

Sir Arthur Sullivan, The 1898 Leeds Festival and Beyond.

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Abstract:

Over the course of the past thirty years, Sir Arthur Sullivan's reputation as the foremost British musician of the Victorian era has undergone a renaissance, particularly with regard to his work beyond his partnership with W.S. Gilbert.

While many aspects of Sullivan's career have seen a re-evaluation, there are areas that have not, and which this thesis seeks to address: Sullivan's career as a conductor and his direction of the Leeds Triennial Musical Festival have been largely ignored, possibly because they do not fit into the expected framework of the life of a musician who is best known as a composer of comic operas.

It is against this background that Sullivan's direction of the 1898 Leeds Festival is examined, together with its aftermath and his controversial dismissal in the late summer of 1899. Given the success that Sullivan had brought to Leeds, his popularity with audiences and performers alike, together with his proven ability as the Festival's General Conductor, his removal did not make sense. The circumstances surrounding this unanticipated event, the mythology that was constructed around it, and the deliberate denigration of Sullivan's reputation form the core of the enquiry.

Finally, the turbulent decade that succeeded Sullivan's removal is investigated, following the fortunes of the Leeds Festival and the men who were central to it, before the Great War temporarily terminated its activities.

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Abbreviations:

CV	Current value: measuringwealth.com, using date in question and values of 2016.
CVS	Harry Plunket Greene, <i>Charles Villiers Stanford</i> (London: Arnold, 1935)
EMR	English Musical Renaissance
LMF	Leeds Musical Festival
LMF:PO	Leeds Musical Festival: Press Opinions – volume by year.
RCM	Royal College of Music
Findon	B.W. Findon, <i>Sir Arthur Sullivan, his Life and Music</i> (London: James Nisbet, Sept. and Dec. eds., 1904)
Jacobs	Arthur Jacobs, <i>Arthur Sullivan, a Victorian Musician</i> (Aldershot, Scolar Press, 2 nd edn., 1992)
Rodmell	Paul Rodmell, <i>Charles Villiers Stanford</i> (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002)
Spark and Bennett	Fred. R. Spark and Joseph Bennett, <i>History of the Leeds Musical Festival, 1858-1889</i> (Leeds: Fred. R. Spark and Sons, 1889, 2 nd edn. 1892)
Spark Memories	Fred. R. Spark, <i>Memories of my Life</i> (Leeds: Fred. R. Spark and Sons, 1913)

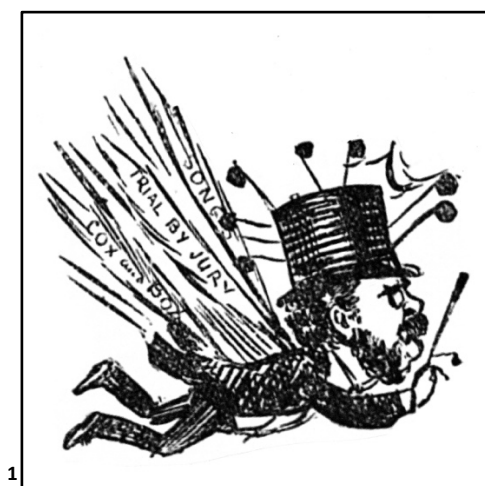


Fig. 1. Mr. Arthur Sullivan, conductor, 1876.

Sir Arthur Sullivan, The 1898 Festival and Beyond...

Introduction:

On Saturday, 8 October 1898, in a Victoria Hall filled to capacity having conducted an electrifying interpretation of Mendelssohn's *Lobgesang*, Sir Arthur Sullivan laid down his baton.² The performance concluded his career as General Conductor of the Leeds Triennial Musical Festival – a position that he had held, with distinction, since 1880.

Conducting for Sullivan was not an indulgence but a genuine alternative to his more widely recognised career as a composer. By the time of that final Leeds concert, he had, for more than forty years, been conducting and constructing orchestras throughout the length and breadth of the British Isles.³ This aspect of his career has either

¹ Arthur Sullivan by Harry Furniss, *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News, Out of Town*, 22 July 1876, p. 20.

² 'Mendelssohn's *Lobgesang*...was almost ideally interpreted. Here, as in all Mendelssohn's work, Sir Arthur Sullivan could not have been bettered as a conductor.' *Pall Mall Gazette, Leeds Musical Festival*, 10 Oct. 1898, p. 4.

³ Sullivan's first reported conducting engagement was at a charity concert in Brixton, 9 Nov. 1857. He was a fifteen-year old student at the Royal Academy of Music. See Appendix 1.

been unrecognised or dismissed by his most recent biographers, invariably and uncritically referencing Eduard Hanslick or George Bernard Shaw's comments.⁴ Sullivan the conductor has, since his death in November 1900, not been worthy of consideration, other than with amused contempt. Perhaps Joseph Bennett, music critic of the *Daily Telegraph*, most effectively analysed the problem of attempting to evaluate Sullivan as a conductor:

Arthur Sullivan, as a conductor, is overshadowed by himself as a composer, but his doings in the first...capacity, should not on that account be overlooked. [...] We sometimes hear it said that but for Sullivan the composer, Sullivan the conductor would be 'nowhere.' The remark is tolerably safe because the composer cannot be put away in order to see how the conductor would get along in his absence.⁵

Sullivan's direction at Leeds has either been deliberately written out of its narrative and forgotten, or until recently, cited in a context which related to the premieres of works by his contemporaries: Stanford, Parry, Mackenzie or Elgar, rather than to the performances that premiered his works, or were produced by his forces – a bit player among greater executives. However, the Leeds position was elective: had Sullivan proved ineffectual as General Conductor, his services would not have been retained by an Executive Committee that was driven as much by financial, as by artistic considerations when regarding their festival's success. Sullivan, as will be shown, from his initial appointment in 1880, satisfied both criteria. Not only was he, by the time of his appointment, an experienced and insightful conductor, his name was a guarantee of

⁴ *Musical Times: Dr. Hanslick on Music in England*, edited translation of an article that appeared originally in the *Vienna Neue Freie Presse*, 1 Sept. 1886, p. 518. Other critics reported the performance observed by Hanslick, accounts differing to the extent that one wonders if he attended the same concert. *Shaw London Music*, (London: Constable, 1937), 5 April 1889, p.92, *Shaw's Music*, vol. 1, p. 237, (Oxford: Bodley Head, 2nd revised ed., 1989). Shaw's comment has been taken out of context: Sullivan had resigned the Philharmonic baton over two years earlier and his comments were directed towards what he regarded as slovenly playing at the Richter concerts.

⁵ Joseph Bennett, *The English Illustrated Magazine, Some Musical Conductors*, Oct. 1892, p. 3.

ticket sales. Herbert Thompson, music critic of the *Yorkshire Post*, an implacable enemy of both Sullivan and what he perceived as his populism, was to write perceptively, of the audiences to whom his name on the Festival programmes appealed:

The composer of *The Mikado* attracted people who, though they might not be able to hear any of that work at the Festival, had at least some confidence in one who had ministered to their pleasure as its author.⁶

Sullivan's relationship with Leeds, sustained through seven Festivals – a twenty-year period – was, therefore, of mutual benefit: the Committee obtained the services of a musician who was at home in the orchestral, operatic and above all, the choral repertoire for which the Leeds Festivals were renowned, while Sullivan, particularly during the final decade of a compositional career that became increasingly centred on the Savoy Theatre, found an outlet for his musicianship that, following his resignation of the Philharmonic Society's baton in 1887, was otherwise denied him. In 1898, he repeatedly spoke and wrote of the Leeds Festival as being his one practical musical enjoyment, and there is no reason to suppose that he was being disingenuous.

Few in the Victoria Hall that night, not least Sullivan, would have anticipated that the concert he had just conducted marked the end of his Leeds career – as audience and performers cheered him repeatedly and raucously, there was no sense of finality, and no notion that he would not be wielding the baton at an eighth festival: Sir Arthur Sullivan and the Leeds Triennial Musical Festival seemed an inextricable alliance. Yet, less than twelve months later, his resignation had been forced. Effectively, the Leeds Festival's Executive Committee had sacked the most popular musician in Britain, prompting the question central to this investigation: why?

⁶ Herbert Thompson, *Yorkshire Post, Music and Art*, 13 Feb. 1914, p. 4.

Literature Review:

Research into any aspect of Sir Arthur Sullivan's career of necessity must begin with the existing literature. This is immediately problematic since Sullivan divided critical opinion even before his death in 1900. To those identified as supporting the notion of an English Musical Renaissance, he represented, in his hawkish commercialism and brash lifestyle, a prostitution of talent and art.⁷ Charles Villiers Stanford in 1886, said as much as he reviewed Sullivan, seemingly penitent, restored to his proper place in the musical hierarchy of England with the composition of *The Golden Legend*.⁸ John Fuller Maitland, from 1889 music critic of the *Times*, continued the theme via a notorious obituary of Sullivan in the *Cornhill Magazine* and by 1907, the dismissive comments of Ernest Walker's *A History of Music in England*, expressed what every right-thinking person conceded in relation to Sullivan – given all that talent, he had besmirched his singing robes and was 'merely the idle singer of an empty evening...a mere popularity-hunting trifler.'⁹

It is equally problematic that authorship has divided itself either via aspects of his oeuvre, with an emphasis that has been, until recently, heavily skewed towards the comic operas that he wrote in partnership with W.S. Gilbert or, as was the case for much of the twentieth century, agenda-driven by supporters of the English Musical Renaissance. For writers such as Fuller Maitland, Walker and Frank Howes, Sullivan was an outsider when he should have been a leader, a man who did not fit into their serious, German-oriented aesthetic.¹⁰ It would seem that Sullivan was either to be adulated because he wrote the Savoy Operas or despised for their authorship.

⁷ Sullivan's position beyond the pale of the Royal College of Music and those associated with the EMR, has been charted by Hughes and Stradling.

⁸ C.V. Stanford, *Studies and Memories*, Critical Studies: Sullivan's *Golden Legend* (London: Constable, 1908), pp. 168-169, 'It is natural, nay more, it is right that in the Paradise of Music...there should be more rejoicing over Sullivan's great and legitimate success, than over the works of ninety and nine just composers who have remained uninfluenced...by considerations of profit and popularity.'

⁹ Ernest Walker, *A History of Music in England*, (Oxford: OUP, 3rd ed., 1952) pp. 325-326.

¹⁰ J.A. Fuller Maitland, *Cornhill Magazine* March 1901, pp. 301-309 for Sullivan's obituary, Frank Howes, *The English Musical Renaissance*, (London: Secker and Warburg, 1966), Ernest Walker, *A History of Music in England*, (Oxford: OUP, 3rd ed., 1952)

He was to be doubly condemned since his career fell wholly within the parameters of Queen Victoria's reign. For the generation of scholars that followed and particularly for those who survived the devastation of the Great War and the destruction of the confident, imperialist age that had preceded it, Sullivan's era across the arts was a despised dark age to be treated with contempt and ridicule. It was only following the further trauma of the Second World War and the beginning of a less subjective approach to the Victorian age and Victorian arts that emerged during the final quarter of the twentieth century, that Sullivan's renaissance began, and as Benedict Taylor has stated:

Sullivan's standing in the twenty-first century is now as high as it has been since his lifetime, with ever more of his music being rediscovered from the oblivion to which the intervening century condemned it.¹¹

While Sullivan's music is undergoing critical re-evaluation, other aspects of his musical life remain relatively obscure. That Sullivan was the most prominent British conductor of his generation has been forgotten, as have memories of the institutions – the great Victorian music festivals – that gave much of his conducting career its existence. Again, it is only relatively recently, with Fiona Palmer's investigation into conducting life in the final quarter of the nineteenth century that any attempt to evaluate Sullivan in the context of his contemporaries has taken place.¹² Pippa Drummond's *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784 – 1914*, has provided the narrative context in which Sullivan's Leeds Festivals happened, while Rachel Milestone has considered, albeit for an earlier period than Sullivan's, music-making in newly acquired town halls.¹³

¹¹ Benedict Taylor *Arthur Sullivan a Musical Reappraisal, Music in Nineteenth Century Britain*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), p.215.

¹² Fiona Palmer, *Conductors in Britain 1870 – 1914: Wielding the Baton at the Height of Empire, Music in Britain 1600 – 2000* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2017).

¹³ Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784 – 1914*, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011). Rachel Milestone, 'A New Impetus to the Love of Music': *The Role of the Town Hall in Nineteenth Century English Musical Culture* (Leeds: University of Leeds, PhD Thesis, 2009), accessed Ethos, 12.06. 2017.

While evaluating Sullivan as a conductor, two outstanding works relating to his contemporaries, Sir Michael Costa and Hans Richter, informed the circumstances in which Sullivan the conductor functioned.¹⁴ Costa was an early mentor, who saw Sullivan as his potential heir at the Handel Festival and elsewhere, and Richter, his contemporary, the career-conductor and rival against whom Sullivan, the composer-conductor, was invariably measured.¹⁵

The fundamental problem in investigating both Sullivan's conducting, and his Leeds career is that there is relatively little, other than the chapter that he shares with his friend, Joseph Barnby, in Fiona Palmer's ground-breaking book, that attempts any evaluation either of his work, the context in which, as a conductor, he functioned, or moves beyond existing recognised biographical sources. Sadly, because of Sullivan's position beyond the pale of twentieth century scholarship, there is at present, no modern critical biography. Arthur Jacobs's biography has, since initial publication in 1984, remained the standard source of citation.¹⁶

This work has serious limitations. Jacobs's prime interest was Sullivan's partnership with W.S. Gilbert, and this forms his focus. His use of primary sources, including Sullivan's *Diaries*, and correspondence which had not been available to earlier biographers, is surprisingly limited, sometimes erroneous, frequently prurient and often, when verified by extant primary sources, unreliable. Sullivan's conducting career is dealt with disparagingly and dismissively, echoing but not investigating beyond Hanslick and Shaw. In many respects, Young's earlier biography, although not having the range of resources available to Jacobs, presents a more comprehensive and insightful view of Sullivan and his career.¹⁷ In a twenty-six page chapter, he evaluates

¹⁴ John Goulden, *Michael Costa: England's First Conductor: The Revolution in Musical Performance in England, 1830 – 1880, Music in Nineteenth Century Britain* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016).

¹⁵ Christopher Fifield, *Hans Richter* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2016).

¹⁶ Arthur Jacobs, *Arthur Sullivan, a Victorian Musician* (Oxford: OUP, 1984, 2nd ed., Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1992).

¹⁷ Percy M. Young, *Sir Arthur Sullivan* (London: Dent, 1971).

Sullivan's role as a conductor at Leeds and elsewhere and is unique in recognising Sullivan's scholarship in his preparation of works for innovative, historically informed performances. An earlier biography co-authored by Sullivan's nephew, Herbert Sullivan and Newman Flower, published in 1928, was the standard work until the appearance of Young and Jacobs, is purely narrative, and despite the personal connection with the composer, frequently inaccurate. In dealing with Sullivan's final appearance at the 1898 Leeds Festival, it descends into bathos.

Given the generally adulatory, strangely insular and often repetitive nature of the literature that surrounds the Gilbert and Sullivan partnership, together with an obsessive focus on the personnel of the D'Oyly Carte Opera Company which in the twentieth century fed a specific market, it is not really surprising that a division existed regarding Sullivan and serious scholarship. Thomas Dunhill, himself a composer and professor at the Royal College of Music may be regarded as being near-revolutionary by writing in 1928, a critical evaluation of the Savoy Operas.¹⁸ What is interesting and links this work to the English Musical Renaissance historiography relating to Sullivan, is his opening chapter entitled *Mainly in Defence*. Here, he describes how, as a student at the height of the Parry/Stanford regime at the Royal College of Music during the late 1890s, it was virtually anathema to mention Sullivan's name. Dunhill makes apparent that at the opening of the twentieth century, with the principal teaching positions at the Royal College of Music and the critical positions on the leading newspapers being held by those who disapproved of Sullivan, their influence was felt to the extent that his activity at Leeds, his reputation and repertoire beyond his Savoy output could, and very quickly did, disappear. This agenda-driven, posthumous dismissal and depreciation of Sullivan's career has been charted by Hughes and Stradling.¹⁹

¹⁸ Thomas Dunhill, *Sullivan's Comic Operas: A Critical Appreciation* (London: Edward Arnold, 1928).

¹⁹ Meirion Hughes and R.A. Stradling *The English Musical Renaissance, 1840 – 1940, Constructing a National Music*, (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2001, 2nd. ed.) Meirion Hughes, *The English Musical Renaissance and the Press, 1850 – 1914: Watchmen of Music, Music in Nineteenth Century Britain* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2002).

Therefore, to begin to access Sullivan's conducting career, at Leeds and elsewhere, the memoirs and commentaries by his contemporaries necessarily assume major importance, particularly so, *Memories of My Life*, by the Honorary Secretary of the Leeds Triennial Musical Festival, Frederick R. Spark, with whom Sullivan had a twenty-year working relationship.²⁰ Since these are Spark's memoirs, they are his anecdotes and told from his perspective. In a number of aspects, there is reason to suspect that the Hon. Secretary, a former journalist and newspaper proprietor, was being rather more than economical with the truth. He also co-authored, with Joseph Bennett, music critic of the *Daily Telegraph*, *History of the Leeds Musical Festivals*. This anecdotal, narrative account, beginning in 1858 with the opening of Leeds Town Hall by Queen Victoria, covers the subsequent festivals from 1874 to 1889 and was again spun from Spark's and the Leeds Festival Committee's perspective.²¹ Nevertheless, Spark and Bennett present a fascinating account of the stage-management of Sullivan's initial election to the Leeds baton, as well as the minutiae involved in running the festivals. The first edition of B.W. Findon's *Sir Arthur Sullivan* provides a useful counterweight to Spark's interpretation of the final severance between Sullivan and Leeds.²² Findon, Sullivan's cousin and in his later years, a close friend, related that his account was based on conversations that he had with the composer and is therefore likely to be closest to Sullivan's interpretation of what happened at Leeds following the 1898 Festival.

Unlike a number of his contemporaries, Sullivan did not leave an autobiography, although the two biographies that appeared during his lifetime were based on conversations that he had with both authors: Charles Willeby and Arthur Lawrence. While Willeby's 1896 account, in his *Masters of English Music*, is a short essay, it does, nevertheless reference Sullivan's conducting and the esteem in which his players held

²⁰ Frederick Spark, *Memories of My Life* (Leeds: Fred. R. Spark and Son, 1913).

²¹ Frederick Spark and Joseph Bennett, *History of the Leeds Musical Festivals* (Leeds: Fred. R. Spark and Son, 2nd ed., 1892).

²² B.W. Findon, *Sir Arthur Sullivan* (London: James Nisbet, Sept. and Dec. editions 1904).

him.²³ Lawrence's 1899 biography went to press as Sullivan's resignation from the Leeds baton was being forced, so although there are references to his Leeds successes, there is nothing darker.²⁴ However, Sullivan had read and approved the contents before publication and it does contain his 1888 Birmingham address *On Music* – the only occasion in which he publicly expressed his views about his profession and what music and music-making meant to him. Perhaps, had the projected expanded second edition of the Lawrence biography been written and published as Sullivan intended – it was at the planning stage at the time of his death – he may have recounted his version of what happened in Leeds after the Festival of 1898. Certainly, according to Findon's account, Sullivan believed that a conspiracy had been at work in Leeds to remove him and that in 1899 it was successful. How far Sullivan's hypothesis could be sustained as an explanation for his removal could not really be tested against the extant published sources, since there is so little material relating what happened in 1899, other than bald fact that Sullivan resigned, and Stanford became his replacement. Therefore, if an explanation was to be found, alternative sources of evidence needed to be investigated.

Methodology:

Although, as has been outlined, much biographical material related to Sir Arthur Sullivan, the composer of the Savoy Operas, exists and a growing corpus of work has been directed towards the evaluation of his output for the concert hall and elsewhere, very little exists relating to Sullivan's conducting career, his relationship with the Leeds Festival or even with regard to the Leeds Festival. Therefore, in asking the central question – why Sullivan was removed from his coveted post at what had become the most important of all the English music festivals – it was necessary to identify other possible means of investigation and in this respect, contemporary documentary

²³ Charles Willeby, *Masters of English Music* (London: James Osgood, McIlvaine & Co., 1896).

²⁴ Arthur Lawrence, *Sir Arthur Sullivan, Life-story, Letters and Reminiscences* (London: Bowden, 1899).

sources assumed vital significance as areas of evidence. Six major archives may be identified:

- Sullivan's *Diaries* which he kept virtually continuously from 1881 until his death in 1900, made available on microfilm from the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.
- Sullivan's 1880 American *Diary* and his correspondence, much of which is held by the Morgan Library's Gilbert and Sullivan Collection and the Mary Flagler Cary Musical Collection in New York.
- The Spark Collection, Leeds Central Library's Leeds and Local and Family History Department, includes a collection of Sparks papers, as well as volumes of press cuttings that were maintained from Costa's 1874 Festival to 1913 and beyond. There are twenty-three volumes in total. Some Festivals in the Sullivan era run to double volumes, such as the Festival's importance. The Library also holds microfilm copies of periodicals not available on the British Newspaper Archive's data base: for example, the *Leeds Mercury*, 1898, and the *Yorkshire Post*, 1898.
- Herbert Thompson's Papers. Thompson was for fifty years the music critic of the *Yorkshire Post*. This collection consists of his reviews, correspondence with composers and musicians who were associated with the Leeds Festivals, and Leeds music-making in general, such as the Philharmonic and Choral Union concerts, volumes of his *Diaries* from the 1880s onwards, and an unpublished autobiography. It forms a part of the Special Collection at the Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.
- The British Newspaper Archive, ProQuest and Gale online archival databases provided access to additional newspaper and periodical resources.
- West Yorkshire Archive Service, Morley, holds the only two surviving Executive/Management Committee Minute Books that pre-date the Great War.

The availability of these resources made it possible to address the central issue of Sullivan's dismissal but to arrive at this position it was necessary to use the identified archives in order to answer further questions, principally what was Leeds obtaining

when the Executive Committee invited Sullivan to take up the Festival baton, which in turn required an examination of extant material relating to Sullivan's conducting career to 1880. Here, the evidence was two-fold: Sullivan's correspondence to his parents, and held by the Morgan Library, which presented his engagements from his perspective. At no time would Sullivan have anticipated that his letters would be published and the glimpses that he gives us are therefore frank and relatively untainted by any notions of bias or ulterior motive: he simply related what was happening from his perspective. Similarly, letters written to him by his former mentors would not have sought unduly to flatter a former student, rather, reflecting notions genuinely felt and expressing pleasure at success perceived.

The second area of evidence related to press criticisms. This is a source of evidence which has not previously been used to investigate Sullivan's early career beyond the premieres of specific works such as the *Tempest Suite*, the cantata *Kenilworth*, his concert overtures and his lone symphony. From press accounts, it was possible to trace Sullivan's professional conducting career from its outset in the early 1860s, noting the emergence of a style which remained unaltered to his final Leeds Festival. Press accounts made apparent that Sullivan's calm and undemonstrative method was unusual but what was equally apparent by the time Sullivan emerged in 1871 as a conductor of works other than his own, was that he was not a dilettante – conducting was genuinely an alternative career. The sheer volume of positive notices sustains the notion that Sullivan, the conductor, was highly regarded. Advertisements for concerts directed by Sullivan emphasised the fact that concert managements were not acting irrationally in engaging him, and show that by mid-decade, he was receiving star billing.

What, however, complicates the issue regarding press reviews of the 1870s and 1880s is that the period marks a crossover from journalists sent to observe performances who had no musical qualifications and who wrote in generalisations and a growing professionalism of musical criticism. It is also difficult to untangle, even on music-specific journals, who wrote criticisms, since bylines were virtually unheard of and pseudonyms were frequent. Nevertheless, Sullivan's conducting does seem to

have won the commendation of James Davison of the *Times* and his successor Francis Hueffer, as well as the *Daily Telegraph's* Joseph Bennett. It must be acknowledged that Davison and Bennett knew Sullivan personally, but it needs to be emphasised that although Bennett had been a friend in the 1860s and he had supplied the libretto for *The Golden Legend*, he despaired of Sullivan's career choices and by the 1890s was no longer in touch with him – yet he continued to admire performances that Sullivan directed and regarded him, whether at the Philharmonic Society or at Leeds, as the best British conductor of his generation. Indeed, his review makes an interesting contrast to that of Eduard Hanslick's for Sullivan's direction of the notorious Philharmonic Society Concert of 2 June 1886.

A further strand in evaluating the conductor that Leeds had appointed in 1880, came from collating press advertisements for the concerts that Sullivan was conducting, together with the repertoire presented. From this it was possible to draw some conclusions regarding what he must have found most attractive, and what, when he was responsible for programming as for example, his two Glasgow seasons and at the Covent Garden Promenade Concerts, he regarded was likely to be attractive to a concert-going audience. This material is itemised in the spreadsheets that form Appendices 1 and 2. From these, it is possible to deduce that his personal focus was on the orchestral and choral repertoire, particularly the works of Bach, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Weber, Mendelssohn, Berlioz, Schubert and Schumann. It may be assumed that the instrumental soloists chose their repertoire as did the vocalists for the choice of ballads, arias and extracts at Glasgow, the Royal Westminster Aquarium, the Covent Garden Promenade Concerts, Leeds and elsewhere, rather than the conductor – though besides the standard Italian and French operatic repertoire, those choices did produce some surprising items, such as arias from Donizetti's *Maria di Rohan*, Verdi's *Nabucco*, Boito's *Mefistofele* and Mascagni's *Cavalleria Rusticana*. Further, from this evidence it is clear that since Sullivan worked on numerous occasions with some of the greatest soloists of the day – both vocal and instrumental – it may be assumed that they had confidence in his ability to provide sympathetic accompaniment.

The general conclusion which may be drawn from the data in relation to Sullivan's appointment to the Leeds baton in 1880, is his versatility as a conductor and perhaps it can be extrapolated from this material that Sullivan's motivation was a genuine enjoyment in directing a large orchestra together with the enormous choral forces at Leeds and in making music. However, the data also reveals that by the end of the 1890s, Sullivan's concert appearances, apart from at the Leeds Festivals, were becoming progressively fewer. The addition of a further element, the correspondence of Sullivan's final year, makes clear that Sullivan saw his conducting career ending and intended its conclusion and his retirement to be at the 1901 Leeds Festival.

Material from the newspaper and publications databases, as well as from the Spark archive have been used to provide quotation throughout this investigation and as well as illustrating Sullivan's role, have provided records of the discussions of the various Executive Committees, the issues that engaged them, their personnel, reports of Festival finances, and a picture of the local impact that the Festival had on Leeds and the West Riding. From this information, it has been possible to create the tables that outline the financial position of the Festivals, the programmes, attendance figures and rehearsal schedules.

Besides consideration of Sullivan's conducting career, the newspaper databases also made aspects of his personal life possible to follow, particularly the moments when his health conflicted with his professional commitments. Press releases and reports used in conjunction with Sullivan's *Diaries* and correspondence, particularly during the 1890s, made it possible to spreadsheet incidences of ill-health, and this may be found in Appendix 3.²⁵ What becomes clear by taking a diagrammatic approach to such incidents, is that Sullivan's life was hardly the lingering funeral that according to some narrative sources, commenced in the early 1870s. It is possible, by using the two sources in conjunction to be conclusive that in the spring of 1898, Sullivan's health problems were largely mental, rather than physical and that by the autumn he

²⁵ Although the information presented in Appendix 3 is, because of the nature of display, somewhat generalised, a more detailed examination has been prepared and is available.

had recovered and displayed all of the customary energy that he brought to his work at Leeds. This analysis stands in contrast to assumptions made elsewhere and which have been incorporated into later biographies of Sullivan or those of his contemporaries who had interests in the Festivals.²⁶ Further investigation should be able to extend this analysis of Sullivan's health in relation to the whole of his professional life.

Sullivan's *Diaries*, like his correspondence, were intended to be private.²⁷ Sullivan's thoughts on works, performances and personnel are detailed without restraint and it is in the *Diaries* that he recounts his illnesses and his periods of depression and anxiety. It is strange that these mental health issues have been ignored by previous writers. Episodes of depression are particularly apparent during three periods in the 1890s and did, in 1892 and 1898, have a significant influence on Sullivan's approach to the festivals of those years. It is also strange, since his periods of depression did not go unnoticed by his friends and professional colleagues, that they have been completely ignored by Sullivan's biographers. Even his nephew, who was certainly aware of these issues, did not comment on them in his biography.²⁸

The *Diaries* chart Sullivan's working schedule and elements of his daily life. This material has been extrapolated with particular interest focusing on the festival years and has been used both in outlining and illustrating Sullivan's work at specific festivals and as a source of data to inform Appendices 1-3.

The Spark collection, particularly the volumes of press cuttings that fill in the gaps not covered by the titles in the British Newspaper Archive, Gale and ProQuest data bases, chart the successful trajectory of the Leeds Festivals of the Sullivan era, were photo-

²⁶ For example, Frederick Spark's interviews in the wake of Sullivan's death and accounts of Sullivan's conducting the 1898 Leeds Festival in Harry Plunket Greene's 1935 biography of Stanford.

²⁷ The *Diaries* originally had locks which have been forced.

²⁸ The final comment in *Letterpress Book #3* is written in Jan. 1895, by Sullivan's nephew to his uncle, then in the South of France, urged him 'to get strong and well and to get out of the dumps.'

graphed and have been used as a source of quotation, and illustration. It was in evaluating the reviews that it became apparent that by the late 1890s, distinct and agenda-driven divisions had arisen within the national critical fraternity with regard to Sullivan's conductorship and which went far to address the bitterness of some of Sullivan's statements relating to his reception by the press. Spark's correspondence, together with that of Herbert Thompson, gave an insight into the musical politics of Leeds as well as the Festival, and how they interacted on each other, both in the appointment of Charles Villiers Stanford to the General Conductorship and the era that followed Sullivan's resignation. This material is further supported by the two remaining minute books of the Festival Executive Committee and has been used to chart the Festival's decline following the apogee of Sullivan's direction.

Newspapers:

Much of this investigation has been based on evidence drawn from contemporary newspapers. The musical press, and periodicals such as the *Athenaeum*, the *Graphic*, the *Illustrated London News* and others, had reporters present during the Festivals. Often, as for example, in the case of Herbert Thompson, who reported for the *Yorkshire Post* and the *Musical Times* critics were covering the 1898 Festival for more than one publication (Table 1).

Most of the London daily and Sunday papers sent representatives to review the performances at the Leeds Festival during the Sullivan era. There were representatives from the Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Cardiff papers present in 1898, while a number of the Dublin papers carried accounts of the Festival, as did those of Belfast and Cork, though these tended to be syndicated via the Press Association. In 1895 and 1898, there was also critical representation from the American *Musical Courier*, and reports of the Leeds Festivals were syndicated to newspapers across the British Empire, as well as finding their way into the American and European press. Truly, the Music Festivals at Leeds had become international events under Sullivan's stewardship. The large-circulation provincial papers also had their representatives at Leeds: the *Birmingham Daily Post*, *Daily Gazette* and *Daily Mail*, the *Manchester Guardian*

and *Courier*, the *Liverpool Echo*, and *Courier*, the *Western Mail*, the *Sheffield Independent* and *Telegraph* – the list could be continued – but again, they are reflective of the interest which the Leeds Festival generated.

Newspapers in the Leeds area:

The immediate neighbourhood of Leeds was catered for by both daily and weekly press output: the *Yorkshire Post*, *Leeds Mercury*, *Yorkshire Evening Post*, *Leeds Daily News*, *Leeds Express* and the weekly *Leeds Times*.²⁹ The *Bradford Observer* and *Bradford Daily Telegraph* also sent their own critics to the Festivals, as did the *Huddersfield Chronicle*, *York Herald*, *Yorkshire Gazette* and the *Hull Daily Mail*. Smaller areas of population with weekly publications tended to produce overviews of performances or took syndicated coverage via the Press Association or from other papers that had representatives at Leeds.

Most of the papers enumerated would have had a bourgeois, educated and quite possibly musically literate readership, who had the leisure time available in which to read them. Purchasers may have taken part in the festivals as choristers or have formed the audience in the Victoria Hall. Certainly, civic pride in the major musical event happening in Leeds would have attracted local readership. Most of these publications retailed at 1d. (cv. 41 p.)

Spark stated that when he took over the *Leeds Express* in 1867, his intention was to produce a quality evening newspaper that retailed at a halfpenny and which would appeal to the working man. It carried full critical coverage of the Festival concerts.

²⁹ By the time of the 1898 Festival, Spark was no longer its owner.

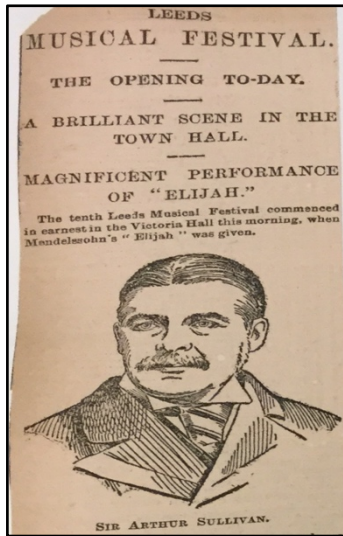


Fig. 2: Cutting from the *Leeds Daily News*.³⁰

Illustrated and covering social events associated with the Festival, the *Daily News* aimed at a popular audience.

The *Leeds Daily News*, printed on pink paper and having engraved illustrations of the artists taking part (Fig. 2), although still having full critical coverage of the concerts, also had shorter, less analytical articles that were designed to have a more popular, gossip oriented appeal and which reviewed such topics as Festival fashions and 'To-day's Festival Chat.' The *Yorkshire Evening Post* had a similar remit, also carrying illustrations, though perhaps aiming higher in the socio-economic environment of Leeds to embrace not only the aspirant working class but also an educated lower middle-class audience who might not have been able to afford a concert ticket but were still interested in the event taking place in the Town Hall. The reports were as analytical and technical in concept as those produced by the daily papers that aimed at a higher socio-economic demographic. The *Leeds Mercury* and the *Yorkshire Post* catered for Leeds professional classes and in the case of the *Yorkshire Post*, the social elite of the West Riding. The *Yorkshire Post*, like the *Manchester Guardian* also had a national circulation and was highly regarded for its standard of journalism. Indeed, when Joseph Bennett, the veteran critic of the *Daily Telegraph* decided, in 1906, to retire, he was anxious that Herbert Thompson of the *Yorkshire Post* should succeed him. Frederick Toothill of the *Leeds Mercury* was also a well-respected and experienced critic, perhaps less well-known than Thompson because he lacked his profile and associations

³⁰ *Leeds Daily News*, Oct. 5 1898, p. 4.

and his papers have not survived. Both the *Yorkshire Post* and *Leeds Mercury* issued weekend magazine-style editions.

In order to avoid any confusion, it is also important to note that the *Yorkshire Post* and the *Yorkshire Evening Post* were separate papers with their own editorship and music critics that were independent of each other. It should also be noted that the *Yorkshire Post*, *Yorkshire Evening Post* and the *Leeds Mercury* had at least two representatives in attendance at the concerts: music-making was not the only press concern – the Festivals had become, under Sullivan’s regime, huge social gatherings that attracted the privileged and elite from Leeds and beyond, having an enormous economic impact upon the city which made them newsworthy in every respect.³¹

The Critics:

By the final decade of the nineteenth century, musical criticism was emerging from anonymity and although the men who held the music desks on the national papers were not always themselves musically educated – for example, Herbert Thompson was a barrister and for a time during the 1880s, combined his legal practise with his role on the *Yorkshire Post*, while Joseph Bennett began his working career as a teacher and had drifted into music journalism – nevertheless, there was a growing specialisation among journalists. The 1890s also saw affiliations amongst critics, some of whom attending the 1898 Leeds Festival may be identified as follows:

³¹ For example, the *Tailor and Cutter* had a representative at the 1898 Festival, duly reporting on the quality and fashion on display.

Name	Newspaper/Periodical	Affiliation where known
John Fuller-Maitland	<i>Times</i>	EMR
Herbert Thompson	<i>Yorkshire Post/Musical Times</i>	EMR
Arthur Johnstone	<i>Manchester Guardian</i>	EMR
Alfred Kalisch	<i>World/Manchester Courier</i>	EMR
Mr. Davidson	<i>Glasgow Herald</i>	EMR
Charles L. Graves	<i>Daily Graphic/ Guardian</i>	EMR
H.F. Frost	<i>Standard</i>	
Mr. Geoghegan	<i>Scotsman</i>	
Sydney Pardon	<i>Press Association</i>	
Dr G. H. Smith	<i>Eastern Morning News</i>	
Arthur Hervey	<i>Morning Advertiser</i>	
John Northcott	<i>Daily Chronicle</i>	
J.S. Shedlock	<i>Athenaeum</i>	
T.L. Southgate	<i>Musical News</i>	
Vernon Blackburn	<i>Pall Mall Gazette</i>	New Critic
Edward Baughan	<i>Musical Standard</i>	New Critic
Herman Klein	<i>Sunday Times</i>	
B.W. Findon	<i>Echo/Morning Post/Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News</i>	Pro-Sullivan
Frederick Toothill	<i>Leeds Mercury</i>	
Stephen Stratton	<i>Birmingham Post</i>	
Robert Buckley	<i>Birmingham Gazette</i>	
Mr J. Jenkins	<i>Liverpool Daily Post</i>	
Percy Betts	<i>Daily News</i>	
? Lionel Monckton? ³²	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	

Table 1: Critics known to have attended the 1898 Leeds Festival and their affiliations.

³² Lionel Monckton was certainly present at the 1898 Leeds Festival and had acted previously as a music critic for the *Daily Telegraph*, but there is no definite proof that he was writing for the paper on this occasion. Joseph Bennett, the regular music critic on the *Telegraph*, was also a respected Biblical scholar and during the Festival period was acting as a guide to Kaiser Wilhelm II on a tour of the Holy Land.

A number of influential critics on major journals may be identified with the English Musical Renaissance circle and some enjoyed personal associations with Parry and Stanford – Joseph Bennett, Charles L. Graves, who was to become Parry’s biographer, John Fuller-Maitland, as a Cambridge student known as ‘Stanford’s shadow’, Herbert Thompson, another former Cambridge student, was a close friend, as was Arthur Johnstone. What is interesting, is finding them socialising together at Leeds in 1898 with other former Cambridge associates on the Executive Committee: C.F. Tetley and William Hannam, almost as if they were members of an exclusive club.³³ As has been noted, Joseph Bennett had a high regard for Sullivan’s conducting but for Fuller-Maitland, Johnstone, Kalisch and Thompson, Sullivan’s direction would at best be damned with faint praise and as the 1898 Festival progressed, often less than that: he was not Hans Richter.³⁴

By contrast, Edward Baughan and Vernon Blackburn represented an alternative approach to music criticism and were associated with the ‘New Critics’ movement that emerged at the beginning of the 1890s. The most forceful advocates of the group were G.B. Shaw who had written for the *World* and J.F. Runciman on the *Saturday Review*. They were all animated by a desire for the professionalisation of music criticism. All had a particular loathing for the representatives of the English Musical Renaissance and extended their dislike to its politico-cultural centre at the Royal College of Music, although Sir Alexander Mackenzie at the Royal Academy of Music did not escape either Shaw or Runciman’s scourges.

Sullivan, in the late 1880s and at the beginning of the following decade also felt the wrath of Shaw and Runciman – though it is difficult not to escape the view that occasionally their attacks were motivated by the fact that he was the recognised ‘Great Man’ of English Music, and therefore a legitimate target, both as a composer and as a conductor. Neither Shaw nor Runciman was present at the 1898 Festival. However, both Baughan and Blackburn were, and their writing over the course of the entire

³³ Herbert Thompson, *Diary*, entries between Oct 1 and Oct 8.

³⁴ Joseph Bennett was not present at the 1898 Festival.

Festival period, from rehearsal to performance provides a generally positive perspective on Sullivan's activities. That the 'New Critics' were loathed by the EMR critics is revealed by a horrified Herbert Thompson finding himself seated next to Vernon Blackburn at the 1 October rehearsal and immediately moving to join his friend, Arthur Johnstone!³⁵

Of the other critics present in 1898, Sullivan's cousin, B.W. Findon, was unsurprisingly biased towards his famous relative and therefore, for the purpose of this study his reports have not been utilised.

Limitations of Documentary Sources:

While there is a wealth of newspaper coverage relating to Sullivan's era as General Conductor at the Leeds Festival, and programmes as well as souvenir brochures survive, there are areas where the evidence is non-existent – the Executive Committee's Minute Books – while much of Sullivan's correspondence post-1895, is known to have been destroyed.

Given that the Executive and General Committee meetings received extensive coverage in the local press, it is possible to accurately reconstruct what took place, but it does raise the question of what may have happened to the Minute Books – certainly, they existed: Spark and Bennett made reference to them in *History of the Leeds Music Festivals*. The two volumes that do remain, held by the West Yorkshire Archive Service, date from after Spark's tenure as Hon. Secretary, and there is a note attached to them that they were 'found in the Town Hall.' Perhaps they were lucky survivors. However, it is odd that the volumes of press cuttings survive as part of the Yorkshire Collection in Leeds Central Library. The early volumes belonged originally to Frederick

³⁵ Herbert Thompson, *Diary*, 1 Oct. 1898, Leeds, University of Leeds, Special Collections, Brotherton Library. Thompson, a friend of C.V. Stanford, may not have forgiven Blackburn for his acerbic 1894 criticism of a Bach Society Concert of Bach's *St Matthew Passion* that Stanford had conducted.

Spark: he wrote his name in them and though speculation, may he possibly have also taken ownership of the Minute Books, perhaps with a view to write a second volume of the Festival's history? However, when it came to the decision to remove Sullivan, it is unlikely, because of the nature of the business, that such meetings would have been formalised or conversations would have been recorded.

The Hon. Secretary's voluminous correspondence, not only with Sullivan, but with Festival soloists, orchestral players, even fellow Committee members, seems, for the most part, not to have survived: the little that does, pertains to the Stanford era. Again, it is possible to be certain that such correspondence existed because of quotations from it and by facsimiles reproduced in *History*, as well in Spark's 1913 autobiography, *Memories of my Life*. Quotations from Sullivan's correspondence appear dating from the Spring of 1898 and can be cross-referenced with comments in his *Diary*. These extracts leave the researcher wondering what else might have been referenced pertinent to Sullivan's frame of mind at this crucial time.

Copies of correspondence that exist in the two volumes of letterpress material that the Morgan Library holds, gives a notion not only of the major issues such as programming, that concerned Sullivan as General Conductor, but the fundamental business that brought the festivals to fruition, such as the engagement of orchestral players, the performing space available for them at the Town Hall, the orchestral layout, the engraving of parts: a wealth of information. They form queries and answers but are essentially one sided – only one letter by written by Spark to Sullivan survives. Ironically, it is the letter which informed him that he would not be conducting at the 1901 Festival and which he kept, doubtless as an *aide memoir* when he came to draft his response and perhaps for future reference.³⁶ The existence of such additional material would certainly widen and further inform the scope of this investigation.

Similar problems exist with Sullivan's own correspondence from the end of 1894, when his long-serving and ruthlessly efficient secretary, Walter Smythe, suffered a

³⁶ Spark to Sullivan, 18 Sept. 1899, Morgan Library, ID: 75885

stroke and retired. It is at this point that the valuable letterpress correspondence, which covers the minutiae of Sullivan's professional life terminates. Although Wilfred Bendall eventually took over Smythe's position, his relationship was altogether different: he was a friend and confidant as well as Sullivan's arranger and secretary. In the correspondence that has survived from this late period of the composer's life, he frequently told Bendall to burn his letters when he has finished with them – their relative scarcity must mean that Bendall, for the most part, carried out his employer's instructions. In itself, this is a great pity, since through what has survived, given the informality that existed between Bendall and Sullivan, we are presented with a window into Sullivan's complex personality.

Sullivan's *Diary* also has limitations particularly during his final decade: he occasionally left gaps at crucial moments where his thoughts would have been illuminating, such as at the 1895 Festival and it would have been particularly useful if, in the wake of his dismissal in 1899, he had left more than the cryptic comment, 'I know what it means' and references to correspondence sent. Had Walter Smythe still been working for him, History may well have been better informed.

A note on transcription:

All contemporary sources, whether from individuals or publications have been transcribed as they were written, maintaining their original punctuation, spelling, etc.

1. Arthur Sullivan Conducts.



Fig. 3: Sir Arthur Sullivan, conductor. Unknown artist. Ally Sloper's Half Holiday, 15 Sept. 1888, p.8.

1.1: Finding an identity.

Conducting was an important aspect of Sullivan's identity as a musician and had its beginnings while he was a teenage student at the Royal Academy of Music. Directing an orchestra was a skill fostered and developed during his years at the Leipzig Conservatoire. He wrote enthusiastically to his parents of his successes, of his tutors' praise and of his ambitions, thoughtfully analysing the differences between the performance styles of the German orchestras that he had become familiar with and those that he remembered in England:

My great hobby is still conducting. I have been told by many of the masters here that I was born to be a conductor and consequently have been educating myself to a high degree in that art. If I can only once obtain an opportunity to show what I can do in that way I feel confident of my success afterwards [...] They have no idea in England

of making the orchestras play with that degree of light and shade to which they have attained here, and that is what I aim at – to bring the English orchestras to the same perfection as the Continental ones, and to even still greater, for the power and tone of ours are much greater than the foreign.³⁷

It seems odd that on his return from Leipzig, if Sullivan was serious in his conducting ambitions, he did not pursue employment directing one of London's many theatre orchestras. Possibly, from theatre managers' perspective, his youth as well as his lack of experience beyond a student environment, militated against him and since he actively sought out Michael Costa, conductor at the Royal Italian Opera, Covent Garden with a view to familiarising himself with operatic repertoire, perhaps his aspirations were always higher than a pit band.

³⁷ Sullivan to Mary Sullivan, 31 Oct. 1860, quoted in Arthur Lawrence, *Sir Arthur Sullivan, Life Story, Letters and Reminiscences* (James Bowden: London, 1899), pp. 42-43.

ROYAL ITALIAN OPERA,
COVENT GARDEN,
 Mr. GYE has the honor to announce to the Nobility, Gentry, and the Public, that the OPERA SEASON of 1864 will COMMENCE on TUESDAY NEXT, March 29th, on which occasion will be performed Bellini's Opera,
NORMA.

Norma Madlle. Emilia Lagrua
 (Her first appearance in England).
 Adalgisa Madlle. Marie Pattu
 (Who has kindly consented to sing the part on this occasion).
 Ultime Madama Tagliafico.
 Orsola Signor Attri
 (His first appearance in England).
 Flavio Signor Rossi.
 AND
 Felio Signor Naudin.
 Conductor—Mr. COSTA.

To conclude with a Divertissement, which will be supported by Madlle. Salvioni, Madlle. Assunta (her first appearance in England), Madlle. Navarre (her first appearance in England), and M. Desplaces.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE SEASON
ENGAGEMENTS.
 Mademoiselle ADELINA PATTI,
 Madame DIDIME,
 Mademoiselle ANTONIETTA ERICCI,
 Mademoiselle MARIE PATTU,
 Madame RUDERSDORFF,
 Mademoiselle ANESE,
 Madame TAGLIAFICO,
 and
 Mademoiselle PAULINE LUCCA.

Mademoiselle DESTINY
 (Her first appearance in England),
 Mademoiselle GIUSEPPINI TATI
 (Her first appearance in England),
 Madame GARELLI
 (Her first appearance in England),
 and
 Mademoiselle EMILIA LAGRUA
 (Her first appearance in England).

Signor MARIO,
 Signor TAMBERLAK,
 Signor NAUDIN,
 Signor LUCCHESI,
 Signor ROSSI,
 Signor NERI-BARALDI,
 and
 Signor WACHTEL.

Signor RONCONI,
 Signor GRAZIANI,
 Signor COLONESI,
 and
 Monsieur FAURE.

Signor ATTRI
 (His First Appearance in England),
 Signor SCALESE
 (His First Appearance in England),
 Signor TAGLIAFICO,
 Signor FALLAI,
 Signor POLONINI,
 Signor CAFFONI,
 Signor GIANELI,
 and
 Herr SCHMID
 (His First Appearance in England).

Director of the Music, Composer, and Conductor,
 Mr. COSTA.

Principal Dancers
 Mademoiselle SALVIONI,
 Mademoiselle ZINA RICHARD,
 Mademoiselle NAVARRE,
 Mademoiselle ASSUNTA,
 Mademoiselle CARMINE
 (Her First Appearance in England),
 &c.

Maestro di Piano Signor LI CALSI.
 Leader of the Military Band (Cold-streets) Mr. GODFREY.
 Leader of the Ballet Mr. THIRLWALL.
 Organist Mr. ARTHUR SULLIVAN.
 Chorus Master Mr. SMYTHSON.
 Poet Signor MAGGIONI.
 Prompter Signor MONTERASI.
 Maitre de Ballet Mons. DESPLACES.
 Machinist Mr. SLOMAN.

The unrivaled Treble and Chorus of the Royal Italian Opera.
 Stage Manager—Mr. A. HARRIS.
 The Scenery by Mr. WILLIAM BEVERLEY and Mr. GRIEVE.

Fig. 4: Prospectus for the Royal Italian Opera season 1864. The twenty-one-year-old Sullivan is announced as organist. During the the season, his ballet, *L'Ille Enchanté* premiered, as an after-piece to Bellini's *La Sonnambula*. Michael Costa conducted.³⁸

Nevertheless, press reports from the mid-1860s onwards show Sullivan steadily establishing his presence. With no permanent orchestras existing in London, he picked up conducting engagements as and where he could, taking on appointments that more established musicians were unlikely to have considered, such as the amateur Civil Service Musical Society which he directed between 1866 and 1870 and the equally amateur, but since his friend, the Duke of Edinburgh, featured amongst the first violins, rather more distinguished Royal Albert Hall Orchestral Society, during 1872-73. Sullivan's fiancé, Rachel Scott Russell, desperate

for marriage, but unable to accept a life of relative penury with the aspiring young composer, hoped that he could find 'any *settled* thing like a conductorship' that might overcome her parent's opposition to him.³⁹ At this point, Sullivan was honing his conducting skills as organist and choirmaster at St. Michael's, Chester Square, at a salary of £100:00 per annum. (cv: £7,985)⁴⁰

³⁸ *Standard*, 26 March 1864, p.7

³⁹ Quoted in George S. Emerson, *Arthur Darling, The Romance of Arthur Sullivan and Rachel Scott Russell* (Galt House: Ontario, 1980). Rachel's letter is dated 29 May 1866.

⁴⁰ measuringworth.com, accessed 12/03/2017. Values calculated by referencing original date against 2016 values.

He conducted his own large scale works within the prestigious environment of the great provincial musical festivals, premiering his cantata, *The Masque at Kenilworth* (1864) at Birmingham, the overture, *In Memoriam* (1866) at Norwich, the scena / *Wish to Tune my Quivering Lyre*, with Charles Santley as soloist, at Gloucester (1868), while his first oratorio, *The Prodigal Son* (1869), was the highlight of that year's Three Choirs Festival at Worcester.



*Fig. 5: Arthur Sullivan, aged twenty-two, photographed at the 1864 Birmingham Festival.*⁴¹

The *Birmingham Daily Post* presented a tiny snapshot of him in rehearsal, mentored by the Birmingham Festival's director, the celebrated Michael Costa:

⁴¹ Photograph by permission of the National Portrait Gallery.

The performance opened with a rehearsal of Mr. Sullivan's *Kenilworth* conducted by the composer himself, although Mr. Costa, like a trusty pilot at the helm, never deserted the composer's elbow.⁴³

The reporter's comments were to be strangely mirrored when, at the Leeds Festival, thirty-four years later, Sullivan himself mentored Edward Elgar's rehearsals of his cantata, *Caractacus*.

The twenty-two-year-old Sullivan knew the effects that he wanted, and he was unimpressed by the milieu in which he found himself: he was directing Costa's Covent Garden orchestra, a chorus of 356 and some of the most celebrated singers of the period.⁴⁴ His account is of particular interest, since it reveals that although young and relatively inexperienced – *Kenilworth* was his first appearance conducting at a major venue – he understood, perhaps instinctively, how to develop a positive relationship with a chorus:

Thursday night we had a rehearsal [with the chorus] and I kept them hard at work for an hour and a half; the result was fairly satisfactory but not what I could have wished... However, last night [...] I was enabled to have another hard grind at them and with great success.

They were in great good humour and went lustily so that I went home much pleased [...] I think it is probable that they will let me try my cantata first on Monday evening...if so I shall be all right as the Band and Chorus will be fresh from dinner and not previously tired by Smart's work.⁴⁵

⁴³ *Birmingham Daily Post*, *The Birmingham Musical Festival. The Rehearsal, Yesterday*, 6 Sept. 1864. *Naaman*, an oratorio by Costa, rehearsed earlier in the day, was billed as the highlight of the 1864 Festival.

⁴⁴ The tenor part in *Kenilworth* had been written for the renowned Giovanni Mario, now at the end of his illustrious career – although he withdrew at virtually the last minute, to be substituted by William Cummings. The other soloists were Helen Lemmens Sherrington, Charles Santley and Bessie Palmer.

⁴⁵ Sullivan to Mary Sullivan, Birmingham, 3 Sept. 1864, Morgan Library, ID: 109081. 'Mr Smart' – Henry Smart, (1813-1879) Organist and composer. His cantata, *The Bride of Dunker-ron*, to which Sullivan refers, was also receiving its premiere at the 1864 Festival.

A week later, with *Kenilworth* successfully launched, he wrote enthusiastically to his father:

I know that you will like to hear...that the Cantata was undoubtedly a great success...I had no fear of its not going well on Thursday because the rehearsal inspired me with much confidence in myself and the Orchestra...it went very well indeed...I was ap-

plauded at the end and recalled to the platform.⁴⁶

Whereas the earliest performances of his work had been conducted by the vastly experienced August Manns at Crystal Palace, Charles Hallé in Manchester, and Michael Costa at Covent Garden, with the performance of *Kenilworth* at Birmingham, Sullivan began his graduation from passive observer to active interpreter.⁴⁷

UNDER THE ESPECIAL PATRONAGE OF
The Right Worshipful the MAYOR and the SHERIFF of NORWICH.

**MR. CHARLES HALL'S
GRAND CONCERT,**
FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE JENNY LIND INFIRMARY,
WILL TAKE PLACE
AT SAINT ANDREW'S HALL, NORWICH,
NEXT WEDNESDAY, MAY THE 10TH, 1865.

The STAR of the EVENING will be
MADAME GRISI,
(Who will positively sing.)

THE FOLLOWING ADMIRABLE ARTISTES WILL ALSO APPEAR:
MR. LEIGH WILSON,
(The New and Melodious Tenor.)
MADAME FANNY HUDDART, (Contralto,
(Of the Royal English Opera, Covent Garden.)
MR. PATEY, (Baritone),
(Of the Royal English Opera, Her Majesty's Theatre.)

Sole Violinist	MR. CHARLES HALL.
Sole Pianist	MR. CHARLES KING HALL.
Conductor	MR. ARTHUR S. SULLIVAN.

PROGRAMME.

<p>PART I.</p> <p>Gloria..... "The Winds whistle cold"..... Sir H. Bishop. Madame FANNY HUDDART, Mr. LEIGH WILSON, and Mr. PATEY.</p> <p>Song..... "The Message"..... Elmenthal. Mr. LEIGH WILSON.</p> <p>Chorus..... "Hear ye gentle Marians"..... Wallace. Mr. PATEY.</p> <p>(Violin Obligato—Mr. CHARLES HALL.) Song "Go wander through the world" (Mock Doctor)..... Madame FANNY HUDDART.</p> <p>Solo Piano..... "Ballad"..... Chopin. Mr. CHARLES KING HALL.</p> <p>Cavatina..... "Qui in voce"..... (Parlanti) Bellini. MADAME GRISI.</p> <p>Song..... "I'm a roamer"..... (Son and Stranger) Mendelssohn. Mr. PATEY.</p> <p>Elegy..... Erwan. Mr. CHARLES HALL.</p> <p>Quartet..... "Quil a gentil"..... (Neapolitan National Air) MADAME GRISI, MADAME FANNY HUDDART, Mr. LEIGH WILSON, and Mr. PATEY.</p> <p>An Interval of Ten Minutes.</p>	<p>PART II.</p> <p>Duet "The Moon has raised her Lamp above" (Lily of Killarney) Benedict. Mr. LEIGH WILSON, and Mr. PATEY.</p> <p>Ave Maria..... Melodie Religieuse..... Gounod. (Adapted to the 1st Prelude of Sebastian Bach.) MADAME GRISI.</p> <p>(Accompanied with the Violin, Piano, and Harmonium, by Mr. CHARLES HALL, Mr. CHARLES KING HALL, and Mr. ARTHUR SULLIVAN.)</p> <p>Ballet..... "I come from the beautiful Rhine"..... F. Mori. Mr. LEIGH WILSON.</p> <p>Solo Piano..... Andante and Rondo Capriccioso..... Mendelssohn. Mr. CHARLES KING HALL.</p> <p>Grand Duets "Giorno d'Onore" (Sembrando)..... Rossini. MADAME GRISI and MADAME FANNY HUDDART.</p> <p>Duet..... Violin and Piano..... In Berlin and Osborne. (Finestale upon Alice from William Tell.) Mr. CHAR. HALL, and Mr. CHAR. KING HALL.</p> <p>Air..... "The Last Rose of Summer"..... Moore. MADAME GRISI.</p> <p>Song..... "O ruddier than the Cherry"..... Handel. Mr. PATEY.</p> <p>Trio..... "I Waver"..... Rossignol. MADAME FANNY HUDDART, Mr. LEIGH WILSON, and Mr. PATEY.</p>
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Reserved Area Seats ... 5s. Reserved Area Seats ... 2s. 6d. Orchestral and Side Aisle Seats ... 1s.
Doors open at Seven. Concert at Eight o'clock.
Tickets, Programmes, and Books of the Words to be had of Messrs. Howlett and Son, Music Hall,
Market Place, Norwich.

Fig. 6: The twenty-two-year old Sullivan conducts a famous figure from the previous generation. Jenny Lind-Goldschmidt's connection with the concert possibly explains his engagement at this prestigious concert in Norwich, which predates his Norwich Festival appearances.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Sullivan to Thomas Sullivan, Birmingham 11 Sept. 1864. Morgan Library, ID: 76238. *Kenilworth* had its premiere on the evening of 9 Sept. 1866.

⁴⁷ Although Sullivan was present at the first performances of the *Tempest* at Crystal Palace on 5, 12 April, and 22 Nov. 1862, August Manns conducted. The first London performance on 21 May 1862 was conducted by Alfred Mellon at St. James's Hall. Sullivan was the guest of Charles Hallé on 22 Jan 1863 at the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, but again he did not conduct. Michael Costa conducted the premiere of his ballet, *L'île Enchanté* at Covent Garden.

⁴⁸ *Norwich Mercury*, 10 May 1865, p.1.

He deputised for August Manns at Crystal Palace and Julius Benedict at both Crystal Palace and at St. James's Hall and from his comments to his mother, it appears that he was engaged on merit rather than through the network of influential friends that he had fostered since his return from Leipzig.⁴⁹

I am going to conduct the ballad concert next Thursday here [Crystal Palace] and also there is one the following Wednesday as Manns is abroad. I am very much pleased as the fact of Bowley asking *me* to do it may lead to greater things. So I am here hard at work getting out the programmes.⁵⁰

MR. ARTHUR S. SULLIVAN'S GRAND
ORCHESTRAL CONCERT. St. James's Hall, Wednesday
 Evening, July 11, at Eight o'clock. Madame Lind-Goldschmidt, Miss
 Edith Wynne, Mr. W. H. Cummings, and Mr. Santley. Pianoforte,
 Mlle. Mehlig and Mr. Franklin Taylor. Principal Violin, Mr. Henry
 Blagrove. Conductor, Mr. Arthur Sullivan.—Stalls, 10s. 6d.; un-
 reserved seats, 5s. and 3s. L. Cock, Addison, and Co., 62 and 63, New
 Bond-street: Principal Music-sellers and Libraries; and at Austin's,
 28, Piccadilly.

MADAME LIND-GOLDSCHMIDT will SING at
 St. James's Hall, on Wednesday Evening, July 11, at **ARTHUR**
S. SULLIVAN'S ORCHESTRAL CONCERT.—Secure your tickets
 at Lamborn Cock, Addison, and Co.'s, 62 and 63, New Bond-street,—
 Stalls, 10s. 6d.; unreserved seats 5s. and 3s.

MADAME LIND-GOLDSCHMIDT will sing the
 Old English Ditty, "The Three Ravens," on Wednesday
 Evening, July 11, at St. James's Hall. Tickets 3s., 5s., and 10s. 6d.
 N.B.—Tickets should be immediately secured.

Fig. 7: Sullivan organises his own publicity with this concert at St. James's Hall on 11 July 1866, forwarding his career as conductor–composer. The array of talent suggests that he was calling on friends and well-wishers to support his enterprise.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Sullivan charmed George Grove, Secretary of Crystal Palace, as well as having impressed Manns, Benedict and Costa, all of whom were influential in fostering the young composer's career, as was Jenny Lind-Goldschmidt, who took a personal interest in him.

⁵⁰ Sullivan to Mary Sullivan, 17 Sept. 1866. 'Bowley' was Robert Bowley, General Manager of Crystal Palace. Morgan Library, ID: 75870.

⁵¹ *Standard*, 10 July 1866, p. 1.

CRYSTAL PALACE—GREAT BALLAD CONCERT, THIS AFTERNOON (Thursday), at Half-past Four o'clock.
Mr. CUMMINGS. — **Miss EDMONDS.**
Madame HUDERSDORFF. — **Mr. BENWICK.**
Solo Double Bass. — **Signor BOTTESINI.**
Solo Cornet. — **Mr. LEVY.**
Military and full Orchestral Bands.
Conductor. — **Mr. A. S. SULLIVAN.**

It had been intended to transfer the Ballad Concerts with that given on the 27th August. The brilliant success which has attended them, and which has brought no less than One Hundred and Twenty Thousand Visitors to this single Series of Concerts, has induced arrangements for

ONE MORE CONCERT,
which will be held THIS DAY.

That such vast numbers of visitors should have been attracted by these Concerts is not to be wondered at, considering the unrivalled locale afforded by the Great Handel Orchestra, and also taking into account the eminent artists engaged, whose interpretation of the popular old favourites in the programmes (which differ from ordinary concert programmes of the present day, by the exclusion of so-called "Publishers' Songs"), has afforded such unmixed pleasure. As before, a varied programme will be given, for which artists of the highest eminence are engaged. Admissions without extra charge.

ONE SHILLING ONLY; or by Guinea Seaman Ticket free.
 Places open at Ten. The Concert will commence at Half-past Four, and the Palace will be **ENTIRELY UNOCCUPIED** until Nine o'clock. Special and Large Ballway Tickets all roads.
 Single numbered Stalls for this Concert, Half-Crown, and Middle Orchestral Seats, One Shilling, may be had at the ticket stands in the yards.

NOTE.—Rockhill Gardens will be thrown open from Two till Four o'clock. The Band of the 3d (King's Own) Hussars, Bandmaster Mr. W. Money, will perform at Three o'clock.

CRYSTAL PALACE—THIS AFTERNOON.—
Madame HUDERSDORFF will SING—
 "It was a lover and his lass," A. D. 1600.
 "They tell me thou'rt the favoured guest," Lullie.
 "My heart is sair, I cannot tell," Scotch.

CRYSTAL PALACE—THIS AFTERNOON.—
Miss EDMONDS will SING—
 "Bonnie Prince Charlie" Scotch.
 "Cherry Ripe" Horn.

CRYSTAL PALACE—THIS AFTERNOON.—
Mr. CUMMINGS will SING—
 "Good bye, Sweetheart," Hatton.
 "Draw the Sword, Scotland," Scotch.
 And by special request, "The Boy of Biscay," Navy.

CRYSTAL PALACE—THIS AFTERNOON.—
Mr. BENWICK will SING—
 "The Woodpecker tapping," Michael Kelly.
 "Near Wootton Bassett," Old English Ditty.

CRYSTAL PALACE—THIS AFTERNOON.—
Signor BOTTESINI will PLAY—
 "Carnival," "Samaritana."
 "Carnival de Venise."

CRYSTAL PALACE—THIS AFTERNOON.—
Mr. LEVY will PLAY—
 Air, with Variations, Fode.
 New Waltz, "Dogs," C. Dellé.

CRYSTAL PALACE—THIS AFTERNOON.—
Mr. LAZARUS will PLAY—
 Character Solo on "Scotch Air."

Fig. 8: Sullivan conducts for the first time at Crystal Palace, 20 Sept. 1866. This was the concert that he was preparing when he wrote to his mother on 17 Sept.⁵²

The end of the decade saw Sullivan established as the most promising of British composers and as an accomplished conductor. At Worcester Cathedral on the morning of Wednesday, 8 October 1869, with soloists Theresa Tietiens, Janet Patey, John Sims Reeves and Charles Santley, he directed the premiere of his own sacred work, *The Prodigal Son*. With the addition of bass, Lewis Thomas, that evening Sullivan conducted the same soloists in a concert in the Town Hall in items as diverse as Mendelssohn's *First Walpurgis Night*, Rossini's *William Tell* overture, arias by Donizetti and Weber, as well as his own *Sapphire Necklace* overture. Contemporary accounts show that he was perceived as an outstanding talent both as a composer and as a conductor. His old mentor, Sir John Goss, was impressed and after witnessing the performance of *The Prodigal Son* at Crystal Palace that Sullivan conducted on 11 December

⁵² *Standard*, 20 Sept. 1866, p. 1.

1869, wrote congratulating his former pupil, 'You are an admirable conductor. The band seemed to me most capital in your hands, the Chorus seemed to do very well...'⁵³

If the success of *The Prodigal Son* cemented Sullivan's position as a serious composer, it had a positive effect in raising his profile as a conductor. He had written the title role of the *Prodigal* for the celebrated tenor, John Sims Reeves.

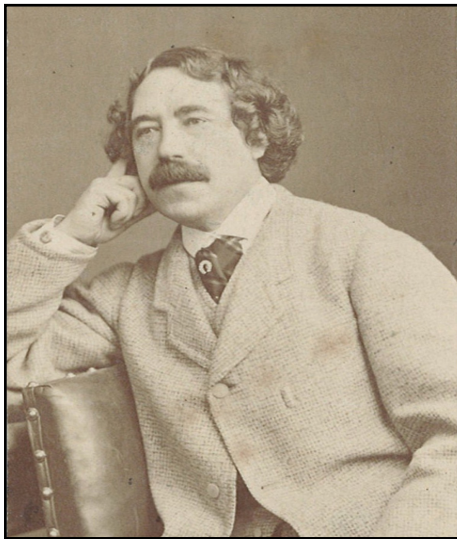


Fig. 9: 'The Great English Tenor.' John Sims Reeves, ca. 1870.

Reeves particularly enjoyed performing the dramatic showpiece aria *How Many Hired Servants* and as a result, took Sullivan under his wing. Although he was to write that he hated the accompanying aspect of their relationship, Sullivan must have realised the opportunity and exposure that working with the 'Great English Tenor' brought him. Over the next year, from Crystal Palace to Brighton, to Hereford, Bristol and places in between, where Sims Reeves sang, Sullivan conducted or accompanied. Reeves wrote to Sullivan 'am I not as good as a father to you?'⁵⁴

⁵³ Sir John Goss to Arthur Sullivan, 22 Dec. 1869, Morgan Library, ID: 76754.

⁵⁴ John Sims Reeves to Arthur Sullivan, 13 Dec. 1869, Morgan Library, ID: 75917.

However, during the performance of *The Prodigal Son* in Edinburgh on Monday, 14 November 1870, 'The Great English Tenor' (Fig. 9) must have terrified the young conductor by informing him, towards the end of the of the oratorio, that he could no longer continue, leaving the concert platform and returning to his hotel.⁵⁵ It was not the only occasion during the year when their association, particularly given Sims Reeves's propensity for cancelling performances, was to lead Sullivan into farcically embarrassing difficulties.⁵⁶



Fig. 10: The Sullivan brothers on tour: Arthur conducts Frederic's company. Manchester, 22 May 1874.⁵⁷

Sullivan found an additional outlet for his conducting skills when, in 1871, his older brother, Frederic, established Sullivan's Operetta Company.⁵⁸ Although the future impresario, Richard D'Oyly Carte, was the company's musical director during the 1871 tour, Arthur conducted on the opening night at Prince's Theatre, Manchester on 11

⁵⁵ The affair eventually involved Sullivan giving evidence in a legal action. The Edinburgh promoters wanted to reclaim Reeves' fee while, unsurprisingly, he saw no reason to remit it, having sung for most of the oratorio.

⁵⁶ *The Prodigal Son* was scheduled for performance at Crystal Palace, with Sullivan conducting, on 18 Dec. 1869. Sims Reeves found that he had double booked himself. Eventually, the performance was rescheduled to 11 Dec., without Sims Reeves. A further last-minute cancellation, again telegraphing that he had a cold, occurred in Manchester on 13 Jan. 1870, where Reeves was replaced by Montem Smith.

⁵⁷ *Manchester Courier*, 21 May 1874, p. 1.

⁵⁸ Relunched in 1874 as Mr. F. Sullivan's London Opera Company.

May 1874 and on subsequent occasions when other engagements and railway schedules enabled him (Fig. 10).⁵⁹ By the last recorded of these appearances, Carte's benefit at the Opera Comique on 26 October 1874, his announcement as conductor must have added considerable cachet to the occasion.

However, Sullivan's conducting career had stalled – in reality, there were few opportunities available for him. Permanent conducting positions in the London area were retained by an older generation with established reputations – August Manns jealously guarded the Crystal Palace Orchestra, Julius Benedict featured at St. James's Hall, as did Alfred Mellon, conductor of the Musical Society and at the Covent Garden Promenade Concerts. Sullivan's former teacher, William Sterndale Bennett conducted the Philharmonic Society concerts until 1867 and was succeeded by William Cusins, who held the post until 1883. Towering above them all was Sir Michael Costa, at the Royal Italian Opera, Covent Garden, the Sacred and Harmonic Society and the Handel Festival.⁶⁰ It was his baton that conducted the greatest of the provincial Festivals at Birmingham and Leeds. Sullivan was, therefore, still accepting engagements as and where he could obtain them, and it must have been clear that the chance of obtaining a permanent appointment, should he have ever aspired to one, rather than being the useful deputy, was minimal. The vast amount of his conducting activity related to his own works, over which by now, his proprietorial right had been established.

1871 was a pivotal year for Sullivan's development as a conductor. On 1 May, with the premiere of his cantata, *On Shore and Sea*, he became the first British composer to present and conduct a new work at the recently opened Royal Albert Hall. It formed the final item of a concert celebrating the opening of the International Exhibition. Sullivan faced the test of representing Britain amid an international gallery of

⁵⁹ Sullivan conducted, as mentioned, in Manchester on 17 July 1871, and again on 22 May 1874, and Theatre Royal, Birmingham, 26 May 1874.

⁶⁰ Knighted 1869.

R O Y A L A L B E R T H A L L.
 THIS EVENING, July 21, at 8.30.
 REPETITION of the MUSIC composed for the Opening of
 the International Exhibition of 1871:—
 PROGRAMME.

Overture, "Ruy Blas."
 Ode (words by Lord Houghton), composed and conducted by
 C. Pinsuti.
 Triumphal March, composed by Ferdinand Hiller.
 Motett, "Gallia," composed and conducted by Charles Gounod.
 Can'tata, "On shore and sea," composed and conducted by
 Arthur Sullivan.
 Organ solo, Herr Heinze.
 Song, "Ombra leggiero" (Meyerbeer), Madame Lemmens-Sher-
 rington.
 Overture, "Tannhäuser" (Wagner).
 Conductor, Mr. Arthur Sullivan.

Promenade in gallery, 1s.; gallery seats, 1s. 6d.; balcony, 2s.;
 arena, 2s. 6d.; stalls, 2s.; boxes, from 25s.

R O Y A L A L B E R T H A L L.—T O - N I G H T.

R O Y A L A L B E R T H A L L.—M. G O U N O D
 will conduct his Motett.

R O Y A L A L B E R T H A L L.—M. P I N S U T I
 will conduct his Ode.

R O Y A L A L B E R T H A L L.—M r. A R T H U R
 S U L L I V A N will conduct his Can'tata.

contributors, including the then idol-
 ised Charles Gounod. He survived
 with his credibility intact to the ex-
 tent that on 21 July he wielded the
 baton for most of the programme
 when the concert was repeated.⁶¹

Fig. 11: Sullivan conducts the repeat
 of the concert at the opening of the
 International Exhibition, 21 July,
 1871.⁶²

A brief observation of Sullivan's conducting at the Royal Albert Hall concert seems to indicate that already, his reticent, undemonstrative style existed. Reviewing his career to date, an article in *Bow Bells* remarked:

Mr. Sullivan is by no means demonstrative in the concert room. Strangely pale, the dead white of the forehead contrasting remarkably with the black hair, worn low on the forehead, and perfectly self-possessed, he presents himself without any expression of emotion or pleasure, does his work, and goes again, without effort, excitement, or apparent sense of his position.⁶³

Reporting the opening concert and commenting on the various composers' conducting styles, the *Tonic Sol-Fa Reporter* remarked:

⁶¹ The Commissioners for the International Exhibition had originally invited Wagner, Verdi, Gounod and Sullivan to submit works for the opening concert as the respective representatives of the newly united Imperial Germany, Italy, France and Britain. Only Gounod, then an exile in London from the Franco-Prussian War, and Sullivan accepted. Nevertheless, the invitation to Sullivan does give a notion of his status among British composers at that point.

⁶² *Standard*, 21 July 1871, p. 4.

⁶³ *Bow Bells, Mr. Arthur Sullivan*, 14 Aug. 1872, p. 89.

There is little action in Mr. Sullivan. He was much occupied in reading the score and seemed content with half his mind to jerk his baton through a small space.⁶⁴

Such comments would have resonated at Leeds nearly thirty years later, and have, subsequently, become a part of the Sullivan narrative, with the usual corollary that he conducted in that manner because of his poor health. However, it seems reasonable to suggest that during his twenties, he had developed a style with which he was comfortable, long before health issues began to affect him, and which may have owed as much to his bandmaster father, his original mentor, Thomas Sullivan, as to his teachers at Leipzig or to Sir Michael Costa's early interest in his career.⁶⁵ Fuller Maitland at Leeds in 1898, was to cite his 'inexorable beat', as he conducted Palestrina's *Stabat Mater*.⁶⁶

Jacobs maintained that there was no charisma to Sullivan's conducting at a time when star career conductors were becoming fashionable following Hans Richter's first concert series in 1880. However, it is possible to suggest that Sullivan's personality was reflected by his conducting style. A Leeds reporter in 1898, observing him as he walked casually to his dressing room during the intermission of the opening day's performance of *Elijah* – a performance that had come close to disaster before it began – stated in awe, 'A man more calm and self-possessed either at or away from the conductor's desk it is impossible to imagine.'⁶⁷ Comments relating to Sullivan's icy self-

⁶⁴ *Tonic Sol-Fa Reporter*, 1 June 1871, p. 163.

⁶⁵ B.W. Findon, *Sir Arthur Sullivan and His Operas* (London: Sibley's Ltd., 1908), p. 184. According to Sullivan's cousin, B.W. Findon, Sullivan experienced his first serious illness in 1872, when he was 30. References to Sullivan conducting seated seem to have begun with his Covent Garden Promenade series in 1878. However, it must also be noted that there are plenty of contemporary illustrations that show Sullivan standing to conduct – and that many conductors of the period directed seated. With concerts running up to 4 hours in length, it was hardly surprising.

⁶⁶ *Times*, 7 Oct. 1898, p.9.

⁶⁷ Clara Butt was due to appear singing the contralto part in *Elijah*, but mistook the 11:30 am start for 2 pm, and was not present at the Victoria Hall as the oratorio was about to commence. Sullivan's quick thinking, having seen Ada Crossley in the audience and inviting her to sing, while sending a cab to fetch Clara Butt, thus saved the performance, hence the reporter's awe at Sullivan's calm.

possession and reticence in public are not difficult to find. Herman Klein, the *Sunday Times* music critic who became a friend, commented:

Sullivan was a man of singularly sweet and amiable disposition. There was much more impulsive warmth and emotional depth to his Irish nature than one would have judged from his manner, which impressed most people as cold and reserved.⁶⁸

The *Observer's* editor, Edward Dickey, a close friend for nearly forty years, remarked that Sullivan 'was not the kind of man who wears his heart upon his sleeve: he had a certain reluctance in putting himself forward on his own initiative.'⁶⁹

Sometimes, as in this account of a concert that Sullivan conducted in Dublin in 1894, personality and profession combined:

Of his conducting, it is only necessary to say that, although he was marble-like in his self-possession his baton held the great orchestra and chorus under an almost magical spell. Some of his tempos were exceedingly quick and springy, giving a verve and liveliness which a slower beat would have lost. Considering that he only had one rehearsal his command over the resources was astonishing.⁷⁰

That his style was strange, particularly his apparent concentration on the score from which he was conducting, seems frequently to have deceived those who were unaware of his visual means of communication with his forces. As B.W. Findon wrote:

Few men obtained better effects by less obvious means. The habit he had of stooping over the score gave the impression...that his attention was wholly engaged by the music and the instrumentalists succeeded in producing good effects more by reason of their judgement than through the skill of the conductor. But that undemonstrative figure was, in reality, as alert as the proverbial weasel. [...] his players knew him and a

⁶⁸ Herman Klein, *Thirty Years of Musical Life in London* (New York: The Century Co., 1903), p. 201.

⁶⁹ Edward Dickey, *Fortnightly Review, Recollections of Arthur Sullivan*, Jan. 1905, p. 78.

⁷⁰ *Irish Society, La Reveille, Dublin Musical Society*, 14 April 1894, p. 360.

single look from him expressed more than all the contortions of the modern conductor.⁷¹

During the summer of 1871, Sullivan was hired by Jules Rivière to conduct the classical and choral elements at his Covent Garden Promenade Concerts. Rivière's memoirs, published in 1893, explained that Sullivan was engaged to give variety to the concerts.⁷² However, it is more likely that Rivière recognised in the young composer-conductor highly marketable merchandise.

Part of the attraction of having Sullivan's name on Rivière's bill, irrespective of his musicianship, must have been his potential to draw an audience wishing to see the man who had written some of the most widely performed sacred and secular music of the period: including the enormously popular operetta *Cox and Box*, as well as many of the songs enjoyed in home entertainments and at the ballad concerts at St James's Hall, Crystal Palace and elsewhere. Sullivan's song portfolio by 1871 con-



tained some of the most popular of the period, including *The Snow Lies White*, so well-known that it was the subject of this George du Maurier cartoon:

Fig. 12: Sullivan's popular song, *The Snow Lies White* is the basis of the joke in this 1872 *Fun* cartoon.⁷³

⁷¹ B.W. Findon, *Sir Arthur Sullivan and His Operas* (London: Sisley's Ltd, 1908) p. 154.

⁷² Jules Rivière, *My Musical Life*, (London: Sampson Low 1893) p. 144. Rivière stated that he had also engaged Joseph Barnby to conduct the choral works, but his memory must have deceived him: the advertisements and contemporary reviews show that the choral and classical works were in Sullivan's hands.

⁷³ *Fun*, 16 Nov. 1872, p. 199.

Possibly Rivière may have felt himself adrift in the classical repertoire but whatever the motive behind the twenty-nine-year old's engagement, it had a twofold outcome: widely expanding Sullivan's practical knowledge of the concert repertoire which he could not gain elsewhere in London and bringing him to the attention of a popular audience.⁷⁴ The experience gained at Rivière's concerts was to prove invaluable as his conducting career progressed. Two years later, having premiered his oratorio, *The Light of the World* at the Birmingham Choral Festival, establishing his credibility as the outstanding British composer of the period, he returned to conduct an all-Sullivan pro-

gramme at Rivière's concerts (Fig. 13) – by which point he had assumed celebrity status with a presence guaranteed to fill the theatre, rather than being the attractive, but supporting billing.⁷⁵

**M. RIVIÈRE'S
PROMENADE CONCERTS.
THEATRE ROYAL, COVENT GARDEN.
Every Evening at Eight.**

MONDAY and TUESDAY—Popular and Operatic Music.
Including Grand Selections, Orchestra 100, Military Band 50, Chorus 50.
Prince Poniatowski's highly successful March, "The Return of Richard Cœur de Lion," every Evening. On WEDNESDAY next, a BEETHOVEN NIGHT. FRIDAY—Handel's MESSIAH; the Classical & Sacred Music Conducted by Mr. Arthur Sullivan. Artists—Madame Liebart, Demerit-Lablache, Rubini, and Madame Rudersdorff, Mr. Whitney, Mr. E. Lloyd, and Mr. Arthur Lincoln (Solo Chrysalphonicon). Solists—Mme. Julia Wolff, Carreno, Jenny Claus. Cornet—Mr. H. Reynolds. Conductor—M. RIVIÈRE. Messrs. T. Grivie & Son's Conservatory of Palm Trees, illuminated by One Thousand and Twenty-eight Jets of Gas, pronounced to be the most perfect coup d'oeil ever witnessed. Private Boxes, £1 11s. 6d., £1 1s., and 19s. 6d. Boxes (where Bonnets may be worn) 2s. 6d. New Orchestra Stalls, (numbered and reserved) 2s., (not looking for). Promenade, One Shilling. Refreshments by Messrs. Spiers and Pond. Doors open at 7-30. Commence at 8. Acting Manager—Mr. EDWARD MURRAY.

**THEATRE ROYAL COVENT-GARDEN.—
M. RIVIÈRE'S PROMENADE CONCERTS, Every Evening
Doors open at 7.30; to commence at 8.0, and terminate about 11.30.
Conductor, M. RIVIÈRE.**

The only correct Programmes to be had in the Theatre.

THE MESSIAH, TO-NIGHT (Friday).—Madame RUDERSDORFF and Madame DE MERIC LABLACHE, Mr. E. Lloyd, and Mr. Whitney, Conducted by Arthur Sullivan. Second Part, Miscellaneous. Conducted by M. RIVIÈRE.

OVERTURES.—WILLIAM TELL, Rossini; and DE BALLO, Arthur Sullivan. Selections from "Il Trovatore," Bridesmaid's Waltz, Galop, Quadrille, Trumpeter's Galop.—Conducted by M. RIVIÈRE.

PRINCE PONIATOWSKI'S New Grand Triumphal March for Full Orchestra, Military Band, and Chorus, entitled, THE RETURN OF RICHARD CŒUR DE LION, THIS EVENING.—THEATRE ROYAL COVENT-GARDEN.

MESDAMES DE MERIC LABLACHE, Haydee Abreck, and Carreno, Mr. Arthur Lincoln (Chrysalphonicon), H. Reynolds (Solo Cornet), THIS EVENING, at M. RIVIÈRE'S PROMENADE CONCERTS, THEATRE ROYAL COVENT-GARDEN.

MENDELSSOHN NIGHT on WEDNESDAY NEXT (by particular desire).—Overture, "Pina's Cave"—Symphony in A minor (Scottish Symphony)—Pianoforte Concerto in G minor. Mme. Carreno—March "Athalia." Full Orchestra, Military Bands, &c.

ELIJAH.—Mendelssohn's Oratorio "Elijah" on Friday, Sept. 8. Mme. RUDERSDORFF, and Mme. DE MERIC LABLACHE, Mr. E. Lloyd and Mr. Whitney, Full Band and Chorus.—Conducted by Mr. ARTHUR SULLIVAN.

**THEATRE ROYAL COVENT-GARDEN.—M.
RIVIÈRE'S PROMENADE CONCERTS, EVERY EVENING
Doors open at 7.30. Time—no success.**

RIVIÈRE'S CONCERTS.—SULLIVAN NIGHT.
The following artists will appear THIS EVENING—
Miss ELLEN DALTON,
Miss EDITH WYNN,
Mr. ALDOP, Mr. WALTER PETTIT,
Miss CARRENO, and
Monsieur SAINTON.
Accompanied by Mr. LINDSAY SLOPER.

RIVIÈRE'S CONCERTS.—SULLIVAN NIGHT.
The First Part of the Programme will consist of OVERTURES, SELECTIONS, and FINIS, by this talented Composer.—Conductor, Mr. ARTHUR SULLIVAN.

RIVIÈRE'S CONCERTS.—SULLIVAN NIGHT.
Miss EDITH WYNN will sing the Song "Little Maid of Arden," and in the Second Part "Tell me my heart."—THIS EVENING.

RIVIÈRE'S CONCERTS.—SULLIVAN NIGHT.
Miss ELLEN DALTON will sing the Ballad "Golden Days," and in the Second Part the old Scotch Song "John Anderson, my Jo."—THIS EVENING.

RIVIÈRE'S CONCERTS.—SULLIVAN NIGHT.
Mr. EDWARD LLOYD will sing the favourite Song "Open your Eyes," and in the Second Part "Eily Mavourneen" (Benedict).—THIS EVENING.

RIVIÈRE'S CONCERTS.—SULLIVAN NIGHT.
Signor CALAVOGLIA will sing the Romance "Oh mia Giuseppina," and in the Second Part the Tarantella "La Donna Grossa."—THIS EVENING.

RIVIÈRE'S CONCERTS.—SULLIVAN NIGHT.
Mr. ALDOP will make his First Appearance, and sing "A Little Bird."—THIS EVENING.

RIVIÈRE'S CONCERTS.—SULLIVAN NIGHT.
Mr. WALTER PETTIT will make his First Appearance at these Concerts, and perform in the Violoncello Solo, a Concerto, with Orchestral Accompaniment.—THIS EVENING.

RIVIÈRE'S CONCERTS.—SULLIVAN NIGHT.
The Orchestra will perform the "Overture di Ballo," the Hungarian Music from Shakespeare's "Tempest," and the Master Music from "The Merchant of Venice."—THIS EVENING.

Fig. 13: Advertisements for Jules Rivière's 1871 Promenade concerts give a notion of the breadth of repertoire that Sullivan was conducting. The 1873 concert emphasises Sullivan's changing status.

⁷⁴ See Appendix 1 for details of the repertoire which Sullivan conducted that summer.

⁷⁵ It is interesting to note that Sir Julius Benedict conducted the classical programmes after Sullivan's departure on 15 September for Manchester, and the premiere of his incidental music for *The Merchant of Venice* and poses the question of who was now the useful substitute. Although James Glover's evidence is sometimes unreliable, he maintained that Rivière was out of his depth in the classical repertoire, which is perhaps, supported by engaging on various occasions, Sullivan, Benedict, Barnby and Cowen. The all-Sullivan Promenade Concert took place on 18 Oct 1873.

Rivière was not the only impresario interested in engaging Sullivan, now recognisably a saleable asset. Advance publicity for a new enterprise, the Royal National Opera, announced Sullivan as one of the conductors for a forthcoming season. Henry Hersee, one of the directors of the new company, had importuned him on 21 July, during the intermission of the second performance of the International Exhibition Concert at the Royal Albert Hall, with the intention of having him conduct during the company's autumn season at St James's Theatre. Distracted, as Hersee was later to admit, by the occasion, Sullivan made a vague comment that if he was in London, he might possibly conduct one of his own works, perhaps *Cox and Box*. He was furious at the unauthorised use of his name in the publicity for the Royal National Opera's season which appeared at the beginning of August 1871.⁷⁶ The incident throws interesting lights on Sullivan's career at that point: his statement was issued by Reuter's, which makes clear that after a decade as a professional musician 'before the public', he was now adept at using the press to his advantage. He was also aware of his personal value.

The issue has led to a myth that had Sullivan as musical director of the Royal National Opera.⁷⁷ Hersee might have wanted the prestige and box office potential of Sullivan's name on his advertising and conducting at St James's Theatre, but it did not happen – simply because Sullivan did not want it to happen. He was fully occupied by Rivière's concerts, which were possibly more congenial to him, both in terms of repertoire: he

⁷⁶ Advance publicity for the Royal National Opera, naming Sullivan, together with Sir Julius Benedict and Sidney Naylor as conductors for the St. James's Theatre season appeared in the *Illustrated London News* 5 Aug. 1871, p. 14. Sullivan's reaction appeared in the *Times* on 12 Aug., p. 12. Henry Hersee's response appeared in the 18 Aug. edition of *The Orchestra*, p. 316.

⁷⁷ For example, Percy Young's biography of Sullivan records: 'During this time Sullivan...had other daunting experiences in the general field. In 1871 a Royal National Opera was installed in the St James's Theatre, and the undertaking was launched with a revival of Balfe's *The Rose of Castile*. Sullivan was the conductor. The enterprise lasted but a few weeks.' *Sir Arthur Sullivan* (London: Dent, 1971), p. 95. Jeremy Dibble comments: 'The Royal National Opera' began with a revival of Balfe's *The Rose of Castile* conducted by Sullivan at the St. James's Theatre in 1871, but that too ended after a few weeks.' Jeremy Dibble, *Stanford: Man and Musician* (Oxford: OUP, 2002), p. 196. The Royal National Opera began its season with *The Rose of Castile* on 30 Sept. 1871.

was conducting major symphonic and choral works and exposure. He also had a rapidly approaching premiere of his incidental music to the *Merchant of Venice* in Manchester to prepare for. (Fig. 14) As the Royal National Opera materialised, he was probably grateful, for the sake of his reputation, that he was not associated with it and it is significant, in the light of his future conducting career, that on no occasion did Sullivan appear willing to commit himself to conducting an opera season either in London or provincial tour.⁷⁸

Jacobs maintains that no operatic impresario would have approached him anyway, but in reviewing the works that Sullivan conducted when he was responsible for programming, he seemed to be drawn more towards the choral and orchestral repertoire, so possibly, rather than being rejected, as Jacobs implies, because he lacked the credibility of a foreign name and career, it may have simply been a matter of personal choice that kept him out of the opera house thus giving himself the maximum freedom to pursue both his compositional and conducting careers on his own terms.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Even in relation to his own works at the Opera Comique, Savoy and elsewhere, Sullivan was only prepared to conduct premieres or at special events and on no occasion, did he commit to conducting an entire run of a work with which he was associated. The closest arrangement that he made was an agreement with his publishers, Novello, to conduct the first three London performances of *The Golden Legend*. His principal reason for giving up the Philharmonic baton in 1887, was his reluctance to be pinned down to an expanding concert season: Morgan Library: I.D. LP2/523.

⁷⁹ Jacobs, p. 91.

PRINCE'S THEATRE, MANCHESTER.
 The RE-OPENING will take place on Monday, Sept. 18. During the recess the Theatre has been entirely Enriched and Re-decorated. Increased attention has been given to every part of the auditorium. The private boxes, stalls, and dress circle completely and elegantly re-furnished. The upper circle and pit rendered still more roomy and accessible, and every part of the house studiously re-arranged, with a view to the perfect accommodation of the public.

The alterations and improvements under the direction of Mr. ALFRED DARBYSHIRE.

The Re-decorations by Mr. GEORGE GORDON and Assistants.

The Upholstery and Fittings by Mr. THOS. CAVANAH, Production, on Monday, 18th September, of

Shakspeare's
MERCHANT OF VENICE.
 Arranged for representation by Charles Calvert,
 The SCENERY by
 WILLIAM TELBIN and W. TELBIN, Jun.
 HAWES CRAVEN | GEORGE GORDON
 WALTER HANN | PHILLIPS, &c.
 Period, the 16th century.

The COSTUMES DESIGNED by ALFRED THOMPSON;
 The Incidental Music Selected by Mr. CALVERT, and
 Arranged by Mr. EDWARD WILLIAMS,
 Excepting the Vocal and Instrumental Music accompanying
 THE LORENZO MASQUE,
 Terminating the 1st Act, which has been expressly written
 for this production by
 ARTHUR S. SULLIVAN
 (the eminent composer), who will personally conduct, for a few nights, this part of the action of the play.

The Machinery and Effects by JOHN BYRNES.
 The Properties and Paraphernalia by HIRSCH, GARRETT, HINDSHAW, &c.
 Prices as usual.

NOTICE.—In compliance with repeated applications, arrangements have been made by which persons desirous of avoiding the crowding that is sometimes unavoidable to the Upper Circle and Pit, may from six to half-past six enter by the Dress Circle entrance on payment of an extra charge of 6d. After half-past six the only admittance to the Upper Circle or Pit will be by the usual entrances and at the usual charges.

The Performance will commence at Seven o'clock.
 Box office open daily, where places may be secured for any date.

Fig. 14: Sullivan conducts his incidental music for a spectacular new production of *The Merchant of Venice*, Monday, 18 Sept. 1871. He conducted his final concert for Jules Rivi re on Friday, 15 Sept.⁸⁰ Sullivan was committed to conduct in Manchester, rather than at St. James's Theatre. Advertising shows that Sidney Naylor was the conductor of the Royal National Opera's production of Balfe's *The Rose of Castile*, and not Sullivan.

DAY, Sept. 30.
ST. JAMES'S ROYAL NATIONAL OPERA
 PROSPERUS.

The Directors of the Royal National Opera beg to announce that their FIRST SERIES of FORTY PERFORMANCES will commence on SATURDAY, Sept. 30, 1871, at the ST. JAMES'S THEATRE. In each week of the Season there will be Six Evening Performances and Two Morning Performances (on Wednesdays and Saturdays), commencing at Two o'clock.

Some years have elapsed since English Opera had a home in the metropolis of England, and during that period the growth of musical culture has been so extensive that it may well be believed the time has come when England may be expected to clear itself from the reproach of being the only European nation of importance which welcomes foreign music and foreign artists, and neglects its own.

It is the hope of the Directors that they may be able to foster native talent, and to bring together a body of operatic artists who will not only do credit to themselves as ex-cultans, but will stimulate native composers to energetic efforts.

This is the main object of the Royal National Opera. As regards nationality in composition the Directors will imitate the wise example of the Italian Opera Companies, who seek excellence wherever it may be found, and present Italian versions of works by French, German, and even English composers. While operas by native composers will naturally occupy a prominent place, the masterpieces of foreign composers will occasionally be presented in an English dress.

Among other numerous instances of artistic sympathy and good feeling, the Directors are glad to announce that
 SIR JULIUS BENEDICT
 has kindly consented to conduct a performance of his own works, and that
 SIR W. STERNDALE BENNETT
 has kindly given the Royal National Opera Company permission to produce (for the first time on the Operatic stage) his Cantata,
 THE MAY QUEEN.

They finally invite attention to the following List of Artists and to the Terms of Subscription, which are such as to enable all classes to assist the cause of native art.

ST. JAMES'S ROYAL NATIONAL OPERA.—List of Artists.—Miss ROSE HERSEE (her first appearance since her operatic tour in America, Miss Blanche Cole, Miss Bessie Emmett, Miss Janet Haydon, Madame Florence Lancia, Miss Palmer (her first appearance on the operatic stage in London), Mr. George Perren, Mr. Nordblom (his first appearance on the operatic stage in London), Mr. Henry Gordon, Mr. Charles Stanton, Mr. Parkinson, Mr. Richard Temple, Mr. Maybrick, Mr. Sandeman, Mr. Chas. Wilnot, Mr. Macaulay, Mr. Theodore Distin, Mr. Olive Hersee, and Mr. SIMS REEVES, Conductor, Mr. Sidney Naylor; and Sir Julius Benedict will conduct a performance of his own works.

ST. JAMES'S ROYAL NATIONAL OPERA.—Terms of Subscription for the Forty Performances.—Private Boxes (Transferable), Thirty to Fifty Guineas; Stalls (Transferable), Ten Guineas; Dress Circle Stalls (Transferable), Seven Guineas. Subscriptions at all Libraries, by letter to Mrs. John Wood; or at the Box-office, which will be opened on Monday, Sept. 25th, from Eleven to Six. Prices of Admission.—Private Boxes, 2*l.* 2*s.* and 2*l.* 3*s.*; stalls, 7*s.*; dress circle, 5*s.*; upper boxes, 2*s.* 6*d.*; amphitheatre, 1*s.* No Fees.

ST. JAMES'S ROYAL NATIONAL OPERA.—On SATURDAY, Sept. 30, at Eight o'clock, THE ROSE OF CASTILE, by Balfe, in which Mr. George Perren, Mr. Temple, Mr. Charles Stanton, Mr. Macaulay, Miss Palmer, and Miss Rose Hersee will appear. On Monday, Oct. 2, THE BOHEMIAN GIRL, Duets of Mr. Nordblom and Mr. Maybrick; Re-appearance of Miss Palmer and Miss Rose Hersee.

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⁸⁰ Manchester Evening News, 18 Sept. 1871, p. 1.

⁸¹ Standard, 16 Sept. 1871, p. 2.

1.2: Establishing an identity.

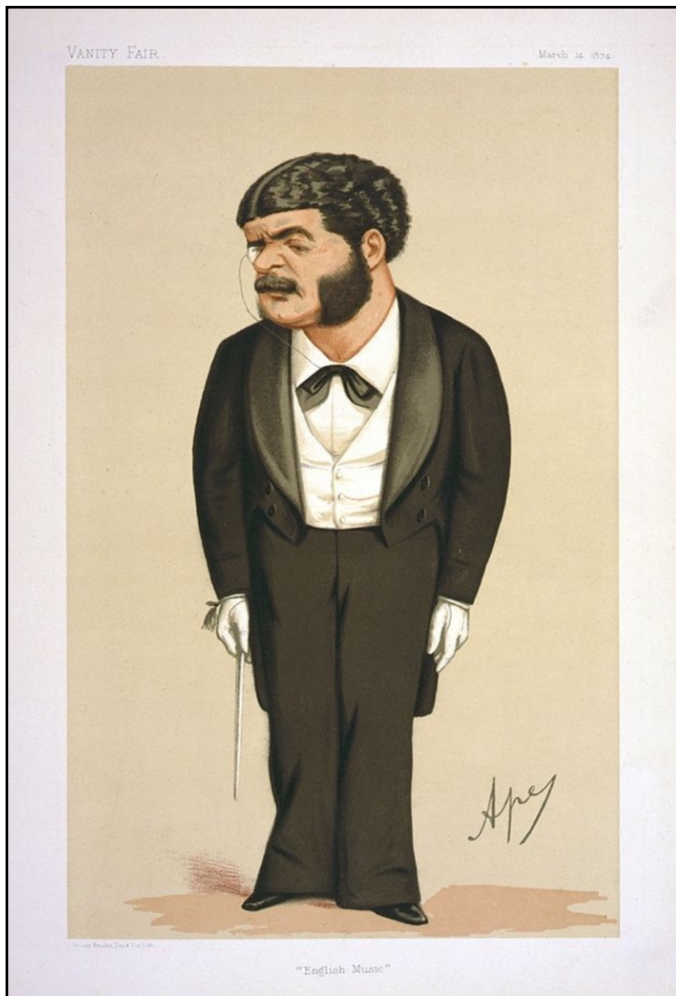


Fig. 15: English Music

Arthur Sullivan as portrayed by Carlo Pellegrini, (Ape) *Vanity Fair*, 14 March 1874.

As the 1870s progressed, so Sullivan established himself as the foremost British musician. He composed for official events, for example, the *Festival Te Deum* (1872), which celebrated the Prince of Wales' recovery from typhoid, and conducted on state occasions.⁸² By the end of the decade, he was to head a delegation to the Paris Exhibition of 1878, conducting three concerts of English music at the Trocadero, two of which were attended by the Prince of Wales.⁸³

The Light of the World, an oratorio written for the Birmingham Festival of 1873, may however, be viewed as the seminal moment in Sullivan's career as both a composer

⁸² The *Festival Te Deum* was performed for the first time at Crystal Palace in the presence of much of the Royal family and a huge audience on May 1 1872. There were 2,600 performers. August Manns conducted. Conducting at state occasions included: 23 June 1873: concert in honour of the state visit of the Shah of Persia, 18 May 1874 State Concert for Tsar Alexander II. He arranged the music and shared the baton with Joseph Barnby.

⁸³ 17, 18 & 20 July 1878, for which contribution Sullivan was awarded the Légion d'Honneur.

and a conductor. The premiere of the work was a major event and emphasised his status as Britain's most important contemporary composer. (Fig. 15) It also generated conducting engagements. Over the course of the next two years, Sullivan was to conduct well-received performances of *The Light of the World* in venues as diverse as London's Royal Albert Hall, The Mechanic's Hall, Nottingham, Liverpool Town Hall, and the Kinnaird Hall, Dundee. However, the most important of these performances, for Sullivan's later conducting career, took place at St. George's Hall, Bradford, on Friday, 12 March 1875. Advertising for the concert (Fig. 16) reveals much about Sullivan's status. *The Light of the World* was to be the preeminent presentation of the Bradford Festival Choral Society's season – and Sullivan's presence in Bradford was as

much of an attraction as the work being presented.

BRADFORD FESTIVAL CHORAL SOCIETY
 EXTRA REHEARSAL of the
 "THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD."
 Conducted by the Composer, Mr. ARTHUR SULLIVAN,
 on THURSDAY EVENING, the 11th inst., in St. George's HALL.
 Members are particularly requested to be in their places on the
 Orchestra before 7.30.
 The Orchestra Tickets for the Performance will be given out
 prior to the Rehearsal on Thursday Evening. No one will be
 admitted to the Orchestra on Friday Night without ticket.
 H. AVERDIECK, President.

"THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD,"
 GRAND ORATORIO,
 Conducted, on the invitation of the Committee, by the
 Composer,
 Mr. ARTHUR SULLIVAN,
 will be performed for the first time in Bradford
 On FRIDAY NEXT, 12th March.
 PRINCIPAL VOCALISTS:
 Madame LEMMENS SHERINGTON,
 Madame PATEY,
 Mr. VERNON HIGBY and Mr. SANTLEY.
 Mr. CHARLES HALLES
FULL BAND OF SEVENTY PERFORMERS,
 and the entire strength of the
BRADFORD FESTIVAL CHORAL SOCIETY,
 forming a BAND and CHORUS of 300 Performers.

The doors will be opened at Seven o'clock, and the Oratorio
 will commence punctually at Half-past Seven.

Reserved Seats.		Unreserved Seats.	
Area ...	2s. 6d.	West Gallery ...	1s. 6d.
West Gallery ...	2s. 6d.	North Gallery ...	1s. 6d.
		South Gallery, 1s.	

The Tickets will be issued on Monday, the 8th March,
 and following days.

Special Trains will leave the Lancashire and Yorkshire, Great
 Northern, and Midland Stations on the conclusion of the
 Oratorio. See small bills.
 CHARLES OLLIVIER, Secretary.

SULLIVAN'S "THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD,"
 FRIDAY NEXT, 12th March.
 NOTICE.—A TRAIN will leave the Great Northern
 Exchange Station on the conclusion of the Oratorio for
 AINSLEY and intermediate Stations. BY ORDER.

Fig. 16: Sullivan conducts his oratorio, *The Light of the World* in Bradford. The significance of the performance is highlighted by the provision of special trains departing from all the principal stations at the conclusion of the concert. Clearly, the promoters anticipated drawing an audience from across the West Riding, such was the interest both in Sullivan and his latest major composition.

The arrival of a musical superstar in Bradford created a frisson over and beyond the presence of the Hallé Orchestra and the front-rank soloists that he was conducting, as the advertisement for the concert emphasised (Fig. 16). He was treated almost as if he was visiting royalty, with reporters from the Bradford and Leeds press following his every move and word. Sullivan must have ingratiated himself with the Bradford Festival Chorus at rehearsal by his flattering comments:

Mr. Sullivan...expressed himself highly gratified with the rendering of the Chorus and with the magnificent tone of the Bradford voices, which he said, was worth a journey from London any time to hear. He had come to correct and find fault...but he was quite unable to do so, as it was in his opinion the finest rendering he had experienced and he begged to thank them for their attention and study, and also their Chorus Master, Mr. Broughton for his work and great care and labour bestowed on the preparation of the work.⁸⁴

His conducting also impressed the writer, who directed a barbed comment at the continental conductors Costa, Benedict and Manns who monopolized the orchestras and festivals at Crystal Palace, Leeds, Liverpool, Norwich and Birmingham, as well as towards Charles Hallé, their near neighbour at Manchester:

Mr. Sullivan conducted in a manner which showed plainly enough that we have amongst us an Englishman perfectly able to wield the baton without having recourse, as is now so much the fashion, to foreign aid.⁸⁵

Sullivan must have lived up to his reputation and *The Light of the World* must have pleased the audience, the *Leeds Mercury* stated that when the oratorio ended 'loud and hearty plaudits...greeted Mr. Sullivan as he stood bowing his grateful thanks.'⁸⁶ While the performance in Bradford had no immediate impact on Sullivan's career, there is every likelihood that among the audience impressed by his oratorio and his conducting at St. George's Hall were the men who, two years later, were to commis-

⁸⁴ *Yorkshire Post*, *Bradford's Subscription Concerts: Sullivan's Light of the World*, 13 March 1875, p. 5.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Bradford Observer*, *Bradford Subscription Concerts, The Light of the World*, 13 March 1875, p. 8, *Leeds Mercury*, *Production of The Light of the World at Bradford*, 13 March 1875, p. 3. Herbert Thompson, attending the Cardiff Festival in 1895, timed Sullivan conducting *The Light of the World* at 2 hours 38 minutes exclusive of the intermission, *Thompson, Diary*, 20 Sept. 1895, Leeds, Special Collection: Brotherton Library. The Bradford performance was a similar length.

sion a new work from him and subsequently to elect Sullivan as their General Conductor, offering him the Leeds Triennial Musical Festival's baton. The Bradford concert meant he was not an unknown quantity when decisions came to be made.⁸⁷

1875 proved Sullivan's busiest year to date. It saw him composing and premiering two operettas: *Trial by Jury* and *The Zoo*, as well as adding to his song portfolio. There were rumours that he was writing an opera to an Italian libretto, based on Schiller's *Mary Stuart*, to be performed at St. Petersburg in the autumn of 1876, with soprano Christine Nilsson in the title role. At the same time, there were comments that Sullivan was also in discussion with Carl Rosa, for an opera in English for his company for the spring of 1876.⁸⁸ Sullivan's name was openly discussed as the potential Principal of the new National Training School of Music that was under construction in South Kensington. He had also accepted two new conducting positions: that winter, he was engaged to conduct six concerts for the Glasgow Choral Union, while he had also been appointed as Musical Director of the new Royal Westminster Aquarium, due to open in January 1876.⁸⁹ He was to supply the programmes and recruit orchestras for both. The operas never materialised and neither did a projected oratorio, *David and Jonathan*, announced for the Norwich Festival of 1875, and which Sullivan withdrew during late July claiming, ominously, ill health. This appears to be the first occasion on which his health compromised his professional commitments.

The London correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* was clearly concerned with the direction that Sullivan's career was taking:

⁸⁷ At Bradford, the Chorus Master with whom Sullivan had worked was James Broughton. His brother Alfred was the accompanist. James was also the Chorus Master of the Leeds Festival, and conductor of the Leeds Philharmonic Society and Alfred was to become Sullivan's Chorus Master in 1886, following his brother's withdrawal through ill health, until his own death in June 1895. Frederic Cliffe, organist at *The Light of the World* in Bradford, became one of Sullivan's composition students at the National Training School and was to be Sullivan's choice of organist at the premiere of *The Golden Legend* in 1886.

⁸⁸ Perhaps this opera was the mysterious *Robert Macaire*, that was rumoured to be almost completed.

⁸⁹ The six concerts eventually became fourteen (possibly more) as Greenock, Paisley and Dundee bought into the Glasgow orchestra and its conductor.

The announcement that Mr. Arthur Sullivan is to be the musical director of the new Westminster Aquarium and that he has...accepted an engagement to conduct a series of orchestral concerts in Glasgow has been received with regret by those who look to the composer of the *Light of the World* as one of the 'hopes' of English music [...] Already one of his promised works...has failed to make its appearance owing to his ill health, too numerous engagements; and it is obvious that if the composer enters on the duties of *chef d'orchestre* his time for writing will be still more limited. The secret of the matter probably lies in the fact that conducting pays better than composition.⁹⁰

However, for the thirty-three-year old composer, who also had ambitions to be recognised as a conductor, the prospect of having his own orchestra, even if it meant leaving London, must have been enticing. The Glasgow concerts were outstandingly successful – the initial six Choral Union concerts became seven, with an additional Popular Concert performed on New Year's Day.⁹¹ Sullivan and his orchestra also gave five concerts in Greenock, one in Paisley and he had directed a well-received performance of *The Light of the World* in Dundee. Commenting on Sullivan's first concert, which included Beethoven's *7th Symphony*, the critic of the *Glasgow Herald* observed:

This symphony has been twice performed in Glasgow. Its first execution by the 'German Band' was simply ridiculous, being a perfect jumble of sounds. The second performance by Mr. Charles Hallé's famous Manchester orchestra was much more respectable, yet nothing more favourable could be said of it. Last night however, from the first note to the last, there was a unanimity of idea which resulted in a grand performance [...] and at its close the applause was loud and prolonged. [...] As to Mr. Sullivan's conducting [...] it may be said that knowing as he does every bar of the music, he is able without apparent effort to really conduct his orchestra, and by careful preparation and frequent rehearsals he gains every effect desired. He is proud of his forces and we happen also to know that the gentlemen of the orchestra, reposing

⁹⁰ *Manchester Guardian, From Our London Correspondent*, 4 Oct. 1875, p. 5.

⁹¹ The concerts proved so successful that the Chairman and Committee of the Glasgow Orchestral Union held a dinner at the Queen's Hotel, Glasgow, in Sullivan's honour on New Year's Eve 1875. *Dundee Courier*, 4 Jan. 1876, p.4.

every confidence in their conductor are anxious do their very best to make the present series [of concerts] an exceptional success. Now that Glasgow possesses such a superb orchestra, marshalled by one of the best conductors of the day, it remains to be seen whether the general public will give it that measure of support necessary to make the scheme one of permanency.⁹²

Once again, it is apparent from this report that features associated with Sullivan's conducting style which were later to be exhibited at Leeds, were already in place: the quiet, undemonstrative direction, his knowledge of the repertoire and his insistence on adequate preparation – of himself – as well as those directed by his baton, were hallmarks of his approach.

By the time Sullivan and the orchestra were reengaged for the following year's concerts, his career had taken a further prestigious turn and he arrived in Scotland as Dr. Arthur Sullivan, Principal of the newly opened National Training School of Music.⁹³ The 1876 Glasgow series was more successful than previous year's. There was a new departure: the introduction of Promenade Concerts, under the patronage of the Lord Provost of Glasgow, presented at the Kibble Palace, and for which Sullivan also arranged the programmes. He had evidently learned much from his experience with Jules Rivière, and it is striking that he had begun to organise these concerts thematically: they began with a German Night and were followed by English and Scottish Nights. The critic of the *Glasgow Herald* wrote enthusiastically of the first concert:

Much of the success of the concert must be ascribed to Mr. Sullivan's conducting. Saturday evening proved to Glasgow musicians that he is cool and all-powerful over combined masses. It was delightful to see how keenly alive the members of the regi-

⁹² *Glasgow Herald*, 17 Nov. 1875, p. 4.

⁹³ Sullivan was appointed Principal of the National School of Music on 15 January. The School opened on 17 May 1876. The honorary doctorate was awarded by the University of Cambridge in June 1876.

mental band were to every indication of the baton. We confess that we were not prepared to experience on the first night such a unanimity of feeling between the conductor and his various forces.⁹⁴

GLASGOW CHORAL UNION.
KIBBLE PALACE, BOTANIC GARDENS.
SATURDAY POPULAR PROMENADE CONCERTS.
FIRST CONCERT,
SATURDAY, 25th NOVEMBER, 1876
(Under the Patronage and Presence of the Hon. the Lord Provost and Magistrates.)
FULL ORCHESTRA
(From City Hall Orchestral Concerts),
AND
MILITARY BAND,
26th REGIMENT (CAMEROFIANS).
(By Permission of the Colonel and Officers.)
PROGRAMME.
Overture..... "Merry Wives of Windsor"..... Nicolai.
Allegretto, from 8th Symphony..... Chopin.
GRAND SELECTION from "Der Freischütz"..... Weber.
(Combined Bands.)
Obsee Solo..... German Songs..... Castagner.
GRAND TRIUMPHAL MARCH from "Tannhäuser"..... Wagner.
(Combined Bands.)
Overture..... "Le Cheval de Bronze"..... Aubert.
Old Gavotte..... Temp Louis XIII.
Cornet Solo..... "Whirlwind Polka"..... Levy.
Lancers on Sullivan's Dramatic Cantata, "Trial" D. Albert.
by Jury.....
Waltz..... "Bella Italia"..... Strauss.
GRAND CORONATION MARCH from "Le Prophète"..... Meyerbeer.
(Combined Bands.)
ALSO,
PART-SONGS BY VOCAL PARTY.
CONDUCTOR..... Mr ARTHUR SULLIVAN.
ADMISSION—ONE SHILLING.
Gates Open at .30. Concert at 7.
Tickets from Messrs SWAN & PENTLAND, 49 Buchanan Street and 331 Sauchiehall Street.

Fig. 17: Advertisement for the first of three Promenade Concerts conducted by Sullivan during his second Glasgow season in 1876.

Sullivan and the orchestra travelled further north to Dundee. At a concert on 24 November that included both Beethoven's *Fifth Symphony* and Sullivan's own *Overture di Ballo*, the critic of the *Dundee Courier* having first remarked on the interesting programme, continued:

Its performance was almost without exception faultless and beyond criticism so far as our musical consciousness goes, and for this result we are largely indebted to the wide culture and perfect mastery of Mr. Sullivan. His conducting in its quiet, unobtrusive grace, is a perfect study, and served to call into play the best efforts of the fine body of players under his baton. It was easily seen that each and all of them were on their mettle, and doing everything they knew, and all in strict subordination to the general effect. Under these circumstances criticism must succumb to eulogy.⁹⁵

Being together in alien surroundings for two months, embracing nineteen concerts, a punishing schedule of rehearsals and travelling in the winter months across lowland Scotland, must have engendered a real *esprit de corps* between conductor and players. Sullivan's letters to his mother have an infectious enthusiasm and pride in what

⁹⁴ *Glasgow Herald, Saturday Popular Promenade Concerts, 27 Nov. 1876, p. 4.*

⁹⁵ *Dundee Courier, Orchestral Concert: Kinnaird Hall, 25 Nov. 1876, np.*

they were achieving as well as a disarming surprise when informed of the regard in which he was held by his players:

Shepherd [orchestral manager] has been here this morning to have a chat. He says the band think I am the best conductor living. We had *such* a performance on Tuesday. It was really superb, and my compositions came in for more than their share of the applause...At Greenock on Wednesday, the same programme went also wonderfully well.⁹⁶

The personal relationship that Sullivan developed with his players would again be resonated as, from 1880, he built successive orchestras at Leeds.

⁹⁶ Sullivan to Mary Sullivan, 17 Dec. 1876. Morgan Library, ID: 75873.



Fig. 18: Advertising the attractions of the Royal Aquarium Westminster, 1876. The tiny figure conducting may be Sullivan.⁹⁷



Fig. 19: Sullivan conducts and John Sims Reeves sings at the opening of the Royal Westminster Aquarium, 24 January 1876.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ British Library Prints.

⁹⁸ *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 29 Jan 1876, p. 1.

TWO-DAY.—Mr. **ARTHUR SULLIVAN** will CONDUCT, at the VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL CONCERT, at 4.0 o'clock. Vocalist: Madame Sophie Lowe; Pianoforte, Mr. A. Hartvigson.

PROGRAMME.

Symphony, Military	} Haydn.
Introduction, Adagio	
Allegro, Marcia Allegretto	
Minuetto and Trio	
Allegro, Vivace	} Boieldieu.
Song, "Lorsque mon Maître" (Jean de Paris)	
Concerto, Pianoforte, G minor	Beethoven.
Mr. A. Hartvigson.	
Song, "As when the Dove" (Acis and Galatea)	Handel.
Concert Overture (First Time of Performance)	C. Ould.
Song, "A Die Junge Nonne"	Schubert.
B. Widmung.	
Garotte, "Mignon"	Thomas.
Overture "Ray B'as"	Mendelssohn.
ROYAL AQUARIUM SUMMER and WINTER GARDEN.—	
Admission, THIS DAY (Thursday), HALF-A-CROWN.	

TWO-NIGHT.—Madame CAVE ASHTON will SING at the VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL CONCERT, at 8.0.

PROGRAMME—PART I.

Overture, "Fidello"	Beethoven.
Waltz, "Dream on the Ocean"	Gungl.
Song, "I Dreamt that I Dwelt"	Balfe.
Madame Cave Ashton.	
Solo Piccolo, "Carnivale de Venice"	Damarà.
Mons. Damarà.	
Song, "The Bird that Came in Spring"	Benedict.
Madame Cave Ashton.	
Overture, "Le Cheval de Bronze"	Auber.
PART II.	
Overture, "Giralda"	Thomas.
Canzonetta Duet, "A Il Remprovero"	Rossini.
B. J. Mannari.	
Song, "The Distant Land"	Sullivan.
Quadrille, "Trial by Jury"	D'Albert.
(Solos as before).	
Overture, "La Sirene"	Auber.
Conductor, Mr. GEORGE MOUNT.	
ROYAL AQUARIUM SUMMER and WINTER GARDEN.—	
Admission TO-DAY (Thursday), HALF-A-CROWN.	

Fig. 20: Royal Aquarium, 24 February 1876. The advertisement emphasises Sullivan's status as conductor at these concerts.⁹⁹

Sandwiched between his two Glasgow concert series, Sullivan became Musical Director of the Royal Westminster Aquarium. The notion seems to have been that the Royal Aquarium should provide, in central London, many of the attractions (with the addition of fish) of Crystal Palace and the recently opened Alexandra Palace – both had permanent orchestras under August Manns and Henry Weist Hill. It must have seemed an attractive prospect, conducting his own orchestra, based in the heart of the capital. The enterprise began positively enough, (Figs. 18 and 19) but Sullivan conducted his final concert at the Aquarium on 4 May, less than four months after the opening and had resigned his position as Musical Director by the beginning of June.

Exactly why he withdrew is not clear. Jacobs suggests that it conflicted with his new role as Principal of the National Training School. Whatever was at the root of his decision, Sullivan's time at the Royal Aquarium had done nothing for his reputation: by being associated with an institution which pandered to popular taste, Sullivan seemed to be lowering himself – and most of the critics had stayed away, as Mary Sullivan's desperate plea to J.W. Davison of the *Times* discloses:

⁹⁹ *Standard*, 24 Feb. 1876, p. 1.

I should like to write you a line about the Aquarium – but please do not let Arthur know that I have done so – I went today hoping to see *you* there if not others but was much disappointed. [...] as *you* stand – like the *Times*...at the head of all things – come and hear the good band *next Thursday* and persuade all you know to do the same.¹⁰⁰

Although Davison reviewed concerts at Covent Garden, Her Majesty's and elsewhere, he did not, despite Mary Sullivan's intervention on her son's behalf, visit the Royal Aquarium. Perhaps, he had his own credibility in attending the venue to consider.¹⁰¹

The critic of the *Examiner*, one of the few who did attend the Aquarium concerts, underlined the whole problem:

The weekly concerts...have...afforded little opportunity for critical comment. It is true that the list of works performed...comprises many important orchestral compositions, but these are generally mixed up with other works of such doubtful standing as to somewhat lower the artistic character of the concerts themselves. We are far from blaming Mr. Sullivan for this state of things. The Aquarium is a matter of private speculation founded with a view to gain, and under such pressure, we quite appreciate the difficulty of strictly preserving the distinction between the popular and the vulgar.¹⁰²

Why Sullivan's appointment as Musical Director and conductor of the Gatti Brother's Promenade Concert series at Covent Garden during the summer of 1878 did not incur the same kind of critical opprobrium begs the question as to whether the venue, in the case of the Royal Aquarium, was the problem. An establishment that in addition to fish, held flower shows as well as ballad concerts, pantomimes, a Zulu extravaganza, trained seals and a human cannonball, clearly lacked credibility as a concert

¹⁰⁰ Mary Sullivan to J.W. Davison, 30 March 1876, Morgan Library, ID: 109599

¹⁰¹ A search of the *Times Digital Archive* accessed 17. 07. 2017, between 1 January and 31 May 1876, reveals that on no occasion did Davison attend an event at the Royal Aquarium.

¹⁰² *The Examiner, Concert at the Royal Aquarium*, April 1, 1876, p. 383.

venue.¹⁰³ Sullivan was himself to concede this point as he testified on behalf of a musician in dispute with the Aquarium's management:

Mr. Sullivan said...that in engaging the band he had in view the selection of the very best talent, and many members gave up good positions in the idea that the Aquarium engagement would be a permanent one. It would be losing caste in the profession for a musician to be known to have played at a skating rink.¹⁰⁴

It appears that Sullivan and the players that he had recruited had been misled from the outset regarding the nature of the venue – or that as a commercial project, the nature of their remit changed as the necessity of bringing the public through the Aquarium's doors evolved. However, the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden came with the all prestige associated with a premier European opera house, even if Agostino and Stefano Gatti, the impresarios for the Promenade seasons, were London's leading ice cream manufacturers and restaurateurs. What is curious, is that one of Sullivan's most celebrated successes has been virtually overlooked by his most recent biographers.¹⁰⁵

Some eyebrows had been raised among the London-centric critics at the Gatti Brother's wisdom in appointing the apparently inexperienced Sullivan to replace Luigi Arditi. The Italian had come with all the gravitas associated with his career in European, as well as London opera houses – but by now, Sullivan's presence was a guarantee at the box office. Sullivan, in return, received an exposure as a musical director and a conductor that he had not previously encountered, which must have been the principal attraction to him. By this stage in his career, as with his later association

¹⁰³ All advertised during 1876.

¹⁰⁴ *The Era, Aquarium Flautist's Dispute*, 21 Jan. 1877. Sullivan was called as witness in the case of Keppel vs. Royal Aquarium Co., 12 Jan. 1877, Westminster County Court.

¹⁰⁵ Jacobs, pp. 125-126, references the Covent Garden Promenade Concerts in the context of whether Hamilton Clarke's *HMS Pinafore* arrangement could possibly have saved the opera then running at the Opera Comique, by attracting audiences to the theatre during a particularly hot summer. There is no further comment. Ainger also comments on the selections from *The Sorcerer* and *HMS Pinafore*, p. 162. Young makes the same point, p. 112.

with Leeds, the challenge of presenting the concert series and the pleasure in conducting the 82-piece orchestra, together with one of the top regimental bands in the broadest of repertoire, must have been the motivational factors. Certainly, the Gattis were getting him cheap, paying him £50:00 per week (cv £4,454:00) or £8 3s 6d (cv £712.60) per concert when the going rate per concert as paid by Leeds in 1880, was £25:00 (cv £2,284:00).¹⁰⁶ However, with royalties from his song output, *Trial by Jury*, *The Sorcerer*, and *HMS Pinafore*, Sullivan was now wealthy enough to spend his time how he chose.

THEATRE ROYAL
COVENT GARDEN
GRAND INSTRUMENTAL AND VOCAL
PROMENADE CONCERTS
Under the Direction of Messrs. A. & S. GATTI.
Programme for this Evening, Monday, September 9th, 1878.

Vocalists.
Madame ROSE HERSEE
Madame ANTOINETTE STERLING
Signor BROCOLINI

Pianoforte - Mme. MONTIGNY-REMAURY
Violin - M. PAUL VIARDOT
Cornet-a-Pistons - Mr. HOWARD REYNOLDS

BAND OF EIGHTY-TWO PERFORMERS
Selected from the Bands of the Royal Italian Opera, Covent Garden; Her Majesty's Opera; the Philharmonic Society, &c.

The BAND of the COLDSTREAM GUARDS
(Under the Direction of Mr. FRED GODFREY)

Leader, Mr. BURNETT. Accompanists, M. MARLOIS and Mr. BARRETT.
Conductor, Mr. ARTHUR SULLIVAN
Assistant Conductor, Mr. ALFRED CELLIER.

PART I.

OVERTURE "La Gazza Ladra" Rossini

ARIA "O luce di quest' anima" (Linda) Donizetti
Madame ROSE HERSEE.

SONG "Honour and Arms" (Samson) Handel
Signor BROCOLINI.

SOLO-Pianoforte "Concerto in G Minor" Mendelssohn
Madame MONTIGNY-REMAURY.

SONG "The Monk and the Crusaders" Schubert
Madame ANTOINETTE STERLING.

An aged monk, within his cell,
Sees through the lattice grey
Brave warrior knights in arms of bright,
Who ride along the way.
They sing together holy hymns
In tones of fervent love;
The banner of the cross proclaims
They fight for One above.

The shore is reached, they see their ship
Straightway embark thereon;
The vessel, speeding on its path,
Soon seems a snow-white swan.

The monk, still at his easement grey,
Docks ponder long and well—
"I fear, like ye, a pilgrim leave,
Alone here in my cell!"
"The way of Life, through stormy seas
And passing desert lands—
This joy, must be a stern crusade
To gain the Promised Land."

SYMPHONY No. 6 (Pastorale) Beethoven
(COMPLETE WORK.)

ALLEGRO MA NON TROPPO.
The Landscape.
See the country far distant around,
One lone tall tree, one white empyræd above;
Of whistling violences, where the raptur'd eye
Hurries from joy to joy,
With fresh the fields, the softening air is calm,
Echo the mountains round, the forest smiles,
And every wine and every heart is joy.

ALLEGRO.
The Village Dance.
Rustic mirth goes round,
The notes
Of native music the respondent dance;
Now swarms the village o'er the joyful band,
While, heard from dale to dale, resounds the voice
Of happy labour, love, and social glee.

ANDANTE MOLTO MOTO.
The River.
And, passive, listens to the various voice
Of rural peace: the herds, the flocks, the birds,
The hollow whirring leaves, the pliant of willow;
All that pleasing is to living ear
Was there condensed in one harmony,
Birds, voices, instruments, winds, waters, all agree,
Their notes unite the voice attempt'd sweet;
The joyous birds, chorused in cheerful shade,
To th' instruments divine respondence sweet;
The silver-sounding instruments did meet
With the hoarse murmur of the water's fall;
The water's fall with difference discreet,
Now soft, now loud, into the wind did call,
The gentle warbling wind low answered to all.

ALLEGRO.
The Storm.
'Tis listening fear and dumb amazement all,
At first heard solemn o'er the verge of heaven,
The tempest grows; the shattered clouds
Thunderous rove, and o'er the world expands
A power acute.

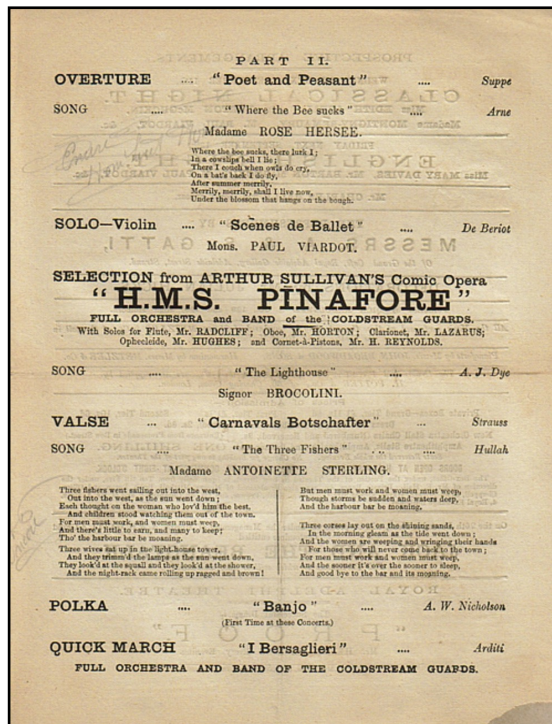
ALLEGRETTO.
The Shepherd's Song.
Throughout the lighted firmament,
A brighter lustre and a clearer calm
Diffusive tremble; and, as if in sign
Of danger past, a glittering note of joy
Inveighs the fields, and joyful Nature smiles.
Thomson's "Seasons."

AN INTERVAL OF TEN MINUTES.

Fig 21: Programme for Monday, 9 Sept. 1878, a Beethoven Night, gives a notion of the extensive nature of Sullivan's programming. *HMS Pinafore*, then running at the Opera Comique, receives useful exposure.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Derek B. Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois: Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour*, 2nd ed. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2001), p. 131. Grieg in 1889, was offered 'only' ten guineas to conduct a concert of his music in Birmingham, Lionel Carley, *Grieg in England*, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006) p. 135.

¹⁰⁷ From the collection of John Sands.



What he had learned in working with Jules Rivière at the beginning of the decade and during his two Glasgow seasons was now put into practice at Covent Garden – it must have been an epic undertaking, since he had insisted on responsibility for the engagement of the orchestra, the soloists and, above all, for the programmes of the fifty concerts. Concerts were again themed: Wednesdays were designated Classical Nights, while Fridays were English/Ballad nights. Most surprising of all, for what was supposed to be light, undemanding entertainment for summer evenings, were Monday nights. For the course of the eight weeks that the Gattis had leased the theatre, Sullivan had programmed a Beethoven symphony: they would be performed chronologically (Fig. 21). By the end of an extraordinarily successful season, and with the addition of an unscheduled ninth Monday, (30 September), and a performance of the *Choral Symphony*, Sullivan had conducted the entire cycle. It was the first time a complete Beethoven cycle had been played in London and he had become the first British conductor to direct one.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ August Manns had conducted a cycle at Crystal Palace in 1867, Hans Richter conducted a cycle during his first series of concerts in 1880.



Fig. 21: Arthur Sullivan, ca. 1878. Sullivan by 1878 had obtained superstar status and was himself a box office attraction.

Sullivan's Covent Garden Promenade Concerts were unprecedentedly popular. There was no sense of hyperbole when he wrote to his mother; he was stating fact: 'The concerts are wonderfully successful – they have never been like it before.'¹⁰⁹ Attendance numbers from the August Bank Holiday weekend, when the concerts began, were remarkable. On Saturday, 17 August, there was an audience of over 5,000. *Judy* commented: 'We went to the Promenade Concerts at Covent Garden and stood in the crush as long as flesh and blood could stand it.'¹¹⁰ Sullivan himself, as the most popular of British musicians, was central to the appeal, such by now, was his celebrity status. Indeed, in a somewhat laboured joke, Sullivan's attractiveness to his female audience caught the attention of *Fun*:

Considering the liberal appreciation afforded by the fair sex to the efforts in Covent Garden of Mr Arthur Sullivan, the Pro–men–ade Concerts should also be described as Pro–women–ade.¹¹¹

The critics from the daily and weekly press, who had ignored Sullivan's efforts at the Royal Aquarium, were in regular attendance at Covent Garden. J.W. Davison of the

¹⁰⁹ Sullivan to Mary Sullivan, n.d. 'Thursday' (8 Sept. 1878?) Morgan Library ID: 75875.

¹¹⁰ *Judy*, 7 Aug 1878, p.60.

¹¹¹ *Fun* 2 Oct. 1878, p. 142.

Times led the way with weekly, in-depth analysis of performances and performers. Joseph Bennett of the *Daily Telegraph*, although deploring the populist direction that Sullivan's career appeared to be taking, was also a regular commentator.¹¹² The musical press was also positive – *The Orchestra* giving the concerts full page reviews, as did the *Musical World*, noting that 'Mr. Arthur Sullivan is making these far more noticeable from a strictly musical point of view than they have ever been is unquestionable.'¹¹³



Fig.23: This sheet music gives a notion of the layout of both venue and orchestra when Promenade Concerts were performed at Covent Garden. The conductor, centre, is likely to be Luigi Arditi, Sullivan's predecessor. Sullivan changed the orchestra's layout and abandoned the steep banking shown in the illustration.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Bennett produced a long summary of the concerts for the *Daily Telegraph*, 18 Sept. 1878.

¹¹³ *Musical World*, *Covent Garden Promenade Concerts*, 24 Aug. 1878, p. 541.

¹¹⁴ Sheet music cover by permission of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Sullivan's arrangement of the orchestra resembled the more familiar concert layout contrasted with his predecessor's showier effects, and perhaps gave an insight into the way in which he saw his role as conductor:

Mr. Sullivan was cheered when he made his appearance in the orchestra...instead of the usual position in the centre of the orchestra, he took his seat on the front of the platform with his back to the audience, and thus commanded a full view of the forces under his command. In making this judicious alteration, and also his unobtrusive but earnest and masterly mode of conducting, Mr. Sullivan showed that he rightly regarded the post of conductor as one in which conscientious work is of more importance than self-display. To hear the symphonies of Beethoven performed under the sympathetic direction of this gifted musician...will be a powerful attraction to lovers of music.¹¹⁵

By 30 September and the unscheduled *Choral Symphony*, performed, as it was advertised 'by request.' (Fig.24) Sullivan had conducted at all 50 concerts. The season had been hugely successful artistically and financially: there was a real sense of regret in the press as the concerts ended (Fig. 25).



Fig. 24: The Gatti brothers presented Beethoven's *Choral Symphony* in addition to the regular season at Covent Garden, and for which, as a special performance, prices were inflated.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ *Globe, Covent Garden Promenade Concerts*, 5 Aug. 1878, p. 4.

¹¹⁶ *Times*, 24 Sept. 1898, p. 6.



Fig 25: Sullivan's direction of the 1878 Covent Garden Promenade Concerts comes to an end.¹¹⁷

The caption reads: 'End of the Promenade Concerts. Arthur Sullivan resigns the baton.'

In March 1879, Sullivan was announced as again having been engaged by the Gattis. However, his health, which had been troubling him with varying degrees of seriousness since at least 1877, collapsed following a run of conducting engagements during June. Initially, Sullivan attempted to pass off how severe his illness was. His physician, Sir Henry Thompson, considered surgery but in attempting to avoid such a drastic intervention, ordered him to cease work immediately and take the cure at Evian.¹¹⁸ Travelling to Paris, en route he was again taken seriously ill and underwent major surgery. Findon maintained that during the summer of 1879, Sullivan had come close to death.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 5 Oct. 1878, p. 60.

¹¹⁸ Charles Willeby, *Masters of English Music*. (London: James R. Osgood, 1896) p.49. In this account, which was based on a series of interviews with Sullivan, he mentioned that he was ill in Paris for three weeks during that summer.

¹¹⁹ B.W. Findon, *Sir Arthur Sullivan, His Life and Music* (London: James Nisbet, 1904 Dec. ed.) p. 60 and p. 201. Contemporary press comments during the summer of 1879 and after Sullivan's return to conduct at Covent Garden, indicate seriousness of his illness. Some initially believed he was unlikely to survive it, or that he would conduct any of that season's concerts.

THEATRE ROYAL COVENT GARDEN.
 Messrs. A. and S. GATTI have the honour to announce that their annual series of **PROMENADE CONCERTS** will commence at the above establishment on **SATURDAY NEXT, August 9th.** Conductor, Mr. **ARTHUR SULLIVAN**, assisted by Mr. Alfred Cellier. Leader, Mr. A. Burnet.—Box Office open daily, from 10 to 5.

THEATRE ROYAL, COVENT-GARDEN.
PROMENADE CONCERTS.
 Under the direction of Messrs. A. and S. Gatti.
TONIGHT. Doors open at 7.30, commence at 8.0.
 Musical Director, Mr. Arthur Sullivan. Conductor, Mr. Alfred Cellier.
 Madame Patey, Miss Annie Marriot, Mr. Barton M. Guckia, Madame Montigny-Bensbury, Mr. Howard Reynolds, &c.
 Orchestra of 95 performers—leader, Mr. A. Burnet. Band of the Coldstream Guards.
 Grand selection from "Carmen," arranged expressly for these Concerts by Mr. Alfred Cellier.
 Special Notice—During the temporary and unavoidable absence of Mr. Arthur Sullivan, Mr. Alfred Cellier will undertake the entire duties of Conductor.
 Private boxes, from 10s. 6d. to £4 4s.; dress circle, 2s. 6d.; stalls, 1s.; promenade, 1s. Box-office open daily from ten till five, under the direction of Mr. E. Hall.

MESSRS. A. and S. GATTI have great pleasure in announcing that Mr. **ARTHUR SULLIVAN**, having completely recovered from his late illness, will make his **FIRST APPEARANCE** on **MONDAY NEXT**, and will conduct Beethoven's Symphony in C minor.—**PROMENADE CONCERTS.**
PROMENADE CONCERTS.—BEETHOVEN'S SYMPHONY in C Minor (No. 5): Mrs. Osgood, Madame Mary Cummings, and Mdlle. Beumer, Mr. F. Boyle, and Madame Essipoff. First appearance this season of Mr. Arthur Sullivan.
 Private Boxes from 10s. 6d. to 4l. 4s.; dress circle, 2s. 6d.; stalls, 2s. **PROMENADE, ONE SHILLING.**
BOX-OFFICE OPEN DAILY from 10.0 to 5.0, under the direction of Mr. E. HALL.

Fig 26: These three advertisements from the *Standard*, 6 Aug., 11 Aug. and 6 Sept. 1879, chart Sullivan's ill health from the initial assumption that he would be able to carry out his engagement at the Covent Garden Promenade Concerts through to his recovery. They also give a notion how important his presence was as an attraction for promoters and audiences alike.

Having missed 24 of the scheduled 48 Promenade Concerts, Sullivan returned to a hero's welcome when he appeared at his desk at Covent Garden on Monday, 8 September:

The concert given last night at Covent Garden derived special interest from the return of Mr. Arthur Sullivan [...] His appearance in the orchestra was the signal for rounds of enthusiastic applause repeated again and again and only ceasing when, after repeated bowing, he resolutely turned his back on his admirers and set to work.¹²⁰

The highlight of his reappearance was a performance of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, reminding promenaders of what they had been missing:

It was in the C Minor Symphony of Beethoven...that his great ability as an orchestral conductor was fully manifested [...] the magnificent symphony was admirably played,

¹²⁰ *Globe, Covent Garden Concerts*, 6 Sept. 1879, p. 6.

and every member of the band seemed to be swayed and controlled by the sympathetic influence of the gifted conductor.¹²¹

With a visit to the USA booked for October that was to extend into the spring of 1880, the demands of writing a new work with W.S. Gilbert, a sacred commission for the 1880 Leeds Festival, as well as the duties that his role as Principal of the National Training School imposed, Sullivan declined a further invitation to return to Covent Garden – the baton passed to Frederic Cowen for the 1880 season.¹²² However, it is an arresting point that, until the establishment of the Queen's Hall Promenade Concerts under Henry Wood in 1895, Sullivan's two seasons were the benchmarks by which subsequent Promenade Concerts were judged. When therefore, in the winter of 1880, Sullivan was elected by the Leeds Festival Committee and invited to become General Conductor of the 1880 Triennial Festival, he had already forged a formidable reputation as one of Britain's foremost and most versatile conductors.

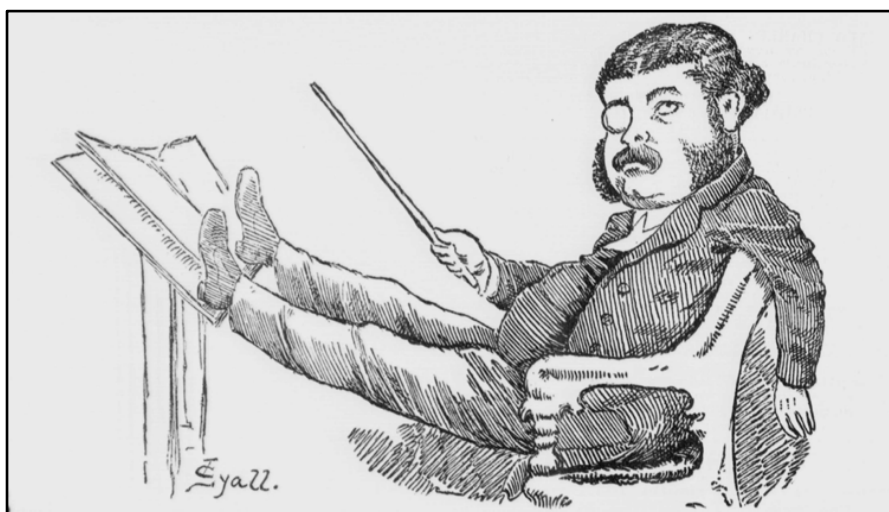


Fig. 26: Arthur Sullivan conducts. Charles Lyall's 1879 cartoon of Sullivan became synonymous with his conducting style and furthered the myth of lackadaisical approach to conducting.¹²³

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² John Stainer deputised for Sullivan during his absence in the USA.

¹²³ *Musical World: Never too Late*, 14 June 1879, p. 370. The context of the article was the award to Sullivan of an honorary doctorate at the University of Oxford and shortly after he had been announced as conductor of the 1879 Promenade Concerts.

2. The Leeds Connection.

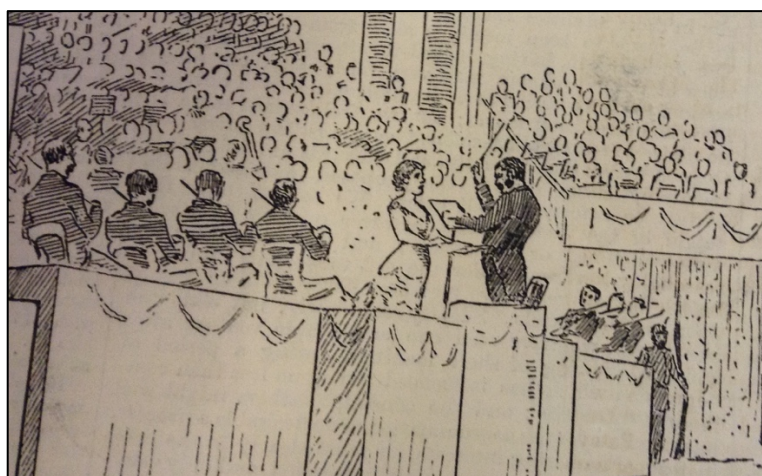
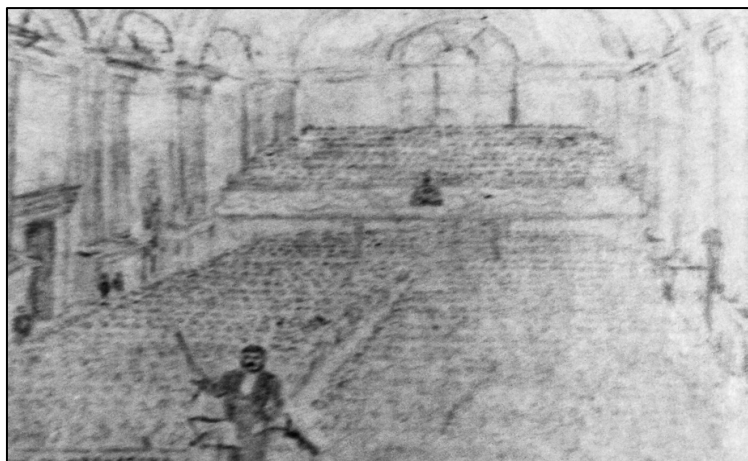


Fig: 28. John Dinsdale's sketches of Sullivan conducting at the 1880 Leeds Festival.¹²⁴

On 8 January 1880, Frederick Spark, on behalf of the Leeds Festival Executive Committee, sent Sullivan, who was then in New York, the following telegram: 'Will you accept conductorship of Leeds Festival next autumn? Committee await reply.' Spark, the Festival's Hon. Secretary, and from 1877, its principal powerbroker, had, during December 1879, effectively stage-managed Sullivan's election.¹²⁵ He expressed his delight at the new direction that the Festival was taking:

¹²⁴ Dinsdale prepared this sequence of drawings for the *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 23 Oct. 1880.

¹²⁵ Spark describes the process whereby Sullivan's election had been secured: Frederick Spark and Joseph Bennet, *History of the Leeds Musical Festivals, 1858-1889* (Leeds: Fred. R. Spark and Son, 1892), pp. 155-168.

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

We might have had a Russian – a French, or Turk, or Prussian

Or else I-ta-li-an.

But in spite of all temptations to go to other nations

'We select an *Englishman*!' ¹²⁶

It is clear from these comments that Spark had seen Sullivan in rehearsal and performance and postulates a link to the Bradford *The Light of the World* concert in 1875 – an event which Spark, both as a journalist and an enthusiastic concert-goer was unlikely to have missed.

Amid the euphoria surrounding Sullivan's election to the Leeds Triennial Musical Festival's General Conductorship, two points, relevant to the events of 1898 and beyond, emerge. First, the Leeds Committee in electing Sullivan could not have been unaware of questions relating to his health. At the beginning of 1878, Spark contacted Sullivan with the intention of commissioning a work for the 1880 Festival. In a letter dated 12 March 1878, Sullivan had responded frankly:

When I received your first letter at Nice, I was so ill and worn out that I at once wrote declining the offer of the Leeds Festival. But on consideration I thought it wise to keep it back a short time in case I might get better and stronger.

¹²⁶ Spark and Bennett, p. 172. The original was published Spark's newspaper, the *Leeds Express*.

I was constantly ill at Nice, consequently the letter was never sent [...] I am much better now and feel more disposed to entertain the proposal that the committee have done me the honour to make me.¹²⁷

Sullivan's serious illness during the summer of 1879 had received major press coverage, so the Executive Committee were well-aware when Sullivan was appointed, that his health was by no means robust, therefore it does raise the issue as to why, in the late summer of 1899 and after Sullivan had delivered the most successful of all the nineteenth-century Leeds Festivals, it suddenly became contentious.

The second question that arises is how far Sullivan was responsible for the Festival's programming. Recent historiography suggests that Sullivan had control and that following his resignation, the Festival was 'brought up to date' with the arrival of Stanford, who encouraged the programming of works by contemporary English composers, most specifically, those associated with his regime at the Royal College of Music as well as expanding the repertoire to embrace contemporary European composers.¹²⁸ Reference to coeval evidence suggests that while Sullivan's opinion was considered by the Executive Committee, the terms and conditions that he accepted and that Spark outlined gave relatively little room for manoeuvre: the Committee retained programming power:

The committee will...gladly avail themselves of your advice; but as they are responsible to the public for the programme, they desire to retain the power of selecting the chief works, always asking and gladly receiving any suggestion from the conductor.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Sullivan to Spark, 12 March 1878, quoted in Spark and Bennett, p. 146.

¹²⁸ Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Musical Festival in England, 1784-1914* (Ashgate: Farnham, 2011) pp. 145-146.

¹²⁹ Spark to Sullivan, 14 Feb. 1880, quoted in Spark and Bennett, pp. 171-172. Spark also made clear in the same letter, that the Committee retained the right to engage soloists, which was itself to become on several occasions, a heated issue.

Spark continued, leaving no doubt that Sir Michael Costa's refusal to entertain works that the Committee wished performed had led directly to the change in conductor for 1880, and by implication, what they wanted to hear:

Sir Michael Costa threw many obstacles in the way of certain works which the committee desired to produce, so that a feeling sprung up in favour of a change in conductors. For instance, Beethoven's *Choral Symphony* was strongly objected to by Sir Michael at the last Festival and it was, in consequence, omitted from our programme. Bach's works were also opposed by Sir Michael, though we did succeed in at last in getting the *Magnificat* done.¹³⁰

For the 1880 Festival, Sullivan was informed of the draft programme and the soloists that had already been booked even before he accepted the conductorship.¹³¹ The Executive Committee continued to retain this control throughout Sullivan's era and although he was consulted regarding the programme, he was frequently over-ruled by men who saw themselves as the ultimate arbiters – they held the purse-strings and irrespective of Sullivan's prestige; he, ultimately, was their employee. It appears to have been a position that, for the most part, Sullivan accepted. A sequence of letters from the spring of 1892 to William Hannam, a member of the Executive who was also Chairman of the Programme Committee, outlines Sullivan's role as a consultant who could advise, but not initiate:

I have been considering the programme as sent to me, and honestly speaking do not like it. I think it is very dull and have written my opinion to Spark. I have promised to send him a sketch programme of my own next week and will write to you about it as I can't write or think anymore today.¹³²

Five days later, Sullivan must have heard again from Hannam, who had offered further suggestions, including one of his own compositions, a cantata based on Longfellow's play, *The Spanish Student*:

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Spark to Sullivan, 10 Jan 1880, Spark and Bennett, pp. 167-168.

¹³² Sullivan to Hannam, 24 Feb. 1892. Morgan Library: ID: MFC S949.H243 (3).

I have just sent off *my* programme to Spark...which of course you will see and discuss as you are of the Programme Committee, I should like you distinctly to understand that my notes are suggestions only, and that I hope the Committee will freely discuss and knock them about as much as they like. The *Meistersinger* is a bit hackneyed, I think, and I wish we could get something which will come out well in the concert room. Think it over. The *Carnaval Romain* overture is a great favourite of mine and I am glad you suggested it. If we do the *Italian Symphony* there will be too much Mendelssohn and no Beethoven. *Manfred* overture should never be done without the rest of the music – it is too gloomy to stand alone. You will see I have followed all your suggestions otherwise. [...] I have been reading over your MS of *The Spanish Student* ...very carefully. It would not do for the Concert room – partly because there is so very little chorus in it, and also because there is much that must be *seen* and cannot be described in music – e.g. The scene where the Archbishop watches Preciosa dance the Cachucha. I think it might be arranged to come out well on stage.¹³³

Further correspondence and exchange of ideas must have taken place before Sullivan's next extant reply was written. Since the Chorus, for which the Leeds Festivals were renowned, had received poor reviews in 1889 and had been strengthened for the 1892 Festival by extending the catchment area for recruitment beyond Leeds, Sullivan, as consultant expert, reminded Hannam where critical focus was likely to be, as well as offering his opinion on the works now suggested:

One line to ask – don't you think that in putting in so much orchestral music, and cutting out broad choral works like *Alexander's Feast* and *Lauda Sion* you are doing that which I know you are anxious to avoid – viz: weakening the programme? This Festival will be a critical one because the *Chorus* will be the element by which it will be judged; and my anxiety is to put in broad choral works. I am sorry to say I cannot agree with you about Brahms' Symphony in F.

¹³³ Sullivan to Hannam, 1 March 1892, Morgan Library, ID: MFC S949.H243(3).

There are points in it (which can be brought out by entirely disregarding the marks of expression in the score) but it is in my opinion entirely lacking in spontaneity, and full of clever scholastic padding.¹³⁴

I love the little B flat of Schumann but I believe everyone would prefer to listen to the *Italian*, if it were put to the vote. However, the Committee will weigh these matters and it is for them to decide.

But I do sincerely hope that the Chorus and Choral works will not be sacrificed to the works of some modern composers who have obliterated all colour by the quantity of paint they use!¹³⁵

How far Sullivan's opinion was accepted may be judged by the programme which emerged for that October's Festival.¹³⁶

PROGRAMME: LEEDS TRIENNIAL MUSICAL FESTIVAL: 1892		
WEDS. 5 OCT.	MORNING	ELIJAH part 1
	AFTERNOON	ELIJAH part 2
	EVENING	PART 1: PILGRIMAGE OF THE ROSE: SCHUMANN* PART 2: SYMPHONY IN F (No.8) BEETHOVEN
THURS. 6 OCT.	MORNING	MOZART: REQUIEM MASS
	AFTERNOON	SYMPHONY: FREDERIC CLIFFE 114 TH PSALM: WHEN ISRAEL OUT OF EGYPT CAME MENDELSSOHN
	EVENING	PART 1: SELECTION FROM <i>DIE MEISTERSINGER</i> : WAGNER PART 2: BALLAD FOR ORCHESTRA: <i>LA BELLE DAME SANS MERCI</i> : A.C. MACKENZIE SCENA: MEYERBEER: <i>ETOILE DU NORD</i> ARIA: <i>THE NIGHT IS CALM</i> : SULLIVAN OVERTURE: <i>OBBERON</i> WEBER

¹³⁴ Sullivan had conducted Brahms *Symphony in F #3* at a Philharmonic Society Concert, St. James's Hall, 26 Feb. 1885.

¹³⁵ Sullivan to Hannam, 15 March 1892, Morgan Library, ID: MFC S949.H243(4).

¹³⁶ Appendix 1, p. 353.

FRI. 7 OCT.	MORNING	MASS IN B MINOR: BACH: PART 1
	AFTERNOON	MASS IN B MINOR: PART 2
	EVENING	PART 1: CANTATA: <i>ARETHUSA</i> : ALAN GREY GOUNOD: DUET: <i>ROMEO ET JULIET</i> SYMPHONY IN B MINOR <i>UNFINISHED</i> (NO.8.): SCHUBERT PART2: <i>THE TEMPEST</i> : SELECTIONS: SULLIVAN <i>CAVALLERIA RUSTICANA</i> : ARIA: <i>VOI LO SAPETE</i> <i>SONG OF TRIUMPH</i> : BRAHMS 3 HUNGARIAN SONGS: arr. F. KORBAY OVERTURE: <i>RICHARD III</i> : EDWARD GERMAN
SAT. 8 OCT	MORNING	<i>THE SPECTRE'S BRIDE</i> : DVORAK
	AFTERNOON	<i>SUITE DE BALLETT</i> : ARTHUR GORING THOMAS SAINT SAENS: ARIA: <i>SAMSON ET DELILAH</i> : <i>MON COEUR...</i> <i>DE PROFUNDIS</i> : HUBERT PARRY BEETHOVEN: <i>HALLELUJAH CHORUS</i> : <i>MOUNT OF OLIVES</i>
	EVENING	PART 1: SELECTION: HANDEL PART 2: <i>LOBGESANG</i> : MENDELSSOHN

*Late replacement following the withdrawal of the originally scheduled cantata by Frederic Cowen, *The Waterlily*, because of a disagreement with the Committee over their choice of soloists.

TABLE 2: Programme for the 1892 Leeds Festival.

In his correspondence with aspiring composers such as this note to Ethel Smyth, who hoped, via his influence, to have their works presented at Leeds, Sullivan repeatedly made his position clear: 'I never offer an opinion as to the choice of works to be performed unless invited to do so by the Committee.'¹³⁷ His statement was economical with the truth and was doubtless designed to avoid being opportuned: as has been seen, he did offer his opinion and made suggestions as to the choice of works to be performed. However, he seems to have accepted that the Committee had a delicate balancing act to perform: to produce a programme that was both innovative and at the same time popular enough to produce a healthy profit for the charities that the

¹³⁷ Morgan Library, ID: LP/168-91.

Festival supported and as the Committee's servant, he conducted what he was asked to conduct.

Perhaps that was part of the attraction of being General Conductor. Early in June 1880, as he met the Executive Committee for the first time, while initially flattering them, he gave a statement of his motivation which must have remained constant throughout the seven Festivals that he conducted, given that by this point in his career, the Leeds fee would have been largely irrelevant:

[The Executive Committee] had conferred on him the greatest honour almost that could be held by any man. He had undertaken the task rather from a love of art than any other motive. It would be his endeavour to make the Festival a complete success in a musical point of view.¹³⁸

Sullivan must have found himself preparing works that were unfamiliar, such as Sphor's *Last Judgement*, (1880) Raff's *Weltsend*, Gade's cantata *The Crusaders* (both 1883) or those that he was unlikely to conduct in any other context: Berlioz's *Damnation of Faust*, the opening work of the 1889 Festival, Mozart's rarely presented Requiem which began the 1892 Festival, when his interpretation was regarded as outstanding. He conducted Wagner operas, either complete: *Die Fliegende Hollander*, (1895) or as substantial extracts: *Tannhäuser* (1889) and *Die Meistersinger* (1892) and Mozart's *Idomeneo*, when in 1886, Sullivan did succeed in influencing the Committee's choice. They had determined on Mozart's *Jupiter Symphony*, which Sullivan regarded as impractical, given the scale of the Festival orchestra. In 1886, with Mozart regarded as hopelessly dated and unfashionable, *Idomeneo* was an imaginative proposal from a man widely regarded as conservative in his musical outlook. In 1886, he also prepared his own edition of Bach's B Minor Mass, insisting that it should be played uncut, as well as providing both the period instruments and the musicians that could play them, for an historically informed and innovative performance that was one of the highlights of a Festival that also saw the premieres of his cantata *The*

¹³⁸ *Spark and Bennett*, p.189. For a discussion of Sullivan's earnings, see: A. Stanyon Ley, *Sir Arthur Sullivan Society Magazine, But Sullivan Must Live*, #95, Winter 2017/18.

Golden Legend, Dvořák's oratorio *St. Ludmila*, Stanford's *The Revenge* and Mackenzie's *The Story of Sayid*, and which became popular enough to be programmed again in 1892 and 1898.

However, the 1880 Festival, the first with Sullivan as its General Conductor, proved extraordinarily successful, which was remarkable, since it had come close to cancellation, given the severe economic depression that Britain – and Leeds – was experiencing. Sullivan's first Leeds Festival made a profit of £2,371 as opposed to £800 in 1877 under Costa, while attendances rose from 13,450 in 1877 to 14,854.¹³⁹

It also marked a personal triumph for Sullivan as a composer with his ground-breaking 'Sacred Music Drama', *The Martyr of Antioch*. Although based upon the martyrdom of an early Christian saint, it broke the ties of didactic, scripture-based oratorio that had been such a feature of Victorian music festivals. Indeed, the Leeds Committee had expected an oratorio – the project that had been announced initially for the 1875 Norwich Festival – *David and Jonathan*. Writing to Festival Secretary Frederick Spark, Sullivan excused his way out of an exercise that must, by 1880, have been uncongenial to him:

I search the scriptures daily only to find that the best verses for filling up in the orthodox fashion have been used by oratorio writers before me. If I take these, there will always be comparisons drawn as to the setting. One will say, 'Oh, Handel's music to those words is much better,' or 'Mendelssohn's ideas are far superior to Sullivan's.'¹⁴⁰

Eventually, an announcement appeared in Spark's *Leeds Express*:

Mr. Arthur Sullivan was engaged in writing a new oratorio [...] The libretto was taken from the Bible story of David and Jonathan, and Mr. Sullivan has for some time...conceived the idea of setting music to this story. He has now abandoned the work and has

¹³⁹ Table 12, p. 170.

¹⁴⁰ Spark and Bennett, pp. 146-147.

decided to write an entirely new one. The reason was the consciousness, when endeavouring to complete 'David and Jonathan,' the words from the Sacred Book required a certain amount of conventional treatment, somewhat limiting the composer's ideas.¹⁴¹

The *Musical World* was not convinced by Sullivan's explanation:

The idea of words from the Sacred Book requiring a 'certain amount of conventional treatment...limiting the composer's ideas,' applied to the musician who wrote the *Prodigal Son* and *The Light of the World* is...moonshine. [...] The truth is clearly that Mr. Sullivan is too busy to devote time to the preparation of an oratorio; and so in lieu of a *piece de resistance*, he tenders us a side-dish in the shape of a cantata.¹⁴²

Since Sullivan did not return from the USA until 13 March and was then faced with rehearsals for the London premiere on 3 April of *The Pirates of Penzance*, time may well have been a constraint on whatever he composed: he needed to have the score ready for both copying, engraving and rehearsal by the end of August at the very latest.¹⁴³ However, his reappearance, for the first time since *The Light of the World* (1873), after so many announced false dawns, with a serious composition for the concert hall revitalised the hope that Sullivan's career had not been entirely subsumed by the theatre and comic opera. Ironically, in 1898, as he accepted a commission to write a new work for the Leeds Festival, so he revised its 1880 predecessor, *The Martyr of Antioch*, for a full-scale stage production by the Carl Rosa Opera Company.

Although Sullivan, by 1880, had a conducting career of more than twenty years behind him, it was his assumption of the Leeds baton that gave him credibility. He was, after all, replacing the doyen of conductors, the formidable Sir Michael Costa, who still wielded the baton at the Birmingham Festival, and the Handel Festival at Crystal

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² *Musical World*, 19 June 1880, p. 385. (Article by Joseph Bennett?)

¹⁴³ Sullivan, writing to Spark in the spring of 1898, stated that composition of *The Martyr of Antioch* had begun in June. *Musical Standard*, 28 Aug. 1880 p. 139, mentions that *The Martyr of Antioch* 'is just completed.' First rehearsal conducted by Sullivan with the Leeds chorus was on 1 Sept.

Palace and there were those to whom the Leeds Executive Committee's choice seemed irrational:

This year Sir Michael Costa [...] is replaced by Dr. Arthur Sullivan. It was...an understood thing that Mr. Sullivan would conduct his own work, but that he should usurp the place of Sir Michael Costa is a proceeding for which we do not see any good reason.¹⁴⁴

The most bizarre objection to Sullivan's appointment concerned his short stature – Sullivan was five feet six inches tall – and there were doubts as to whether it would be physically possible for him to direct the huge forces that combined in the vast space of Leeds Town Hall.¹⁴⁵

While Sullivan's conducting career in Glasgow was ignored and his direction of the Royal Aquarium as well as his two seasons at the Promenade Concerts were, according to *Musical Opinion*, perhaps best forgotten aberrations:

Mr. Arthur Sullivan is universally admired and respected as a composer, but it is doing him no injustice to say that his claims as a conductor have not hitherto met with appreciable recognition, perhaps for want of legitimate opportunities for testing them.¹⁴⁶

However, by the end of his first Leeds Festival, any prognostications that Sullivan was incapable of fulfilling the role of General Conductor or that the Leeds Committee had made an irrational choice in his appointment were overcome:

Mr. Arthur Sullivan, who has discharged his manifold and arduous duties in a manner beyond reproach...has in every sense shown himself equal to the responsibility of the post of conductor.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ *Bradford Observer*, 9 Oct. 1880, LMF/PO/1880 p. 92.

¹⁴⁵ *Glasgow News*, 14 Oct. 1880, LMF/PO/1880 p.108.

¹⁴⁶ *Musical Opinion*, Nov. 1880 pp 60-62.

¹⁴⁷ *Standard*, 18 Oct. 1880 p. 3

Even the critic of the *Bradford Observer* was gracious enough to accept that in pre-judging Sullivan he had been in error:

To Dr. Sullivan undoubtedly belongs a very large portion of the credit due to this successful undertaking. Not only did he surprise us by the ability which he showed in keeping his forces together and prompting them as each succeeding occasion required it, but he proved himself to be a most appreciative and well-read student of the great masters¹⁴⁸

The Era emphasised Sullivan's dual triumph as both conductor and composer:

The Leeds Festival has had the honour of giving the finest performances of the *Choral Symphony* heard in a long time. The work was conducted by Mr Arthur Sullivan with the utmost care, skill and earnestness, and we may well be proud of a native musician who can turn from the light and graceful pleasantry of *The Pirates of Penzance* to conduct with perfect success the grave and noble strains of the *Choral Symphony*.¹⁴⁹ [...] Although by no means the longest of Mr Sullivan's serious works, the merit of *The Martyr of Antioch* is so great that it is possible it will live when many of his more ambitious compositions are forgotten.¹⁵⁰

Frederick Spark's *Leeds Express* maintained that with Sullivan's success as the Festival's conductor, there was no longer any need for English musicians to feel inferior to baton-wielding foreigners:

It must generally be admitted...that the committee have found not only an extremely able conductor – one who has fully maintained the high reputation which the Leeds Festivals have obtained – but a genial gentleman whose courtesy has won for him the

¹⁴⁸ *Bradford Observer*, 18 Oct. 1880, p. 3

¹⁴⁹ Hans Richter had conducted the *Choral Symphony* in London at St James's Hall in June, so it is interesting to note that although he had assumed hero status in some quarters, such as with Louis Engle, music critic of the *World*, Sullivan's interpretation, nevertheless, both in 1880, 1889 and in 1898 was equally well received.

¹⁵⁰ *The Era, Leeds Musical Festival*, 17 Oct. 1880, p. 8.

esteem of all with whom he has been brought into contact. Having selected Mr. Arthur Sullivan, carping and criticism was to be expected, many of our countrymen...supposing that no Englishman ought for a moment to be considered capable of conducting a musical festival [...] Mr Sullivan...has achieved a greater success than any English conductor in modern times and the committee are to be congratulated upon the success of their endeavours to make their festival as thoroughly English as possible.¹⁵¹

If the 1880 Festival had been a triumph for Sullivan as composer-conductor, it also marked the beginning of his extraordinary relationship with successive Leeds choruses. On 4 June, Sullivan was warmly greeted by the choristers as Thomas Marshall, the Executive Chairman, introduced him, explaining that their new conductor had accepted the post 'due mainly to his strong desire to be acquainted with a Yorkshire chorus.'¹⁵² Sullivan won their good will by maintaining that the success in the forthcoming Festival would be a joint effort:

Nothing would be wanting on his part to conduce to their working well together. To that end they must trust each other. If they had the same confidence in him that he felt in them he saw no reason why the forthcoming Festival should not be at least as good as if not better than, any of its predecessors.'¹⁵³

When, in late August, they met again for the initial rehearsal of his new cantata, *The Martyr of Antioch*, he took them into his confidence. He first outlined the story, explaining the roles the chorus played, thus actively involving them in the work, complimenting them on conclusion, on their sight-reading skills. His approach must have been markedly different to that of the autocratic Costa. It was an issue which was elaborated by the *Leeds Times* as the Festival concluded:

¹⁵¹ LMF/PO/1880, p.33. As mentioned above, Sullivan's success came directly after the first season of Richter Concerts, and while Sir Michael Costa still presided at Birmingham.

¹⁵² Spark and Bennett, p. 189.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

The principals, band and chorus had faith in their conductor, Mr A. Sullivan. They found in him a gentleman whom they could esteem and respect. His kindly manner and style, and the excellent hints he gave them in the preliminary rehearsals, won for him the unbounded confidence of his forces. They responded to the beat of his baton with such alacrity as to bring about that unswerving accuracy in time, and those magnificent alterations of light and shade, united to immense power, which earned for the chorus a reputation that will live long after the Festival and will be remembered with feelings of pleasure.¹⁵⁴



Fig 29: Punch comments on Sullivan's success at the 1880 Leeds Festival via Linley Sambourne's cartoon. It implies that Sullivan owed his position to his friend, the Duke of Edinburgh, who had attended the Festival. Rumours circulated that following Sullivan's success at Leeds, he was to be knighted.¹⁵⁵

The 1880 Festival began a partnership between Sullivan and the city that pursued a positive course for the next twenty years. Leeds gained the cachet of the most popular composer and the foremost British conductor of the era, while Sullivan enjoyed the esteem that came with the Conductorship of the most forward-looking of the provincial Festivals. He also had an outlet that enabled him to show to an increasingly contemptuous critical fraternity, disappointed by the commercial direction his career had taken, that he was rather more than the composer of the Savoy Operas, scoring

¹⁵⁴ *Leeds Times Leeds Musical Festival*, 23 Oct. 1880, p. 2

¹⁵⁵ *Punch*, 30 Oct. 1880, p. 202.

at Leeds, as has been noted, a personal success in 1880 with *The Martyr of Antioch* and creating a sensation with the premiere of *The Golden Legend* (1886), after which, Francis Hueffer of the *Times*, paid the composer a somewhat back-handed compliment, maintaining that:

The Leeds Festival may boast of having given life to a work which, if not one of genius in the strict sense of the word, is at least likely to survive till our long-expected English Beethoven appears on the scene.¹⁵⁶

Only with the approach of the 1889 Festival, was there any sign of strain in the partnership. Following the triumph of *The Golden Legend*, the Committee hoped for a further new work from Sullivan – a *Leeds Symphony* – and Sullivan’s correspondence shows that at least, when the idea was initially mooted, he was not opposed to the notion of writing an orchestral work for Leeds. However, the Committee believed that there was a real possibility that they could obtain a work from Brahms and that he would conduct at the 1889 Festival, with the result that the nomination to the Conductorship was delayed, and Sullivan, not unreasonably, became concerned about who was to conduct if he wrote a new work. By the time his appointment was ratified, he was already committed to a new work for the Savoy Theatre (*The Gondoliers*, 1889) as well as a projected grand opera (*Ivanhoe*, 1891). The opportunity for a new orchestral composition for Leeds had passed – he was to write for Sir Henry Irving’s production of *Macbeth* instead.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁶ Francis Hueffer, *Times*, 18 Oct. 1886, p.8.

¹⁵⁷ Premiere, Lyceum Theatre, Saturday, 29 December 1888.

The decision, at the end of 1888, not to engage the Borough Organist, Dr. William Spark, for the 1889 Festival and to replace him with Alfred Benton, the organist of Leeds Parish Church, was an additional and acrimonious complication.¹⁵⁸ Sullivan came close to pursuing a libel action against the eccentric and combative Dr. Spark, who had refused to accept Sullivan's replacement of his friend, Sir Michael Costa, and who now blamed Sullivan for his removal as well as the fact that compositions he offered for performance at the Festival were rejected. During March 1889, following heated correspondence in the *Leeds Mercury*, the *Musical Standard*, scenting an opportunity to attack Sullivan, had also taken up Dr. Spark's cause. That there was no empathy between the two men was well known and had been obvious from the 1880



Festival, when Spark seems to have deliberately set out to be obstructive and antagonistic towards Sullivan – a man twenty years his junior. His attitude continued into subsequent Festivals, and as this cartoon from 1883, reveals:

Fig. 30: Festive Festival Musicians
The cartoon comments state of Sullivan's and Dr. William Spark's relationship, 1883.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸ In 1883, Walter Parratt played the organ in some items, while at the 1886 Festival, Frederic Cliffe had played for the premiere of *The Golden Legend* and Bach's B Minor Mass. Press comments suggest that at times during the 1886 Festival, Dr. Spark's contribution was less than impressive.

¹⁵⁹ *Toby, the Yorkshire Tyke*, 6 Oct. 1880, p. 119. Sullivan's letterpress correspondence with Frederick Spark through March 1889, makes clear that the decision to remove Dr. Spark was wholly the Executive Committee's and was taken while Sullivan was abroad. With a body of proof making it clear that he was in no way implicated in Spark's removal, both the belligerent organist and the opportunistic newspaper were forced into issuing apologies. However, Spark continued to present himself as the injured party and to hurl invective at Sullivan in his memoirs, published in 1892.

A more serious issue was the quality 1889 Festival Chorus. Criticism maintained that it fell below the standard that had become expected at Leeds.¹⁶⁰ The cause was not difficult to ascertain: the large number of both new and unfamiliar choral works being performed in 1889, and the short, but demanding full rehearsal period immediately before the Festival commenced.¹⁶¹ There were two full rehearsal days, Monday and Tuesday, when all the participants met for the first time and which saw one twelve-hour and one eight hour rehearsal.¹⁶² This was followed on Wednesday at 11:30 am, by the opening morning's performance of Berlioz's *Damnation of Faust*. While it had been a bold choice to begin the Festival with a relatively unfamiliar work, quite possibly for that reason, as well as their exhaustion from the two long rehearsal days, the choristers lacked their usual verve in attack. Sullivan was aware, noting of the Festival's opening performance: 'Began with the National Anthem. Then *Faust* – chorus a bit tired but sang well. Band superb.'¹⁶³ Their uneven performance was to become a critical theme and reached its lowest point with the opening of Brahms' *German Requiem*, which they commenced singing flat, and again, Sullivan's comments seem to indicate that as with the opening morning's *Damnation of Faust*, unfamiliarity with the work was the problem:

Chorus began very badly with *Brahms Requiem* – afterwards they sang the *Lobgesang* magnificently [...] Superb performance of *Golden Legend*...The finest I have ever heard – afterwards the enthusiasm was indescribable – cheering and waving their handkerchiefs at me for minutes.

¹⁶⁰ Joseph Bennett's review in the *Daily Telegraph* of 9 Oct. 1889, was particularly acerbic, noting the weakness of the tenor section, maintaining most were not 'real' tenors, but 'forced up baritones'. The tenors repeatedly sang flat and were responsible for the opening disaster of the Brahms Requiem.

¹⁶¹ Choral works performed in 1889: Berlioz: *Faust*, Brahms: *Requiem*, Corder: *The Sacrifice of Freya*, Bach: *God's Time is Best*, Handel: *Acis and Galatea*, Stanford: *The Voyage of the Maeldune*, Wagner: Act III, *Tannhäuser*, Mendelssohn: *Lobgesang*, Beethoven *Choral Symphony*, Parry: *Ode to St. Cecilia's Day*, Schubert: *Mass in E Flat*, Sullivan: *The Golden Legend*. Three were new works and only three of the remaining programme had been previously performed at Leeds. Since there was a half/two-thirds turnover of chorus personnel between festivals, not all would have been familiar with the previously performed works, either.

¹⁶² Tuesday's rehearsal was also supposed to be twelve hours, but Sullivan terminated it at 6:00 pm.

¹⁶³ Sullivan: *Diary*, 9 Oct. 1889.

In 1877, Sir Michael Costa had raised the question of the limited time available for rehearsal particularly, of new works:

The committee must not ignore that there are three new compositions; and many other things...that require a great deal of time to rehearse, and the time is *not* sufficient...if the chorus, orchestra, and everybody else are over-worked, how [can] a satisfactory execution...be expected during the Festival? Everybody wish[es] to suggest, but they seem to forget that people are not of an iron frame.¹⁶⁴

His comment was echoed by Sullivan, who had asked for an extra day's rehearsal and who robustly defended the chorus in the wake of the 1889 Festival:

In spite of all that has been said and written, I assert that the chorus of 1889 was as fine, on the whole, as any that have preceded it. [...] The chorus, like the band, is made up of human beings, not machines, and ought not to be judged as if it were a mere mechanical agency.¹⁶⁵

The 1892 Festival, while not providing an extra day for rehearsal, showed that the criticism of 1889 had been acted upon – rescheduling brought the orchestra from its London rehearsals to Leeds by special train on Friday night, and although the full rehearsals on Saturday and Monday were just as long (and Sullivan ran a chorus only rehearsal on Friday night) the chorus were afforded rest days on Sunday and Tuesday, before the Festival commenced on Wednesday. In a further attempt to strengthen the chorus for 1892, the catchment area for recruitment was extended beyond the immediate Leeds area to embrace other towns in the West Riding: Bradford, Halifax, Huddersfield, Dewsbury and Batley, that themselves had flourishing choral societies.

However, the major problem that faced the Executive Committee as the 1892 Festival approached, was the state of Sullivan's health. During the early Spring, he had come close to death and although appointed Conductor, his friend Joseph Barnby deputised

¹⁶⁴ Quoted in Spark and Bennett, Costa to J.W. Atkinson, 21 Jan. 1877, p. 109.

¹⁶⁵ Sullivan to Spark, 24 Oct. 1889, Morgan Library, ID: 215638.

for him at the earliest of the general chorus rehearsals. Unsurprisingly, after such a long, serious and painful illness which had incapacitated him for nearly six months, Sullivan became victim to one of his periodic depressive phases, leaving him anxious and emotional to the extent that his secretary, Walter Smythe, in late May wrote to Spark, explaining that he was not prepared to show Sullivan Festival correspondence on the grounds that given his mental fragility, it would worry and distress him, retarding his recovery.¹⁶⁶ Sullivan, writing to Spark at the end of the following month stated that he dreaded meeting the new chorus, given his mental state:

Nothing but the absolute prohibition of Mr Buxton Browne will prevent my coming to Leeds on Friday.¹⁶⁷ But I fear that when I see him tomorrow he will put that prohibition on me. I still feel very weak after my last two attacks, and as I am also unstrung and rather emotional I dread this first visit to the Chorus.¹⁶⁸

It was not until 21 July that Sullivan was well enough to make the journey to Leeds and direct his first rehearsal with the chorus. It must have been an ordeal for both parties, since it was his first meeting with the newly-constituted West Riding Chorus, while they were expected to uphold the reputation and primacy of Yorkshire choral singing following the disasters of the 1889 Festival. Sullivan, described by the *Leeds Mercury* as 'looking thin and pale,' was warmly received by the choristers, as he was introduced by Spark. He must have found the moment difficult and emotional, explaining that their welcome deeply affected him and how, at one time, he had feared that he would not be able to take part in the Festival.¹⁶⁹ Commencing the rehearsal, the *Leeds Times* remarked:

He exhibited all his well-known energy and geniality in dealing with the chorus and declared at the conclusion that his work had exercised a revivifying influence on him.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶ Smythe to Spark, 28 May 1892, Morgan Library, ID: 215436.

¹⁶⁷ Buxton Browne – Sir George Buxton Browne (1850-1945), surgeon and urologist.

¹⁶⁸ Sullivan to Spark 28 June 1892, Morgan Library, ID: 215687. Sullivan ran his first Chorus in Leeds on 21 July.

¹⁶⁹ *Leeds Mercury*, *Leeds Musical Festival, Rehearsal by Sir Arthur Sullivan*, 22 July 1892, p.8.

¹⁷⁰ *Leeds Times*, *The Man in the Street*, 23 July 1892 p. 5.

Concluding the rehearsal, he approved the change of policy that had produced the West Riding Chorus, while the reporter continued, emphasising how important Sullivan's presence had become to the success of the Festival:

It is most gratifying that Sir Arthur now seems able to permanently resume his old post, for his presence will do more than many things towards making the Festival another great triumph.¹⁷¹

Whether it was a question of taking fright regarding Sullivan's physical appearance following his long illness once he had visited Leeds that motivated the Committee, or a series of confused communications between them, from Sullivan's perspective, it appeared during the following month, as if they had, without consultation, foisted a deputy on him, with the result that on 17 August, he resigned.¹⁷² He explained that he had secured most of the orchestral engagements for the forthcoming Festival and ensured that minute matters such as the parts for the *Meistersinger* extracts were printed, ending his communication to Spark:

I deeply regret that my long and pleasant connection with the Leeds Festivals should be thus broken, but it is a satisfaction to me to think, and believe, that the next Festival will be as successful as the preceding have been since 1880.¹⁷³

While rumours flurried in the press concerning his resignation, Sullivan remained absolutely resolute in his decision and on 19 August, forcibly expressed his opinion to Spark:

The question between us is a simple one viz:

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Correspondence between Sullivan and Spark seems to indicate that the Committee appeared to believe that they had secured Sir Joseph Barnby to deputise for Sullivan during the Festival period, which Barnby, who was a close friend of Sullivan, denied. What seems to have angered Sullivan to the point of resignation, was the Committee's arbitrary action and lack of consultation .

¹⁷³ Sullivan to Spark, 17 Aug. 1892, Morgan Library, ID: 215702

Whether the Committee should make arrangements to engage an Assistant Conductor without consulting me. If I had appointed an Assistant...I should have acknowledged the right [of the Committee] to veto the appointment, I could not claim to delegate my office to another without their permission. But any desire for 'assistance' should come from me not from them. [...]

All the really hard work of the Festival I have already done, and very little remains for the conductor, but to conduct. [...]

Believe me, dear Mr. Spark, and convey this to the Committee, that I have no feelings of anger or resentment; but I am deeply hurt, and I cannot sever my connection with my greatest musical enjoyment without the most profound regret.¹⁷⁴

Some desperate back-peddalling by the Committee, including a personal visit on 23 August, from Spark and Festival Chairman, Thomas Marshall ensured that Leeds had Sullivan as its conductor for the 1892 Festival.¹⁷⁵

Despite whatever fears the Executive Committee may have had concerning his capacity, Sullivan directed what was, perhaps his most successful Festival to date, conducting outstanding performances of Mozart's Requiem, Bach's B Minor Mass and a performance of Schubert's *Symphony in B minor, (Unfinished)* that even Herbert Thompson could give grudging approval to, writing in his diary, 'performance perfect if Sullivan's reading be accepted'.¹⁷⁶ He created a minor sensation by demanding that such a familiar work as *Elijah* should be fully rehearsed, and seemed to have recovered all the drive and energy that had marked his previous Festival direction – although there

¹⁷⁴ Sullivan to Spark, 19 Aug. 1892, Morgan Library, ID: 215703. Hermann Klein, *Sunday Times* 4 Sept. 1892, 'Quite a startling rumour went the round of limited circles early in the week. It was to the effect that Sir Arthur Sullivan had resigned the Conductorship of the Leeds Festival...' LMF/PO 1892, p. 371.

¹⁷⁵ Sullivan recorded: 'Marshall and Spark from Leeds at 5:30. Arranged difficulty – misunderstanding cleared up. My resignation withdrawn. Dined here.' His final comment indicates how far he had recovered, 'Marshall and I went to Buffalo Bill's afterwards. Spark didn't.' Sullivan, *Diary*, 23 Aug. 1892.

¹⁷⁶ Herbert Thompson, *Diary*, 7 Oct. 1892. Thompson Papers, Special Collections, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds

were those in the chorus who watched this hyperactivity with concern.¹⁷⁷ T.P. Sykes, one of the Bradford choristers, wrote to Sullivan in the immediate wake of the Festival, his comments again emphasising the extraordinary relationship that existed between chorus and conductor:

My primary thought just now is of yourself, and how you have inspired the deep love and affection of the chorus towards yourself. I have heard it on all hands, and it has grown until it culminated in tears in many eyes on Saturday night. I wish I could gather up some of the heartfelt expressions I have heard. I do not know how weak physically you have felt during the week just gone. I hope you have not been as weak as some of us have feared, but your noble strength as a conductor has made a deep impression on us all. There are no more loving hearts in the kingdom than those of the Leeds Festival Chorus towards you, and none will rejoice more than us to hear of your complete restoration to health and strength.¹⁷⁸

By the 1890s, the Leeds Triennial Musical Festival had become an eagerly anticipated event that attracted international attention, benefited the local economy and raised the city's profile. Much of that attention was due to Sullivan's presence. His social connections had, from 1880, brought patronage from members of the royal family, with whom he enjoyed friendship. Royal visits to Leeds during the Festival week added to the glamour of the occasion, none more so than in 1895, when the Prince of Wales, together with Princess Louise, her husband, the Marquis of Lorne, a panoply of nobility, as well as the great and good from the West Riding and beyond, descended on the city. Sullivan, in residence at the Judge's Lodgings on Hyde Terrace, himself kept court and entertained like a prince.

¹⁷⁷ In the weeks immediately prior to running the Festival and its rehearsals, Sullivan had completed the composition of *Haddon Hall*, overseeing the rehearsals and premiere at the Savoy, (24 Sept.) as well as rehearsing and conducting a performance of *The Golden Legend* at Joseph Barnby's Cardiff Festival (21 Sept.)

¹⁷⁸ *Bradford Observer, Sir Arthur Sullivan and the Leeds Chorus* 28 Oct. 1892, LMF/PO/1892, p. 271.

If the 1895 Festival was a glittering social success, the performances directed by Sullivan were equally stellar.¹⁷⁹ Particularly singled out for praise was the opening morning's *Messiah*, which, as with *Elijah* three years earlier, he had insisted on rehearsing in full, surprising his chorus, at least one of his soloists and subsequently his West Riding audience with a less traditional interpretation than was expected. Other successes included the concert performance of *Die Fliegende Hollander*, Schumann's *Symphony in B Flat Major, (Spring)*, Haydn's *The Creation*, and Dvořák's *Stabat Mater*, after which, Joseph Bennett commented:

Sir Arthur Sullivan should be heartily congratulated upon his share of the common task. The qualities of a great conductor are sometimes denied in him because he does not wear long hair or gesticulate like figures moved by putting a penny in the slot. A conductor...is known by his works and if he secures a good performance it is nothing to me how he does it. Assuredly, the musician who gives us the *Stabat Mater* as we received it this morning is a master of his craft and has little to learn from his critics.¹⁸⁰

Arthur Hervey of the *Morning Post* singled out Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis*: 'Sir Arthur Sullivan deserves the highest praise for the results obtained by him in the performance of this most complicated and ungrateful work.'¹⁸¹ It was a benchmark presentation that Hervey was still referencing a decade later.¹⁸² A barn-storming performance of his own *The Golden Legend*, and an enormous personal ovation brought the 1895 Festival to a conclusion.

The Committee's report following the 1895 Festival, was effusive in its praise: once again, Sullivan had led the Leeds forces to an artistic and financial triumph:

¹⁷⁹ Apart from Massenet's *Visions*, directed by Sullivan on Fri. 4 Oct. Here, the composition, rather than the performance, was considered below the standard expected at a festival of Leeds's status. Commissions to celebrity European composers were also to prove problematic in 1898.

¹⁸⁰ *Daily Telegraph, Leeds Musical Festival*, 5 Oct. 1895, p. 7.

¹⁸¹ *Morning Post, Leeds Musical Festival*, 7 Oct. 1895, p.3.

¹⁸² Arthur Hervey, *Morning Post*, 21 April 1904, p. 5, review of Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis* at St James's Hall, conducted by Felix Weingartner. During the same review Sullivan's performance was also compared favourably with Richter's.

The Committee desire to express their sincere thanks to all...who took part in the Festival...Never was more spontaneous or unselfish cooperation...shown; but to no-one more than Sir Arthur Sullivan are their thanks due. The labours and responsibilities of a conductor are enormous, and only those who know what is to be done can fully appreciate them. To the personal and minute attention that Sir Arthur Sullivan gave to every detail, no less than to his acknowledged distinction as a conductor, both of orchestra and chorus, the artistic success of the Festival is mainly owing.¹⁸³

Early in 1896, the Executive Committee unanimously re-elected Sullivan to direct the 1898 Festival. However, despite his triumphs, the euphoria and prestige that the 1895 Festival had brought to the city, his position was insecure and there is every likelihood that Sullivan was aware that there were those within the Executive Committee, amongst the local and national critical fraternity, as well as those who manipulated the musical politics of Leeds, who wished to see him removed and, as will become apparent, he was, via his actions during the course of the 1898 Festival year, to play into their hands.



Fig. 31: Sullivan directs the opening of the 1883 Festival.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸³ *Leeds Mercury, Leeds Musical Festival Report*, 7 Nov. 1895, p. 3.

¹⁸⁴ Unpublished drawing by John Dinsdale.

3. 1898: Sir Arthur Sullivan's Festival Year.

3.1 The Lost Leeds Cantata:



Fig. 32: A partnership with Arthur Wing Pinero and Sir Arthur Sullivan had been rumoured since the appearance of this cartoon of 1894. A disgruntled looking W.S. Gilbert may be seen in the background.¹⁸⁵

Sullivan's approach to the 1898 Festival was complicated by the commission of a new work for the Savoy Theatre. For some time, there had been rumours of a Sullivan/Pinero partnership (Fig. 32) and following Pinero's announcement in the *Morning Post* of Tuesday 23 March 1897, rumour became reality:

...during the past week I have, in conjunction with...Mr. Comyns Carr entered into agreement with Mr. D'Oyly Carte of the Savoy Theatre, to write an Operatic Drama...the music of which will be composed by Sir Arthur Sullivan.¹⁸⁶

Here then, was the genesis of *The Beauty Stone*, and from the outset, as Pinero made clear, it was conceived as a *drama*, not a comic opera – prognostications regarding the new project's success were ambivalent, the *Entr'acte's* gossip column initially commenting:

I am now genuinely informed that a new opera has been ordered for the Savoy, and that for the book...Mr. A.W. Pinero and Mr. Comyns Carr will be jointly responsible

¹⁸⁵ *Judy, The Call Boy*, 4 July 1894, p. 4. 'Here's wishing good luck to the prospect of Sir Arthur Sullivan, Mr Arthur Wing Pinero and Mr Adrian Ross joining hands in the manufacture of Savoy opera!'

¹⁸⁶ Letter to the Editor of *The Morning Post*, 23 Mar. 1897.

and Sir Arthur Sullivan will furnish the music. On paper this looks a real good thing, and Mr. Carte may be said to have gone to a good firm of manufacturers.¹⁸⁷

This cartoon (Fig 33) appeared the following week, taking less optimistic view:



Fig. 33: *Three Men in a Boat*. This cartoon by Alfred Bryan, portrays the new team at the Savoy: Sullivan, A.W. Pinero and Joseph Comyns Carr.¹⁸⁸ *The Entr'acte*, 10 April 1897, p. 8.

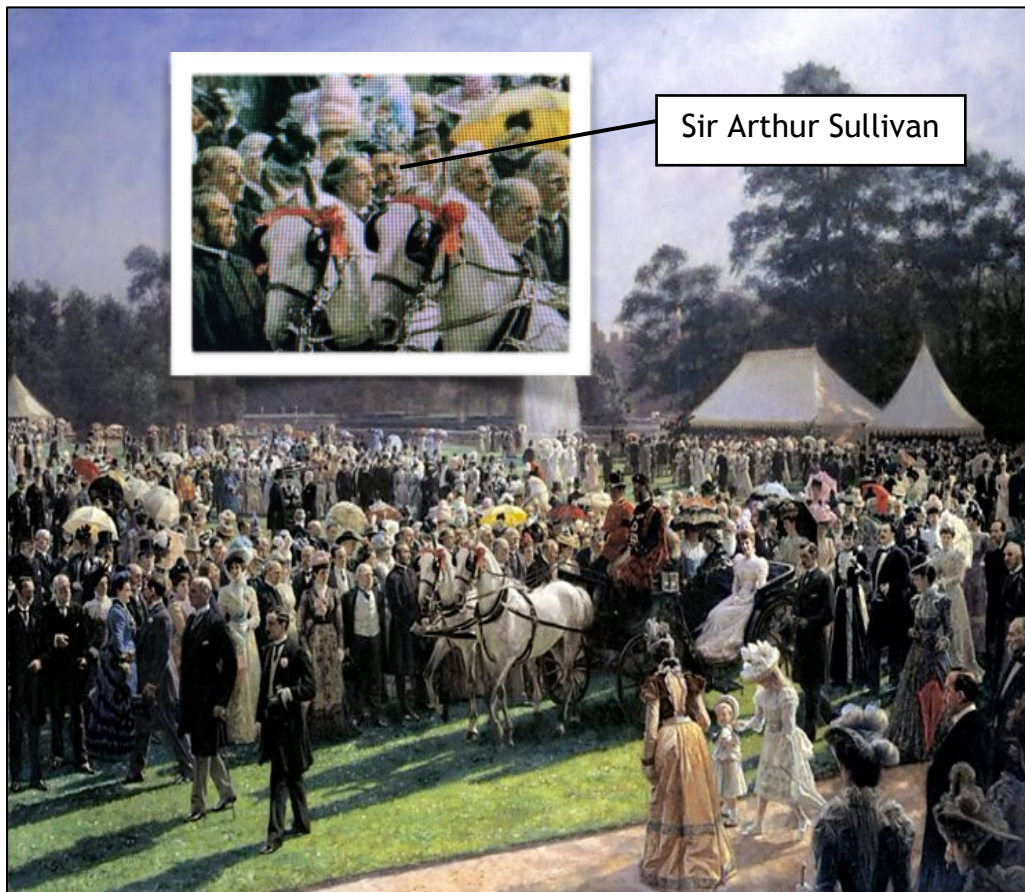
With the projected new work at the earliest of planning stages, Sullivan had, meanwhile, spent much of the first part of 1897 as he usually did during the winter

¹⁸⁷ *The Entr'acte*, Sat., 3 April 1897, *Merry-go-Round*, p. 4.

¹⁸⁸ Joseph Comyns Carr was an old friend, who had worked with Sullivan on Sir Henry Irving's lavish production of *King Arthur* (1895), and who was to be responsible for the lyrics of *The Beauty Stone*.

months, on the Riviera. Here, he was occupied with the composition of a patriotic ballet for the Alhambra Theatre, which was to celebrate the queen's Diamond Jubilee: *Victoria and Merrie England*. He returned to London to rehearse the theatre orchestra and to conduct its premiere which took place on 25 May. Both the ballet and Sullivan's score – pieces of Jubilee ephemera – were startlingly successful, netting the composer over £3,000 in terms of commission and performance rights.¹⁸⁹

Fig. 34: Laurits Tuxen: Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee Garden Party. (Royal Collection) The detail shows Sullivan in a group representing Music and the Arts.



The summer of 1897 – Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee – kept Sullivan both occupied and entertained: he was pictured, together with Henry Irving, in Laurits Tuxen's official painting of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee Garden party, (Fig. 34) and was

¹⁸⁹ *Entr'acte*, 29 May 1897, *Merry-go-Round*, p. 5.

responsible for the music to the official *Jubilee Hymn*.¹⁹⁰ During August and into early September, he took a month's leisurely vacation accompanied by his mistress, Fanny Ronalds. Together, they visited Bayreuth in the company of many English friends ranging from the Prince and Princess of Wales to Ethel Smyth, who were also making the fashionable Wagner pilgrimage. His *Diary* records equivocal feelings towards what he saw and heard: orchestral playing under Siegfried Wagner's direction he found rough and ragged; neither was he impressed by the standard of the singers, apart from Marie Brema and Anton van Rooy. Having lunched with friends, returning to his hotel, he fell asleep and missed Act I of *Die Walküre*, while the absolute nadir of his visit was reached at a performance of *Siegfried*, when he recorded:

I think it intolerably dull and heavy and so undramatic – nothing but 'conversations' and I am weary of leitmotiven [...] What a curious mixture of sublimity and absolute puerile drivel are all the Wagner operas. Sometimes the story and action would disgrace a Surrey Pantomime.¹⁹¹

By the beginning of September, he had returned to England and with arrival of autumn, and the signing of contracts for the new work, he engaged with the practicalities of writing for the Savoy. On Sunday, 10 October, Sullivan entertained Joseph Comyns Carr and his wife at his riverside house at Walton-on-Thames.¹⁹² Carr was a close friend who had known the composer since the early 1870s and was to be his lyricist on the *The Beauty Stone*. There, according to Sullivan's diary, they had preliminary discussions, both for the new work for the Savoy and another potential project:

Long talk about opera. He stated that he and Pinero were going away on the 28th to work for me, and that I should then be kept supplied – also that he

¹⁹⁰ During his Riviera visit, Sullivan had been commissioned to write a *Jubilee Hymn*, to be sung on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee.

¹⁹¹ Sullivan, *Diary*, Mon. 16 Aug. 1897.

¹⁹² Contracts signed, 27 Sept. 1897.

would send me the *scenario* of Act 1 next week. He fell in with my views about 'King Arthur' for an opera.¹⁹³

Carr returned to Walton-on-Thames on the following Sunday, 17 October, and read the scenario, discussing it with Sullivan, who commented, 'I like it immensely – it is original and fanciful.'¹⁹⁴ Although clearly enthused and excited by the new project, Sullivan identified the issue that was to dog the fortunes of *The Beauty Stone*: 'I don't know whether it is too *serious*, but it is very delicate and well adapted for music.'¹⁹⁵

On Thursday, 21 October, Sullivan received from Carr the completed scenario of *The Beauty Stone*. However, the new work for the Savoy was not the only item occupying him during the autumn of 1897. The band parts for the Alhambra ballet, due to be published by Metzler, needed proof reading, while the score of *The Martyr of Antioch*, scheduled to enter the repertoire of the Carl Rosa Opera Company in February required complete revision. Unexpectedly, on Monday 20 September, Sullivan received a commission that was impossible to refuse:

Received a letter from Princess Beatrice enclosing some words which the Queen desires me to set for the Prince Consort's anniversary service (14th December) at the Mausoleum.¹⁹⁶

The autumn race meetings at Newmarket and elsewhere were a distraction, as were his activities as a Savoy Hotel director but, for most of September, October and into early November, Sullivan's Diary records a disciplined work pattern interspersed with exercise as he cycled around the local villages.

¹⁹³ Sullivan, *Diary*, 17 Sept. 1897.

¹⁹⁴ Sullivan, *Diary*, 17 Oct. 1897

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 17 Oct. 1897. While *Ivanhoe*, Sullivan's earlier serious work, had its own theatre, the Royal English Opera House and attracted a different, opera-going clientele. Presenting a serious work for a Savoy audience, who were already notoriously 'traditional' in their expectations, was taking a considerable risk.

¹⁹⁶ Sullivan, *Diary*, 20 Sept. 1897, *Wreathes for Our Graves*. Sullivan's parenthesis.}

While Sullivan was engaged on casting issues relating to the new opera for the Savoy, the Leeds Triennial Musical Festival Provisional Committee, the men who held the real decision-making power regarding the Festival, unanimously voted to offer him the Conductorship for the 1898 Festival. Despite previous disappointments, they still hoped to commission a new work from him.¹⁹⁷ Frederick Spark visited Sullivan on Wednesday, 1 December 1897, immediately prior to the first meeting of the General Committee, bringing with him the Provisional Committee's preliminary ideas for the 1898 Festival.¹⁹⁸

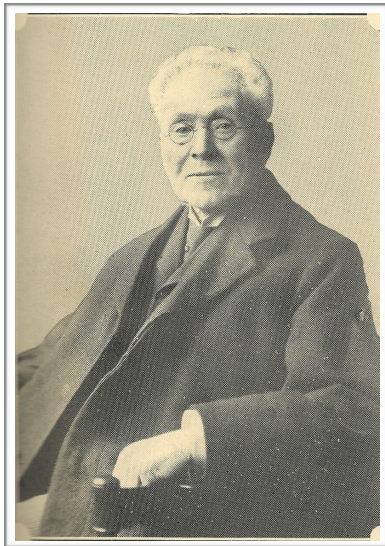


Fig. 35: Frederick Robert Spark (1831-1919) Honorary Secretary, Leeds Triennial Festival, and the Festival's ultimate powerbroker from 1877-1907.

Sullivan's *Diary* records that 1 December was a busy afternoon. He met with Thomas Chappell, his publisher, as well as finding time to correspond with Helen Carte, who was now, with her husband's failing health, effectively running the Savoy. He wrote to Joseph Comyns Carr and entertained his mistress, Mrs. Ronalds, to tea. Leeds matters were accommodated when Spark arrived at his Victoria Street apartment:

¹⁹⁷ February 1896: 'Sir Arthur Sullivan, who has so successfully conducted all the Festivals from...1880 was unanimously nominated [as Festival conductor] and the new General Committee will be asked to confirm his appointment. The Terms and Conditions are as the previous Festivals. Sir Arthur accepted the position thus offered to him.' *Yorkshire Post*, 7 Dec. 1897.

¹⁹⁸ Tues. 6 Dec. 1897. Reported in the *Hull Daily Mail*, 7 Dec. 1897, p. 3.

2:30 Spark came from Leeds. Long talk about next Festival. Same arrangements for chorus as before.¹⁹⁹ Composers chosen Stanford with a Te Deum...Humperdinck symphonic poem and self with Cantata.²⁰⁰

Since his triumph with *The Golden Legend* at the 1886 Festival, Sullivan had either refused to compose for Leeds, or else work or personal circumstances had intervened to prevent him. His agreement must have come as a pleasant surprise to the Festival Committee and was greeted with enthusiasm.²⁰¹ At this point, it is worth observing that even given his deepening involvement with the preliminaries of *The Beauty Stone* for the Savoy, there was nothing to suggest that in accepting the Leeds commission, Sullivan was acting in anything other than good faith.

He probably anticipated that his commitment to the Savoy Theatre would be over before he needed to begin the composition of the promised cantata. After all, he had worked to such a schedule before: in 1880 *The Pirates of Penzance* (London: 3 April 1880) and *Patience* (23 April 1881), had *The Martyr of Antioch* sandwiched between them, while in 1886, *The Golden Legend* had been premiered on the cusp of the composition of *Ruddigore*. Further, in deciding to compose a new cantata for Leeds after more than a decade of theatrical work, Sullivan may well have relished the opportunity to reassert his credibility with a musical establishment that now viewed him with scepticism. Certainly, he began immediately searching for a libretto: 'seeing if anything could be done with "Saint's Tragedy" for Leeds – not dramatic enough I fear'.²⁰² At some point, following his meeting with Spark and his agreement to write a

¹⁹⁹ That is, the chorus was to be recruited from the West Riding, rather than the immediate Leeds area.

²⁰⁰ Sullivan, *Diary*, Wednesday 1 Dec. 1897.

²⁰¹ 'The Lord Mayor... said they all felt exceedingly glad that Sir Arthur Sullivan had at last been able to secure a suitable libretto and he hoped that they would find that as *The Golden Legend* written for the 1886 Festival was his greatest work up to that time, he would write for the 1898 Festival a work that would eclipse that. *Yorkshire Post, Meeting of Guarantors*, Tuesday, 7 Dec. 1897.

²⁰² Sullivan, *Diary*, Monday, 6 Dec. 1897. *The Saint's Tragedy*, Charles Kingsley, 1848, concerns the story of the thirteenth century St. Elizabeth of Hungary.

new choral work for Leeds and possibly as early as Wednesday Jan. 3, 1898, he commissioned a libretto from the music critic Paul England.²⁰³ Exactly what it was remains unclear, although early in December the *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* commented:

General satisfaction will be felt at the announcement that Sir Arthur Sullivan has undertaken to write a secular cantata for the next Leeds Festival, and there is a very shrewd suspicion that the poem will be by Rudyard Kipling.²⁰⁴

Observing:

Sir Arthur shows his wisdom in taking subjects which have a general interest, instead of confining himself to works whose suitability for public performance is marred in the first place by the words being in a foreign tongue and secondly by their being associated with a form of divine service people in this country know little about.²⁰⁵

²⁰³ Wednesday, 3 Jan. 1898, Sullivan recorded in his *Diary*: 'wrote Paul England...about cantata libretto.'

²⁰⁴ *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 18 Dec. 1897, p. 645. No heading.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.* The comment, written by 'BWF', the *Illustrated Sporting's* music critic and Sullivan's cousin, Benjamin William Findon, may well have been directed towards Stanford's previous Birmingham and pending Leeds commissions; a Requiem and Te Deum, both composed to Latin texts. As a close friend, it is possible that Sullivan may have discussed with Findon potential subjects for the Leeds cantata.

3.2: Renovation of the Town Hall organ and the pitch controversy:

PITCH IN NINETEENTH CENTURY BRITAIN		
DATE	ORIGIN	A = VIBRATIONS PER SECOND
1859	Diapason Normal: France	A = 435
1879	British Army Pitch	A = 451
1879	Covent Garden Pitch	A = 450
1880	Broadwood/Philharmonic Pitch	A = 455.3
1896	Philharmonic Pitch	A = 439

Table 3: Pitch in nineteenth century Britain

Besides commissioning and programming concerns, the Leeds Festival Committee had been engaged, following the previous Festival, in debate with the City Council's Corporate Property Committee concerning the state of the of the Victoria Hall organ. It had been installed for the opening of the Town Hall in 1858 and had suffered, over the ensuing years, from a serious loss of pitch. Indeed, following the 1880 Festival, Sullivan had asked that the organ be given a major renovation:

...I should like to call your attention to...the pitch of the organ...it is a shade too low for the orchestra, and the difficulty, and even distress, of the woodwind...players at the last Festival was very great in their efforts to *underblow*, so as to keep as nearly as possible in tune. Cannot this be remedied? It would not cost very much to cut the metal and it would be an enormous advantage to everyone concerned. It should be raised to *Broadwood Philharmonic Pitch*.²⁰⁶

With an estimate of £750 to clean and repair the organ, and on being informed that 'the right pitch was a matter of opinion', Leeds Corporation, whose property it was,

²⁰⁶ Sullivan to Spark: 31 Jan. 1883, Morgan Library, ID: 214938.

balked at undertaking the work, deciding that giving the instrument's pipes a thorough blowing would solve any problems.²⁰⁷ The Festival Committee declined to push the matter forward, prompting an irked response from Sullivan:

I am distressed at what you tell me about the pitch of the organ not being altered...The time will come when it must be done, and at considerably increased expense and inconvenience. Then the authorities will regret this shortsighted policy.²⁰⁸

Thirteen years later in 1896, and the moment having finally arrived, Sullivan was proved prophetic - costs simply for repairing the organ had doubled to £1,463. However, renovating the Town Hall organ became part of a wider current debate concerning pitch. The *Glasgow Herald* outlined the extent of the problem:

At the present, we have four different pitches. The highest is the British pitch, which is used throughout the army and also at the Crystal Palace, the Albert Hall and St James's Hall. Then comes the Opera pitch, slightly higher than the French, and in use at Covent Garden and Drury Lane. For this pitch, special wind instruments are required, as they also are for the French pitch, or diapason normal, which is in use at the Queen's Hall and at the Royal College and Royal Academy of Music. Lowest of all is the German pitch, exactly half a tone lower than the British pitch, so that transposition is comparatively easy.²⁰⁹

Frederick Spark maintained that it was at his insistence that the City Council and the Festival Committee were led to address the pitch issue.²¹⁰ Whether it was indeed via his intervention, over the next eighteen months, a heated debate agitated councillors and committee members alike and found its way into both the local and national press as the musical elite were consulted and proffered their opinions.

²⁰⁷ Spark and Bennett, p. 242.

²⁰⁸ Sullivan to Spark: 9 May 1883, Morgan Library, ID: 214936.

²⁰⁹ *Glasgow Herald*: Mon. 3 May 1894. Music and the Drama, p. 4.

²¹⁰ Spark: *Memories*, pp. 50-51.

Sullivan occupied a special position. Widely identified as Britain's foremost musician, he was also the Festival's conductor, thus investing his opinion with additional weight. In a lengthy response to Mr. Harrison, Leeds Town Clerk, Sullivan carefully explained his views.²¹¹

He recognised the necessity of the debate. He had, after all, been a singer himself and had spent much of his professional life working with singers:

There is much to be said in favour of a lower pitch than we have at present from the point of view of the soprano and tenor vocalists...on the other hand, basses and contraltos may justly object to a change, as many existing phrases would be almost impossible for them to sing if the pitch were lowered to the extent that the diapason normal demands.²¹²

He was equally concerned with the practicalities and expense involved for orchestral and military band players, should the diapason normal be introduced: '...all wind instruments – including organs, must be altered...' envisaging a situation where everything would have to change at a specific point in time: '...if any change is made in the pitch the action must be general and simultaneous, and the difficulties in the way are appalling.'²¹³

He made his own position absolutely clear:

Personally, I am not in favour of the French pitch. I don't like it; it is dull and my ears cannot get accustomed to it...So my opinion is that it is better not to make any change in the organ at Leeds. There is no necessity for it, – no demand for it on the part of orchestra, chorus or soloists of every description, except prime donne and

²¹¹ Sullivan's awareness of the debate concerning the pitch issue, his willingness to engage with it, and to accept and work with the City Council and Festival Committee's decision to adopt the diapason normal for the 1898 Festival, contrasts with Jacobs's assertion that for the 1898 Festival: 'the Leeds Festival under the complacent Sullivan remaining an outpost of the older and (for singers) cruel high pitch.' Jacobs, p. 371.

²¹² Sullivan, *Diary*, 4 March 1897, 'Wrote to Harrison (Leeds).'

²¹³ *Ibid.*

some tenors.²¹⁴ And I fear that, if the idea were carried into execution at Leeds, we should have at the next Festival either a disastrous muddle or else we should be compelled to do without the organ altogether...²¹⁵

Sullivan, as he was to make apparent to Frederick Spark later in the year, had expected his correspondence with the Leeds Town Clerk to have remained private. However, quite possibly because Spark had an agenda and wanted ammunition to move his fellow councillors and committee members to achieve his intended goal, Sullivan's letter was printed, generating a response from Herbert Thompson, music critic of the *Yorkshire Post*, and no friend of the composer, who, while depreciating Sullivan's opinion, lost no opportunity to denigrate his oeuvre as well:

It is interesting to observe that the only musicians of note who oppose the alteration of pitch in the Leeds Town Hall organ are Sir Arthur Sullivan and Mr Cowen. By a singular coincidence, both are composers whose greatest successes have been obtained in music of a light character that might possibly lose something in brilliancy if lowered to the pitch for which all the great masters have written...²¹⁶

Whether by coincidence or not, Thompson's friend, Charles Villiers Stanford, the newly appointed conductor of the Leeds Philharmonic Society, and Professor of Composition at the Royal College of Music, weighed into the debate in the same issue of *Musical Opinion*, systematically demolishing Sullivan's arguments, even down to the personal:

I cannot, of course, argue with Sir Arthur about his personal likes or dislikes in the matter of pitch: though I think that, if the principle of low pitch is (as most of us believe) right, the public advantage must precede the individual taste. But I confess to a

²¹⁴ possibly a reference to Adelina Patti and John Sims Reeves, both of whom refused to sing at Covent Garden using Philharmonic pitch.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

²¹⁶ Herbert Thompson, *Musical Opinion & Music Trade Review*, July 1897, pp. 679-80

feeling of...'emotional surprise' on hearing that the sound of orchestral music as played in Paris by the Conservatoire, Colonne or Lamoureux, is dull!²¹⁷

In fact, Sullivan's only support, besides Frederic Cowen and John Stainer, came from an unlikely source: his Leeds nemesis, Dr. William Spark, who, according to the *Yorkshire Evening Post*, reacted to the proposal to lower the organ's pitch '...with the anguish of a parent.'²¹⁸

William Spark did indeed, have a personal interest in the Town Hall instrument, as he angrily expostulated:

...this suggested alteration of pitch in the Leeds Town Hall Organ...would, in my opinion, considerably reduce the importance and value of our noble instrument, which (as it is now) I regard as beautiful, brilliant and as varied in its tones as any organ I have ever heard...²¹⁹

He clarified why he was so passionate about the Town Hall organ: he genuinely was one of its 'parents':

I may say that, as designer of the instrument with the great Sir Henry Smart, I must enter my protest against any alterations ordered by those who know nothing about such things, whereas I have cherished and built it up from its foundation.²²⁰

However, it is interesting to note that within the same correspondence column, his brother, Frederick, the Festival's Hon. Secretary and apparent principal instigator of change, produced a letter in support of the transition to the diapason normal from C.V. Stanford. It seems very likely that whatever opposition was encountered, Spark was determined to push the innovation through.

²¹⁷ C.V. Stanford, *Musical Opinion*, July 1897, p. 680. In 1898, diapason normal had been adopted at both the RAM and RCM.

²¹⁸ *Yorkshire Evening Post*, Thurs. 20 Aug. 1896, Yorkshire Echoes, p. 3.

²¹⁹ William Spark, *Yorkshire Post*, Thurs. 20 Aug. 1896, Correspondence, p. 3.

²²⁰ Ibid.

While there was no love lost between the Spark brothers, Frederick had an equally obstreperous City Council to deal with and although, as a city alderman, he had a foot in both camps, there was deep suspicion on behalf of the Corporate Property Committee towards anything proposed by the Triennial Musical Festival Committee.

Using the *Yorkshire Post* as a mouthpiece, Spark explained why, if the Town Hall organ was to be overhauled, it was necessary at the same time, to alter its pitch:

In my experience of choral singing I can assert that, when great festival choral bodies have at times sunk in tone during performances...it has generally been caused by the great strain upon either the soprano or the tenor voices arising from the high pitch...

We have opinions in favour of adopting the normal diapason from the following recognised musical authorities: Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Dr. Hubert Parry, Mr. W.H. Cummings, Dr. C. Villiers Stanford...²²¹

Obviously, Spark was being disingenuous. The one musician who was opposed to the change of pitch was a 'recognised musical authority,' who also happened to be the Festival's principal conductor. However, since Sullivan's opinion diverged from Spark's stated agenda, it was not considered worth mentioning.

The whole diapason normal issue must have received further impetus with the appointment, on 2 June 1897, of C.V. Stanford as Conductor of the Leeds Philharmonic Society in the wake of Adolf Beyschlag's resignation.²²² The death, on 16 June, of the rambunctious Borough Organist, Dr. William Spark also eased matters considerably. By the time of the first meeting of Festival guarantors on 6 December 1897, the Executive Committee was pledged to the implementation of the lower pitch.²²³ Although

²²¹ Fred. R. Spark, Hon. Sec. Leeds Musical Festival, *Yorkshire Post*, Mon. 12 Oct. 1896, *Correspondence*, p. 3.

²²² Adolf Beyschlag, (1845-1914) Musical Director of the Leeds Philharmonic Society for two seasons, following the death of Alfred Broughton in 1895. Previous appointments had included Belfast and Manchester.

²²³ Herbert Thompson, *Yorkshire Post*, 8 Dec. 1897, *Music and Art*, p. 6. '...it is satisfactory to note that that the General Committee of the Leeds Festival have lost no time in committing themselves to a resolution in favour of the diapason normal.'

the decision to lower the organ's pitch was taken in principle by the City Council on 5 Jan 1898, there were those on the Corporate Property Committee who remained deeply suspicious of anything concerning the Festival:

The Chairman [of the Property Committee] explained that the introduction of the lower pitch was not due to any fad on the part of the Committee. They were anxious to make the instrument as perfect and up to date as possible...Alderman Scarr...said whenever the Festival came round, the Corporation commenced to spend money in all directions...the alteration of the organ pitch was only [one] of the 'improvements' due to the approach of the Festival. The organ which cost £10,000, had been a bogie to the Corporate Property Committee for the last twenty-six years.²²⁴

To clarify the pressing necessity for repair, a few of the rusted pipes were produced for inspection. The temptation to the councillors to blow down them proved irresistible. More seriously, the following day, 'Councillor Boston...took a subcommittee inside the organ...The party found the organ sadly needed repair.'²²⁵ The cost of rebuilding and lowering the pitch of the organ had now risen to £3,018, doubling the 1896 renovation estimate of £1,463.

However, the visit seems to have galvanised the Council into action. By the end of the month, with the first meeting of the Festival's General Committee, Frederick Spark could report positively concerning their conductor, whom he had met on 1 December 1897, his health and his troublesome opinion over the matter of pitch: at last, it appeared, a resolution could be reached:

The Hon. Sec. explained that he had an interview recently with Sir Arthur Sullivan, who appeared to be in better health than he had been for some time, and who was looking forward with great pleasure to the Festival. Sir Arthur wondered whether as the difference between the pitch was only two thirds of a semitone, it would be

²²⁴ *Yorkshire Evening Post*, Weds., 2 Feb. 1898: *Meeting of Leeds City Council: The Pitch of the Town Hall Organ: The Festival as 'An Excuse for Spending Money'*, p. 4.

²²⁵ *Yorkshire Evening Post*, Thurs, 3 Feb. 1898, p. 3, *Yorkshire Echoes*.

worth going to the enormous expense of altering organs and wind instruments. He did not feel very strongly as between the normal diapason and the old Philharmonic pitch and if the proposal to lower was, say, an exact semitone there would be no difficulty, at any rate as regards to organs.²²⁶

Sullivan added, with mild reproach, that: 'he was not aware that his letter would be published...'²²⁷

The meeting ended positively from Spark's perspective:

A discussion followed...That in the opinion of the General Committee of the Leeds Musical Festival for 1898 it is most desirable that the contemplated alterations to the Town Hall organ should include lowering of the pitch to the normal diapason.²²⁸

With decisions having been made both on the part of the City Council and the Festival Committee, the renovation and rebuilding issue was now in the hands of the Corporate Property Committee and the organ builders, Messrs. Abbot & Smith to complete before the deadline of the approaching Festival. By Saturday 27 August, the *Yorkshire Evening Post* was able to report that:

Messrs. Abbot & Smith are making splendid progress with the reconstruction of the Leeds Town Hall organ, which is now rapidly approaching completion under the personal superintendence of Mr. Fricker the City Organist.²²⁹

There was, however, at least one person adversely concerned by the change of pitch: the celebrated tenor, Edward Lloyd, one of the Leeds Festival's star principals and now in his final season of appearances. The change to the diapason normal raised doubts as to whether he would accept the Leeds engagement, since he had struggled

²²⁶ *Yorkshire Post*, 23 Feb. 1898: *First Meeting of the General Committee*, p. 4.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*

²²⁸ *Ibid.*

²²⁹ *Yorkshire Evening Post*, Sat, 27 Aug. 1898: *Music and Drama*, p. 3.

with the new pitch introduced by Hans Richter at the previous year's Birmingham Festival, maintaining that the diapason normal did not suit his voice. Although he was to appear, his doubts were to lead to last minute programme changes.²³⁰

With the matter of pitch apparently resolved, other Leeds issues imposed themselves on Sullivan. Conceivably, as a result of his meeting with Spark earlier in the month, on Tuesday, 21 December, Dr. Alan Gray, a Yorkshireman who had succeeded C.V. Stanford as organist at Trinity College Cambridge, arrived with a contribution to the Festival for his consideration. Sullivan recorded their encounter amid his busy Christmas schedule, 'Home to meet Alan Gray who brought me a choral work for Leeds – very good.'²³¹ *A Song of Redemption* was duly programmed.

3.3 Composition of *The Beauty Stone*, and its impact:

Now committed to a new work for the 1898 Festival, Sullivan encountered fresh difficulties with his collaborators and his current undertaking at the Savoy:

Dined at Joe Carr's with Pinero and long talk after dinner. Both Pinero and Carr gifted and brilliant men, with *no* experience in writing for music, and yet obstinately declining to accept any suggestions from me, as to form and construction. Told them that the musical construction of the piece is capable of great improvement, but they decline to alter. 'Quod scripsi, scripsi' they both say.²³²

However, Sullivan was on hand on Wednesday, 22 December, together with Helen Carte, Mrs Ronalds and Francois Cellier, the Savoy's Musical Director, to audition the principal male roles. Carr and Pinero must have been present for the auditions, and the ominous intransigence of his librettists that Sullivan had recorded on 15 December now appears to have exploded into a full-scale confrontation:

²³⁰ *Hull Daily Mail*, Tues. 1 Feb. 1898, p. 2. No heading.

²³¹ Sullivan, *Diary*, Tuesday, 21 Dec. 1897.

²³² Sullivan, *Diary*, Wednesday, 15 Dec. 1897.

Amazed at the position taken up by Pinero and Carr. Stubborn refusal to alter anything, or act on any suggestion made by me. My explanation as to musical requirements not listened to! We are at a deadlock, as I cannot accept the position of a cypher. Finally, I said I should send them my requirements in the 1st Act for them to accept or reject.²³³

Sullivan's steely ultimatum seemed to have shocked all concerned and by early January, and a temporary truce having been reached with his co-authors concerning the structure of Act 1, Sullivan turned to the other composition that required his attention.²³⁴ There was still the issue of the revision to *The Martyr of Antioch*, which had been abandoned during the acrimony at the Savoy and the demands of Queen Victoria. With the deadline for the Carl Rosa Company's production fast approaching, Sullivan spent his next few days working on a new finale. Leeds also occupied his thoughts as he 'Wrote [to]...Paul England...about cantata libretto.'²³⁵

Probably, it was with a sense of release that on Thursday, 20 January Sullivan left London, the English winter and his obstreperous colleagues for the Riviera. Arriving at his Beaulieu villa, by 25 January, he had settled into composition, recording on 27 January, that he had written all day.²³⁶

Focusing as he was on the composition of *The Beauty Stone*, Leeds and the Festival must have been distant considerations. However, on 23 February, the General Committee for the 1898 Festival met for the first time, and: '...on the motion of Mr. Spark and seconded by the Rev. N. Egerton Leigh, Sir Arthur Sullivan was formally appointed conductor.'²³⁷

²³³ Sullivan, *Diary*, Wednesday, 22 Dec. 1897.

²³⁴ Sullivan, *Diary*, 2 Jan. 1898: 'Joe Carr came at 3. He and Pinero accept my suggestions about 1st Act. Discussed lyrics a little.'

²³⁵ *Ibid.*

²³⁶ Sullivan, *Diary*, Thurs. 27 Jan. 1898

²³⁷ *Yorkshire Post*, 23 Feb. 1898.

Leeds issues intruded in an odd way via Sullivan's old friend Otto Goldschmidt, whose *Ode to Music* was due to be premiered at the Festival. Writing to Bendall on Monday, 14 February, he found himself in an embarrassing situation:

Van Zandt.²³⁸ **Private & confidential** old Otto [Goldschmidt] is gone on this girl - I couldn't possibly recommend her for Leeds [...] You can tell him if he speaks again about it, I **never** suggest singers or compositions.

Sullivan was honest. The Committee reserved the right to engage the soloists, and it provided him with a tactful way of escape, or should have done, had Goldschmidt not persisted with his request.²³⁹ He did not wish to hurt an old friend, but he equally did not want to see Marie van Zandt being engaged by the Leeds Committee:

Goldschmidt writes, saying will I promise to back up Marie van Zandt if he proposes her for Leeds. Oh dear! What shall I do? However, I don't think the Leeds people will entertain the idea...

Letters and telegrams flowed back and forth between Beaulieu and London as Sullivan continued with the composition of *The Beauty Stone*. He identified a basic problem with the material that Carr was sending him, informing his nephew:

I am getting on well with my work, although it is not easy...Joe's words are poetical and good, but from his want of experience, they are dreadfully difficult at times to set. I don't mean the words themselves, but the construction for musical purposes. He has absolutely no idea of *ensemble* and I am obliged to tax my ingenuity to the utmost when it comes to a concerted movement. I have done the first Act - the composition, and I am beginning to frame it.²⁴⁰

²³⁸ Marie van Zandt, American soprano, 1858-1919. Sullivan to Bendall, 14 March 1898, Morgan Library, ID: 75826.

²³⁹ In the original terms and conditions laid down for Sullivan in 1880, the Committee insisted on negotiating the engagements of the soloists. On at least two occasions, Sullivan found himself attempting to arbitrate between the Committee and singers/agents regarding fees.

²⁴⁰ Sullivan to Herbert Sullivan, 6 Feb. 1898, Morgan Library, ID: 108885

He doggedly pursued Carr for changes to the lyrics, 'My chief relaxation from composing,' he wrote to Bendall, 'is writing long letters to Carr - either explanatory or argumentative - rather wearisome.'²⁴¹ The work that he had enthusiastically agreed to in the previous autumn had turned into a nightmare:

Worked at 'Maidens and Men' all day. Tried 20 different ways and rhythms...eventually came back to the first one.²⁴²

A struggle with the lyrics of Saida's scene at the beginning of Act II commenced on Friday, 25 February. He noted despairingly that he had worked all day, finding it: 'Heartbreaking to have to try and make a musical piece out of such a badly constructed, (for music) mass of involved sentences.'²⁴³ It took him until the following Wednesday to resolve: 'Finished sketch of Saida scene Act II – awfully difficult.'²⁴⁴

Perhaps because of the difficulties he was facing with Carr's lyrics, Sullivan wrote to him the next day, 3 March, encouraging him to visit. Coincidentally, by the incoming post, the demands of the Leeds Festival caught up with him. Prodded, according to Spark, 'for information respecting his promised Cantata,' Sullivan replied with uncharacteristic irritation and anger.²⁴⁵

I chose originally the subject of King Arthur for a cantata basing it on Comyns Carr's play of that name, for which I had already written some music. For some years past I have had the longing and intention to write an opera on that subject, and I feel that by writing a cantata I should discount the interest in the opera, or else have to set the same situations, perhaps the same words, to fresh music. If the cantata were a success, it would kill the opera. If it were not, it would be folly to write an opera on the same subject.

²⁴¹ Sullivan to Bendall, 8 Feb. 1898, Morgan Library, ID: 75826.

²⁴² Sullivan, *Diary*, Thursday 17 Feb. 1898.

²⁴³ Sullivan, *Diary*, Friday 25 Feb. 1898.

²⁴⁴ Sullivan, *Diary*, Wednesday 2 Mar. 1898.

²⁴⁵ Fred. R. Spark, *Memories of My Life*, Fred. R. Spark & Sons, Leeds, 1913, p. 33. Sullivan's *Diary* records that he received letters '...From Bendall in re Spark and Festival.'

With regard to the work not being yet begun, I may remind you that “The Martyr of Antioch” was commenced in June 1880, and the “Golden Legend” on the 25th April 1886, and both works were in ample time for proper rehearsal. I give this explanation because I believe your unnecessary anxiety arises from an imperfect recollection of past experience. Otherwise it is not the rule for the composer to receive instructions as to when he should commence his work, or as to what discretion he might use in the choice of a subject.²⁴⁶

The beginning of Sullivan’s letter bears out the statement by Joseph Comyns Carr and Sullivan’s *Diary* entries that a libretto had been commissioned from him.²⁴⁷ A comment from the *Yorkshire Post* mentions a partially composed work.²⁴⁸ However, out of the blue, the February issue of *The Minim* stated:

Sir Arthur Sullivan has almost completed his setting of Mr Rudyard Kipling’s “Recessional.” It is chiefly for chorus and orchestra. The date and place of its production have not yet been fixed.²⁴⁹

There were also rumours circulating that Sullivan’s new cantata was to be based on Goldsmith’s, *The Vicar of Wakefield*.²⁵⁰ Given these circumstances and Sullivan’s silence, it is not surprising that the Leeds Committee, doubtless anxious to get the

²⁴⁶ Letter from Sullivan to Fred Spark. No date. *Ibid.* p. 33.

²⁴⁷ J. Comyns Carr, *Some Eminent Victorians: Personal Recollections from the World of World of Art and Letters* (London: Duckworth, 1908) p. 248. Sullivan recorded in his *Diary*, Friday 17 Sept. 1897: ‘He fell in with my views about ‘King Arthur for an opera.’

²⁴⁸ ‘Sir Arthur Sullivan himself has always, since the production of his *Golden Legend* in 1886, promised to write another secular cantata for Leeds. The Committee can now confidently state that a new cantata by Sir Arthur Sullivan will be produced. A considerable portion of the work is already written, and the musical world may anticipate a composition of the greatest interest.’ *Yorkshire Post*, 7 Dec. 1897.

²⁴⁹ *The Minim*, London, February 1898, p. 123. Although Kipling had offered Sullivan *Recessional*, there is nothing to suggest that Sullivan, in the winter of 1898 actually set it.

²⁵⁰ ‘There is a rumour that the new work is based upon *The Vicar of Wakefield* but the subject is at present an official secret. Indeed, I believe that Sir Arthur has not yet started the cantata, as he has been busy on the Pinero-Carr opera, the bulk of which is now finished. Sir Arthur will return...in a fortnight, and hopes to conduct the first general rehearsal of the Leeds

forthcoming Festival's programme in the Press and begin ticket sales, wanted clarification.

Spark seemed convinced that the Leeds cantata had been commenced:

There is no doubt that he actually began the work, but as it developed he decided that it would better serve the purpose of an operetta...the Savoy got *The Beauty Stone*.²⁵¹

It was a surprising statement, given that Spark must have been aware that Sullivan had commissioned a libretto from Paul England: it had been announced in the press on 12 February, but it was, nevertheless, one that Spark was to repeat to a Leeds journalist in the immediate aftermath of Sullivan's death:

About a year before the last Festival he [Sullivan] wrote to Mr. Spark saying that he had found a suitable libretto and had already written a considerable portion of the instrumental music of a cantata. Mr. Spark went to London with the view of obtaining further particulars of the work, only to be surprised and somewhat annoyed that Sir Arthur had changed his mind. He told Mr. Spark that the further he went with the work the more he found it shaped itself for the purposes of an opera and that he

Festival on April 23rd.' *Glasgow Herald*, Friday, 1 Apr. 1898, p. 7. The same report (minus the personal inserts), appeared on the same date in the *Yorkshire Post*: 'Sir Arthur Sullivan's New Cantata', p. 2. This article appears to have been based on a press release. If this is the case, it is possible to speculate that it originated with Sullivan, given the details of dates and rehearsals. Interestingly, the rehearsal date is confirmed by Sullivan's *Diary* since he needed to alter it at Leeds behest, to 7 May.

²⁵¹ Spark, *Memories of My Life*, p. 33. Spark appears to be dating this meeting with Sullivan to late September/early October 1897. Sullivan meticulously recorded in his *Diary*, appointments as well as letters received and sent. There is no meeting with Frederick Spark until 1 Dec. 1897, when the two met at Sullivan's apartment to discuss preliminary arrangements for the 1898 Festival. It was at this point that Sullivan accepted the commission for the cantata. *Diary* entries make it clear that although Sullivan was already concerned with *The Beauty Stone*, the cantata was approached as an entirely new work, and no libretto had been previously prepared as Spark alleges. This lack of evidence, therefore, throws the whole of Spark's statement into doubt.

should very likely use it as such. He did so; he converted the cantata and it was brought out at the Savoy under the title of *The Beauty Stone*.²⁵²

It was a statement which at least one London journalist found ridiculous:

According to Mr. Spark...*The Beauty Stone*...was originally intended for a Leeds Festival cantata. It is difficult to comprehend how it could be utilised for such a purpose.²⁵³

However, the notion that *The Beauty Stone* was a lost Leeds cantata was given circulation again in 1901. The Festival Committee had found itself embroiled in a press controversy regarding the neglect of both Sullivan and his works in the programming of the 1901 Festival, resulting in a public statement being made by 'An authority prominently associated with the Festival', who can reasonably be identified as Frederick Spark. During a lengthy interview he remarked:

In 1898...he [Sullivan] began a new work for the festival, and it was publicly announced on his own authority. Sometime afterwards, however, he withdrew it, stating that it seemed to him to develop into an operetta, and that he would rather produce it as a work of that kind. It was ultimately given to the world under the title of *The Beauty Stone*.²⁵⁴

By the end of that year, Herbert Thompson, was writing in the *Yorkshire Post*:

The Carl Rosa Company, which is now visiting Bradford, announces...for the first time in the West Riding the late Sir Arthur Sullivan's opera *The Beauty Stone*. It should be heard with especial interest, since it is generally understood that this is the work which was in the first instance conceived and indeed begun as a cantata for the Leeds

²⁵² *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, Music column, 12 Feb. 1898, commented 'Nothing is known yet as to the subject of Sir Arthur Sullivan's promised contribution [to the 1898 Leeds Festival] which will be by Mr Paul England.' p. 975. *Leeds Mercury*: Friday, 23 Nov. 1900, p. 5 part of a lengthy coverage of the announcement of Sullivan's death on 22 Nov.

²⁵³ *Daily News*: Friday, 30 Nov. 1900, p. 3.

²⁵⁴ *Yorkshire Evening Post*: Wednesday, 14 Aug. 1901, p. 3. Leeds Festival Committee and Sir A. Sullivan. A Reply to the Critics.

Music Festival of 1898. As it lent itself to operatic treatment...its character and destination were changed, and it was produced at the Savoy...²⁵⁵

Spark's statement had, by now, taken on the ring of truth. After all, as the Festival's Hon. Secretary and a man who was known to have been closely associated with Sullivan over the previous twenty years, his voice carried a credibility that was unlikely to be challenged.²⁵⁶

Few had seen *The Beauty Stone* during its brief London run, and the composer was no longer alive to make a definitive pronouncement on its genesis. In a bizarre way, added credence may have been given to the notion of *The Beauty Stone* as a lost Leeds cantata by the Carl Rosa Opera Company, since it had staged as an opera a genuine Leeds cantata: *The Martyr of Antioch*.

It is strange, however, that Spark persisted with his statement when there is absolutely no evidence to support it. It is equally odd that there is no reference to *The Beauty Stone* as the lost Leeds cantata until after Sullivan's death. Yet Spark's repetition of the story both to journalists in 1900 and in his 1913 memoirs indicated that he either believed it, or as is more likely, manufactured a convenient fiction to feed to the press, again reinforcing the notion that Sullivan was unreliable and incapable of committing himself to a serious work for the Festival, thus presenting a further reason for his removal from the Festival's Conductorship the previous year.²⁵⁷ At this distance in time, it is impossible to know what motivated Spark – but more than one reporter was to repeat the story.²⁵⁸

What is certain, is that even though Spark and the Committee may not have been informed of the subject of the cantata, they were aware, whatever the speculation may

²⁵⁵ *Yorkshire Post*, Friday, 27 Dec. 1901. Music and Art, p. 6.

²⁵⁶ For example, the *Western Daily Press*, Monday, 3 Dec., p. 3 and the *Falkirk Herald*, Weds. 12 Dec. 1900, p. 6, both carried the story without further comment.

²⁵⁷ Jacobs maintained this position, Jacobs, p. 394.

²⁵⁸ *Pall Mall Gazette*, Sat, 24 Nov. 1900. *More Sullivan Stories*, p. 8. Spark's story was repeated verbatim from the *Leeds Mercury* and without comment or question.

have been, that Sullivan had commissioned a libretto from Paul England.²⁵⁹ Therefore, when the full Festival programme was released on 2 April 1898, with Sullivan's new composition, as yet without a title, announced for the prestigious Saturday morning concert, and with soloists engaged, the Leeds Festival Committee was expecting a new work from their conductor.²⁶⁰

WEDNESDAY MORNING, October 5th.	
Elijah	Mendelssohn
WEDNESDAY EVENING.	
Cantata—" Caractacus "	Ed. Elgar
(Written for the Festival.)	
Suite	Tschaikowsky
THURSDAY MORNING.	
Te Deum	Stanford
(Written for the Festival.)	
Pianoforte Concerto	Schumann
Stabat Mater	Palestrina
THURSDAY EVENING.	
Sacred Ode—" The foe behind, the deep before "	Alan Gray
(Written for the Festival.)	
Selection	Wagner
FRIDAY MORNING.	
Symphony in D	Mozart
Mass in B Minor	Bach
FRIDAY EVENING.	
Symphonic Poem	Humperdinck
(Written for the Festival.)	
Ode—" Blest Pair of Sireus "	Parry
Symphony in C	Schubert
SATURDAY MORNING.	
Cantata	Sullivan
(Written for the Festival.)	
Ode—" Alexander's Feast "	Handel
SATURDAY EVENING.	
Choral Symphony	Beethoven

Fig 35: Leeds Musical Festival 1898. Provisional programme announcement includes Sullivan's cantata.²⁶¹

Sullivan's correspondence with the Committee had become progressively more acrimonious and bitter as he was repeatedly questioned about the cantata, and his motivation towards the Festival:

Have I lost interest in the Festival? No, certainly not, it is the only practical musical enjoyment left to me, and I look forward to it with keen delight. But I can't help

²⁵⁹ There was nothing new in Sullivan's reluctance to inform the Committee of his subject. In 1886, Spark had to virtually prise from Sullivan the information that his new cantata was to be based on Longfellow's *The Golden Legend*.

²⁶⁰ *Edinburgh Evening News, Mr Lloyd and the Leeds Triennial Festival, 30 May 1898, p. 6:* "Various reports that Mr. Lloyd would refuse to sing at the Leeds Triennial Festival, owing to the adoption of the low pitch, have been set at rest by the engagement of that eminent tenor, who will take part with Madam Albani and Mr Andrew Black in the first performance of Sir Arthur Sullivan's new cantata.

²⁶¹ *Leeds Times, Music and Drama, 2 April 1898, p.8.*

thinking it is the other way: that the Festival has lost interest in me. We know the effect of a drop of water continually falling on stone; and from 1889 until now, the same style of Press criticism has been poured on me until even Leeds itself believes every twopenny-halfpenny musician who waves a stick, especially if he is a foreigner, is a better conductor than I, and it is only because of the prestige attached to my name that I am chosen Conductor.²⁶²

Yet whatever may have been passing between Sullivan and the Committee, he does not appear to have informed them that he intended to renege on the cantata – possibly because he had yet to make the decision.

Juggling the demands of the 1898 Festival and the Savoy Theatre was clearly proving more complex and arduous than Sullivan had initially anticipated. In addition, his health was beginning to break down. His *Diary* entries for March became littered with references to feeling run down, depressed and for the first time since the summer of 1896, of being in pain.²⁶³ Compositionally, the lengthy scena at the beginning of Act II, for Saida, the prima donna of *The Beauty Stone*, was still causing him anxiety.²⁶⁴

In the middle of a long and informal letter to Wilfred Bendall, he explained:

I have been in dread of a return of my old trouble for days past. I am every day getting a warning, even at this moment as I write I have that dull aching in my loins that generally precedes trouble.²⁶⁵

²⁶² Spark, *Memories*, p. 33. Spark dates this correspondence to March 1898. Sullivan's choice of date had some significance, which possibly Spark would have understood. During 1889, John Fuller Maitland was appointed music critic of the *Times*.

²⁶³ Sullivan, *Diary*, 16 March, 'felt nervous and not well.' Sullivan referred to his periods of depression as 'nervousness.'

²⁶⁴ Sullivan *Diary*, Wednesday, 9 Mar. 1898.

²⁶⁵ Letter to Wilfred Bendall no date, headed *Sunday*, possibly 13 March, mentioning that, 'Joe Carr is coming here next Friday or Wednesday, ' so certainly before Wednesday, 23 March, when Comyns Carr arrived at Beaulieu. Morgan Library: ID: 75826.

He was also concerned about the Leeds cantata on top of the demands that *The Beauty Stone* was making on him:

I hope Paul England won't make his work too long. I am exhausted as it is with these enormously long pieces of 'construction' that Carr pours down upon me.²⁶⁶

With the imminent arrival of his exacting lyricist, and at the end of a fatiguing week constructing the lengthy scene for Saida in Act II, Sullivan became rebellious, informing Bendall: 'I am going on strike now and I will do nothing else than songs or a duet'.²⁶⁷

On Friday, 25 February, at the Lyceum Theatre, Edinburgh, and to generally positive reviews, the Carl Rosa Opera Company premiered a spectacular stage version of *The Martyr of Antioch*. Bendall must have reported the favourable outcome. Sullivan responded elatedly:

I am delighted and surprised at the success of the work on the stage. I certainly 'didn't anticipate **that**'. [...]Get all the Edinburgh papers and send them to me. Perhaps they have changed their tune now. They used to be **very hostile** to me.²⁶⁸

Bendall's news was a positive interval as Sullivan continued to work on *The Beauty Stone* until finally, Comyns Carr arrived on Wednesday, 23 March.²⁶⁹ He stayed with Sullivan until the following Thursday. Carr, besides being Sullivan's lyricist, was a close friend who had known him since the early 1870s. He was clearly disturbed by the man he found at Beaulieu:

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁸ Sullivan to Bendall, Tues., 1 March 1898. Morgan Library, ID: 75826. Sullivan's emphasis.

²⁶⁹ Carr's memoirs state that he spent six weeks with Sullivan during the spring of 1898. Sullivan's *Diary* shows Carr present at Beaulieu for six days, which necessarily raises questions about the validity of Carr's evidence.

Sullivan was already a sick man. Sufferings long and painfully endured had sapped his powers of sustained energy, and my recollection of the days I passed with him at his villa at Beaulieu, when he was engaged on setting the lyrics I had written, are shadowed and saddened by the impression then left upon me that he was working under difficulties of a physical kind almost too great to be borne...²⁷⁰

The old genial spirit was still there, the quick humour in appreciation and the ready sympathy in all that concerned our common task, but the sunny optimism of the earlier days shone only fitfully through the physical depression that lay heavily upon him.²⁷¹

Exactly what passed between them is difficult to assess, given that there are no diary entries between 24-26 March, though Comyns Carr's recollections and Sullivan's correspondence provide a snapshot of life at Beaulieu:

Sometimes...he [Sullivan] would work a little during the afternoon, but it was only when dinner was over, and we had played a few games of bezique, that he set himself seriously to his task. We parted generally at about eleven, and then Arthur's musical day began. Withdrawing himself into a little glass conservatory that overlooked the Mediterranean, he would often remain at his desk scoring and composing, till four or even five o'clock in the morning.²⁷²

Sullivan commented to Bendall that once Carr had arrived he 'kept him in his room, making changes, syllabic alterations &c, all to the advantage of the piece.'²⁷³

However, although he was immersed, first with the arrival of Carr, and then the Savoy's Musical Director, François Cellier, in the composition of *The Beauty Stone* and

²⁷⁰ Joseph Comyns Carr, *Coasting in Bohemia* (London: Macmillan, 1914) p. 246.

²⁷¹ Comyns Carr, *Coasting in Bohemia*, p. 252.

²⁷² Joseph Comyns Carr, *Some Eminent Victorians: Personal Recollections in the World of Art and Letters* (London: Duckworth, 1908), p. 287.

²⁷³ Sullivan to Bendall, 26 March 1898.

the practicalities of preparing the score for rehearsal at the Savoy, Leeds intruded into his thoughts.

Bendall, replying to Sullivan's earlier letter and his comments about his health, was obviously concerned for Sullivan's well-being. His inquiry prompted a lengthy response from Sullivan as he explained his thoughts about his health in relation to the Festival. Presumably, he had no one else to whom he could turn in such frankness, or who would both empathise with his anxieties, and understand the physical and mental demands that were to be faced in running the Leeds Festival.

You ask me about myself. Well, I can't help feeling a good deal worried. I have had no violent pains, but the dull, constant although slight aching and the little twinges (I am feeling them now as I write this) all point to the same thing I fear - too much acidity which is forming a calculus. It is the idea of Leeds which worries me...²⁷⁴

Sullivan was terrified by the prospect that he envisaged: that his current workload, together with the addition of the Festival, was likely to provoke serious illness and that he simply lacked the physical and mental capacity to continue:

Six months of writing, organising and rehearsing will I fear bowl me over, and bring on the physical trouble just when I need all my strength most. I cannot travel to Leeds and back and rehearse when I am in pain, and I have had enough of writing when in pain. The 'Pinafore', 'The Martyr of Antioch', part of 'Iolanthe' besides various smaller things, were all written in bodily suffering, varied and relieved by anodynes, and I cannot do it anymore.²⁷⁵

He continued pensively, considering reluctantly whether to resign, together with the practicalities that his potential withdrawal might create for the Leeds authorities:

²⁷⁴ Sullivan to Bendall, 26 March 1898. Morgan Library, ID: 75826.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

All this makes me reflect very seriously whether I ought not to give up the Festival, and devote the autumn to the care of myself and my body. And if I give it up, I think I ought to do it now, so as to give the Committee time to make other arrangements.²⁷⁶

He speculated on the identity of his possible successor were he to surrender the Leeds baton:

I suppose they would offer it to Stanford, who is already connected with Leeds – and in fact it would be the right and natural thing to do. Of course, these warnings may only mean a slight attack of acidity and the trouble may pass away. Then as the Festival is a great enjoyment to me, I should be sorry for having given it up. What is your idea on the subject? Write and tell me what you think.²⁷⁷

Sullivan failed, as he terminated the letter, to arrive at a conclusion. However, the notion of resignation, having been floated, was to reappear at a later moment, but for the time being, he added crucially:

If I go on, I *may* break down at a critical moment. If I give it up, I experience a great disappointment but have a chance of escaping from serious illness.²⁷⁸

Work on *The Beauty Stone* had accelerated with the arrival of François Cellier, and by mid-April, Sullivan was on his way back to England. He broke his journey in Paris. Writing from the Grand Hotel to Bendall, he made it clear that *The Beauty Stone* was far from complete:

I employ every minute I can scoring the heavier numbers and shall heave a deep sigh of relief when they are done. The Finale 1st Act is heartbreaking the figure is such a dreadful one to write - however it creeps on...²⁷⁹

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹ Sullivan to Bendall, no date, headed 'Thursday'. Postmark (London) on envelope: 22 April, so possibly written on 21 April 1898. Morgan Library, ID: 75826.

He then turned to Paul England's libretto as a preliminary to the more difficult question of the Leeds cantata and the situation that he envisaged for himself, should he not complete it. His comments make it clear that even if the Executive Committee were not aware of the subject of Sullivan's cantata, they were aware of Paul England's libretto, and the implications that would be drawn by them if he instructed England to terminate work on it:

It is exactly the question of England's libretto that concerns me. If I tell him to stop, it will leak out at Leeds at once, and the committee will know that I don't mean to do a cantata. And yet I feel he ought not to go on working, as I am sure I shan't write a work for the Festival, nor could I set his words as they stand. They are too long, and each subject is developed too much. Of course, I must pay him for what he has done already, and I think you had better write and tell him not to do any more until I return. You can indicate that it is probable that I shall not write for the Festival. It will be best to prepare him in this way.²⁸⁰

He anticipated trouble from the Leeds Committee if he reneged on the cantata:

I fear I can't retain the conductorship of the festival if I don't write a work. My position will not be a pleasant one, I shall be attacked right and left for what they call disappointing them. I shall wait until I return to London, and then will take the necessary steps.²⁸¹

The calm appraisal of the previous month concerning a possible successor had now disappeared and turned venomous:

There will be no difficulty about a conductor, as Stanford is ready – aye and willing!
What else did he accept the Leeds Phil. Soc. for? ²⁸²

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*

²⁸² *Ibid.*

One of the 'necessary steps' once Sullivan had returned to London, was to consolidate his thoughts regarding Leeds, the Festival and the issues that had been agitating him for at least the previous month. Depressed, exhausted and anxiously concerned about his health, he sent Spark his resignation as General Conductor.

For Secretary Spark, Sullivan's action came as bolt out of the blue. According to his memoirs, he took the initiative and intervened on his own authority as Festival Secretary, to avoid disaster:

His letter...was not laid before the Committee, and I prevailed on Sir Arthur to continue in office, promising to find him whatever assistance he might require.²⁸³

Spark, at this point, seemed totally unaware that Sullivan was contemplating abandoning the cantata as well as the Leeds baton. Perhaps, Sullivan had expected that his resignation, given his earlier caustic comment to Bendall about Stanford, and his bitter response to Spark's March letter, would have been accepted willingly by the Committee, thus removing the onus to produce anything: he could have escaped from Leeds with honour. As it was, he was still faced with the dilemma of what to do regarding the cantata. From Spark's perspective, with the Festival programme advertised in the press, ticket sales already taking place, and as yet no orchestra booked, he had saved the day. Clearly, Spark regarded a Festival without Sullivan at the helm as a far greater risk at the box-office and elsewhere, than one with an ailing *maestro*. Leeds retained its conductor.

²⁸³ Spark originally introduced the issue of Sullivan's resignation during the first meeting of Festival Guarantors for the 1901 Festival, when he seconded a motion that a vote of thanks be delivered to Sir Arthur for his 20 years of service to the Festival:

Some six months prior to that event [1898 Festival] the composer sent him his resignation on the score of ill health. He (Mr. Spark) felt it would be a calamity to make any change in the conductorship at such a time and persuaded him to withdraw his resignation.

Leeds Mercury, 16 Nov. 1900, p. 3.

Unaware of the drama that was being enacted between their Hon. Secretary and their Conductor, the Leeds Committee members must have been heartened as they read of Sullivan's return to England in late April with the new opera for the Savoy almost complete. However, reality and press releases did not coincide. By the time Sullivan returned to England on Thursday, 28 April, Act 3 of *The Beauty Stone* was only partially composed and virtually the whole work required scoring.²⁸⁴ Rehearsals were already taking place: Sullivan's presence was required at the Savoy Theatre. Comyns Carr paints a description of Sullivan at rehearsals that resonates with other contemporary accounts:

...when...we came to the strenuous times of rehearsal...one was forced to observe the strain he seemed constantly in need of putting himself under in order to get through the irksome labour of the day. There were...brighter intervals when he seemed nothing changed from the man as I first knew him, but...such happier moments would quickly follow long seasons of depression, showing itself sometimes in an irritability of temper so foreign to his real nature as to raise in the minds of his friends, feelings of deep disquietude and anxiety...²⁸⁵

Nevertheless, following another waspish exchange with Spark, who seems to have confused the dates of Sullivan's availability, on Saturday, 7 May, Sullivan honoured his Leeds commitment and undertook the ten-hour round trip for an afternoon's rehearsal with the new chorus. The *Leeds Mercury* gives a lengthy description of the rehearsal and of Sullivan's interaction with his choristers. Plainly, whatever was happening in London, Sullivan relished his few hours in Leeds, enjoying a totally different identity, transformed into the celebrated *maestro*, rather than the beleaguered Savoy Opera composer:

²⁸⁴ However, there was nothing unusual here. Sullivan's working method was to delay scoring until rehearsals were well under way, so that he could determine what orchestral effects would be necessary in relation to the stage action and, in the case of *The Beauty Stone* which had multiple scenes and scene changes, how much incidental music was necessary to cover them. He also seems to have prided himself on the speed at which he could score.

²⁸⁵ Carr, *Coasting in Bohemia*, p. 252.

...on Saturday, a full rehearsal was attended by Sir Arthur Sullivan, the conductor, who came down from London to judge for himself as to the nature of the progress made. The Town Hall...held a large gathering of the public as well as a full muster of the chorus and officials, by whom Sir Arthur was warmly greeted.²⁸⁶

Sullivan, introduced to his new chorus by Secretary Spark, was now approaching his seventh Festival, and knew instinctively how to win their assurance and goodwill:

The worthy conductor acknowledged his welcome in a few words uttered in a conversational tone...Time, he said, brought him before them once again, and he might observe that he was getting on in years. Yet the Leeds Festival remained the one great musical pleasure of his life. He was very proud, and very delighted to be there, and if they would give him their confidence in the same manner and same degree that he had confidence in them, he was sure they would go on to victorious results together.²⁸⁷

Introductions over, the rehearsal began:

...with a trial of...portions of Bach's Mass in B Minor. The Festival Chorus has acquired a reputation for the rendering of this exacting work and the present representatives are not likely to forfeit it.²⁸⁸

What is remarkable, given the pressure that he was working under as *The Beauty Stone* was reaching the final stages of its creation at the Savoy, is the level of energy that Sullivan brought to the rehearsal as well as his clarity of vision. With this initial rehearsal, Sullivan put his new singers through a rigorous set of challenges, doubtless designed for him to evaluate the quality and the balance of tone of the 1898 chorus. He obviously knew what he wanted and knew exactly how to obtain it, deftly and humorously communicating his ideas as well as utilising the local chorus directors while he made assessments of the sound of the combined voices:

²⁸⁶ *Leeds Mercury*, Monday 9 May 1898, p. 6.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

The *Gloria*...however, gave some little trouble... 'Don't beat time with your voices,' exclaimed Sir Arthur...The *Kyrie* betrayed a defective method of breathing on the part of the sopranos, and the tenors were accused of too much open tone. Here Mr. Hattersley took up the baton in order that Sir Arthur might judge of the general effect from the body of the hall.²⁸⁹ Subsequently Mr. Benton acted as conductor, but the parts lie low for the male voices, and some difficulty was experienced in making the theme tell as Sir Arthur desired.²⁹⁰ The chorus...stood for the great *Sanctus*, which naturally created an impressive effect...Following the Mass came a short trial of Handel's *Alexander's Feast*, which Sir Arthur insisted was 'not in the style of *The Messiah*'. In accordance with a precedent in *The Martyr of Antioch* and in order apparently to do as little violence to their feelings as possible, the contraltos were...spared the necessity of standing up with the unregenerate males to sing of Bacchus and his pleasures though the ladies were none the less urged to sing 'with spirit.'²⁹¹

It is very likely that Sullivan surprised everyone by deciding, as he had in 1892, that such an old and familiar Festival warhorse as *Elijah* needed rehearsing, but again, he had his own vision:

The rehearsal closed with a trial of *Elijah*, in which Sir Arthur evidently intends to leave nothing to chance. Here he had to contend with the bugbear of 'tradition'. Possibly they were accustomed to sing this passage faster or that chorus slower. 'Never mind!' said the conductor 'do it my way.' The chorus did as they were told...the singers acquitted themselves remarkably well, and Sir Arthur briefly expressed his satisfaction with them at the close.'²⁹²

Sullivan returned to London by the 6:30 pm train. From the perspective of the Leeds Committee, their Conductor was doing exactly what they expected of him, and there

²⁸⁹ 'Mr. Hattersley' K.F. Hattersley, a local musician, Chorus Master of the Leeds Philharmonic Society and of the Bradford section of the Festival Chorus.

²⁹⁰ 'Mr. Benton' Alfred Benton, Chorus Master of the Leeds Choral Union, Leeds Parish Church organist and Chorus Master of the Leeds section of the Festival Chorus.

²⁹¹ *Leeds Mercury*, Monday 9 May 1898, p. 6.

²⁹² *Ibid.*

was nothing to suggest that the promised new cantata was not going to materialise. In mid-May they read:

Early next month [i.e., June] Sir Arthur hopes to deliver some of the choruses of the new cantata. This week he has been at work at the Savoy, where 'The Beauty Stone' will be produced on Saturday fortnight.²⁹³

This statement appears to be a press release. If this is the case, it raises the question of its provenance. Although there is nothing definite, it may have originated from Sullivan.²⁹⁴ If it did, then he must still have been committed to the Leeds cantata, whatever it was, and something may possibly have been written. Perhaps he believed that he still had both the time and the strength to complete the Leeds commission.

Rehearsals for *The Beauty Stone* were now in their final stages. The Savoy management seemed nervous about the direction the new work had taken, since it was being asserted in the press that stylistically Sullivan's score was a hybrid of *The Golden Legend* and *Ivanhoe*.²⁹⁵ As such, it was unlikely to appeal to their regular audience. Possibly to dispel such rumours, and as part of the preliminary publicity, despite hating the whole process, Sullivan was induced into giving the *Daily Mail* a short interview. He attempted to make it very clear that *The Beauty Stone* was not the usual bill of fare that Savoy audiences were used to and could not have spelt out the difference more plainly:

I am most anxious that the public should understand that the forthcoming Savoy piece is an entirely new departure [...] It is most important that they should know what they are going to see. In the first place the work is not a comic opera. It is a serious, earnest, romantic drama in which the dialogue and action are both as important

²⁹³ *Music and Musicians: Sir A. Sullivan at Leeds, Daily News, Friday, 13 May 1898, p. 6.*

²⁹⁴ If, however, the report originated from the Leeds Committee, then it is equally likely that the source was Sullivan, i.e., that he had informed them of the current state of the cantata.

²⁹⁵ 'Sir Arthur Sullivan's music in *The Beauty Stone* is said to incline more in the direction of *Ivanhoe* and *The Golden Legend* than even the most serious of his Savoy operas.' *Yorkshire Evening Post, Monday, 9 May 1898, p.3, no heading.*

as the music. The musical numbers arise in operatic libretto form, but the sequence of musical numbers, whether songs, trios, or quartettes, never interferes with the dramatic necessities of the play.²⁹⁶

However, to counter the notion that the new work was closer to tragedy and grand opera than topsy turvy comedy, he added, perhaps not wholly convincingly:

I don't mean to say that there is no humour in the piece – there is a delicate humour throughout. But there are no comic songs or numbers in the ordinary acceptance of the term. The story is serious and romantic ...The score although not as heavy as *Ivanhoe* has taken me more time and harder work than anything I have done for some time. You will appreciate the difficulty of making a thing earnest and serious, yet endeavouring to be neither heavy nor dull.²⁹⁷

Nevertheless, he was positive about the prospects of *The Beauty Stone* because of its difference:

[...]I am very hopeful about the piece, because I think the public may welcome something of a novel character [...] I have only to add that I have tried to do my share of the work with the most scrupulous and exacting care. Voilà tout!²⁹⁸

Again, interviewed immediately before the premiere, Sullivan explained the difficulties encountered in composing the new work:

I think the work has proved more arduous than anything else I have done...and this is not explained by the fact that the piece is of a serious character because the composition of a light or comic opera where I must appear to be in a chronic state of high spirits, and write in a light, tuneful vein throughout with the constant fear of the commonplace or the banal before me, is no easy task.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁶ *Daily Mail*, Tuesday, 17 May 1898, p. 3.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁹ *Daily News*, Wednesday 25 May 1898. (The journalist states that the interview took place on Monday 23 May.)

He tactfully glossed over the torment he had faced with Comyns Carr's lyrics, but explained why, at least as far as the scoring was concerned, the work had taken so long to complete:

But in this case, it was a long time before I got into the right groove, and the construction of the concerted numbers, and the instrumentation took me more time than usual. Most of my Savoy Operas have taken about a fortnight to 'score,' but I am sorry to say I have been nearly a month over the instrumentation of this piece.³⁰⁰

Although the reviews were not as universally damning as has been claimed by some sources and several recognised the difficulty that Sullivan had faced in setting the lyrics, it was clear that *The Beauty Stone* bewildered the regular Savoy audience.³⁰¹ A romantic *opera comique*, for all Sullivan's press attempts to prepare them, was not what they had come to expect, or want – and it could not have received its premiere at a worse moment – opening either side of *The Beauty Stone* were box office bursting musical comedies: *A Runaway Girl* and *A Greek Slave* with established stars: Marie Tempest and Ellaline Terris.³⁰²

There was no audience for *The Beauty Stone* and it was quickly apparent that the work was not going to have a long or profitable run, knowledge of which, must have further depressed Sullivan. Given the strain that he had been working under, and the mental and physical toll it had taken on him, it comes as no surprise that once the premiere was over, he looked for escape.

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

³⁰¹ See Jacobs, pp. 384-85.

³⁰² Opening respectively on 21 May, Gaiety, and 8 June, Daly's 1898.

4. The aftermath of *The Beauty Stone*:

4.1 Preparing for the 1898 Festival:

Perhaps, if *The Beauty Stone* had proved successful, it may have regenerated Sullivan's energy and the cantata might have been written. Now, in the wake of the Savoy disaster, and having finally arrived at a decision, he was looking for an escape from his Leeds commitment.

Sullivan rapidly followed the opening night of *The Beauty Stone* by dropping a bomb on the Leeds Committee. Notions fomenting since at least mid-March consolidated. *The Beauty Stone* opened on Saturday, 28 May. At some point, possibly as early as the first days of June, and certainly before Friday 10 June, when an emergency meeting of the Leeds Executive Committee was held, Festival Chairman, Thomas Marshall, and Secretary Frederick Spark, visited Sullivan's London apartment, possibly at his request. There, Sullivan presented the festival authorities with a *fait accompli*, and informed them that because of the state of his health, there would be no cantata. A press release followed:

At a special meeting of the Executive Committee of the Leeds Musical Festival yesterday, Mr. Thomas Marshall...reported that with the hon. sec. (Mr. F. R. Spark) he had an interview with Sir Arthur Sullivan in London respecting his promised new cantata for the forthcoming festival. Sir Arthur Sullivan informed them that he had been strongly advised by his medical attendant to give up all work for two months and go abroad. He therefore felt compelled to give up the idea of composing the Cantata. The Committee accepted the withdrawal of the work with much regret...³⁰³

Herbert Thompson articulated the Committee's exasperation with their composer-conductor in the *Yorkshire Post*, inadvertently touching the truth:

³⁰³ *Leeds Mercury*, Saturday 11 Jun.1898, p. 7.

Sir Arthur Sullivan once again had to disappoint the Leeds Musical Festival Committee of a promised, or at least a conditionally promised cantata. On similar occasions, it has been his fastidiousness in choice of a libretto that has been the hindrance; this time it is a still more serious matter, his health. Whether it may be attributed to the labours and anxieties attendant upon composing the latest Savoy Opera, *The Beauty Stone*...the fact remains that he has been ordered complete rest and will have to spend the summer...abroad. [...] This is doubly grievous since it not only removes a popular attraction from the programme but deprives the committee of the personal attention of their conductor, at a time when his services would be of such obvious advantage to the work of preparation.³⁰⁴

However, Sullivan's withdrawal of his commitment to the cantata did not surprise the northern correspondent of *Musical Opinion*, who had witnessed the 7 May chorus rehearsal:

Musical people generally will be sorry to learn that Sir Arthur Sullivan has been compelled, through physical considerations, to relinquish the idea of writing a new work for the approaching Leeds Festival. The writer of these lines has had doubts as to the possibility of Sir Arthur fulfilling his long-promised engagement ever since the recent full rehearsal of the festival chorus.

He remarked on the toll that the preparation for *The Beauty Stone's* premiere was taking on him:

.... the popular composer-conductor [...] looked thoroughly jaded and worn out by the manifold duties and responsibilities pressing upon him. One can only hope that Sir Arthur may benefit largely by his much-needed change of scene and climate and that he will return to the field of action like a giant refreshed, ready for the fray!³⁰⁵

³⁰⁴ *Yorkshire Post*, Saturday, 11 Jun. 1898.

³⁰⁵ *Musical Opinion & Musical Trade Review*, July 1898, p. 674: *Northern England Musical Notes*.

On Thursday 14 July, with the knowledge that *The Beauty Stone* was about to close, Sullivan left London for Bad Gastein.³⁰⁶ Given what had happened during the course of the previous month, demoralised and exhausted, having spent the first half of 1898 working with demanding colleagues on a demanding composition apparently for nothing other than inflicting damage to his already fragile mental and physical state, arriving at the spa, initially Sullivan had few thoughts for Leeds, the chaos that he had created, or how the Committee might possibly rebuild the programme from the wreckage. That was *their* problem.

While Sullivan relaxed, the Executive Committee had in fact, lost little time in plugging the gap in the programme that the withdrawal of Sullivan's cantata had created. Indeed, before he left for Austria, he must have been aware that at the same emergency meeting that announced the cancellation of his work, an immediate resolution was passed to invite Frederic Cowen to submit his cantata, *Ode to the Passions*, to fill the vacancy in the Saturday morning concert in an attempt to minimise the damage.³⁰⁷ The same press release that informed the public that there would be no new work by Sullivan continued, 'It was decided to ask Mr. Frederic Cowen to complete for the Festival a short cantata which he had begun, and which was offered by him to the Committee a few weeks ago,' and optimistically noted the increased number of guarantors for serial tickets which amounted to an additional £1,700 in revenue.³⁰⁸

An additional meeting of the Executive Committee on Tuesday, 21 June, reshaped the Festival programme and by Saturday 26 June, a new prospectus was issued. Despite the loss, in Sullivan's cantata, of what had been an eagerly anticipated new work, tickets were being snapped up, and the *Leeds Times* was able to report that particularly

³⁰⁶ *The Beauty Stone* closed on Saturday, 16 July, after a run of 50 performances.

³⁰⁷ Frederic Hymen Cowen, 1852-1935. Conductor and composer. Born in Jamaica, educated in England and Leipzig. At the time of the 1898 Leeds Festival, he had just been replaced as conductor of the Hallé Orchestra by Hans Richter. He was also conductor of the Bradford Festival Chorus and Bradford Permanent Orchestra, so a well-known figure in the West Riding.

³⁰⁸ *Leeds Mercury Weekly Supplement*, Leeds Music Festival, Saturday, 18 June 1898, p. 8.

for the opening morning's performance of *Elijah*, '...all the gallery seats had been taken and the seats down stairs up to row 32 or 33.'³⁰⁹

There was to be further fine tuning during the following month, as Harry Plunket Greene was forced to withdraw from his role in Edward Elgar's *Caractacus* because he found it too high. Andrew Black was substituted. Programme changes saw Tchaikovsky's *Orchestral Suite in G* moved from Wednesday morning's concert to Thursday, while additions were made to the Wagner selection for Thursday evening's concert. However, the key element for the Committee must have been relief felt with the continued high demand for tickets: the *Leeds Mercury* remarking that 'seats are being booked rapidly'.³¹⁰ The loss of Sullivan's cantata did not seem to have impacted that heavily after all. Frederick Spark now took steps to ensure that the Festival could continue if it lost Sullivan.

Spark seems to have asked himself the same 'what if' question that Sullivan had postulated in his 26 March letter to Bendall – what if Sullivan's health irretrievably broke down, or he collapsed at a critical moment, perhaps even during a concert? The obvious answer was to ensure that there was a conductor on standby, able, experienced and confident enough to take over a performance at a minute's notice, should a crisis occur, and be adept enough to carry out Sullivan's role for the rest of the Festival. In Frederic Cowen, and Charles Villiers Stanford, Spark assessed that he had two such men.³¹¹ During the summer he arranged that they should be retained in Leeds during the Festival week in the very likely event, as he saw it, of a catastrophe occurring.³¹²

In many respects, Spark, in persuading Sullivan to retain the Leeds baton, had created rods for both of their backs. On one hand, there was the cachet of having Sullivan's

³⁰⁹ *Leeds Times*, Music and Drama, Saturday, 25 June 1898, p. 8

³¹⁰ *Leeds Mercury*, *Leeds Music Festival*, Saturday, 16 July 1898, p. 11.

³¹¹ Charles Villiers Stanford, 1852-1924. Composer, conductor and academic. Born in Dublin, educated at Cambridge University and Leipzig. He became Professor of Composition at the Royal College of Music and was Professor of Music, Cambridge University. He was conductor of the Bach Choir, and from 1897, Leeds Philharmonic Society. Stanford was one of the leading figures of the English Musical Renaissance.

³¹² Spark to Sullivan, 18 Sept. 1899, Morgan Library, ID: 75885.

name at the top of the Festival bill, while his popularity was a guarantee of revenue. Further, given his extensive knowledge and experience of working with elite players, the Committee depended on Sullivan to build their orchestra. On the other, Sullivan, given his apparently failing health, was a cause for anxiety. However, it is questionable, since Frederick Spark's later statements indicate that he had been acting on his own authority as Hon. Secretary, how far the Committee were aware of what was being arranged.

For Sullivan, exhausted and depressed in the wake of the production of *The Beauty Stone* and aware of the ordeal to come at Leeds, the visit to the Austrian spa was an absolute necessity if he was to regenerate his strength and energy and to restore the equilibrium that he needed to cope with a punishing rehearsal schedule and all the fine details and demands that being principal conductor involved, let alone preparing and conducting some enormous works for all nine concerts during the Festival period.

At Bad Gastein, after his torment at the Savoy, Sullivan seems to have focused on relieving his mental state. His *Diary* recorded that from 18 July until 3 August he diligently undertook daily baths and massages. He went for long, solitary walks in the alpine countryside, made the acquaintance of former Liberal Prime Minister, Lord Rosebery, who was also at the resort, conducted a concert of his music and was joined briefly by Joseph Comyns Carr. Clearly, whatever had happened with *The Beauty Stone*, it had not destroyed their friendship. He nevertheless, found himself unable to escape Leeds matters entirely as he maintained a regular correspondence with Frederick Spark, who was himself holidaying in Whitby.

Frederick Spark was however, not being totally honest with Sullivan. Spark kept from him his concerns over Sullivan's physical ability to carry the Festival through. Sullivan was completely unaware of the arrangements that the Festival Secretary had made with Cowen and Stanford, and although he was supposed to be relaxing, he continued to work on the details of Festival preparation. On Wednesday, 27 July, he telegraphed Bendall, who was himself about to depart on vacation to Sweden, to ensure that he confirmed the final engagements for his orchestral players. He dealt with the

changes that had been made to the programming, writing to Spark, 'calling his attention to alteration in programme putting Tchaikovsky Suite immediately after *Merchant of Venice*.³¹³ Putting the two suites together he felt was inadvisable. He must have had the choral and orchestral proofs of Goldschmidt's *Ode* and his own *Merchant of Venice Suite*, with him, since he noted going through them correcting them as well as preparing the other works that he was to conduct.

He recorded, as he left Bad Gastein on Saturday, 6 August, en route to Innsbruck, 'my stay of 3 weeks has been very quiet, and I think very beneficial. I feel much fresher and better,' and informed Spark.³¹⁴ Spark duly relayed the positive news of Sullivan's improved health to the local press: 'Sir Arthur felt ten years younger than when in Leeds for the first rehearsal', adding that he hoped to be in the city for another full rehearsal with the chorus on 3 September.³¹⁵

Indeed, having overcome the potential disaster of Sullivan's lost cantata, Spark and the Committee could feel a large amount of satisfaction: ticket sales continued soar. The concerts had, by mid-August, two months in advance, either sold out completely, as with the Wednesday morning, Thursday morning and evening, as well as the Friday morning, so that 'the only hope...to those desiring seats for these concerts,' were returns.³¹⁶ While 'First seats are still to be had for Wednesday night, Friday night, Saturday morning and Saturday night. There are...not many...left. For Saturday morning only three rows...remain untaken.'³¹⁷ The Leeds Triennial Musical Festival of 1898 seemed to be heading towards an unprecedented financial success.

Travelling through the Alps in gentle stages towards Basel and the express train that would speed him towards England, by 11 August Sullivan had arrived at Thusis. He found Lionel Monckton staying at the same hotel. The two composers had dinner and

³¹³ Sullivan *Diary*, 15 Aug. 1898.

³¹⁴ Sullivan, *Diary*, 6 Aug. 1898.

³¹⁵ *Leeds Mercury*, Leeds Music Festival, Saturday, 13 Aug. 1898, p. 6.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*

spent the evening together, Sullivan remarking, 'Very nice fellow and a real gift for music.'³¹⁸ The evening's acquaintance was to ripen into a friendship that would last for the remainder of Sullivan's life and, at this point, he may possibly have invited Monckton, who, besides his success as a composer of musical comedies, had been one of the music critics on the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and the *Daily Telegraph*, to attend orchestral rehearsals at St James's Hall and to be his house guest at Leeds.

Eventually arriving at his Victoria Street apartment on 25 August, Sullivan worked on Festival administration before, on 27 August, once more making a day trip north, recording, 'Went to **Leeds** to see how things were going on.'³¹⁹ Elgar, Alan Gray and Cowen were rehearsing their works.³²⁰

Certainly, his arrival at the Town Hall was unexpected, the *Leeds Mercury* remarking that whereas the other composers were anticipated 'to try over their respective contributions to the forthcoming Festival...the presence of Sir Arthur Sullivan was in the nature of a pleasant surprise.'³²¹ Sullivan had already, as a result of his May visit, established a rapport with the chorus who were delighted to see him, 'his presence being warmly recognised by the members of the chorus, who were assured by their chief that his visit largely arose out of a natural interest in the new works.'³²² Unsure perhaps, of his reception, since this was his first visit to Leeds since the withdrawal of the cantata, Sullivan added that he had 'a very friendly discussion with the Committee,' before returning to London on the 6:30 pm train.³²³

³¹⁸ Sullivan *Diary*, Thurs. 11 Aug. 1898.

³¹⁹ Sullivan, *Diary*, Saturday 27 Aug. 1898.

³²⁰ A furious Elgar reported the rehearsal to his friend, A.J. Jaeger: 'I had a good rehearsal at Leeds with the chorus, but it makes me, an artist, sick to see that fool Gray allowed as long to rehearse his blasted rot as I am.' Letter to A.J. Jaeger, 29 Aug. 1898. Quoted in Jerrold Northrop Moore, *Elgar and his Publishers* (Oxford: OUP 1987) p. 87.

³²¹ *Leeds Mercury Weekly Supplement*, Sat., 3 Sept. 1898, p. 8. Leeds Festival Rehearsals.

³²² *Ibid.*

³²³ Sullivan, *Diary*, 27 Aug. 1898.

C.V. Stanford, now being retained by Spark, and possibly with his sights on the Leeds baton, was not impressed by Sullivan's return, writing sarcastically to his friend Herbert Thompson, 'I see that A.S.S. is all right again...I thought that he would buck up.'³²⁴

Edward Elgar also left a tiny snapshot of Sullivan's Leeds visit. Writing from Malvern two days later, Elgar commented 'Sir A **DOES** look ill, but I've [only] seen him once before in 1884 so am no judge.'³²⁵

Perhaps attempting to make up for lost time, or at least to impress the Committee, given Spark's accusations earlier in the year, that he still retained his interest and enthusiasm for the Festival, Sullivan returned to Leeds as promised, to conduct a three-hour full rehearsal with the chorus on the following Saturday, 3 September.

Assessing the works that were likely to create the most difficulty, Sullivan chose to give Fauré's *The Birth of Venus* a perfunctory run through and concentrated the bulk of the rehearsal time on passages from Bach's Mass in B Minor, working assiduously to produce the effects that he wanted.

'This Mass,' readers of the *Leeds Mercury* were informed, 'is no new feature...but it is an exceedingly exacting work, and though its difficulties promise to be lightened by the adoption of normal pitch, it continues to demand a great amount of attention.'³²⁶

This, Sullivan meticulously gave it:

The conductor sought various niceties of phrasing of expression, as well as a tone in pianissimo passages to satisfy fastidious ears. All his desires were readily met, for the chorus recognise they have a reputation for the rendering of this Mass, and Sir Arthur...is of all men best qualified to assist them in maintaining it.³²⁷

³²⁴ C.V. Stanford to Herbert Thompson, 23 Aug. 1898, *Thompson Papers*, Special Collection, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.

³²⁵ Elgar's emphasis.

³²⁶ *Leeds Mercury*, *Leeds Festival Rehearsal*, 5 Sept. 1898, p. 3

³²⁷ *Ibid.*

He then used the remainder of the rehearsal to attack the choral sections of Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony*, 'and' continued the *Leeds Mercury*, with the pitch issue and doubtless Leeds's reputation for choral supremacy still in mind, 'it is hoped that this year, with the advantage of the lowered pitch, something like a record performance may be secured.'³²⁸

During his visit, Sullivan must have discussed the Festival Programme with Secretary Spark. As a result, on the following Wednesday a meeting of the Executive Committee took place where 'The Secretary...reported further alterations to the programme, made at the request of the Conductor.'³²⁹ The *Daily News* supplied the fine detail:

...four of the programmes were more or less altered, and that of Thursday evening was almost entirely recast. The novelties...all remain, but among the works now struck out are Schubert's...Symphony in C, Schumann's pianoforte Concerto, which at one time it was vainly hoped M. Paderewski would play, Tchaikovsky's *Mozartiana Suite* and the great love duet from *Tristan*, which Madame Albani and Mr. Lloyd were to sing... instead Madame Albani will be heard in Isolde's death song and Mr. Lloyd in Siegmund's love song...³³⁰

Exactly why, at this late stage, the Festival programme was rearranged, apart from the failure of the Committee to engage Jan Paderewski, can be clarified by two specific issues. First, it had been discovered that Stanford's *Te Deum* was not as long as had been expected. Timed at 50 minutes, it did not fill its allotted place in the programme therefore a filler of some sort was required, while placing the two suites: the Tchaikovsky *Suite in G* and Sullivan's own *Merchant of Venice* together seemed to Sullivan to be unworkable. The most intractable issue was however, the vexed question

³²⁸ Ibid.

³²⁹ *Leeds Mercury Weekly Supplement*, Sat. 10 Sept. 1898. Leeds Musical Festival, p. 37

³³⁰ *Daily News*, Fri.9 Sept. 1898, p. 6. The article also commented 'Sir Arthur Sullivan, the latest convert to Russian music, was again present for the Tchaikovsky programme' at the Queen's Hall.

of pitch. Edward Lloyd would not sing his duet from *Tristan und Isolde* with Emma Albani to the diapason normal...which she had already sung at Covent Garden. Thus, the star singers presented both the Committee and the conductor with an impasse. Certainly, there was nothing to suggest that the Committee felt Sullivan's ability to conduct the wider programme was at all in question and indeed, there is no indication from Sullivan that he in any way thought himself incapable of conducting any of the works to be undertaken at the Festival.

Back in Leeds again on the following Saturday, 10 September, for what must have been an exhausting rehearsal schedule for both conductor and chorus:

Sir Arthur Sullivan...mounted the conductor's desk, punctual as ever. No time was lost in getting down to work and the occasions on which Sir Arthur felt constrained to pull the choralists up were comparatively few. [...] Sir Arthur Sullivan took especial pains with the trying over of Palestrina's work...and as nearly as it was possible to judge, the chorus are well in sight of a reasonably perfect interpretation of this impressive piece of writing.³³¹

Trying out the Palestrina *Stabat Mater* must have been as much of a novelty to Sullivan as it was to the Leeds chorus. He had, in effect, as in 1886, with the Bach Mass in B minor, produced his own performing edition.

With the choral works for which he was responsible rehearsed, and with the next full chorus rehearsal (17 Sept.) in the hands of Frederic Cowen, who was to rehearse his *Ode To the Passions* and Edward Elgar, due to rehearse *Caractacus*, Sullivan returned to London by the 6:30 pm train, before, on the following Tuesday, 13 September, throwing himself into nine days of pleasure at Spa. This time, the sole intention of his

³³¹ Works rehearsed, according to the *Leeds Mercury Weekly Supplement*, Sat. 17 Sept. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*, p.3, Parry: *Blest Pair of Sirens*, Brahms: *Rhapsody*, Goldschmidt: *Ode to Music*, Handel: *Alexander's Feast*, Mendelssohn: *Lobegesang*, Palestrina: *Stabat Mater*.

visit was relaxation in the company of his mistress and a party of friends as he enjoyed the racing, fine dining, and the casino.³³²

Nevertheless, Leeds was not entirely dismissed from Sullivan's mind. Writing from the Hotel d'Orange, on 16 September, he informed Bendall that he had received the scores of the *National Anthem* and *Carnaval Romain*, so presumably he must have been preparing them for performance. However, what really bothered him was an issue that had only just arisen — he had received the revised Festival programme:

The Leeds committee are getting worse and worse. Fancy cutting three movements out of the Mass without saying a word to me about it. I have written a **stinger** to Hannam. It is really a little too strong.³³³

Perhaps, anticipating how Sullivan may have reacted to cutting a work that he obviously loved, the Committee decided to inform him by post, rather than face to face during his 10 September visit. Possibly, the decision had not at that point, been made, though it again, raises the question of why the Committee felt the cuts were necessary. The likeliest explanation would seem to be running time, since unlike the previous occasions when the B Minor Mass had been performed in 1886 and 1892, where it had taken up the entire morning concert, in 1898, it was to be prefaced by Mozart's *Prague Symphony*. With railway schedules built around concert timings, it may be possible that the realization of a potential over-run was very much a last-minute occurrence. It also raises the question of who made the cuts, since Sullivan's comment seems to imply that he was faced with a *fait accompli* over the issue and emphasises the limited amount of influence he had concerning overall Festival programming, though he would have been only too aware that it would be he, as Conductor, rather

³³² 'All the time I was at Spa - Driving about, races for 4 days, breakfasting & dining & casino...' Sullivan, *Diary*, Weds. 14 Sept.

³³³ Sullivan to Bendall: 16 Sept. 1898, Leeds solicitor W.S. Hannam, Chairman of the Programme Committee. Morgan Library, ID: 75826.

than the Leeds Committee, who would bear the brunt of any adverse criticism in their wake.³³⁴

The following day he again wrote to Bendall bothered by last minute issues and details, apparently scribbling them down as they occurred to him, revealing just how extensive his knowledge of the London orchestral players was:

Please write at once to *Morrow* (not tomorrow or today!) and ask him if he knows of a *Bass trumpet* or whether Solomon could play the part (in the *Walküre*) on an ordinary valve trumpet.³³⁵ Perhaps it would be best to write direct to Solomon...I must have another trombone for the Wagner Selection night. I should like to engage Colton...ask him whether he will take the engagement and on what terms. I shall want him for rehearsal in London on Monday (26th) and if there are 4 trombones in the *Tristan Introduction and Liebestod*, of which I am not sure, but *you* can see from the score. Wednesday also. And of course, for the performance at Leeds, I forget if it is Thursday or Friday night - *Thursday* I think. I want him for 3rd trombone, but on a *B flat* instrument, as Matt plays 4th on a *G* trombone.

By the way write to Matt (John) and tell him I hope he will bring a **G** instrument for the Wagner selection.

Remind Middleditch that we want a *Tambour Basque* (a kind of tambourine) for the *Carnaval Romain Overture*. It might be forgotten. I leave here Thursday morning and hope to be home at midnight - I must go to Leeds and rehearse on Saturday. So you can make an appointment with Palliser if she wishes it, on Friday afternoon at **3** - But I don't think it is necessary. [...] Look after the Trombone &c.³³⁶

³³⁴ Did Sullivan's letter to Hannam indicate who he suspected was responsible for the cuts? In 1892, in exceptional circumstances following the death of Lord Tennyson the day before (6 Oct. 1892) Bach's B Minor Mass was prefaced by Sullivan's *In Memoriam Overture*. However, its performance time is less than half that of the *Prague Symphony*.

³³⁵ Trumpeters Walter Morrow and John Solomon.

³³⁶ Esther Palliser, soprano, who was to sing in Fauré's *Ode*, among other items. Sullivan to Bendall. No date, but between Sat. 17 Sept., after Sullivan had transferred from the Hotel d'Orange to the Grand Hotel de l'Europe, Spa and Thurs. 22 Sept., when he returned to London.

Bendall must have complied with the instructions since the issues Sullivan identified were marked off on his letter by small pencilled ticks.

His homeward journey on Thursday, 22 September was broken briefly at Brussels train station on a mission for one of the players in the Festival orchestra, 'when Mahillon met me...with an Eb clarinet *French pitch* which I borrowed for Spencer to play in the 'Walkyrie.'³³⁷

The following Saturday, 24 September, found Sullivan once more undertaking the day trip to Leeds, packing an enormous amount into the short time that he was there. He lunched at the Great Northern Hotel with Committee members, including Chairman Thomas Marshall and Secretary Frederick Spark and went on to direct a two-hour rehearsal with the Festival Chorus. It was the last scheduled rehearsal that he was to have with the chorus alone, taking them through Palestrina's *Stabat Mater*, various portions of Bach's B Minor Mass, Fauré's *Birth of Venus* and Handel's *Alexander's Feast*. He terminated the afternoon's work with a small, ego-boosting speech, informing the choristers that the rehearsal had been excellent, and that 'it was a constant delight to him to attend Leeds rehearsals, for all were invariably attentive and willing to do their best. If the chorus would maintain that attitude through the Festival week, he did not fear that success would be with them.'³³⁸ Then, escorted by a city councillor, he made last minute arrangements with the housekeeper at the Judge's Lodgings on Hyde Terrace, which the City Council had again placed at his disposal, and where he was to reside from the following Friday until the end of the Festival. Returning to

³³⁷ Sullivan, *Diary*, Thurs., 22 Sept. 1898.

³³⁸ *Leeds Times*, Sat.1 Oct. 1898, *Music and Drama*, p. 8.

London by the 6:30 pm train, he arrived back at Victoria Street at 11:30 pm, unsurprisingly, feeling 'rather tired.'³³⁹

After his Leeds expedition, Sullivan spent Sunday at home, making his last-minute preparations for the orchestral rehearsals that were to begin on the following day, Monday, 26 September and with them, the real business of the 1898 Festival commenced.

³³⁹ Sullivan, *Diary*, Sat. 24 Sept. 1898.

REHEARSAL SCHEDULE: LEEDS FESTIVAL, ST. JAMES'S HALL, SEPT. 26–29 1898	
Monday 26	<p>Overtures: Euryanthe: Weber, Genoveva: Schumann, In der Natur: Dvořák</p> <p>Anachreon: Cherubini, Carnival Romain: Berlioz</p> <p>Duet: Closing Scene: Die Walküre, Wagner: soloists: Marie Brema & David Bispham.</p> <p>Rhapsody: Brahms</p> <p>Mozart: Symphony in D: Prague</p> <p>Choral Symphony: Beethoven, x3 movements</p> <p>Les Preludes: Liszt</p> <p>Variations: Tchaikovsky</p> <p>Huldigungen's March: Wagner</p>
Tuesday 27	<p>Ode to the Passions: Frederic Cowen: rehearsal conducted by Cowen</p> <p>Divinites du Styx: Gluck: soloist: Clara Butt</p> <p>Caractacus: Edward Elgar: rehearsal conducted by Elgar.</p>
Wednesday 28	<p>Ode: Song of Redemption: Alan Gray: rehearsal conducted by Gray</p> <p>Liebestod (Tristan): Wagner: soloist: Emma Albani</p> <p>Liebeslied: Walküre: Wagner: soloist: Edward Lloyd</p> <p>Te Deum: Stanford: rehearsal conducted by Stanford</p> <p>Duet: Kenilworth: Sullivan: soloists: Lloyd & Albani</p> <p>Masque: Merchant of Venice: Sullivan</p>
Thursday 29	<p>Moorish Symphony: Englebert Humperdinck: rehearsal conducted by Humperdinck</p> <p>Ode: Birth of Venus: Gabriel Faurè: rehearsal conducted by Faurè</p> <p>Ave Maria: Bruch: soloist: Esther Palliser</p> <p>Alexander's Feast: Handel</p> <p>Mass in B Minor – solo parts only.</p> <p>Choral Symphony – solo parts only</p>

Table 4:

London Rehearsal Schedule: Leeds Festival: 1898.

4.2: London rehearsals:

Under Sullivan's stewardship, Leeds Musical Festival had become a national event that was eagerly awaited by both the musical and national press. Just how important it had become and at what cost to other musical events in the capital was recorded by the *Graphic* as the London rehearsals were about to commence:

The Carl Rosa Opera Company are to have a short season, starting at the Grand Theatre, Islington, on Monday week. Unfortunately, many prominent musicians, the best of the London orchestral players, and the whole of the chief musical critics will be away at the Leeds Festival.³⁴⁰

Sullivan regarded the London rehearsals that took place with soloists and orchestra alone as private, and as the *Leeds Mercury's* representative remarked:

Applause is supposed to be prohibited at these rehearsals, Sir Arthur Sullivan remarking that they are private gatherings and that the audience is only invited to listen and not to express appreciation[...]in these matters the distinguished musician tries to be very severe and asked two ladies to cease chattering.³⁴¹

Nevertheless, whether Sullivan approved or not, passes were issued by the Leeds Committee, which he was obliged to sign, allowing critics and journalists some insight into what to expect at Leeds, particularly as far as the new works were concerned. Charles Villiers Stanford was also present from the opening day of rehearsals, whether as an interested party, given that his *Te Deum* was to be rehearsed on the Wednesday, or in his position of standby conductor, should anything happen to Sullivan, is unclear. If Stanford was present at the Committee's behest and in the latter capacity, certainly, Sullivan was unaware of it.

³⁴⁰ *Graphic, Operatic Notes*, Sat. 24 Sept. 1898, p. 428.

³⁴¹ *Leeds Mercury*, Weds. 28 Sept. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*, p. 5.



Fig. 37: Title page of a special Leeds Festival supplement to the *Windsor Magazine*, Oct. 1898.³⁴²

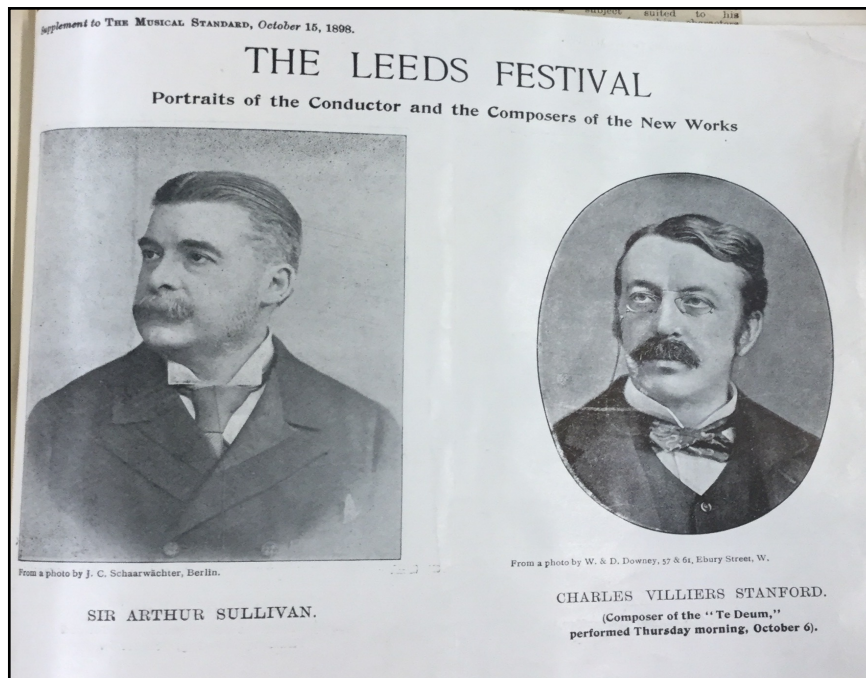


Fig. 38: Special supplement to the *Musical Standard*.³⁴³

Periodicals including the *Musical Standard*, issued special Leeds Festival editions (Figs. 37 and 38) and it is interesting to note, despite his reduced appearances on the con-

³⁴² LMF: PO 1898. p. 252.

³⁴³ LMF:PO 1898, p. 246.

cert platform since the 1895 Festival, the esteem that Sullivan, as a conductor, continued to be held. It was not simply the authorities at Leeds who had his name at the top of their bill, and it served to emphasise the point that Sullivan had made in the bitter letter he had written to Spark in the spring concerning the Festival capitalising on the prestige of his name. A number of commentators, including J.A. Fuller Maitland of the *Times* regretted that Sullivan had been unable to deliver a new cantata for the festival, while in a seven-page illustrated article reviewing the forthcoming Festival for *Windsor Magazine*, Flora Klickmann commented, 'Sir Arthur Sullivan, who is always the attraction *par excellence* at Leeds, will again conduct, this being the seventh Festival at which he has presided.'³⁴⁴ *Truth* remarked:

That Leeds has become the most lucrative and important of our musical festivals is due partly to the thorough preparation upon which Sir Arthur Sullivan insists and partly to the musical proclivities of the West Riding of Yorkshire. 'Football and oratorio' have been said to be the pet pastimes of Leeds.³⁴⁵

The *Graphic* continued the theme of Leeds's premiere position among the provincial musical festivals: the programmes were interesting, it consistently made a profit; it had the prestige of Sullivan as its principal conductor, but the writer also proposed the xenophobic notion that Leeds's success:

is partly due to the fact that it is an English Festival conducted by Sir Arthur Sullivan, the chorus...a picked body of 360 voices drawn exclusively from the West Riding of Yorkshire, while the soloists comprise the best of English singers, and the band is almost to an individual British.³⁴⁶

Doubtless the comment was intended as an oblique attack on Hans Richter's Birmingham Festival.

³⁴⁴ *Windsor Magazine*, Oct. 1898. *Musical England, The Leeds Festival*, p. 591.

³⁴⁵ *Truth*, 6 Oct. 1898.

³⁴⁶ *The Graphic*, 8 Oct 1898, p. 483.

Sullivan's seventh appearance in control of the Festival was therefore welcomed, justifying Spark's refusal to accept his resignation earlier in the year. Observing Sullivan at a promenade concert during the London rehearsal period, the *Monthly Musical Record* reflected widespread sentiment, noting that:

Among the visitors was Sir Arthur Sullivan, looking all the better for his holiday. It was feared he would not be able to conduct at Leeds, but the great improvement in his health has enabled the popular composer to accept various engagements.³⁴⁷

The first day of rehearsals belonged to Sullivan alone. He seemed, after all his preparation, to be energised by their commencement: 'Is it not a magnificent orchestra? Is it not fine? And the instruments, are they not splendid?' he enthused to a Leeds reporter during a brief, unscheduled break.³⁴⁸

The 1898 Festival saw the final orchestra that Sullivan was to create, and it was immediately apparent to the audience gathered at St. James's Hall that it was exceptional. Alfred Kalisch, the *Manchester Courier's* representative found it astounding:

The band – a very fine one which has been selected with extreme care by Sir Arthur Sullivan himself – is about 120 strong [...]The volume of tone in the loud passages was too great for St. James's Hall, and at times sounded almost overwhelming, but in the quieter passages the quality of the strings and rich and satisfying tone of the wind proved very delightful.³⁴⁹

There was new repertoire to be encompassed by both conductor and orchestra as Monday's rehearsal progressed: Dvořák's overture, *In der Natur*, while the 1898 Festi-

³⁴⁷ *Monthly Musical Record*, 1 Oct. 1898, p. 226.

³⁴⁸ *Leeds Mercury*, *Leeds Musical Festival: Orchestral Rehearsals in London*, Tues. 27 Sept., p. 6.

³⁴⁹ *Manchester Courier*, Tues. 27 Sept. 1898, p. 6.

val was to prove the only occasion at which Sullivan conducted any of the newly fashionable Tchaikovsky's works.³⁵⁰ However unfamiliar he may have been with the oeuvre of the Russian composer, he had a clear notion of what he wanted from his instrumentalists. Initially, the *Suite in G* created problems and after numerous stoppages, the entire work was repeated:

The five variations from Tchaikovsky's *Suite in G* were taken in hand and rehearsed with considerable care. They gave some trouble, their difficulties being comparatively unfamiliar; but Sir Arthur is very patient, and the band being full of goodwill, matters were soon set straight.³⁵¹

Liszt's *Les Preludes* and Wagner's *Huldigung's March*, brought what, from Sullivan's perspective, had been a largely productive day, to a close.

Exhilarated by the successful conclusion of the initial rehearsals that were scheduled to last for most of the week of 24 September, and for the seventh occasion, once more assuming his coveted position as the Festival's General Conductor, Sullivan radiated confidence both in the orchestra that he had painstakingly created during the spring and summer months and in his own ability. He recorded: '1st Full Band rehearsal at St. James's Hall – 10-12. Orchestra (all English except Contra Fag, Conrad) 117. Tone magnificent. Soon pulled them together.'³⁵² Perhaps his elation was due, not only to the knowledge that in building his orchestra he had crafted something exceptional, but also to an issue that had a far more personal origin, and which had

³⁵⁰ At no point during Sullivan's 43-year career as a conductor, was he recorded as directing any other work of Tchaikovsky's, although according to a letter written to Henry Wood regarding a performance of the *5th Symphony*, at a Queen's Hall Promenade Concert on 31 Aug. 1898, he hoped to have it scheduled for performance under his own baton at Leeds. Possibly, issues of programme timing meant that instead, he had to settle for the shorter suite and as has been noted, Sullivan had very little control over Festival programming. Certainly, there was nothing to suggest, as Jacobs has done, that failure was due to Sullivan's lack of confidence in approaching the work of an unfamiliar composer or fear of comparison with a younger conductor. See Jacobs, p.391.

³⁵¹ *Manchester Courier*, Tues. 27 Sept. 1898, p. 6.

³⁵² Sullivan, *Diary*, Mon. 24 Sept. 1898.

clearly caused him concern, remarking, 'Used French diapason normal – glad to find it made no difference to my ear.'³⁵³

The euphoria of the first day was not to last. However, during these inaugural rehearsals, Sullivan was introduced to Edward Elgar, then on the cusp of fame, whose cantata, *Caractacus*, was to be premiered at Leeds. Their initial meeting was affectionately recalled by Elgar, who had encountered the older composer under less favourable circumstances in 1884:

The directors of the Promenade Concerts at Covent Garden Theatre were good enough to write to me that they felt sufficiently of my things to devote a morning to rehearsing them. I went...to London to conduct the rehearsal. When I arrived, it was explained...that a few songs had to be taken before I could begin.

Before the songs were finished, Sir Arthur Sullivan unexpectedly arrived, bringing a selection from one of his operas. It was the only chance he had of going through it with an orchestra...He consumed all of my time rehearsing this, and when he had finished, the director came out and said to me: 'There will be no chance of going through your music today.' I went back to Worcester and my teaching.

Years after I met Sullivan, one of the most amiable and genial souls that ever lived. When we were introduced, he said, 'I don't think we have met before.' 'Not exactly,' I replied, 'but very near it,' and I told him the circumstance. 'But my dear boy, I hadn't the slightest idea of it,' he exclaimed, in his enthusiastic manner. 'Why on earth didn't you come and tell me? I'd have rehearsed it myself for you.' They were not idle words. He would have done it, just as he said...³⁵⁴

It was Sullivan who introduced Elgar to the Festival orchestra with 'a charming little speech' that was doubtless intended to both break the ice between Elgar and the instrumentalists and to put everyone at ease.³⁵⁵ Sullivan's generous attitude towards

³⁵³ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁴ *Strand Magazine*, May 1904, Illustrated interviews: No. 81: Dr. Edward Elgar: Rudolf de Cordova, pp. 541-542.

³⁵⁵ *Leeds Mercury*, Weds. 28 Sept. 1898, Mr. Elgar's *Caractacus*, p. 5.

Elgar during the course of the London rehearsals was met with gratitude – Elgar must have been aware that as General Conductor and in overall control of rehearsals involving composers with established reputations, let alone a relative unknown from the West Midlands, Sullivan's attitude was crucial. Nearly thirty years later, he could still vividly recall the older man's encouragement:

I urged him to rest while I went through *Caractacus*, but he remained and made notes of anything which struck him, in that most charming and self-sacrificing way which was always his.³⁵⁶

Sullivan showed more patience towards the doubtless nervous Elgar than did the press as his rehearsal of *Caractacus* bogged down in minutiae and over-ran.³⁵⁷ As the London rehearsals concluded, Elgar wrote touchingly:

Dear Sir Arthur Sullivan,

Forgive me for troubling you with a note when you are very much occupied but I could not let the last day of the rehearsals go by without sending my thanks to you for making my 'chance' possible and pleasant – this is of course only what one knows you would do but it contrasts very much with what some people do to a person unconnected with the schools – friendless and alone, and I am always

Yours very gratefully,

Edward Elgar.³⁵⁸

Elgar's cantata was, however, seized upon by the critics who were in attendance at what was a rehearsal by orchestra and principals alone and therefore largely incom-

³⁵⁶ Edward Elgar to Herbert Sullivan, 29 Dec. 1926. Quoted in *Sir Arthur Sullivan*, Percy M. Young, Dent, London, 1971, p. 216.

³⁵⁷ Edward Baughan in the *Musical Standard*, 1 Oct 1898, was particularly scathing regarding Elgar's conducting ability.

³⁵⁸ Letter to Sullivan from Edward Elgar, Junior Conservative Club, London, 29 Sept. 1898. Elgar Birthplace Museum, letter 2628

plete, as the outstanding new work of the 1898 Festival and although, as noted, applause was supposed to be prohibited, *Caractacus* was met with such surprise and delight that every section was received with approbation.³⁵⁹ Indeed, if Elgar read the pages of *Truth*, he may have been gratified to find this comment:

There is a rapidly growing feeling among Festival and other music lovers against the pessimism which the South Kensington party have for some time wittingly or otherwise, imported into Festival music. We are heartily sick of Requiems, Stabat Maters, lugubrious Odes; and Mr. Elgar, a musician of Malvern, wisely reading the signs of the times, has seized his opportunity.³⁶⁰

However, for Sullivan, there were two intractable problems which had to be faced during the London rehearsals. First was the disappearance in the German postal system, of Engelbert Humperdinck's *Moorish Symphony*. Impossible to rehearse, its loss raised potential concerns for the Festival's programming. There were rumours in the press that it had been delivered to 'Herr Solomon, Hamburg,' rather than 'Herr Sullivan, London.'³⁶¹ Humperdinck was described by a *Leeds Mercury* reporter as wandering disconsolately around St. James's Hall, in the forlorn hope that his music, which he stated had been posted on the previous Monday, might possibly appear.³⁶²

The second problem concerned the rehearsal schedule itself (Table 4). While Sullivan was responsible for the programming, there was nothing he could do about the amount of time available to him, either at St. James's Hall, or when the whole forces, including the chorus, were assembled at Leeds directly before the Festival began. The issue of time allocated for rehearsal purposes was determined by the Executive Committee and ultimately hinged on the expenses which they were prepared to outlay regarding the engagement of the orchestra and principals and for the hire of St. James's

³⁵⁹ *Leeds Mercury*, Weds., 28 Sept. 1898, *Mr. Elgar's Caractacus*, p. 5.

³⁶⁰ *Truth*, 5 Oct. 1898.

³⁶¹ *Daily News*, Fri. 30 Sept. 1898, p. 6 *Music and Musicians*.

³⁶² *Leeds Mercury*, Thurs. 29 Sept. 1898.

Hall. Beginning with the 1886 Festival, Sullivan had negotiated an additional day's allocation for the London rehearsals, but given the scale of the programme for 1898, even without the new works that were to be premiered, the task was monumental. Faced with only four hours available to him, (rehearsals were scheduled to run between 10:00 am - 2:00 pm without breaks) it was remarked that during Monday's rehearsal, Sullivan gave a perfunctory run-through to four of the five timetabled overtures, stopping only occasionally to alter phrasing.³⁶³ However, the unfamiliar, Dvořák's *In der Natur*, was treated meticulously:

The opening did not strike Sir Arthur as being rendered in a sufficiently fanciful manner, and here and there more expression and more distinct phrasing were wanted. Eventually, the conductor turned back to the front page, and ordered a repetition. This time there were only two stoppages. The finale electrified the audience, the diminuendo being given with remarkable delicacy.³⁶⁴

Enraged by what he referred to as 'the rottenness of the whole Festival rehearsal system,' Edward Baughan devoted a three-page editorial in the October edition of the *Musical Standard* to the shortcomings dictated by limited preparation time and in so doing, left a comprehensive account of what was taking place at St. James's Hall during the week and of Sullivan's direction.

He too, remarked that only Dvořák's overture was 'polished up until it promises to be given a very fine and sympathetic performance at the festival' but turning his attention to other works on Monday's schedule continued:

Certainly, the orchestra knows its closing scene from "Die Walküre" and both Madame Brema and Mr David Bispham do not require any rehearsal at all (beyond giving tempos to the conductor?), but it was sad to hear the splendid orchestral music not much more than run through. [...] All this is no reflection on Sir Arthur Sullivan, who really did wonders in cramming a quart of music into a pint of rehearsal...³⁶⁵

³⁶³ *Leeds Mercury*, Tues. 27 Sept. 1898, p. 6.

³⁶⁴ Edward Baughan, *Musical Standard*, 1 Oct. 1898, *Comments and Opinions*, p. 210.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

Herman Klein of the *Sunday Times*, was also present at the opening day's rehearsal and concurred with Baughan's observations, remarking that with just four hours at his disposal, even for a master of his craft like Sullivan, who had the confidence of his instrumentalists, the time available was inadequate:

Sir Arthur Sullivan is...proud of his exclusively English band...and there exists between the conductor and his instrumental executants an amount of mutual confidence and understanding that leads with marvellous directness and celerity to admirable results...Even Sir Arthur Sullivan, quick and sweetly reasonable as he is found last Monday morning's task a heavier one than he could accomplish.³⁶⁶

Consequently, it proved impossible for Sullivan to rehearse either the orchestral movements of Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony*, or Mozart's *Prague Symphony* which were postponed. The schedule was already, as Baughan had predicted, showing signs of strain.

Baughan, during the week, pursued his theme, remarking that Cowen and Stanford made the rehearsals of their new works absolute models of how they should be undertaken, before attacking the inexperienced Edward Elgar. Baughan delighted in the score of *Caractacus*, perspicaciously announcing the arrival of a brilliant new talent, however, there was a barb to his criticism:

I have no hesitation in saying that "Caractacus" is not only the most important of the novelties but...is a composition which definitely determines Mr. Elgar's position as the first of modern British composers [...] It is a pity...that "Caractacus" is not to be conducted by a professional conductor at Leeds, for Mr. Elgar is not a good conductor at all...during the rehearsals it has been evident that he cannot make the men under his command understand to the full precisely the effect he desires to obtain; but festival fashion puts a premium on the suicide of composers, and Mr. Elgar will be the latest victim.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁶ Herman Klein, *Sunday Times*, 2 Oct. 1898. LMF:PO, 1898, p.232.

³⁶⁷ Edward Baughan, *Musical Standard*, 1 Oct. 1898, p. 210

In fact, it was clear by Tuesday afternoon, and Elgar's over-running rehearsal of *Caractacus*, that the schedule had become impossible to adhere to. On Wednesday, following Stanford's session with the orchestra, Elgar again took up the baton, picking up the threads which he had been forced to abandon during the previous day. Yet again, work on *Caractacus* broke the timetable, and eventually Sullivan, who the *Daily Mail* reported 'was not looking so well as could be wished,' was forced to dismiss his players who 'had been nearly four and a half hours at trying work.'³⁶⁸ In addition to the Festival Committee's parsimony, the *Glasgow Herald* identified a further difficulty in the way of extending rehearsal time:

It is understood that the reason for these 'before luncheon' rehearsals is that some of the band is engaged at the Queen's Hall Promenade Concerts and are wanted for rehearsals in the afternoon.³⁶⁹

It was not only the inexperienced Elgar that Sullivan had to accommodate. Clara Butt, who owed her Festival debut to Sullivan, and who was on the threshold of major stardom, attracted Baughan's wrath for unnecessarily taking up valuable time by giving what amounted to a full-scale performance of Gluck's *Divinités du Styx*. From Baughan's perspective, there was nothing admirable in what he perceived as the young singer's vanity. However, the *Pall Mall Gazette's* critic was positively effusive, describing how 'Miss Clara Butt chose not to give a perfunctory performance but to show the audience (however few of it) what she could do in the matter, and with triumphal results.' He was not unique – there was an obvious disconnect between Baughan and others, like the representative of the *Leeds Mercury* who enjoyed the frisson of a concert-perfect performance.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁸ *Daily Mail*, Thurs. 29 Sept. 1898, *Musical Notes*, p. 3. *Glasgow Herald*, Weds., 28 Sept. 1898: *Dramatic and Musical*, p. 7

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁰ Edward Baughan, *Musical Standard*, 1 Oct 1898, p. 210, *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Leeds Festival rehearsals*, 28 Sept. 1898, p.4, *Leeds Mercury*, *Leeds Musical Festival*, 28 Sept. 1898, p. 5.

An interesting light was thrown both on the diapason normal controversy that had flared over the previous 18 months and on the late change in programming when the renowned tenor, Edward Lloyd, came to rehearse his Wagner aria. Lloyd, who was one of the stars of the concert circuit and whose non-appearance at Leeds would have been almost unthinkable, was in his final season of appearances, having already announced his retirement.³⁷¹ He had been unhappy with the new pitch adopted by Hans Richter at the previous year's Birmingham Festival, maintaining that it did not suit his voice, and when it came to Wagner at Leeds, he insisted on the orchestra transposing his *Liebesliede* from *Die Walküre* upwards by a semitone to Philharmonic pitch.³⁷² Before the September alterations to the programme, he had been scheduled to sing the great love duet from Act II of *Tristan und Isolde*.

The notion of Albani, the greatest soprano of her generation, partnered by Lloyd, greatest British tenor of his, in what should have been a sensational duet, must have appealed to the Leeds Committee both artistically and commercially. However, Covent Garden had already adopted the diapason normal, therefore, either Lloyd or Albani would have had to relearn the duet, depending on the pitch chosen at Leeds. It seems reasonable to assume that neither singer was prepared to compromise, hence the late change to the programme. Once again, Sullivan was required to bear the brunt of the amendments, it being announced by the Leeds Committee that the alterations were at their conductor's insistence, when it was the result of a star singers' petulance. Leeds could engage Edward Lloyd, but on his terms, including as Baughan noted, the tempo at which he would sing: 'Apparently, Mr. Lloyd set the tempo,

³⁷¹ Edward Lloyd had appeared at every Leeds Festival since 1874, when he had substituted for an indisposed John Sims Reeves.

³⁷² Lloyd's unhappiness with the change to the diapason normal, is indicated by his refusal to sing at the previous month's Gloucester Festival (Sept.1898), and this comment: 'Mr. Edward Lloyd has intimated his unwillingness to take part at the Triennial Festival at Leeds on the ground that the Leeds Committee have adopted the low pitch, which does not suit his voice.' *Hull Daily Mail*, Tues., 1 Feb. 1898, p.2. Elgar, in composing *Caractacus*, had written the character of Orbin specifically for Lloyd, therefore any notion of his non-appearance at such a late date, could have been disastrous.

which, to my mind, was in places ludicrously slow.' It was a point not lost on Baughan's colleagues during Lloyd's Leeds performance.³⁷³

In a final twist to the whole diapason normal controversy and one which, from Sullivan's perspective, must have been tinged with an enjoyable irony, given the personal attack on his opinion during the previous year, there was the necessity of hiring a small harmonium to cover the organ part of Stanford's *Te Deum*, since the St. James's Hall instrument was still tuned to Philharmonic pitch.³⁷⁴

Although many of the items that Sullivan was to direct at Leeds were familiar both to him and to his players, the sheer scale of the orchestra that he was to conduct produced additional complication and pressure: piloting his 117 players through the intricate delicacy of Mozart's *Prague Symphony* called for special skills, and on previous occasions he had made his opinion clear: Mozart was not suitable for such an enormous orchestra. Further, it was repertoire that had become unfashionable – the *Leeds Mercury's* representative remarking that, 'The music is not of a type to take the modern ear by storm, but it is none the less of extreme beauty, and may well enlist attention' – yet Sullivan, according to the critic of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, succeeded in impressing the listeners:

Yesterday [Tues.] his rehearsing included the Mozart symphony in D which, if one may say so much, promises for a very fine performance indeed. Few musicians of our day are so delicately in touch with Mozart as Sullivan.³⁷⁵

Thursday, 29 September, the final day of rehearsals, once again saw Sullivan attempting to cram as much as possible into the time at his disposal and in the end, whether because of events that he could not control or by having confidence in his own ability and hoping to be able to make up time once he had all his forces assembled in Leeds, it was he who had to abandon his personal schedule, giving the works he was due to

³⁷³ Edward Baughan, *Musical Standard*, 1 Oct. 1898, p. 210.

³⁷⁴ *Leeds Mercury*, Thurs. 29 Sept. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*, p. 5.

³⁷⁵ *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Leeds Festival rehearsals*, 28 Sept. 1898, p.4. No.38: *Prague Symphony*.

rehearse little more than a run through and in one case, Handel's *Alexander's Feast*, less than that. The principal beneficiary of Sullivan's decision and of the extra time, was Edward Elgar, who grasped the opportunity to go over several passages that had caused the orchestra difficulty, and to complete the rehearsal of *Caractacus* that had been abandoned, having once more over-run on Wednesday afternoon but in effect Thursday's rehearsal belonged to the celebrity continental composers: Humperdinck and Fauré.

From the angry perspective of the *Yorkshire Evening Post*, the reduction of Sullivan's allotted rehearsal time was unsatisfactory, declaring that:

Today's proceedings at the Festival rehearsals were varied, but...Too much time was taken up by Herr Humperdinck and M. Fauré...with the result that Sir Arthur Sullivan had to curtail his work.³⁷⁶

However, Sullivan, who the *Leeds Mercury* described as 'looking very tired,' introduced Englebert Humperdinck to the orchestra. Humperdinck, with the arrival of some of the parts of his *Moorish Symphony*, was able to make at least a cursory attempt at a rehearsal.³⁷⁷ It was 'tried through as well as possible under the circumstances,' noted the *Yorkshire Evening Post's* correspondent.³⁷⁸ However, the brass parts were still lost in the post and Humperdinck, not having access to a full score, was forced to conduct from a first violin part. The *Leeds Mercury's* reporter acknowledged the German composer's difficulties, which were compounded by his lack of English, noting that 'Sir Arthur...was standing by his side, interpreting his wishes to the band,' also added that he did not think that the *Moorish Symphony* was likely to be the most successful of the new works.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁶ *Yorkshire Evening Post*, Thurs. 29 Sept. 1898, *The Leeds Musical Festival: Conclusion of the London Rehearsals* p. 4.

³⁷⁷ *Leeds Mercury*, Fri. 30 Sept. 1898, *The Leeds Musical Festival, French and German Composers*, p. 4.

³⁷⁸ *Yorkshire Evening Post*, *The Leeds Musical Festival: Conclusion of the London Rehearsals*, Thurs. 29 Sept. 1898, p. 4.

³⁷⁹ *Leeds Mercury*, Fri. 30 Sept. 1898, *The Leeds Musical Festival, French and German Composers*, p. 4.

Fauré, who also needed the multi-lingual Sullivan's assistance, followed Humperdinck to the podium to conduct his Ode, *The Birth of Venus*. The *Glasgow Herald's* correspondent remarked caustically:

At Leeds, this will be given with chorus, when, no doubt, its interest will be enhanced; but at present it seems very French, and if truth be told, rather dull.³⁸⁰

Although Edward Baughan was prepared to concede that it was unfair to make any kind of judgement concerning Humperdinck's work, given the state it was in, he left during Fauré's composition without comment. He did, however, have a message to pass on: 'if the conductor [i.e., Sullivan] and the committee be wise, they will give these works [*Caractacus* and the *Moorish Symphony*] precedence of all others,' when the full rehearsals commenced at Leeds.

Sullivan eventually received the baton at around 12:30 pm, taking Esther Palliser through the *Ave Maria* from Max Bruch's cantata *Das Feuerkreuz*, which the *Leeds Mercury* remarked was 'rendered...in a pleasing and tasteful manner.'³⁸¹ However, with the rehearsal officially timed to end at 2:00 pm, Sullivan now had a little over an hour at his disposal to direct his principal singers through what should have been complete rehearsals of the solo parts for Handel's *Alexander's Feast*, Bach's B Minor Mass and Beethoven's *9th Symphony*. As it was, from *Alexander's Feast*, he limited himself to a run through of the duet *Let's Imitate Her Notes* with Esther Palliser and Ada Crossley. After a few bars of the succeeding chorus, and with time obviously pressing, he informed the orchestra: 'that's all right, I must rehearse the rest at Leeds,' and turned his attention to Bach's B Minor Mass: the *Christe Eleison* with Palliser and Marian Mackenzie as well as Harry Plunket Greene's two solos.³⁸² In Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony*, postponed from Monday, Sullivan had another complex work that he wanted to give attention to.

³⁸⁰ *Glasgow Herald*, Fri. 30 Sept. 1898, p. 7.

³⁸¹ *Leeds Mercury*, Fri. 30 Sept. 1898, p. 4.

³⁸² *Yorkshire Evening Post*, Thurs. Sept. 29, 1898, p. 4.

Sullivan must have had the goodwill of the orchestra with him when, with his allotted rehearsal time ending:

...came the big treat of the day, Beethoven's Choral Symphony, and although it was past two o'clock when it was commenced, Sir Arthur decided to rehearse every bar...it was a magnificent performance, and the veteran Sir George Grove declared to me that it was one of the finest he has yet heard. There were occasional stoppages, for Sir Arthur was determined, tired as he and the band were, to get a perfect rendering...Hearty applause was bestowed at the end of each movement and finally, at a quarter to three, Sir Arthur shut the score, and having thanked the instrumentalists for their attention, he ran out of the hall to enjoy a cigarette!³⁸³

The orchestra, who had been playing virtually continuously for five hours, and their conductor were exhausted – 'Jolly tired all of us!' commented Sullivan in his *Diary*.³⁸⁴

The following day, Friday, 30 September, saw Sullivan, his servants and Marco, his dog, taking the 12:25 pm train from King's Cross to Leeds and his temporary home at the Judge's Lodgings on Hyde Terrace, where he was to reside for the next eleven days. Most of that evening was taken up by a rehearsal with the chorus – the 'Leeds contingent' – which he found 'very useful'.³⁸⁵ The orchestra arrived that evening by special train, which also brought one of Sullivan's house guests, his fellow composer and former music critic of the *Daily Telegraph*, Lionel Monckton. Like a gigantic puzzle, all the elements that were to constitute the 1898 Leeds Festival were now in place and due to assemble promptly at 10:00 am in the Victoria Hall on the morning of Saturday, 1 October for the final, full rehearsals of all the Festival forces.

³⁸³ *Leeds Mercury*, Fri. 30 Sept., 1898, *Leeds Festival*. p. 4.

³⁸⁴ Sullivan, *Diary*, Thurs. 29 Sept. 1898.

³⁸⁵ Sullivan, *Diary*, Fri. 30 Sept. 1898. Neither Sullivan, nor the local press (if any were present), recorded what was rehearsed – possibly Mendelssohn's *Lobgesang*, which otherwise would have been performed at the closing concert with only Sullivan's 17 Sept. rehearsal.

4.3 Leeds and the Festival: Ticketing:

LEEDS
MUSICAL FESTIVAL,
October 5, 6, 7, and 8, 1898.

A Limited Number of Second Seats for Saturday Night can now be obtained. Price **8s.** for each Ticket.

There will probably be **no Second Seats** for any other Concert.

First Seat Tickets can still be had for Wednesday Night, Friday Night, Saturday Morning, and Saturday Night.

First Seats (Morning) each	- -	£1 1 0
Do. (Evening) „	- -	0 15 0

For Lodgings apply to Mr. W. H. TATHAM, Town Hall Superintendent, Leeds.

FRED. R. SPARK,
42, Great George Street, Leeds, Hon. Sec.
Aug. 13, 1898.

Fig. 39: The ticket situation by mid-August 1898. Second Seat allocation was extremely limited – only ten rows were available. (Musical News, 20 Aug. 1898)

MISCELLANEOUS WANTS.

WANTED, empty PACKING CASES and BOX.—Fickle Factory, 24, Great Wilson Street.

YOUNG Married Couple in comfortable circumstances, being children but very fond of children, desire to adopt little girl of sensitive birth, from 2 to 5 years old; full surrender; premium required. £20.—G. Brooks, 13, Mersea Road, Colchester, Essex.

WANTED, something novel to give away as Christmas Gift, suitable to greet; almanacks excluded; number about 200.—Address, stating price and full particulars, to 269, The Yorkshire Evening Post, Leeds.

WANTED to Buy, REHEARSAL TICKETS for Leeds Musical Festival.—Address 306, The Yorkshire Evening Post, Leeds.

WANTED at once, a good sound BOX HAND-CART; novel price, size, and all particulars, and where seen.—Address 87, The Yorkshire Evening Post, Leeds.

Fig. 40: Advertisement for rehearsal tickets for the 1898 Festival. Yorkshire Evening Post: Tues, 6 Sept. 1898

TWO SERIAL TICKETS wanted for the **LEEDS MUSICAL FESTIVAL**; must be in good position. Address G 462, Mercury-office, Leeds.

Fig. 41: Advertisement for Serial Tickets for the 1898 Festival Leeds Mercury: Mon, 26 Sept. 1898.

The financial success of the 1898 Festival was guaranteed long before Sullivan raised his baton. Indeed, such was the demand for tickets that by the beginning of September, with most of the concerts already sold out (Fig. 39), a lively black-market trade had begun with advertisements appearing in the personal columns of the Leeds press, requesting either serial or rehearsal tickets to purchase (Fig. 40 and 41). B.W.

Findon, writing as the full rehearsals began in early October, was shocked to discover rehearsal tickets selling at 10/- (£50 cv) – three times their face value – to those anxious to have some experience of the Festival.³⁸⁶ The unprecedented demand, initially from subscribers buying a £6 package (£596:90 cv) for all nine concerts, or a 5 guinea package (£530 cv) that included eight Festival concerts but excluded Saturday night's Popular Concert, and subsequently from the general public, meant that every concert had sold out at 'first' prices: 1 guinea (£106:20 cv) for the morning concerts and 15/- (£75 cv) for the evenings, the exception being the so-called 'Popular Concert' on the evening of Saturday 8 October. This concert was not regarded as part of the Festival proper and was therefore only included in the £6 subscription package – yet even here, the cheapest tickets retailed at 8/- (£37:50 cv) and there were to be only ten rows of them, effectively pricing out many Leeds music-lovers.³⁸⁷

By comparison, the cheapest tickets available for an individual concert in the Leeds Philharmonic Society series for 1898 was 1/- (£6:20 cv) where some of the soloists at the 1898 Festival: Clara Butt, Harry Plunket Greene, Esther Palliser and William Green, together with the Hallé Orchestra, might be heard under the direction of the Society's conductor, C.V. Stanford. Other entertainment in Leeds could be had for pennies: a seat in the gallery of the Leeds Grand Theatre cost 9d (£4:65 cv) the Theatre Royal, offering a wide choice ranging from drama to musical comedy, charged 4d (£2:60 cv) for a seat in its gallery, the Tivoli Theatre, a music hall, charged 6d (£3:10 cv) for the pit. At the Leeds Coliseum, which also doubled as the Philharmonic Society's Christmas concert venue, cheapest admittance for Dyson's Diorama and Gypsy Choir, together with 'animated photography' was 8d, (£5:20 cv) while Hengler's Circus charged 6d for admission. Clearly, if the Leeds Festival had ever reached out towards the music-loving public of the city, it was now, as a national event, beyond the pockets of all but the wealthiest.

³⁸⁶ B.W. Findon, 'I heard this morning...that some of the more commercially disposed [members of the chorus] had sold them at 10 shillings, which says something for Yorkshire smartness.' *Morning Advertiser*, 4 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical festival*

³⁸⁷ Current value: measuringwealth.com, accessed 21/04/2016

Throughout September, correspondence in the local press had called the Festival Committee to task for this very issue:

Now that the Festival is approaching...allow me to express...my deep regret and dismay...at the action of the Festival Committee in ignoring altogether the popular section of Leeds music lovers more than at any principal Festival. As all the tickets have been sold at a guinea...and there are no vestibule seats, I presume the bulk of the musical population of Leeds, who cannot command guineas, even triennially, must gain their impressions of the Festival from the columns of the daily papers, and to them the world famous and much lauded Leeds chorus must remain a name only. This may be good business, but it does not further the cause of art; and while it may be fitting that music should be a handmaid to charity, it is morally and ethically wrong that she should serve also at the shrine of mammon...Therefore, I appeal to Mr. Spark and his committee to give an extra performance at popular prices in the week following the Festival for the benefit of those whom the Festival is a forbidden paradise.³⁸⁸

A reader in Wakefield picked up the previous correspondent's annoyance that they had been priced out of what was still regarded by many as local event, however the Festival might be perceived to the world outside the West Riding of Yorkshire, spelling out more forcefully the resentment that had been generated by the rising prices:

I am very glad that someone has at last spoken out upon the wrongfulness of turning the...Leeds Festival into...money-making concern. It is sad indeed...that so large a proportion of real music lovers with slender purses should be cut off from enjoying even a second seat at the Festival which, by the action of the committee, thus becomes a Festival for the rich.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁸ *Leeds Mercury*, Tues. 6 Sept. 1898, Correspondence: *Viola*, letter #1, p. 7.

³⁸⁹ *Leeds Mercury*, Weds. 7 Sept. 1898, Correspondence: *A Guinea Hen*, p. 7.

The *Leeds Mercury* and the *Sheffield Independent* took up the theme and while sympathising with 'those of the community whose interest in the proceedings is in inverse ratio to their available or surplus supply of cash' pointed out the expense involved in mounting the Festival and the desire to benefit the medical charities. The only solution available seemed to be 'that the longing outsiders...promptly secure tickets for the full rehearsals, which very much resemble the real thing.'³⁹⁰

Harry Gomersall, a former tenor chorister from Cleckheaton, who had sung in the Leeds Festival Chorus between 1889 and 1895, and who was the only correspondent among the many who made complaints to identify himself, raised a further issue which in turn presented the Festival Committee's ticketing policy in a less than favourable light:

The Festival Committee have at several previous Festivals presented each member of the chorus with one ticket each for each of the final rehearsals. They have also allowed each member of the chorus to purchase one more ticket for each rehearsal at the price of 2s 6d. For the forthcoming festival, the committee have issued a circular to the chorus intimating that each member is entitled to purchase two tickets for each rehearsal at the price of 2s 6d each ticket. This...implies that no tickets are to be given at all.³⁹¹

Gomersall made the valid point that for the 1898 Festival, with its exceptional ticket sales, and a guarantee fund that stood at over £40,000, it was impossible for the committee to plead poverty.³⁹² He added that although Sullivan's orchestra was exceptional, most of the soloists could be encountered in any provincial city during what he

³⁹⁰ *Leeds Mercury*, Fri. 9 Sept. 1898, *Dramatic and Musical Notes*. *Sheffield Independent* (in context of Festival rehearsals), Fri. 4 Oct., *Final Rehearsal*. With rehearsal tickets being sold at 2/6d, admission to all 6 rehearsal sessions would have cost 15/- (£75:00 cv) which sum, always assuming the purchasers also had the time available to attend, was by no means cheap. Wages for factory hands ca. 1898 were £38:00, per annum (£3,781 cv), and for skilled labourers were £46:00, per annum (£4,576 cv), so the purchase of rehearsal tickets would represent a serious investment. (source: Robert C. Allen, *Incomes in the English-Speaking World*, from *Labour Market Evolution* (London: Routledge, 1994, Appendix, tables 6A.2 & 6A.5).

³⁹¹ *Leeds Mercury*, Thurs., 8 Sept. 1898, Correspondence: Harry Gomersall, p. 6.

³⁹² *Musical Times*, Nov. 1898, p. 730.

termed as 'the concert season'. However, the Leeds Festival Chorus, which he assessed, constituted the greatest attraction for the festival goers, was unique:

The chorus can only be heard at the Leeds Festival...it is really the backbone and ought to receive generous treatment at the hands of the committee.³⁹³

He projected forward to the full rehearsal, which Sullivan was to conduct on Saturday, 10 September, indicating that some sort of demonstration by the chorus against their perceived unfair treatment by the committee was planned:

I hope that the chorus will pour forth its indignation at the full rehearsal on Saturday, and let the committee feel its power by resenting this treatment, which is at once ungenerous, unnecessary and uncalled for.³⁹⁴

It seems unlikely that there was a demonstration by the chorus. If there was, it must have been so low key that neither Sullivan, with his exceptionally empathetic relationship with the choristers was aware of it, nor the local press representatives, who were present at the rehearsal, thought it important enough to record.

The same issue of the *Leeds Mercury* recounted a further indignity meted out by the now perceived mean-spirited Festival Committee. A correspondent identified only as 'G' expostulated their indignation at the treatment of the chorus but took Harry Gomersall's observations a stage further to embrace one of the chorus masters:

The money grubbing spirit displayed by the great Festival Committee is truly sickening [...] Another instance of the miserly conduct of this august body came to my notice...One of the chorus masters applied for tickets for himself and wife to attend two evening concerts. He was supplied with these – but had to pay the full price (15s each) for them...one would think that a couple of serial tickets would not have been an extraordinary compliment to a gentleman occupying such a distinguished post?

³⁹³ Ibid.

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

[...]If it were generally known [...] how little the chorus masters receive for their arduous services, our great and magnanimous Festival Committee would be branded as mere sweaters.³⁹⁵

In attempting to defend the Committee's actions, and with possibly what was intended as a jocular analogy, Frederick Spark succeeded in making the situation worse by maintaining, in a particularly patronising way, that there was not a lot of point in wishing for what could not be afforded by using the price of a must-have fashion item: the sealskin jacket. Correspondent *Viola* found the comparison vulgar and once more rose to the support of those who lacked the means to buy tickets but who would still have liked to have participated in the Festival in some way:

I see that Ald. Spark has noticed...the complaints made in your columns...I did not expect...much sympathy from Ald. Spark...yet I am sadly disappointed at the entirely commercial view of the question taken by the hon. Secretary. It is deplorable to find such an illustrious citizen descending to the pettiest form of commerce...to find an analogy wherewith to correct his critics. This is not a case of "a person who can only pay two guineas wanting a ten-guinea sealskin jacket for that sum because she likes it as well as the person with ten guineas" but rather...of the man who has been selling sealskin jackets, raising the price to ten. However, the analogy is not good, and the grievance of music lovers is that second seats are not to be had, that the People's Saturday Night Concert has been taken away and that with the abolition of the vestibule seats their last chance of participation is gone.³⁹⁶

The correspondent terminated their letter effectively by quoting Spark against himself in a passage from page 30 of *The History of the Leeds Musical Festivals* that he had co-authored with Joseph Bennett in 1892:

It is to the honour of the first Festival Committee that, while engaged in catering for the higher classes of amateurs, they did not overlook the lower, but resolved upon an

³⁹⁵ *Leeds Mercury*, Thurs. 8 Sept. 1898, Correspondence from G, p. 6. ('Sweaters' – exploiters of labour.)

³⁹⁶ *Leeds Mercury*, 13 Sept. 1898, Correspondence: Viola letter #2.

extra concert, not within...the Festival...to be given at cheap prices ... [thus] they left to Leeds the credit of a very valuable and considerate measure...³⁹⁷

The letters of the disappointed appearing in the Leeds press during September proposed various alternate means whereby an aspirational audience might be able to hear a little of the Festival: the chorus could promote a concert in its own right employing a locally raised orchestra, while there might possibly be enough good will to persuade those involved to give an additional concert – a notion which perhaps had its origin in memories of the People's Concerts.³⁹⁸ Many deplored that because of health and safety issues, the Committee had decided to eliminate seating in the vestibule at the Victoria Square entrance, which had at least allowed the concerts taking place to be heard, if not seen, at a somewhat reduced price.³⁹⁹ However, even though the story of the hard-hearted and money-grubbing Leeds Festival Committee was picked up by the national and musical press, the Committee itself remained unmoved.

Unsurprisingly, therefore, when the full rehearsals began in the Victoria Hall at 10:00 am on Saturday 1 Oct., not only were the critics there to evaluate the programme, performers and conductor, the hall itself, which had a capacity of 2,500 for the occasion, was crammed on the ground floor with those who had obtained rehearsal tickets as the only means of participation in the event that was about to occupy the heart of their city during the following week. (The gallery was reserved for members of the Committee, their friends and members of the Leeds establishment, critics, etc.) The *Yorkshire Evening Post* reported 'a very large attendance of the general public, members of whom were greatly disappointed at being unable to find accommodation.'⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁷ Ibid.

³⁹⁸ The last People's Concert took place following the 1883 Festival.

³⁹⁹ Ticket prices for the vestibule for the 1895 Festival were still not cheap, 10/-, (£50 cv) 8/- (£37:50 cv) and 3/6d (£15:65 cv). The Committee's decision to eliminate seating in the vestibule for the 1898 Festival – the Victoria Square entrance to the Town Hall – was taken for health and safety reasons.

⁴⁰⁰ *Yorkshire Evening Post, Leeds Musical Festival, Oct. 1, p. 3.*

Led by the major national newspapers, the heavy press presence at rehearsals even before the performance days, serves once again to underline just how important the Leeds Festival had become in terms of the national musical calendar. Nevertheless, the compromise of allowing the public to purchase cheap tickets to rehearsals and thus, enjoy at least a sample of the Festival, was obviously problematical both to Sullivan as General Conductor, composers of the new works and performers alike, as the *Liverpool Daily Post's* correspondent outlined:

There is quite a festival air about the City today, and the rehearsals at the Town Hall have been almost as crowded as are the festival performances proper...so large have they been that the question... [is] whether it is in the interest of the composers and artistes that the rehearsals of the new works should take place under such circumstances. It is...unpleasant for performers to be checked and practically blamed by a conductor in the face of two thousand or three thousand people, and it is equally trying to a composer conducting his own work. Either he must speak his mind before the audience or suffer the faults to go unnoticed, to the detriment of the work. However, the system has its advantages in permitting the chorus to entertain their friends and in affording excellent performances within the means of those whose purses are unequal to festival prices.⁴⁰¹

Herbert Thompson, music critic of the *Yorkshire Post*, who was also present and was not impressed, continued the theme and for once, Sullivan, towards whom he was normally antipathetic, won his admiration:

Sir Arthur Sullivan fortunately possesses the gift of expressing volumes of either satisfaction, or the reverse in a look...he is not deterred by the presence of an audience from regarding the occasion as a matter of a severely business character.⁴⁰²

Thompson ended a rambling article by attempting to justify the elitism with which the Festival had now come to be associated:

⁴⁰¹ *Liverpool Daily Post*, Sat. 3 Oct. 1898: *Leeds Music Festival, Final Rehearsals*.

⁴⁰² *Yorkshire Post*, Sat. 3 Oct. 1898: *Leeds Musical Festival*.

The advantages of admitting so many of the public are equally obvious. Festival concerts are not, and cannot be, suited to all purses and without holding that musical susceptibilities belong exclusively to those whose means are limited, it is at least as well that they should not be cut off from all participation in the Festival.⁴⁰³

Given the expense of mounting the Festival, and also considering the great social event that the Festival had now become, and for which Sullivan had no little responsibility, it was a problem which was intractable. It was one thing to recognise the elitism of the Festival and indeed revel in its existence – the Leeds papers issued daily lists of the great and the good from the city, the West Riding and beyond who were in attendance – but there was never any intention to address it. Thomas Marshall, Chairman of the Festival Committee, when reviewing the outcome of the 1898 Festival, made it clear in no uncertain terms that:

It was, perhaps unfortunate that they had been unable to admit a large portion of the public who wished to attend the Festival, but by allocating the surplus funds so as to benefit a large number of people, they managed to reconcile philanthropy with the necessities of the case. The Leeds Festival was not a charity concert — no one went to it because he wished to benefit his fellow creatures, but simply on account of a love for music.⁴⁰⁴

The assumption must therefore be, that in the minds of the Committee, individuals needed to be of a certain status to enjoy what the Festivals offered. For much of the population the Festival would inevitably remain beyond their reach, whatever their aspirations. The closest they could get to participation in a Leeds Festival, if they did not possess vocal and musical ability to enable them to pass the stringent auditions for the chorus, would be as passive observers, watching as bourgeois Leeds paraded itself, approaching or arriving at the various points of ingress to the Town Hall from George Street, Calverley Street and Victoria Square. This was not a festival for Leeds and in many respects, bears out Sullivan's notion of great festivals 'in musical matters...a huge boa constrictor that took an enormous gorge once in three years and

⁴⁰³ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁴ *Leeds Mercury*, 23 Nov. 1898 *Leeds Musical Festival*.

fasted in the interim,' and had nothing to do with, or generated little (except perhaps, in the occasional work that found a life beyond its festival premiere, such as Sullivan's *The Golden Legend*) towards the music making of the place in which they took place.⁴⁰⁵ B.W. Findon the following year, perhaps writing in the afterglow of the 1898 Festival, argued that the Leeds Festival was the hub around which musical Yorkshire flourished, but it seems a difficult argument to sustain. The two Leeds musical and choral societies, the Philharmonic Society and the Choral Union, which formed the backbone of the Leeds contingent of the Festival Chorus, had independent and rival existences of their own during non-Festival years, which were entirely outside the Festival's sphere of influence.⁴⁰⁶ It seems as if the Festival took advantage of their existence, rather than vice-versa.

REHEARSAL SCHEDULE: LEEDS MUSICAL FESTIVAL: 1 OCTOBER, 1898		
Time	Work	Conductor
10 am	National Anthem	Sullivan
	Cherubini: Anacreon overture	Sullivan
	Bach Mass in B Minor	Sullivan
	Parry: Blest Pair of Sirens	Sullivan
Break: 1-2 pm		
2:00 pm	Ode to the Passions	Cowen
	Handel: Alexander's Feast	Sullivan
Break 4:45-7 pm		
7:00 pm	Berlioz: Carnival Romain	Sullivan
	Brahms: Rhapsody (postponed until Mon.) Cornelius: Vätergruft: soloist: Harry Plunkett Greene and Leeds section of male chorus, plus sopranos, substituted.	Sullivan

⁴⁰⁵ Sullivan quoted in Lionel Carley, *Edward Grieg in England*, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006) p. 135.

⁴⁰⁶ B.W. Findon, *The Chord*, Sept. 1899, *The Provincial Musical Festival: A Reply*, p. 65-70.

REHEARSAL SCHEDULE: LEEDS MUSICAL FESTIVAL: 1 OCTOBER, 1898		
Time	Work	Conductor
	Elgar: <i>Caractacus</i>	Elgar

Table 5: Leeds rehearsal schedule: Saturday 1 October 1898.⁴⁰⁷

The Sheffield columnist noted that there were some deviations from the original plan outlined above but, from what can be ascertained, this principally concerned the order in which the works were rehearsed. For example, Parry's *Blest Pair of Sirens* was rehearsed after Cowen's *Ode to the Passions* and *Alexander's Feast* was also moved to the afternoon session. Brahms *Rhapsody*, because Marie Brema, the soloist had yet to arrive in Leeds, was held over to Monday's rehearsal. Given the above, it appears that Sullivan was attempting to give Elgar and *Caractacus* as much rehearsal time as possible.

4.4. Leeds rehearsals:

Sullivan's reappearance in command of the Leeds forces was widely welcomed. 'It is good...to find Sir Arthur Sullivan...in command of forces that have so often worked under his baton to splendid and triumphant ends,' commented the critic of the *Daily Telegraph*, noting that the Festival that was about to take place was the seventh under Sullivan's general direction. Most perceptively, he pinpointed what had become an exceptional and highly personal relationship between chorus and conductor that was to have further manifestation as both the rehearsals and the Festival progressed:

Between Sir Arthur Sullivan and the famous Yorkshire choir there is a strong bond of union. To the conductor the control of such a body of singers must be a constant delight, while if I interpreted aright the burst of applause that welcomed Sir Arthur to his rostrum on Saturday morning, the attachment of the Leeds singers to their commander has its foundation alike in esteem for the musician and affection for the man.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁷ *Sheffield Independent*, Mon. 3 Oct., 1898, p.7 & Sullivan, *Diary*, Sat. 1 Oct. 1898.

⁴⁰⁸ *Daily Telegraph, Leeds Musical Festival*, Tues. 4 Oct. 1898, p. 5.

With the Victoria Hall full to bursting with civic dignitaries, members of the Festival Committee, local magnates, critics and reporters, as well as members of the public who had paid their half-crowns (2/6d, cv: £12:50) for the occasion, and with members of the Leeds police force on duty, apparently, to discourage the audience from any kind of demonstration, promptly, at 10:00 am, Sullivan began rehearsals with the entire Festival forces. He was responsible for two-thirds of Saturday's schedule, with Frederic Cowen's *Ode to the Passions* occupying the first part of the afternoon session. The majority of the evening rehearsal belonged to Edward Elgar and *Caractacus*. (Table 5)

The *Musical News* set the scene for the day:

The Band which has been rehearsing in London this week for the Leeds Festival is an exceptionally fine force. The strings play with a brilliancy and a delicacy which is often missed in a large orchestra, and the whole ensemble is extremely fine. The low pitch is now in full swing, and Mr. Edward Lloyd is in his old place as chief tenor soloist notwithstanding certain irresponsible prognostications which were as uncomplimentary to a great and experienced singer as they were erroneous in assuming that Leeds would be wanting in pitch reform. Although all kinds of lugubrious things have been prophesied, there has been nothing by the way of false intonation to complain of at the rehearsals and we may now dismiss the much-argued pitch question as a settled thing.⁴⁰⁹

Where Birmingham had failed in the vexed question of pitch at the previous year's festival, Leeds adoption of the diapason normal was already seen to have triumphed – although the writer could not have been aware of the exceptional measures that had been taken to ensure Edward Lloyd's appearance.

⁴⁰⁹ *Musical News*: Sat., 1 Oct. 1898, *Comments on Events*, p. 281.

After a roll call, during which it was discovered that soprano soloist, Esther Palliser was missing, Sullivan's own arrangement of the National Anthem, 'thankfully,' wrote Thompson, 'docked of its most noticeable vulgarities,' instead of the more usually performed Costa edition, marked the beginning of the day's proceedings.⁴¹⁰ Having run through Cherubini's *Anachreon Overture*, and even without the arrival of Palliser, whom he suggested should be fetched, Sullivan commenced rehearsing what, from his perspective, was to be the most arduous part of the day: Bach's B Minor Mass.⁴¹¹ He had previously rehearsed the chorus in the Mass during preliminary Leeds rehearsals as far back as May, as well as during the late summer sessions. He had worked with the soloists and the orchestra, albeit hurriedly, during the previous week at St. James's Hall, but this was the first occasion at which he had all his forces together. Irrespective of the onlookers, Sullivan was concerned shaping the future performance. According to the *Leeds Daily News*:

Sir Arthur was in a working humour and his critical powers were in constant requisition. The bulk of this fell on the band, though chorus and principals all came in for advice in turn.⁴¹²

Initially, according to the reporter, the chorus seemed disappointing: they were dull, and tame and it was well into the rehearsal before they showed any sign of animation. However, as they continued:

The chorus began to get into their musical stride...once started on the improving path they made rapid progress under Sir Arthur's admonitions. In fact, they improved with

⁴¹⁰ Herbert Thompson, *Yorkshire Post*, 3 Oct. 1898. Thompson, together with Fuller Maitland of the *Times*, was one of the few critics to recognise that the National Anthem played at the 1898 Festival was not the usual version by Sir Michael Costa.

⁴¹¹ The American soprano, Esther Palliser, had decided what the style of a prima donna at the Leeds Festival ought to be, and arriving late, brought her dog to rehearsals. The way the incident was reported in the press seems to indicate a general opinion that she made a fool of herself (p. 182). What Sullivan, who could be a martinet when he chose, may have said, has not been recorded. However, the dog did not appear at subsequent rehearsals – neither was she late.

⁴¹² *Leeds Daily News*, Sat. 3 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival, First Grand Rehearsal Day*, LMF:PO, p. 85, 1898.

every new attempt and Sir Arthur was not slow to commend the change his 'That was very good indeed,' rejoicing their hearts.⁴¹³

The orchestra was not immune from the conductor's demands, either, though perhaps Sullivan's improvised correction of parts was due to the late and seemingly arbitrary cuts:

Many of the orchestral interludes had to be repeated and phrases retried. Considerable difference of opinion existing between the violins and the conductor, as to the meaning of the semiquavers, minor defects in the scores also had to be corrected by Sir Arthur's pencil, while the audience marvelled at his skill in detecting the wrongdoers.⁴¹⁴

Although it was considered unusual, Sullivan, in attempting to produce as authentic a sound in performance as possible, had insisted, since his first direction of the Mass in 1886, on the use period instruments – trumpets that he had ordered to be fabricated for the purpose and the introduction of oboi d'amore. The *Sheffield Independent's* correspondent was particularly surprised by 'The bright effects of the special trumpets', as well as being enthused by the principals.⁴¹⁵ He also noted Sullivan's adjustments to the orchestral parts and work to improve the expression of both the instrumentalists and chorus, adding:

It was evident in the beautiful *Crucifixus* and the *Sanctus* and the *Hosanna in Excelsis* that the chorus feel they have a reputation to sustain, and that they will prove equal to the calls made upon them.⁴¹⁶

Leaving nothing to chance, Sullivan utilised Frederic Cowen's presence, handing him the baton for a repeat of the *Qui tollis*, while he assessed the effect and the balance of sound from the rear of the hall before breaking for lunch. He and his forces had

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁵ Principals for the Bach B Minor Mass: Esther Palliser, Marian Mackenzie, William Green and Harry Plunkett Greene.

⁴¹⁶ *Sheffield Independent* Mon. 3 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival: Full Rehearsal*, p. 7.

been working for two and a half hours on the Mass, but without his missing soprano soloist the work could hardly be considered finished to performance standard.

Frederic Cowen's *Ode to the Passions*, the first of the Festival's new works to be rehearsed, began the afternoon session. Despite posters proliferating throughout the Victoria Hall requesting the listeners not to applaud, there was a spontaneous outbreak of cheering at its conclusion which Cowen acknowledged, thanking both chorus and orchestra for their interpretation of his cantata, before handing the baton back to Sullivan.

Handel's ode, *Alexander's Feast*, which had been given such short shrift at the London rehearsals, this time received more thorough attention and again, as with the Bach B Minor Mass, Sullivan found himself correcting his players scores as well as having to reanimate the chorus which, unsurprisingly, was beginning to exhibit signs of fatigue. It was an unfamiliar work and, as the *Bradford Observer's* reporter noted, they sang some of the choruses with a suspicion of listlessness and unpreparedness:

The majority of singers gave 'Break his bonds of sleep asunder' with eyes glued to their books. Sir Arthur called for a repetition, suggesting that it should be more 'rousing.' This word from their popular leader proved quite sufficient. The vocalists smiled, stood up, Sir Arthur did likewise, and the chorus was given...with the requisite fire.⁴¹⁷

Esther Palliser also made a belated appearance for the rehearsal of *Alexander's Feast*, maintaining that she 'had not known that she would be wanted earlier,' and according the *Leeds Mercury*, raised eyebrows by being 'accompanied on the platform by her pet fox terrier, which, if somewhat *de trop*, adapted itself to the surroundings with the instinct of good breeding.'⁴¹⁸ Although the reporter informed his readers that *Alexander's Feast* was 'by no means Handel at his best,' by the conclusion of the

⁴¹⁷ *Bradford Observer*, 3 Oct. 1898, LMF:PO, 1898, p. 194.

⁴¹⁸ *Leeds Mercury*, 3 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival, The Full Rehearsals*. LMF:PO, 18981 p.1.

rehearsal, the work seemed to promise well for its performance on the following Friday.⁴¹⁹ Parry's *Blest Pair of Sirens*, which Sullivan had rehearsed during his 10 September visit, was given an additional polish before he called a lengthy break at 4:45 pm. Chorus, orchestra and conductor had been working for nearly six hours – all must have found it necessary to recuperate before the commencement, at 7 pm, of the evening session.

From the perspective of the audience, whatever the frisson there may have been at being the first to hear the new works and to get a taste of the other items on the programme, rehearsals could be tedious when faced with seemingly endless repetition as Sullivan sought to secure the effects he required:

We had some orchestral performances during the day, presumably to break the monotony for the crowds who pay for these occasions and might rebel if they had to sit out a whole rehearsal hearing nothing but bursts of choral music, broken every few minutes by the conductor's 'Number 9' or 'Letter E', which signifies 'Turn back' and portends despair to the listener.⁴²⁰

The point, however, from Sullivan's perspective, was that whatever the audience crowding into the Town Hall thought they had come to hear, these were rehearsals and not finished performances. As General Conductor, his role was to ensure that during the course of the Festival, particularly with regard to the works for which he had the responsibility of directing, all should be aware of his intentions. Curtly, sarcastically or humorously, he was scrupulous in this respect.

The evening rehearsal began with a bright performance of Berlioz' *Carnaval Romain* overture under Sullivan's baton, to be followed by Cornelius' unaccompanied work, *Vätergruft*, (*The Ancestral Tomb*) which showcased Harry Plunkett Greene, the Leeds portion of the male chorus and the soprano section. The *Leeds Mercury* reporter

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁰ *Glasgow Herald*, Mon. 3 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*, p.7.

thought it strikingly lugubrious, in marked contrast to Herbert Thompson who referred to the setting as beautiful.⁴²¹ However, Sullivan wanted it repeated, allowing himself a gentle, surreal reproof, observing: 'the basses are right; the tenors, too, are right; but — some of the others are wrong!'⁴²² While the ladies' chorus understood the joke and laughed, others did not: Sullivan's comment returned to haunt him as it was reported in a mangled form during the following week, with the implication that he somehow regarded the chorus as deficient.

Finally, *Caractacus* was presented as a complete work, rather than the component parts that had been heard in London:

Sir Arthur Sullivan...making way for that bright particular star that has risen at the close of the century and which is flooding the world with refulgent light, Mr. Edward Elgar taking his place at the conductor's rostrum for a preliminary performance of his specially composed cantata.⁴²³

The Sheffield reporter would not be the only critic to draw a parallel between Elgar's *Caractacus* and Sullivan's *The Golden Legend*, remarking that the duet between Edward Lloyd and Medora Henson:

Is the finest of its kind since Sir Arthur Sullivan's famous duet in *The Golden Legend*. Sung as it was by Madame Medora Henson and Mr. Edward Lloyd this evening, there can be no wonder that the tumultuous applause and general demonstration of delight were such as has not been equalled in this fine hall since that memorable evening in October 1886, when Albani and Lloyd sang Sir Arthur Sullivan's music for the first time [...] Evidently Mr. Elgar has come to stay.⁴²⁴

⁴²¹ Herbert Thompson, *Yorkshire Post*, 3 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival: Full Rehearsals*, LMF:PO, 1898, p.28.

⁴²² *Leeds Mercury*, 3 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival: The Final Rehearsals*, LMF:PO, 1898 p. 1.

⁴²³ *Sheffield Independent*, Mon. 3 Oct., *Leeds Musical Festival: Full Rehearsal*, p.7.

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.*

The duet provoked a storm of applause that brought the wrath of Secretary Spark and the police in a vain attempt to silence the onlookers in accordance with the protocol forbidding demonstrations, 'but,' wrote Thompson sympathetically, 'what audience could resist the high G with which the duet ends, even were the music less beautiful than it is?'⁴²⁵ Alice Elgar was blunter: 'Mr. Spark interfered,' her diary recorded.⁴²⁶

As the rehearsal continued, Elgar was every bit as demanding with the Leeds forces as he had been at St. James's Hall:

Mr. Elgar is not easily satisfied. He knows what he wants, he asks no impossibilities of his interpreters, and he expects to have his ideas set forth in their fullest meaning. Hence there were stoppages not a few, with consequent and manifest improvement.⁴²⁷

With work on *Caractacus* completed, Sullivan terminated the evening session at 10:00 pm, recording optimistically in his *Diary*, 'Everything very satisfactory and promises well.'⁴²⁸

Sullivan spent Sunday, 2 Oct, quietly. 'A day of rest'. Either he had hired a carriage or had one placed at his disposal, since the afternoon found him taking a small excursion in the pleasant autumn sunshine with his housekeeper, Clotilde Racquet, driving out to Headingley where he strolled about the lanes before returning to the Judge's Lodgings and dining privately with his guests.⁴²⁹ He had a further full day's public rehearsal to face the following day.

⁴²⁵ Herbert Thompson, *Yorkshire Post*, 3 Oct. 1898, LMF:PO, 1898 p. 28.

⁴²⁶ Alice Elgar, *Diary*, 3 Oct. 1898.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁸ Sullivan, *Diary*, Sat. 1 Oct. 1898.

⁴²⁹ Sullivan, *Diary*, Sun. 2 Oct. 1898.

REHEARSAL SCHEDULE: LEEDS MUSICAL FESTIVAL: MONDAY 3 OCT, 1898.		
Time	Work	Conductor
10 am	Te Deum	Stanford
	Beethoven: Choral Symphony	Sullivan. Postponed because of the arrival of Sir Hubert Parry.
	Parry: Blest Pair of Sirens	Not scheduled for rehearsal. Interposed by the arrival of Sir Hubert Parry and rehearsed by him.
	Beethoven: Choral Symphony	Sullivan
Break: 1:00 – 2:00 pm		
2:00 pm	Alan Gray: A Song of Redemption	Gray
	Palestrina: Stabat Mater	Sullivan
	Mendelssohn: Elijah	Sullivan
Break: 4:30 – 7:00pm		
7:00 pm	Fauré: The Birth of Venus	Fauré
	Humperdinck: Moorish Symphony	Humperdinck
	Brahms: Rhapsody	Sullivan
	Goldschmidt: Ode to Music	Sullivan
	Miscellaneous items	Sullivan

Table 6: Leeds rehearsal schedule: Monday, 3 October, 1898⁴³⁰

After the fine weather of Sunday, Monday in Leeds city centre dawned in dense industrial fog, 'even the hall was full of the thickened atmosphere which the electric

⁴³⁰ Schedule reconstructed from reports in the *Sheffield Independent* and *Glasgow Herald*, 4 Oct 1898.

light did not quite penetrate' wrote the correspondent of the *Sheffield Independent*.⁴³¹ However, the weather did not seem to put off the audience that once more crammed itself into the Victoria Hall.

Rehearsals began with the first of the new works: Stanford's *Te Deum*. Repeating the trouble-free rehearsal that he had enjoyed at St. James's Hall, a bad-tempered Davidson of the *Glasgow Herald* maintained that Stanford was too easy going:

He did not make many stops, and was perhaps too often content to point out defects without insisting on a repetition to his taste...The audience like his style, of course, and were very pleased when Albani set the example to her colleagues...of singing out in her most effective concert manner.⁴³²

What followed Stanford's rehearsal remains unexplained and is the strangest of all the incidents relating to the 1898 Festival. Sullivan should have rehearsed Beethoven's *Choral Symphony*, but he suddenly found himself supplanted. The *Yorkshire Evening Post's* representative explained:

An unexpected change in the programme took place this morning in the repetition of Dr. Parry's *Blest Pair of Sirens*, which had been rehearsed on Saturday under the conductorship of Sir Arthur Sullivan. Dr. Parry himself wielded the baton today, and as may be imagined, met with the heartiest of receptions.⁴³³

As the journalist noted, Sullivan had rehearsed the work during Saturday's schedule and was due to conduct the performance on the following Friday.

Parry's *Diary* for Friday, 30 September records: 'Home about 6:45; found rehearsal list for Leeds summoning me for *Sirens* tomorrow. Clearly impossible.'⁴³⁴ Parry seems to imply that there was an arrangement already in place with the Leeds authorities

⁴³¹ *Sheffield Independent*, Tues., 4 Oct. 1898, Final Rehearsals, p. 7.

⁴³² *Glasgow Herald*, Tues., Oct 4, 1898, Leeds Musical Festival Rehearsals, p. 9.

⁴³³ *Yorkshire Evening Post*, Mon., 1 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival: Today's Rehearsal*, p. 4.

⁴³⁴ I am grateful to Jeremy Dibble for providing this information.

whereby he would both run a rehearsal of his work and conduct the performance on Friday, 7 October. There is currently no evidence to suggest when this arrangement took place – Sullivan had conducted the rehearsal with the chorus on 10 September – therefore it may perhaps, be assumed that the decision to invite Parry to conduct happened at a later point: too late for Parry's name to be included in any of the Festival advertising for Friday's programme.

It is impossible to know with whom the decision rested. However, given that Parry, in the wake of the performance of *Blest Pair of Sirens*, dined with the Festival's Hon. Secretary, Frederick Spark and his son-in-law, Herbert Thompson, it may not be unreasonable to imply that Spark was at the root of Sullivan's removal.⁴³⁵ It may be speculated that Spark was acting in what he regarded were the best interests of both the Festival and Sullivan – during interviews given by Spark in the wake of Sullivan's unexpected death in November 1900, the Festival Secretary went out of his way to highlight Sullivan's ill health at the time of the 1898 Festival, how concerned he was by it – perhaps Parry was part of his replacement plans. In his memoirs, Spark stated that in rejecting Sullivan's proffered resignation, part of the agreement whereby Sullivan was induced to continue had been to alleviate his work load at the Festival.⁴³⁶ However, if that was the explanation, arbitrarily removing him from conducting one short work seems bizarre – unless it can be explained by the performance schedule on Friday, 7 October, that saw Sullivan conducting the Bach B Minor Mass, described by one critic as the Festival's 'warhorse', during the morning concert, and a lengthy programme of Wagner extracts in the evening. However, the afternoon concert, during which *Blest Pair of Sirens* was due to be performed, was not unduly heavy for Sullivan. (See Table 8) Perhaps it was assumed that since Parry, the composer, was avail-

⁴³⁵ Alice Elgar recorded that she and Edward were also Spark's guests that evening. Alice Elgar, *Diary*, 7 Oct. 1898.

⁴³⁶ 'with the Festival so near...the hon. sec....besought him [Sullivan] to withdraw his resignation urging that help should be given him and his duties made as light as possible. Sir Arthur agreed...' *Mercury*, Fri. 23 Nov. 1900. Mr. F.R. Spark's Reminiscences (part of a lengthy obituary of Sullivan) p. 5.

able, Sullivan, who had shown himself to be notoriously touchy towards whom he allowed to wield the baton at the Festival, would have no choice but to accept a *fait accompli*?⁴³⁷ If this was the reasoning, then while Spark's motivation may be understood, he was, nevertheless, being discourteous in not providing Sullivan with either advanced warning or an explanation of the change of plan and personnel.

Whatever his feelings regarding Parry's unexpected appearance, Sullivan informed the chorus of his arrival and that Sir Hubert would like to try over his ode. Parry was greeted positively, and having in mind that he was now to rehearse them as well as conduct the performance on the following Friday, he explained that unfortunately, he could not have attended at Saturday's rehearsal and that as 'Every composer had eccentric notions about the performance of his own work...he just wished to show them where his eccentricities came in.'⁴³⁸ The whole situation had the air of a last-minute fix about it, with Sullivan being reduced to a stop-gap.

Parry, having conducted 'little snatches of *Blest Pair of Sirens*,' left the rostrum commenting 'It's a splendid chorus; it's glorious,' leaving Sullivan to resume the baton and rehearse the delayed *Choral Symphony*.⁴³⁹ He did not record his feelings at having had his rehearsal and the subsequent performance of *Blest Pair of Sirens* sabotaged, albeit by the composer, but there are indications in the comments by observers from the *Leeds Daily News*, *Glasgow Herald*, *Yorkshire Post* and the *Sheffield Independent* that Sullivan was seriously disturbed by what had happened.⁴⁴⁰ In marked contrast to the grandeur of the London rehearsal, the reporters commented that the symphony

⁴³⁷ Sullivan to Spark, 17 Nov. 1891: 'On this point there must be no misunderstanding. I allow no one to conduct except those composers who have written new works for the Festival.'

⁴³⁸ *Glasgow Herald*, Tues., 4 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Festival Rehearsals*, p. 9.

⁴³⁹ *Yorkshire Evening Post*, *Yorkshire Echoes*, Oct.3 1898, p. 3.

⁴⁴⁰ That Sullivan was upset by Parry's unexpected intervention is clear from his behaviour. At rehearsal at the Savoy, Leeds and elsewhere, he could be amusing, curt or bitingly sarcastic. Other than at this rehearsal, there is only one other occasion recorded where he lost his temper, shouted and broke his baton: Leeds Festival 1880, during a rehearsal of *The Martyr of Antioch*, where it is difficult not to conclude that Dr. William Spark, the City Organist, who deeply resented Sullivan's appointment in preference to his friend, Sir Michael Costa, set out deliberately to antagonise him.

went badly – that the normally even-tempered Sullivan 'expressed his dissatisfaction in no uncertain manner' towards the orchestra, 'and was actually dancing mad at one point.' Unusually, for a man who had spent much of his professional life assessing and coordinating levels of sound between stage and orchestra, 'The soloists...were...more than once cruelly overpowered by the band'. The reporter added optimistically, that 'There will doubtless be a great improvement on Saturday morning, when the work is given.'⁴⁴¹

The lunch break and Alan Gray's rehearsal of his *A Song of Redemption*, may have given Sullivan the opportunity to obtain an explanation for Parry's appearance and for what had happened at the morning session, but it did not seem to have given him the time to regain his equilibrium for the rehearsal of Palestrina's *Stabat Mater*. In a further attempt at authenticity, discarding the Wagner edition, Sullivan had decided to divide the chorus into two separate choirs. The *a capella* 16th century motet should have been another means of showcasing the Leeds chorus, but the rehearsal did not go well, much to Sullivan's annoyance – he was now beyond jokes – as the *Liverpool Daily Post* observed. Despite repetition: 'the choir sustained their pitch only well enough to elicit his observation that it was 'much better; you only dropped a tone this time.' Sympathising with the chorus and the demands that Sullivan was making on them, the reporter commented that his remark was 'a sarcasm that was hardly merited.'⁴⁴²

The final work to be rehearsed in the afternoon session was Mendelssohn's *Elijah*. Nationally a festival perennial, *Elijah* was a guaranteed generator of revenue: In 1898, it was the first of the concerts to sell out. Since the work was well known to performers and orchestral players alike, it was rarely rehearsed, nevertheless, six years earlier, at the 1892 Festival, Sullivan had created a minor sensation by deciding to rehearse it in full, rather than leaving it, as was frequently the case, to chance. In 1898, he pursued the same policy. However familiar he and his forces may have been with

⁴⁴¹ *Sheffield Independent*, Tues. 4 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival: Final Rehearsal*, p. 7.

⁴⁴² *Liverpool Daily Post*, Tues. 4 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival: Final Rehearsals*, LMF:PO, 1898, p. 170.

it, Sullivan treated the oratorio with respect – as the Leeds Mercury remarked: 'Sir Arthur Sullivan does not scamp it...and the work was rehearsed in almost its integrity.'⁴⁴³ For the audience, the highlight was Clara Butt's singing of the favourite contralto aria, *O Rest in the Lord*, in concert style, before Sullivan ended the session at 4:30 pm.

The evening rehearsals began with Fauré's ode, *The Birth of Venus*. Since the French composer did not speak English, the multi-lingual Sullivan was once again required (as would be the case later in the evening for Humperdinck) to act as interpreter and to provide an introduction between the composer, the chorus and orchestra – the large audience, as the *Sheffield Independent's* reporter remarked, 'being completely ignored as if they had no existence.'⁴⁴⁴ He failed to comprehend that from Sullivan's perspective the evening was not a concert, but part of his working day as General Conductor.

The renowned Wagnerian soprano, Marie Brema and the male chorus under Sullivan's baton powered through the Brahms *Rhapsody*, Brema being described as well-able to override the force of the orchestra. She was followed by Engelbert Humperdinck and his *Moorish Symphony*, the parts of which had been gradually arriving in England following their initial disappearance in the European postal system. It was now due to be played in its entirety for the first time. There was still a nagging doubt about its completeness and therefore, performability, 'But all anxiety was set at rest when Sir Arthur asked, 'Has the drum part come?' And was answered from the heights, 'the drum is come.'⁴⁴⁵ The Sheffield reporter found much to enjoy, now that the work could at last be heard properly:

Humperdinck's Moorish Rhapsody or Symphony as he calls it...abounds in proof of the genius of the composer, is weighty in selections and light as gossamer in other

⁴⁴³ *Leeds Mercury*, Tues, 4 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival – The Full Rehearsals* LMF:PO, 1898, p. 1

⁴⁴⁴ *Sheffield Independent*, Tues. 4 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival: Final Rehearsal*, p. 7.

⁴⁴⁵ *Glasgow Herald*, Tues. 4 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Festival Rehearsals*, p. 9.

portions. It serves well to show the effects which may be secured from an orchestra such as Sir Arthur has collected.⁴⁴⁶

The evening rehearsal ended with various miscellaneous items: Emma Albani was soloist in Otto Goldschmidt's brief *Ode to Music*, before joining Edward Lloyd in the duet, 'How Sweet the Moonlight Sleeps' from Sullivan's 1864 cantata, *Kenilworth*, while his *Masque Suite* from the *Merchant of Venice*, again with Edward Lloyd as soloist, completed what must have been another exhausting twelve-hour day for all concerned. Like the orchestra, the chorus had been on duty throughout, and since Sullivan would not see them again until the opening morning's performance of *Elijah*, he took the opportunity of addressing them with a spontaneous:

kindly and graceful little speech. He touched on the fact that the composers who came to conduct their own works had the pleasure of paying compliments to the chorus or, of giving them 'jam' while he himself had to supply the powder of correction and criticism. By this speech he has already provided the chorus with a new nickname for himself – the 'Corrective Powder.'⁴⁴⁷

Continuing, he addressed the orchestra as well, and perhaps mindful of his earlier ill-temper, he thanked them for their attention, explaining that although he had been severe with them, saying, as he put it, 'all sorts of things to them,' he had done it with the best of intentions and with the interests of the Festival in mind. It was the closest he would come to an apology. It was also as the *Birmingham Gazette* remarked, 'a pronouncement received with much applause.'⁴⁴⁸

The army of performers dispersed, not to meet again until the morning of the first performance; when all concerned avowed that the high watermark of past festivals will be reached. We shall hear.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁶ *Sheffield Independent*, Tues. 4 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival: Final Rehearsal*, p. 7.

⁴⁴⁷ *St James's Gazette*, 5 Oct. 1898, *Politics and Persons*, p. 13.

⁴⁴⁸ *Birmingham Gazette*, 4 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*, LMF:PO, 1898, p. 189.

⁴⁴⁹ *Sheffield Independent*, Tues. 4 Oct. 1898, *Final Rehearsal*, p. 7

Tersely, Sullivan recorded in his *Diary*: 'Full rehearsal 10 o'clock — finished at 10.'⁴⁵⁰

LEEDS MUSICAL FESTIVAL: REHEARSAL SCHEDULE OCTOBER 4, 1898		
11:00 am	Tchaikovsky: Variations	Sullivan
	Siegmund's Liebeslied & Barcarolle: Merchant of Venice: soloist: Edward Lloyd	Sullivan
	Bach: B Minor Mass: soprano solo: Esther Palliser, x3 duets: Esther Palliser & Marian Mackenzie, tenor solo: William Green, bass solo: Harry Plunkett Greene	Sullivan
	Bruch: Ave Maria: soloist: Esther Palliser	Sullivan
	Humperdinck: Moorish Rhapsody	Humperdinck
	Wagner: closing scene, Die Walküre: soloists: Marie Brema & David Bispham	Sullivan
3:00 pm. Rehearsal terminated		

Table 7: Rehearsal schedule, 4 Oct. 1898.

The following day, Sullivan, the orchestra and soloists were back once more in the Victoria Hall:

Sir Arthur Sullivan found it impossible to grant a respite. There was much yet remaining to be done and so the hour of 11 this morning saw conductor, and band once more in their places, gathering up the threads that were hanging loose. Many of the principal singers snatched an hour from a reposeful day in their own interest as well as in that of the festival, while once again Sir Arthur Sullivan was indefatigable in the general cause.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁵⁰ Sullivan, *Diary*, Mon. 3 Oct. 1898.

⁴⁵¹ *Daily Telegraph, Leeds Musical Festival: The New Works*, Weds. 5 Oct. 1898, p. 10.

Although there were reporters and various Festival officials present, Sullivan had the closest he was to obtain to a private rehearsal which lasted through to 3 pm. With the orchestra alone, he worked on the Tchaikovsky *Variations* although most of the work was with his principal singers. Edward Lloyd appeared to run through his Wagner aria and the *Barcarolle* from Sullivan's *Merchant of Venice Suite*, necessary perhaps, because of the transposition entailed. He caught up with lost time with Esther Palliser, rehearsing the *Ave Maria* from Max Bruch's cantata *Feurerkreuz* and the sections of the B Minor Mass that she had missed the previous Saturday – her solo, *Laudamus Te*, and her duets with Marian Mackenzie. Altogether, Sullivan was not experiencing good fortune with his second soprano, who was now developing a cold.⁴⁵² Harry Plunket Greene and William Green also appeared to further rehearse their solos.

Englebert Humperdinck's *Moorish Rhapsody* had been played virtually at sight on the previous evening, given the travels that some of the parts had been on before their eventual arrival in Leeds. Therefore, he took advantage of the opportunity to once again rehearse it with the orchestra before Friday's performance, this time with Stanford acting as translator. Sullivan completed the rehearsal by working on the *Die Walküre* scene and finale with David Bispham and Marie Brema before bringing proceedings to a close at 3:00 pm, the *Star* observing that 'Sir Arthur Sullivan, who, though he sits and is outwardly quite unconcerned is wonderfully alert.'⁴⁵³

That evening, Sullivan dined with Spark, where he must have expressed his pleasure at working with the current chorus, since his opinion found its way into the local press.⁴⁵⁴ Later that night, he received his additional visitors at the Judge's Lodgings: his secretary, Wilfred Bendall and a female friend, Minnie Thorold, adding conspiratorially in the *Diary*: 'couldn't get her a lodging near so took her into my house under

⁴⁵² *Manchester Courier, Leeds Musical Festival*, 8 Oct. 1898, p. 7.

⁴⁵³ *The Star, Leeds Festival*. 5 Oct., LMF:PO, 1898, p. 247.

⁴⁵⁴ 'Sir Arthur has expressed to Mr. Spark his high appreciation of the efforts of the Chorus during the rehearsals. It had, he considered, made wonderful improvements during those few days.' *Yorkshire Evening Post*, Weds. 5 Oct. 1898, *The Festival*, LMF:PO, 1898, p.28.

promise of secrecy.' With the arrival, later in the week, of another female guest, Beatrice Chisholm, and his nephew, Herbert, the house party was now complete.

(Fig.42)

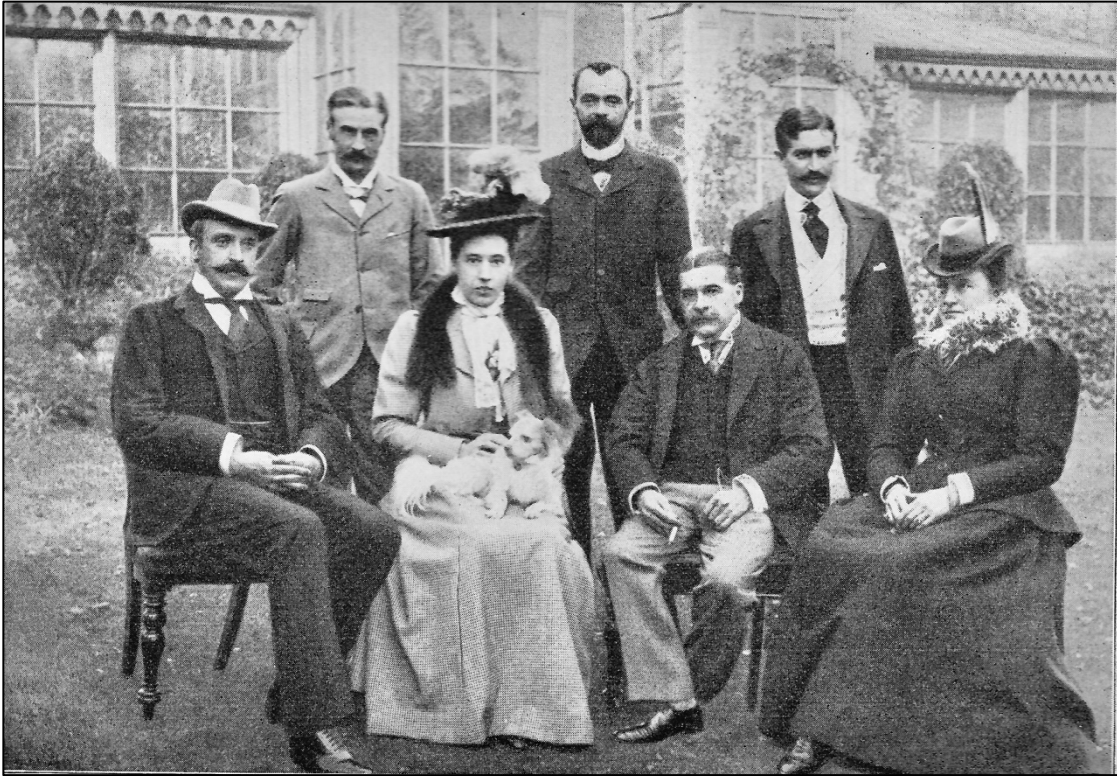


Fig. 42: Sullivan and friends: Leeds, 1898. L–R: standing: Wilfred Bendall, B.W. Findon, H.T. Sullivan. L–R: seated: Lionel Monckton, Beatrice Chisholm/Minnie Thorold, Sir Arthur Sullivan, Minnie Thorold/Beatrice Chisholm and Marco, the dog. Photograph probably taken on Saturday 8 Oct. 1898. This is the only photograph known to have been taken of Sullivan at a Leeds Festival.⁴⁵⁵

The Northern Correspondent of *Musical Opinion*, who had followed the vicissitudes of Sullivan's Festival year, in setting the scene, not only caught the excitement of the approaching event, but also highlighted the respect in which Sullivan, as General Conductor, was held, together with the relief felt that he continued to remain in control:

⁴⁵⁵ Photo, Arthur Lawrence, *Sir Arthur Sullivan, Life-story, Letters and Reminiscences* (London: James Bowden, 1899) opposite p. 220.

All tastes...are catered for; and this is as it should be at these extraordinary meetings. From Danby to Dvořák is a far cry; yet there it is all the same. The arduous work necessitated in rehearsal has been carried on manfully up to the finish; and Sir Arthur Sullivan whose health gave rise to no little alarm at the beginning of the summer, has shown all his accustomed tact and ability in dealing with his forces.⁴⁵⁶

What impresses over the entire rehearsal period, is the dedication and conscientiousness that Sullivan brought to his role as General Conductor. For a man who was neither mentally nor physically robust, the energy and focus that he displayed was remarkable. It also becomes understandable why, given the workload that the Festival involved, from constructing and managing the orchestra, welding his instrumentalists as well as a new chorus together, dealing with the principal singers' foibles, acting as a translator, and producing performing editions for some of the works, while checking, preparing and correcting others that he was to conduct, running rehearsals, together with the myriad other responsibilities –including dealing with the sometimes apparently irrational demands of Spark and the Committee – and everything else that comprised his role, he feared it would make him ill. That Sullivan had arrived thus far on the eve of the Festival, given his condition in the early summer, said much for his indomitable determination. He had attempted to resign, but having made the decision to continue, he obviously intended to fulfill his obligations to Leeds, and perhaps to himself – to the musician, rather than the composer trapped at the Savoy. He repeatedly wrote and stated that conducting at the Leeds Festival was the great musical pleasure of his life, and there is nothing to suggest that he was being insincere.

⁴⁵⁶ *Musical Opinion*, Oct. 1898, p.24, *Northern Musical Notes*.

4.5 Leeds and the 1898 Festival:



Fig. 43: Crowds gather to watch as the audience arrives at the Calverley Street entrance of the Town Hall.⁴⁵⁷

This morning at 11:30 the Leeds Musical Festival began and continues daily till the end of the week [...] there was a feeling of excitement and expectation in the air yesterday afternoon. The Festival is dragged into everything. Boys offer you roses for the Festival and if you look into shop windows, 'blouses for the Festival' and 'Festival boots', meet your eye.⁴⁵⁸

The wry comments of the journalist told a truth about the economic impact of the Festival on the City of Leeds. A glance at the front-page advertisements of any of the

⁴⁵⁷ *Daily Graphic*, 8 Oct. 1892, Leeds Musical Festival, Press Opinions, p. 157. Illustrator: William Gilbert Foster, LMF:PO, 1892, p. 154.

⁴⁵⁸ *St. James's Gazette*, Weds. 5 Oct. 1898: *Politics and Persons*, p. 13.

local papers during the summer and down to the opening concert on 5 October, reveals just how important the Festival was: department stores and caterers, drapers, dressmakers and florists were some of the many who stood to benefit from the increased trade that the Festival generated. The Northeastern Railway Company accommodated the chorus members who were drawn from Halifax, Huddersfield, Bradford,

Batley, Dewsbury and other surrounding areas, by allowing them to make return journeys for the price of single tickets, while special trains were run to and from towns across Yorkshire to accommodate the start and finish times of the three daily concerts:

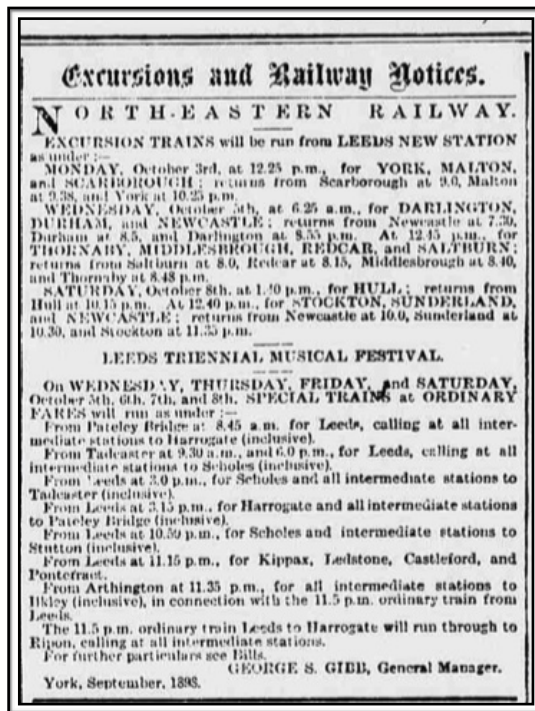


Fig.44: The Northeastern Railway Company accommodates Leeds Festival.

Hotel rooms for the 1898 Festival were at an absolute premium. In the aftermath of the Festival the *Yorkshire Evening Post* wrote that:

There is a popular notion to the effect that...guests at the large hotels are compelled to sleep on the billiard table. Sometimes...beds are made up in the billiard room...the manager of one of the big hotels declared last week [i.e. during the Festival] that he was turning from 30 to 40 people away every day...the other hotels were in a predicament more or less the same.

Private lodgings in the city were at a stiff premium. It is the fact that hundreds of people were unable to come to the Festival because they could not procure lodgings. For better class apartments, a guinea a night [£100 cv] was being asked. Many of the disappointed ones stated their willingness to go even beyond that for the luxury of a decent couch, but such...was not to be had.⁴⁵⁹



Fig 45: Advertisements for accommodation for the Festival period began to appear in the local press at the beginning of August 1898.⁴⁶⁰

The City Council, after its initial obstreperousness regarding the renovation of the Town Hall organ, went further than on previous Festival occasions to aid the enterprise. Council meetings were held early and even the Magistrate's Court, which normally sat in the Town Hall, moved business forward, while no summonses were issued for the duration of the Festival. Effectively the Council handed the building over to the Festival Committee and the musicians.

Externally, awnings had been erected covering the pavements at the Calverly Street and Great George Street entrances, (Fig.43) where the Festival-goer might also have admired the ornamental foliage provided by Mr. Featherstone of Kirkstall, adorning them, particularly the pink geraniums which 'lend a pretty touch to the grey, grim stonework of the building.'⁴⁶¹ The great fountain in Victoria Square was also decorated with spectacular greenery, but unfortunately, the complete effect was missing – because of the summer's drought, the fountain was not activated. Most impres-

⁴⁵⁹ *Yorkshire Evening Post*, Mon. 10 Oct. 1898, *Facts about the Festival*, p. 3.

⁴⁶⁰ *Yorkshire Evening Post*, Fri. 12 Aug. 1898, p. 3.

⁴⁶¹ *Yorkshire Evening Post*, Weds. 5 Oct. 1898, *The Festival*, p. 4

sively, at the front entrance of the Town Hall, another huge awning covered the entire steps, which were themselves enshrouded in red felt. Clearly, even before a note of music was played, Leeds and the Triennial Festival was meant to impress visitors.

The *Leeds Mercury* caught the prevailing air of excitement, as well as the exclusivity of the Festival:

Everybody is awaiting the morrow with eager anticipation for even those who have been unsuccessful in obtaining seats at...the concerts, or those to whom the inside of the Victoria Hall is as unapproachable as Paradise itself...will find ample to occupy their situation. No charge whatever...will be made to the...hundreds who derive that incalculable joy which huddling in crowds round the entrances involves. The opportunities for staring open-eyed and gaping open mouthed at all the wonders of the Festival, viewed from without, will be as attractive as they ever were [...] At all events the Festival would be robbed of all its joy if those whose pockets, position and poverty forbid a closer acquaintance with the merits of the function musically, were deprived of the inestimable consolation which a display of beautiful dresses and a crowd of social stars bring to the weary eyes of the many to whom outfits of 'Sunday Clothes' is not invariably unknown. They will go home and talk of it for a week[...] from within those massive walls a blast of trumpets and a burst of choral triumph may occasionally reach the ears of those reluctantly forced to wait without, and the vision will conjure fairy tales and all that is or may be within; and that will be talked about, too. It really is amazing how much you can get for your money at such a time — even if you have none.⁴⁶²

It was unfortunate, however, that as the Victoria Hall began to fill with its expectant audience, it was raining — indeed, one reporter speculated whether the Festival was cursed by the weather — but:

⁴⁶² *Leeds Mercury*, Tues. 4 Oct. 1898, *Waiting for Tomorrow*.

Inside everything was bright and cheerful in direct contrast to the drizzly gloom in the streets. The costumes of many of the ladies in the audience was as lovely to the eye as they were masterpieces of the dressmaker's art.⁴⁶³

An issue that had concerned the Festival Committee (which was entirely male), since a meeting on Tuesday 12 July, had been the subject of ladies' hats. Hon. Sec. Frederick Spark informed the Committee:

The large hats worn by many ladies, and the annoyance caused thereby to many music lovers...has induced the Committee to suggest that an appeal be made to ladies to wear at morning Festival concerts, either 'toques' or small bonnets. The executive believe that if the appeal is made to lady ticket holders, and also impressed upon lady visitors through the newspapers, it will have weight⁴⁶⁴

The subject of the 'horticultural hat' became a topic of comment and amusement both in the local and the national press. Secretary Spark's attempts to dictate fashion to the female concert-goers of Leeds seemed to have met with some success, at least on the opening morning of the Festival.⁴⁶⁵ However, one London correspondent pointed out that unlike theatres and concert venues in the capital, where it was possible for a woman to remove her hat, the seats in Leeds were so narrow and so crammed together, that it would be impossible for a lady to keep her hat on her lap without it overflowing onto those on either side of her.⁴⁶⁶

The whole spectacle, even though there was to be no royal presence at the 1898 Festival, gave the centre of Leeds a carnival character, the reporter from the *Yorkshire Evening Post* observing that:

⁴⁶³ *Yorkshire Evening Post*, Thurs. 6 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*, p. 3.

⁴⁶⁴ *Leeds Mercury*, Weds. 13 July 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival: Latest Arrangements*, p. 5

⁴⁶⁵ 'Another really commendable feature of this Festival is the appeal made by Mr. Spark to the ladies to adopt some reasonably low headgear for the morning concerts...and this morning...one was able to see the conductor and the principals without darting around mountains of millinery.' *Yorkshire Evening Post*, Weds. Oct. 5 1898, *The Festival*, p. 4.

⁴⁶⁶ *The Minim*, Nov. 1898, pp. 45-46.

The public have...taken a great interest in the present Festival, and the crowds that have assembled in the Victoria Square, Calverley Street and George Street to witness the arrival and departure of visitors is sufficient proof of this fact. The city has rarely been visited by so many distinguished guests, and it may be safely said that the citizens have never on any previous occasion made such determined efforts to make the Festival a social, financial and musical success.⁴⁶⁷

The Leeds police, led by Superintendent Gillespie, were on conspicuous duty, some in their full-dress uniforms, directing the traffic-flow around the Town Hall, as cabs and carriages deposited their occupants (Fig. 43). Detectives mingled with the crowds, particularly mindful of the danger of pick-pockets to both the concert-goers and musicians alike, as audience and participants assembled. 'Even the clock in the Town Hall ceased to toll the passing hours, lest its sonorous sounds should mar the harmony below.'⁴⁶⁸ Doubtless, Leeds readers of the *Daily Telegraph* would have been gratified to know, 'London has sent to Leeds of her best, and Sir Arthur Sullivan will have under him an orchestra capable of rising to any heights to which he might point the way.'⁴⁶⁹

All that remained, was for Sir Arthur Sullivan to raise his baton for the 1898 Leeds Triennial Musical Festival to commence.

⁴⁶⁷ *Yorkshire Evening Post*, Thurs. 6 Oct. 1898, *How the City is Absorbed in the Festival*, p. 3

⁴⁶⁸ *Leeds Times*, Sat. 15 Oct. 1898, *The Man in the Street*, p. 4.

⁴⁶⁹ *Daily Telegraph*, *Leeds Musical Festival*, Tues. 4 Oct. 1898, p. 5.

LEEDS TRIENNIAL MUSICAL FESTIVAL: OCTOBER 5 - 8 1898: CONCERT SCHEDULE	
All works conducted by Sir Arthur Sullivan, unless otherwise stated.	
WEDS. 5 OCT: MORNING	ELIJAH, MENDELSSOHN: part 1
AFTERNOON	ELIJAH, MENDELSSOHN: part 2
EVENING	CARACTACUS, ELGAR, (conducted by Edward Elgar) TSCHAIKOVSKI: VARIATIONS: SUITE IN G, CORNELIUS: VÄTEGRUFT: (soloist: Harry Plunkett Greene) BERLIOZ: CARNAVAL ROMAIN OVERTURE
THURS. 6 OCT. MORNING	CHERUBINI: OVERTURE: ANACHREON, PALESTRINA: STABAT MATER, STANFORD: TE DEUM (conducted by C.V. Stanford)
AFTERNOON	LISZT: LES PRELUDES, GOLDSCHMIDT: ODE TO MUSIC, SULLIVAN: HOW SWEET THE MOONLIGHT SLEEPS, MASQUE – MERCHANT OF VENICE
EVENING	DVOŘÁK: OVERTURE: IN DER NATUR, GRAY: A SONG OF REDEMPTION, (conducted by Alan Gray): WAGNER EXTRACTS, HULDIGUNG'S MARSCH
FRIDAY 7 OCT. MORNING	MOZART: PRAGUE SYMPHONY, BACH B MINOR MASS
AFTERNOON	BRAHMS: RHAPSODY, PARRY: BLEST PAIR OF SIRENS (Conducted by Sir Hubert Parry)
EVENING	HUMPERDINCK: MOORISH SYMPHONY, (conducted by Eglebert Humperdinck) HANDEL: ALEXANDER'S FEAST.
SATURDAY 8 OCT. MORNING	SCHUMANN: OVERTURE: GENOVEVA, COWEN: ODE TO THE PASSIONS, (conducted by Frederic Cowen) FAURÉ: BIRTH OF VENUS, (conducted by Gabriel Fauré)
AFTERNOON	BEETHOVEN: CHORAL SYMPHONY
EVENING	WEBER: OVERTURE: EURYANTHE, GOUNOD: DUET: ROMEO ET JULIETTE, GLUCK, DIVINITES DU STYX, DANBY: AWAKE, AEOLIAN LYRE (conducted by Alfred Benton), MENDELSSOHN: LOBGESANG

TABLE 8. Performance schedule for the 1898 Leeds Triennial Musical Festival

5. The 1898 Leeds Triennial Musical Festival.

5.1: The apotheosis of Sir Arthur Sullivan.

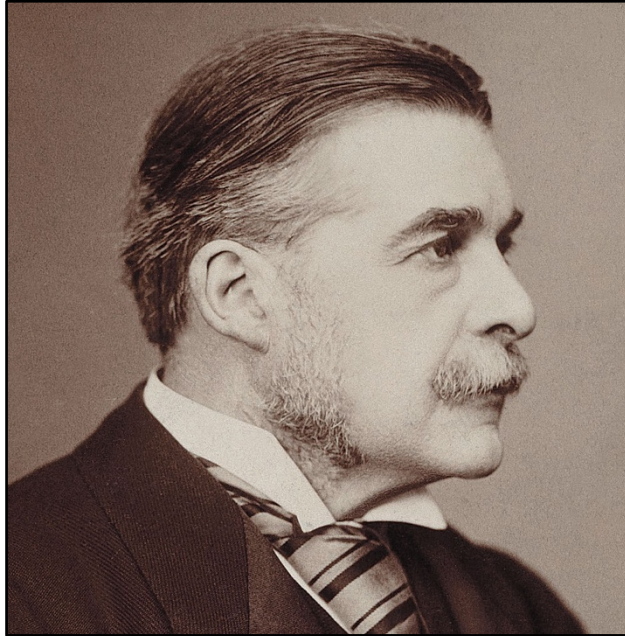


Fig. 46: Sir Arthur Sullivan, 1898, aged 56.

LEEDS MUSICAL FESTIVAL,
 Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday,
 Oct. 5, 6, 7, and 8, 1898.
 Patron THE QUEEN
 Conductor Sir ARTHUR SULLIVAN.
PRINCIPAL VOCALISTS—Mme. Albani, Miss Esther Palmer, Mme. Medora Benson, Miss Marie Brema, Miss Clara Butt, Mme. Marian McKenzie, Miss Ada Crossley, Mr. Ed. Lloyd, Mr. Ben Davies, Mr. Wm. Green, Mr. Andrew Black, Mr. David Bigham, Mr. Plunket Greene.
CHORUS MASTERS—Leeds, Mr. A. Benton; Bradford, Mr. F. K. Hattersley; Huddersfield, Mr. John Bowling; Halifax, Mr. T. Smith; Dewsbury and Batley, Mr. J. Bowring.
BAND OF 120. Selected from Leeds, Bradford, Huddersfield, Halifax, Dewsbury, and Batley.
CHORUS OF 350.
 From the best London Orchestras.
 Principal First Violin: Mr. W. Frye Parker.
 Organist: Mr. H. A. Fricker.
CHIEF WORKS.
WEDNESDAY MORNING—Elijah.
WEDNESDAY EVENING—Cantata, Caractacus, written for the Festival by Ed. Elgar; Suite, Tchaikowsky.
THURSDAY MORNING—T. Deum, written for the Festival by C. V. Stanford; Selection, Sullivan; Symphonic Poem, Luzzi; Stabat Mater, Palestrina.
THURSDAY EVENING—A Song of Redemption, written for the Festival by Alan Gray; Selection, Wagner.
FRIDAY MORNING—Mass in B minor, Bach; Symphony (Dramo), Mozart.
FRIDAY EVENING—Rhapsody, Brahms; Best Pair of Sirens, Fairs; Symphony, written for the Festival by Humperdinck; Alexander's Feast, Handel.
SATURDAY MORNING—Ode to the Passions, written for the Festival by Cowen; The Birth of Venus, Gabriel Faure; Choral Symphony, Beethoven.
SATURDAY EVENING—Hymn of Praise, Mendelssohn.
 All Tickets are Sold except the following:—

Wednesday Evening—First Seats Ground Floor	£ 4
Friday Evening—do do	0 15
Saturday Morning (very few) do	0 15
Saturday Evening—Gallery and Ground Floor	1 1
Saturday Evening—Gallery and Ground Floor	0 15

 Applications with a remittance for the full value of the Tickets (payable to the Hon. Sec.) should be at once sent to
 FRED. R. SPARK, J.P., Hon. Sec.
 Festival Office, 42, Great George-street, Leeds.

Fig 47: This advertisement for the advertisement for the 1898 Festival emphasises Sullivan's continued star status as Conductor.

As the audience began to gather for the first concert in the Town Hall, the *Leeds Times* observed with pride that:

With the familiar brown backs of Novello's editions under every other person's arms, it is obvious that a great musical function is taking place in the city [...] It is not too much to say that this great Yorkshire Musical Festival has a European reputation.⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁷⁰ *Leeds Times*, 8 Oct. *The Musical Festival: Full Festival Coverage*, p. 8.

'Music', related the correspondent of the *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 'reigns supreme in Leeds.' Sullivan, who arrived at the Victoria Hall at 11:20 am:

Merely rushed in, doffed his silk hat, threw his cigarette into the ash tray and rushed out into the artists' room [...] Sir Arthur, although he usually darts about the corridors ...and appears almost overcome with nervousness, was perhaps the coolest man concerned with the affair this morning. At exactly 11:27...he came out of the artists' room quite leisurely. Someone addressed him on the matter of the concert beginning but pulling out the tiny gold watch which he carries he coolly remarked: 'Oh, it wants quite three minutes yet'...Just then...Madame Albani emerged, followed by Mr. Elgar and the others. Sir Arthur was not long in going after them, and the outburst of applause which immediately afterwards was heard showed that the celebrated composer had made his appearance in the hall.⁴⁷¹

It is clear from this account that Sullivan remained the Festival's star attraction.

However, Robert Buckley of the *Birmingham Gazette*, while acknowledging the awe and affection with which Sullivan was regarded, introduced a note of caution:

The Leeds people swear by Sir Arthur, and they have good reason. A better conductor is not needed, his industry and conscientiousness leave nothing to be desired, while his personal popularity with all classes is unbounded. He professes to have got over the illness that prevented his giving the Festival another *Golden Legend* but he looks somewhat frail and fragile, and has sadly fallen away [i.e. lost weight] since I last had the opportunity of conversing with him at the Cardiff Festival of 1895...fortunately the many new works...each...to be conducted by the composer...will to some extent relieve the strain which otherwise would hardly be endurable.⁴⁷²

The question, from Frederick Spark's, perspective, since he had been responsible for Sullivan's retention, was whether Sullivan was still capable of delivering a Festival that would impress critics and audiences alike. Certainly, the evidence displayed at the rehearsals from St. James's Hall onwards, indicated that not only had Sullivan created

⁴⁷¹ *Yorkshire Evening Post*, Wed. 5 Oct. *The Festival*, 1898, p. 4.

⁴⁷² *Birmingham Gazette*, 5 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*, LMF:PO, 1898, p. 189.

an exceptional orchestra for Leeds, but that he had been re-energised by the prospect of once again directing the Triennial Festival. It was an energy that he would need to draw on, since he was due to conduct at all eight concerts as well as the additional Saturday evening performance.

Yet, the absolute test for Sullivan was the great choral works that he was scheduled to direct during the Festival: Mendelssohn's *Elijah*, Bach's B Minor Mass, Beethoven's *Choral Symphony*, Mendelssohn's *Lobgesang*. He faced additional scrutiny in an evening concert largely devoted to Wagner extracts – and there were critics such as Herbert Thompson of the *Yorkshire Post*, who hero-worshipped his friends, C.V. Stanford and Hans Richter and who, for over a decade, had failed to see anything positive in Sullivan either as a composer or a conductor and of whose opinion Sullivan was well-aware. Others: John Fuller Maitland of the *Times*, like Alfred Kalisch of the *World*, who was also acting for the *Manchester Courier* and Arthur Johnstone, music critic of the *Manchester Guardian*, were among those who would give only grudging approval to the performances that Sullivan directed, because of who he was. They despised the commercialism and populism that he represented and were contemptuous of his undemonstrative conducting style: simply, he was not Hans Richter.

As Sullivan entered the auditorium, Fuller Maitland noted that 'Sir Arthur Sullivan was most enthusiastically received as he took his place at the desk, and the more so since the state of his health made his appearance a matter for uncertainty.'⁴⁷³ The audience that had filled the Victoria Hall for the opening morning's performance was evidently delighted to see him once more. However, had it not been for Sullivan's quick thinking and for the seating arrangement which reserved the first row of the ground floor for the soloists, the opening performance of *Elijah* may well have met with catastrophe before it had begun. Sullivan recorded the event in his diary:

God Save the Queen and Elijah. Clara Butt was to have sung the whole contralto part but not having thought it necessary to ascertain what time it began was not there. I

⁴⁷³ Fuller Maitland was the only critic to notice that the version of the National Anthem that began the Festival was Sullivan's and not Costa's.

saw Ada Crossley sitting below me — beckoned to her and got her up to sing the part. At the end of the 1st part I found Clara Butt in my room crying her heart out at her folly.⁴⁷⁴

He added, tersely 'I did not say much to her but told her she could sing the second part.'

Despite this bizarre opening to the concert, the performance of *Elijah* met with an overwhelming success. The oratorio was a perennial festival favourite but nevertheless, Sullivan's interpretation and the Leeds chorus brought a new dimension to the work, while his unpretentious style of conducting met with approval:

The Leeds Festival, which commenced on Wednesday morning...will be the seventh conducted by Sir Arthur Sullivan and from the rehearsals...and the opening performance of *Elijah*, there is every reason to conclude that he will still be found to be the right man in the right place. The absence of all show in his conducting might easily be mistaken for coldness, but appearances...are often misleading. Sir Arthur, owing to his knowledge, quick-sightedness and experience is one of the safest conductors and of English conductors, probably the best.⁴⁷⁵

commented J.S. Shedlock of *The Athenaeum*.⁴⁷⁶ The *Musical News* also found the opening day of the Festival and Sullivan's conducting impressive:

The Festival of 1898 has opened with the most brilliant of prospects, bidding fair to eclipse, in the high standard of performances reached, all previous gatherings. Under Sir Arthur Sullivan's sympathetic guidance *Elijah* was presented at the beginning of the concert in a manner that would have assuredly given satisfaction to its composer, could he have been present.

⁴⁷⁴ Sullivan, *Diary*, Weds. 5 Oct. 1898.

⁴⁷⁵ *The Athenaeum*, 8 Oct. 1898, *Music, The Week*, No.3702, p. 496.

⁴⁷⁶ John South Shedlock 1843-1919, wrote with authority as both a music analyst and editor.

The *Yorkshire Herald* was impressed by Sullivan's control over the enormous forces that he had before him as well as noting the rewards that his preparation brought:

From the first it was evident that Sir Arthur Sullivan had a firm grip on his performers, and all through the work, there gleamed out little niceties of interpretation which evinced much sympathetic and careful coaching on the part of the conductor.⁴⁷⁷

Fuller Maitland of the *Times* was less than impressed by Clara Butt's indulgence in her aria *O Rest in the Lord*, which over-ruled Sullivan's attempt at authenticity:

Miss Butt adheres to the tradition of singing this song almost twice as slow as Mendelssohn intended it to be taken. This was the more regrettable since Sir Arthur Sullivan had taken care to restore the original *tempi* in a great many of the movements.⁴⁷⁸

The *Daily Telegraph* enthused over the Leeds Chorus as well as Sullivan's conducting of the oratorio

The splendid Yorkshire singers, thoroughly equipped as they were, were able, this morning to deliver themselves completely into the hands of their conductor to answer every call made upon them, to accept Sir Arthur Sullivan's slightest hints and finally emerge from their work with all the honours that they could have hoped for and more.

In the second part...there was no appearance of relaxation of effort. How largely Sir Arthur Sullivan shared in the triumph of his forces can be well imagined by those whose appreciation of choral singing is founded on a measure of practical experience. Without an able general the strongest army may suffer defeat, and the perfection of the work done this morning is traceable no less to Sir Arthur's affection for the music over which he kept such zealous watch and ward...Whatever the remainder of the week may bring forth, today's performance of *Elijah* must needs make memorable the Festival of 1898.⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁷ *Yorkshire Herald*, 6 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival – First Day*.

⁴⁷⁸ *Times*, 6 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*, p. 4.

⁴⁷⁹ *Daily Telegraph*, 6 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*, p. 6.

Vernon Blackburn writing for the *Pall Mall Gazette* was impressed by Sullivan's interpretation from the opening notes of the overture:

Sir Arthur Sullivan conducted the overture quite extraordinarily well. This is a rather subtle conductor who makes his effects almost unexpectedly, so reticent is his manner and so quiet his method. Yet effects are there, and with Mendelssohn they are always deadly certain. Those effects are marked by a great smoothness in the linking of phrase with phrase, and in consequence by a wonderful fluent continuousness of melody...The chorus then set about its work...like athletes, eager for Olympic games.

Sullivan's decision to rehearse the oratorio, rather than leaving the performance to luck, won praise from the *Standard*:

Six years ago, ...Sir Arthur Sullivan insisted on rehearsing *Elijah*, and this act was amply justified by results...This year portions of the work were again tried over, and the term magnificent is the most fitting that can be applied to this morning's performance.⁴⁸⁰

The *St. James's Gazette*, simply remarked that: 'The general verdict is that a finer all-round performance *Elijah* has never been heard.'⁴⁸¹ With an overwhelmingly positive view of his direction of Mendelssohn's work, Sullivan had survived the initial test.

The highlight of the evening concert was Elgar's *Caractacus*, which, given the enthusiastic approach to the premiere, met with some surprisingly mixed reviews: a number seeing the work, though original in concept, as inconsistent – Edward Baughan persisting with his notion that Elgar should not have conducted it. However, the audience enjoyed the work, putting aside their libretti and scores as they gradually became more and more absorbed into the drama.

⁴⁸⁰ *Standard* 6 Oct.1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*, p. 3.

⁴⁸¹ *St. James's Gazette*, 6 Oct.1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*, p. 12.

Given the lengthy programmes in evidence at Leeds as elsewhere, the work did not occupy the whole of the evening, and Sullivan finished the concert by conducting an eclectic mixture of works (see Table 6), all of which met with positive reviews, the *Daily Telegraph* remarking of the Tchaikovsky *Suite in G* that:

These [*Variations*] were played with a degree of comprehension that seemed to extend from Sir Arthur Sullivan himself to the furthestmost corners of the orchestra, while there was sufficient life and spirit left in the band even at the close of a long day's work to carry through Berlioz's *Carnaval Romain* to its boisterous and exuberant end.⁴⁸²

Thursday's programme, from Sullivan's perspective, embracing Palestrina and Liszt as well as his own youthful works, and with an evening concert ranging from Dvořák to Wagner, was equally eclectic. Having the previous evening conducted Harry Plunket Greene and the chorus in Cornelius' unaccompanied song *Vätergruft*, he faced the daunting task of piloting the Festival Chorus through Palestrina's *Stabat Mater*, programmed before Stanford's new *Te Deum*, which occupied the remainder of the morning. The correspondent of the *Musical Times* informed readers that it was one of the more unusual items in the festival schedule. He added that, besides curiosity regarding the *Stabat Mater*, there had been some misgiving, at rehearsal, as to whether the chorus would be able to acquit themselves effectively in a work that was both stylistically unfamiliar and unaccompanied. Fears were unfounded:

It was sung with a flexibility and beauty of vocal tone that placed the Leeds Chorus in a new and even more favourable light than before. Wagner's edition was used but...his marks of expression were considerably modified in the direction of greater simplicity, by Sir Arthur Sullivan, who conducted this beautiful work with exceptional sympathy and good taste.⁴⁸³

⁴⁸² *Daily Telegraph*, 7 Oct.1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*.

⁴⁸³ *Musical Times*, 1 Nov.1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*, pp. 730–732. Sullivan, had in effect, produced his own performing edition. It was an historically informed performance, which replaced Wagner's four soloists with two choirs.

While Fuller Maitland referenced Sullivan's 'inexorable beat,' the *Daily Telegraph* delighted in a performance of a rarely-heard work:

Every trace of dryness and severity in this example of old Italian vanishes at the touch of Sir Arthur Sullivan and his sweet singers and the hymn standing forth in all its archaic grandeur held the audience silent and impressed to its very last bar.⁴⁸⁴

Sullivan handed over the baton to Stanford for the latter's *Te Deum*. He returned to the rostrum in the afternoon for a mixed concert that included the veteran Otto Goldschmidt's *Ode to Music*, that the septuagenarian composer entrusted to Sullivan. Most of the critics, including Baughan, wondered why, except as a courtesy to Goldschmidt and a vehicle for Emma Albani, to whom it was dedicated, the Leeds Committee had accepted it. Goldschmidt's *Ode* was in marked contrast to Liszt's *Les Preludes*, that followed, giving the *Leeds Mercury's* correspondent an opportunity revel in the volume of sound produced by the orchestra as well as to observe Sullivan's conducting methods:

Its performance on this occasion enabled hearers to realise the remarkable power and ability of the Festival orchestra, Sir Arthur Sullivan does not indulge in unnecessary gesture. He trusts his men and expects each to be competent to deal with minor detail. Hence his beat has more reference to expression than it has to mere tempo, and each member of the band gives due response to each look and motion of their conductor.⁴⁸⁵

He was not the only reporter to remark on Sullivan's visual means of communicating with his players, but it was a technique which was frequently overlooked.

The concert concluded with two of Sullivan's early works, the duet 'How Sweet the Moonlight Sleeps,' from the cantata, *Kenilworth*, sung by Emma Albani and Edward

⁴⁸⁴ *Times*, 7 Oct., 1898, p. 9, *Daily Telegraph*, 7 Oct.1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*, p. 7.

⁴⁸⁵ *Leeds Mercury*, 7 Oct.1898 *Leeds Musical Festival*.

Lloyd and the *Masque* from *The Merchant of Venice*. Stephen Stratton of the *Birmingham Post* reminded his readers that it was 'one of the gems of Sullivan's 'Birmingham cantata' of 1864, before commenting, following the *Merchant of Venice Suite* of 1872, that 'the music shows the composer at his best, and causes one to wonder what we might have had from Sullivan's pen had he not deviated into the path of comic opera...'⁴⁸⁶ He was not the only critic to enjoy Sullivan's early compositions – John Fuller Maitland was spellbound:

The exquisite duet from the *Masque of Kenilworth* was most effectively sung by Madame Albani and Mr. Lloyd, and the latter gave the Italian serenade which was one of the most popular numbers of the incidental music provided in 1872 for...*The Merchant of Venice*. The lively strains of the *Masque* were greatly enjoyed by the large audience, and it is needless to say with what success they were conducted by their composer.⁴⁸⁷

Whether Sullivan, always hawkish in revenue-generating matters, had succeeded in having the new piano adaptation of *The Merchant of Venice Suite* that he been chivvying Bendall since February to prepare, ready for purchase as a Festival souvenir, is not known, though it seems likely, since according to Findon, it was published in 1898.⁴⁸⁸

Sullivan's experience of conducting Wagner's works had come via the Leeds Festival, rather than the opera house. He had conducted extracts from *Tannhäuser* and *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* at the 1883 and 1892 Festivals respectively.⁴⁸⁹ In 1895, he had directed David Bispham, Andrew Black, Marian Mackenzie and Margaret Macintyre in a highly successful concert performance, before the Prince of Wales, of *Die Fliegende Holländer*. At the 1898 Festival, with some of the greatest interpreters of their generation engaged, Wagner again had a place in the concert schedule.

⁴⁸⁶ *Birmingham Post*, 7 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*.

⁴⁸⁷ J.A. Fuller Maitland, *Times*, 7 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*, p. 8.

⁴⁸⁸ B.W. Findon, *Sir Arthur Sullivan*, (London: James Nisbet, Dec. ed. 1904) Appendix, p. 204. Sullivan to Bendall, Sept. 1898.

⁴⁸⁹ See spreadsheet: *Arthur Sullivan Conducts, 1857-1900*, sheets 8 & 11.

Alfred Kalisch, writing for the *World* and the *Manchester Courier*, did not think much of Sullivan as a conductor of Wagner. Neither he, nor Arthur Johnstone of the *Manchester Guardian*, were impressed by Thursday evening's concert; while the slow tempo insisted upon by Edward Lloyd in rehearsal reappeared as a theme in many of the reviews. Johnstone of the *Manchester Guardian* having reviewed Dvořák's overture *In der Natur*, wrote scathingly:

The rest of the concert was devoted to Wagner selections, some of which revealed Sir Arthur Sullivan's weak points as a conductor even more fully than usual. The familiar selection made up of the first and last pieces of *Tristan* went fairly well with Madame Albani as soloist, but the other Wagner pieces, Siegmund's *Liebeslied*...and the farewell between Wotan and Brunnhilde...were conducted in a somnolent manner. I have never heard Mr. Lloyd anything so ineffective as his singing this evening of the *Liebeslied* which was taken much too slowly...the rendering too, of the wonderful finale formed a painful contrast with that given at Birmingham last year, though the singers — Madame Brema and Mr. Bispham — were the same on the two occasions.⁴⁹⁰

Kalisch, writing for the *Manchester Courier* also took exception to Sullivan's habit of conducting seated:

The orchestral playing was distinctly disappointing. With all due deference to the distinguished conductor, it is impossible to obtain an adequate reading of such works if one sits down and never takes one's face off the score. Even Dr. Richter could not do it.⁴⁹¹

However, David Bispham, who sang Wotan in the 7 October concert, while acknowledging Sullivan's reticent style of conducting, recalled:

⁴⁹⁰ *Manchester Guardian*, 6 Oct.1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*, p. 6.

⁴⁹¹ *Manchester Courier*, 7 Oct.1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*, p. 6.

He seemed to keep his eyes always on the score in front of him...yet nothing in the world escaped the attention of this quiet, reserved little man.⁴⁹²

Clearly, for most of the critics, the principal concern was whether Sullivan, given his limited experience, could actually conduct Wagner. Was his conducting capable of comparison with that of Hans Richter and Felix Mottl? For the majority of those present, the answer was in the affirmative and for some, the performances that he produced were exceptional:

There are those who doubt Sir Arthur Sullivan's powers as a conductor of Wagner's works. Had such persons been present tonight, they would have heard...the Bayreuth master's music played with true understanding and an absolute feeling for its manifold beauties.⁴⁹³

Herman Klein of the *Sunday Times* reported:

Dvořák was represented by his charming overture *In der Natur* – played with delightful crispness – and Wagner by selections from *Tristan* and *Die Walküre* and the *Huldigungsmarsch*. These things Sir Arthur Sullivan conducted veritably *con amore* and his glorious band responded to his quiet beat with a wonderful blending of delicacy and vigour.⁴⁹⁴

Baughan, writing in the *Musical Standard*, conceded Sullivan a triumph, and the two Birmingham critics who had heard the *Die Walküre* scene conducted by Hans Richter at their Festival the previous year and sung by the same soloists, were both enthusiastic: 'Sir Arthur Sullivan conducted in masterly style throughout the day' was the verdict of the *Birmingham Post*,⁴⁹⁵ while the *Birmingham Gazette* wrote of the Wagner excerpts entrancing the audience.⁴⁹⁶ Fuller Maitland wrote that:

⁴⁹² David Bispham, *A Quaker Singer's Recollections* (New York: Macmillan, 2nd ed. 1921) p. 175.

⁴⁹³ *Daily Telegraph*, 7 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*, p. 7.

⁴⁹⁴ Herman Klein, *Sunday Times*, 9 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*, LMF:PO, 1898, p. 229.

⁴⁹⁵ *Birmingham Post*, 7 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*, LMF:PO, 1898, p.182.

⁴⁹⁶ *Birmingham Gazette*, 7 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*, LMF:PO, 1898, p.189.

Madame Albani...gave the *Liebestod* of *Isolde* with an overwhelming degree of dramatic force...Mr. Lloyd sang the love song from *Die Walküre* with fine artistic expression, but the scene need hardly have been taken quite as slowly as it was. Miss Marie Brema and Mr. David Bispham gave the final scene of the work...with consummate dramatic power...and the fine *Huldigungsmarsch* brought the concert to a brilliant conclusion.⁴⁹⁷



Fig. 48: Vernon Blackburn, music critic of the *Pall Mall Gazette*.⁴⁹⁸

Vernon Blackburn of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, provided the fullest and most thoughtful account of Sullivan's direction of the Wagner concert, touching on many of the questions raised elsewhere:

One of the chief interests...centred in Sir Arthur Sullivan's connection with the matter [...] His peculiar methods by which he does so frequently obtain fine orchestral results seemed to be very remote from the ideal Wagner style. [...] I fully expected...to find the *Tristan Vorspiel* a trifle too smooth, too continuous, too elegant for ears accustomed to the fragmentary splendour of Mottl: and my expectation was realised. The thing was beautiful, but it was too much of a dream, an idyll, too little of a passionate appeal to the direct emotions of humanity, which Wagner certainly intended it should be. The *Liebestod*, which is indeed partly a dream – a dream of love in delirium – was better. [...] Mr. Edward Lloyd sang the *Liebeslied* with comfortable pleasure, but without the remotest dramatic ability...and then came the sensation of the evening. As I have said, we know what Miss Brema and Mr. Bispham can do; but what Sullivan would make of that most difficult and complex of orchestration we could not know. Rarely, then, have I heard an orchestra fulfil itself, attain the height of its own

⁴⁹⁷ J.A. Fuller Maitland, *The Times*, 7 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*, p.9.

⁴⁹⁸ *The Sketch*, 20 Feb.1907, p.30. Published with the obituary of Blackburn, 1867-1907.

superb excellence so completely and so artistically as in the playing of these glorious pages. That is tantamount to saying that I have rarely heard them played so well; and this is the exact truth. [...] Sir Arthur Sullivan is to be honestly congratulated upon a very great achievement here. He has always been something...of a dark horse among conductors [...] Miss Brema and Mr. Bishpam were at their best...they sang with splendid fervour and distinction and with a right dramatic quality that was most admirable to note as it was most artistic in result.⁴⁹⁹

Having, for the most part, survived the harshest of tests with his conducting integrity intact – he had, after all, invited direct comparison with conductors who came with the authority of performances at Bayreuth behind them – the following morning presented Sullivan with the next great choral challenge: Bach's Mass in B Minor.

What agitated Fuller Maitland of the *Times*, were the apparently arbitrary cuts that had been made against Sullivan's protest, immediately before the final rehearsals for the Festival commenced. Since Friday's programme began with Mozart's *Prague Symphony*, he speculated whether the inclusion of a symphony by Mozart, for the sake of having his name in the programme, was at the cost of sacrificing the Bach Mass. By, as Fuller Maitland saw it, mutilating the Mass, Sullivan came out of an irrational exercise badly: such desecration would never have happened under Richter's direction:

During the first two days of the present Festival...the highest possible standards of artistic excellence and good taste prevailed; but the concert of this morning, which should have been...the most interesting and impressive of the week was marked by a piece of vandalism which is entirely without parallel in modern times [...] It is pleasant to be able to reflect that such a piece of barbarity towards one of the greatest works of art in existence would be entirely impossible at Birmingham.⁵⁰⁰

He was, however, prepared to concede that 'The performance of the work in its garbled form was in many respects an excellent one.'⁵⁰¹ The theme of the cuts emerged

⁴⁹⁹ Vernon Blackburn *Pall Mall Gazette*, 7 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*, p.3.

⁵⁰⁰ J.A. Fuller Maitland, *The Times*, 8 Oct.1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*, p. 8.

⁵⁰¹ *Ibid.*

elsewhere. The *Daily Graphic's* critic was equally incensed, angrily holding Sullivan personally responsible for disfiguring the Mass, even though he found his direction praiseworthy:

I should very much like to hear what reason Sir Arthur Sullivan can bring forward for omitting the instrumental passages at the close of the *Et Resurexit* and *Hosanna*. Possibly he thinks them dull or ineffective; but after all he is here to conduct Bach's music — not to criticise it. Let him cut out a movement bodily if he will but this mangling and disfiguring of the work of the greatest musician who ever lived is unbearable. [...] Sir Arthur Sullivan conducted very well, his unostentatious way, getting as he always does, a maximum of result with a minimum of effort.⁵⁰²

If Fuller Maitland had been annoyed by the inclusion of *Prague Symphony* in Friday morning's programme, the *Daily Telegraph's* reporter delighted in it and in Sullivan's conducting:

Of the symphony Sir Arthur Sullivan left no portion unilluminated. It is no easy matter to pilot a festival orchestra through music demanding, as Mozart does, a peculiar delicacy of phrasing and an exceptional lightness of touch. A mass of instrumentalists reaching the impossible dimensions of the Leeds band is apt, even with the best of intentions, to walk with heavy, graceless steps...but care and discretion ...had their due effect, and the three exquisite movements went their way in a manner that became them to perfection. Thus, may a giant lay his grasp upon cup of fragile porcelain and hold it tenderly.⁵⁰³

Continuing to review the B Minor Mass, he remarked: 'I cannot sufficiently praise the manner in which Sir Arthur Sullivan took charge of a performance that had so many moments of really great achievement.'⁵⁰⁴

Once again, Blackburn was impressed:

⁵⁰² *Daily Graphic*, 8 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*. LMF:PO/1898, p. 127.

⁵⁰³ *Daily Telegraph*, 8 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*, p.8.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

Sir Arthur Sullivan seems now to have the volume of sound which these singers are capable of producing well in hand, and he works with it with so fine a sense of proportion that when, as in the *Confiteor unum baptisma* at the end, in the *Sanctus* and in the *Hosanna*, he let the reins go and the effect was positively stupendous. In the *Sanctus* and *Hosanna*, the right swing was found and at once, and with it a self-confidence which can only come for one divine moment in many years...to the chorus and the conductor superlative praise is due.⁵⁰⁵

Even Johnstone of the *Manchester Guardian* found the performance of the B Minor Mass impressive:

Jenny Lind is recorded...to have considered it [the B Minor Mass] the greatest of all musical works, and after hearing the performance today, one can well understand such a view.⁵⁰⁶

Having brought the morning's concert to a triumphant conclusion, Sullivan's remaining share of Friday's programme, with Sir Hubert Parry now on hand to conduct his *Blest Pair of Sirens*, was relatively light – his contribution to the afternoon being Brahms *Rhapsody* in which Marie Brema was the soloist.

Herbert Thompson, music critic of the *Yorkshire Post*, writing forty years later in an autobiography that remains unpublished, maintained that Sullivan was entirely antipathetic towards Brahms and, referencing the performance of the *German Requiem* under his baton in 1889, related that:

Undeterred by the fate of the *German Requiem* at the 1895 Festival, [this must have been a slip of memory, since it was performed in 1889, not 1895] the Committee in-

⁵⁰⁵ Vernon Blackburn, *Pall Mall Gazette*, 8 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*, p. 3.

⁵⁰⁶ *Manchester Guardian*, 8 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*, p. 8.

roduced Brahms *Rhapsody* for contralto (Marie Brema) and male chorus, which provoked some rather sarcastic remarks by Sullivan on its claim to be described as a 'rhapsody.'⁵⁰⁷

On informing his friend Stanford, that the *Rhapsody* had been programmed the latter responded, 'How funny to put the *Brahms Rhapsody* first into a programme! but then A.S.S. does not love Johannes.'⁵⁰⁸ While Marie Brema's performance was the focus of critical attention, nevertheless, Sullivan's direction of the afternoon concert was well received, Johnstone of the *Manchester Guardian* conceding: 'The orchestral accompaniment, which offers no special difficulty, was very well played, and the work was satisfactorily conducted by Sir Arthur Sullivan,' while the *Sheffield Independent* added a little more detail to the performance, which seems to contradict Thompson's memory:

Sir Arthur knew the power of his soloist and spared her in no detail, getting his full tonal power from chorus and orchestra; yet above all rose the rich, mellow...tone of the singer.⁵⁰⁹

Sullivan relinquished the baton to Sir Hubert Parry, who appeared unannounced to the delight of the surprised audience, to conduct his *Blest Pair of Sirens*. 'Sir Hubert Parry replaced Sir Arthur Sullivan and in a style contrasting violently with that of his predecessor led a magnificent rendering of the ever-popular *Blest Pair of Sirens* which called forth a really enthusiastic demonstration' noted Johnstone of the *Manchester Guardian*.⁵¹⁰

⁵⁰⁷ Herbert Thompson, unpublished autobiography, (ca. 1940?) Brotherton Library, University of Leeds, Special Collection. 6

⁵⁰⁸ Stanford to Thompson, 23 Aug. 1898, Thompson Collection, Brotherton Library Special Collection, University of Leeds, MS361/266.

⁵⁰⁹ *Sheffield Independent*, 8 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival, The Evening Concert*. LMF:PO/1898, p. 207.

⁵¹⁰ *Manchester Guardian, Leeds Musical Festival*, 8 Oct. 1898, p. 8

Humperdinck's *Moorish Symphony* began the evening concert. The Festival critics were unimpressed: the *St. James's Gazette* attempted to find something positive in it, describing it as 'a very musicianly and pleasant work,' while expressing the prevailing view that 'something more solid was expected.'⁵¹¹ Baughan, more unforgiving, decided that Humperdinck was over-rated.⁵¹² The programme was concluded with Handel's *Alexander's Feast*, which had promised well in rehearsal. Fuller Maitland once more complained about cuts to the work, while Thompson, writing over forty years later recalled:

The least satisfactory feature of the Festival was Handel's *Alexander's Feast*, of which a disgracefully slipshod performance was given. Sullivan had apparently taken no trouble to do anything with the score, save to make numerous cuts and omissions, and put no point or expression into his conducting. I remember I came away boiling with indignation!⁵¹³

Sullivan himself, writing an overview analysis of the Festival performances for which he had been responsible, identified *Alexander's Feast* as being the weakest.⁵¹⁴ However, an examination of the reviews reveals that with the exception of Thompson, who declared that he personally looked on it as 'the blot of the Festival' and J.S. Shedlock of the *Athenaeum*, his colleagues found the performance enjoyable.⁵¹⁵ The *Daily Telegraph* was positively enthusiastic:

Handel had his turn, and the sounding choruses of *Alexander's Feast* gave the Leeds singers one more opportunity of distinguishing themselves. This music is seldom heard nowadays, and the work, seeming all the fresher and spirited on that account,

⁵¹¹ *St James's Gazette*, 10 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*, p. 12.

⁵¹² Edward Baughan, *Sporting and Dramatic News*, 15 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*. LMF:PO/1898, p. 244.

⁵¹³ Thompson, *Autobiography*, p. 132.

⁵¹⁴ Sullivan, *Diary*, Sat. 8 Oct. 1898.

⁵¹⁵ Thompson, covering the Festival for the *Musical Times*, 1 Nov. 1898, p.371. J.S. Shedlock, *Athenaeum*, 15 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*, 'The performance was the least satisfactory of the whole Festival,' p.536.

gave pleasure. Compliments are due, not only to Miss Esther Palliser, Miss Ada Crossley, Mr. Ben Davies and Mr. Andrew Black...but also to Sir Arthur Sullivan, who conducted wisely and well.⁵¹⁶

The *Liverpool Daily Post* was equally enthused finding it:

One of the most enjoyable items of the evening...Its grand choruses and purely Handelian melodies were quite to the taste of the evening's performers, and the revival was in every way acceptable.⁵¹⁷

Thompson's local colleague on the *Leeds Express* maintained that it was 'a thoroughly satisfactory performance.' The *Morning Post* agreed, declaring it 'admirable,' while *The Scotsman* regarded it as 'a thoroughly enjoyable rendering'. The *Birmingham Post* decided that 'It was altogether a fine performance, and the audience enjoyed it greatly.'⁵¹⁸ Perhaps the performance and Sullivan's direction of it, was not as wholly appalling as Thompson had implied.

With Saturday morning's performance largely taken up with Cowen's *Ode to the Passions*, a work Baughan noted, 'is admitted by everyone to be the best that the composer has written,' and Gabriel Fauré's ode *The Birth of Venus*, a subject that Herman Klein decided was more suited to painting than music, the final major hurdle that faced Sullivan was the afternoon performance of Beethoven's *Choral Symphony*.⁵¹⁹ His only contribution to the morning came with his conducting of Schumann's overture, *Genoveva* and, according to Thompson, in a rather more oblique and unmusical way that nevertheless, underlines the exceptional relationship that he had with the chorus – it appears that they would do anything for him.⁵²⁰

⁵¹⁶ *Daily Telegraph*, 8 Oct. 1898 *Leeds Musical Festival*, p. 8.

⁵¹⁷ *Liverpool Daily Post*, 8 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival, The Third Day*. LMF:PO/1898, 170.

⁵¹⁸ *Birmingham Post*, 8 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*. LMF:PO/1898, p.182

⁵¹⁹ Edward Baughan, *Sporting and Dramatic News*, 15 Oct. LMF:PO/1898, p. 244. Herman Klein, *New York Mail and Express*, 22 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*. LMF:PO/1898, p. 247.

⁵²⁰ Thompson, *Autobiography*, p.130

Frederic Cowen was about to conduct his cantata, *Ode to the Passions*. His presence at the Leeds was surrounded by controversy. Immediately prior to the Leeds Festival, Cowen, who had been conductor of the Hallé Orchestra since the death of Sir Charles Hallé, had been replaced, some maintained, arbitrarily, by Hans Richter.

There was no question of Richter's ability however, as Thompson explained:

Some urged that Richter's pre-eminence as a conductor justified this choice, others that native musicians should have the preference – Sullivan took the latter view and before the performance of Cowen's work, went into the chorus room and engineered a demonstration which Cowen, in his reminiscences, said he took 'in token of a genuine Yorkshire desire to see fair play.'⁵²¹

A number of critics mentioned the chorus' demonstration and identified it with what was perceived to be the unfair treatment of Cowen at Manchester.

The afternoon's performance of the *Choral Symphony* was electrifying. Chorus, orchestra, soloists and conductor all performing at their finest and, as was observed, justifying once and for all the adoption of the diapason normal, the *Morning Post* remarking:

The afternoon was occupied by a truly magnificent interpretation of Beethoven's *Choral Symphony*. The instrumental movements were finely played and the voices of the choristers seemed as fresh and vigorous as on Wednesday last. The adoption of the lower pitch sensibly helped the sopranos in the sustained high notes.⁵²²

Consistent to the last, however, Johnstone of the *Manchester Guardian*, was unable, as he had been throughout the Festival, to find anything positive about Sullivan's conducting, maintaining that 'the interpretation of which [the *Choral Symphony*] was about as lifeless as it could be with so good an orchestra.'⁵²³ Davidson of the *Glasgow*

⁵²¹ Ibid.

⁵²² *Morning Post*, 10 Oct. 1898 *Leeds Musical Festival*, p. 6. LMF:PO/1898, p. 136

⁵²³ Arthur Johnstone, *Manchester Guardian*, 10 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*, p. 6.

Herald also continued to maintain a similar stance: 'Sir Arthur Sullivan did not exert himself much for the purpose of making the band play, but it played on the whole as perfectly as if a great Beethoven conductor had been facing it.'⁵²⁴ Nevertheless, Sullivan's interpretation won the grudging admiration of Alfred Kalisch, the *World's* critic:

I cannot be enthusiastic over Sir Arthur Sullivan's Wagner conducting, nor, in fact, over the orchestral work of the week generally. Yet the *Ninth Symphony* was extremely good, it was not as rugged or gigantic as Richter's reading, but I can quite see how a generation which knew not Richter thought it *nonpareil*. It was original and carefully thought out. A man who can procure such a performance of such a symphony must, at any rate, be a real conductor, even though he never leaves his chair.⁵²⁵

The *Liverpool Mercury*, justifying the performance's success, maintained that Sullivan conducted the Symphony 'with more spirit than is his wont'.⁵²⁶

Others were more overtly positive. The *Standard* reported that 'Beethoven's *Choral Symphony* was attacked for the third time at Leeds and a grander interpretation of the work could not be imagined.'⁵²⁷

The correspondent of the *Aberdeen Free Press* carefully observed Sullivan in action:

While Sir Arthur Sullivan does not thrash the air, his finger-tips, his facial gestures and his shoulders are all instinct with communicativeness. It is marvellous to watch him from behind controlling the impetuous choral torrent with his left hand and with his right gradually leading in his sectional instrumental forces from the light musketry to the heavy artillery; not even the momentary tinkle of a triangle is without its distinct 'lead.' And one sees when he is satisfied — his shoulders cease to look creased and

⁵²⁴ *Glasgow Herald*, 10 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*, p. 4.

⁵²⁵ *World*, 12 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*. LMF:PO/1898, p. 238.

⁵²⁶ *Liverpool Mercury*, 10 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*. LMF:PO/1898, p. 165.

⁵²⁷ *Standard*, 10 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*, p. 6.

anxious, his head bends over his score, and all marches smoothly until the next strategic movement. Utility, not theatrical effect, is his motive in marshalling his forces.⁵²⁸

Sullivan's interpretation was also singled out for critical examination and for the most part, emerged positively:

Sir Arthur Sullivan...we are disposed to think, surpassed himself as a conductor. His reticent and undemonstrative manner in conducting, and his apparent permission to allow the music to make points for itself have very often deluded the unwary into a certain indifference towards his accomplishment in this capacity. That accomplishment is...a very real and a very great one. Subtly he directs the emphasis, tempers the violence and moulds the various vocal possibilities in the action and expression of his enormous forces. Sometimes you might have said you did not agree with him in this or that interpretation of a particular passage, but in every instance, you were bound to recognise the definitely artistic and personal aim which he was making for. His playing of the *Choral Symphony* is very much a thing to remember. It was strange, but it was splendid.⁵²⁹

It was a difference that Blackburn, in a remarkable review, also found to be subtly imaginative:

His [Sullivan's] interpretation was full of interest and brought a sensation of novelty that was quite unexpected. He dwelt less upon the music as a mass than upon the essential part of Beethoven's melody as it continued from instrument to instrument. It was as though he were saying directly to you ' I want you to follow the course of the symphony by holding fast to the essential part of it throughout, [...] In its way, nothing could have been more interesting; and whether Sir Arthur was right or not in his conclusions he certainly gave me a radiantly new vision of this enchanted country created by Beethoven.⁵³⁰

⁵²⁸ *Aberdeen Free Press*, 12 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival: Notes of a Non-Musical Critic*. LMF:PO/1898, p. 248.

⁵²⁹ *Illustrated London News, Music*, 15 Oct. 1898, p. 205.

⁵³⁰ Vernon Blackburn, *Pall Mall Gazette*, 10 Oct. 1898, p. 4

The *Leeds Mercury* conceded a triumph both for Sullivan and for the chorus:

The result might have been foreseen, the more particularly as the Symphony had undergone a thorough rehearsal under Sir Arthur Sullivan's direction. Minute criticism might point to some deviations in tempi between this or that conductor; but such is a matter of personal feeling rather than law...Sir Arthur Sullivan's tempi pursue a course lying...midway between the scamper of Sir Joseph Barnby and the steady gait of Mottl or Dr. Richter...the choral singing...was certainly fine and instinct with energy. Aided by the pitch, the sopranos held...the high A's in a manner that defied the detection of waverers.⁵³¹

And Kalisch who, writing for both the *Manchester Courier*, and the *World*, had taken a largely unsympathetic stance towards Sullivan's conducting during the festival, nevertheless, appreciated his vision for the *Choral Symphony*:

It was a colossal interpretation of a colossal work. In its own very different way it was as good as the performance of Bach's Mass yesterday [...] Today it was perfection. The orchestra did its best work of the week...and Sir Arthur Sullivan his best work as conductor. His interpretation is consistently interesting, if devoid of the grandeur of Richter's reading. He does the slow movement beautifully — a little faster than most, especially near the end — and the passage before the first entry of the chorus could not have been surpassed for justness of expression.⁵³²

More remarkably, given his antipathy towards Sullivan, Thompson first acknowledged his contribution to interpretation:

It was Sir Arthur Sullivan who first noticed that there is no indication of a pause at the end of this movement [the third movement] and certainly the dramatic effect of the

⁵³¹ *Leeds Mercury*, 10 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival: The Morning Performance*. LMF:PO/1898, p. 1.

⁵³² *Manchester Courier*, 10 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*, p. 7.

terrific outburst that introduces the transitional passage to the finale is enhanced by its coming immediately after the ethereal slow movement.⁵³³

before complimenting Sullivan's direction:

There may have been readings of the Symphony broader and more striking in their general outlines than that adopted by Sir Arthur Sullivan on Saturday morning, but we recollect none more finished in every detail...Altogether it was a very memorable performance.⁵³⁴

The *St. James's Gazette* summarised the whole afternoon:

Sir Arthur Sullivan began the concert with Schumann's well known *Genoveva* overture and concluded it with a monumental performance of Beethoven's *Choral Symphony*...This is the third performance at a Leeds Festival of the *Choral Symphony* and it is safe to say that a finer has never been heard, either at Leeds or anywhere else.⁵³⁵

The *Birmingham Post* eulogised, 'The *'Symphony'* made a great impression and those fortunate enough to have heard it will treasure the memories for as long as they live.'⁵³⁶

The *Choral Symphony*, which Sullivan had first conducted almost exactly twenty years earlier on Monday, 30 September 1878, as the concluding concert in the Gatti Brothers Promenade series at Covent Garden, had marked his emergence as a major conductor. He had created a sensation on that occasion, insisting on playing it straight through, instead of having an intermission between the orchestral and choral movement and eyebrows were still being raised by his continuous interpretation at

⁵³³ Thompson, *Yorkshire Post*, 10 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival: Morning Concert*. LMF:PO/1898, p. 28.

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁵ *St. James's Gazette*, 10 Oct. 1898, *The Leeds Musical Festival* p. 12.

⁵³⁶ *Birmingham Post*, 10 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*. LMF:PO/1898, p. 182.

Leeds.⁵³⁷ Now, however, with a personal triumph again behind him, the *Choral Symphony* formed a magnificent and memorable swan-song to Sullivan's career – he would not conduct it again.

Saturday evening's concert did not form a part of the Festival – it had grown out of the earlier Peoples' Concerts. By the 1898 Festival, it had become a free-standing concert of miscellaneous items, usually anchored by one major work that provided a spectacular finale to the week: for example, in 1895 it had been Sullivan's *The Golden Legend*. On this occasion, it was to be Mendelssohn's *Lobgesang*, marking a full circle from the opening day's performance of *Elijah*.

Most of the critics from the national press had left Leeds following the afternoon concert: they were not provided with free tickets for the evening concert. However, those who left missed a breathtaking performance:

The imposing brass opening to the symphony of Mendelssohn gave evidence that the orchestra was determined upon giving to this, the closing work of the Festival, a memorable interpretation [...] equal to the best that had preceded it during the week, notwithstanding the fact that Sir Arthur's tempo in some of the most eloquent phrases is quicker than many conductors...the chorus wound up the Festival in great style. 'All men, all things', with its broad effects showed the audience what quality of vocal tone had flooded the hall during the concerts that had preceded this one.⁵³⁸

Vernon Blackburn, who, in his initial coverage of the Festival had written about the perils of long programmes, maintaining that anyone attending through to the final concert would be exhausted, was there to see the Festival to a conclusion, remarking:

⁵³⁷ 'The Choral Symphony had...the effect of a whirlwind and the rendering carried all away. The playing of the orchestra was very fine, the 'slow' movement being 'sung' in really moving fashion...Sir Arthur Sullivan's tempi are not quite the same as other conductors. The scherzo he takes remarkably fast, while he plunges into the Finale without a pause.' *London Musical Courier*, 13 Oct. 1898. *Leeds Musical Festival*. LMF:PO/1898, p. 254.

⁵³⁸ *Sheffield Independent*, Mon. 10 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*. LMF:PO/1898, p.207.

The second part of the concert consisted of Mendelssohn's *Lobgesang*, which was almost ideally interpreted [...] Here, as in all Mendelssohn's works, Sir Arthur Sullivan could not have been bettered as a conductor.

So ends the Leeds Festival of 1898 [...] to Sir Arthur Sullivan vast credit is due [...] for the general strength and direction and organisation which have been quite the most prominent of elements in bringing the Leeds Festival to success.⁵³⁹

It was not, given his unique relationship with the Festival Chorus, quite the end for Sullivan. Chorus, orchestra and audience joined in a rowdy, foot-stamping, handkerchief-waving ovation. Sullivan, recorded *The Graphic*, '...was enthusiastically cheered from 3,000 Yorkshire throats.'⁵⁴⁰ Chorus member Eleanor Davison, who had sung under Sullivan's baton through four Festivals from 1889, until his final appearance in 1898, interviewed over half a century later, vividly recalled him:

his dapper figure on the rostrum, his bearing, emotional at times, and his energy and enthusiasm.⁵⁴¹

Her memory embraced that final ovation:

When it [*Lobgesang*] was over, the chorus rose to him...Sullivan was overcome with emotion. He stood there with his back to the audience and then he suddenly put his head down on the score he had been using and broke down...Madame Albani went to him and clutched his hand. Sullivan went off the platform and when he came back he shook hands with the chorus.⁵⁴²

The *Yorkshire Evening Post* reported that:

⁵³⁹ Vernon Blackburn, *Pall Mall Gazette*, 10 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*, p. 4.

⁵⁴⁰ *The Graphic*, 15 Oct. 1898, *Music*, p. 526.

⁵⁴¹ *Yorkshire Post, Memories of Sullivan in Leeds*, 24 May 1952, p. 5.

⁵⁴² *Ibid.*

At the close of the Festival Sir Arthur Sullivan was literally besieged by members of the chorus, all vying with one another in their eagerness to grip him by the hand. The popular conductor was deeply moved by this spontaneous expression of affection.⁵⁴³

As he chatted with the choristers, he attempted to explain his tears, relating that 'when the ladies sung as they had sung that evening, they simply overpowered him'.⁵⁴⁴ He also revealed his sensitivity to the criticism that he had received during the course of the Festival, stating 'that he had had many valuable hints during the week from the local critics, but his forty years' experience had hardened him to that: if it had not he was afraid he would not have been alive to conduct on this occasion.' Perhaps aiming at Thompson, he continued his sarcastic thread by pointing out 'that their opportunity only came once in three years, and of this it would be a pity to deprive them,' before reiterating what he had so often maintained: that the Leeds Festival was the one musical pleasure in his life and that he regarded the chorus as the finest in the world.⁵⁴⁵ It may well have been what the choristers wanted to hear, but there is no reason to suggest that Sullivan was in any way insincere and as he left the Town Hall, neither the choristers, nor he, had any idea that this would be their last meeting. All must have seemed assured, given the overwhelming artistic and financial success of the 1898 Festival, that they would be together again in 1901.

After his emotionally draining departure from the Victoria Hall, Sullivan's day still was not over. After a light supper with his friend, Emma Albani and her husband, the impresario Ernest Gye, he made his way to Leeds station to say his final farewells to his orchestra as they boarded their special train to return that night to London. Sullivan recalled that there were red and blue fireworks, which must have made for a spectacular conclusion to their two-week association.⁵⁴⁶ One of his instrumentalists recalled Sullivan's presence on the platform, mingling with his players after the conclusion of the 1895 Festival:

⁵⁴³ Yorkshire Evening Post, 10 Oct. 1898, *Facts about the Festival*, p. 3.

⁵⁴⁴ Yorkshire Evening Post, 10 Oct. 1898, *The Evening Performance*, p. 3.

⁵⁴⁵ Yorkshire Evening Post, 11 Oct. 1898, *Sir Arthur and the Critics*, p. 3. Yorkshire Evening Post, 11 Oct. 1898, p. 4.

⁵⁴⁶ Sullivan *Diary*, Sat. 8 Oct. 1898.

He shakes hands and chats in his usual amiable manner with all and sundry for no face is forgotten by him. As the train steams out of the station, when one looks out of the window, Sir Arthur, with bared head, is visible so long as the spot on which he stands can be seen from the train.⁵⁴⁷

He must, finally having returned to his temporary home on Hyde Terrace, have believed that at last, he could relax. However, a group of about thirty of the male choristers appeared at around midnight to serenade him.⁵⁴⁸ The extraordinary affection that the chorus had for Sullivan, had prompted them to seek him out. John Green, Secretary of the Philharmonic Society, who had spontaneously organised the singers, recalling the incident in 1927, explained the context of their appearance:

I remembered the tears streaming down his cheeks when we cheered him at the close of the Festival. The decision to serenade him was reached on the spur of the moment. We thought it would cheer him up...I remember him inviting us in to have a drink and a smoke. He was very kind to us and I believe he appreciated the little compliment.⁵⁴⁹

Among the songs they had chosen were two which had been written by Sullivan while he was in his early twenties: *The Beleaguered* and *The Long Day Closes*. As he joined the choristers in the garden, he laconically remarked that he recalled them – they had been written a very long time ago. Now at the end of a very long day, they provided an appropriate closure to the travails of the 1898 Festival. He recorded in his *Diary*, 'Went to bed tired – rather a trying day'.⁵⁵⁰

With the Festival at last over, Sullivan's own analysis of his direction concurs with those of most of the critics: he recognised the performances that had been exceptional: the Bach B Minor Mass and Beethoven's *Choral Symphony*. He was equally

⁵⁴⁷ *Magazine of Music*, Dec. 1895, *Au Courant*, p.p. 253-254.

⁵⁴⁸ They were members of the Philharmonic Chorus and the Choral Union.

⁵⁴⁹ *Yorkshire Evening Post* 20 Oct. 1927, *Sir A. Sullivan's Tears at Festival*, p. 7.

⁵⁵⁰ Sullivan, *Diary*, Sat., 8 Oct. 1898.

aware of what had not met his own exacting standards in Handel's *Alexander's Feast*. He considered the other elements: the orchestra and the chorus, the best that had performed at any of his previous Festivals, 'On the whole,' he wrote, 'the finest performances we have yet had – the chorus better balanced than ever and of beautiful tone. Orchestra superb and playing with more subdued tone than usual.'⁵⁵¹



*Fig.49: Sullivan conducts at the Leeds Festival. Illustration by William Gilbert Foster.*⁵⁵²

Given the exigencies that had haunted Sullivan during the previous twelve months, his own anxieties and the anxieties that he had, in turn, inadvertently, created for the Festival Committee, the success that he had achieved in piloting the enterprise to its conclusion proved overwhelming and was reconfirmed as the monthly periodicals began to publish their copy. The conclusion to be drawn from the majority of reviews beginning with the opening morning's *Elijah* to the closing performance of the *Lobgesang*, is that Sullivan was more than a prestigious name on a billboard – he had again

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵² *Daily Graphic*, 8 Oct. 1892. LMF:PO/1892, p. 157.

proved his value as an energetic and conscientious festival director as well as an outstanding and insightful conductor – and while the Festival may be said to have marked Edward Elgar’s emergence, it marked also, the apogee of Sullivan’s conducting career. Spark had not made an error in retaining him. As the *Daily Graphic* recorded:

There is no special lesson to be learned from the Leeds Festival of 1898. We knew before that the Leeds Chorus is the finest in the world and that Sir Arthur Sullivan, in his quiet, unostentatious way, is one of the best conductors we have. These established facts have received further confirmation, that is all...I can only conclude with hearty congratulations to everyone concerned upon the success of one of the most enjoyable Festivals Leeds has ever had.⁵⁵³

Having delivered the greatest of all the Victorian Leeds Triennial Musical Festivals, Sullivan spent the following day quietly relaxing, saying his farewells to his departing house-guests, taking a drive out in an overcast afternoon with Clotilde, his house-keeper, for company, before calling on Spark and dining quietly back at the Judge’s Lodgings. On Monday, 10 October, he and his household took the 12:25 pm train from Leeds, arriving safely back at his Victoria Street apartment by 6:00 pm.

Given his sensitivity towards press criticism, Sullivan must have found the summaries that were appearing in the press and acknowledging his contribution to the success of the Festival a source of gratification. The *St. James’s Gazette* concluded a long retrospective review of the previous week referencing Sullivan’s overall role at the Festival with a military analogy:

When battles are won and campaigns successfully concluded, congratulations are showered not so much upon the forces led as upon the general who led them. Without his genius and forethought, their pluck and endurance would be ineffective, if not wasted. [...] We have read much of the fine effects produced by the chorus and the

⁵⁵³ *Daily Graphic*, 10 Oct. 1898. LMF:PO/1898, p. 130.

band, but after all, they only loyally obeyed a conductor they were proud to follow. The congratulations of the musical world must go to Sir Arthur Sullivan, who has now so successfully terminated his seventh Leeds Festival.⁵⁵⁴

Sullivan's life returned to its normal routine. In the following days, he attended the autumn race-meetings at Newmarket, backing tips he had received while in Leeds.⁵⁵⁵ He was active in his directorial roles at the Savoy Hotel, Crystal Palace and the music publishers, Hopwood and Crew. He spent a few days in Paris with his mistress — the visit was a combination of pleasure for her and business for him as he pursued notions of new works for the French stage. He met with his friend, the chanteuse Yvette Guilbert, who actively encouraged him to write something dramatic for her.

Whilst in Paris, he contracted a severe cold that lingered on for most of November, but which did not prevent him meeting with Basil Hood, a potential new librettist or from attending, on the same day, 11 November, the premiere of Samuel Coleridge-Taylor's *Hiawatha* at the Royal College of Music, recognising an exciting emergent talent:

Much impressed by the lad's genius. He is a composer – not a music-maker. The music is fresh and original – he has melody and harmony in abundance and his scoring is brilliant and full of colour — at times luscious, rich and sensual. The work was very well done with Stanford conducting.⁵⁵⁶

He stayed for the remainder of the concert, which concluded with Beethoven's *Fifth Symphony*. As something of a Beethoven-specialist himself, Stanford's conducting did not impress him, he recorded scathingly: 'Wonderfully well played but Stanford's reading was slow, dull and academic.'⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁵⁴ *St. James's Gazette*, 10 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*, p. 12.

⁵⁵⁵ The Leeds Festival was always scheduled with date of the Newmarket meeting in mind – which perhaps says something about the clientele Leeds aimed to attract.

⁵⁵⁶ Sullivan, *Diary*, 11 Nov. 1898.

⁵⁵⁷ Sullivan, *Diary*, 'Basil Hood came and discussed the possibility of doing a new piece together. I know no one so good now (putting Gilbert out of the question of course). He has promised to think out some of our suggestions.'

There were the occasional reminders of the 1898 Leeds Festival. William Frye Parker, who had led the orchestra, called at his apartment on 30 October, 'to thank me on behalf of Leeds Orchestra.'⁵⁵⁸ The Savoy Theatre momentarily claimed his time as he supervised the musical elements of the dress rehearsal and conducted at the twenty-first anniversary performance of *The Sorcerer*, remarking laconically in his *Diary* that he found he now 'knew precious little' about his early work with Gilbert.⁵⁵⁹ As the year closed, the tentative friendship between Elgar and Sullivan began to develop – Elgar sending New Year's greetings:

Dec. 30 1898: Flori, Malvern

Dear Sir Arthur Sullivan,

Here is the end of the year with its inevitable reflections: but my sins, musical or otherwise are not interesting and my virtues x — so I think of the happier things of '98 — chief and most pleasant of which was meeting you so I am moved to send a little note to wish you all good things in the New Year which we (my wife joins me in this) trust may be most happy and prosperous.

With kindest regard,

Edward Elgar.⁵⁶⁰

On 22 January 1899, Sullivan eventually sent a belated reply, which gives an insight into his feelings towards the Festival Committee, as well as their appalling discourtesy towards him as General Conductor:

Dear Mr. Elgar,

Your kind letter is ever before me on my table and every day, I put off answering it until tomorrow – that fatal tomorrow.

⁵⁵⁸ Sullivan, *Diary*, 30 Oct. 1898.

⁵⁵⁹ Sullivan, *Diary*, 17 Nov. 1898.

⁵⁶⁰ Edward Elgar to Sullivan, 30 Dec. 1898, Morgan Library, ID: 76070.

However, today has arrived at last, and so I take the opportunity to thank you most sincerely for your kind words and good wishes. I return them heartily to you and Mrs. Elgar. I gather from various sources that the Leeds Festival of 1898 was a great success, but I have heard nothing officially from the Committee.

The Yorkshire people think that if they pay you for their service, that is enough – there is no necessity to say, 'Thank you.' However, there is much in the Festival that gives me pleasure and satisfaction and perhaps the greatest delight is being able to help and forwards the interest of a brother musician no matter in how small a degree.

I am yours sincerely

Arthur Sullivan.⁵⁶¹

It was not until the following September, by then heavily involved in the composition of *The Rose of Persia*, his new opera for the Savoy, that Sullivan was to again hear from Spark and Leeds.

5.2 The 1898 Festival: Leeds Outcomes:

In the days that followed the conclusion of the Festival, all the Leeds papers issued retrospective summary reports that covered everything from rates of hotel room occupancy, to the quality of audience apparel and policing, as well as overall assessments of the performances and of the new works that had been premiered.

⁵⁶¹ Sullivan to Edward Elgar, 22 Jan. 1899, Elgar Birthplace Museum, ID: 10343

A number of critics from the musical periodicals deplored the programming of the works by Goldschmidt and Gray as being entirely unsuitable for a festival of Leeds's prestige and reputation. Baughan was patronisingly scathing towards Gray:

Dr. Alan Gray is a Yorkshireman and has already had a composition performed at Leeds. Are these qualifications sufficient? Let us hope so; for there is nothing in his unpretentious, solid, not to say stodgy *Song of Redemption* that would otherwise entitle it to performance.⁵⁶²

He was equally dismissive of Fauré and Humperdinck:

Mons. Gabriel Fauré is a composer who in some songs and small instrumental pieces has shown a... sort of up to date talent. [...] His contribution to the Leeds Festival ...has...a sort of pleasant vagueness [...] I cannot understand why the Leeds authorities produced it. [...] We are all beginning to see that Herr Humperdinck was rather over-rated on the strength of his *Hansel und Gretel* [...] The *Moorish Symphony* is clever and bright and imaginative...its main merit...is that it does not pretend to be more than it is.⁵⁶³

The more nationalistic maintained that it was no longer necessary to look abroad for new works; the best of the Festival's novelties had come from native composers: Elgar, Stanford and Cowen.

The main issue that had characterised the 1898 Festival, the introduction of the diapason normal, had proved hugely successful. Thompson, who had been one of the prime instigators for change, noted with satisfaction that:

⁵⁶² Edward Baughan, *Sporting and Dramatic News*, 15 Oct. 1898, LMF: PO/1898, p.244.

⁵⁶³ Ibid.

The artistic success of the performances is a sufficient proof that the reversion to the pitch which was in the mind of Beethoven when he wrote the *Choral Symphony* involves no insuperable difficulty.⁵⁶⁴

Musical News also addressed the issue, congratulating the Festival Committee for their bravery in tackling what had become such a subject of contention:

The executive is especially to be felicitated on having had the determination and courage to adopt the diapason normal as the pitch for the Festival, even against the wishes of the conductor [...] The fine choir sang with verve and brilliancy right to the end of the hard week [...] Leeds tackled this question bravely and has now won the distinction of successfully pioneering the cause of rational pitch in the North.⁵⁶⁵

The chorus, which had initially been a cause for concern, had surprisingly, defied expectation, although as Sullivan had remarked at the end of the full rehearsals, they had improved beyond recognition and overcome pessimistic prognostication. Baughan's retrospective in the *Musical Standard* eulogised the performances and the unique quality of the Leeds voices in remarks that paralleled Sullivan's own, while making pertinent suggestions to the Committee for subsequent Festivals:

The festival has been a triumph for the chorus and for the adoption of the low pitch, against which Sir Arthur Sullivan amongst others, had so resolutely set his face, and one need not be a bigoted upholder of the Diapason Normal to trace the wonderful freshness of the voices at the end of the festival. It may be that there have been Leeds choirs equal...to that of the recent festival, but none has been more perfect in balance...It is the more strange, that the balance should prove so good, in as much as grave doubts were entertained as to the strength of the sopranos and tenors before the different contingents had met...in full rehearsal. Among the finest achievements of the choir was the singing in *Elijah*, in Bach's B Minor Mass, a work which only these Leeds vocalists can successfully attack, the *Palestrina* eight-part motet, the chorus of the *Ninth Symphony* and Mendelssohn's *Hymn of Praise*... As an example of what the

⁵⁶⁴ Thompson, *Yorkshire Post*, 10 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*. LMF: PO/1898, p. 28.

⁵⁶⁵ *Musical News*, 22 Oct. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival: Some Concluding Remarks*, p. 367.

choir can achieve in delicacy of expression, in fine balance of light and shade, we had the accompaniment to Cornielius's *Vätergruft*...and the Palestrina...If only a few more choral works had been performed instead of novelties of doubtful value, the bulk of the audience would have been better pleased, as it is to hear the singing that most of us journey to Leeds.⁵⁶⁶

The Festival Committee had themselves witnessed the artistic success of the 1898 Festival. When they met in the Lord Mayor's Rooms on Tuesday, 22 November, for the formal presentation of their Hon. Secretary's report, their prime concern was financial. For months in advance the committee had been aware of the unprecedented box office success of the 1898 Festival, but they were equally aware of the rise in expenditure that had been taking place since the beginning of the decade:

LEEDS FESTIVAL : INCOME AND EXPENDITURE: 1892 - 1898			
YEAR	INCOME	EXPENDITURE	PROFIT
1892	£10946	£8244	£2702
1895	£10969	£8930	£2039
1898	£11490	£9352	£2138

Table 9: income and expenditure⁵⁶⁷

Nevertheless, the Festival had produced a healthy profit, £2,000 of which was to be divided between the local medical charities, while the remaining £138 was placed in the reserve fund at Beckett's Bank, that now stood at £4,273 12s. 6d, making the future of the 1901 Festival secure. A further decision was taken to authorise the Provisional Committee to make a £50:00 per annum donation towards the support of a permanent orchestra in Leeds if, and when, such an orchestra was established – it was a cause that Thompson had long been championing in the pages of the *Yorkshire*

⁵⁶⁶ Edward Baughan, 15 Oct. 1898, *Musical Standard*, *Leeds Festival*, p.p. 234-244.

⁵⁶⁷ *Leeds Mercury*, Weds. 23 Nov.1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*.

Post, and it seems to show some concern for the musical life of the city beyond the Festival itself.

Given the thoroughness of the report prepared by Frederick Spark and the minute detail provided, it is possible to state exactly where resources had been expended:

LEEDS TRIENNIAL MUSICAL FESTIVAL, 1898: BREAKDOWN OF EXPENDITURE. Frederick Spark's report:	
Conductor and principal singers	£2,181 7s. 6d
Orchestra, railway fares, rehearsals	£2,343 10s 11d
Town Hall: furnishings, alterations, attendants	£1,071 7s 11d
New Works, copyrights	£ 347 14s 9d
Advertising, printing, postage, stationery, telegrams	£510 3s 9d
Music for sale, books of words	£362 10s 9d
Office and Committee expenses, rents, rates, alterations	£314 10s 5d
Banker's Charges, chequebooks	£28 7s
Total Expenses	£9,352 0s 11d
Balance	£2,137 19s 11d
TOTAL	£11,490 0s 10d.

Table 10: 1898 Leeds Festival Expenses⁵⁶⁸

What is perhaps of greater significance, particularly in the light of the statement that Baughan had made regarding the public being most interested in the choral works that had been programmed, is the breakdown that the report included of ticket sales per performance. The figures that follow (Table 11) represent the sales of individual

⁵⁶⁸ *Leeds Mercury*, Weds. 23 Nov. 1898 *Leeds Musical Festival*.

tickets, rather than the serial packages and thus, it is possible to ascertain from the returns, which of the concerts had appealed most to the Leeds audiences:

LEEDS TRIENNIAL MUSICAL FESTIVAL 1898: TICKET SALES BY PERFORMANCE:		
Wednesday 5 October Morning	Elijah: Mendelssohn: soloists: Emma Albani, Andrew Black, (Ada Crossley) Clara Butt, Ben Davies, Medora Henson	£402 3s
Evening	Caractacus: Elgar: soloists: Andrew Black, Edward Lloyd, Medora Henson, John Browning, Charles Knowles Tschaikovsky: Variations Cornelius: Vätergruft: soloist: Harry Plunket Greene Berlioz: Carnaval Romain Overture	£230 5s
Thursday 6 October Morning	Cherubini: Anachreon Overture Palestrina: Stabat Mater Stanford: Te Deum: soloists: Emma Albani, Edward Lloyd, Marian McKenzie, Harry Plunket Greene Listz: Les Preludes Goldschmidt: Ode to Music: soloist: Emma Albani Sullivan: Kenilworth Duet, Merchant of Venice Suite, soloists: Emma Albani, Edward Lloyd	£389 11s
Evening	Dvorak: In der Natur Overture Gray: Song of Redemption: soloist: Emma Albani Wagner: Tristan & Walküre extracts: soloists Emma Albani, Edward Lloyd, Marie Brema, David Bispham	£285 15s
Friday 7 October Morning	Mozart: Prague Symphony Bach Mass in B Minor: soloists: Esther Palliser, Marian McKenzie, William Greene, Andrew Black	£404 5s

LEEDS TRIENNIAL MUSICAL FESTIVAL 1898: TICKET SALES BY PERFORMANCE:		
	Parry: Blest Pair of Sirens	
Evening	Brahms: Rhapsody: soloist: Marie Brema Humperdinck: Moorish Symphony Handel: Alexander's Feast: soloists: Esther Palliser, Ada Crossley, Andrew Black, Ben Davies	£264
Saturday 8 October Morning	Schumann: Genoveva Overture Cowen: Ode to the Passions Fauré: Birth of Venus: Solosists: Esther Palliser, David Bispham Beethoven: Choral Symphony: soloists: David Bispham, Medora Henson, Marian McKenzie, William Greene	£385 7s
Popular Concert Evening	Miscellaneous items: soloists: Emma Albani, Ben Davies, Clara Butt Mendelssohn: Hymn of Praise: soloists: Emma Albani, Ben Davies, Medora Henson.	£638 9s

Table 11: Ticket Sales per performance

From Table 11, it seems that Baughan was correct in his analysis: it was the great and familiar choral works that the public wanted to hear, whatever the critics may have said to the detriment of perennials such as *Elijah*. They also wanted to hear established performers such as Emma Albani, Marie Brema, Edward Lloyd, David Bispham and Andrew Black: Festival favourites who had international reputations, representing the pinnacle of stars of the operatic stage and concert platform, or sensational and much-discussed newcomers, such as Clara Butt, making her Leeds debut at the 1898 Festival. Programming seemed to acknowledge this. New works by composers who were less familiar to the Leeds concert going public were eased into the programmes gently, and wrapped around by showstoppers of the repertoire, or presented with stars as an inducement – Elgar's *Caractacus* being a case in point.

With all the concerts being sold out and a very healthy profit made, unsurprisingly, given the furore before the commencement of the Festival, the question of ticket prices continued to raise concern. If the Committee had thought that the issue would disappear once the Festival commenced, they were to be disappointed. The local press continued pursue it:

Nothing but congratulations are showered on Sir Arthur Sullivan and the chorus singers who acquitted themselves so admirably last week. These have been so loud that the halting complaints of those of the poorer class of people, who could not afford to pay 15/- apiece for a single concert, have been unheeded. I have heard more than one grumble that, with all the wealth of musical talent which was in the town last week, some means have not been devised to have a single concert at popular prices.⁵⁶⁹

There was little sympathy for such requests in Spark's report. With the vestibule returned to its proper purpose, necessitating the loss of the cheapest seating, the causal effect was to increase the demand for rehearsal tickets which, in turn, generated additional problems:

⁵⁶⁹ *Leeds Times*, 15 Oct. 1898, *The Man in the Street*, p. 4.

The natural desire of persons who were unable to purchase tickets for the Festival to hear some part, at least, of the music led to a great demand for admissions to rehearsals. The Committee fear that, in their wish to gratify this desire, the audiences became too large, and occasionally caused inconvenience during the rehearsals.⁵⁷⁰

Committee Chairman Thomas Marshall was witheringly dismissive: the Leeds Festival was not a charity concert, even if the revenues raised did contribute to charity.⁵⁷¹

Given the date of the Committee meeting, there had been ample opportunity to study the criticism that had been generated both at the time of the Festival and subsequently. Spark began in a self-congratulatory mood:

The Committee had pleasure in referring to the generally favourable comments which had been made on the Festival. The Committee endeavoured to frame a programme representing so far as possible the great masters of various schools, giving due prominence to choral works – so great an attraction at Leeds. It could not be expected...that eight concerts within the space of four days, should be given without flaw or mistake, and the committee welcomed such criticism as called attention to imperfections which could hereafter be remedied.⁵⁷²

However, the section ended in a note of anger – the Committee were right in their opinion and the world beyond Leeds was wrong: 'Exception has been taken to some points whereon the opinions of experts differ, and on which the committee must be permitted to act on their own views.'⁵⁷³ And with that, the new works and lack of rehearsal time were glossed over. Presumably, the comments directed at the works by Goldschmidt, Gray, Fauré and Humperdinck had struck home.

Spark's report continued:

⁵⁷⁰ *Leeds Mercury*, Wed. 23 Nov. 1898, *Leeds Musical Festival*. LMF:PO, 1898, p.1.

⁵⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷² *Ibid.*

⁵⁷³ *Ibid.*

The thanks of the committee are here heartily given to the conductor, the principal singers, and the members of the band and the chorus, not only for the care and ability with which they discharged their duties, but for the zeal with which they all worked together to make the performances a success.⁵⁷⁴

It was the only acknowledgement from the committee that Sullivan, now an anonymous item in a list, was to receive for his work on the Leeds Festival of 1898.

Frederick Spark deserved, and duly received, his special vote of thanks from his fellow committee members. His impromptu response is interesting, since it appears to be the closest that he came to revealing what had taken place between himself and Sullivan during the spring:

Mr. Spark thanked the committee very heartily. He recognised that they initiated and he carried out [...] If they all knew the "narrow escapes" they had for months before the Festival, they would really be surprised at the smoothness with which the Festival went at the finish.⁵⁷⁵

The meeting concluded with the election of a new Provisional Committee. It was smaller than the outgoing Executive Committee by 7 members and new names featured, although Thomas Marshall and Frederick Spark retained their respective posts as Chairman and Hon. Secretary. The Provisional Committee was enabled to take charge of Festival property, to negotiate with composers for new works for the 1901 Festival, and to vote, from the reserve fund, the £50 donation – if an orchestra for Leeds was created. Almost immediately, it began preparation for 1901 with an initial meeting on 30 November.⁵⁷⁶ As events were to transpire, the Provisional Committee, besides the competencies already outlined, also had the power to sack Sullivan.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁶ 'The Leeds Musical Festival Committee for 1901 are beginning early. They met for business yesterday.' *Yorkshire Evening Post*, Wed. 30 Nov. 1898, p. 2.

6. 'The old order changeth yielding place to the new'

6.1 'The Passing of Arthur'

For Sullivan, 1899 had followed a now familiar routine: taking with him the libretto for a new Savoy work, he abandoned the English winter for the South of France, initially basing himself at Biarritz, socialising, gambling and learning to play golf, until depression, anxiety and illness drove him back to his old haunt of Monte Carlo.⁵⁷⁷ Returning to England in the late spring, he made a now rare appearance on the concert platform when, on 29 April, he conducted a well-received performance of his *Irish Symphony* at Crystal Palace. It was the first time it had been so named and he gleefully explained himself to his cousin, the music critic, B.W. Findon:

It is a mistake to say 'erroneously' called the *Irish Symphony*. It *is* the *Irish Symphony* and was always called so by myself and all about me when I wrote it. But my modesty prevented me from publicly naming it so, after the *Scotch Symphony*. Had I foreseen, however, that Stanford would have named his work an *Irish Symphony*, I think I should have knocked my modesty on the head.⁵⁷⁸

His professional life – his relationship with the Carte management – became acrimonious. Following a succession of poorly-received works, Helen Carte, running the Savoy Theatre, and doubtless concerned by the rumours that continued to circulate implying that Sullivan was about to write for Augustine Daly, attempted to retain exclusive control of him. (Fig.48) In what appears to have been an amazing piece of sharp practice and chicanery, Sullivan was inveigled into signing a contract that put him entirely at the Carte's disposal: his realisation almost resulted in legal action.⁵⁷⁹ It was an issue that created considerable disquiet and heart searching, since from Sullivan's perspective, the controlling contract that the Cartes had tied him to amounted to a breach of faith. Nevertheless, fulfilling his earlier obligations, and with Basil Hood as

⁵⁷⁷ The new work, to a libretto by Basil Hood, was tentatively named *The Miners*.

⁵⁷⁸ B.W. Findon, *Sir Arthur Sullivan*, (London: Nisbet, Dec. ed. 1904) p. 56.

⁵⁷⁹ J. Donald Smith, *Sullivan v. Carte: The Lawsuit which Nearly Happened*. *Sir Arthur Sullivan Society Magazine* # 81, Spring 2013, pp. 23-35.

his librettist, he began work on a new opera for the Savoy, initially entitled *Hassan*, it was to eventually reach the stage on 28 November 1899, as *The Rose of Persia*.



Fig. 48: *The Entr'acte* comments on Sullivan's contractual status:

Sir Arthur Sullivan to Mr. Owen Hall: [real name: James Davis] 'I can't work with you Jimmy, unless you get D'Oyly Carte's permission.'

Following a working vacation with Hood in Switzerland, Sullivan's composition of the 'Persian Opera' accelerated with his arrival at the country house near Wokingham that he had leased for the late summer and autumn. At the same time, the Leeds Provisional Committee met in early September to begin preparations for the 1901 Festival. A press release appearing on Saturday, 16 September, informed the Leeds public that new works had been commissioned from Sir Alexander Mackenzie and Edward German, as well as from Samuel Coleridge Taylor. Antonin Dvořák was again to be approached to compose a work. At the same meeting, although it was withheld from the press statement, the Committee may also have raised the question of Sullivan's continued conductorship.

Possibly, doubts over his retention of the baton for the 1901 Festival were already in circulation and may have been boosted by nothing more sinister than Spark, perhaps informally, elaborating on his previous year's report: had the Committee been aware of what had been happening behind the scenes, they would have been surprised at how smoothly the 1898 Festival ran. It may be speculated that it was at this meeting that Spark made the Chairman and the Provisional Committee aware of Sullivan's attempted resignation, his role in persuading Sullivan to continue, his initiative in the retention of Cowen and Stanford, should the anticipated emergency occur, together

with an explanation for the unprogrammed appearance of Parry.⁵⁸⁰ While the Festival's success had justified Spark's action, if this scenario, or something like it, was related at the September meeting, it is easy to comprehend the Committee's concern at how close to potential disaster the Festival had been, and their apprehension for the 1901 Festival, should the baton be again offered to Sullivan, irrespective of his popularity and command of the box office.

Shortly after the Provisional Committee's initial meeting, Sullivan had received a communication from Spark, sent on September 7, the contents of which he either failed to comprehend or could not believe. He 'wrote to Spark to ask the real meaning of his letter,' asking the Secretary to 'Tell me frankly and honestly what it means.'⁵⁸¹

Spark must have replied immediately to Sullivan's inquiry. His response, written on 1901 Festival notepaper, was dated 18 September. On receipt, later the same day, Sullivan was only too aware of what the Provisional Committee had determined:

Dear Sir Arthur,

You asked me to tell you what my recent letter re the Leeds Musical Festival Conductorship really means. Well, it means that all my colleagues feel very strongly they ought not again to run the risks which arose last Festival. The state of your health for many months was a constant source of anxiety and trouble. Perhaps you did not know at the time, but I may now tell you that arrangements were made with Cowen and Stanford whereby they were retained in Leeds during the whole Festival to take up conducting in the probable event of your collapse.

⁵⁸⁰ Although speculative, it appears possible that Spark was running his own small conspiracy that included Cowen, Stanford and Parry with the intention of operating as a support system for Sullivan at the 1898 Festival, should it prove necessary, and who remained completely unaware of what was happening until the letter of 18 Sept.

⁵⁸¹ Sullivan, *Diary*, Sat. 16 Sept. 1899. Sullivan to Spark, quoted in Spark, *Memories*, p. 32. Although Spark does not give a date, it is likely that this is the letter that Sullivan wrote on 16 Sept.

You will remember that, some time before the Festival, you sent me your resignation on the score of ill health. I persuaded you to continue the position. The Committee knew nothing of this. Had I brought your letter before them, your withdrawal would certainly have been accepted – for there were then sad misgivings concerning your condition.

It is very plain to me that the Committee intend to proceed to the solicitation of a Conductor, and from what I gather, you will not be the solicited one. This of course does not commend itself to me, as one who has laboured for and stood by you for twenty years. Hence my letter of the 7th inst.

There is no agreement as to your successor for it has not yet been considered in Committee.⁵⁸² The names of Cowen, Stanford, Mackenzie, Wood etc., have been casually mentioned. [...]

Sincerely yrs.,
Fred. R. Spark.⁵⁸³

Sullivan was incandescent with anger at the contents of Spark's letter. His *Diary* records his fury:

Received letter from Spark saying that my ill health had caused Committee so much anxiety, they did not intend running the 'risk' again. Rubbish. Of course, I know what it means.⁵⁸⁴

He had, during his forty-year career, on previous occasions resigned positions – never before had he been sacked.

⁵⁸² i.e., the General Committee. Constitutionally, an election needed to take place and that could only be done once the General Committee itself was in existence.

⁵⁸³ Spark to Sullivan, Mon. 18 Sept. 1899. Morgan Library, ID: 75885.

⁵⁸⁴ Sullivan, *Diary*, Mon. 18 Sept. 1899.

Sullivan's prime concern remained the new work for the Savoy. However, while orchestrating the Act 1 Finale – 'working on beastly Dervish Quartette' – his *Diary* records:

Wrote to Spark, saying that my health was good enough last Festival to carry it through brilliantly, and that I could not take any steps in the matter. If I asked Committee not to invite me again to conduct, they might obviously reply 'we never meant to.'

Wrote a long 'private' letter to Tom Marshall, and short one to Spark.⁵⁸⁵

For such a quiet and self-contained man, Sullivan was remarkably combative in his whole approach to the Leeds Committee and their dismissal of him. This is in marked contrast to what has been said elsewhere. For example, Jeremy Dibble, quoting from Jacobs, states that Sullivan knew that he would have to resign from the conductorship after the 1898 Festival because of his ill health.⁵⁸⁶ However, Jacobs was erroneous regarding the time frame of Sullivan's correspondence with Bendall: he seemed unaware of Sullivan's 26 March letter, or of the resignation that he was to proffer Spark during the following month. At that point, Sullivan was close to despair over the demands that *The Beauty Stone* was making on him, and fearful that the additional workload of the Leeds commission would generate illness, leading, in the early summer, to his experiencing a mental crisis marked by the depression and anxiety that seriously worried his closest associates. As a result, as noted above, he had proffered his resignation and had subsequently been persuaded by Spark to continue.⁵⁸⁷ By the autumn of 1899, with both his mental and physical problems at least temporarily behind him, Sullivan was in no mood to resign his coveted position and certainly not on the grounds that the Committee was implying: that of ill health.

⁵⁸⁵ Sullivan, *Diary*, Mon. 25 Sept. 1898.

⁵⁸⁶ Jeremy Dibble, *Charles Villiers Stanford: Man and Musician*, (Oxford: OUP, 2002) p. 292.

⁵⁸⁷ See above, p. 29, fn. 137. The letter to Bendall, written from Paris, was probably penned on April 21.

Although the letters that Sullivan sent to Spark and Marshall do not appear to have survived, some of the drafts have.⁵⁸⁸ Jacobs maintains that it is possible to extract 'a fairly definite form' of what Sullivan sent to Leeds and continues to give a reconstruction.⁵⁸⁹ It is difficult to comprehend how such a conclusion was reached or reconstruction made. What is apparent, from any examination of the fourteen pages of closely-worded script, the crossings out, additions and marginalia, is that numerous attempts to produce a reasoned response were written and re-written as Sullivan gave vent to expressions of anger, bewilderment and hurt at the brutal way in which he perceived he was being treated by men with whom he had worked for the previous nineteen years:

...But after so many years of loyal service to the Festival, I don't like to be chucked over without a word of thanks, and told it is taken for granted that I shall not 'seek office' again, and that the state of my health compels the Committee to run no risks, &c, &c. In the first place, I have never 'sought office', and secondly, I think the Committee might leave it to my conscientious judgement as to whether I could undertake the work or not. The Committee run no risk, for I am not likely to run the risk of damaging my own reputation...

...If they [the Committee] wish to get rid of me, that reason will do as well as any other, but I must point out to you that notwithstanding the apprehension of the Committee, each Festival has been more successful, artistically, than its predecessor, and that no reproaches can be made to me for lack of interest or hard work....⁵⁹⁰

...So there is nothing to be done but to submit quietly to the affront of being entirely ignored after 20 years of loyal service and enthusiastic devotion to the Festival – after years of labour to make it artistically and even socially the most brilliant music gathering in the world....⁵⁹¹

⁵⁸⁸ Morgan Library, ID: 76122.

⁵⁸⁹ Jacobs, p.394.

⁵⁹⁰ Morgan Library, ID: 76122.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid.

What Sullivan made abundantly clear and consistently repeated throughout the drafts was his refusal to resign on the grounds of ill-health as the best course of action for both himself, and more importantly to those at Leeds, for the reputation of Festival Committee. Implying that Spark was attempting to force his hand in persuading him to resign, among numerous crossings out and amendments he angrily responded:

You wished me to express the desire to give up the Festival on the ground of ill health. I am now anxious to give it up; but because the Committee do not want me anymore not on the ground of ill health.⁵⁹²

and it is not difficult to imagine how the press would have responded had such a disclosure been published. From the Committee's perspective, any announcement that related to his health would have avoided any form of 'public squabble.'⁵⁹³ After all, Sullivan's periods of ill-health had been widely reported since he had been in his early thirties and would have carried credibility in the outside world. Both parties, had Sullivan been prepared to cooperate, could have gone their respective ways with honour. However, in the autumn of 1899, Sullivan considered that he was as well as he had been at any time since the beginning of the decade. Since he, as an honourable man, perceived that he was being treated dishonourably by men, some of whom he had regarded as friends, Sullivan was not going to make the Committee's path to a new appointment easy.⁵⁹⁴ In a telling paragraph he informed Spark:

Now you will see that I cannot stultify myself by giving ill-health as a reason for declining to conduct again if the offer were made to me. I might adduce other reasons,

⁵⁹² Ibid.

⁵⁹³ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁴ In the only positively identifiable passage written by Sullivan to Spark at this juncture, it is clear Spark wanted to use the issue of his ill-health as the initiative for his resignation. Such an announcement would have appeared to have come from Sullivan, whereas in reality it came from Spark. Sullivan refused absolutely to cooperate: 'I have not quite taken the course recommended, namely, to withdraw from the Festival on the score of ill-health, because, thank God, I am well, and – without going into details – it is almost impossible, humanly speaking, that I should have a recurrence of my illness.' Spark, *Memories*, p. 32.

but certainly not that one at this moment 'pour cause' - and so I don't see what I can do in the matter.⁵⁹⁵

However, whatever Sullivan wrote, including the promise of a new work for the 1901 Festival, his tenure at Leeds was over. His *Diary* mentions that on 5 October he 'Wrote to T. Marshall, Leeds.'⁵⁹⁶ In writing to the Festival Chairman, it may perhaps, be speculated that this was his official letter of resignation. It was his final communication with Leeds.⁵⁹⁷

While events between Sullivan, the Festival Chairman and its Secretary were concluding acrimoniously, nothing in the national press indicated that a significant change was about to materialise at Leeds. Edward Baughan, writing in the October edition of *Musical Opinion*, in an article reviewing music festivals that focused on Birmingham, Leeds and Norwich, clearly did not anticipate the termination of Sullivan's association with the Yorkshire Festival within the immediate future.⁵⁹⁸ However, he did touch upon an issue – Sullivan's now infrequent appearances on the concert platform – which may well have been an additional factor in the minds of the Committee, as they considered the conductorship of 1901 Festival:

There is no musician alive who so claims my respect as Sir Arthur Sullivan; but in any other country save England would it be possible that a man who for some time has practically retired from public work as a conductor should be given the onerous task of conducting so immense a festival as that of Leeds? Last year, all things considered, he did his work very well [...] Sir Arthur has a big name, and has conducted the Leeds Festivals for many years now; so I suppose that he will continue to conduct them so long as he can hold a baton.⁵⁹⁹

⁵⁹⁵ Morgan Library, ID: 76122.

⁵⁹⁶ Sullivan, *Diary*, 5 Oct. 1899.

⁵⁹⁷ Sullivan's *Diary* entries, completed down to a month before his death, contain no further reference to Leeds.

⁵⁹⁸ Baughan must have written the article at some point during September.

⁵⁹⁹ Edward Baughan, *Musical Opinion, This Month's Gossip*, Oct. 1899, p. 20.

However, by the end of October, rumour of Sullivan's resignation had surfaced.⁶⁰⁰ Information was leaking out of Leeds and may have prompted the appearance in the national press on Wednesday, 14 November 1899, of the following short paragraph:

In a private letter to Mr. Fred. R. Spark, hon. Secretary of the Leeds Musical Festival, Sir Arthur Sullivan has announced his intention of not accepting the conductorship of the Festival of 1901 should the Committee offer it him. Sir Arthur was first appointed in 1880 and held the position down to the Festival in 1898.⁶⁰¹

The announcement was overshadowed by the success of Sullivan's setting of Kipling's *The Absent-Minded Beggar*, which had sensationally premiered on Monday, 13 November, at the Alhambra, with the composer conducting. Interest also centred around the 'Persian Opera', now named *The Rose of Persia*, which was to have its first night at the Savoy on 28 November. Brief though the notice was, it did not evade attention. Much speculation concerning both Sullivan's and the Committee's motives was to follow.

One of Sullivan's draft paragraphs began: 'I am unaware that there was anything in my conduct to prejudice the success of the Festival...'⁶⁰² However, had he been able to take a more objective view of what had happened during the course of the 1898 Festival year, he might have seen the obvious causes of concern that had led to his dismissal – or to be constitutionally correct; the Committee's refusal to elect him for the 1901 Festival.

⁶⁰⁰ *Western Daily Press*, 23 Oct. 1899.

⁶⁰¹ Spark claimed that he had helped Sullivan compose the announcement: 'acting on my advice, Sir Arthur provided a paragraph for circulation in the newspapers announcing his intention not to seek re-election.' Spark, *Memories*, p. 32. *Morning Post*, Weds. 15 Nov. 1899. The Committee sanctioned the press release on 10 Nov. Jacobs stated that the announcement of Sullivan's resignation appeared on 1 Dec. 1899 and this date has been followed by a number of authors, for example, Paul Rodmell, *Charles Villiers Stanford*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002) p. 205. Jacobs cited the *Musical Times* – a monthly publication. By that date, the national and regional newspapers were freely speculating on the cause of Sullivan's resignation and the possible identity of his successor.

⁶⁰² Morgan Library, ID: 76122.

Sullivan had accepted a commission to compose a new cantata for the Festival. There is no question that he genuinely intended to write for Leeds and it is possible that something may have been begun.⁶⁰³ His delay in informing the Committee that he could not, through ill health, produce a work, was at a minimum a serious inconvenience that had the potential to be disastrous both with regard to programming and at the Festival box office, had Cowen not had his *Ode to the Passions* available as a substitute and had overall ticket sales not been as unprecedentedly strong as they were.

The Leeds Committee had, according to Spark, attempted to commission works from Sullivan at every succeeding Festival from 1880 and his successful 'Sacred Music Drama,' *The Martyr of Antioch*. The 1886 Festival saw the triumphant premiere of *The Golden Legend*, which, with Handel's *Messiah* and Mendelssohn's *Elijah*, became the most widely performed choral work in the years before the Great War, and was one of the few Festival works that had a life beyond its immediate creation. Doubtless, part of the reasoning behind Sullivan's continued appointment was the acclaim that Leeds received in the wake of such works. What must have seemed apparent by Sullivan's withdrawal in 1898, was that a new composition was now highly unlikely. He had indeed, as he expressed it, 'disappointed them.'⁶⁰⁴

Sullivan's decision to resign in April 1898, had been made with the best of intentions. He reasoned that it would give the Committee time to appoint a successor. However, coming before the Festival orchestra had been engaged must, for Spark, have been a critical issue in persuading him to remain – it was impossible for the Committee to build an orchestra without their conductor's knowledge and the regard and goodwill that was attached to him personally. Sullivan hand-picked his instrumentalists and they played for him:

⁶⁰³ Sullivan to Sibyl Seligman: 'Have you found a subject yet for my Leeds Festival work?' BL ref: MS Mus. 133F, letter #99. This comment, part of a PS to a letter written in 1896, as well as his commissioning of Paul England in 1898, gives evidence that Sullivan had not given up the notion of writing for Leeds as implied by Jacobs.

⁶⁰⁴ Sullivan to Bendall, 21 April.1898. Morgan Library, ID: 75826

Sir Arthur...has shown himself...one of the finest living conductors. Question our best instrumental musicians on the subject, and they will all say that next to Richter, there is no orchestral chief under whom they would so soon play as Sullivan.⁶⁰⁵

Thompson, finding another means of attacking Sullivan, complained that the orchestra were mostly Philharmonic players.⁶⁰⁶ An overview of the names of those engaged reveals that Sullivan, as well as drawing on the obvious: the Philharmonic, Queen's Hall and Crystal Palace, was also bringing in players from theatre orchestras: for example, his 4th bassoon, E.G. Hurley, came from the Savoy. It might have been possible to replace Sullivan as conductor, but who was able to construct and manage an orchestra as he could? The Leeds Committee had, in 1880, rejected the Hallé Orchestra as not good enough for their Festival and certainly, even had it been available, Festival prices could hardly be justified for an orchestra that regularly visited Leeds during the winter concert season.⁶⁰⁷

Had Sullivan's resignation been carried through, it was likely to have had a further deleterious effect on the Festival's income – his name and presence at Leeds was a guarantee of ticket sales in the same way that Hans Richter's was at Birmingham, August Manns at Crystal Palace or Henry Wood at Queen's Hall. He spoke a reality when he referred to the prestige attached to his name – for six Festivals, he had been the star of the Leeds event – a fact that the press widely reflected (Fig. 47). The prospect of having to find a conductor with an international reputation, who was equally at home with the choral, operatic and orchestral repertoire and who had the respect

⁶⁰⁵ *Evening Standard* Weds. 7 Dec. 1899, p. 8.

⁶⁰⁶ *Yorkshire Post*, 19 Jan. 1898, *Music and Art*. Thompson maintained that: 'we cannot at Leeds...hope to attain that perfection which can only come by constant drill and *esprit de corps*. But we can effect an improvement by an infusion of new blood...there has been too much of the Philharmonic element in the band...who have lost some of the freshness of youthful enthusiasm...That enthusiasm coupled with ability can do much, even without the benefit of experience, is constantly being shown by the student's orchestra at the Royal College of Music...We want a few such players added to the 'experienced' nucleus, to leaven the lump.' Unmentioned by Thompson: Stanford conducted the RCM orchestra.

⁶⁰⁷ The Queen's Hall concerts began on 27 Aug. running to Oct. 15, 1898. Crystal Palace concerts began on 8 Oct. 1898. As has been mentioned, Sullivan recruited from both, but the dates would seem to make it impossible to recruit a whole orchestra to play at the Festival.

and affection of the forces working under his baton, as well as the regard of the public, would have been a nightmare. No obvious candidate springs to mind, other than Hans Richter, even if he were available. His final season at the Hofoper in Vienna would have claimed him just as the Leeds Festival was commencing.

While Spark was to maintain that the correspondence between Sullivan and the Committee pertained only to matters concerning Sullivan's health, there were other issues that must have been in the minds of the Provisional Committee members as their decision was being made.⁶⁰⁸ Perhaps the most obvious, since it was frequently mentioned in reviews of the 1898 Festival, was Sullivan's conducting style. For much of his career, he conducted seated, and Thompson repeatedly accused him of lethargy.⁶⁰⁹ In a period when the cult of the hero-conductor had become fashionable, Sullivan's quiet and undemonstrative style must have seemed hopelessly out of date: there was no sense of charisma, no sense of theatre for a public who wanted to see, as well as hear, performances. However, as the reviews prove and as Herman Klein pointed out, to evaluate Sullivan's conducting solely on the basis of appearance was to misjudge him:

He had uncommon powers of self-repression, and he used them more than he really needed. As a conductor, this was no doubt to his disadvantage; yet if magnetism were lacking neither sympathy nor control was, and his slightest sign was instantly obeyed. Only those who saw him work at rehearsal could tell how completely he was master of the situation. At performance, he purposely avoided a demonstrative style; hence was his beat often described as 'lethargic' by those who studied his manner instead of the effects that he produced.⁶¹⁰

⁶⁰⁸ *Leeds Mercury, Reduced receipts and Profits, The Committee and Sir Arthur Sullivan*, Dec. 2 1904, p. 4, covers the Committee's official statement following the 1904 Festival.

⁶⁰⁹ 'Too often his interpretations...were marred by an inclination to lethargy, which was no doubt temperamental...' Thompson, *Autobiography*, unpublished, no date (after 1936?) p. 115.

⁶¹⁰ Herman Klein, *Thirty Years of Musical Life in London*, (New York: The Century Co., 1903) p. 201.

Strange as his conducting style may have been, and as some critics at Leeds perceived, Sullivan somehow managed to achieve the maximum in terms of results from the apparently minimum of effort on his part. However, as his *Diary* entries and correspondence reveal, and as Klein and other critics present at Leeds in 1898 observed, he was meticulous in rehearsal. Nothing was left to chance. The performances and interpretations that were produced were the result of his own careful preparation: he was rather more than a conduit through whom the music flowed.

Nevertheless, Baughan, after praising Sullivan's work at the 1898 Festival, could maintain that 'it would be purest affectation to pretend he is now everything a conductor should be.'⁶¹¹ After Sullivan's resignation, Thompson wrote patronisingly:

He had many of the qualifications as a conductor but since he first took up the baton at Leeds the art of conducting has assumed a very different character in this country from what it was twenty years ago.⁶¹²

And inevitably, as Rodmell maintains, Sullivan's health, particularly the unpredictable nature of his kidney ailment, did make him vulnerable; although that in turn, does raise the question of why it suddenly became an issue in 1899.⁶¹³

Sullivan's health, as has been noted, had been problematical in the decade before he was appointed to the Leeds conductorship in 1880. His kidney condition suddenly flared during the course of the 1880 Festival, the *Sheffield Independent* reporting that he had conducted the premiere of *The Martyr of Antioch*, in the midst of an attack, while he recorded, in relation to the performance: 'I did not hear the applause, I did not see the audience for the tears were rushing out of my eyes in agony'.⁶¹⁴ Perhaps

⁶¹¹ Edward Baughan, *Musical Standard*, 15 Oct. 1898, p. 244.

⁶¹² Herbert Thompson, *Yorkshire Post*, 15 Nov. 1899, *Leeds Musical Festival Conductorship: Sir Arthur Sullivan Resigns*, p. 4.

⁶¹³ Rodmell, *Stanford*, p. 205.

⁶¹⁴ Quoted in Herbert Sullivan and Newman Flower *Sir Arthur Sullivan: His life, letters and Diaries*, (London: Cassell, 2nd ed., 1950) p. 80.

Sullivan's attempted resignation and the meeting he had with Spark and Marshall in the days immediately following the premiere of *The Beauty Stone*, may have focused attention on a topic that was in many respects a given. It seems strange that on previous occasions, Sullivan had been in far worse physical condition approaching Leeds Festivals, in particular, in 1892, when recovering from near-fatal illness, he categorically refused to have Joseph Barnby foisted on him as an assistant and no cover was provided. It is impossible to know what motivated Spark's action in 1898, when Stanford and Cowen were secretly on standby, other than occasional hints left by critics who remarked on Sullivan's physical appearance which indicates a fragility that he did not feel.⁶¹⁵ Having been informed, Sullivan, although obviously unaware of what was happening at the time, found the engagement of cover unnecessary:

I have no doubt the Com: felt they were acting rightly in having other conductors ready to replace me in case I broke down – that would be a wise thing to do of all terms and under any circumstances. But there was no special need for such action at the last Festival; because...I was quite well, with a clean bill of health from my doctor. If the festival had taken place eight or nine months earlier, it would have been more perhaps, really advisable, for I was then in anything but good health.⁶¹⁶

Living for more than half of his life with a serious medical problem, Sullivan does not appear to have been delusional about his condition – he was aware of what he could do, and had in the past, on rare occasions, cancelled conducting engagements because of ill health.⁶¹⁷ However, his perceptions of himself do seem to be at odds with those who recalled seeing him at Leeds in the autumn of 1898. Nevertheless, what is problematical with most of these accounts is that they were written in the wake of Sullivan's sudden death, which provided Spark, as spokesman for the Committee, with a validation for his dismissal, and created a mythology that had Sullivan virtually

⁶¹⁵ In 1898, it appears that Sullivan's mental health, and the exhaustion generated by his work on *The Beauty Stone*, rather than his physical condition, was the major difficulty as the festival approached. His *Diary* does not record recurrence of his kidney problem until the spring of 1899.

⁶¹⁶ Sullivan, draft, Morgan Library, ID: 108834.

⁶¹⁷ See Appendix 1.

incapable of conducting the 1898 Festival that is in direct conflict with the available evidence. Indeed, a number of these sources, including that of Harry Plunket Greene, were written at a distance of over a quarter of a century and were agenda-driven.⁶¹⁸ Edward Baughan, writing in 1904 seems to offer the best compromise – Sullivan may not have appeared robust, but he was still more than capable of directing the Leeds Festival:

I saw the composer at the rehearsals of the last festival he conducted; and wondered how he could ever hope to get through his arduous task. Certainly, he did get through it and brilliantly, but he was not the man he had been.⁶¹⁹

6.2. The Great Leeds Conspiracy?

⁶¹⁸ Harry Plunket Greene, *Charles Villiers Stanford*, Edward Arnold, 1935, p. 129. Plunket Greene, making his comments concerning Sullivan's inability, during the 1898 Festival, conflicts with contemporary accounts of Sullivan taking him repeatedly and rigorously through the works in which he was involved. However, in writing a biography of his friend, CV Stanford, the obvious agenda was to paint Sullivan's final festival direction in an unflattering light in contrast to Stanford's tenure of the Leeds baton. Further doubt must be raised regarding the veracity of Plunket Greene's evidence for the 1898 Festival: in 1933, while researching for his biography, he explained to Thompson that he could not remember singing *Vatergruft* in 1898 and was dubious as to who conducted the festival at the time of the *Caractacus* premiere, initially speculating that it was Stanford. Plunket Greene to Thompson, Thompson Papers, Brotherton Library Special Collections, M361/130/1. A further example may be found in David Bispham's memoirs. He had sung under both Sullivan's (1895 and 1898) and Stanford's baton (1901), at Leeds as well as in the theatre. Writing in 1919, he clearly conflated the two. He was unique in maintaining that Sullivan wore glasses to conduct, rather than his trademark monocle that commentators remarked on throughout his career as well as in 1898, and which contemporary illustrators represented. David Bispham, *A Quaker Singer's Recollections*, London, Macmillan, 2nd ed., 1921, p. 174.

⁶¹⁹ Edward Baughan, *Daily News* Fri. 21 Oct.1904, *Music and Musicians: An English Composer*, p. 4. Review of B.W. Findon's biography of Sullivan.

Sullivan's outrage at his dismissal and the grounds for it was immediate: 'Rubbish! Of course, I know what it means.'⁶²⁰ While a further sentence of explanation for his outburst would have been useful, it is possible to speculate that it was aimed not only at the Committee but also at Charles Villiers Stanford, whose name, on the announcement of Sullivan's withdrawal from the Leeds conductorship, was widely circulated as his possible successor. Indeed, Stanford's name had been linked with the Leeds baton since the summer of 1897, when, directly after his appointment as conductor of the Leeds Philharmonic Society, he conducted a contingent of the Leeds Festival Chorus at a concert at the Queen's Hall. (Fig: 51)⁶²¹



Fig.51: Stanford conducts the Leeds Festival Chorus⁶²²

The appearance of the Leeds choristers in London and under Stanford's rather than Sullivan's baton may have provoked the following:

Dr. Villiers Stanford has been appointed conductor of the Leeds Philharmonic Society whose chorus is the nucleus of the Leeds Festival Chorus. The rumour...that this implies an early relinquishment by Sir Arthur Sullivan of the duties of conductor of the Leeds Festival is quite baseless. Sir Arthur is far too proud of his position as chief of

⁶²⁰ Sullivan, *Diary*, Mon. 18 Sept. 1899.

⁶²¹ Stanford was appointed conductor of the Leeds Philharmonic Society on Weds. 2 June 1897 following the resignation of Adolf Beyschlag.

⁶²² *Morning Post*, Tues. 6 July 1897, p. 1.

the greatest British triennial festival to give it up, while the Leeds Committee would certainly be loath to part with our leading British musician. Dr. Stanford...hopes to improve the general standard of musical culture in Leeds, and for the two choral works this winter he has chosen Dr. Hubert Parry's *St Cecelia's Ode* and Brahms's *German Requiem*.⁶²³

While it may well be, as Jeremy Dibble has suggested, that Stanford, with the Bach Choir in financial difficulty and apparently in terminal decline, accepted the Leeds post because he needed the money, by the Spring of 1898, Sullivan, depressed and anxious, saw him as an evolving threat to his Leeds conductorship, writing to Bendall on the cusp of his attempted resignation: 'There will be no difficulty about a conductor, as Stanford is ready – ay and willing! What else did he accept the Leeds Phil. Soc. for?'⁶²⁴ Subsequent events would have done nothing to shake Sullivan's opinion as Stanford firmly embedded himself in Leeds's musical life – something that Sullivan, with his base in London, had never attempted to do.

Early in 1898, Stanford was part of a three-man adjudication at the Albert Hall to select a new city organist for Leeds following the death of Dr. William Spark.⁶²⁵ Herbert Fricker, who was subsequently to become Festival Chorus Master amidst controversy in 1904, was appointed.⁶²⁶ Stanford also threw himself into the debate concerning the pitch of the Town Hall organ during which, as has been mentioned above, he launched a personal attack upon Sullivan. Nevertheless, for those who wanted the change to the diapason normal implemented in Leeds, he was stating what they wanted to hear, and his positions at Cambridge University and the Royal College of Music gave him an academic prestige that Sullivan, whatever his popularity, simply did not have. Stanford was already on terms of close friendship with Spark's son-in-

⁶²³ *Glasgow Herald*, Sat. 16 Oct. 1897, *Dramatic and Musical*, p. 7

⁶²⁴ Sullivan to Bendall, 22 April 1898, Morgan Library, ID: 75826.

⁶²⁵ The other members of the team were Sir Frederick Bridge and Mr. C.H Perkins of Birmingham, who 'spent three hours at the Royal Albert Hall on Tuesday judging the merits of the selected candidates for the Leeds City organistship.' *Leeds Times, Music and Drama: New Organist*, Sat. 5 March 1898, p. 8.

⁶²⁶ Herbert Austin Fricker, 1868-1943. Organist, composer and choirmaster and conductor of the Leeds Symphony Orchestra, Leeds 1897-1917.

law, the *Yorkshire Post's* Music and Art critic, Herbert Thompson. A Cambridge graduate, he hero-worshipped Stanford and despised Sullivan.⁶²⁷ During the course of the Leeds Philharmonic Society's winter concert seasons, Stanford became acquainted with the musical elite within the city, several of whom served on both the Philharmonic and the Festival Committees and some may be identified as his supporters, such as W.S. Hannam, Chairman of the Programme Committee, C.F. Tetley, Mayor of Leeds during 1898, who was also an Executive and Provisional Committee member, Thomas Scattergood, Edmund Ward and the banker, E.B. Faber, some of whom he knew from Cambridge days.⁶²⁸ From Sullivan's perspective, particularly at a time when he perceived himself as vulnerable, it was difficult not to construe Stanford as a threat. Given Sullivan's *Diary* statement of 18 September: 'Rubbish. Of course, I know what it means' and the foregoing, it is possible to speculate that in Sullivan's mind, he had been overthrown by the machinations of a rival who had deliberately sought to undermine his position as the Festival's conductor.

Spark's 18 September letter mentioned the names of possible conductors that were in circulation amongst the members of the Provisional Committee and obviously, with Stanford already, through his conductorship of the Philharmonic Society, being a presence in Leeds, and with a power base on the Committee, he was in a commanding position when the decision came to be made to appoint a new conductor. However, in the days immediately following the announcement of Sullivan's withdrawal, there were others keenly interested in what was a highly coveted post – Sullivan had helped to establish the Leeds Triennial Festival as the blue riband event on the national festival calendar. Edward Elgar, visiting Leeds in November 1899, heard that Sullivan's resignation had been engineered by 'Stanford's politicking.'⁶²⁹ Writing to Percy Buck, who had contacts with Leeds Committee members, he gave his support

⁶²⁷ See Thompson's comments regarding Sullivan's conducting in a retrospective of the 1895 Leeds Festival, *Yorkshire Post*,

⁶²⁸ At least five members of the Leeds Committees, most important of whom was C.F. Tetley, were graduates of Trinity College, Cambridge and contemporaries of Stanford.

⁶²⁹ Elgar to Buck, 17 Nov. 1899, quoted in Jerrold Northrop Moore, *Edward Elgar: Letters of a Lifetime* (Oxford: OUP, 1990) p. 81.

to Frederic Cowen, or offered himself as an alternative candidate for the vacant position, and urged Buck to use his influence to block Stanford's appointment:

anyone rather than Stanford – it will *kill* the Festival artistically if he gets in. Cowen is far and away the best man and failing him of course / am next in. Now don't mention my name...but do all you can to get Cowen the place - or if your friends are against him then ME...This conductorship is a *very serious* business and I trust you'll do all you know how.⁶³⁰

Unsurprisingly, Stanford's name was also being circulated in the press as Sullivan's successor, reinforcing the notion that there was some leakage of information coming from a Leeds source. It is interesting that such rumours invariably began not in the Yorkshire or London press, as might be expected, but via the London correspondent of the *Glasgow Herald*:

A report is current today...that Sir Arthur Sullivan is unwilling to bind himself to conduct the Leeds Musical Festival in 1901, in which event, it is said, the duties will fall upon Dr. Villiers Stanford, who is already conductor of the Leeds Philharmonic Society...Sir Arthur is not a young man and he has many engagements, and although the connection of the great English musician with Leeds is not likely to be finally severed, it would not surprise anyone if Sir Arthur was unwilling to bind himself so long in advance.⁶³¹

It is possible that Stanford was unaware of what was being stated in the provincial press. He was, however, extremely touchy about any imputation that he had accepted the Leeds Philharmonic Society's conductorship with the view of manipulating the Leeds situation to his own advantage. In February 1900, he threatened to sue

⁶³⁰ Ibid.

⁶³¹ *Glasgow Herald*, Sat. 21 Oct. 1899, *Our London Correspondent*, p. 7. The story was taken up by other provincial newspapers, appearing in the *Western Daily Press* on Monday, 23 Oct. 'It is stated that Professor Villiers Stanford will conduct the next Leeds Festival, in the place of Sir Arthur Sullivan. Professor Stanford has conducted the Leeds Philharmonic Society for several seasons.' By the end of that week, the *Derbyshire Times* (Sat. 28 Oct. 1899) was stating bluntly: 'Professor Villiers Stanford will conduct the next Leeds Festival in place of Sir Arthur Sullivan.'

Henry Labuchere, the proprietor of *Truth*, in the wake of an article that he regarded as libelous. Its author, Percy Betts, had suggested that his bringing a group of Leeds singers to London to bolster the Bach Choir was in some way an attempt to impress the Festival Committee into appointing him as conductor. In the event, with an apology being published, the legal action did not take place.⁶³²

During the summer, the *Glasgow Herald* once more led with rumours concerning the Leeds conductorship:

Mr. Cowen is...understood to have an excellent and possibly first chance of securing the conductorship of the Leeds Musical Festival, although of course, until the elective committee is chosen...nothing definite on the point can be known.⁶³³

Nevertheless, Stanford's name continued to be circulated in the context of the Leeds vacancy, and given that he had shown his irritability on the issue of the Leeds conductorship, it is remarkable that when the following article appeared in the *Echo*, a London evening paper, at the beginning of October 1900, Stanford did not react:

Sir Arthur [Sullivan] retired in disgust from a position which had become practically untenable by a man of his standing and reputation. There are some curious little musical cliques 'up north'. Only last year Mr. Frederic Cowen was summarily bundled out of Manchester to make way for Dr. Hans Richter. At whose bidding? Who were the men who rule Manchester Music? German Jews. Are German Jews in a majority at Leeds? I think not. But there is certainly a composer and musician who is working Leeds with all the assiduity and pertinacity which we commonly ascribe to members of the ancient Hebraic race. Dr. Villiers Stanford is, in many respects, a man to be admired. He is an indefatigable worker, a composer of moderate merit, a conductor of

⁶³² See Paul Rodmell, *Charles Villiers Stanford* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002). Rodmell quotes the offending passage from *Truth*, 1 Feb. 1900, p. 277: 'The Bach Choir will give only one concert this year, namely a performance of Bach's great Mass in B Minor. For this, as I understand, a strong contingent from Leeds will come to London. The employment of the Leeds singers has, of course, nothing – no, absolutely nothing – to do with the vacant conductorship of the Leeds Festival.'

⁶³³ *Glasgow Herald*, Tues. 5 June 1900, *Dramatic and Musical*, p. 5.

indifferent achievement. He has been, what we call in politics, nursing Leeds for a long time. He secured the post of conductor of the...Philharmonic Society in that town: he has tried to make smooth the path to the more dignified chair which is so conspicuously in evidence at the Town Hall once every three years by every possible means within his power. But he has more than anyone I know the gift of 'Setting people's back up' for no apparent cause. One seldom hears him spoken of in terms of warm cordiality. He has scarcely a friend on the London press, if we except that little academical circle which moves round him and Printing House Square. A Festival conductor must needs to have a very commanding or a very winning personality. Has Dr. Stanford either? If he has not, then his appointment to Leeds would be a huge mistake. But I would rather see Dr. Stanford there than a foreigner.⁶³⁴

It would seem unlikely that Stanford remained unaware of the article. Perhaps it may be speculated that in this case he did not take action because he realised who, ultimately, was behind it. The author, 'B.W.F.', was the *Echo's* music critic and Sullivan's cousin, Benjamin William Findon. The two, beyond their family relationship, were close friends (Fig. 42) and it is not unreasonable to assume that Findon was representing Sullivan's views. Findon was to maintain in 1904, in the wake of accusations by the Leeds Festival Committee that comments he had made about them in his biography of Sullivan were 'offensive and untrue,' that he was reflecting opinions that Sullivan had expressed to him during the course of conversations they had during March 1900, when they were both in Monte Carlo.⁶³⁵ Sullivan's *Diary* confirms that he met with Findon, that he was in correspondence with him, and had a further visit from him while he was on holiday in Switzerland in July.⁶³⁶ There are a number of issues within the article that reflect Sullivan's known opinions: the casual antisemitism towards the Manchester musical establishment, his dislike of certain elements of the press, particularly John Fuller Maitland of the *Times*, and the academic circle centred on the Royal College of Music, as well as his belief that appointments to British musi-

⁶³⁴ B. W. Findon, *The Echo*, 1 Oct. 1900, *A Musical Causerie: The Leeds Conductorship*, p.1.

⁶³⁵ *Leeds Mercury*, Fri. 16 Dec. 1904, *The Late Sir Arthur Sullivan*, p. 4.

⁶³⁶ Sullivan, *Diary*, Meetings with Findon on 28 Feb., 21 March, 1 April and 10 July.

cal positions should be in British hands. The article ended with what appeared an apparently incredible assertion: that Sullivan could become conductor of the next Sheffield Festival:

Leeds must soon decide; let it decide wisely and well. It has now a formidable rival in the neighbouring town of Sheffield, and it must look to its laurels. If Sheffield were 'slim' enough to secure Sir Arthur Sullivan for its next Festival, wool would probably go down before steel.⁶³⁷

The statement is certainly rooted in fact. Findon's correspondence recounted: 'During the same conversation he [Sullivan] introduced the subject of the Sheffield Conductorship, and was then prepared to accept the position if it were offered to him.'

Findon continued, tellingly, 'Is comment necessary?'⁶³⁸ *Diary* entries on 29 August and 9 September 1900, confirm Sullivan was in communication with Noel Burbidge, Hon. Secretary of the Sheffield Musical Festival Committee, and in the wake of his death, the local press ran copy suggesting that had he would have conducted the 1902 Festival.⁶³⁹ *Truth* ran a similar article.⁶⁴⁰ The fact that after twenty years of association, Sullivan was prepared to become musical director at the rival city's festival may be taken as an indication of how deeply he had been hurt by his treatment at Leeds – a decade earlier, he had refused invitations to direct festivals at Portsmouth and Cardiff on the grounds that Leeds had the first claim to his services.⁶⁴¹ There is, of

⁶³⁷ B.W. Findon, *Echo*, 1 Oct. 1900, *A Musical Causerie: The Leeds Conductorship*, p.1. 'Slim' was a slang term meaning 'crafty.'

⁶³⁸ B.W. Findon, *Leeds Mercury*, Fri.16 Dec. 1900, *Correspondence: The Late Sir Arthur Sullivan*, p. 4. The Sheffield vacancy had occurred with August Manns's resignation, ironically on the grounds of ill health.

⁶³⁹ Sullivan, *Diary*, Weds. 29 Aug. 1900. *Sheffield Independent*, Mon. 26 Nov. 1900. *Music and the Drama*, p. 6. 'Sir Arthur Sullivan, whose life of suffering – such for many years it had been – is ended, and who tasted as much of the bitters as of the sweets would not have declined the direction of the Sheffield Festival...But if more were said as to Sir Arthur and the next Festival it would involve the breach of confidences.'

⁶⁴⁰ *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 27 Nov. 1901, quoting from *Truth*: 'Sheffield indeed, is fast taking the place which in Sullivan's day was occupied by Leeds...If Sir Arthur Sullivan had lived, I happen to know that it was his intention to put up for the post of Conductor at Sheffield instead of Leeds.'

⁶⁴¹ See Appendix 1 p.325-325. Portsmouth 1891, Cardiff 1892.

course, a further aspect to the Sheffield negotiations: that they were prepared to appoint Sullivan, irrespective of his health, is testament not only to his musicianship but to his continuing popularity at the box office.⁶⁴²

Spark rejected rumours that were circulating at the time that there was a clique within the Festival Committee determined to remove Sullivan from the conductorship, maintaining 'that Sir Arthur laboured under the belief that some kind of a conspiracy had been formed against him.'⁶⁴³ However, *Truth* scented trouble in Leeds following the announcement of Sullivan's withdrawal:

There are some who claim that Sullivan is too lethargic as a conductor; but the proof of the pudding is assuredly in the eating, and under the composer of *The Golden Legend* the band – Britons almost to an individual – and the West Riding chorus have become world renowned, while the profits available for charity have more than doubled... I imagine that when the veil is lifted, and the real reason of Sir Arthur's letter to Mr. Spark...is published, it will prove highly interesting reading...The severance of the tie was, of course, not quite unexpected, or the recent keen anxiety of more than one eminent conductor to win popularity in Yorkshire would be inexplicable. Indeed, as there has been a persistent rumour of a cabal against Sir Arthur among the guarantors, it is very possible that his election for the next Festival would not have been unanimous. At any rate, Sir Arthur in the exalted position he holds in musical life, would hardly care to subject himself to a contested election, and he therefore acted with dignity in withdrawing, leaving the Leeds Chorus and Leeds festival performances generally in a condition which has never yet been surpassed.⁶⁴⁴

Kalisch in the *World* maintained that it had been an open secret that Sullivan would not conduct another Leeds Festival.⁶⁴⁵ Thompson, dealing with the announcement in

⁶⁴² A 'patriotic concert' that Sullivan organised in aid of Boer War charities and which he conducted at the Albert Hall on Sat. 20 Jan. 1900 attracted an audience of over 9,000. Appendix 1.

⁶⁴³ Spark, *Memories of my Life*, (Leeds: Fred. R. Spark & Son, 1913) p. 32.

⁶⁴⁴ *Truth*, 22 Nov. 1899, *Discussing Sir Arthur's Successors*.

⁶⁴⁵ *The World*, quoted in the *Yorkshire Evening Post*, Tues. 21 Nov. 1899: *Gossip of the Day: Sir Arthur Sullivan's Successor*, p. 2.

his column in the *Yorkshire Post* made unsustainable assumptions concerning Sullivan's motivation:

It is impossible not to feel some regret at the severing of a connection that has been maintained for so long, but it would be affectation not to recognise the fact that change was bound to come, and that soon. Sir Arthur Sullivan's health has been far from good for some years past, and his interest in the Leeds Festival has of late hardly been as strong as it used to be, so that it is not very surprising if he finds the labours incident to a great musical festival are more than he can undertake. This has been so evident for some time past that it may be considered in the least doubtful whether, even had he not taken the initiative, the position of conductor of the Leeds Musical festival would have again been placed at his disposal.⁶⁴⁶

Thomas Marshall, Leeds City Registrar, as well as Executive Committee Chairman, possibly scenting a libel action, together with a further leak of business that should have remained secret, immediately countered Thompson's assertion that Sullivan would not have been offered the 1901 Festival conductorship:

To avoid any misapprehension allow me to make clear the sentence I have just quoted merely expresses the writer's own opinion...it must not be taken to indicate the opinion of the Committee.⁶⁴⁷

Given the speculation and rumours that surrounded Sullivan's removal, together with the apparent leakage of information before the 1898 Festival and subsequently, it is difficult not to conclude that there were those among the Provisional Committee who had decided to launch a *coup* against him in favour of Stanford. Questions surrounding Sullivan's health during the early part of 1898, possibly reinforced by his physical appearance once he was present in Leeds, together with his apparently cavalier attitude towards the lost cantata did not help his cause and played into the hands of

⁶⁴⁶ Thompson, *Yorkshire Post*, 15 Nov. 1899, *Leeds Musical Festival: Sir Arthur Sullivan Resigns*, p. 4.

⁶⁴⁷ *Yorkshire Post*, 16 Nov. 1899, *Correspondence: The Leeds Musical Festival Conductorship*, p. 4.

those who were actively seeking to remove him. That he was shocked by what had happened is obvious, and deeply resonates through the draft correspondence that survives: as he stated, and contrary to the widely held view that he knew his Leeds tenure was drawing to a conclusion, he fully expected to conduct the at the 1901 Festival. Thompson, unsurprisingly ended his column announcing Sullivan's resignation dismissively:

It will undoubtedly be a relief to him to give up an arduous task, but it may not be altogether to the disadvantage of the Leeds Festival that he finds himself compelled to do so. Still, he has done much for Leeds in his time...and he will be missed for his eminent social as well as artistic qualities.⁶⁴⁸

Others were kinder. The *Leeds Times*, in a lengthy editorial, regretted that the Sullivan era was over:

There are many people, and I amongst them, who will be sorry to hear that Sir Arthur Sullivan has announced his intention of not accepting the Conductorship of the Leeds Musical Festival of 1901 [...]

Since 1880...Sir Arthur has seen the Festival grow and thrive under his conductorship. His single eye glass and curt instructions seem to have become assimilated with the great musical treats of our day, and now that his place is left vacant, it will be impossible not to feel some regret at the severing of a connection that has been maintained for so long.⁶⁴⁹

The Northern correspondent of *Musical Opinion* maintained that 'Everyone is conscious of the splendid service rendered by Sir Arthur Sullivan...he has done much for the big West Riding festival since taking up the musical direction in 1880.'⁶⁵⁰ But the most arresting of all the comments relating to Sullivan's withdrawal from Leeds, came

⁶⁴⁸ Thompson, *Yorkshire Post*, 15 Nov. 1899, *Leeds Musical Festival: Sir Arthur Sullivan Resigns*, p. 4.

⁶⁴⁹ *Leeds Times*, Sat. 18 Nov. 1899, *Editorial*, p. 8.

⁶⁵⁰ *Musical Opinion*, Dec. 1899, p. 178.

from *Musical News*; its author thoughtfully addressing Sullivan's role and the difficulties involved in finding a replacement of similar calibre, while avoiding the pitfalls that could possibly ensue were a clique to seize control of the conductorship. The writer's conclusion – the ingratitude towards Sullivan from within Leeds Festival circles – seems incredible, but is borne out by further evidence, and by Sullivan's own bitter comments in the draft letters:

All who have the interests of English music at heart must feel sorry to hear of the retirement of Sir Arthur Sullivan from the post of Conductor of the Leeds Musical Festival. It is out of the question that we should go abroad for the new conductor, and it is not asserting too much to say that one with equal natural gifts who combines experience, tact, knowledge of the orchestra, and business management, will not easily be found in this country. Few are aware of the enormous amount of work Sir Arthur has done in connection with the great Yorkshire Festival and it is as well to be reminded of all this and the twenty years it has been going on...Undoubtedly, it is to Sullivan that the present exalted position of the Leeds Festival is owing. His pen has enriched the art with one great work in connection with it, the performances have been as well-nigh perfect as skill and unceasing care could make them, and his insistence on the selection and absolute control of the orchestra has produced a very different result from that which obtained in the old days of divided authority and local jealousies. Sullivan has deserved success and he has achieved it. As to the speculation that is rife with regard to the motives of his resignation, it may be enough to remark that the retiring conductor is no longer a young man, he has very materially helped to raise the Festival to the highest place among similar...gatherings, and is now ready to retire...At the same time, it would be idle to ignore the difficulties outsiders invariably meet with in dealing with Yorkshiremen, energetic and hospitable people, but 'bossy,' and whose appreciation of others and whose courtesy are not quite on par with their business instincts. However, there are plenty of far seeing local men...and in selecting a new Conductor it is to be hoped that they will show sufficient wisdom not only to appoint an able, experienced musician, but also to choose one who is not a party man that would taboo all English music unless it proceeded from his own pen, or that of someone belonging to his clique. If this should unfortunately be done, then the Committee and Guarantors will find that the reputation and receipts of their Festival will certainly suffer, and Sir Arthur Sullivan after his retirement, may perhaps,

evoke a larger amount of gratitude than he is credited with having experienced up to now.⁶⁵¹

Indeed, if Sullivan had expected thanks from the Leeds Committee, he received none. This clearly puzzled the writer of the *Leeds Times's* 'The Man in the Street' column, who thought that it was odd that the Halifax contingent of the Festival chorus had officially expressed their regret at Sullivan's relinquishing of his ties with the Festival and had made him a presentation, while nothing similar had happened in Leeds: 'What is Leeds going to do in the matter?' he inquired. 'Surely it should not be left to Halifax to take the initiative when Leeds is the principal loser.'⁶⁵² It was not until 16 November 1900, the first meeting of the Guarantors and the election of a new General Committee, that any official acknowledgement of Sullivan's role over the course of the previous two decades took place. It came in the form of a vote of thanks during the meeting, which was duly relayed to him via a covering letter on 18 November. Sullivan was ill at time, suffering from bronchitis and Bendall read it to him, replying to the Committee that Sir Arthur could not, at that point, reply to them himself but he would write once he recovered, and that he was much pleased by their kind resolution. Four days later, Sullivan was dead.⁶⁵³

The controversy that had been generated by Sullivan's resignation from the Conductorship of the Leeds Festival should have died with him, since from the perspective of the Committee, his passing entirely justified the grounds on which they had removed him. Frederick Spark, interviewed on 23 November, the day following Sullivan's sudden death, emphasised his ill health at the time of the 1898 Festival and the concerns it had caused:

Mr. Spark recalled one occasion when it seemed doubtful whether Sir Arthur would be able to make another of his triennial visits to the city. Some six months before the

⁶⁵¹ *Musical News*, 2 Dec.1899, p. 484.

⁶⁵² *Leeds Times, The Man in the Street*, 6 Jan.1900, p. 8.

⁶⁵³ Sullivan died from cardiac arrest at 9:00 am on Thurs. 22 November 1900. He was 58. Ironically, it was St. Cecilia's Day.

1898 Festival he wrote to Mr. Spark resigning the conductorship because of precarious health. With the Festival so near, the honorary secretary...besought him to withdraw his resignation, urging that help would be given him and his duties made as light as possible. Sir Arthur agreed to wait in the hope that his health might improve, and though still ill, he came to Leeds for rehearsals and with a struggle he got through. In view...of the risk of his breaking down an arrangement was made with Professor Stanford and Mr. F. H. Cowen to take his place in case of need. Though their services were not required, it was not long after the Festival before Sir Arthur was again in a serious condition. But he did not lose heart; of a hopeful disposition, he believed he would get strong again, but the hope was only partially fulfilled.⁶⁵⁴

It would appear from this account that Sullivan, at the time of the 1898 Festival, was already close to death and it presents an image of him that it is unlikely he would have recognised.⁶⁵⁵ Nevertheless, Spark's statement, with his known close association with Sullivan adding authenticity, formed the basis of a myth which had Sullivan virtually incapable of directing the 1898 Festival, and which is at odds with the evidence. Spark continued, relating his version of the events that led to Sullivan's resignation:

The Leeds Committee...were not again disposed to run a risk and not very long since, Mr. Spark wrote to Sir Arthur and asked him his views in regard to the matter. His health had in the meantime somewhat improved, but after some correspondence he

⁶⁵⁴ *Leeds Mercury*, Friday, 23 Nov. 1900, *Death of Sir Arthur Sullivan*, p. 5. Spark's interview forms part of a long obituary and retrospective.

⁶⁵⁵ Sullivan had yet to write *The Rose of Persia* (1899), the *Boer War Te Deum* (1900), and had begun orchestrating *The Emerald Isle* (1900) at the time of his death. He had been investigating theatrical opportunities in Paris: cabaret singer, Yvette Guilbert urged him to write a dramatic work for her. The venture with Daly still seemed to be on-going and Clara Butt reported a projected opera for her based on the legend of St. Cecilia, which was confirmed by an interview in *The Sketch* with his librettist, Basil Hood, 9 April 1902, p. 464. According to Hood, the project had moved beyond discussion: the libretto had been completed and Sullivan had sketched out 'main themes'. There were press reports circulating on both sides of the Channel during October 1900, that Sullivan had been commissioned by the Monte Carlo Opera to write a grand opera to a libretto by Armand Silvestre - surely not the activities of a man supposedly in extremis? He was convinced that he would recover from the bronchitis that had plagued him since early November, and so were those closest to him. Sullivan's death, therefore, was, as contemporary sources clearly reveal, a complete shock.

wrote to the hon. secretary expressing his inability to again accept the post of conductor, even if it should be offered to him.⁶⁵⁶

Again, Spark's account is at variance with the surviving evidence and once again, he doubtless considered he was acting in the best interests of the Festival. Given the authority of his position in Leeds, and the awareness of it in the wider musical establishment, his was the version of events that carried subsequent weight: this he perpetuated in his 1913 autobiography. Others followed his lead: for example, in Thompson's unpublished autobiography, based on material from his *Music and Art* column in the *Yorkshire Post*, and written at some point following his retirement in 1936, the myth of Sullivan's incapacity at the 1898 Festival and the standby arrangement with Cowen and Stanford is repeated on three separate occasions. The fact that both Spark and Thompson outlived virtually all other commentators who had offered different and more positive views of Sullivan's conductorship at Leeds Festivals (Herman Klein, Joseph Bennett, Vernon Blackburn and Edward Baughan, among others), meant that Spark and particularly Thompson, were taken as the authentic voices of Victorian Leeds. However, in the immediate aftermath of Sullivan's death, if Frederick Spark and Thomas Marshall, representing the Leeds Triennial Musical Festival at Sullivan's funeral at St. Paul's Cathedral on Tuesday, 27 November 1900, believed that the controversy that had been ignited with his resignation in the previous year had been extinguished, they were mistaken: it did not die with him.

⁶⁵⁶ *Leeds Mercury*, 23 Nov. 1900, *Death of Sir Arthur Sullivan*, p. 5.

7. 1901 and Beyond.

7.1 A New Era, A New Conductor.

*Fig.51: Sir Arthur Sullivan conducts at the premiere of his new patriotic song, *The Absentminded Beggar*, described as 'a triumph of popular art,' at the Alhambra Theatre, Monday, 13 Nov. 1899.⁶⁵⁷*



On Sunday, 19 November 1899, at the end of a week which had seen him conduct at the sensational premiere of his new patriotic song, *The Absentminded Beggar*, as well as the announcement of the severance of his Leeds connection, Sullivan wrote to his friend, *Sunday Times* music critic, Hermann Klein, inviting him to attend a music rehearsal of *The Rose of Persia*. He ended his note with an intriguing post-script:

About Leeds - I could tell you much, but cannot write it. As H.K. suggests, I hope they won't take a foreigner as my successor. If they do, it will be a terrible disappointment to someone.⁶⁵⁸

Perhaps Sullivan's comment may be taken as a veiled reference to Stanford, whom he suspected of manoeuvring the Festival Committee against him. Klein commented that 'the Leeds conductorship was eventually bestowed upon Sir Charles Villiers Stanford.

⁶⁵⁷ *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News: Our Captious Critic*, 18 Nov. 1899, p.395.

⁶⁵⁸ Sullivan to Klein, Herman Klein, *Thirty Years of Musical Life in London, 1870-1900* (New York: The Century Co., 1903) p. 202.

There was never...much danger of the 'hated foreigner' being appointed.'⁶⁵⁹ It is a statement that hinted at Stanford's election being a forgone conclusion. In some respects, it was: Stanford had, as has been noted, established a presence and a reputation with the Leeds musical elite, who had little inclination to search beyond what they already knew and had approved of, since his appointment as conductor of the Philharmonic Society in 1897. The *Leeds Mercury* reinforced this notion:

The appointment of Professor Stanford is only what was expected. There were others with claims to consideration – Dr. Cowen for one – but none had a better right to the position or promised to fulfill its obligations quite so well. Professor Stanford has...long been on the spot.⁶⁶⁰

As a prolific composer in a wide variety of genres, he could be counted upon to produce new works to enhance the Festival's reputation as he had previously, with *The Revenge* (1886), *The Voyage of the Maeldüne* (1889) and more recently, at the 1898 Festival with his *Te Deum*. However, although the Committee announced that Stanford's election was unanimous, in reality, it created considerable conflict, which seems to indicate that with Sullivan's removal, tension within the internal political machinery of the committee was becoming manifest, and Spark no longer wielded the overarching control of affairs that had marked the previous seven Festivals.⁶⁶¹

Spark related that, following Sullivan's departure, he had favoured dividing the conductorship between Edward Elgar, who had made such an impression in 1898, and who had become a feature of the Choral Union's seasons, and Hans Richter – again, a familiar figure at the Philharmonic Society's winter concerts, and one who came with an international reputation – and like Sullivan, they both had the advantage of being entirely independent of Leeds musical politics. He maintained:

⁶⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶⁰ *Leeds Mercury: Town and Country: Leeds Musical Festival: Professor Stanford appointed conductor*, 21 Dec. 1900, p. 3.

⁶⁶¹ Stanford, who had been offered and accepted the Conductorship following the unanimous decision of the General Committee, was announced as conductor of the 1901 Leeds Festival, via a press release on 21 Dec. 1900.

It was strongly my opinion that the world-wide fame and popularity of these two great musicians would help to maintain the high repute of the Leeds Festivals. My idea, however, was considered Utopian.⁶⁶²

Certainly, Spark was against the appointment of Stanford. He regarded Stanford's position as conductor of the Leeds Philharmonic Society as likely, if he also held the Festival conductorship, to lead to a conflict of interests.⁶⁶³ It was an issue that was to come to an acrimonious head in the wake of the 1901 Festival.

While Spark could look back on the events of a decade earlier with an attitude of satisfaction as the conductorship of the 1913 Festival was split between Hugh Allen, Edward Elgar and Arthur Nikisch, in 1900, those committee members focusing on the election of Stanford were led by Leeds solicitor, and Chairman of the influential Programme Committee, William Hannam. Styled the Renaissance group, they represented serious opposition to the previously all-powerful Hon. Secretary.⁶⁶⁴ In addition to the differing views of two of the principal power brokers, with the first meeting and election of the General Committee on 15 November 1900, press reports indicate that, even at this late date, and despite his resignation twelve months earlier, there were still some who favoured Sullivan's retention. Sir John Barran articulated their feelings, regretting:

Sir Arthur Sullivan was no longer able to give them his valuable services in connection with the Festival...he possessed the confidence of the public and the confidence of those whom he led. They would have considerable difficulty in finding a man who could adequately serve them as Sir Arthur Sullivan had done.⁶⁶⁵

⁶⁶² Spark, *Memories*, p. 47. According to Spark, his notion of a shared conductorship was rejected largely on the grounds of expense.

⁶⁶³ Plunket Greene, *Stanford*, p. 127.

⁶⁶⁴ In addition to his legal qualification, Hannam was also a B.Mus., London. He was a close friend of Herbert Thompson, and an admirer of Bach and Brahms.

⁶⁶⁵ *Leeds Mercury*, 16 Nov. 1900: *Leeds Musical Festival, Retirement of Sir Arthur Sullivan*, p. 3.

Although nothing was announced following this first meeting of the newly constituted 1901 Committee, the issue of the conductorship must have already been decided – initially by the Provisional Committee – conceivably as long ago as the late summer of 1899. They must, subsequently, have recommended to the General Committee that Stanford should be appointed to direct the next Festival. That the decision had already been made to engage Stanford as Sullivan's successor is suggested by the fact that ironically, on 22 November 1900, the day of Sullivan's death, he was in Leeds to discuss the forthcoming Festival.⁶⁶⁶

Sullivan's sudden death, and the eulogistic outpourings in the press that followed, overshadowed the news of Stanford's appointment by reflecting on Sullivan's achievements as a conductor and festival director during his Leeds tenure. Edward Baughan commented:

As a conductor of the Philharmonic Society he did splendid work and it was a pity that he relinquished the baton. He practically made the Leeds Festival, and worked for it with a singleness of purpose which has not always been the case with our festival conductors.⁶⁶⁷

T.L. Southgate expanded on Sullivan's commitment to Leeds:

By his conscientious work, discernment, discrimination, unerring judgement and skill, it may be truly said that Sullivan made the Leeds Festival what it now is, the most advanced and complete of all the provincial gatherings.⁶⁶⁸

Such statements roused Herbert Thompson, writing in his weekly *Music and Art* column in the *Yorkshire Post*, to a scathingly patronising and ill-tempered riposte attacking, in particular, Edward Baughan's comments in the *Musical Standard*:

⁶⁶⁶ Jerrold Northrop Moore: *Edward Elgar a Creative Life* (Oxford: OUP, 1994) p.337: 'On degree day at Cambridge, Stanford was not present. He had written to say that he would be in Leeds on 22 November to consult about the 1901 Festival, of which he was appointed conductor-in-chief in succession to Sullivan.'

⁶⁶⁷ Edward Baughan, *Musical Standard*, *The Late Sir Arthur Sullivan*, 24 Nov. 1900, p. 320.

⁶⁶⁸ T.L. Southgate, *Musical News*, 1 Dec. 1900, p. 474.

Two statements...we must...question. Sullivan did much for the Leeds Festival, but to say that 'he practically made the Leeds Festival' is to ignore the festivals of 1874 and 1877 under Costa, were brilliant successes and that the reputation of the chorus has never been higher than it was during those years [...] he [Sir Michael Costa] was a most capable conductor, and the choral performances of those early years have, on the whole, never been surpassed. The second statement to which we demur is that as a conductor Sullivan 'showed himself in sympathy with modern music, especially Wagner.' Surely the writer cannot have had a very extensive experience of Wagner's music as presented at the Leeds Festival, and still less of the rare occasions on which that of Brahms has been attempted. Another statement to which currency has elsewhere been given is that Sullivan's fee for conducting at Leeds was...£200. It was so at the first Festival he conducted in 1880, but not at any succeeding one, and we may have reason in stating that for a good many years past it reached double that amount, in addition to travelling expenses and the provision of a temporary home at the Judge's Lodgings.⁶⁶⁹

Later in the same column, as he discussed the programme of the Leeds Philharmonic's winter concert series, his agenda became transparent:

With the Philharmonic Chorus under a conductor as artistic and cultivated as Dr. Stanford and with an orchestra [the Hallé] which under Dr. Richter's supervision, is rapidly becoming second to none...Leeds is now enjoying a series of choral and orchestral programmes such as it has never enjoyed before.⁶⁷⁰

⁶⁶⁹ Thompson, *Yorkshire Post*, 28 Nov. 1900, *Music and Art*, p. 7. Sullivan, contrary to Thompson's statement, covered his own expenses. After each Festival with which he was associated, Sullivan made a substantial donation – £25:00 – to the charities and until the 1895 Festival, provided his own accommodation in Leeds. His fee for the General Conductorship was £300:00.

⁶⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

On 20 December 1900, the Committee formally elected Stanford to the General Conductorship of the 1901 Festival. The motion, according to the *Leeds Mercury*, was proposed by the



Chairman, Thomas Marshall and seconded by Stanford's friend and supporter, William Hannam.⁶⁷¹

*Fig. 50: William Simpson Hannam, (1855-1936.)*⁶⁷²

Chairman of the Festival Programme Committee and friend of both Stanford and Parry.

⁶⁷¹ *Leeds Mercury*, 21 Dec. 1900, *Town and Country: Leeds Musical Festival: Professor Stanford appointed conductor*, p. 3.

⁶⁷² *Leeds Mercury*, 11 Oct. 1907, p. 5.

The post-Sullivan decade was to prove a turbulent period for the Leeds Festival. By 1910, after a systematic decline in income since 1898, the Festival made its first recorded loss, which was further compounded in 1913. (Table 12)

Leeds Triennial Musical Festival Accounts 1874 -1913						
Festival	In-come	Profit/Loss	Profit as percentage of in-come	Expendi-ture	Attend-ance	Conduc-tor
1874	7592	1000:00	13	6690:00	13693	Costa
1877	7847	800:00	10	7096:00	13450	Costa
1880	9300	2371:00	25	6928:00	14854	Sullivan
1883	10287	2600:00	25	7687:00	14342	Sullivan
1886	10501	2592:00	25	7909:00	14862	Sullivan
1889	10835	3134:00	29	7700:00	N/A	Sullivan
1892	10919	2702:00	25	8216:00	N/A	Sullivan
1895	10953	2015:00	18	8938:00	N/A	Sullivan
1898	11510	2138:00	18	9308:00	N/A	Sullivan
1901	11546	1651:00	14	9895:00	N/A	Stanford
1904	9409	304	3	9105:00	N/A	Stanford
1907	8635	460	5	8175:00	N/A	Stanford
1910	7750	-168	-2	7912:00	N/A	Stanford
1913	7708	-979	-12	8367:00	N/A	Allen/ Elgar/ Nikisch

Table 12: Leeds Triennial Musical Festival Accounts: 1874 to 1913

The Committee attempted to put an optimistic gloss on the outcome by pointing out that the new arrangement of splitting the Conductorship between Arthur Nikisch, Edward Elgar and Hugh Allen seemed to have arrested the slide in serial ticket sales, nevertheless, the accounts from 1901 made gloomy reading (Tables 10 and 12). Stanford, in the wake of the 1910 Festival and himself facing the termination of his association with Leeds, made the assertion that all serious musical events were losing money. However, a comparison with Leeds's rival, Birmingham, under Hans Richter and Henry Wood, shows that profits could still be made.

Birmingham Triennial Musical Festivals:				
Date	Income	Profit	Percentage of Income	Conductor
1900	15,282	6,009	39.32	Richter
1903	14,007	4,521	32.38	Richter
1906	13,600	4,415	32.46	Richter
1909	11,817	3,791	32.08	Richter
1912	10,831	1,549	14.30	Wood

Table 13: Birmingham Festival Accounts: 1900 to 1912

Times in Leeds were changing, and the great triennial festivals of the Victorian period faced serious rivalry in the concerts that took place during the winter season – Hans Richter and the Hallé Orchestra were a regular feature of the Leeds Philharmonic Society's programme. The Leeds Choral Union could boast Edward Elgar's presence, while the Harrison Concert series presented the London Symphony Orchestra conducted by Arthur Nikisch and a host of favourite stars. Frequently, the soloists were either the same, or of a higher calibre than those that could be heard at the Festival and occasionally, repertoire was duplicated while the cost to the concert-goer, as has been mentioned, was significantly less. (Fig. 54).

LEEDS PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY
AND
SUBSCRIPTION CONCERTS.

Conductors:—
Sir CHARLES V. STANFORD & Dr. HANS RICHTER

SERIES OF SIX CONCERTS.

FIRST CONCERT, 30th OCTOBER, 1907.
Overture, "In Der Natur" Dvorak
Choral Work, "Stabat Mater" Verdi
Symphony, No. 5 Beethoven
Overture and Venusberg Music Wagner
Variations on Haydn's "Chorale St. Antoni" Brahms
Choral Work, "Song of the Roses" Brahms
Suite, "L'Arlesienne" Bizet

SECOND CONCERT, 27th NOVEMBER, 1907.
Overture, "Benvenuto Cellini" Berlioz
"Symphonie Fantastique" Berlioz
"Grande Messe des Morts" Berlioz

THIRD CONCERT, 18th DECEMBER, 1907.
"Messiah" Handel
Miss AINES NICHOLLS, Miss PHYLLIS LITT,
Mr. WILLIAM GREEN, Mr. JOSEPH LYCETT.

FOURTH CONCERT, 29th JANUARY 1908.
Orchestral Works to be chosen by the Subscribers.
CHORAL WORKS.
Part Song, "O Death" Cornelius
Motet, "The Spirit also" Bach

FIFTH CONCERT, 26th FEBRUARY, 1908.
Mlle. ANTONIA DOLORES,
Miss NORA McKAY, Mr. PERCY GRAINGER.

SIXTH CONCERT, 25th MARCH, 1908.
Prelude "Tristan," and Isolde's Liebestod Wagner
"Dirge for Two Veterans" C. Wood
"The Blessed Diamond" Elgar
"Stabat Mater" Stanford
Miss EDITH EVANS, Miss BILLYS JONES,
Mr. SPENCER THOMAS, Mr. ELONKET GREENE.

SUBSCRIPTIONS ARE NOW DUE.
Prospectuses with full information, may be had from
HOPKINSONS', Commercial-street, Leeds, or of the
Hon. Secs.
JOHN H. GREEN, Hardley Hill Leeds.
H. CLIFFORD BOWLING, 16, Park-row, Leeds.
CHAS. F. HAIGH, Savings Bank Chambers, Leeds.

Fig. 54: Alternatives, for the Leeds concert-goer, to the 1907 Triennial Musical Festival.⁶⁷³

COLISEUM, LEEDS.

THE HARRISON CONCERTS.
Directed by
THOMAS HARRISON
ARCHIBALD HARRISON LIMITED.
SEASON 1907-1908.

PADEREWSKI.
As the First Concert.
After an absence from Leeds of some years.

EDOUARD DE RESZKE.
The last appearance in Leeds of this
celebrated Operatic Artist.

MADAME ALBANI.
As the Third Concert.
After an absence of two years.

MR. ARTHUR NIKISCH.
As the Last Concert.
The first time in Leeds of the renowned
Conductor, whom every musician expects to be the
greatest Conductor of the age, who will
conduct his own Orchestra.

THE LONDON SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA.
The following, among other distinguished Artists,
will also appear:
MISS AMY CASTLES.
MISS MARIE STUART,
The New Contralto.
MR. BEN DAVIES.
MR. JOHN McCORMACK,
The New Tenor.
MR. ROBERT RADFORD.
MR. DALTON BAKER.
The above three Artists
VIVIEN CHARTRES.
And
THE ALEXANDRA LADIES' QUARTET,
Who made such a success last season.

THE FOUR CONCERTS OF THE SERIES
will take place on
SATURDAY AFTERNOON, October 12th.
MONDAY EVENING, December 15th.
TUESDAY EVENING, December 23rd.
THURSDAY EVENING, March 12th.
Commencing at 8.0.

The RATES OF SUBSCRIPTION FOR THE FOUR
CONCERTS will be as follows:—
Reserved Seats, 2s. 6d. (2s. 3d. for 2 seats).
General Seats, 1s. 6d. (1s. 3d. for 2 seats).
Delivery of the Leeds season's Concerts will be
continued to the Leeds season's Concerts, which
to remain their seats will have the option given them of
going on for the following season's Concerts, up to
Saturday, September 26th, the Passes being thrown open
to the general public on Tuesday, October 14th, 1907,
by the general public on Tuesday, October 14th, 1907,
by Archibald Harrison Limited, the seats being in each
category marked off according to priority of
application; and it will therefore be to the advantage
of intending subscribers to send in their applications
as early as possible.

LEEDS CHORAL UNION.

SIR EDWARD ELGAR
will conduct his NEW SYMPHONY
TO-NIGHT (WEDNESDAY), Nov. 3, in the TOWN HALL, at 7.30.
and
"THE APOSTLES"
TO-MORROW (THURSDAY), Nov. 4th, at 7.30.
QUEEN'S HALL ORCHESTRA.
Tickets 7s. 6d. and 4s. Admission 2s. Plan at Ramsden's,
H. C. KEMBLETON, Hon. Sec.

Many of the great stars were missing. The 1901 Festival saw the last appearance of Emma Albani, the greatest soprano of her age. David Bispham then at the height of his fame, was not engaged after 1901. Robert Watkin Mills managed, somehow, to antagonise the Committee and was not scheduled after 1898. Clara Butt, who despite her inauspicious beginning, had become a favourite with the Leeds public, while appearing regularly in Leeds and elsewhere in Yorkshire, did not figure on a Festival schedule again until 1910 in performances of *Elijah* and Elgar's *Sea Pictures*. Marie Brema did not appear after 1907. The doyen of British tenors, Edward Lloyd, gave his last Leeds Festival performance in 1898, retiring in 1900. Ben Davies, Lloyd's most widely recognised successor, made his last Festival appearance in 1907 and bass, Andrew Black in 1904.⁶⁷⁴

⁶⁷³ Respectively: *Yorkshire Post*, 7 Sept. 1907, p.1. and *Yorkshire Post*, 3 Nov. 1909, p. 1. The programme for 3 Nov. also included Elgar's *The Wand of Youth*, *Grania*, *Songs from the Bavarian Highlands* and *Go Song of Mine*.

⁶⁷⁴ Albani, who did not retire until 1911, continued to feature on the concert circuit. Her tenor on her later tours was John Francis McCormack, whom the Committee attempted, but failed, to book for the 1913 Festival. (See Fig. 54.)



*Fig. 55: The 1901 Leeds Festival.*⁶⁷⁵

7.2: 'Royal College of Music creep.'

In fact, it is possible from the 1901 Festival, to see the beginning of a 'Royal College of Music creep', that was to become more obvious as the decade progressed, whereby those already associated with Stanford and the RCM, infiltrated the programmes – for example, his friend, future biographer and fellow Dubliner, the baritone, Harry Plunket Greene and the tenors, John Coates and Gervase Elwes. Sopranos Agnes Nicholls, Muriel Foster and the contralto Louise Kirkby Lunn were graduates of the RCM.

The violinist, Joseph Joachim (who had played under Sullivan's baton during his 1885 and 1886 Philharmonic Seasons), was another friend of Stanford's.⁶⁷⁶

⁶⁷⁵ *Musical Opinion*, Nov. 1901, p. 289.

⁶⁷⁶ See Appendix 1.

By 1901, after a career of over six decades, Joachim was on the cusp of retirement and correspondence between the committee and Stanford seems to indicate that his appearance was as the result of a personal favour to Stanford and was regarded as something of a coup, which would have further commended their new conductor to the Committee (see Fig. 56).



Fig. 56: 1901 Leeds Festival. On the podium, centre: Joseph Joachim and C.V. Stanford. Standing below: Frederick R. Spark.⁶⁷⁷

There were inevitable repercussions. Baughan, in reporting the 1901 Festival, was particularly scathing:

Mr. Coates is an intelligent singer and he has a dramatic gift...but his voice lacks *timbre*, and many of his vocal mannerisms belong on the light opera stage. In Bach's cantata and in Beethoven's mass he was quite outclassed. But Mr. Coates has been taken up by the Royal College people, and that is enough. [...] Mr. Plunket Greene (one of the Royal College set) ...is a clever singer, but year by year he becomes more indifferent to pitch. Climax was reached in Bach's cantata, when he was often near a semi-tone flat.

⁶⁷⁷ *Illustrated London News*, 19 Oct. 1901, p. 575. The photograph appears to have been taken during a rehearsal.

Of course, with the Royal College people in power, we had Dr. Joachim as solo violin and Mr. Borwick as solo pianist. I absolutely refuse to criticise Dr. Joachim's playing...All I will say is that I wish he could have seen the pained expression of many of the audience near me.

There is still another point...to do with the Royal College set, and I hope that the committee of the next festival will keep it in view. A number of British composers were represented during the festival...four contributed choral works – Mr. Coleridge Taylor, Professor Stanford, Dr. Charles Wood and Sir Hubert Parry. All belong to the Royal College circle. Dr. Elgar, Dr. Cowen and Sir Alexander Mackenzie do not, and they were represented by orchestral works alone. (I leave out of the count Sir Arthur Sullivan) I think that these facts speak for themselves.⁶⁷⁸

This scheduling of works by composers associated with the RCM did not go unnoticed by other critics and it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the comments by the writer in *Musical News* at the time of Sullivan's resignation, had been fulfilled: a clique had taken over the Festival.

How far Stanford was directly responsible for programming and the engagement of artists is debatable. His correspondence with Hannam, Plunket Greene and Thompson during the period that he conducted the Festival suggests that the Programme Committee remained firmly, even stubbornly, in control. Given the repercussions that the publication of the programme generated before the 1901 Festival, as well as those comments which ensued, the Committee, in the light of such adverse criticism, were happy enough to blame their new conductor. However, it is difficult to escape from an aura of hubris as the 1901 Festival approached: Leeds had been on the crest of success for so long, that any criticism could be, and was deflected. Declining profits and for the first time in over two decades, empty seats in the Victoria Hall for the Saturday evening Popular Concert must have come as a salutary shock.

⁶⁷⁸ Edward Baughan, *Musical Opinion, Leeds Musical Festival*, Nov. 1901, p. 108.

Table 14: Leeds Triennial Musical Festival: 1901

LEEDS TRIENNIAL MUSICAL FESTIVAL 1901: PROGRAMME			
DAY	WORK	COMPOSER	CONDUCTOR (C.V. Stanford, unless otherwise stated)
Wednesday, 9 October, AM	National Anthem		
	Overture: In Memoriam	Sullivan	
PM	Messiah	Handel	
	The Blind Girl of Castél Cuillé	Coleridge Taylor	Coleridge Taylor
	Piano Concerto in B Flat	Brahms	soloist, L. Borwick
Thursday, 10 October AM	Overture: Rosamund	Schubert	
	Requiem	Verdi	
	Concerto #3 (Brandenburg) for strings in G major	Bach	
	The Last Post	Stanford	
PM	Motet: Surge Illuminare	Palestrina	
	Francesca da Rimini	Tschaikowski	
	Overture: Leonora #2	Beethoven	
	Scena: Marfa	Joachim	Joseph Joachim Soloist: Marie Brema
	Song of Darkness and Light	Parry	Hubert Parry
	Prelude: Romeo and Juliet	German	Edward German
	Dirge for Two Veterans	Wood	Charles Wood
	Finale Act 2: William Tell	Rossini	
	Michaela's aria, Carmen	Bizet	
	Overture: Cheval Bronze	Auber	

LEEDS TRIENNIAL MUSICAL FESTIVAL 1901: PROGRAMME			
Friday, October 11 AM	Overture: Parsina	Sterndale Bennett	
	98th Psalm	Mendelssohn	
	Symphony #4 in D minor	Schumann	
	Concerto for two violins in B minor	Bach	soloist: Joseph Joachim/Enrique Fernandez Arbos
	Finale Act 1 Parsifal	Wagner	
PM	Overure: Les Deux Journiers	Cherubini	
	Rinaldo	Brahms	
	Variations for Orchestra	Elgar	Edward Elgar
	Memorial Cantata	Glazounov	
	Caprice for Piano and Orchestra: Africa	Saint Saëns	
	Duet: Romeo and Juliet	Gounod	
	Overture: Benvenuto Cellini	Berlioz	
Saturday, 12 October: AM	Wachet Auf	Bach	
PM: Popular Concert	Mass in D	Beethoven	
	Prelude to Columba	Mackenzie	
	Scena: Endymion	Cowen	
	Banquet of the Phoenicians (Odysseus)	Bruch	
	Concerto for Violin in A	Mozart	soloist: Joseph Joachim
	Aria: La Vestale	Spontini	soloist: Emma Albani
	Aria: With Verdure Clad	Haydn	soloist: Emma Albani
	Overture: Der Freischutz	Weber	
	Motet: Insane et vane curae	Haydn	

LEEDS TRIENNIAL MUSICAL FESTIVAL 1901: PROGRAMME			
	Duet: Amours Villageoise	Goring Thomas	
	Choral Ballad: Sir Patrick Spens	Pearsall	Alfred Benton
	Overture: Carneval	Dvořák	
	National Anthem		

7.3 Disrespecting Sir Arthur Sullivan:

The 1901 programme was ambitious. (Table 14) The intention was to present a retrospective of music of the 19th century. It was immediately attacked for lacking coherence. Two charges emerged: first, that it was 'snippets' which did not show the Leeds Chorus to best effect, second, that Sullivan, their former conductor, received scant recognition.

To be fair to the Leeds Festival Committee, an attempt was made to have the kudos of premiering Sullivan's last completed work, the *Boer War Te Deum* (1900). In a letter to the *Times*, immediately following Sullivan's death, Sir George Martin, organist at St. Paul's Cathedral, revealed the existence of the completed and fully orchestrated *Te Deum*, which led to an approach being made to have the work performed at the 1901 Festival.⁶⁷⁹ The request was refused by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, who had commissioned the *Te Deum*, on the grounds that it was written as a

⁶⁷⁹ Sir George Martin, letter to the *Times*, 29 Nov. p.9: 'Some time ago...I approached Sir Arthur Sullivan on the subject of a Thanksgiving *Te Deum* suitable for performance in St. Paul's...in the event of a successful conclusion of the war in South Africa. This was his last completed work.' The issue of programming *The Golden Legend* was dismissed at a Committee meeting on 10 Jan. 1901. At the same meeting, it was reported: 'it was thought desirable to give attention to the elaborate *Te Deum* by Sir Arthur Sullivan that the Saint Paul's authorities have had entrusted to them. If this work, the last written by Sir Arthur, be found suitable it will be performed as a tribute to the composer and the late conductor of the Leeds Festival.' *Times*, 11 Jan. 1901, p. 7.

contribution to a celebration of peace at the conclusion of the currently on-going Boer War, and it would be inappropriate to be performed before the occasion for which it had been composed. In addition, as Spark reported to the Committee, the work was short – only fifteen minutes in length – while the scoring, for chorus, organ brass and strings, was not deemed suitable for the Festival's forces.⁶⁸⁰ This information must have been disappointing to the Committee: possibly they had hoped that they might have stumbled across another *The Golden Legend*.⁶⁸¹

It was decided that Sullivan should be represented on the opening day of the 1901 Festival by a performance, directly following the National Anthem, of his overture, *In Memoriam*. To many it appeared that Sullivan, who regardless of his relationship with the Leeds Triennial Festival, was the most popular of nineteenth century British composers, was being treated disrespectfully – and it is unlikely that the Programming Committee could have anticipated the backlash that followed on the announcement of the 1901 schedule. Correspondence between Stanford and the Committee reveals that he suggested that *The Golden Legend* should have been the opening choral work, which would have been regarded as a both generous and gracious gesture towards the memory of a man who had contributed greatly to the Festival's preeminent position.⁶⁸² He was overruled on the grounds that Sullivan's work had been presented on three previous occasions (1886, 1889 and 1895). However, ulterior motivation may have contributed to the Committee's decision, since it is difficult to escape from the conclusion that there were those within the Leeds musical establishment who wanted to draw a line under the past. The twentieth century had begun and the puerility that Sullivan apparently represented in the eyes of those like Hannam, L. J. Rogers, C.F. Tetley, Thompson and others, should be decently buried by a musical

⁶⁸⁰ *Leeds Mercury, Weekly Supplement, Leeds Musical Festival*, 26 Jan. 1901, p. 3.

⁶⁸¹ Ironically, the scoring, which omitted wind instruments, was due to the fact that the organ was still tuned to Philharmonic Pitch, rather than to the now widely adopted diapason normal.

⁶⁸² Harry Plunket Greene, *Charles Villiers Stanford*, (London: Edward Arnold & Co., 1935) letter to Hannam, 28 Nov. 1900: 'It will *never do*, I tell you candidly, to substitute the *Revenge* or anything of mine for the *Golden Legend*. The present conductor must not dis-establish the last by anything of his own.' p. 131.

world which they saw more worthily represented by those identified with the English Musical Renaissance. For them, Sullivan was indeed undeserving of any recognition.



*Fig. 57: Herbert Thompson (1856-1945). A former barrister, Thompson was an admirer of Wagner and Brahms, as well as a close friend of Stanford, Richter and Renaissance group leader, W.S. Hannam. He was also Spark's son-in-law. He was music and art critic of the *Yorkshire Post*, between 1886 and 1936.⁶⁸³*

However, the hostility that the Committee's decisions provoked amongst the press, some of it aimed towards their new conductor, must have come as surprise. While Joseph Bennett, veteran music critic of the *Daily Telegraph* was gently reprimanding, William Boosey of Chappell's, launched a vitriolic attack at both the Leeds Committee, the Royal College of Music – and, by implication, both Stanford and Parry:

It would be interesting to know how far the omission is intentional [i.e., the lack of programmed works by Sullivan at Leeds] It is a well-known fact that some among those in highest authority at the Royal College of Music have always refused to acknowledge Arthur Sullivan as a musician serious enough to be admitted into their solemn ranks. Only quite recently a well-known professor at the Royal College suggested to some of his fellow professors the desirability of putting up in the College a

⁶⁸³ Photograph at the beginning of Thompson's *Diary* for 1904. He always began the year with a photograph of himself and his wife, Edith (née Spark). Brotherton Library, University of Leeds, Special Collection.

small bust or tablet in memory of Arthur Sullivan. He was informed...that he better desist ...⁶⁸⁴ The fact is that to a certain class of musician Sullivan's name is as a red rag to a bull, because his music spells melody...Meanwhile, let it be remembered that the Royal College of Music is a national...State-aided institution for the education...of future Arthur Sullivans and not future Dryasdusts. Neither do the gentlemen who control its destinies, except in their own opinions necessarily represent the only musical intelligence in this country. Certain it is that so long as musical snobbishness is allowed to dictate the standard of musical taste, English music will continue to be in a very bad way. It is not too late to remedy what may...have been an unintentional omission.⁶⁸⁵

Boosey was not alone, and as criticism continued to gain momentum during the summer of 1901, the following statement, justifying the Committee's action, appeared in the correspondence column of the *Yorkshire Post*:⁶⁸⁶

Complaints have been made in the public Press that the name of Sir Arthur Sullivan should have been omitted from the list of composers represented in the programme of this year's Leeds Festival, and this supposed omission has been attributed to bad taste and professional jealousy.

If those who had taken the trouble to write on the subject had referred to the programme...they would have seen that Sir Arthur Sullivan's "In Memoriam" Overture finds a place at the opening concert...immediately after the National Anthem. The scheme of the programme being to represent as far as possible the music of the 19th

⁶⁸⁴ J.M. Glover, *The Stage, Music Box*, 3 April 1924, p. 17, confirmed Boosey's assertion, naming Stanford as the R.C.M. professor opposed to any memorial to Sullivan.

⁶⁸⁵ William Boosey, quoted in *Sheffield Independent, Music and Drama*, 29 July 1901, p. 2. The *Edinburgh Evening News* ran a similar story, commenting, 'Sullivan[...] very rarely did anything...' "for the satisfaction of the pedants." Sullivan never posed to be a great musician; unlike the academics, he stuck to writing comic opera instead of comic oratorios. Even at the coming Leeds Festival, with which he was connected for many years, both as a composer and conductor, his music is to be represented by a single item.' 6 Aug. 1901, p. 2.

⁶⁸⁶ The fact that it was rumoured that Stanford might have in some way influenced the Committee against Sullivan in respect of their programming, must be taken as a reflection of the well-known views of Stanford's circle regarding the dead composer. It is interesting to reflect that the championing of Sullivan's cause had come in the wake of Fuller Maitland's notorious obituary in the March 1901 edition of the *Cornhill Magazine*.

century, the Committee were compelled to content themselves with this recognition of Sir Arthur Sullivan's claims to an honourable place in the list of composers. They believe...the selection they have made is appropriate as to its subject and worthy of the composer's justly great musical reputation.

We may take this opportunity to say that Dr. Stanford...proposed that "The Golden Legend" should be given at the opening of the Festival. The Committee...in view of the fact that the work had already been performed three times...selected the 'In Memoriam' Overture in its place. The responsibility of the choice rests...with them.

Thomas Marshall, Chairman.

Fred. R. Spark, Hon. Sec.⁶⁸⁷

The statement was issued nationally, and if the intention had been to terminate discussion, it was counterproductive, succeeding only in provoking further comment. Percy Betts, the music critic of *Truth*, taking the issue further, saw the Committee's actions as a kind of posthumous revenge upon Sullivan:

The explanation by the Chairman and secretary of the Leeds Musical Festival Committee concerning the scant notice taken of Sir Arthur Sullivan in the programmes of the coming celebration is likely to amuse a good many people who are behind the scenes in such matters. Sullivan's differences with the Committee were no secret. Besides, no one who knows anything of Leeds for a moment supposed that the conductor [i.e., Stanford] had anything to do with the slight cast on Sir Arthur. Indeed, the choice of programmes has always been in the hands of the Committee.⁶⁸⁸

That Stanford was in some way responsible for the apparent disrespect towards Sullivan's memory had at least been dispelled, though *Musical Opinion* regarded the Committee's inflexible programming as an error:

⁶⁸⁷ *Yorkshire Post: Sir Arthur Sullivan and the Leeds Musical Festival.*, 10 Aug. 1901, p. 10.

⁶⁸⁸ Percy Betts, *Truth*, Aug. 1901, quoted in the *Musical Standard*, 31 Aug. 1901, p. 132.

I fancy a large proportion of the Leeds audience would have liked some more special tribute to the memory of the musician who has worked so hard for the musical gatherings at Leeds. The fact is that the Committee are slaves of their historical idea [...] I have no doubt that one of Sullivan's choral works would have upset all the arrangements.⁶⁸⁹

The issue continued to create ripples of discontent up to and beyond the opening of the Festival. The music critic of the *Standard* found the programme deplorable and viewed the virtual exclusion of Sullivan's works as insulting:

Seeing that he conducted seven Festivals from 1880 [...] and that the success of the meetings has been greatly owing to his efforts, the exclusion of his compositions, save that of the *In Memoriam* overture, seems to savour of ingratitude.⁶⁹⁰

Sullivan was mentioned in the prospectus only as Stanford's predecessor: 'Courtesy to the dead', remarked the writer, 'is as desirable as to the living.'⁶⁹¹ Even the unsympathetic Thompson was puzzled by the Committee's rejection of a work which was identified with Leeds and that could be guaranteed to fill the Victoria Hall, writing: 'There is money in *The Golden Legend*, and the Leeds Festivals have always been conducted on sound financial principals.'⁶⁹² Despite the press protests, the Committee refused to accommodate any change to the programme.

The opening morning of the eleventh Leeds Triennial Musical Festival began as usual, with the National Anthem, on this occasion, arranged by Stanford, to be followed immediately by Sullivan's 1866 overture, *In Memoriam*. The *Yorkshire Post* captured the moment as the audience spontaneously stood in respect for their former conductor:

We...remembered Arthur Sullivan. There was his old place, and one could see in imagination the well-remembered form turning again and again in courtly fashion to

⁶⁸⁹ *Musical Opinion: Musical Gossip of the Month*, Sept. 1901, p. 830.

⁶⁹⁰ *Standard, Leeds Musical Festival*, 9 Oct. 1901, p. 3.

⁶⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹² Thompson, *Yorkshire Post, Leeds Festival: Opening Performances: Sullivan's "In Memoriam" and "The Messiah"*, 10 Oct. 1901, p. 5.

acknowledge the plaudits of the gaily dressed throng; just a suspicion of nonchalance in his movements perhaps, yet with a half twinkle in his eye in proof of a geniality that lay hidden behind. There was his old place, but he was no longer in it. Instinctively everybody rose...and remained standing as the pathetic notes of his *In Memoriam* overture slowly pierced the air...everybody waited standing till the solemn strains had died away.⁶⁹³

Thompson's criticism managed, unsurprisingly, to be both dismissive of Sullivan and at the same time supportive of the Committee, writing of the overture:

Sullivan, whatever his limitations may have been, was eminently a sincere artist; and his music expresses himself and not some other person who he would like to be. So we need not criticise the sufficiency or depth of his elegiac mood, it is at any rate his own, and therefore the position of *In Memoriam* in the very forefront of the Festival scheme is surely the most graceful and appropriate tribute to the composer that was possible.⁶⁹⁴



Fig.58: William Frye Parker (1855-1919) who led the Leeds Festival Orchestra from 1895. He was also leader of Henry Wood's Queen's Hall Orchestra.⁶⁹⁵

Indeed, with an extra day's rehearsal available to him, Stanford, as all acknowledged, had prepared his forces meticulously. William Frye Parker, who led the orchestra, (Fig. 58) at a Musician's Dinner that was held on the evening before the Festival commenced, compared working under Stanford's direction favourably with Costa and Sullivan, mentioning that although Sullivan had always been a pleasure to work for,

⁶⁹³ *Yorkshire Post, Leeds Festival: A Successful Opening Day*, 10 Oct. 1901, p. 5.

⁶⁹⁴ Thompson, *Yorkshire Post, The Opening Performances: Sullivan's "In Memoriam" and "The Messiah"*, 10 Oct. 1901, p. 5.

⁶⁹⁵ *The Yorkshire Owl*, 2 Oct. 1895, p. 320.

he was, nevertheless, 'an invalid,' thus further perpetuating the myth of Sullivan's incapacity at the 1898 Festival.⁶⁹⁶ However, for the representative of *Musical Opinion*, Stanford's conducting in 1901 did not quite convince. Although he found the general standard of the chorus up to that of previous Festivals, it seemed imbalanced:

This want of balance was not ameliorated by Professor Stanford's style of conducting. He is a straightforward conductor his beat is clear and he never fails to indicate leads; but he certainly does not hold his forces in the hollow of his hand. Nor has he such mastery that he can afford to pay attention to subtle light and shade of expression. As a consequence, the general effect was that the chorus was always singing at full tilt and the orchestra was often coarse and blatant. I do not think I heard a real *pianissimo* throughout the festival, though...on the Saturday night it was obtained in Pearsall's *Sir Patrick Spens*, which was conducted by the chorus master Mr. A. Benton.⁶⁹⁷

He continued:

Of Professor Stanford as an orchestral conductor there is nothing much to say. He is careful [and] unemotional...Indeed, what can one say of a conductor who consults his watch during the Hallelujah Chorus? He took all the weirdness out of Tschaikevsky's *Francesca da Rimini* suite, and he rendered Schumann's *D Minor Symphony* with the customary insensitiveness with which poor Schumann's music is treated by musicians of the intellectual school.⁶⁹⁸

Concluding:

⁶⁹⁶ However, Frye Parker's remarks are open to scepticism: he was replying to a toast by Stanford's close friend, Harry Plunket Greene and was therefore unlikely to make any unfavourable comment, particularly on the eve of the Festival. *Leeds Mercury: Leeds Musicians at Dinner*, 9 Oct. 1901, p.5. His statement is strange, bearing in mind that at the end of 1898 he met with, and had raised with Sullivan, the notion of the conductorship of a new 'British Orchestra', then apparently under consideration, which Sullivan rejected, suggesting among others, Edward German. Sullivan, *Diary*, 4 Dec. 1898.

⁶⁹⁷ *Musical Opinion, The Leeds Musical Festival*, Nov. 1901, p. 107.

⁶⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

On the whole, Professor Stanford's festival was a success. He is not and never will be a great conductor – but he takes infinite pains. In future, I hope that the taint of cliquism will be absent from the Leeds Festivals. Stanford, Parry, Wood, and Coleridge-Taylor are not the only British composers of choral music. I hope that Professor Stanford and his committee read other papers than *The Times*, *Daily Graphic*, *Guardian* and *The Globe* – the mouthpieces of the Royal College of Music.⁶⁹⁹

Thompson, writing the music criticisms for the *Yorkshire Post*, might also have been added to the list.

7.4: The Strange Affair of Alfred Benton:



*Fig. 59: Alfred Benton (1855-1941) Conductor of the Leeds Choral Union 1896-1905, organist, Leeds Parish Church, organist, Leeds Festival 1889-1895, Chorus Master, Leeds contingent 1895-1898, Chorus Master Leeds Festival, 1901.*⁷⁰⁰

Whatever the agenda displayed by the critics towards Stanford's conducting at the 1901 Festival, it became apparent that he had not succeeded in establishing the rapport that Sullivan had enjoyed with the chorus since his first festival in 1880. Given the unique relationship that Sullivan had, anyone would have faced difficulty in attempting to replace him. At his first rehearsal, as he met with the new chorus, many of whom had sung under Sullivan's baton in 1898, Stanford was gracious towards the memory of his predecessor, remarking that in assuming the Leeds baton, he was attempting to replace a man whom he had known for most of his life, who had been at

⁶⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁰ Photo *Leeds and its Suburbs*, March 1896, Leeds Central Library.

the head of the English musical profession, and who had done excellent work over the years at Leeds. 'His,' Stanford commented, 'was a face they would all miss.'⁷⁰¹

On the closing day of the 1901 Festival, readers of the *Leeds Mercury* were reminded of their loss:

At this particular Festival, we are all conscious of one special loss. Sir Arthur Sullivan had won for himself a great place in the musical world before ever he came to Leeds. Yet...he was as proud of our Festival as any of the achievements of his brilliant career. And how he was loved and almost worshipped by the members of that magnificent chorus whom he led in so masterly a fashion! Never was a conductor so popular.⁷⁰²

The 1901 Festival Chorus, as has been stated, met with serious criticism. While the Leeds forces were still regarded as the epitome of choral singers, there were comments that their singing was uneven and that their quality varied from composition to composition. 'Their work has been singularly unequal,' began the critic of the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*:

At their worst in Mr. Coleridge Taylor's new work, and at their best in the Mass in D, [Beethoven] the mean seems to be a splendid resonant tone, good expression, greatly improved enunciation, absolute accuracy, great precision and steadiness, without, *per contra* very particular regard to the more subtle qualities, such as tone colour, character and the finer shades of expression.⁷⁰³

Certainly, there appeared to have been something of an edge as Stanford had directed the chorus in the full rehearsals. Reflecting on their 1901 experience, a disgruntled chorister explained:

⁷⁰¹ *Leeds Mercury*, *Leeds Musical Festival: Opening Rehearsal by the Chorus*, 14 March 1901, p. 5. There is a similar account in the 23 March 1901 edition of the *Musical Standard*, p. 187.

⁷⁰² *Leeds Mercury*, *A Jackdaw's Flight - the centre of Musical Attraction*, 12 Oct. 1901.

⁷⁰³ *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, *Leeds Music Festival: The Last Day*, 14 Oct. 1901, p. 6.

The manner in which we, the chorus, were treated, to say nothing of our chorus master, left much to be desired, and I venture to say that if the appointing of a conductor had to be done by the last Festival chorus, Dr. Stanford would only visit the Festival as a spectator and certainly not as a conductor.⁷⁰⁴

On the final evening of the Festival, as Stanford handed the baton to chorus master, Alfred Benton, who was to conduct the unaccompanied ballad, Pearsall's *Sir Patrick Spens*, and before singing a note, the chorus showed their feelings by giving him the kind of demonstration that they had reserved, on previous occasions, for Sullivan. Accounts of the incident show that the chorus master was clearly embarrassed by what happened.⁷⁰⁵ However, in the aftermath of the Festival, Stanford was to blame whatever reported shortcomings perceived regarding the chorus, firmly on Alfred Benton.

There is evidence to suggest that even before his official appointment, Stanford did not want Benton, who had taken over as chorus master for the Leeds contingent in June 1895, following the sudden death of their regular director, the overall Festival Chorus Master and Philharmonic conductor, Alfred Broughton.⁷⁰⁶ Benton continued to serve as the Leeds contingent's chorus master in 1898. It appears that Sullivan, following Broughton's death, effectively acted as his own chorus master in 1895 and again in 1898, which may explain the comments regarding the rapid improvement that the chorus of 1898 made, once he had all of the various regional components to-

⁷⁰⁴ Correspondence by choristers in the *Leeds Mercury* during January 1904, seems to indicate that they felt they had been treated with disrespect in 1901. *Leeds Mercury, Correspondence*, 20 Jan. 1904, p. 4.

⁷⁰⁵ *Yorkshire Post, Leeds Festival: Concluding Day*, 14 Oct. 1901, p. 5, 'The chorus-master fingered the baton as if he would rather proceed with other sounds.' This is the incident that Benton alluded to in his unpublished December letter to Stanford. N/d but sometime during early Dec. 1901, Leeds Central Library, Spark Collection LQ786.79SP26. (Appendix 4)

⁷⁰⁶ Alfred Broughton (1853-1895), was, with his older brother James, a key figure in the musical life of Leeds during the last quarter of the 19th century. James founded the Philharmonic Society. Both brothers had directed the Philharmonic Society and both had served as Festival chorus masters.

gether – even Thompson was prepared to acknowledge his skill as a choral director.⁷⁰⁷ Possibly, in the wake of Sullivan's death, and with the bulk of the chorus being drawn from Leeds for the next Festival, Benton, as a well-known figure within local musical circles, had seniority, when the appointment of a chorus master for 1901 was considered.

In December 1900, Stanford had written to his friend Thompson and by implication, either the chorus master for the 1901 Festival had already been chosen, or that Stanford intended to impose his own choice – quite possibly Herbert Fricker, Leeds City Organist and chorus master of the Philharmonic Society, with whom he had worked since 1897:

I am coming down tomorrow to see T. Marshall and Spark. I hope we shall all be on velvet, and keep so. We shall if they consult with me as a rule. I don't mean if they agree with me as a rule, which is a very different thing and which I don't expect. But consultation means confidence. The chorus-master question is a very important case in point: it is terribly important, for he is Chief of Staff.⁷⁰⁸

It is perhaps here, with dissension over the appointment of chorus master, which Stanford clearly believed should be his, and which the Committee regarded as theirs, that Spark's fears over a conflict of interests between the Festival and the Philharmonic Society surfaced. Possibly it related to a clash of personalities: Stanford and Benton were forceful individuals and were already rivals – Stanford directing, since 1897, the Philharmonic Society, while Benton had, from its inception in 1895, conducted the breakaway Choral Union.⁷⁰⁹ In Herbert Fricker, the Philharmonic's chorus master from May 1900, Stanford had a much younger man, whom he had appointed, and with whom, as noted above, he already had a working relationship.

⁷⁰⁷ Thompson, *Yorkshire Post, Music and Art*, 1 March 1918, on Sullivan in rehearsal: 'With a chorus in particular, he was most happy; he not only knew what he wanted and could express it verbally...'

⁷⁰⁸ Greene, *CVS*, p. 127.

⁷⁰⁹ In 1895, Leeds Choral Union had been formed in the wake of dissension following the appointment of Adolf Beyschlag as the Philharmonic's conductor.

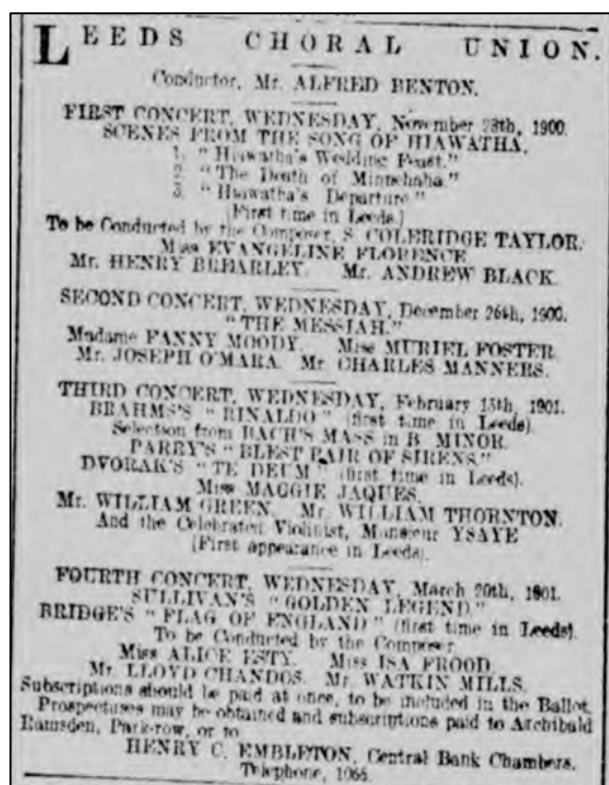


Fig. 59: Leeds Choral Union's 1900-1901 Season with Alfred Benton as its principal conductor, gives a notion of the range of works he was conducting.

It may be speculated that Stanford felt vulnerable in the wake of some of the criticism that had been directed towards his conductorship and whether consciously, or not, used Benton as a scapegoat for his own perceived inadequacies. His 13 October letter to the Committee (Appendix 4) suggests that he expected the Chorus to be concert-perfect when he began final rehearsals, even though he must, from previous experience himself, and being present at the rehearsals run by Sullivan, have realised that it was never going to be the case. Stanford did appear, on occasion, remarkably thin skinned, such as the *Truth* affair in 1900, and his aggression towards Vernon Blackburn over criticism of his direction of the Bach Choir.⁷¹⁰

Nevertheless, his attack on Benton had repercussions that could not have been anticipated, precipitating a crisis within the Executive Committee, as members of the rival musical societies and supporters of both Stanford and Benton, savaged each other,

⁷¹⁰ See *Pall Mall Gazette*, 16 March 1894 for Blackburn's original criticism of Stanford's direction of a performance of the *St. Matthew Passion* and the response that Stanford mobilised, (George Grove, Hubert Parry, Walter Parratt, Alexander Mackenzie and Otto Goldschmidt) with the intention of having Blackburn removed as music critic. Charles L. Graves weighed in in support of Stanford, during the correspondence which ran for the remainder of March, as did G.B. Shaw, in support of Blackburn.

both in private correspondence and the press. Spark attempted maintain control in the face of what he saw as the conductor's determination to wrest power from the Executive Committee, and specifically, from himself via the support of the Renaissance group. Hannam, as leader of the renegades, was identified as dangerous. He had questioned the autocratic Spark's methods, together with statements made in the in 1901 report, (presumably those relating to the Executive Committee following Stanford's advice in the choice of programme) and Spark aggressively informed him that: 'some of the "new methods" have unhappily been introduced by you and your colleagues, which, if continued, will greatly injure future Festivals'.⁷¹¹ He further showed his annoyance that Hannam had approved the criticism levelled at the Executive Committee and at its Chairman, Thomas Marshall, in Thompson's 13 December column in the *Yorkshire Post*. He put his fears bluntly to a colleague, the banker E.B. Faber, and his comments seems to indicate that a four-way power struggle had developed: Spark and his 'old crew', versus the Renaissance group and Stanford, to which could be added, given the overlap of personnel, the Choral Union and Philharmonic Society versus each other:

If you admit that Dr. Stanford is entitled to tell us how to manage our business at the next Festival, then his letter does not err in courtesy. My contention (it is also Mr. Marshall's) that Dr. S has no title whatever to assume a dictator's power over the Committee. He was told in writing that the Committee will be responsible for and will select the chorus master, chorus, programmes and principals.

As to his opinion of Benton, it is too much tainted with partisanship and with hostility to the Leeds Choral Union to be of any value. It is also in direct opposition to nearly every musical criticism and authority I have seen. He knows my strong views and wishes yet he continues in season and out of season to ignore them.

I should like to call together eight or nine of 'the old crew' and hear their views as to the future.⁷¹²

⁷¹¹ Correspondence between Spark and Hannam, Dec. 1901, Spark Collection, Leeds Central Library, LQ786.79 SP26.

⁷¹² Spark to E.B. Faber, 8 Jan. 1902. Spark Collection, Leeds Central Library, LQ786.79 SP26.

The conflict between Spark, the old guard of the Festival Executive Committee and the Renaissance group headed by Hannam, was given an added edge when, in 1902, Elgar chose the Sheffield, rather than the Leeds Chorus, to perform his *Coronation Ode* at Covent Garden as part of the accession celebrations of Edward VII. At this juncture, disappointment was probably driving the acrimony that spilled into the press as John Green, as Secretary, vehemently defended the Leeds Philharmonic Society's conductor and its chorus master.⁷¹³ Spark responded equally acrimoniously, even writing to Edward Elgar concerning the issue, highlighting what he saw as the crux of the problem – a takeover of the Festival by the Renaissance group – Stanford's supporters from the Philharmonic:

Dear Mr. Elgar,

When you asked the Sheffield Chorus to sing your *Coronation Ode* in London it seemed to me to be the wise and natural course. That chorus was in full practice and you were rehearsing with it for *Gerontius*. Whether there was a direct mandate from the king to select the *best chorus in existence* is not much to the point, as a matter of choice. But your selection has been exploited here by some of Stanford's people, as proof that you considered the Leeds Festival Chorus inferior to the Sheffield Chorus. *Ergo*, Mr. Benton is not fit to be a chorus master.

This foisting upon you of opinions to serve professional jealousies of Leeds men, I have long intended to bring to your notice.⁷¹⁴

Exactly what Spark hoped Elgar might say, given that his side of the correspondence, if it ever existed, does not appear to have survived, is impossible to ascertain: perhaps Spark hoped he would make a definitive statement in favour of Leeds and the beleaguered Benton.

⁷¹³ *Leeds Mercury, Leeds Philharmonic Society: Sheffield Singers and the Coronation*, 25 April 1902, p. 5. The issue spilled into the pages of the *Musical Standard*, with both Spark and Green using it as a mouthpiece: *Musical Standard, Leeds vs. Sheffield*, 24 May 1902, p. 326.

⁷¹⁴ Spark to Elgar, 27 Oct. 1902. Elgar correspondence, Elgar Birthplace Trust, Broadheath, ID: 5974.

Percy Betts's comments in *Truth*, referencing the Leeds Chorus triumphs in 'the good old days of Sir Arthur Sullivan,' can have only further inflamed a highly volatile situation which had not been resolved by the time that preparations for the 1904 Festival began. What the whole affair does serve to highlight, is the existence of a group within the Executive Committee headed by Hannam, that had its roots in the Leeds Philharmonic Society. It had undermined Sullivan in the latter stages of his Conductorship in favour of Stanford, and it was now involved in supporting Stanford's determination to remove Alfred Benton, who was not only a rival, but a relic of the former regime. Bizarrely, it does appear, while this fratricidal infighting took place, as if Sullivan, who was independent of and aloof from Leeds musical politics, clearly loved by the Festival chorus whatever their origin, and whose reputation was then unassailable, had been the adhesive holding the rival factions together. With Sullivan's removal, the tensions and jealousies that existed, powered by the emergence of the Sheffield Chorus as catalyst, exploded. An exasperated E.W. Crawley wrote to Spark in May 1902:

It is disgraceful that responsible persons should...descend to the...language expected of the *shouter* outside the *Show Tent* of the Fat Woman. I am hoping to see Richter appointed next time – that surely will unite the atoms.⁷¹⁵

Benton's position was made untenable, which was probably the intention, by an Executive Committee decision late in 1903, to split the chorus master and organist roles between himself and Herbert Fricker.⁷¹⁶ Perhaps, by dividing the roles the aim had been to reunite the committee. However, further crisis ensued as Henry Embleton, Hon. Secretary of the Choral Union and a member of the Executive Committee, supportive of his conductor, chose to resign.

⁷¹⁵ E.W. Crawley to Spark, 26 May 1902. Leeds Central Library, Spark Collection, LQ786.79 SP26.

⁷¹⁶ *Leeds Mercury Weekly Supplement, Leeds Musical Festival: Arrangements for 1904*, 12 Dec. 1903, p. 3, 'The executive had agreed to offer Mr. Alfred Benton and Mr. H.A. Fricker the positions of joint chorus masters and organists. The offer was accepted by Mr. Fricker, but Mr. Benton felt himself unable to accept the post under the conditions offered by the Committee. The position of chorus master was then offered to, and accepted by, Mr. Fricker.'

During January 1904, correspondence to the *Leeds Mercury* concerning the incident made lively reading, particularly since it was apparent that some of the contributors were aware of what Stanford had written to Benton, informing him that he was, in his opinion, inadequate as Festival chorus master, 'such a task requires greater equipment than I felt you were able to bring to bear upon it', and urging Benton to publish (Appendix 5). Others, as has been mentioned, referred to disrespectful treatment by their new conductor in 1901. Underlining the unity of Sullivan's era, 'Harmony' wrote:

When the late Sir Arthur Sullivan was conductor we never heard of any such disruption. Who is to blame in this instance? Is it Dr. Stanford or the Festival Committee? ...unless there is some clearance of this unpleasantness the Festival reputation will suffer. A very large number of the best chorus singers in Leeds and the neighbourhood will not attempt to assist, as there is reason to believe that these two gentlemen [Benton and Embleton] have been most unfairly treated.⁷¹⁷

Effectively, such complaints would not have concerned the Renaissance group members of the 1904 Executive Committee: even if, given the affront to Benton, singers from the Choral Union refused to audition for the new chorus, the ultimate aim had been achieved: Herbert Fricker was chorus master for the upcoming Festival and the Philharmonic had resumed its ascendancy.⁷¹⁸ It must have seemed to those for whom it mattered, that the final vestiges of the Sullivan regime had been removed: the 1904 Festival could really mark a new beginning. Unfortunately, they were mistaken.

⁷¹⁷ *Leeds Mercury, Leeds festival Chorus: Correspondence*, 22 Jan 1904, p. 4

⁷¹⁸ It was a monopoly that did not go unnoticed: correspondence in the *Leeds Mercury*, 21 Jan. 1904, p. 4: 'Why have all the chief positions in the forthcoming Festival... been given to officials of the Philharmonic Society? The Leeds Choral Union are not represented in any way.' For the affiliations of the Executive and general Committees, where known, see Appendix 5, p. 340.

7.5: Forgetting Sir Arthur Sullivan:

With the publication of the 1901 report, the Committee continued to court controversy. While recognising the errors made in programming, the notion that they had followed the advice of their conductor seemed a mendacious attempt to shift their shortcomings onto Stanford.⁷¹⁹ It was a statement that caused disbelief and anger. Joseph Bennett commenting on the report in the *Daily Telegraph*, stated the obvious:

It seems to us that the committee have not dealt with the case quite manfully [...] the committee should not have put the responsibility [for the programme] mainly upon their paid servant, the conductor. Whatever Dr. Stanford may have advised, the choice of the action and therefore the accountability, rested with them, not with him.⁷²⁰

Although income had increased from 1898 by £50:00, so dramatically, had expenses, particularly with the extra day's rehearsal and additional administrative costs. This however, did not disguise the fact that although sales of serial tickets had held up, there had been a significant fall in the singles, particularly at the evening concerts. Had it not been for an increase in the sales of rehearsal tickets, the accounts, which showed a diminution across the board, even in items such as the sale of librettos, would have looked considerably grimmer. Chairman of the Executive Committee, Thomas Marshall, in the light of what must have been a shock, after two decades of profitable results, remained defiant, putting a positive spin on the 1901 Festival:

The object was to make a musical success, and they could not gauge the success of Festivals in pounds, shillings and pence. A good deal of their success was due to the

⁷¹⁹ *Report of the Leeds Musical Festival, 1901*, Leeds, 9 Dec. 1901. 'From the time of his appointment Dr. Stanford gave the Committee his best and most energetic services. In selecting the programme, his advice was in the main followed – with what general result, the musical public are already aware.' Leeds Central Library, Spark Collection, LQ786.79 SP26.

⁷²⁰ Joseph Bennett, *Daily Telegraph*, quoted in *Yorkshire Evening Post: Leeds Musical Festival: A Critic's Comment's*, 17 Dec. 1901, p. 5.

fact that they had not attempted to make money...the Committee scanned with attention everything that appeared in the periodical press by way of criticism and they would willingly follow their advice.⁷²¹

After a lengthy Classical allusion, he continued, reflecting on the divisions that existed between the critics regarding the past festival:

Should the committee be guided by the press, and if so, were they to heed the *Times* which said everything was for the best, and this was the best possible festival, or were they to pay attention to journals that took an unfavourable view? ⁷²²

It was, remarked Thompson, 'a little cheap sarcasm'.⁷²³ From Marshall's hubristic attitude it appeared, at least superficially, that the faults perceived at the 1901 Festival could be met with equanimity.

As has been noted, preparations for the 1904 Festival did not run smoothly and Stanford did not approve of the Executive's proposed programme, writing to Hannam late in 1903:

The programme is a long series of solemn funeral music without a single point of relief. The mornings would have been excellent (with the substitution of *Israel* for *Elijah*) and if the evenings had had one lively *pièce de résistance* in each. But you have got *Everyman* (the deepest of tragedies), *The Burial March of Dundee* (another tragedy) and *The Witch's Daughter* which sounds like a third. It is all Black-edged and it will be damnably depressing, *Tod* without *Verklärung* and ending in the *Golden Legend* which is dead played out.

⁷²¹ *Yorkshire Post, Leeds Musical Festival: Financial Result and Allocation of Surplus*, 10 Dec. 1901, p. 5.

⁷²² *Ibid.*

⁷²³ Thompson, *Yorkshire Post, Music and Art*, 13 Dec. 1901, p. 6.

A little timely consultation would have prevented it [...] and I must be content to take, and I shall have to, whether the Committee think so or not, the severe criticisms which will be most certainly made...on my own shoulders.⁷²⁴

Neither, according to Plunket Greene, was Stanford consulted in the matter of soloists for the Wagner concert. Greene blamed Spark for the omission of Bispham and Brema and it is possible, given the apparent retrenchment following the falling revenue and the expenses incurred in 1901, that the decision was made to sacrifice the major stars on the grounds of economy.⁷²⁵ Stanford had discovered what Costa and Sullivan had found: the Executive Committee could prove intractable. Writing to Hannam, he remarked, 'the ructions with A.S.S.[Sullivan] and his complaints (of which he spoke to me also at times) were all that he was not consulted on things.'⁷²⁶

Despite the objections in 1901, and Stanford's dismissal of it to Hannam, Sullivan's *The Golden Legend* was programmed to open the Saturday night Popular Concert. Associated with Leeds since its premiere in 1886, *The Golden Legend*, as Thompson had pointed out, guaranteed revenue – even so, he found it impossible to resist a sneer:

Saturday evening's concert always aims at a more 'popular' tone than the rest of the Festival. This was forgotten three years ago, and the result was one of the emptiest rooms I have ever seen at a Leeds Festival. Unknown music is not generally attractive and...it was wisely decided to give Sullivan's *Golden Legend*, which undoubtedly remains [...] the most popular cantata ever produced by a British composer. And by no means undeservedly, for, however one may incline to judge the *Golden Legend*...it certainly contains pages of extreme beauty, even of power, and almost shakes one's conviction that Sullivan found his life-work in his Savoy operettas.⁷²⁷

⁷²⁴ Stanford to Hannam, 15 Nov. 1900. Quoted in CVS Plunket Greene, p.p. 131-132.

⁷²⁵ Marie Brema was eventually to appear at the 1904 Festival, following a tantrum over billing that resulted in Louise Kirkby Lunn's withdrawal.

⁷²⁶ Stanford to Hannam, 15 Nov. 1900. Quoted in Plunket Greene, p. 128.

⁷²⁷ Thompson, *Yorkshire Post*, *Sullivan's Golden Legend*, 10 Oct. 1904, p. 8.

Edward Baughan commented that at last, Sullivan's services to the Leeds Festival had received tardy recognition.⁷²⁸ His thought was echoed by the *Athenaeum*, maintaining that 'it was only just' to recognise Sullivan, while the *Musical Times* commented on the performance itself, *The Golden Legend*

received a loving interpretation from the choristers, to some of whom the cantata...brought back lively memories of the composer who so loyally and long worked with them and to whose untiring efforts the present satisfactory position of the Leeds Festival is largely due.⁷²⁹

The performance marked the final occasion at which any of Sullivan's works were programmed at a Leeds Festival.

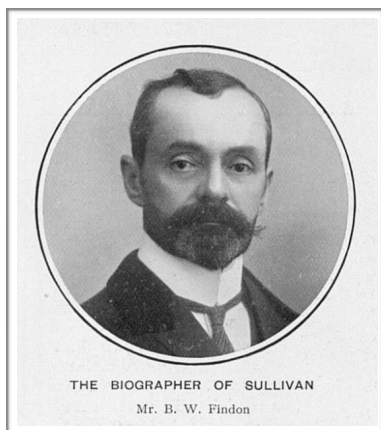


Fig. 61: Benjamin William Findon (1859-1943) Sullivan's cousin, music critic and biographer.⁷³⁰

Having addressed the controversial issue of Sullivan's memory by programming one of his major works, thus deflecting the criticism of neglect that had haunted the 1901 Festival, it is unlikely that the Executive Committee of 1904 anticipated further trouble in relation to their late conductor: in this respect, they were wrong. Deliberately timed to coincide with the opening of the Festival, on 24 September 1904, James Nisbet & Co. published a new biography of Sullivan authored by his close friend and cousin, the music critic, B.W. Findon.⁷³¹

⁷²⁸ *Daily News, Leeds Musical Festival*, 10 Oct. 1904, p. 8.

⁷²⁹ *Musical Times*, Nov. 1904, p. 732.

⁷³⁰ *The Tatler*, 7 Dec. 1907, p. 380.

⁷³¹ Benjamin William Findon (1859-1943) was Sullivan's cousin on both sides of the family: his grandmother was Sullivan's father's older sister, while his first wife was the youngest daughter of her brother, John Sullivan. Findon was an organist, author of several successful plays, librettist, poet, music and theatre critic, in 1902, becoming proprietor of *Play Pictorial*, which he edited until 1939.

While Findon's *Sir Arthur Sullivan: His Life and Music*, was one of a number of biographies of Sullivan that appeared either shortly before or immediately following his death, it created anger in Leeds and the threat of legal action from Stanford, because of his apparent willingness to reveal what Sullivan had remained silent over regarding the events of 1899. In effect, Findon accused Stanford and his coterie within the Leeds Philharmonic Society, of working to oust Sullivan from the conductorship, and the Leeds Executive Committee of ingratitude towards him. In many respects, what Findon wrote concerning Stanford in 1904, was an edited and milder version of his 1900 *Echo* article:

Sullivan was to encounter more formidable and less generous criticism during the last few years of his association with Leeds. There had sprung up a little clique of newspaper critics who were inimical to him in every way. To these critics, Dr. (now Sir) Charles Villiers Stanford, Professor of Music at Cambridge, stood as godfather. In their eyes, he was the guiding star of the musical renaissance in this country. To see him wearing the triple crown of Acknowledged Headship was their most ardent wish. Sullivan was a thorn in their sides, owing to his overwhelming popularity. By various means they sought to undermine Sullivan's influence with the Festival Committee, and prejudice his standing with the public. In the course of time an antipathetic feeling was raised against Sullivan in certain quarters, and Stanford was freely named as his possible successor. Sir Charles Stanford had secured the conductorship of an important musical organisation in the West Riding and was doing, in fact, what in political phraseology is known as 'nursing the constituency.'

Sullivan had done so much for Leeds (he had made the Festival the first in importance in the country) that it is excusable if he felt an extra amount of consideration was due to him. Probably there were faults on both sides, but immediately after the Festival of 1898 the partisans of Sir Charles Stanford made it clear that they were going to do their best to secure the election of their man for the next Festival.⁷³²

⁷³² Findon, *Sullivan*, Sept. ed., 1904, pp. 164-166.

Nevertheless, Stanford immediately took exception to the passage and responded by writing to the *Times*, emphatically denying that he had been in any way implicated in Sullivan's removal:

In a paper of today (Sunday) under a notice of Mr. B.W. Findon's book, *Sir Arthur Sullivan: His Life and Music*, is printed the following sentence:

The ousting for such it was, of Sir Arthur from the conductorship of the Leeds Festival, is ascribed to "a little clique of newspaper critics who were inimical to him in every way" and to whom Sir Villiers Stanford, who had been "nursing the constituency" "stood as godfather." To this statement, as far as it concerns myself I take the earliest possible opportunity of giving the most emphatic and unqualified denial.⁷³³

Findon responded, issuing an apology, while Nisbet, his publishers, recalled the initial print run. Nevertheless, Stanford unsatisfied, threatened Findon with a libel action.

Considering the far more venomous attack that Findon had published in the autumn of 1900, while Sullivan was still alive, and over which, as has been noted, Stanford took no action, the threat of libel seems intentionally intimidatory, and has echoes of the treatment of Blackburn in 1894 and Betts in 1900. At this point, Findon neither had the protection of Sullivan, nor the backing of a powerful editor for defence. Following a further apology published in the *Times* of 31 October, which Stanford refused to accept, demanding damages, Findon called his bluff and prepared to contest the action. Seemingly, as 1904 ended, so the issue petered out. A second edition of the book was published in December 1904, with amendments to the passage that had caused offence.⁷³⁴

The affair had soured the 1904 Festival and since Findon had attacked the Festival Committee as well as their conductor, they too, wanted redress. For all that Nisbet had attempted to recall the September edition, some reviews had appeared based on it, the most striking of which was by J.F. Runciman. Runciman, music critic of the

⁷³³ Stanford to the *Times*, Correspondence: Leeds Festival Conductorship, 26 Sept. 1904.

⁷³⁴ Findon, p.p. 164-166, Dec. 1904 edition.

Saturday Review, had little sympathy either for Stanford's circle, or for music festivals in general and, in an article entitled *Schools of Music*, launched a vitriolic attack on both:

Sullivan was, so far as he went, English; and if he did not go deep it was because his nature was not deep. But look at others for whom it is claimed that they constitute the English school? About Parry what can be said save what I have said before that...by patient industry he has made himself dullest and driest of them all. [...] What has Stanford done all these years? Let us not think of it, lest we weep. And Mackenzie? – Here, lying before me I have his 'Witch's Daughter,' written for the Leeds Festival of this year. (Unhappy Leeds: Stanford as conductor and Mackenzie as composer, both in one year: are you not richly repaid for the way you treated Sulli-



van, who if not a great composer, brought thousands of pounds to your coffers? Miserable Leeds! Excuse me if I say you are rightly scourged.)⁷³⁵

Fig.62: John Frederick Runciman (1866-1916). Music critic of the *Saturday Review*.⁷³⁶

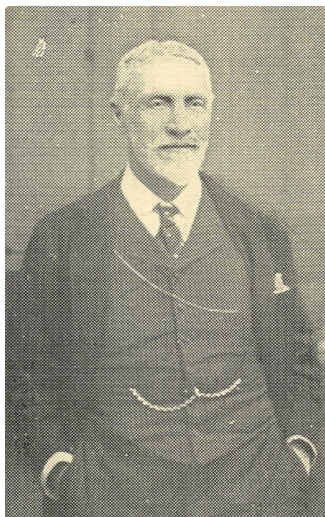
Findon's charge against the Executive Committee – their ingratitude towards Sullivan's efforts for the Festival during the years that he was associated with it, must, given the comments that Sullivan had made in his draft letters to Spark at the time of his removal, have had its origin with him. Indeed, there had been no official vote of thanks given to Sullivan until the General Committee for the 1901 Festival met for the first time on 15 November 1900, over a year since his departure. The fact that in the 1898 report, Sullivan had been itemised as 'the conductor,' and his letter to Elgar,

⁷³⁵ J.F. Runciman, *Saturday Review*, *Schools of Music*, 8 Oct. 1904, p.p. 456-457. J.F. Runciman, (1866-1916) One of the self-styled 'New Critics', he was associated with Vernon Blackburn, Edward Baughan and George Bernard Shaw. He taught piano at the London Academy of Music and was fearless in attacking the academic circle constituting the English Musical Renaissance. He was music critic on the *Saturday Review* and contributed anonymously to the *Musical Standard* during Baughan's editorship.

⁷³⁶ London School of Economics, Shaw Photographs/1/46/5799.

commenting on the fact that he had received no thanks from the Committee for his role in the 1898 Festival, added substance to Findon's accusation, while the industrial analogy must have resonated:

Sullivan was allowed to sever his connection with Leeds, with not the least public recognition of the work he had done during the twenty-one years he had been their musical director. Nor (unless it was sent at the last moment) did he even receive an official letter of thanks.⁷³⁷ In such circumstances, is it a matter for surprise that Sullivan felt, and gave forcible expression to, the utmost indignation at the manner in which he had been treated? [...] there was not sufficient gratitude in the county of Yorkshire to honour him at parting in any manner whatever. [...] Not a little comment at the time was made at the conspicuous lack of feeling by the Leeds people. They took the best of him, and when he was gone he was of no more account in their eyes than the factory engine which had outworn its usefulness.⁷³⁸



⁷³⁷ It is unlikely that Findon would have known about the Committee's letter to Sullivan unless, following his death, Findon had been in touch with Sullivan's secretary, Wilfred Bendall.

⁷³⁸ Findon, *Sullivan*, p.p. 166-169.

Fig. 63: Thomas Marshall, 1832-1910, Leeds City Registrar. Chairman, Leeds Triennial Musical Festival, 1874-1910. ⁷³⁹

The Committee's response to Findon's comments was unequivocal: Executive Chairman, Thomas Marshall, dismissed his statements as 'offensive and untrue.'⁷⁴⁰ The Committee had, he maintained, as soon as it was constitutionally possible, acknowledged Sullivan's years of service in 'handsome terms.' Indeed, Sullivan had expressed his thanks for their recognition. However, in issuing the statement to the press, the Committee were being economical with the truth – the announcement of Sullivan's resignation had been released on 10 November 1899 and had become a news item by 14 November – the vote of thanks came on 15 November 1900, twelve months later, and was received by Sullivan on 18 November. It was hardly surprising that Sullivan's conversations with Findon had been bitter. Even Thompson remarked that Sullivan's resignation might have been handled with a little more graciousness – all the Committee's insistence on following the letter of their constitution had succeeded in doing, was to create ill-feeling and feed rumour. Indeed, he maintained that when the news of Sullivan's resignation had broken, he had assumed that that it had been instigated by him, rather than the Committee: that Sullivan's other interests had made the Leeds conductorship irksome. The whole issue, he maintained could have been managed with greater transparency.⁷⁴¹

⁷³⁹ Spark, *Memories*, opposite p. 80.

⁷⁴⁰ Marshall's statement: 'it was most offensive and untrue to say that the committee behaved with any want of consideration whatever towards Sir Arthur Sullivan, who received public recognition in handsome terms contained in the report. He received it as soon as there was a committee to do it...' *Leeds Mercury, Leeds Musical Festival: The Committee and Sir Arthur Sullivan*, 2 Dec. 1904, p. 8.

⁷⁴¹ Thompson, *Yorkshire Post, Music and Art*, 14 Oct. 1904, p. 4.

Findon, however, was not mollified. In a stingingly sarcastic letter to the *Leeds Mercury*, he responded to Marshall's self-righteous and pompous comments:

I have nothing to say against the Leeds Festival Committee believing that they had treated Sullivan with every possible mark of consideration...Let me repeat, I was not writing a history of the Leeds Festival. I was recording Sullivan's personal feelings. If he was wrong in his judgement, then the Committee were right; and had he lived he might have been a proud and happy man with that valuable resolution in his possession which (seven days before his death) recorded in such 'handsome terms', the gratitude of Leeds for twenty years brilliant and profitable service.⁷⁴²

From the perspective of the Committee, the most disturbing issue of the 1904 Festival was not Findon's comment, but the continued and marked decline in ticket sales. Spark, on presentation of his report maintained:

Into the cause or causes of the decline it is not necessary...to enter. One factor is generally admitted...the unusually depressed state of trade materially affecting the resources of a commercial community like Leeds.⁷⁴³

Spark seemed disingenuous and to have forgotten that the first Festival conducted by Sullivan in 1880, had come close to cancellation because of a severe trade depression. It had, nevertheless, gone ahead, increasing audience numbers on the previous 1877 Festival, making a profit of £2000. (Table 10)

Interestingly, the most popular works, in terms of ticket sales, were the Wagner concert, which outsold *Elijah*, an all-Beethoven programme, a mixed Strauss, Brahms, Bach and Parry concert – and the despised *The Golden Legend*. Of these, only *The Golden Legend* was an evening concert. Of the others, particularly Wednesday evening's, not even Elgar and Mackenzie conducting their own works, nor the presence of Fritz Kreisler as soloist in Brahms's violin concerto, could induce an audience

⁷⁴² Findon, *Leeds Mercury, Correspondence*, 16 Dec. 1904, p. 4.

⁷⁴³ Report of the Leeds Musical Festival 1904, 1 Dec. 1904, Spark Collection, Central Library, Leeds.

into the Town Hall.⁷⁴⁴ Sales of single tickets emphasised the decline that had been initially noticed in 1901, (Table 15) while, most worryingly for the Committee, the sale of serial tickets that had underpinned the relative financial security of 1901, had declined by a massive £2000. This downward slide continued until 1913 – the final Leeds Festival before the Great War. It was an issue that none of the economies undertaken could cancel out. Despite the arrival, in 1913, of a new team: Hugh Allen, Edward Elgar and even the renowned Arthur Nikisch, audiences continued to drift away.

Year	Serial Tickets	Single Tickets	Rehearsal Tickets	Total
1901	7,726	2,377	871	£10,974
1904	5,587	2,647	708	£8,924
1907	5,191	2,457	565	£8,213
1910	4,227	2,664	516	£7,406
1913	4,423	2,553	409	£7,385

Table 15: Ticket sales: Leeds Musical Festival, 1901-1913. ⁷⁴⁵

During the decade Committee personnel changed, as the mid-Victorian Leeds elite grudgingly gave way to a younger generation. 1907 marked Frederick Spark's final Festival as Honorary Secretary: by that time, he was 77, and had served the Leeds Festival in various capacities for fifty years. He was to continue to be associated with the Festival as an Executive Vice Chairman until the decision was taken in 1910 to reinstate the practice that had been followed during Sullivan's regime, of drawing the

⁷⁴⁴ Ticket sales for Wednesday evening's concert brought a return of £139, 1904 Report, p. 2.

⁷⁴⁵ Report of the Leeds Musical Festival, Minute Books, West Yorkshire Archive: WYAS 1076/1/1.

chorus from the whole of the West Riding, rather than solely from the Leeds area. It was a policy that had begun in 1901. The 'Leeds only' Chorus had been Spark's brain-child, maintaining that by 1907, it was 'the most splendid and successful of all its predecessors.'

I am jealous for the honour of the 1907 Chorus – as it was my 'child' so to speak, secured my ideal Leeds Festival Chorus, and roused in the breast of every Leeds singer's patriotic pride attached to the city.⁷⁴⁶

While this may have been the case, as Stanford pointed out, by narrowing the catchment area of the chorus, whatever his local patriotism, Spark, by this exclusivity, had inadvertently damaged the Festival box office by reducing regional interest.⁷⁴⁷

Thomas Marshall died in office as Management Chairman, in February 1910 – a role he had occupied since 1874. He was 78, and was replaced by Leeds solicitor, John Rawlinson Ford. There were, however, familiar personnel still serving on the newly constituted (from 1908) Management Committee. Names associated with the Renaissance group that had overseen Sullivan's removal, Hannam, Tetley, Haigh and Rogers who, doubtless concerned by falling revenue, and following 1910, the first loss-making Festival, now undermined Stanford's position by announcing a joint conductorship for the 1913 Festival. The Management Committee's report, by implication, was in its way, just as brutal towards Stanford as Spark and the Executive Committee had been to Sullivan in 1899.⁷⁴⁸ The Committee listed their reasons for their decision:

⁷⁴⁶ Spark, *Memories*, p. 48.

⁷⁴⁷ Conversation between Stanford and Management Committee members, J. Rawlinson Ford, W.S. Hannam and C.F. Haig, 25 January 1912. Reported in Festival Minute book, West Yorkshire Archive. Stanford referred to 'the fatal step in 1901...of doing away with the West Riding Chorus.' West Yorkshire Archive, 1076/1

⁷⁴⁸ Ibid. Typewritten report of the Management Committee. No date, although it mentions that the decision to have a team of conductors was taken by the Management Committee on 7 Dec. 1911. However, it would appear that the decision to remove the Festival from Stanford's sole control had been taken directly after the 1910 Festival, when Secretary Charles Haigh began negotiations for the London Symphony Orchestra to be the orchestra for the 1913 Festival. By 29 Nov. 1910, the Secretary of the LSO had in turn, offered their newly appointed conductor, Sir Edward Elgar, also pointing out that they could probably obtain Arthur

that there was no necessity for there being one conductor, that they believed that no one individual could be in touch with, and be able to deliver, a complete range of repertoire, therefore, it would be better for specialist interpreters to conduct specific items – their presence would surely add to the audience's interest and most damning of all, the Committee appended a copy of the declining revenues, which they pointed out, had begun in 1901 and the beginning of Stanford's Conductorship.⁷⁴⁹ Unsurprisingly, when the Committee inquired if Stanford would be prepared to be one of the new team of conductors, he refused absolutely, using one of the military analogies of which he seemed fond: 'An admiral who has commanded a fleet action can never again become a Captain of a battleship.'⁷⁵⁰

The decision to institute a joint conductorship, may, by inference, throw a positive light upon Sullivan's era. At no point during the twenty years of his conductorship was his ability to direct the entire range of festival works ever questioned by the Committee – even if there were those within the local critical fraternity, like Thompson, with his agenda-driven and admitted animus towards Sullivan, who rarely recorded anything positive of him, whatever he did. However, for the most part, as has been described, even at the end of his career, Sullivan produced interpretations across the days of the Festival that were individual in concept and inspiring in execution. Immediately prior to the 1910 Festival, the *Yorkshire Evening Post* reminded readers of what they had lost:

His [Sullivan's] long association with the Festival proved...most happy. Band, chorus, soloists alike all loved Sullivan. Judged by the standards of some present-day conductors he may not appear remarkable, but he had independent qualities which made him a mighty power in the position he held.⁷⁵¹

Nikisch as well, since 'Mr. Nikisch was always pleased to conduct their orchestra' – all at more than £300:00 cheaper than orchestral costs for 1910 – an offer that surely was impossible to refuse? Stanford was informed of the Committee's decision at some point before 18 Dec. 1911.

⁷⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁰ Stanford to Festival Chairman, John Rawlinson Ford, 18 Dec. 1911.

⁷⁵¹ *Yorkshire Evening Post, The First Leeds Festival*, 8 Oct. 1910.

It was less generous when, three years later, it recalled Stanford's era:

Sir Charles Stanford is probably the most highly cultured and intellectual of English musicians; he is also a composer of distinction. [but] It is [also] true that he happens to be one of the most uninspiring conductors that ever held a stick.⁷⁵²

A further flurry of recollection followed in 1913, with the publication of Spark's memoirs.⁷⁵³ Ignoring the abrasive Stanford years, he revelled in 'The glorious successes of the Festivals under Sullivan's conductorship,' sentimentalising their relationship:

To work with him, to help him, to fulfill his every wish, gave me the greatest pleasure. And he was ever kindly grateful. After each Festival, he wrote me the most delightful letters in acknowledgement of my services to him, and thus our heartstrings were attuned.⁷⁵⁴

He recalled their triumphs – in particular, the sensation created by the first Leeds performance of Bach's B Minor Mass, and the astonishing premier of *The Golden Legend*, before dealing with 'Sullivan's Resignation: The Real Cause.'⁷⁵⁵

Spark cast himself as the hero of 1898 as he outlined the arrangements he had made to ensure that the Festival could continue in the event of an emergency created by Sullivan's apparently failing health. His 1913 narrative paralleled his interviews at the time of Sullivan's death, including the issue of *The Beauty Stone* being the lost Leeds Cantata. However, what is more striking than the narrative presented, is the fact that he chose to raise the issue fifteen years after the events, trenchantly maintaining

⁷⁵² *Yorkshire Evening Post*, *A New Departure for the Festival*, 11 Sept. 1913.

⁷⁵³ Spark's memoirs had originally been serialised in the *Leeds Mercury*, during 1912, which may explain the book's strange structure. While the abrasive nature of his relationship with Stanford may explain his silence, it should also be noted that Stanford was alive when the memoirs were written.

⁷⁵⁴ Spark, *Memories*, p. 29.

⁷⁵⁵ Spark, *Memories*, pp. 31-33.

that accusations of ingratitude were false: correspondence showed that no difficulties existed between Sullivan and the Executive, citing the letter of acknowledgement dictated by Sullivan on his deathbed as evidence. Furthermore, any notions of a conspiracy to remove him from the Conductorship existed only as a fantasy creation of Sir Arthur and 'a London Author.'⁷⁵⁶

Sullivan's resignation and the events surrounding it, therefore remained a contentious issue. In writing Sullivan's obituary, John Runciman, the most frank, caustic and unconstrained of London critics, stated in 1900 what others were unwilling to, or had cautiously hinted at – that conspiracy in Leeds was more than a figment of the troubled composer's imagination:

I am sorry to hear of the death of Sir Arthur Sullivan [...] In private and in public life Sir Arthur Sullivan always behaved as an honourable gentleman; disdainfully holding aloof from the sordid intrigues and squabbles that disgrace the circles that affect...music of a pedantic kind [...] When a conspiracy was within the last year or two formed against him at Leeds, he treated it with a degree of contemptuous indifference that completely won my admiration.[...] I deeply regret that so good and fine an influence in what must be called the business side of English music has been taken away prematurely. Hundreds, thousands will miss him who would only rejoice at the removal of some of our musicians who pretend to higher and more serious aims.⁷⁵⁷

Spark's explanation, including the deathbed letter and particularly the dismissal of the opinion of anyone outside of Leeds Executive circles as irrelevant, must have been designed to silence further speculation. The evidence suggests that whatever the former Hon. Secretary may have said, rumour continued to circulate: the removal of Sullivan had been unprincipled and that Stanford was implicated.

⁷⁵⁶ Ibid. Spark seems to be aiming at Findon.

⁷⁵⁷ J.F. Runciman, *Saturday Review: Ysaye Again and Sir Arthur Sullivan*, 1 Dec. 1900, p. 680.

With the approach of a celebratory dinner held in 1923, by the Leeds Philharmonic Society to honour Stanford as their former conductor, Thompson revisited the events of almost a quarter of a century earlier in his *Music and Art* column:

It is not necessary now to revive an old controversy, but it is...as well to assert as a fact, which is within my own cognisance, that Stanford did not raise a finger to promote his candidature [to the Conductorship of the Leeds Festival] ...his own standing was such that his selection was natural if not inevitable.⁷⁵⁸

It was not the only occasion that Thompson had asserted that Stanford had been offered the conductorship by the Executive Committee or that he had no part in the removal of Sullivan. Certainly, it is clear that in 1900 there were no alternative candidates considered – as Thompson stated, Stanford did not even have to raise a finger – the ground for his candidacy, with Sullivan's resignation having been forced, had been remarkably well laid. The fact that Thompson felt it necessary once again to recount events, would suggest that residual suspicion still lingered. The attempted intimidation by Stanford of Percy Betts in 1900 and B.W. Findon in 1904, suggests a high level of insecurity regarding anything relating to the Leeds Conductorship, particularly since Findon was presenting an alternative scenario to the received Leeds narrative. James Glover again revived controversy, writing in his 1924 obituary of Stanford:

In my presence...he raised an objection to the bust of Arthur Sullivan being erected at the Royal College of Music, and...showed jealousies that were not consistent with a big, generous Irish temperament...The trouble that took place over the Leeds Festival conductorship many years ago need not be recalled now.⁷⁵⁹

It is impossible, given that the Executive Committee's minute books covering the relevant period have not survived, to make any definitive statement regarding the existence of a conspiracy to remove Sir Arthur Sullivan from the coveted position that he

⁷⁵⁸ Thompson, *Music and Art*, *Yorkshire Post*, 9 Nov. 1923, p. 10.

⁷⁵⁹ James Glover, *The Stage, Music Box*, 3 April 1924, p. 17. Occasionally, Glover's evidence gives cause for doubt, but in this case, it echoes William Boosey's of 1901.

held – and such discussions would, in any case, have been unlikely to have been recorded. However, Sullivan believed he had been undermined from within, and there is evidence to suggest that others believed that this was the case. It was fortunate for the Leeds Committee that Sullivan's death occurred when it did, thus providing a means for justifying their dismissal of him twelve months earlier and precluding any further probing into their motives. It was perhaps, equally fortunate that Sullivan, as Runciman noted, post 1899, chose to turn his back on Leeds and remain aloof, as he had always done, from its musical politics. The most intriguing feature of the whole affair remains the fact that whatever was said, either officially, by the Committee or semi-officially, in Thompson's columns or Spark's memoirs, rumours persisted for at least the following quarter of a century that Sullivan had been treated dishonourably – but then, as had so frequently been stated, he had been loved and taken to the heart of the West Riding.

Times and fortunes in the decade since Sullivan's death had changed for the Leeds Festival. Runciman, who was no lover of the festival phenomenon, noted sardonically as the 1913 gathering approached, how its relevance had faded:

The most striking feature...is the total unimportance of...provincial music festivals. Once upon a time they were awaited with interest ...and the London papers took care to send their critics or reporters. A concert in Leeds was almost as vital a matter to a sub-editor as a murder in Houndsditch [...] Alas! Evil days have come. The reporter [...] no longer with a free hand confers half a column of immortality on still-born commissions.⁷⁶⁰

By 1913, Sullivan's triumphs of 1898 must have seemed to have belonged to an almost mythic past. Over the course of the decade he had been as deliberately written out of the Festival narrative as he had been written out of the narrative of nineteenth century British music. Indeed, there was no tangible evidence that Sir Arthur

⁷⁶⁰ J.F. Runciman, *Saturday Review, Notes of the Week*, 23 Aug. 1913, p. 224.

Sullivan's twenty-year association with Leeds at the apogee of his career and at the height of the city's economic prosperity had ever existed.

Conclusion:

The question of why Sir Arthur Sullivan was dismissed from the Conductorship of the Leeds Triennial Musical Festival has driven this investigation. Attempting to reach a conclusion has involved researching unconsidered areas of the early career of the man whom Leeds appointed in 1880, his work at the Festival, together with the working demands that the festival year made upon him, professionally, physically and mentally. His direction of the 1898 Festival, from the earliest rehearsals to its eventual outcome, has been analysed, both artistically and commercially. It has also reviewed the circumstances in which his removal took place, its aftermath and a brief evaluation of the festivals that followed under the direction of Sir Charles Stanford, as well an examination of the internal politics that animated the Committee members and which underlay their decisions. This was unbroken ground – there has been no previous study inquiring into either the conducting aspect of Sir Arthur Sullivan’s career, or of the Leeds Triennial Musical Festival during his era.

In the course of gathering research material, the men who dominated not only the Leeds Festival and the city’s musical life but the city itself, have been rediscovered. Leeds’s haute bourgeoisie were frequently energetic, self-made men – Frederick Spark, who, during the course of a long life, first as a journalist on the *Leeds Mercury*, then as proprietor of the *Leeds Express* and finally, as the owner of a major printing company, held positions on some forty committees. He served on the City Council, supported Liberal Party politics, worked to establish the Central Library, where so much of the evidence for this investigation is now preserved, was a Governor of the Girls High School and sat on the Bench of Magistrates until the week of his death at the age of eighty-eight.⁷⁶¹ Festival Chairman, Thomas Marshall, was equally energetic in the law courts as City Recorder. The men who were actively involved in the Musical Festival and serving on its various committees were often major employers: Sir John Barran, the clothier or Charles Tetley of the brewing interest. Like the financiers, the Beckett family and E.B. Faber or the industrialist Henry Embleton, their banking concerns and entrepreneurial enterprises extended beyond Leeds and their energy and

⁷⁶¹ *Yorkshire Post*, *Death of Mr. F.R. Spark*, 15 Nov. 1919, p. 12.

initiative contributed to the city's welfare, prosperity and cultural life during the final quarter of the nineteenth century.⁷⁶² They were the men who ratified dismissal of Sir Arthur Sullivan.

Ultimately in 1899, this decision well have been Frederick Spark's. If the Executive Committee was a virtually self-perpetuating oligarchy, working in their own interests, which could be justified by the Festival's contribution to the local medical charities, then Spark was the autocrat in whom power rested. In the winter of 1879 he had stage-managed Sullivan's election by using considerable chicanery within Committee elections to ensure the result that he wanted.⁷⁶³ There is every likelihood that in the late summer of 1899, it was he who decided, whatever he may have subsequently said or written, that Sullivan's tenure of the Leeds baton had ended.

In this respect, it is worth reflecting on what Spark and the Executive Committee anticipated they were obtaining in Sullivan when he was first elected in 1880. He was already established as Britain's premier musician, and his ability as a conductor over the entire range of the concert repertoire acknowledged, as has been outlined in Chapter 1. It is here that the significance of *The Light of the World* performance that Sullivan conducted in Bradford in 1875 may be felt, since there is every likelihood that Spark, as a journalist and concert-goer would have been present both at rehearsals and the performance, such was the importance of the occasion. Thus, he would have been aware of the double value a Sullivan conductorship could bring to the Leeds Festival: here was a man who could not only direct an orchestra and work effectively with a chorus but who was also a composer whose works were filling concert halls and theatres all over the United Kingdom and who, in himself, was a popular box-office attraction. The advantages were obvious – and over the subsequent decade, Sullivan had repaid Spark and Leeds with new compositions: *The Martyr of Antioch* at his first Festival in 1880 and six years later, with *The Golden Legend* – after *Messiah*

⁷⁶² A brief outline of who they were, and their occupations may be found in Appendix 6.

⁷⁶³ Spark describes the route to Sullivan's appointment in *Spark and Bennett*, pp. 145-172.

and *Elijah*, the most performed choral work in the years prior to the Great War. Birmingham may have had *Elijah*, but the prestige of premiering *The Golden Legend* belonged to Leeds.

Spark had, in effect, talent spotted Sullivan before his career with W.S. Gilbert had consolidated.⁷⁶⁴ By the 1898 Festival, Sullivan's popularity and public profile were even greater and his command of the box-office indisputable, as is revealed by his billing in the Festival's publicity and in the press reports of his presence at Leeds: he was the Great Man of British Music. However, by 1898, despite past triumphs, it was over a decade since Sullivan had written anything for a Leeds Festival. The debacle over the lost cantata and his attempted resignation as well as questions over the state of his health, as outlined in Chapter 3 must have made Spark view him as a potential liability. While the reports and reviews show that Sullivan was still more than capable of running the Festival and securing exceptional performances, in the light of star conductors such as Hans Richter, his seated style must, by 1898, have seemed hopelessly dated, whatever his status, to audiences who wanted to see as well as to hear performances. In addition, just as Sullivan had impressed with his Bradford concert in 1875, so Edward Elgar had become a presence in Leeds at the Choral Union concerts in 1897, which had led directly to his commission for *Caractacus*.

Given Elgar's success at the 1898 Festival and the unlikely event of Sullivan's writing for Leeds in the future, there is every reason to believe that Spark once again talent spotted a composer-conductor whom, he anticipated, could continue the success of the Leeds Festivals into the twentieth century. In his 1913 memoirs, on the eve of a Festival that was to have Elgar as one of its joint conductors, he recounted that he proposed Elgar and Richter as Sullivan's successors, but his notion was rejected by the Executive Committee in 1900, as 'Utopian.'⁷⁶⁵

⁷⁶⁴ The premiere of *Trial by Jury* took place on 25 March 1875, thirteen days after the Bradford *Light of the World* performance.

⁷⁶⁵ Spark, *Memories*, p. 47. The issue for the Committee in 1900 seems, from Spark's subsequent comments, to have been cost.

This raises the question of Spark's powerbase and the political alignments that existed within the Committee by 1899 highlighted in Chapters 6 and 7. Spark had run the Leeds Festival since his appointment as Hon. Secretary in 1877, as if it was a private fiefdom. What complicated matters in 1899 when decisions came to be made about the Conductorship, was the presence of Charles Villiers Stanford as the conductor of the Philharmonic Society. It was one thing to remove Sullivan, who, as has been stated, stood aloof from Leeds musical politics, but impossible to ignore the powerful support that Stanford had generated within the Leeds musical environment since his arrival in 1897 and which he already had on the Festival Executive Committee via his Leeds friends and Cambridge associates: Hannam, Thompson, Tetley. They represented a generation younger than Spark and Chairman Thomas Marshall, and it was ominous that they named themselves the Renaissance group. If Spark had been ruthless in securing Sullivan's appointment and jettisoning Sir Michael Costa in 1880 and in determining the ending of Sullivan's association with the Festival in 1899, then the Renaissance group were equally ruthless in securing the majority necessary on the Executive Committee to ensure Stanford's election. Spark had been outmanoeuvred, as his exasperated letters written in the wake of the 1901 Festival to various Committee members, such as E.B. Faber, show.

Sullivan certainly believed that he had been removed by machinations taking place within the Executive Committee. His bitter letter to Spark from March 1898 concerning the way he was perceived at Leeds, gives the notion that he felt he was being undermined, and is supported by some elements of the press – even Herbert Thompson intimated that this was the case – though in assessing Sullivan's final communication with Spark in the draft letters, which have not previously been considered in their entirety, there is a sense of his genuine bewilderment concerning what had happened. From Sullivan's perspective he had delivered a Festival in 1898 that was as successful as any of its predecessors. In this respect he was ignoring the inconvenience he had caused in the spring with his withdrawal of the cantata, even if at the time he had recognised the difficulties it was likely to create and the impact it would have on his standing in Leeds. The issue of his attempted resignation would have further cor-

roded the security of his position when decisions came to be made regarding the renewal of his conductorship, and again, represents material that has not previously been identified or used.

When the moment came, following declining revenues and the first loss-making Festival in 1910, the Management Committee was equally ruthless in jettisoning Stanford. The decision to end the General Conductorship and replace it with specialist conductors of specific genres, was as insulting to Stanford as the attempt to inveigle Sullivan to resign on the grounds of ill-health had been a decade earlier.

The Committee was doubtless acting in what they regarded as the best interests of the Festival in the removal, at the appropriate moments, of Costa, Sullivan and Stanford. What their actions highlight, is the way in which even musicians of the highest status and in Sullivan's case, social standing, were regarded. These men were the paid servants of the Festival Committee and could be disposed of as presumably, they disposed of household servants whose services were no longer required. It does make the point that even Sullivan, a man who was on first name terms with Britain's elite and who had the personal friendship of five of Queen Victoria's children, in professional terms, at least in industrial Yorkshire at the end of the nineteenth century, was still 'below the salt.' This attitude may be exemplified in the appalling way in which he was treated in the wake of his resignation. As Findon angrily stated:

There was not sufficient gratitude in the county of Yorkshire to honour him in parting...Not a little comment at the time was made at the conspicuous lack of feeling by the Leeds people. They took the best of him and when he was gone he was of no more account in their eyes than the factory engine which had outworn its usefulness.⁷⁶⁶

Although the question of Sullivan's resignation has been central to this investigation, what Sullivan's activities as General Conductor at Leeds reveal is that two important

⁷⁶⁶ B.W. Findon, *Sir Arthur Sullivan*, (London: Nisbet, 1904, Dec. ed.) pp. 168-169.

aspects of his career have been ignored. First, while the full range of his compositional activity is now being rescued as Taylor has stated, from the oblivion into which it had been cast during the twentieth century by Fuller Maitland, Walker, Howes and those they influenced, Sullivan the conductor still continues to occupy a position in the outer darkness and the full range of his conducting activity has yet to be explored.⁷⁶⁷

What has become clear from the primary sources used in this investigation, is that Sullivan was versatile, effective and highly respected by the players and soloists who performed under his baton, by audiences and by many critics who attended performances that he directed. Even those critics who may have had an agenda that placed him beyond their conducting pale, such as G.B. Shaw or even Herbert Thompson, were prepared to admit that he was meticulous in his preparation. At Leeds in 1898, while he might have been at the end of his career, the evidence shows that he was still capable of producing performances from his forces that were individual in concept and inspiring in execution.

Sullivan's conducting career was almost as long as his composing career but because of the oft-repeated criticism by Hanslick or Charles Lyall's 1879 cartoon, it has been assumed that he was ineffectual and lackadaisical in his approach, to the extent that Paul Anderson could maintain that he did not use his left hand when conducting.⁷⁶⁸ Such statements may be countered by reference to the many illustrations that exist of Sullivan conducting, some of which have been included in this investigation and reproduced for the first time, as well as via reference to the wide range of primary sources now available, which review performances conducted by Sullivan from his earliest appearances to his final concerts in 1900. As a result, it is possible to show for

⁷⁶⁷ Benedict Taylor, *Arthur Sullivan: A Musical Reappraisal, Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Abingdon, Routledge, 2017) p. 215.

⁷⁶⁸ Paul Anderson, *A Source of Innocent Merriment in an Object All Sublime: A Critical Appraisal of the Choral Works of Sir Arthur Sullivan*, 'He conducted from a chair...eyes fixed on the score, a motionless left hand, which differed markedly from the more gesticulative Richter conducting from memory.' Anderson does not cite a source for his assertion. (University of Durham: M.Mus. eThesis, 2015) p. 55

the first time, that while Sullivan might not have had the performance appeal of the career conductor Richter, against whom he was invariably measured, he was more than capable of producing outstanding interpretations and performances. It is also worth stating, since it has not been recognised before, that he could not have obtained a career of such length or have had the confidence of or worked with artists and players of such quality without himself being exceptional.

The second area that remains to be investigated and links to Sullivan's career at Leeds, is his role as an administrator. One vital aspect of this work was to construct the Festival orchestra. It is clear from the material that exists in his letterpress books that Sullivan knew his players individually. He did not inherit a ready-made orchestra from Sir Michael Costa or buy into Queen's Hall or the Hallè Orchestras as Stanford did, and the London Symphony Orchestra that played at the 1913 Festival in 1898, was not in existence. Sullivan hand-picked his players from the time of his initial engagement in 1880, through to his final orchestra of 1898. It is possible, from the evidence of the letterpress books and other correspondence, to identify them, to know how much they were paid, where they sat and how much continuity there was from Festival to Festival. His administration covered arrangements with publishers, acting as arbitrator between the Festival Committee and some of the most celebrated of soloists, such as Charles Santley and Emma Albani over the thorny issues of fees, providing instruments: the 'Bach Trumpets' for the B Minor Mass and producing his own performing editions and the rehearsal schedules, as well as liaising with composers who had written new works...all the minutiae which, from the General Conductor's perspective, constituted his Festival role, including dealing with Spark and the Executive. Information for all but the 1895 and 1898 Festivals exists – the depth study of Sullivan's role across the twenty years of his association with Leeds is waiting to be written – as is a comprehensive study of Sullivan's career as a conductor. Such investigation would further expand the growing understanding of Sir Arthur Sullivan by focusing on these unknown aspects of his creativity and would further illuminate awareness of the environment in which provincial music-making took place during the final quarter of the nineteenth century.



Illud opus nobilis Arturi Sullivanis factum in Leodis urbe gravissimum ergo feci hoc.

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⁷⁶⁹ *The Sphere, Newsletter*, 17 Feb. 1900, p. 107. Possibly the last representation of Sullivan conducting? Rehearsal for a 'Patriotic Concert' at Her Majesty's Theatre, drawn by T. Walter Wilson. (Concert: Tues. 13 Feb. 1900).

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Daily News

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Fortnightly Review

Fun

Glasgow Herald

Globe

Hull Daily Mail

Illustrated London News

Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News

Irish Society

Judy

Leeds Daily news

Leeds Mercury

Leeds Mercury Weekly Supplement

Leeds Times

Leeds Express

Liverpool Daily Post

Liverpool Mercury
London Evening Standard
London Musical Courier
Manchester Courier
Manchester Guardian
Monthly Musical record
Moonshine
Morning Advertiser
Morning Post
Musical news
Musical Opinion
Musical Standard
Musical Times
New York Mail and Express
Pall Mall Gazette
Punch
Observer
Saturday Review
Sheffield Independent
Sporting and Dramatic News
St. James's Gazette
Strand Magazine
Sunday Times
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The Entr'acte
The Era
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Appendix 1. Sir Arthur Sullivan Conducts:1857–1900

Key:		ARTHUR SULLIVAN CONDUCTS:1857-1900					
	Appointment						
	Resignation						
	Cancellation						
	Leeds Rehearsal/Performance						
	Savoy Rehearsal/Performance						
	Royal English Opera House: Ivanhoe						
[]	Conducted by composer						
LMF	Leeds Triennial Musical Festival						
Arthur	Sullivan	Conducts:					
1857	November	Monday 9th	Brixton			Miscellaneous charity concert 'under the direction of Mr Arthur Sullivan, R.A.M.' , Indian Relief Fund	
1858	February	Tues 23	Pimlico	The Spanish Ambassador		A 'new & original burlesque' Written by the Sullivan brothers. Starred Fred as the ambassador. Arthur conducted.	
1860	May	26	Leipzig	Lalla Rookh overture		Leipzig Conservatoire	
	December	'Before the holidays'	Leipzig	Aria from Semele		Leipzig Conservatoire: Student concert: soloist: Rosamund Barnett.	
1861	January	Before Weds 16th	Leipzig			Student concert: 'Mr Arthur Sullivan...conducted' Belfast Morning News	
	Feb	?	Leipzig			Student concert in honour of Ferdinand David	
	April	Sat 27	Leipzig	The Tempest	Cheltenham Looker On	John Barnett from Cheltenham Report also of Sullivan conducting concert by English students	
1862	May	Fri 9th	London			St. James's Hall: Broadwood Concert: Thomas Sullivan named as musical director. Times ad. lists Arthur Sullivan as one of a number of conductors.	
1863	July	Weds 1st	London			Mr Brinley Richard's Evening Concert. Hanover Square Rooms. Shares baton with Julius Benedict	
1864	September	Fri 9	Birmingham	Kenilworth		Birmingham Festival	
1865	February	Thurs 2	London			Becomes conductor of the Civil Service Musical Society	
	May	Weds 10	Norwich			St. Andrew's Hall: Charity concert for Jenny Lind Infirmary. Starring Giulia Grisi	
1866	March	Weds 21	London			Civil Service Musical Society Concert, Hanover Rooms	
	June	Fri 15th	London			Civil Service Musical Society	
	July	Weds 11	London			Mr Arthur S Sullivan's Grand Orchestral Concert, St James' Hall. Performers include Jenny Lind-Goldschmidt & Charles Santley	
	July	Fri 20	London			Civil Service Musical Society.	
	September	Thurs 20	London			Crystal Palace ballad concert. Substitute for Sir Julius Benedict.	
	September	Tues 25	Shere, Surrey			Cancelled. Death of T. Sullivan Sun Sept. 23rd	
		Weds 26	Crystal Palace			Cancelled	
	Oct	Weds 31	Norwich			Norwich Festival. In Memoriam premiere	
1867	March	Tues 5	London			Civil Service Musical Society Concert, Hanover Rooms	
	March	Mon 25	London			Civil Service Musical Society. Presentation to Sullivan	
	May	Tues 7	London			Civil Service Musical Society concert	
	May	Weds 8th	London			St. James's Hall. Mr Marcellus Higgs Grand Orchestral Concert. (Shares baton with J.G. Calcott & Marcellus Higgs)	
	May	Sat 11	London			Cox & Box Adelphi Theatre - C.H. Bennett benefit performance	
	May	Sat 18th	London			Royal Gallery of Illustration: Cox & Box: charity concert	
	June	Mon 3rd	London			St James's Hall Philharmonic Society: Marmion	
	June	Weds 26th	Marborough College, Wilts			Cox & Box	
	July	Mon 29	Manchester			Cox & Box Theatre Royal C.H. Bennett benefit	
	October	Thurs 17th	Leipzig			Gewandhaus: In Memoriam & Symphony	
	November		Vienna?	Possible confusion with the above?		Western Daily Press, among others, reports Sullivan conducting In Memoriam in Vienna with success. Doesn't give venue or date of performance.(04/11/1867; Birmingham Post)	
		Mon 18th	London			St James's Hall. Directs Chappell Monday Popular Concert: substitute for Julius Benedict	
	December	Sat 14	London			Premiere: The Contrabandista, St George's Opera House	
1868	January	Tues 21	London			St James's Hall. Civil Service Musical Society concert. Charity concert. Reading of Macbeth with Locke's incidental music.	
		Fri 24th					
	February	Tues	London			conducts x4 'musical services' at Trinity Church, Brompton.	
	March	Tues 10th	London			St. James's Hall. Civil Service Musical Society concert	
	April	25th	London			St. James's Hall. Civil Service Musical Society concert.	
	May	Tues	London			St. James's Hall Civil Service Musical Society concert	
	September	Thurs 10th	Gloucester			Three Choirs: conducts orchestral accomp. to 'I wish to tune my Quivering Lyre': soloist Charles Santley. (accomp Md Sainton & John Sims Reeves previous day)	
	December	Tues 8th	London			St. James's Hall. Civil Service Musical Society concert	

Arthur Sullivan conducts (II)					
Date	Month	Day	Location		
1869					
	June	2nd	London:	Conducts a concert with soloists including Edith Wynne & WH Cummings, testing acoustics of lecture theatre in 'new museum at South Kensington'.	
		23-26	Manchester	Princes Theatre: Cox & Box	
		Sat 26th	London	Reported in Pall Mall Gazette 'Mr Arthur Sullivan has resigned the conductorship of the Civil Service Musical Society. Same report states that Sullivan had completed the score of 'The Prodigal Son' and it 'will be put into rehearsal at once.'	
	August	Sat 14th	Canterbury	Canterbury Cricket Week. With Frederic Clay. Cox & Box	
	September	Weds 8th	Worcester Cathedral	Three Choirs Festival: 'The Prodigal Son': premiere	
			Worcester Town Hall	Conducts evening miscellaneous concert. inc. Sapphire Necklace overture and accompanies Janet Patey in 'O Fair Dove'	
	December	Sat 11th	London	Crystal Palace: Prodigal Son	
1870					
	January	Tues 4th	London	Covent Garden Theatre. Farewell benefit for Charles Mathews	
		Thurs 6th	Brighton	Dome: First Sussex Artillery Band Concert. Soloists included Sims Reeves and Signor Foll	
		Thurs 13th	Manchester	Prodigal Son, Halle Concert, Free Trade Hall	
		Sat 22nd	London	Crystal Palace, Sapphire Necklace...August Manns due to conduct the rest of the programme but taken ill. Sullivan handed the baton.	
	March	Weds 2nd	London	St. James's Hall: Prodigal Son, John Sims Reeves, Janet Patey, Michael Maybrick, Edith Wynne. Ash Wednesday	
		Tues 15th	Liverpool	Prodigal Son, In Memoriam Overture, Liverpool Philharmonic Society	
	April	Thurs 7th	Manchester	Cox & Box and Les Deux Avegueles, concert for local charities, Theatre Royal	
	August	Weds 24th	Hereford	Cathedral: Prodigal Son AM, Shire Hall: In Memoriam Overture PM	
	Sept	Thurs 1st	Birmingham	Birmingham Festival, Overture di Ballo	
	November	Mon 14th	Edinburgh	Prodigal Son with John Sims Reeves	
		Weds 16th	Glasgow	Prodigal Son with John Sims Reeves	
	December	Weds 9th	Bristol	Victoria Rooms: Prodigal Son with John Sims Reeves	
	December	Fri 11th	Crystal Palace	Prodigal Son. Concert rescheduled from 18 Dec. John Sims Reeves cancelled! William Cummings substituted.	
	December	13th/14th	Burton-on-Trent	2 concerts	
	December	Fri 18th	Crystal Palace	Prodigal Son. Cancelled and rescheduled: Sims Reeves double booked.	
1871					
	Feb	Sat. 11th	Brighton	Prodigal Son, Mendelssohn: Lobgesang	
	May	Mon 1st	London	Kensington, Albert Hall opening of the International Exhibition: 'On Shore and Sea'	
	July	Mon 17th	Manchester	Princes Theatre, Manchester, conducts opening night of Sullivan's Operetta Company (Frederic's company)	
		Fri 21st	London	On Shore and Sea, Albert Hall, 'Full band and chorus of 800...!' Conducts a repeat of the entire opening concert.	
	August	Weds 23rd	London	Theatre Royal Covent Garden: Riviere's Promenade Concerts: Mendelssohn: ov. Ruy Blas, Italian Symphony, Piano concerto in D minor, Hunter's song, scena: In felice, Wedding March + military band. [extracts from La Traviata...which may have been conducted by Riviere]	
		Fri 25th		Riviere prom: Rossini Stabat Mater + Faust selection	
		Weds 30th		Riviere Prom: Beethoven: ov: Egmont, piano concerto (slow mv. & finale), Gold aria: Fidelio, In Qesto Tomba Obscura, Pastoral Symphony, andante and variations of Kreutzer Sonata, ov. Fidelio	
	September	Fri 1st		Riviere prom: Messiah extracts	
		Weds 5th		Riviere prom: Mendelssohn: ov. Fingal's Cave, Symphony in A (Scotch), aria: St. Paul, song, concerto in G minor, Grand march from Athalie + military band	
		Fri 8th		Riviere prom: Mendelssohn: ov. St Paul, Elijah extracts	
		Weds 12th		Riviere prom: Weber: Symphony, Concertstuck, ov. Der Freischutz, ov. Oberon	
		Fri 15th		Riviere prom: Mozart: 12th Mass, Sullivan: ov. di Ballo	
		Tues 20th	Manchester	Prince's Theatre Merchant of Venice premiere	
	October	Sat 21st	London	Theatre Royal, Covent Garden: Riviere benefit prom: di Ballo	
		Sat 28th	London	Merchant of Venice Suite, Crystal Palace: Juliette Conneau soloist.	

Arthur Sullivan Conducts...III				
Date	Month	Day	Location	
1872				
	February	Thurs 15th	Brighton	Brighton Festival, Merchant of Venice
	March	Thurs 7th	Dover	Conducts Juliette Conneau's concert
	April	Sat 16th	London	Sullivan referred to as conductor of the Royal Albert Hall Amateur Orchestral Society: Morning Post
	May	Weds 1st	London	Festival Te Deum premiered. Not clear whether S. or August Manns conducted (possibly the latter. 26,198, including most of the Royal Family, present! 2,500 performers...and fireworks!
	August	Sat 10th	Canterbury	Cox & Box
	September	Tues 17th	Norwich	Festival Te Deum, Norwich Festival
	November	Weds 6th	London	Royal Albert Hall Orchestra - 1st rehearsal
1873				
	January	Weds 29	London	Albert Hall Orchestral Society - 1st concert
	February	Weds 12	Brighton	Brighton Festival: The Tempest
	April	Sat 12th	London	Albert Hall Orchestral Society concert
	May	Fri 30th	London	Albert Hall Orchestral Society concert
	June	Mon 23	London	Albert Hall: concert for the Shah of Persia: conducts parts of the Festival Te Deum
	June	Mon 30th	Birmingham	Rehearsals for The Light of the World
	August	14th/15th	London	St. George's Hall , rehearsals: Light of the World
		Mon 25th	Birmingham	Town Hall: rehearsal: Light of the World
		Weds 27th	Birmingham	Town Hall: premiere: Light of the World
	October	Sat 18th	London	Covent Garden Theatre. Riviere's Prom: conducts programme of own works: Di Ballo, Kenilworth, bit from Tempest, Masque from Merchant, x2 mvts Cello Concerto, x5 songs.

Arthur Sullivan conducts...IV				
Date	Month	Day	Location	
1874				
	January	Thurs 22	Nottingham	Mechanics Hall: Light of the World: Halle Orchestra. Nottingham Sacred Harmonic Society.
	Feb	Sat 14th	Brighton	Brighton Festival: Light of the World
		Thurs 26th	Manchester	Free Trade Hall: Light of the World
	April	Weds 21st & Thurs 22nd	London	Cromwell House: Charity concert with Henry Irving
	March	Thurs 19th	London	Albert Hall: Light of the World
	May	Mon 18th	London	Albert Hall: conducts part of a concert celebrating Edinburgh/Marie Alexandrovna wedding
		Fri 22nd	Manchester	Prince's Theatre: Contrabandista, Merchant of Venice, Cox and Box. Fred Sullivan's benefit, Mr F. Sullivan's London Opera Company.
		Mon 26th	Birmingham	Theatre Royal. Cox & Box, The Contrabandista: Sullivan's London Opera Company
	June	Sat 6th	London	Crystal Palace: English concert. Deputises for August Manns
	October	Thurs 1st	Liverpool	Light of the World: Liverpool Triennial Festival. Town Hall. Liverpool Philharmonic Society
		Mon 26	London	Opera Comique: R. D'Oyly Carte's benefit.
	November	Mon 30th	London	Promenade concert: conducts Di Ballo
	December	Sat 19th	London	Gaiety Theatre: Merry Wives of Windsor premiered
1875				
	March	Thurs 11	Bradford	Rehearsal: Light of the World
		Fri 12	BRADFORD	BREAKTHROUGH CONCERT: LIGHT OF THE WORLD: NAME ABOVE PROGRAMME FOR 1st TIME!
		Thurs 25	London	Royalty Theatre, Soho: Premiere: Trial by Jury
	June	Sat 5th	London	St James' Theatre: premiere: The Zoo
		Weds 23rd	London	St James's Hall: charity concert arranged by Christine Nilsson
	July	Sat 31st	London	Crystal Palace: J. Sims Reeves' benefit concert. Shares baton with August Manns. Masque from Merchant of Venice.
	Nov	Tues 16th	Glasgow	Glasgow Orchestral Union: Weber: ov: Oberon, Spohr: violin concerto, Mendelssohn: scena: Infelice, Wagner: ov: Der Fleigende Hollander, Beethoven: 7th Symphony, Mozart: aria: De vieni no Tadar, Robin Adair (encore), Gounod: Entracte La Colombe, Thomas: gavotte: Mignon, Arditi: Bolero, Auber: Zanetta...soloist: Madame Sinico
		Weds 17th	Greenock	Glasgow Orchestral Union: Weber:ov Oberon: Gounod: Entracte La Colombe; Spohr:violin concerto, Thomas: Gavotte Mignon, Sullivan: di Ballo, Pratten: flute solo: English airs, Weber: selection: Der Freischutz, Jullien: Quadrille:
		Tues 23rd	Glasgow	Glasgow Orchestral Union: Schubert: ov. Rosamunde, Molinque: Andante & rondo from cello concerto , Glee: O Mistress Mine, Mozart: Symphony in E flat, Rossini: ov. William Tell, Volkslied: Parting & Meeting, Brahms: Hungarian Dances, Macfarren: You Stole my Love (part song) Beethoven: ov.Egmont....cello soloist: Edwin Howell
		Weds 24	Greenock	Town Hall: As Glasgow.
		Tues 30th	Glasgow	Glasgow Orchestral Union. Bennett: ov Parisina, Mendelssohn: piano concerto in G minor, soloist Anna Mehlig, Raff: Scherzo: 3rd Symphony, Schumann: ov., scherzo & finale (what?!), Weber: ov. Preclosa, piano solos: Chopin: Nocturne in D flat, Schumann: Fanatasie stucke, Schubert: Soirees de Vienne, Gounod, ballet suite: Reine de Saba,
	December	Weds 1st	Greenock	Town Hall: Ov. Parisina: Bennett, solo harp: La danse de Sylphs: Godefrold, Allegretto&Scherzo symph #7: Beethoven, Ov. Preclosa: Weber, ballet: La Reine de Saba: Gounod, comet solo: Torquato Tasso.; Donizetti, Scherzo, symph #3:Raff, Ov: Mansaniello, Auber.
	December	Tues 14th	Glasgow	Glasgow Orchestral Union. Schumann: ov. Genoveva, Bocherini: Gavotte, Part songs: Smart: Ave Maria, Sullivan: O Hush Thee my Babe, Schubert: Andante & finale from 2nd symphony in C, Sullivan: Merchan of Venice, Festa: madrigal: Down in a Flow'ry Vale, Bottestini: duet: violin & cello, Herold: Zampa.
		Weds 15th	Greenock	Repeat of Glasgow concert.
		Tues 21st	Glasgow	Glasgow Orchestral Union. Macfarren: ov: Chevy Chase, Weber: Adagio & rondo, 1st clarinet concerto, Haydn: Symphony in E flat, Sullivan: In Memoriam, Mendelssohn: Midsummer Night's Dream, Mendelssohn: chorus: Thou Comest Here, Cowen: Serenade & Entracte: Joan of Arc, Rossini: ov. L'assedio di Corinth
		Weds 22nd	Greenock	Town Hall: As Glasgow.
		Thurs 23	Paisley	Drill Hall concert inc: ov: William Tell, Gounod, Wagner, Beethoven & Sullivan
		Tues 28th	Glasgow	Glasgow Orchestral Union: Mendelssohn: Ruy Blas, Schubert: Hirtenlied, Schubert: Hungarian March, Halevey: aria: Se il rigor: La Juive, Beethoven: 2nd symphony, Wagner: ov, Tannhauser, Handel: aria: Revenge, Timotheus Cries, Carrodus: fantasia on Scotch Melodies, Apolloni: Fu Dio Che Disse, Sullivan: in Memoriam (by request!)...soloist J. Foll
		Weds 29th	Dundee	Kinnaird Hall: Light of the World: Name above title.

1876				
	January	Sat 1st	Glasgow	Popular Concert: Final concert of Glasgow series. Auber: ov. Zanetta, Pinusuti, song The Raft, Wagner: intro: Lohengrin, Act III, Donizetti aria, Spirto Gentil, Cohen: Concertino for Comet, song: Hearts of Oak, Sullivan: ov. di Ballo, Rossini: ov. William Tell, song, The Vicar of Bray, Pratten: Fantasia on English Airs, Macfarren: song, My Own Guiding Star, Boccherini: Minuet for Strings, Jullien: Caledonian Quadrilles.
		Mon 24th	London	Opening of the Royal Aquarium: Russian National Anthem, National Anthem, ov.: Festival: Macfarren, aria: Gentle Youth (Janet Patey) Bid Me Discourse (Edith Wynne) When Other Lips (John Sims Reeves), Sterndale Bennett: Symphony in G, songs: Sweet & low: Wallace, (Patey), Goodbye Sweetheart: (Sims Reeves), She Wandered Down the Mountainside (Wynne) Procession March: Sullivan, National Anthem
	February	Thurs 3rd	London	Royal Aquarium: concerts conducted by S = 2/6d as opposed to 1s for those conducted by George Mount! ov: Rosamunde: Schubert, Mozart: Symphony in G minor, andante & finale: violin concerto: Mendelssohn, soloist: Mr Buzian, + songs, soloists, Anna Williams & William Shakespeare, ov.
		Mon 21st	Brighton	Brighton Festival. Light of the World. Shares baton with Wilhelm Kuhe but no specific dates
		Thurs 10th	London	Royal Aquarium: piano concerto in G minor: Mendelssohn: soloist: Josephine Lawrence, vocalist Johanna Levler
		Thurs 17th	London	Royal Aquarium:
		Thurs 24th	London	Royal Aquarium
	March	Thurs 2nd	London	Royal Aquarium: Beethoven Sympony 1, save me ,O God: Randegger: soloist Mrs Osgood, Concerto in F major: Weber, song: When the heart is Young: D. Buck, serenade: The Tempest: Zaubert, Let me Dream Again: Sullivan, ov. Mirelle: Gounod
		Sat 4th	London	Royal Aquarium: ov: Il Babieri di Seviglia, waltz: Dalheim: Gungl, Ave Maria: D. Buck, solo comet: Una voce poco fa: Rossini: soloist: Howard Reynolds, True Blue: Adam: Michael Maybrick, solo piccolo: Morning in the Woods: Mons. Delmare, I Love, my Love: Pinsuti: Mrs Osgood, ov: Gazza Ladra. Pt. II: selection: Il Trovatore, The Vagabond: Molloy: Michael Maybrick, solo comet: serenade: Schubert, Looking Back: Sullivan: Mrs Osgood, Hearts of Oak: Boyce: Michael Maybrick, Quadrille: Trial by Jury: arr. C. D'Albert, ov: Le Dieu et la Bayadere: Auber
		Thurs 16th	London	Royal Aquarium: ov: Egmont: Beethoven, Jerusalem: (St. Paul) Mendelssohn: soloist: Sophie Dowe, Violin concerto: Spohr: soloist: J.T. Carrodus, Deh Veni: Mozart, Scotch Symphony: Mendelssohn, songs: Du bist Ruh: Schubert, Die Bose Farbe: Schubert, Intermezzo & Scherzo: Gadsby
		Thurs 24th	London	ov: Hebrides: Mendelssohn, Iphegenia: Gluck, soloist: Thekla Friedlander, Symphony: Unfinished: Schubert, Pur dicesi: Lotti, Concertstück: Weber: soloist: Walter Bache, Lotosblume: Schumann, An die Nachtigall: Schubert, ov: Merry Wives of Windsor: Nicolai.
		Thurs 30th	London	Royal Aquarium: ov: The Cid: Alfred Holmes, Honour & Arms: Handel: soloist: Cecil M. Tovey, Ave Maria: Luzzi: soloist: Edna Hall, Symphony in B flat No. 4: Niels Gade, La Religiosa: Schubert: Edna Hall, Cello concerto in A minor: G. Goitermann: soloist: Herr Hausmann, 'Tis Jolly to Hunt (May Queen) soloist Cecil M. Tovey, If thou Art Sleeping Maiden, Wake: Gounod: Edna Hall, Exhibition Overture: Auber
	April	Thurs 6th	London	Royal Aquarium: ov: Trumpet: Mendelssohn: Symphony 4: Beethoven, violin concerto: Max Bruch: soloist: Victor Buzian, ov: Chevy Chase: Sterndale Bennett, vocalist: Ida Grani
	May	Thurs 4th	London	Royal Aquarium ov. Il Barbiere, Ave Maria: Dudley Buck, solo comet: Un a voce: Rossini, song: True Blue, solo piccolo: Morning in the Woods, song: I Love My Love: Pinsuti, ov. Gaza Ladra, selection: Il Trovatore, song: The Vagabond, solo comet: Serenade: Schubert, song: Looking Back: Sullivan, song: Hearts of Oak: Boyce, Quadrille: Trial by Jury: arr. D'Albert, ov. Le Dieu et la Bayadere: Auber. Soloists: Mrs Osgood & Mr Maybeck
		Fri May 5th	London	St James's Hall: Messiah. (Deputed for W. G. Cousins at benefit for Royal Society Of Musicians) review, Pall Mall Gazette, 20/05/1876
		Weds 24th	London	St. James' Hall: Christine Nilsson charity concert. All vocal, apart from piano solos by Charles Halle (Schubert & Chopin)
	June	By June 4th Sullivan had resigned conductorship/as Musical Director: Royal Aquarium		

November	Tues 21st	Glasgow	City Hall: ov: Oberon: Weber, Intermezzo & Carnival: Morceaux d'orchestre: Girouad, Deux reve de ma vie: Poniatowski, Symphony 5: Beethoven, ov: Struensee: Meyerbeer, Robert que j'aime: Meyerbeer, Orchestral intros: Light of the World (at Bethlehem, at Jerusalem): Sullivan, There is a Green Hill: Gounod, ov: La Circassienne: Auber, soloist Mme. Roze-Perkins
	Weds 22	Greenock	As Glasgow.
November	Fri 24th	Dundee	Kinnard Hall: ov: Oberon: Weber, concerto for Clarinet & Orchestra: Spohr, Beethoven: 5th Symphony, ov. Struensee: Meyerbeer, Intermezzo & Carnival Morceaux d'Orchestre, suite 2: Giraud, ov. di Ballo: Sullivan, Lay of the Last Minstrel: J.F. Bennett.
	Sat 25th	Glasgow	Promenade Concert: Kibble Palace & Botanical Gardens: ov. Die Lustige Weber von Windsor: Nicolai, Allegretto from Beethoven's 8th, part song: Banish O Maiden: Lorenz, operatic selection Der Frieschutz, part-song: The Three Chafers: Truhn, oboe solo on German songs, Grand March Tannhauser: Wagner, ov. Cheval Bronze: Auber, Old French Gavotte, part song: The Toad: Zollner, comet solo: whirlwind polka: Levy, Lancers: Trial by Jury: Sullivan, glee: Soldier's song: Werner, waltz: Bella Italia: J. Strauss, Grand March Le Prophete: Meyerbeer. + band of the Cameronians!
	Tues 28th	Glasgow	City Hall: Schumann Symphony 2 in C, ov.'s by Cherubini, Beethoven & Auber, Spohr: Clarinet concerto in C minor, x 4 pieces by Mr Lambeth's Select Choir
	Weds 29th	Greenock	Town Hall
	Thurs 30th	Paisley	Drill Hall:
December	Sat 2nd	Glasgow	Promenade Concert: Kibble Palace & Botanical Gardens: Grand English Night
December	Tues 5th	Glasgow	City Hall: ov. Nachlange von Ossian,: Gade, Allegro, violin concerto: Beethoven, aria: Dove sono: Mozart, Scotch Symphony: Mendelssohn, ov. Sapphire Necklace: Sullivan, aria: let the Bright Seraphim: Handel, Siegfried's death: Wagner, She Wandered down the Mountainside: F. Clay, Ballet, Rienzi: Wagner. Soloists: Anna Williams & J.T. Carrodus
	Weds 6th	Greenock	Town Hall
	Fri 8th	Dundee	Kinnaird Hall: ov: Les Abencaerranges: Cherubini, allegro: violinconcerto: Beethoven: soloist: J.T. Carrodus, Symphony G minor: Mozart, ov: Leonora No. 3. Pt.II: ov: Sapphire Necklace: Sullivan, Songs of Love: x4 voices & piano duet accompaniment: Brahms, Funeral March: Gotterdammerung, ballet suite: Rienzi, Exhibition Overture: Auber
	Sat 9th	Glasgow	Kibble Palace: Promenade Concert.
	Mon 11th	Greenock	Cancelled. Flying visit to London: F.T. Sullivan dying. John Carrodus substituted.
	Tues 12th	Glasgow	City Hall: soloists: Madame Nouver, oboe: M. Castegnier, ov. & scherzo: Midsummer Night's Dream: Mendelssohn, aria: My Soul Doth magnify The Lord: LoW: Sullivan, Verdi: aria: Bolero: I vespiri Sicilliani, oboe solo: Fantasia on Faust themes: Castegnier, song: Lo! Hear the Gentle lark, ov.
	Weds 13th	Greenock	Repeated Glasgow concert
	Thurs 14th	Perth ?	?
	Fri 15th	Dundee?	? Info from an undated Sullivan letter - the only point where these two concerts would seem to fit. No press confirmation
	Sat 16th	Glasgow	Promenade Concert: Kibble Palace: National Music: ov: Guy Mannerling: Bishop, Grand fantasia on National Melodies: Bastens, ov: Rob Roy: Foster, Caledonian Quadrilles: Jullien, Selection: Gems of Ireland: Sibold, songs: Scots Wha Hae, Kathleen Mavouren, Cherry Ripe: soloist Madame Vaneri, Glee: Willie Brewed, The Exciseman, Beware: Glasgow Choral Union
	Tues 19th	Glasgow	City Hall: soloists:Helen Amim & E. Pauer, ov. Fierrabras: Schubert, Concertstucke: Weber, aria: Cagnio d'aspetto: Handel, Leonore symphony: Raff, ov. Fingal's Cave, piano solos: S. Bach, Chopin, Pauer, gavotte: L'ingenue: Arditi, romanza: Quando a te lleto: Gounod, ov: Giralda: Adam
	Weds 20th	Greenock	Town Hall
	Thurs 21st	Glasgow	City Hall: Suite for orchestra in D: Bach, cello solo: Romance No. 1 Raff, part songs: Sweet & Low: Bamby, Laughing Song: Blumenthal, Tempest: Sullivan, Unfinished Symphony: Schubert, part songs: Cradel Song: Smart, Oh Who Will O'er the Downs: Pearsall, Danse Macabre: Sahn-Saens, ov. Ruy Blas: Mendelssohn

Date	Month	Day	Location	
1877				
	January	Tues 18th	London	Death of F.T. Sullivan
	February	Tues 20	Brighton	Brighton Festival: Symphony in E: Irish
		Weds 21		Brighton Festival: Ov: Niades(S. Bennett), andante & rondo, Ferdinand David, Violin Concerto #5, G minor Piano Concerto , Mendelssohn, Beethoven C minor Symphony, incidental music to The Merchant of Venice: Sullivan, Bridal Music, Lohengrin, Wagner: ov. Zauberflote: Mozart.
	March	Thurs 1st	London	Excerpts from Emani, Trial by Jury: Compton Benefit
	November	Sat 17th	London	Premiere: The Sorcerer, Opera Comique
	December	Sat 15th	London	Charity concert: Royal Aquarium
1878				
	January	Fri 11th	London	Sullivan announced as Conductor for Gatti Promenade Concerts. Recruits orchestra.
	January	Mon 21st	London	...it is stated that Mr Arthur Sullivan...in consequence of his being afflicted by a serious malady...[which] is likely to prevent him from undertaking active work for some months.'
	February	Mon 18th	Nice	Concert with Juliet Conneau
	April	Tues April 2nd	London	Shares baton with J.B. Welch and John Stainer at J.B. Welch concert
		Thurs 25th	London	Premiere: H.M.S. Pinafore, Opera Comique
	July	Weds 17th	Paris	Trocadero: Salle de Fêtes: English Concert (S. British commissioner for Paris International Exhibition
		Thurs 18th		Trocadero
		Sat 20th		Trocadero
	August	Sat 3rd	London	Gatti Proms: Name above the title . By1878, therefore, Sullivan had become the star attraction. ov: Zampa: Herold, Prelude Act III Lohengrin, ov: William Tell, soloists: Alma Verdini: Ah, fors è lui, Anna Williams: At Last: Cowen, I'll Sing Thee Songs of Araby: Edward Lloyd, The Tar's Farewell: Michael Maybrick
		Mon 5th		ov: Zampa: Herold, soloists: Alma Verdini: Emani involami, Beethoven Symphony 1
		Tues 6th		ov: Gazza Ladra: Rossini, Saltarello: Gounod, March: Schiller: Meyerbeer, Exhibition Overture: Auber, Soloists: Alma Verdini, Miss Hancock, Barton MacGuckin, Josephine Lawrence: Chopin Polonaise in E flat.
		Weds 7th		Ov. Ruy Blas: Mendelssohn, Rosamunde Ballet Suite: Schubert, ov. Leonora #3: Beethoven, Symphony in B Flat, #1: Schumann, , soloists: Josephine Lawrence: Piano Concerto in G Mendelssohn vocal soloists: Janet Patey, Alma verdini, Barton McGuckin, Mr Federici
		Thurs 8th		ov. Siege of Corinth: Rossini, Midsummer Night's Dream: Mendelssohn, Selection from The Sorcerer, Processional March: Sullivan, vocal soloists: Alma Verdini, Rose Hersee, Mr Federici, Piano: Gemma Luziani
		Fri 9th		Ballad Night: ov: Chevy Chase: Macfarren, Minuet, Symphony in F: Hamilton Clarke, Scherzo & Finale: Symphony in G major: A. Celler, soloists: Josephine Bennett: Concerto in F minor: Sterndale Bennett, Alma Verdini, Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, Mr Federici
		Sat 10th		ov: Il Barbiere di Siviglia: Rossini, Saltarello: Gounod, incidental Music: Henry VIII: Sullivan, ov. William Tell. Soloists: Madame Montigny-Remaury: Mendelssohn Capriccio in B minor, Alma Verdini, Anna Williams, Michael Maybrick
		Mon 12th		ov: Gazza ladra: Rossini, Introduction & Intermezzo: Lay of the Last Minstrel: J.F. Barnett, Prelude: Act III, Lohengrin, soloist: Madame Montigny-Remaury: Rondo Brillante in B minor: Mendelssohn, Beethoven 2nd
		Tues 13th		ov: Mansaniello: Auber, Ballet music: Rosamunde: Schubert, Schiller march: Meyerbeer, soloist Madame Montigny-Remaury: Mendelssohn Capriccio in B minor, Sur les Deserts: Felicien David, ov: Oberon: Weber
		Weds 14th		Classical Night: ov: Deer Freischutz: Weber, Italian Symphony: Mendelssohn, soloists: Madame Montign-Remaury: Beethoven Concerto in C major: Edward Lloyd: O tis a glorious sight: oberon, Weber, The Garland: Mendelssohn, Mdlie de Fonblanque:Voi che sapete, Mozart, Rose Softy Blooming
		Thurs 15th		ov. The Naiads: sterndale Bennett, Romance from Symphony in G: Celler, Merchant of Venice Suite: Sullivan, ov. Cheval Bronze: Auber, The Sorcerer: Sullivan, vocal soloists: Alma verdini, Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, Edith Wynne
		Fri 16th		Ballad Night: ov: The Niads: Sterndale Bennett, Romance from symphony in C: A. Celler, Merchant of Venice: Sullivan, ov: Cheval Bronze, soloists Edith Wynne, Alma Verdini, Mary Davies, Madame Montigny-Remaury
		Sat 17th		ov: Der Zauberflote: Mozart, Andante: Haydn, Symphony in D, HMS Pinafore: Sullivan, Valse: la Serenade, Quadrille: Old english Airs: Julien, Soloists:Madame Montigny-Remaury: Mendelssohn concerto in D minor, Edith Wynne, Alma Verdini, Michael Maybrick
		Mon 19th		Exhibition Overture: Auber, Poem Symphonique: Le Rouet d'Omphale: Saint Saens, Beethoven 3rd. Soloists: Madam Montigny- Remaury: Concerto in D minor: Mendelssohn, Rose Hersee, Antoinette Sterling, Alma Verdini, Mr Bidson
		Tues 20th		ov: semiramide: Rossini, Andante symphony 1: Beethoven, La Rouet d'Omphale: saint Saens, Merchant of Venice: Sullivan, solists: Mr Bourman cello concerto: Goetermann, Alma Verdini (Ah fors è lui), Jose Sherrington (Shadow & song) Barton McGuckin (Questo quella)
		Weds 21st		Classical Night: ov: Euryanthe: Weber, minuet: reformation Symphony: Mendelssohn, Symphony in G (Military) Haydn, Soloists: Madame Montigny-Remaury: Schumann: concerto in A minor: Annie Butterworth: In questo tomba oscura, Barton McGuckin: Il mio tesoro,
		Thurs 22nd		ov: Fra Diavolo, andante from symphony in C minor: Spohr, Liebeslieden: Taubert, soloists: Mr Bourman: Goetermann: concerto for cello, Edith Wynne: Little Maid of Arcadee: Sullivan, Jose Sherrington, Alma Verdini, Bernard Lane
		Fri 23rd		English Night: ov: Maritana: Balfe, ov: di Ballo: Sullivan, entracte & rustic dance: Nell Gwynne: A. Celler, Symphony in F: Hamilton Clarke, Soloists Edith Wynne, Alma Verdini, Edward Lloyd
		Sat 24th		ov: Ruy Blas: Mendelssohn, Andante: Beethoven Symphony 1, Funeral March of a Marionette: Gounod, L'Alesienne: Bizet, soloists: Paul Viardot: Mendelssohn: violin concerto, Michael Maybrick, Edward Lloyd, Anna Williams, Alma Verdini
		Mon 26th		ov. La Sirene, Graceful Dance, Henry VIII: Sullivan, Entracte and Rustic Dance, Nell Gwynne: Cellio
		Tues 27th		ov. Der Freischutz, : Weber, Minuetto from Symphony in F, Hamilton Clarke, Faust Ballet Suite: Gounod, ov. Merry Wives of Windsor: Nicolai, ov. La Sirene: Auber, HMS Pinafore, Pas de Patineurs: Glinka
		Weds 28th		ov: Athalie: Mendelssohn, Symphony: Power of Sound: Spohr, soloists: Paul Viardot: La follia: Corelli, Stella Faustine: una voce poco fa: Rossini, Ah! Non Glunge: Bellini, Alma Verdini: Ave Maria: Gounod/Bach, Annie Butterworth: Lascia chio pianga: handel, Barton McGuckin: On Wings of Song: Mendelssohn, Mr federici: Honour and Arms: Handel, McGuckin & Federici: The moon Hath Raised Her Lamp Above: Benedict
		Thurs 29th		L'Assedio di Corinth: Rossini, Scherzo: Midsummer Night's Dream: Mendelssohn, ballet: Faust: Gounod, ov. Der Freischutz, soloists: Paul Viardot: Andante & Finale violin concerto: Mendelssohn, Stella Faustina: una voce, ah! non glunge, Jose Sherrington: Shadow Song: Dinorah: Meyerbeer, Antoinette Sterling: The Lost Chord: Sullivan, Mr Federici: Oh hear the Wild Wind: Mattei
		Fri 30th		English Night: ov. Chevy Chase: Macfarren, ov. The Naiades: Sterndale Bennett, Tempest Suite: Sullivan, ov. Le Domino Noir: Auber, Selection: HMS Pinafore, Waltz : Idyllen: Strauss, March, Eli: Costa, soloists: Paul Viardot: Violin Romance in F: Beethoven, vocal soloists, Stella Faustina, Mary Davies, Alma Verdini, Edeard Lloyd.
		Sat 31st		ov. Merry Wives of Windsor: Nicolai, Minuet: Reformation Symphony: Mendelssohn, Dance of the Nymphs & Reapers, Overture Act IV The Tempest: Sullivan, soloists Paul Viardot: Romanza in F: Beethoven, Anna Williams: Scenes That are Brightest: Balfe, Edward LloydO tis a Glorious Sight: Oberon: weber, Michael Maybrick: The Beltinger: Wallace

	September	Mon 2nd		ov: Pre aux clercs: Herold, La Colombe: Gounod, Gavotte: Du Condray, Beethoven: Symphony 5, soloists: Paul Viardot: Fanasia ballet: De Benoit, Rose Hersee: Regnana il silenzio: Donizetti, Antoinette Sterling: False Friend Will Thou Smile or Weep? J.W. Davison, Signor Brocolini: Qui sdegno: Mozart
		Tues 3rd		ov: Marco Spada: Auber, Entracte: Rosamunde: Schubert, ballet: Reine de Saba: Gounod, ovz: Oberon: Weber. Soloists: Paul Viardot: scenes de ballet: De Beriot, Blanche Cole: Lo the Gentle Lark: Bishop, Jose Sherrington: The Bird & The Maiden: Spohr, Miss Orridge: Fanciulle che il core : Dinorah: Meyerbeer, Barton McGuckin: M'appr: Flotow
		Weds 4th		ov: Fingal's Cave: Mendelssohn, Andante: Beethoven 5, Symphony in B flat: Schubert. Soloists: Edith Abell: Che faro: Gluck, Charles Santley: Eche voi la tema Robert Bruce: Rossini, Barton McGuckin: Dalla sua pace: Mozart, Paul Viardot, allegro: Beethoven concerto.
		Thurs 5th		ov:Zauberflote, Ballet Suite: Reine de Saba: Gounod, ov: Di Ballo: Sullivan, ov: Tannhauser: Wagner, HMS Pinafore:Gavotte, Mignon: Thomas, March, Le Prophete: Meyerbeer, soloists:Blanche Cole, Miss Orridge, Edward Lloyd, Wilford Morgan Paul Vardot: Mozart, Romance in F.
		Fri 6th		English Night:ov: Siege of Rochelle: Balfe, Dance of Nymphs and Reapers: Sullivan, ov: The Witches Frolic: Gadsby, March for orchestra & military band: Crowther Alevyn. Soloists: Mary davies: Pack Clouds Away: Macfarren, Janet Patey: The Old, Old Story: blumenthal, Edward Lloyd: My Own, My Guiding Star: Macfarren
		Sat 7th		ov: Haydee: Auber, Danse Bohemienne, La Jolie Fille de Perth: Bizet, ov: di Ballo: Sullivan. Soloists: Paul Viardot: andante & finale: concerto: Leonard, Madame Montigny-Remaury: Mendelssohn: concerto in G, Michael Maybrick: A Weary Lot: Sullivan, Antoinette Sterling: Thou Art Weary: Sullivan, Anna Williams: Sotly Sighs: Der Freischutz: Weber
		Mon 9th		ov: Gazza Ladra: Rossini, Beethoven Symphony 6, Soloists: Rose Hersee: Shadow Song: Dinorah: Mayerbeer, Antoinette Sterling: The Monk & The Crusader: Schubert, Signor Brocolini: Honour & Arms: Handel, Madame Montigny-Remaury: Capriccio in B Minor
		Tues 10th		ov: Marco Spada: Auber, Entracte & Rustic Dance: Nell Gwynne: A. Celler, March aux Flambeaux No. 3: Meyerbeer. Soloists: Blanche Cole: Jewel Song: Gounod, Miss Orridge: The Storm: Hullah, Barton McGuckin: Salve Dimora: Faust: Gounod, Paul Viardot: Introduction & Rondo: Capriccio: Saint Saens
		Weds 11th		ov: Euryanthe: Weber, Symphony E flat: Mozart. Solists: Edith Abell: Ave Maria: Schubert, Barton McGuckin: Il mio tesoro: Mozart, On Wings of Song: Mendelssohn, Paul Viardot: Allegro: Beethoven Concerto (by desire)
		Thurs 12th		ov: Gustave: Auber, Gavotte: Decouvray, ov: Ruy Blas: mendelssohn, ov: Haydee: Auber, HMS Pinafore, Procession March: Sullivan, solists: Blanche Cole, Miss Orridge, Wilford Morgan, Paul Viardot: Allegro from Beethoven's Violin Concerto
		Fri 13th		English Night: ov: The Spanish Student: Arthur O'Leary, Minuet from Symphony in F: Hamilton Clarke, Symphony: Sterndale Bennett, ov: Bohemian Girl. Soloists: many Davies: Let Me Dream Again: Sullivan, Madame Goodman Russell: Lady of the Lea: Smart, Barton McGuckin: Smile as Thou wert wont to Smile: Balfe, Mr Frederic: The Village Blacksmith: Weiss, Madame Montigny Remaury: Capriccio in E major: Sterndale Bennett
		Sat 14th		ov: L'Assedio di Corinth: Rossini, Andante from Symphony in E flat: Mozart, La Colombe: Gounod, Gavotte: Mignon: Thomas, March & Ballet music: L'Africaine + band of the Coldstream Guards. Soloists: Anna Williams: It was a Dream, Miss Orridge: Fanciulle che il core: Dinorah: Meyerbeer, Michael Maybrick: A warrior Bold, Madame Montigny Remaury: Capriccio in B minor Mendelssohn
		Mon 16th		ov: La Nozze di Figaro: Mozart: Beethoven 7th, ov: Fidelio. Soloists: Antoinette Sterling: Son leggiero: Mars di Rohan: Donizetti, Edward Lloyd: Home of my Heart: Lurline: Wallace, Charles Halle: Concertstuck: Weber
		Tues 17th		ov: Pre aux Clercs: Herold: Minuet: L'Arliesienne: Bizet, Ballet: Sylvia: Delibes (1st time in England!) March & Ball Music: L' Africaine: Meyerbeer. Soloists: Blanche Cole: Bid Me Discourse: Bishop, Miss Orridge: An quel giorno: Semiramide: Rossini, Barton McGuckin: Deserto in Terro (Dom Sebastiano) Donizetti, Charles Santley: Thou Art Passing Hence my Brother: Sullivan, Santley & McGuckin: The Moon Has raised her Lamp Above: Benedict, Charles Halle: Concertstuck, Weber, Impromptu in A flat: Schubert.
		Weds 18th		Classical Night:ov: Fidelio, Symphony #3 in A Minor (Scotch) Mendelssohn, ov: Jessonda: Spohr, ov: Le Cheval Bronze: Auber, Selection from Satanella: Balfe, soloists: Rose Hersee, Edith Abell, Barton McGuckin, Charles Santley, Charles Halle: Concerto in E flat: Beethoven, Nocturne in D flat, op. 27 #2, and Valse in Aflat op. 34 #1: Chopin.
		Thurs 19th		ov: Zampa: Herold, Andante espressivo: Scotch Symphony: Mendelssohn, Sylvia: Delibes, L'Africaine: ballet suite. Soloists: Mrs Davison: Oh that we two were Maying: Gounod, Miss Orridge: A quel giorno: semiramide, Wilford Morgan: my Heart if Thine Forever: morgan, Charles Halle: Andante & finale: Beethoven concerto in E flat
		Fri 20th		English Night: ov: The Witches' Frolic: Gadsby, Nottomo: Oliver King, ov: The Fire King: Walter Austin, Grand March: Crowther Austin, ov: The Spectre Knight: celler, Selection: Faust, soloists: Mary Cummings, Ellen Lamb, Edward Lloyd, Sig. Broclini, Charles Halle:Concerto in F minor: Sterndale Bennett, Impromptu in A flat, Schubert, Wanderskinder: Heller, Tarentelle: Heller
		Sat 21st		ov: Egmont, Sylvia: Delibes, ov: Tannhauser. Soloists: Anna Williams: At Last: Cowen, Mary Cummings: Nobil Signor: Meyerbeer, Edward lloyd: I'll sing thee songs of Araby: F. Clay, Michael Maybrick: True Blue, Charfes Halle: Grand Polonaise in E flat for piano & orchestra
		Mon 23rd		ov: Jour de fete: Marlois, Beethoven 8th. Soloists: Mary Davies: Though Clouds Around: Freischutz: Weber, Beata FrancisO luce quest' anima: Donizetti, Antoinette Sterling: Thou Art Weary: Sullivan, Mr Brocolini: Sorgete: Rossini, Charles Halle: Mendelssohn concerto in C minor for piano & orchestra
		Tues 24th		ov: Anacreon: Cherubini: Minuet: Reformation Symphony: Mendelssohn, Sylvia, Marche aux Flambeaux No. 3 Meyerbeer. Soloists: Blanche Cole: Lo hear the gentle Lark: Bishop, Miss Orridge: Di tanti palpiti: Rossini, Barton McGuckin: M'appr & Let me like a soldier Fall, Charles Halle: Mendelssohn: Concerto in G minor for piano & orchestra
		Weds 25th		Classical Night: ov: Egmont, Symphony in G minor: Mozart, ov: Oberon: Weber. Soloists: Edith Abell: Connais tu le pays: Mignon: Thomas, + duet with Santley, Clara Mervale: My Mother bids me Bind my Hair: Haydn, Barton McGuckin: Stella vicino & suol' da la vita lor: Buononcini, Charles Santley: Erkong: Schubert+duet: Crudel, perche...Mozart,Charles Halle: Beethoven concerto in G
		Thurs 26		ov: Jessonda: Spohr, allegretto:scherzando: Beethoven 8, Pas des patineurs: Glinka, Marche & Ballet Suite: L'Africaine + band of the Coldstream Guards. Soloists: Mary Davies: She Wandered Down The Mountainside: F. Clay, Miss orridge: The Storm: Hullah, Wilford Morgan: My Heart is Thine Forever: Morgan, Walter Gifford: Dormir pur: Scuden, Charles Halle: Weber: Concertstuck
		Fri 27th		English Night: ov: Marlana, Minuet: symphony in F: Hamilton Clarke, ov: The Sleeper Awakened: Macfarren, ov: di Ballo: Sullivan. Soloists: Mary Davies: Tell My Heart: Bishop, Goodman Russell: Lady of the Lea: Smart, Janet Patey: The Storm: Hullah, Edward Lloyd: Phillis is my only Joy: J. Hobbs, Charles Halle: Nocturn in E flat: John Field & Home Sweet Home: Bishop
		Sat 28th		ov: Der Freischutz, allegro & waltz, (Merchant of Venice) Sullivan, ballet suite: La Reine de Saba: Meyerbeer, ov: Zampa: Herold. Soloists: Mary Davies: The Malden's Story: Sullivan, Janet Patey: By the sad sea waves: Benedict & The Meeting of the waters: Moore, Clara Mervale: Pur dicesti: Lotti, Helen Meason: My Darling so Fair: Taubert, Barton McGuckin: The Anchor's weighed, Charles Halle: Mendelssohn: Concerto in D
		Mon 29th		Gatti Benefit: ov: La Nozze di Figaro, Beethoven's 9th (not initially scheduled) with soloists: Miss Brownlow, Antoinette Sterling, Edward Lloyd, Michael Maybrick.

Arthur Sullivan conducts...VI				
Date	Month	Day	Location	
1879				
	February	Sun 9th	Paris	Paris Conservatoire: In Memoriam
	March	Tues 11th	London	JB Welch concert
	March	24th		Announced as Conductor for Gatti Proms
	June	Monday 16th	Oxford	Philharmonic Society: On Shore & Sea, di Ballo
		Mon 23th	London	National Training School Concert: St. James' Hall
		Tues 24th	London	Cox & Box, and musical direction: charity concert, Lyceum Theatre. Taken off during course of performance.
	August	Sat 9th	London	Theatre Royal, Covent Garden: Gatti Proms:
	September	Sat 6th		missed 24 concerts
	September	Mon 6th	London	1st appearance at Gatti Proms. Alfred Celler acting as substitute to this point because of S's illness. ov. Gustave, Auber: Kunstlerleben, J. Strauss, song, There is a Green Hill: Gounod, song: Orpheus with his Lute: Sullivan, Minuet for strings: Boccherini, song: Ely Mavrousen, Benedict, aria, Ah fors e lui: Verdi, Beethoven: 5th Symphony
		Tue 9th		From: ov: Siege of Rochelle: Baife, Kunstlerleben, aria: Ah! Non giunge: Bellini, = other songs, ov. Hebrides: Mendelssohn
		Weds 10th		From: Classical Night: ov. Fidelio, Entracte & ballet. Rosamunde: Schubert, songs: The Valley, Gounod, The Donkey and the Nightingale, Rubenstein, piano concerto in G minor: Mendelssohn, song, Rose Softly Blooming: Spohr, Mozart: Jupiter Symphony: travel to Hereford Festival. According to the Times of 12/09/79, no rehearsal.
		Thurs 11th	Hereford	Three Choirs: AM Light of the World: Cathedral, PM Town Hall: Part 1: Hebrides: Overture, scena: Softly Sighs: Weber, Anna Williams, The Wandering Minstrel: Macfarren, Charles Santley, Deh tomo mio bene: Proch: Emma Thursby, The Golden Gate: J.F. Barnett: Janet Patey, Casta Diva, Bellini: Emma Albani, (Gavotte for strings: Weist-Hill), Rose Softly Blooming: Spohr: Madam Enriquez, Rigoletto: quartette: Albani, Patey, Cummings, Santley : Part 2: Beethoven 3, Roin Adair: E. Albani, The Rose Tree: Pinsky: Thurley Beate, Tours de mon enfance (Le Pré de mon enfance) Herold: E. Thursby, Gott mit dir: J. Patey, The Arethusa: Shield: C. Santley, Orpheus with his Lute: Sullivan: Miss de Fonblanque, Two Lovers: Cummings: W.H Cummings, Ave Maria: Smart: Bradford Choral Society
		Fri 12th	London	From: English Night ov. The Naiades, Sterdale Bennett, Chanson Venetienne,.....My Dearest Heart: Sullivan, The Swan: Hulian.....ov. di Ballo: Sullivan
		Sat 13th		From: ov. Mansanello: Auber: Chanson Venetienne, Let Me Dream Again: Sullivan, Annabel Lee, piano concerto in G minor: Mendelssohn, Creation's Hymn: Beethoven, ov. Giza Ladra: Rossini
		Mon 15th		ov. Jessonda: Spohr, song, Edward Lloyd, Concertstucke: Weber, soloist C. Halle, song, The Bette and Cowen, Beethoven: 6th Symphony
		Tues 16th		From: ov. Les Pré Aux Clercs: Herold, Danse Bacchante(Philemon & Baucis): Guonod, song, Mary Davies: My Love Far Away, entracte & Rustic Dance: Neil Gwynn: Celler, song: Charles Santley: Thou Art Passing Hence My Brother: Sullivan, concerto in G minor: Mendelssohn: Charles Halle soloist, song: Janet Patey: Gott mit dir: Roedel, Grand March: Duvivier
		Weds 17th		From: Classical Night: ov. Oberon: Weber, minuet from Reformation Symphony: Mendelssohn, song: Janet Patey: Can't Thou Believe?: Giordano, ov. scherzo & finale: Schubert symphony, recit & aria: Edward Lloyd: Lend me your Aid: Gounod, concerto in E flat: Beethoven: soloist: Charles Halle, song: Mrs Osgood: My Mother Bids Me Bind My Hair: Haydn, ov. Leonora 3
		Thurs 18th		From: ov. Semiramide: Rossini, Salterello: Gounod, song: Antoinette Sterling: O Fatima etero dono: Weber, gavotte: string: Hamilton Clarke, pizzicato: La Mandoline: A. Barnett, aria: Charles Santley: O Ruddier Than The Cherry: Handel, Andante & Finale Concerto in E flat: Beethoven: Charles Halle, song: Mary Davies: let me Dream Again: Sullivan, Ballet Music & March : L' Africaine: Meyerbeer
		Fri 19th		From: English Night ov. Chevy Chase: Macfarren, Minuet from 1st Symphony: Hamilton Clarke, song: Mary Davies: She Wandered Down the Mountainside: F. Clay, Gavotte for strings: Madame de Pompadour: H. Weist Hill, song: Barton McGuckin: The Pilgrim of Love: Bishop, concerto in C for piano & orchestra: John Field: Charles Halle, song: Miss Orridge: The Light of Other Days: Baife, The Spectre Knight:
		Sat 20th		From: ov. Prometheus: Beethoven, Scherzo: Midsummer Night's Dream: Mendelssohn, entracte: La Colombe: Gounod, song: Love's Request: Reichardt: soloist: Barton McGuckin, Fete Champetre: Tito Mattai, son: The Arrow and the Song:Pinsky: soloist: Antoinette Sterling, Concertstuck: Weber: soloist: Charles Halle, song: A Warrior Bold: S. Adams soloist: Mr Maybrick, ov. Leonora 3
		Mon 22nd		From: ov. Euryanthe: Weber, andante from symphony in E flat: Mozart, song: Mrs Osgood: My Dearest Heart, Entracte: Rosamunde: Schubert, song: Charles Santley, rondo Brillante in B minor: mendelssohn: Charles Halle, song: Janet Patey: Can't Thou Believe: Giordano, Beethoven 7th
		Tues 23rd	London	Act I HMS Pinafore: Opera Comique: Bianche Rosewell's debut/ From Covent Garden: ov: Egmont, intermezzo & scherzo: Gadsby, song: My Wild Mountain Valley: Benedict: soloist: Mary Davies, solo: Charles Halle, aria: Silence & Sorrow: Handel: soloist: Janet patey, selection: Merchant of Venice: Sullivan
		Weds 24th		From: Classical Night: ov. Anachreon: Cherubini, minuet & trio from symphony in E flat: Mozart, aria: Stabat Mater: Haydn: Fra me vero: soloist: Miss Orridge, concerto in G minor: Beethoven: soloist: Charles Halle, Vulcan's song, Philomen & ? : Gounod: soloist: Charles Santley, song: Mary Davies, symphony: Power of Sound: Spohr
		Thurs 25th		From: ov. Preciosa: Weber, Clock mtv: Haydn, song: Mrs Osgood: Love the Pilgrim: Blumenthal, Graceful dance: Henry VIII: Sullivan, song: Edward Lloyd: Lend me your Aid: Gounod, rondo brillante for piano & orchestra: Mendelssohn: Charles Halle, song: Janet Patey: Can't Thou Believe?: Giordani, Marche aux Flambeaux: Meyerbeer
		Fri 26th		From: English Night: Merchant of Venice: Sullivan, ov. Daughter of St. Mark: Baife, obligato: bass clarinet: Maycock, song: Goodnight Sweetheart: soloist: Barton McGuckin, song: The Lost Chord: Antoinette Sterling, gavotte: J.F. Barnett, song: The Tar's Farewell: S. Adams: soloist Mr Maybrick, Symphony in C minor: F.Cowen.
		Mon 29th		From: ov. Egmont, allegretto cantabile: symphony in C minor: Cowen, serenade: Mary Davies: Gounod, entracte: La Colombe: Gounod, gavotte: Mignon: Thomas, song: Edward Lloyd: I'll Sing Three Songs of Araby: F. Clay, solo flute fantasia: Mr Radcliff, song: Miss Orridge, Beethoven 6th
		Tues 30th		From: Merry Wives of Windsor: Nicolai, gavotte: J.F. Barnett, song: Antoinette Sterling: The Song of the Shirt: Behrend, ballet music: Faust: Gounod, Vulcan's song:Gounod: Charles Santley, solo violin: Le Romantique: Gnyss, cavatina: Annie Marriot: Ernani snotani, Verdi, ov. Der Freischutz
	October	Weds 1st		From: Classical Night: ov. Prometheus: Beethoven, scherzo: Midsummer Night's Dream: Mendelssohn, song: Ave Maria: Gounod, violin obligato: A. Barnett, recit & aria: Lend me your Aid: Gounod: soloist: Edward Lloyd, concerto in G minor: soloist: Frederic Cliffe, aria: Chi vivo amante: handel: soloist: Miss Orridge, Jupiter Symphony: Mozart
		Thurs 2nd		From: ov. Meville: Gounod, largetto: Sympony 2: Beethoven, song: Barton McGuckin: Thou art so near & yet so far: Reichardt, rondo brillante in E flat: Mendelssohn: bessie Richards, song: Janet Patey: Creation's Hymn: Beethoven, solo clarinet: Mr Egeron, song: Mr Maybrick: The Silver Cup, S. Adams, ov. William Tell
		Fri 3rd		From: English Night: ov. Niades: S. Bennett, Dance of the Nymphs & Reapers: Sullivan, song: My Love Far Away: Baife: soloist: Mary Davies: scherzo, andante & finale: symphony in G: A. Celler, song: The Old Grenadier: A.C. Mackenzie: soloist: Charles Santley, solo: opneclide: Fantasia on English Airs: Mr Hughes, song: The Three Fishers: Hulian: soloist: Miss Osgood, ov. Pastorale: Macfarren
		Sat 4th		From: Gatti Benefil. ov. Prometheus: Beethoven, Schubert: Symphony in C
	November	Sun 23rd	Boston	In Memoriam, Prodigal Son: Handel & Haydn Society
	December	Mon 1st	New York	HMS Pinafore: 5th Avenue Theatre
		Sat 13th		HMS Pinafore (matinee performance)
		Fri 19th		HMS Pinafore
		Sat 20th		HMS Pinafore (matinee)
		Weds 31st	New York	Pirates of Penzance premiere: 5th Avenue Theatre

Arthur Sullivan Conducts... VII				
Date	Month	Day	Location	
1880				
	January	Saturday	Leeds	LMF Committee announce intention to appoint Sullivan as Conductor for 1880 Festival
		Thurs 22	Baltimore	Academy of Music: all Sullivan concert
	February	Sat 14th	Leeds	Sullivan's acceptance of Conductorship of LMF announced
		Mon 16th	Newark, NJ	Pirates of Penzance
	March	Mon 1st	Philadelphia	Broad Street Theatre: Pirates of Penzance
	April	Sat 3rd	London	Pirates of Penzance: Opera Comique
	May	Sat 22nd		Announcement that 'in consequence of Mr Arthur Sullivan's engagements at Leeds and in the USA he will not be able...to accept the appointment of conductor at Covent Garden Promenade Concerts...(F. Cowen appointed)
		Tues 25th	London	Mansion House concert: Showcasing NTSM students
	June	Weds 2nd	London	Chelsea House: directs charity concert
		Fri 4th	Leeds	1st chorus rehearsal: LMF
		Sat 5th	Leeds	Rehearsal: LMF chorus
		Sat 18th	London	St James's Hall. Conducts 'refrain thy voice from weeping' : Herbert Reeves debut. Ganz cond rest of concert.
	July	Weds 21st	London	Gaiety Theatre: testimonial, J. Maddison Morton: Cox & Box
	August	Mon 30th	Leeds	Philosophical Hall: Chorus rehearsal Martyr of Antioch
		Tues 31st		Philosophical Hall: Chorus rehearsal: Martyr of Antioch
	October	Fri 1st	Leeds	Victoria Hall: Chorus rehearsal: Martyr of Antioch
		Tues 5th	London	St George's Hall: Orchestra & principals rehearsal
		Weds 6th		St George's Hall: Orchestra & principals rehearsal
		Sat 9th	Leeds	P.M. Chorus rehearsal: Philosophical Hall
		Mon 11th	Leeds	Full rehearsal
		Tues 12th		Full rehearsal
		Weds 13th	LMF	A.M. Elijah, P.M. [Barnett's Building of the Ship]Mozart Symphony in G Minor
		Thurs 14th		A.M. Beethoven 9, Bennett: May Queen, Mendelssohn: 114th Psalm, P.M. Handel: Samson
		Fri 15th		A.M. The Martyr of Antioch, premiere, Beethoven: Mass in C, Schubert: Song of Miriam. P.M. Bach Cantata: Oh Light Everlasting, Symphony: Raff, Mendelssohn: Loreley, & miscellaneous items
		Sat 16th		A.M. : Spohr: Last Judgement, Haydn: The Creation parts 1&2, Finale Handel: Utrecht Jubilate. PM Conducts 1st half of Popular concert.
	December	Sat 11th	London	Crystal Palace: Martyr of Antioch, In Memoriam

1881				
	January	Fri 28	London	: chorus rehearsal: Sacred & Harmonic: Martyr of Antioch
	February	Fri 4th		rehearsal: Sacred & Harmonic: Martyr of Antioch
		Weds 9th		rehearsal: Sacred & Harmonic: Martyr of Antioch, St James's
	February	Fri 11th	London	Sacred & Harmonic, St James Hall: Martyr of Antioch
		Mon 14th	Brighton	Orchestra and chorus rehearsal: Martyr of Antioch
		Tues 15th	Brighton	Brighton Festival: Martyr of Antioch
	March	Fri 10th	London	Stone Street: Chorus rehearsal: Martyr of Antioch
		Tues 15th	London	Opera Comique: first music rehearsal: Patience
		Weds 16th	London	Stone Street: Chorus rehearsal: Martyr of Antioch
	March	Fri 18th	London	St James' Hall Martyr of Antioch
		Mon 21st		St James's Hall rehearsal for Lamoureux's concert
	April	Mon 4th	London	Albert Hall: Chorus rehearsal: Martyr of Antioch
	April	Thurs 7th	London	Albert Hall: Orchestra rehearsal: Martyr of Antioch. Performance: Martyr of Antioch
		Sat 23rd	London	Opera Comique: Patience
	October	Mon 10th	London	Savoy Theatre: Patience
		Tues 11th	Norwich	Rehearsal: Martyr of Antioch
		Weds 12th		Norwich Festival: Martyr of Antioch
	November	Weds 16th	Oxford	Com Exchange: rehearsal and performance Oxford Choral Society: Martyr of Antioch
1882				
	February	Thurs 16th	Alexandria, Egypt	Salle Storani (?) Rehearsal: Mozart 12th Mass: Messiah
		Fri 17th		Rehearsal and concert: 12th Mass Mozart, Messiah extracts.
	April	Mon 24th	London	
	June	Thurs 7th	Chester	Chester Music Festival: Prodigal: cancelled: M.C. Sullivan's death: May 27th
	November	Mon 6th	London:Queens Mansions/Brighton	Principals rehearsal: Iolanthe: 12:30-3:30pm . Brighton Dome. Evening rehearsal: Martyr of Antioch
	November	Tues 7th	Brighton	Brighton Festival: Martyr of Antioch
		Mon 20th	London	Lyceum Theatre: Music rehearsal: Iolanthe 12-4:30
		Tues 21st		Savoy Theatre: Iolanthe: rehearsal: Act 1
		Weds 22nd		Savoy Theatre: Iolanthe: rehearsal
		Thurs 23rd		Savoy Theatre:dress rehearsal with orchestra:7pm-2am
		Fri 24th		Savoy Theatre: Iolanthe: Full dress rehearsal 7pm-1:30am
		Sat 25th	London	Savoy Theatre: Iolanthe premiere
	December	Mon 11th		Savoy Theatre: conducts Iolanthe in Cellier's absence
	December	Thurs 21	Leeds	Unanimous re-election of Sullivan as Conductor of 1883 Festival by LMF Executive Committee
1883				
	January	Fri 12th	Leeds	Unanimous re-election by LMF General Committee
	February	Thurs 15th	London	Savoy Theatre: Iolanthe, Act 1
	April	Thurs 26	Reading	Town Hall: Berkshire Musical Association: Rehearsal and performance: Martyr of Antioch
	May	Weds 30th	London	Albert Hall: conducted selection from Iolanthe: combined Guards band. Military charity concert.
	June	Tues 12th	London	Grosvenor House: Charity concert
	July	Fri 20th	Leeds	Choral Rehearsals
		Sat 21st		Choral Rehearsals
	September	Sat 8th		Choral Rehearsals
		Sat 15th		Choral Rehearsals
		Sat 22nd		Choral Rehearsals
	October	Tues 3rd	London	Orchestra Rehearsals: St James's Hall
		Weds 4th		Orchestra Rehearsals: St James's Hall
		Fri 5th	Leeds	Choral Rehearsals
		Sat 6th		Choral Rehearsals
		Mon 8th		Full Rehearsals: Town Hall
		Tues 9th		Full Rehearsals: Town Hall
		Weds 10th	LMF	AM: Elijah. PM: Cellier: Elergy [Cellier cond], Beethoven 2nd
		Thurs 11th	LMF	AM: Raff: The End of the World, Handel selections. PM Bamby: The Lord is King [Bamby cond] Bach: Thou Guide of Israel, Rossini: Stabat Mater
		Fri 12th	LMF	AM: MacFaren: King David. PM: Gade: The Crusaders, Schumann: Genoveva Overture, Sullivan: Duet, Kenilworth, Welby: The Lady Oriana [A. Broughton cond] Gounod: ballet: Reine de Saba, Wagner: extracts Tannhauser.
		Sat 13th	LMF	AM: Beethoven Missa solemnis, Mendelssohn: Lobgesang. PM: Sullivan: In Memoriam overture, Beethoven: Creation Hymn, Mendelssohn: Ruy Blas overture, Mozart: Non mi dir, Gounod: Lend me your aid, Reine de Saba, Sullivan: King Henry's Song, Rossini: William Tell overture.
	November	Fri 9th	London	Nenmayer Hall: chorus rehearsal: Sacred & Harmonic Soc. MacFarren's King David.
		Thurs 15		St James's Hall: rehearsal: King David
	November	Fri 16th	London	St. James's Hall: Sacred & Harmonic: MacFarren's King David.
		Mon 19th	London	Savoy Theatre: First music rehearsal: Princess Ida
		Thurs 22nd		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal. Act 2: Princess Ida
		Mon 26th		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal: Princess Ida Act 2 & part of Act 1
		Thurs 29th		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal: Princess Ida
	December	Weds 5th		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal: Princess Ida
		Fri 7th		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal: Princess Ida
		Mon 10th		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal: Princess Ida
		Thurs 13th		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal: Princess Ida
		Mon 17th		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal: Princess Ida
		Thurs 20th		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal: Princess Ida
		Weds 26th		Savoy Theatre: music rehearsal: Princess Ida
		Thurs 27th		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal: Princess Ida
		Mon 31st		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal: Princess Ida

1884				
	January	Tues 1st		St Andrew's Hall: Orchestra rehearsal: princess Ida
		Weds 2nd		Savoy Theatre: music rehearsal: orchestra, principals & chorus: Princess Ida. Followed by full dress rehearsal: 7pm-
		Friday 4th		Savoy Theatre: full dress rehearsal: Princess Ida : 6:30 pm - 2:30am
	January	Sat 5th	London	Savoy Theatre: Princess Ida premiere
	April	Weds 16th		Court Theatre: rehearsal: Cox & Box
		Tues 22nd		Rehearsal: In Memoriam: Philharmonic
	April	Weds 23	London	Philharmonic Society: In Memoriam overture. [in response to the death of the Duke of Albany] (J.F. Barnett conducted the rest of the programme.)
	July	Thurs 10th	London	St. James's Hall. Conducts Savoy company in charity concert for School of Dramatic Art.
	July	Fri 25th	London	Accepts conductorship of Philharmonic Society for 1885 Season
	August	Sat 2nd	London	Announced as Philharmonic Society Conductor for 1885 season
	October	Sat 11th	London	Savoy Theatre: conducts revivals of Trial by Jury & The Sorcerer
1885				
	February	Thurs 26th	London	St James's Hall: Philharmonic Society concert: ov: Athalie: Mendelssohn, aria: Sweet Bird: Handel: soloist: Elly Warnots & flute obligato: Mr Svendsen, Beethoven Violin Cocerto: soloist: Joseph Joachim, Ssymphony 3 in F: Brahams, aria from La Sonnambula: Belini, ov: Ruler of the Spirits: Weber
	March	Thurs 12th	London	
		Sat 14th	London	Savoy Theatre: The Mikado premiere
		Thurs 26th		St. James's Hall: Philharmonic Society concert: Schumann: Symphony in C, Macfarren: ov: Chevy Chase, [Orchestral Serenade: Thomas Wingham] Brahms Violin Concerto: J. Joachim sextet: Don Giovanni, Septet: Gracious Power: La Reine de Saba, singers: Mary Beare, Mrs Brereton, Miss Major, Iver MacKay, Hirwen Jones, Arthur Thompson, A.L. Oswald, Mr Brereton, Sig Bottesini: Elegia in D & Tarantella for double bass
	April	Weds 22nd		St. James's Hall: Philharmonic Society concert. Shares Baton with Antonin Dvorak [Dvorak: symphony] ov: Faust: Spohr, ov: Leonora No. 1: Beethoven, ov: Don Giovanni, Clotilde Kleeberg: Concertstuck: Weber, Edward Lloyd: Preisleid, Duet: How Sweet the Moonlight...+ Miss Hetherington
	May	Weds 6th		[Dvorak: Concerto in G minor for piano & orchestra: soloist Franz Rummel], Berlioz: Romeo & Juliet, Beethoven symphony No. 5
		Weds 20th		St James's Hall: Philharmonic Society concert: [Moritz Moszowski: symphonic poem: Johanna d'Arc], Franz Rummel: Beethoven's Emperor Concerto, Charles Santley: Sorge Infausta: Handel & I wish to tune my quivering Lyre: Sullivan, ov: Fliegende Hollander, Mirelle: Prelude: Gounod.
	June	Sat 20th		Departs to USA
	Sept	Fri 25th	New York	5th Avenue Theatre: Mikado
	October	Fri 9th	New York	5th Avenue Theatre: Mikado
		Mon 12th	Philadelphia	McCaul's Opera House: Mikado
		Thurs 23rd		Returns to UK
	December	Tues 23rd	Leeds	Unanimously re-elected Conductor: 1886 LMF

Arthur Sullivan Conducts: IX							
Date	Month	Day	Location				composition
1886	February	Tues 2nd	London	St. Andrew's Hall: rehearsal: Overture di Ballo: Amateur Orchestral Society			
		Fri 5th		Conducted at Smoking Concert (presumably Overture di Ballo)			
		Mon 8th		Chorus rehearsal Albert Hall: Martyr of Antioch.			
	February	Weds 10th	London	Albert Hall: 10am: rehearsal of orchestra & principals: Martyr of Antioch. Conducted performance in the evening.			
	March	Tues 2nd	London	Philharmonic rehearsal			
		Weds 3rd		Philharmonic rehearsal			
	March	Thurs 4th	London	St James's Hall: Philharmonic Society concert: Italian Symphony: Mendelssohn, Deh vien, Concerto in A : Schumann: soloist: Madame Frickenhaus. [Orchestral scene: Forest of Arden: Gadsby] Violin concerto in C: Moszkowski: soloist Tidvar Nachez, aria: Ah Je veux Briser ma Chaine: Auber: soloist Antoinette Trebelli, ov. Le Deux Joumés:			
		Mon 8th	Bath	Assembly Rooms: Bath Philharmonic Society: Rehearsal and performance: Martyr of Antioch			
		Mon 14th					Begins Ruddigore
		Thurs 18th	London	St James's Hall: Philharmonic Society concert: cancelled			
		Thurs 25th	Nottingham	Albert Hall: Sacred Harmonic Society: Rehearsal & performance: Martyr of Antioch & Shakespeare programme. Halle Orchestra			
		Tues 30th	London	Philharmonic rehearsal			
		Weds 31st		Philharmonic rehearsal			
	April	Thurs 1st	London	St James's Hall: Philharmonic Society concert: Symphony in C Schubert, ov. in C op 115, Beethoven, LOW orchestral selection: Sullivan, violin concerto: Dvorak: soloist: Pan Ondricek, Mendelssohn: piano concerto in G minor: soloist: Clotilde Kleeberg, Rose Hersee: Motil signor. Meyerbeer, Pur dicest: Lotti			Receives commission for the opening of the Colonial & Indian Exhibition
		Sat 3rd					Production of Ruddigore deferred until Sept/Oct
		Tues 13th		Philharmonic rehearsal			
		Weds 14		Philharmonic rehearsal			
	April	Thurs 15th	London	St James's Hall: Philharmonic Society concert: Beethoven symphony No. 3, ov: Jessonda Spohr, Violin concerto: Mendelssohn: soloist: Joseph Joachim, piano concerto in C minor: Sterndale Bennett: soloist Fanny Davis, Miss Griswold: Il est doux, Il est bon: Herodiade: Massenet, & Winds in the Trees & Alake & a Fairy Boat: Goring Thomas			Begins writing Tennyson Ode for opening of Colonial Exhibition
		Sun 19th					Possible date for completion of Tennyson Ode.
		Sat 24	Yorktown				Begins Golden Legend
		Fri 30th	Leeds	Philosophical Hall: LMF chorus rehearsal			
	May	Mon 3rd		LMF Chorus rehearsal			
	May	Tues 4th	London	Opening of the Colonial Exhibition: Ode			
		Thurs 13th	London	John Carodus concert: Symphony in E. A. C. Mackenzie conducted the rest of the programme			
		Tues 18th		Philharmonic rehearsal			
		Weds 19th	London	St James's Hall: Rehearsal & performance: Philharmonic Society concert: ov: Die Meistersinger, Symphony in E: Haydn, Symphony in G: Saint Saens, Agnes Larkoom: Charmant Gisseau: F. David, Antoinette Stirling: Quando Mio: Mozart			
	June	Tues 1st		Philharmonic rehearsal			
	June	Weds 2nd	London	St. James's Hall: Rehearsal & performance: Philharmonic Society concert: Symphony in G minor, ov: Carnival Romaine, Christine Nilsson: Ani Perido: Beethoven, Erikonig: Schubert, Beethoven violin concerto: Pan Ondricek, Moritz Moszkowski: orchestral suite.			
	July	Fri 16th	Leeds	Philosophical Hall: LMF chorus rehearsals: Bach B Minor Mass			
		Sat 17th	Leeds	Sat: 2nd part B Minor Mass, Waipurgis Night & Advent Hymn			
	August	Weds 25th	Stagenhoe Park				Completes Golden Legend
	September	Fri 10th	Leeds	Choral rehearsal: Golden Legend			
		Sat 11th		Chorus rehearsal: Golden Legend			
	October	Mon 4th	London	St James's Hall: Orchestra rehearsal: LMF			
		Tues 5th	London	St. James's Hall: LMF orchestral rehearsals			
		Weds 6th	London	St. James's Hall: LMF orchestral rehearsals:			
		Fri 8th	Leeds	Town Hall: Chorus rehearsal: Israel in Egypt			
		Sat 9th		Town Hall: Chorus rehearsal: Golden Legend [Dvorak rehearsed St. Ludmila]			
		Sun 10th		Town Hall: arranging orchestra & getting Dr Spark into shape:			
		Mon 11th	Leeds	LMF: full rehearsals: National Anthem: St. Ludmila [Dvorak] Waipurgis: Nachtpopon of Israel in Egypt: PM: Revenge [Stanford] Story of Sayid [Mackenzie]: Idomeno: Tramp			
		Tues 12th	Leeds	LMF: full rehearsals: Advent Hymn: Golden Legend, afternoon: Bach Mass: portions of St. Paul: songs, Lloyd & King: ov Fliegende Hollander. No evening rehearsal			
		Weds 13th	Leeds	LMF: Victoria Hall: AM: Israel in Egypt, PM: [The story of Sayid: Mackenzie cond] Idomeno highlights, [x2part songs: A Broughton cond] Euryanthe Overture			
		Thurs 14th		LMF: AM: Bach: Mass in B Minor, PM: The Revenge [CV Stanford cond] Beethoven 5th, Mendelssohn First Waipurgis Night			
		Fri 15th		LMF: AM: [St. Ludmila: Antonin Dvorak cond.] PM Schumann: Advent Hymn, Aria: La Juve, Edward Lloyd, Mendelssohn: Symphony in A minor, F.K. Hattersley, Concert Overture in E, Aria: Nabucco, (Sperate, o figli) Frederick King, Henry Bishop: Tramp, Ballet suite: Sullivan/Delibes, Wagner: Overture: Die Fliegende Hollander.			
		Sat 16th		LMF: AM: The Golden Legend premiere. St. Paul, Pt. 1, Mendelssohn, PM: Eljan			
	November	Fri 5th					Gilbert reads S completed libretto of Ruddigore
	November	Weds 10th	London	Albert Hall: Chorus rehearsal Golden Legend			
		Tues 16th					
	November	Mon 15th	London	Albert Hall: Rehearsal & performance Golden Legend			
		Fr 12th		Albert Hall: orchestra rehearsal: Golden Legend			Recommences work on Ruddigore.
		Mon 22nd		10 am: St. James's Hall: orchestra rehearsal: Golden Legend. 8:30 pm: Stone Street Rooms: chorus rehearsal: (Novello's Chorus) Golden Legend			
		Tues 23rd	London	St James's Hall: Golden Legend			
		Mon 29th		Savoy Theatre: Chorus rehearsal: Ruddigore			
		Tues 30th		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal			
	December	Weds 1st		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal			
		Sun 5th		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal			
		Mon 6th		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal			
	December	Fri 10th		Crystal Palace: rehearsal: Piano concerto in G with Kleeberg & orchestral music.			
	December	Sat 11th	London	Crystal Palace: Rehearsal at 11:30 am. Performance at 3 pm. Substituting for Manns - in Glasgow.: Sullivan Ov. Sapphire Necklace, Beethoven: Symphony #4, Beethoven piano concerto # in G, Tchaikovsky: Chant San Fariotes, Mendelssohn: Andante & Presto Agitato (soloist: Clotilde Kleeberg), Sullivan: Merry Wives of Windsor, songs: Sullivan: Love Laid his Sleepless Head, T. Matthews: Eventide, Massenet: La Crepuscule, Bizet: Habanera			
		Weds 15th		Savoy Theatre: 1st stage rehearsal: Act 1			
		Thurs 16th		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal: Stage rehearsal			
		Fri 17th		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal: Stage rehearsal			
		Mon 20th		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal: Stage rehearsal: Act 1			Completes composition of Ruddigore
		Weds 22nd		Lyceum Theatre: Music rehearsal			
		Thurs 23rd		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal: Stage rehearsal: 2nd Act			

1887	month	day	location		Composition
	January	Mon 3rd	London		Scoring Ruddigore Begins with Ghost scene.
		Tues 4th			Composition of Act 2 Finale & scoring
		Weds 5th		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal: Act 1	
		Fri 7th		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal: Act 2	
		Thurs 13th			Finished whole score at 4:00 am
		Fri 14th		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal: Act 2	
		Mon 17th		Langham Hall: orchestra rehearsal	
		Tues 18th		Langham Hall: orchestra rehearsal	
		Weds 19th		Albert Hall: Golden Legend	
		Thurs 20th		Savoy Theatre: orchestra rehearsal	
				Savoy Theatre: Full dress rehearsal & rehearsal of overture	
	January	Thurs 20th	London	George Henschel's London Symphony Concert: Tempest	
		Sun 30th			Ruddigore re-write
		Mon 31st			
	March	Thurs 10th	London	St. James's Hall, Philharmonic Society concert - cancelled: earthquake - Monte Carlo	
		Sat 19th	Berlin	Chorus rehearsal: Golden Legend	
		Mon 21st		Orchestra rehearsal: Golden Legend	
		Thurs 24th	London	St. James's Hall, Philharmonic concert - cancelled: rehearsing Golden Legend: Berlin	
		Fri 25th	Berlin	Full rehearsal: Golden Legend 'I felt the whole thing was a very third class sort of performance...'	
		Sat 26th	Berlin	Royal Opera House: Golden Legend. 'It was the most agonising evening I have ever spent...'	
	April	Sat 2nd	Berlin	Royal Opera House: Golden Legend (with Emma Albani)	
		Sat 9th		Kroll Opera House: Orchestra rehearsal: D'Oyly Carte Co. : Orchestra rehearsal: Mikado	
				Kroll Opera House: rehearsed D'Oyly Carte Co.: Mikado	
		Tues 19th		Rehearsal: Philharmonic	
		Weds 20th		Rehearsal: Philharmonic	
		Thurs 21st	London	St. James's Hall: Philharmonic Society Concert: Beethoven: Symphony No. 4, Bruch: Prelude to Lorelei, ov: Hebrides: Mendelssohn, piano concerto: Gounod, toccata in F: Bach: soloist: Lucie Pailicot, [Duet: Hark her step: Canterbury Pilgrims: C.V. Stanford: Marie de Lido & Barton McGuckin] Ah! Perfidio: Marie de Lido, When Sets the Sun (Story of Sayid: Mackenzie) Marton McGuckin	
		Tues 26th	Bath	Assembly Rooms: Bath Philharmonic: Golden Legend. (no rehearsal: missing band parts!)	
	May	Tues 3rd		Philharmonic:rehearsal	
		Weds 4th		Philharmonic rehearsal	
	May	Thurs 5th	London	St James's Hall Philharmonic Society concert: Symphony in F: Goetz, ov: Rustzka: Dvorak, Walkurenrift: Wagner, Beethoevn: concerto in C: soloist: Herr Schonberger, Janet Patey: Che faro, Lungi dal caro bene: Sarti	
		Weds 11th	Leeds	Leeds Coliseum: Leeds Philharmonic Society Jubilee concert: Rehearsal & performance: Golden Legend	
		Tues 17th	London	Philharmonic rehearsal	
		Weds 18th		Philharmonic rehearsal	
		Thurs 19th	London	St James's Hall: Philharmonic Society concert: ov: Die Meistersinger, Beethoven: emperor concerto: soloist: Clotilde Kleeberg, F. Corder: Roumanian Suite, Charles Santley: Per questa bella mano- double bass accompaniment by Sig. Bottesini, Purcell: Let dreadful engines, Double-bass concerto in F sharp minor	
	June	Tues 7th		Philharmonic rehearsal	
		Weds 8th		Philharmonic rehearsal	
	June	Thurs 9th	London	St James's Hall: Philharmonic Society concert: Symphony in C minor: Spohr: ov: Leonora No. 3: Beethoven, ov: Euyranthe: Weber, Caprice in E for piano, Lied ohne Worte: book 6 No. 1: soloist: Fanny Davies, Schumann: 'Novelette' in D No. 2, Marianne Eisler: Vieuxtemps: Fantasia Appassionata, Ella Russell: Ombra Leggiera (Dianorah), [Edward Lloyd: Prayer of Nature: Handegger]	
		Tues 14th			Begins work on Ode for laying of the Foundation Stone at the
		Weds 15th	London	St James's Hall: Philharmonic Society: Rehearsal: 10 am. 3-5:30 pm: concert: Symphony in C No. 1, ov: scherzo & finale: Schumann, ov: Oberon: Weber, ov: Kenilworth: Macfarren, Mozart: Concerto in E flat No. 6: soloist: Camille Sainte Saens, Nettie Carpenter: Vieuxtemps: Intro & rondo for violin & with orchestra, Lillian Nordica: Quest affeti: (Faust) Spohr, Giuseppe Alfani: Figaro	
		Fri 17th			Completed sketch of Ode
		Mon 20th			Score of Ode complete
		Sat 25th	London	St James's Hall: Philharmonic Society concert: Italian Symphony: Mendelssohn, ovZ: Jubilee: Weber, ov: di Ballo: Sullivan, Beethoven concerto in G for piano & orchestra: Soloist: Josef Hoffmann & vaise: Chopin, toccata: Rubenstein, Emma Albani: piano, piano: Der Freischutz, Emma Nevada: Air du Mysol: Perle de Brasil: F. David, with flute obligato by Mr Svendsen, Edward Lloyd Ah Rachel: La Juive: Halevy	
	July	Mon 4th			
		Weds 13th	London	Albert Hall: charity concert: Golden Legend	
		Sat 30th	London	resigned conductorship of Philharmonic	
	September	Tues 6th	Worcester	Worcester Town Hall: Golden Legend: II.	
		Mon 10th	Norwich	St. Andrew's Hall: rehearsal: Golden Legend	
		Thurs 13th	Norwich	St Andrew's Hall: Golden Legend	
	October	Mon 31st	London	Savoy Theatre: rehearsal: HMS Pinafore revival	
	November	Mon 7th	Liverpool	Rehearsal: Golden Legend	
	November	Tues 8th	Liverpool	Rehearsal: 1:30pm performance 7:45pm:Liverpool Philharmonic Society: Golden Legend [second part of concert: Stanford: The Revenge: cond: C. Halle]	
		Fri 11th	London	St. Andrew's Hall: music rehearsal: 12:45-4:30pm, Full dress rehearsal: HMS Pinafore: 6:30-12	
		Sat 12th	London	Savoy Theatre: revival: HMS Pinafore	

1888					
	February	Tues 28th	Monte Carlo		Began composition for The Yeomen of the Guard Act 1 Finale
		Weds 29			Worked on Act 1 Finale & abandoned it.
	April	Tues April 10	London		
	April	Tues 24th	London	Holloway Hall: rehearsal: Martyr of Antioch	
		Thurs 26		Holloway Hall: Martyr of Antioch	
	May	Mon 7th		Albert Hall: Orchestra rehearsal: 1pm Chorus rehearsal: 8pm	
	May	Tues 8th	London	Albert Hall: Command Performance: Golden Legend	
	June	Sat 2nd			Agreed to write music for Irving's production of Macbeth
		Tues 5th		Lyceum Theatre: Orchestral rehearsal: Mikado	
		Weds 6th		Savoy Theatre: Full dress rehearsal: The Mikado	
	June	Thurs 9th	London	Savoy Theatre: revival Mikado	
		Tues 12th	Cambridge	Guildhall: University Musical Society: rehearsal at 11am, performance at 3pm: Golden Legend	
		Tues 19th	Fleet		Began to work... Yeomen
		Tues 24th	Chester	Music Hall: rehearsal: Golden Legend 7pm	
	July	Weds 25th	Chester	Music Hall: Chester Festival: Golden Legend	
	August	Fri 17th	London	Savoy Theatre: rehearsal with principals	
		Sat 18th		Rehearsal: Yeomen	
		Mon 20th		Rehearsal: Yeomen	
		Tues 21st		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal: principals	
		Tues 28th		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal 12-5pm	
	September	Mon 3rd		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal: 12-5:30pm	
		Tues 4th		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal: 12-5:30pm	
		Weds 5th			Began scoring
		Thurs 6th		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal: Act 1	
		Fri 7th		Savoy Theatre Music rehearsal	
		Mon 10th		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal: Act 1	
	September	Tues 11th	Hereford	Three Choirs Festival: Shire Hall: Golden Legend	
		Thurs 13th	London	Savoy Theatre: rehearsal: Act 2	
		Mon 17th		Savoy Theatre: music rehearsal	
		Thurs sept 20th		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal: 1:30-5pm	Finished scoring at 5am
		Fri 21st		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal: Act 2: 11:30am	
		Sun 23rd			Began sketching overture
		Mon 24th			began scoring overture
		Tues 25th		St Andrew's Hall : Orchestra rehearsal	Completed score at 3:30am
		Weds 26th		St Andrew's Hall: orchestra rehearsal	
		Thurs 27th		Savoy Theatre: Dress rehearsal	
		Fri 28th		Savoy Theatre: full music rehearsal	
		Sat 29th			re-wrote: 'Is life a boon'
		Sun 30th		Rehearsal with Coutice Pounds: 'Is life a boon'	
	October	Mon 1st		Savoy Theatre: Orchestra rehearsal & with Courtice Pounds	
		Tues 10th		Savoy Theatre: Full dress rehearsal	
	October	Weds 3rd	London	Savoy Theatre: premiere: Yeomen of the Guard	
		Mon 24th		proposed renewal Conductorship of LMF 1889	
	November	Sun 18th			Begins work on Macbeth
	December	Mon 3rd			Begins work on Macbeth again
		Tuea 11th			Begins scoring Macbeth
		Tues 18th		Lyceum Theatre: orchestral rehearsal: 11:30am-4:30pm: Act 1 & 4	
		Thurs 20th		Lyceum Theatre: rehearsal: Macbeth: 11am-5:30pm	
		Fri 21st		Accepts Conductorship of 1889 LMF	
		Sat 22			Begins Macbeth overture
		Tues 25th			Scoring Macbeth overture
		Thurs 27th		Savoy Theatre: orchestra rehearsal: Macbeth: 12-3 pm	
		Fri 28th		Savoy Theatre: Music rehearsal: 12-3 pm. Lyceum Theatre: full dress rehearsal: 6:15- 12:30	
	? December	Sat 29th	London	Macbeth: Lyceum. ? Meredith Ball cond?	

1889					
	April	Tues 30th	Bath	Assembly Rooms: Golden Legend: cancelled: - went to Newmarket instead!	
	May	28	London	Savoy Theatre: Trial by Jury: benefit for Rutland Barrington	
	July	Tues 2nd	Leeds	Chorus rehearsal: LMF: Brahms Requiem	
		Mon 22	Weybridge	Grove House	Begins work on The Gondoliers
		Fri 26th	Leeds	Chorus rehearsal: LMF: Berlioz: Damnation of Faust	
		Sat 27th		Chorus Rehearsal LMF rest of Faust: Schubert Mass	
		Weds 31st			Receives scenario of Ivanhoe from J.Sturgis
	August	Fri 2nd			Prepping Macbeth suite for LMF
		Mon 5th			Completes Macbeth Suite
		Thurs 29th	London	St Andrew's Hall: rehearsal: prodigal Son & In Memoriam: Gloucester Festival	
	September	Mon 2nd	Gloucester	Chorus rehearsals: Gloucester: Three Choirs (special train as far as Swindon)	
		Thurs 5th	Gloucester	A.M. Three Choirs Festival: Gloucester Cathedral: ov. In Memoriam, Prodigal Son. P.M. Shire Hall: Golden Legend	
		Fri 20th	Leeds	Philosophical Hall: LMF: chorus rehearsal: Midsummer Night's Dream, Tannhauser, Bach Cantata	
		Sat 21st	Leeds	Philosophical Hall: LMF: chorus rehearsal: Choral Symphony, Macbeth, Golden Legend	
		Sun 22nd	London	Queen's Mansions: principal's rehearsal: Gondoliers	
		Mon 23rd		St Andrew's Hall: preliminary Orchestra rehearsal: LMF: 10.30am-5.30pm	
		Thurs 26th	London	St Andrew's Hall: LMF preliminary orchestra rehearsal: section leaders correcting parts...	
		Mon 30th	London	St James's Hall: LMF: orchestra & principals rehearsals	
	October	Tues 1st		St. James's Hall: LMF orchestra & principals rehearsals	
		Weds 2nd		St James's Hall: LMF orchestra & principals rehearsals	
		Fri 4th	Leeds	Arrives in Leeds	
		Sat 5th	Leeds	Philosophical Hall: LMF Chorus rehearsals	
		Mon 7th		Victoria Hall: LMF: Full rehearsal	
		Tues 8th		Victoria Hall: LMF: full rehearsal	
		Weds 9th		LMF: AM: Berlioz: The Damnation of Faust. PM [Corder: The Sword of Argantyr], Wagner: Act III: Tannhauser	
		Thurs 10th		LMF: AM: Bach: God's Time is Best, Schubert: Mass in E flat...intermission...Handel: Acis & Galatea. PM: [Cresser: The Sacrifice of Freya], Spohr: 4th Symphony, [Herford: The Rosy Dawn: Alfred Broughton cond], Bolto: L'altra notte (Mefistofele) [A.C. Mackenzie: Pibroch, soloist: Saraste], Wagner: Trial Song: Die Meistersinger, Raff: violin solo,	
		Fri 11th		LMF: AM:[Parry: Ode to St. Cecilia], Mendelssohn: Violin Concerto (soloist: Saraste), Beethoven: 9th symphony. PM: [Stanford: Voyage of the Maeldune] Beethoven: overture: Leonora, Mendelssohn: A Midsummer Night Dream.	
		Sat 12th		LMF: Brahms: German Requiem, Mendelssohn: Lobgesang. PM Sullivan: Macbeth, Golden Legend	
		Thurs 17th	London	Savoy Hotel: principals rehearsal: Gondoliers	
		Tues 22nd		rehearsal:principals	
		Weds 23rd		Full rehearsal	
		Tues 29th		Savoy Theatre	
	November	Fri 1st		Savoy Theatre	
		Tues 5th		Savoy Theatre: Music rehearsal	
		Weds 6th		Savoy Theatre: Stage rehearsal	
		Fri 8th		Savoy Theatre: music rehearsal	
		Sat 6th			Begins Scoring The Gondoliers
		Sun 10th		Queen's Mansions: Principals rehearsal	
		Tues 12th		Savoy Theatre: Music rehearsal Act 2	
		Thurs 14th		Savoy Theatre Music rehearsal	
		Fri 22nd		Savoy Theatre: stage rehearsal: Act 2	
		Mon 25th		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal	Completed score at 3:00am
		Tues 26th		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal	
		Thurs 28th	Manchester	Free Trade Hall: Golden Legend: Rehearsal at 12:00, concert at 7 pm	
		Fri 29th	London	Savoy Theatre: stage rehearsal	
		Sun 1st		Queen's Mansions: principals rehearsal	
		Mon 2nd		Princes's Hall: orchestra rehearsal	Wrote overture Gondoliers
		Tues 3rd		St Andrew's Hall: music rehearsal	
		Weds 4th		St Andrew's Hall: Music rehearsal: 1-:00-4:00pm. Savoy Theatre Full stage rehearsal: 7:30- 12:00	
		Thurs 5th		Savoy Theatre: full dress rehearsal	
		Fri 6th		Savoy Theatre: Full dress rehearsal	
	December	Sat 7th	London	Savoy Theatre: premiere: The Gondoliers	
		Sun 8th			Re-writes & new #s Act 1 & Act 2
		Tues 10th			Scoring re-writes and alterations etc.
		Weds 11th			
		Thurs 12th			
		Sat 14th			
		Mon 16th		Savoy Theatre: rehearsing rewrites	
		Thurs 19th		Savoy Theatre: conducted Act 2: Gondoliers	
		Tues 24th		Savoy Theatre: rehearsing American company	
		Weds 24th		Savoy Theatre : Orchestra rehearsal: 10:45am-2:00pm	
		Thurs 25th		Savoy Theatre: matinee: conducted Act 1	

Arthur Sullivan conducts...xl								
Date	Month	Day	Location				Composition	
1890								
	May	Sat 17th	Weybridge: Grove House				Begins Ivanhoe	
	June	Weds 11th					Completes sketch: Act 1 Ivanhoe	
		Thurs 12th					Began Act2: Rebecca & Finglar duet	
	Sept	Mon 1st					Began to score Act 1 just to change the work...	
		Sun 7th					Began sketch Act 3	
		Sat 27th					Began scoring	
	October	Thurs 9th				Rehearsal: Martyr of Antioch		
		Tues 14th					Completed scoring Act 1	
	October	Weds 15th	Norwich			At: Andrew's Hall: rehearsal: Martyr of Antioch		
		Thurs 16th	Norwich			St Andrew's Hall: Martyr of Antioch		
		Fri 17th					Began scoring Act 2	
	November	Weds 5th					Completed scoring Act 2	
	November	Fri 7th					Began framing Act 3	
	December	Sat 13th					Completed Ivanhoe	
	December	Tues 9th	London			Savoy Theatre: Gondoliers anniversary		
		Tues 23rd	London			Royal English Opera House: rehearsal: principals		
		Weds 24th				Royal English Opera House: rehearsal: chorus		
		Sat 27th				Royal English Opera House: rehearsal: 12:30-5:00pm		
		Sun 28th				Queens Mansions: coaching Francois Nègè (Tempier 2nd cast)		
		Mon 29th				Royal English Opera House: x2 rehearsals: 12:30-4:30pm, 8:00-11:00pm		
		Tues 30th				Royal English Opera House: x2 rehearsals: 12:30-4:00pm, 8:00-11 pm		
		Weds 31st				Royal English Opera House x2 rehearsals: 12:30-4:00pm, 8:00-11 pm		
1891								
		January	Mon 12th				Royal English Opera House: stage rehearsal: 'all day...'	
	Tues 13th					Prince's Hall: 1st orchestra rehearsal: Ivanhoe: 11:30-4-30pm		
	Weds 14th					Prince's Hall: orchestra rehearsal: 11:30-4:30pm. Royal English Opera House: Stage rehearsal: 'at night...'		
	Thurs 15th					Prince's Hall: orchestra rehearsal		
	Fri 16th					Prince's Hall: orchestra & vocalists rehearsal		
	Sat 17th					Prince's Hall: orchestra & vocalists rehearsal		
	Mon 19th					?Prince's Hall: orchestra & vocalists rehearsal: Act 1		
	Tues 20th					?Prince's Hall: orchestra & vocalists rehearsal: Act 2		
	Weds 21st					?Prince's Hall: orchestra & vocalists rehearsal: Act 3		
	Thurs 22nd					? Savoy Theatre: rehearsal: principals		
	January	Fri 23rd				Savoy Theatre: rehearsal: principals		
		Sat 24th				Royal English Opera House: 11:30-3:30pm: Ivanhoe Act 1: cast & orchestra		
		Weds 28th				Royal English Opera House: Full Dress rehearsal: 11:00-7pm		
		Thurs 29th				Royal English Opera House x2 Full Dress rehearsal: 11:00-6:00pm, 8:00-12:00pm		
		Fri 30th				Royal English Opera House: Full Dress rehearsal: 11:30-7:30pm		
		January	Sat 31st	London			Royal English Opera House: Ivanhoe premiere	
		February	Monday 2nd	London			Royal English Opera House: Ivanhoe	
			Weds 4th	London			Royal English Opera House: Ivanhoe	
		May	Friday 25th	London			Royal English Opera House: Ivanhoe: 100th performance	
		November	Mon 2nd	Portsmouth			Announcement that Sullivan had accepted Conductorship of proposed Portsmouth Festival	
	Thurs 5th		London			Royal English Opera House: rehearsal: Ivanhoe: 11:30-4:30pm		
		Mon 9th				Accepts Conductorship of 1892 LMF		
		Weds 10th	Leeds			Announcement that Sullivan had accepted the Conductorship of the 1892 LMF		
		Tues 17th	London			Begins work on The Foresters		
		Weds 25th	Cambridge			Rehearsal & performance: Tempest & In Memoriam		
	December	Thurs 17th	London			Completes The Foresters		
1892								
	January	Sat 2nd	Turble			Begins Haddon Hall		
	February	Tues 9th	Cardiff			Announcement that Sullivan had turned down the Conductorship of the proposed Cardiff Festival		
		Fri 19th	Turble				Abandons work on Haddon Hall: II	
	March	Sun 28th				Begins work on Haddon Hall again		
		Sat 19th					II: stops work on Haddon Hall	
		Sun 20th				Begins work again		
		Fri 23th				II: stops work		
						II: March - late July: 1892		
	July	Thurs 21st				Philosophical Hall: LMF: chorus rehearsal		
		Thurs 28th				...working at new opera...		
	August	Thurs 25th	London			Savoy Theatre: Full chorus rehearsal: Haddon Hall		
		Sat 27th				Queen's Mansions: Rehearsal: principals: Haddon Hall		
						Savoy Theatre: rehearsal: Haddon Hall: 12:00-3:30pm		
	September	Sat 3rd	Leeds			Town Hall, LMF: x2 rehearsals: Bach Mass 4-5:30pm, 6:30-8:00pm. Left Leeds at 10:00pm air: 4:00am		
		Tues 6th	London			Savoy Theatre: Rehearsal: Haddon Hall: 11:00-1:30, 4:00-6:30pm		
		Sat 10th				Queen's Mansions: Rehearsal: principals: Haddon Hall: 12:00-4:00pm		
		Sun 12th	London			Completes Haddon Hall		
		Mon 12th				Savoy Theatre: Rehearsal: Haddon Hall		
		Tues 13th				Savoy Theatre: Rehearsal: Haddon Hall		
		Weds 14th				St. Andrew's Hall: 1st orchestral rehearsal: Haddon Hall: 11:00-4:30pm		
		Thurs 15th				St. Andrew's Hall: 2nd orchestral rehearsal: Haddon Hall: 11:00-4:30pm		
		Fri 16th				St. Andrew's Hall: 1st full music rehearsal: Haddon Hall: 11:00-4:30pm		
		Sat 17th				St. Andrew's Hall: 2nd full music rehearsal: Haddon Hall: 11:00-4:30pm		
		Mon 19th				Savoy Theatre: full rehearsal with orchestra: Haddon Hall: 12:00-7:00pm		
		Weds 21st	Cardiff			Park Hall: Golden Legend		
		Thurs 22nd	Cardiff/Leeds			Left Cardiff by 8:00am train: air: Savoy Theatre: 1:45pm. Full rehearsal: Haddon Hall to 6:30		
		Fri 23rd	London			Savoy Theatre: Full dress rehearsal: Haddon Hall: 3:00-7:00pm		
		Sat 21st				Savoy Theatre: Premiere: Haddon Hall		
		Mon 26th	London			St. James's Hall: orchestra & principals rehearsal: 10:15-1:00, 2:00-4:45 pm LMF		
		Tues 27th				St. James's Hall: orchestra & principals rehearsal: 10:30-4:45pm LMF		
		Weds 28th				St. James's Hall: orchestra and principals rehearsal: 10:30-1:45pm LMF		
		Fri 30th	Leeds			Victoria Hall: Chorus rehearsal: 7:00-9:00pm LMF		
	October	Sat 1st				Victoria Hall: full rehearsal: LMF: National Anthem & Elijah: PM: Schicksalsied, Mozart Requiem: 114 Psalm, Bamby: Spectre's Bnde & going Thomas ballet suite] Part of Meistersingers: ended 10:00pm		
		Mon 3rd				Victoria Hall: full rehearsal: Bach Mass... finished rehearsal at 10pm: LMF		
		Tues 4th				Victoria Hall: orchestra & soloists: 10:00-2:00pm: LMF		
		Weds 5th				LMF: AM: Elijah PM: Schumann: Pilgrimage of the Rose, Beethoven 8th		
		Thurs 6th				LMF: AM: Mozart Requiem, (Frederic Cille: Symphony), Mendelssohn: Psalm 114 PM: Selection: Die Meistersinger, (Ballet for Orchestra... A.C. Mackenzie), songs: Gounod: Etiole du Nord, Sullivan: The Night is Calm, Weber: Oberon overture		
		Fri 7th				LMF: AM: Bach B minor Mass PM: (Artemus: Alan Gray), duet: Gounod: Romeo et Juliette, Schubert: Symphony in B minor, Sullivan: Tempest selections, Mascagni: Cavalleria Rusticana aria: voi lo sapete, Brahms: Song of Triumph, x3 Hungarian songs, (Overture: Richard III: Edward German)		
		Sat 8th				LMF: (Joseph Bamby conducts: Dvorak: The Spectre's Bnde, suite de ballet: Goring Thomas), aria: Samson et Delilah: mon coeur s'ouvre à la voix: Saint Saens (de profibus: Gt Pamy), Beethoven: Hallelujah PM: Selections from Handel, Mendelssohn: Lobgesang		

1893					
	February	Mon 20th	Monte Carlo		Receives commission from Prince of Wales for opening of the Imperial Institute
	March	Fri 3rd		Rehearsal: all-Sullivan Concert: 9:00-11:00am	
		Sat 4th		Rehearsal: all-Sullivan Concert: 9:00-11:00am	
	March	Sun 5th	Monte Carlo	Casino: Concert Internationaux: (by invitation) ov: Macbeth, Masque: Merchant of Venice, x2 mvts: Henry VIII, ov: di Balo, Irish Symphony	
		Sat 18th		Rehearsal: English Concert	
		Sun 19th		Casino: English Concert: Pary: ov: The Frogs, Mackenzie: Benedictus, Courante from Ravenswood, Stanford: scherzo, Irish Symphony, Cowen: Language of Flowers, Stemdale Bennett: finale:Symphony, Sullivan: ov. Di Balo	
		Mon 20th		Casino: English Concert	
	April	Tues 18th			Begins Imperial March
		Fri 21st			Finished sketch of Imperial March
		Fri 28th			Finished Imperial March . . . all but harp part."
	May	Tues 9th		Albert Hall: Rehearsal: Imperial March	
	May	Weds 10th	London	Opening of the Imperial Institute: Imperial March	
	June	Fri 2nd		Queen's Mansions: rehearsal: soloists for State Concert	
		Sat 3rd		Buckingham Palace: rehearsal: State Concert: 10:30-1:15pm	
	June	Mon 5th	London	Buckingham Palace: state concert. Conducted by Victoria's command	
		Mon 19th	Weybridge: Domey House		Begins Utopia Ltd.
		Weds 28th	London	Twickenham: Pope's Villa, residence of Henry Labouchere: charity performance: The Tempest	
		Thurs 29th	Kneller Hall	Town Hall (?) Kneller Hall Orchestra: Henry VIII "by desire conducted..."	
	September	Weds 6th	London	Savoy Theatre: chorus rehearsal: Utopia Ltd	
		Thurs 7th		Savoy Theatre: music rehearsal: Utopia Ltd	
		Mon 11th		Savoy Theatre: music rehearsal: Utopia Ltd	
		Weds 13th		Savoy Theatre: stage rehearsal Act 1: Utopia Ltd.	
		Fri 15th		Savoy Theatre: Rehearsal: Act 1	
		Mon 18th		Savoy Theatre: music rehearsal: Utopia Ltd Act 2	
		Tues 19th		Savoy Theatre: music rehearsal: Utopia Ltd Act 2	
		Weds 27th	London	Daly's Theatre: music rehearsal: The Foresters	
		Fri 29th		Savoy Theatre: stage rehearsal: Utopia Ltd	Completed Utopia Ltd at 2:30 am
		Sat 30th		Savoy Theatre: stage rehearsal: Utopia Ltd	
	October	Mon 2nd		St Andrew's Hall: orchestra rehearsal: Utopia Ltd	
	October	Tues 3rd	London	Daly's Theatre: The Foresters premiere???? (Not clear whether S. Conducted)	
		Tues 3rd		St Andrew's Hall: rehearsal: Orchestra & voices: Utopia Ltd	
		Weds 4th		St Andrew's Hall: rehearsal: Orchestra & voices: Utopia Ltd	
		Thurs 5th		Savoy Theatre Full rehearsal: Utopia Ltd	
		Fri 6th		Savoy Theatre: Full Dress Rehearsal: Utopia Ltd	
		Sat 7th	London	Savoy Theatre: Utopia, Limited Premiere	
		Mon 9th			Wrote and scored new finale (Act?) Utopia Ltd
		Tues 10th		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal for cuts	
		Sat 14th		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal new finale	
		Fri 20th	Hanley	North Staffordshire Festival: Ivanhoe: Templar's Soliloquy	
	December	Fri 22nd		Savoy Theatre: rehearsal: Tour company: Utopia Ltd	

Arthur Sullivan conducts...xii						
Date	Month	Day	Location			Composition
1894						
	January	Mon 1st		Garrick Theatre: rehearsed song, 'Bid me Goodbye' for S. Grundy's play 'An Old Jew'		
		Weds 3rd		Garrick Theatre: Full Dress Rehearsal: An Old Jew		
	April	Sat 7th	Dublin	Royal University: Dublin Musical Society x2 rehearsals: AM & PM		
		Mon 9th		Rehearsal Monday, AM: Royal University: Dublin Musical Society: all Sullivan programme, inc Marjory of Antioch 'I am an Irishman and proud of it..': speech		
	July	Tues 24th	Riverside House Walton on			Begins King Arthur
	August	Weds 22				Begins work on The Chieftain
	October	Tues 30th	Leeds	Sullivan unanimously elected Conductor for LMF 1895		
		Fri 7th		St. Andrew's Hall: music rehearsal: The Chieftain		
	December	Weds 12th	London	Savoy Theatre: The Chieftain premiere		
1895						
	January	Fri 4th	London	Lyceum Thatre: rehearsal: King Arthur		
		Mon 7th				Completes King Arthur
		Tues 8th		Savoy Theatre: orchestra rehearsal: King Arthur: 11:30-3:30pm/ Lyceum Theatre 6:30-11:30am		
		Weds 9th		Savoy Theatre: orchestra rehearsal: King Arthur: 11:30-3:30pm/ Lyceum Theatre 6:30-11:30am		
		Thurs 10th		!!! at night & couldn't go to rehearsal...		re-wrote & scored Finale to Prologue: King
		Fri 11th		Lyceum Theatre: Full rehearsal: King Arthur 6:30-1:30am		
		Sat 12th		Lyceum Theatre: King Arthur premiere[not sure whether S conducted]		
	March	Sat 16th	Leeds	Town Hall: first chorus rehearsal: :4:00-5:30 & 6:30-8:00 PM .Messiah & D Minor Mass: Beethoven		
		Fri 29th	London	Crystal Palace: rehearsal		
	March	Sat 30th	London	Crystal Palace: deputises for August Manns. Rehearsal: 11:15-2:00pm : Concert: Schumann 4th in D minor: Beethoven violin concerto: soloist Joseph Joachim Bach concerto for 2 violins & stringed orchestra in D: aria Saint Saens Mon Coeur s'ouvre a te voi: song Henschel's: there was an Ancient King, soloist Agnes Janson, overture: Melusine: Mendelssohn, overture: Macbeth: Sullivan		
	May	Sat 4th	Leeds	Philosophical Hall: chorus rehearsal: AM & PM		
	June	Sat 8th		Philosophical Hall: chorus rehearsal: AM & PM		
	July	Sat 6th		Philosophical Hall: chorus rehearsal: AM & PM		
		Weds 31st	London	Gaiety Theatre: charity concert		
	September	Sat 14th	Leeds	Philosophical Hall: Chorus rehearsal: AM & PM		
		Tues 17th	Cardiff	Park Hall: chorus rehearsal: AM & PM		
		Fri 20th		Cardiff Music Festival: Park Hall: Light of the World		
		Mon 23rd	London	Orchestra & principals rehearsal: St James's Hall: AM & PM: LMF		
		Tues 24th		Orchestra & principals rehearsal: St James's Hall: AM & PM		
		Sat 28th	Leeds	Full rehearsal LMF		
		Mon 30th		Full rehearsal LMF		
	October	Tues 1st		Orchestra & principals rehearsals: LMF		
		Weds 2nd		LMF: AM: Messiah, PM: Der Freischutz ov., (Pary: Invocation to Music), Mozart: Jupiter symphony, Mendelssohn: First Walpurgis Night		
		Thurs 3rd		LMF: AM: Mendelssohn: Italian Symphony, Flying Dutchman (sung in English!), PM: Christmas Oratorio, (Edward German: Orchestral Suite in D minor) Chopin: Concerto in E minor, Rossini: Ov. Guglielmo Tell		
		Fri 4th		LMF: AM: Dvorak: Stabat Mater, [Somervell: The Foresaken Mermaid]...interval...Weber: Concertstück, Schumann: Nachtstück in F, Liszt: Rhapsody No. 12, ballet suite: Gounod: Reine de Saba. PM: Schumann: Paradise & the Peri, Massenet: Symphonic Poem, Wesley: Psalm 114, In Exitu Israel, Sullivan: Turret scene: Ivanhoe, Mozart: Ov. Die Zauberflöte.		
		Sat 5th		LMF: AM: Beethoven: Mass in D, Schumann: Symphony in B flat, Mendelssohn: Psalm 42: As the Hart Pants. PM Haydn: The Creation, pts 1 & 2, Sullivan: The Golden Legend		
		Sat 12th	Bradford	Initial concert: Bradford Permanent Orchestra: all-Sullivan programme		
		Thurs 31st	Manchester	Free Trade Hall, Halle Concert (S conducted following the death of Sir Charles Halle): Sullivan: ov. In Memoriam, Mendelssohn: Hear Ye Israel, Mendelssohn: Violin concerto in E minor, Bach: violin concerto in A minor, Lotti: aria: Pur Dicesi, x 3 German songs, Beethoven: 5th Symphony, Wagner: ov. Fliegende Hollander, Weber: ov. Oberon		
	November	Mon 4th		Savoy Theatre: full rehearsal: The Mikado		
		Tues 5th		Savoy Theatre: Full dress rehearsal: The Mikado		
	November	Weds 6th	London	Savoy Theatre: revval: The Mikado		
		Weds 13th	Berlin	Imperial Opera House: Orchestra rehearsal: Ivanhoe		
		Thurs 14th		Imperial Opera House: Rehearsal : Act1&2: Ivanhoe		
		Fri 15th		Imperial Opera House: Rehearsal: Acts3&4: Ivanhoe		
		Sat 16th		Imperial Opera House: Rehearsal (without orchestra) Ivanhoe		
		Mon 18th	Berlin			Begins The Grand Duke
		Thurs 21st	London	Westminster Abbey Purcell celebrations...called to Berlin for Ivanhoe preps.		
		Fri 22nd	Berlin	Imperial Opera House: Full Orchestra rehearsal: Ivanhoe		
		Sat 23rd	Berlin	Imperial Opera House Full rehearsal: Ivanhoe		
		Mon 25th	Berlin	Imperial Opera House: Full Dress Rehearsal: Ivanhoe		
		Tues 26th	Berlin	Imperial Opera House: Ivanhoe premiere		

1896							
	Feb	Fri 1st	Pontypridd	Sullivan elected Conductor of the South Wales festival (Cardiff Festival) following the death of Joseph Bamby - without his knowledge or permission			
	March	Fri 6th	London	Savoy Theatre: Full-dress rehearsal: The Grand Duke.			
	March	Sat 10th	London	Savoy Theatre: The Grand Duke premiere			
	May	Weds 6th	Dublin	Royal University: Dublin Musical Society: Light of the World: cancelled May 5th!!!! Actually was ill.			
	October	Mon 26th	Windsor	Albert Institute: St. George's Chapel Choir: Madrigal: Haddon Hall, The Beleagured. Part of concert.			
	November	Thurs 19th	London	Albert Hall: Golden Legend			
	December	Sat 19th	Leeds	Leeds Permanent Orchestra & Leeds Choral Union: Sullivan concert. Cancelled Dec 2nd. Parry cond. In Nice!			
	December	Tues 22nd	Beaulieu				Begins Victoria & Merrie England
1897							
	March	Thurs 25th	Beaulieu				Completes Victoria & Merrie
	April	Tues 27th	London	Alhambra Theatre: Victoria & Merrie England: orchestra rehearsal			
	April	Thurs 29th	London	St. Andrew's Hall: Music rehearsal: orchestra: Yeomen (revival)			
		Fri. 30th		St. Andrew's Hall: Full music rehearsal: orchestra and cast: Yeomen revival			
	May	Mon. 3rd		Savoy Theatre: first dress rehearsal Yeomen revival			
		Tues 4th		Savoy Theatre: Full dress rehearsal Yeomen revival			
	May	Weds 5th	London	Savoy Theatre: revival: Yeomen of the Guard			
		Weds 12th	London	St Andrew's Hall. 1st full orchestra rehearsal: Victoria & Merrie England			
		Thurs 11th		Alhambra Theatre Stage rehearsal: Victoria & Merrie England			
		Thurs 13th	London	St. Andrew's Hall: 2nd full orchestra rehearsal: Victoria & Merrie England Bridgewater House: charity concert by Chapel Royal. Queen Victoria attended			
		Fri 14th	London	St. Andrew's Hall: 3rd orchestra rehearsal: Victoria & Merrie England			
		Mon 17th		Alhambra Theatre: rehearsal: Victoria & Merrie England			
		Tues 18th	London	Alhambra Theatre: full rehearsal: Victoria & Merrie England			
		Fri 21st		Alhambra Theatre: dress rehearsal: Victoria & Merrie England			
		Mon 24th		Alhambra theatre: orchestra rehearsal: Victoria & Merrie England. Full Dress rehearsal: Victoria & Merrie England			
		Tues 25th	London	Alhambra Theatre: Orchestra rehearsal at 11 am. Full dress rehearsal at 1pm. Victoria & Merrie England premiere			
	November	Thurs 4th	Walton on Thames				Begins Wreathes for Our Graves
		Weds 17th					Completes Wreathes for our Graves
	December	Mon 6th	Leeds	Sullivan unanimously elected Conductor for 1898 LMF			
		Sat 11th	Windsor	Windsor Castle: try-out for Wreathes for our Graves			

Arthur Sullivan conducts...xlii						
Date	Month	Day	Location			Composition
1898						
	January	Sat 15th	London	Queen's Mansions		Begins The Beauty Stone
	May	Sat 7th	Leeds	Town Hall: chorus rehearsal: LMF		
		Fri 27th	London	Savoy Theatre: Beauty Stone final dress rehearsal		
		Sat 28th	London	Savoy Theatre: Beauty Stone premiere		
	Aug	Sat 27th	Leeds	Chorus rehearsal for new works: Sullivan present but didn't conduct: LMF		
	September	Sat 3rd	Leeds	Chorus Rehearsal LMF		
		Sat 10th	Leeds	Chorus rehearsal LMF		
		Sat 24th	Leeds	Chorus rehearsal LMF		
		Mon 26th	London	Orchestra & principals rehearsal: LMF: St James's Hall		
		Tues 27th		Orchestra & principals rehearsal: LMF: St. James's hall		
		Weds 28th		Orchestra & principals: LMF: rehearsal: St James's Hall		
		Thurs 29th		Orchestra & principals: rehearsal: LMF: St James's Hall		
		Fri 30th	Leeds	S. arrived in Leeds: evening rehearsal with Leeds section of chorus		
	October	Sat 1st		Full rehearsal LMF		
		Mon 3rd		Full rehearsal LMF		
		Tues 4th		Orchestra & principals rehearsal LMF		
	October	Weds 5th	Leeds	LMF: AM: Elijah, PM: [Elgar: Caractacus], Tchaikovsky: Orchestral suite in G, Cornelius: The Hero's Rest, overture: Berlioz: Carnival Roman		
		Thurs 6th		LMF: AM: Cherubini: overture: Anacreon, Palestrina: Stabat Mater, [Stanford: Te Deum]: PM: Liszt: Le preludes, Goldschmidt: Ode, Sullivan: How Sweet the Moonlight Sleeps, Orchestral suite: Merchant of Venice		
		Fri 7th		LMF: AM: Mozart: Prague Symphony, Bach: B minor Mass. PM: Dvorak: overture: In der Natur, [Alan Grey: Song of Redemption],[Parry: Blest Pair of Sirens. Cond: Parry, Sullivan originally scheduled to conduct]PM Wagner extracts: Isolde's Death, Siegmung's Love song, closing scene of Die Walkure, Huldigungs March		
		Sat 8th		LMF: AM: Schumann: overture: Genoveva, [Cowen: Ode to the Passions], [Faure: birth of Venus]...intermission...Beethoven: 9th Symphony. PM: Weber: overture: Euryanthe, Gluck: Divinites du Styx, Gounod: 'Nightingale' duet: Romeo et Juliette, [Danby: Awake, Aeolian Lyre, cond: Alfred Benton], Mendelssohn: Lobgesang		
	November	Thurs 17th	London	Savoy Theatre: 21st anniversary performance of The Sorcerer. Conducted Trial by Jury, too		
1899						
	April	Sat 29th	London	Crystal Palace: Symphony in E - Irish. August Manns conducted the rest of the programme		
	June	Tues 6th	London	Savoy Theatre: HMS Pinafore & Trial by Jury: revival		
	November	Mon 13th	London	Alhambra Theatre: Absent-minded Beggar: premiere		
	November	Weds Nov 15th	Leeds	Announcement that Sullivan would decline the Leeds baton, 'should the Committee offer it to him.'		
		Tues Nov 28	London	Savoy Theatre: Rose of Persia: dress rehearsal		
		Weds 29th	London	Savoy Theatre: Rose of Persia premiere		
1900						
	January	Sat 20th	London	Albert Hall: Patriotic Band Festival: charity concert. Conducts massed brass bands in arrangement of The Absent-minded Beggar, Onward, Christian Soldiers etc. Soloists: Emma Albani, Edward Lloyd, Clara Butt, Bertha Rossow & Andrew Black. Orchestra of 300! Audience of 9,000+		
	February	Tues 13th	London	Her Majesty's Theatre: Patriotic Tableaux: charity concert (apparently composed/arranged music as well as conducted!)		
	May	15th	London	Theatre Royal, Drury Lane: Trial by Jury: war charity concert		
	May	19th	London	War Concert: Orchestral Association		
	June	Sat 9th	Berlin	Imperial Opera House: The Mikado: in presence of Kaiser Wilhelm II: performance in aid of Red Cross Charities		
		Sat 29th	London	Savoy Theatre: Pirates revival: present at theatre - Asked to conduct on several occasions and consistently refused.		
	July	Sat 21st	London	Crystal Palace: National Brass Band competition: conducted mass band finale		
	November	Thurs 28th	Bristol	In Memoriam, Golden Legend: re-opening of Colston Hall, Bristol. Death November 22nd		
Styfflytteikitteh 10. 03. 2017.						

Appendix 2: Sir Arthur Sullivan's conducting Repertoire:

Sir Arthur Sullivan: Conducting Repertoire 1871 -1900						
Composer						
Adam	Ov. Giralda					
Auber	Ov.s : Mansaiello, Le Dieu et le Bayadere, Exhibition, La Circassienne,					
	Marco Spada, Anacreon, Gustav III, Fra Diavolo, La Sirene, Cheval Bronze					
Bach	Suite for Orchestra in D, Light Everlasting, Thou Guide of Israel, B Minor Mass,					
	Christmas Oratorio, Violin Concerto in A minor, God's Time is Best					
Balfe	Ov. The Siege of La Rochelle					
JF Barnett	Lay of the Last Minstrel					
Beethoven	Ov.s Egmont, Fidelio, Leonora #1, Leonora #3, Ov. In C op. 115, Prometheus,					
	Piano Concertos in E flat, C, G, Emperor, Violin Concerto, Mass in C,					
	Mount of Olives, Symphonies #1-9, Missa Solemnis, Creation Hymn					
Berlioz	Romeo & Juliet, Carnaval Romain, Damnation of Faust					
Bishop	Ov. Guy Mannering					
Brahms	Hungarian Dances, Violin Concerto, Schicksalied, Triumphlied, Deutscher Requiem					
	Symphony in F #3					
Bruch	Violin Concerto					
Cherubini	Ov. Le Deux Jourmés					
Chopin	Concerto in E minor					
Corder	Roumanian Suite					
Cowen	Symphony in C minor, Language of the Flowers					
Delibes	Sylvia ballet suite					
Dvorak	Violin Concerto, Ov., Rusizka, Ov. In der Natur, Stabat Mater					
Field	Concerto in C for piano and orchestra					
Foster	Ov. Rob Roy					
Gade	Symphony in B flat #4, Ov. Nachlange von Ossian, The Crusaders					
Gadsby	Ov. The Witches Frolic					
Glinka	A life for the Tsar - ballet suite					
Goetz	Symphony in F					
Goldschmidt	Ode to Music					
Golterman	Cello Concerto in A minor					
Gounod	Ov. Mirelle, Funeral March of a Marionette, Faust ballet suite, La Columbe ballet					
	suite, Reiene de Saba ballet suite					
Handel	Messiah, Samson, Utrecht Jubilate, Israel in Egypt, Acis and Galatea,					
	Alexander's Feast					
Haydn	Symphony in E flat, Symphony in D, Symphony in G 'Military', The Creation					
Herold	Ov. Zampa, Ov. Pre aux Clercs					
Holmes	Ov. The Cid					
J. Strauss II	Kunstlerleben					
Liszt	Rhapsody #12, Les Preludes					
Locke	Macbeth					
Macfarren	Ov. Chevy Chase, Ov. Festival, Ov. Pastorale, Ov. Kenilworth, Canata: King David					
Massenet	Visions					
Mendelssohn	Ov.s Ruy Blas, Hebrides, Loreley, Athelie, Calm Sea and Proseperous Voyage,					
	The Fair Melusine					
	Italian Symphony, Scotch Symphony, Reformation Symphony, Lobgesang					
	Violin concerto in E minor, piano Concerto in G minor					
	Piano Concerto in D minor First Walpurgis Night, Midsummer Night's Dream,					
	Elijah, St Paul, Psalm 42, Psalm 114					

Meyerbeer	Ov. Struensee, l'Africaine ballet suite				
Mozzkovski	Violin Concerto, Orchestral Suite				
Mozart	Symphony in E flat, Symphony in G minor, Jupiter Symphony, Prague Symphony,				
	Concerto in eE flat #6				
	Ov.Die Zauberflote, Ov. Le Nozze di Figaro, Idomeneo, 12th Mass, Requiem				
Nicolai	Ov. Merry Wives of Windsor				
O'Leary, Arthur	Ov. The Spanish Student				
Offenbach	Les Deux Avegneles				
Palestrina	Stabat Mater				
Parry	Ov. The Frogs				
Raff	Symphony #3, The World's End				
Reitz	Ov. Lustspiel				
Rossini	Ov. William Tell, Ov. L'Assedio di Corinth, Ov. I Barbieri di Siviglia, Ov. Gazza Ladra,				
	Ov. Semiramide, Stabat Mater				
Rubenstein	Piano Concerto in G minor				
Saint-Saens	Danse Macabre, Poem Symphonique: Le Rouet d' Omphale, Capriccio,				
	Symphony in G				
Schubert	Ov. Rosamund, Song of Miriam, Symphony in B minor [#1], Symphony in B flat major [#2]				
	Unfinished Symphony [#8 in B minor] Symphony in C major [#9 Great C Major]				
Schumann	Ov. Geneveva, Symphonies 1-4, Piano Concerto in A minor, Paradise and the Peri				
	Pilgrimage of the Rose, Adventlied				
Spohr	Symphony #3 in C minor, Symphony #4, ' The Consecration of Sound',				
	Clarinet Concerto #1, Violin Concerto #? Ov. Jessonda, The Last Judgement				
Stanford	Irish Symphony				
Sterndale Bennett	Ov. Parisina, ov.Naides, Symphony in G, Concerto in F minor,				
	Piano Concerto in C minor, The May Queen				
Tschaikovsky	Suite in G				
Vieuxtemps	Intro. And rondo for Violin and Orchestra				
Wagner	Flying Dutchman, Ov. Tannhäuser, & extracts, Ov. Meistersinger & extracts,				
	Ride of the Valkyries, Die Walküre extracts, Hudigungs March				
Wallace	Ov. Maritana				
Weber	Ov. Der Freischutz, Ov. Oberon, Ov. Euryanthe, Ov. Ruler of the Spirits, Ov. Jubilee				
	Ov. Preciosa				
	Piano Concerto in F major, 1st Clarinet Concerto, in F minor, Symphony #1				

Appendix 3: The Health of Sir Arthur Sullivan: 1890 – 1900

The health of Sir Arthur Sullivan 1890-1900												
	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	
JAN			Light Green			Light Green						
FEB			Light Green			Light Blue				Light Green		
MARCH			Light Green								Light Green	
APRIL			Dark Green						Light Blue		Light Green	
MAY			Dark Blue						Light Blue			
JUNE			Dark Blue				Light Green		Light Blue			
JULY			Light Blue				Light Green		Dark Blue			
AUG			Light Blue									
SEPT											Light Green	
OCT											Light Green	
NOV			Light Green						Light Green		Light Blue	
DEC		Light Green			Light Green							
			LMF			LMF			LMF			
KEY	LMF	Leeds Musical Festival Year			Light Green	Physical health issues with varying degrees of severity indicated by depth of colour.			Light Blue	Mental health issues with varying degrees of severity indicated by depth of colour.		
					Dark Green	Death			Dark Blue			
					Black							

Appendix: 4: Stanford to the Leeds Festival Committee:

Pencilled across the top in Spark's hand:

Sent to me Dec 9th, 1901. The Mayor, Mr. Marshall and I decided it should not be read to the Committee.

Private and Confidential, and for the communication to the Committee alone.

Oct. 13. 1901

50 Holland Street

Kensington W.

[...] The experience of the last few months has resulted in some points of weakness becoming evident and it is...important for the Festivals that I rather dilate upon these interests of the future...

First and most important of all, I have to express my opinion upon the Chorus-mastership. I wish to say most clearly that Mr. Benton has done his level best, has taken untold pains and has in some of the works taught the notes carefully and well. That he could do no more is no fault to be laid at his account. He is simply not gifted with the quality, which interests and stimulates a choral body and which is called 'Temperament' to it. That is a general statement and I will now proceed to particulars. Of training in the all-important matters of rhythm, expression, and clear enunciation of words there was a lamentable lack. Neither was there sufficient attention paid to the *attack* and to *intonation*. I found also that there was little if any clear explanation to the Chorus (a vitally essential matter to my mind) of difficult chord progressions, or of what the works they sang were about. I will give two of the most striking instances. In *Parsifal* everything depends upon rhythm, phrasing, and breathing, and careful training as to the relative pitch of the notes: frequently insisted on, and hammered in at rehearsal. The rhythm was hopelessly muddled, and the intonation was insufficiently

practised, with the result that in the performance the chorus ended in one key and the orchestra in another. In the necessarily few that I was able to devote to this work, I did what I could to rectify this; but as it had not been inculcated from the first, it was an impossible task. I was compelled to spend so much time in working at Technical details in this work, that none was left for getting the atmosphere and colour which it demands from the singers. The other instance was Brahms' *Rinaldo*. The chorus master told me that he found the closing movement impracticable for the Chorus. The difficulty was one simply of clear explanation and careful dissection in detail. In 45 minutes, I taught it to them: 45 minutes of technical training which it ought never to have been necessary for me to do.

Then in this same work, as I noticed that the singing seemed unintelligent, I asked the chorus if they knew the subject they were singing about, and was answered by a unanimous 'No'. I told them shortly the story, and the whole style of singing became full of life and intelligence at once. In practically all the unaccompanied, such as portions of Verdi's Requiem, Mendelssohn's Psalm, and the Palestrina Motet, the chorus fell in pitch sometimes to the extent of a whole tone: which such a splendid body of voices carefully chosen would never do if they were properly trained in intonation. I have known far inferior Choirs, well-trained, sing a Bach. Motet 20 minutes in length without falling a fraction.

There has moreover (in spite of a very carefully prepared list which I made at starting for guidance) been a lack of foresight and proportion in the preparation of various works, resulting in the delay of practising some of them to a dangerously late period, owing to the slow advance made in others.

The Festival in future must have an alert and gifted Chorus Master, who teaches the spirit as well as the letter: and who is able to detect the smallest error in detail. If on this occasion I had not been able to be present 10 times, and worked at preparatory points which ought to have been ready for me, I fear the result would have been most disappointing. That the conductor for pure safety, should have to attend so many practise is quite unprecedented at any Festival, and it should not be a matter of

pure necessity again. The Chorus should be as ready as the Orchestra for a rehearsal of each work [...]

But let me say once more that for Mr. Benton's willingness and his immensely hard work I am most grateful to him. I am only grieved that I cannot speak, with any sense of public duty, in warmer terms of the result of his earnest labour. Chorus training is a gift: if a man has not that gift, no labour can make up for it. [...]

I remain,

Yours most truly

C.V. Stanford.

Appendix 5: Stanford/ Benton letters

7th Dec. 1901

My dear Benton,

I have written a letter to the Committee of the Festival...and especially concerning the Chorus-mastership: but as I like to be perfectly frank with you..you will...not at all events for that reason, resent what I felt it my duty to say.

I cordially thanked you for your unflagging hard work, and I said what I know to be the fact, that you did your level best for the Chorus & for the Festival, but I said also that there were most important, vitally important points of training that were not carried out, and that from no fault whatever of yours, only from the fact that such a task requires greater equipment than I felt you were able to bring to bear upon it.

Please do not resent my personally having to say, from a sense of public duty, what is most repugnant to me as a brother musician.

If you were in London some day and would come and see me, I would tell you all the things that struck me, and you would also be convinced...judgement was formed upon results alone, and not upon any other consideration whatever.

All men are not given the same gifts, I cannot teach the violin, Garcia himself could not teach the pianoforte: Joachim could not teach the organ, none of us are any the worse musicians for that, and if I think that your forte is not Chorus-training, it does not in any way deduct from your musicianship.

I may add that my report to the Committee is absolutely private & confidential, I have requested that no part of it should be printed or quoted outside the Committee Room.

But I am grateful to you for all your loyalty & help and can only hope that you will take this letter in good part, and we shall abide good friends.

I have had to supersede many old friends in the Orchestra this time, but they, one & all took it in the kindest and friendliest way.

I hope to find the same kindness in you though I know that you must be wounded by my judgement, who would not be?

But you will, nevertheless respect me none the less for telling you frankly what that judgement was

I am,

Yours very truly

C.V. Stanford.

Stanford/Benton Letters: 2

In pencil across top in Spark's hand:

Copy of Benton's reply

(Not sent at Embleton's request)

Dear Sir,

Your letter of Dec 7th to hand.

Your knowledge of me however is too limited, your comments too obviously second hand, and my years of success too widely known, for me to accept your opinions as the truth.

The verdict passed upon my Festival work by experienced, unbiased judges who know how heavily you handicapped the Chorus, both at Rehearsals and performances is entirely perfectly satisfactory to me.

This is not the opportunity to go into detail, but I may assure you that on the final concert, if I had not personally intervened, you would have undergone a most humiliating experience – my non-intervention however would have saved me from your ill-advised letter.

The story of the superseded Orchestral players who shower blessings down upon you for depriving them of Festival engagements, is touching, if not convincing, and the hint, you evidently wish to convey to me is, to say the least of it, premature.

The election of Chorus-master, as well as that of Conductor is by Committee.

Appendix 6: Leeds Festival Committee members affiliations:

Leeds Executive Committee 1899-1901: Affiliations				
H. C. Embleton			Key:	
John Rawlinson Ford				Choral Union
William Hannam				Philharmonic
Neville Egerton Leigh				Executive Committee
Thomas Marshall				Subscription Concerts
James Ostler				(Amalgamated with
William Furniss Potter				Philharmonic 1895)
Prof. L.J. Rogers				Source: <i>Leeds Mercury</i>
Thomas Scattergood				
Charles Tetley			Chairman: Philharmonic. Lord Mayor, 1898.	
John Tweedale				
Prof. Edmund Ward				
Edwin Woodhouse				
Frederick Spark				
Leeds Festival General Committee 1901: affiliations, occupations, education and Masonic lodges, where known				
C M Atkinson			Leeds Stipendary Magistrate: Clare Cambridge	
GW Atkinson			Architect	
George Banks			Barrister	
FH Barr			Solicitor	
Sir John Barran			Clothing manufacturer	
Councillor Beaumont			Accountant	
Ernest Beckett M.P			Banker: Trinity Cambridge	
Prof.(Sir) N Bodington			Principal: Yorkshire College/Vice-chancellor University of Leeds: Oxford: Wadham/Lincoln	
CE Bonsfield			Woollen manufacturer	
JR Bower			Allerton Main Colliery	
John Bowling			Leeds Receiver	
A Curren Briggs			Henry Briggs & Son Colliery	
JB Brooke			Solicitor	
WH Brown			Surgeon	
J Selwyn Calverley			Gentleman:Oulton Hall	
Col.E Kitson Clark			Engineer: Trinity: Cambridge	
Col. Charles Coghlan			Coghlan & Drury, ironmasters.	
Alfred Cooke			Printer	
Dr DH Eagland			Yorks. Iron & Coal	
Dr JE Eddison			Physican, Professor of Medicine, Yorkshire College	
Henry Embleton			Mining Engineer	
EB Faber			Banker: Trinity: Cambridge	
Sir Andrew Fairbairn MP			Fairbairn, Naylor & MacPherson, Engineers, Cambridge: Peterhouse	
John Rawlinson Ford			Solicitor	
Edgar Gibson			Vicar of Leeds: Trinity: Oxford	
Arthur Greenwood			Engineer: Albion Works, Greenwood & Batley	
WS Hannam			Solicitor:London: University College: B.Mus. London	
Col.TW Harding			Leeds Volunteers: gentleman, Kirkstall.	
JP Hubbersty			Solicitor: Cambridge: Clare	
WL Jackson MP			lord AllertonLeather manufacturer, director, GNRC, Fidelity	
Sir James Kitson MP			Lord Airedale: university College, London	
Frederick Kitson			Monkbridge Iron and Steel	
Sir AT Lawson			Wellington Foundary, Lawson Combe & Barbour: Cambs.	
Neville Egerton Leigh			Vicar of Kirkstall, Oxford:Brasenose	
Thomas Marshall			Leeds Registrar: Oxford: St John's	
Arthur Middleton			Solicitor	
James Ostler			Leather factor, Fidelity	
HJ Palmer			Journalist: Cambridge: St Catherine's	
A Copson Peake			Solicitor: Clerk of the Peace	
Jonathan Peate			Cloth manufacturer	
Thomas Piercey			Solicitor	
GR Portway			Woollen manufacturer	
William Furniss Potter			Stockbroker	
Prof. LJ Rogers			Dean of Maths. Oxford: Balliol: Yorkshire College. B. Mus London	
T Scattergood			Dean of Medicine, surgeon: Yorkshire College	
Frederick Spark			Journalist, printer, Fidelity	
Marshall Stables			Cloth manufacturer	
Grosvenor Talbot			Stuff merchant	
Charles Tetley			Brewer: Cambridge: Trinity	
FW Tennett Walker			Engineer	
John Tweedale			Architect, Fidelity	
John Ward			Ward & Co. Provision merchant	
Edward Ward			solicitor	
Edmund Ward			surgeon	
William Warren			solicitor	
R Wigram			Engineer, GNRC director	
Richard Wilson			Banker, Leeds Permanent Building Soc.	
Edwin Woodhouse			Woollen manufacturer	
John Wurtzburg			Merchant ?, Bradford.	