Purcell 1659-1695		2
HH		JOAN SAID TO JOHN	Atterbury 1735-1796	MO	1
H		L' APE ET LA SERPE	Spofforth 1769-1827		17
		LEAF THAT FALLS	Walmisley 1784-1866	M	1
HH		LET ME CARELESS	Linley, T. ⁶³ 1733-1795		10
HH		LET RUBINELLI	Cooke, B. 1734-1793	MO	1
HH		LET THE SPARKLING WINE	Rock, M. ⁶⁴ fl 1805		7
		LET THOSE COMPLAIN	Elliott 1783-1856	M	2
		LET US DRAIN	Cooke, T. 1782-1848	M	1
		LET'S HAVE A CATCH	Cooke, T. 1782-1848	M	9
		LET'S HAVE A PEEL [sic – should be peal]	No composer given		1
HH		LIFE'S A BUMPER	Wainwright ⁶⁵ 1757-1825		2

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HH		LIVE TODAY	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	1
		LO ON YON LONG	Horsley, W. 1774-1858	M	2
		LONG MR. HARLEY	No composer given		1
HH		LOOK, NEIGHBOURS, LOOK!	Harrington 1727-1816		7
		LOVE LIKE A BIRD	Hawes 1785-1846	M	1
HH		LOVELY SEEMETH/SEEMS THE MOON'S FAIR LUSTER	Calcott 1766-1821	MO	6
HH		MACEDON YOUTH	Purcell 1659-1695		1
		MARK WHEN TEMPESTUOUS WINDS	Turle, J. ⁶⁶ 1802-1882	M	1
HH		MARK WHERE THE SILVER QUEEN OF NIGHT	Cooke ⁶⁷	MO	23
HH		MARK'D YOU HER EYE ⁶⁸	Spofforth 1769-1827		8
HH		MAY OUR HEROES <i>British Sentiments</i> ⁶⁹	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	1
HH		MERRILY RANG THE BELLS	Knyvett, W. ⁷⁰ 1779-1856	MO	1
HH	1838 1839	MIGHTY CONQUEROR	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	14
HH		MINE BE A COT	Horsley, W. 1774-1858	M	10
HH		MUSIC	Cooke ⁷¹	MO	1
		MUSIC ALL POWERFUL	Walmisley 1784-1866	M	3
H		MY DEAR MISTRESS ⁷²	Spofforth 1769-1827		12
HH		MY POCKET'S LOW	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	11
		MYNHEER VAN DUNCK	Bishop 1786-1855		1
HH		NIGHTINGALE WHO TUNES <i>NGCC prize 1785</i>	Danby 1757-1798	MO	6
HH		NO RICHES FROM HIS	Cooke, R. 1768-1814	MO	6

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HH		NON FIDIAL MAR <i>NGCC prize 1790</i>	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	1
HH		NOW COUNTRY SPOILS	Weelkes, T. ⁷³ ca. 1576-1623		1
HH		NOW I'M PREPARED <i>NGCC prize 1775</i>	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	2
HH		NOW [IS] THE BRIGHT MORNING STAR	Cooke, B. 1734-1793	MO	1
HH		NOW THE BRIGHT MORNING STAR <i>NGCC prize 1787</i>	Greville, R. ⁷⁴	M	6
		NOW THE STORM	Horsley, W. 1774-1858	M	1
HH		NOW THE WINDS WHISTLE	Cooke, R. 1768-1814	MO	2
		NYMPHS OF THE FOREST	Horsley, W. 1774-1858		9
HH		O BIRD OF EVE	Mornington 1735-1781		19
HH		O COME O BELLA	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	1
		O HAPPY YEARS	Walmisley 1784-1866	M	1
H		O LIBERTY!	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	1
HH		O MY LOVE'S LIKE THE RED ROSE	Knyvett, W. 1779-1856	MO	1
H		O NANNIE WILL THOU GANG	Harrison ⁷⁵		2
HH		O SNATCH ME SWIFT	Calcott 1766-1821	MO	4
		O (THE) SWEET CONTENTMENT	Horsley, W. 1774-1858	M	14
H		O THOU THAT ROLLEST ABOVE	Stevens, R. 1757-1837	MO	9
HH		O VENUS REGINA	Cooke, B. 1734-1793	MO	13
HH		O VOI CHE SOSPIRATE <i>NGCC prize 1790</i>	Calcott 1766-1821	MO	2
		O WELCOME SUMMER	Elliott 1783-1856	M	7

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HH		OF ALL THE BRAVE BIRDS	Ravenscroft ca. 1592-1635		2
HH		OF HIS/HER RIGHT EYE	Cooke, B. 1734-1793	MO	1
HH		OLD CHYRON	Wise, M. ⁷⁶ 1647-1787		1
HH		OLD THOMAS DAY	Harrington 1727-1816		2
HH		ON A DAY	Jackson, W. 1730-1803		1
		ONCE DID I SIGH	Beale 1784-1854	MO	2
HH		ONCE, TWICE, THRICE <i>One, Two, Three</i>	Purcell 1659-1695		3
HH		PEACE TO THE SOULS OF THE HEROES	Callcott 1766-1821	MO	5
		PHYLLIS	Hawes 1785-1846	M	1
H		PLEASANT SPRING	Webbe ⁷⁷	MO	1
HH		POCULEM ELEVATUM ⁷⁸	Arne 1710-1768	MO	6
HH		PRITHEE FOOLISH BOY ⁷⁹	Stevens, R. 1757-1837	MO	1
		PUT ROUND THE BRIGHT WINE	Walmisley 1784-1866	M	1
		QUEEN AND HUNTRESS	Elliott 1783-1856	M	1
		QUEEN OF THE NIGHT	Ellerton, J. 1801-1873	M	4
H		QUEEN OF THE SILVER BOW	Hindle, J. ⁸⁰	MO	9
HH		QUEEN OF THE VALLEY <i>Thou Art Beautiful</i>	Callcott 1766-1821	MO	5
HH		RED CROSS KNIGHT <i>Blow Warder</i>	Callcott 1766-1821	MO	1
HH		RETURN BLEST DAYS <i>NGCC prize 1777</i>	Stafford Smith 1750-1836	MO	16
HH		RETURN MY LOVELY MAID	Hutcheson, F. ⁸¹ 1720-1780		1

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HH		RISE MY JOY <i>NGCC prize 1777</i>	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	1
		SAY, MIGHTY LOVE	Evans 1768?-1849	M	3
		SEE THE CHARIOT AT HAND/OF LOVE	Horsley, W. 1774-1858	M	14
HH		SIGH NO MORE LADYS [sic]	Stevens, R. 1757-1837	MO	8
HH		SINCE FIRST I SAW <i>madrigal</i>	Ford, Thomas ⁸² d. 1648		1
HH		SIR YOU ARE A COMICAL FELLOW ⁸³ <i>NGCC prize 1770</i>	Bates, W. 1750-1780		2
HH		SISTER OF PHAEBUS <i>To Cynthia</i>	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	1
	1837	SLEEP, GENTLE LADY	Bishop 1786-1855		2
H		SLEEP, POOR YOUTH	Stafford Smith 1750-1836	MO	1
		SLUMBER	Ellerton, J. 1801-1873	M	1
HH		SO FULL OF LIFE AND JOY	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	2
HH		SO SAITH MY FAIR	Marenzio, L. ⁸⁴ 1553/4-1599		1
		SOFT CHILD OF LOVE	Beale 1784-1854	MO	1
HH		SOFT CUPID	Travers, J. ⁸⁵ 1703-1758		1
HH		SOFT SPIRIT	Cooke, R. 1768-1814	MO	1
HH		SOME OF MY HEROES ⁸⁶	Stevens, R. 1757-1837	MO	17
H		SPRING	Spofforth 1769-1827		1
H		STAY DAPHNE	Webbe ⁸⁷	MO	2
HH		STAY O SWEET	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	1
		STRIKE THE LYRE	Cooke, T. ⁸⁸ 1782-1848	M	5

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HH		SWEET ENSLAVER	Atterbury 1735-1796	MO	1
H		SWEET HONEY MAKING BEE	Webbe ⁸⁹	MO	1
		SWEET POET	Horsley, W. 1774-1858	M	2
HH		SWEET THRUSH	Danby 1757-1798	MO	1
HH		SWEET WARBLING BIRD	Cooke, R. 1768-1814	MO	2
HH		SWIFTLY FROM THE MOUNTAINS <i>NGCC prize 1788</i>	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	2
		T'OTHER DAY AS I SAT	Goss, J. ⁹⁰ 1800-1880	M MO	7
HH		T'WAS YOU SIR	Mornington 1735-1781		4
HH		THERE IS A LADY <i>madrigal</i>	Ford, T. d. 1648		1
		THERE IS BEAUTY	Goss, J. 1800-1880	M MO	3
HH		THERE WAS AN OLD MAN	Calcott? ⁹¹	MO	3
		THIS PLEASANT MONTH	Beale 1784-1854	MO	5
HH		THOU ART BEAUTIFUL <i>Queen Of The Valley</i>	Calcott 1766-1821	MO	16
		THOU BEAUTEIOUS SPARK	Cooke, T. 1782-1848	M	3
H		THOU CYPRESS TREE	Webbe, S. Jr. ⁹² 1768-1843	MO	5
HH		THOU TO WHOSE EYES	Jackson, W. 1730-1803		1
		THROW THE GAUDY ROSES	Horsley, W. 1774-1858	M	4
HH		THY VOICE O HARMONY	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	2
HH		THYRSIS WHEN HE LEFT ME	Calcott 1766-1821	MO	8
HH		TIME HAS NOT THIN'D	Jackson, W. 1730-1803		2
H		TO BE GAZING	Stevens, R. 1757-1837	MO	11

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H		TO BE LOV'D	Stevens, R. 1757-1837	MO	2
HH		TO LOVE I WAKE THE SILVER STRING	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	2
HH		TO ME THE WANTON GIRLS	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	4
HH		TO [IN] THE LONELY VALE ⁹³	Callcott 1766-1821	MO	1
HH		TO THE OLD LONG LIFE <i>NGCC prize 1774</i>	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	8
HH		TO THE WOODS I LOVE TO GO	Callcott 1766-1821	MO	1
		TOMORROW THOU FEAST OF THE MAY	Walmisley 1784-1866	M	6
H		TOURNE THEE TO THY SHEPSTER SWAIN	Horsley, W. 1774-1858	M	4
		TRAVELLING	King, J.		1
		TURN AMARLLIS [sic] AND ANSWER	Brewer, T. d.ca. 1660		2
H		UNDER THE GREENWOOD TREE	Clifton, A. ⁹⁴ 1784-1832		5
HH		UNDERNEATH THIS MYRTLE SHADE	Battishill 1730-1801	MO	4
HH		UPON THE POPLAR BOUGH/TREE	Paxton, S. 1734-1787	MO	3 2
		VULCAN CONTRIVE ME SUCH A CUP	Evans 1768?-1849	M	2
HH		WANTON GALES	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	7
HH		WE BE THREE POOR MARINERS	Ravenscroft ca. 1592-ca. 1635		3
		WE FRIENDS THE FOUR WINDS	Cooke, T. 1782-1848	M	1
H		WHAT [HO] WHAT SHEPHERD HO	Beale 1784-1854	MO	14
HH		WHAT SHALL WE SING ⁹⁵	Harington		5
		WHAT SING THE SWEET BIRDS	Horsley, W. 1774-1858	M	7
HH		WHEN FOR THE WORLDS REPOSE	Arne 1710-1768	MO	1

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HH		WHEN FROM THE WORLD	Mornington 1735-1781		1
HH		WHEN NATURE FORM'D	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	1
HH		WHEN SAPPHO TUN'D <i>NGCC prize 1781</i>	Danby 1757-1798	MO	4
HH		WHEN SHALL WE THREE MEET	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	4
		WHEN SHOULD LOVERS	Walmisley 1784-1866	M	1
		WHEN THE WIND BLOWS	Horsley, W. 1774-1858	M	5
HH		WHEN TIME WAS ENTWINING	Callcott 1766-1821	MO	3
HH		WHEN WINDS BREATHE SOFT	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	11
HH		WHERE THE BEE SUCKS	Jackson, W. ⁹⁶ 1730-1803		2
HH		WHICH IS THE PROPEREST DAY <i>NGCC prize 1765</i>	Arne 1710-1768	MO	1
HH		WHILE FOOLS THEIR TIME <i>NGCC prize 1776</i>	Stafford Smith 1750-1836	MO	7
HH		WHILST I LISTEN TO THY VOICE VICTORY	Cooke, R. 1768-1814	MO	1
HH		WHO COMES SO DARK FROM THE OCEAN'S ROAR?	Callcott 1766-1821	MO	10
		WHO IS SYLVIA?	Elliott 1783-1856	M	2
HH		WHY DOST BEAUTEIOUS LUNA WEEP?	Callcott 1766-1821	MO	1
HH		WHY O'ER THE VERDANT BANKS OF OOZE?	Cooke, R. 1768-1814	MO	3
HH		WIND GENTLE EVERGREEN	Hayes, W. ⁹⁷ 1706-1777	MO	1
HH		WINE DOES WONDERS	Eccles, J. [?] 1668-1735		1
HH		WITH BREATH THE SPACIOUS ORGAN FILL	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	1
HH		WITH SIGHS SWEET ROSE	Callcott 1766-1821	MO	23

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HH		WITH SUCH A SWEET ROSE	Callcott 1766-1821	MO	1
H		WOULD YOU KNOW	Webbe ⁹⁸	MO	10
HH		YE BIRDS FOR WHOM	Battishill 1730-1801	MO	2
HH		YE SPOTTED SNAKES	Stevens, R. 1757-1837	MO	4
		YOU ASK THE REASON WHY	Sale, J. B. ⁹⁹ 1758-1827	M	1
HH		YOU GAVE [ME] YOUR HEART <i>NGCC prize 1776</i>	Webbe 1740-1816	MO	3
		YOU PRETTY BIRDS	Horsley, W. 1774-1858	M	1
HH		YOUR TWO E'EN	Cooke ¹⁰⁰	MO	1
		ZEPHYR I CAN TELL	Webbe, S. Jr. ¹⁰¹ 1768-1843	MO	1
HH		ZEPHYR WITH THY DOWNY WINGS	Battishill 1730-1801	MO	1

Endnotes

¹ Emanuel Rubin, *The English Glee in the Reign of George III: Participatory Art Music for an Urban Society* (Warren, Mich.: Harmonie Park Press, 2003), pp. 79-84.

² See NGD, s.v. "Cooke, Benjamin," for Robert Cooke as Benjamin Cooke's son. Robert Cooke committed suicide, but was a church musician and composer like his father. For Robert Cooke, see also Rubin, *English Glee*, p. 348.

³ For George Luffman Atterbury, see *Ibid.*, p. 271.

⁴ For John Wall Callcott as an influential glee composer, see *Ibid.*, pp. 342-345.

⁵ *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (2nd ed., 2001) (hereafter NGD), s.v. "Anerio, Felice."

⁶ For William Horsley as an important glee composer also active in theatre and church music, who married John Wall Callcott's eldest daughter, see Rubin, *English Glee*, pp. 360-363.

⁷ Attribution of this glee is only from NGCC Glees performed.

⁸ Attribution of composer "King" to this glee is only from NGCC Glees performed.

⁹ NGD, s.v. "Wilbye, Thomas," for Wilbye composing excellent madrigals.

¹⁰ NGD, s.v. "Hayden, George," for "As I Saw Fair Clara" being popular well into the nineteenth century.

¹¹ For Thomas Simpson Cooke's dates, see *Ibid.*, p. 58; for NGCC membership see

NGCC, Attendances.

¹² NGD, s.v. "Stafford Smith, John," for Stafford Smith as an important early musicologist in England. For NGCC membership in 1774, see Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2006), p. 158.

¹³ Samuel Webbe Senior (1740-1816) was the father of Samuel Webbe Junior (1768-1843); all Webbe repertoire in this appendix is by Webbe Senior, unless otherwise specified. For the glees of Samuel Webbe Senior, see Rubin, *English Glee*, *Ibid.*, pp. 317-320; for a good short biography, see *Ibid.*, pp. 281-293. Samuel Webbe Senior was a bass, a teacher and a composer of church and theatre music as well as setting the gold standard of glee composition. His secular vocal works were often performed at London's Marylebone and Vauxhall pleasure gardens, and published in popular eighteenth-century periodicals. Webbe Sr. was a long time NGCC, becoming secretary between 1784 and 1812. See also NGD, s.v. "Webbe, Samuel (1740-1816)."

¹⁴ For James Elliott, as Secretary of the NGCC 1836-1852, see Viscount Gladstone, Guy Boas, and Harald Christopherson, *Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club: Three Essays towards its History*, eds. (London: Cypher Press, 1996), <<http://www.cypherpress.com/books/catchclub/catchclub.pdf>>, (viewed 23 May 2007), p. 107.

¹⁵ John Danby (1757-1798), "The Nightingale Who Tunes," in *The English Glee*, ed. Percy M. Young (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 71-76.

¹⁶ For elegance of this glee, see Rubin, *English Glee*, p. 361.

¹⁷ Possibly performed at the Conservative Festival (hereafter CF) 1841 Chelmsford. See Appendix C: Lyrics of British Conservative Festival Music, s.v. "Great Bacchus," fn. 6.

¹⁸ Charles Smart Evans (1768?-1849), "Bacchus, Great Bacchus," Rubin, *English Glee*, p. 367.

¹⁹ Samuel Webbe Sr., "The Bee Voluptuous Roves," pp. 18-19 of a publication bound into a Henry Evatt's personal music folio, ca. 1800, belonging to James Wright, whom I thank for granting access. The Evatt folio states no publication information, but shows exactly the same pagination for exactly the same repertoire as Charles Knyvett, ed., *A collection of favorite glees, catches and rounds*, ed. (London: C. Broderip & Wilkinson for C. Knyvett. [1800]), listed in the online finding aid for BL E.318.(1.) Consulting this publication is now beyond the scope of this dissertation research.

²⁰ For Felice Giardini in London, see Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, pp. 42-44.

²¹ For the excellence and popularity of "Blest Pair of Sirens," see Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, p. 149 and Rubin, *English Glee*, pp. 286, 305.

²² NGD, s.v. "Bishop, Sir Henry Rowley."

²³ NGD, s.v. "Mornington, Garret Wesley, 1st Earl of," for use of madrigal techniques in this work, see Rubin, *English Glee*, p. 268.

²⁴ See NGD, s.v. "Stevens, Richard John Samuel," for Stevens as a church and academic

musician, Gresham Professor of Music (1801), and collector of seventeenth-century Italian music; fond, as a composer, of setting Shakespeare texts. For Stevens as NGCC member in 1783, see Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, p. 159.

²⁵ See NGD, s.v. "Hook, James," for Hook as popular song composer well known in London pleasure gardens in the late eighteenth century.

²⁶ See NGD, s.v. "Walmisley, Thomas Forbes Walmisley," for Walmisley as a major glee composer, church musician and teacher.

²⁷ See NGD, s.v. "Paxton, William," for the brothers William Paxton (1725-1778) and Stephen Paxton (1734-1787). For both winning NGCC medals for glee composition and for Stephen as an NGCC member from 1780, see Rubin, *English Glee*, p. 269.

²⁸ Probably NGCC member William Hawes. See *Ibid.*, p. 229.

²⁹ NGD, s.v. "Stevenson, Sir John Andrew."

³⁰ See NGD, s.v. "Arne, Thomas," for Arne as a major English composer.

³¹ William Horsley, "By Celia's Arbour," (London: Rt. Birchall, [1808]), BL H.1221.(39.).

³² See NGD, s.v. "Nares, James," for Nares as a church and theatre musician with a MusD Cambridge, who won an NGCC prize in 1770 but not for this glee.

³³ NGD, s.v. "Ravenscroft, Thomas." For Edward Ravenscroft (relationship unknown) as a regular NGCC member in 1799, see Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, p. 158.

³⁴ See NGD, s.v. "Bononcini," for details of the family, which flourished into the eighteenth century. Insufficient evidence to identify this composer.

³⁵ NGCC Glees performed attributes this glee to T. Cooke; but Rubin, *English Glee*, p. 371, suggests it is by John Wall Callcott.

³⁶ NGD, s.v. "Rogers, Benjamin."

³⁷ See NGD, s.v. "Spofforth, Reginald," for Spofforth as part of a musical family, and "Hail, Smiling Morn" arguably the most popular glee ever written.

³⁸ NGD, s.v. "Battishill, Jonathan;" Rubin, *English Glee*, pp. 274-277.

³⁹ Unclear from NGCC Glees performed which Stevenson this is.

⁴⁰ William Beale, "Come Let Us Join the Roundelay ... Madrigal for four voices," (London, [1815?]), BL H.2829.a.(3.), was the best-known work of this composer who largely produced church and secular part songs and won an NGCC prize in 1813. Rubin, *English Glee*, p. 135. *Ibid.*, p. 99, Table 5.3, suggests Beale was a member of both the NGCC and the Madrigal Society but Beale is not mentioned in the NGCC membership lists of 1841 to 1847.

⁴¹ Probably John Bennet [fl 1599-1614], see NGD, s.v. "Bennet, John."

⁴² This glee could not be found or referenced.

⁴³ NGCC Glees performed attributes this glee to "Wilson, H."

⁴⁴ Starling Goodwin (d. 1774?), "Could a Man Be Secure," *Walker's Hibernian Magazine* (Dublin: Sep. 1790), BL P.P.6154.

⁴⁵ Probably Giovanni Croce (1557-1609), since NGD, s.v. "Croce, Giovanni," notes him

as popular with English amateurs during the renewed interest in madrigal singing in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

⁴⁶ Benjamin Cooke and Robert Cook were father and son. See NGD, s.v. "Cooke, Benjamin," for B. Cooke as the son of London music publisher of same name, organist at Westminster Cathedral, and MusD at both Cambridge and Oxford; his compositions "favoured the 'antient style.'" For excellence of "Deh dove" in form, vocal writing, intellect and emotion, see Rubin, *English Glee*, p. 266; it was also published in W.E. Hickson, *The Singing Master* introduced by Bernarr Rainbow (1836; Kilkenny (Ireland): Boethius Press, 1984), pp. 56-57.

⁴⁷ Possibly by Captain Peter Mellish, pub. ca. 1785, per Rubin, *English Glee*, p. 204, fn. 38.

⁴⁸ NGD, s.v. "Cavendish, Michael," for Cavendish as a musical amateur, to whose cousin, Sir Charles Cavendish, Wilbye dedicated a volume of madrigals.

⁴⁹ NGD, s.v. "Ellerton, John Lodge."

⁵⁰ NGD, s.v. "Purcell, Henry," for Purcell as a preeminent English composer.

⁵¹ Not found.

⁵² NGD, s.v. "Stafford Smith, John," for noting this as an "essay" in madrigal style.

⁵³ See NGD, s.v. "Harington, Henry," for Harington as a well-known amateur composer of glees often ed in anthologies.

⁵⁴ See NGD, s.v. "Jackson, William," self-styled as "of Exeter" and a conductor, teacher, and composer of church and theatre music as well as glees.

⁵⁵ Probably John Eccles. See NGD, s.v. "Eccles, John, 1668-1735," for this Eccles as an important theatre composer and music director.

⁵⁶ Composer not found.

⁵⁷ For Benjamin Cooke as composer of "Hark the Lark!" see Rubin, *English Glee*, p. 106.

⁵⁸ Reginald Spofforth, "Health to My Dear. A glee for 4 voices." (London: Rt. Birchall, [1805]), BL E.1858.b.(6.).

⁵⁹ See NGD, s.v. "Hilton, John," d. ca. 1609.

⁶⁰ NGD, s.v. "East, Michael;" for East composing this madrigal, see Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, p. 118.

⁶¹ NGD, s.v. "Liptrott, John Hatton."

⁶² NGD, s.v. "Cooke, Benjamin," for the "madrigalian" nature of this work.

⁶³ NGD, s.v. "Linley, Thomas."

⁶⁴ Michael Rock (fl. 1805), Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, p. 87.

⁶⁵ NGD, s.v. "Wainwright, Richard," for Wainwright as a church musician who also published hymns.

⁶⁶ NGD, s.v. "Turle, James," for Turle as church musician at Westminster Abbey; collaborated with NGCC singer John Goss to edit traditional sacred music.

⁶⁷ Unclear from the attribution in NGCC Glees performed whether this was Matthew

Cooke, NGCC member 1790 (Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, p. 159); Robert Cooke, NGCC member 1791 (Ibid.); or Benjamin Cooke, NGCC member 1767 (Ibid., p. 158).

⁶⁸ Reginald Spofforth, "Mark'd You Her Eye. A glee for 5 voices" (London: Rt. Birchall, [1805]), BL Mad.Soc.14.(3.).

⁶⁹ For being the same as "British Sentiments," see Rubin, *English Glee*, p. 319.

⁷⁰ See NGD, s.v. "Knyvett, William," for Knyvett as a composer and singer of glees; as an NGCC member in 1798, see Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, p.159.

⁷¹ See n. 69, above.

⁷² For this work as "deliberately modeled on the Elizabethan ayre," see Michael Hurd, "Glees, Madrigals, and Partsongs," in *Music in Britain: The Romantic Age, 1800-1914* ed. Nicholas Temperley (London: Athlone Press, 1981), p. 254.

⁷³ NGD, s.v. "Weelkes, Thomas," for Weelkes as a profoundly imaginative composer of madrigals.

⁷⁴ For Rev. Robert Greville winning an NGCC prize in 1787, see Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, p. 161.

⁷⁵ Not found.

⁷⁶ NGD, s.v. "Wise, Michael," for Wise as a contumacious drunk and composer of church music and catches.

⁷⁷ Attribution to Webbe is only from NGCC Glees performed.

⁷⁸ Parody of elevation of host in mass. Rubin, *English Glee*, p. 252.

⁷⁹ Richard John Samuel Stevens, "Prithee Foolish Boy, Give O'er. Glee for three voices" (London: R. Birchall, [1800]), BL H.1797.(9.).

⁸⁰ For John Hindle as NGCC member in 1783, see Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, p. 159.

⁸¹ For Hutcheson as a good amateur composer, see Rubin, *English Glee*, p. 255.

⁸² NGD, s.v. "Ford, Thomas."

⁸³ William Bates, "Sir, You Are a Comical Fellow," in *The Rounds, Catches, and Canons of England: A Collection of specimens of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, adapted to modern use*, ed. Edward F. Rimbault (New York: Da Capo Press, 1976).

⁸⁴ NGD, s.v. "Marenzio, Luca," for Marenzio as an Italian madrigalist enjoyed in English amateur musical circles in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

⁸⁵ NGD, s.v. "Travers, John," for Travers as a church musician interested in old music.

⁸⁶ Richard John Samuel Stevens, "Some of My Heroes Are Low. Glee for five voices. Poetry from Ossian, etc." (London: Printed for the author, [1790]), BL Mad.Soc.17.(8.).

⁸⁷ Attribution to Webbe is only from NGCC Glees performed.

⁸⁸ For Thomas Simpson Cooke composing this glee, see Rubin, *English Glee*, p. 198.

⁸⁹ Attribution to Webbe is only from NGCC Glees performed.

⁹⁰ NGD, s.v. "Goss, John;" for NGCC membership, see Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, p. 159.

⁹¹ Not found; no scholarship found attributing this to John Wall Callcott.

⁹² For attribution of this work to Samuel Webbe Jr., see Rubin, *English Glee*, p. 352.

⁹³ NGCC, Glees performed for "To the Lonely Vale;" for "In the Lonely Vale," see Rubin, *English Glee*, p. 372.

⁹⁴ NGD, s.v. "Corri, Philip Antony," for Arthur Clifton as "Philip Antony Corri," who, after working as a vocal composer in London (1802-1816), left in 1817 for the U.S.A. because of a scandal and changed his name to Clifton.

⁹⁵ Comic send up of "Non nobis, Domine" Rubin, *English Glee*, p. 261.

⁹⁶ NGD, s.v. "Jackson, William."

⁹⁷ For William Hayes biography and NGCC membership, see Rubin, *English Glee*, pp. 247-250.

⁹⁸ Attribution to Webbe is from NGCC Glees performed only.

⁹⁹ For John Bernard Sale (1779-1856), organist, NGCC member, as composer of this glee, see F. Standfield, "John Sale: John Bernard Sale: George Bernard Sale," *Notes and Queries* CLI, Nov. 13 (1926): 358.

¹⁰⁰ See n. 69 above.

¹⁰¹ Attribution of this glee to Webbe is only from NGCC Glees performed. For both Webbe Senior and Junior as NGCC members, see Rubin, *English Glee*, p. 103.

APPENDIX E: Other Conservative Music

Notes:

- 1) Themes and Benefits legend is the same as that for Appendix B: Lyrics of Conservative Festival Music;
- 2) Where no performance venue is stated, the work is self-identified as dedicated to the Conservative party or as “conservative.”

LEGEND

NRC **Newark Red Club Song Book¹**
CD **Conservative Dinner** (not called a “Festival”)
NGCC **Noblemen and Gentlemen’s Catch Club of London** performance
 between 1841 and 1847

TITLE, <i>Stated Tune</i>, Lyric	Venue Genre SA	Themes	Benefits
COME JOLLY REDS, HOLD UP YOUR HEADS² <i>Tune: “Auld Lang Syne”</i> Come jolly Reds hold up your heads Conduct yourselves like men Though we’ve been beaten once my boys We will not be again. CHORUS: For Gladstone [Thesiger] is the Man my lads, Young Gladstone is the Man, He’s honor bright his Heart is right Our Gladstone is the Man. v.2 Then gi’es your hand my Brother Red And take this hand of mine We’ll drink his health in nut brown Ale And in the Rosy Wine. CHORUS v.3 Then surely you’ll be one pint more And surely I’ll be two We’ll strain our throats To gain him Votes And we will pull him through.	NRC Song SA		V E: Fellow Plenty: D Music ♀

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<p>CHORUS: v.4 Then fill the cup with liquor rare And drink with hearty glee To our dear Friends the Ladies fair With a glorious three times three. CHORUS: And Gladstone is their choice, my boys Young Gladstone is their choice, A Tory staunch, for Eloquence There's scarcely such a Man. [For sterling sense, and eloquence Where is there such a Man?]</p>			
<p>HERE'S A HEALTH TO ALL GOOD REDS <i>Air: "John Bull from recollection"</i> CHORUS: Here's a health to Newark good Reds And here's to each friend of the cause With our glasses right up to our heads Here's our King, our Religion, and Laws.</p> <p>v.1 Our Electors [All our Members] are Loyal and true, The friends of good order and quiet; Though determin'd to pull their men through, They are foes to all tumult and Riot. CHORUS v.2 Here's success now to every Red branch May their numbers yet greatly increase And each man to his colour be staunch Till Vict'ry is follow'd by peace. CHORUS v.3 Some will tell you, you're only Red slaves, The Sons of oppression, and fools; But beware of the cozening knaves, They wish but to make you their tools. CHORUS v.4 Let us drink to each honest Red soul, Who will stand by the cause while he can [stand by his banner again] And come fearlessly up to the poll, To bring in his favourite Man [Men]. CHORUS v.5 Now a glass to our sweethearts and wives,</p>	<p>NRC Song SA</p>	<p>H-MON H-CHU H-W</p> <p><i>Virtues:</i> Bravery Loyalty Justice</p>	<p>V E: Fellow E:HapHier Plenty: D Freedom Peace ♀</p>

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Fill it high, as you love them so dearly, They're the comfort and joy of our lives And in the good work join sincerely.			
HERE'S A HEALTH TO THE PARENT CLUB <i>Air: "Southern Breeze"</i> CHORUS: Here's a health to the Parent club And health to the Branches all, Next time we'll give our foes the rub And send them to the Wall. This day my Friends last year We number'd only nine Now away with [incomplete copy] v.2 For we upon our Roll Have full seven hundred men Right hearty, true red, gallant souls Who'll win the day again. Our flag on high shall wave And be triumphant borne Fit banner for the truly brave Whom laurel wreaths adorn. CHORUS v.3 We'll our Armour buckle on, And for the fight be ready; There's not a Member, no not one, But will be firm and steady. Our friend the Poll shall head We'll work both day and night Huzza, huzza, for the Standard Red For that is our delight.	NRC Song ³ SA	<i>Virtues:</i> Bravery Loyalty	V
LET NO ONE ENVY THE DELIGHTS WE CLAIM Let no one envy the delights we claim Our Red Club meetings which our Hearts inflame Joyous in harmony and in friendly glee We meet with minds unfetter'd sound and free. Our King, our Country anxious to maintain Unaw'd by faction's voice or faction's stain; One aim, ... one wish, our social views comprize— Rightly to act, to merry be, and wise. v.2 Here round our boards, at leisure and at ease,	NRC Song	H-MON <i>Virtues:</i> Bravery Loyalty Wisdom	V Emotion E: Fellow E:HapHier Freedom Peace

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Red meets with Red, intent alike to please; One general ardour prompts our fav'rite theme, Clings round the Heart, and ever reigns supreme. 'Tis this unites, and calls for our applause, The true Red feeling and the true Red cause! Firm to our principles, the reward will be, Our cause triumphant, ours the Victory.			
O THE NEWARK RED CLUB IS A GLORIOUS THING Oh the Newark Red Club is a glorious thing; For freely, when there we can chat, laugh and sing; Without any fear of the slightest commotion While turning our views to our Gladstone's [crossed out: "red friend's"] promotion CHORUS: Sing Gladstone for ever hurra Reds [under same notes] Then huzza for our first Anniversary, We'll rejoice in our prime anniversary, Before we meet next anniversary, For he is the Man of our choice. [under same notes] A Member we'll have of our choice. v.2 Some of our foes, it is said are enrag'd At the promise by which we are firmly engag'd Expecting ere long we shall give them a rub By the Voters enroll'd in our hearty Red Club. CHORUS Then huzza ... v.3 The Man of our choice would not silently barter For new fangled systems our old Borough Charter; So may every M.P. at the next trial founder, Who has levelled at poor Men Grey's cruel Ten pounder. CHORUS ... Then huzza v.4 They have called Newark "rotten," but what is the fact? The Borough was open, as prov'd by the act. Delusion and falshood [sic], drew Men from old friends; The bubble has burst— would they could make amends. CHORUS: Then huzza ...	NRC Song SA	H-MON H-Lords <i>History:</i> Event ⁴ <i>Virtues:</i> Bravery Loyalty Just	V E: Fellow E:HapHier Plenty: D Freedom Peace Music ♀

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<p>v.5 In making a bargain, wise Men count this cost; And compare what is gained, with what they have lost: Sure in forcing "the Bill" poor Reformers have blundered, As two thousand votes, here, must decline to five hundred! CHORUS Then huzza ... v.6 This bitter Whig draught, mind, is not of Red brewing; Reformers themselves have achieved their own ruin: Had we chosen Sir Roger, 'twould be some consolation, To know he had resisted Lord John's spoliation. CHORUS Then huzza ... v.7 "Scot and Sot" is repeated; yet that worse mayn't ensue We'll a Member elect, to old principles true; If all Counties and Boroughs adopt our example; The Whigs can no further on old Charter's trample. CHORUS Then huzza ... v.8 Long life to Winchelsea, [3 lines as options listed above each other: "Newcastle and those," "Sir Charles and all those" "The Duke"] Who have nobly stood forward crude schemes to oppose: And good health to the Fair Sex I long to be drinking From our Queen to the Housewife, in our way of thinking!</p>			
<p>ON THIS DAY IS COMPLEAT v.1 On this day is compleat the first circling year Since our nine sterling Reds o'er the bowl Met to honor the deeds, which our hearts ever cheer And give warmth to each true British soul. To honor the Heroes of Waterloo's bands, By great Wellington led on to Fame: Who humbled a tyrant, gave peace to all Lands, And made Britons more proud of their name. v.2 'Twas thus when their hearts</p>	<p>NRC Song</p>	<p>H-Lords H-W Nature <i>History:</i> Event <i>Virtues:</i> Bravery</p>	<p>V E: Fellow E:HapHier Plenty: D Freedom Peace</p>

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<p>warm'd by friendship and wine Which kind feelings o'er Man ever sheds They the foundation laid for us all to conjoin And erect a prime Club of sound Reds. If well; 't'were well quick done, we all of us own; In this instance the saying proves true, For no sooner the glorious plan is made known Than to raise it in hundreds they flew.</p> <p>v.3 From the mystical nine see what wonders have sprung Like the Oak—Britain's bulwark and pride— Our Club firmly rooted its Branches has flung So ample so numerous and wide. With our President honored, our counsels to guide, Let us all loudly cheer as one voice; May the cause then triumphantly henceforward ride, And secure us the Man of our choice.</p>		Loyalty Heroism	
<p>REMEMBER ME TOMORROW Though danger cannot blanch thy cheek Nor battle's din confound thee Though glory bids thee honour seek Where dying friends surround thee, Yet may I shed one parting tear Nor blush to own my sorrow, Farewell, farewell, when the hour of perils nears, Remember me tomorrow.</p> <p>v.2 To know thy every thought is mine, To think thy prayers attend me, To feel thy life entwined with mine And hovering loves befriend me, Such fond assurance like a ray Shall chase the cloud of sorrow, Farewell, farewell, when far away, Remember me tomorrow.</p>	NRC Song	H-CHU <i>Virtues:</i> Bravery Nobility	E: Fellow
<p>RETURNING THANKS Your claim to my gratitude, how shall I pay? Or utter my thanks for your favors tonight? To accord with my feelings I nothing can say, v. 2 For justice to do them expression's too light. For silence would/might make me ungrateful appear</p>	NRC Song	H-CHU	E: Fellow E:HapHier Plenty Music

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<p>And in your good opinion my sentiments wrong.</p> <p>v.3 I have try'd if my muse would such conduct excuse And your kindness attempt to repay with a song Your kindness repay with the end of a song.</p> <p>v.4 May pleasure attend you wherever you go And fearless of care may you happily live: And only by name may you misery know, But enjoy every bliss that is Heav'ns' to give.</p> <p>v.5 May fruition anticipate every wish; May your lives, like your pleasures, be all very long; And your time, til the end, may you cheerfully spend; And this will I sing to the end of my Song.</p>			
<p>TO OUR NEWARK RED CLUB HERE'S LONG LIFE <i>Tune: "To Our Musical Club"</i> To our Newark Red Club here's long life and prosperity, May it flourish with us and so on to posterity; May concord and harmony always abound And Gladstone ["our Red Cock" crossed out] Next Election the Victor be crown'd. May the Catch and the Glass go about and about And another succeed to the bottle that's out.</p>	<p>NRC Song</p>		<p>V E: Fellow Plenty: D Plenty: £ Peace Music</p>
<p>WHAT FOLLIES, WHAT FALSEHOODS <i>Tune: "Liberty Hall from memory"</i> What follies what falsehoods our foes did invent To destroy our repose & to cause discontent; But the Red Club proclaims by its rolls filling fast, Folly's day is gone by, —the delusion is past.</p>	<p>NRC Song SA</p>		<p>V E: Fellow Peace</p>
<p>YOU'VE ASKED ME FOR A SONG, MY FRIENDS You've ask'd me for a Song my friends I'll try my strain to bring in And if the theme our Club commends 'T'will make up for bad singing CHORUS: So here's to the Newark Bold Red Club The loyal Newark Red Club,</p>	<p>NRC Song SA</p>		<p>V E: Fellow Music</p>

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Whoe'er would serve his Country well Must join the Newark Red Club.			
HOW MERRILY WE LIVE⁵	CD1834 Mad'l NGCC	History: <i>Form</i>	
MAY BRITANNIA'S TRUE SONS⁶ Britannia! Thy war trump is hushed, which resounded To Freedom's high summons, thy banners are furled, And silent the cannon whose thunders confounded, The slaves of the despot and rescued the world. v.2 When o'er Europe gleam's wildly the torch of sedition, The fair star of loyalty rested on thee— When the proudest of earth quailed to Gallia's ambition, Thy standard alone floated spotless and free. v.3 Yea, high on thy Ocean cliff proudly it floated, And around it were gathered the gallant and brave, Rose, Shamrock and Thistle united—devoted Were all her bold sons to the Queen of the wave. v.4 They fought and they conquered, And peace was restored, The laurel and olive were blent in thy crown, Britannia! 'twas then while thy children adored, The nations in gratitude bowed at thy throne. v.5 Secure in thy children's affection—confiding In virtue, and honor sublime, hast thou stood, Like thy own native oak the rude tempest deriding, Unscathed by the whirlwind, unsapped by the flood. v.6 And long, may'st thou flourish, All foemen defying, And still, O, Britannia! Thy glories renew— And thy banner of union triumphantly flying Proclaim to thyself thou art faithful and true. v.7 Then—fill to our country— May stout hearts be found her,	CD1834S Song	H-MON Nature <i>Virtues:</i> Bravery Loyalty	V Freedom ♀(family)

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May her rights be protected and faction laid low— May Britannia's true sons rally boldly around her— And hail her INVICTA—in weal or in woe.			
LIDDELL TRIUMPHANT, A NEW SONG⁷ <i>Tune: "See the Conquering Hero Comes"</i> Borne down by faction overpower'd, By most insidious arts oppos'd, The clouds of disappointment lower'd, And wrapp'd him, when the contest clos'd; We saw his noble, calm retreat, And vow'd, <i>he yet should have the seat!</i> v.2 Shall modest worth to shades retire, And mocks us with a meteor blaze? We saw his light, and we'll conspire To bring him forth to open gaze: The object was embrac'd by all, <i>And he obey'd the general call!</i> v.3 He threw himself into our arms, Nor was his confidence misplac'd; Congenial fire our bosom warms, To Friendship—ne'er to be effac'd: Approving all, by all approv'd, Each better known, the better lov'd. v.4 Now brought the second contest through, With honor, every day increas'd, We here, our victor, LIDDELL view, And greet him Lord of this our feast: We pledge his health, his country's praise, To crown a length of happy days!	CD1826S Song	Nature <i>Virtues:</i> Nobility	V E: Fellow
CITY OF LONDON! SUCCESS TO ITS TRADE!⁸ Britannia! Sweet Goddess of Liberty's isle, Great Queen of the Ocean, wherever it flows; From the North, to the South, From the West to the Nile, Not a wind but thy glory incessantly blows. While Commerce so dear, Like thy seas doth appear, Triumphant! Majestic! Nor e'er shall it fade;	(1830) No Venue Song SA	H-MON H-CHU Nature <i>Virtues:</i> Bravery	Plenty: D Plenty: f (♀)

<p>CHORUS: While the toast it shall be, Old England the free! The City of London! Success to its trade.</p> <p>v.2 Gay Paris may boast of it's [sic] fashions and toys It's Louvre, it's Boulevards and shows of renown; Yet Britain's proud City such splendour enjoys, No pow'r can e'er tarnish, or Kingdoms pull down. Our bank like a Rock, No danger can shock, Which stands like it's Credit in lustre array'd;</p> <p>CHORUS</p> <p>v.3 Rich Thames like an Atlas, teems with a weight, No spot in the world with it's worth can compare; While it's [sic] Docks show a scene of such nautical state, As proves the Emporium of Traffic is there! Blest England with pride, Thy Vessels shall ride; The Oaks of the Billows that never can fade;</p> <p>CHORUS</p> <p>v.4. Tho' War may break on us from this or that foe, The Navy of Britain their wrath can despise; And while British Soldiers such laurell'd deeds show, Our Funds like their Valour, more glorious shall rise. Then fill ev'ry Glass, And let the toast pass, 'Tis a Theme like our Land by magnificence sway'd;</p> <p>CHORUS</p> <p>v.5 [1831 on accession of King William and Queen Adelaide] Now a Patriot King has ascended the Throne, We with confidence look for Prosperity's smile' And a Queen that fair Virtue has claim'd as her own, Sheds a lustre unequal'd o'er this happy Isle. While such blessings we boast, In a Bumper we'll toast, Long life to King William! And Queen Adelaide! May their influence shine, And Prosperity twine, Round the City of London, it's [sic] Commerce and Trade.</p>			
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<p>CONSERVATIVE BANNER OF BLUE⁹ Hurrah for the State and the Queen! The People, the Lords and the Church! The Radical flags will be seen To flag as they should in the lurch. We have sworn to be constant and brave; We have sworn to be honest and true; Our colours triumphant shall wave, Hurrah for our Banner of Blue. CHORUS: Hurrah for the Queen and our Laws! To your colours be constant and true: Support the Conservative cause, And stand by the Banner of Blue. v.2 Hurrah for the Queen and her throne! The Crown and the brow it adorns! Be true for her cause is our own, The cause that lip loyalty scorns. Triumphant our Banner unfurl, She will smile on the acts that we do, Her foes to destruction we'll hurl; For she lives in the heart of a Blue. CHORUS v.3 The old Church where your Ancestors rest, From whose Altar you led forth your wife, Where as Christians your Children were blest, We'll support through all traitorous strife. Let Bigots and Infidels frown, And threaten the Demagogue crew, The Church they shall never pull down, While there yet waves a Banner of Blue. CHORUS v.4 Must the Peasant be robb'd of his Bread? The harvest be banished the soil? The Poor to the Union be led? Sad reward for endurance and toil, If misfortune, or sickness, at length, Should compel him for succor to sue! No—like Britons we'll gather our strength, And up with the Banner of blue. CHORUS. v.5 We have Candidates worthy our Cause, Who will ever their Country befriend;</p>	<p>No Venue Song SA</p>	<p>H-MON H-CHU H-Lords H-W <i>Virtues:</i> Bravery Loyalty Justice</p>	<p>V ♀</p>
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Who will strengthen our rights and our laws, And all our best interest defend. Then onwards my boys let us dash, For Victory now is in view, We will conquer and scatter the rash, Who oppose the Conservative Blue.			
WELLINGTON AND VICTORY! ¹⁰ Victory, to British glory, Swell the proudest note of fame! Victory, to deathless story Give the hero's honor'd name! Nations free'd, and Nations freeing, Hail the mighty Victor's course; Vanquish'd slaves of tyrants fleeing, Yield to Britain's hallow'd force. Then raise, raise the song, ye bold and free, To Wellington and Victory!	No Venue Song SA	H-Lords <i>Virtue:</i> Heroism	V Emotion Freedom Music

Endnotes

¹ All Newark Red Club information is from "Newark Red Club Anniversary Songs," ca. 1830-1840, MSS, Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/MI/107/1.

² MSS is inscribed: "A popular ditty in the Red Clubs during the election—Dec. 1833—for the first reformed Parliament."

³ MSS is inscribed: "Ballads &c for celebrating the first Red Club anniversary: June 18, 1832."

⁴ The first royal charter of incorporation of the borough of Newark-upon-Trent was granted in 1549 by Charles I; subsequent royal revisions occurred in 1626, 1673, 1677. See C.G. Parsloe, "The Growth of a Borough Constitution: Newark-on-Trent, 1549-1688," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4 ser., 22 (1940): 171-175.

⁵ For Michael Estes (1580-1648), "How Merrily We Live," a madrigal often republished as a glee, see Emanuel Rubin, *The English Glee in the Reign of George III: Participatory Art Music for an Urban Society* (Warren, Mich.: Harmonie Park Press, 2003), p. 72. For Conservative Dinner, see "Report of the speeches, toasts, and other proceedings at the dinner to commemorate His Majesty's glorious declaration to support the constitution in church and the state, the Right Honourable the Earl of Winchilsea, in the chair, which took place at Bellingham's assembly rooms, Canterbury, on Thursday, Sept. 25th, 1834." BL 1881.a.1.(52.) (hereafter Conservative Dinner 1834 Canterbury). As NGCC repertoire 1841-1847, see Appendix D: Catch Club Music 1841-1847.

⁶ Conservative Dinner 1834 Canterbury.

⁷ “Liddell, Northumbria’s Choice. Liddell Triumphant. A new song composed for, and sung at, the public dinner given to the Hon. H.T. Liddell, M.P. on Wednesday, 12th July, 1826, at the George Tavern, No. Shields, to celebrate his election for the county of Northumberland” ([North Shields]: J. Nicholson, Printer, 1826), BL C.194.6.119 (377).

⁸ J. Monro, “The City of London: Success to It’s [sic] Trade, sung by Mr. Fleet at the Metropolitan Festive Meetings” (London: Monro & May, [ca. 1830]), BL H.28156.1.(10)P5.

⁹ Anon., “The Conservative Banner of Blue, a song, composed for and dedicated to the Conservatives throughout the United Kingdom” (London: Published for the author, n.d.), BL H.1251(15.)

¹⁰ Sir J. Stevenson, “Wellington & Victory, a new song written on the glorious success of the British arms in Portugal, dedicated to all His Majesty’s loyal subjects. Sung with unbounded applause by Mr. Spray at the Beefsteak and Harmonic Clubs, the words by H.B. Code” (London: Goulding and Co., 20 Soho Sq., London and 7 Westmorland St, Dublin, n.d.) This vigorous song with chorus was brought to Canada by emigrants and retained in a Canadian family collection at Pinhey’s Point, Ontario. My thanks to Bruce Elliott and Margot Reid for generous access to the Pinhey’s Point music collection.

APPENDIX F: Lyrics of Selected Catch Club Music

LEGEND

Same as Appendix B: Lyrics of Conservative Festival Music, except:

No singalongs, since this venue was by definition for skilled, musically literate singers;
and

Genre is glee unless otherwise stated

Notes:

- 1) Performance dates, name and title spellings are from the records of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club of London (hereafter NGCC) held at the British Library (hereafter BL): "Laws and Regulations of the Catch-Club (Instituted November 1761) as Revised by a Committee and confirmed by the Club 1828," amended 25 Jan. 1831, BL H.2788.qq (hereafter NGCC, Laws); "Members Elected, 1779-1868," BL H.2788.bbb (hereafter NGCC, Members Elected); "Attendances, 1791-1868," BL H.2788.xx, zz, aaa (hereafter NGCC, Attendances); "Glees performed, 1828-71," BL H.2788.ddd, eee (hereafter NGCC, Glees performed).
- 2) For works performed at the NGCC and at a Conservative Festival (hereafter CF), "CF" is noted under "Venue / Genre," and the lyrics are given only in Appendix B: Lyrics of Conservative Festival Music.
- 3) NGCC lyrics do not hold the following themes or benefits found in the Conservative Festivals lyrics: workers as subjects, victory, criticism of foes, most military diction and references except to heroes.
- 4) NGCC lyrics emphasize nature, history as timeless evidence of natural or divine law, and a romantic construction of pre-industrial pastoral life as happy hierarchy devoid of fatigue, dirt, poverty. Gender hierarchy is standard, but there is a emphasis on the love-related emotions of men.
- 5) Since these works are much shorter than the CF works, verse numbering is not necessary.

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Lyrics, Themes of Selected Catch Club Music

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SONG TITLE / NGCC 1841-1847	Venue / Gemre	Themes	Benefits
ARE THE WHITE HOURS¹ Are the white hours for ever fled, That us'd to make the cheerful day? And ev'ry blooming pleasure dead, That led th'enraptur'd soul astray? Too fast the rosy-footed train, The blest delicious moments past. Pleasure must now give way to pain, And grief succeed to joy at last. O! daughters of eternal Jove! Return with the returning year; Bring pleasure back, and smiles, and love, Let blooming love again appear.	NGCC 8x	H-CHU Nature <i>History:</i> Myth Time	Emotion E-♀
BACCHUS, GREAT BACCHUS² <i>NGCC Prize 1821</i> Cf. GREAT BACCHUS	?CF 1841 NGCC 3x	<i>History:</i> Myth	E:Fellow Plenty: D Music
CLOUD-CAP'T TOWERS³ The cloud cap't towers, the gorgeous palaces The solemn temples, the great globe itself, Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve, And, like the baseless fabric of a vision, Leave not a wreck behind.	NGCC 12x	H-CHU <i>History:</i> Time	
COLD IS CADWALLO'S TONGUE⁴ Cold is Cadwallo's tongue, That hush'd the stormy main Brave Urien sleeps upon his craggy bed: Mountains, ye mourn in vain. Dear lost companions of my tuneful art; Dear as the light that visits these sad eyes; Dear as the ruddy drops that warm my heart; Ye died amidst your dying country's cries. No more I weep: they do not sleep; On yonder cliff, a grizzly band, I see them sit; they linger yet, Avengers of their native land: With me in dreadful harmony they join, And weave with bloody hands The tissue of thy line.	NGCC 23x	H-MON Nature <i>History:</i> Person ⁵ Time <i>Virtues:</i> Nobility	

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COME LET US JOIN THE ROUNDELAY	CF 1840 Madr'l NGCC 2x	Nature <i>History:</i> Form Diction	Emotion E:HapHier
DISCORD, DIRE SISTER⁶ <i>NGCC prize 1772</i> Discord, dire sister of the slaught'ring pow'r, Small at her birth, but rising ev'ry hour; While scarce the skies her horrid head can bound, She stalks on earth, and shakes the world around. But lovely peace, in angel's form, Dsecending, quells the rising storm; Soft ease and sweet content shall reign, And discord never rise again.	NGCC 9x	Nature (♀- hostile)	Peace
FILL ME, BOY⁷ Fill me, boy, as deep a draught As e'er was fill'd, as e'er was quaff'd; But let the water amply flow To cool the grape's intemperate glow; For, though the bowl's the grave of sadness, Oh! be it ne'er the birth of madness! No, banish from our board to-night The revelries of rude delight! To Scythians leave these wild excesses, Ours be the joy that soothes and blesses! And while the temperate bowl we wreathe, Our choral hymns shall sweetly breathe, Beguiling every hour along With harmony of soul and song!	NGCC 23x	H-CHU Nature	Plenty: D
FORESTERS , SOUND THE CHEERFUL HORN⁸	CF 1836 NGCC 1x	Nature <i>History:</i> Diction	E:HapHier Plenty: D (♀)
GAILY I LIV'D⁹ Gaily I liv'd, as ease and nature taught, And spent my little life without a thought; And am amaz'd that Death, the tyrant grim, Should think of me, who never thought of him.	NGCC 2x	Nature	

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<p>GLORIOUS APOLLO¹⁰ Glorious Apollo from on high beheld us, Wand'ring to find a temple for his praise, Sent Polyhymnia hither to shield us, While we ourselves such a structure might raise. Thus when combining, Hands and hearts joining, Sing we in harmony Apollo's praise.</p> <p>Here ev'ry gen'rous sentiment awaking, Music inspiring unity and joy; Each social pleasure giving and partaking, Glee and good-humour our hours employ. Thus then combining, Hands and hearts joining, Long may continue our unity and joy.</p>	<p>NGCC 2x</p>	<p>H-CHU</p> <p><i>History:</i> Myth</p>	<p>Emotion E:HapHier Peace Music</p>
<p>GREAT APOLLO¹¹ Great Apollo, strike the lyre, Fill the raptur'd soul with fire! Let the festive song go round, Let this night with joy be crown'd. Hark! What numbers, soft and clear, Steal upon the ravish'd ear! Sure, no mortal sweeps the strings; Listen!—'tis Apollo sings!</p>	<p>NGCC 1x</p>	<p>H-CHU</p>	<p>Music</p>
<p>HAIL! HAPPY ALBION!¹² Hail! Happy Albion! Queen of isles! Peaceful freedom o'er thee smiles: Thy libr'al heart, thy judging eye, Thy flow'r unheeded can descry, And bid it round heav'n's altars shed The fragrance of its blushing head.</p> <p>Through the wild waves as they roar, With watchful eye and dauntless mien, Thy steady course of honour keep; Nor fear the rocks, nor seek the shore, The star of Brunswick shines serene, And gilds the horrors of the deep.</p>	<p>NGCC 1x</p>	<p>H-MON H-CHU Nature</p> <p><i>History:</i> Person</p> <p><i>Virtue:</i> Bravery</p>	<p>Freedom Peace</p>

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Lyrics, Themes of Selected Catch Club Music

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HAIL, SMILING MORN! ¹³	CF 1841		Emotion
	NGCC 8x		
L'APE E LA SERPE SPESSO ¹⁴ L'ape e la serpe spesso Suggon l'istesso amore; Ma l'alimento istesso Cangiando in lor si va: Che' della serpe in seno Il fior si fa veleno; In sen dell'ape il fiore Dolce liquor si fa. <i>Translation:</i> The Bee and the Serpent often sip liquid from the same flower, but the food itself changes in them; for, in the breast of the Serpent, the flower becomes poison; but, in the bosom of the Bee, it becomes honey.	NGCC 17x	H-CHU Nature	
MIGHTY CONQUEROR ¹⁵	CF 1838 CF 1839 NGCC 14x	H-♀- hostile <i>History:</i> Myth	Plenty: D
MINE BE A COT ¹⁶ Mine be a cot, beside a hill, A bee-hive's hum shall sooth my ear; A willowy brook that turns a mill, With many a fall shall linger near. The swallow oft beneath my thatch, Shall twitter from her clay-built nest; Oft shall the pilgrim lift the latch, And share my meal, a welcome guest. Around my ivy'd porch shall spring, Each fragrant flow'r that drinks the dew; And Lucy, at her wheel, shall sing, In russet gown and apron blue. The village church, among the trees, Where first our marriage vows were giv'n; With merry peal shall swell the breeze, And point, with taper spire, to heav'n.	NGCC 10x	H-CHU Nature	E:HapHier E:♀

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MUSIC'S THE LANGUAGE¹⁷ Music's the language of the blest above, No voice but Music's can express The joys that happy souls possess; Nor, in just raptures, tell the wond'rous pow'r of love. 'Tis Nature's dialect, design'd To charm and to instruct the mind. Music's an universal good, That does dispense its joys around, In all the elegance of sound; To be by men admir'd, by angels understood.		H-CHU Nature	Music
MY POCKET'S LOW AND TAXES HIGH¹⁸ My pocket's low and taxes high, Ah! I could sit me down to cry; But why despair? The times may mend, Our loyalty shall us befriend. God save the King. Propitious fortune yet may smile On fair Britannia's sea girt isle. Then poverty shall take her flight, And we will sing by day and night, God save great George our King, Long live our noble King, etc.	NGCC 11x	H-MON Nature	E:HapHier Plenty: £ Music
NIGHTINGALE WHO TUNES¹⁹ <i>NGCC Prize 1785</i> The nightingale who tunes her warbling notes so sweet, Midst flowers ne'er presumes to fix her mournful seat, Melodiously she sings, while hawthorns pierce her breast, Her voice sweet echo rings, and nature lulls to rest.	NGCC 6x	H-♀ Nature	Music
NON NOBIS, DOMINE <i>Opened every NGCC meeting</i>	CF 1836 to CF 1841 (16x at CF)	H-CHU <i>Virtue:</i> Duty	

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O LIBERTY! ²⁰ O Liberty! Thou goddess, heav'nly bright, Profuse of bliss, and pregnant with delight— Thee, goddess! Thee Britannia's isle adores, For thee she joys to lavish all her stores. Eternal pleasures in thy presence reign, And smiling Plenty lead thy jocund train: Eas'd of her load, Subjection grows more light, And Poverty looks cheerful in thy sight. Thou mak'st the gloomy face of Nature gay, Giv'st beauty to the sun, and pleasure to the day. Thee, goddess! Thee Britannia's isle adores, For thee her free-born sons exhaust their stores, And fight undaunted on the briny waves; For Britons never, never, shall be slaves.	NGCC 1x	H-CHU Nature <i>History:</i> Time <i>Virtue:</i> Bravery	Emotion Plenty Freedom
RETURN, BLEST DAYS! ²¹ <i>NGCC Prize 1777</i> Return, blest days! Return, ye laughing hours! Which led me up the roseate steep of youth; Which strew'd my simple path with vernal flow'rs, And bade me court chaste science and fair truth. Witness, ye winged daughters of the years, If e'er a sigh, had learnt to heave my breast, If e'er my cheek was conscious of a tear, Till Cynthia came, and robb'd my soul of rest. So soft, so delicate, so sweet she came, Youth's damask glow just dawning on her cheek' I gaz'd, I sigh'd, I caught the tender flame, Felt the fond pang, and droop'd with passion weak.	NGCC 16x		
SLEEP, GENTLE LADY	CF 1837 NGCC 2x	Nature	Peace ♀
SOME OF MY HEROES ARE LOW ²² "Some of my heroes are low" I hear the sound of death on the harp. Bid the sorrow rise; that their spirits may fly with joy to Morven's woody hills; bend forward from your clouds, "ghosts of my fathers;" bend! Lay by the red	NGCC 17x	Nature <i>History:</i> Time <i>Virtue:</i> Heroism	E: Fellow

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terror of your course, receive the falling chief; whether he comes from a distant land, or rises from the rolling sea. And oh! let his countenance be lovely, that his friends may delight in his presence. Bend forward from your clouds, "ghosts of my fathers," bend!			
THOU ART BEAUTIFUL ²³ Thou are beautiful, queen of the valley! Thy walls like silver sparkle to the sun; Melodious wave thy groves, Thy garden sweets enrich the pleasant air. Upon the lake lye the long shadows of thy towers, And high in heav'n thy temple pyramids arise! Long may'st thou flourish in thy beauty, Long prosper beneath the righteous conqueror, Who conquers to redeem! Long years of peace and happiness Await thy Lord and thee, Queen of the valley!	NGCC 16x	H-MON H-CHU Nature	Emotion Peace Music
THYRSIS, WHEN HE LEFT ME ²⁴ Thyrsis, when he left me, swore In the spring he would return. Ah! What means that ope'ning flow'r, And the bud that decks the thorn? 'Twas the nightingale that sung, 'Twas the lark that upward sprung. Idle notes, untimely green, Why such unavailing haste? Gentle gales and skies serene Prove not always winter past; Cease my doubts, my fears remove, Spare the honor of my love.	NGCC 6x	H-CHU Nature <i>History:</i> Myth Time <i>Virtue:</i> Loyalty	
WHEN WINDS BREATHE SOFT ²⁵ When winds breathe soft along the silent deep The waters curl the peaceful billows sleep A stronger gale the troubled wave awakes The surface roughens and the Ocean shakes More dreadful when furious storms arise The mounting Billows bellow to the Skies The tott'ring vessel's toss'd Unnumber'd Surges lash the foaming Coast The raging Waves excited by the Blast whiten	NGCC 1x	H-CHU Nature	

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<p>with wrath and split the sturdy Mast. When in an Instant HE who rules the Floods, Earth, Air, and Fire JEHOVAH, God of Gods! In pleasing accents speaks his sov'reign Will and bids the Waters and the Winds be still. Hush'd are the winds the Waters cease to roar Safe are the Seas and silent as the Shore. Now say what joy elates the Sailor's breast with prosp'rous gale to unexpected blest What ease what Transport in each face is seen The Heav'ns look bright, the air and Sea serene. For ev'ry plaint we hear a joyful strain To Him whose Pow'r unbounded rules the Main.</p>			
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Endnotes

¹ John Wall Callcott, "Are the white hours," in *The Words of the Most Favourite Pieces Performed at the Glee Club, the Catch Club, and Other Public Societies*, ed. Richard Clark (London: Philanthropic Society, St. George's Fields, 1814) (hereafter *Glee Words*, ed. Clark.), pp. 5-6.

² Charles Smart Evans, "Bacchus, Great Bacchus," in *Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club: Three Essays towards its History*, Viscount Gladstone, Guy Boas, and Harald Christopherson (London: Cypher Press, 1996),

<<http://www.cypherpress.com/books/catchclub/catchclub.pdf>>, (viewed 23 May 2007), p. 35. It was recorded only as "Bacchus" at the NGCC on 2 May 1843, but as "Great Bacchus," e.g., 26 Jun. 1838, and was the most frequently performed glee entitled "Bacchus" at the NGCC between 1828 and 1847. The other strong possibility, Samuel Webbe's glee, "Great Bacchus," was not performed at the NGCC between 1828 and 1847. See NGCC Glees Performed. The Webbe would have been more apt for use at CF 1841 Chelmsford, where the title recorded was "Great Bacchus," but this cannot be confirmed. For Webbe lyrics, see Appendix C: Lyrics of Conservative Festival Music.

³ Richard John Samuel (R.J.S.) Stevens, "Cloud-Cap't Towers," in *The University of Toronto Song Book*, [Compiled and edited by a committee of graduates and undergraduates of the University of Toronto] (Toronto: Canadian-American Music Co., 1887), pp. 143-144.

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- ⁴ William Horsley, "Cold is Cadwallo's Tongue" in *Glee Words*, ed. Clark, p. 50. Lyrics were considered important, since they were printed, e.g., in the programme for Mr. Hawes's concert, Willis's Rooms, King Street, St. James [London], 10 Apr. 1835, BL 461 h4.
- ⁵ Cadwallo was reputed to have been a seventh century British King who triumphed by killing his enemy's seer; King Urien of Rheged (r. ca. 560-ca. 580), ruled a northern kingdom (straddling part of what is now Scotland), defending Christendom against paganism. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) (hereafter ODNB), s.v. "Urien."
- ⁶ Samuel Webbe (Sr.), "Discord, Dire Sister," in *Glee Words*, ed. Clark, p. 68; for prize see Robins, p. 160.
- ⁷ Thomas Simpson Cooke, "Fill Me Boy" (London: Royal Harmonic Institution, [1822]).
- ⁸ Sir Henry R. Bishop, "Foresters, Sound the Cheerful Horn," in *300 Years of English Partsongs: Glee, rounds, catches, partsongs, 1600-1900*, ed. Paul Hillier (London and Boston: Faber Music, 1983), pp. 50-54.
- ⁹ Benjamin Cooke, "Gaily I Liv'd," in *Glee Words*, ed. Clark, p. 96
- ¹⁰ Samuel Webbe (Sr.), "Glorious Apollo," in *Ibid.*, p. 2.
- ¹¹ Samuel Webbe (Sr.), "Great Apollo," in *Ibid.*, p. 98.
- ¹² John Wall Callcott, "Hail! Happy Albion!" in *Ibid.*, p. 12.
- ¹³ Reginald Spofforth, "Hail, Smiling Morn!" in *Ibid.*, p. 114.
- ¹⁴ Reginald Spofforth, "L'ape e la serpe spesso," (trans. Clark), in *Ibid.*, p. 172.
- ¹⁵ Samuel Webbe (Sr.), "The Mighty Conqueror," in *Ibid.*, p. 301.
- ¹⁶ William Horsley, "Mine Be a Cot," in *Ibid.*, p. 198.
- ¹⁷ Samuel Webbe (Sr.), "Music's the Language," in *Ibid.*, p. 195.
- ¹⁸ Samuel Webbe (Sr.), "My Pocket's low, and Taxes High," in *Ibid.*, p. 181.
- ¹⁹ John Danby (ca. 1757-1798), "The Nightingale," in *Ibid.*, p. 319.
- ²⁰ Samuel Webbe (Sr.), "O Liberty!" in *Ibid.*, p. 230.
- ²¹ Smith, J. S., lyric Dr. Percy, "Return, Blest Days!" in *Ibid.*, p. 260.
- ²² R.J.S. Stevens, "Some of My Heroes," in *Ibid.*, p. 271.
- ²³ John Wall Callcott, "Thou Art Beautiful, Queen of the Valley!" in *Ibid.*, p. 314.
- ²⁴ John Wall Callcott, "Thyrsis, When He Left Me," in *The English Glee*, ed. Percy M. Young (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 28-37.
- ²⁵ Samuel Webbe (Sr.), "When Winds Breathe Soft," from Warren Collection of 1784 (23: 13-22), cited in Emanuel Rubin, *The English Glee in the Reign of George III: Participatory Art Music for an Urban Society* (Warren, Mich.: Harmonie Park Press, 2003), pp. 321-325.

APPENDIX G:
Four Programmes:
 Hunter 1839, Abdy 1843, Hunter 1844, Combermere 1845

1) **Hunter 1839 Programme**
 courtesy GB-LRCM CPH, London Private Houses

FRIDAY, MAY 17th, 1839.

Prima Parte.

TERZETTINO, "*Angiol di pace*,"
 Mad^e ALBERTAZZI, Mad^{lle} DE RIVIERE, e
 Sig. MARRAS, - - - (*Beatrice Tenda*) Bellini.

FANTASIA, from "*Lucia di Lammermoor*,"
 Corno Obligato, Sig. PUZZI,

ARIA, "*Liete voci*,"
 Sig. TAMBURINI, - - - (*Briganti*) Mercadante.

DUETTO, "*Da che tornasti*,"
 Mad^e ALBERTAZZI e Sig. MARRAS,
 - - - (*Roberto D'Erreux*) Donizetti.

CANZONETTA, "*Nizza*," Mad^{lle} DE RIVIERE, Rossini.

BARCAROLA, "*Ah! se tu fossi meco*,"
 Sig. MARRAS; Corno Obligato, Sig. PUZZI, Marras.

RONDO, "*Quanti affetti*,"
 Mad^e ALBERTAZZI, - - - (*Donna del Lago*) Rossini.

QUARTETTO, "*Ridiamo, cantiamo*,"
 Mad^e ALBERTAZZI, Mad^{lle} DE RIVIERE,
 Signi MARRAS e TAMBURINI, - - - Rossini.

Seconda Parte.

DUETTO, "*Di capricci*,"
 Mad^{lle} DE RIVIERE e Sig. TAMBURINI,
 - - - (*Corradino*) Rossini.

ROMANZETTA, "*Il caro ben!*"
 Mad^e ALBERTAZZI, - - - - Marras.

DUETTO, "*Dove vai*,"
 Signi MARRAS e TAMBURINI, (*William Tell*) Rossini.

DUETTO, "*Deh, con te*,"
 Mad^e ALBERTAZZI e Mad^{lle} DE RIVIERE,
 - - - (*Norma*) Bellini.

IL POSTIGLIONE, Sig. TAMBURINI;
 Corno Obligato, Sig. PUZZI, - - - Balfe.

"*Nuit d'Été à Pausilippe*,"
 Mad^{lle} DE RIVIERE e Sig. MARRAS, - - - Donizetti.

Piano-Forte, - - - Sig. MARRAS.

Printed by T. Brettell, Rupert Street, Haymarket.

APPENDIX G

Four Programmes: Hunter 1839, Abdy 1843, Hunter 1844, Combermere 1845 530

2) Sir William Abdy Programme 1843

courtesy GB-LRCM CPH, London, Private Houses

Sir William Abdy
MONDAY, 15th of MAY, 1843.

Parte Prima.

DUO, "*La mia destra*,"
Madlle BRAMBILLA e Sig. MARIO,
(*Arabi nella Galli*) Pacini.

ARIA, "*Della vita nel sentiero*,"
Sig. FURNASARI, (Il Bravo) Mercadante.

DUO, "*Vieni fra queste braccia*,"
Madlle GRISI e Sig. MARIO, (I Puritani) Bellini.

FANTASIA, Corno, Sig. Puzzi, - Puzzi.

DUO, "*Bell'immagine*,"
Madlle BRAMBILLA e Sig. FURNASARI, (Semiramide) Rossini.

ARIA, "*O cara*," Madlle GRISI, (Corrado d'Alamuro) Ricci.

QUARTETTO, "*Cielo, il mio labbro*,"
Madlle GRISI, Madlle BRAMBILLA, Sig. MARIO
e FURNASARI, (Bianca e Fallero) Rossini.

Parte Seconda.

DUO, "*Qui del padre*,"
Sig. MARIO e FURNASARI, (Lucia di Lammermoor) Donizetti.

ARIA, "*Come resistere*,"
Madlle BRAMBILLA; Corno Obligato, Sig. Puzzi, Tadolini.

DUO, "*Se la vita*,"
Madlle GRISI e Sig. FURNASARI, (Semiramide) Rossini.

ROMANZA, "*In terra ci dividerò*,"
Sig. MARIO, (Le Illustri Rivali) Mercadante.

DUO, "*Dolce conforto*,"
Madlle GRISI e Madlle BRAMBILLA,
(Il Giuramento) Mercadante.

PREGHIERA, Madlle GRISI, Madlle BRAMBILLA,
Sig. MARIO e FURNASARI; Corno Obligato,
Sig. Puzzi, (Missa) Rossini.

Piano-Forte, - Sig. PILOTTI.

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Four Programmes: Hunter 1839, Abdy 1843, Hunter 1844, Combermere 1845 531

3) Lady Hunter Programme 1844

courtesy GB-LRCM CPH, London Private Houses Box

FRIDAY, THE 3RD MAY, 1844.

PROGRAMME.

Parte Prima.

TRIO, "Ambo morete,"
Madame GRISI, Signori MARIO e FORNASARI.
(*Arna Bolena*). Donizetti.

MELODIA, Corno, Signor PUZZI. Puzzi.

DUETTO, "Io t'amava,"
Madame GRISI e Signor MARIO. (*Corrado D'Altamura*). Ricci.

ARIA, "Ah non creden mirarti,"
Madame CASTELLAN. (*Sonnambula*). Bellini.

DUETTO, "Pronta io son,"
Madame GRISI e Signor FORNASARI. (*Don Pasquale*). Donizetti.

CAVATINA, "Vederla un solo istante,"
Signor MARIO. (*Il Fantasma*). Persiani.

TERZETTO, "Guai se ti sfugge undetto,"
Madame GRISI, Signori MARIO e FORNASARI.
(*Lucrezia Borgia*). Donizetti.

Parte Seconda.

DUETTO, "Quando di sangue tinto,"
Signori MARIO e FORNASARI. (*Belisario*). Donizetti.

ARIA, "Avvi un Dio,"
Madame GRISI. (*Maria di Rohan*). Donizetti.

CANZONETTA, "Non è allo specchio,"
Signor FORNASARI; Corno Obbligato, Signor PUZZI. Pagni.

BOLERO ESPAGNOL, (*El Chairo*). Madame CASTELLAN. De Gomez.

QUARTETTINO, "Ridiamo Cantiamo,"
Mesdames GRISI e CASTELLAN, Signori MARIO
e FORNASARI. Rossini.

At the Pianoforte. Signor PILOTTI.

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Four Programmes: Hunter 1839, Abdy 1843, Hunter 1844, Combermere 1845 532

4) Viscountess Combermere Programme 1845

Part I				
1	Trio	Quando a quest' alma <i>Donna del Lago</i>	Grisi, Mario, Lablache	Rossini
2	Aria	Della vita <i>Il Bravo</i>	Fornasari	Mercadante
3	Duetto	Un tenero core <i>Roberto Devereux</i>	Grisi, Mario	Donizetti
4	Aria	Ma la sola <i>Beatrice di Tenda</i>	Mlle. Vera	Bellini
5	Duetto	Le dirò <i>Ajo in Inbarazzo</i>	Lablache, Fornasari	Donizetti
6	Romanza	Ave Maria	Mario	Schubert
7	Quintetto	Di scrivermi ogni giorno <i>Così Fan Tutte</i>	Grisi, Vera, Mario, Fornasari, Lablache	Mozart
Part II				
1	Duetto	Far calzette <i>La sciocca per Antuela</i>	Vera, Lablache	Mosca
2	Aria	Ombra ebe voli <i>Malek Adel</i>	Grisi	Costa
3	Trio	Troncar suoni di <i>Guillaume Tell</i>	Mario, Fornasari, Lablache	Rossini
4	Duetto	Se la vita <i>Semiramide</i>	Grisi, Fornasari	Rossini
5	Air Napolitain		Sig. Lablache	
6	Duetto	Deh con te <i>Norma</i>	Grisi, Vera	Bellini
7	Coro	Forza dell' Alma <i>La Carita</i>	Grisi, Vera, Mario, Fornasari, Lablache	Rossini

Note: Transcribed from John Ella, "Viscountess Combermere's Concert Belgrave Square, May 30, 1845," *Report of the Musical Union*, 1 (1845): 52; transcription reflects the organization of the original; major works from which excerpts were taken are italicized; selection numbering added to show symmetry. Gioacchino Rossini, "La Carita," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 7, no. 148 (1 Jul. 1855): 55-58; not an opera but a choral work; lyrics describe charity as "virtue divine" that shall "console us in all of our pain." Information about other major works is readily available in standard reference works.

APPENDIX H: Shared Repertoire

Notes:

- 1) The operas named in this table by title and last name of composer were publicly performed in London.¹
- 2) This table shows those operas from which excerpts appear on private programmes by the Hunters (1839-1846), by Sir William Abdy in 1843, by Lady Combermere in 1845, and on State concert programmes for Queen Victoria (1836-1847).² Also included are those operas which the Hunters are known to have attended according to Lady Hunter's diary or which the Queen attended.³
- 3) Non-operatic works are stated as they are given on the programmes in question

LEGEND

- + A state concert for Queen Victoria programmed from this work prior to its use on any programme by Hunter 1839-1846, Abdy 1843 or Combermere 1845.
- * Queen Victoria had attended at least one public performance of that opera before the date of the private programme with *, but not in the same year as that private concert.
- ** Queen Victoria saw the work between 1837 and 1850.
- # Excerpts from works given London public professional productions in the same year they were programmed one of the sample private concerts: rare.
- [] Not in the Strauchen lists of public, professional opera performances, because the Hunters attended public, professional performances at the Opera House that were not full length operas but were, e.g., artist benefits held there.
- o Not at King's Theatre, Her Majesty's Theatre, or Royal Opera House Covent Garden; sole source for these performances is the Hunter Diary.
- H Hunters attended a public, professional performance of part or all of the named opera; sole source for these performances is the Hunter Diary.

APPENDIX H
Shared Repertoire

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Composer	Opera	Non-opera music	Queen: State Progs 1837- 1846	Public Opera London	H'ter Progs 1839- 1846	H'ter Prog 1842 only	Abdy 1843 & Comb 1845
		God Save the Queen				1842	
Adam	<i>Le postillon</i>			[1845] oH ⁴			
Auber	<i>Le brigand de Terrasina</i>			[1840] H ⁵			
Auber	<i>Les diamans de la couronne</i>			[1844] oH ⁶			
Balfe		Il Postiglione			1839		
Balfe	<i>La gitana</i>			1844			
Bellini	<i>Beatrice di Tenda **</i>		1840	1836 1841 1842	1839		1845
Bellini	<i>I Puritani **</i>		1837 +	1835-39 1840 H [1841] H ⁷ 1842-46			1843 **
Bellini	<i>Il Pirata</i>			1830-31 1833-36 1840 [1841] oH 1845 H ⁸ 1846			
Bellini	<i>La Sonnambula</i>		1837 + 1838	1831 1833-39 1840 H 1842-45 1846 H ⁹	1844 **		
Bellini	<i>Norma **</i>		1837 + 1838	1833 1835-39 1841 H 1842 1843 H 1844-45	1839 *		1845 **

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				1846 H ¹⁰			
Bertini		Piano duet				1842	
Cimarosa	<i>Il Matrimonio Segreto</i> **		1837 +	1829-32 1837-38 1840-41 H 1844 H ¹¹ 1846			
Costa		“Aria”				1842	
Costa		Felice eta	1840				
Costa		Nottorno	1841				
Costa	<i>Don Carlos</i>			1844 H ¹²			
Costa	<i>Malek Adel</i> **		1837 + 1838 1839 1840	1837-38		1842 ?	1845 *
Curschmann		Addio, delizia	1845				
De Gomes		Bolero Espagnol: El Chairò			1844		
Donizetti		Nuit d’Eté à Pausilippe			1839		
Donizetti	<i>Anna Bolena</i> **			1831 1833-39 [1840] H [1841] H 1844 H ¹³ 1845-46	1844 #		
Donizetti	<i>Belisario</i>		1845	1837-38 1843 1846	1844		
Donizetti	<i>Don Pasquale</i> **			1843 oH 1844 H 1845 H ¹⁴ 1846	1844 #		
Donizetti	<i>L’ajo in Inbarazzo / Don Gregorio</i>		1846	1846			1845

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Donizetti	<i>L'elisir</i>		1837 1838 1839 1840	1837-38 1840 H ¹⁵ 1842-45			
Donizetti	<i>Linda di Chamonix</i>			1843 H [1845] oH ¹⁶ 1846			
Donizetti	<i>Lucia di Lammermoor</i> **		1838 1839	1838-39 [1840] H 1841-43 1844 H ¹⁷ 1845-46	1839		1843 *#
Donizetti	<i>Lucrezia Borgia</i> **		1840	1839 1840 H 1841 H 1843 H ¹⁸ 1845-46	1844	1842	
Donizetti	<i>Maria di Rohan</i>			Not until 1852	1844		
Donizetti	<i>Marino Faliero</i>		1837 + 1839 1842	1835-36 1841	1839		
Donizetti	<i>Roberto d'Evereux</i> **		1839 1840	[1844] oH ¹⁹ 1845	1839		1845 #
Donizetti	<i>Torquato Tasso</i>		1839	1840 1842			
Ellerton		Piano Trio				1842	
Folk Music		Air napolitan					1845
Handel	<i>Messiah</i>					1842	
Haydn		Tu di grazia	1840				
Hérold	<i>Zampa</i>			1833 1844 H ²⁰			
Marliani	<i>Il degonda</i>		1837 +	1837			
Marras		Ah! Se tu fossi			1839		
Marras		Il caro ben			1839		
Mayr	<i>Il Fanatico</i>		1839 1840	1824			

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Mendelssohn		Oh! Come lieto	1840				
Mercadante	<i>I Briganti</i>		1837 + 1838 1840	1836	1839		
Mercadante	<i>Il bravo</i>		1840 + 1841 1842 1843				1843 1845
Mercadante	<i>Il Giuramento</i> **		1840	1840 H ²¹ 1842 1845		1842	1843
Mercadante	<i>La Carita</i>		1845				1845
Mercadante	<i>Le Illustri Rivali</i>						1843
Meyerbeer	<i>Il Crociato in Egitto</i>		1837 1843	1826 1828			
Meyerbeer	<i>Robert le Diable</i> **			1832 1847-48		1842 (2)	
Mosca	<i>La sciocca per Antuela</i>		1841				1845
Mozart	<i>Così fan tutte</i> **		1840 1841 1842 1843	1825 1843 1845			1845 #
Mozart	<i>Il Don Giovanni</i>		1841 1845	1821-22 1824 1828 1829-39 1840 H [1841] H 1843-45 1846 H ²²			
Mozart	<i>Il Seraglio</i>		1840				
Mozart	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>		1838 1842	1821-25 1833 1838-40			
Mozart	<i>Zauberflöte</i> **		1839 1840	[1841] oH ²³			
Oury, A.	<i>Robert le diable</i>	Concertante				1842	

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Oury, J.		Airs Suisses			1842	
Pacini	<i>Arabi nelle Galli</i>		1832			1843
Paër		O, note soave	1840			
Persiani	<i>Il Fantasma</i>			1844		
Persiani	<i>Ines de Castro</i>		1840 H ²⁴			
Prince Albert		Invocazione	1845			
Pugni		Non è allo specchio		1844		
Puzzi	?	Fantasia (horn)				1843
Puzzi	?	Melodia, Corno		1844		
Raper		Tarentella			1842	
Ricci	<i>Corrado d'Altamura</i>			1844		1843
Ricci	<i>Disertore</i>		1840			
Rossini		Nizza			1839	
Rossini		Ridiamo, cantiamo	1836		1839 1844	
Rossini	<i>Bianca e Falliero</i>		1838 1839 1840 1845			1843
Rossini	<i>Le Comte Ory</i>		1840	1829		
Rossini	<i>Il barbiere di Seviglia</i>			1822 1824-26 1828 1830-38 184 H 1841 1843-45 1846 H ²⁵		
Rossini	<i>Il turco in Italia</i>			1821-22 1824 1827 1830 1841 H ²⁶		

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Rossini	<i>L'Italiana in Algeri</i> **		1840	1825 1829 1831 1843 1852			
Rossini	<i>La Cenerentola</i>			1826 1828-35 1837-39 1843 H 1844 H ²⁷			
Rossini	<i>La donna del lago</i> **		1840 1841 1845	1823-24 1826 1828-35 1837 1840	1839	1842	1845
Rossini	<i>Mathilde di Shabran e Corradino</i> **		1838	1823-24 1830 1833 1838	1839 *		
Rossini	<i>Mosè in Egitto (Moïse) (Pietro l'eremita)</i>	Preghiera 'Dal tuo stellato' Quale assalto	1842	1822 1825-27 1832 1837 [1842] oH ²⁸ 1845			1843
Rossini	<i>Semiramide</i> **		1837 + 1839 1840	1824-25 1827-35 1837 1841 1843-46			1843 #* (2) 1845 #*
Rossini	<i>William Tell</i> **		1837 + 1838 1839 1840	1839 1843 1844 H ²⁹	1839		1845
Schubert		Ave Maria					1845
Spohr	<i>Faust</i>			[1840] oH ³⁰			
Tadolini		Come resistere					1843
Thalberg		Romances sans paroles				1842	

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Verdi	<i>I Lombardi</i>			1846 H ³¹			
				1847			
Verdi	<i>Nino/ Nabucco</i>			1846 H ³²			

Endnotes

¹ Elizabeth Bradley Strauchen, "Giovanni Puzzi: His Life and Work. A View of Horn Playing and Musical Life in England from 1817 into the Victorian Era (ca. 1855)," 2 vols. (D. Phil. diss., Somerville College, University of Oxford, 2000), Appendix 4: Operas performed in London's major Italian opera venues 1820-1855, pp. 284-294.

² For private programme sources, see Chapter Six, fn. 4 (Hunter programmes), fn. 6 (Combermere 1845 programme), fn. 8 (Abdy 1843 programme). For Queen Victoria's programming, see fn. 3, below.

³ The sole source for the Hunter opera attendance is Diary of Frederica Emma, Lady Hunter, Diary, 1840 to 1846, (London) City of Westminster Archive, Acc. 1621, (hereafter FEH Diary). The sole source for Queen Victoria's opera attendance and programming is Michael J. Budds, "Music at the Court of Queen Victoria: A Study of Music in the Life of the Queen and her Participation in the Musical life of her Time" (Ph.D. diss., Music, University of Iowa, 1987), especially Appendix A: A Provisional Calendar of Queen Victoria's Public Opera Attendance [1837-1861], pp. 828-869; Appendix D: The Palace Commands: The State Concert Programmes [1837-1846], pp. 927-1035; Appendix E: Programs of Miscellaneous Command Performances: A Selection [1837-1846], pp. 1036-1102.

⁴ FEH Diary, 9 Jul. 1845 notes that they went to *Le Postillon de Longjumeau* and *La Part du Diable* given at Drury Lane by a Belgian company in the presence of "the Queen & Prince Albert with their guests the King & Queen of the Belgians."

⁵ Ibid., 21, 25 Jul. 1840. These were regular opera nights for the Hunters' box, but Strauchen does not note this work at Her Majesty's Theatre.

⁶ Ibid., 10 May 1844.

⁷ Ibid., 28 Apr. 1840; 27 Jul. 1841, the last act of *I Puritani* was given as the last part of the evening's entertainment. It was not a complete performance, so does not appear in Strauchen's Appendix 4.

⁸ Ibid., 30 Jun. 1842; 13 May 1845.

⁹ Ibid., 2 May 1840; 21 Apr., 19 May 1846.

¹⁰ Ibid., 18 May 1841; 17 Jul. 1843; 5 May 1846.

¹¹ Ibid., 11 Jul. 1840; 28 May 1844.

¹² Ibid., 30 Jul. 1844.

¹³ Ibid., 21 Jul. 1840; 20 Jul. 1841; 11 Jul. 1844.

¹⁴ Ibid., 29 Jun. 1843; 11 Apr., 18 May 1844; 24 Jul. 1845.

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- ¹⁵ Ibid., 7 Jul. 1840.
¹⁶ Ibid., 10 Jun. 1843; 27 May 1845.
¹⁷ Ibid., 11 Apr. , 25 Jul. 1840; 18 Jun. 1844.
¹⁸ Ibid., 23 Jun. 1840; 19 Jun. 1841; 25 May 1843.
¹⁹ Ibid., 26 Jun. 1845.
²⁰ Ibid., 17 May 1844.
²¹ Ibid., 27 Jun. 1840.
²² Ibid., 26 May 1840; 22 May 1841; 16, 18 Apr. 1846. Strauchen appendices do not include 1841.
²³ Ibid., 11 Jun. 1841.
²⁴ Ibid., 30 May 1840.
²⁵ Ibid., 9, 13 Jun. 1840; 25 Apr. 1846.
²⁶ Ibid., 27 Jul. 1841.
²⁷ Ibid., 27 Jul. 1843; 11 Apr. 1844.
²⁸ Ibid., 30 Jun. 1842.
²⁹ Ibid., 11 Jul. 1844.
³⁰ Ibid., 21 May 1840.
³¹ Ibid., 23 May 1846.
³² Ibid., 9 May 1846.

APPENDIX I: **Hunter Musical Chronology**

Notes:

- 1) Lady Hunter's diary is the source for all of the information except citations for newcomers;
- 2) 1842 has two rows to show two private concerts; all other information for that year is given only in the first row.

LEGEND

*	Newcomer to the London opera or society music scene
<i>Italics</i>	<i>Fixer</i> for concert, where known
Opera Box	Opera box annual subscription paid for by Sir Richard Hunter; does not include single box rentals or gifts of tickets to boxes from others
#	Number of professional opera performances attended by one or both of the Hunters
Private Concerts Attended	Private concerts attended by one or both of the Hunters; does not include concerts the Hunters hosted
FEH Own Music	Lady Hunter's own music making, from entries in her diary

Date	Hunter Private Concerts Hosted	Performers Prof'l [unpaid]	Performers Amateur	Opera Box #	Private Concerts Attended	FEH Own Music
1839	<i>Soirée Musicale</i> London	Tamburini Albertazzi *Marras *De Rivière <i>Puzzi</i>	None	Box	?	?
1840	Concert London 100 guests	<i>A. Oury</i> A.J. Oury Ostergaard Musatti	None	Box 11	12	28
1841	Concert Brighton 80 guests	<i>A. Oury</i> A.J. Oury Kirchner	Lady Hunter E. Smith	No Box 6	04	17

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Hunter Musical Chronology

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1842	<i>Soirée Musicale Brighton</i>	A. Oury A.J. Oury Mil. band	Lady Hunter Ellerton Raper Greville *E. Halliday Beauclerk E. Smith Harington	No Box 2	16	24
1842	Evening Party London 19 named	*Dolby Rizzi	None			
1843	<i>Soirée Musicale Brighton</i>	[A.Oury] [A.J.Oury] 7 th Reg't Band	E. Smith Colegrave 2 Halliday's	No Box 6	07	10
1844	<i>Soirée Musicale London</i>	Grisi *Castellan Mario Fornasari Pilotti <i>Puzzi</i>	None	No Box 8	15	21
1845	None known			No Box 6	09	14
1846	<i>Soirée Musicale London 200 guests</i>	Grisi *Corbari Brambilla Mario Lablache Pilotti <i>Puzzi</i>	None	Box 9	[1]	[2]

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Abbreviations

BL	British Library, London, U.K.
DCB	<i>Dictionary of Canadian Biography</i> (2008 edition)
GB-LRCM CPH	Great Britain, London Royal College of Music, Centre for Performance History
NGCC	Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club of London
NGD	<i>New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> (2 nd ed., 2001)
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> (2000)

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