

**‘Middle fiddle no more’: British viola concerti and the
rise of viola virtuosity (1880 to 1910)**

A revisionist performance history and case study of performing
practices in Emil Kreuz’s Concerto for Viola and Orchestra Op.20
(1892) and Cecil Forsyth’s Viola Concerto in G minor (1903)

Victoria Marthe Bernath

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University of York

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Abstract

This study investigates the viola as a solo instrument in Britain during the period 1880 to 1910. Current scholarship attributes the increased recognition of the viola and its burgeoning status as a solo instrument to British violist Lionel Tertis from 1910 onwards, disregarding the efforts of foreign-born contemporaries. The lack of scholarship investigating the socio-cultural contexts of the viola in Britain before 1910 perpetuates the notion that violists were, at best, second-rate violinists. However, the late nineteenth century saw a surge of interest in the viola with an awareness of how the middle fiddle's unique timbral properties might be married with virtuosic technique. Many works featuring the viola as a solo instrument were composed in Britain between 1880 and 1910 and are presented here for the first time. This includes four viola concerti,¹ chamber works for viola-piano, musical novelties, and ten method books, all of which bolstered the technical standard and fledgling profession of violists in Britain.

This investigation initially uses archival research to situate the viola in socio-cultural contexts of British music-making. Chapter One reveals examples of viola practitioners and their careers in Victorian concert society (1820 to 1880). Chapter Two uncovers training provision for violists in London conservatoires (1880 to 1910), and Chapter Three illustrates solo violists and their careers in British concert culture (1880 to 1910). The second component of the study is practice-led. Chapter Four considers technical advancements in viola technique. Chapter Five presents a case study which initially investigates aspects of performance practice at the turn of the century relevant to Emil Kreuz's *Concerto for Viola and Orchestra Op.20* (1892) and Cecil Forsyth's *Viola Concerto in G minor* (1903). The case study then questions the craft of historically informing the concerti through a comparison of critical and performative interpretations in recorded examples.

Concluding statements connect these components to reveal a thriving period in the viola's history, clarifying misconstrued notions of the instrument's supposedly impoverished status in British concert culture. Through my original analysis, live and recorded performance, I seek to demonstrate the importance, and to establish a precedent, for performance-based research. By example, I hope to offer new insights for performing these selected viola concerti, and to provide an academic platform to promote performance-based studies at the core of contemporary research methods.

¹ The four concerti include: Emil Kreuz's *Concerto for Viola and Orchestra* (1892), Sir John Blackwood McEwen's *Viola Concerto* (1901), Cecil Forsyth's *Viola Concerto in G minor* (1903) and York Bowen's *Viola Concerto in C minor Op. 25* (1908).

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List of audio materials

Track listings for recorded materials (CD 1/1) accompanying Chapter Five.
Total running time: 50'.00"

Emil Kreuz Concerto for Viola and Orchestra Op.20 (1892)

Track (Reference marking in main body of text)		Timings
1 (1_01)	Movement 1: <i>Allegro ma moto moderato</i> Original fingerings (Kreuz): bars 18-29	[0'39"]
2 (1_02)	Movement 1: <i>Allegro ma moto moderato</i> Original articulation/expressive markings (Kreuz): bars 18-29	[0'38"]
3 (1_03)	Movement 1: <i>Allegro ma moto moderato</i> Author's informed interpretation: bars 18-29	[0'36"]
4 (1_04)	Movement 1: <i>Allegro ma moto moderato</i> Excerpt in context: bars 01-38	[2'01"]
5 (2_01)	Movement 1: <i>Allegro ma moto moderato.</i> Original fingerings (Kreuz): Rehearsal letter N-RL O	[0'26"]
6 (2_02)	Movement 1: <i>Allegro ma moto moderato.</i> Author's instinctive fingerings: RL N-RL O	[0'25"]
7 (2_03)	Movement 1: <i>Allegro ma moto moderato.</i> Author's informed interpretation: RL N-RL O	[0'24"]
8 (2_04)	Movement 1: <i>Allegro ma moto moderato.</i> Author's informed interpretation, in context (with cadenza): RL N-end	[4'39"]
9 (3_01)	Movement 1: <i>Allegro ma moto moderato.</i> Author's informed interpretation of reiterated thematic material: RL D-RL F	[1'30"]
10 (4_01)	Movement 2: <i>Barcarole – Larghetto.</i> Original fingerings (Kreuz): bars 7-19	[0'36"]
11 (4_02)	Movement 2: <i>Barcarole – Larghetto.</i> Author's informed interpretation: bars 7-19	[0'37"]
12 (4_03)	Movement 2: <i>Barcarole – Larghetto.</i> Author's alternative informed fingerings and articulation for recapitulation: bars 82-94	[0'35"]
13 (4_04)	Movement 2: <i>Barcarole – Larghetto.</i> Author's informed interpretation, in context (complete movement)	[6'24"]

List of audio materials (continued)

Emil Kreuz Concerto for Viola and Orchestra Op.20 (1892) cont.

Track (Reference marking in main body of text)		Timings
14 (5_01)	Movement 3: <i>Presto</i> . Original fingerings (Kreuz): RL A-RL B	[0'19"]
15 (5_02)	Movement 3: <i>Presto</i> . Alternative informed fingerings for recapitulation: bars 106-121	[0'18"]
16 (5_03)	Movement 3: <i>Presto</i> . Alt. informed fingerings for further thematic recaps: bars 202-217 and RL R-RL S	[0'18"]
17 (5_04)	Movement 3: <i>Presto</i> . Author's informed interpretation, in context: bar 1-RL F	[1'36"]
18 (5_05)	Movement 3: <i>Presto</i> . Author's informed interpretation of recapitulation in context: bars 106-160	[1'04"]

Cecil Forsyth Viola Concerto in G minor (1903)

19 (6_01)	Movement 1: <i>Appassionato – Allegro con spirito</i> . Author's informed interpretation in context: complete movement	[11'00"]
20 (7_01)	Movement 2: <i>Andante un poco sostenuto</i> . Author's instinctive fingerings: bars 16-36	[1'24"]
21 (7_02)	Movement 2: <i>Andante un poco sostenuto</i> . Author's informed interpretation: bars 16-36	[0'58"]
22 (7_03)	Movement 2: <i>Andante un poco sostenuto</i> . Author's informed interpretation in context: complete movement	[7'10"]
23 (8_01)	Movement 3: <i>Allegro con fuoco</i> . Author's informed interpretation in context: complete movement	[6'31"]

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Author's declaration

I, the author, declare that this dissertation and all supplementary recorded materials have not been previously accepted for any prior certification. This thesis represents the original research of the author, except where stated.

-Victoria Bernath, February 2018

Preface

Research aims

The purpose of this study is two-fold: to devise a social history of the viola in Britain and to develop a relevant performance guide to two compositions vital to the instrument's changing role and function in British concert society, Emil Kreuz's Concerto for Viola and Orchestra Op.20 (1892) and Cecil Forsyth's Viola Concerto in G minor (1903). The study will initially reveal the development of the instrument's status in the burgeoning music environment of London (in educational and performance contexts). Subsequently, considerations of performance practices (1880 to 1910) and the craft process of preparing my informed performances of the aforementioned compositions provide a verbal masterclass to the two viola concerti.

This thesis is my response to the widespread misconception that the viola was a despised instrument in Britain prior to the efforts of British violist, Lionel Tertis. Widely acknowledged as the 'Father of the Viola',² Tertis's long and illustrious career spanned seven decades and the fruits of his dedicated labour defined new performance standards for the viola as a recital instrument. As his biographer and former pupil John White noted, 'Tertis is virtually synonymous with the increasing importance of the viola as a solo and recital instrument alongside the violin and the cello'.³ However, the existence of more than ten, recently discovered British works (dating 1880-1905) featuring the viola as a solo instrument calls this legacy into question. If truly 'there was no one capable of teaching the instrument when [Tertis] took it up in 1896',⁴ then by whom and from whom were these works written? Considering that the earliest detailed accounts of the viola in twentieth-century Britain derive from the autobiographies of Lionel Tertis, the need for a more thorough study of that period is evident.

A recorded social history of the viola in Britain is non-existent, although scholarship regarding the viola, in general, has grown exponentially since the publication of Maurice Riley's seminal text, *The History of the Viola*.⁵ Discussed in greater detail in the Literature Review, the deficiency of a historical account for the

² John White, *Lionel Tertis, the First Great Virtuoso of the Viola* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), xii.

³ Ibid. Back cover.

⁴ Ibid. xiii.

⁵ Maurice Riley, *The History of the Viola* (Michigan: Braun-Broomfield, 1980).

viola comes in stark contrast to the innumerable histories written about the violin and the fewer accounts written regarding the cello. To research, document and write a social history of the viola from its earliest appearance on British shores to the present day would require a greater period of study than that of a PhD. By focusing on a thirty-year period from 1880 to 1910, the study will shed light upon the instrument's development as a solo and recital instrument and stimulate further research.

Research questions

Over the course of study, the research focus shifted. From the outset, the topic of research concerned the effusion of British music composed for viola during the first half of the twentieth-century, focusing on the concerto genre: 'The British Viola Concerto: Shaping an instrument's identity, 1901-1937'. During this thirty-six year period, seven works were composed for solo viola and ensemble. These include Sir John Blackwood McEwen: Viola Concerto in F minor (1901), Cecil Forsyth: Viola Concerto in G minor (1903) and *Chanson Celtique* (1906), York Bowen: Viola Concerto in C minor (1908), Herbert Howells: Elogy for Viola, String Quartet and String Orchestra (1917), Ralph Vaughan Williams: *Flos Campi* for Viola, Chorus and Orchestra (1925), and William Walton: Viola Concerto in D minor (1937). A small number of independent studies analyse select works from the aforementioned catalogue. Notwithstanding these studies, prior to this investigation, little research has been conducted to elucidate the following: the instrument's social history in Britain and causes or possible trends which instigated an interest in the viola as a solo voice. Initial research questions were divided into two branches of investigation: theoretical and practical. Regarding the former, queries included the following: 'How did the advent of the so-called 'English musical renaissance' and notions of cultural nationalism affect the viola's development and the effusion of viola repertoire during the early twentieth-century?', 'Why is Lionel Tertis solely credited with the modernisation of British viola performance standards, when such a legacy has not occurred in any other instrument's social history?', 'Were any of Tertis's colleagues solo violists?', 'What musical activities constituted the career of professional violist in Britain, 1900 to 1940?'. As a practitioner, I studied and performed the seven aforementioned concerti, as well as four British sonatas for viola-piano (composed concurrently to the period of study). The sonatas include York Bowen's Sonata for Viola and Piano No. 1 in C minor Op.18 (1905) and Sonata for Viola and Piano No. 2

in F Major Op.22 (1906), Rebecca Clarke's Viola Sonata (1919), and Arthur Bliss' Viola Sonata Op.91 (1933). Using scans of original manuscripts (when available), and first editions, I learned the repertoire and listened to existing recordings of the works over a two-year period. This process led me to question the nature of informing early twentieth-century repertoire for viola: 'Why is there a dearth of scholarship regarding early twentieth-century viola technique?', 'Why is it tacitly accepted that viola technique is merely an appropriation of violin technique, when the viola's physical properties necessitate different technical requirements?', 'Tertis styled himself as the father of modern viola technique: how do we define 'modern' in viola technique – is it a question of ability, style, or both, and was it put into practice by violists other than Tertis?'

In 2013, I stumbled upon the manuscript of Emil Kreuz's Concerto for Viola and Orchestra Op.20 (1892) in the library of the RCM (London, England), and the course of research changed. Although scant evidence had, up to this point, indicated that Lionel Tertis was not the sole viola practitioner wanting to promote the instrument at the turn of the twentieth century, the Kreuz concerto was definite proof that other musicians appreciated the potential of the instrument. In other words, the viola was not a wholly despised instrument as purported by Tertis. Both lines of investigation transformed. I narrowed the research focus to a thirty-year period (1880 to 1910). I decided to unearth the instrument's social history, and to study, perform and record excerpts from two overlooked British viola concerti from that period: Emil Kreuz's Concerto for Viola and Orchestra Op.20 (1892) and Cecil Forsyth's Viola Concerto in G minor (1903). I selected these two concerti as the focal points for my practice-led case study (Chapter Five) because neither work had been previously studied, unlike the Bowen and McEwen concerti. Consequently, I redefined the research questions for my study as follows:

1. **Victorian music society and viola players:** What examples of professional violists, educational materials, and repertoire pertaining to the viola exist? If any, are they examples of native or non-native efforts? How do any findings correlate to the evolving agenda of promoting native talent in Britain, c1860?
2. **British music education and the viola:** Were there opportunities to learn the viola? In which educational contexts was this possible? What pedagogical materials existed for the viola? Was the viola regarded as a primary study specialisation?

3. **Early pioneers of solo viola performance and defining ‘virtuosity’:** What examples of solo viola performance exist during the period of study? Who were these musicians, if any? What did it mean to be a virtuosic performer at the time, and were any violists considered virtuosi?

4. **Edwardian viola concerti:** Which concerti were written for the viola during this era? What is the historical context of each work (ie who composed the concerti; for whom were the concerti composed; where and by who were they premiered)? Do these circumstances offer insight as to the relative anonymity of the works today?

5. **Interpretation and exploring notions of early twentieth-century performance practice in virtuosic repertoire:** Straddling late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century performance practices, how did performance practices at the turn of the century evolve for the violin and viola? Did performance practices for the viola mirror those of the violin? How do I inform my interpretation of newly-discovered concerto with the view to perform the work professionally (espousing both a historically informed approach and my own artistic integrity)? How does critical interpretation vary from performed interpretation in live performance?

As a scholar and performer, it was imperative to approach the thesis from two lines of enquiry: as a question of musicological scholarship and as a practice-based study. Although the body of practice-based scholarship (particularly that of bowed-string instruments) has grown exponentially as a method of enquiry over the past thirty years, there still exists a notable divide between the branches of scholarly analysis and practice-based music research. Often, one line of inquiry is conducted at the expense of the other. The discovery of a previously unrecorded concerto for viola (Emil Kreuz’s Concerto for Viola and Orchestra Op.20) provided the ideal premise: how to achieve a historically-informed performance of an unknown performing text from 1892? In hopes of further bridging the divide which still exists between practice and theory, the study aims to present findings from both lines of enquiry which will better inform late-Romantic and early modern performance-practices for solo viola repertoire.

More than fifteen compositions and method books for viola (dating 1880 to 1910) were studied and performed throughout the period of study to better understand the emerging canon of works for viola, previously overlooked by scholars. Two

substantial works, the aforementioned Concerto for Viola and Orchestra Op.20 (1892) by Emil Kreuz and Cecil Forsyth's Viola Concerto in G minor became the focal points for questions regarding performance practices and standards of emerging viola virtuosi of the studied period. Although the Forsyth concerto has been previously recorded,⁶ it remains relatively unknown to violists, scholars and wider musical audiences and questions of interpretative ideals persist. Two further points of consideration promised research potential: both *concerti* were composed by professional violists other than Tertis, and the manuscripts and first editions reveal virtuosic writing replete with expressive markings.

Methodology and source materials

To address the above research questions, we must first consider the underlying issue which called for this study: the representativeness of source material. Evidently, the numerous and well-documented biographical materials of Lionel Tertis compared to dearth of any other existing accounts of his colleagues created a bias in current scholarship which suggests that viola rose to popularity in Britain solely through the efforts of one musician. However, preliminary research efforts for this study suggested that music practitioners other than Lionel Tertis were performing or composing for the viola before 1910. To determine a suitable methodology with which to conduct this study, I considered similar historical studies for which the insight into a larger representative group was imperative.

Prosopography is a research method which 'attempts to bring together all relevant biographical data of groups of persons in a systematic and stereotypical way...a system for organising mostly scarce data in such a way that they acquire additional significance by revealing connections and patterns influencing historical processes'.⁷ Primarily adopted in historical studies, prosopography is concerned with defining the common characteristics of an indeterminate collective in society (ie studying the average man, not the exceptional individual), a population to whom the investigator intends to generalise the results of the study by means of multiple career-line analysis. With regards to this study, I was primarily concerned with identifying

⁶ Cecil Forsyth, Concerto for Viola in G minor. BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra/Lawrence Power. Cond. Martyn Brabbins. CD, Hyperion CDA67546 (2005).

⁷ Koenraad Verboven, et al. "A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography." *Modern History Unit*. University of Oxford, July 2007, https://www.academia.edu/1366902/2007_A_Short_Manual_to_the_Art_of_Prosopography_K._Verboven. Accessed on 20 January 2013.

the following indeterminate population: violists in Britain during the years 1880-1910. However, to structure a study that could be feasibly conducted within a three-year period, I narrowed the scope of my study to specific populations. Initial populations studied included: professional violists working in London and student violists in London. To unearth common characteristics and conduct multiple-career line analysis for both populations, I studied primary sources including written and photographed materials (ie concert ephemera, concert programmes, method books, and periodicals contemporary to the period of study) and compared these findings with secondary sources (PhD dissertations and pertinent scholarship sources). Regarding the initial population (ie professional violists working in Britain), the Hallé Symphony Orchestra archives, the Royal Philharmonic Society Archives and the Royal Academy of Music archives provided a wealth of material which allowed unparalleled insights into the careers of viola players of the time. The second population (ie student violists in London) was considered by examining the archives of the Royal Academy of Music (henceforth RAM), Trinity College of Music (henceforth TCM) and the Royal College of Music (henceforth RCM). Interestingly, by analysing the careers and studies of the aforementioned population frames, my research findings suggested a specialised population subset which decided the final focus of this study: solo violists and the rise of viola virtuosity in Britain, 1880 to 1910. This group proved to be the most difficulty to study: few materials exist to suggest the formative years and subsequent performance careers of each soloist.

Regarding performance practice, contemporary accounts of violinists, music periodicals, archival photographs and method books for violin and viola provided the source material for determining viola performance practice of the age. For this study, historical audio recordings do not feature as primary sources. I recognise the great value of historical recordings and the insights they afford us, regarding performance practices from the turn of the twentieth century onwards. The decision to omit archival audio materials from my list of primary sources is rooted in the observation that recordings of solo violists pre-1919 are few and far between, and the handful of recordings that do exist feature artists from America, France and Hungary. Moreover, if we consider the virtuosic nature and highly distinctive performance styles of soloists (in general), it would be erroneous to assume broad overviews regarding performance practices based on such a small sample.

Structure

The study is divided into three parts: investigating the social history of the viola in Britain, devising a stylistic literacy pertinent to the performance of two select concerti, and assessing expression in my performance of the two concerti by analysing verbal and performed discourse. The research is divided into five chapters, preceded by a literature review evaluating current scholarship relating to the viola in Britain, late-Romantic performances practice, studies in nineteenth-century British music, and empirical case-studies exemplifying producer-observer dynamic. Chapter One is concerned with situating the viola and the fledging profession of violists in Victorian Britain, providing a context which preceded the two viola *concerti*. Chapter Two presents a case study of British music education and viola performance studies at RCM and TCM in London (1880 to 1910). Chapter Three identifies and examines the careers of early pioneers of solo viola performance and evaluates existing literature for the viola (focusing on the importance of the concerto form in the construction of the solo violist). Chapters Four questions Edwardian definitions of virtuosity and the pertinence of this terminology to examples of solo performances by violists, focusing again upon the available concerto literature. Chapter Five is a case study of the two select viola concerti, comparing verbal discourse to performed discourse in hopes of devising a stylistic literacy contemporaneous to the initial performances of the two viola concerti. Performed discourse in Chapter Five is provided by recorded samples included in the thesis.

It should be noted that, in order to demonstrate the long-term effects of adapting these stylistic considerations into my habitual practice as a professional violist, I performed a live recital of repertoire discussed in this thesis at the Rymer Auditorium (University of York) on the day of my PhD viva (22 March 2016), with Thomas Ang on piano. The recording is available from the Music Department Concerts Archives (University of York).

Literature review

Tracing the manifestation of cultural nationalism and the social history of viola in Britain

Introduction

In this study, I investigate the social history of the viola in Britain (set against the backdrop of a growing sense of cultural nationalism), devise a stylistic literacy pertinent to the performance of two select concerti (vital to the instrument's changing role and function in British concert society), and assess performative interpretation in my recorded performances by means of a self-evaluated case study. These strands of research touches on the following themes: cultural nationalism, British music education, the viola in British concert society, late nineteenth and early twentieth-century performance practice, and empirical musicology case studies exemplifying a participant-observer methodology. This literature review surveys scholarship relating to the aforementioned themes, beginning with the broader concern of cultural nationalism and narrowing focus towards specific, musical texts addressing the viola.

Cultural nationalism, and its relationship to studies in musicology

It was bound to happen. If musicologists did not attempt to place the English Musical Renaissance in its broader social and political context, to explicate its meanings and functions within national culture, someone else would.⁸

Cultural nationalism expressed in and through music at the turn of twentieth-century England is a much-debated ideology regarding concepts of an evolving English musical heritage. Although an extensive literature⁹ on Victorian and Edwardian fine arts and creative writing collectively illustrates origins and phases of nationalism in these two disciplines, music has not been as fortunate. There is a substantial body of

⁸ Alain Frogley, "Rewriting the Renaissance: History, Imperialism and British Music since 1840," *Music and Letters* 84, no.2 (2003), 241.

⁹ Selected readings include: Stephen Prickett, ed. *European Romanticism: A Reader* (London: Continuum Publishing, 2010); Marcia Pointon. *Milton and English Art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1970); Phillip Connell. *Romanticism, Economics, and the Question of Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Stuart Curran, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to British Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Eric Hobsbawm, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

literature pertaining to national culture in Great Britain as well as notions of nationalism in English musical composition¹⁰ and yet the existing literature contains undeniable gaps: the most obvious being a limited presence or lack of discussion regarding nationalism in every other aspect of English art music, from performance practice to a systematic analysis of the part played by musicians other than composers (luthiers, performers both professional and amateur, historical musicologists and critics) in developing English musical culture.

Although my research does not concentrate on cultural criticism, avoidance of cultural and historical theories would be detrimental. Before the 1980s, the discipline of musicology had a tendency to categorise work as either musical analysis/theory or as a historiographical discussion removed from interdisciplinary dialogue. Without collectively examining different strands of scholarship, restricted and misleading views focusing on isolated examples distort our understanding of cultural activity and creative efforts in late Victorian and Edwardian Britain, the period which I will tentatively refer to as the English Music Renaissance.¹¹ This may be seen most readily in musicological studies which favour a grand narrative and do not consider the methodology of cognate disciplines,¹² or inter-disciplinary research efforts. At the time of correction, it is noted that inter-disciplinary research efforts between musicology and the sister humanities are far and few between. The most obvious example of a musicological study offering a distorted perspective of cultural nationalism in turn-of-the-century Britain is Stradling and Hughes's *English Musical Renaissance 1860-1940*.¹³ Heavily criticised for its patronising prose, gross simplifications, misconstrued quotations (particularly those of Ralph Vaughan Williams)¹⁴ the work (published in two editions, the second offering few corrections) unfortunately portrays a highly subjective view of music-making, belittling the

¹⁰ Selected readings include: Michael Murphy, and Harry White, eds., *Musical Constructions of Nationalism* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2001); Jill Halstead, Ruth Gipps: *Anti-Modernism, Nationalism and Difference in English Music* (Suffolk: Ashgate Publishing, 2006); Tomi Mäkelä, T. *Music and Nationalism in 20th-century Great Britain and Finland* (Hamburg: Von Bockel, 1997); Philip, Bohlman, *The Music of European Nationalism: Cultural Identity and History* (Santa Barbara California: ABC-CLIO, 2004); Cecil Forsyth, *Music and Nationalism: A Study of English Opera* (London: MacMillan & Co, 1911).

¹¹ Highly contentious if treated as a substantial concept, the idea of an 'English Musical Renaissance' will be used sparingly in this study and instead regarded as a historical term. Chapter Two will discuss notions of national agendas in music education.

¹² Robert Morgan, *Twentieth century Music: A History of Musical Style in Modern Europe and America*. (New York: Norton, 1991); Peter Ackroyd, *English Music* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992); Emma Hornby and David Maw, eds., *Essays on the History of English Music in Honour of John Caldwell: Sources, Style, Performance, Historiography* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010).

¹³ Merion Hughes and Robert Stradling, *The English Musical Renaissance 1840-1940: Constructing a National Music* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993).

¹⁴ Frogley, op cit.

practice by implying music provides little else besides material for structural analysis. Criticism of the work is already established, most notably that of Alain Frogley¹⁵ and Ruth A. Solie,¹⁶ and bears no further deliberation in this review. However, these two editions are not alone in providing a poor departure point for what is now a flourishing area of scholarly writing.

Defining 'nationalism' in music is problematic. This is largely due to the fact that cultural nationalism as a concept remains ill-defined, as seen in scholarly literature which lacks conclusive theories and employs many regurgitated assumptions and simplified generalisations, the most prevalent being that folk music is a country's national signpost. Folk music cannot be and is not the sole constituent needed to identify 'nationalism' in music, or the practice of music-making: as Vaughan Williams said 'none of the more level-headed of us imagined that because Beethoven quoted a Russian tune in one of his Rasumovsky quartets, he thereby became a Russian composer; or that because Delius used an English folk-song in one of his compositions it made him into an Englishman'.¹⁷ Analysing elements of folk music in Western art composition, as well as the setting or treatment of said elements in art music, is no simple matter. Eric Hobsbawm questions the legitimacy of several traditional British cultural norms that rely of notions of folk customs, including folk music: his research reveals concepts of heritage and folk customs were originally introduced through a nineteenth-century political agenda to restore 'tradition' to British culture.¹⁸ In light of his findings, it is the agenda of supplanting traditional ideals that constructs notions of cultural nationalism as much as the supposed tradition itself. However, musicological studies traditionally appropriate the English Musical Renaissance as a movement in composition depicting folk *topoi*, even though music analysts themselves caution against such assumptions. As demonstrated most prolifically in the work of Agawu, Caplin, Ratner and Monelle,¹⁹ such naivety should not be assumed when attempting to identify the appropriation of folk *topoi* in

¹⁵ Ruth Solie, R. A. "No 'Land without Music' After All." *Victorian Culture and Literature* 32, no.1 (2004), 261-276.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Ralph Vaughan Williams, *National Music and Other Essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), 235.

¹⁸ David Cannadine, "The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition', c1820-1977." *The Invention of Tradition*. Ed. Eric Hobsbawm (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 101-164.

¹⁹ I refer the following: Kofi Agawu, *Music as Discourse Semiotic Adventures in Romantic Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); William Caplin, "On the relation of musical *topoi* to formal function." *Eighteenth Century Music* 2, no.1 (2005), 113-124. Leonard Ratner, *Classical Music: Expression, Form and Style* (New York: Schirmer, 1980); Raymond Monelle, *The Musical Topic* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2006).

musical contexts as evidence of national character. The inclusion of folk *topoi* or even the repeated referential use of a topic (which then becomes a ‘signifier’ is not the sole exponent that identifies nationalism in music, or musical activity.

My preoccupation with tracing notions of cultural nationalism is in part due to Lionel Tertis’s legacy as the first British viola virtuoso and my research attempts to determine if and how cultural nationalism impacted the viola’s situation in British concert society. As a performer, I know that the idea of cultural nationalism in today’s concert society pertains mostly to a performer’s nationality, country of origin and residence. While this may sound overly-simplified, a performer’s country of origin, or residence, plays an important role in choice of arts education, instructed pedagogical styles and career choices. At the time of writing, England has, for example, a thriving music scene which offers more employment opportunities for musicians than many other European countries. If cultural nationalism, then, may be considered as a multi-faceted aspect, why does historical musicology shy away from investigating nationalism as an intermediary, facilitating and shaping musical performance? Further reading was necessitated to determine how cultural nationalism is perceived in cognate disciplines.

Aside from semantic studies founded in literary theory,²⁰ a different approach to identifying national trends manifests itself in cultural studies. This relatively new branch of humanities endeavours to define culture and its many aspects including ‘cultural nationalism’²¹ through the study of social construct and the interaction of the different social sciences during a set period of time. However, due to the varying methodologies applied in such an encompassing discipline, it seems pertinent to first consider sociological studies (from whence grew ‘cultural studies’) which first explored the growth of nationalism, the ideology of national identity, as a governmental policy defined in English-dominated Great Britain, and to then consider how national identity relates to musical culture in interdisciplinary research.

Both David Powell’s *Nationhood and Identity: The British State Since 1800* and Edward Royle’s *Modern Britain: A Social History 1750-1997* provide in-depth, chronological accounts of Great Britain’s establishment as a nation, the fostering of an independent identity from Europe, in political, social and subsequent cultural entities. England receives the most detailed attention out of Britain’s four countries,

²⁰ Monelle, *Musical Topic*, 11-19.

²¹ See: Mike Featherstone, ed. *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity* (London: Sage Publications, 1990); Gordon Betts, *The Twilight of Britain: Cultural Nationalism, Multiculturalism, and the Politics of Toleration* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 2002).

and within that focus London is often the key point of study, particularly in Royle's research. The discussion pertaining to cultural ramifications is of particular interest: for example, the impact of changing dynamics of social classes including new leisure and cultural pursuits²² of the emerging middle class, such as the music hall. Although frequently brief in mention, these cultural references are important examples of interdisciplinary research regarding British culture. David Powell offers a narrowed focus on nationhood and issues of identity in political and social contexts as found in the four constituent countries within the United Kingdom. It is within this discussion that several interesting points are made regarding the development of England's own identity against the growing discontent of Scotland, Ireland and Wales,²³ as well as the impact of English nationalism relative to other British cultures and societies as they developed during the Victorian era. However, as the discussion focuses on four 'sets' of growing independent identities within Britain, music as a cultural phenomenon remains a non-engaged topic with the greater part of the argument involving politics and questions of political nationalism.²⁴ Culture is expressed in terms of educational reform and dissemination and as the 'process of re-discovering, or re-inventing, the past',²⁵ disputing common heritages between the 'four nations' of Britain. Culture is also referred to as the stimulus for nationalist movements²⁶ although in Powell's subsequent argument this appears only as a superficial discussion, briefly exemplified through the rise of the middle-class: 'The strengthening of Britain's identity in politics and government was underpinned by an increasing economic integration and by a more general process of cultural assimilation'.²⁷ In both studies, culture is not explored as a multi-faceted phenomenon (singular mentions of fine arts, literature or music appear rarely), but rather culture is expressed as an assimilated by-product of other interdisciplinary efforts and movements.

John Hutchinson's *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism*²⁸ is a later sociological study that places culture at the centre of its analysis: to define 'cultural nationalism' during the formation of a new nation state (Ireland during the

²² Edward Royle, *Modern Britain: A Social History 1750-2011*, 3rd ed. (London: Bloomsbury, 2012).

²³ Each of these countries promoted the discovery of independent identities, rooted in historical accounts and the fabrications of zealous politicians.

²⁴ *Ibid*, 60.

²⁵ David Powell, *Nationhood and Identity: The British State since 1800* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002), 66.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 6.

²⁷ *Ibid*, 91.

²⁸ John Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism: The Gaelic revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1987).

second Gaelic revival of 1890-1920). Utilising methodology similar to the previously discussed sociological studies, Hutchinson is loath to isolate discussion of culture from political ideology. Initially, Hutchinson places cultural nationalism as 'a distinctive form of nationalism' associated within a political framework that is 'generally perceived as an enthusiasm of coteries of intellectuals'.²⁹ The ambiguous placement of cultural nationalism as the collective whim of a small social bracket is a constant model throughout the study. Before he tackles the purpose and function of culture in the emerging Irish nation state, Hutchinson briefly explores late nineteenth-century Czech, Ukrainian, Greek and Indian nationalistic movements to illustrate that 'unlike political movements, which may...transform themselves from elite urban-based to mass organizations by promising different groups the redress of grievances in a national state, cultural nationalism remains in normal circumstances a small-scale movement that promotes progress through communal self-help'.³⁰ The aim of the intelligentsia, or cultural nationalists, as he refers to them, 'is the moral regeneration of the historic community...the recreation of their distinctive national civilization'³¹ a clearly romanticized view of culture in which the search for tradition becomes the phenomenon of culture. Interestingly, while acknowledging how a conflation with political nationalism downplays the importance of cultural nationalism, for Hutchinson culture's principal role is that of literary manifestation,³² a transient phenomenon and a regressive response to modernization.³³

From this brief examination of sociological literature concerned with British culture, we can see the lack of discussion regarding British musical culture, waiting to be addressed by a different discipline or methodological approach. 'Culture' in nineteenth-century Britain was accounted for and documented by an erratic array of writings: from the dry, documented government reports on the social expenditure and social activity of the British people³⁴ to philosophical musings of early anthropological efforts³⁵ and as a popular topic (be it a concert review or commentary

²⁹ Ibid, 2.

³⁰ Ibid, 125.

³¹ Ibid, 124.

³² Hutchinson considers only the work of poets, authors, journalists, religious leaders, professors and teachers of language when defining examples of cultural nationalism.

³³ Ibid, 8-9.

³⁴ Royle, *Modern Britain: A Social History 1750-2011*, 2012.

³⁵ The findings of Lewis H. Morgan and Edward Tylor (1871) as mentioned in Abraham Rosman, Paula Rubel, and Maxine Weisgrau, eds., *The Tapestry of Culture: An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, 9th ed. (Lanham: AltaMira Press, 2009), 16. Thomas Hobbes and his early cultural theory as mentioned in Aaron Wildavsky, *Culture and Social Theory* (New Jersey, Transaction Publishers: 1998), 145-168.

regarding the latest women's fashions). Previous studies may have treated cultural discussion as a lesser subject or within a limited framework, hence the dearth of writings addressing cultural nationalism in the humanities. Cultural discussion is protean by nature, and the expansion of contemporary culture studies suggests that research on the idea of 'national culture' or 'cultural nationalism' should be drawn from a variety of sources in hopes of minimising disciplinary bias or restricted views.

The desire to have an informed understanding of various theoretical definitions of 'cultural nationalism' with which to address issues of British music culture and nationalism arises from a review of recent British music scholarship, which is only now beginning to embrace interdisciplinary research methods to illustrate important relations between nineteenth-century music and social practices in Victorian and Edwardian Britain. As previously mentioned, interdisciplinary research has been a popular methodological approach for musicological efforts since the 1980s.³⁶ Labelled the 'new musicology', its proponents immerse themselves in 'cultural and theoretical studies' as termed by author Marvin. Nicholas Cook is one musicologist who embraces this interdisciplinary approach readily in his work.³⁷ However, the promise of fresh perspectives seems premature: new musicology pertaining to British music studies³⁸ still practices the grand narrative, or what Christopher Williams would call 'the regulated or mandated "normality" of common [musicological] practice',³⁹ a practice lacking in creative vision⁴⁰ which instead finds new life in the assortment of new definitions and terminology borrowed from other disciplines. As Rose Subotnik says in *Developing Variations: Style and Ideology*, 'what good is freedom of thought if it amounts to nothing more than a freedom to refuse to understand?'⁴¹ It is the intention that this study will not fall into the trap of becoming a sympathetic grand narrative of the viola's social history in Britain, 1880 to 1910.

³⁶ Stephen Crist, *Historical Musicology: Sources, Methods, Interpretations* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2004), 1. Please refer to the book's introduction for a thorough illustration of how 'the discipline is benefiting from an expansion that has enriched scholarship'. Ibid, 1.

³⁷ With particular reference to Nicholas Cook, *Music, Imagination, and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

³⁸ To clarify, I refer to studies written about Victorian and Edwardian music.

³⁹ Christopher A. Williams, "Of Canons & Context: Toward a Historiography of Twentieth-Century Music," *Repercussions* 2, no.1 (1993), 68.

⁴⁰ An example which illustrates this point includes Andrew Blake, *The Land without Music: Music, Culture and Society in Twentieth century Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997). This book draws on studies from alternative disciplines in tackling cultural contexts of English music from different historical periods. But Blake never fully engages primary sources within his discipline, instead commenting on well-trodden subject matters, and consequently, little new ground is covered.

⁴¹ Rose Subotnik, *Developing Variations: Style and Ideology in Western Music* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 11.

Notions of bowed-string instrument culture and performance practice

Writing a concise, social history of the British viola (1880 to 1910) requires the appraisal of works written about bowed-string performance practice in Britain, British organology, British violists, British composers who composed for the viola, and social histories of British music are all relevant to the timeframe of my study. The following discussion will include those publications most significant to my research project: Andrew Blake's *Land Without Music*, the Ashgate series devoted to British Music Studies with particular concern paid to David Golby's *Instrumental Teaching in Nineteenth-century Britain* and Bennett Zon's *Music and Performance Culture in Nineteenth-century Britain*, Brian Harvey's *The Violin Family and Its Makers in the British Isles: An Illustrated History and Directory*, Maurice Riley's *History of the Viola* (both editions) and Clive Brown's *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750-1900*.

Andrew Blake's *Land Without Music* provides a lengthy survey of twentieth-century music and society in Britain (from classical to rock, the Proms to Glastonbury), aiming to dispel notions that Britain was ever a land without a distinctive musical heritage. As printed on the back cover, this survey claims to be 'a pioneering cultural history of music' that 'opens new paths for the study of music, revealing the complex connections between forms and practices, histories and landscapes'.⁴² Andrew Blake has a performing background as a saxophonist and composer: however, his educational credentials lie in the disciplines of history and culture studies and it is with this methodological approach that he writes. For this considerable project, Blake chooses to organise his arguments within large historical samples, largely eschewing the idea of 'movements' (apart from his discussion on folk music). In doing so, Blake does not invest in articulating issues of aestheticism or issues of theoretical and harmonic development. His book relies mostly on the recent scholarship of others, with little critical input. For example, Blake does provide an interesting account of the social acceptance of British musicians within the British class system but this is mostly the work of musicologist Nicholas Temperley.⁴³ Blake chooses not to further this subject into a new area of scholarship. Examples of more in-depth British music social histories include Vic Gammon's *The*

⁴² Blake, *ibid.* Promotional materials on back cover.

⁴³ Nicholas Temperley, *The Romantic Age, 1800-1914* (London: Athlone Press, 1981).

Imagined Village: Culture, Ideology, and the English Folk Music Revival and Jeremy Crump's essay 'The Identity of English Music: The Reception of Elgar 1898-1935' (possibly the earliest example of a musicologist calling for interdisciplinary research).

In contrast a series of publications edited by Bennett Zon, *Music in Nineteenth-century Britain*⁴⁴ offers an ampler revisionist history of British music during the Victorian era. This collaborative collection is the result of a conference series initiated at Durham University in 1999, from which the pertinent discussions have been compiled into multiple collections of essays which range in subject from provincial music-making to opera studies, from the emergence of the programme note⁴⁵ to the evocation of musical experience in British painting.⁴⁶ Diversity along these lines adds a new dimension to musicological scholarship from the 1960s⁴⁷ which initially saw a renewal of interest in Victorian and Edwardian art music, a historiography that centres on the accomplishments and reception of British composers and their compositions. However, this series exemplifies my concerns regarding the recent explosion of 'new musicology': theoretical depth and methodological application sometimes present themselves thinly in this collection, depending on the author in question. One unfavourable example would be Jeremy Dibble's *Fantasy and Hybridization in the British Variation Tradition* which excludes any reference to abundant examples in British chamber music, a genre in which the fantasy form was championed (thanks to Walter W. Cobbett's acclaimed composition competition). Dibble's argument relates only to a few orchestral variations, choosing to focus the paper on Elgar's *Enigma* variations (a widely discussed composition).⁴⁸ The choice to ignore the wide body of relevant chamber music is unfortunate. On the whole, however, the Ashgate series is unparalleled in its breadth of study and therefore central to the interdisciplinary study of British

⁴⁴ As published by Ashgate Publishing in Farnham, England.

⁴⁵ Catherine Dale, "The Analytical Content of the Concert Programme." ed. Pippa Drummond *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2013).

⁴⁶ Suzanne Fagence Cooper, "Aspiring to the Condition of Music: Painting in Britain 1860-1900," ed. Bennett Zon *Nineteenth-century British Music Studies II* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 1999), 251-8.

⁴⁷ Selected titles include: Wilfrid Mellers, *Society and Music: England and the European Tradition* (London: D. Dobson, 1946); Frank Howes, *The English Musical Renaissance* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1966); Gervais Hughes, *The Music of Arthur Sullivan* (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd. 1960); Simon Nowell-Smith, *Edwardian England, 1901-1914* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964); Cecil Sharp, *English Folk Songs: Some Conclusions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1907).

⁴⁸ Selected titles include: Julian Rushton, *Elgar: Enigma Variations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Patrick Turner, *Elgar's Enigma Variations – a centenary celebration* (London: Thames Publishing, 1999); Jerrold Moore, "Part II: Enigma." *Edward Elgar: A Creative Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 51-276; Diana McVeigh, "Elgar's musical language: the shorter instrumental works," eds. Daniel Grimley and Julian Rushton, *The Cambridge Companion to Elgar* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 50-62.

nineteenth-century music, and to those future studies concerning themselves with that era.

Three recent publications from the Ashgate series regarding performance practice, *Instrumental Teaching in Nineteenth-century Britain*,⁴⁹ *Music and Performance Culture in Nineteenth-century Britain*,⁵⁰ and *Theory and Practice in Late Nineteenth-century Violin Performance: An Examination of Style in Performance, 1850-1900*⁵¹ provide crucial reading for any research pertaining to bowed stringed-instrument performance practice and Victorian music culture. The first publication follows a three-part structure concerning social and cultural context of music in Britain and the growth of music education, bowed-string instrument tuition and the tuition of all other instruments (ie keyboard, brass, woodwind and plucked strings) at British educational institutions. The commentary on British culture and education follows in the wake of research by Nicholas Temperley, expanding upon areas of scholarship such as the role of the amateur/semi-professional musician⁵² and the dissemination of education to the middle-class. Discussion of technical developments relies heavily on the work of Clive Brown⁵³ and it becomes evident that the narrative relies solely on text-based sources, a disappointed considering that performative insights would enhance technical discussions. It is the second part of this work and the chapter *The Viola, Double bass and Violoncello* which is of particular interest. Sadly, the discussion of viola tuition is underdeveloped. Limited to one paragraph, the subject of the viola (apart from an incomplete list of viola method books in a subsequent appendix) does not expand beyond a brief explanation of the viola ‘perceived as the poor relation of the violin family’⁵⁴ and the brief mention of select violists (including Henry Hill, Richard Blagrove and Lionel Tertis) bereft of any biographical detail. Similar to Golby’s book, *Music and Performance Culture in Nineteenth-century Britain* provides an initial foray into the relatively new discourse regarding performance culture. However, topics covered in this essay collection cover a substantial breadth and do not include frequent mention of the string family. Christina Bashford’s article *Hidden*

⁴⁹ David Golby, *Instrumental Teaching in Nineteenth-century Britain* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2004).

⁵⁰ Bennett Zon, ed., *Music and Performance Culture in Nineteenth-century Britain* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2013).

⁵¹ David Milsom, *Theory and practice in late nineteenth-century violin performance: an examination of style in performance, 1850-1900* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2003).

⁵² Golby, *Instrumental Teaching*, 46.

⁵³ Clive Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performance Practice* (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 1999).

⁵⁴ Golby, *Instrumental Teaching*, 213.

Agendas and the Creation of Community: the Violin Press in the Late Nineteenth-century is one of three examples⁵⁵ that does include a relevance to the string family. Well-written and enlightening, Bashford's methodical arguments regarding the violin's representation in the British press provided an excellent departure point for further reading and an insight into possible sources of archival material for this thesis. However, it should be noted that Bashford's study includes scant mention of the marginalised lower voices of the string family, including that of the viola.

David Milsom's *Theory and Practice in Late Nineteenth-century Violin Performance: An Examination of Style in Performance, 1850-1900* provides a welcome departure from the previous two studies by incorporating recorded materials to enhance his arguments. It is clear that a performer is behind the investigation, and the discussion achieves far greater detail than the previously discussed studies. Milsom's argument seeks to examine two national schools of violin playing, Franco-Belgian and German, questions stylistic differences between the two, and illustrates performed examples of both schools. My study is greatly inspired by this important addition to the field of performance studies: Milsom's approach to discussing and exploring issues of musical expression by studying master recordings and recording his own violin performance is an encouraging blueprint. Twenty-five recorded samples of violin and voice demonstrate the crucial influence of vocal technique and expressivity on violin performance practice and pedagogy. Three of his own performative efforts are included in the recorded examples: two stylistic interpretations of Brahms Sonata No.2 in A major, Op.100: *Allegro amabile* and one take of Fauré Sonata No.1 in A major, Op.13: *Allegro molto*. However, I am wary of two aspects in this study: Milsom's use of historical recordings dating from after the period of study (1850 to 1900) and his idea to 'recreate'⁵⁶ performance styles. Regarding the former, there is an argument to be had for analysing materials which offer tangible proof of performance styles; however, knowing the protean nature of performance abilities and the swiftly changing attitudes to performance at the close of the nineteenth century, I would be cautious to draw conclusions from this body of evidence. Secondly, I am not of the opinion that it is possible to 'recreate' a

⁵⁵ The two other examples include: Leanne Langley, "Joining up the Dots: Cross Channel Models in the Shaping of the London Orchestral Culture, 1895-1914," ed. Bennett Zon, *Music and Performance Culture in Nineteenth-century Britain: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Temperley* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2013); Simon McVeigh, "'As the Sand on the Sea Shore': Women Violinists in London's Concert Life Around 1900," eds. Emma Hornby and David Maw, *Essays on the History of English Music in Honour of John Caldwell* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010), 232-258.

⁵⁶ Milsom, *Theoretical aspects*, 276.

performance (to inform, yes, and this will be discussed in Chapter Five) nor is the idea of recreation conducive to producing a pleasurable performance. Indeed, the author's performed illustrations functioned as stylistic examples and which left the listener wanting more personality. I hope to heed these shortcomings in my own study.

Clive Brown's exemplary study of Classical and Romantic performing practice⁵⁷ is a valuable addition to any musician's library and of great importance to this study. Brown's manual is informed by the leading European performance treatises from the eighteenth century to the dawn of the twentieth century to elucidate expressive applications of string bowing,⁵⁸ vibrato,⁵⁹ portamento,⁶⁰ and the interpretation of tempo indications.⁶¹ The depth of discussion in this work is profound, including extensive examples of expressive features. The clarity of narrative enables the reader to find a clear and methodical answer in Brown's work. Interestingly, Brown does not chart the stylistic differences in teaching methods across different European capitals; instead this guide functions more as a general survey of historical performance technique. Bearing in mind the research questions for this thesis (see pages 10 to 11) it is evident that there are opportunities for new scholarship in this field, grounded in the fundamentals of Clive Brown's seminal text.

Literature which principally concerns the viola is a concise selection, including the following titles: Robin Stowell's *The Early Violin and Viola: a Practical Guide*;⁶² Yehudi Menuhin's *Violin and Viola*;⁶³ John White's *Anthology of British Viola Players*;⁶⁴ and Maurice Riley's *History of the Viola*.⁶⁵ The first two titles are written primarily as a technical tutor for the violist, with Stowell's work differing because of its extensive reference to social context in which certain techniques developed. Stowell's guide speculates on the origins of both instruments, alongside a practical manual which addresses expressive and technical concerns appropriate to Classical and Baroque repertoire. Not intended as a rigorous academic research project (unlike the Brown treatise), the viola warrants brief mention in the guide and only a limited selection of viola repertoire is referenced at the end.

⁵⁷ Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performance Practice*.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 259-281.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 517-552.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 558-580.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, 336-372.

⁶² Robin Stowell, *The Early Violin and Viola: A Practical Guide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

⁶³ Yehudi Menuhin, *The Violin and Viola* (London: Kahn and Averill Publishers, 2001).

⁶⁴ John White, *Anthology of British Viola players* (Lancashire: Comus Editions, 1997).

⁶⁵ Maurice Riley, Maurice. *History of the Viola* (Ypsilanti: Eastern Michigan University, 1980).

However, an interesting subject is concisely reviewed: the etymology of the word ‘viola’. Stowell offers a short clarification of the various labels associated with the instrument including the Italian terms, *viola da braccio* and *viola da gamba*,⁶⁶ and two models of viola employed in Handel’s orchestral repertoire,⁶⁷ the *alto-viola* and *tenor-viola*. Yehudi Menuhin’s *Violin and Viola* is intended for a broader readership: although it is an interesting read regarding Menuhin’s distinctive performance style, the content is reminiscent and less relevant to the current study. It is important to note that these two books were penned by violinists who double on the viola, thus any comment regarding viola technique is to be taken with a pinch of salt. John White, a former professor of viola at the Academy, has compiled one hundred and fifty articles to create, *An Anthology of British Viola Players*. Intended as a celebration of talent across the generations,⁶⁸ White includes biographical mention of British-born violists only, so any violist of a naturalised status is excluded (the one exception to this observation being Emil Anton Kreuz). Biographical mention is also highly subjective due to the document’s format: biographical materials take the form of artist profiles, information submitted by colleagues and family members. Accordingly, submissions vary widely in content and the anthology functions as a fragmented, if charming, illustration of select British violists. In addition to these titles, biographical works and autobiographical accounts of well-known violists⁶⁹ provide further literature relating to the viola, although these texts fall outside of the scope of study.

The book which initially stimulated my research is Maurice Riley’s *History of the Viola*. Lovingly compiled, this history was the first monograph on the viola and provides a chronological sequence of the viola’s situation in Western art music. Loosely structured as a sociological study, Riley covers the viola’s development, physical structure (briefly) and functioning within the principal performance centres of Western civilization, covering composers, performers and makers across Europe and North America, accompanied by an expansive list of viola repertoire that includes hundreds of titles, both well-known and obscure. There are undeniable gaps in the work (and some statements have gone without reference). For example, mention of the viola as the first instrument made within the violin family), including

⁶⁶ Stowell, *The Early Violin and Viola*, 34.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ White, *Anthology of British Viola Players*, promotional materials on back cover.

⁶⁹ Selected titles include: Lionel Tertis, *Cinderella No More* (London: P. Neville, 1953); Lionel Tertis, *My Viola and I: A Complete Biography* (London: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1975); Lionel Tertis, *The Beauty of Tone in String Playing* (London: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1938); David Dalton, *Playing the Viola: Conversations with William Primrose* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); Amedee Williams, *Lillian Fuchs: First Lady of the Viola*, 2nd ed. (New York: iUniverse Inc, 2004).

scarce mention of the viola in British musical society. Riley is the first to admit that the survey is not exhaustive, but hopes the work will act as a departure for further studies into the viola.⁷⁰

My survey of relevant literature also includes the field of performance scholarship, in particular empirical case-studies reading musical expression in performance. Performance scholarship is a fast evolving area of research, the preponderance of which investigates piano literature and performance practice.⁷¹ In addition to the aforementioned volume by David Milsom, a few unpublished PhD performance-led studies consider musical expression in bowed-string performance,⁷² the most relevant being Heng-Ching Fang's practice-based study of changing performance-practices in violists during the twentieth-century.⁷³ Fang's thesis is broad in its approach: she chooses to study the performative efforts of Joseph Joachim and Lionel Tertis and attempts to 'apply Joachim's aesthetic'⁷⁴ to her own playing. She argues for the need of performative examples to support her argument:

There is a need to include my experiences of performing into this thesis. Recording "gives only a very partial view of what happens in performance [...]. Such an approach entirely misses the social dimension of performance (the interactions between performers, and between performers and others [...])" as Clarke argues. Hence, he suggests the adoption of a qualitative method, which includes both sound recordings and commentary.⁷⁵

As a performer, I believe there is great benefit to be had in tracing relationships between critical and performative interpretations. However, self-criticising one's performed application of another's performance aesthetic is a

⁷⁰ Riley, *History of the Viola*, i-iv.

⁷¹ See: David Witten, *Nineteenth-century Piano Music: Essays in Performance and Analysis* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997); John Rink and Jim Samson, *Chopin Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Bernard Harrison, *Haydn's Keyboard Music: Studies in Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Julian Hellaby, *Reading Music Interpretation: Case Studies in Solo Piano Performance* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2009).

⁷² Iliia Devezoglou, *Violin-playing in France 1870-1930: A Practice-based Study of Performing Practices in French Violin Music from Fauré to Ravel* (PhD, University of Leeds, 2010). Ruth Elizabeth Rodriguez, *Selected students of Leopold Auer: A study in violin performance-practice* (PhD, University of Birmingham, 2010). Nia Lewis, *The rhetoric of classical performance practice: giving 'life to the notes' in Mozart's Sonatas for Violin and Keyboard* (PhD, University of York, 2007).

⁷³ Heng-Ching Fang, *The twentieth century revolution in string playing as reflected in the changing performance practices of viola players from Joseph Joachim to the present day: a practice-based study* (PhD, University of Leeds, 2008).

⁷⁴ Fang, *The twentieth century revolution in string playing*, 21.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

slippery slope which questions the study's framework and notions of 'authenticity' in performance. Is it sufficient to adduce prior conceptions as a means of explaining the difference between the author's recording of a Brahms's viola sonata and that of Joachim? Uri Golomb utilizes a different methodology to investigate similar questions in his study of the Bach B minor mass: Golomb's investigation relies on recordings and interviews with conductors and explores concepts of expression through performance by means of post-hoc analysis of the relationships between intended and communicated expressive features in a performance.⁷⁶ The study offers a greater in-depth discussion: prior conceptions are treated as foreground materials to the analysis, and interesting conclusions regarding informed performance perspectives during and after a performance are drawn. I believe a methodology that adopts principals from both studies will enhance my discussion of critical and performed interpretations in Chapter Five.

Summary

This literature review surveys the current body of scholarship relevant to notions of nationalism in British concert culture, and studies of bowed-string instrument studies – namely those pertaining to the viola. It is clear from this critical overview that an interdisciplinary approach is needed to address my research question. It is the aim of this study that an interdisciplinary method which considers multiple vectors, will ascertain new perspectives regarding the emergence of the viola as a virtuosic instrument at the turn of the twentieth century. My study aims to disclose an important period in the social history of the viola in British concert culture and the genre of the concerto, intended to be of benefit to the academic community. Additionally, it is hoped that the case study outlined in Chapter Five (which investigates both performance practices relevant to the period of study, as well as the craft process of preparing the two concerti) will act as a verbal masterclass (or practical seminar) for future performances of the Forsyth and Kreuz concerti. In this way, I aspire to demonstrate how research questions in music studies may be explored from academic and professional-level practical vectors, gaining new perspectives that may be appreciated in both concert and academic contexts.

⁷⁶ Uri Golomb, *Expression and Meaning in Bach Performance and Reception: an examination of the B minor Mass on record* (PhD, University of Cambridge, 2004).

Thematic focal points of my project include British nationalism and its manifestations in musical culture, the development of ‘the violist’ as an independent profession, British viola repertoire and the reoccurrence of pastoralism as a musical topic, as well as viola performance practice and its development during a thirty-year period. Most of my research materials originate from the mid-Victorian era (1860s) onwards to the year 1910. An in-depth understanding of British music education and Victorian concert culture is required to understand how and why attitudes towards the viola evolved during the Edwardian era, and how these attitudes affected the viola’s situation in British concert culture. As evidenced in the literature review, there are many discrepancies in the scholarship of ‘national’ identity and ‘cultural nationalism’, and questions remain regarding effective methodologies for conducting performance-led research and interdisciplinary studies in historical musicology. Hopefully it is apparent that a welcome addition to the body of performance scholarship gathers a wealth of source material from relevant disciplines and marries this wealth with a carefully devised methodology, thereby offering a fresh perspective and a comprehensive discussion. It is hoped that this doctoral thesis will be such an example.

Chapter One

The Victorians and the viola

1.1 Introduction

In Britain, a rich choral tradition dating back to the medieval period long preceded any bowed-string instrument performance culture. As such, the modern violin family was slow to establish itself with British music practitioners when the first Italian-made violins and violas appeared at the court of Henry VII in 1540.⁷⁷ Although there is a degree of ambiguity as to when this family of instruments became convention, used by both the aristocracy and the more modest musician,⁷⁸ it is well-documented that practical studies on the violin were secondary to those of the voice.⁷⁹ However, by the mid nineteenth century, a bustling British concert society boasted a wealth of performance and educational opportunities for the modern violin family.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, music as an educational, practical, and theoretical discipline became increasingly recognised as an independent and organized ‘art’ form: a viable profession,⁸⁰ a burgeoning mode of

⁷⁷ Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 165.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ The first influential treatise in Britain that directly attends to the vocal/instrumental divide was the seventeenth century translation of Andreas Vogelmaier (Ornithoparcus)’s *Musice active micrologus, The Introduction, Containing the Art of Singing*. The publication’s importance is reflected in the choice of translator, composer and vocalist John Dowland (who was a prominent musician in the court of Queen Elizabeth I). Dowland’s translation highlights the superiority of vocal music in comparison to ‘artificial’ instrument music: ‘*Instrumental musicke is an Harmony which is made by helpe of Instruments. And because instruments are either artificiall or naturall, there is one sort of Musicke – the Philosophers call Harmonicall; the other Organicall... Organicall is that which belongeth to artificiall instruments; or is it a skill of making an Harmony with beating, with fingering, with blowing... Yet such instruments are too voluptuous, are by Coelius Rodignius rejected.*’ (As printed in: Warren D. Allen, *Philosophies of Music History: A Study of General Histories of Music 1600-1960* (New York: Dover Publications, 1962), 30). The preference for vocal music (or rather the superiority of vocal music, as confirmed by addressing the mere ‘skill’ of harmonic accompaniment to instruments, rather than to the voice in consort contexts) in this passage may be seen as a ‘purist’ theory. However, England’s preference for vocal music and melodies was primarily dictated through theological priority.

⁸⁰ Joel Sachs, “London: The Professionalization of Music,” ed. Alexander Ringer, *The Early Romantic Era: Between Revolutions: 1789 and 1848* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1991), 201-235. Deborah Rorr, *The Careers of British Musicians 1750-1850: A profession of artisans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A social history* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985); Christina Bashford, and Leanne Langley, eds., *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

individual expression for both amateur and professional musicians and an integral component of British cultural expression.⁸¹ Music-making, once the sole preserve of the aristocracy and royal court, permeated every stratum of Victorian society (from the domestic household to the newly-reformed concert hall setting), dispelling any notion that the Victorians were not a music-loving people.⁸² The modern violin family as a whole benefitted from new cultural advancements during the nineteenth century including the establishment of chamber music and orchestral societies (both amateur and professional), the foundation of new music conservatoires and improved standards in music education, a developing music publishing culture and the acknowledgement of music as an independent art form. Initially faced with disfavour when first introduced to a viol-loving society in the seventeenth century,⁸³ bowed stringed-instruments (the violin in particular) were firmly established in British music culture by the dawn of the twentieth-century. As noted in the Literature Review, recent additions to nineteenth-century British music studies neglect to investigate the situation of the modern violin family in these events to any great depth, with little to no discussion relating to the viola, cello, and double bass.

Considering the flourishing activity in Victorian concert culture which extended beyond the metropolis of London, from the number of venues and ensembles to the frequency of musical events, the viola's purported ostracised status as a solo and chamber music instrument at the close of the nineteenth century⁸⁴ seems distorted. It is axiomatic that violists performed in small and large ensemble contexts (ie quartet and orchestral ensembles), manoeuvring between these cultural topoi as demand necessitated it. To situate the violist's role in Victorian musical society as a means of determining the instrument's perceived status requires developing a collective biography of violists (if any) and relevant performances featuring the viola as a solo or chamber instrument. To do so, I consider a broad scope of historical print

⁸¹ David Wright, "The South Kensington Music Schools and the Development of the British Conservatoire in the Late Nineteenth-Century." *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 130, no.2 (2005), 236-82.

⁸² Although it is not the purpose of this paper to discuss Oscar A. H. Schmitz's publication *Das Land Ohne Musik* (Oscar Schmitz, *The Land Without Music: Essays on English social life and politics*, trans. Hans Herzl (Jarrolds: London, 1926), it was his belief that England was a country without its own compositional traditions.

⁸³ William Chappell, and George Macfarren, *Popular music of the olden time: a collection of ancient songs, ballads, and dance tunes, illustrative of the national music of England* (London: Cramer, Beale and Chappell, 1859), 468-9.

⁸⁴ See the following titles for research illustrating the esteemed position of the violin in British concert culture: Bashford, *Hidden Agendas and the Creation of Community* (2013); McVeigh, *As the sand on the seashore*, Hornby and Maw, eds., (2010); McVeigh, Simon. "The Society of British Musicians (1834-1865) and the Campaign for Native Talent," eds., Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley, *Music and British Culture 1785-1914: Essays in Honor of Cyril Ehrlich* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 145-168.

materials to determine examples of practitioners and the functional identity of a viola player's career between cultural topoi (ie string quartets, orchestra appointments, solo performances, sonata-duo recitals).

1.2 Victorian viola practitioners

Victorian music society functioned as a commercially-driven open market, with performance opportunities offered in 'church music structures, a slight and underwhelming royal music, [the] military'⁸⁵ and burgeoning concert societies for both chamber and symphonic ensembles. Evidence from my survey of the Academy's concert programme archive indicates that viola practitioners active in Victorian music culture performed across these cultural topoi. There is no evidence to suggest, however, that viola practitioners earned livings exclusively as violists. These musicians lead careers which balanced multiple appointments in the industry.

William Shield is one of the first examples of a professional viola player in nineteenth-century Britain. His obituary in the *London Standard* (1829) reads as follows:

This amiable and eminent composer breathed his last...at a very advanced age (we believe upwards of 80). Shield was Master of His Majesty's band, composer of the Birth-day Odes...and a most erudite Treatise on Harmony. Shield was a very superior performer on the Viola (Tenor-Violin), and as a private character he was deservedly respected and esteemed by all who knew him.⁸⁶

This obituary appeared (almost word-for-word) in four further printed sources (*The Morning Post*, *The Chester Chronicle*, *The Exeter and Plymouth Examiner*, and *The Sheffield Independent*) with the *Morning Post*'s account concluding 'His fame shall remain, though his spirit has fled'.⁸⁷ One month following this obituary, *The Morning Post* made a further addition in its pages regarding the late Shield: the donation of his 'valuable' viola to the royal family prior to his death, as a sign of

⁸⁵ Christina Bashford, *The Pursuit of High Culture: John Ella and Chamber Music in Victoria London* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press. 2007), 2.

⁸⁶ "Death of Mr. Shield, the Celebrated Composer." *London Standard*, January 26, 1829, n. pag.

⁸⁷ "Death of Mr. Shield, the Celebrated Composer." *Morning Post*, January 29, 1829, n. pag.

humble servitude.⁸⁸ Although scant biographical information exists, Shield clearly divided his career between composing and performing as a violist.

A viola player of adequate skill was wont to find work in the expanding orchestral ensembles of the day. Orchestras were increasing in size as the larger symphonic works of composers including Beethoven and Spohr demanded more complex scoring. John Goulden traces an increase in players in the London orchestra profession during the first half of the nineteenth century: Haydn's Salomon concert series employed 40 to 60 players in the 1790s, the King's Theatre orchestra grew from 50 players to 76 players between 1821 and 1834, and the Covent Garden orchestra grew up to 86 musicians in 1863.⁸⁹ Music festivals, such as the Handel Festival, employed even greater orchestra forces. Writing in 1785, music historian Charles Burney chronicled the events of Handel's commemoration service at Westminster Abbey in 1784 (five days of events which he believes stimulated the large-scale 'Music Festival' movement in England, previously preceded by smaller provincial festivals). In his account, he notes that the performing ensemble consisted of 275 singers and 250 instrumentalists. Of these 250 instrumentalists, there were 48 first violins, 47 second violins, 26 tenors, 21 violoncellos, 15 double basses, 6 flutes, 12 trumpets, 6 trombones or 'sackbuts', 12 horns, 3 kettle-drums, [and] 1 double kettle-drum'.⁹⁰ Music festivals across the country continued to produce large-scale performances of oratorios, well into the late nineteenth century. A performance of Handel's oratorio *Samson* by the Sacred Harmonic Society at Exeter Hall in 1842 advertised a chorus and band involving 500 musicians.⁹¹ At the Bradford Music Festival in 1853, for the performance of Mendelssohn's oratorio *St. Paul* Op.36 (1836), Beethoven's *Grand Hallelujah to the Father* (from *Christus am Oelberge* Op.85, 1803-4) and Handel's *Messiah* (1741), an advertisement announced 'the band and chorus will comprise nearly 320 performers'.⁹² The importance of music festivals in sustaining a bowed-string instrumentalist's career is clearly seen in the semi-autobiographical account of British violinist John T Carrodus (1836-1895), *Chats to Violin Students: How to Play the Violin* (1895). A renowned concertmaster in many of London's leading orchestras, Carrodus devotes five chapters (equivalent to one-third of the work) to his work in British music festivals over the course of his career, from the 1850s through to 1886: 'To have participated in all [the festivals] of which I

⁸⁸ "His Majesty and the Late Mr. Shield." *Morning Post*, March 31, 1829, n. pagn.

⁸⁹ John Goulden, *Michael Costa: England's First Conductor*. (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2013).

⁹⁰ "Music Festivals: Their Rise in England," *Dwight's Music Journal* N/A, no.29 (1871), 54.

⁹¹ "Sacred Harmonic Society." *The Illustrated London News* 1, no.4 (1842-3), 383.

⁹² "Bradford Music Festival." *The Athenaeum*, August 27, 1853. 1003.

have written and to have been connected artistically with so many musical ‘giants’ is a matter of no small fun of thought’.⁹³ Although the better part of nineteenth-century music festivals (prior to the 1880s) did not publicize the identities of the orchestra musicians, it is clear that the active musical festival scene (which pre-empted the later nineteenth-century tradition of symphony orchestra subscription series) provided many orchestra performance opportunities for viola practitioners.

Viola players of more considerable skill found work in the burgeoning idiom of the string quartet. String quartets frequently performed the repertoire of Haydn and Pleyel in London during the 1780s, as the social role of the concert evolved.⁹⁴ The Philharmonic Society (established in 1813) provided further examples of organised, professional concert platforms for string quartets during the early years of its establishment.⁹⁵ The society acted as purveyor for new music and styles, ‘since good modern music has been nearly banished [from] the Opera, and most private concerts’.⁹⁶ The society’s concerts popularized the string quartet idiom amongst its audience, and the genre was quickly appreciated as a ‘high school of music’.⁹⁷ By the 1830s, performance opportunities for string quartets multiplied with newly established concert societies including the *Concerti da Camera*, the *Quartet Concerts* and the *Classical Chamber Concerts*.⁹⁸ In the pages of *The Court Magazine* (1836), several reviews of chamber music concerts illustrate the growing popularity of the string quartet idiom, with one critic declaring that ‘we are rejoiced to see such societies increasing’.⁹⁹ The flourishing of new chamber societies also encouraged new concert programming, including compositions by Beethoven and Spohr. However, it was the founding of three string quartet societies which firmly established the genre in British chamber music-making: Thomas Alsager’s Beethoven Quartet Society (1845) and John Ella’s Musical Union chamber music recitals (1845) and the Chappell Brothers’ Popular Concerts (1859). Consequently, the advancement

⁹³ John T. Carrodus *Chats to Violin Students on How to Study the Violin*. (London: D. R. Duncan, 1895), 96.

⁹⁴ Meredith McFarlane, and Simon McVeigh, “*The String Quartet in London Concert Life, 1769-1799*,” in Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh eds., *Concert Life in 18th Century Britain*. (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), 161-198.

⁹⁵ Cyril Ehrlich, *First Philharmonic: A History of the Philharmonic Society*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), Foreword.

⁹⁶ “The Philharmonic Concerts.” *Harmonicon: A Journal of Music* 7 (1829): 66

⁹⁷ “Local News.” *Worcester Chronicle*, 03 January 03, 1849: 4-5.

⁹⁸ Robin Stowell, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to the String Quartet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 7-8. For further reading, see: Christina Bashford, *Public chamber-music concerts in London, 1825-50: aspects of history, repertory and reception* (PhD., King’s College London, 1996), https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal/files/2928154/336502_1.pdf

⁹⁹ “Mr. Mori’s Classical Chamber Concerts.” *The Court Magazine*, 8 (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1836), 132.

of the string quartet genre became critical to the development the violist's profession. Three viola players who achieved recognition for their prowess as viola players and habitually performed on the professional chamber music circuit throughout the early to mid-Victorian period, were two Continental violin-violists who immigrated to Britain, a Mr. Moralt (from Germany) and Mr. Baetens (from Holland), and British-born violist, Henry Hill.

The 'Mr. Moralt' who appears as the first regularly employed violist in numerous string quartet performances, including those hosted by the Philharmonic Society (from the first Philharmonic concert of 03 March 1813 throughout the next thirty years)¹⁰⁰ was listed as one of the founding members of the Philharmonic Society¹⁰¹ in 1813. While no biographical entry is to be found of Moralt in any British biographical text (the fate of an ensemble musician), the diary of Giacomo Meyerbeer makes note of 'a quartet by the Brothers Moralt'¹⁰² whose 'great reputation led me to expect much, they exceed[ed] my highest expectations' during a concert (1812) in Germany. The brothers Moralt were led by the oldest sibling, Joseph Moralt (1775-1836), a German violinist and concert master of the Court Orchestra in Munich. Joseph had two other siblings, Georg Moralt (listed as violist¹⁰³ in Meyerbeer's diaries) and Johann Baptist Phillip (a violinist).¹⁰⁴ Alberto Bachmann's seminal *Encyclopaedia of the Violin* (1925) includes the following entry for the Moralt family:

Moralt, Joseph and Johann, German violinists, b. Mannheim (Joseph in 1775, Johann in 1777). Were members of a quartet in Munich celebrated for their rendition of classical music, especially Haydn's Quartets. The violist of the quartet was another brother, George, and the cellist still another brother, Philipp.¹⁰⁵

Moralt's frequent engagements as a violist with various chamber ensembles were complimented with glowing reviews (eg 'these glorious compositions were executed with a precision and spirit which left the audience nothing to desire')¹⁰⁶ and flattering

¹⁰⁰ Performances include: May 29/ 1826, June 12th/ 1826, April 2/1827, March 25th/1833, January-April 1838.

¹⁰¹ "Memoirs of the Metropolitan Concerts." *Harmonicon* 11, no.1 (1833), 5.

¹⁰² Robert Letellier, ed. and trans., *The Diaries of Giacomo Meyerbeer: Volume 1 1791-1839*. (London: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1999), 281.

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, 561.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, 189.

¹⁰⁵ Bachmann, *An Encyclopaedia of the Violin*, 382.

¹⁰⁶ "Music." *Musical World: A weekly record of musical science, literature and Intelligence* 8, no.1 (1838), 72.

promotional materials from the quartet and orchestral concerts he performed in (eg ‘the orchestra will comprise the most eminent talent including...Moralt’).¹⁰⁷ These favourable comments suggest that Moralt was an exceptionally talented viola player. Surveyed concert ephemera only evidence this Moralt performing as a violist; therefore I posit that theory that the Moralt brother in question may have been George Moralt, whom Bachmann credits as a violist.

Dutch-born Charles Baetens studied violin at the Royal Conservatory (Hague) and subsequently at the Conservatoire Royale de Bruxelles (on scholarship). Although his birth date is unknown, he immigrated to England in 1856 where, after military service in the British army as a bandmaster for six years, he joined London’s Philharmonic and Royal Italian Opera Orchestras as a violinist in 1862. His career as a violist came about when he formed one of the first quartets featured at the acclaimed Chappell Brothers’ *Monday Popular Chamber Concerts* with Joseph Joachim and Signor N. Riatto. Baetens also performed frequently in a quartet with cellist Signor Piatti (arguably the most recognised musicians of the London chamber concert scene) in Mori’s *Classical Chamber Concerts* (London) and in a piano quartet with Sir Charles Hallé.¹⁰⁸ His skill as a violist earned him a coveted position of principle violist with the *Thomas Theodore Orchestra of America* in 1872¹⁰⁹ (New York). Although he is also credited as a composer,¹¹⁰ Baetens’ passion for the viola and his skill as a violist were later described as follows: ‘The instrument to which he devotes all of his energies for public performance is the viola, and therein he has no equal...’.¹¹¹ He subsequently moved to Cincinnati (date unknown) where he predominantly taught viola. His performance style was described as being of the ‘old-school’¹¹² (a reference to players who performed in a Classical style espoused by Louis Spohr). Drawing together these biographical strands, it is clear that although Baetens’ career featured many music appointments, he was first and foremost a violist.

Henry Hill (1808-1856) is the first British viola player to be historically documented for his abilities as a violist. Hill had a superior technique as a violist.

¹⁰⁷ “Concert of Mr. Mori and Signor De Begnis.” *Musical World: A Weekly Record of Musical, Science, Literature, and Intelligence* 8, no.1 (1838), 149.

¹⁰⁸ “Classical Chamber Music Society.” *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, December 16, 1854: 8.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Douglas Bomberger, ed., *Brainard’s Biographies of American Musicians*. (London: Greenwood Press, 1991), 19.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid.

This attribute gained much attention from the press and his beautiful tone was frequently praised in reviews across England: ‘Hill on viola, for beauty and fullness of tone, and certainty of execution, is unequalled’.¹¹³ At the Horn Tavern’s chamber music series in 1836 (London), it was Hill’s playing which garnered the most glowing review: ‘But, the gem of the two concerts was Spohr’s duet in E minor, for violin and tenor. It was beautifully given by Messrs. Dando and Hill’.¹¹⁴ Biographical details gathered from print periodicals of the British Newspaper Archive disclose Hill’s active career as a violist across many cultural topoi in London. Hill was a founding member of the Beethoven Quartet Society (1845),¹¹⁵ and he performed frequently as part of the society. In terms of orchestra appointments, Hill held the position of principal violist at the Italian Opera Company (Drury Lane Theatre)¹¹⁶ and he performed as violist with Her Majesty’s Private Band.¹¹⁷ Most importantly, Hill gave the first viola solo (accompanied by orchestra) recorded in British concert culture. He performed as the viola soloist in the British premiere of Berlioz’s symphony, *Harold en Italie* Op.40 (1834) in 1848 (London). The success of the concert saw a subsequent performance succeeding the premiere in July 1848, with Henry Hill again as soloist.¹¹⁸ Hill’s solo playing warranted the following comment:

The Viola for Solo Performers. “Why is the Viola so little cultivated among amateurs in comparison with the rest of the Violin Family? It would seem, in my judgement, to be easily adapted for them, as it does not embrace that wide range and execution that the violin does, but depends on the sweetness and volume of tone. For the performance *Notturnos*, perhaps no instrument is more suitable, as anyone, who has heard Mr. Hill on it will confess.”¹¹⁹

Compiling evidence of Hill’s career, I posit the theory that Hill is perhaps the first example of a professional violist in Britain (ie a musician who earns the majority of his/her living from specialising as a violist).

¹¹³ “Musical Union.” *Morning Post*, May 28, 1845: 6.

¹¹⁴ “Classical Concerts at Horn’s Tavern, Doctor’s Commons.” *The Court Magazine* 11, no.1 (1836), 132.

¹¹⁵ Robert Winter and Robert Martin, eds., *The Beethoven Quartet Companion*. (California: University of California Press, 1994), 53.

¹¹⁶ “Music: The Birmingham Festival.” *Daily News*, August 25, 1846: 4; “St. John’s Room’s Winchester.” *Hampshire Advertiser*, March 27, 1847: 4.

¹¹⁷ “Musical Memoranda.” *Morning Post*, October 23, 1848: 6.

¹¹⁸ Frederick Edwards, “Berlioz in England.” *Musical Times* 44, no.725 (1903), 446-8.

¹¹⁹ George Dubourg, *The Violin: Some Account of that Leading Instrument and its Most Eminent Professors*. (London: Robert Cocks & Co., 1852), Appendix 5.

Notwithstanding these achievements, no mention of Henry Hill's name or his career is included in notable music reference texts, with the exception of Bachmann's *Encyclopaedia of the Violin* (1925) and Riley's *History of the Viola*¹²⁰ (in both, brief entries focus on the British premiere of the Berlioz symphony). This omission from important reference texts is revealing in how we understand the development of the violist's profession in Britain. A survey of nineteenth-century encyclopaedic texts pertaining to music reveals abundant entries illustrating the development of Western classical music, and biographical mentions of many composers and organists (of native and foreign birth), with far fewer but still accountable entries for pianists, vocalists and violinists and yet no mention of viola players. It would appear that the role of the viola in early and mid-Victorian concert culture was of less concern and little value was attributed to viola practitioners, such as George Moralt, Charles Baetens and Henry Hill.

1.3 *Harold à Londres* – Berlioz's antecedent to the viola concerto in Britain

The premiere of Hector Berlioz's symphony with viola obbligato, *Harold en Italie* Op.40 (1834), at the Drury Lane Theatre (London) in 1848¹²¹ provided the British public with the first experience¹²² of a viola solo with orchestral accompaniment, an antecedent to the viola concerto. Originally premiered at the composer's expense in France (23 November 1834), Berlioz's symphony was late in coming to the concert halls of London, despite its popularity on the continent. New large-scale works were slow to premiere in London's somewhat conservative music scene of the mid nineteenth century; especially in opera houses (the environment in which *Harold* was due to make its first appearance). As one critic remarked 'after [an] opera has established itself elsewhere, we may be treated to it in London'.¹²³ Furthermore, a viola player performing a solo work was a 'great novelty',¹²⁴ a view written about Moralt in 1831 when he performed an unnamed viola solo during a benefit concert. However, it was not the innovative scoring of the symphony which

¹²⁰ Maurice Riley, "19th Century Violists: Hermann Ritter," in *History of the Viola Volume 1*. (Michigan: Braun-Brumfield, 1993), 208.

¹²¹ Edwards, "Berlioz in England," 446 and 448.

¹²² A review exists for an unnamed viola concerto performed by Mr. Henry Webb, a fellow English viola player for whom there is no biographical material available. The event occurred at the Abercorn Rooms in Scotland (1853) as found in: "Second Series of Winter Evening Concerts," *The Paisley Herald and Renfrewshire Advertiser*, December 17, 1853: n. pagn.

¹²³ "Musical and Dramatic Gossip." *Athenaeum: Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts*, no. 1741(1861): 333.

¹²⁴ "Musical." *Morning Post*, May 16, 1831: n. pagn.

attracted audiences to the first performances, nor did the novelty of a solo viola provide the fodder with which to fill the review columns: London was preoccupied with attending ‘the first grand concert of th[e] distinguished writer and celebrated composer’¹²⁵ Hector Berlioz. Indeed, the accomplishments of the composer (described as a man whose ‘rights of genius are at once admitted’)¹²⁶ were the topic of discussion in subsequent reviews, with Hill being mentioned only in brief passing, if at all.¹²⁷ Such deficiency in attention to the viola soloist saw one newspaper¹²⁸ incorrectly label Henry Hill as executing a violin *obbligato*.

Considered as a cornerstone in today’s solo viola repertoire, *Harold en Italie* Op.40 (1834) was then appreciated as a symphony, and its popularity was attributed to Berlioz’s compositional talents. The contemporary acceptance of the ‘great man theory’ and the subsequent historiographical approach of ‘surveying the whole of the past and present society, from a single lofty point of view’¹²⁹ were beneficial in developing the growing self-sufficiency of the composer’s profession. However, it came at the expense of growing indifference to those instrumentalists whose efforts were not perceived to demonstrate genius or virtuosity. Considering that the viola was not viewed as a virtuosic instrument in mid nineteenth-century concert culture, viola practitioners were disregarded by historical and contemporary surveys.

Berlioz’s symphony was a popular work in Victorian concert society. I ascertained the perpetual popularity of the work in British concert culture from a survey of the British Library’s *British Newspaper Archive*: from the premiere of the symphony in 1848 through to the end of the period studied in this thesis (1910), *Harold en Italie* Op.40 (1834) was performed at least forty-four times across Britain. Indeed, this rate of recurrence suggests that *Harold en Italie* Op.40 (1834) was perhaps the way in which British concert culture was acclimatised to the notion of a solo viola with orchestral accompaniment, prior to the advent of the first viola concerto performed with orchestra in the twentieth century.

¹²⁵ “Drury Lane Theatre: Hector Berlioz.” *Morning Post* February 8, 1848: 6.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ A review of the event in the *Examiner* made no mention of the use of a solo viola, or presence of a solo viola-player. “The Theatrical Examiner.” *Examiner*, [nd] February, 1848: 101.

¹²⁸ *Lloyd’s Weekly London Newspaper*, February 13, 1848: 126.

¹²⁹ Robert Flint, “History of the Philosophy of History,” *Philosophical Review* 3, no.6 (1894), 726-730.

1.4 Practical training provision and the question of non-native talent

For just as it is only by contact with the art of foreign nations that the art of a country gains the individual and separate life that we call nationality¹³⁰

The necessity for a career forces everyone to take sides. We live in an age of the overworked, and the under-educated; the age in which people are so industrious that they become absolutely stupid¹³¹

Before 1880, little evidence exists to show if training provision existed for the viola. To place the possibility of training provision for the viola in Victorian society and to gain a wider understanding of why there may or may not have been such training opportunities, I explore the wider context of music education in Victorian Britain.

Of the ‘divisions’ in music that had manifested themselves in sixteenth century literature on music (ie ancient versus modern music, vocal music superior to instrumental), an evolved set of similar prejudices shaped Victorian attitudes to music: namely, foreign versus native musical talent. The evaluation of foreign versus native practitioners stimulated fevered discourse in Victorian periodicals: many arguments traced back to Britain’s modest training provision and lack of institutionalised music education. Foreign musicians were drawn to Britain’s capital, where a free market concert culture promised lucrative rewards. The earliest example of foreign-born musicians seeking financial remuneration in Britain music culture is the *Royal Musick*, an ensemble of six Italian musicians ‘imported’ by Henry VIII to perform at his court. These musicians, Britain’s first professionally-employed ensemble, were initially attracted to London by ‘the ability to earn a living in so many ways, without being in bondage to a single noble patron’¹³² and enjoyed relative success. The latter half of the eighteenth century saw a commercial demand for music, and British concert culture experienced exponential growth. However, pre-existing attitudes to the low social status of the British musician,¹³³ unsystematic

¹³⁰ Josephine Guy, *The Complete Works of Oscar Wilde (Vol. 4) – Criticism: Historical Criticism, Intentions, The Soul of Man*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 164.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² Jeremy Barlow, *The Enraged Musician: Hogarth’s Musical Imagery*. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2005), 12.

¹³³ David Golby, *Nineteenth-century Instrumental Teaching in Britain*. (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2013). In his study, Golby looks to Brewer(1997) who observed that ‘any other passion for art, including a love of poetry and letters or even sketching and drawing, was considered more reputable than an obsession with music.’ *Ibid*, Loc 1215.

training provision and the dearth of native musical talent meant that society's demand for music and musicians could not be supplied with British talent alone. These circumstances offered great employment opportunities (both 'promise of employment and significant remuneration')¹³⁴ to foreign musicians, most of who came from the Continent. These musicians had an exotic appeal and superior music education which helped to attract audiences in an increasingly competitive market.¹³⁵ Consequently, foreign musicians readily gained employment in the newest music societies of London. Even the most fleeting of glances at billings of soloists and mentions of musicians in reviews reveals the sizeable contribution of foreign musicians to the music industry of the Victorian era. Regrettably, during the nineteenth century this significant presence of non-native talent was increasingly seen as an invasive presence.

Over the course of the nineteenth century, foreign musicians were subject to increasingly scathing remarks and criticism in the press, on the assumption that their sizeable presence excluded native talent from the music market. Of the Italian-born Michael Costa during his early career as a conductor in England, it was written that 'he should return immediately since he did not add anything to the over-supply of foreign musicians in England'.¹³⁶ Professional foreign musicians were seen as 'interlopers-locusts, who eat up the fruits of the land upon which its own children should be fed'¹³⁷ and deemed to be 'at a discount as members of society'.¹³⁸ Foreign street musicians of the lowly working class (often referred to as 'monkeys') were equally despised: in 1861, a bill 'for the better regulation of street music' called for improved police action 'for the protection of such Householders from Annoyance by Street Musicians...on account of the Illness, or on account of the Interruption of the ordinary Occupations, with the penalty of being departed from the area or a monetary fine of forty shillings.'¹³⁹ The prejudice towards foreign musicians reached extremes with the foundation of the Society of British Musicians (1834): defined as 'a protest group for the claims of native music talent',¹⁴⁰ only musicians of British birth were

¹³⁴ Ian Taylor, *Music in London and the Myth of Decline: From London to the Philharmonic*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010): 29.

¹³⁵ *Ibid*, 29.

¹³⁶ John Goulden, *Michael Costa, England's First Conductor: The Revolution in Musical Performance in England 1830-80*. (PhD, University Durham University, 2012), 44.

¹³⁷ "Music: Society of British Musicians." *Athenaeum: Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts*, no.375 (1835), 58.

¹³⁸ "Literature (Review): Autobiography, Letters, and Literary Remains of Mrs. Piozzi (Thrale)." *Athenaeum: Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts*, no. 1735 (1861), 113.

¹³⁹ "A Bill for the better Regulation of Street Music within the Metropolitan Police District." *Public Bills: Great Britain (Parliament. House of Commons Vol.4)* February 24, 1864: 195-6.

¹⁴⁰ Simon McVeigh, "The Society of British Musicians and the Campaign for Native Talent,"

permitted to subscribe to the society. As one critic noted, the association gave the impression of being the ‘Great Britain-against-all-the-world Society’.¹⁴¹

1.5 Educational reform and the quest for a national school of music

The official recognition of music among other fine arts can only be a question of time in England, because it is one of justice¹⁴²

It was on such a battlefield (increasing xenophobia towards foreign musicians, the lack of a native school of composition, and concern for the amateur standard of most British musicians) that the reformation of Britain music education came about. On 13 May 1859 a paper was presented to members of the Society of the Arts (later to become the Royal Society of the Arts) by one of London’s most prolific music critics,¹⁴³ Henry F. Chorley. The nature of Chorley’s paper, *On the Recognition of Music Among the Arts*, was a call for financial support (ideally through government spending) for music education and the establishment of a new national college for musical training, for the betterment of musical standards amongst English musicians. The situation of art music in England was languishing, and ‘within five and twenty years, the development of and cultivation of Music in England [had] assumed proportions which render further neglect of the art impossible, without an indifference amounting apparently to injustice’. Speaking to a committee exclusive of musicians, Chorley took care to illustrate ‘...such obvious facts, as the *connexion* and sympathy of Music with the arts and sciences’¹⁴⁴ thereby stating its importance as a subject of study. He went on to express his view that the destitution of music in England lay not at the hands of the ordinary man but in those ‘betwixt religious scruple, the sarcasm of the Wit, who preferred the sound of his own talk to the singing of St. Cecilia, and political rancor, the art of Music which moreover, was just then passing through important transitions of its own fell into popular contempt and desuetude’.¹⁴⁵ ‘Music,’ as Chorley says, ‘was too much rated as a pretty toy, good only for the use of

Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley, eds., *Music and British Culture: 1785-1914*.(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 153.

¹⁴¹ As quoted in: *Ibid.* (2002), 161.

¹⁴² Henry Chorley, “On the Recognition of Music among the Arts.” *Journal of the Society of Arts*, 13 May 1859: 444.

¹⁴³ As a literature and music critic, Chorley was chiefly employed at the *Athenaeum* from 1830-1868. He also wrote novels and wrote opera libretti.

¹⁴⁴ Chorley, *On the Recognition of Music among the Arts*, 444.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

the foolish and the effeminate'.¹⁴⁶ He believed the answer to fostering a sincere appreciation of music was to be achieved and disseminated through education.

Being of humble origins,¹⁴⁷ Chorley's role as speaker is highly reflective of the rising power of the bourgeoisie in the music market of Victorian Britain. And, Chorley could not have started out on a stronger foot with this agenda. By presenting the fraught state of England's so-called 'art music' to a board of members dominated by well-educated, professional individuals, Chorley found a sympathetic audience. His call for the reformation of music education is wholly representative of the idea of Victorian progress, of the desire to match the efforts on the continent (particularly Germany) in terms of artistic and scientific development. In an age of technological revolution and invention, positivism propelled Victorian logic forth. An argument validated by scientific experimentation or rationale was deemed acceptable by both the upper-class and the growing bourgeoisie,¹⁴⁸ which included the emergence of a new social set of 'intellectuals' soon to revolutionise cultural dissemination within society, alongside technological and scientific invention. Quite simply, in society the study of art came second to the study of science. Alluding to music's scientific basis validated Chorley's cause of aiding a neglected art. Within that grand overarching term of the 'Arts', music fared the least well, thanks to the lack of supportive public funding,¹⁴⁹ the 'effeminate' aristocracy and the closed-minded clergymen, as Chorley would have you see them. The words and actions of the educated gentleman were those that could offer change in such a situation, and Chorley was passionate in rousing support from his fellow intellectuals in aid of music in England. Chorley's address was not the only effort¹⁵⁰ calling for the reformation of music education; however, Chorley's paper was one of the first public and

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Henry Chorley (1808-1872) was born in Lancashire, one of four children to a Quaker family.

¹⁴⁸ Colin Eatock makes a point of distinguishing between 'bourgeois' and 'middle class' in his discussion regarding the emergence of canon formation. Eatock notes that these two terms 'were in flux throughout the nineteenth-century' where professional classes were distinguished from the working classes, a division held in social context until the 1880s. As found in: Colin Eatock, Colin, "The Crystal Palace Concerts: Canon Formation and the English Musical Renaissance" *Nineteenth Century Music* 34, no.1 (2010), 87.

¹⁴⁹ Mr. Chorley, when questioned by the audience with regards to financial assistance from the government, stated that 'the Royal Academy of Painting and the various schools of design throughout the country were assisted by public funds...were commissions for assisting almost every branch of art with the exception of music': Chorley, *On the Recognition of Music among the Arts*, 451.

¹⁵⁰ For the importance that the Great Exhibition played in these developments, see Hermione Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and the Great Exhibition – Science, Art and Productive Industry: The History of the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851*. (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2002). For further examples of independent efforts calling for the reformation of music education, see McVeigh, *The Society of British Musicians and the Campaign for Native Talent*, 2002.

least jingoistic examples demanding radical change in the way music was taught on a national level.

Interestingly, Chorley demonstrates partiality towards most vocal music in his address: ‘Here it is essential to remind you that every nation has its own strongly marked predilections and superiorities in the art. In England, these direct themselves towards vocal music’.¹⁵¹ Indeed choral societies were thriving in both large and small communities¹⁵² thanks in part to Handel’s music, ‘he who got hold of the great English people’.¹⁵³ In contrast, performances of instrumental music (both chamber and orchestral contexts) were fewer, the string quartet being the most performed chamber music idiom (a trend seen in subscription series and benefit concerts¹⁵⁴ in London and provincial towns from the late eighteenth century onwards). Chorley estimates the abundance of talented British vocalists compared to instrumentalists as follows: ‘the emolument of a first-rate viola, oboe or bassoon, as compared with that of a second-rate singer, is as one to ten, if not as one to twenty’.¹⁵⁵ What with RAM being ‘an institution by which it would be pleasanter to pass by than to enter’¹⁵⁶ it is to be expected that fewer capable instrumentalists were part of the London music scene: ‘Why we should be less adroit as instrumentalists than as singers, might be explained in the small amount of our leisure disposable for the purposes of recreation and in our reluctance to accept that severe and patient discipline without which there is no training of the fingers.’ The inadequacies of instrumental tuition in Britain and that of RAM as an educational institute were glaringly evident in comparison to the continental conservatoires of Paris, Vienna, Leipzig and Brussels and it was only through the establishment of the National Training School of Music, the founding of the RCM and the reformation of TCL that string tuition came to fruition in Britain.

1.6 Chapter summary

In a bid to identify and trace examples of Victorian viola-players, a detailed examination of Victorian British concert culture divulges the important correlation between the insufficiency of adequate practical training provision for aspiring instrumentalists and the lack of native, musical talent in Britain (including viola players). Evidence of viola

¹⁵¹ Chorley, *On the Recognition of Music*, 446.

¹⁵² Choral societies thrived due the growing popularity of musical festivals as well as the accessibility and affordability of Novello vocal scores.

¹⁵³ Chorley, *On the Recognition of Music*, 446.

¹⁵⁴ Meredith McFarlane, “The String Quartet in Eighteenth Century Provincial Concert Life, 1769-99,” eds., Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman, *Music in the British Provinces, 1690-1914* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), 132.

¹⁵⁵ Chorley, *On the Recognition of Music*, 447.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 448.

practitioners active in British concert culture discloses the crucial responsibility non-native instrumentalists played in promoting admirable performance standards for the viola in chamber and symphonic music-making contexts. Furthermore, my research conceivably reveals the first recorded examples of both a viola solo with orchestra (ie Berlioz's *Harold in Italy* Op.16), and a professional violist's career, in Britain (ie Henry Hill). These findings necessitate further investigation into practical training provisions for instrumentalists in Britain (as will be explored in Chapter Two), notions of technical development or proficiency in viola-playing (see Chapter Three), and additional examples of professional violists' careers following on from Henry Hill (see Chapter 4), in order to elucidate a social history of the viola and the development of virtuosic performance standards for the instrument, in Britain (c1880 to 1910).

Chapter Two

British music education and the viola – forging an independent identity (1880 to 1910)

2.1 Introduction

The beneficial effects which music is calculated to exercise upon the progress of civilisation are now admitted. It is equally certain also that a growing taste for music manifests itself amongst the people of this country and a love of the art is on the increase amongst all its ranks, and yet it is a lamentable fact, amounting almost to a national disgrace, that we have no school of English music and the only academy for its culture, which is under the immediate patronage of Government, and is, moreover, aided by its funds, tends to increase rather than to diminish the discreditable status of English music. Under these circumstances it seems to me that the first subject of inquiry should be into the causes of failure in the present system, here an attempt is made organize a fresh institution whose success may be marred by a repetition of past failures.¹⁵⁷

The role and form of music education in Britain underwent great change during the mid to late nineteenth century, in disciplines of both academia¹⁵⁸ and practical skill. Indicative of Victorian society's increasing taste for music, the reforms particular to the encouragement of performance instruction were numerous. Advancements included the foundation of improved musical examinations through the Society of Arts' agenda, a 'National Cultivation of Music',¹⁵⁹ the encouragement of teaching music by notation (and sol-fa technique) in elementary schools,¹⁶⁰ and the

¹⁵⁷ "Proceedings of the Society: Musical Education Committee." *Journal of the Society of Arts* 14, no.696 (1866), 322.

¹⁵⁸ The nature of this study does not call for an in-depth investigation into the educative reforms within music academia in Britain, and the chapter will instead focus on the instruction of practical skill, relating to the viola. For an account regarding the development of music academia in Britain, see Rosemary Golding, *Music and Academia in Victoria Britain*. (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2013).

¹⁵⁹ Society of Arts. *National Cultivation of Music. First Report of the Committee appointed by the council of the society of arts on Musical Examinations, with appendixes*. London: George Bell and Sons, 1979.

¹⁶⁰ Effective from 1880, as part of the Education Code of 1880 teachers were encouraged, by means of increased hourly pay, to instruct students through musical notation. As seen in

establishment of training colleges for musicians, including the National Training School for Music (est. 1876) and the C1 (est. 1883). These adjustments were seen as necessary steps in disseminating music education in a society that had ‘a wide-spread and constantly increasing taste for music’¹⁶¹ and yet no national music style, and a ‘vast amount of mediocrity and merely mechanical attainment with which the musical profession [is] flooded’.¹⁶² There were notable shortcomings prior to these educative measures which had an inhibiting effect on the development of musical talent in Britain, especially that of bowed-string instrumentalists.

2.2 The RSA and the agenda for cultivating musical talent and taste

The hardships endured by the Academy during the mid-nineteenth century are a notable example which illustrates the insufficiency of practical music education in Britain. Primarily due to financial shortcomings (which began even before the institution opened its doors to the public in 1823)¹⁶³ the Academy’s reputation as the country’s pre-eminent music training academy languished. By 1866, the school’s ‘required funds were nearly exhausted’¹⁶⁴ and performance standards were of poor quality.¹⁶⁵ Once seen as the country’s finest hope for the national cultivation of music, it had become unsustainable as a training academy. Reports and journal publications of the Royal Society of Arts (1859 to 1879) illustrate the numerous struggles faced by the Academy during this period, including the impractical juxtaposition of falling student numbers against the continual recruitment of professors, an attempt to bolster the Academy’s credibility with world-class teachers (leading to an impractical ratio of ‘not quite a pupil and a half to each professor’).¹⁶⁶

ibid.

¹⁶¹ “Proceedings of the Society: Musical Education Committee.” *Journal of the Society of Arts* 14, no.696 (1866), 322.

¹⁶² Ibid, 323.

¹⁶³ From the difficulty of finding initial financial backing for the training academy, to the problem of securing enough funds to provide scholarships for incoming students, the Royal Academy of Music’s first recorded history details each surmounted issue in detail. As seen in: William Cazalet, *The History of the Royal Academy of Music*. (London: Bosworth, 1854).

¹⁶⁴ “Proceedings of the Society: Musical Education Committee.” *Journal of the Society of Arts* 14, no.695 (1866), 306.

¹⁶⁵ As mentioned in Chapter 1, music critic Henry Chorley once described it as ‘an institution by which it would be pleasanter to pass by than to enter. (“Proceedings of the Society: Musical Education Committee.” *Journal of the Society of Arts* 14, no.703 (1866), 448.

¹⁶⁶ In his address to the committee in 1859, Henry Chorley described the native art music scene as follows: ‘The situation of art music in England by native musicians was languishing, and ‘within the five an twenty years, the development of and cultivation of Music in England [had] assumed proportions which render further neglect of the art impossible, without an indifference amounting apparently to injustice.’ Chorley, *On the Recognition of Music*, 444.

In the *Pall Mall Gazette*, it was written: ‘the management of the institution is scarcely to be called management, [no]body is properly paid and nobody is properly supervised by anybody’.¹⁶⁷ The culmination of the Academy’s struggles led to several meetings of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Commerce and Manufacturers in Great Britain (then, and hereinafter, referred to as the Royal Society of Arts, or RSA) in 1866, which called for the establishment of a new music school – in opposition to the RAM – as a means of promoting a national cultivation of music.

Although this study is not designed to discuss the RSA’s agenda for modernising British music education in depth, it is pertinent to discuss the Victorian definition of a ‘national music’, a delineation which evolved from the broader discussion of music education in Britain and would, in turn, shape the course of practical music education in the country (including bowed-string instrument tuition). Proceedings of the RSA, executed through a Committee of Musical Education held between 1859-1873, reveal that the agenda for disseminating music education was inextricably linked to the idea of a ‘nationality’ and a ‘national school of music’. By 1866, what had been initial causes for concern for the committee (ie inefficient music training on a national level and the languishing RAM) were no longer sole concerns: speaker Dr Henry Wylde summed up the committee’s anxiety when he said that ‘it [wa]s a lamentable fact, amounting almost to a national disgrace, that we have no school of English music.’¹⁶⁸ Stemming from a paper presented by Henry Chorley to the RSA’s committee – *On the Recognition of Music among the Arts*¹⁶⁹ – the idea of a ‘national school of music’ developed into a significant point of discussion. Seen as the probable solution to what had been described in 1859 as the artistic neglect of native musicians, the desire for a national school was stimulated by favourable reports from committee members and professional musicians which detailed the success of continental conservatoires in Brussels, Leipzig, Liège, Milan, Munich, Naples, Paris, Prague and Vienna.

The artistic neglect and subsequent mediocrity of native musicians was not believed to be wholly resultant from a ‘lack of English music genius’¹⁷⁰ or even the

¹⁶⁷ From *Pall Mall Gazette* (08 Jan. 1866) as quoted in “Proceedings of the Society: Musical Education Committee.” *Journal of the Society of Arts* 14, no.686 (1866), 128.

¹⁶⁸ “Proceedings of the Society: Musical Education Committee.” *Journal of the Society of Arts* 14, no.696 (1866), 322.

¹⁶⁹ Chorley’s presentation called for financial support (ideally through government spending) for Music education and the establishment of a new national college for musical training, for the betterment of musical standards amongst English musicians.

¹⁷⁰ *Proceedings of the Society: Musical Education Committee*, 324.

'comparative failure'¹⁷¹ of RAM. Instead, the root of the problem was one of aesthetics and funding. Regarding the latter, the extortionate costs of attending the RAM¹⁷² and the lack of government subvention impeded young, middle-class talent from attending the academy,¹⁷³ what John Hullah (Inspector of Music and Training Schools in Britain) observed as the social set displaying the greatest potential of talent, the 'largest amount of musical aptitude'.¹⁷⁴ To further his belief, Hullah notes that the 'difference between England and other countries [is] that the greatest aptitude and the finest taste, in foreign countries, are found among the aristocracy, and that is precisely the reverse in England...the difficulties of teaching music in schools of the higher classes are enormously greater than in those of the lower'.¹⁷⁵ The decision of the committee to establish a new training school for young musicians (The National Training School of Music)¹⁷⁶ would address this socio-economic dynamic by offering free scholarships, as funded by the RSA, thus encouraging the admission of students with musical ability rather than financial stability. All British music conservatoires subsequently established later in the nineteenth century (for example the Guildhall School of Music (1880) and the Royal Manchester College of Music¹⁷⁷ (1893), and the newly incorporated Trinity College of Music (1876)) exercised similar models of financial assistance for highly gifted students, furthering the legacy of disseminating music education to students from different social backgrounds.

In an age of advancing, analytical truth, the committee of learned gentlemen¹⁷⁸ considered music education the purveyor of musical taste. Music education was more than an educative concern; it was a patriotic agenda. The committee was charged with proposing a solution as to how 'the musical education of the people of this country may be conducted on a scale, and with benefits at least

¹⁷¹ *Proceedings of the Society: Musical Education Committee*, 258.

¹⁷² At forty-five pounds a year for tuition costs, attending the Royal Academy of Music was more costly than attending most of the colleges at Oxford or Cambridge. "Proceedings of the Society: Musical Education Committee." *Proceedings of the Society: Musical Education Committee*, 128.

¹⁷³ This issue is covered in extensive detail by Ehrlich (1985).

¹⁷⁴ *Proceedings of the Society: Musical Education Committee*, 128.

¹⁷⁵ *Proceedings of the Society: Musical Education Committee*, 387.

¹⁷⁶ The age of pupils is defined throughout the RSA meetings as 'before their voices broke' (Ibid.) and Bashford defines the entrant ages as 'ten to fourteen' Christina Bashford, *The Pursuit of High Culture*, 42.

¹⁷⁷ Now called the Royal Northern College of Music (the result of a merger between the Royal Manchester College of Music and the Northern School of Music, in 1972).

¹⁷⁸ Described as a committee 'consisting of [the] noblemen and gentlemen' the participating members of the Music Education Committee, it is evident that committee members by and large either held a university degree or came from a privileged background, including the likes of Sir John E. Harrington, Henry Cole, Esq., Sir John Pakington and Henry Chorley. "National School for Music." *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 17, no.870 (1869), 702.

equal, to those of Continental Academies'.¹⁷⁹ The purpose of the committee therefore evolved beyond solely writing a report on the state of affairs of music education in England. It could be argued that as the committee evaluated their findings, they became equally determined to assess the potential for a successful national school of music in Britain: how and on which existing model might this national school be established and promoted?

The committee agreed as a whole that 'the wide cultivation and practice of music render it unnecessary to dwell on the value and national influence of this branch of the fine arts'.¹⁸⁰ Nevertheless, the relationship between founding a national school of music and the dissemination of musical taste on a nationwide scale had yet to be determined. Could a national school of music stimulate a widespread appreciation for music across the country? Could the current musical tastes of the British benefit from well-educated, native musicians? When interviewed by the committee, Dr Wylde, the Gresham Professor of Music in London, believed well-educated musicians would produce 'good' and 'meaningful music'¹⁸¹ thereby affording such an outcome: 'the entrepreneurs of operas and concerts, compelled in obedience to the arbitrary dictum of fashion to foreign artistes at enormous rates, find themselves unable to supply the people with the best music at accessible prices, hence the English public are deprived of the vast stimulus to popular good taste which a universal diffusion of good music would promote'.¹⁸² As the committee's inquiry advanced, proceedings from meetings reveal two significant developments. Firstly, by examination of the questions asked of visiting professional musicians and administrators¹⁸³ (regarding the national agendas of music conservatoires on the continent), it is clear the committee was convinced that a national school of music was needed in Britain, and to ensure its success the institution ought to be informed by successful models on the continent. Secondly, by 1869, the RSA was convinced that a national school of music in Britain would be an arbiter of musical taste, promoting the widespread cultivation of music, and that such a school could rival those of the continent in the long term. This is evidenced by the resultant petition

¹⁷⁹ "Proceedings of the Society: Musical Education Committee." *Journal of the Society of Arts* 15, no.1 (1866), 8.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ "Proceedings of the Society: Musical Education Committee." *Journal of the Society of Arts* 14, no.696 (1866), 324.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Invited professionals included John Ella, Michael Costa, Sterndale Bennett, John Hullah and Ernst Pauer.

titled the ‘National School of Music’,¹⁸⁴ a document presented to the House of Commons on 20 July 1869 which appealed ‘in favour of a Government School of Music and a National Opera’.¹⁸⁵ However, throughout the committee’s proceedings, the notion of a national school of music seems to have been a loosely defined concept, referring to both the idea of a solitary institution of intellectual culture that would uphold a ‘true and successful system of “Music Education”’¹⁸⁶ and the idea of an English-speaking school of opera that would offer a meaningful vehicle of expression for native artists.¹⁸⁷

2.3 Notions of a ‘national’ music and the role of instrumental studies

The urge to define a ‘national’ music as vocal music was not a new concept. In relation to the committee’s investigations, the partiality for vocal music had been previously established by Chorley in his address to the members of the Society of Arts in 1859: ‘Here it is essential to remind you that every nation has its own strongly marked predilections and superiorities in the art. In England, these direct themselves towards vocal music... why we should be less adroit as instrumentalists than as singers, might be explained in the small amount of our leisure disposable for the purposes of recreation and in the our reluctance to accept that severe and patient discipline without which there is no training of the fingers’.¹⁸⁸ Certainly, considering the costly and demanding means of studying an instrument at the time (school music education primarily focused on vocal studies, taught aurally with few exceptions), it was no revelation that few accomplished instrumentalists were British and that vocal studies were more popular. For example, a preliminary report by the Musical Education Committee reveals that the student body of the ill-fated National College of Music (discontinued in 1866) counted only four violin pupils in the student body, ‘all the others being for singing or pianoforte’.¹⁸⁹ A contemporaneous record of the RAM student body reveals that a mere seven percent of the cohort studied a string instrument, in this case – the violin (see Table 2.1).

¹⁸⁴ “National School for Music.” *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 17, no.870 (1869), 702-3.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 703.

¹⁸⁶ “Proceedings of the Society: Musical Education Committee.” *Journal of the Society of Arts* 14, no.696 (1866): 324.

¹⁸⁷ “National School for Music.” *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 17, 870 (1869), 702-3.

¹⁸⁸ “Proceedings of the Society: Musical Education Committee.” *Journal of the Society of Arts* 14, no.703 (1866), 446.

¹⁸⁹ “Proceedings of the Society: Musical Education Committee.” *Journal of the Society of Arts* 14, no.693 (1866), 257.

Table 2.1 RAM student body and teaching staff (1865 to 1866)¹⁹⁰		
Subject of Study	Number of Professors	Number of Students
Harmony	7	70
Pianoforte	12	64
Singing	9	48
Violin	3	14

Furthermore, the exclusion of professional instrumentalists other than pianists from the Musical Education Committee’s investigative interview procedure (a selection of candidates I have been unable to identify) ensured that views and opinions regarding practical tuition for bowed-string instruments in Britain remained few and far between. Of the fourteen interviewees involved in the committee’s survey, candidates had either had training as a vocalist, were currently employed as a vocalist or performed in the Covent Garden Opera. Consequently, this bias skewed discussions intended to establish an effective national training academy for all forms of practical music education towards the idea of a national opera as a means of stimulating composition (the desired symbol of national culture): ‘If the aim of the committee be the promotion of a genuine English school of music, I would again urge that the best mode of attaining so desirable an end will be reached best through a national opera’.¹⁹¹ With particular relevance to viola, the popularity and appreciation of a singer’s career compared to a violist’s career was described by Chorley as follows: ‘the emolument of a first-rate viola, oboe or bassoon, as compared with that of a second-rate singer, is as one to ten – -if not as one to twenty’.¹⁹² Coupled with the popularity of dramatic music (ie opera houses in London), the predominance of music instruction by vocal methods in elementary schools, and the considerable quantity of vocal and piano students enrolled at existing training academies (including the Academy, the National College of Music, the London Academy of Music and the London Vocal Academy) any advance¹⁹³ reforming music education in England

¹⁹⁰ “Proceedings of the Society: Musical Education Committee.” *Journal of the Society of Arts* 14, no.700 (1866), 390.

¹⁹¹ “Proceedings of the Society: Musical Education Committee.” *Journal of the Society of Arts* 14, no.696 (1866), 324.

¹⁹² “Proceedings of the Society: Musical Education Committee.” *Journal of the Society of Arts* 14, no.703 (1866), 447.

¹⁹³ For further reading regarding the broad history of reforming music education at the elementary level, see: David Wright, *The Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music*. (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013).

would be of greater benefit to vocal, piano, and composition studies compared to the study of bowed-string instruments.

With an open petition to Parliament, the Committee of Music Education (along with the evidenced support of 100 signatures from professional musicians) concluded, with some clarity, that a new or reformed National Academy of Music should indeed be established and that ‘connected with such an academy, we would further advise, if possible, the establishment of an English National Opera, believing by such agencies a genuine and useful impulse might be given to the development of musical genius in this country, ultimately redeeming it from the disgrace of being the only European nation that fails to cultivate its own national music’.¹⁹⁴ Although the resultant institution, the National Training School of Music which opened in 1876, was not a success,¹⁹⁵ the foundations had been laid for what would become the rise of music conservatoire education in Britain. Indeed, the failure of the National Training School led to the establishment of the RCM in 1883. The efforts of the RSA and the ideal of a ‘Central College for the highest Instruction in Music’¹⁹⁶ allowed for the acceptance of practical music education as a serious, educational pursuit. Nevertheless, string studies (and in particular those of the viola) would remain relatively unpopular until the late nineteenth century.

2.4 British music conservatoires and the advent of first-study viola tuition

The viola in those days was generally played by violinists too inferior to gain a position in orchestras as such¹⁹⁷

Lionel Tertis, renowned British violist, was outspoken on the state of viola tuition and performance standards during the 1890s. Tertis saw training provision as virtually non-existent and the resultant performance culture pitiful: ‘There was not one viola student in the institution [RAM]...a little old man, said to be a professional viola player, was engaged by the Academy to take part in the orchestral practices...Sir

¹⁹⁴ “National School for Music.” *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 17, no.870 (1869), 702-3.

¹⁹⁵ The lack of financial support from the Government and the failure to merge with the Royal Academy of Music meant that the college had no permanence, and unable to sustain its activities after five years of operation, it closed its doors in 1881.

¹⁹⁶ Society of Arts, *National Cultivation of Music (1880): First Report of the Committee appointed by the council of the society of arts on Musical Examinations, with appendixes.* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1979).

¹⁹⁷ Lionel Tertis, *Cinderella No More.* (London: P. Neville, 1953), 24-5.

Alexander Mackenzie once told me he considered him a necessary evil'.¹⁹⁸ Tertis's testimony provides valuable historical insight concerning viola performance culture in Britain, being one of only two biographical accounts which include mention of viola tuition during the last decade of the nineteenth century.¹⁹⁹ Nonetheless, the extent to which these recollections inform our understanding of the context of viola tuition should be questioned. The absence of practical viola tuition at British conservatoires, as recalled by Tertis, would reinforce the notion that the viola's primary function was as a doubling instrument for violinists and not considered as a principal study instrument. Archival research of concert ephemera, student records and annual reports of the RCM and TCM, as well as other historical source material,²⁰⁰ offers a wider perspective regarding the presence or want of practical viola tuition during the years 1880-1910.

Records of viola pupils and training provision in Britain conservatoires before the establishment of the RCM are in effect non-existent. Of the five training academies which offered practical music education in London before 1883 (ie RAM, Trinity College of London, the Vocal Academy of London, the National College of Music and the London Academy of Music), only incomplete records from the Academy and TCM exist. Of these two sources, RAM's archival materials provide insight regarding the existence of viola tuition before the modernisation of advanced music education (which I see as coinciding with the establishment of the RCM). At the Academy, after the death of the academy's first viola teacher, Henry Hill (Britain's most celebrated violist of the nineteenth century), the position of viola teacher was subsequently undertaken by Richard Blagrove (1826/7 to 1895), a violist and concertina-player who came from a English family of musicians. Whereas the academy's roster of violin teachers reveals varied staff appointments until the early twentieth-century, Richard Blagrove acted as viola professor for a constant thirty-four year period (1856 to 1890). Although it has not been possible to determine any viola pupils during this time frame due to the scarcity of complete student records, we do know that Blagrove's appointment involved a bi-weekly appointment as violist in the

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ The other source being the memoirs of Alfred Gibson (violin-violist with the Joachim Quartet in London), compiled by his son and published for private circulation: John Gibson, *A Musician's Life: Alfred Gibson* (London: Frederick Books, 1956).

²⁰⁰ John White mentions a relevant example regarding Tertis's career advancement in Henry Wood's Queen's Hall Orchestra (White, *Lionel Tertis*, 6). In the following discussions of viola tuition and viola method books, I hope to illustrate that in contrast to the bleak picture of viola performance standards offered by Tertis, there were indeed others working to promote the viola, both in education and performance contexts.

academy's orchestral practices²⁰¹ (and thereby confirming the identity of the viola professor mentioned by Tertis, as previously referenced). However, it would not be illogical to assume that Blagrove's position as viola professor extended beyond his appointment in the academy's orchestra and may have included giving lessons on the viola. From the first recorded history of the Academy we know that lessons for violin pupils lasted one half-hour a week, although pupils were invited to attend the lessons of their cohorts.²⁰² What was exactly entailed in Blagrove's appointment is a matter for conjecture.

A more comprehensive analysis of viola education is achieved by reviewing two previously unstudied primary sources: the early student records and annual reports of the RCM and TCM. These sources provide detailed accounts of practical instrument tuition and the earliest records of viola students at British music conservatoires. The establishment of the RCM as well as the amended constitution of the Trinity College of Music in 1881 heralded a new approach to systemised music education in conservatoires: the studied documents represent the earliest²⁰³ examples of detailed accounts (eg annual reports, student registers and balance sheets) to be dutifully kept by British music conservatoires.²⁰⁴ Although the two colleges kept records of different particulars in their annual accounts, each college record contributes indispensable perspectives concerning the proliferation of bowed-string instrument tuition in British conservatoires.

2.4.1 *The Royal College of Music*

I define a professional violist as a musician who primarily earns an income from performing or teaching the viola. Bearing this definition in mind, the earliest cohort of professional violists in Britain may be identified as the following musicians (active from 1887 onwards): Edward Behr, Emil Férir, Leonard Fowles, Alfred Hobday and Emil Kreuz.²⁰⁵ With the exception of Belgian-born and trained violist Emile Férir, each musician was the product of the burgeoning conservatoire system in Britain,

²⁰¹ Tertis, *Cinderella No More*, 24-5.

²⁰² William Cazalet, *The History of the Royal Academy of Music*, (London: Bosworth, 1854).

²⁰³ I acknowledge that earlier training academies would have most likely kept ledgers and other forms of documented accounts. However, it has not been possible to locate examples of these documents, therefore leading to the assumption that the records mentioned above are the earliest examples of detailed accounts from British music conservatoires.

²⁰⁴ Unfortunately, similar records from the other two leading music conservatoires at the time, Guildhall School of Music and the Academy, do not exist in full.

²⁰⁵ Lionel Tertis's first paid engagement as a violist (and indeed, the start of his career on the instrument) was as a teacher of viola at the Academy in 1900.

having trained at RAM, RCM²⁰⁶ or TCM. To better understand the viola's changing role and function, it is important to construct an informed view of the education and training methods experienced by those comprising Britain's first generation of professional violists. These musicians would collectively and individually influence the history of viola performance in Britain, ultimately raising the proficiency of viola performance.

The greater part of the founding generation of violists was trained at the Royal College of Music. Although complete student records do not exist for the full period studied in this thesis (1880 to 1910), there is an abundance of source material which illustrates the education of a young violist at the college. In the absence of complete student records, the original registers of enrolled scholars for the first two years of the college do exist (1883 to 1885). Amongst the student body, which began with ninety-two members, fifty were scholars (pupils receiving a full scholarship to cover tuition costs). Regarding these scholars, near complete 'scholar reports' survive (handwritten records which include first and second study details, exam results and teacher comments) which reveal that of the initial fifty scholars of the RCM, six pupils studied the violin as their principal instrument and five pupils chose to learn the violin as a second study subject.²⁰⁷ In comparison, four scholars chose to study the viola as a second subject, although one student, Emil Kreuz, went on to change from secondary to primary (mid-way through his first year 1883 to 1884). As seen in Table 2.2, further examination of the scholars' reports reveal that students who chose to learn the viola as a principal or secondary study instrument tended to complement viola studies with composition, contradicting the notion that the viola was the reluctant choice of substandard violinists.

In view of the discontinuation of detailed ledgers pertaining to RCM scholars (after 1885) and the scarcity of further historical records illustrating student choices for second studies, the further evidence of viola pupils at the RCM may be derived from the 'paying student' lists (included in the annual reports from 1884 to 1918) and brief mention of newly, elected scholars in each annual account. However, a bleak and misleading impression of viola studies is attained if only these records are examined (see Table A.1 on page 172 in the appendix).

²⁰⁶ One exception being Lionel Tertis, who first went to the Trinity College of Music for violin studies, and then following a brief education at the Leipzig Conservatoire in Germany, went on to study at the Academy.

²⁰⁷ Of the five pupils who initially learned the violin as a second study instrument, two students went on to modify their second study and choose a different subject in 1885.

Name	Year of Birth	Year of Study	First Study	Second Study	Teacher's comments relating to viola studies (A. Gibson)
Emil Kreuz	1867	1883-4	Violin	Vla/Organ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Attentive and Painstaking' • 'Good Progress'
		1884-5	Viola	Comp	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (no comment)
William Duncan	1866	1883-4	Comp	Vla/Pno	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Attentive but not very quick' • 'Progress is fairly good'
		1884-5	Comp	Vla/Pno	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Not always as painstaking as necessary'
James MacCunn	1862	1883-4	Comp	Vla/Pno	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Very good progress, very quick, attentive'
		1884-5	Comp	Vla/Pno	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Makes little improvement'
Arthur Smith	1862	1883-4	Comp	Vla/Pno	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Has made very fair progress' • 'Works very earnestly and with fair success'
		1884-5	Comp	Vla/Pno	'Works satisfactorily'

These figures reveal that viola studies, along with those of the double bass, were not popular choices for families who funded their child's musical education. On the whole, however, first study bowed-string instrument students constituted one-third of the paying-student body, between 1891 to 1905 (the highest percentage being 35.8 percent in the year 1901 to 1902), a significant indicator of the growing popularity of bowed-string instruments (a figure almost on a par with the highly-subscribed pianoforte and vocal departments). Although paid viola performance studies remained in low demand at the RCM until the 1930s (one outcome being the individual viola class as taught by Alfred Gibson between the years 1883 to 1885 and subsequently Richard Gompertz from 1885 to 1888, was absorbed into the violin class in 1888), both funded viola studies at the college and certified examinations from the RCM gradually benefitted from the rising popularity of the violin. As evidenced in Table 2.3, scholarships were awarded to principal study viola students. High levels of proficiency were necessary for the receipt of a scholarship, which offered a student fully-funded education. If audition candidates failed to impress the audition panel, scholarships would not be awarded. Such was the case in 1892 when Open Scholarships for eligible violinists were reassigned to other music specialisms

as ‘none of the [violin] candidates were found to reach a sufficiently high standard’.²⁰⁸ Bearing this level of proficiency in mind, and considering the professional careers that each of the musicians (as listed in Table 2.3) went on to achieve, it is clear that viola performance standards were improving. As George Grove (the acting director of the college) noted in his report of July 1893 regarding the ‘high pitch of excellence’²⁰⁹ in ensemble playing, ‘I am constantly receiving proofs of the wisdom of the encouragement which we have always given to the study of the viola’.²¹⁰

Student	Period of Study	Scholarship	ARCM Viola Performance
Emil Kreuz	1883-8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First study Violin Scholar (1883-4) • First study Viola Scholar (1884-8) 	Yes (awarded 1888)
Alfred Hobday	1886-91	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First study Violin Scholar (1886-7) • First study Viola Scholar (1887-91) 	Yes, (awarded 1891)
Leonard Fowles	1887-92	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First study Viola Scholar (1888-92) 	No
Charles Jacoby	1889-N/A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First study Viola Scholar (1889-N/A) 	No
Alexander Cecil Forsyth	1895-1899	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exhibitioner of Theory and Viola (1887-9) 	No
Edward B. Behr	1892-97	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First-Study Violin Scholar (1892-4) • First-Study Viola Scholar (1894-97) 	No

From the outset of the college’s operations, practical studies on the viola were offered both as first and second study subjects. Subjects of principal study included: ‘singing, violin, viola, violoncello, double bass, piano, organ, harp, wind instrument, and composition (if sufficiently advanced in harmony and counterpoint);²¹² and further subjects of study for instrumentalists included harmony and counterpoint, concerted music (instrumental), orchestral practice (including playing from the score)

²⁰⁸ *Royal College of Music Annual Reports*, 10.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 28.

²¹⁰ *Ibid*, 28-9.

²¹¹ The tabulated data is extracted from: *Annual Reports and Scholars’ Reports of the RCM 1894-6*. MS. Royal College of Music, London.

²¹² *Ibid*, 20.

and the history of music (and other related subjects).²¹³ The weekly course of work for each term of thirteen weeks included the following studies (see Table 2.4).

Subject	Lesson Allowance (hrs.)
Principal Study	2
Second Study	1
Harmony	1
Counterpoint	1
Choral Class	1
Italian (for singers)	1
Declamation (for singers)	1
Practice in Chamber Music*	1
Orchestral Practice*	1
Lectures on history each term	4 (lectures)
* = if sufficiently advanced	

The regularity of the second study lessons indicates a serious attitude in approaching practical studies, regardless of a student's primary specialism. Second-study subjects were also taught on a one-to-one basis with the professor, a contrast with principal study lessons which were on occasion taught 'in conjunction with two other students',²¹⁵ a masterclass setting of sorts. The initial reports of the college's first scholarship recipients (1883 to 1885) reveal that the viola was a sound choice as a second study specialism. The RCM's offering of viola tuition as both a primary and secondary specialism appears to be unique considering the syllabi of competing conservatoires (although considering the lack of evidence pertaining to early accounts of the GSM and the RAM prior to 1930, it is difficult to assess if and how viola studies were taught at these two institutions).

2.4.2 Further examples of practical viola tuition (c1880 to 1910)

Assessing which musicians taught viola at the London conservatoires is more straightforward. There is evidence to suggest that violinist/violist Alfred Gibson taught viola at the Guildhall School of Music.²¹⁶ Nevertheless, official college records of this appointment have not come to light. As regards RAM, teacher rosters do exist; however, neither early records of the student body nor detailed accounts of

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Alberto Bachmann, *An Encyclopedia of the Violin*. (New York: Da Capo, 1966), 358.

the professors' duties exist. Comparatively, detailed calendar reports of TCM reveal that viola tuition was not initially offered as a primary subject of study in 1873; however, viola tuition was offered from 1894 (consolidated with the violin department) with the appointment of violin-violist Ladislav Szczebanowski (listed as the viola professor). Collating data from all three institutions, a broad survey of those who taught viola at London conservatoires during the years 1883 to 1903 may be seen in Table A.2 (as found on page 173 in the appendix). Each viola professor, with the exception of Richard Blagrove, received their earliest practical instruction on the violin.

Contemporaneous to the development of the music conservatoire culture, the string quartet genre was growing in popularity across the country. The growing appreciation for string quartets encouraged the foundation of numerous societies and concert series devoted to the genre²¹⁷ as well as the dissemination of string quartet literature in British music colleges. Once the 'music of friends', the string quartet idiom was growing in popularity across concert halls and music societies, thanks to the success of Joachim and his string quartet at the Chappell Brothers' Pops concerts and John Ella's Musical Union chamber concerts, which stimulated interest in the genre. By the end of the century, the string quartet evolved into a highly popular, professional commodity in British concert culture allowing for the establishment of the country's first professional string quartets (as determined by this study): the Gompertz String Quartet (1888), the Brodsky Quartet (1895), the Grimson String Quartet (1896), the Kruse String Quartet (1897), and the London String Quartet (1908). My research contradicts earlier statements that Britain's first full-time professional string quartet was established in 1892.²¹⁸ The rising popularity of the string quartet provided a viable career option for young violists recently graduated from music college; thus it is perhaps unsurprising to note that, with the exception of the Brodsky Quartet, each of these founding quartets included a recent viola graduate from one of the London conservatoires: Richard Gompertz invited his student Emil Kreuz (RCM) to join the group as violist, Johann Kruse recruited Alfred Hobday (RCM) on viola and the London String Quartet included Henry Waldo Warner (GSM) on viola. Lionel Tertis too began his career as a violist in a string quartet: although initially enrolled as a violin student at RAM, Tertis was invited by his

²¹⁷ Including the Chappell Brothers' Popular Concerts (est. 1859). For further examples see: Tully Potter, "From Chamber to Concert Hall," Robin Stowell, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to the String Quartet*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 39-59.

²¹⁸ Potter, *From Chamber to Concert Hall*, 41.

fellow student, Percy Hilder Miles, to take part in a student string quartet party²¹⁹ as violist. Growing consumer demands for string quartet performance allowed for similar attitudes and tastes to permeate British music college environments, stimulating the dissemination of string quartet literature at college concerts and promoting string quartet practice as part of the college curriculums (evidenced in the available curriculum options listed in both the RCM and TCM annual reports).

The growing demand for viola studies is illustrated in two further educational contexts: college performance platforms (opportunities to perform at the college, extracurricular to course requirements) and the burgeoning market for musical examinations. Viola students at the RCM were afforded a greater frequency of chamber music concerts, compared to fellow bowed-string instrumentalist colleagues. Student concerts, primarily chamber music concerts,²²⁰ were given fortnightly²²¹ and each year saw numerous opportunities for the performance of string quartets. The RCM's annual reports frequently, yet inconsistently, included single concert programmes per yearly account. Examination of the concert programmes reveals at least two string quartet performances per concert, an indication of the genre's growing popularity. High demand for string quartets and a limited availability of violists meant that the earliest viola students including Hobday, Kreuz and Tomlinson were able to 'cut their teeth' on chamber repertoire, for numerous public performances. This incomparable training opportunity may explain why each of the previously mentioned violists successfully joined a professional quartet party soon after graduating.

The introduction of external examinations for viola pupils, as part of the wider context of music examination, is a further indication of the viola's rising worth in British music education. New certification schemes were established in late nineteenth-century London, by music conservatoires, expressly TCM and RCM Modelled on the Trinity College of London's diploma system established in 1873,²²² the RCM examinations (subsequently amalgamated with a similar program run by

²¹⁹ Tertis, *Cinderella No More*, 54.

²²⁰ Chamber concerts outnumbered both opera productions and orchestral concerts, averaging Between 12-16 per year (during the years 1883-1910) whereas roughly 4-6 orchestral concerts and one opera production were hosted in the same year. As read in: *Royal College of Music Annual Reports*. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1884-1905).

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² The diplomas initially offered by TCL were available only to 'male members of the Church of England' in keeping with prior attitudes that those wanting a music career would be male persons entering religious services to assume careers as choir masters, organists and so forth. This enactment was abolished in 1877 and the examinations were made available to all interested parties, regardless of creed and whether or not the candidate was a student of Trinity College London.

RAM to become the Associated Board of Music Examinations) were intended to provide amateur and aspiring professional players with a system of qualifications that would enhance both performance and educational standards. The highest accolade to be awarded was the ‘Associate of the Royal College of Music’, a diploma originally proposed as the practical equivalent to doctoral music studies at a university. Examining the awarded ‘Associate’ viola diplomas from the period of this study, a burgeoning interest in the instrument is evident (see Table 2.5).

Name	Music Education	Year
Emil Kreuz	RCM	1888
Alfred Hobday	RCM	1891
Gwynne Kimpton	Unknown	1896
Helen Egerton	Unknown	1902
James MacFie	Unknown	1905
Ida Hyatt	Unknown	1907
Edith Marriott	Unknown	1909
Lillian Wilkins	Unknown	1909

However, further study of the examination requirements reveals that up until 1899 there was no established syllabus for viola candidates. From 1899 onwards, the TCM ‘New Syllabus for Local Examinations in Instrumental and Vocal Music’²²⁴ included a brief list of required materials for viola candidates which included five compositions (see Table 2.6). Considering the advanced level required to perform the requisite works, I posit the notion that only one advanced examination was offered to viola players. Over the course of the following decade, both the syllabus for the violin and the syllabus for the cello expanded to include ‘lists’ which subdivided exam repertoire into relevant categories (for example, in 1906 the violin syllabus for the practical Licentiate Diploma included Lists A, B, and C which were respectively divided into solo works, concerti, and works for violin and piano). The viola syllabus, however, remained constant, until the year 1919 (at which time, a fully expanded syllabus for both Associate and Licentiate diplomas became available).

²²³ *Royal College of Music Annual Reports*. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1883 to 1910).

²²⁴ “New Syllabus for Local Examinations in Instrumental and Vocal Music.” *Trinity College of Music: Calendar for the Year 1899*. (London: Trinity College of Music, 1899), n. pag.

The lack of information regarding preparatory viola studies in the TCM examinations calendar (both prior to, and following, the introduction of a viola syllabus) suggest that available pedagogical materials and repertoire for the viola were limited, unlike fully expanded curricula for violin and the cello. The paucity of information begs the question as to what repertoire and method books would have been available to violists during the years 1880 to 1910, if any at all. As demonstrated, a demand for viola did exist in both amateur and professional training contexts and the following section will examine available pedagogical materials for the viola, 1880 to 1910.

Composer	Title
Ferdinand David	Concertina for Viola Op.12
Henry Lott	Concertstücke
Wolfdieter Maurer	Divertimento
Robert Schumann	<i>Märchenbilder</i> for Viola and Piano Op.113 (Nos. 1 & 2).
Thomas Täglichsbeck	Concertstücke

2.5 Viola method books in Britain and continental influences (c1880 to 1910)

Most of the faults that I find with people that come from the violin lie in the bow arm, and that's a very big problem indeed, and that I find deeply interesting. Those students that started on the viola were usually taught by violinists who finger the viola in the violin way. That I have to change.²²⁶

The assumption that the viola is merely a large violin with inconsequential technical variations between the two is a flawed argument permeating performance practice scholarship up to the present day. Any serious performer of the viola will inform you that the two instruments (while bearing close physical similarities) have different technical requirements.²²⁷ It is my experience that scholars who perform on the violin to a certain extent occasionally dabble on the viola, a performance pursuit more for

²²⁵ Ibid, n. pagn.

²²⁶ David Dalton, *Playing the Viola: Conversations with William Primrose*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

²²⁷ This view has been expressed on many occasions by professional violists including Lionel Tertis, William Primrose, Lillian Fuchs.

personal pleasure than for serious study. My personal study of both instruments from the ages of four and fourteen (violin and viola respectively) lends the personal observation that, in general, while the violin requires quick left-hand dexterity, and a supple right-hand technique, the viola requires different fingering patterns, an expanded and more flexible left-hand culture (to embrace the instrument's larger compass) and a sensitive right-hand culture which simultaneously knows how to draw a rich tone from a set of thicker strings and yet brings a brilliance to the sound. These different requirements become more evident as the instrumentalist advances in her or his studies.

Today, viola études from the mid twentieth century onwards cater to the specialist requirements for any level of viola performance. However, surveys on instruction books for the viola composed before the twentieth century²²⁸ collectively suggests viola methods were few and far between, a veritable 'dearth of specialist pedagogical materials'.²²⁹ Early viola methods (the earliest work written solely for the viola is currently credited as being Michel Corrette's *Méthode d'Alto* (1782))²³⁰ principally came from Paris and Leipzig with few exceptions, one being the British method book *Complete Instruction for the Tenor* by an anonymous author (speculated to be composer William Flackton).²³¹ Of these early instruction books, the highest level of difficulty is to be found in Cupis's *Méthode d'Alto* (nd)²³² which illustrates first through to third position fingerings, with subsequent study pieces to instil these technical principles. Although Kruse lists and subsequently analyses four methods written specifically for viola (1780 to 1860), his study neglects to mention the developing trend which would shape the immediate technical development of viola performance standards: viola methods transcribed from the violin literature. Examples of these educative works include Ludwig Pagel's transcription of the *Études mélodique and progressives pour le Violin composées par F. Mazas* Op.36 (1880); Frederick Hermann's transcription of the same work (1882) or a later transcription of *40 Caprices pour le Violon* (nd); Francois Watier's adaption of *Dix Caprices en Forme d'Études par P. Rode arranges pour Alto par Watier* (nd), and Henrich E. Kayser's arrangement of R. Kreutzer's *40 Étuden oder Capricen* (nd). These coexisted alongside treatises written expressly for the study of the viola:

²²⁸ See Steven Kruse, "The Viola School of Technique: Etudes and methods written between 1780 and 1860." (DMA, Bal State University, 1985), and Robin Stowell, *The Early Violin and Viola: A Practical Guide*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

²²⁹ Stowell, *The Early Violin and Viola*, 24-5.

²³⁰ Riley, *The History of the Viola*, (1983).

²³¹ Kruse (1985) and Riley (1983).

²³² Riley speculates the date as being 1788 and Drüner suggests 1799.

Antonio B. Bruni's *Méthode pour l'alto viola* (Paris, c1820), Michel Gebauer's *Méthode d'alto* (Paris, c1800), Jacob Martinn's *Méthode d'alto* (Paris, c1820) and Léon Firket's *Méthode Pratique* (2 vols., Brussels, 1873). It is interesting that neither Stowell nor Kruse pays attention to the historical importance of the transcribed études. The commercial viability of these transcribed violin studies is clearly observed on the front jacket of each edition: titles and descriptive phrases within each treatise are multilingual (offered in French, German and English), illustrating wide appeal. Secondly, the transcribed works offer greater technical demands (the exception being Bruni's caprices), which signals a growing interest in higher performance standards for the viola. Rather than viewing the diminutive body of available études for the viola as a scarcity of source material, I believe that the availability (albeit limited) of both original and transcribed technical books signifies a demand for advanced technical requirements for the viola.

It was only towards the latter end of the nineteenth century that viola method books were published in Britain. By contrast, instruction books for the violin and cello were widely available: indeed, the first specialist text for the instruction of a bowed-string instrument (the violin) appeared in 1693.²³³ The wealth of available violin instruction books were predominantly authored by eminent violinists and pedagogues (both past and present) from the continent, most often a professor with a conservatoire teaching appointment, from earlier eighteenth century examples such as Baillot, Leopold Mozart and Spohr to early nineteenth-century examples including Kreuzer, Mazas and Rode. The turn of the nineteenth century saw the publication of a few native method books for the violin²³⁴ and cello. However, as the century progressed and a concert culture featuring exotic foreign talent blossomed alongside a rapidly expanding body of amateur violinists seeking violin instruction, translations of celebrated continental methods became highly popular (especially Spohr's violin method), overshadowing the outdated, native methods. By 1861, self-instruction or 'acquiring Music "without a Master"²³⁵ was a burgeoning print culture: the most readily available texts from British music publishers²³⁶ were translated continental

²³³ John Lenton, *The Gentleman's Diversion or the Violin Explained*. (London: author, 1693) as quoted in Stowell, *The Early Violin and Viola*, 19.

²³⁴ For an expanded list of titles (including both foreign and native method books published in Britain c1780-84) see Robin Stowell, *Violin Technique and Performance Practice in Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 372-4.

²³⁵ "Music without a Master." *Musical Times* 19, no.424 (1878), 313-4.

²³⁶ Notable examples include: Henry Holmes, ed., *Spohr's Violin School*. (London: Boosey and Co., 1878); Carl Courvoisier, ed., *24 Caprices by Rode*. (London: Augener's Edition., 1894); Hans Wesley, ed., *Dont - Etudes and Caprices Op.35*. (London: Augener's Edition, 1913) and,

method books (including instruction manuals, étude books and collections of caprices). The *Catalogue of Augener and co.'s universal circulating music library with supplements* (1861) lists sixteen books of instruction for the violin, fourteen of which were edited or translated from French, German or Italian. Novello, Ewer and Co.'s *Complete Catalogue of Music* (1890), a publishing house which predominantly published vocal and keyboard music, lists four instruction books for the violin, only one of which was originally penned in English²³⁷ as part of Novello's *Primer Series*. The first publication as part of *The Strad Library*, a series of supplementary texts to the parent periodical *The Strad*, was a renowned book of violin 'technics'²³⁸ based on the method of Joseph Joachim, as edited by Carl Courvoisier, a German violinist and pedagogue. The commercial viability of translated tutors and studies for the violin is additionally observed in two sources: the existing repertory lists for the early RCM music examinations (1890 onwards), which heavily feature continental studies as part of the necessary technical requirements, as well as in the rise of unauthorised editions of translated technical methods which began to permeate the industry. Writing to *The Strad* journal in 1899, Courvoisier expresses concern for the unauthorised alternatives:

The New and Revised Edition of "Technics of Violin Playing," issued by *The Strad*, is the only authorised edition of my work. The several English Editions which have all appeared without my knowledge are *incomplete* and *faulty*.²³⁹

The predominance of translated method books does offer insight into the prevailing musical tastes for performance styles from the continent. However, the lack of personal accounts detailing technical materials studied during violin lessons does not allow any conclusions to be drawn as to which methods may have been favoured as a part of an amateur or conservatoire education in Britain. Whereas the published method books of teaching staff at continental conservatoires (including those of Brussels, Paris and Leipzig) were clearly affiliated with the relevant teaching institutions, the newer British conservatoires exhibited no such assiduousness in the

James Clarke, ed., *Paganini's Method of Playing the Violin* (London: Robert Cocks & Co., 1853).

²³⁷ Berthold Tours, *The Violin*. (London: Novello, Ewers and Co., 1874).

²³⁸ Carl Courvoisier, *Technics of Violin Playing on Joachim's Method*. (London: E. Shore and Co., 1899).

²³⁹ *Ibid*, Foreword.

standardisation of technique. Indeed, there is little evidence to suggest whether or not the wealth of published tutors and study books would have been used as teaching materials by members of the teaching staff at British conservatoires. An *ad hoc* teaching method, dependent on the instrumental professor or teacher, is therefore assumed. To attempt a survey of a possible native school of performance practice for the violin or viola is therefore precarious. It may be argued that the adoption of select techniques and methods from continental sources would lend itself to a transmuted performance practice: however, there is insufficient evidence to suggest any such trends, particularly for the viola.

Compared to the growing body of instructional methods for the violin and cello, specialist viola instruction methods published in Britain for viola were next to non-existent. Scholars assume the viola was neglected in terms of specialised technical instruction, with any musician interested in playing the viola appropriating a violin technique on the larger instrument. The few writings which briefly address viola methods²⁴⁰ all too frequently refer to the same set of dismissive quotations, including the following by Quantz (1752), to contextualise the viola over a span of years, from the late eighteenth century:

The viola is commonly regarded as of little importance in the musical establishment. The reason may well be that it is often played by persons who are either still beginners in the ensemble or have no particular gifts with which to distinguish themselves on the violin or that the instrument yields all too few advantages to its players, so that able people are not easily persuaded to take it up.²⁴¹

The paucity of complete records of British music publishers' catalogues from the period studied hampers an in-depth analysis of this assumption because it cannot be determined with certainty when the first native viola method book was printed in the nineteenth century. Reference to viola method books in contemporary print materials other than print catalogues reveals little information prior to 1890. Analysing instruction books for violin (the more text-based sources, rather than études and other sources of purely technical information) contemporaneous to the period of this study

²⁴⁰ See Stowell (2001), Golby (2013) and Kruse (1985).

²⁴¹ Johann Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, 2nd edition. Ed. and trans., Edward Reilly (London: Faber and Faber, 2011).

further stimulates notions of the violin's hierarchical position to the viola and the idea of an appropriated technical culture for viola players. Throughout *The Technics of Violin-Playing*, author and violinist Courvoisier mentions the viola in passing reference, implying the transferability of violin technique to the viola: 'Further, I might say that youths with very large limbs...should at least take to the viola after learning the violin for a while';²⁴² 'It is different with the augmented fourth, because the full-sized violin (and certainly the viola) requires an *extension* for that interval...';²⁴³ 'I have found this [desirability for the extension] by playing a very large viola, and have observed it in violin pupils with small hands';²⁴⁴ 'To avoid discomfort in keys with many sharps, acquaint yourself well with the half position...viola players will find this hint still more important'.²⁴⁵ Heron-Allen's definitive tome on violin making²⁴⁶ encompasses various subjects pertaining to the violin (historical anecdotes, biographical details of famous violinists, organological developments, and appendices detailing instruction books for the violin) and rarely strays from discussing the violin proper. Any reference to the viola (or tenor) is made in footnotes, or in passing comment regarding organological developments of the violin family in general. The absence of the viola from detailed technical manuals and discussions by British editions is noted in the following texts: John Dunn's *Violin-Playing* (1898), Courvoisier's *Chats to Violin-Students* (1899) and Althaus's *Selected Violin-Solos and How to Play Them* (1905), none which alludes to the viola in either historical or technical discussions.

The beginnings of specialist literature may be seen in Schroeder's *Catechism of Violin Playing* (as translated by J. Mathews in 1895). Although not a viola method book (Schroeder makes scant reference to the viola in the body of the work), Mathews makes an important addition to Schroeder's text. In his English translation, Mathews provides a rare mention of the viola: a 'short chapter on the viola [,] the means of drawing the attention of some students to that instrument – of all the violin family – the most neglected'.²⁴⁷ Mathews includes an important appendix – a *Guide through Viola Literature* – which offers the first complete glimpse of available

²⁴² Courvoisier, *Technics of Violin Playing*, 3.

²⁴³ *Ibid*, 18.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 30.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 73.

²⁴⁶ Edward Heron-Allen, *Violin-making, as it was and is: Being a historical, theoretical, and practical treatise on the science and art of violin-making, for the use of violin makers and players, amateur and professional*. 2nd ed. (London: Ward, Lock and Co., 1885).

²⁴⁷ Carl Schroeder, *Catechism of Violin Playing*. 2nd ed. Ed., and trans., James Matthews (London: Augener and Co., 1900), preface.

methods, studies and pieces for the viola, c 1895 (see Table A.3 on page 174 in the appendix).

Far from being non-existent, therefore, the publication of method and study books for the viola indicates a commercial demand for viola tuition, the desire to lay down good foundation for practical technique. The demand for specialised viola instruction books is further supported by reading the correspondence columns in *The Strad* (1890 to 1910) in which amateur viola players submitted queries for appropriate viola tutors. Far from being excluded from the evolving vogue for the violin, interest in the viola as an instrument worthy of technical proficiency grew in tandem with two sources of print materials responsible for the dissemination of specialised instruction books for the viola: the Augener and Co. music publishing house, and *The Strad* periodical.

Augener and Co. was a London-based firm, originally established by George Augener in 1853 (86 Newgate Street), initially to import foreign music to Britain.²⁴⁸ Little biographical material or commercial documentation (such as contracts or correspondences) relating to Augener and Co. exists today, shrouding the company's artistic and commercial agendas in mystery. John Parkinson, however, provides a brief overview of the company, noting that in 1873 the company become the sole English agent for the Peters Edition (German), a relationship which lasted until 1937.²⁴⁹ George Augener (1830-1915) was reputed to be an avid supporter of leading artists and composers of the day,²⁵⁰ particularly British talent. Augener's immigration documents reveal that he was German by birth and arrived in London in 1852. It was perhaps his German upbringing which founded a love for instrumental music: he promoted and published the largest catalogue of bowed stringed-instrument music in Britain (prior to 1900) when the vast majority of leading music publishing houses, such as Novello, Ewer and Co., R. Cocks & Co., and Joseph Williams, favoured vocal and piano music. Further documentation²⁵¹ of Augener comes from the personal correspondence between Augener and Norwegian pianist, Grieg: Augener maintained a close, and supportive, relationship with Grieg for most of Augener's professional life in London. Not only was Grieg a frequent visitor at Augener's house, but the majority of his compositions was published by Augener and Co. This personal and working relationship provides a valuable insight into potential

²⁴⁸ John Parkinson, *Victorian Music Publishers: An Annotated List*. (Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1990), 35.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ Lionel Carley, *Edvard Grieg in London*. (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), 45.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

relationships Augener may have developed with other artists and composers whose works feature predominantly in the Augener catalogues, one such artist and composer being the violist Emil Kreuz. Each and every one of Emil Kreuz's compositions (Opus 1 through to 40) was published by Augener & Co., between the years 1885-1900.

The music catalogues of Augener & Co. are one of the few surviving (incomplete) sets of documents which offer an invaluable glimpse into the late Victorian music publishing industry and the available viola literature of the time. As previously mentioned, the paucity of available records detailing music publishing catalogues from British music publishing houses does inhibit the absolute confirmation that Augener & Co. was the first British publishing house to promote viola literature. Compared to my analysis of Novello's music catalogues, it is certain that Augener & Co. extensively promoted published viola literature in England. Between the years 1861 to 1907, Augener's Edition Catalogues (from 1861, 1887, 1892-3, 1894, and 1907) shows an expansion of viola literature. Listing only one category of 'Music for Tenor' in 1861 (a list comprising two chamber music publications, Grützmacher's *Romance No.1* Op.19 for tenor and orchestra (nd) and Mozart's *Grand Quintet* Op. 108 arr. Vieuxtemps (nd) by 1907, the catalogue lists three categories of viola music, encompassing more than sixty-nine works (including forty-eight works for viola-piano, fourteen works for viola solo and seven method books).²⁵² The Augener editions of technical books for viola include methods and progressive studies by Alberto Bruni (nd), Friedrich Hermann (nd), Emil Kreuz (c1880), Alfred Laubach (nd) and H. Lütgen (nd). Of these works, those by Kreuz and Laubach were expressly written for the British market. Emil Kreuz and his work as a violist will be examined in greater detail in a subsequent chapter (Chapter Three); however, of Alfred Laubach little is known. Laubach (nd-1938) does not feature in any British music reference texts. Scant fragments of information from *The Strad* reveal that Laubach was a violinist and violist whose career including the publication of a few select method and étude books for violin, viola and piano. These publications focused on the earlier stages of technical development (including *A Practical School for the Viola*, Augener Edition 1894). Besides writing education materials, Laubach also held an appointment as conductor of the Willesden Green String Orchestra until his death in 1938.

²⁵² *Augener's Edition: Catalogue, 1907*. (London: Augener's and Co., 1907), 9.

Apart from the Augener Editions of viola method books, it would appear that Novello was the next publishing house to print a viola method, Basil Althaus's *Tutor for the Viola* (Novello, 1900), the first viola instruction book complete with photographic plates. At the turn of the twentieth century, Basil Althaus (1865-1910) was reputed to be a key figure in British music education who wrote extensively for *The Strad* (including a series of articles of advice to violin students, a short book on violin solos as well as a series on viola repertoire). With the exception of a short entry in Bachmann's *Encyclopaedia of the Violin*, scant biographical materials exist for Althaus. Althaus was an English violinist and pedagogue, who played an important role in the music education scene of London.²⁵³ However, this study sheds new light on his career: a capable violinist, Althaus was a Fellow of the College of Violinists²⁵⁴ who established the Tavistock Violin Academy in London and acted as the institution's director and principal. The academy offered daily private lessons and classes, preparing for monthly concerts and examinations at the College of Violinists.²⁵⁵ Althaus's early death in 1910 was sorely felt in the music education industry and undoubtedly stunted further efforts to promote the viola and its music.

Althaus was also a key figure in the dissemination of viola technique and repertoire, not only because of his published tutor for viola, but also his series of articles, *The Viola and Its Music*, for *The Strad* (from July 1904 until August 1906). This was *The Strad*'s first series promoting the viola repertory, fourteen years after the magazine's establishment and publication of 'technical articles by leading artists'. Over the course of a two-year period, Althaus introduced the readership of the popular periodical to a varied and in-depth view of available literature for the viola, available from publishers including Augener and Co, Breitkopf and Härtel, Bosworth and Co, Cranz and Co, FW Chanot and Sons, Joseph Williams, and Schott and Co. Initially opening his series with a sombre tone ('Perhaps there is no other instrument so unpopular with amateurs as the viola'), he offers words of encouragement 'for the viola as a solo instrument can hold its own', endeavouring to 'make [the series] more palatable and interesting to the readers of *The Strad*'.²⁵⁶ Each article entry divided viola repertoire into seven grades, a range encompassing Grade 1 (elementary pieces/instruction books) through to Grade 7 (very difficult).²⁵⁷ A highly capable violinist himself, Althaus writes with an authority and in-depth technical knowledge

²⁵³ Bachmann, *An Encyclopedia of the Violin*, 338.

²⁵⁴ "Advertisement." *The Strad* 4.41 (1893): 101.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ Basil Althaus, "The Viola and Its Music." *The Strad* 15.171 (1904): 75.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

that is not found in texts where the author is limited in performance ability. Yet, unlike the preponderance of professional violinists, he treats his subject with great respect and frequently alludes to the beauties of the instrument.²⁵⁸ For instance when writing about tone, Althaus says, ‘In consideration of this matter of viola tone, the student is at an advantage by commencing to study with the viola itself, and moreover learns and acquires a taste for it above all others’.²⁵⁹ Althaus is also quite particular in selecting compositions written for the viola proper, an attitude he occasionally underpins: ‘Let it be understood that this sonatine is *not* a transcription but is written specially for the viola.’²⁶⁰ Writing in August 1906, he expresses hope that his targeted series encourages more individuals to take up viola studies.

Althaus’s series was paramount in promoting the viola as a solo instrument worthy of proficient study. The series illustrates the cultural and societal indication that the viola was slowly being accepted as a principal study instrument, and worthy of virtuosic expression.

2.6 Case study: British viola methods and developing technical proficiency

The evidence of printed instructional materials for the viola indicates not only a growing commercial interest in the instrument but also a demand for the instrument’s developing function in ensemble and solo literature. Whether or not these materials lend themselves to increased proficiency in viola performance standards begs further deliberation. Alternating between performing on a violin and performing on a viola posits certain fundamental considerations regarding requisite technical adjustments in both the left- and right-hand cultures. In practice, these adjustments vary depending on the musician’s physical build and musical capabilities as well as the size of the instruments performed upon. Today, music practitioners who perform regularly on both instruments do not discuss the technical differences required to play both instruments to professional standard, a lack of perspective which discourages ideas of documenting systematic approaches to understanding the differences between violin and viola technique. As previously expressed in this chapter, the physical similarities between the two instruments are plentiful: the tacit assumption that a violinist is able to perform as a violist with no great difficulty has maintained currency in today’s

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ Basil Althaus, “The Viola and Its Music.” *The Strad* 16.178 (1905): 238.

performance industry (a few illustrious examples include violinists James Ehnes, Maxim Vengerov, and Pinchas Zuckerman who have all recorded standard repertoire on the viola). However, it should be noted that those who contend that the violin and viola are essentially interchangeable in terms of performance technique are often professional violinists who accept the occasional recording or performance project on the viola. The reverse of this situation is uncommon.

Methodological queries which arise from this debate hinder the critical evaluation of technical variances between the performance practices of the violin and the viola. Indeed, studying the development of proficiency in viola performance standards raises the question of technical developments on the viola. As the viola gained wider recognition as a solo instrument, was this due to the appropriation of an advanced violin technique on the viola? Was an exceptional violist merely an excellent violinist who picked up the viola? Was there a development in technical method books which promoted a technique better suited to the viola, thereby improving the instrument's image as a solo instrument? To suggest that viola technique was and is distinct from that of the violin is foolish; however, it is my belief that it is injudicious to assume that the differences in performance practice between the two instruments are negligible. To discuss the notion of a developing technique better suited to the viola in Britain from 1880 to 1910, one key technical concern will be addressed: the expansion of the left-hand compass by means of introducing the octave interval and regular use of the fourth finger in viola method books.

Perhaps the most notable physical difference between the viola and the violin, and more importantly in terms of playing both instruments, is the increased size of the viola's body. For a musician with petite to average-sized hands the difference is keenly felt, particularly in terms of the left-hand culture. The viola's measurements in Britain remained non-standardised during the period of study, while a few unsuccessful experiments on the continent attempted to determine the ideal measurements required to produce a viola with a balanced tone, without compromising the performer's facility on the instrument.²⁶¹ With available instruments varying from a smaller alto size (fifteen inches or smaller) to the much larger dimensions of the tenor (up to eighteen inches), the consideration of the left-hand compass and viola technique becomes quite pertinent. A practitioner would need to possess a strong and adaptable left hand (developed through targeted

²⁶¹ Herr Ritter's viola *alta*, for example.

technical study) in order to accommodate either a much larger instrument (compared to a violin) or to facilitate a drastic change in the dimensions of a new instrument, should the musician change violas during their career. Hardly a revelatory observation, it is remarkable that in-depth study into this aspect has not been previously conducted.

My compilation of available, printed instruction books for the viola in Britain (c1880 to 1910) in conjunction with previously mentioned method books and tutors for viola from the Augener's Music Catalogues (1883/4 to 1907) is illustrated in Table A.4 (see Appendix, page 175). This table (a thorough but by no means complete record) exemplifies the most comprehensive record of viola instruction books printed in Britain (c1880 to 1910) to date. Of the twenty-nine titles, twenty-six were originally devised for the viola (the remaining three works being transcribed from the violin literature). Not all of the listed educational works are available in print form from the listed editions, including the Althaus, Kayser, Sitt, Hoffmeister, Pagels and Merk methods and études. Of the titles available in print, I have performed and subsequently categorised these works into three categories or standards of performance: elementary, intermediate, advanced. Those works aimed at a primary or elementary instruction of viola playing are principally concerned with the rudiments of music, guidance for performance posture, short exercises exploring open strings, basic fingering patterns (never exceeding first position) and simple bow strokes. Few marks of expression are used in these works, the focus being towards the development of basic technique. Instruction books at this elementary level introduce the aspiring violist to the idea of an expanded left-hand compass:

The object of the following exercises is to accustom the left-hand of the student to the fingerboard of the viola which is broader than that of the violin. This greater width demands a firmer pressure of the fingers particularly on the C string, which is covered with spun metal and to which the beginner is not accustomed²⁶²

Practical examples at this level do not include the octave interval (a hand position which requires an expanded left-hand compass and adequate support from the left elbow): scale-based and basic arpeggiated fingering patterns being preferred. The octave interval is a hand position that requires a certain level of ability to execute comfortably; these tutors tend to address bowing patterns before fingering patterns, the later concentrating on scales (major, minor, chromatic) and basic arpeggios.

²⁶²Friedrich Hermann, *The Study of the Viola: Book 1*. (London: Augener and Co., 1892), preface.

The methods or tutor books which span more than one level of performance ability tended to be targeted at violin players keen to learn the viola quickly. As Hermann states in the preface to the first of three method books for the tenor, ‘the author of the present work did not intend to write an exhaustive treatise on an instrument so nearly related to the violin that any able and advanced violinist can play the viola after having learnt the alto-clef’.²⁶³ In actuality, the earlier treatises on viola playing (1881 to 1887) all exhibit this purpose throughout their pages. In his *Tenor Method*, Bruni makes frequent mention of the similarities between the violin and the viola,²⁶⁴ with a pointed remark on the comparative weakness of the viola: ‘the too frequent use of the open strings should be avoided, for the instrument possesses a somewhat nasal tone, and this applies more especially to the highest or A String’.²⁶⁵ Hermann reflects that ‘the study of the viola should be preceded by some knowledge of violin playing’ and though he remarks that the viola is ‘nothing more than an enlarged violin’²⁶⁶ and that ‘the bow should be of the same lightness as in violin playing’, he cannot deny that ‘in the realms of art it is of course different’.²⁶⁷ Leon Firket, the first musician to establish a viola class in a continental conservatoire, does agree that ‘the manner of holding the viola is identical with that of the violin’;²⁶⁸ however he is quick to note serious faults which arise from violinists performing upon violas, including ‘the Viola played with a Violin bow...a grievous fault; the strings of the Viola being thicker than those of the Violin the bow which makes them sound properly must necessarily be stouter and with a wider strand of hair – in short it must be a Viola bow’.²⁶⁹ These three method books encompass a wide spectrum of technical concerns, clearly indicating the prerequisite knowledge required to execute the exercises: from preliminary finger patterns, to challenging double-stop studies and caprices requiring both a deft left and right hand technique.

In contrast, beginning with the educational works of Emil Kreuz, all subsequent instruction books for the viola included in this study adopt a different approach to viola instruction. Firstly, the viola proper is discussed in each work, without reference to the violin or any similarities between the two instruments. By doing so, Kreuz sets a new, serious standard for developing viola technique.

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ Antonio Bruni, *Bratschenschule: Viola Method*, ed. Schulz (Litolf, nd).

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ Hermann, *The Study of the Viola*, Preface.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ Léon Firket, *Practical Method for the Viola*, trans. Frank Corder (Paris: n. pag, 1884), foreword.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

Considering all ten²⁷⁰ of Kreuz's instruction books (in which all written commentary clarifies that the practical exercises refer only to the viola), this specialisation of instructing technical advancements solely for the viola presents the instrument as an instrument worthy of serious study, rather than as a secondary choice to the violin. Furthermore, the method books published between 1890 to 1905 illustrate a progressive attitude to technical development: rather than one or two pages devoted to basic technique, technical basics are explored in greater detail,²⁷¹ allowing for a greater appreciation of the subtleties required to achieve a rounded tone on the viola. Through this progressive approach, particularly evident in the work of Kreuz, greater attention is paid to musical expression and nuance from the start. For example, in *The Violist*, Op 13: Book I,²⁷² Kreuz assigns musical expression to each simple melody, ensuring that idea of tone is always addressed, even for a neophyte violist (see Fig 2.1):



Figure 2.1 Example of an étude (Étude No.1) by Kreuz which addresses the basics of tone production

It is in the later instruction books that we begin to see key developments for the advancement of viola technique: an appreciation for the viola's tone, an expansion of the viola's compass (ie extending fingerings beyond first and third positions), and gradual advancement of technical proficiency on the instrument. Prior to the Kreuz method, only Campagnoli's Forty-one Caprices Op.22 (c1815) provided viola études which promoted advanced technique on the instrument.

Kreuz is the first composer to address the octave interval in greater detail: first presented in his second book of *Select Studies*, Kreuz curates excerpts from previously written violin and viola method books (excerpts include Campagnoli, Fiorillo, Kreutzer, Mazas, and Spohr) to address intervals in a simple way: one

²⁷⁰ This does not include the two volumes of duos Kreuz wrote for violin and viola, which hold greater value as technical exercises than musical composition.

²⁷¹ See the method books of Althaus (1890) and Tours (1900).

²⁷² Emil Kreuz, *The Violist* Op.13: Book 1. (London: Augener and Co., nd), 1.

particular interval is explored in the first position, per study.²⁷³ Figure 2.2 illustrates an extract from Étude No.8²⁷⁴ which draws attention to the octave interval:

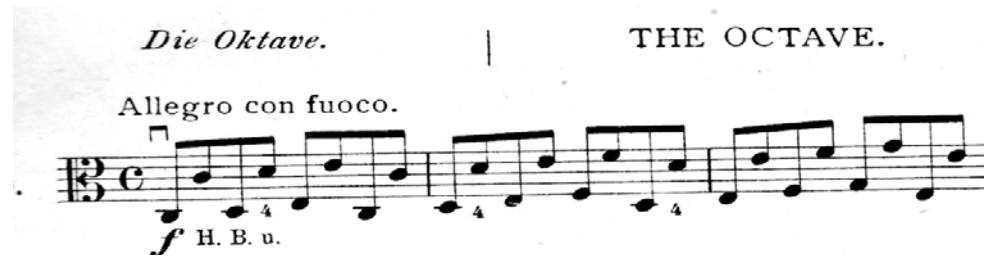


Fig 2.2 Étude No.8 which focuses on developing the compass of the left hand by means of the octave interval

These intervallic exercises are then situated into more melodic contexts, such as the twenty-third study of the book, a caprice by Campagnoli²⁷⁵ (see Fig 2.3):



Fig 2.3 Étude No.23 adapts the octave interval in a melodic context.

The subsequent books in Kreuz's series *Select Studies* focus on developing a range of different bow strokes, bowing patterns, finger patterns and expanding the left-hand compass, and developing left-hand agility. For example, the seventh study in the third book addresses wide intervals, of an octave interval or greater. He pairs these large jumps with a brisk tempo indication and short articulation markings (a clean, martelé bow stroke) which collectively suggest Kreuz's intent to help the student violist develop left-hand dexterity. In practice, poor intonation or a heavy bow will ruin the desired effect (see Fig 2.4):²⁷⁶



Fig 2.4 Two extracts (measures 1 and 43, respectively) from the seventh étude of Kreuz's *Selected Studies: Book 3*, which apply expressive and articulated devices to the expanded left-hand compass

²⁷³ Emil Kreuz, *Select Studies for the Viola: Book II*. (London: Augener's and Co., 1897), 27-35.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 33.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 46.

²⁷⁶ Emil Kreuz, *Select Studies for the Viola: Book III*. (London: Augener's and Co., 1897), 70.

The twelfth study²⁷⁷ from Book Four takes the idea of a strengthened and expanded left-hand culture to a new level (see Fig 2.5): left-hand agility set in an octave frame. Coupling large intervallic relationships with a quick quaver semi-demi shake calls for both finger independence and an excellent left-hand frame: requisites for a virtuosic technique, or a technically challenging concerto passage.



Fig 2.5 Kreuz's selection and transposition of a virtuosic étude by Kreutzer (the étude requires an excellent command of both left- and right-hand cultures)

The adopted systematic method (seen predominantly through Kreuz's all-encompassing approach across ten books) for learning viola technique illustrates the instrument's technical and artistic development. Clearly dependent on previously established method books of violin technique (as seen in the more advanced of Kreuz's selected studies, in the aptly named series), the amalgamation of a fundamental technical method intended for the viola with a virtuosic violin technique generated a new standard of viola performance proficiency: a level of ability equal to that of the violin.

2.7 Chapter summary

Beginning with a broad survey of emergent practical training provisions for musicians in Britain due to the efforts of the RSA and a growing recognition of music as a serious branch of study, Chapter Two discloses an important transitional period in British music education, with a particular focus on bowed-string instruments, namely that of the viola. Alongside the establishment of new music conservatoires which promoted higher levels of performance proficiency, the emergence of music periodicals and technical books devoted to the violin in late nineteenth-century Britain provided valuable examples of contemporary attitudes to performance practice, disseminating concentrated technical advice to a diverse readership. Although previous scholarship has not identified Victorian and Edwardian examples of viola tuition and technical books, it has become evident that what was hitherto defined as a dearth of materials instead reveals a musical culture beginning to embrace the technical and performance potential of the viola.

²⁷⁷ Emil Kreuz, *Select Studies for the Viola: Book IV*. (London: Augener's and Co., 1897), 114.

Chapter Three

The concerto form, defining solo performance and early pioneers of solo viola performance

3.1 Introduction

The viola is the neglected sister of the string family, and some people neglect her so much that she may almost be said to be ‘on the shelf’ [...] True, there players in London, but whoever hears at a concert a solo for the viola?²⁷⁸

Regarding the presence and performance standards of professional viola players at the turn of the twentieth century, Lionel Tertis recollected that ‘the viola in those days was generally played by violinists too inferior to gain a position in orchestras as such. A lower standard of viola playing was in fact accepted’,²⁷⁹ and Tertis was not the first musician to express the sentiment that violists were no more than mediocre violinists. As Wagner famously stated half a century earlier ‘the viola is commonly (with rare exceptions indeed) played by infirm violinists or by decrepit players of wind instruments who happen to have been acquainted with a stringed instrument once upon a time’.²⁸⁰ Concurrently, in a growing body of music literature (from periodicals to encyclopaedias) pertaining to or including mention of bowed-string instrumentalists few entries pertain to viola players. At a time when a fever for the fiddle had seized London, bolstering the popularity of bowed-string instruments in both cultural and educative sectors, it is surprising that the viola was reputed to fare so poorly in such a favourable climate.

Scarcity of historical data relating to British viola players suggests a performance culture devoid of capable viola players and examples of solo viola performance. However, the representativeness of reference materials (particularly those of biographical and encyclopaedic natures) during the thirty-year period of this study illustrates not so much a lack of viola players, but rather a small cohort of British viola players whose efforts were infrequently noted in what was essentially

²⁷⁸ “The Old Maid of the String Quartet.” *The Strad* 4.40 (1893): 78-9.

²⁷⁹ Tertis, *Cinderella No More*, 24.

²⁸⁰ Richard Wagner, *On Conducting: a treatise on style in the execution of classical music*. (London, William Reeves reprint, 1940), 3-4.

the construct of different performance canons, especially that of ‘concerto music’, which favoured the violin and piano. A lack of inquiry into this possible canon formation underpins the attitude that the viola was the neglected sister of the string family – attitudes which continue to permeate current concert culture.

3.2 The question of performance canons and the vogue of the violin

Christina Bashford charts the rise and development of a ‘violin craze’ in London,²⁸¹ a vogue which spanned educational, commercial and cultural sectors in Britain. From a national increase in pupils (both young and mature) studying the violin²⁸² and subsequent sales in factory-made instruments to the publication of numerous new periodicals devoted to matters concerning all aspects of the violin, the instrument was highly popular in concert culture by the 1890s, clearly evident in concert programming from music colleges, orchestral societies and amateur music societies. As the by-product of a greater proliferation of British musical activity²⁸³ (in both professional and amateur contexts in the nineteenth century), the vogue for the violin (c1880 to 1930) has been, to date, the subject of a growing body of studies concerned with identifying different societal contributions to the vogue.²⁸⁴ Surprisingly, scholarship tends to shy away from discussion of the virtuoso even though British concert culture was saturated with examples of solo violin performance. The popularity of the violin transcended that of passing fashion insofar as by the early twentieth-century solo violin playing in Britain had become a cultural normality: it was a key feature in the majority of orchestral concerts and the focus of pedagogical and performance standards (the only other instrument that shared a similar status in society was the piano). Rooted in Britain’s music examination system, standardised learning systems with set repertory lists defined different levels of performance standards, each standard requiring ‘a satisfactory performance of the selected Solo or Solos (vocal or instrumental) is absolutely essential’.²⁸⁵ The dissemination of standardised music education allowed advanced and virtuosic violin

²⁸¹ Christina Bashford, “Hidden Agendas and the Creation of Community: The Violin Press in the Late Nineteenth-century,” ed. Bennett Zon, *Music and Performance Culture in Nineteenth-century Britain: Essays in Honor of Nicholas Temperley*, (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2013).

²⁸² *Ibid.*

²⁸³ With reference to stringed instruments, the following works have contributed significant studies which illustrating advancements in the violin’s growing popularity of Bashford (2013), McVeigh (2010), Dibble (2013) and Stowell (2001).

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁵ “New Syllabus for Local Examinations in Instrumental and Vocal Music.” *Trinity College of Music: Calendar for the Year 1899*. (London: Trinity College of Music, 1899), 131.

performance standards (previously the preserve of musical genius or a child prodigy) to become an achievable objective for any British music student. Violinists such as Albert Sammons (1876-1957), Jasper Sutcliffe (born 1868-nd), Henry Inwards (dates unknown) and Marie Hall (1884-1956), are a few examples of successful solo violinists from Britain who came from modest backgrounds. And the backbone of solo repertory for any solo violinist, regardless of nationality, was the concerto. As the orchestra medium grew in popularity across the nation, the concerto became a frequent feature in concerts held by many professional British orchestras and demand for concerti featuring stringed-instruments grew in tandem.

The efforts and events which created and stimulated the demand for the violin's vogue provided the critical and ideological framework which contributed significantly to the notion of a performed canon for the 'instrument concerto' in Britain. Determining and codifying this canon in full would require an independent study; however, for the purpose of this study it is necessary to examine a chronological segment of concerto performances in Britain, to determine the presence, or lack of, performed viola concerti. In contrast to previously established musical canons, which immediately preceded or coexisted alongside the burgeoning trend of concerto performances in Britain (examples include 'ancient musics'²⁸⁶ or the symphonic canon), the concerto has never been acknowledged by musicologists as a performed canon. Perhaps this is because a concerto's popularity or 'value' as a composition is as closely associated with the soloist as it is with the composer: the virtuosic nature and the success of a concerto relies as much upon the soloist's performance as it does upon the merits of the composition. Trends of performed concerti in British concert culture remain to be studied. However, it is undeniable that the frequent inclusion of concerti in programmed concerts (beyond providing the researcher with a wealth of information regarding solo performances by string instrumentalists in Britain) would define stringed-instrument performance culture in Britain well into the twentieth-century, and encourage the growth of 'violin virtuosity' (a term defined in this study as an aesthetic culture which grew out of the development of advanced technical performance practices).

Relevant to the period examined in this study, recent arguments have sought to define or trace notions of canonic values in specific performed music repertories in London, from the 1880s onwards. Following on from Joseph Kerman's formative

²⁸⁶ William Weber, "The Intellectual Origins of Musical Canon in Eighteenth-Century England," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 47, no.3 (1994), 488-520.

paper²⁸⁷ regarding the question of music canon, this refined focus predominantly examines nineteenth-century canon formation in some of the more popular performed music contexts in Britain at the time (eg symphonic and chamber music concerts), questioning the social contexts which informed the process of codification.²⁸⁸ More broadly speaking, although scholars frequently contest existing definitions of music canon and the justification for studies which attempt to codify specific periods and sectors of music-making, discussions addressing the idea of ‘exclusion’ in established music canons feature less frequently (the work of Marcia Citron being a seminal exception). And yet, the idea of ‘exclusion’ is of equal importance to the idea of ‘inclusion’ in tracing ideas of canonicity²⁸⁹ (or popular trends in performed repertory) and determining a venerated body of work. The excluded repertory, practitioners or practices provide research material by which a musical environment is more fully understood. In agreement with Bashford ‘it would be foolhardy to use music from [...] a small-time period to posit grand theories of canonicity’.²⁹⁰ However, the principles behind canonicity and identifying the repertory – or existing catalogues of work – from which qualifying representatives were selected informs the researcher of marginalised subsets. These subsets are commonly determined as social groups, an understandable correlation seeing as the act of ‘marginalization’ refers to social disadvantage. Yet, if the idea of a music canon is distinguished between different branches of music as Weber’s widely-accepted definition suggests – ‘the scholarly, the pedagogical and the performed’²⁹¹ – then surely, the criteria by which a canon or performance trend is determined could include factors other than social aspects, ie taste, class, critical reception. For example, what of instrumentation? In Bashford’s argument ‘Towards a chamber-music canon’, the debate centres on the works of composers popular amongst the concert-giving and going public, ie Beethoven, Mendelssohn and Mozart. Indeed, this trend is more easily documented than other possible avenues of research interest, such as instrumentation. To speak broadly about performed chamber music of Beethoven in London yields greater research material than would a study regarding the stringed-instrument chamber music of living composers contemporaneous to the period of Bashford’s study.

²⁸⁷ Joseph Kerman, “A Few Canonic Variations,” *Critical Inquiry* 10 (1983), 107-25.

²⁸⁸ See Bashford (1996); Eatock (2010); William Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert programming from Haydn to Brahms*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

²⁸⁹ See: Kerman, “A Few Canonic Variations,” 107-25.

²⁹⁰ Bashford, *Public Chamber-Music Concerts in London*, 267.

²⁹¹ Weber, *The Intellectual Origins of Musical Canon*, 489.

Although the available data may be leaner, using non-social variables (such as instrumentation) to examine and determine trends does lead to valuable outcomes.

Concerning this study and tracing examples of both solo-violin performances and the solo violinists c1880 to 1910, information pertaining to my research interests were revealed not by examining popular sources of musicological study (eg contemporary music biography or popular musical periodicals of the day), but rather trawling through thousands of concert programmes. From the ensuing bank of data, a comprehensive view of solo-violin performance came to light.

3.3 The clash between tradition and innovation in British concert programming and the rise of violin concerti (c1900)

While a reader of the increasingly popular music periodicals (c1900) might be forgiven for assuming that the violin was a doddering excuse of a string instrument (due to the infrequent and unflattering coverage regarding the instrument and performance activities regarding solo performances), the active concert scene of London provides a contrasting narrative. Unfortunately, attempting to disprove the accepted outlook on the violin's status is hindered by a discrepancy in data-collection. Complete sets of concert programmes are hard to come by, even for the more successful concert series of the day such as the Philharmonic Society and the Beethoven Society, thus making the task of compiling a reliable list of solo-violin performances nearly impossible. Luckily, the archives at the Royal Academy of Music, the BBC Proms online archive and 'History of the Philharmonic Society of London' together provide complete repertoire lists of orchestras (including the Queen's Hall Orchestra, the Scottish Symphony Orchestra and the Philharmonic Society) between a fifteen year-period included in this study, c1895-1910.

The Philharmonic Society Orchestral Concerts and Henry Wood's Promenade Concerts represent the variety of programming in the London concert scene. The Philharmonic, which initially banned concerto performances in its early years, favoured more traditionally accepted repertoire choices and solo artists for their concert seasons. In contrast, Henry Wood's promenade series embraced a forward-thinking approach: a 'good sense not to build on a virtuoso basis in respect of either artists or composers'²⁹² instead looking for or hiring 'fresh blood'. Whereas the

²⁹² Thompson, "The Story of the Proms," eds., Ralph Hill and C. Rees. *Sir Henry Wood and Fifty Years of the Proms*. (Norwich: Jarrold and Sons Ltd.: 1945), 3.

Philharmonic Society embraced tradition, the Proms provided ‘a major discontinuity with tradition’²⁹³ and grew all the more popular for it. Both professional and amateur efforts meant that the orchestral medium was an established feature of the country’s music scene, and a competitive industry, at the dawn of the new century. However, an increasing number of professional ensembles created a competitive environment which meant a new ensemble or subscription concert series, such as Henry Wood’s Promenade Concerts, would need to provide the audience with superlative performances or a new alternative programming ethos. Regarding concerti, the differences between these two concert subscription series are evident from the following table:

Table 3.1 A comparison of concerti performed at the PSC and Proms (1895 to 1910)

Type of Concerto	PSC		Proms	
	Number of Different Concerti Programmed	Total Performances of Concerti	Number of Different Concerti Programmed	Total Performances of Concerti
Piano	31	73	44	149
String	30	52	57	211
Woodwind	1	1	8	19
Brass	0	0	5	5
Chamber	0	0	3	4

A closer examination of the performed concerti at both series reveals the popularity of piano and violin concerti, notwithstanding differing attitudes towards programming. At the Proms concerts, the performance of bowed stringed-instrument concerti outnumbered those of piano concerti. However, at both the Philharmonic Society concerts and the Proms concerts the most popular performed concerto featured the violin; during the fifteen-year period of this case study, Mendelssohn’s Violin Concerto in E minor Op.64 was performed no less than twenty-one times at Newman’s Promenade Concerts and Beethoven’s Violin Concerto in D Major Op.61 received nine performances as part of the Philharmonic Society Concert series. Although the Philharmonic Society’s conservative approach to programming limited the diversity of performed concerti, the dynamic team behind the fledgling Proms series, Robert Newman and Henry J. Wood, produced concerti featuring a variety of

²⁹³ Leanne Langley, “Building an Orchestra, Creating an Audience: Robert Newman and the Queen’s Hall Promenade Concerts, 1895-1926,” eds. Jenny Doctor and David Wright, *The Proms: A New History*. (London: Thames and Hudson, 2007), 35.

solo instruments, besides the violin and piano. The diversity of performed concerti extended within the stringed-instrument family (see Table 3.2).

Featured Solo Instrument	Number of Concerti Performed
Violin	32
Viola	5
Violoncello	11
Double Bass	0
Chamber	9

Evidently, in tandem with the violin's rising popularity amongst the British concert public, appreciation for the cello and viola as solo instruments developed. Selected cello concerti included works by established composers, such as Haydn's *Concerto in D Major* (first performed on 26 September 1905), and the works of lesser known composers, such as Eugen d'Albert's *Cello Concerto in C Major Op.20* (first performed on 24 September 1901). Similarly, selected viola concerti or large-scale symphonic works featuring the viola as a solo instrument included both well-known favourites and world premières (see Table 3.3).

Composition	Frequency of Performances	Soloist(s)
Arends <i>Concertino for Viola Op.7</i> (1886)	1 (UK prem.)	Emile Férir
Berlioz <i>Harold in Italy Op.16</i> (1834)	5	Henry Channell and Emile Férir
Forsyth <i>Viola Concerto in G minor</i> (1903)	3 (World prem.)	Emile Férir
Hubay <i>Morceau de Concert Op.20</i> (c1884)	1 (UK prem.)	Siegfried Wertheim
Rogister <i>Fantasie Concertante for Viola and Orchestra</i> (1904)	1 (UK prem.)	Siegfried Wertheim

Examining the roster of soloists engaged for concerto performances, it becomes apparent that whereas a range of external artists were engaged to perform violin and cello concerti, the capacity of solo violist was perpetually filled by the

principal violist of the Queen's Hall Orchestra: Henry Channell (1895), Emile Féir (1896-1903/4) and Siegfried Wertheim (1904-1911). Conductor Henry J. Wood and Proms manager Robert Newman acted as decisive figures in determining these arrangements, Wood noting in his autobiography that Newman went through Wood's proposed programmes, discussing the feasibility and personnel appointments of each concert: 'I never so much as engaged an extra player without having discussed it with him first...'.²⁹⁴ This working relationship is further illustrated in Wood's audition ledger (c1896 to 1926) which reveals that each engaged solo artist needed to fulfil a degree of 'usefulness' to Newman and the current concert season.²⁹⁵ The British cellist William Squire, for example, appeared as a soloist for eight engagements during the 1899 Proms season.²⁹⁶ Surprisingly, there are no inclusions of solo viola candidates in the ledger and no further written record exists to clarify the appointment of principal violists to solo work.²⁹⁷ Does the exclusion signify a disparaging attitude towards aspiring violists or works featuring solo viola?

Both Newman and Wood saw the Proms series as a vehicle for ameliorating orchestral standards²⁹⁸ and 'creating a public for classical and modern music'.²⁹⁹ According to one Prom attendee of 1901, 'music was a luxury trade, and there was little true musical interest...the Promenades, however, changed that'.³⁰⁰ Informed by the structure and success of the pre-existing Covent Garden promenade concert series and initially using orchestral musicians from the former,³⁰¹ Newman experimented with various aspects of his adapted ten-week annual concert series during the 'low' concert season (August to October). And yet, an important constant remained throughout the early years of the Proms: the concert model. From the outset of the series, the promenade concert was divided into two halves: the first featured serious or experimental programming choices (a symphony, or world premiere), the second

²⁹⁴ Henry Wood, *My Life in Music*. (London: V. Gollancz Ltd., 1938), 319-20.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 75.

²⁹⁶ Langley, *Building an Orchestra*, 42.

²⁹⁷ It is not only this line of enquiry that is affected by a lack of source material. A deficiency in existing original documentation presents difficulty when researching the early years of the Queen's Hall Promenade Concerts, as mentioned in: 'Building an Orchestra, Creating an Audience: Robert Newman and the Queen's Hall Promenade Concerts, 1895-1926', in *The Proms: A New History*, ed. Jenny Doctor, David Wright and Nicholas Kenyon (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), 32-73.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 42-3.

²⁹⁹ Paul Kildea, "The Proms: An Industrious Revolution," eds. Jenny Doctor and David Wright, *The Proms: A New History*. (London: Thames and Hudson, 2007) 10.

³⁰⁰ Burke, "London Scene: 1895-1944," eds., Ralph Hill and C. Rees, *Sir Henry Wood and Fifty Years of the Proms*. (Norwich: Jarrold and Sons Ltd., 1945), 36.

³⁰¹ Langley, *Building an Orchestra*, 42-3.

half provided lighter and well-known favourites.³⁰² A survey of programmes from the first fifteen seasons of the Proms concerts suggests that symphonic repertoire and concerti were typically performed during the first portion of the night's performance followed predominantly by vocal and dance music during the second part. The ten performances which featured solo viola (as listed in Table 3.3) were programmed during the first half of each concert, indicating that these works were considered as serious inclusions in the night's entertainment. There are further indications which suggest that the unusual appointment of a principal violist to perform solo material was of equal importance in comparison to the audition process for selecting soloists for violin and cello concerti. Henry Wood reputedly had little tolerance with soloists he considered to be discourteous or inept. Solo pianist Solomon recalls one such instance with a singer: 'After an indifferent performance of an aria with an orchestra' Wood said, 'Conceited young puppy! It's the last time he'll ever sing at a concert where I conduct'.³⁰³ The Queen's Hall orchestra was booked per season rather than by concert, a practice similar to only one other orchestra in Britain, the Hallé Symphony in Manchester.³⁰⁴ Repeatedly booking solo artists or orchestral musicians, as seen with violists Emile Férir and Siegfried Wertheim, signified endorsement from the country's foremost 'Orchestral Trainer',³⁰⁵ Henry Wood. More broadly, Langley notes that in 1907 numerous orchestral principals in the orchestra were included amongst the 105 soloists engaged³⁰⁶ signifying that the appointment of section leaders to solo opportunities was a feasible option, both artistically and financially speaking.

By showcasing the viola as a solo voice, the Promenade concerts offered the first professional opportunities for viola concerti in Britain. As Lionel Tertis retains the title of 'the world's first great virtuoso of the viola', who were the musicians behind concurrent virtuosic performances of viola concerti? These musicians include: Emil Kreuz and his own Concerto for Viola and Orchestra Op.20 (1892); Emile Férir and the Forsyth Viola Concerto in G minor (1903) and Siegfried Wertheim, solo violist with the Promenade concert on five separate occasions. The next section will

³⁰² Ibid, 41.

³⁰³ Solomon "Teacher and Friend," eds., Ralph Hill and C. Rees. *Sir Henry Wood and Fifty Years of the Proms*. (Norwich: Jarrold and Sons Ltd., 1945), 36.

³⁰⁴ Raynor, *Music in England*. (London: R. Hale, 1980), 147.

³⁰⁵ Wood was crucial in not only raising the standards for orchestral practice in Britain, but also in developing the professionalism of the symphony orchestra when he refused to allow the practice of the deputy system in the Queen's Hall orchestra, from 1904 onwards. As violist Bernard Shore noted, 'We came to work, not to gossip.' Bernard Shore eds. Ralph Hill and C. Rees, *Sir Henry Wood and Fifty Years of the Proms*. (Norwich: Jarrold and Sons Ltd., 1945), 31.

³⁰⁶ Langley, *Building an Orchestra*, 47.

offer expanded biographical accounts of the musicians who first performed viola concerti in Britain, in chronological order.

3.4 Britain's First Cohort of Solo Violists: Emil Kreuz, Emile Férir, Siegfried Wertheim, and Simon Speelman

3.4.1 *Emil Kreuz (1867-1932)*

Emil Anton Joseph Friedrich Kreuz³⁰⁷ was a talented and versatile musician – violist, violinist, author, composer, conductor and pedagogue – whose career and legacy greatly influenced the history of viola playing in Britain, especially its technical advancement. From the age of seventeen onwards, his efforts as a performer and composer exerted a profound effect on the advancement of viola pedagogy and the status of the instrument in Britain. His significance to the advancement of viola playing has largely been forgotten, with the exception of a recent brief biographical survey by David Bynog³⁰⁸ and a short entry in John White's *Anthology of British Viola players*. Due to the scarcity of primary source material relating to Kreuz's career and personal life, his efforts are shrouded in mystery and largely forgotten.

Emil was born in Elberfeld, Germany according to his student records,³⁰⁹ held at the RCM in London. His father, Henry Kreuz, was a music teacher³¹⁰ and although no evidence exists to suggest violin lessons before the age of ten, it is likely that Emil began his musical instruction with his father. Aged ten, he began serious study of the violin at the Cologne Conservatory with German violinist and conductor, George Japha. For reasons unknown, Henry Kreuz and his son immigrated to London prior to 29 March 1883, the date on which Emil auditioned at the fledgling Royal College of Music. By April 1883, Emil Kreuz had become the first foreign-born student to win a scholarship³¹¹ to the college for violin studies. Current scholarship erroneously lists Kreuz as studying violin for five years with Henry Holmes, professor of violin at the RCM Examination of Kreuz's student ledger reveals that he switched principal study after his second year of study: initially beginning as a violin student with secondary studies on the viola, Kreuz adopted the viola as his principal performance discipline with secondary studies on organ. A pencilled note in the margin of Emil's student

³⁰⁷ Bachmann, *An Encyclopaedia of the Violin*, 370.

³⁰⁸ David Bynog, "Kreuz and the Advancement of the Viola in Nineteenth-century Britain." *British Viola Society*, 2013. Web: November 10, 2014.

³⁰⁹ *Royal College of Music Annual Reports*. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1883-1910), n. pagn.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

³¹¹ Foundation Scholarship (Open), as seen in: *ibid.*

record indicates that he also studied composition with Charles Villiers Stanford from 1886-1888. Although White mentions Kreuz as having studied composition with Stanford for a five-year period, the omission of any written record of composition lessons and reports from Kreuz's student file suggests otherwise.

Considering Kreuz's immediate success as a violist shortly after graduating from music college, it is pertinent to trace what evidence there is of his musical development through his student years. Kreuz's facility on the violin and viola were favourable: alongside continual 'satisfactory progress'³¹² in all areas of study (violin, viola, organ and harmony) during his first two years at college, Kreuz received further commendation for his efforts in the college orchestra and for his general conduct, described as 'first rate'.³¹³ Kreuz performed frequently at the prestigious scholars' concerts, performance platforms which featured variety programmes of solo instrumental, vocal and chamber musics for royal patrons of the institution. At these concerts, Kreuz performed in a string quartet alongside fellow college scholars, violinists Jasper Sutcliffe and Stanley Blagrove (son of violist Richard Blagrove) and 'cellist William H. Squire'.³¹⁴ Each colleague would go on to have a successful career in the London music scene: Jasper Sutcliffe became professor of violin at the college shortly upon graduating, Stanley Blagrove became a solo, chamber and orchestral player (ensembles included co-founding the Blagrove Piano Trio in 1897)³¹⁵ and composed well-received potpourri selections for violin and cello (with piano accompaniment), and William Squire went on to become one of England's finest solo and chamber players on the cello.

During his college education, Kreuz displayed great promise as both a soloist and chamber musician and remained as a scholar for his entire, five-year study. Although solo opportunities for violists were infrequent, compared to those available for violinists, Kreuz secured many solo opportunities throughout his period of study, and following his graduation. Although documentation of these engagements is only found in press reviews (thus perhaps omitting performances in remote locations which did not make the news), sufficient evidence exists to establish Kreuz as the leading young violist of his day. At the Yorkshire Hovingham Music Festival of 1888, Kreuz performed a short work for viola and piano, *La Nuit* by Félicien David (arr. Vieuxtemps in 1860), earning the following accolade: 'This young artist has no

³¹² Ibid.

³¹³ Ibid.

³¹⁴ Ibid.

³¹⁵ Albert Wier, ed., *The Macmillan Encyclopedia of Music and Musicians*. (New York: Macmillan, 1938), 187.

doubt a great future before him, as he already takes a very prominent position in the musical world'.³¹⁶ From print material, not only do we begin to understand the breadth of Kreuz's talent as a violist but it becomes clear that Kreuz was one of the leading musicians of his generation. Described as 'one of the most successful pupils of the Royal College of Music',³¹⁷ Kreuz's talent was noticed by important musical figures of the day: Sir Arthur Sullivan selected the young man as a soloist for the Leeds Festival of Music in 1886, Algernon Ashton (Professor of Piano³¹⁸ at the RCM) dedicated his Sonata in A minor for Viola and Piano (1891) to Herr Emil Kreuz³¹⁹ and Henschel of the London Symphony chose Emil Kreuz to appear as soloist for a performance of Berlioz's *Harold in Italy* Op.16 (1843) in 1888. Kreuz's performance of the solo viola obligato received positive mention in numerous media outlets, including the music periodical, *The Graphic*, and newspapers including the *Daily News*. Reporting on the performance (11 December 1888), the *Daily News* noted that 'the success [Kreuz] achieved was unmistakable, and it was amply merited by the possession of rare artistic gifts, carefully developed by sound training'.³²⁰ Perhaps more telling of Kreuz's performance abilities on the viola during his period of study was the relationship he had with his viola teacher, Richard Gompertz (1859-1921).

Richard Gompertz, also a native of Germany, studied violin with the great musician Joseph Joachim (1831-1907). Following a successful solo tour across Europe, Gompertz moved to England in 1880, first to teach at Cambridge University by invitation of the Cambridge University Music Society,³²¹ later accepting a position at the RCM in London (c1883). Upon his arrival in London, Gompertz established himself as a soloist and teacher of violin and viola, a musician who performed in a 'finished and masterly manner, worthy of his great master Joachim'.³²² Gompertz's ability to perform well on both instruments is a further reflection of his education with Joachim: although current scholarship defines Joachim first and foremost as a violin virtuoso and sensitive interpreter of classical repertory, he was most likely a highly capable violist, judging from the dedication of Brahms's *Geistliches*

³¹⁶ *York Herald*, October 19, 1888: 3.

³¹⁷ *Glasgow Herald*, November 25, 1895: 5.

³¹⁸ Bynog, *Kreuz and the Advancement of the Viola* (2013). Bynog notes Ashton as teaching composition at the college. However, annual reports from the RCM list Ashton as teaching piano. As seen in: *Royal College of Music Annual Reports*. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1888), 42.

³¹⁹ Algernon Ashton, *Sonata in A minor for Viola and Piano*. (London, Simrock, 1888).

³²⁰ *Daily News*, December 12, 1888: 3.

³²¹ *Musical Times*, May 01, 1880: 239.

³²² *Musical Times*, June 01, 1881: 304.

Wiengeli and Joachim's own compositions, two idiomatically voiced pieces for viola and piano (*Hebräische Mélodie* Op.9 (1854) and *Variationen über ein eigenes Thema* Op.10 (1854)). Conflicting accounts list Gompertz as teaching violin at the Academy;³²³ however the academy's teaching inventory reveals no such appointment. Gompertz's teaching position at the RCM may have been related to his professional relationship with composer Charles Villiers Stanford (Professor of Music at Cambridge University, and subsequently Professor of Composition at the conservatoire) which predates the college's establishment in 1883. The two men performed recitals together at Cambridge University (such as a performance of Brahms's Violin Sonata in G Major on 25 February 1880). Described as an 'eminent violinist' by the press,³²⁴ Gompertz was also a staunch supporter of new music: he gave the première of Mackenzie's violin concerto in 1886 ('emphasising his artistic proclivity'),³²⁵ and frequently performed new chamber works by composers including Dvořák, Brahms, Otto Novacek³²⁶ and British composers, including Stanford (who dedicated his String Quartet No.2 in A minor to Gompertz) and his student, Emil Kreuz. As one journalist noted, 'Mr. Gompertz's chamber music concerts are generally interesting, owing to the fact that his programmes usually contain a novelty of some sort'.³²⁷ Besides solo work and teaching appointments, Gompertz was more widely recognised for the establishment of his own successful quartet party, the Gompertz Quartet (initially known as the Cambridge Music Society String Quartet). Known for sensitive interpretations with 'an unusual degree of musical insight',³²⁸ the quartet was active from the late 1880s until 1899, when it has been suggested that the violinist left England to settle in Dresden.³²⁹ However, press coverage reveals that the Gompertz quartet party was active in Britain (with Emil Kreuz as violist) until 1902.³³⁰

The Gompertz String Quartet was formally established in 1890 at the RCM, with Gompertz selecting two of the college's finest string players (both recent graduates) to complete the ensemble, alongside freelance cellist Charles Ould, with

³²³ Bachmann, *An Encyclopedia of the Violin* (1966) notes that Gompertz taught violin at RAM and makes no mention of his teaching commitments at RCM. This is an erroneous account, as there is no evidence to suggest that Gompertz taught a single term at RAM.

³²⁴ *Essex Newsman*, December 13, 1887: 6.

³²⁵ *Morning Post*, March 15, 1886: 2.

³²⁶ *Monthly Musical Record*, March 29, 1899: 41.

³²⁷ *Morning Post*, November 27, 1896: 3.

³²⁸ Bachmann, *An Encyclopedia of the Violin*, 293.

³²⁹ William Rubinstein, ed. *The Palgrave Dictionary of Anglo-Jewish History*. (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 352.

³³⁰ "Herr Gompertz String Quartette." *Walsall Advertiser*, September 27, 1902: 4.

whom he had previously worked.³³¹ One year prior to the quartet's establishment at RCM, Gompertz attempted to launch a quartet party with the same players at Cambridge University. This ensemble (which remained unnamed) performed as the Cambridge University Music Society's string quartet during the scholastic year 1889 to 1890. Following the quartet party's second performance at the university one journalist remarked 'If Mr. Gompertz will only persevere, he may succeed in establishing worthy complement if not robust opposition to Mr. Chappel's somewhat time-worn quartet party'.³³² Perhaps this earlier effort was an experiment on Gompertz's behalf to judge how well-received his quartet party would be before formally appearing in the capital. It is not clear when the ensemble chose to officially style themselves as the Gompertz String Quartet during the year 1890 as the ensemble continued to perform occasionally in Cambridge advertised as the Cambridge University Music Society's string quartet. However, by 1896 the group no longer advertised themselves as the Cambridge University Music Society String Quartet.

Compiling a survey of the quartet's activities, we see that Kreuz and his colleagues predominantly performed during the winter season, from 1890-1902. Each year saw the quartet perform up to eleven concerts across the country, each concert featuring the following structure (with few variations): two string quartets interspersed or followed by a chamber work for bowed string instrument and piano, and/or vocalist and piano. Although this concert model, clearly adapted from the Popular Concerts at St. James' Hall, illustrates attempts to appeal to a wider audience, the Gompertz Quartet performed to the highest standards: with a reported twelve rehearsals before each public concert, the quartet's performances (which occurred primarily in London and Yorkshire) were often described as 'faultless' and the group cultivated a reputation for featuring new works on their programmes. In general, at least one new or relatively unknown work for string quartet, including the compositions of Emil Kreuz, was performed per concert. Indeed, Emil Kreuz's involvement as the quartet's violist would prove critical to developing his own career as both a violist and composer. Kreuz featured as composer in at least nine of the quartet's concerts and six of his compositions³³³ were premièred by Richard

³³¹ A survey of Gompertz's chamber music activities periodicals reveals that he performed with Cellist Charles Ould in an unnamed string quartet party at the university, from January to February 1885.

³³² *Pall Mall Gazette*, December 12, 1890: 2.

³³³ These include: Emil Kreuz, *Concerto en ut pour viola avec accompagnement Orchestre* Op. 20. (London: Augener and Co, 1892); Emil Kreuz, *Capriccio* for two violins, viola and violoncello, Op. 43. (London: Augener and Co., 1897) and Emil Kreuz, *Russische Tanze für*

Gompertz and the quartet, including the chamber reduction of his Concerto for Viola and Orchestra Op.20 (1892). Kreuz also performed in the capacity of solo violist for some of the programmes: as soloist, he performed selections from his own viola concerto, transcriptions of violin solos by Wieniawski (in 1884), and the viola obligato in Brahms's two *Gesänge* Op.91 (for two concerts in 1863 and 1864). Throughout the ensemble's twelve-year career, there appears to be only one known deputy called for: in 1899, Enrique F. Arbós replaced Gompertz as first violin for a concert appearance in Liverpool.³³⁴ Judging from the consistent and varied concert opportunities, frequent press coverage and advertisement campaigns, it appears that the Gompertz Quartet party was one of the first professional quartets established in the country.³³⁵

The ensemble's popularity was aided by the rising popularity of the string quartet idiom during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Contemporary to the Gompertz Quartet's busiest years from 1895 to 1897, one newspaper critic noted 'string quartet parties, both British and foreign, are becoming more numerous than before, and manifestly have a large following'.³³⁶ Indeed, each member of the Gompertz quartet occasionally performed in other string quartets in complement to their efforts as the Gompertz ensemble: Emil Kreuz, for example, performed alongside Septimus Webbe (violin), Otto Peiniger (violin) and Adolf Brousil (cello) in the smaller Queen's Hall on 01 December 1894.³³⁷

Of the four musicians in the Gompertz quartet party, Emil Kreuz would lead the most varied career and yet his journey surprisingly ended in obscurity. Documenting the artist's career from one of great promise (both as a violist and composer: 'one of our best viola players and a young composer of decided promise')³³⁸ to his untraceable demise (which I note from the year 1922) is difficult, as few primary materials exist from Kreuz's later years. Kreuz appears to have stepped out of the spotlight as a performer in 1903, when it was announced that he would pursue a career as conductor under the guidance of Hans Richter in London (the working relationship between Richter and Kreuz was previously established when Kreuz performed in Richter's orchestra as solo and ensemble violist). At the time, Richter was keen to establish a permanent opera company performing in

Violine und Pianoforte, Op. 47. (Leipzig: Kistner, 1900).

³³⁴ *Liverpool Mercury*, October 04, 1899: 9.

³³⁵ The London String Quartet is widely accredited with being the first, all-British professional string quartet with an international reputation (est. 1908).

³³⁶ *Daily News*, December 10, 1897: 6.

³³⁷ *Standard*, December 02, 1894: 5.

³³⁸ *Musical Times* 33, no.591 (1892): 286.

English³³⁹ and Kreuz became chorus master for several productions.³⁴⁰ Record of other conducting appointments include a brief stint as conductor of his own self-titled orchestra in London (1906),³⁴¹ an engagement as conductor of the Trinity College of Music orchestra in 1907³⁴² (this position appears to have been succeeded by Wilhelm Sachse in 1913),³⁴³ and a position as Thomas Beecham's assistant conductor and chorus master from 1911,³⁴⁴ although the duration of this engagement is unclear. The responsibility Kreuz adopted as assistant conductor during the latter appointment was substantial: Beecham entrusted the bulk of his 1911 season at Drury Lane Theatre to Kreuz (a season which featured opera and ballet).³⁴⁵ Kreuz's efforts as a conductor garnered varying opinions: in a letter to Kreuz in 1909, Richter writes, 'It affords me great pleasure to assure you of the very great share you have had in the success of the past Opera season'. In contrast, Percy Grainger offers the following view in 1902:

A German timer-beater [conductor]³⁴⁶ and some she-singer wanted to make themselves known and gave a tone feast with a string and wind band at St. James's Hall. By paying a small sum (£25? £30? £50?) I was allowed to join in, playing the No.1 Tchaikovsky. The time beater was, I think, a Saxon – a short, non-on-drawsome man...As I recall things he was not easy to play with – but then, I was un-wont myself³⁴⁷

From 1911 onwards, with the exception of the publication of a pronunciation guide for singers in 1922, Emil Kreuz disappears from all print ephemera – concert programmes, newspaper advertisements, articles and reviews. Two plausible causes

³³⁹ *International Opera Collector* 3 (1998): 66.

³⁴⁰ Record of twenty-eight productions with Kreuz acting as stage assistant, musical assistant and/or chorus director are found from 1903-1908 in: John Wearing, *The London Stage 1900-1909 – A Calendar of Production, Performers and Personnel*. (Plymouth: Rowman and Littlefield, 1974).

³⁴¹ *Violin Times: A Journal for Professional and Amateur Violinists and Quartet Players* 14 (1906), 189.

³⁴² *Musical Herald* 706 (1907): 96; *Musical Times* 48 (1907): 190.

³⁴³ *Musical Times* 54, no. 843 (1913): 320.

³⁴⁴ Wearing, *The London Stage* (1974).

³⁴⁵ John Lucas, *Thomas Beecham: An Obsession with Music*. (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), 71-3.

³⁴⁶ I would like to clarify that from further research, it became clear that Grainger is referring to Emil Kreuz and his subsequent reference to a female vocalist concerns Eleanor Cleaver (as quoted in Malcolm Gillies, David Pear and Mark Carroll, eds., *Self-Portrait of Percy Grainger* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 224.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 224.

could explain his departure from the public eye: ill health and the growing anti-Germanic sentiment in Britain.

There is evidence during Kreuz's musical career to suggest that he suffered from both ill-health and the rising Germanophobic sentiment in British society. Kreuz's student log reveals that ill health was a frequent hindrance for the student violist. Although he received positive criticism regarding his general conduct at the college (as previously mentioned), Kreuz fared less well regarding general attendance: each term during his first two years at the college (1883-1885), Kreuz is noted³⁴⁸ as being absent for reasons of ill-health. Compared to the other scholars in the register, Kreuz had one of the poorest records of attendance. Further on in his career as a professional violist, Kreuz missed an important solo chamber music recital in London (1895). The critic writes that Kreuz 'fail[ed] to put in an appearance'.³⁴⁹ It is unlikely that Kreuz missed the performance due to professional misconduct. However, the cause of his absence is a matter for conjecture. Little else exists to offer further speculation about Kreuz's health and the cause of his death is unknown. However, one account³⁵⁰ lists the musician's passing at the relatively young age of sixty-five, in 1932.

A more tangible explanation for Kreuz's immediate departure from British concert culture concerns the escalating hostility towards German immigrants in Britain. Although current scholarship offers little attention to the effects of this hostility within the music industry after 1900,³⁵¹ Panikos Panayi's study 'Enemy in Our Midst: Germans in Britain during the First World War' provides a much-needed analysis of a situation in which one of the country's largest immigrant communities 'certainly did suffer'³⁵² from xenophobic treatment. Panayi describes this situation as an anti-alien mentality which he suggests as taking firm hold in Britain with the Aliens Act 1905,³⁵³ the first set of immigration controls established by Parliament designed to restrict the arrival of poor immigrants to Britain. In the music industry, xenophobic sentiments toward foreign musicians had been previously expressed. By the turn of the twentieth-century, xenophobic remarks had lessened; however, print materials reveals a continued push for 'native music', and the number of foreign musicians and composers in concert culture and teaching appointments were affected:

³⁴⁸ *Student Record Books* (London: Royal College of Music, (1894-6), MS.

³⁴⁹ *Arbroath Herald*. May 16, 1895: 5.

³⁵⁰ Bachmann, *An Encyclopaedia of the Violin*, 370.

³⁵¹ The only exception is a mention in the controversial Stradling and Hughes (2001).

³⁵² Panikos Panayi, ed. *Germans as Minorities during the First World War. A Global Comparative Perspective*. (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2014), 1.

³⁵³ *Ibid*, 27.

a survey of one of the country's most popular subscription series, the Philharmonic Society, illustrates that between 1880 to 1900, the ratio of programmed symphonic works by foreign and native composers began to shift in favour of native compositions.³⁵⁴ Another exemplifies that in the Hallé orchestra, the European contingent fell from 45 per cent in the 1880s to 26 per cent (in 1895) and down again to 16 per cent in 1905.³⁵⁵ Teaching positions at music colleges also saw a rise in native talent. Kreuz, too was affected: initially claimed 'as one of our best',³⁵⁶ references to Kreuz (devoid of nationality) changed by the mid-1890s when allusions to the musician's Germanic heritage became regular, an affronting example including Percy Grainger's reference to Kreuz as 'a German time-beater'. In 1904, Kreuz was successful in achieving his naturalization certificate (issued on 12 May 1904) and officially adopting the anglicized name of Thornfield. Interestingly, Kreuz's brief absence during 1903 to 1905 may be explained by the following statement on his certificate of naturalization: 'Serving in a British ship'.³⁵⁷ However, the ambiguity surrounding Kreuz's disappearance from 1914 may be related to 'the [German] civilian internment in Britain [which] reached a peak of 32, 440 [persons] in November 1915 following the decision to intern all males of military age',³⁵⁸ the age category in which Emil Kreuz would have found himself. Whether these two events, the internment of German civilians and Kreuz's disappearance from British concert culture, are merely coincidence or the violist's fate, no further record of Kreuz or his career exists, and his musical life ended in complete obscurity.

3.4.2 *Emile Férir (1874-1943)*

With striking similarity to Kreuz's career, Emile Férir too was a viola soloist of great artistic merit whose efforts contributed to the advancement of viola-playing standards in Britain at the turn of the twentieth-century, and yet his efforts in Britain are virtually unknown, omitted from the bulk of historical accounts. Building on brief biographical mentions by Riley³⁵⁹ and Heimberg³⁶⁰ an attempt to reconstruct Férir's

³⁵⁴ Jürgen Schaarwächter, *Two Centuries of British Symphonism: From the beginnings to 1945, Vol. 1.* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2015), 107.

³⁵⁵ David Russell, "Musicians in the English provincial city: Manchester c1890-1914," Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley, eds. *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 242.

³⁵⁶ *Musical Times*, May 01, 1892: 286.

³⁵⁷ The National Archives, HO 334/38/14428.

³⁵⁸ Panayi, *Germans as Minorities*, 100.

³⁵⁹ Riley, *The History of the Viola*, 80.

career in Britain is difficult: few contemporary print materials exist from which we may better understand the artist's career before he moved to the United States of America in 1903 (Heimberg makes mention that Férir departed in 1902; however, American immigration documents list Férir as arriving in 1903).³⁶¹

Although Riley notes the violist's birth as 1873, Emile's date of birth is officially recorded as 1874 in Belgium³⁶² (corroborated by Heimberg in interview with Férir's half-sister, Clemence Dieudonné).³⁶³ Férir's musical education began at the Royal Conservatory of Music in Brussels, where he studied violin with virtuoso Eugène Ysaÿe (he taught at the school from 1886 to 1898)³⁶⁴ and viola with Léon Firket (1839-1893). Léon Firket was the first violist to establish a class specifically for the tuition of viola performance studies in a European conservatory in 1877.³⁶⁵ Firket was also known for his compositions for the viola, including an advanced method book (1873) which predated his viola class by four years. Nevertheless, the first edition of the études clearly states an 'adopted method for the Royal Brussels Conservatory of Music',³⁶⁶ indicating that Firket had had the idea of a viola class independent to that of the violin for some time. Firket balanced a successful career as solo violist at the *Théâtre de Monnaie* in Brussels and as a teacher at the conservatory (initially as a violin teacher from 1865 and subsequently as a viola teacher from 1877). However, Firket's viola class was divided into two levels of ability: he taught advanced pupils (of which he had eight during the period 1877 to 1893) and an assistant (Emile Agniez, 1878 to 1881; Edmond Lapon, 1882 to 1893) taught beginners.³⁶⁷ Bearing in mind the dichotomy of the class structure, Férir's lessons with Firket denote the young violist as a talented musician. Further proof of Férir's artistic merit as a young violist is reflected in the fact that not only did he win a place of study at the *Conservatoire National Supérieur de Music de Paris* ('a superior school of learning, into which none are admitted until after they have proved themselves possessed of technical attainments...')³⁶⁸ but he achieved a gold medal

³⁶⁰ Tom Heimberg, "Remembering Emile Férir," *The Making of a Musical Life*. (San Anselmo: String Letter Publishing, 2007), 106-9.

³⁶¹ As evidenced by American census records, the details of which are found in this study's Bibliography: Miscellaneous.

³⁶² See Emil Kreuz's naturalization certificate in this study's bibliography, page 171.

³⁶³ Heimberg, *Remembering Emile Férir*, 106.

³⁶⁴ Don Michael Randel, *Harvard Biographical Dictionary of Music*. (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1996), 1003.

³⁶⁵ Frédéric Lainé, "L'Œuvre pédagogique de Léon Fikret," trans., Victoria Bernath. *Les Amis de l'Alto* 28 (2003), 17-26.

³⁶⁶ Ibid.

³⁶⁷ Ibid.

³⁶⁸ Isidor Philipp, "The French National Conservatory." *Musical Quarterly* 6 (1920), 214.

distinction for his viola studies at the conservatoire. Emile Férir's gold medal would have been awarded as part of the *solo de concours*, which determined if a student was sufficiently trained to graduate from the college. The solo competition was a defining feature of the French music college: public competitive performances for each instrument of the orchestra were given every year by the students of the college, with few exceptions. The viola had been one exception, as seen in a contemporary account of the reporter 'Outremer' in the *Aldine* journal. The journalist reports that 194 medals awarded in 1877, but makes no note of a category for violists.³⁶⁹ There is no account which verifies in which year the viola was first included in these competitions. Perhaps Férir was the first viola candidate to earn a gold medal in viola performance.

Férir immigrated to Scotland in 1894, where he assumed the position of principal violist with the Scottish Symphony from 1894 to 1896. Férir had some experience in this capacity, having led the violas of the highly acclaimed Lamoureux Orchestra of Paris (from 1892 to 1894). According to Henry J. Wood, Lamoureux (initially trained as a violinist) commanded an exemplary string section, 'the way in which he trained his strings alone was a revelation to me...by the absolute unanimity of bowing, and the exact *place of bow on the strings*, he obtained a colour and variety of tone I could not hope to achieve in those days'.³⁷⁰ At the age of twenty, Férir would have been one of the youngest members in the ensemble but likely one of the most proficient musicians. Conducted by Maurice Strakosky, the Scottish Symphony Orchestra was one of three permanent orchestras in Britain, the other two being English: August Manns's Crystal Palace Orchestra and the Hallé Orchestra under the direction of Sir Charles Hallé.³⁷¹ The Scottish Symphony afforded Férir limited solo opportunities during his appointment. Repertoire that featured Férir as solo violist included: Berlioz's ubiquitous *Harold in Italy* Op.16 (25 December 1894) and *Sérénade* for cor anglais, viola and orchestra by Saint-Saëns³⁷² which received two performances: one on 02 February 1895,³⁷³ and again on 16 February 1895.³⁷⁴ With respect to the performance of the Berlioz symphony, the *Glasgow Herald* wrote of Férir, 'Mr Férir, the leader of the violas, got an opportunity, too long deferred, of distinguishing himself as a soloist...he won much and deserved favour by his noble

³⁶⁹ *Aldine Journal* 8, no.9 (1877), 290-1.

³⁷⁰ Wood, *My Life in Music*, 98.

³⁷¹ *Ibid*, 105.

³⁷² Evidence of this score has not been located.

³⁷³ *Glasgow Herald*. February 04, 1895: 6.

³⁷⁴ *Edinburgh Evening News*. February 18, 1895: n. pag.

style, fine tone, and the taste with which he played the solo part throughout'.³⁷⁵ Limited evidence exists to suggest the extent of F  rir's involvement in the Scottish chamber music scene, or indeed any other musical activity outside of the orchestra. The Dundee Courier records that a second series of chamber music concerts were given by select instrumentalists from 'Mr. Maurice Sons' Glasgow orchestra...Mr. Sons, first violin; Mr. C. Shilsky, second violin; Mr. E. F  rir, viola; and Mr. Leo Taussig, violoncello',³⁷⁶ the ensemble playing with 'their customary finish and breadth of style'.³⁷⁷ The personnel of this ensemble, however, was flexible: in Helensburgh, a chamber concert given by members of the Scottish orchestra featured 'Mr. Leonard Borwick , pianoforte, London; Messrs. Maurice Sons (violin), Max Mossel (violin), E. F  rir (viola), and A. Ballin (viola) and J. Schwanzara (violoncello)'.³⁷⁸ The *Musical Times* did not regularly feature coverage of these chamber concerts; however, one of the journal's correspondents did attend a performance by the chamber ensemble of the Scottish Orchestra in Edinburgh on 08 February 1894. Regarding F  rir's playing, the critic wrote 'the features of the Chamber Concert given in the Queens Rooms, on the 8th ult., were the exceptionally fine viola-playing of Mr. F  rir and the finished performance of Mendelssohn's octet by Mr. Sons and his co-adjudicators'.³⁷⁹ Only one further concert review in *The Glasgow Herald* indicates F  rir's supplementary work to his duties as principal violist: the Glasgow Society of Musicians 'gave a "ladies' afternoon" in the Windsor Hotel on Saturday...instrumental solos were given by...F  rir (viola) and other members of the Scottish Orchestra'.³⁸⁰ After two years in Scotland, F  rir chose to move south to London, perhaps in search of greater financial reward or further performance opportunities.

In London, F  rir enjoyed a busy performance schedule as a solo, chamber and orchestral musician. F  rir's seven years in London are poorly documented, with little evidence to suggest the full extent of his musical activities in the capital. Regardless of such deficiencies, it becomes evident that F  rir was a violist of outstanding artistic merit. In 1897, F  rir was designated as principal violist of the Queen's Hall Orchestra (under Henry Wood) and subsequently featured as a soloist at the Promenade concerts. Heimberg cites F  rir's engagement as beginning in 1896; however, archival material from the Promenade Concerts does not list any activity before 1897.

³⁷⁵ *Glasgow Herald*. December 26, 1894: 5.

³⁷⁶ *Dundee Courier*. November 29, 1894: n. pagn.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid*.

³⁷⁸ *Glasgow Herald*, February 17, 1894: 7.

³⁷⁹ "Music in Edinburgh." *Music Times and Singing Circular* 35, no.613 (1894): 186.

³⁸⁰ *Glasgow Herald*, April 02, 1894: 6.

Concerning changes in the orchestra's personnel during the third season, conductor Wood recollects, 'A.E. Férir joined our violas. He was one of the finest players of his day and enabled me to give several performances of Berlioz's *Harold in Italy*. I have not, even now, entirely lost sight of him because he leads the violas in the Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra and I see him when I go to the Hollywood Bowl Concerts. He introduced an interesting viola concerto by my old friend Cecil Forsyth'.³⁸¹ Wood's admiration for Férir was further expressed, in a discussion of the 1901 Promenade season: 'Undoubtedly we had all the great artists of the day, even in the orchestra, and Payne and Férir could give a fine performance of Mozart's *Sinfonia Concertante* for violin and viola'.³⁸² The only other violist to receive comparative mention by Wood was Lionel Tertis whom the conductor described as 'that superb artist with the golden tone'.³⁸³ Over the course of six years, Férir featured in fifty-six Promenade events as a solo or chamber musician (and occasional music arranger),³⁸⁴ from 15 September 1897 until 20 September 1904, a performance profile that has never been matched by any other violist since. The first of these appearances was, predictably, the viola obligato in Berlioz's symphony, *Harold in Italy* Op.16 (1834). However, further solo performances included *Romance* for viola and piano (nd) by Férir's teacher, Léon Firket,³⁸⁵ an arrangement of the *adagio religioso* (movement two) of Vieuxtemps's Concerto for Violin No.4 in D minor Op.31 (c1854) (performed 23 January 1902), and the première of Cecil Forsyth's Viola Concerto in G minor (1903), dedicated to Férir. With the exception of the Forsyth concerto, few of Férir's solo efforts were mentioned in the press, a reflection of prevailing attitudes towards foreign violists in the capital.

Férir also maintained a profile as a chamber musician, most notably in the newly formed ensemble, the Kruse String Quartet. Established in 1898³⁸⁶ by Johann Kruse (a former Australian violin prodigy and second violinist of the Joachim String Quartet, from 1892 to 1897), the quartet initially featured Johann Kruse (first violin), Charles Schilsky (second violin), Emile Férir (viola) and Herbert Walenn (cello). No

³⁸¹ Wood, *A Life in Music*, 112.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, 149.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, 171.

³⁸⁴ "Proms Performance Archive." *British Broadcasting Corporation*. Accessed January 01, 2013: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/articles/3SsklRvCSPvfHr13wgz6HCJ/proms-performance-archive>.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁶ The first documented concert review for the ensemble dates from 1898, in which the ensemble is described as giving 'one of their most interesting concerts of chamber music' (*Pall Mall Gazette*, November 28, 1898: 2), indicating the ensemble had previously performed together.

account exists for the ‘renowned’³⁸⁷ ensemble, even though a survey of the ensemble’s concert reviews details the quartet as having a prolific performance schedule from its inception, including yearly appearances at the successful Curtius Concert Club chamber series of London. Unlike the Gompertz string quartet, the Kruse quartet programmed fewer music novelties, preferring to perform more-widely known quartet repertoire, particularly the works of Beethoven, Brahms and Tchaikovsky. By 1900, Charles Schilsky (second violin) had been replaced by Henry H. Inwards (second violinist of the Gompertz Quartet); in 1903, Percy Such became the ensemble’s cellist and Emile Férir accepted an offer in Boston, being subsequently replaced by British violist, Alfred Hobday (the second violist to graduate from the RCM). The *Music News* and the *Musical Times* described the new alliance in similar terms:

Professor Kruse has engaged Mr. Alfred Hobday, the viola player, for the Kruse Quartet, in place of Mr. A. E. Férir, who it will be remembered, has accepted an engagement in Boston. The *Morning Post* justly remarks that the quartet may now practically be called English, since Professor Kruse himself were born in Melbourne [Australia],³⁸⁸

It would seem that any foreign artist, other than an internationally recognised personality (for example, violinists Kreisler and Ysaÿe), was viewed as unwelcome competition in the years leading up to the First World War, and it was not uncommon for talented musicians resident in Britain to leave for the lucrative music industry of America.

Emile Férir and his British wife, Elisabeth, left England for Boston, in 1903. Férir received a warm welcome in the United States, earning accolades such as ‘the outstanding string player of the Boston Symphony’³⁸⁹ and ‘distinguished solois[t]’.³⁹⁰ Although the remainder of his career unfolded in America, Férir maintained his friendship with Henry Wood: Férir returned to England one last time in 1904 to give his third and final British performance of the Forsyth concerto at the Promenade concerts on 20 September 1904. Many years later, Wood visited the Hollywood bowl

³⁸⁷ “Advertisement.” *Aberdeen Journal*, October 20, 1899: 1.

³⁸⁸ *Musical News* 25 (1903), 220.

³⁸⁹ As quoted in Heimberg, *The Making of a Musical Life*, 108.

³⁹⁰ *Los Angeles Herald Sunday Magazine*. January 24, 1909: 14.

to conduct a series of concerts in 1926 recalling, ‘I, for my part, had the pleasure of seeing old faces in the orchestra...Férrir, the viola player’.³⁹¹ Evident from the previous statement, Férrir was not the only musician to leave Britain for the more lucrative shores of America. Wood makes mention of three other musicians from the Queen’s Hall orchestra who moved abroad to North America. Other colleagues of Férrir who also moved included RAM violin professor Willy Hess and Férrir’s friend, the British composer, Cecil Forsyth (moved in 1914, to accept a post at the publishing firm, H. W. Gray in New York).³⁹² Regardless of his artistic capabilities, Férrir was reputed to be a quiet, humble man, listing his profession simply as ‘musician – orchestra’ on his census record form of 1930.³⁹³ After a fifteen-year engagement as principal violist of the Boston Symphony (from 1903 to 1918), and brief spells in two string quartets,³⁹⁴ Férrir accepted the job of principal violist with the Los Angeles Philharmonic in 1921. Heimberg mentions that as a teacher in California, Férrir exemplified ‘kindness and dedication in guiding his student’s career, as well as their education’³⁹⁵ his students including Sven Reher and Harry Rumpler.³⁹⁶

3.4.3 *Siegfried Wertheim (1873-nd)*

If the paucity of information regarding Emil Kreuz and Emile Férrir may be considered restrictive, the dearth of available source material concerning violist Siegfried Wertheim, Férrir’s successor in the Queen’s Hall Orchestra (1903/4 to 1911), proves to be a complete hindrance. It has been impossible to determine Wertheim’s musical education, or indeed specifications of his place of birth. In 1911, English census records list Wertheim as a married man of Dutch birth, his occupation listed as ‘musician – viola’.³⁹⁷ From his performance records in the BBC Proms Archive, Wertheim frequently appeared as a soloist at the series, besides his duties as

³⁹¹ Wood, *My Life in Music*, 337.

³⁹² *Ibid.*, 113.

³⁹³ Please refer to this study’s bibliography (page 170), for Férrir’s census record.

³⁹⁴ Quartet appointments include the Hess-Schroeder Quartet (est. 1908 by violinist Willy Hess (fellow immigrant from England) as seen in: *Boston Evening Transcript*, 06 October 1909: 27) and secondly, establishing and performing in the Coolidge Quartet (est. 1919) with the support of prominent chamber music patron, Elisabeth S. Coolidge, as quoted in Heimberg, *The Making of a Musical Life*, 208.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁷ 1911 England Wales and Scotland Census (Public), (London: Fulham, 1911), no.310; Accessed on July 12, 2014: findmypast.co.uk/record?id=gbc%2f1911%2ffrg14%2f00310%2f0627%2f1.

principal violist. Of the five viola concerti performed at the Proms between 1895-1910, Wertheim was responsible for the performance of three by Arends, Hubay and Rogister, evidence of his performance capabilities as a solo performer. Yet, no reviews exist of Wertheim's solo performances with one exception. Written by an anonymous amateur violist, the article 'The Viola as a Solo Instrument' (1905) appeared in *The Violin Times*³⁹⁸ and comments on Wertheim's performance of Hubay's *Concertstück* for Viola and Orchestra as follows:

Of Mr S. L. Wertheim's powers it would, of course, be impertinent for me to speak. The piece, too, bristled with difficulties...But I am not sure that this particular performance, with all its perfection of technique, quite brought the particular sweetness of the viola as contrasted with the – shall I say squeakiness? – which occasionally mars the efforts of the amateur violinist³⁹⁹

Little else is known about Wertheim's performances, or indeed his performance career as violist aside from a handful of brief mentions. Firstly, in 1907 a performance of Forsyth's viola concerto featured Wertheim as soloist in Bournemouth with the municipal orchestra under Daniel Godfrey (28 March 1907). The next year, Wertheim participated in a demonstrative recital for the promotion of the 'Resonatone' (a newly invented tailpiece for violin, viola and cello),⁴⁰⁰ his viola playing described as being 'of a very high order'.⁴⁰¹ A few years on, two journals write of a viola recital given by Wertheim on 14 December 1910 at the *Salle Érard* in London. The *Sketch* documents that the occasion 'must have left many of his audience regretting that the instrument which finds its place between the violin and cello has been so deliberately neglected by those who have written bountifully for the violin...'⁴⁰² A correspondent for the *Musical Times* offers great detail of the recital:

A recital of unusual character was given by Mr. Siegfried L. Wertheim...who is very well known as the principal viola player of the Queen's Hall Orchestra. He carried out a programme of solo and concerted music for his instrument. It included a new Sonata by the Dutch composer Heer Von

³⁹⁸ "The Viola as a Solo Instrument." *The Violin Times* 11, no.144 (1905): 175.

³⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁰ *Gloucestershire Echo*. June 20, 1908: n. pag.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid.

⁴⁰² *Sketch: A Journal of Art and Actuality* 68 (1910): 376.

Brucken Fock. It proved to be a thoughtful and well-devised work that carried conviction. Miss Marie Novello supplied the pianoforte part and also gave solos. Mr. Wertheim played a number of short pieces, including a new Serenade by W.K. Hamilton...The recital was of great value in illustrating the possibilities of the viola as a solo instrument in capable hands⁴⁰³

The next mention of Wertheim concerns his resignation from both the Queen's Hall Orchestra (1912) and the Hambourg String Quartet (nd), as detailed in an account relating to his successor, British violist/composer Eric Coates.⁴⁰⁴ The Hambourg Quartet had given its debut on 16 April 1907 at the Bechstein Hall, with J. Hambourg (first violin), M. Sax (second violin), S. Wertheim (viola) and B. Hambourg (cello).⁴⁰⁵ The debut was viewed with promise: 'the interpretation...bore testimony to individual ability, painstaking rehearsal and to intellectual perception of the character of this fine work...so favourable an impression was made that a future may be anticipated for this new quartet party'.⁴⁰⁶ The impetus behind Wertheim's resignation is unknown; no further records of Wertheim performing on the viola exist. Wertheim instead turned to conducting, possibly suggesting that a performance injury called for his resignation. Few details outline Wertheim's conducting career: in 1912, Wertheim established the *Orchestra Femina*, an all-British female ensemble of fifty instrumentalists⁴⁰⁷ which had little permanence.⁴⁰⁸ He then obtained a position as an orchestral conductor for silent films at the Majestic Theatre in London.⁴⁰⁹ Akin to Kreuz's late career, Wertheim's career too ended in obscurity.

3.4.4 *Simon Speelman (1838-1918)*

Violist Simon Speelman is another example of a viola practitioner whose extensive work as principal violist of the Hallé Orchestra, viola soloist and conductor advanced the instrument's status during the period of study. Born in Amsterdam during 1851, Speelman was considered a prodigious child on the violin and gave his first public

⁴⁰³ "Mr. Wertheim's Viola Recital." *Musical Times* 51, no.803 (1910): 28.

⁴⁰⁴ Michal Payne, *The Life and Music of Eric Coates*. (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2013).

⁴⁰⁵ "London Concerts." *Musical Times* 48, no.771 (1907): 319.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁷ *Manchester Courier*. March 13, 1912: 1.

⁴⁰⁸ McVeigh, "As the sand on the seashore," 256.

⁴⁰⁹ Stephen Bottomore, "Eric Williams: Speaking to Pictures," eds. Julie Brown and Annette Davison, *The Sounds of the Silents in Britain*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 61.

performance of the *Seventh Air* by de Beriot at the age of ten. He studied violin with Franz Cordot, pupil of the famous David. At the age of 13, his father passed away and Simon was responsible for supporting the family which included two younger brothers. He moved to Manchester, England in 1870 at the invitation of de Jong, conductor of the Popular Concerts in Manchester, who offered him work at the Hallé Orchestra. Initially working as a violinist in the orchestra, he changed instrument by 1873 and became principal violist of the orchestra. There is no explanation why the gifted musician changed instrument; however, considering that Speelman once said, later on in life, that the ‘two hobbies in my life are conducting and the viola’,⁴¹⁰ perhaps he had a greater affinity for the sonority of the viola. Considering that Speelman performed on a *Testore* viola,⁴¹¹ it is understandable why he would have been enamored with the instrument’s tone. Throughout his musical career, Speelman received praise as both a conductor and violist. He was considered a musical treasure in Manchester where critics described the artist, the ‘famous Manchester violist’, as ‘gifted and inspiring’,⁴¹² and ‘the leading performer on this instrument in the Kingdom’.⁴¹³ The repertoire (specifically the Kreuz, Vieuxtemps, and Rubinstein) coupled with glowing reviews which occasionally mentioned encore appearances imply that Speelman was a musician of virtuosic expression and capabilities. However, there is no record that Speelman was described as a virtuoso. Furthermore, there is no evidence of Speelman in any established British reference works specialising in music and musicians. However, during his career, Speelman received considerable mention in the various newspapers of Manchester (where he was professionally based) and *The Strad* ran a piece on Speelman and his musical career in brief (October 1907) which included mention of his performances as a solo-player, as a chamber music (Speelman was the original violist of the renowned Brodsky Quartet, a twenty-odd year appointment) and his various appointments as conductor (including positions held with the Manchester Proms Concerts and the Blackpool North Pier Orchestra). The most plausible explanation for the exclusion of Speelman, a naturalised British musician, from the great reference books would be that his origin of birth handicapped his chances of inclusion.

⁴¹⁰ “Concilio et Labore.” *Manchester Courier*, November 20, 1905: 6.

⁴¹¹ “Concilio et Labore.” *Manchester Courier*, October 03, 1907: 6.

⁴¹² “Concilio et Labore.” *Manchester Courier*, September 15, 1905: 6.

⁴¹³ “Concilio et Labore.” *Manchester Courier*, October 03, 1907: 6.

3.5 Chapter summary

Chapter Three presents the first collective biography of professional, solo violists active in Britain c1900, resultant from my adoption of a prosopographical methodology. It is evident from the expanded biographies of Emil Kreuz, Emile Férir and Siegfried Wertheim, three men responsible for promoting the viola as a solo instrument through the medium of the concerto that in British concert culture (c1890-1910) talent alone would not allow these men to be considered as equals to their British counterparts. Lionel Tertis's efforts as a solo violist, from 1910 onwards, are comparative to the careers of Kreuz, Férir and Wertheim. Yet, as a British artist, Tertis received more frequent attention in the press and therefore greater recognition as a violist. Violists Alfred Best, Richard Blagrove, Alfred Burnett, Alfred Gibson, Alfred Hobday, Simon Speelman, and Henry Waldo Warner too contributed to the advancement of the viola, and their recital efforts are explored in Chapter Four.

Chapter Four

Edwardian viola concerti and the rise of viola virtuosity

4.1 Introduction

In 1893, the leading print authority on bowed-string instruments – *The Strad* – ran the country’s first published piece on the viola, titled ‘The Old Maid of the String Quartet’. The anonymous author states: ‘True, there are plenty of viola players in London, but whoever hears, at a concert, a solo for the viola’.⁴¹⁴ The author did not write in condemnation of the viola’s capabilities as a solo voice; rather, the potential of the viola appearing in a solo capacity is questioned, and the article takes issue with the previously expressed views of a certain J. Jackson of Northampton who believed that the viola ‘not being a purely melodic instrument...will never become popular on that account’.⁴¹⁵ The reader can assume ‘melodic’ refers to either a timbral quality or the instrument’s predominant function in concert culture. In response to Jackson’s opinion, the article establishes that the viola does indeed have the potential to be a solo instrument.⁴¹⁶ However, such performance potential is perceived to be inhibited by neglect. Little did the anonymous author or Jackson know that within the following ten years, the viola in Britain would receive recognition on numerous occasions as a solo instrument, a far cry beyond the tacitly assumed role of ‘stop[ing] a gap in a quartet or orchestra’.⁴¹⁷ By 1903, three concerti had been written for solo viola and orchestra by British composers and a select group of violists, including Simon Speelman, Emile Férir, Emil Kreuz, Alfred Hobday and Lionel Tertis were recognised as musicians of soloistic merit in England.

In the previous two chapters, the importance of the concerto as a medium for solo expression by a violist was discussed along with the burgeoning trend for viola education in leading British Conservatoires during the 1890s. This chapter will examine the wider dissemination of viola performances in Britain, along with the growth of the viola’s repertoire which collectively established the viola as a solo voice. Contrary to popular belief, the viola was not a ‘despised’ instrument with

⁴¹⁴ “The ‘Old Maid’ of the String Quartet.” *The Strad* 4.41 (1893): 78.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

‘practically no solo repertoire’.⁴¹⁸ The new century saw a period of fruition for the viola as a solo voice and proved to be a pivotal decade in determining the instrument’s function and role in British concert culture. To illustrate the development of viola virtuosity and to trace how, when, and why the viola developed into a recognised virtuosic instrument during this age, the chapter will be divided into four sections. Firstly, key terms associated with ‘virtuosity’ will be considered, with the aim to define vocabulary associated with solo playing amongst British bowed-string instrumentalists in contemporary literature pertaining to the violin and viola. Secondly, in place of focusing solely on the early career of Lionel Tertis, the efforts of other acclaimed violists working in Britain will instead be examined by drawing on sources that have been overlooked in the discussion of British viola virtuosity (including British newspapers, the archives of the Hallé and BBC Promenade Concerts). The chapter will then outline and socially contextualise the three British viola concerti written during this era: Sir J. B. McEwen’s *Concerto for Viola and Orchestra* (1901), Cecil Forsyth’s *Viola Concerto in G minor* (1903) and York Bowen’s *Concerto in C minor for Viola and Orchestra Op. 25* (1907).

4.2 Developing a language to define solo-playing and virtuosity (1900 to 1910)

In Britain, a surge of interest in the performance of bowed-string instruments had been accumulating since the 1880s.⁴¹⁹ A key manifestation of this interest took the form of published materials, including pamphlets, periodicals, pedagogical treatises, and organological surveys devoted to the violin. Prior to 1900, the attention focused predominantly on the violin, with many articles being authored, co-authored or translated from continental texts by British violinists, currently active in the music industry. Curiously, the greater part of these printed dialogues did not include discussion pertaining to the appreciation or development of solo playing, nor indeed to the idea of virtuosity. Certainly, the most frequent references to virtuosic or solo-playing abilities appeared in concert reviews and concert programmes featuring upcoming concerto performances. Although concerto appearances by string players were frequent (and undoubtedly crucial in attracting audiences) at orchestra concerts and music festivals, the preponderance of evidence suggests that for professional bowed-string instrument soloists, the concerto provided most of the public

⁴¹⁸ “Tertis Dinner.” *Musical Times* 78, no.1133 (1937), 646.

⁴¹⁹ See Bashford (2013).

performance opportunities. Solo recitals by string players were infrequent, unless the performer was an internationally-recognised talent, such as violinists Joseph Joachim and Lady Hallé. Indeed, it was only in 1881 at St. James' Hall (London) that the first full-length solo⁴²⁰ violin recital took place in Britain (by the English violinist John Tiplady Carrodus). This is perhaps because such distinctions delineating different musical vocations or performance roles for bowed-string instrumentalists, ie the soloist versus the orchestral musician, were beginning to emerge and not yet commonplace. Such distinctions would become more pertinent in the coming years as would the discussion of solo-playing and virtuosity.

Today, we understand the meaning of virtuosity to denote favorably a high degree of skill. However, from my survey of the British Newspaper Archive (inclusive of the years 1849-1929), it is evident that 'virtuosity' underwent a semantic change in describing solo instrument performances: from the early contention of florid, highly technical performance styles described as 'great mechanical skill',⁴²¹ to later conflicting ideas of virtuosity as being either of a magnificent quality, 'new and rare',⁴²² as a 'wonderful display'⁴²³ or as a universal performance standard 'by reason of systemised education'⁴²⁴ descriptions of virtuosity during the Victorian era greatly varied. By the late Edwardian period, in the case of solo-playing, virtuosity had come to define performances that were commendable and emotionally touching. This is further evidenced in five seminal texts concerning violin performance which offer historical insights to the idea and development of virtuosic and solo-playing.⁴²⁵ In addition to the term 'virtuosity', the following definitions of performed style (as outlined in Table 4.1 on the following page) became significant in the expanding discussion and dissemination of solo-playing technique.

The nomenclature for solo-playing primarily developed in dialogues concerning violin performance, yet there are parallel examples of these terms in contemporary texts written a propos cello technique. Thus, there is no reason why examples of solo viola performance from this period should be excluded from the

⁴²⁰ Solo in the sense that the violinist was assisted only by an accompanist.

⁴²¹ "Music." *Graphic*, November 23, 1878: 12.

⁴²² "London and Suburban Concerts." *Musical Times* 47, no.755 (1906): 46.

⁴²³ "Kubelik in Nottingham." *Nottingham Evening Post*, October 15, 1903: 6.

⁴²⁴ "Musical Genius in the Young." *Western Gazette*, July 27, 1906: 8.

⁴²⁵ William Henley, *The Violin: Solo Playing, Soloists and Solos*. (London: Shore & Co, 1905); James Winram, *Violin Playing and Violin Adjustment*. (London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1908); John Dunn, *Violin Playing*. (London : J. H. Lavender & Co., 1898); John Tiplady Carrodus, *Chats to Violin Students on How to Study the Violin*. (London: E. Shore & Co, 1895); Basil Althaus, *Violin Solos and How to Play Them*. (London: E. Shore & Co, 1905), 152-178; Samuel B. Grimson and Cecil Forsyth. *Modern Violin-Playing*. (New York: H.W. Gray Co., 1920).

discourse of solo-playing and virtuosity of bowed-string instruments. If examples of highly proficient solo viola performances may be traced during the years 1910, it is important to comprehend how such examples relate to ideas of solo-playing.

Table 4.1 Key terms of playing style and artistry ⁴²⁶	
Style ⁴²⁷	Definition
Classical	Also referred to as ‘dry’: excludes all display of any kind. ⁴²⁸ Tolerable only in pure classical playing (eg. Joachim).
Plain	Very little display of any kind, and rests almost entirely upon artistic conception. He has purity and breadth of tone exercised all in propriety (eg. Carrodus). ⁴²⁹
Neat and Elegant	The region of display; that display of the highest and most sparkling kind. A player of this character shows that he does not despise the beauty of tone. A neat style implies purity of tone, elegance of bowing, and dexterity of fingering. Sarasate is the highest example of neat and elegant style combined with simplicity.
Bold and Fiery	Its predominant character is fire, life and energy. It belongs to the higher branches of violin playing (eg. August Wilhelmj). ⁴³⁰
Dazzling	Non-defined; however, implied as being a flamboyant way of playing excused in young players. ⁴³¹
Virtuosity	Bravura playing; it has life, energy, brilliance, and excitement. It is genius alone, interposed between knowledge and cleverness. ⁴³²
Virtuoso	Bravura soloist. ⁴³³
Artist	The artist is not merely a violinist, but a real musician. ⁴³⁴ A natural performer. He very seldom imitates; he plays as he thinks, but never thinking his ideas are the only ideas. ⁴³⁵
Classical Playing	Coldness, strict formality, and sometimes insensibility. ⁴³⁶
Concerto-playing	To interest and astonish the audience, to point out the beauties of the work, demonstrate particular ideas of the composer and to instruct students (to form taste and strengthen their judgment). ⁴³⁷
Technical perfection	The maturity of gracefulness and execution which partly composes the character of the virtuoso. ⁴³⁸

⁴²⁶ Henley, *The Violin: Solo Playing*, 33-70.

⁴²⁷ Henley defines style as ‘the peculiar manner in which a man expresses his conceptions, by means of execution and bowing’ (Ibid, 34).

⁴²⁸ Ibid, 34.

⁴²⁹ Ibid, 34.

⁴³⁰ Ibid, 36.

⁴³¹ Ibid, 36.

⁴³² Ibid, 61.

⁴³³ Ibid, 61.

⁴³⁴ Ibid, 52.

⁴³⁵ Ibid, 53.

⁴³⁶ Ibid, 60.

⁴³⁷ Ibid, 70.

⁴³⁸ Ibid, 66.

4.3 Edwardian viola concerti

Today, the concerto is widely recognised as the primary vehicle for virtuosic expression; however, examination of archival material and concert ephemera from RAM reveals that the Edwardians increasingly favoured solo recital programmes by string players, and frequently described the performance of musical compositions other than the concerto as examples of solo-playing and virtuosity. Indeed, a substantial amount of surveyed print materials synthesized into a definition of Edwardian virtuosity and solo-playing came from concert reviews of mixed or miscellaneous instrumental recitals featuring sonatas, music novelties and virtuosic show pieces. If we relate this broadened definition of what comprises solo-playing to various performance contexts (and therefore expand our understanding of the protean nature of virtuosic expression in performance), we attain an enhanced understanding of solo-playing efforts by professional British violists. Collating data from more than two hundred concert reviews and advertisements from periodicals dating between 1900 to 1910, Table A.5 (pages 176 to 177 in the appendix) summarises all documented examples of solo performances by professional violists in Britain during that decade. Analysis of this information illustrates the following: firstly, the greatest frequency of solo performances by British violists occurred in metropolitan cities (ie London and Manchester), with fewer examples recorded across the belt of the Midlands and outliers happening in Yorkshire. It is understandable that greater opportunity for solo viola performances would be found in metropolitan cities, hence the concentration of recorded examples in London and Manchester. Secondly, it is crucial to note the programmed compositions (regrettably, not all of the assessed archival materials included mention of repertoire, as seen in Table A.5). British works feature almost on par with compositions by non-native composers, a rarity in British concert programming for bowed-string instrument recitals. With seventy-three examples of solo-playing recorded during a decade, it is apparent that thanks to the efforts of the six violists listed (ie Abbott, Férrir, Hobday, Rankin, Speelman and Tertis), the viola was beginning to be heard as a solo voice in British concert culture.

In addition to Kreuz's viola concerto of 1892, the viola concerti composed during the first decade of the twentieth century are the most telling examples of British viola repertoire requiring virtuosic technique. The circumstances in which each concerto was produced and premiered vary greatly from one composition to the next. These conditions are imperative in understanding the subsequent demises of the

concerti, and may explain their relative anonymity in today's concert culture. Table A.6 (see Appendix, page 178) provides a concise survey of the three concerti.

The first work, simply titled as Concerto for Viola and Orchestra, was written in 1901 by the newly appointed Professor of Harmony at RAM, Sir John Blackwood McEwen. Although current concert culture attributes the creation of this concerto to violist Lionel Tertis, Dr Alistair Mitchell's research in cataloguing McEwen's works and personal effects reveal that the concerto 'was not written for commission'⁴³⁹ and it is logical to suppose that as a recent graduate and current viola teacher at the academy, Tertis was invited to perform the work. Tertis never acknowledged this concerto in any of his three autobiographies, nor in his essay 'Training for Virtuosity' although the concerto consistently demands great technical agility and it would appear to be the first challenging work Tertis performed in public as a violist. The first performance of the concerto took place at the Academy, as a reduction for viola and piano in a chamber music showcase. A review of this performance does not exist, nor is there an existing review of the full orchestra première which took place in Bournemouth on 11 November 1901 under the baton of Sir Dan Godfrey. The later details are penciled in on the orchestra score and manuscript. After this performance, the concerto lapsed into obscurity until the work of Alistair Mitchell and the Scottish Chamber Orchestra, nearly a hundred years later.

The second concerto, Cecil Forsyth's Viola Concerto in G minor (1903) was composed for the great violist, Emile Auguste Férir, the Belgian violist (previously discussed in Chapter Three). As a practicing violist, Forsyth's concerto is written far more idiomatically for the instrument than the McEwen. Nevertheless, from examining Férir's own compositions for violin and viola, it appears that the included cadenza in the Forsyth concerto was from the artist himself, or alternatively it was heavily edited by Férir. In particular, there are uncanny resemblances between the cadenza in Férir's own *Serenade* for Piano and Violin/Viola (1920) and that of the concerto. The concerto received a repeat performance at the Promenade Concerts almost exactly one year later (Sept. 20, 1904) although no reviews of this performance have been found. Sadly, this concerto suffered equally to McEwen's Viola Concerto (1901). Perhaps it is because both the composer (Forsyth) and artist (Férir) moved abroad to the United States of America that the wonderful concerto lay forgotten in Britain.

⁴³⁹ Alasdair Mitchell, *An edition of selected orchestral works by Sir John Blackwood McEwen*. (PhD, University of Edinburgh, 2002), 49.

Regardless of the ephemeral appearances of the previous two viola concerti, York Bowen, a talented pianist and composer (as well as a practicing violist), wrote the Concerto in C minor for Viola and Orchestra in 1907. By this point in time, Lionel Tertis had embarked on a zealous quest to commission as many new British works for the viola as possible, one of which was Bowen's viola concerto. Tertis had the greatest success in this endeavor when working with younger composers, which included Arnold Bax, York Bowen, and Benjamin Dale. Through rose-tinted glasses, many music-lovers and former students of Tertis saw, and still do see, this mission as an act of compassion for the viola. However, original research reveals that Tertis was a tempestuous man, and arrogant according to the music writer Rosa Newmarch,⁴⁴⁰ with little time for foreign artists or commissions that did not take his fancy. Tertis's list of disapproved commissions and compositions (some of which were dedicated to him) includes Walton's Viola Concerto of 1929, Eric Coates's *First Meeting* for Viola and Piano (1940), Percy Grainger's *Arrival Platform Humlet* (1908) and the McEwen viola concerto (1901). The works were either refused public performance or repeat performances or excluded from his repertoire. The exception to this observation would be Walton's Viola Concerto which he at first refused; however, upon hearing its successful reception Tertis regretted and retracted his early opinions. The Bowen concerto received three performances by Tertis during his career as a violist, from 1896/7 to 1937, and the fully-scored premiere received three reviews, all of which were highly positive, with the *Musical Times* writing that Tertis 'confirmed his place in the front rank of viola players'.⁴⁴¹ What is absent from the reviews or Tertis's memoirs (in which there is little reference to the Bowen concerto) is mention of the three optional cuts (which would potentially remove approximately two hundred bars of material): were these edits taken into consideration during the premieres? As the concerto stands at a full 36 minutes in length, it can be supposed that because the cuts are present in the original manuscript, they were made for the chamber reduction of the work, for viola and piano. Out of the three Edwardian concerti, the Bowen is the most technically challenging work for the left-hand culture, calling for complete agility across the entire compass of the instrument.

⁴⁴⁰ Philip Bullock, ed., *The Correspondence of Jean Sibelius and Rosa Newmarch, 1906-1939*. (Oxford: Boydell Press, 2011), 140.

⁴⁴¹ "Philharmonic Society." *Musical Times* 49, no.783 (1908), 322.

4. 4 Chapter summary

Chapter Four succinctly examines the rise of viola virtuosity (and solo viola performances) in Britain at the turn of the twentieth century, with a special attention paid to viola concerti composed during this period. Research findings highlight the importance of solo performances in Edwardian concert culture, as well as the emergence of a nomenclature to describe various styles of solo-playing. Bearing in mind these definitions (as used to describe various examples of virtuosic solo violin performances), comparable examples of solo viola performances across Britain become apparent, thereby illustrating the growing acceptance of the viola as an instrument with virtuosic capabilities.

The following chapter develops these ideas in a practical context, a case study that questions how I, as a solo violist, approach virtuosic repertoire from the turn of the twentieth century. Chapter Five considers performance practices contemporaneous to the period of this study (1880 to 1910) as a means of informing my interpretation of two virtuosic compositions: Kreuz's Concerto for Viola and Orchestra Op.20 (1892) and Forsyth's Viola Concerto in G minor (1903). As a practitioner, I will explore the craft of informing and performing the two works, and my analysis will provide a critical commentary on the nature of informed versus performed intent.

Chapter Five

A case study of the Kreuz Concerto for Viola and Orchestra 20 (1892) and the Forsyth Viola Concerto in G minor (1903)

5.1 Introduction

Performance scholarship is a fast-evolving area of research. Empirical case studies of musical performance are gaining ground in musicology in conjunction with growing trends for both practice-based and practice-led research.⁴⁴² Eric Clarke notes that ‘performance studies as a research area has brought a focus on different performance traditions, the nature of performance interpretation and its relationship to analysis, and the lasting legacy of historical recordings...and what it can tell us about changes in performance style’.⁴⁴³ The preserve of music psychologists since the turn of the twentieth-century,⁴⁴⁴ recent decades have seen professional musicians joining the field of empirical musicology, using their professionally-trained abilities and recorded performances as subject material.⁴⁴⁵

Comprising an important position in the field of performance scholarship, the Early Music movement (the modern-day revival founded in 1953 with the launch of the continental period ensemble *Concertus Musicus Wien*) encompasses ‘any music written up to the twentieth century where a historically appropriate style of performance is reconstructed’.⁴⁴⁶ This is predominantly a performance-led and aesthetic disposition, acting as a ‘revolutionary cultural phenomenon that has grasped classical music performance and shaken it by its core’. Interestingly, in academia, the greater part of practice-led scholarship leans towards repertoire of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Cook and Clarke argue that all musicology is empirical by nature.⁴⁴⁷ However, case studies conducted by practitioners have the potential to offer

⁴⁴² John Rink, ed., *The Practice of Performance: Studies in Musical Interpretation*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), ix.

⁴⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁴ Eric Clarke and Nicholas Cook, eds., *Empirical Musicology: Aims, Methods and Perspectives*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 3-9, 197.

⁴⁴⁵ Roy Howat, “What do we perform?” John Rink, ed., *The Practice of Performance: Studies in Musical Interpretation*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 3–20.

⁴⁴⁶ Nick Wilson, *The Art of Re-enchantment*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 3.

⁴⁴⁷ Clarke and Cook, *Empirical Musicology*, 3-14.

subjectively incisive lines of investigation into specific musical subcultures. A further benefit of a participant-observer study self-analysing performances is that it can address an important methodological concern: the ability to distinguish deliberate features from random variation or error in recorded performance. Cook notes that ‘musicologists don’t understand music as a performing art’⁴⁴⁸ because they interpret performance as a translation of notation. As Cook continues ‘you can “just play,” but it’s odd to speak of “just performing,” because the basic grammar of performance is that you perform something, you give a performance “of” something. In other words, language—and especially musicological language—leads us to construct the process of performance as supplementary to the product that occasions it, and it is this that leads us to talk quite naturally about music “and” its performance’.⁴⁴⁹ Perhaps then, as Cook suggests, performance-led research by professional musicians has the potential to identify with a readership beyond academia, addressing concerns relevant to any individual creatively engaging with music.⁴⁵⁰ This case study attempts to identify critical and performed implications of style and expression, and to offer insight into the creative process of performing from the informed perspective of a professional musician.

5.2 Methodology and case study outline

How does one design a case study investigating two concerti divorced from the performed viola concerto canon, and Western concert culture in general? Engaging with two lesser known works (ie the Kreuz Concerto for Viola and Orchestra Op.20 (1892) and the Forsyth Concerto for Viola in G minor (1903)), provides a rare prospect and the opportunity to conduct a practice-led investigation. This empirical-based study questions the fundamental process of interpretation in professional music-making both before and after one single, unedited performance. A further avenue of inquiry for a study contrasting a performer’s ideologies to performative output could see ‘the study of performance [used] as a part of an “interactionist” approach to reception studies’⁴⁵¹ (potentially an interesting correspondence between verbal discourse and performative discourse). However, as neither of the concerti in

⁴⁴⁸ Nicholas Cook, *Beyond the Score: Music as Performance*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 204.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁰ Clarke and Cook, *Empirical Musicology*, xii.

⁴⁵¹ Uri Golomb, *Expression and Meaning in Bach Performance and Reception: An Examination of the Mass in B minor on Record* (PhD, University of Cambridge, 2004), 26.

this study is particularly well-known, my investigation will not attempt to function as a reception study.

As a practitioner, which materials do I choose (eg manuscripts, first editions, contemporary editions, period instruments, modern instruments, recordings and treatises contemporary to the writing of the works) to historically inform my understanding of the two concerti and find the right balance between scholarship and performance? How does the critical interpretation of the selected materials and performance practices manifest itself during the performance due to random variation in my creative output (ie, performative interpretation)? Nicholas Cook writes that ‘in order to think of music as *performance* [Cook’s emphasis] – we need to think differently about what sort of an object music is, and indeed how far it is appropriate to think of it as an object at all’.⁴⁵² As a practitioner, I would argue that the best way to think of music as performance is to actively engage and perform repertoire and subsequently discuss correlations between ideology and performance. Consequently, I will adopt a premise-practice model for the study.

It was important to address areas of concern in developing a methodology for the case study. As I have noted and discussed in the Literature Review, musicological scholarship has the tendency to draw conclusions from small data sets or single sources in data-poor fields, which may lead to speculated contexts or distorted understandings. This study concerns a data-poor field. Little evidence survives to offer insight into the first performances of these two viola concerti. The lack of recorded material and detailed press coverage coupled with ambiguous bibliographical materials regarding the relevant composers and soloists has already distorted the instrument’s history in previous scholarly efforts. Moreover, the dearth of evidence suggests that a speculative hypothesis would most likely result from an isolated data set. I devised this thesis with a two-fold purpose; firstly, as a scholarly investigation substantially contextualising the viola as a solo instrument, and secondly as a practice-led study questioning theoretical aspects of performance practice relevant to the two concerti, and avoiding interpretative conclusions from small data sets or isolated events. This practice-led component hopes to act as a means of acquiring more data from which I could potentially draw new insights into the performance of the specialised musical subculture of late-Romantic British viola concerti.

⁴⁵² Cook, *Beyond the Score*, 1.

Regarding my performative data, I question the application of models and processes used to analyse and compare recordings using artificial intelligence methods (ie computer programmes such as the Sonic Visualizer software available on the CHARM website)⁴⁵³ which figure heavily in temporal analysis. This approach suits studies which survey a sizeable field of data, such as multiple recordings of one work. I find these analytical methods produce a two-dimensional understanding of the performance: the vertical understanding of expressive variation in a score's reading. Tempo-mapping does not afford a translation of the musical information responsible for temporal variation. It is easy to identify localised performance aspects including dynamics which grants a basic understanding of performer deviation from the score. Cook suggests that this approach 'filter[s] the performance data, discarding data that do not fit – or, at least, do not bear upon – the score-based analysis'.⁴⁵⁴ However, if we entertain the notion that performance is of equal importance to the written text (the performance is a work of art in itself), the musical minutiae which create expression need to be addressed, and identified. Few studies of recorded materials address communicated expressive features. For example, I have yet to find a study which discusses timbral variance in recorded bowed-string performance, a critical performance aspect of the utmost importance to the practitioner and listener. It is, therefore, plausible that in considering the relationship between critical and performative implications in my own recorded performances, I apply a more basic, analytical process to focus on expressive variation.

The analytical toolkit used to understand my performative interpretations is simple: score, pen, paper, metronome, stopwatch, viola and bow. A key benefit of listening to one's recording is that it is quick and easy to identify the occurrence and cause for variation from the composer's written instruction. Furthermore, as performer and observer, there is little guesswork distinguishing variation from error. The latter I would define as a performance feature which was not intended and of poorer quality than usual standard (ie faulty intonation or a miscommunication in the ensemble). The evidence of faults in a recording may cause worry and overshadow the analytical process. Consequently, there is the tendency for a performer to call for a retake or some other form of editing. To avoid this issue, I decided to record single, live takes: there are no edits in my performed examples. Going against the grain of

⁴⁵³ http://www.charm.rhul.ac.uk/analysing/p9_1.html

⁴⁵⁴ Nicholas Cook, 'Changing the musical object: approaches to performance analysis', *Music's Intellectual History: Founders, Followers and Fads*, ed., Zdravko Blazekovic (New York: RILM, 2013), 780.

conventional attitudes to recording (attempting to achieve ‘perfection’), I recorded stylistic experiments in short excerpts, extended passages, and complete movements to focus on the task of the creative process, performed faults and all.

5.3 Critical interpretation

To inform my critical interpretation of the selected concerti, my research is structured in four parts. I begin with a brief consideration of my views as a practitioner adopting principles of historically informed performance, followed by situating the concerto as a performance practice in British concert culture from 1880 to 1910, exploring theoretical aspects of expression in late nineteenth-century performance practice (ie tempo indications and vibrato) and examining specific performance aspects which are *tempi*, articulation, fingerings and portamento in both concerti.

5.3.1 Considerations of performed cultural norms and practical education

In his seminal study on the Early Music movement in Britain from 1953 to the present, Nick Wilson notes that 'there is a difference between what people say about historically informed performance and what they do in practice'.⁴⁵⁵ He quotes Joel Cohen's astute observation that 'early music practitioners often say one thing and do another; the ideology of the authentic performance is constantly at odds with the concrete problems of making old music heard now'.⁴⁵⁶ As a young performer, I have encountered the following problems when performing early music with both semi-professional and professional ensembles: repertoire performed from modern editions on period instruments and period instruments strung with strings inappropriate to the period of the performed programme. Perhaps this is related to training provision. It is no hyperbole to state that in Britain there is still a widespread lack of integrated training provision for historically informed performance (hereinafter referred to as HIP) tuition in day-to-day teaching at post-secondary music education institutions, with the exception of the Historical Performance departments at RAM, RCM, and the Guildhall School of Music and Drama in London.

⁴⁵⁵ Wilson, *The Art of Re-Enchantment*, 191.

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

As an early career professional violist, I need to critically consider the role of performed cultural norms instilled during my practical studies as a violist, and how this has affected my aesthetic disposition towards historically informing my performances and the subsequent development and use of expressive tools as part of my musicianship.

Prior to postgraduate studies, as a violist I associated compelling musical expression with the production of a distinct and beautiful tone. My practical education as a violist began at the age of fourteen, in the public school system of Ontario, Canada, which followed ten years of private violin tuition. During these formative years, concepts of musical expression pertained to following score specifications (principally dynamics, rhythm, articulation) and producing a good tone, the product of a warm, continuous vibrato and smoothly connected bows. I was not conscious of deliberately deviating from the notation in scores for the sake of being expressive. I do remember being highly aware of developing a beautiful tone and seeing this element of sound production as critical to my expressive toolkit as a young musician.

I was introduced to historically informed performance practices when I moved to England to pursue post-secondary music studies. Due to the limited availability of period-specific instruments and bows, I began to see my hands as highly expressive tools, and the means for developing the fundamentals of HIP practice. Musical expression is both theoretical and tactile, and I question how I can 'breathe' and 'sing' with my bow to suit various musical styles, a definite step away from the globalized acceptance of continuous vibrato as being a primary expressive feature in modern-day bowed-string instrument performance.

Today, as a professional musician and current participant on the Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment's Peter and Ann Law Talent Scheme, I regularly perform in both period and contemporary ensembles. Consequently, I am always aware of the balance between dogma and personal expression when approaching a score written before the mid-twentieth-century. In solo performances, I practice a synchronicity which embraces embodied historical style and artistic sensitivity. I value textual research as a means of expanding my knowledge about performance practices; however, I am wary of exclusive scholarship dependency, especially in performing virtuosic works such as a concerto. I agree with Wilson who believes 'the philosophy of art holds that authenticity requires the artist to be faithful to their "self," rather than

conforming to external values such as historical tradition'.⁴⁵⁷ However, I hasten to point out that for the young musician constraints are also found in the mainstream classical music industry, particularly educational practices and institutions. I believe there is no greater threat to a young practitioner's sense of artistic credibility and musicianship than autocratic teaching methods which inhibit experimentation.

5.4 Situating the concerto as a performance style in Britain (1880 to 1910)

There must be conception, and then you will win the day⁴⁵⁸

Contemporaneous to the viola concerti studied here, performance guides in periodical sources were growing in abundance as practical, education guides.⁴⁵⁹ In particular, concerti and concerto-playing were gaining popularity as topics of practical discussion in violin periodicals (as previously addressed in Chapter Four). The *Strad Library Series*,⁴⁶⁰ a set of books relating to performance concerns of the violin and cello, featured a number of entries on the concerns of solo-playing and concerto-playing. The thirteenth publication in the series⁴⁶¹ includes a chapter devoted to the subject of concerto-playing.⁴⁶² Author and violinist William Henley recommends the following summary⁴⁶³ for a successful concerto soloist (each of these considerations is as pertinent today as it was over a century ago):

1. A sound, solid and brilliant technique.
2. A graceful bow arm.
3. A big, broad, and sonorous tone.
4. A good, easy and striking attitude on the platform.
5. A neat and distinct and emphatic stroke.
6. Discriminate phrasing.
7. Conception and imagination.
8. A love of music generally.
9. Nerve and patience.

⁴⁵⁷ Wilson, *The Art of Re-enchantment*, 209.

⁴⁵⁸ Henley, *The Violin*, 69.

⁴⁵⁹ This tradition endures today as the *Masterclass* column in recent editions of *The Strad*.

⁴⁶⁰ This series was published as supplementary material to the parent periodical, *The Strad*. It included seventeen, individually published volumes (Vol. 1-17), between the years 1894-1915.

⁴⁶¹ Henley, *The Violin* (1905).

⁴⁶² *Ibid*, 69-83.

⁴⁶³ *Ibid*, 82-3.

10. Energy and firmness of purpose.
11. Taste.
12. Memory.
13. Common sense in selecting solos and concerti.
14. A violin of pure and penetrating tone.
15. A bow of a very elastic nature.
16. Animation and vigour.
17. The manners and air of a gentleman.
18. Knowledge of composition.
19. Accurate intonation.
20. Individuality.

The concerto was the predominant vehicle through which violin soloists made their name in England and on the continent (evidenced from the debuts of eminent violinists, such as August Wilhelmj with Joachim's *Hungarian Concerto*;⁴⁶⁴ Edmund Singer with Lipinski's *Military Concerto*;⁴⁶⁵ British violinist John Dunn with Vieuxtemps's Concerto in E Major).⁴⁶⁶ Consequently, in tandem with the growing music education sector (both at elementary school and conservatoire levels), an increase of published materials concerning solo-playing and concerto repertory in the ever-rising body of violin periodicals was to be expected. Publications including the *Violin Times*, the *Music Story Series*, and *The Strad*, featured regular columns by acclaimed soloists of the day,⁴⁶⁷ offering advice on technical matters pertaining to violin and cello literature, including concerti. These sources of technical discussion provide an unexplored foundation for a detailed survey of early twentieth-century bowed-string instrument technique, a work that would continue the narrative from where the respective texts of Clive Brown and David Milsom regarding Classical and Romantic performing practice⁴⁶⁸ left off.

Although a dichotomy between modern and traditional composition ideals was beginning to develop in Britain (predominantly influenced by continental trends in France and Germany), the popularity of the concerto in early twentieth-century British concert culture is undeniable. By 1910, concerti were an expected feature at

⁴⁶⁴ Alfred Ehrlich, *Celebrated Violinists Past and Present*. 2nd ed., ed. Robin Legge (London: E. Shore & Co, 1906), 41.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 197.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 258.

⁴⁶⁷ Two examples include: Arthur Broadly (cellist) for *The Violin Times* in 1907 and John Tiplady Carrodus (violinist) for *The Strad* in 1900.

⁴⁶⁸ Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performance Practice*, 2004.

symphonic concerts, festivals and solo music recitals, where chamber reductions of concerti were performed alongside sonatas and character pieces. The culmination of the concerto's popularity in Britain may be seen in the reception of Elgar's Violin Concerto in B minor Op.61. At the premiere of the work at the Queen's Hall on 10 November 1910, one critic described the concerto's reception as follows: 'Probably there has never been before at a Philharmonic concert such a scene of enthusiasm',⁴⁶⁹ and tickets to the subsequent performance of the concerto at a Philharmonic concert were reputed to be 'almost sold out, so great is the desire to hear the work'.⁴⁷⁰ The great, bowed-string instrumentalists who performed concerti in Britain (1880 to 1910) achieved critical success through commendable solo performances,⁴⁷¹ and it was the overall impression of the musician's artistry and interpretation of the performed concerto which affected audiences and critics alike. For example, Fritz Kreisler's performance of the Elgar concerto was 'universally highly praised',⁴⁷² a performance 'the great artist deeply felt and appreciated'.⁴⁷³ Hugo Becker's performance of Dohnányi's *Concertstück* Op.12 (1904) for cello and orchestra at the Queen's Hall was favourably reviewed because of a 'fascinating beauty of tone and executive finish'.⁴⁷⁴ John Dunn's performed excerpts from Paganini's Concerto No.1 in E flat Op.6 (1817/8) and Concerto No.2 in B minor Op.7 (1826) at the Midland Institute in Birmingham were described as 'remarkable performances'.⁴⁷⁵ Eugène Ysaÿe's performances of three concerti in one programme at the Queen's Hall, including Beethoven's Violin Concerto in D Major Op.61 (1806), were received more favourably by one critic owing to 'a beauty of tone, warmth of feeling and enthusiasm that went straight to the heart of the audience',⁴⁷⁶ whereas Jan Kubelik's interpretation of Tchaikovsky's Violin Concerto in D Major Op.35 (1878) two nights previously at the Queen's Hall, was reviewed less enthusiastically: 'a brilliant performance...somewhat dispassionately played'.⁴⁷⁷ As such, concerti were an

⁴⁶⁹ "The Philharmonic Society: Sir Edward Elgar's New Violin Concerto." *Musical Times* 51, no.814 (1910), 782.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁷¹ Notable examples include violists Emil Kreuz, Emile Féir and Lionel Tertis and violinists John Dunn, Marie Hall, Joseph Joachim, Fritz Kreisler, Jan Kubelik, Pablo Sarasate, and Eugène Ysaÿe.

⁴⁷² "The Philharmonic Society: Sir Edward Elgar's New Violin Concerto." *Musical Times* 51, no. 814 (1910), 781-2.

⁴⁷³ Ibid, 782.

⁴⁷⁴ "Queen's Hall Orchestra: Dohnányi's New Concertstück." *Musical Times* 48, 769 (1907), 180.

⁴⁷⁵ "Music in Birmingham." *Musical Times* 45, no.736 (1904), 401.

⁴⁷⁶ "Violin Recitals" *Musical Times* 51, no.813 (1910), 734.

⁴⁷⁷ "Violin Recitals" *Musical Times* 51, no.813 (1910), 733-4.

indispensable feature in a soloist's repertory, and the performance of a concerto acted as an indelible mark in defining a musician's artistry.

Although artistry, the highest standard of technical proficiency and sensitive musicianship, is needed in full measure for the evocative performance of violin or viola concerti, quality of tone is perhaps more crucial in the performance and subsequent success of a viola concerto. As is well established, the viola's timbre does not speak as readily as that of the violin, nor does the instrument possess the natural brilliance of the violin. A greater understanding of the right-hand culture is needed to achieve a tone that is both brilliant and masterful on the viola. However, a big tone is often mistaken as a good tone (by teachers and students alike) and vibrato is often used by modern-day practitioners in hopes of achieving a good tone. Brown remarks that 'the highly significant role which selective vibrato played in the thinking of nineteenth-century musicians has been overlooked by modern performers, and a whole level of expressiveness [is] lost'.⁴⁷⁸ Both the Kreuz and the Forsyth viola concerti were composed by practising violists with an excellent knowledge of the instrument's capacities. However, as necessary in performing any work, a brief look at each concerto's structure is needed for understanding the context in which the solo line functions.

5.5 An overview of the Kreuz and Forsyth concerti

5.5.1 Kreuz concerto

The Kreuz concerto is in three movements, embracing the predominant forms of Classic structure: sonata, song and rondo. This is a youthful work, apparent in Kreuz's attempts to vary these structures. The overall musical language of the first movement exemplifies extensive chromaticism, dense harmonies and searching tonal instability reminiscent of a Wagnerian opera. It is clear that Kreuz was also deeply influenced by Max Bruch's Violin Concerto in G minor Op.26 (1866), particularly the opening of Kreuz's first movement. The Bruch concerto begins with a brief, sombre orchestral prelude, soon joined in dialogue by the solo violin. Similarly, the Kreuz concerto does not open with an orchestral fanfare, rather with an ominous statement of the first theme by the double basses, joined in the eighteenth bar by the

⁴⁷⁸ Clive Brown, "Bowling Style, Vibrato, and Portamento in Nineteenth-century Playing," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 113, no.1, (1988), 97.

solo viola which restates the theme. Each concerto quickly moves on to a second subject after the establishment of the main key, G minor in the Bruch and C minor in the Kreuz. The second subject of the Kreuz concerto is a lyrical theme in the dominant, G major. One of the most arresting features of this movement regards Kreuz's treatment of the coda-cadenza relationship. In sonata form, the cadenza typically finds itself between the recapitulation and the coda. However, Kreuz disrupts this convention by treating the cadenza as a means of unparalleled ornamentation and virtuosity: Kreuz inserts two unmeasured cadenzas in the first movement (bars 115 and 243, respectively), the former functioning as part of the development and the latter acting in the more traditional role preceding the final coda. As such, the overall structure of this movement is large, and basic themes are stretched with copious modulations. The second and third movements are straightforward in form. The second movement marked *Larghetto* follows the expected song form, a *barcarole* in A flat major. The third movement exhibits the rondo form as a brilliant presto in C major.

5.5.2 Forsyth concerto

The Forsyth concerto is similarly structured in the predominant three-movement Classic form, including the expected sonata movement, the slower second movement based on song and the rondo form as a finale. The language of the work is unaffectedly classical, a simplicity which does not detract from the beautiful lyricism of the solo line. The novelty lies in both the opening of the first movement and the unusual treatment of the cadenza. The movement opens with a declamatory chord in the orchestra, interrupted by the solo viola who then leads the orchestra through a thirty-four bar prelude. The prelude is followed by the expected organization of the classical concerto form with an orchestral exposition of themes. The cadenza of the first movement (bar 180) functions as a virtuosic coda of the development section, and precedes the recapitulation of thematic material. The second and third movements are again quite simply structured. The second movement, introduced by a funereal march in the brass, is an elegy of rapturous beauty in G major, with impressionistic elements including static harmonies and shimmering interplays of timbre in the orchestration. The boisterous finale, a rondo, has two dramatic themes: the first is a bold militaristic statement in G minor followed by a lyrical subject in the relative major key of B flat major. After a brief cadenza-like section which sees the

viola and orchestra enter a theatrical modulating dialogue, the two themes are restated and the movement ends with a brilliant coda.

5.6 Theoretical considerations of early twentieth-century performance practice

The performance is contingent upon the work and the relationship between performer and work is in essence a craft relationship, where the interpreter attempts to solve the problems the work poses⁴⁷⁹

5.6.1 Introduction

In hopes of understanding the aesthetic ideals that stimulated composers and performers from early cultures, a conscientious performer is faced with stylistic dilemmas. A musical score provides notation, implicating relationships to performance practices. However, the musical text is not the only source of stylistic concern. I selected three categories of stylistic consideration to inform my critical interpretation of the works: organology, notated articulation, and implied expressive devices.

5.6.2 Organology and choice of instrument

Often, scholars of practice-based research write of historical performances practices in limited terms, focusing on theoretical aspects described in written sources. This textual dependency suggests a fundamental relationship between theory and informed performance. As such, I am unaware of a single practice-led study discussing historically-informed performance practice which considers the tool(s) responsible for producing the musical sound: the musical instrument. Surely organology is an avenue through which we may discover performance ideals from cultures temporally divorced from our own. As a practitioner, I find ‘playing around’ with an instrument an enlightening exercise which informs both my practice and my research method.

⁴⁷⁹ Max Paddison, *Adorno's Aesthetics*. (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1997), 196.

The Strad provides an unparalleled view into the market of bowed-string instruments at the turn of the twentieth century in Britain. Bulletins of instruments for sale, advertisements for instrument accessories and regular entries on the history of the violin family inform the reader that there was a lucrative and lively trade in violins. From its inception in 1889 through to the year 1910, the journal's pages boast a prosperous trade for purchasing and selling bowed stringed instruments in London, the most lucrative being old Italian-made instruments (including well-known Cremonese labels such as Amati and Stradivarius). Instruments advertised for sale were priced according to the instrument's inherent value: Old Italian instruments with fine tone were described as being suitable for soloists and sold for the highest price, reasonably conditioned but less expensive older instruments were billed as suitable for orchestral players, small instruments were described as suitable for ladies, and modern-made instruments were priced cheaply.⁴⁸⁰ In the pages of the May edition of *The Strad* (1904), an advertisement for Harry Dykes 'maker, repairer, expert and collector' lists five violas for sale (see Figure 5.1.), which are priced less expensively. Examining *The Strad*'s advertisements over an eleven-year period revealed that violas were in scarce supply compared to violins, with specimens predominantly made in Italy, France and England.

12.	An early specimen of the work of Nicolas Lupot	50	0
13.	Smooth-toned old Italian violin, by Giuseppe Rocca	50	0
14.	Dall'Aglio, Mantua, in excellent preservation	30	0
15.	Made by the brother of J. B. Vuillaume, flat pattern	30	0
16.	Carcassi, Florence, was recently put into good repair at Cologne	25	0
17.	Large-size French violin, by Maucotel, excellent workmanship	20	0
18.	Oil-varnished old French, Mirecourt make, Nicolas period	20	0
19.	Didier Nicolas, excellent orchestral instrument, large size	20	0
20.	Mayson, Manchester, a characteristic specimen of this well-known maker	15	0
21.	Old German, with excellent tone, suit a soloist of small means	15	0
22.	Excellent old French, dark colour, about 100 years old	10	0
23.	Very flat old Italian, with bird's-eye maple back	8	0
24.	Modern, by the well-known French maker, Mougnot	6	0
VIOLAS.			
25.	Italian, old, with smooth, quick-speaking tone	30	0
26.	Thompson Brothers, London, 1776, an exceptionally perfect specimen	15	0
27.	English, about 100 years old, rather small, would suit a lady	15	0
28.	English, flat model, powerful tone, in good repair	15	0
29.	Old English, full size, suitable for an orchestral player	10	0
30.	Excellent Modern, by Hawkes, London	7	10

Fig 5.1 An excerpt from an advertisement of violins and violas for sale (*The Strad* 15.169 (1904): 235)

Bearing in mind these trends, during the course of this study I consulted organologist and instrument dealer Benjamin Hebbert, and Barbara Meyer, curator of instruments at RAM. Each expert generously offered me several violas to try. I selected three instruments on which to practice the two viola concerti and other relevant satellite works. I performed on a British viola by John Betts (1800) from RAM's Beckett Collection, a British viola by Handel Pickard (1858) from Hebbert's studio collection and an Italian-made viola by Azzoli (1917) from a private owner. Of

⁴⁸⁰ "Advertisement." *The Strad* 15.169 (1904): 235.

the three instruments, I had an affinity for the Azzoli. This sixteen-inch viola had a bright, quick-speaking tone well-suited to solo repertoire; I was able to perform technically challenging passages on this viola with little difficulty. In contrast, the two English violas produced unsatisfactory tones: the Betts was a small instrument at fifteen ½ inches, which did not project sound in large spaces, and the Pickard, measuring sixteen ¼ inches, produced a wolfish, unbalanced tone in the lower registers. As I was booked to perform both concerti with orchestras, and to record samples with a Steinway Grand Piano (M model) for analysis, I needed an instrument that could speak above the orchestra and in dialogue with a modern piano. In light of these performance requirements, I chose the Azzoli for my live performances and my recorded excerpts.

There was less choice when considering viola bows and pianos. In general, viola bows made before the twentieth century are scarce and difficult to find. Luckily, the instrument collection at the Royal Academy of Music boasts one of the finest collections of viola bows in Britain, and I was able to try out a few bows. In the end, I chose to complement the Azzoli viola with an English bow – a William Hill and Sons model from 1885. Regarding pianos, my choice was restricted by the constraints of my selected recording environment: I chose to work with a professional engineer (Kit Veneables, Trinity Laban Conservatoire) and, for financial considerations, my duo partner, Irina Lyakhovskaya, and I selected a modern piano in the recording studio at the Trinity Laban Conservatoire, a Steinway M model.

Once I selected the viola and bow, there was the question of accessorizing the instrument to period style (ie stringing the instrument, and the use of a chin rest and/or shoulder support). Again, I turned to contemporary accounts to inform my choice. Written in 1883, William Honeyman's book *The Violin: How to Master It*⁴⁸¹ offers extensive advice about choosing instruments, accessorizing a violin according to need, and practical tips for developing technique. Honeyman lists three different types: gut-strings (ie the varieties Neapolitan, Roman, Verona, and Padua named after the city of manufacture), silk strings, and the recently invented American combination string – the steel string (a gut core wrapped in metal, such as silver).⁴⁸² These three string-types are advertised in *The Strad* throughout the period of study. Honeyman is opposed to the metallic twang of the steel string and believes 'the silver combination string is not suitable for solo-playing of the purest order, or for

⁴⁸¹ William Honeyman, *The Violin: How to Master It*. (Boston: Jean White, 1883).

⁴⁸² *Ibid*, 27.

orchestral of the higher kind...but for playing in a hot ball-room, for the rougher kinds of work'.⁴⁸³ However, as evidenced by advertisements in *The Strad* it is apparent that by the twentieth century combination strings were globally accepted, particularly on the lower two strings of violins and violas. Consequently, I experimented with gut, gut-core, synthetic-core and various combinations of these three types on my viola.

Considering my previously-stated performance requirements for the study (ie performing both concerti with modern symphony orchestras), I opted to string my viola with a complete set of silver-wrapped gut core viola strings by the brand Pirastro (the Pirastro Olive range). Although modern players often choose synthetic core strings, I noticed greater warmth in tone when performing on gut-core strings. Although I greatly enjoy performing on gut strings, I needed a more robust-sounded string that could cope with performing as a soloist in a modern, symphonic orchestra context.

Similar to the combination string, chin rests or 'fiddle-holders',⁴⁸⁴ grew in popularity during the late nineteenth century. Louis Spohr is credited with the invention of the chin rest in 1820,⁴⁸⁵ to facilitate greater freedom of movement in the left-hand. Robin Stowell posits that the chin rest was widely used by the mid nineteenth century. However, he notes that 'many leading players, among them Wilhelmj, evidently rejected utilising such equipment'.⁴⁸⁶ Writing on the topic, Honeyman offers his own personal design for a chin rest, but hastens to add 'I have never got [it] made or tested, as I do not use a holder myself'.⁴⁸⁷ Consulting *The Strad*, by the turn of the twentieth century, we see numerous advertisements for chin rests (see Figure 5.2), including the sale of affordable violin 'outfits', which include a violin, bow, case, chin rest, resin and tuner which suggests the holder had become mainstream even for student learners. It is less certain if shoulder rests or pads were widely used in Britain: none of the performance guide books written contemporaneous to this study mention shoulder rests; however, shoulder rests are advertised in *The Strad* from the twentieth century onwards (see Figure 5.2).

⁴⁸³ Ibid, 28.

⁴⁸⁴ Honeyman, *The Violin: How to Master It*, 33.

⁴⁸⁵ Walter Kolneder, *The Amadeus Book of the Violin: Construction, History, and Music* (Oregon: Amadeus Music, 2003), 44.

⁴⁸⁶ Stowell, *Cambridge Guide to the String Quartet*, 38.

⁴⁸⁷ Honeyman, *The Violin: How to Master It*, 34.

Accordingly, I chose to affix a standard, ebony chin rest to my viola, but decided against the use of a shoulder rest.

<p>LA TANCHE'S WORKS. To Professors—send for lists of CARL VOLTI and ANDRE LA TANCHE'S theoretical works. JOHN BLOCKLEY, 3, ARGYLL STREET, REGENT STREET, LONDON, W.</p> <p>VIOLIN OUTFITS (COMPLETE),</p> <p>VIOLIN BOW CASE STRINGS (set) CHIN REST RESIN TUNER</p> <p>FROM 13/-</p> <p>USUAL TERMS.</p> <p>JOSEPH WALLIS & SON, LTD., 133 & 135, EUSTON ROAD, LONDON. TELEGRAMS: FIDDLESTICK, LONDON.</p>	<p>BECKER'S PATENT COMBINATION</p>  <p>CHIN REST and SHOULDER PAD.</p> <p>The Acme of Perfection, Practical, Comfortable. Packed Securely. Sent Post Free in the United Kingdom. PRICE NET, 5s. 0d.</p> <p>REAL SILVER MOUNTED BOWS.</p>  <p>Price 18s. 0d.</p> <p>THE "ARTISTS" PERFECT VIOLIN BOW. Price £1 11s. 0d.</p> <p>Manufacturer of the "Zimmermann" Tested and Adjusted Violin Strings. Every String Guaranteed E, A, D, G, each. Sterling Silver G, 1s. 6d. each.</p> <p>JUL. HEINR. ZIMMERMANN 67, New Bond Street, London, W. LEIPZIG AND ST. PETERSBURG MOSCOW</p>
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Fig 5.2 Two advertisements of bowed-string instrument accessories for sale in 1904 (*The Strad* 15.169 (1904): 40 and 42, respectively)

5.6.3 Expressive devices

The following theoretical aspects of expressivity will be explored in this study: vibrato, gliding and tempo indications, in the context of British concert culture at the turn of the twentieth century. No prior study has attempted to question how practitioners in Britain wrote about or may have practically considered these aspects. David Milsom's research concerning contrasting performance styles of the Franco-Belgian and German schools of violin playing (1850 to 1900) provides the most thorough study on bowed-string instrument performance practice at the end of the nineteenth century but posits no theory on how these practices were adapted in other musical cultures, including Britain. However, considering London's cosmopolitan concert culture, the development of music education in schools and conservatoires, and the growing appreciation for bowed-string instrument performance, an investigation into native instrument treatises by eminent performers might prove worthwhile.

5.6.3.1 *Vibrato and the question of tone colour*

The idea of tone colour and its association with vibrato and virtuosity was a popular discourse for bowed-string instrumentalists at the turn of the twentieth century. Recent scholarship pays close attention to Louis Spohr's definition of vibrato⁴⁸⁸ and changing attitudes to vibrato during the nineteenth century and from the 1920s onwards.⁴⁸⁹ However, both the correlation between virtuosic playing and the use of vibrato as well as the attitudes of British musicians towards vibrato (contemporaneous to this study) have been largely overlooked. Perhaps one of the earliest references of vibrato and virtuosic playing appears in 1880, when French violinist Louis Alonso published a technical manual for the modern violin virtuoso,⁴⁹⁰ in which he states that vibrato is an important component in the modern virtuoso's arsenal.⁴⁹¹ He defines five types of vibrato including arm, bow, finger, sympathetic resonance (harmonics) and wrist vibrato. In his manual, Alonso neglects to exemplify how vibrato lends itself to virtuosity: however, it is evident in his listing of various forms of vibrato that it is the multifaceted nature of vibrato which may lend itself to virtuosic expression.

British practitioners and music critics were divided about the use of vibrato, and its relationship to good tone production. In 1905, British solo violinist William Henley associated tasteful vibrato with good phrasing and incessant, continuous vibrato as a sign of over-exaggeration,⁴⁹² therefore supporting earlier attitudes of vibrato's function as an ornamental device. At a performance of three violin concerti in 1904,⁴⁹³ Parisian-trained solo violinist Sergei Rivarde, an early proponent of continuous vibrato, is commended for spirited delivery. However, the critic makes the following observation: '[he] played with fine breadth and dramatic fervour, but with a little too long continued vibrato. M. Rivarde is inclined to over-sentimentalise his themes, not a sugary sentiment, however, but an excess of passion. His tone is full and noble, and would be more so if it were not always quivering with a rapid

⁴⁸⁸ See: Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750-1900*, 517-557; George Kennaway, *Playing the Cello, 1780-1930*. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 123-142.

⁴⁸⁹ Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice*, 521-535.

⁴⁹⁰ Luis Alonso, *Le Virtuose Moderne sur le Violon*. (Paris: Nicosais et Cie, 1880), 6.

⁴⁹¹ *Ibid.* It is important to note that Clive Brown makes mention of Alonso's manual (Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performance Practice, 1750-1900*, 536-7), however, it is in reference to the types of vibrato defined by Alonso, rather than Alonso association of vibrato and its association with 'modern virtuosity.'

⁴⁹² Henley, *Solo Playing, Soloists and Solos*, 33-39.

⁴⁹³ Performing three violin concerti at St. James's Hall in 1904,

vibrato'.⁴⁹⁴ Conversely, British violinist John Dunn notes in his treatise on violin playing that 'important among other features connected with tone and expression is the natural power to produce ordinary vibrato...it is a natural gift and should require no explanation'.⁴⁹⁵ He goes on to describe vibrato as 'the regular shaking of the hand corresponding with its free movement down or up the string'.⁴⁹⁶ In 1912, *The Strad* featured a full-length article on vibrato, written by cellist Emil Krall. Krall believes that 'vibrato forms a very important, if not indispensable, means for rendering the tone more impressive and sensuous'⁴⁹⁷ but he defines 'the real *Vibrato* - as an artistic device'.⁴⁹⁸ Regardless of differing opinions towards vibrato and its function, vibrato was clearly a performed feature in British concert culture.

Difference of opinion towards vibrato in British music culture may be traced back to notions of national schools of violin playing, specifically the Franco-Belgian and German schools. At the turn of the century, Britain's concert scene and leading music conservatoires boasted a roster of internationally-trained talent, the majority of who were taught in Belgium, France and Germany. For example, solo violinist August Wilhelmj (1845-1908), pupil of Ferdinand David at Leipzig, became head of the violin department of the Guildhall School of Music at London in 1894.⁴⁹⁹ Richard Gompertz, who taught violin and viola at the University of Cambridge and the RCM (c1883 to the 1920s), studied with Joachim in Germany.⁵⁰⁰ Solo violinist Emile Sauret (1852-1919) who taught at the Academy and TCM studied in Paris with Charles De Beriot. Maud MacCarthy (1882-1967), an Irish solo violinist who performed frequently in London, studied with Fernandez Arbos at the RCM (a former pupil of both Joachim and Henri Vieuxtemps). Emile Férir, solo violist and principal violist of the Queen's Hall Orchestra, studied with Vieuxtemps and Ysaÿe. This sample of violin professors and soloists working in London suggests diversity in principles and practices disseminated through teaching and public performances.

It is difficult to attempt an understanding of how the principles and practices of the Franco-Belgian and German schools may have manifested themselves in British concert culture at the turn of the century. In 1905, British composer and musician Alfred Moffat (1863-1950) translated three violin method books co-written

⁴⁹⁴ *London Daily News*. February 19, (1904), n. pagn.

⁴⁹⁵ John Dunn, *Violin Playing*. (London: E. Shore & Co, 1898), 63.

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 29.

⁴⁹⁷ Emil Krall, "Vibrato on the Violoncello," *The Strad*. May (1912), n. pagn.

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid*.

⁴⁹⁹ Bachmann, *An Encyclopaedia of the Violin*, 411.

⁵⁰⁰ *Ibid*, 379.

by Joachim and his former pupil, pedagogue Andreas Moser (1859-1925). Over the course of the three volumes, Moser explains the fundamental difference in aesthetic values between the schools as relating to basic singing qualities in bowed-string instrument playing:

It is of fundamental importance that the pupil's musical consciousness be steadily encouraged from the very first. He must be made to sing, sing, and sing again! Tartini has already said... "to play well you must sing well"⁵⁰¹

French and Belgian virtuosi, although possessed of an astonishing technique of the left-hand, have not only entirely forgotten that natural method of singing and phrasing which originated in the bel canto of the old Italians [...] but they even continue to repudiate it. Their bowing and tone production merely aim at the sensuous in sound⁵⁰²

As regards vibrato, Moser credits Spohr's observation that the violin shake should resemble the effect found in vocal technique. Moser clearly states vibrato's function as an effect: 'Next to portamento, the shake or vibrato is the most important means of expression of the left tone.'⁵⁰³ He subsequently lists four varieties of the expressive device, to be used sparingly:

1. Quick, for strong accentuated tones.
2. Slower, for broad tones of impassioned cantilena passages.
3. Slow at first and becoming quicker with increasing tone.
4. Quick at first and becoming slower with decreasing tone, and with very long notes.⁵⁰⁴

In Britain, native and foreign musicians who studied abroad with Joachim assumed more cautious attitudes towards vibrato: vibrato should be treated as an ornament; it is not seen as a component of 'good' tone. In Britain at the turn of the century, Joachim was still one of the most highly regarded solo violinists, and performance aesthetics which contrasted to the great violinist's style occasionally earned less than favourable reviews: '[Sergei] Rivarde is not a limited violinist. He

⁵⁰¹ Joseph Joachim and Andreas Moser, *Violinschule: Book 1*, trans. Alfred Moffat. (Berlin: N. Simrock, 1905), 6.

⁵⁰² Joseph Joachim and Andreas Moser, *Violinschule: Book 3*, trans. Alfred Moffat. (Berlin: N. Simrock), 32.

⁵⁰³ Siegfried Ebenhardt, *Violin Vibrato: Its mastery and artistic uses*. (New York: C. Fischer, 1911), 11.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid*, 12.

was brilliant in the Saint-Saens... [but] there is still too much reliance on the effect of the vibrato – a trick which is unworthy of an artist...he has a position of his own. It may not be side-by-side with a Joachim'.⁵⁰⁵ Renowned pedagogue and violinist Karl Courvoisier's 1908 manual, *The Technics of Violin Playing*, makes no mention of vibrato. Born in Germany, Courvoisier studied with Joachim (and Ferdinand David), before moving to England to perform and teach in London and Liverpool. The only reference made by Courvoisier which relates to earlier notions of vibrato is the author's definition of 'the shake' (synonymous with vibrato's use as a Classical ornamentation) which Courvoisier delineates as a trill.⁵⁰⁶ Joachim endorsed Courvoisier's treatise and described the work as 'the best way to arrive at a correct manner of playing the violin'.⁵⁰⁷ Leopold Auer, another pupil of Joachim and an advocate against continuous vibrato expressed his view that 'only the most sparing use of vibrato is desirable'.⁵⁰⁸

The treatises and writings of renowned British violinist and pedagogue Basil Althaus (1865-1910) prove highly interesting in the discourse of vibrato. A highly gifted practitioner and respected teacher, Althaus's seminal violin methods and his series of practical articles for *The Strad*, 'Selected Violin Solos and How to Play Them,' make no mention of vibrato, thereby suggesting a preference for 'a pure and unaffected style'⁵⁰⁹ as preferred by the German school of playing. Additionally, in concert reviews Althaus's playing style is described as having 'pure tone and good expression',⁵¹⁰ which suggests that Althaus may have been schooled in the German tradition, or at least appreciated its aesthetic values, and used vibrato sparingly in his performances. Or, perhaps Althaus (who went on to co-found and direct the London College of Violinists in 1890) did not see vibrato as a fundamental concern in developing violin technique and musicianship.

Practitioners schooled in the Germanic style began to change their attitudes towards the use of vibrato by the early twentieth-century. In 1911, Siegfried Eberhardt, Professor of Violin at the Stern Conservatory in Berlin, devoted an entire practical violin method book to the topic of vibrato. Eberhardt (1883-1960) studied

⁵⁰⁵ *London Daily News*, March 05 (1904), 8.

⁵⁰⁶ Eberhardt, *Violin Vibrato*, 34-5; 37, 39 and 86.

⁵⁰⁷ Karl Courvoisier, *The Technics of Violin-Playing*. (London: E. Shore & Co, 1908), Preface.

⁵⁰⁸ Leopold Auer, as quoted in Brown, *Bowing-styles, Vibrato and Portamento*, 111.

⁵⁰⁹ Joseph Joachim and Andreas Moser, *Violinschule: Book 3*, trans. Alfred Moffat. (Berlin: N. Simrock), 32.

⁵¹⁰ *The Era*, October 26 (1895), 17.

with Bernhard Dessau (1861-1923), a pupil of Joachim, and worked in Germany for his entire career. Eberhardt inextricably links vibrato with good tone:

Individuality of tone can arise only when the fingers of the left-hand are placed on the strings. These fingers vibrate. They vibrate differently. Difference in vibrato begets difference in tone⁵¹¹

German violinist and composer Albert Tottman (1837-1917), who studied and taught at the Leipzig Conservatory, noted in his 1911 'Booklet on the Violin' that although tone is dependent on the bowing, 'by mean of vibrato, the vibration of the string (the life of the tone) is increased and the tone made clearer'.⁵¹² In light of these changing views of vibrato by practitioners of the German school of violin-playing, it clear that by 1910 vibrato was increasingly associated as a component of good tone production. However, it is also evident that expressive properties of vibrato varied greatly during the period covered in this study.

Considering that the aesthetic ideals of vibrato were closely associated with pedagogical traditions, it would not be outlandish to suggest that vibrato be considered as a different aesthetic ideal when studying these two viola concerti. Based on the different pedagogical lineages of Emil Kreuz (pupil of Gompertz, who studied with Joachim) and Emile Férir (who studied with Eugène Ysaÿe), I decided to approach the two concerti as follows: vibrato would be used as a component of tone production in the Forsyth concerto, whereas beauty of tone would be more appropriately achieved with bowing in the Kreuz concerto.

5.6.3.2 *Portamento* or 'gliding'

British treatises discuss gliding as a popular expressive feature. As early as 1789, Charles Burney included mention of gliding in his *General History of Music* (1789): 'Beautiful expressions and effects are produced by great players shifting, suddenly from a low note to a high, with the same finger on the same string'.⁵¹³ However, by the end of the nineteenth century, the expressive glide was not without its fair share of criticism from music journalists⁵¹⁴ and practitioners. British cellist Arthur

⁵¹¹ Ebenhardt, *Violin Vibrato*, 13.

⁵¹² Albert Tottman, *Booklet on the Violin*, introduction.

⁵¹³ As quoted in Brown, C. *Classical and Romantic Performance Practice 1750-1900*, p. 560-1.

⁵¹⁴ One example: 'The exaggerated use of *portamento* was ill-suited to the dignity of Classical music' (*The Music Times*, January 01, 1898: 30.

Broadley remarked: ‘The subject of gliding, although referring more directly to phrasing, is so nearly connected with shifting and the choice of positions that one is insensibly led into its treatment...the phrasing should never be marred just because it is convenient or inconvenient to introduce that connecting link, or glide’.⁵¹⁵ He continues on to advise that to ‘conceal [the] bad effects which may be caused by the mechanical difficulties of his instrument, tak[e] the voice as an example, endeavour to interpret a composition in the same manner as would a good vocalist’.⁵¹⁶ Violinist John Dunn devotes an entire chapter to the subject of gliding in his treatise of violin playing: he begins by stating the fundamental rule of portamento, established by Ferdinand David: ‘allow the finger last used to glide from the note it stopped, and along the same string, to its natural place in the position in which the next note happens to be, taking care to stop this second note...almost before, rather than after the gliding finger has reached its position.’⁵¹⁷ Dunn here describes what Carl Flesch coined in 1939 as the L-portamento.⁵¹⁸ Dunn goes on to describe three tasteful uses of gliding which include basic shifting, expressive shifting, and achieving harmonics.⁵¹⁹ Dunn cautions against single finger shifts (or, B-portamento, as coined by Flesch):⁵²⁰ ‘Great care is here necessary to guard against the monotony of too lazily drawing this gliding with one and the same finger from one note to the other – the effect would be apt to remind the listener but too realistically of certain boot-jack episodes. Though many players do it, it is not the best taste to glide to a stopped note with the same finger which stops it’.⁵²¹ Dunn also hastens to add that “I do not for a moment insist, like some professors, that all gliding must be performed in strict accordance with the above limited rules’⁵²² because ‘here steps in the ingenuity of the player; and it is for the individuality of each violinist to decide for himself how he can with good effect escape the strictness of the rules’.⁵²³ British violinist William Henley notes that while ‘phrasing forms a rich varnish with which technical difficulties are washed, and the details adorned...there are soloists who exaggerate everything they perform, the overuse of portamento, incessant vibrato’.⁵²⁴ Joachim’s pupil Karl Courvoisier makes brief mention of portamento in *The Technics of Violin-Playing*, offering one brief hint – that the position of the thumb is vital to ‘an elegant

⁵¹⁵ Arthur Broadley, “Chats to cello Students.” *The Strad*. June (1898): 43.

⁵¹⁶ *Ibid*.

⁵¹⁷ Dunn, *Violin Playing*, 26.

⁵¹⁸ Carl Flesch, *The Art of Violin Playing*. (New York: Carl Fischer: 1939), 28.

⁵¹⁹ Dunn, *Violin Playing*, 26-9.

⁵²⁰ Flesch, *The Art of Violin Playing*, 28.

⁵²¹ Dunn, *Violin Playing*, 29.

⁵²² *Ibid*.

⁵²³ *Ibid*.

⁵²⁴ Henley, *Solo-Playing*, 88.

portamento (“audible glide”).⁵²⁵ Contrasted with vibrato, gliding or portamento was a less disputed expressive device amongst British practitioners.

5.6.3.3 *Tempo indications*

Musicologist Clive Brown explores the increasing variability of tempo terminology both with and without metronomic markings (c1750 to 1900), which prevailed from the eighteenth century onwards. Indeed, reviews of orchestral concerts contemporaneous to the study period reveal that tempo interpretations often varied from conductor to conductor. Brown suggests that unmarked tempo indications served ‘a dual purpose, to prescribe the appropriate mood or style and to designate the tempo’.⁵²⁶ Accounts contemporary to the Kreuz and Forsyth concerti express similar views. Under the entry ‘Tempo’, the third edition of Grove’s *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1900) stresses the importance of ‘tempo’ in defining the character of a piece, ‘the power of rightly judging tempo ...is therefore not the least among the qualifications of a conductor or soloist’,⁵²⁷ and ‘the period to which the music belongs must [be] taken into account in determining the exact tempo...the general character of the composition, especially as regards harmonic progression, exercises a decided influence on the tempo’.⁵²⁸ The entry includes further mention of the importance of expressive tempo indications: ‘The employment, as indications of speed, of words which in their strict sense refer merely to style and character (therefore only indirectly to tempo), has caused certain conventional meanings attached to them...’⁵²⁹ As neither the Kreuz nor the Forsyth concerto has any indication of metronome markings, the tempo terms used are most like indicators of character, and (as suggested by Brown) serve this dual purpose, therefore allowing greater interpretation to the solo artist and orchestra. Along with harmonic progression, contemporary music grammar (as sourced from music dictionaries of the day) also provides further guidance in decoding tempo terminology. However, inconsistent definitions compiled from various reference books present a lack of consensus. The original bowing markings (or those approved by the composer for the first printed edition) in the solo scores provide a more tangible idea as to the

⁵²⁵ Courvoisier, *Technics of Violin-Playing*, 31.

⁵²⁶ Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performance Practice*, 336.

⁵²⁷ F. Taylor, “Tempo.” ed. George Grove, *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan & Co.1900), 82.

⁵²⁸ *Ibid*, 82-5.

⁵²⁹ *Ibid*, 85.

composer's intended pace of each movement. For example, in the second movement of the Forsyth, *Andante un poco sostenuto*, the initial viola entry from the upbeat to Figure C features a regular one-bow per bar slur for the duration of the phrase (ending in bar 36). With one bow per bar, it is likely that *sostenuto* alludes to a restrained interpretation of the andante indication, the literal translation of which means 'going'. Two contemporary definitions of andante are as follows: 'in modern usage, a moderately slow movement between *adagio* and *allegretto*'⁵³⁰ and 'in Modern music this word is chiefly used to designate a rather slow rate of movement; formerly however it was used more generally in its literal sense'.⁵³¹ Together, these sources suggest that the opening pace of the movement should be tranquil but with a feel of one big beat to the bar, rather than four. The interpretation of tempo indications is imperative to the informed performance of each concerto.

In the next section, I illustrate my craft of preparing both concerti for performance, by including both reference to documents (contemporary to the composition of the concerti) and my own performance remarks (notes which I feel are necessary for preparing a concerto for performance with orchestra).

5.7 Kreuz Concerto for Viola and Orchestra Op.20 (1892)

5.7.1 Introduction

Preparing the Kreuz viola concerto for performance is a daunting task, starting from a veritable blank slate. The loss of the original and any subsequent orchestral scores deprives the researcher of vital information regarding the fully realised accompaniment, harmonies and orchestral timbres which inform the interpretation and colouring of the solo viola line. However, both Kreuz's handwritten manuscript of the piano reduction and the first print edition exist in the archives of the British Library. The articulation, phrasing, and bowing markings notated in both scores are identical. Additionally, the work never received a premiere or performance in full,⁵³² prior to this study. As such, no recorded materials exist to offer further enlightenment

⁵³⁰ Theodore Baker, *A Dictionary of Musical Terms*. (New York: G. Schirmer Inc., 1895), 14.

⁵³¹ Taylor, "Tempo.", 82.

⁵³² That is, until 01 November 2015. I orchestrated the piano score for string orchestra and performed the concerto (as solo violist) with the *I Maestri* orchestra of London, at the Holy Trinity Church (Prince Consort Road, London).

as to how the concerto may have been initially envisaged, or interpreted. As a consequence, the first print edition, a piano reduction for viola and piano,⁵³³ proves to be the closest we may come to realizing the composer's instructions. Fortunately, the first edition is replete with fingerings, and markings of expression, phrasing, and articulation identical to those in the manuscript. A comparison of the two scores and the lack of editorial credits suggest that Kreuz, highly accomplished as a violist, potentially included the fingerings himself. However, the chamber reduction of the concerto is awkwardly written for the piano, causing problems when attempting a performance of the concerto. Substantial performance excerpts (in place of a complete performance) of the Kreuz concerto will highlight key points made in the following detailed outline of my craft in preparing the two works.

5.7.2 Tempo indications

The first movement of the concerto, *Allegro ma molto moderato*, opens with a ponderous introduction by the lower voices of the orchestra (the solo viola score includes cues for bass, trombones and timpani, see Fig 5.3),⁵³⁴ insinuating a sombre character reminiscent of Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde* (1859). When the solo viola joins, one measure after rehearsal letter A (see Fig 5.3), it is important for the soloist

The image shows a page of a musical score for the solo viola part of Emil Kreuz's Concerto for Viola and Orchestra, Op. 20. The tempo is marked 'Allegro ma molto moderato'. The score includes cues for other instruments: 'Tutti Bassi.', 'Timp.', 'Tromb.', and 'Timp. Bassi.'. The music is in 2/4 time. The score features several dynamic markings: 'pp', 'p espress.', 'mf espress.', 'f', and 'poco f'. There are also performance instructions like 'cresc. molto' and 'G.P.'. The score includes rehearsal letter 'A' and various performance instructions like 'Solo.', 'mf espress.', 'f', and 'poco f'. The score includes rehearsal letter 'A' and various performance instructions like 'Solo.', 'mf espress.', 'f', and 'poco f'.

Fig 5.3 The solo viola's entrance (one measure after Figure A)

⁵³³ Emil Kreuz, Concerto for Viola and Orchestra Op. 20. (London: Augener and Co, 1892) No. 5571.

⁵³⁴ Kreuz, Concerto: 1.

to establish a tempo which not only embraces this initial grave and plaintive line, but will also complement the subsequent passage at rehearsal letter B which features challenging arpeggiated figures and double stops (see Fig 5.4) Kreuz indicates the opening tempo as *Allegro ma molto moderato*, with a further marking of *espressivo* on the viola's entry.



Fig 5.4 Solo viola passage featuring arpeggiated passagework and double stops

Accounts contemporaneous to this concerto's publication offer some insight into the tempo indication. Ebenezer Prout gives the literal definition of *allegro* as 'cheerful' in the Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1900). He writes that, 'in music [*allegro*] has the signification of 'lively' merely in the sense of quick'.⁵³⁵ Regarding common modifications of *allegro*, the closest example to Kreuz's tempo term is *allegro moderato* meaning 'somewhat slower'.⁵³⁶ Tom Wotton's *Dictionary of Foreign Musical Terms and Handbook of Orchestral Instruments* (1907) remarks that *allegro* 'perhaps covers a greater range of metronomic values than any other tempo indication...modified by the adjective or words associated with which it is associated'.⁵³⁷ Again, Kreuz's tempo indication is not included in Wotton's forty-six examples of modified *allegro tempi*, the closest pairings being: *allegro non ma troppo* ('fast, but not too much so') and *allegro moderato* ('moderately fast'). Baker's *Dictionary of Musical Terms* (1895) defines *allegro* as 'lively, brisk and rapid [,] used substantively to designate any rapid movement slower than *presto*',⁵³⁸ and none of the modified terms matches Kreuz's. Due to the abundance of expressive articulation markings in the solo viola score and the dense, Wagnerian-tinged harmonies in the piano reduction, a tempo perhaps defined as 'lively, but in moderation' (which allowed for both clarity of harmony and artistic intention) would serve the movement best.

The second movement is a *barcarole*, 'a *gondoliera* (song of the Venetian gondoliers) [or] a vocal or instrumental solo, or concerted piece, in imitation of the

⁵³⁵ Ebenezer Prout, "Allegro." ed., George Grove, *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1900), 54.

⁵³⁶ Ibid.

⁵³⁷ Wotton, *Dictionary of Foreign Musical Terms*, 12-3.

⁵³⁸ Baker, *A Dictionary of Musical Terms*, 12.

Venetian boat-songs, in 6/8 time'.⁵³⁹ With a continuously rolling accompaniment of semiquavers reminiscent of waves, Kreuz depicts a picturesque characterisation of the gondolier in this movement. In view of the simple harmonic framework from the opening of the movement until rehearsal letter C (see Fig 5.5), the tempo indication of *larghetto* should perhaps be interpreted in accordance with Buxton's definition which 'calls for a somewhat quicker movement, nearly equivalent to the *Andantino*'.⁵⁴⁰ A leisurely tempo will only draw attention to the movement's simplicity and detract from the overall character. Unlike the other two movements of Kreuz's viola concerto, the *barcarole* may be (and was) performed independently of the entire concerto. The success of the second movement resulted in a separate reprint by Augener's, the reference to its original context omitted from the title of this new edition.

The image shows a page of musical notation for the solo viola's entry in the second movement, *Barcarole*. The score is written for Violin I and Solo Viola. It features a 6/8 time signature and a key signature of one flat. The music is characterized by a continuous rolling accompaniment of semiquavers. The score includes various dynamics such as *pp*, *espress. mf*, *f*, *mf*, *mp dolce*, *cresc. poco a poco*, *poco f*, *con forza appassion.*, *p*, *pp*, *mf*, *mp e dolce*, and *f deciso*. It also includes tempo markings like *rit.*, *a tempo*, and *Più mosso.* Rehearsal letters A, B, and C are marked throughout the score.

Fig 5.5 The solo viola's entry for the second movement, *Barcarole*

The third movement, a *presto*, is a rollicking brisk movement in rondo form, the solo viola in constant conversation with the orchestra. Sparse accompaniment, a

⁵³⁹ Ibid, 23.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid, 111.

6/8 meter indication and the recurrent use of dotted articulations on quavers in the solo viola score designate a light flowing tempo. A contemporaneous account defines *presto* as both a movement and tempo indication most frequently concluding a composition.⁵⁴¹ As recommended by Wotton, the tempo should be ‘quick, nimble and prompt’⁵⁴² with a suggested metronomic range of 164-208.⁵⁴³ This approach might suit this movement best in passages of technical, rather than melodic display (such as rehearsal letter C to D, see Fig 5.6):

Fig 5.6 Example of a quick and highly technical passage (for the left hand), well-suited to a naturally bounced, détaché bow stroke (rehearsal letter C to D)

Regarding melodic passages in the *presto*, these singing lines (such as that at rehearsal letter O, see Fig 5.7) warrant a change in tempo: I decided to opt for a gently relaxed interpretation of *presto* for the viola’s sweeping melodic lines (particularly at rehearsal letter O, see Fig 5.7) otherwise the viola’s line becomes frenetic in character.

Fig 5.7 The passage from rehearsal letter O exemplifies a lyrical passage in the solo viola score (from the *presto* movement)

⁵⁴¹ Ibid, 157.

⁵⁴² Wotton, *A Dictionary of Foreign Musical Terms*, 155.

⁵⁴³ Ralph Dunstan, *A Cyclopaedic Dictionary of Music*. (London: J. Curwen & Sons, 1919), 271.

5.7.3 *Dynamic markings*

Kreuz frequently peppers the solo line and piano accompaniment with a wide range of dynamic markings. By the end of the nineteenth century, the universal use of the modern bow combined with the gradual shift towards a combination set of strings for viola would allow the soloist to achieve a more graduated palette of colours through dynamics. However, the interpretation of these expressive devices is greatly hindered by the lack of the original orchestra score. Orchestral voicings are often the composer's clearest intention of both character and volume. This places a greater importance on texts contemporaneous to the concerto's publication to interpret these expressive indicators. In each of the concerto's movements, Kreuz employs a range of dynamics which includes *pp*, *p*, *mp*, *mf*, *f*, *ff*, *fz*, and *con forza*, accompanied by the usual modifiers *poco*, *poco a poco*, and *espress*, as well as gradating dynamic indications, *crescendo* and *decrescendo*. In contrast to changing attitudes towards the use of vibrato and portamento, reference texts contemporaneous to the two concerti reveal little has changed in how we as practitioners currently define dynamic markings (see Table A.7 on page 179 in the appendix). A survey of these definitions (and, in the case of Grove's dictionaries, cited examples of dynamics in large-scale symphonic works) suggests that dynamics were considered and interpreted as finely nuanced levels of volume designated to enhance both the character of a musical passage and subtleties in orchestration. The abundance of dynamic directives and modifiers in Kreuz's score suggests the following: Kreuz places great importance on characterisation in solo viola writing, and dynamics are carefully utilised to clarify voicings in what is a technically challenging and densely-written chamber reduction.

5.7.4 *Kreuz's fingerings and implied uses of portamento*

The highly virtuosic writing for the solo viola in the first movement exemplifies one of two concerns. The left-hand culture must be supple and well-accustomed to a wide compass on the fingerboard; otherwise any expression from the bow will be diminished. Secondly, tasteful characterisation is vital to deliver a convincing performance. Frequent changes of key coupled with dramatic transformations in character, from the dense undertones of a Wagnerian opera (a character manifested in the opening theme, see Fig 5.3, and further on, in the piano accompaniment at rehearsal letter C, see Fig 5.8) to the lighter singing style of a salon song reflected in

both the accompaniment and the solo lines (see rehearsal letter D in Fig 5.8) could result in an overly-sentimental interpretation.

The image shows a page of a musical score with two systems of staves. The first system, labeled 'C', consists of a grand staff (piano) and a solo viola staff. The piano part features dense, chromatic textures with dynamic markings of *f*, *cresc.*, *ff*, *f*, and *ff*. The solo viola part is marked *ff* and *dim.*. The second system, labeled 'D', shows the piano accompaniment with dynamics *dim.*, *mf*, *dim.*, and *p*. The solo viola part enters with a new melody, marked *espressivo*, *mf*, and *p*. The score includes various performance instructions such as *rit.*, *mp*, and *mp cresc. poco a poco*. The page number 9603 and 'Augener's Edition' are visible at the bottom.

Fig 5.8 Dramatic change of character: from the undertones of Wagnerian chromaticism and the suggestion of dense orchestration from rehearsal letter C (in the piano accompaniment), the solo viola enters at rehearsal letter D with a contrasting, lyrical, salon-style melody (typical of the Victorian music hall)

The soloist might naturally interpret the composer's frequent indication of *espressivo* (throughout the first movement of the solo viola score) with the application of

vibrato. However, bearing in mind Kreuz's pedagogical lineage, it is most likely that Kreuz would have employed vibrato as an occasional expressive device, thus the performer should use vibrato sparingly and as a colouring of timbre, reserved for notes of longer duration. For additional expressive quality, attention should be paid to the fingerings Kreuz includes in the solo viola score. For instance, the viola's initial entrance is notated with a detailed fingering (see Fig 5.3). Expressive rather than functional, the suggested fingerings highlight the different timbral aspects of the respective strings used in this passage, reinforcing the plaintive quality of the viola's

The image displays a musical score excerpt for Viola Solo and Tutti Violins. The score is written in G major and 4/4 time. It consists of seven staves. The first staff is for the Viola Solo, starting with a *mp* dynamic and a *f* dynamic. The second staff is for the Tutti Violins, starting with a *p cresc.* dynamic and a *mf* dynamic. The third and fourth staves are for the Viola Solo, with *mf* dynamics. The fifth staff is for the Tutti Violins, starting with a *mp* dynamic and a *f* dynamic. The sixth staff is for the Tutti Violins, starting with a *poco f* dynamic and a *mf* dynamic. The seventh staff is for the Tutti Violins, starting with a *p* dynamic and a *poco f* dynamic, ending with a *ritard.* marking. The score includes various fingerings, slurs, and dynamic markings throughout.

Fig 5.9 Kreuz's detailed fingerings in both melodic and highly technical passages (between rehearsal letter O and the movement's first cadenza, as seen on the last stave of the score excerpt)

Fig 5.3, bars 18 to 9), breaking into the more brilliant sound of the A string on the last crochet of bar 19, and peaking to a *forte* marking on the first beat of the subsequent bar. Although the fingerings in this brief passage may seem excessive or 'busy' compared to modern fingering techniques, the variation of timbre achieved with Kreuz's active fingering pattern provides an expressive quality without the need for continuous vibrato. Audio examples 1_01 to 1_04 (tracks 1 to 4) demonstrate this passage in a series of interpretative stages. Audio example 1_01 illustrates Kreuz's

fingerings in practice. Audio example 1_02 demonstrates my imitation of Kreuz's expressive notation. Audio example 1_03 portrays my fingerings and expressive intentions (noted prior to critical interpretation). Audio example 1_04 demonstrates my performative interpretation in a greater context.

In general, the movement is replete with fingerings, including both cadenzas which are fully notated. Audio examples 2_01 to 2_04 (tracks 5 to 7) illustrate my methodological approach in determining an informed fingering in the recapitulation of the movement's salon-style theme. Audio example 2_01 (track 5) offers Kreuz's original fingerings. Audio example 2_02 demonstrates my instinctive fingerings. Audio example 2_03 illustrates an informed amalgamation of Kreuz's suggested fingerings and my better judgement as a performer. Audio example 2_04 illustrates my informed interpretation in context with piano accompaniment. The composer's fingered indications may suggest that he was particularly concerned with timbral colouring, or that he offered the markings as guidance for aspiring violists navigating the challenging passages. Both melodic (such as the four bars preceding rehearsal letter O in Fig 5.9) and highly technical passages (including the passage of

The image shows a musical score for the Barcarole, consisting of three staves. The first staff is marked 'Solo.' and 'espress. mf' with a 'pp' dynamic marking. It features a series of chromatic triplets and semi-quavers. The second staff is marked 'mp dolce' and 'cresc. poco a poco', leading to 'poco f' and 'con forza appassion.'. The third staff is marked 'rit. a tempo' and 'P', with a 'pp' dynamic marking. The score includes various fingerings (1, 2, 3, 1-2, 2-3, 1-2-3) and slurs. A rehearsal letter 'A' is marked at the beginning of the second staff.

Fig 5.10 The use of portamento in the *Barcarole* (for example, see the first three measures of the first stave)

rising and descending chromatic triplets and semi-quavers between rehearsal letter O and P, as well as the start of the second cadenza following rehearsal letter P, see Fig 5.9) illustrate detailed finger patterns.

As previously stated, the fingerings from the manuscript are identical to those in the first printed edition. Interestingly, the notated fingerings of the second movement are highly elaborate, suggesting the desire for an expressive effect rather than a functional purpose. The viola's entry (three bars before rehearsal letter A) until the end of the phrase (see Fig 5.10) illustrates examples of this usage.

In contrast to the preceding movements, the fingerings are mostly functional in the final *rondo* movement. It is evident that Kreuz, as a performer, had a commendable left-hand reach due to the use of the fourth finger in his suggested fingerings: the fourth finger is regularly employed in quick passages featuring intervals of extended fourths, octaves and ascending and descending chromatic scales. Employing the fourth finger in these instances provides a facility which would allow for quicker, mechanical execution in the left-hand, if the fourth finger is strong enough. Regarding the latter application of fourth fingerings, Courvoisier notes that the use of the fourth finger was one of two common fingering patterns for chromatic passages: ‘in the *chromatic scale*, each finger in succession must shift by a semitone, except either the first or the fourth finger. Some people prefer shifting with the fourth finger, because the first is thereby enabled to keep the hand steady’.⁵⁴⁴ The business of the left-hand in extended chromatic passages needs to be complemented by the execution of a precise bow stroke: absolute coordination will allow the passage to sparkle.

The first theme of the *rondo* (as seen in the viola’s entry, from rehearsal letter A to B illustrated in Fig 5.11) recurs three times during this movement without modulation or variation in notated fingerings (see Fig 5.12 for an illustration of this repetition, between rehearsal letter R and S). Dynamic variation is Kreuz’s only modification to the repeated thematic material (see Figs 5.11 and 5.12). I would suggest that different fingerings which experiment with various registers and timbres might offer a greater degree of interest. For example, the violist’s entry at rehearsal letter R (see Fig 5.12) might feature the passage as *sul C*, a dark, richer texture which would complement the dynamic contrast (*crescendo* to *forte*) noted five measures before rehearsal letter S. Audio examples 5_01 to 5_03 (tracks 14 to 16) illustrate three sets of fingerings and the tonal variation achieved. Audio example 5_01 illustrates Kreuz’s notated fingerings. Audio examples 5_02 and 5_03 offer two sets of my informed, alternative fingerings. The following two audio examples (ie 5_04 and 5_05) present my findings and interpretations of the movement’s principal theme in context. Audio example 5_04 illustrates the opening statement of the theme, from the beginning of the movement until Figure F and audio example 5_05 illustrates a repetition of the theme, at rehearsal letter R).

⁵⁴⁴ Courvoisier, *The Technics of Violin Playing*. 71.

Fig 5.11 The solo viola's initial theme in the *presto* movement (which reoccurs three times throughout the rondo structure of the concerto's third movement)

Fig 5.12 A reiteration of the solo viola's initial theme (rehearsal letter R to S)

5.7.5 Articulation

5.7.5.1 Introduction

Three articulation markings feature predominantly in the first movement: the tenuto, the slur and the singular dot (ie staccato). Each articulation will be discussed individually.

5.7.5.2 Tenuto

Kreuz employs the tenuto marking quite frequently in melodic passages, usually under a single slur. Brown suggests this was a commonly used accent marking in nineteenth-century string writing, although the symbol was loosely interpreted by German, French and English scores, method books and translations.⁵⁴⁵ In the operatic scores of Wagner, for example, the sign indicated a gentle vibrato for vocal lines and for instrumentalists 'very sustained and held...not merely slurred, a true portamento'.⁵⁴⁶ However, Brown notes that the same marking in the scores of late nineteenth-century composers 'had the function of indicating the slightest degree of separation and/or the slightest degree of expressive weight',⁵⁴⁷ which is akin to current-day definitions of *tenuto*. The function of the *tenuto* in Kreuz's score should be considered in relation to the note value on which the symbol is placed. For

⁵⁴⁵ Brown. *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice*, 130-131.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid, 131.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid, 132.

example in the viola entrance in measure 18, rather than placing a *tenuto* on either note in the expressive *piante* (falling minor second) on beats 3 and 4, Kreuz assigns a *tenuto* marking to the two preceding (and less emotively interesting) pitches. Rather than highlight these marked pitches with vibrato, it is more likely that Kreuz desired an expressive effect whereby the *tenuto* facilitates directional phrasing.

5.7.5.3 Slur and staccato

The use of both the slur and staccato articulations appears to be quite straightforward. Slurs in Kreuz's score are generally used within the context of a single bar, rather than overreaching multiple measures (which would signify notions of phrasing), indicating their purpose as a *legato* articulation marking, smoothly connecting one note to the next. Although suggestions of bow distribution are not included (understandably) in the soloist's score, there is a striking similarity to be made between Kreuz's concerto and his method books for the viola. The use of the single measure slur is the most recurrent bowing in the concerto's first movement (see Fig 5.13 for an example) and Kreuz employs this articulation marking throughout his method books (in particular his second book of selected studies) with bow distribution indications (see Fig 5.14). From Kreuz's basic primers for viola, the composer stipulates 'W.B.' (ie whole bow) for the bowing pattern, as evidenced in Figure 5.14. Using the whole bow for this legato marking in the concerto allows for a rounded and more singing tone, especially if a greater velocity of bow speed is applied to notes of shorter value under the slur marking (for example, crochets marked with *tenuto* as seen in Fig 5.13).



Fig 5.13 Kreuz's use of legato articulation



Fig 5.14 Two examples of single measure, legato articulation markings in Kreuz's *Progressive Studies* Book II (études 12, and 19, respectively), noted as needing 'W.B.' (ie whole bow) per bar

Regarding staccato markings on detached notes, musical context should dictate the brevity of the bow stroke. For example, the passage of detached triplets following rehearsal letter T (see Fig 5.15) should be played with a slightly brushed stroke to add enough depth to achieve the indicated *con forza* and subsequent *forte* markings, and to be heard above the accompanying orchestra. A horizontal rather than a vertical stroke will also enhance the lower *tessitura* of the passage: starting on the C string, the notes require more breadth in the stroke to resonate adequately.

Fig 5.15 Passage from the third movement illustrating discrete staccato markings

Passages that feature long slurred patterns should be addressed as examples of phrasing markings (with the exception of the aforementioned lyrical passage at rehearsal letter O, as seen in Fig 5.7). Precision in the right-hand culture will allow each note to sound properly (the use of bow needs to be small and precise); a careless and uneven bow stroke will result in the disappearance of some notes. Lyrical passages at quicker tempi (see again Fig 5.7) must be initially practised at a slower tempo, to ensure that the weight of the bow compliments the relevant register, or string. Too often in performance the lower registers of the viola are lost against an orchestral accompaniment when the bow technique does not properly draw the sound out. This was evidently a concern of Kreuz's: he suggests open strings more frequently in this *presto* movement. The natural resonance of an open string would offer the soloist some respite in achieving good sound production and allow for a continuity of tone to achieve good phrasing.

5.8 Forsyth Viola Concerto in G minor (1903)

5.8.1 Introduction

In contrast to the Kreuz concerto, printed orchestral parts for the Forsyth concerto are readily available for hire from Schott Music, which, in some ways, offers the soloist an unparalleled experience in devising the initial course of interpretation.⁵⁴⁸ However, a handwritten manuscript of the concerto as a whole, or in the form of a piano reduction, has not been located during my studies and is therefore presumed lost. As such, questions regarding Forsyth's originally intended articulation and phrasing markings remain unanswered. It should be observed that the phrasing and articulation markings of the first print edition of the piano reduction (Schott & Co., London, 1904) compared to those in the recent printed reissue of the piano reduction by the same publisher (since renamed Schott Music) in 2005, are identical. No early recordings of the concerto exist; however, the Hyperion Record label released a recording of the concerto in May 2005, featuring violist Lawrence Power and the BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra in performance.⁵⁴⁹ Regarding the soloist's interpretation, Lawrence Power's strong performance style and warm tone flush with continuous vibrato illustrate a modern interpretation of this work. It is my belief that a historically-informed performance perspective offers a wider palette of tone colour and variety (particularly in lyrical passages) and a greater understanding of the musical characters epitomized in each movement. Without the inclusion of numerous fingerings in the first print edition of the concerto, it is all too simple for today's violist to perform the concerto without the subtleties which may have been put into practice c1903. Although the availability of the orchestral score offers a crucial perspective in interpreting the solo viola line, my craft process for informing my interpretation of the Forsyth concerto is similar to that of the Kreuz concerto (as illustrated in Chapter Five's verbal masterclass): accounts and texts printed contemporaneously to the concerto will be consulted to inform the performer's perspective in performing this work.

As evidenced in Chapter Two of this thesis, the viola's compass was significantly extended during the thirty-year period of this study. The Forsyth

⁵⁴⁸ I performed the Forsyth concerto with the University of York Symphony Orchestra on 29 November 2014 at the Sir Jack Lyons Concert Hall in York, England.

⁵⁴⁹ Cecil Forsyth, Concerto in G minor for Viola and Orchestra. BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra/Lawrence Power. Cond. Martyn Brabbins. CD, Hyperion CDA67546 (2005).

concerto fully exemplifies the need for an extended compass, especially in the high registers demanded in the lyrical melodies from the second movement, *Andante un poco sostenuto* (for example, between rehearsal letter G and H, see Fig 5.16) and in the lengthy double-stop passages found throughout the opening and development of the third movement, *Allegro con fuoco* (for example from rehearsal letter C to D, see Fig 5.16).

The image shows a musical score for the second movement of the Forsyth viola concerto, specifically the section between rehearsal letters G and H. The score is written in treble clef with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#). It consists of four staves of music. The first staff begins with rehearsal letter G and is marked *sempre più appassionato*. The second staff is marked *a tempo* and includes dynamic markings *molto cresc.* and *molto marc. rit.*. The third staff is marked *sempre string.*. The fourth staff begins with rehearsal letter H, marked *Ossia.* and *Tempo I°*, and includes the marking *rit. molto*. The score ends with rehearsal letter I and a double bar line with the number 13 below it.

Fig 5.16 Lyrical passage from the second movement of the Forsyth viola concerto, between rehearsal letter G and H

The image shows a musical score for the third movement of the Forsyth viola concerto, specifically the section between rehearsal letters C and D. The score is written in treble clef with a key signature of two flats (Bb and Eb). It consists of three staves of music. The first staff begins with rehearsal letter C and is marked *Pochettino meno mosso.*. The second staff continues the music. The third staff begins with rehearsal letter D and is marked *molto ritmico*. The score ends with a double bar line and the number 13 below it.

Fig 5.17 Example of extended double-stop passage from the third movement of the Forsyth viola concerto

Great technical demand is made of the violist throughout the concerto. The left hand is offered little respite and a deft right-hand culture must firmly sound extensive double-stop passages (such as in the third movement, see Fig 5.17) as easily as navigating light, semi-quaver passages (an example includes the excerpt from rehearsal letter S in the first movement, *Allegro con spirito*, see Fig 5.18).

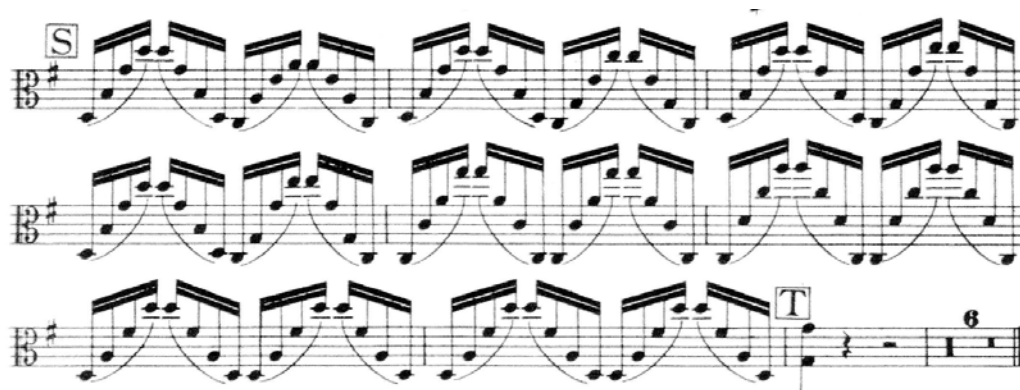


Fig 5.18 A supple left-hand culture and a deft bow hand is needed to play quick, semi-quaver passages with good tone quality, such as at rehearsal letter S in the first movement

Many of the articulation, phrasing, and tempo considerations in this concerto are similar to those in the Kreuz concerti. The likelihood of drastic changes in performance practices between the two concerti (1892 and 1902, respectively) seems improbable, with the exception of the use of vibrato (as expressed earlier in this chapter). My use of critically informed interpretation of articulation markings is similar to that adopted for the performance of the Kreuz concerto. However, unlike the Kreuz concerto, the Forsyth is a predominantly lyrical work with complementary part writing (both with regards to the orchestral score and to the piano reduction, the latter being arranged by composer and pianist John Ireland in 1904). For the purpose of this thesis, the Forsyth concerto is recorded in its entirety to fully illustrate my informed interpretation of the work. Where I have altered my attitude towards articulation, phrasing and tempo, these differences are listed below.

5.8.2 *Tempo*

The concerto opens with a tempestuous introduction (an homage to the opening of the Bruch first violin concerto of 1866), which alternates between multiple expressive tempo indications: *appassionato*, *lento*, *dolce*, *ad lib*, and *moderato allargando*. Rather than attempting to prescribe a metronomic marking for each tempo indication, it is clear that the introduction should be felt with a *tempo rubato* which highlights the contrast between militaristic rhythms and the lyrical, quasi-recitative relationship between soloist and orchestra. The initial theme (from rehearsal letter D through to F, see Fig 5.19) which follows, is noted as an *allegro con spirito*: a tempo which allows the melodic line (replete with triplets, suggestive of a traditional maypole dance) to

flow and yet does not rush through the triplets. This tempo allowance brings the folk-like character of the theme to life. The simple harmonic accompaniment in the orchestra does not provide much competition for the soloist in this section, allowing for flexibility in both tempo and expression.

The image shows a musical score for solo viola in 4/4 time, key of B-flat major. It consists of four staves. The first staff begins with rehearsal letter D and includes tempo markings 'Con moto, Agitato' and 'Allegro con spirito'. It features a triplet of eighth notes and a 'con forza' marking. The second staff continues the melody. The third staff is marked with rehearsal letter E. The fourth staff ends with rehearsal letter F and a final measure marked '7'. The score includes various articulations like slurs and accents, and dynamic markings like 'pp'.

Fig 5.19 The folk-like theme in the solo viola line, from rehearsal letter D through to rehearsal letter F

The exposition leads to a docile second subject theme, a simple ‘salon’ style romance (beginning eight bars preceding Figure G, see Fig 5.20), which bears no indication of a tempo change. However, Forsyth’s delicate and shimmering orchestration (flutes and selected woodwinds) supports the delicate lyricism of the viola melody and calls for a change in character. My complementary study and performance of British musical novelties written for viola⁵⁵⁰ contemporaneous to the study period reveals that an expressive tempo indication such as *andante tranquillo* or *allegro moderato* would have most likely been associated with this style of writing.

The image shows a musical score for solo viola in 4/4 time, key of B-flat major. It consists of two staves. The first staff begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic marking. The second staff is marked with rehearsal letter G and includes a triplet of eighth notes. The score includes various articulations like slurs and accents.

Fig 5.20 Excerpt of thematic material from the solo viola score, reminiscent of a salon-style melody evocative of the era (beginning 8 bars prior to rehearsal letter G)

⁵⁵⁰ Ebenezer Prout, *Romance for viola and piano*. (London: Augener Editions, 1900); William Wolstenholme, *Romance for viola and piano*. (London: Novello, 1900); Cecil Forsyth, *Chanson Celtique*. (London: Schott & Co., 1907).

Passages in the Forsyth concerto which clearly exude a salon style character (examples of which occur in all three movements) reveal a greater sonority and lyricism when performed at a relaxed tempo by the soloist (a small modification compared to the implied tempo directives which precede all instances of salon-style themes in this movement). In the first movement, as the languid rhythms of the salon transform into 'Scottish snap' rhythms at rehearsal letter K, a militaristic feeling begins and I advise picking up the tempo to address articulated staccato markings on the 'snap' of all dotted rhythms. The following cadenza (fully notated by Forsyth) is without tempo indication and here it is imperative that the different styles of writing are expressed by a *tempo rubato* feel. The close of the cadenza sees the violist joined by the full orchestra in a sequential recapitulation of the first two themes of the concerto, to which previous remarks regarding tempo interpretations may be similarly applied.

The final movement is a brilliant, rhythmic venture, simply structured in sonata-rondo form. The most arresting feature of this finale is the contrast in rhythmic material which demands great flexibility of the soloist. The solo viola's material relies quite heavily on the double-dotted rhythm of the Scottish snap, which must be achieved in highly demanding, extensive double- and triple-stopped passages. In stark contrast, the second theme portrays a singing, salon-style melody recalling the first movement. Following a brief development, we arrive at a virtuosic moment featuring rising double-stopped passages, which may be interpreted as the concerto's second cadenza. Following a recapitulation of both the first and second subjects, Forsyth hurtles the soloist, orchestra and audience into a swift coda which culminates in a brilliant finish.

The third movement combines elements of both the first and second movements (the inclusion of lyrical salon-style melodies, the use of the Scottish snap rhythm, and the contrast between lyrical and rhythmic writing). Considerations of articulation, dynamic expression, tempo and phrasing indications in this movement have been previously discussed in detail. The primary concern in this movement is to allow the soloist's line to remain as melodic as possible, even in extended double-stopped passages. The coda of the movement from Figure R should be executed with special attention paid to the coordination of left and right hand cultures: the vivacity and tessitura of the passage demand careful attention, otherwise the final brilliant statement of the viola line will be lost in the textures of the orchestral

accompaniment. Audio example 8_01 (Track 23) illustrates my informed interpretation of the third movement, in full context.

5.8.4 *Dynamic markings*

I believe that the aforementioned discussion on dynamic expressions and markings considered in my interpretation of the Kreuz concerto may be applied to the Forsyth concerto. Audio example 6_01 (track 19) illustrates my informed interpretation of the first movement, *Appassionato – allegro con spirito*, in full context.

5.8.5 *Articulation*

Forsyth's focus on lyrical writing for the solo viola in the first movement (regardless of the technical requirements demanded of the soloist) stresses the importance of long phrases needed to achieve the melodic lines, represented by the frequent inclusions of the slur articulation in the score. With relatively few other articulations marked in the solo line, the importance of the slur is apparent and dually functional: Forsyth employs the slur both within the context of one bar (an indication of articulation – smooth bowing connections between intervals, as seen throughout the cadenza) and extending beyond the metric confines of a single measure (indicative of phrasing rather than articulation: a long melodic line is desired such as at rehearsal letter Q, see Fig 5.21). As previously mentioned in the account detailing my craft process for informing my performance of the Kreuz concerto, subtle differences in the slur's function in late Romantic performance practice offer vocal-like qualities to bowed-string instrument music. This quality may be expressed in any passage featuring a continuous slur notation: pair Forsyth's dynamic expressions with the careful use of bow speed (rather than continuous vibrato) to accommodate longer phrases. The result produces an ethereal timbre on the viola, contributing not only to the attainment of lyrical expression but also to a complete change of character.



Fig 5.21 The use of the long slur articulation to imply extended, phrasing shapes (from rehearsal letter Q)

In contrast to the first movement of the concerto, Forsyth is less reserved in his use of articulation markings in the second movement. Moments of emphasis indicated in passionate passages are articulated with a series of accents. For example, each note in the six bars leading to rehearsal letter H is articulated with an accent (please refer to previous score excerpt, Fig 5.16). Although the temperament of the music is passionate at this point, the accents may also be a signpost to the soloist: the fully orchestrated accompaniment could possibly overshadow the soloist's efforts if the soloist does not employ clarity in the bow stroke. A martelé stroke which will project the sound to the back of the concert hall would be a wise and informed choice.

5.9 Performative interpretation: An analysis of recorded extracts

5.9.1 Introduction

For the purpose of this thesis, I recorded three types of examples: practical illustrations (brief, recordings featuring solo viola, which highlight an expressive device or technique in detail), performance extracts (short extracts from the chamber reduction of the concerto's score for viola-piano duo which illustrate my critical interpretation of the passage), and complete movements (full movements recorded by viola-piano duo, illustrating my informed interpretation of the work in a single, unedited performance). For my analysis, I will be examining the recorded performance extracts and complete movements for each concerto.

5.9.2 *Kreuz Concerto*

5.9.2.1 *Movement one: Performance excerpt 1_04*

My acquired knowledge of late nineteenth-century performance practice manifests itself in the use of expressive features (including portamento), articulation and fidelity to Kreuz's fingerings. The juxtaposition of the concerto's short introduction, paired with its ominous character, requires a great deal of characterisation to be achieved in the first eighteen bars of the soloist's entry, before the music transitions into the second theme. However, going against my original intention to use vibrato sparingly as an expressive device, in the heat of the moment, I colour my expressive phrasing greatly with vibrato and articulation. I use two types of vibrato as described in the Joachim-Moser violin method book in this passage: a quick, consistent finger oscillation and a slower vibrato that becomes quicker with an increasing dynamic, the latter of which Moser describes as being appropriate. The tempo, in hindsight, feels too slow as if I am concerned about an imitative result.⁵⁵¹ Illustration A.8 (see appendix, page 180) illustrates my choice of fingerings.

5.9.2.2 *Movement one: Performance excerpts 2_04 and 3_01*

In audio example 2_04 (track 8), the recapitulation of the movement's second theme, second cadenza and transition in the final coda), I adopt a wider vibrato for the lyricism of the second theme, purported by Moser to be appropriate for use in cantilena passages. I also deviate from Kreuz's fingerings, and use both B- and L-portamenti to add expression to the solo line. Once again, in concert performance I would perform this passage at a more flowing speed. Illustration A.9 (see pages 181 to 182 in the appendix) exemplifies notated analysis of my performed fingerings and use of expressive devices in this extended passage (track 8). In contrast, performed excerpt 3_01 (track 9) demonstrates the second theme, when it is initially introduced at rehearsal letter D. As this is the iteration of the second theme, I adhere to Kreuz's fingerings throughout the passage. Kreuz's fingerings employ the L-portamento device freely, which in practice sounds overtly expressive to my ear.

⁵⁵¹ It should be noted that when I performed this concerto with the *I Maestri* orchestra of London, the opening tempo was far more flowing, perhaps an indication that live performance allows the artists to forget about the constraints of adhering to critical interpretation.

5.9.2.3 Movement two: Performance excerpt 4_04

As heard in the complete recording of the *Barcarole* (audio example 4_04, track 13) and as seen in my notated score of the movement (see Illustration A.10 on pages 183 to 184 in the appendix), the greatest deviations from Kreuz's notation include the modification of a few fingerings and the omission of select dynamic markings. I utilise all of Kreuz's articulation markings, and to address his marking *espressivo*, I contrast steeply between smooth slurs, the *parlando* tenuto markings and the sharp accentuations at the pinnacle of rehearsal letter E. Similar to the first movement, I enhance my bow articulation with a few, select fingerings (which I believe enhance variety of tone colour) and two contrasting types of vibrato, the quick, consistent finger oscillation and the slower vibrato that becomes quicker with an increase in dynamic.

5.9.2.4 Movement three: Performance excerpts 5_04 and 5_05

These two performance excerpts from the concerto's final movement illustrate two approaches to fingering the first and second themes. Although Kreuz does not offer alternative fingerings when he restates the boisterous initial theme (see Fig 5.22), I instinctively made adjustments as I performed for added contrast (see Fig 5.23). I use vibrato and portamento most sparingly in this movement, a conscious effort to comply with Kreuz's omission of *espressivo* markings from the score and also to reflect the folk-like nature of the movement, calling for greater simplicity.

The image shows a musical score excerpt for a concerto's final movement. It consists of three systems of music, each with a treble and bass staff. The first system is marked 'Solo.' and 'mf', with dynamics changing to 'f' and 'dim.'. The second system is marked 'Tutti' and 'f', with dynamics changing to 'dim.' and 'f'. The third system is marked 'Solo.' and 'f sempre marc.', with dynamics changing to 'fz' and 'fz'. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, accents, and dynamic markings.

Fig 5.22 Score excerpt to accompany recorded extract 5_04 (track 17) illustrating Kreuz's fingerings which I employed for the introduction of the initial theme

Fig 5.23 Analysis of audio example 5_05 (track 18) which demonstrates my application of alternative fingers for the reiteration of the initial theme in the third movement

5.9.3 Forsyth concerto

Analysis of the Forsyth concerto will focus on performance decisions taken in light of larger recorded samples. I recorded complete movements of the concerti and as a result, the process of recording the concerto felt more natural. As I performed, I was less conscious of illustrating critical interpretations and was more focused on music-making, singing my line with my duo partner.

5.9.3.1 Temporal considerations

My choice of tempi is reflective of those I would choose in a live performance. I do not hear my performance as attempting to be imitative of early twentieth-century performance practices. I am also far more liberal with my use of *tempo rubato*, signifying a level of comfort in performing the work as a complete structure.

5.9.3.2 Expressive devices

Unlike Kreuz, Forsyth is not dogmatic about fingerings in the solo line. As such, I attempted to notate my solo with shifts and *tessitura* choices which I believed would highlight vocal aspects of phrases and contribute to notions of expressive playing in early twentieth-century performance practice (see Illustrations A.11 and A.12, respectively on pages 185 and 186 in the appendix, for relevant examples from the

first and second movements). Although I had marked in a few instances of *L-portamento* in my score, I am glad to hear that I instinctively added a few more examples and omitted a few pencilled suggestions, which harks back to John Dunn's advice that gliding should be used first and foremost in an expressive and not prescriptive manner. Vibrato, too, although it is the most liberally used left-hand expressive device in my interpretation of the concerto, is used in an expressive manner, and not as a consistent component of my tone production. This is most clearly heard in the second movement: I apply my two contrasting varieties of vibrato as a mean of highlighting vocal passages, important melodic notes, or the apex of a phrase.

5.9.3.3 Articulation

In general, Forsyth's use of bowings and articulation is indicative of the underlying harmonic shape of the score. Particularly in the third movement, when the lyrical salon-style theme appears and is restated, I interpret Forsyth's sweeping lines as a means of denoting long, vocal lines. Although I do change a few of these bowings to accentuate expressive devices I employ in the left-hand, I attempt to capture the composer's intention. Again, in contrast to the Kreuz concerto, Forsyth uses fewer articulation markings in the solo viola line. In light of this, I make more adjustments to bowings in the Forsyth, and my phrasing sounds performative, rather than imitative.

5.10 Chapter summary

It is hoped that the aforementioned case study investigating the craft process of preparing these two concerti for performance with orchestra, as well as the critical and performative implications in my recorded examples of the Kreuz Concerto for Viola and Orchestra Op.20 (1892), and the Forsyth Viola Concerto in G minor (1903) reflects a growing change in the field of performance research.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

The aim of my study has been to investigate the socio-cultural role of the viola and viola practitioners in England (1880 to 1910), and to explore the creative process of adopting HIP practices to inform my recordings of repertoire relevant to the period of study. Previous chapters drew brief, individual summaries. Therefore, in this final chapter I will survey broader themes which link the different strands of my research together. I will also highlight notable omissions and extrapolate directions for further research.

In light of my original research, an investigation of prosopographical minutiae, it is evident that the viola's role and function in British musical society underwent great change during the period 1880 to 1910. At a time when British concert culture blossomed and the public cultivated an appreciation for the violin and solo performance, the viola's status in concert culture evolved from that of a mere doubling-instrument to a noteworthy and virtuosic solo instrument showcased at the Proms concerts. Important foundations were laid for the instrument's legacy during this time, including the growing body of published repertoire composed for the instrument (by native and foreign composers alike) and the development of a professional violist's career. By examining the wider social and cultural context of the viola's transformative period, a collective social history of the viola reveals how broader concerns or developments in British musical society (for example the need for a reformed training academy for young musicians, the persistent presence of xenophobia towards the average working foreign musician and the developing fever for the fiddle) shaped and determined the instrument's fate and subsequent historical representation.

The second, practice-led component to this thesis resulted in a detailed account of my craft process in preparing two viola concerti (ie Emil Kreuz's Concerto for Viola and Orchestra Op 20 (1892) and Cecil Forsyth's Viola Concerto in G minor (1903)), as well as an analysis of my performative interpretations as they differed from critical interpretations. These highlight the advantages of enlightening a modern performance with a historically-informed perspective. As a means of enhancing the performer's interpretation of the score (and not as an attempt to

reconstruct a historical performance), the recorded materials hopefully illustrate such a balance. Recorded extracts exemplify selected steps (ie determining fingerings, phrasing and articulation markings) in my process leading to an informed interpretation demonstrated in live takes of substantial extracts or complete movements of the two concerti, integral works in the viola's repertory which deserve greater attention. It is hoped that the practical commentary and recorded demonstrations included in this thesis offer those parties interested in viola performance a new perspective on what it means to interpret and perform a virtuosic concerto for the viola, or indeed any composition written for the viola around the turn of the twentieth-century.

By surveying and studying a broad scope of archival materials and scores published contemporaneously to the two viola concerti, strands of performance-led and musicological research reveal the complexity involved in broadening perspectives regarding the viola's social history. Brief, incomplete or nonexistence materials (biographical details and records in particular) relating to the persons responsible for promoting the instrument (for example George Augener, Emile Férir, Cecil Forsyth, Richard Gompertz, Alfred Hobday, Emil Kreuz, Simon Speelman, Henry Waldo Warner and Siegfried Wertheim to name a few examples) hinders a fully-realized survey. The attempt to draw together all available materials pertaining to the viola in a systematic fashion reveals as much about the viola as it does about the context in which the instrument evolved.

I devised this study with the aim of stimulating further research into the instrument's history (both in Britain and abroad) and the broad repertory that exists for the instrument (a veritable treasure trove for both scholars and performers). With the practical component of my research, by example, I aim to advocate the importance of performance-based studies in music academia. It is my belief that further study will eradicate derogatory terminology relating to the instrument from mainstream concert culture. The multiple strands of research carried out in this study reveal that the viola's transformation was not the product of luck, nor the result of a single individual's efforts: rather, the viola's legacy in Britain was established through the collective efforts and hopes of practitioners, educators, composers, conductors and music publishers who all valued the middle fiddle and believed in the instrument's potential as a unique, musical voice.

Appendix

Oversized tables for chapters two, three and four; oversized illustrations for chapter five

Chapter Two

Table A.1 First study, bowed-string instrument students of RCM (1883 to 1905)

Scholastic Year	Instrument				Total Number of Paying Students
	Viola	Violin	Cello	Double Bass	
1883-4	0	18	3	0	42
1884-5	0	16	0	0	145
1885-6	0	22	0	0	N/A
1886-7	1	25	2	0	N/A
1887-8	1	24	3	0	N/A
1888-9	2	30	3	0	N/A
1889-90	n/a	N/A	N/A	N/A	216
1890-1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1891-2	3	73	3	0	256
1892-3	1	66	3	0	249
1893-4	1	60	2	0	245
1894-5	0	52	7	0	251
1895-6	0	60	6	0	261
1896-7	0	55	8	0	286
1897-8	0	80	8	0	308
1898-9	0	88	8	0	303
1899-1900	0	86	9	0	315
1900-1	0	92	0	0	330
1901-2	0	105	17	0	341
1902-3	0	93	23	0	325
1903-4	0	94	21	0	339
1904-5	1	86	15	0	343

Note: The total number of paying students (exclusive of the RCM Junior Dept, which began in the year 1897 to 8). All sums have been calculated from the RCM's annual student lists and balance sheets.⁵⁵²

⁵⁵² *Royal College of Music Annual Reports*. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1884-1905).

Chapter Two

Table A.2 Professors of viola at London conservatoires (1883 to 1903)

Year	Institution and Professor(s) of Viola		
	RCM	TCM	RAM
1883-4	Alfred Gibson	None. Only violin.	Richard Blagrove
1884-5	Alfred Gibson/Richard Gompertz (vln/vla)	As before.	R. B.
1885-6	R. Gompertz (vln/vla)	As before.	R. B.
1886-7	R. G. (vln/vla)	As before.	R. B.
1887-8	R. G.(vln/vla)	As before.	R. B.
1888-9	R. G.(vln/vla)	As before.	R. B.
1889-90	R. G.(vln/vla)	As before.	R. B./Alfred Burnett
1890-1	R. Gompertz(vln/vla); A. Burnett (vln/vla)	As before.	R. B./A. B.
1891-2	R. G.(vln/vla); A. B. (vln/vla)	As before.	A. Burnett
1892-3	R. G.(vln/vla); A. B. (vln/vla)	As before.	A. B.
1893-4	R. G.(vln/vla); A. B. (vln/vla)	As before.	A. Burnett/ Arthur Walenn
1894-5	R. G.(vln/vla); A. B. (vln/vla)	L. Szczepanowski (vln/vla)	A. B./ A. W.
1895-6	R. Gompertz (vln/vla)	L. S. (vln/vla)	A. Burnett
1896-7	R. G. (vln/vla)	L. S. (vln/vla)	A. B.
1897-8	R. G. (vln/vla)	L. S. (vln/vla)	A. B.
1898-9	R. G. (vln/vla)	L. S. (vln/vla)	A. B.
1899-1900	Arthur C. Bent (vln/vla)	L. S. (vln/vla))	A. B.
1900-1	A.C. B. (vln/vla)	L. S. (vln/vla)	A. Burnett/Lionel Tertis
1901-2	A.C. B. (vln/vla)	L. S. (vln/vla)	A. B./L. T.
1902-3	A.C. B. (vln/vla)	L. S. (vln/vla)	A. B./L. T.
1903-4	A.C. B. (vln/vla)	L. S. (vln/vla)	A. B./L. T.

Chapter Two

Table A.3 Published methods and studies for the viola (1895)⁵⁵³

Composer	Title	Publisher/ Edition Number
Level: Beginner (Step 1) ⁵⁵⁴		
Bruni, A.	<i>Tenor Method</i>	Augener & Co/7659
Laubach, A.	<i>Practical School</i>	A & Co/7654
Lütgen, H.	<i>Tenor Method</i>	A & Co/9669
Sitt, H.	<i>Tenor School</i>	N/A
Hermann, F.	<i>The study of the Viola</i> Book 1. 20 Introductory Exercises with explanatory remarks. Book 2. 24 Easy Exercises (1 st position) with an ad lib. Part for 2 nd viola. Book 3. 12 Easy Exercises (1 st to 3 rd position) with pianoforte accompaniment ad lib.	A & Co/7652c
Level: Beginner/Progressive (Steps 1-2)		
Kreuz, E.	<i>Progressive Studies for the Viola. 3 Bks.</i>	N/A
Level: Intermediate (Step 3)		
Hoffmeister, F.	<i>Viola Studies</i>	N/A
Bruni, A.	<i>25 Studies, from the Tenor Method</i>	A & Co/7659a
Level: Advanced (Step 4)		
Campagnoli (Kreuz, E. ed.)	<i>41 Caprices Op.22</i>	A & Co/7651

⁵⁵³ Carl Schroeder, *Catechism of Violin Playing*. 2nd ed. Ed., and trans., James Matthews (London: Augener and Co., 1900), appendix (n. pagin).

⁵⁵⁴ Matthews orders the method and tutor books by 'steps', defining four levels of technical ability.

Chapter Two

Table A.4 Available instruction books for viola players in Britain (1880 to 1910)

Author	Title	Publisher	Date of Publ.
Type of Instruction Book: Methods/Tutors			
Marsh, J.	<i>Instructions and Progressive Lessons for the Tenor.</i>	Augener's Edition	1881
Firket, L.	<i>Practical Method for the Viola</i> (Corder, tr.).	Schott & Co.	1884
Lütgen, H.	<i>Practical and Progressive method, intended for both beginners and more advanced players.</i>	Aug. Ed.	1887
Laubach, A.	<i>Practical School for the Viola.</i>	Aug. Ed.	1890
Bruni, A.	<i>Tenor Method.</i>	Aug. Ed.	1894
Hermann, F.	<i>The Study of the Viola:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Book 1: 20 Introductory Exercises with explanatory remarks. • Book 2: 24 Easy Exercises (1st position) • Book 3: 12 Easy Exercises (1st to 3rd pos.) 	Aug. Ed.	1895
Schroeder, C.	<i>Handbook of Viola and Violin Playing</i> (ed. J. Matthews).	Aug. Ed.	c1895
Sitt, H.	<i>Tenor School.</i>	Aug. Ed.	1895
Langey, O.	<i>Practical Tutor for the Viola.</i>	Hawkes and Son.	1900
Tours, B.	<i>The Viola</i> (Music Primers & Educational Series).	Novello & Co.	1903
Althaus, B.	<i>The Standard Viola Tutor.</i>	F.W. Chanot and Sons	c1904
Type of Instruction Book: Studies			
Kreuz, E.	<i>Progressive Studies for the Viola, Op.40</i> (Books 1-3)	Aug. Ed.	1894
Bruni	<i>25 Studies</i> (from the tenor method)	Aug. Ed.	1895
Campagnoli	<i>41 Caprices Op.22</i> (ed. Kreuz)	Aug. Ed.	1895
Hoffmeister, F.	<i>Études for Tenor Solo in 2 Books.</i>	Aug. Ed.	1895
Kayser, H.	<i>Thirty-Six Studies Op.43</i>	Cranz & Co.	c1904
Kayser, H.	<i>Kayser's Studies Op. 55</i> (transcription from the violin studies, arr. N/A)	Cranz & Co.	c1904
Merk, J.	<i>14 Studies Op.11</i>	Breitkopf & Haertel	c1904
Pagels, L.	<i>Orchestral Studies Book 1</i>	Breit. & Haertel	c1904
Pagels, L.	<i>'Twenty-Four Caprices by Rode'</i> (transc.)	Cranz & Co.	c1904
Type of Instruction Book: Progressive Pieces			
Kreuz, E.	<i>The Violist</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Book 1: 12 simple and progressive pieces beginning with open strings. • Book 2: Easy Pieces in C. • Book 3: 20 Progressive Melodies in first positions • Book 4: 25 Pieces in progressive order. • Book 5: 3 Easy Sketches in the first three positions. 	Aug. Ed.	1895
Type of Instruction Book: Scales and Arpeggios			
Kreuz, E.	<i>Scales and Arpeggios.</i> Book 1: Through one and two octaves. Book 2: Through two and three octaves.	Aug. Ed.	c1904

Chapter Four

Table A.5 Solo performances by professional British violists (1900 to 1910)

Date	Location	Artist(s)	Repertoire
1897 to 1904	London: Royal Albert Hall	Emile Férir (vla); et al.	Varied. Performances include 49 appearances in a solo capacity at the London Proms. These performances do not include concerto appearances.
25 May 1900	London: Queen's Hall.	Alfred Hobday (vla); Coleridge Taylor (cond.) and the QHO	Berlioz: <i>Harold in Italy</i> Op.16 (1834).
30 June 1900	Blackburn:(venue: N/A)	T.M. Abbott (vla/vln); W. Wolstenholme (pno/organ) et al.	Wolstenholme: <i>Allegretto</i> (1900); Wolstenholme: <i>Romanza</i> (1900)
13 November 1900	London: St. James' Hall.	Hobday (vla); Ethel Sharpe (pno) et al.	Joachim: <i>Variations</i> for viola and piano.
19 December 1900	Taunton: Municipal Hall	Férir (vla); et al.	Vieuxtemps: <i>Élegie</i> Op.30
17 October 1903	Manchester: Free Trade Hall. Note: Orchestral concert	Simon Speelman (vla); Hans Richter (conductor) and the Hallé Orchestra.	Berlioz: <i>Harold in Italy</i> Op.16 (1834).
26 November 1903	Manchester: (venue: N/A)	Speelman (vla, guest artist) et al.	Kreuz : <i>Barcarolle</i> (1892)
30 January 1904	Cheetham: Town Hall	Hobday (vla); Cheltenham Phil. Society	Berlioz: <i>Harold in Italy</i> Op.16 (1834).
22 October 1904	Birmingham: Midland Institute	Abbott (vla); with pno (N/A).	Advertisement: repertoire unknown.
24 November 1904	Manchester: Free Trade Hall	Speelman (vla); Hallé Orchestra.	Cowen: <i>Rhapsody Indienne</i> , with viola solo.
23 February 1905	Manchester: (venue N/A).	Speelman (vla); R.J. Forbes (pno) et al.	Rubenstein: Sonata for Viola and Piano Op. 49; Vieuxtemps: <i>Barcarolle</i> ; Speelman: <i>Romance</i> (encore).
28 February 1905	Manchester: Burlington House	Speelman (vla); Marie Millar (pno).	N/A: 'Music has been promised by Miss Millar and Prof. Simon Speelman'. ⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid.

(Table A.5 continued)

Date	Location	Artist(s)	Repertoire
19 May 1905	London: Aeolian Hall	Lionel Tertis (vla); York Bowen (piano).	Bowen: Sonata in C minor for Viola and Piano Op. 18; McEwen: <i>Nocturne</i> in D flat and four other compositions (titles N/A).
13 May 1905	Birmingham: Midland Institute	Abbott (vla); and pno (N/A).	Hermann: Suite for solo violin; Vieuxtemps: <i>Élegie</i> Op.30; Kreuz: <i>Barcarolle</i> from the viola concerto; Mozart: Duos for violin and viola K423-424
12 February 1906	London: Bechstein Hall	Hobday (vla); Camilla Landi (vocalist) et al.	Brahms: Two Songs Op.91 for Voice, Viola and Pianoforte.
02 March 1906	Manchester: Assembly Rooms.	W.R.T. Rankin (vla) et al.	Elgar : <i>Chanson de Nuit</i> arr. for viola and piano.
26 November 1906	York: (venue N/A)	Tertis (vla); Kruse Quartet.	Wolstenholme: <i>Allegretto</i> (1900); Wolstenholme: <i>Romanza</i> (1900)
27 January 1907	Preston: The Guildhall. Note: variety concert.	Speelman (vla); Miss Amy Mayor (pno) et al.	Advertisement: no particulars listed.
28 March 1908	Manchester: Free Trade Hall.	Speelman (vla/vln); John Nichols (vln) et al.	Bach: Double Concerto in D minor for Two Violins and an unnamed 'viola solo'.
16 November 1907	Manchester: (venue N/A)	Speelman (vla); Forbes (pno) et al.	Brahms: Sonata in E flat major Op. 120 No.1; Brahms: Sonata in F minor Op. 120 No.2; Schuman: <i>Märchenbilder</i> Op. 113.
27 November 1907	Manchester: Assembly Rooms.	Speelman (vln/vla); Edward Isaacs (pno) et al.	Dvorak: <i>Two Romantic Pieces</i> .
26 October 1908	Manchester: Athenaeum Hall.	Speelman (vla); Forbes (pno) et al.	Viola solo (title N/A)
13 November 1908	London: Queen's Hall.	Speelman (vla); Hans Richter (conductor); Hallé Orchestra.	Berlioz: <i>Harold in Italy</i> Op.16 (1834).
24 November 1908	London: Royal Albert Hall.	Hobday; Hans Richter (cond.) and the LSO	Berlioz: <i>Harold in Italy</i> Op.16 (1834).

Chapter Four

Table A.6 A concise survey of the Edwardian viola concerti

Title	Concerto for Viola and Orchestra (1901)	Viola Concerto in G minor (1903)	Concerto in C minor for Viola and Orchestra (1907)
Composer	Sir John Blackwood McEwen (1868-1948)	Cecil Forsyth (1870-1941)	York Bowen (1884-1961)
Affiliated Institution	Royal Academy of Music, London.	Royal College of Music, London.	Royal Academy of Music, London.
Solo Violist	Lionel Tertis	Emile F��rir (dedicatee)	Lionel Tertis (dedicatee)
Premi��re(s)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 24 May 1901 RAM (viola/piano reduction) • Premi��re with orchestra: 11 November 1901 (Bournemouth Municipal Orchestra) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 12 September 1903 (Proms 19, London) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 12 March 1908: RAM Invitation Concert (vla/pno reduction) • 26 March 1908 (Philharmonic Society Concerts)
Movements	<p>I. <i>Allegro moderato</i></p> <p>II. <i>Allegretto grazioso</i></p> <p>III. <i>Allegro con brio</i></p>	<p>I. <i>Appassionato-moderato</i></p> <p>II. <i>Andante un poco sostenuto</i></p> <p>III. <i>Allegro con fuoco</i></p>	<p>I. <i>Allegro assai</i></p> <p>II. <i>Andante cantabile</i></p> <p>III. <i>Allegro scherzo</i></p>
Duration	Performances: 2 Duration: 30 mins.	Performances: 2 Duration: 25 mins.	Performances: 1 Duration: 36 mins.
Orchestration	<p>Flute</p> <p>Piccolo</p> <p>Oboe</p> <p>2 Clarinets in B flat</p> <p>2 Bassoons</p> <p>4 Horns in F</p> <p>2 Trumpets</p> <p>2 Tenor Trombones</p> <p>Bass Trombone</p> <p>Tuba</p> <p>Timpani</p> <p>Percussion (1 player)</p> <p>Strings</p>	<p>2 Flutes</p> <p>Oboe</p> <p>English Horn</p> <p>2 Clarinets in B flat</p> <p>2 Bassoons</p> <p>4 Horns in F</p> <p>2 Trumpets in F</p> <p>3 Trombones</p> <p>Tuba</p> <p>Timpani</p> <p>Percussion (cymbal)</p> <p>Strings</p>	<p>3 Flutes</p> <p>Piccolo (doubled by 3rd flute)</p> <p>2 Oboe</p> <p>2 Clarinets in B flat</p> <p>2 Bassoons</p> <p>4 Horns in F</p> <p>2 Trumpets in B flat</p> <p>2 Tenor Trombones</p> <p>Bass Trombone</p> <p>Tuba</p> <p>Timpani</p> <p>Percussion (1 player)</p> <p>Harp</p> <p>Strings</p>

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Table A.7 Dynamic markings found in Kreuz's Concerto for Viola and Orchestra Op.20 and concurrent definitions

Dynamic	Reference Text		
	A Dictionary of Foreign Musical Terms and Handbook of Orchestral Instruments (1907)	A Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 1450-1889 (1895/1900)	A Dictionary of Musical Terms (1895)
<i>pp</i>	'superlative of <i>piano</i> , soft' ⁵⁵⁶	'very softly' ⁵⁵⁷	'very soft' ⁵⁵⁸
<i>p</i>	'soft' ⁵⁵⁹	'soft' ⁵⁶⁰ 'It is used...in full only when it is necessary to draw particular attention to its presence' ⁵⁶¹	'soft, softly' ⁵⁶²
<i>mp</i>	'half soft, but nearer soft than loud' ⁵⁶³	'denotes a degree of force slightly louder than piano' ⁵⁶⁴	' <i>meno</i> : Less, not so –' ⁵⁶⁵
<i>mf</i>	'half soft, but nearer loud than soft' ⁵⁶⁶	'a lesser degree of loudness is expressed' ⁵⁶⁷	As above.
<i>f</i>	'strong, loud' ⁵⁶⁸	'loud' ⁵⁶⁹	'loud, strong' ⁵⁷⁰
<i>ff</i>	'superlative of <i>forte</i> : very loud' ⁵⁷¹	'a greater [degree of loudness]' ⁵⁷²	'very loud, or extremely or forcible' ⁵⁷³
<i>fz</i>	'forcing (the sound); emphasizing a note' ⁵⁷⁴	No entry	'with force, energy; indicates that a note or chord is to be strongly accented' ⁵⁷⁵
<i>con forza</i>	'with force' ⁵⁷⁶	No entry	No entry

⁵⁵⁶ Wotton, *Dictionary of Foreign Musical Terms*, 149.

⁵⁵⁷ Grove, *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1895), 709

⁵⁵⁸ Baker, *A Dictionary of Musical Terms*, 150.

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 149.

⁵⁶⁰ Grove (1895), 709.

⁵⁶¹ *Ibid*.

⁵⁶² Baker, 150.

⁵⁶³ *Ibid*, 127.

⁵⁶⁴ Grove (1895), 709.

⁵⁶⁵ Baker, 120.

⁵⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 127.

⁵⁶⁷ Grove (1900), 556.

⁵⁶⁸ Wotton, , 86.

⁵⁶⁹ Grove (1900), 556.

⁵⁷⁰ Baker, 77.

⁵⁷¹ *Ibid*, 86.

⁵⁷² Grove (1900), 556.

⁵⁷³ Baker, *A Dictionary of Musical Terms*, 77.

⁵⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 86.

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 77.

⁵⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 86.

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Illustration A.8 Kreuz concerto – analysis of fingerings used in performance (track 4)

The image displays a musical score for track 4 of the Kreuz concerto, featuring six staves of music. The score is annotated with red numbers indicating fingerings and various performance markings. The first staff begins with a red 'A' and a '1' above the first note, followed by fingerings '2-1 3', '2-1', '-2', '-2 0 1 3', '-1', '-2', and '-1 -2'. Performance markings include *mf espress.*, *f*, and *mf*. The second staff has fingerings '3-1 3 0' and '1 -3 2', with markings *f* and *poco f*. The third staff features fingerings '1 2 -2 3 0', '12 4 3 1-1', and '4', with markings *f* and *ff*. The fourth staff includes fingerings '3-3 2' and markings *rit. espress.*, *mf*, *a tempo*, and *f molto marc.*. The fifth staff has markings *fz*, *mf*, and *f*. The sixth staff includes markings *ff*, *Tutti*, *Viol. I.*, and *f. dim.*. The score also contains various musical notations such as slurs, accents, and dynamic markings.

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Illustration A.9 Kreuz concerto – analysis of fingerings used in performance (track 8)

The image displays a musical score for track 8 of the Kreuz concerto, featuring ten staves of music. The score includes various performance instructions and fingerings:

- Staff 1:** *mf espress.* with fingerings 3 0, 1 1 4, 2 -2 3, 4 2, 0 3 3, 1 1 2.
- Staff 2:** *mp cresc. poco a poco* with fingerings 2 3, 4 3, 1 2, 2.
- Staff 3:** *rit. mf a tempo* with fingerings 2 1 x1 2, -2 3 -3, 3 -2 -1 -1, 4 2.
- Staff 4:** *f* with *Tutti Viol.* and *p cresc.* with fingerings 3 3, 1 2, 2 2, 3 3, 1 1, 2 2, 3 3.
- Staff 5:** *Solo. mp* with *mf* and *f* with fingerings 3 4 -3, 1 1, 2 2, 3 3.
- Staff 6:** *mf* with fingerings 2 -3, 1 4 1 -4 3 1 -2, -2 -2 -2 -1.
- Staff 7:** *mf* with fingerings 2 4 2 -3 2, 1 1 4 1 4 3 2 -2, 0 2 3 1.
- Staff 8:** *mp* with *mf* and *f* with fingerings -1, 2, 3.
- Staff 9:** *poco f* with *mf* and *f* with fingerings 1 2 3 2-2 3, -2 -3 -3 1, 1 3 4 0 2 1 2 3 -3.
- Staff 10:** *ad lib. p* with *poco f* and *f* with *ritard.* with fingerings 3, 2, 3.

(Illustration A.9 continued)

A 12-0 3 1 0 4 -1 -4 -3 2 1
mf *restez.*

-23 2 1 03 2 1
cresc.

f *p cresc. poco a poco*

f appass. *ritard.*

R **Meno mosso.**
mf *cresc.*

f

2 3-1 2-2 -1 2
sempre f

mf *mp*

S **Tempo I.**
Tutti 3
mf *poco f* *f rit.*

3 0 1 40 -12 3-1 4
ff *fz* *ff* *fz*

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Illustration A.10 Kreuz concerto – analysis of fingerings used in performance (track 13)

8

II. Barcarole.

Larghetto. VIOLA.

Tutti Viol. I.

The score consists of ten staves of music. Fingerings are indicated by red numbers 1-4 above or below notes. Performance markings include dynamics (pp, mf, f, p, mp, fdeciso), crescendos, ritardandos, and tempo changes. Section markers A, B, C, and D are placed above the staves. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, accents, and articulation marks.

3 2-2

espress. mf *pp* *f* *mf* **A-**

mp dolce *cresc. poco a poco* *pocof* *con forza appass.*

rit. a tempo *p* *pp* *mf* 1 4 1 4

B -2 -3 -3 4 3 -1 3 2 3 -2

cresc. poco a poco *pocof* *con forza appass.*

C Più mosso. *rit.* *f deciso* *fz* *Tutti*

Solo. *p* *mp* *mf* *f deciso*

D *fz* *Tutti* *Solo.* *p* *mp* *mf* *f deciso*

Tutti 1 4 3 2 1 2

(Illustration A.10 continued)

VIOLA. 9

The musical score for the Viola part consists of ten systems of music. Each system includes a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The score is marked with various dynamics and articulations, and includes several sections labeled with letters E through J. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-4 above or below notes. Some notes are marked with red numbers, likely indicating specific fingering suggestions or corrections. The score includes a variety of musical notations such as slurs, accents, and fermatas.

E *mf* *cresc.* *f* *dim.*

F Tutti Solo. *dolce* *mf espress.*

G Tutti *cresc.* *rit. molto* *ff*

a tempo *mp espress.* *poco f* *mf*

rit. *dolce* *Tempo I.* *pp espress. mf*

H *f* *mf* *mp e dolce*

cresc. poco a poco *poco f* *con forza* *appass.*

rit. *a tempo* *p* *mf* *mf*

J *p* *mp* *mf* *p*

poco f *p*

Fingerings:
1 -1 -1 2 2 4 2 -2 3 4 -4
3 -3 -3 4 4 3 1 -1 2 3 3
4 1
-3 1 2 1 4 3 1 3 -2 1 2 1
-2 4 -2 -1 3 -1 2 2 2

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Illustration A.11 Forsyth concerto - analysis of fingerings used in performance

The image displays a musical score for a concerto by Forsyth, featuring various performance markings and fingerings. The score is written in a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) with a key signature of one flat and a 3/4 time signature. The tempo and mood markings include *Appassionato*, *Lento, dolce*, *moderato*, *molto allargando*, *f meno mosso, ad libit.*, *Con moto, Agitato*, and *Allegro con spirito*. Dynamics such as *f*, *p*, *dim.*, and *pp* are indicated. Fingerings are shown as numbers 1-3 above or below notes. Section markers A, B, C, D, E, and F are placed in boxes above the staff. Performance instructions like *con forza* and *pp* are also present. The score includes complex passages with triplets and slurs, and a final measure with a fermata and a 7-measure rest.

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Illustration A.12 Forsyth concerto – analysis of fingerings used in performance

Andante un poco sostenuto II.

The musical score is written in G major, 3/4 time, and consists of six staves. The first staff is the bass line, and the subsequent four staves are the treble line. Fingerings are indicated by red numbers above or below notes. Performance markings include *p*, *dolce*, *molto espress.*, *passionato*, *mf*, *f*, *mf*, *f*, *f*, *mf*, *dim.*, and *rit.*. Section markers A, B, C, D, and E are placed above the notes. The score concludes with the tempo change to *a tempo* and the number 12.

6 A 6 B 3 C -1 -2

8 -3 -3 dolce 0 3 2 2 -3 3 2

p *molto espress.*

-2 -3 -1 *passionato* 3 -2 -2

mf *f* *mf* *f* *f*

1 0 -4 1 -3 2 -4 -2

D

-1 -3 2 -1 E a tempo 12

rit.

Abbreviations and symbols

Abbreviations used in main body of thesis

ARCM	Associated Royal Colleges of Music
BBC	British Broadcasting Company (1922 to 1926); British Broadcasting Corporation (from 1927)
CHARM	Centre for the History and Analysis of Recorded Music
Comp	composition
<i>f (ff)</i>	<i>forte (fortissimo)</i>
Fig	figure
GSM	Guildhall School of Music
HIP	Historically informed performance
LSO	London Symphony Orchestra
<i>mf/mp</i>	<i>mezzo forte/mezzo piano</i>
nd	no date
N/A	not available
Pno	piano (instrument)
<i>p (p)</i>	<i>piano (pianissimo)</i>
QHO	Queen's Hall Orchestra; New Queen's Hall Orchestra
RAM	Royal Academy of Music
RCM	Royal College of Music, London
RL	rehearsal letter
RSA	Royal Society of the Arts
TCL/TCM	Trinity College London (1872 to c1879); Trinity College of Music (from 1880)
Vln	violin
Vla	viola
Vc (or, cello)	violoncello

Abbreviations and symbols (continued)

Annotations used in score analysis

Numerical values 1-4 in red (ie 1, 2, 3, 4) Denotes left-hand fingerings (1 is equivalent to the index finger etc)



Slur

' - ' (ie as in -2) Denotes a shift to a new position (left hand)

' x ' (ie as in x2) Denotes a finger extension back half a semi-tone



Crescendo and decrescendo, respectively

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