

THE POPULAR MUSICAL SOCIETIES OF THE YORKSHIRE TEXTILE

DISTRICT, 1850-1914:

A Study of the Relationship between Music and Society

David Russell

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
University of York, Department of History.

November, 1979.

CONTENTS

Page No.

List of Tables and Illustrations	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Abstract	v
Abbreviations	vi
<u>Introduction</u>	1
<u>Chapter One</u> <u>The West Yorkshire Textile District</u>	12
<u>Chapter Two</u> <u>The Origins of the Popular Musical Society</u>	33
<u>Chapter Three</u> <u>The Structure of Popular Music</u>	54
i. The Social Structure of Popular Music	54
a) Instrumental	56
b) Vocal	66
ii. The Social Geography of Popular Music	86
iii. The Institutional Structure of Popular Music	93
<u>Chapter Four</u> <u>Patterns of Growth</u>	103
i. Patterns of Growth	104
ii. The Social and Economic Framework	107
Time	108
Money	112
The Lower Middle Class	114
Religion	116
Railways	119
Education	121
iii. The Musical Framework	128
Sight-singing	129
Music Publishing	133
Instruments and Accessories: Manufacture and Retail	138
The Music Press	145
The Music Profession	147
The Competitive Ethos	152
iv. Voluntary Organisations in Crisis, 1890-1914: A Musical Perspective	160
<u>Chapter Five</u> <u>The Making of Music</u>	180
i. Types of Performance	180
ii. Instrumentation and Personnel	187
iii. The Repertoire	196
a) Vocal	197
b) Instrumental	204
iv. Critical Opinion and Amateur Musical Achievement	219
v. The Arts and the Working Class	230

	<u>Page No.</u>
<u>Chapter Six</u>	
<u>Membership</u>	245
i. Recruitment and Organisation	245
ii. Social Life	251
iii. The Economic Benefits of Membership	263
 <u>Chapter Seven</u>	
<u>Music and The Battle for the Working Class Mind</u>	271
i. Music and The Defence of Bourgeois Society	272
ii. Music and The Working Class Challenge	285
iii. Popular Politics and the Musical Society in West Yorkshire	293
 <u>Conclusions</u>	311
 <u>Appendix 1</u>	
<u>The Popular Musical Societies of the West Yorkshire Textile District, 1800-1914</u>	325
 <u>Appendix 2</u>	
<u>Social Origins of Choral Singers</u>	343
 <u>Appendix 3</u>	
<u>Working Class Composers in West Yorkshire, 1780-1914</u>	347
 <u>Appendix 4</u>	
<u>Composers, Streetnames and Christian names</u>	350
 Footnotes	351
 Bibliography	419

Tables and Illustrations

Page No.

Tables

Table One	Occupation and Pay in Great Britain, 1906-1910.	55
Table Two	Social Composition of Brass Bands, 1889-1914.	58
Table Three	Occupations of Members of Huddersfield Choral Society Orchestra, 1895-96.	65
Table Four	Occupations of Fathers or Husbands of Female Members of Leeds Philharmonic and Huddersfield Choral Societies, 1894-95.	70
Table Five	Occupations of Male Members of Leeds Philharmonic and Huddersfield Choral Societies, 1894-95.	71
Table Six	Occupations of Fathers and Husbands of Female Members of Leeds Philharmonic Society, 1908-09.	74
Table Seven	Occupations of Male Members of Leeds Philharmonic Society, 1908-09.	74
Table Eight	Membership of Burley Glee Union and Leeds Prize Musical Union, 1887-1889 and 1893-1896.	78
Table Nine	Institutional Origins of Amateur Musical Societies, 1850-1914.	94
Table Ten	Known Dates of Origin of Popular Musical Societies, c. 1800-1914.	104
Table Eleven	Approximate Dates of Origin of Popular Musical Societies, c. 1800-1914.	105
Table Twelve	No. of Children Taught by "Note" or by "Ear" in England and Wales, 1884-91.	123
Table Thirteen	No. of School Departments Using Various Singing Methods, 1884-1891.	123

Illustrations

Map One	The Yorkshire Textile District	12
Map Two	The Colne and Holme Valleys	89

Acknowledgements

A very large number of people have helped and advised me during the course of my research and it is unfortunate that space permits me to acknowledge only a few of them. My supervisor, Dr. James Walvin, has given me much assistance since the very beginnings of my research and in particular made a rigorous critique of the first draft. An army of librarians and archivists have dealt politely with my innumerable queries and I would like to thank particularly, the staffs of Bradford Central Library, especially the Local Studies and Archive Division, Calderdale Central Library, Kirklees Central Library and the British Newspaper Library. A number of people in the local musical world have given assistance, and special thanks are due to Richard Barraclough, Secretary of the Huddersfield Choral Society, and to those local musicians who bravely allowed me to interview them. Martin and Barbara Douglas willingly gave me house-room while I was researching in London and their kindness in this and other respects is greatly appreciated. Graham Knox gave valuable assistance with reprographics, and Pauline Greenwood deserves particular thanks for the standard of her typing which graces the completed thesis. Finally, my wife Veronica, turned an illegible mass of manuscript into a beautifully typed first draft, as well as supplying endless assistance and advice on innumerable points.

Abstract

This thesis examines the activities of the brass band, the choral society and other forms of popular musical society, in the Yorkshire Textile District, between 1850-1914. The study focuses in particular upon the musical life of the working classes.

The work begins by outlining the main features of life in Victorian and Edwardian West Yorkshire, thus placing the musical society in its socio-economic context. Following an examination of the emergence of the formal musical society between 1750 and 1850, the thesis analyses the social structure and the social geography of the band and choral movements. The "socio-economic" and the "musical" factors which combined to produce a large expansion of the number of societies after 1850 are then studied, as are the factors causing the difficulties faced by many societies in the early twentieth century. The work then investigates the nature of the contemporary musical repertoire; the social and economic benefits stemming from membership of a musical organisation; and the relationship between the popular musical society and popular political culture.

The thesis suggests that the formal musical society, which emerged largely because the amateur musician's existing modes of music making were endangered by the processes of industrialisation and urbanisation, flourished in the second half of the 19th century. It did so for a complexity of reasons, including a rise in real wages and the growth in the publication of cheap sheet music, which created an especially propitious climate. The brass band and choral movements brought a wide range of music to the community, giving working class audiences and musicians plentiful opportunity to experience works of "High Culture", and gave their members innumerable social and economic benefits. Finally, because these benefits partly helped alleviate hardship and give self-respect, and partly because some societies encouraged class collaboration, it is suggested that the popular musical society may have exerted an essentially conservative influence on local political life.

Abbreviations

In Text

Bradford Festival Choral Society B.F.C.S.

Leeds Rational Recreation Society L.R.R.S.

Tonic Sol-Fa Association T.S.F.A.

In Footnotes

British Bandsman B.B.

Bradford Observer B.Ob.

Leeds Intelligencer L.I.

Leeds Mercury L.M.

Mainzer's Musical Times M.M.T.

Musical Times M.T.

The School Music Review S.M.R.

Wright and Round's Brass Band News W.R.B.B.N.

Yorkshire Daily Observer Y.D.O.

Introduction

Writing in 1936, J. F. Russell observed that, "the many authors of histories of social conditions are one and all silent on [the] question of the recreation of the worker by music. Since most of these authors are reformers it may be that they purposely pass it by as a consciously administered anodyne, or it may be that to these gentlemen music is just a pleasant noise of which little can be said. Yet nothing in the whole gamut of the social life of the lower strata during the nineteenth century can have given so much pleasure, so much mental and spiritual relief, to millions of people as choral singing and the brass band"¹. Over forty years later, the choral society, the brass band and indeed the whole range of popular musical culture, remain largely neglected by historians. This thesis, by means of an examination of the choral societies, brass bands and related organisations of the Yorkshire textile district, between 1850-1914, seeks to fill this serious gap in historical knowledge.

Contrary to Russell's explanation, the historian's disregard of popular musical life, stems neither from politically motivated scholarship nor lack of musical sensitivity, but from the belief, held for so long by historians of all political persuasions, that organised labour represented the pre-eminent area of working class experience to be studied². This approach has led to the neglect not merely of music, but of many aspects of working class experience. In 1974, when this research began, study of popular recreation seemed a particularly important task if historians were ever to capture a more rounded picture of Victorian and Edwardian society (and indeed of most other periods of British history). Despite the pioneering efforts of Asa Briggs, Robert Malcolmson and Brian Harrison, recreation appeared to be a peculiarly neglected topic, and this thesis was intended in part to help remedy the situation³. Clearly, many other scholars had similar feelings, and under the impact of the upsurge of interest in social, as opposed to the more narrow, labour history, the history of popular recreation is fast taking its rightful place in the mainstream of historical debate⁴.

But despite this rapid progress, it is still necessary before moving on to consider the specific virtues of a study of popular music, to state the general case for the exploration of popular leisure. As has already been noted, historians have until recently shown a tendency to treat labour history as the only 'real' working

class history, and it is easy to lose sight of insights gained from the new approaches made in recent years. The great strength of the history of popular leisure is its ability to illustrate that working class life had a far greater depth and variety than has been suggested by traditional avenues of historical investigation; that working class experience extended beyond the workplace, the union and the political organisation. It is a salutary thought that until very recently popular recreation remained almost totally unstudied, and yet if the activities of West Yorkshire's amateur musicians were in any way typical, leisure time pursuits drew forth a remarkable exhibition of skill, commitment, enthusiasm and self-sacrifice from many people. Equally, experiences gained during an individual's hours of leisure, could have wide ramifications in many other parts of his life. Thus, even allowing for recent historiographical changes, popular recreation deserves far greater analysis than it has hitherto received and perhaps as much attention as those other aspects of working class experience that have dominated previous scholarly thought.

Music is an especially important topic for analysis by the historian of Victorian popular recreation, for it comprised one of the most fundamental aspects of working class social life. The choral and band movements were only part of a vigorous popular musical tradition that existed in the 19th and early 20th century. A 19th century working class communal event without music was inconceivable; no political meeting, factory outing, workman's feast or sporting occasion was complete without some form of singing, dancing or playing. Similarly, the public house was a focus for music-making both formal and informal. The street was an impromptu concert hall and dancing saloon, in which organ-grinders, fiddlers, zither players, itinerant German bands and all manner of other more or less exotic entertainers plied their trade. For those with a little spare money, there were too, the offerings of the entrepreneur; the theatre, the concert, and above all, that crucial element of contemporary life, the music hall⁵.

Initially, it was hoped that this whole musical configuration might prove a suitable topic for study, but such a project demands a dozen dissertations, not one. Two main considerations make the formal musical society seem the most suitable subject for detailed

analysis. Firstly, it became clear at an early stage of the research that study of the musical society provided greater insight into popular social life than any other area of musical activity. It offers the historian considerable information about the relative influence of various social and economic forces upon recreational habits, the interrelationship of separate social classes through leisure use, and the complex nature of Victorian popular culture. Moreover, the societies, without exactly bestowing later generations with untold riches, have bequeathed a workable stock of source material. Even allowing for the possibilities opened up by the blossoming of oral history, such a situation can scarcely be said to exist in regard to most other elements of musical life.

The brass band and the choral society form the core of the thesis, but a certain amount of attention has been given to three other institutions closely related to them; the amateur orchestral society, the concertina band and the handbell team. These bodies have received no scholarly attention at all, and yet without ever attaining the popularity of the choral society or brass band, they played a significant part in 19th century music, particularly in the north of England. Obviously, the various forms of organisation exhibited individual features and peculiarities, and in Chapters 3, 4 and 6, it has proved necessary to treat the choral and the instrumental societies separately, in order to allow for these differences. But it is still valid to study the amateur music-making tradition en bloc rather than focusing on one particular aspect. In the last analysis, the choir, the different types of band, and the orchestra, shared much in common often drawing upon the same repertoire, upon the same social classes for membership and support, sharing similar philosophies, and facing similar problems. Furthermore, they were linked by the many individuals who took part in the activities of more than one type of musical organisation. Perhaps most important of all, they were seen by contemporaries, not as separate entities, but as part of one overall musical movement. Only by viewing them, as contemporaries did, as a unified group, can we really appreciate the richness of Victorian and Edwardian musical culture. It should be noted that in the forthcoming chapters the various organisations have been described generically as 'amateur' or 'popular, musical societies'. This, it must be stated, is personal shorthand, rather than traditional terminology. Contemporaries simply referred to 'choirs and bands',

but in a work of this length, stylistic consideration alone seemed to merit the development of an alternative phrase so as to alleviate the problem of continual repetition⁶.

Up to this point, such terms as 'working class' and 'popular' have been tossed around with gay conceptual abandon, and it is necessary before progressing further, to see exactly which social groups feature in this study. At the outset of research, it was assumed that the majority of the societies had a mainly working class membership. However, it quickly became apparent that this was not always the case, and that the lower middle and even some of the more substantial middle class, played a significant part in this branch of musical life⁷. Thus many of the organisations looked at here should be viewed as broadly 'popular' rather than narrowly class-based. However, it is the 'working class' that remain the central object of attention in this work. Although by no means the only social group involved in amateur musical life, they almost certainly provided an absolute majority of the musical fraternity in most parts of the country and are thus deserving of detailed attention. Moreover, while the maximum effort has been made to draw out the fullest possible connections between the popular musical organisations and 19th century society, one clearly has to make choices about the exact weight given to individual topics in order to keep the study within manageable bounds. Given the almost total ignorance about working class musical life amongst historians, it seemed crucial that the relationship between leisure experience and working class society should be the focal point.

The amateur musical society emerged in some form or other in virtually every part of the British Isles. But there were certain areas where amateur musical culture was particularly well developed, and while allowing for the possible untypicalness of these areas, it was clear that if the fullest possible picture of popular musical life was to emerge, then a detailed examination of one of them was required. Yorkshire, usually mentioned alongside either Lancashire or Wales, and occasionally other areas of the country, was regularly singled out for having a population with exceptional musical proclivity. Writing in 1864, the vocalist Henry Phillips informed readers of his autobiography that the ordinary people of Yorkshire and Lancashire had an enormous appetite for, and a sophisticated

appreciation of, music. 'In no part of England can anything be found to compare with it. If my time was to come over again, with the years of experience I have had, I would rather be judged by those audiences than by the most refined critics in Europe'. Observations of this type could be quoted almost ad infinitum⁸.

Yorkshire thus clearly offers an excellent locale for the historian of amateur music. But the decision to study the Yorkshire textile region rather than the county as a whole clearly needs more detailed explanation. Firstly, by 'Yorkshire', contemporaries usually meant 'the West Riding': a Yorkshire regional correspondent of the Musical Times, commented in December 1884, that the 'list of approaching gatherings, more particularly as regards the West Riding, has consequently assumed enormous dimensions'⁹. The West Riding was therefore chosen as the initial focus for study, because of its exceptional musical culture. But it rapidly became apparent that an even narrower area had to be chosen. This decision was originally stimulated by the discovery that Dr. Eric Mackerness was undertaking research into the musical life of the area around Sheffield, and it seemed that in a field where little research had been done, it was important not to cover ground already under study¹⁰. Thus attention was turned more fully upon the central and northern parts of the area. Soon, the appropriateness of the textile region became apparent. Of great importance, the majority of Yorkshire's foremost musical institutions originated in this area, and here then was the true core of the county's musicality, providing the opportunity to study the choral and band movements at their very best. Moreover, the textile region formed a far more distinct social and economic entity than the basically administrative units of the West Riding or the county of Yorkshire as a whole, and thus it provided a far more satisfying context for detailed study than these two larger areas. Finally, from the purely practical viewpoint, it offered a geographical area of far more manageable proportions for the student concerned with detailed investigation, than did the larger regions!¹¹

A decision about chronology as well as geographical area, had to be made, and it proved necessary to survey popular musical life over a fairly lengthy period. The amateur musical tradition in West Yorkshire reached its apotheosis in the period c. 1880 - c. 1906, and it is this quarter century that forms the focus of this study.

But this 'golden age' cannot be understood without study of the preceding decades, and detailed research has been undertaken on the period from 1850. This year formed a useful starting point, roughly demarcating both the point at which popular music societies really began to emerge from their pre-industrial setting, and the beginning of the period of "unprecedented prosperity" which enabled at least the upper sections of the labouring classes to take an ever increasing interest in formalised recreational life¹². Similarly, rather than ceasing in c. 1906, the thesis takes the subject until 1914, for the First World War, a cataclysmic event in musical as in every aspect of contemporary life, provides a far more logical and more definite stopping place, than the middle years of the Edwardian period.

Although the choirs and bands that emerged in West Yorkshire and other areas of the country, have been largely ignored by serious scholars, this is therefore not to say that no relevant literature has been produced. It is worthwhile surveying these writings at this juncture. The brass band has been better served than any other branch of amateur musical life. J. F. Russell's observations upon the academic establishment quoted at the beginning of this chapter, occur in his work, The Brass Band Movement, written in conjunction with J. H. Elliot, and published in 1936. This remains the definitive book on the movement providing a great deal of information about the origins of banding, the development of the brass band's distinctive instrumentation, the growth of competition and the changes in repertoire which took place during the course of the 19th and earlier 20th century. The material in this book has been brought up to date and somewhat expanded by Jack Scott an American research student whose, as yet unpublished, doctoral thesis, The Evolution of the Brass Band and its Repertoire in Northern England, (Sheffield, 1970), is probably the most scholarly study of banding yet to appear, and by Arthur Taylor, whose Brass Bands (1979), is particularly good on the contemporary situation. But neither of these works really supersedes Russell and Elliot. Another recent addition of some importance to the stock of band histories is That the Medals and Baton be put on View, (Newton Abbot, 1975), a history of Dobcross band by the playwright (and ex-Dobcross band secretary), Henry Livings. This is the most detailed study of an individual band yet produced, and is extremely helpful in its depiction of how brass bands actually

operate and the problems they face. It is also highly atmospheric and communicates much of the humour and enthusiasm inherent in the banding tradition.

Surprisingly, there is no overall history of the choral movement, although Brian Pritchard's doctoral thesis, The Music Festival and the Choral Society in England (Birmingham, 1968) contains much information on choral culture before 1860 and a useful overview of certain developments between 1860 and 1900. Further, Percy Scholes's chapter in Volume I of The Mirror of Music (1944) gives a very general outline of the choral movement's progress over the century from 1844. The only book of any real value to have been produced on any specific aspect of the choral movement is Reginald Nettel's Music in the Five Towns (Oxford, 1944), a study of the tradition in the Potteries, a short work but one laden with information and insight, and all the more impressive for being the first and only study of its type. There are also a number of books focusing on subjects relevant to the choral movement, such as Tonic Solfa, Church Music and Methodism. Especially helpful are Bernarr Rainbow, The Land Without Music: Musical Education in England 1800-1860 and its Continental Antecedents (1967), which has much information on sight-singing, and Eric Routley, The Musical Wesleys (1968), which deepens understanding of the Methodist contribution to popular musical culture.

Alongside these specialist works, there exists a body of "general" musical histories which offer information on the amateur society and related topics. Eric Mackerness, A Social History of English Music (1964), is particularly valuable, not simply because it gives plentiful coverage to the choral and band movements, but because like Nettel, Mackerness is one of the few writers who makes a sustained effort to relate the progress of music to social and economic change, and although it has certain short comings, his book will not be superseded for a very long time. Dr. Percy Young's A History of British Music (1967), contains a certain amount of useful information on amateur musical life, as does Henry Raynor, Music and Society Since 1815 (1976), while there is also much to be gained from the twin volumes, Victorian Popular Music (1973) and Edwardian Popular Music (1975), by the American writer Ronald Pearsall. Although very "popular" in style, and appearing to have been written in great haste, they have much useful detail and are well illustrated.

This thesis owes these works a very considerable debt, for they have provided a context of basic information into which detailed research could be set. The writings of Russell and Elliot, Scott,

Nettel and MacKerness have been particularly invaluable, and indeed without the stimulation they provided, it is doubtful whether this study would have been undertaken. But nevertheless, they have left much scope for development. Crucially, they have neglected whole ranges of source material. Most writers have been attempting to produce relatively short works covering many aspects of music over lengthy periods, and have thus contented themselves with using only a small number of primary sources. Unfortunately, the problem has been compounded because later writers have been largely content to use the same sources as their predecessors, and therefore while works such as Algernon Rose, Talks with Bandsmen, (1895), and W. J. Galloway, Musical England, (1910), have been thoroughly ransacked, much else has remained unstudied. At the same time, largely because much of the literature has been produced by non-academic writers, or by scholars who were not specialist historians, many of the attempts to place the musical society into its socio-economic setting have been vague and sometimes misleading. Ronald Pearsall, for example, states blandly that brass bands "were primarily works bands, supported by enlightened employers who wished to keep their operatives out of the gin places", when as will emerge, the situation was far more complicated than this¹³. Even those writers such as Dr. MacKerness who have attempted to make a serious link between music and society, have ignored many facets of the relationship. They have looked mainly at those aspects of social and economic change which had obvious musical repercussions; middle class fears about working class crime, intemperance and political radicalisation leading to the growth of the singing-class movement, the development of the education system increasing opportunities for working class music-making, and so forth. In fact, there were many other dimensions of change - such as the growth of real wages, the reduction of working hours, changes in religious climate - which exercised a major influence on the amateur musical tradition and which demand detailed study. Finally, the existing literature inevitably examines only one side of the relationship between music and society. It is largely concerned with the provision of a social "background" to musical development and achievement. The fact that music, and in this case the musical organisation, could in turn shape and structure the society that created it, has been almost entirely ignored¹⁴.

The following chapters attempt to rectify this situation in a number of ways. The use of a local study undoubtedly aids matters considerably, demanding the kind of detailed research not required or not considered by most previous writers. Alongside this, a wide range of source material has been utilised. The "standard" works, such as those by Rose and Galloway noted above, have certainly been used extensively, but many other forms of evidence have also been consulted. Probably the most important source of all has been the local newspaper which gave the activities of its local societies full and proud coverage. Four publications, the Bradford Observer, Halifax Guardian, Huddersfield Examiner and Leeds Intelligencer have been studied in particular depth, but a number of other papers have also been consulted. In addition, by the late 19th century, a sizable body of specialist periodicals had emerged to serve the needs of the musical society, with the brass band especially well catered for. It's three main journals, the Brass Band News (1881), The British Bandsman (1887) and The Cornet, (1893), have been analysed in great detail. The choral movement had no magazine specifically devoted to it, but the Musical Times (1844) and the Tonic-Sol-fa Reporter (1853), (which became the Musical Herald in 1889), contain much valuable information about the choral tradition. The minute books, letter books and membership lists of most societies have disappeared, with the brass band suffering particularly badly in this respect, but enough remain to make a substantial addition to our stock of source material. Finally, a limited use (12 interviews) has been made of oral history. While the majority of Victorian and Edwardian amateur musicians interviewed had only a few years experience of banding or choral singing during the period before 1914, their memories of music in the Edwardian era, and in particular, recollections of their individual experiences, provided a sense of what it actually felt like to participate in amateur musical life, unobtainable from any other source¹⁵.

The evidence obtained from this body of material, and the arguments deriving from it, have been presented in the following way. Chapter One first defines and locates the West Yorkshire textile region, and then outlines its fundamental social, economic and political development in the period 1850-1914, thus establishing the environment in which the musical society existed. Chapter Two

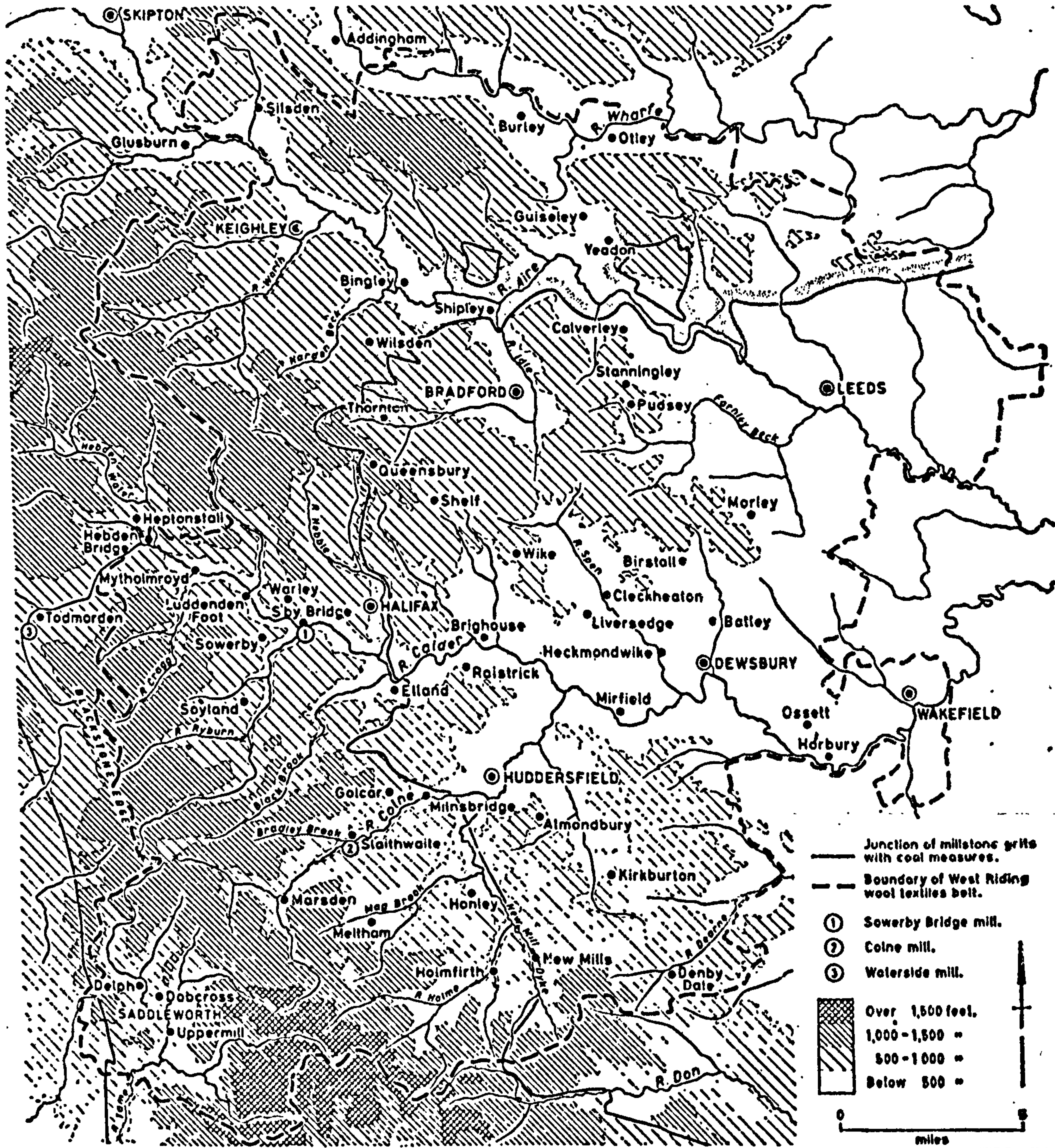
traces the emergence of the formal musical organisation from the later 18th century until 1850, looking particularly at the impact of Methodism and of industrialisation upon popular musical culture. The following chapter ascertains which social groups, types of settlement and institutions contributed to the choral and band movements. This is one of the areas where the existing studies are particularly imprecise, and detailed analysis seems extremely important. The fourth chapter looks in detail at the growth rhythms of the musical society between 1850-1914, and offers firstly "social and economic" and secondly "musical" explanation, for the pattern of expansion between 1850 and c. 1900. It investigates some of the relationships between society and music ignored in earlier works. The problems of the societies in the Edwardian period are then treated separately in the final section of the chapter. Chapter five deals with the purely musical aspect of the amateur tradition, investigating the venues at which societies performed, the changes in instrumentation and structure that the societies underwent over the period, the content of the repertoire, the quality of musicianship and critical reaction to it, and finally, the manner in which the performance of art music by choirs and bands alters our picture of Victorian and Edwardian popular culture. Chapter six describes methods of entry into choir or band, their administrative and bureaucratic structure and the artistic, social and economic benefits which might accrue to their members. Chapter seven investigates the way in which music was conceived by both conservative and radical social theorists as a vehicle of social and political change, and in particular, attempts to unravel the connections between music and popular politics. The influence of recreational experience upon the development of political consciousness still remains somewhat understudied, and this chapter offers speculation as to how the musical society might have influenced the development of local political life. It is in this part of the thesis that music's ability to shape society rather than merely be shaped by it receives the greatest attention. Lastly, the conclusions bring together the major findings and theories contained in the thesis, as well as suggesting ways in which material concerning music in West Yorkshire may be relevant both to the study of music in other regions, and to areas of popular recreation besides music.

This study varies from the traditional history of the West Yorkshire working class in that its main dramatis personae are not Ben Rushton or Tom Maguire, but men like Phineas Bower, bandmaster of the Black Dyke Mills Band and Sam Midgley, a collier's son turned music teacher and chamber musician. Similarly, it describes neither the storming of Rawfold's Mill, the Chartist agitation, or the Leeds Gasworkers Strike of 1889, but such events as the founding of the Halifax Choral Society, the competitive successes of the Saltaire Prize choir, and Black Dyke's tour of the U.S.A. and Canada in 1906. But although there has been much discussion in this chapter of the need to move beyond the study of the labour movement alone, this is not to posit a divide between the history of leisure and that of politics, or indeed, between the history of leisure and that of any other aspect of 19th and 20th century society. The study of amateur musical life, and the study of popular recreation in general, illustrates clearly the interdependence of the various components of life experience. As this thesis hopefully makes apparent, investigation of the manner in which certain people chose to use their spare time, greatly enriches our understanding of Victorian and Edwardian society.

Chapter One

The West Yorkshire Textile District

YORKSHIRE TEXTILE DISTRICT



Scholars with only the haziest knowledge of 19th century British history will have encountered the Yorkshire Wool Textile District. Admittedly, they may not necessarily recognise it under that particular name, which is after all, historians' shorthand rather than "official" nomenclature¹. But it will be familiar nevertheless, if only from those graphic descriptions of the urban horrors of Bradford, Leeds or Halifax which have formed the stuff of innumerable textbooks, history lessons and lectures throughout the 20th century. But despite this certain familiarity, it remains necessary to provide at least a brief outline of its central features, in order to establish the milieu in which West Yorkshire's musical societies operated. Obviously, it is not possible to provide anything like a fully comprehensive picture of all aspects of the region's life, nor indeed would it be desirable to do so, for much of it would be barely relevant to the body of the thesis. The following chapter adumbrates those features which had the most obvious impact upon local life, and provides a context within which arguments concerning relationships between music and society which emerge later in the thesis can be set.

Clearly it is difficult to give exact definition to geographical regions, for their boundaries alter even over a relatively short period of time, and the criteria for establishing these limits are anyway often based on personal academic preference, rather than totally "objective" considerations. Most historians using the concept of the "Yorkshire textile district" have not troubled to define the region at all closely and it has been left to an historical geographer, Dr. M. T. Wild, to provide the most detailed expression of its margins². Wild's definition although based on data from as recent a source as the 1951 industrial and occupational census, provides a clear picture of the region's boundaries as they existed between 1850 and 1914. As he points out: "Even over a period of time extending to three centuries or more, such variations (viz. of the boundaries) have been more of local than of regional significance. The general outlines have altered remarkably little over a very lengthy timespan"³. Further, while it is necessary to be more specific than most historians have been, it is not particularly valuable to chart the minute alterations that the 19th century witnesses, and thus become enmeshed in what one theorist of regional

history has described as "pedantic arguments about definition". The discovery that certain towns and villages not included by Wild did indeed come into the region at some stage during the 19th century, would add little to our overall view of popular music making⁴.

The Yorkshire Wool Textile District, as defined by Wild, forms a distinctive area roughly 600 square miles in extent, bounded approximately by Keighley in the north, Leeds and Wakefield in the east, the villages of the Holme Valley in the south and Hebden Bridge in the west⁵. Certainly, its name should not imply that the region knew no other form of industrial activity beyond that directly concerned with the production of wool-based cloth. Moreover, the size of the wool textile labour force was in almost constant decline from the 1870's. The whole area supported a strong engineering industry, and by the later 19th century, in some towns even in the heart of the district, notably Halifax, there were actually more people employed in this activity than in the textile trade⁶. Leeds, on the region's eastern periphery, enjoyed a particularly diverse economy, with the century's growth in the local engineering and clothing industries leading to a fall in the number of textile operatives from 37.8% of the employed population in 1841, to a mere 9.3% by 1901⁷. Wool was in fact not even the sole component of the textile trade. A significant amount of cotton manufacture took place in the western third of the region, particularly in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, and a small cotton industry remained on the western fringes throughout the period under study⁸. Further, Leeds was an important centre of the flax industry, although admittedly its share of the trade was in a state of steady decline from about the middle of the 19th century⁹. But while this diversification has to be appreciated, wool always lay at the core of the local economy, and these other sectors owed at least their initial establishment to the stimulus provided by the wool textile industry. If by the early 20th century only 1 in 12 men and 1 in 4 women and girls were involved in the primary processes of wool manufacture, perhaps 25% to 33% of the whole region were directly dependent on the industry for their livelihood¹⁰. Indeed, in certain towns, with Bradford the paramount example, it was generally held that ultimately the whole working community depended upon the prosperity of the wool textile trade. Its successes and failures were to have an indelible impact on all aspects of West Yorkshire society.

It was as early as the 14th century that the region began to establish itself as a textile centre. An abundance of water, particularly in the upland areas, which could provide both power and facilities for cleansing and finishing processes, made the area an attractive proposition for those masters who increasingly felt the need to escape the strict guild-imposed labour regulations operating in the existing Yorkshire urban centres, such as York, Northallerton and Beverley. Equally critical to the development of the region, was the attractiveness of domestic woollen manufacture to the indigenous population, who saw it as a valuable complement to agriculture in an area where a relatively harsh climate and poor soil made farming a precarious occupation. By the early 17th century the area was clearly established and the general outline of the region as it existed between 1850 and 1914, and indeed as it largely exists today, had emerged¹¹.

By the 19th century, the Yorkshire wool textile industry exhibited a marked degree of local variation and specialisation. The industry had subdivided into two basic categories: the production of woollens, that is the production of goods from the short wool fibres, and of worsteds, which are manufactured from long fibres. The basic difference in raw material leads to considerable differences in manufacturing methods and the woollen and worsted industries remain to this day decidedly separate entities¹². Until the very late 17th century, the Yorkshire trade was based solely upon woollens, but over the course of the 18th century, Yorkshire merchants, owing their success to sheer hard work and enterprise rather than to any innate advantages offered by the region, succeeded in wooing a great deal of the worsted trade away from its traditional base in Norfolk¹³. It appears that worsted manufacture began in Yorkshire as a response to a serious depression in the woollen trade. Certain areas survived this period relatively successfully, but others, notably those communities in the environs of Halifax, Keighley and Bingley, encountered extreme difficulties, and it was in these latter regions that worsted manufacture was established as an alternative to the depressed staple industry¹⁴. By the early 19th century, the woollen and worsted districts were fairly clearly defined, with the production of the former taking place to the north and west and the latter to the south and east, of a line between Halifax and Pudsey¹⁵.

In time, Bradford was to emerge as the undisputed centre of the worsted trade, with one local writer claiming for it the title of "Worstedopolis"¹⁶.

It is important to stress here that even within these basic categories, an extreme degree of diversification developed within the district as a whole. Keighley, for example, a worsted town, gained a reputation for women's clothes made from coarser, heavier types of cloth, while nearby Bradford specialised in finer, more expensive women's clothes. Similarly, in the woollen sector, Huddersfield became the centre for the so-called "fancy" trade (shawls, brocades and so forth), the Upper Calder Valley for blankets, Saddleworth for shawls and flannels¹⁷. This great degree of variation makes confident generalisation about the economic vicissitudes of the textile district problematic. But one thing is clear, while the wool textile industry never quite shared the dynamic role of cotton as a leader of the industrial revolution¹⁸, it played a critical part in the expansion of the 19th century economy, and in the process earned quite enormous sums of money for its successful entrepreneurs. The splendidly ornate mills and warehouses, the elegant dwellings of men such as Samuel Cunliffe Lister, Titus Salt and Isaac Holden of Bradford, the Ackroyds and Crossleys of Halifax, the Fosters of Queensbury and many others, are adequate testimony to the riches that the industry's major practitioners could amass¹⁹.

The industry's great take-off in the late 18th and early 19th centuries partly stimulated, and was in turn partly stimulated by the process of mechanisation. The passage from a "domestic" to an "industrial" basis of production is well known, as indeed it might be, for it was a process that was to have a shattering impact upon both the physical appearance, and above all, the mental attitudes of the region. The exact chronology of mechanisation is extraordinarily complex, with some processes in certain branches of the industry being mechanised before the same process in other branches. But essentially, the wool textile industry as a whole can be said to have followed the pattern of the cotton industry at a distance of some 15 to 20 years, with the worsted industry, in turn, progressing very slightly ahead of its woollen counterpart. The greater applicability of the new textile technology to cotton rather than wool, the depression that affected the woollen and to a lesser extent the worsted industry in the first

two decades of the 19th century, and the limited degree of capitalisation, at least within the woollen sector, all played a part in allowing cotton this lead. The first spinning mill in Yorkshire, a worsted mill, was built at Addingham in 1787; by 1820, handspinning in both branches of the wool trade was defunct. Weaving was the next process to be moved into the factory, although it does seem likely that local antipathy was successful in retarding the speed of this change, albeit to a limited extent. The first worsted power loom, installed by James Swarbrick in Shipley in 1822, was promptly and effectively destroyed by outraged handloom weavers. It was not really until the later 1830's that the adoption of the power loom became commonplace. The final process to be efficiently adapted to the use of steam power was woolcombing, a process peculiar to the worsted industry, the application of power to which had proved an especially difficult problem until the late 1840's. It is important to appreciate that the processes of mechanisation were a little more gradual and perhaps a little less traumatic, at least in the woollen industry, than in the slightly better known instance of the cotton industry. As late as 1860, possibly as much as 25% of woollen weaving was still done by hand, and in fact the very last hand weavers were still plying their trade in the very early 20th century, becoming local celebrities in the process²⁰.

For many textile workers, both those subjected to the rigours of the mill, and the hand workers forced to take vicious wage cuts, the period between 1815 and 1850 was one of extreme adversity²¹. But out of this period of rapid sometimes chaotic development came the basis for the future strength and prosperity of the area. As has already been stated, the immense degree of specialisation within the district renders generalisation hazardous, but allowing for this, it is clear that from the mid 19th century, the industry as a whole, in tune with the economy in general, moved away from the earlier pattern of boom and slump, and on to a more stable and more continually prosperous footing. Certainly there were some extraordinarily difficult years, but in general both sectors of the industry continued to expand. Arguably, the very peak was reached in the period 1871-73, when the temporary disappearance of French competition due to the war with Prussia coincided with a generally strong economy, bringing about immense prosperity²². In December 1871, the Bradford Observer's

review of the year's trade sounded an ecstatic note that was to be echoed at some stage over the next three years throughout the district.

"In presenting to our readers our annual review of the trade of Bradford and District, we congratulate them on the fact that we review a year of unexampled prosperity - a prosperity not only to the capitalist but to the labourer - and which contrasts more favourably with the many dull and even gloomy years which have preceded it. The year will be long written in red figures in the history of the Bradford trade" 23.

But from this point onwards, despite several short term booms, the wool textile industry as a whole entered a more or less continual decline. By the mid 1870's the wool textile industry had fallen foul of the so-called "Great Depression", which, in this particular industry, was to last until the early years of the 20th century²⁴. Despite the fact that overall this was a period of rising output and capacity, the dominant contemporary concern was with falling prices and concomitant low profits, as the industry came under increasing pressure from the recovery of French trade, and from the 1890's, from the tariff-protected American industry. The early years of the 20th century saw no respite, with the weakening export position, slightly obscured by a rise in domestic consumption, constantly undermining the industry's long term stability, with the export of woollens growing only extremely slowly, and that of worsted actually declining after 1900²⁵. Although by 1914 both branches of the Yorkshire industry were probably still expanding, albeit slowly, it was apparent that the prosperity of the early 1870's was sadly to be "unexampled" in a far more depressing sense than the Bradford Observer had intended.

The wool textile region supported a large and at least until the late 19th century, a rapidly expanding population, which rose from 292,356 in 1801 to 726,201 in 1841, 1,338,161 in 1881 and 1,549,904 by 1901, a 500% increase in a century²⁶. In general, the pattern of population growth tended to reflect the state of the local economy and there was thus a marked slowing down from the 1890's and even an absolute decline in certain areas. This diminution was particularly noticeable in the woollen region which had initially proved less resilient to the changing economic situation²⁷.

The rapidity and magnitude of the population explosion that the textile district experienced, although remarkable, in no way led to a totally urbanised environment. Certainly, towns grew spectacularly in the 19th century. In 1789 there were only some twenty towns in the world which had a population of 100,000. By 1900 there were four (Leeds, Bradford, Halifax and Huddersfield) in West Yorkshire alone²⁸. Bradford - rivalled only by elegant Brighton - in fact enjoyed the honour of being one of the two fastest growing towns in Britain in the 19th century, its population exploding from 13,000 in 1801 to a remarkable 288,458 by 1911²⁹. But even as late as 1900 only about half of the total population of the Yorkshire textile district lived in the four largest towns. In a crucial sense, just as typical of the textile district as a whole, were the many small manufacturing towns, like Elland, Brighouse, and industrial villages such as Mytholmroyd, Heptonstall and Haworth, fast growing, but with populations of under 15,000, which housed almost a half of the total population. Many of these communities, particularly in the north and west of the region, were often relatively isolated, set in desolate Pennine moorland, with the local inhabitants seeing themselves far more as "countryfolk" than as inhabitants of an industrialised region³⁰. Many other parts of the district maintained a surprisingly large amount of their previously rural or semi-rural nature, and even the larger towns and cities often remained (and still remain) more a collection of villages with distinctive atmospheres than a monolithic urban unit³¹.

Perhaps the most resonant image to emerge from our existing view of the life of the working classes, who formed the large majority of the region's inhabitants, is one of poverty and deprivation. Both contemporary observers, who tended to document the working class condition fully only during periods of crisis, and historians, who have of necessity drawn on contemporary views for much of their evidence, have frequently focused on the degree of hardship and strife that the working population experienced. At any stage in the 19th and early 20th centuries, evidence of privation and squalor can be called to hand. The problems of both the hand workers and factory operatives in the first half of the 19th century are well known, and the documents which record their suffering make genuinely painful reading. Angus Reach, the Yorkshire correspondent of the Morning

Chronicle during the paper's Labour and the Poor survey of 1849, visiting the area at the end of a decade which had witnessed the amelioration of some of the worst abuses, still found much to criticise. Overcrowding, unpaved streets, foetid back alleys, appallingly high infant mortality rates, were exposed in both a deluge of statistics and witty but damning prose.

"Mr. Smith of Deanston, in a sanitary report made about 1837, describes Bradford as being the dirtiest town in England. Mr. Smith must have written ere he extended his researches to Halifax Few towns in England are better situated for being effectually drained. Mainly placed on the side of a steepish hill, with a rapid stream running at the bottom, Halifax ought to be a miracle of cleanliness, instead of, as it is, a marvel of dirt" ³².

Nothing speaks more eloquently about the quality of life in towns such as Bradford and Halifax at this time than the life expectancy statistics. In 1844 the average age of death of the total population was 28 years 5 months in Keighley, 26 years 10 months in Halifax, 23 years 1 month in Leeds, and at the very bottom, 20 years 3 months in Bradford³³.

Even the smaller villages of the Pennine uplands were often little better than their urban counterparts, one at least enjoying a water supply polluted by discharge from a slaughterhouse³⁴. Over the course of the period to 1914, West Yorkshire's environment undoubtedly changed for the better, in ways similar to those experienced in the country's other industrial regions. Water supplies, beginning in the 1850's, were municipalised, and the very worst sanitary problems attended to³⁵. By the 1870's the region was thus sharing in the national decline of typhus and cholera. Many of the excessive smoke "nuisances", as contemporaries euphemistically entitled the choking mass of poisonous fumes emanating from scores of factory chimneys, were tempered. Ornate and often expensive public buildings (Leeds Town Hall designed by Cuthbert Broderick and opened in 1858, cost £122,000, which was £80,165 in excess of the original budget, an astonishing testimony to the ethos of civic pride), appeared from the 1850's and by the end of the century most towns and villages had erected some form of neoclassical or Gothic edifice which at least added a little grandeur to the landscape³⁶. Similarly, public parks flourished in the second half of the 19th century, with the bulk of the expansion taking place in the 1870's and 1880's. During this time, the city of

Bradford alone witnessed the opening of no fewer than 5 major areas of parkland³⁷. Perhaps of more fundamental importance, hours of work decreased substantially in most trades, and real wages generally increased, although the textile district as a whole, following the pattern set by the textile trade itself, tended to be a low wage area³⁸.

Much remained to be done, however. Fifty years after Reach, social commentators still found much to anger and rebel against. The journalist Robert Sherard found serious cases of low wages, demoralisation and poor health amongst the woolcombers of Bradford.

"One is reminded, as one looks at them, of the hashish eater, such languor is theirs. But the eyes, the eyes to which he who scrutinises another man will always look first, have an expression which characterises them beyond doubt or hesitation. It is an expression of utter hopelessness, of fatigue which surpasses words. It tells of shattered nerves, of depleted veins. It is a terrible look, to be seen on this side of the Styx"³⁹.

Further, one of the main distinguishing features of the area as a whole, even by 1914, was its generally poor housing. Obviously, there were always variations both between localities and between the various economic groupings within the working classes. Housing in the Colne Valley, at least until the end of the 19th century, was regarded as superior to that in most other parts of the textile district⁴⁰. A tiny minority of the region's labour force were fortunate enough to enjoy the privilege of living in model villages created by philanthropic employers, the most notable settlement of this type being Saltaire, built at the behest of the Bradford millionaire, Sir Titus Salt, on the banks of the River Aire, three miles from the centre of Bradford, over the period 1851-1876⁴¹. In general, however, working class housing in the district as a whole was regarded by many commentators at different stages of the period as being inferior to that of neighbouring Lancashire and, arguably, to that of many other industrial regions. The back-to-back, with its notorious problem of poor ventilation, was to remain the dominant mode of vernacular housing long after its abandonment in other areas. Leeds was the city of back-to-backs par excellence (due to an anomaly, they were still being constructed in Leeds in 1937, 39 years after a bill outlawing their construction had passed through

parliament), with 71% of its housing stock comprising this type as late as 1921⁴².

But without in any way seeking to underestimate the problems that working people had to face, it is essential to appreciate that so many were able to transcend the poverty of their material condition, and lead remarkably full lives. For the historian of leisure, this is especially important to grasp. After only one morning's immersion in the works of many 19th and early 20th century social commentators, or in the standard works of labour history, which of necessity catalogue the privations underlying so much working class life, it is sometimes hard to remember that the Yorkshire Textile District spawned a variety of often intellectually demanding, absorbing and/or expensive pastimes. Clearly, there were always some, a depressingly large minority in all possibility, who simply could not rise above the situation they were forced into by the vicissitudes of laissez faire capitalism. The woolcombers of late Victorian Bradford were so exhausted by their labour that even a visit to the public house became a hazardous recreation, as "a very small quantity of beer renders them powerless"⁴³. Similarly, the low often irregular wages that many received obviously circumscribed life outside the workplace⁴⁴. But within the limits set by their material and physical condition, many managed to lead lives of a richness not always noted by the social critics of the period. Paradoxically, it may have been the case that bad conditions actually bred a more vigorous community life; it is surely not unlikely that poor housing, for example, drove many men (although far fewer women) to seek their leisure satisfactions outside of the home. It has long been accepted, for example, that the public house was a major beneficiary of poor housing in the 19th century, but it is equally possible that in areas such as West Yorkshire, where even sizable numbers of skilled workers might live in overcrowded back-to-backs, that the brass band, the soccer club and the flower show committee also gained from a nightly exodus of menfolk from their hearths⁴⁵.

Working people survived in, and in some cases, even enjoyed living in these towns, and villages which so angered contemporary critics, through the operation of several sometimes separate, sometimes complementary institutions and social forces, which provided the local community with comfort, stimulation and the hope of improvement, even

transformation, of their means and mode of existence. The satisfying use of leisure time was clearly one of the most important of these influences, but as one particular aspect of it forms the focus of this thesis, there is neither space nor need to discuss this topic here. But certain of these other processes are certainly worth exploration, not simply for the part they played in mitigating the problems of everyday existence, but because they had a central role in structuring the mental climate of the region. The remainder of this chapter looks in particular at the place of civic pride and local patriotism, religion and politics in the life of the textile region.

The existence of local patriotism, although often neglected or at least not taken seriously by historians, was of considerable importance. Edward Thompson has described the Yorkshire Textile District as it existed by the late 1880's as "a distinctive community, with common characteristics, imposed by its staple industries, geographical isolation, and historical traditions"⁴⁶. Yet, one of its most significant "common characteristics" was a quite remarkable degree of inter-town rivalry and small town patriotism. In many senses it may in fact be more accurate to depict the region as being "a set of distinctive communities within a distinctive community" than to accept the degree of unity implicit in Thompson's statement. If Bradford had a showpiece public hall, then as Professor Briggs has so eloquently told us, so must Leeds⁴⁷. If Triangle had a new mechanics institute, then so must Sowerby. If Holme were victorious at football, cricket, brass banding or pigeon racing, Hade Edge and Hinchcliffe Mill sought swift and satisfying revenge. In the remoter villages, there was still a remarkable insularity accompanying this local pride. Even in the early 20th century, visitors to Heptonstall were stoned by local children and asked for money, while in many small communities (and sometimes in the "villages" within the larger towns) women would beat on their neighbours' firebacks to announce to presence of a stranger and a street of sharp, questioning eyes would follow the visitor's progress⁴⁸. Professor J. H. Clapham went as far as to describe this patriotism as "perhaps the strongest force in the life of the West Riding"⁴⁹.

It is not possible to explain this phenomenon fully, but there were clearly several features of the region's history which made it particularly prone to this excessive campanilismo. Of undoubted

importance was the fact that many of the villages and towns that comprised the district had been, or indeed still were, relatively small, tight-knit, isolated, and centred very heavily upon one particular aspect of the wool trade. These were places where periods of crisis and prosperity really had been shared by the population as a whole, creating a certain unity of purpose and outlook. These close, insular communities found plenty of course for rivalry. There were clear variations within the region as a whole, which both reflected and reinforced feelings of separateness. The fundamental economic and topographical differences noted earlier were clearly important here, as were the maze of local dialects, kept alive in a plentiful supply of dialect literature⁵⁰. Alongside this, tensions were raised by the vigorous trade rivalries that developed between different towns as they fought to corner certain sectors of the wool trade. Many of these rivalries probably dated back centuries, but from about the middle of the 19th century they were given new life by the concept of civic pride, fostered particularly by the local manufacturing classes, anxious to create loyalty among the working classes, both to them and to capitalism itself. While we can undoubtedly point to periods when the similar political, economic or religious experience of people living in Halifax, Horsforth or Heptonstall brought about a unity of interest and action, this peculiar combination of middle class self-interest and self-flattery and popular zeal that comprised the feelings of local pride, was never far from the surface, a vital factor in the texture of local life, both helping the population to see the strengths of their locality (or at least be persuaded by the middle class to believe that they existed even if they could not see them) and to seek for new levels of achievement⁵¹.

It is perhaps significant that some of the most important celebrations of local patriotism took place on essentially religious occasions. Sunday School anniversaries, Whit walks, the opening of a new church or chapel, were enthusiastically adopted as an opportunity to sanctify the achievement of the local community. Although religious leaders, particularly in West Yorkshire's largest towns, found much to depress them in the statistics of public worship collected nationally in 1851, and occasionally in individual towns at a later date, the influence of church, and above all chapel, was of

fundamental importance to all aspects of the region's existence throughout the period to 1914⁵². The Yorkshire Textile District was above all a stronghold of nonconformity. Every census and survey taken in the district illustrated that fact with a clarity which caused continual concern to the Anglican church⁵³. As late as 1873, after the massive building programme which the established church had conducted from the 1830's had improved their position, their share of total sittings rarely rose above 35%, and was as low as 18.9% in Batley. Even in Leeds, where Dr. Hook had made such strenuous efforts, the Anglican church had only 36.3% of available sittings⁵⁴. Only in the region around Wakefield, a traditional Anglican stronghold, and from 1888 the centre of a new diocese, did this basic picture vary.

"Old Dissent" was well established in West Yorkshire by the 17th century, a feature reflected in the strong support for the Parliamentary cause manifested in the area during the Civil War⁵⁵. From the early 1740's came the added and crucial thrust of Methodism. As was the case in most regions, the early Yorkshire Methodists often suffered an extremely difficult time, arousing the ire of the local religious establishment, and often - with some conniving by the clergy on occasions - of the local community. But they succeeded in overcoming this initial hostility and in building Methodism into a genuine popular movement⁵⁶. From what is understood of the dynamics of Methodist expansion, West Yorkshire was an area particularly well suited to large scale conversion. It had been seriously neglected by the established church and there were large expanses of the district where Anglican influence was non-existent. Equally, the relative prevalence of relatively small, isolated, tightly-knit communities is fundamental here, for new ideas once grasped by a few influential figures, could spread rapidly through the population as a whole⁵⁷. A recent writer has made what so far appears to be a convincing case for seeing the series of short rapid spurts which marked Methodist growth in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, as reflecting a swing from radical political activity to religious fervour by the working classes, in the wake of the collapse of political activity⁵⁸. Any one, or any combination of these factors, could be responsible for the great take-off of Methodism that the textile district was to witness in the late 18th century and the first half of the 19th century. The West Riding of Yorkshire as a whole was in fact to become the most

important single region of Methodist support in the first half of the 19th century, providing 17.3% of the Wesleyan Methodists' 90,000 national membership in 1801, and although new areas developed in the period after 1850, it remained a major stronghold⁵⁹. Obviously academics have directed a great deal of attention toward the growth of Methodism, and it is easy to assume that little else of importance happened in the region's religious history. But without wishing to concur in this erroneous view, it is difficult to overstate the significance of the Methodist movement when making a study which is concerned with the history of music. As will be argued more fully in a later section, the strength of local Methodism with its massive emphasis on the use of song as a weapon in the battle for souls, is arguably one of the most vital factors involved in the creation of West Yorkshire's musical culture⁶⁰.

The feeling that Methodism's early exciting history should dominate our picture of 19th century religious history, is aided by the fact that in the period after 1850, the religious atmosphere altered noticeably, becoming a little less overtly exciting for the historian. Despite the incursions of certain salvationists and sects such as the Believers in Johanna Southcott, who were still holding monthly meetings at Apple Hall, Bradford, in 1881, the older enthusiastic, sometimes millenarian flavour disappeared from much evangelical religion, and a newer, somewhat softer tone emerged⁶¹. In all probability, Methodist membership perhaps even decreased in the second half of the 19th century, and although detailed local statistics are not available, the social base of Methodism overall, may have become more "middle class"⁶². Nonconformist chapels, in West Yorkshire as in most parts of Britain, once noted for their austerity, became increasingly more ornate, more expensive. From the 1890's there was indeed increasing talk from all corners of the religious spectrum of a loss of faith, of declining congregations and members. Once again, there is unfortunately no detailed analysis of the region's late Victorian and Edwardian religious geography available, but it seems probable that the textile district suffered at least some of the problems experienced by religious bodies in other regions⁶³. But even in this later period, religion was of enormous importance to the area. Then, as throughout the period, religious ideologies helped to shape the mentality of the region, and religious

institutions provided many of its social and even political organisations. Involvement in religious life either by providing spiritual balm, or by encouraging social action to improve the nature of earthly existence, played a major part in the lives of many people.

But for many, even the devoutly religious, religious involvement alone was not always sufficient to effect change, and energies were directed into the political realm. The textile district was a region of great political volatility. Elections were contested vigorously, party political battles fought continuously, and perhaps most important, the district stood in the vanguard of virtually every 19th century working class political movement of size and significance. Agitation from Luddism right through to the re-emergence of socialism and the foundation of the Independent Labour Party in the late 19th century, enjoyed always significant, often massive degrees of support throughout the area⁶⁴. This is not to suggest a picture of the West Yorkshire working class as being in a state of continuous, united, militant political action. Even in the years of peak activity between c. 1815 and c. 1848, large sections of the workforce took no part in radical industrial or political activity. Queensbury, a small industrial hill-top village, half way between the quasi-revolutionary chartist strongholds of Halifax and Bradford, dominated by the paternalism of John Foster and Company, knew not even the mildest tremour of Chartist activity. Instead, in a proclamation issued only ten days after Kennington Common, the workforce thanked the masters for "the regular employment their business talents have procured for all employed at Black Dyke Mills of late years and particularly during the panic of 1847"⁶⁵. But while such displays of loyalism and conservatism deserve greater acknowledgement than they normally receive, the many displays of working class protest made West Yorkshire an undoubted leader in the nation's popular political arena.

It is at first sight paradoxical that an area with such a strong tradition of political action should produce such an etiolated trade union movement as that which existed in West Yorkshire. In fact the situation was more straightforward than it appears. Frustration on the part of working class people at their continued failure to make improvements in their daily condition through trade union channels, because of the weakness of those channels, led to a concerted effort to build a better life through political means. Certainly, this type

of argument featured strongly in the thinking of the men who built the Independent Labour Party in the 1890's. It is easy to see the reason for their frustration. When the Webbs looked at Yorkshire in 1892, they found it to be one of the worst unionised industrial areas in the country, with only 6.3% of the total population in a union⁶⁶. Overall, the textile district appears to have been one of the weakest links of all in this anyway rather depressing picture. Much of the problem stemmed from the fundamental weakness of unionism in the staple wool textile trade, which tended to make both other union organisers and the working population in general think that Yorkshire was somehow an inherently infertile ground for unionisation. As late as 1904, barely 3% of those directly involved in the production of wool textiles were unionised⁶⁷.

Many ideas have been put forward to explain this phenomenon. Much attention has been paid to the large number of women and children employed in the industry and the problems which thus ensued. The number of women and children involved in the wool textile trade does appear to have been rising throughout the late 19th century, thus leading to the creation of a pool of surplus male labour, which could be drawn upon as the employers needed. This situation hardly gave these male workers a strong bargaining position. At the same time, it was difficult to unionise female and juvenile labour, the former tending to be somewhat transient, leaving the mill as family commitments dictated, the latter particularly open to victimisation⁶⁸. But even allowing for these factors, it is noteworthy that in the cotton industry, also a large employer of female labour, women were unionised remarkably effectively, and in the final analysis it is possible that women would have joined unions if the male operatives had set a firmer example⁶⁹. The male workers in turn had problems stemming from a variety of causes: the predominance of small units of production which made victimisation easier; the paternalism of many large family employers, such as Salt, Ripley, Taylor and Foster; the fact that men rarely worked in large numbers together and often tended to have supervisory functions over female and juvenile workers; the divisions within the trade, which meant that workers rarely felt that their interests were similar to fellow workers in other mills; and the intensity of local patriotism, "thanks to which, places but a few miles apart each work out their own salvation in their own way. That

which is done in Bradford is no precedent for Leeds. Pudsey does not learn of Cleckheaton, nor Ossett of Wakefield"⁷⁰.

It is also extremely important to appreciate the extraordinarily bad start that the first attempts at wool textile trade unionisation suffered. While many of the cotton workers' initial actions at least achieved partial success, the first major industrial conflict in the wool textile industry, the Bradford centred woolcombers and weavers strike of 1825, was bitterly and savagely repressed. The strike which was initially concerned with a wage claim, but became a fight for union recognition, began in June 1825, became a lock-out in July, and eventually collapsed in November. Involving 20,000 people directly and probably the whole community indirectly, its protracted course induced appalling levels of hardship. The employers won simply by refusing to contemplate the strikers' demands and thus literally starving them into submission. The dominant memory of strike activity at least around Bradford, and it is possible that the reverberations went further, was thus one of abject failure and misery. It is perhaps not surprising that the working classes of West Yorkshire showed a preference for direct political action, above industrial struggle⁷¹.

All this should not lead to neglect of the fact that a certain amount of trade unionisation did take place. The majority of the nationally organised craft unions had relatively active branches all over West Yorkshire, with engineering, mining and building the most heavily unionised trades in the region⁷². There were a number of unions amongst the small aristocratic trades of the wool textile industry, such as the National Union of Woolsorters, and dyeing and bleaching, the one area of the industry in which men tended to work together in large numbers, attained a respectable level of unionisation by the late 19th century⁷³. Again, strikes were far from unknown, even in the textile industry, and when they came, were often long and bitter conflicts⁷⁴. But in general, despite the efforts of a dedicated core of union organisers, the wool textile district was to remain something of a poor relation in the trade union world.

Between 1850 and 1914 the textile district was, as one would expect of a nonconformist manufacturing district, essentially a Liberal stronghold. As in Britain as a whole, until the early 1890's, the

Liberal Party were highly successful in attracting and maintaining the support of the enfranchised working classes and until that time, their only electoral challenge came from the Conservatives. Conservatism enjoyed particular support in parts of the Saddleworth district, in the Anglican stronghold of Wakefield and, perhaps somewhat surprisingly, in Leeds, where the local party had the happy knack of selecting local men of considerable influence, men such as George Beecroft, a Leeds ironmaster successful in attracting a significant number of working men's votes in the 1860's. It was in these three areas only that the Conservatives gained an average of over 50% during the six elections between 1885 and 1910. But overall, the Conservative Party had to accept second best⁷⁵.

From the final years of the 19th century there came too the ultimately more serious challenge of Independent Labour. The great battles of the late Victorian and Edwardian period, which saw both the revival of Socialism and the establishment of a distinct Labour Party have been very well documented and need little elucidation here, but it is essential to discuss the strength of Labour/Socialist sentiment in West Yorkshire. In general the textile district illustrated a preference for the less overtly socialist Independent Labour Party, to organisations like the Socialist League or the S.D.F.⁷⁶. The textile district was undoubtedly the greatest single area of support for the I.L.P. in Britain. In 1895, two years after its foundation at a conference in Bradford, 78 of its 305 branches were situated in the textile district⁷⁷. Bradford, Halifax and the Colne Valley were particular focuses of I.L.P. sympathy, with Bradford having no fewer than 29 branches in 1895⁷⁸. It was in these three constituencies that I.L.P. candidates were elected to Parliament in the years before 1914⁷⁹. Progress was by no means steady and there were periods, notably in the early 1900's when a great deal of the initial momentum seemed to have been lost. But by about 1910 it was clear that Labour candidates had become an established part of the political ecology. In that year, Bradford I.L.P. were actually able to attract 35.2% of the vote in the local government elections⁸⁰.

But, while the growth of the party is undoubtedly important, it would be wrong to see the I.L.P. either as a force throughout the district or as in any way the dominant force in local political life. Its support was strongest in those areas where the Liberals had either

consistently antagonised their working class supporters or had simply offered them nothing at all. Middle class Liberals felt particularly able to ignore calls for legislation serving the interests of the working class and for an increase in working class candidates, in those constituencies where there was no large scale bloc of working class electors to be appeased. Bradford, and particularly Bradford West, where F. W. Jowett was to be elected in 1905, was the perfect example of this, a city where despite a certain degree of segregation, different social classes lived in quite close proximity. In Leeds, however, the southern constituency was far more overtly working class, and the Liberal Party, anxious not to lose votes, felt a more pressing need to give in to a certain amount of working class pressure. It is significant that Leeds was to have perhaps the weakest Independent Labour lobby in the whole textile district⁸¹. Similarly, the Independent Labour Party were never to gain any great degree of success in the Heavy Woollen District, in the villages of the Holme Valley or in Keighley. While it is obvious that the Independent Labour Party were steadily gaining support throughout the period from 1893, that the growing support from the trade unions meant that Labour was increasingly poised for growth, while Liberalism was not, and that the growth of the Independent Labour Party genuinely heralded the decline of the old Liberal consensus and the re-emergence of class-based politics, the West Yorkshire textile district was still clearly a bastion of Liberalism until the outbreak of World War One.

The lasting impression that the modern observer receives of 19th and early 20th century West Yorkshire is one of dynamic activity: it was a forcing house of so many features of contemporary life. Its experience of rapid industrialisation and urbanisation bred in the district both the positive preconditions, such as a number of close knit communities and a large population, and the evils, with the sense of anger, injustice, spiritual and political need that accompanied them, that were necessary to generate a whole range of community-based action. The Yorkshire Textile District was challenged only by South and East Lancashire, an area it resembled in many important senses, as a centre of such diverse aspects of contemporary popular culture as Chartism, the Co-operative Movement, the growth of Independent Labour Party, the brass band movement, professional sport and Methodism. It is to the

exploration of one particular facet of this vigorous culture and the manner in which it inter-related with the local society that created it, that the rest of this thesis is devoted.

Chapter Two

The Origins of the Popular Musical Society

The Bands and choirs which by the mid 19th century were becoming such a noteworthy feature of West Yorkshire's social life, were rooted in a tradition of popular music making stretching back for centuries. 19th century collections of folksong are suggestive of a strong singing tradition amongst earlier generations; feasts, fairs and holidays had always provided much opportunity for musical enjoyment, while the activities of the church offered the local community a variety of musical experience. But although all this clearly afforded an important base for later generations to develop, it was above all the developments which began about the middle of the 18th century that were of the greatest significance for future generations. From this date began an expansion of musical activity which, despite the massive social dislocation accompanying the early industrial period, continued almost unchecked until the early 20th century.

Several later Victorian writers and indeed even a few recent historians of music, tended to view the century before about 1840 as a musical wasteland¹. However, such a picture hardly stands up to scrutiny. A number of late 18th century and early 19th century commentators were particularly impressed by the obvious enthusiasm for musical activity amongst the working classes of the northern manufacturing districts. Charles Dibdin, writing in 1788, noted that:

"I have been assured, for a fact, that more than one man in Halifax can take any part in choruses of the Messiah, and go regularly through the whole oratorio by heart; and, indeed, the facility with which the common people join together throughout the greatest part of Yorkshire and Lancashire in every species of choral music, is truly astonishing" ².

Almost forty years later, the musical historian and journalist George Hogarth found that the textile communities of West Yorkshire had in no way lost their fervour, claiming that "the spirit of music pervades the people of this district in a manner unknown and unfelt in the rest of our Island"³. As one eminent authority has pointed out, we should beware of overstressing the observations of middle class observers such as Dibdin and Hogarth⁴. It would be ridiculous to see every working man as a passionate devotee of Handel and there were obviously many who had no interest in any type of music whatsoever. But there is plentiful evidence to suggest that, especially in smaller communities, sizeable sections of the working community could become

involved in musical life'. Joseph Craven, remembering his mid 19th century childhood in Stanbury, a relatively isolated hamlet in the Worth Valley above Keighley, recalled that:

"any person going through Stanbury on a Sunday evening would have stopped to listen to the singing and playing. Pianos were not common in those days, but there were fiddles and flutes and other instruments. In many a home, if one could have gone in, he would have heard a good concert This was not done in one house only, but it was so in many cottage homes"⁵.

Obviously, this vigorous musical culture was by no means the sole preserve of the working classes. Several of the Choral societies which began to emerge in the 1820's contained performers of relatively high social status. Two such societies, Bradford Musical Friendly Society and the Bradford Philharmonic, included amongst their ranks in the early 1830's the owner of a vitriol works, the manager of a textile factory, an artist, an attorney's clerk, an architect, the local postmaster and Bradford's inspector of Weights and Measures⁶. The same was true of certain early brass and reed bands. John Foster, the founder of the Black Dyke Mills, was a member of the Queenshead Band founded by a local publican in about 1816, while William Lister Marriner, son of a Keighley millowner, was a playing member of a band he founded in 1844⁷. But in general, the impression remains that it was the domestic outworkers, the artisans and the small tradesmen who formed the backbone of local musical life; these groups, who played such a significant role in the development of working class political culture, made an equally critical contribution to the musical tradition. It is significant that Dibdin laid stress on the musical activities of "the common people", while Hogarth claimed that the amateur societies of the North consisted mainly of "mechanics and workpeople"⁸. Indeed, the occupational structure of many West Yorkshire villages at this time, many of which were inhabited almost totally by the working classes, made this inevitable.

If one occupational group can claim particular importance in local musical life, it must surely be the weavers. The history of this period abounds with weaver-musicians: men such as Thomas Fawcett of Eccleshill, a cellist and head of a family that has since produced 36 professional musicians in four generations; David Turton, a flannel weaver from Hornbury, whom, legend has it, once tamed a charging bull with a note from his bassoon; Tommy Aumler, a worsted weaver and

singer of great renown, from Idle near Bradford, who while in his cups would wander the area singing

"Lord in Thee, Lord in Thee I have trusted;
Let me never be confounded".

These were the slightly larger than life characters remembered by antiquarians with an eye for local colour, but, in their musical enthusiasm, they were typical of so many of their contemporaries. The Committee of Council on Education reporting to the government in 1841 noted that the weavers of both Lancashire and Yorkshire "have been famed for their acquaintance with the great works of Handel and Haydn, with the part-music of the old English school, and those admirable old English songs, the music of which it is desirable to restore to common use"¹⁰. These musicians represent a further central element of the weaver culture rescued from oblivion by E. P. Thompson, another manifestation of an intellectual current that created poets, botanists, geologists and mathematicians in such apparently unlikely settings as Pudsey, Heckmondwike and Batley Carr¹¹.

This vigorous popular musical culture took place in a variety of locales and a variety of different guises. As Joseph Craven's memories of Stanbury illustrate, the home was the focal point of much music making and this was perhaps particularly true of domestic workers, who made the best use of their flexible work routine (and their sizeable dwellings) by organising practices with neighbours and friends during the day, and making up lost time by working late into the night¹². Certain families became the centre of local musical life and other musicians would come from a great distance to their homes to practice and perform, and these gatherings often, although by no means always, formed themselves into clubs with each member making a small payment towards the cost of music and sometimes tuition. At such gatherings, musicians would often practice pieces for the "village oratorio" or music festival, events very popular in the region between 1780 and 1830, at which sacred music was performed either in a celebration of a religious event, the opening of a new church organ, or to raise money for a local musician¹³. From about the second decade of the 19th century, this process moved a stage further with the foundation of the first of the formally organised orchestras, bands and choral societies. As these organisations became bigger they moved from the cottage to larger buildings, with the public house a particularly popular meeting place¹⁴. The major reasons why the formal musical society gradually emerged from the more loosely structured activity that preceded it are investigated later in this chapter. But it is important at this point to look at the way in which two broad categories of musical society - vocal and instrumental - were to emerge as separate entities.

At least until the early 19th century there does not appear to have been a significant division between the instrumentalist and the singer in local musical culture. Contemporary observations suggest that gatherings containing both musical species were the norm. The instrumentalist would accompany the singers during the course of a vocal work and would then perform a number of pieces on their own. But increasingly from about 1815, (although it must be remembered that many people kept a foot in both camps) the instrumental and the vocal musician began to move apart. To an extent the close liaison between the two types of musician was maintained by the choral societies, most of which had their own amateur orchestra at least until the mid 19th century¹⁵. But from the early 19th century, the distinctively instrumental organisation began to emerge in the shape of the wind band.

The development of the wind band as an individual element of popular musical life has drawn forth interesting speculation from a number of writers, but the paucity of evidence does not allow for definitive explanation. Clearly, amateur wind bands, as opposed to those organised by the army or by municipal corporations, did exist in the 18th century. At least one existed in Leeds, for example, but absolutely nothing is known about it¹⁶. Such bands appear to have become increasingly common in the years between 1800 and 1820, although until about 1815 they were largely anonymous, indicative perhaps of a fairly loose organisational structure and a relatively ephemeral existence. Exactly why the wind band should begin to emerge at this juncture is not absolutely clear, but it probably owes much to the presence of a large number of military bands, both regular and volunteer, in the textile region and indeed throughout the Northern Counties during the period of the Napoleonic wars and their immediate aftermath. Regiments, both those raised to fight the French and those garrisoned in the North to quell any threat of popular rebellion, were invariably accompanied by a "band of music". These bands may well have offered not merely musical inspiration but practical musical training to the local community, for it is probable that both existing musicians and would-be musicians from the area were utilised by these bands. Obviously, all this must remain speculative¹⁷. As stated, evidence is poor and one must also question whether the civilian population were prepared to absorb cultural influences from the army,

an institution which was the object of great hostility at times during the period 1792-1820. Nevertheless it is surely significant that the emergence of the civilian wind band should coincide with the widespread presence of its military counterpart.

The Yorkshire musical community, whether orientated towards the vocal or instrumental, drew its repertoire from a broad range. Dibdin, for example, noted the popularity of "every species of choral music"¹⁸. The instrumental repertoire similarly contained a variety of music. The group of "working men and small tradesmen" centred around the Keighley barber John Carrodus in the early 19th century, featured operatic overtures amongst its repertoire and a few of the better wind bands were doing the same by 1850, (although this was essentially a development of the following decade)¹⁹. Then having finished the overture to Rossini's L'Italiana in Algeri, these musicians were quite likely to break into a glee such as Hail Smiling Morn or even a dance tune. But for the majority it was sacred music that generated the greatest degree of enthusiasm, and hymns and anthems, sometimes written by local musicians, and above all the music of, to use Hogarth's words, "their beloved Handel", formed the core of this local musical culture²⁰. Handel's Messiah in particular became almost an object of idolatry. In the winter of 1768-69 it was performed for fifteen consecutive Friday nights at Holbeck Chapel, Leeds, a degree of exposure illustrative of the enthusiasm aroused by a work which to this day remains at the centre of the Yorkshire choral tradition²¹.

Although the bulk of this music generally "exhibits a freedom from fundamental complexity and a reliable absence of startling or 'unvocal' modulations which makes its performance by untutored amateurs relatively straightforward"²², the fact that it was performed at all demanded an enormous degree of self-sacrifice on the part of local working class musicians, and it is this coupled with a great sense of commitment and enthusiasm that constantly strikes the 20th century observer. Musicians would devote almost all of their spare time to practice and performance. Particularly keen musicians undoubtedly followed the example of Joseph Fawcett and his branch of the celebrated Eccleshill family, who even while weaving "would sometimes stand their music on a shelf and cast glances at it from moment to moment, whistling or singing the notes so as to get familiar with them". Mealbreaks were also used for rehearsal periods

by Joseph and his 3 sons²³. Great distances were walked in order to play or to hear concerts. The Keighley musicians noted above regularly walked to Leeds or Manchester, return journeys of 32 and 60 miles respectively and one admittedly semi-professional singer computed that she had walked 36,000 miles in the 1830's alone, in order to sing at various functions²⁴.

Financial as well as physical demands were also considerable, for both musical instruments and sheet music were luxury items, the obtaining of which stretched the ingenuity of working men to considerable levels. It is not at all clear where their instruments came from. It is possible that some were abandoned or pawned by itinerant musicians, others taken into the community by demobbed soldiers. Hire purchase, certainly being used by brass bands as early as 1855²⁵, may have existed in the earlier period, thus slightly easing financial pressure. Many of the instruments may even have been home made. Organs were built by local craftsmen of musical bent - William Jackson of Masham in North Yorkshire, who was later to conduct the Bradford Festival Choral Society, built one while still in his teens - and local cabinet makers could construct a violin or cello of considerable standard²⁶. Sheet music in its turn was so expensive, with the full score of an oratorio often costing over £1, that hand-made copies were widely used²⁷. A handloom weaver from the Huddersfield district remembered that:

"when any new pieces were required people subscribed and bought one copy. Then blank music paper was purchased at three half pence a sheet, often fetched from places four and five miles away. The different parts were copied out. It was no uncommon thing for a person to sit up all night copying. When written, each part would be bound in brown paper and most carefully guarded and used as long as the paper would hang together" ²⁸.

One can only begin to contemplate the feelings of one Edmund Beaver "a labouring man" and a cellist with the Keighley Choral Society who, in 1848, inadvertantly tossed the printed cello part to Haydn's Creation on the fire and had to find 10s. 6d. for a new one²⁹.

The style and content of the local musical culture outlined above was structured by two central forces: popular religion and the twin processes of industrialisation and urbanisation. The influence of religion upon musical life was, as has been noted, by no means novel.

Religious music, whether in the form of carols, psalm tunes, or for those fortunate enough to worship in a cathedral or large parish church, the music of Palestrina, Byrd, Purcell and others, formed a significant portion of the musical diet for a long period³⁰. One group deserving particular stress are the church gallery musicians, who made a significant contribution to local musical life from the late 17th and early 18th centuries until the mid 19th century. From the end of the 17th century it became increasingly common for specialist groups of singers, often trained by travelling psalmody teachers, to take over the musical aspects of worship, and they were soon joined in many places by small bands of instrumentalists. It is usually claimed that these bands came into being as a result of the ban on church organs imposed by the government's "ordinance for further demolishing of monuments of idolatry and superstition", passed in 1644, and to an extent this is true³¹. The destruction of organs led to their eventual replacement by bands in some churches and doubtless this established a precedent which many others followed; but it should be stressed that in Anglican churches at least the organ was coming back to favour in the early 18th century churches, and many bands emerged in churches where there had never been an organ at all³². To a large extent, the consideration was a practical rather than a theological one, in that organs tended to be expensive, while there was rarely anybody available outside of large towns who could play one.

Much of the research into the church band has been concerned with bands in the south and west of England, but by the early 19th century there clearly was a church and chapel band tradition in Yorkshire which in all probability stretched back considerably further³³. The fact that a musician might be in both the church band and a village dance band, occasionally led to difficulties, and more than one church claimed to have suffered the embarrassment of having the congregation led out of church by a jig because the fiddle player had forgotten that he was no longer presiding at the previous night's festivities³⁴. It is for this kind of anecdote, and for the ire that they aroused amongst certain clergymen, that the bands tend to be remembered, but their contribution deserves more serious contemplation. They served a valuable function in stimulating ensemble playing and perhaps most significantly, their existence prompted members to compose

tunes, chants and anthems, thus encouraging the habit of composition amongst people of often humble origin. There can be no doubt that they served as an important base for later activity.

But while religion had always provided a musical outlet to the community, from the middle of the 18th century, developments within British religious life were to provide music with a massive new stimulus. The Evangelical Revival, and above all the emergence of Methodism, has long been accepted by musical historians as an event of the utmost significance, and this was nowhere more true than in the Methodist stronghold of the Yorkshire Textile district³⁵. John Wesley, partly because of Moravian influence, partly because music helped play a part in his personal conversion, believed deeply in the value of music as an aid to worship³⁶. Methodist congregations were encouraged from the outset to sing vigorously and often, and music and Methodism were soon to become almost synonymous. Their efforts were to result in a vast increase in the amount of music making in the local community. Methodism was a religion that touched areas of West Yorkshire where formal religion was often exceptionally weak, and where therefore the church, such an important element in popular musical culture elsewhere, had had only limited effect in this direction. Thus Methodism's arrival filled not merely a religious gap, but a much wider cultural one.

Certainly, Methodism in no way had a monopoly of local musical activity. Many other religious groups enjoyed a full musical life by the end of the 18th century, and much music making was inter-denominational. Sunday School anniversaries were celebrated by "sitting-ups", concerts featuring both children's choirs and local groups of adult vocalists and instrumentalists which brought together musicians from many different faiths³⁷. But it is clear that very often it was Methodist success that stimulated other denominations to make more use of music in worship. Many Anglican evangelicals shared the Methodist trust in hymnology, and even Anglican establishments untouched by revivalist fervour came to accept that unless they followed the Methodist lead, they may well lose many adherents. "It is not rashness", argued Dr. William Vincent in 1790, "to assert that for one who has been drawn away from the Established Church by preaching, ten have been induced by music"³⁸. Through its attempts to Christianize the poorer classes, Methodism, both through

its own deeds and the imitation that it engendered, greatly enhanced the role of music in religious life, and in time that music was to spill over from its original setting into a wider social context and thus lay the base of a popular tradition that to an extent remains with us even today.

The bulk of that music was inevitably sacred, and a great deal of it took the form of hymn singing. As is well known, the 18th century evangelical revival stimulated the greatest flowering of hymnology that this country has ever witnessed and the Methodist congregations were encouraged to sing their hymn tunes with great vigour³⁹. Initially, the tunes used were relatively simple, but as the century progressed, as more chapels and churches began to adopt specialist bands and choirs, constantly looking for greater musical challenge, a taste developed for a more complex style based largely upon the oratorio style of Handel, and for oratorio itself. In West Yorkshire, as in many areas of Britain, the popularity of oratorio and above all of Handel's Messiah owed much to the organisation of performances by local Methodist leaders. Much has been written about the close relationship between the Messiah and Methodist doctrine. It has been claimed that: "Handel gave musical expression to the very doctrines which those evangelicals (i.e. Methodists) rescued from neglect", and in particular to Wesley's doctrine of "assurance"⁴⁰. There is undoubtedly much in this, but it is tempting to suggest that for many the appeal was doctrinal only in the limited sense that the work dealt with the essence of Christian thought: prophecy, coming, resurrection, redemption. Here was a compendium of basic Christianity set to music, exhilarating for both listener and performer.

It is, however, important to note that although local Methodists were to do much to encourage the performance of the Messiah, it was in fact at Halifax Parish Church, a relatively orthodox Anglican establishment, that the work received its first performance in West Yorkshire, in 1766. Joah Bates, son of the local parish clerk, later to gain fame as the organiser of the First Handel Festival in 1784, brought a manuscript copy from London to his native town, early that year, and the oratorio was eventually performed on the 27th August, to celebrate the opening of the new Parish Church organ⁴¹. Similarly, Holbeck Chapel, scene of that early example of Messiah worship in 1768, was an Anglican foundation⁴². It should be stressed that until

the mid 19th century, it was rare for an oratorio to be performed in its entirety, and after these early performances, Messiah selections became the norm⁴³. But even in truncated form, the Messiah maintained a firm hold on the popular imagination.

It is noteworthy that within the Methodist connexion at least, the popularity of both oratorio and oratorio-style compositions within local congregations proved a considerable source of tension between the leadership and rank and file. While Wesley himself was appreciative of several 18th century oratorios, in general he felt that the enthusiasm amongst chapel goers for what he termed "fugueing" music, detracted from the spiritual message contained in the texts that the music accompanied, thus eliminating their devotional value⁴⁴.

"Our composers do not aim at moving the passions, but quite another thing - at varying and contrasting the notes a thousand different ways. What had counterpoint to do with the passions? It is applied to a quite different faculty of the mind; not to our joy, or hope, or fear; but merely to the ear, to the imagination, or internal sense ... (now) this astonishing jargon has found a place even in the worship of God!"⁴⁵

At least until the third decade of the 19th century the Methodist Conference continued the attack on what they saw as the encroachment of "formality" in Methodist music. Excessive counterpoint, the introduction of anthems, the use of instruments other than the brass viol in the accompaniment of worship music were all regularly attacked by Conference, but in general, many local congregations seem to have ignored such musical directives as interfered with their own taste⁴⁶. It was obvious that it was not only in political and theological matters that John Wesley had unleashed a popular tradition that he could not always control.

Obviously, not all musical progress amongst religious groups stemmed solely from attempts to follow the Methodist lead. Changes within a denomination could bring about a new attitude to music that owed nothing to Methodist example, and this is certainly true of the so-called "Anglican Choral Revival", which began in the 1840's⁴⁷. Although the Yorkshire textile district was not an Anglican stronghold, the established religion had enough adherents for this musical phenomenon to be worthy of some attention. The revival was basically an outgrowth of the Tractarian movement, a musical manifestation of

the wider attempt to regain a sense of devotion, of grandeur, in religious worship. It is not always easy to arrive at an objective assessment of Anglican music before 1840. While for the historian, the church gallery musicians represent an important element in popular musical culture, to many contemporaries they were an unholy nuisance. Similarly, congregational singing represented an easy butt for satirical pens, as this verse about Leeds Parish Church illustrates.

"Then they began to preach and pray,
They pray'd for George our King,
When up jumps t'chap in t'bottom most tub,
Say he - "Good folks lets sing".
I thou't some sang right weel,
While some did grunt and groan,
An ivery man sang what he would,
So I sang Darby and Joan" ⁴⁸.

But while we should perhaps reserve judgement as to whether the standard was as bad as the many detractors make out, it would be surprising if the reforms of the 1840's onwards did not significantly improve the quality of Anglican choral music.

The revival should be viewed as a set of different responses to the same problem, rather than a monolith. Anglican musical circles were divided between advocates and critics of Gregorian chant, and between supporters of increased congregational singing and their opponents who believed in the musical hegemony of a select choir. There is not space here to give a detailed history of the revival or to dissect the theological justifications behind the differing musical standpoints, other than to observe that in West Yorkshire there seems to have been a preference for the choir over the congregation. The best known example of the revival in West Yorkshire is afforded by the reforms undertaken at Leeds Parish Church. In the early 1840's, Dr. Hook, the newly appointed Vicar of Leeds, installed Samuel Wesley as organist and choirmaster, who in turn established a highly efficient choir and elevated Leeds Parish Church to a position of renown in Anglican musical circles⁴⁹. Wesley's regimen at Leeds perhaps represents the highspot of revivalist achievement in West Yorkshire, but there were many less spectacular but solid developments. Many parishes, for example, founded choral associations to stimulate improvements amongst their choristers⁵⁰. The revival was to continue

into the 1860's and in the long term, although improving the quality of music, in fact may have made church music a more specialist pastime, limiting its number of active participants, by stimulating the revival of organ building and thus beginning the demise of the church band, and by eventually accepting the dominance of a surpliced choir over the congregation⁵¹. But in the 1840's at least, the Anglican choral revival, while having less impact upon popular music making than Methodism, by encouraging a new degree of interest in vocal music and by greatly enhancing the standard of performance that people heard, must have played a positive part in the development and encouragement of musical life.

While religion provided the critical element in the initial expansion of musical activity in West Yorkshire, from the early 19th century the processes of industrialisation and urbanisation came to have a decisive impact upon both its growth and organisation. Firstly, the diversification of musical life that took place at this time owed much to the efforts of those members of "propertied" society who regarded music as an antidote to the social and political problems resulting from these processes. One of the most revealing statements of belief in music's value as an ameliorative, stems from the pen of George Hogarth, writing about West Yorkshire in the mid 1830's.

"The district [viz. West Yorkshire and Lancashire, and particularly the former] which thus forms the musical focus of England is filled with a dense manufacturing population. Its inhabitants are crowded together in numberless towns and villages; its once romantic streams are made to toil in giving motion to machinery; and its blue skies are lost in clouds of ever enduring smoke. For rustics, there are artisans; for solitary shepherdesses, troops of factory girls. There are fluctuations in employment and in wages; transitions from abundance which leapt to recklessness and riotous profusion, to grinding penury and its equally baleful train. There are, in short, all those elements of misery and vice which are so fearfully at work among the people of England; and yet it is no less gratifying than true that some power counteracts their operation. The people in their manners and usages, retain much of the simplicity of the "olden times"; the spirit of industrious independence maintains its ground among them in spite of the demoralizing progress of pauperism and poor laws; they are religious in spite of the spread of infidelity; and they love their families and friends, in spite of the attractions of the beershop. All this, of course, is not universally the case, but its general truth, to a remarkable extent, will be doubted by no one who has lived

among and known the people of this neighbourhood. The power to which these effects are, in a very considerable degree, to be ascribed, we hesitate not to affirm, is SACRED MUSIC" 52.

While Hogarth stressed the role of "sacred music" there seems to have been a general feeling that music of any sort, provided it was removed from any "immoral association", was a weapon in the battle for class collaboration and respectability. Perhaps the best example of this is afforded by the brass band movement, which received much crucial financial aid from employers seeking to cement good relationships between themselves and their workforce, and from local people of financial substance who saw banding as a vehicle for social and moral improvement. This will be discussed at far greater length in a later section, because evidence relating to this phenomenon is far more easily obtainable for the later period. Nevertheless, it is certain that this practice had begun before 1850.

A similar ethos of paternalism and what we might call "social control" lay behind the emergence of the so-called "sightsinging mania" of the 1840's. This phenomenon owes its origins to the expansion of interest in the educative value of vocal music which took place amongst moral reformers, educationalists and religious spokesmen in the late 1830's and 1840's. By the early 1840's, several men were working on behalf of various organisations which were organising singing classes at which people were taught to sing at sight, without recourse, at least initially, to the complexities of traditional musical notation. (John Hullah working for Sir James Kay and the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, John Curwen, for the Sunday Schools of the Congregational Church and Joseph Mainzer, a freelance who worked for whoever hired him, were the main singing instructors of the period). The major exponents of sight-singing and their numerous disciples in the country at large, developed a range of teaching methods, all based more or less on the use of the gamut, a system of musical notation in use since medieval time, whereby each note was given a name (doh, re, mi and so forth) other than its "correct" term (A, B flat, G sharp, or whatever). It was believed that apart from simplifying matters, such a system gave people a greater understanding of the relationship between different notes and made singing at sight much easier.

The outburst of musical enthusiasm which the work of Curwen and his counterparts engendered has received a considerable degree of attention from musical historians and in this section the emphasis will be on the local rather than the better known national history⁵³. While one has to accept that the singing class movement had a definite impact upon the development of popular musical culture and thus demands our attention, it should be said that there has been a tendency by some writers to exaggerate its impact. Dr. MacKerness has claimed that it "aroused" a "thirst for music", while Reginald Nettel has seen the singing class movement as being the basis of the choral and brass band movements⁵⁴. Similarly, Dr. Bernarr Rainbow argues that "the public of England and Scotland at large found themselves infected with an enthusiasm to learn to sing which these islands had never previously experienced"⁵⁵, that the activities of the 1840's "had given to the general public a new social experience"⁵⁶. The implication in all these statements is that the sight singing experiments (and above all John Curwen's Tonic Sol Fa Method) actually originated popular music making. In fact, as has already been illustrated, an enthusiasm for music had existed for generations. Certainly, Yorkshire may be a little untypical, and perhaps in other parts of Britain the events of the 1840's did engender "a new social experience", but in general, such a view of the sight[†]singing craze would appear a little exaggerated. Equally, while the methods of Wilhem, Mainzer, Hullah and Curwen and the others who emerged after 1840 may have been new, the idea of sightsinging most certainly was not. There was a tradition in Yorkshire based on the "Old English" or "Lancashire" notation, dating well back into the 18th century, and possibly beyond, which in fact continued in some parts of the country late into the 19th century⁵⁷. The originality of the 1840's lay in the transformation of what had been a purely musical activity, into a moral crusade led by middle class philanthropists who used music to meet a variety of moral ends. "Sightsinging mania", at least from the point of view of its propertied supporters, was one of the many early Victorian responses to problems of crime, intemperance, irreligion and political extremism.

Joseph Mainzer, a radical political refugee from Orleanist France, was the most influential prophet of sightsinging in West Yorkshire, or more particularly in Leeds, which was the centre of sightsinging in

the county at least in the 1840's. His claim that:

"the time is hastening when the soldier and the sailor, the plodding labourer and the dusty artisan, will forsake the pothouse and the gin palace for the singing school, and so become raised in the scale of civilisation ...",

attracted many looking for solutions to the social and political problems of this volatile decade⁵⁸. His classes in London and particularly those in Bolton, where many of the manufacturers co-operated by allowing their workforce time off to attend, had attracted considerable attention⁵⁹. In March 1843, while preaching the sol-fa gospel in Glasgow, he received a letter signed by virtually every eminent personage in Leeds, requesting him to give a brief series of lectures in the town⁶⁰. He complied and as a direct result of interest stimulated by his visit, a Yorkshire Working Men's Singing Association, based in Leeds, was founded in July 1843⁶¹. The size, the geographical spread, and the social base of the organisation are unknown, although by 1845 it had progressed sufficiently to enable a select chorus of some 200 "working men" drawn from individual classes to give a concert of glees and madrigals at Leeds Town Hall, during which they also provided chorus accompaniment to notable local singers, including Mrs. Sunderland one of the pre-eminent English Sopranos of the period⁶².

Overall, the 1840's represented something of a false start. By the 1850's, the Association had disappeared⁶³. Mainzer's technique proved inadequate for dealing with any but the easiest types of music, and the initial enthusiasm mellowed. This is not to deny that there were achievements. Doubtless some were given an entree to music by the classes and at the same time sufficient interest was stimulated to ensure future progress. While Mainzer's system and that of his English imitator John Hullah failed, John Curwen's tonic-sol-fa method endured and in the second half of the 19th century made a solid continual contribution to the world of amateur music making⁶⁴. Perhaps most important of all was the fact that the bulk of the singing activity took place in the larger urban areas and it thus helped keep music making alive in those areas where social change almost certainly disrupted the traditional style of musical activity enjoyed in the smaller village communities. It is significant that many of our early 19th century pictures of really intense musical life come from industrial villages rather than from the fast growing terraces

of Leeds or Bradford, and if the singing class movement penetrated these latter areas, it is clearly of some significance. But in the last analysis, sight-singing in the 1840's, although far from inconsequential, in West Yorkshire at least was essentially a phenomenon with a relatively limited immediate impact, and was only one feature amongst many laying the base of future working class musical culture.

The encouragement of music by the middle classes was a response to the problems of industrialisation and urbanisation as perceived from "above". But it is also possible that the structure of popular music making was affected by a response to these problems from the musical community itself. The increasing formalisation of music making has already been noticed and while it should not be overstressed, with the informal methods continuing well into the 19th century, and the new societies still a long way from the levels of sophistication they were eventually to achieve, this development obviously represents a significant change of direction. There had always been a certain degree of formal organisation within the world of amateur music. One of the earliest societies we know of was that founded by Nicholas Yonge, probably a St. Paul's chorister, whose house formed the daily meeting place for a group of musically inclined London gentlemen and merchants in the late 16th century⁶⁵. This type of organisation remained popular for several centuries and by the mid 18th century there were also signs of similar organisation amongst working men, most notably the Madrigal Society founded by Spitalfield weavers in 1741⁶⁶. There are records of musical clubs in Halifax from about the same time⁶⁷. But in general there is clearly a qualitative difference between this type of organisation and the societies that emerged in the period after 1815.

The first institution in West Yorkshire that contemporaries recognised as a "choral society" as opposed to simply a musical club or less formal gathering was the Halifax Quarterly Choral Society which was founded in 1818, while the Queen's^hhead Band, founded in 1816, was arguably the first formally constituted wind band⁶⁸. Both types of organisation were small in comparison with the size they were to attain by the late 19th century. The Huddersfield Choral Society, founded in 1836, had only 62 members on commencement, but had over 450 on its register in 1897⁶⁹. Similarly, the early wind bands were

usually composed of between 8 and 15 players (and in fact 15 was the upper limit set by the officials of the first Belle Vue Brass Band championships in 1853), whereas by the 1880's, 24 players represented the norm for most competition bands and even the smallest village bands rarely had less than a dozen⁷⁰. But for all this, the nascent choral societies and bands of the period after 1815 represented a critical new phenomenon in the structure of popular musical life.

Of vital significance, this new genre of musical organisation had names, something which was extremely rare before 1815. Choral groups before this date were just anonymous "clubs", while bands were invariably referred to simply as "a band of music". Alongside this, these new bodies began to develop formal committees, and to construct quite rigorous rules, possibly based upon those used by friendly societies and trade unions. A system of fines featured prominently. Members of the Huddersfield Choral Society were fined 3d. for lateness, 6d. for absence, intoxication or obscenity, 2s. 6d. for interrupting during the practice of a piece, and, under legislation introduced in 1843, suffered total exclusion for attendance at the local Owenite Hall of Science⁷¹. The Bradford Old Choral Society passed rules in 1843 establishing a fine of 2s. 6d. for lending music to non-members and expulsion for "any felonious offence"⁷². Certainly, a few of the earlier societies, notably the Madrigal Society, had quite sophisticated rules, but there is no evidence to suggest that the clubs of 18th century West Yorkshire had gone to such lengths. Perhaps most crucial of all, these newly emerging organisations, and in particular the choral societies began to give public concert performances. Public performance had existed before but it tended to be part of a specific community festival, such as the Sunday School anniversary, rather than a musical performance in its own right. But increasingly from the 1820's, the Concert, a musical event in its own right, began to emerge. One local society, the Bradford Philharmonic Society (founded 1831) took this enthusiasm for concert performance to such an extreme that they bankrupted themselves in their attempt to meet the salaries of the professional singers they hired to take the leading roles⁷³. The development of the concert should not be overstressed, but it clearly represents a phenomenon of considerable importance.

There has been surprisingly little attempt to explain why the structure of popular musical life began to alter in the period from

1815. Most writers seem to have accepted the changes as a fait accompli, and the few who have made efforts to explore the reasons have produced somewhat "parochial" explanations. Thus, as has been seen, the emergence of the civilian windband movement after 1815 has been related to the presence of military bands in certain industrial regions. This explanation undoubtedly has much validity and has been largely accepted in this chapter, but it does not explain why bands began to drop their previous anonymity and to take on new forms of organisation, or what is perhaps the most crucial question of all, why both formal choral societies and bands should begin to emerge at exactly the same time.

It is possible that all the changes outlined above were a result of what might be termed "musical factors". The formal society may have represented a new response to the old problem of purchasing and distributing published music. The Bradford Musical Friendly Society, for example, its function as an institution of mutual aid clear from its name, was founded in 1821 as a music library for local musicians, although it never restricted itself to this one activity, becoming a concert-giving body in the 1830's⁷⁴. A stress on formality may equally well have resulted from the interest shown by professional musicians in amateur music from about this time, for they had much Kudos to gain from being associated with efficient, publically known organisations. William Weber in his Music and the Middle Classes has argued this point strongly, claiming that "among the less affluent, informal music-making became transformed into formalised events governed by professionals"⁷⁵. However, although the professional, particularly in the shape of the local music teacher acting as choral society conductor or band trainer, was becoming an important figure in local musical life, he was by no means as ubiquitous or as powerful as Weber suggests. Indeed, in the 1820's, Joseph Bottomly, the first conductor of the Halifax Choral Society, was sacked by the Choir because he asked for a fee, something which the members saw as opposed to the ethos of the society⁷⁶. In the last analysis, while the need for mutual musical aid and the ambitions of professionals may have played a part, it is perhaps more likely that the new emphasis on formal organisation had a more important origin. It was both a response to the new opportunities offered by a rapidly industrialising society and a defence against the dislocation emanating from the industrial and social changes of the period.

The early decades of the 19th century offered the musical fraternity an unparalleled chance to parade their talents in public. Before about 1815, much music-making was informal and domestic, because so few institutions existed which could generate public performance. But after that date, opportunities began to emerge. The concert became an increasingly common form of entertainment from the 1830's and 1840's as the expansion of industry increased the number of people in society with sufficient spare income to enjoy a degree of leisure activity⁷⁷. Middle class citizens in particular, looking for respectable, rational forms of entertainment, found the choral concert much to their taste and their support helped fuel its expansion and thus the emergence of the formal, concert orientated choral society. Similarly, the growth of towns in this period guaranteed that a fairly sizeable audience for concerts could be drawn upon, something which made the organisation of concerts a less financially hazardous undertaking. The wind band movement was encouraged too, by the appearance of mill owners and railway company directors who wanted musicians to jollify opening ceremonies, and by organisers of trade unions, temperance societies and political clubs who wanted to enliven rallies and demonstrations. In the expanding society of early and mid nineteenth century Britain, it became increasingly necessary for amateur musicians to abandon their anonymity, to adopt codes of conduct which encouraged efficiency and to adopt more sophisticated organisational structures, if they were to make the most of the opportunities that the processes of industrialisation and urbanisation offered them.

At the same time as they altered their mode of activity to meet the positive aspects of industrial change, however, Yorkshire's amateur musicians were also having to react to its negative side. From about 1815 to the late 1840's, the working classes of the wool textile districts were subjected to a variety of detrimental influences which had ramifications at every level of human existence. The situation has been more than adequately detailed by Edward Thompson and others and only a generalised sketch is required here⁷⁸. A large section of the workforce were subjected to long hours of factory labour. Even the outworkers, although still often able to regulate their hours as they chose, were almost certainly working longer hours than previously, after 1820, in order to compensate for the often

savage wage cutting that stemmed first from competition between masters, and eventually from machinery. The overall picture is of a large section of the working community working longer and earning less than their late 18th century forebears. In such a situation, it is hardly surprising that the structure and operation of leisure institutions had to change. Just as an ever-increasing section of the working-class, and certain publican and shopkeeper allies amongst the lower middle classes, came to see the need for sustained political and industrial organisation as opposed to traditional sporadic forms of protest, it may be that they came to apply this new respect for organisation to their leisure pursuits. It is possible that the various changes which took place in local musical life after 1815 were as much a strategy for survival, methods of husbanding resources of both finance and personnel during a period of crisis, as they were a response to new opportunity. If every member paid a weekly subscription, then costs were shared out; if people were fined for taking music, then they were less likely to purloin scarce resources when money was not easily available to replace them; the weekly rehearsal at a set place and time made a suitable replacement for the traditional informal domestic gatherings which were rendered less common by the exigencies of the new work discipline. In order to grasp the opportunities offered by industrialisation and urbanisation, local musicians had to band together to ensure that those opportunities did not allude them. It must be stressed once again, both that this explanation is speculative, and that for several decades, the older informal mode of musical activity co-existed with the new. But it is worth contemplating that in leisure as well as politics, the time had come for united action by the poorer classes of society.

That popular musical culture should survive and perhaps even progress during the early industrial period, is at first sight somewhat surprising to the historian of popular recreation, who is used to viewing the period c. 1780-1850 as one of disaster for so many popular pastimes. While numerous areas of traditional recreation such as football or bloodsports came under attack from the forces of evangelicalism and utilitarianism, the pattern of popular music making was left relatively unscathed⁷⁹. Firmly rooted in evangelical culture, and representing for many the ideal of "rational recreation" at its highest, the musical tradition was allowed to continue. But while it

is clear that upper class acceptance was an essential ingredient in the process of survival, the resilience of the working population has to be acknowledged as a further crucial factor in that process. William Cobbett was both impressed and saddened by the determination of the depressed weavers he saw in Halifax.

"It is truly lamentable to behold so many thousands of men who formerly earned 20 to 30 shillings a week, now compelled to live upon 5s., 4s. or less It is the more sorrowful to behold these men in their state, as they still retain the frank and bold character formed in the days of their independence" 80.

This refusal to bow down, the willingness to walk 30 miles to a concert, or to sit up all night copying out music if the situation demanded, even during a period of genuine economic and social crisis, ensured the survival of their musical culture. Perhaps in turn, this survival helped at least some of the community to retain their spirit and self-respect.

By 1850, the pattern for future development had largely been established. The formal society was emerging as the dominant mode of amateur musical activity, although the older, home-centred style continued in many remoter areas of the textile district until late in the 19th century, and the popularity of the piano was to continue albeit in a slightly different format, the habit of domestic music. A fairly well-defined repertoire drawing mainly upon vocal and especially sacred vocal music, formed the basis of both choral and instrumental repertoires, while religion, urbanisation and industrialisation were clearly established as factors that were to influence the development of British music as they were to affect all aspects of 19th century society. The nascent choral and band movements were now set to play an important role in popular social life. Born in a period of crisis and austerity, they were to flourish in the more sympathetic climate of the half-century that lay ahead.

Chapter Three

The Structure of Popular Music

Yorkshire's reputation for musical prowess, both amongst 19th century observers and the legion of modern Yorkshire patriots, whose writings have become such a growth industry in recent years, can cause the historian serious perceptual problems. An overlong reading of Messrs. Dibdin and Hogarth (not to mention Mr. Roy Hattersley, whose enthusiasm for his native county has led him to claim that the Besses o' th' Barn Band, who actually come from Lancashire, are a Yorkshire band!), can too easily lead to a view of Yorkshire being a county totally inhabited by amateur musicians (and to a lesser extent, cricketers)¹. However, although an intense musical interest existed amongst many, it was never the totally ubiquitous feature implied by some writers. The textile district, like any other region, contained innumerable social groups and types of community, and it would be unrealistic to see every inhabitant as being possessed of unbounded enthusiasm for choral or brass band music. This chapter attempts to discover exactly which classes, communities and institutions were responsible for the region's musical culture.

i) The Social Structure of Popular Music

Our existing knowledge of the social structure of the popular musical society is almost non-existent, and indeed, only one detailed analysis of a choir or band's membership has ever been attempted². Yet, recent literature relating to 19th and early 20th century music abounds with assumptions concerning class and the amateur musician. The brass band and the choral society, we are confidently informed, were "working class", the amateur orchestra, "middle class". While these statements may have a certain validity, the situation was nevertheless more complex than they imply. The appellation "choral Society", for example, describes a wide variety of vocal institutions differing in size, philosophy and origin, something which renders generalisation about their social content hazardous. Again, even an organisation with a membership drawn from one particular class, could involve people from a far wider social group in such fundamental areas as organisation and financial support. The generalisations that we have inherited, require detailed reassessment.

Any exploration of social structure inevitably involves the problem of categorisation. In this section, information relating to members' occupations is presented according to the seven class

occupational categorisation developed by Dr. Guy Routh in his Occupation and Pay in Great Britain, 1906-1960, outlined below in Table One.

Table One

- 1A Higher Professional
- 1B Lower Professional
- 2A Employers and Proprietors
- 2B Managers and Administrators
- 3 Clerical workers
- 4 Foremen, Inspectors, Supervisors
- Manual Workers
- 5 Skilled
- 6 Semi-skilled
- 7 Unskilled

Like any attempt at social classification, Routh's method contains certain defects. Category 2A is particularly problematic, in that it includes both large scale employers of labour, and small scale businessmen such as shopkeepers and publicans. Ideally, this group should be further subdivided, but it is not normally possible to discover enough information about an individual's business activities to enable such modification. However, wherever possible, information relating to persons belonging to category 2A has been given. Similarly, while the term "Employers and Proprietors" can lead to the obscuring of a person's exact status, so too can occupational descriptions; a "jeweller" or "baker" for example could be either a proprietor or simply an employee. Again, a "weaver" could be either highly skilled or merely semi-skilled. In some cases it is possible to gauge an individual's circumstance from the status of the neighbourhood they lived in, but in cases where any substantial element of doubt exists, the person concerned has been left out of the analysis.

Despite these problems, however, use of Routh's scheme provides a valuable insight into the social structure of local musical life, allowing a far more detailed view of that structure than would emerge from simple use of blanket terms such as "working" or "middle class". But at the same time, these larger, generalised terms obviously cannot be ignored, for they are a central part of the language with which both contemporaries and historians have sought to make sense of society.

Any categorisation of late 19th and early 20th century society along rigid class lines will inevitably blur the complexity of the situation. Many, perhaps the majority of people under study, fit relatively comfortably in certain classes; but there are so many hazy areas, particularly between the "working" and "lower middle" classes, that it is not always possible to find a suitable label for everybody. Furthermore, class is essentially subjective and self-defined, and although the academic might judge a person to be of a certain class, according to such supposedly objective criteria as occupation, wealth or education, the person might in fact see the situation very differently. A small farmer, a foreman, or a self-employed joiner might see himself as either "working" or "middle" class according to his personal social and political predilections. Nevertheless, although appreciating that there can be no totally objective method of defining an individual's class, some attempt has to be made at placing people into broad social categories, if we are to make any sense of the past. In the ensuing analysis, the term "working class" relates to those in Routh's occupational categories iv-vii, "lower middle class" those in category iii, along with the small proprietors in 2A and members of category 1B, and the term "middle" or "upper middle class" to the remainder.

a) Instrumental Music

Of all the forms of musical society under study, the brass band is the one whose social composition has been most adequately depicted by musicologists. Detailed evidence relating to the social structure of the brass band movement is thin, but the material that exists illustrates clearly an essentially "working class" membership. Bandsmen themselves referred quite straightforwardly to their social position. In 1888, Denholme Subscription Band, seeking to raise money for a bandroom sent out an appeal stressing that:

"as we are all working men, and our means are only very small, we are therefore obliged to ask for your kind support and liberal patronage to enable us to carry out our object".

Several years later, neighbouring Clayton Band put forward a similar plea.

"As the Clayton Band is mainly composed of working men who are not in receipt of large wages, it is urged that a better income is a necessity if higher efficiency is to be secured"⁴.

While it might be suggested that such appeals deliberately exaggerated the extent of working class membership for financial reasons, middle class observers, sympathetic and otherwise, gave similar impressions of bandsmen's social class. In 1852, Mr. Whitley, a Leeds band teacher, on accepting a portrait of himself commissioned by seven local bands under his tuition, complemented bandsmen thus. "A deal of credit is also due to the working men in this neighbourhood for their zeal and earnestness in the practice of this branch of the art of music". A less benign correspondent, in a letter to the Yorkshire Orchestra some years later, denouncing "the vulgar clang" of brass bandsmen, commented that, "our brass bandsmen are all mechanics". Clearly the situation did not alter over the period as a whole, for in 1902, J. H. Iles was still able to refer to Halifax King Cross band as "all working men"⁵. It is significant that throughout these descriptions, the emphasis is firmly upon the presence of working men. Working class women, and indeed women of all social classes, although undoubtedly involved in the organisational aspect of brass banding (selling raffle tickets, organising bazaars and such like) were firmly excluded from the playing membership of bands until after the Second World War.

Certainly, it is possible that a slight "lower middle class" element did exist in the band world. There were, for example, at least six publicans within the movement in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (including three ex members of Wyke Temperance Band!), although it seems likely that the majority of these men were successful band soloists or teachers who had made sufficient money from their band activities to enable them to become publicans, rather than this being their original trade. Alongside this group, Wilsden Band had a surveyor amongst their ranks in the 1880's, while Tom Kitchen, one of the most prominent Leeds bandsmen of the late 19th century, was a minor public health official⁶. In general, however, such men do not appear to have been typical. Equally, it is interesting that local manufacturers such as John Foster and William Marriner who, as noted in Chapter 2, had played alongside their workers in the early decades of the 19th century, were no longer present in the band movement after 1850. Any possibility that banding might develop into a pastime for masters as well as men, had disappeared by the mid 19th century.

To say that the brass band movement had a mainly "working Class" membership, however, poses almost as many questions as it answers. The millions who comprised the working class, or "classes" as they might more accurately be described, included amongst their rank people from an enormous variety of occupation and status, and there is a fundamental need to isolate exactly which sections of the working population were attracted to the movement. The evidence concerning the brass band is by no means conclusive, but it strongly suggests that the majority of bandsmen came from the upper echelons of the working class. Through study of the brass band periodical press, it has proved possible to discover the occupation of 18 West Yorkshire bandsmen in the period between 1889-1914, and this information is tabulated below.

Table Two: Social Composition of Brass Bands, 1889-1914

4 coal miners
 2 mechanics/fitters
 1 stonemason
 1 moulder
 1 plasterer
 1 bootmaker
 1 journeyman sawyer
 1 scourer
 1 French polisher
 1 joiner
 1 quarry foreman
 1 woolsorter
 1 weaving overlooker
 1 warp dresser (He eventually became a small farmer)

All of these trades, with the exception of scouring, a low paid and very dirty occupation within the dyeing industry, were regarded as skilled by contemporaries. Most other available information tends to support this picture. Phineas Bower, bandmaster of Black Dyke Mills, claimed, in the 1890's, "some of us are stonemasons, some mechanics, some warpdressers"⁸. Black Dyke, of course, presents problems in that, as a works band, bandsmen may have been given jobs which were merely sinecures, but the evidence is nevertheless useful. Even allowing for the risks involved in generalising from a very small sample, it would appear that the brass band was an institution nourished by the more affluent members of the labouring population.

But there is more to an understanding of the brass band's, or indeed any musical society's social base than analysis of its playing membership alone. While the bandsmen were obviously the most important component, it would be wrong to neglect the far wider group which supported the brass band movement, either by serving on the committees which organised the bands, by providing them with vital financial help, or simply by listening to them. It is in these spheres that it becomes apparent that the movement could involve a considerable body of people from beyond the working class community.

Certain of the brass band's public performances undoubtedly attracted a socially mixed audience. Bands offered the public three separate types of performance, each requiring different degrees of commitment from the listener; the "enforced", at which the audience simply happened to be present at the same time as the band, for instance when the band marched through the street collecting money or en route for a contest, or at a fairground or flowershow; the "non-committal", typified by the park performance, at which no attendance money had to be paid and people could come and go as they pleased, a performance probably attracting listeners ranging from the casual to the committed; and finally the "chosen", the concert hall performance and above all the contest, demanding from the listener a financial outlay on travel and entry payment, as well as exposing him to very technical elements of the repertoire. The contest would appear to have been the form which attracted the largest working class clientele. Revealing evidence is afforded by the Bradford Observer's report of a brass band contest attended by some 13,000 people at Peel Park, Bradford, in 1858. The Observer claimed the event to have been attended by "children, 1,044 (1½d.); working class, 10,491 (3d.); Ladies and Gentlemen, 476 (6d.)"⁹. Obviously a method of admission which allowed people to decide their own social status was open to abuse and doubtless many of the "working class" were in fact shopkeepers or clerks seeking to save money, while the "Ladies and Gentlemen" included other shopkeepers, clerks and even artisans with aspirations, but at least this breakdown affords us some idea of the social mix. Allowing for a definite sprinkling of lower middle and even middle class listeners, a strong working class predominance obviously emerges. The large scale national contests at Belle Vue and Crystal Palace, similarly reflect a predominantly working class

presence. A correspondent at the Belle Vue Contest of 1888, described the audience as mostly "of the artisan or respectable British workman class"¹⁰. It is probable that many members of a contest audience were themselves bandsmen; and given the social background of the bandsmen, this tends to verify the correspondent's observation. Equally, the fact that attendance at a contest would involve many in payment of travel expenses, would have largely restricted attendance to the skilled working class.

That the majority of the audience at these events which demanded a greater degree of commitment from the audience than any other form of brass band performance were working men, obviously does much to enhance our image of banding being an exclusively "working class" pastime. But even the major competitive bands were more often in public view in the park or at the flower show than on the contest field, and this makes study of the audience outside of the contest of some considerable significance. It was in the park, on the pier or at the flower show that the band touched upon the widest possible audience. Even in these instances, however, it is probable that the very lowest sectors of the population would have been largely excluded from this aspect of popular musical culture. The park concert, for example, although often conceived as a method of bringing wholesome entertainment to the working classes, invariably failed to attract the poorest groups. Thus, the Leeds Mercury, reporting on a series of Sunday concerts on Woodhouse Moor, told its readers in 1856, of the absence of the "unwashed", benighted, Sunday tippling denizens of our back slums, for whose sake these concerts were said to have been established"¹¹. Indifference towards or ignorance of philanthropic intention, or perhaps quite simply lack of "respectable" clothing, kept the "submerged tenth" well away. The more "respectable" elements of the working class seem to have been attracted in relatively large numbers, however, and it seems probable that they comprised the bulk of the audience at the park concerts. In 1856, the Leeds Mercury described the Sunday band audience as "consisting principally of the respectable working classes"¹², and evidence from the later years suggests that this pattern remained throughout the period. In 1913, a correspondent to the Bradford Pioneer described the Bradford band audiences as "mechanics, weavers and others", and "others" were implied to be from the skilled working class¹³.

But having said this it should be noted that the middle classes listened to bands in quite considerable numbers, especially if a concert was held in a venue situated near their homes. The performances in Manningham Park, Bradford, in the late 19th century, certainly attracted a highly respectable clientele. The satirical magazine, The Yorkshireman drew attention to this in the late 1870's, with a series of articles criticising the "swells" of Manningham for contributing less to the donation sheets than the "humble frequenters" of Peel Park, which was situated in a less salubrious part of the city. One of the articles was illustrated by a set of cartoons depicting the Manningham audience as being drawn from the highest ranks of local society. Manningham Park set as it was in the heart of Bradford's richest areas was perhaps untypical of West Yorkshire as a whole. Nevertheless, it seems relevant to note the evidence indicative of some degree of lower middle and middle class involvement¹⁴. While it must be clear that the greatest level of audience commitment was offered by the working classes, a large enough group of people from a higher social level showed sufficient interest in band music to nullify any claim that the brass band movement was a totally working class institution.

It was, however, above all in the field of organisation and financial support that the middle class presence was most apparent. In general, individuals from most sectors of the middle classes, from publicans to large-scale manufacturers, seem to have been involved. Very little is known about the social composition of the organising committees that developed within most brass bands in the 19th century, but it is probable that a relatively wide range of people were involved. Several bands had presidents of quite high social status who were more than mere figureheads. Local "eminent" citizens were often asked to be trustees, standing surety for the band when they purchased instruments, and being responsible for the band should it get into financial difficulties or be forced to dissolve. The Armley and Wortley band founded in the mid 1890's, looked to local shopkeepers and smaller entrepreneurs for their trustees, calling upon a firebrick manufacturer, a partner in a woollen manufacturers, a publican/brewer and two butchers¹⁵.

Similarly, an analysis of the band's financial support illustrates the involvement of a wide cross section of the community. The financial support of at least some of the richer members of local society was essential to the well-being of most bands. That such support should be solicited and acknowledged was widely accepted. "Nearly every band worthy the name has a few good supporters in high social positions, who do their duty locally to the band by giving good support, also adding their name as well as their presence at various functions"¹⁶. The most extreme manifestation of this patronage by the rich, was the establishment of the works band. The extent of this phenomenon, and the philosophy behind it, are discussed elsewhere, but there can be no doubt that the bands supported by entrepreneurs enjoyed enormous advantages¹⁷. At the very least, instruments and uniforms were purchased, jobs offered to players that the band particularly required and for some, such as Leeds Forge Band, one of Britain's most successful competition bands during their brief existence from 1882-1892, the greatly appreciated privilege of practice during work time. The importance of entrepreneurial support was no more clearly illustrated than when it was withdrawn. This is exemplified by the history of Saltaire Band, founded in the 1850's, in Sir Titus Salt's model community near Bradford, as a minor part of Salt's schemes of social regeneration. Winners of the Belle Vue Competition in 1861, lauded for their playing by the national press, and in every sense a top class band during the 1850's and 1860's, it declined in status and efficiency from the 1870's as the management decided to withdraw the previous levels of assistance. Again, in 1892, new management at Leeds Forge Company decided against supporting the company band and it collapsed¹⁸. Some manufacturers preferred to aid the local village band rather than start a band specifically for their workmen. This course was taken by Jonas Brook and Company, cotton spinners in the village of Meltham Mills near Huddersfield, who gave considerable assistance to their highly successful local band, several members of which did in fact work for Brook. Between 1872 and 1883, Edward Brook, one of the partners, doubled the prize money gained at any one contest, named beforehand by the band; £390 was eventually obtained from this source, which made Brook a much vaunted figure in the brass band world¹⁹.

But although the efforts of individual industrialists were important, they were by no means the sole supporters of the brass band

movement, for, in general, bands seem to have established a good relationship with local monied society at large. Thus Emley Band received five guineas a year from Lord Saville, a local landowner and one guinea from the vicar; in 1901, Sir W. J. Duncan lent Horsforth Hall Park free of charge for a concert by Horsforth Band²⁰. The bands' backers did not necessarily come from such relatively lofty social backgrounds; Dobcross band, for example, received much of their financial support from a publican and a baker, and for many bands, one imagines that the efforts of several people of similar social status with a committed interest was more important than the existence of one very wealthy patron²¹.

All this is not to deny the massive role played by the working class community in the development of the brass band movement. In the last analysis, the brass band was mainly a "working class" institution; working men provided the backbone of the playing membership and the audience, while the pennies of the working population, collected at bazaars, concerts and street parades, provided a fundamental source of income. But the fact that a wider section of the population could play a significant role, cannot be denied. Many bands were helped through difficult times, given respectability, (essential when purchasing instruments on H.P.), through their association with middle class supporters, while a few bands even owed their eminent positions to the purse of wealthy supporters. It might be claimed that middle class support of the brass band stemmed from mere self-interest, a desire to provide the working class with "elevating" and overtly non-political entertainment. Without doubt, many did view brass bands in this light, but as will be seen in a later chapter, it is clear that even the large manufacturers mixed their schemes for social control with a genuine love of music. Further, there is simply not enough evidence to prove whether middle class support emanated from a desire for working class political quiescence, love of music, or a simple wish for self-aggrandisement. But whatever their motives, without the crucial support of the more affluent members of local society, it is questionable whether the brass band movement would have obtained quite the size and the quality that it did.

Working class instrumental music was, of course, by no means restricted to the brass band, and it is worthwhile looking briefly at

the other areas of activity. The concertina band, which enjoyed a period of considerable popularity from the late 19th century, and the groups of handbellringers common throughout the period, have left little evidence about the social class of their members, but again it appears likely that they were essentially upper working class organisations. The concertina, although claiming several middle class enthusiasts amongst its players, (including the explorer Shackleton who took one to the Antarctic) had the reputation of being mainly a working class instrument²². Handbells had no such class connotation, but it is perhaps significant that the only reference to their ringers' social origins we possess is the Reverend Pobjoy's remembrance that the Edwardian Mirfield Handbell Ringers were "miners to a man"²³.

A better documented and perhaps a more important vehicle for study is provided by the amateur orchestral society. The amateur orchestra has traditionally been regarded as "primarily a middle class institution"²⁴. Many contemporaries dismissed the idea that working people might possess instrumental talents beyond those needed by a brass bandsman. In 1902 The Times told its readers with assurance that "The brass band is, indeed, the working man's orchestra. That the working man should learn to suit his stubborn fingers to the violin, at any rate with any success, is hardly to be expected"²⁵. One recent historian of 19th century Bristol has concurred with this view, claiming that: "The playing of musical instruments, however, remained a mainly middle class, amateur activity, apart from the brass band"²⁶. But much depends on what is meant exactly by "primarily" and "mainly". In West Yorkshire, while the amateur orchestra undoubtedly received a great many - perhaps a majority - of its members from the middle classes, there was a far larger contingent from lower social levels than these two words imply. Local orchestras were always quick to utilise brass bandsmen and indeed depended upon the brass band for their supply of trumpeters and trombonists. But the working class presence was not limited to this branch of the orchestra alone. It must be stressed that there was a strong non-brass tradition going back into the 18th century, and although the emergence of brass bands and the decline of the church band probably proved weakening factors, there were still many working class exponents of violin, cello or bassoon, even in the early 20th century. If the orchestra attached to the Huddersfield Choral Society in 1895-1896 is in any way typical, then a substantial

proportion of their membership could be drawn from the upper echelons of the working class. It has proved possible to discover at least something of the social origins of 24 of the 51 strong band. Unfortunately, it is not normally possible to discover the occupation of males who were not heads of household, as trade directories only listed heads of household. However, their father's occupation has been recorded in order to gain a general indication of background. The majority of the 24 musicians (80%), would appear to be drawn from the lower middle and the upper working classes, with 10 of the 24 coming from the skilled working class.

Table Three: Occupation of Members of Huddersfield Choral Society Orchestra, 1895-96

<u>Category</u>	<u>Number</u>
1A	1
1B	1
2A	6
2B	-
3	2 (2)
4	- (1)
5	4 (6)
6	1
7	-

N.B. Nos. in parenthesis refer to the occupation of the fathers of males living in the parental home

Evidence relating to other orchestras gives a similar impression of a considerable social mix rather than total middle class domination. Sydney Crowther, in his reminiscences of the Huddersfield Philharmonic from the early 20th century to the present day, claimed a social range embracing factory workers to doctors²⁸. It even seems probable that in some areas, almost exclusively working class societies existed. In October 1896, The Orchestral Times and Bandsman was pleased to discover that "rough work and an artistic temperament are not incompatible", and devoted considerable space to the Rothwell Orchestral Society, a 26 piece orchestra which included 13 miners (4 1st violins, viola, cello, double bass, 2 cornets, 2 horns, 2 trombones) and a quarryman (1st violin)²⁹. From the end of the 19th century, enough working people were learning the violin at school to preserve at least the string playing aspect of this tradition. A few were even fortunate enough to gain fame

from their playing. Tom Clay, from Slaithwaite in the Colne Valley, progressed from a local orchestral society to tuition in Germany and London. When he came back as a soloist at a Huddersfield Subscription Concert in 1910, the local press praised the young man who had once worked as a spinner in a local mill. "Slaithwaite is today proud of having produced such a musical genius from the ranks of the working classes"³⁰. Clay represents an extreme, but he had many, albeit less celebrated, compatriots; the orchestral tradition was an aspect of working class musical life that deserves far more attention than it has received.

b) Vocal Music

While there has been a tendency to overestimate the "middle class" nature of the orchestral society, the opposite is true of the choral society. There has long existed an assumption originating in the 19th century and unfortunately still prevalent today, that a provincial accent, and perhaps particularly a Yorkshire one, must inevitably denote working class origin. The result has been that much historical source material contains confident assertions concerning the "working class" composition of all manner of diverse institutions. The choral movement has suffered particularly from this belief. In 1889, Alfred Broughton, conductor of the Leeds Music Festival Chorus, commenting on press criticism of his singers, told a reporter that:

"He had seen remarks by London critics to the effect that the "Yorkshire Mill girls" sing wonderfully. The Chorus, however, is drawn from a higher class than this would seem to imply. He doubts if there is a single mill girl in it"³¹.

Unfortunately, many academic writers, either misled by the 19th century press or simply basing their ideas on similar assumption, have, if they have not ignored the choral movement's social structure altogether, implied that it was an essentially working class phenomenon. A. L. Lloyd, for example, depicts the choral society as part of the 19th century "workers' movement", while both Gareth Stedman Jones and Ronald Pearsall assume that the Northern choral movement at least, was "working class"³². The same implication even permeates Reginald Nettel's pioneering Music in the Five Towns³³. The reality was in fact far more complex.

One recent writer, clearly in receipt of some substantial information about 19th century choralism, will go no further when

discussing the choral movement than to suggest that "we may suspect that St. Cecilia's net caught at any rate some 'upper working class' singers"³⁴. This demand for caution is well justified; the choral movement encompassing a multitude of societies which varied in size, origin and scope exhibited a social base too complex to allow for generalisation which is not based on very detailed research. As was illustrated in Chapter 2, there had always been a certain social mix in both the formal and informal aspects of early 19th century popular music making, and it would be incorrect to depict the vocal societies of that period as totally "working class". But at the same time, there was a clear preponderance of what Hogarth called the "common people". Although this was still essentially true by the late 19th century, there does appear to have been a significant increase in the proportion of the non working class membership of the choral society, and particularly in the large bodies such as the Huddersfield and Bradford Festival Choral Societies, over the course of the century. Unfortunately, although source material relating to social structure is overall far richer for the choir than for the band, it is somewhat scanty for the period before about 1890, and this makes detailed analysis of the changes over the whole period impossible. There are, however, occasional glimpses of the process taking place. Writing in 1907, G. F. Sewell, a successful local printer and the secretary of the Bradford Festival Choral Society, remembered the society in the 1850's as comprising a "miscellaneous crowd of mill-hands and mill-lasses, shopgirls and warehousemen, clerks and bookkeepers"³⁵. Obviously, reminiscence of a situation appertaining some 50 years previously has to be treated with considerable care, but it is surely significant that Sewell focused on these particular occupational groups. Perhaps of greatest importance was Sewell's omission of the hand loom weaver and the hand wool comber, two groups which would have loomed large in an analysis of musical life in previous decades. As their number declined from the 1840's, so they inevitably lost their central position in the cultural institution that they had done so much to establish. Bradford and its environs witnessed a diminution of domestic textile work earlier than many areas of the textile district and thus the social structure of the Bradford Festival Choral Society may not have been entirely typical at this stage, but by the 1870's, the hand workers would have formed only a fraction of the choral society's membership

throughout the district. Alongside this, it is important that Sewell drew attention to the presence of "clerks and bookkeepers", for these were occupational groups not previously associated with choral culture. The real arrival of the "black-coated worker" in the choral movement probably came in the later 19th century, but if Sewell is to be believed, it may well be that by the mid 19th century, he was beginning to emerge as a figure of some importance in this aspect of recreational life³⁶.

While Sewell's observations may be too circumstantial to allow for more than speculation when we are dealing with specific occupational groups, more generally, they suggest that in the late 1850's, the choral society was not a purely "working class" institution, but rather a combination drawing on the working and (to use what may be an anachronism for this date) the "lower middle" classes. The available evidence for the next thirty years tends to support this picture. The meagre evidence available suggests that the choral societies at this time attracted among others a stonemason, a carter, a "millhand", an overlooker, a coal merchant, a tobacconist, a clerk, an architect, a partner in a small shoe manufacturing firm and a partner in a yarn spinning business³⁷. Even this tiny sample shows a working class/lower middle class mixture, while the presence of the architect and the yarn spinner suggest that perhaps the movement was beginning to take in people from an even higher strata than the petty local government functionaries and officials, who had adorned the two Bradford societies in the 1820's and 1830's noted in Chapter Two. There were a small number of overtly middle class societies such as the Leeds Musical Soirée founded in the 1860's, a choral and instrumental body which, as its name suggests, had a membership list which read like a who's who of mid Victorian Leeds, and the Bradford Leidertafel, a glee club founded by members of the city's German merchant community³⁸. But there is no evidence to suggest that such societies were in any way typical of choral culture as a whole. Most societies had a considerably humbler membership and, as will be seen in the following pages, when the more wealthy local citizens sought to join a choral group, they showed a surprising willingness to mingle with their "inferiors", rather than form a socially exclusive organisation.

From the final decade of the 19th century, it becomes possible to move on to much firmer analysis. Chorus roll books or registers

relating to several societies, and usually containing full details of members' addresses, have survived from this period, and by using these and other pieces of supplementary information in conjunction with local trade directories, it is possible to construct a remarkably full picture of the choral movement's social structure. It is essential that the different types of choral society are treated separately. Generalisations about the social structure of English "choralism" en bloc, obscure the fact that there was considerable variation between the several species of choir. A "choral society" by the late 19th century could be a large body with as many as 350 or 400 members, dedicated to concert performance of oratorio, a male-voice choir with perhaps 30 members, interested mainly in choral competition, or one of several other types, each with a slightly different size and sexual mix. The fullest evidence concerning social structure we possess, relates to the large, concert-orientated societies and they form the initial focus of study. Two organisations, the Huddersfield Choral Society and the Leeds Philharmonic have been studied in great detail. Both in this particular instance and throughout the section, male and female choristers have been analysed separately due to the nature of the evidence contained in the trade directories. Because the compilers only listed the head of the household, it is impossible to discover any information relating to the occupation of women residing in either the parental or the marital home. The great bulk of the information relating to females, therefore, concerns the occupation of their fathers or husbands, and as such affords only a general indication of their social background. Nevertheless, it seems worthwhile to record the available material, for a general indication is undoubtedly better than none at all.

Looking first at the Leeds Philharmonic in the period 1894-1895, it is possible to record the occupational background of 87 of the 170 female members. Of the remaining 83, 26 were listed as private residents, which is tantamount to saying that they were relatively prosperous. Obviously, they cannot be included in an occupational analysis, but their presence would give the society a slightly more "middle class" flavour than our statistics show. To an extent, this is probably counterbalanced by the fact that at least some of the 57 women who are unaccounted for in any way, were excluded from the trade directory on account of their living in areas too poor to be of

interest to the compilers. The material relating to the Huddersfield Choral Society is slightly less full, with the backgrounds of 66 of the 179 female singers being discernable. The data for the two societies is given below in Table Four³⁹.

Table Four: Occupations of Fathers or Husbands of Female Members of the Leeds Philharmonic & Huddersfield Choral Societies, 1894-5

Leeds Philharmonic

Category	Number	% of those members whose parent's or husband's occupation is known.
1A	12	13.8
1B	7	8.0
2A	23	26.4
2B	6	6.9
3	19	21.8
4	4	4.6
5	14	16.1
6	2	2.3
7	-	-

Huddersfield Choral

1A	9	13.6
1B	4	6.1
2A	25	37.9
2B	2	3.0
3	12	18.2
4	-	-
5	14	21.2
6	-	-
7	-	-

Turning to the male singers, evidence for the Leeds society is again the fullest, the head of the household having been ascertained for 82 out of the 130 men in the Leeds Philharmonic (a 63% sample), compared with 66 out of 178 in the Huddersfield Choral, (a sample of only 37%). Once again, those heads of households listed as private residents, numbering 4 in Leeds and 3 in Huddersfield, have not been included in the analysis. Equally, given the limitations imposed by the trade directories, it is not possible to give the occupation of those males living in the parental home, but the paternal occupation

has been noted, in order to provide some indication of social origin. Information relating to this group is given in parentheses, and is not included in the overall percentage given in column 3.

Table Five: Occupations of Male Members of the Leeds Philharmonia & Huddersfield Choral Societies in 1894-95

Leeds Philharmonic

Category	Number	% of those members whose occupation is known
1A	6 (5)	7.8
1B	5 (1)	6.5
2A	14 (4)	18.2
2B	6 -	7.8
3	19 -	24.7
4	2 (2)	2.6
5	24 (3)	31.1
6	1	1.3
7	-	-

Huddersfield Choral

1A	5 (1)	7.6
1B	1 -	1.5
2A	19 (5)	28.8
2B	1 -	1.5
3	12 (1)	18.2
4	2 (4)	3.0
5	26 (2)	39.4
6	- -	-
7	- -	-

N.B. The Leeds Philharmonic had a further five working class members whose exact occupation it is impossible to gauge.

Before considering the broader issues arising from this material, it is worthwhile looking briefly at the slightly differing structures of the two societies; for although a study of each organisation points to similar conclusions concerning the large choral society in general, they inevitably reflect the peculiarities of their respective town's particular social and economic environment. The Huddersfield

Choral Society was obviously a more "popular" society than its Leeds counterpart, at least in the mid 1890's. The Huddersfield society had a higher percentage both of working class men (39.4% as opposed to 32.5%), and women (21.2% as opposed to 18.4%), compared with the Leeds Philharmonic, while it also had a slightly lower proportion of upper middle class men (23% as opposed to 32%) and women (44% to 46%). Further, the working class contingents in the two societies tended to be of a different type. The typical working man member of the Philharmonic tended to be a skilled craftsman working outside of a factory. Perhaps as few as three working class members were factory workers, the majority working in small workshops or on construction sites. Of the 40 members of the Huddersfield Choral Society with working class backgrounds, however, at least 13 were factory workers, albeit skilled ones. This significant difference is partially explained by the different occupational structure of the two towns. Huddersfield, barely a quarter the size of Leeds, had far fewer outlets for working men in the "service" trades such as bootmaking, cabinet making, watchmaking and the like, and thus the skilled operative was more likely to be a factory worker⁴⁰. Even when the Leeds Philharmonic's membership took on a more "popular" complexion in the Edwardian period, its working class membership came largely from the workshop rather than the mill (see Table Six).

Overall, however, although these differences are important, it is the similarities that must concern us most, and what this body of material clearly illustrates is that far from being a single class-based phenomenon, the large-scale choral societies of West Yorkshire extended across class lines to embrace a wide spectrum of local society. Working, lower middle and upper middle classes all made substantial contributions to the efforts of the Leeds Philharmonic and the Huddersfield Choral Society. In the early 20th century, J. J. (Percy) Kent, M.A. (Cantab), private resident of Headingley, had amongst his neighbours in the ranks of tenors at Leeds Philharmonic rehearsals and concerts, R. J. Ellis "hardware dealer", Benjamin Bray "working jeweller" and Edwin Bramley "machinist"; in Huddersfield, Miss M. B. Sykes of 'Roundfield', Imperial Road, Edgerton, daughter of a prosperous woollen manufacturer, rubbed shoulders with Mrs. Hartley of 69 Prospect Street, Huddersfield, whose husband was a plumber.

It is the presence of people with Miss Sykes's social background that is perhaps the most surprising, for our traditional image of late Victorian and Edwardian leisure institutions does not normally allow for the substantial presence of the upper echelons of local society within the same organisation as a considerable body of working men and their wives. In the final analysis, the upper middle class members were perhaps more likely to be wives and daughters of professional men and manufacturers, rather than the professional men and manufacturers themselves, although a sizable number of eminent menfolk found their way into the choral movement, as the membership of the Leeds Philharmonic in the mid 1890's illustrates in particular. Indeed, at that period, both Sir John Barran, grandson of the founder of the Leeds clothing industry, and Edward Kitson Clark, a partner in one of the North of England's largest engineering works, were both members of the choir, along with several of the town's leading clergymen and medical practitioners.⁴¹

Obviously, the presence of such people should not be over exaggerated. As is clear from the tabulated information, the majority of the society came from somewhat less exalted social stations, with about two thirds of the Leeds Philharmonic and the Huddersfield Choral coming from what might be called the "respectable lower classes", the lower middle and the upper working class. Similarly, it is possible that the latter social groups had a greater enthusiasm and a greater commitment to choral culture than the upper middle classes. The membership lists of the Leeds Philharmonic for the year 1908-1909 illustrate a significant change in the society's social structure in the fifteen year period from 1894. It has proved possible to discover the occupations of 91 of the 195 female members (27 were private residents), while the occupations of 87 out of the 152 male members have been recorded (14 of the male singers were private residents).

Table Six: Occupation of Fathers and Husbands of Female Members of the Leeds Philharmonic Society, 1908-09 ⁴²

Category	Number	% of those members whose parent's or husband's occupation is known
1A	10	11.9
1B	6	7.1
2A	20	23.8
2B	1	1.2
3	16	19.0
4	2	2.4
5	27	32.2
6	2	2.4
7	-	

N.B. The Society also had 7 members of uncertain status but who were clearly of working class origin.

Table Seven: Occupations of Male Members of Leeds Philharmonic Society, 1908-09

Category	Number	% of those members whose occupation is known
1A	1	1.2
1B	4	4.9
2A	15	18.3
2B	2	2.4
3	18	22.0
4	2	2.4
5	37	45.1
6	2	2.4
7	1	1.2

N.B. The society also had 5 members of uncertain status but who were clearly of working class origin.

There had undoubtedly been a substantial decline in the number of members from the top end of the social scale. In 1894-1895, approximately 41.0% of the identifiable female membership comprised women whose fathers' or husbands' occupation can be placed in groups 1A, 1B, 2B and the higher reaches of 2A (that is woollen manufacturers as opposed to publicans and such like); by 1909, it was only 32%. Similarly, males whose occupations came into these categories accounted

for some 30% of the male membership in 1894-95, but only 17% by 1909. The lower middle class contingent remained steady and the working class sector rose substantially. This loss of upper middle class membership which was almost certainly shared by societies other than the Leeds Philharmonic, was quite probably a reflection of the wider changes of social custom taking place from the final quarter of the 19th century. The older, respectable, quasi-religious forms of recreation, of which the choral society was undoubtedly one, were not always attractive to a younger generation nurtured in a far less evangelical, less inhibited environment than their parents. It was not simply prejudice that caused Edwardian music journalists to rail against golf, motor cars, and ragtime⁴³. The less wealthy members of society whose membership often involved considerable sacrifice of time and money, were perhaps more likely to retain their allegiance to a leisure form than those whose consideration for joining in the first place, might have been dictated as much by ideas about status and respectability as a genuine love of music. It is equally possible that the decline of middle class membership was partially a reflection of the contemporary escalation of class conflict. The growth of organised labour, and the increase of trade union militancy in the Edwardian period, may well have led some members of the middle class to dissociate themselves from a recreation which involved contact with the working classes, particularly if, as with the Leeds Philharmonic, working class membership was rising⁴⁴. Nevertheless, despite their falling numbers, the presence of a significant number of eminent local citizens in an organisation normally regarded as "working class", provides a valuable corrective to our view of late Victorian and Edwardian leisure patterns.

One of the most obvious features emerging from this survey of the two societies, is that the working class element was drawn almost totally from the upper echelons of their class. The choral societies of West Yorkshire, (like the voluntary leisure institutions of late Victorian Edinburgh, and the 19th century volunteer movement on a national scale), illustrate that working class involvement in so many central areas of contemporary social life was largely restricted to the Labour elite⁴⁵. Occasionally, a "stray" from the lower reaches of the labouring classes might succeed in gaining admittance to a choir. In the early 1900's, the Leeds Philharmonic numbered amongst its ranks a scavenger named Paul Stott, who represents the lowest ranked occupational

group to be found in either of the major organisations. But such men were exceptions; the unskilled and the majority of the semi-skilled were generally beyond the pale of the choral movement. As with the brass bandsman, this was largely a matter of shillings and pence. In general, only the skilled worker would have possessed the necessary money to take a full part in the choral society. But alongside this, it may well be that the exclusion of the lower ends of the working class from the choral movement can also be explained partly in religious terms. It was not merely that they might lack the money or the correct clothes; the lower working classes by and large remained outside the religious institutions which provided a training ground for the choral tradition. As always, religion was to have a vital impact on the nature of Yorkshire choralism.

It is noteworthy that it was working class men as opposed to women who played the class's largest role in the choral tradition. The Leeds Philharmonic Society in both 1894-1895 and 1908-1909, and the Huddersfield Choral Society in 1894-1895, contained approximately twice as many working class men as working class women.

That there were any women present in the choral societies at all deserves considerable stress, for when studying the place of women in the 19th century and early 20th century recreation, the historian is constantly aware of their exclusion from many of its institutions including the musical institutions investigated earlier in this chapter⁴⁶. As is shown in a later chapter, the earliest choral societies made little use of female singers, but as the century progressed a combination of pressure from women and changing aesthetic principles made it imperative that women took their place on the concert platform. The majority of female members appear to have been drawn from the middle classes and it is obvious that such an eminently respectable pastime as singing in a prestigious choral society was a popular outlet for the leisure time of this rather socially restricted group⁴⁷. (It is significant that upper middle class women outnumbered their male counterparts in the choral societies by almost two to one; 19th century society clearly offered the prosperous male a wider range of leisure pursuits than it did for his womenfolk, and singing was something "left to the ladies"). Working class women were less fortunate than their more wealthy counterparts. There are several factors which explain the far greater involvement in the choral societies under study, of working

class men than their womenfolk. Paul Thompson has warned the historian against facile generalisations concerning the place of working women in society at this time, showing the variety of regional, social and personal factors affecting their lives⁴⁸. Nevertheless, the fact that working class women played a much smaller part than their menfolk, does suggest that the "traditional" factors which we tend to think of when discussing women's lifestyle, were working against them. Some husbands and their wives may simply have assumed that women took no part in organised leisure. Others may have been required to stay at home nursing and attending to the family, while some women were presumably unable to find the necessary money to join a society. In a household where money for organised leisure was scarce, it was perhaps more likely to go to the husband. Certainly, at least as regards the Leeds Philharmonic, more women from a working class household were coming into the choral tradition in the Edwardian period. Whereas in 1894 only 16 women from this background have been traced, by 1909 there were 36. This may well have been due to increased economic potential stemming from job opportunities in the "white collar" professions, such as teaching, and within the local clothing industry, which increased its female labour force considerably in this period⁴⁹. But despite this absolute numerical increase, a concomitant increase of working class men meant that the working class female was still outnumbered by her menfolk. Even in a leisure pursuit where specifically female attributes were needed, the potential for the working class women was decidedly limited.

The focus so far has been upon the large choirs. But as has been illustrated, these societies formed only one aspect, albeit an important one, of the choral tradition. Membership data concerning the smaller choirs is scanty, but it is possible to make certain observations relating to social structure. It is probable that the smaller concert societies, organisations with between 80 to 150 members, shared a very similar structure to that of the two bodies studied above. The picture of a broad social base is suggested by evidence from the Sowerby Bridge Choral Society. In 1894-1895, at least 16 of its 91 members came from occupational groups 1 - 3, and it is clear that several members lived in solidly working class districts of the town, although local trade directories are not detailed enough to provide exact detail of their occupation⁵⁰.

The competitive societies, however, exhibited a far more "popular" structure than that of the purely concert orientated bodies, and this illustrates the danger of generalisation about "choral societies" as if they were a generic type. Again, this is not to suggest a totally working class presence, although there were many contemporary commentators who gave this impression to their readers. The Saltaire Prize choir, (a mixed voice choir), was "composed of working people, all employed in the town, many at the large factory built by Messrs. Salt". Similarly, the Halifax Madrigal Society, Britain's premier mixed voice choir in the period immediately before 1914, were "drawn from the mill, the workshop, and the counter", while the Todmorden Male Voice Choir were, at least in the early 1900's, "practically all drawn from the mills in the district"⁵¹. The limited amount of detailed evidence available suggests that, in fact, the clerk and the shopkeeper also made fairly substantial contributions to this aspect of choral culture. Two societies, both male voice choirs, the Burley Glee Union which existed from 1887-1889, and the Leeds Musical Union, founded in 1893 and probably disbanded in the late Edwardian period, can be analysed in depth. The data for the two societies has been conflated, as there was a considerable overlap in personnel, and indeed a feeling emerges from a reading of the minute books that the Leeds Musical Union was regarded by its founders as a resurrection of the earlier body⁵². Thus it seems reasonable for current purposes to treat the two bodies as one unit. Between 1887 and 1896, when the membership records cease to exist, they had 49 members, of which 25 are traceable in local directories.

Table Eight: Membership of Burley Glee Union & Leeds Prize Musical Union, 1887-1889 & 1893-96

Category	Number	% of those members whose occupation is known
1A	1	4.0
1B	1	4.0
2A	2	8.0
2B	3	12.0
3	8	32.0
4	-	-
5	10	40.0
6	-	-
7	-	-

Virtually all of the 24 whose occupations are unknown, lived in areas which can be described as upper working/lower middle class suburbs⁵³.

It is clear that the Leeds Musical Union was not a single class organisation. But its social mixture was less pronounced than that of either the Leeds Philharmonic or the Huddersfield Choral. The societies were an amalgam of what we might term the lower middle and working classes. But the middle class "proper" were far less prominent. Only three singers could really be termed "middle class", and even they were hovering on its lower edges, two managers of small businesses and a young architect only recently established in practice. Obviously, these two Leeds choirs need not be entirely typical of their kind, but it is significant that no evidence has been discovered showing any measurable haute bourgeois presence in the competitive arena. Two explanations for the more humble membership of the competition choir suggest themselves. Firstly, the idea of competitive music, or at least competitive music that included financial reward, was antagonistic to the ethos of the upper middle classes. It is possible that in the same way as many middle class sportsmen eschewed the horrors of professionalism and sought refuge in the purity of the Arthur Dunn Cup, or Rugby Union, middle class choral societies preferred membership of the large concert society, with its alleged emphasis upon artistic achievement, to the more "sporty" practice of singing for a £25 money prize and a gold medal⁵⁴. Alongside this, arose the issue of personal contact with subordinate social classes. Although willing to sing alongside members of a different social class in a large gathering, where social contact with that class need not be undertaken unless desired, the upper middle class were probably less willing to be forced into the intimate contact necessitated by the small numbers of the competition choir. While the concert societies might attract members from the very apex of local society, the competition choir had to exist without their favour. Finally, it is worth noting that, as with the larger societies, the working class members were all skilled tradesmen. The competition, like the concert platform, was not a place for those outside the labour aristocracy⁵⁵.

As with the brass band, it is necessary to look beyond the performing membership if we are to gain a total understanding of the choral movement's social base, and once again, there is much evidence of interest and involvement from a wide cross-section of the community.

This is clearly shown by a study of the audience. Choral concerts, like concerts of all types, became increasingly common from the 1840's and 1850's, a phenomenon which reflects the existence of an expanding class of people with a little spare money⁵⁶. The lowest admission price was usually 1/-, and in fact this was the standard "cheap seat" rate for concerts of organisations such as the Huddersfield Choral or the Bradford Festival Choral Society right up to 1914⁵⁷. In general, such a sum was probably beyond the reach of the majority of working men and even of some of those in the lower reaches of the lower middle class.

Certainly, some working men were able to attend, as the result of great thrift. William Hopkinson, later to become one of Bradford's most respected manufacturers, as a factory half timer in the 1850's, saved his dinner money in order to attend concerts at St. George's Hall. Hopkinson's later rise in the social scale suggests that his power of self-denial was perhaps a little untypical, but he was by no means alone in his enjoyment of concert life. In the Edwardian era, working men from Calverley regularly attended the Bradford Subscription concerts, while a writer in the I.L.P. newspaper the Bradford Pioneer claimed that: "There are many weavers in Bradford who are musical enthusiasts, who never miss a good concert, though they can ill afford it"⁵⁸. But it is likely that such men formed only a minority of the audience and a minority of their class. Samuel Midgley, a coalminer's son, turned music teacher and chamber musician, who knew the West Yorkshire musical world intimately, argued that although working class people did attend concerts, for the majority 1/- was just too expensive⁵⁹. Overall, there can be little doubt that the bulk of the audience at least at the concerts of the larger societies, comprised of the lower middle classes and upwards.

This is particularly true of the large, concert-orientated societies, who sold many of their tickets by subscription. Obviously, the subscription was a good idea from the societies' point of view, in that it provided a guaranteed pool of money to support them through the season. But the subscription rates were almost inevitably beyond the reach of the working class music lover. This is illustrated by evidence from the Leeds Philharmonic Society, whose subscription books from the late 1890's have managed to survive. In 1897-1898, they offered subscriptions at two separate rates; the first, at £1 11s. Od.,

offered seats in the best part of Leeds Town Hall for all six concerts to be held that season. 318 people took up these subscriptions, buying altogether 787 tickets. Every member of this group came from the very upper limits of Leeds and district society: manufacturers and their families, eminent professional men, and ladies of private means, they journeyed from the villas of Headingley, Roundhay and Moortown by carriage or from the further outposts of Otley or Harrogate by 1st class rail. For these people, a Leeds Philharmonic concert was a central event in the social calendar, as much an excuse for a display of wealth as a musical event⁶⁰.

The second subscription, £0 15s. 0d. for a six seat series, catered for a slightly more modest clientele. Altogether, 283 people bought 518 seats at this price. The subscribers to these second seats were still very substantial citizens, even if their homes were known by street numbers rather than manorial epithets. They were drawn essentially from the professional middle classes, although a small sprinkling of shopkeepers were able to afford the cheaper rates, and there were even some 21 people from the very upper edges of the working class and the bottom of the lower middle class, 6 of whom could definitely be described as manual workers. None of these 21 had managed to afford a full 6 concert subscription but had succeeded in buying seats for two, three or four concerts, still an expensive process. The presence of these people illustrates the lengths that a small number of relatively humble enthusiasts were willing to go to to follow their chosen recreation. Robert Cook, a joiner from Camp Road, Leeds, for example, bought two tickets for three concerts, involving a lump payment of 15/-, a transaction which must have necessitated a considerable degree of saving. But such people were a tiny minority. The other 580 subscribers, almost all drawn from social groups earning at the very least £200 per annum, purchased approximately 1300 tickets which meant that half of the hall was filled with a middle class audience before tickets even went on public sale. A small number of 5/- and 2/- tickets were usually available at the door on the night of the performance, almost certainly beyond the range of working class people, while the 1/- tickets which formed the bulk of the tickets available to non-subscribers, were, as has been stated, a luxury that few working people could afford on a regular basis⁶¹.

Certainly, on occasions, working people might obtain free admission, to high grade choral performances. In 1859, for example, a large number of Bradford mill workers were given free tickets by their employers to The Creation, which opened the Bradford Music Festival of that year⁶². At the same time, members of the choral societies often received free tickets for distribution to friends and relatives. Such a scheme was operated by the Bradford Festival Choral Society throughout the second half of the 19th century, and in this way some working people were doubtless able to gain admittance⁶³. Their presence, and that of those working class people that could afford to attend, meant that the concerts of the large choral societies never became a solely middle class entertainment medium. But in the final analysis, the superior choral concert was essentially for those in the more elevated sections of the social scale.

But if this type of concert proved rather expensive for the working man and his family, he was by no means excluded from the choral tradition, for there were many other types of choral entertainment available. By the 1880's, most towns and villages offered choral entertainments during the winter months, at prices well within the pocket of the skilled and semi-skilled working class (although still too great for the majority of the unskilled and "residuum"). The choral competition usually had an entry fee of about 6d. a session, although if one was anxious to follow a local choir to a particular event, this might also involve the expense of a train or tram fare. The smaller choirs, based in villages or in a local institution were usually cheaper still, asking a minimum entry of 3d. This too, seems to have been about the price of admission to church and chapel choral concerts⁶⁴. From the late 19th century, church and chapel, increasingly prepared to use entertainments of a reasonably intellectual variety as a means of making religion more attractive, provided a large number of choral entertainments. This was especially the case at Christmas time, when some type of performance, the Messiah being perhaps the favourite, was given by virtually all religious institutions. Miss Pattie Smith, for 20 years a violinist in the King Cross Methodist Church orchestra, Halifax, remembered how, at Christmas concerts, "people came for miles and were sitting on the pulpit steps and up the staircases"⁶⁵. These cheaper concerts seem to have attracted sizable working class patronage, and this was particularly the case in the smaller communities where organised entertainments were

rare enough to engender quite a degree of enthusiasm. In countless village halls, school rooms, mission halls and chapels, the choral tradition reached those for whom the concerts of the Leeds Philharmonic and the like were at the least, a luxury, at worst, an impossibility.

While membership of a choral society and attendance at at least the cheaper types of concert appears to have been open to a broad range of people, the organisation of choral culture appears to have devolved very largely to the middle class section of the movement. The organising committees, at least from the later 19th century, seem to have been comprised of members of some social status. The Leeds Philharmonic's committee in 1875-1876 included an iron merchant and manufacturer, a stockbroker, a cashier, an iron founder and a woollen salesman. By 1895-1896, it included a bank manager, an estate agent, a vicar, a solicitor, a sub manager and two commercial travellers, while the secretary by this date was John Green, a fairly substantial textile manufacturer⁶⁶. The increase in the choir's working class membership over the next fifteen years, had no reflection at organisational level. The evidence from the other societies would tend to suggest a similar bias towards the fairly substantial middle class at committee level. Even in the more "popular" Leeds Musical Union, committee work appears to have devolved to singers in white collar occupations. Five of the seven committee members elected in 1895-1896 were white collar workers (a gas official, an architect, two clerks and a commercial traveller), a substantial number given that "middle class" membership of the choir stood at only 50%⁶⁷. Whether this situation resulted mainly from active assumption of their own suitability by those of higher status and often higher education, or from the passive acceptance by working class members that those of higher class should organise matters, is unknown. This situation, very similar to that which appertained in many soccer clubs and in the volunteer movement, illustrates that the working classes could participate quite happily in a recreational form without having much control over its direction⁶⁸.

The wealthier sections of the middle classes also gave substantial financial aid to the choral movement. The smaller choirs, because of relatively limited overheads, do not seem to have needed their financial services to the extent illustrated by the brass band. But the larger societies, always anxious to better their rivals in terms of technical

excellence and status, often found it beneficial to draw upon the resources of a local benefactor. Thus in 1897, Bradford Festival Choral Society were able to appoint the composer Dr. Frederick Cowen as conductor, and H. H. Fricker, the Leeds borough organist, as paid chorus master, thanks to the munificence of Henry Mason, a local industrialist. Harry Cawood Embleton, a mining engineer and shareholder in local mines, who also had the good fortune to inherit £366,000 from his aunt's will, was another such benefactor. A small but useful proportion of his wealth was spent meeting the financial needs of the Leeds Choral Union, to whom he was secretary/treasurer from 1895 to 1930⁶⁹.

To a considerable extent, most forms of popular musical society in late Victorian and Edwardian West Yorkshire, provide testimony to Professor Best's belief that recreation, "for the most part seems to defy strict presentation in terms of social and economic class"⁷⁰. It was quite clearly in the choral movement that the pan-class musical society reached its apotheosis. In the concert orientated bodies, a quite remarkable degree of class co-operation took place, with mill-owners and mill workers being quite capable of joining the same society, while in the small competitive choirs, although the mix was not as noticeable, upper working and lower middle class came together happily. This peculiarly developed degree of collaboration stemmed essentially from the movement's close relationship with church and chapel. The centrality of the religious institution as a training ground and source of recruitment for the choral society has been stressed throughout this study, and the structure of the movement more or less reflects the religious demography of the region. The appeal of organised religion extended essentially to the upper working classes upwards, and membership of the choral movement illustrates a similar pattern⁷¹. Many people from throughout this broad spectrum were clearly willing to utilise the skill learnt originally to serve religious functions in their leisure time, and were quite happy to sing alongside those of a different class, happy in the knowledge that at least they shared the same basically religious philosophy and the same outwardly respectable demeanour. But the choral society was not alone in possessing a broad social base. Almost every society which has bequeathed any records relating to its social structure, enjoyed some form of social mix, with even the brass band, the most overtly "working class" institution,

being capable of reaching out to, and to a considerable extent, depending upon, a far wider social group.

The emphasis throughout this chapter has been upon the extent to which different social classes could and did intermingle in their chosen musical pursuits. But it would be dangerous if this corrective to many traditional interpretations of 19th century music was pushed too far and it was forgotten that, accompanying this mingling of different social classes, there was at the same time, a great deal of social stratification in musical life. Perhaps most fundamental in this respect was the exclusion of the majority of the unskilled working classes from this aspect of 19th century social life. Lack of money and lack of contact with religious organisations, political societies and other institutions which spawned so much contemporary musical life, left the lower end of the working class to seek other outlets for their limited leisure resources, and served to widen the gulf between the different sectors of the working class. To cite Professor Best once again, in recreation "as in most other social respects Mid-Victorians seem to have made more of a distinction, and more explicit distinction, between the respectable and the non-respectable than between working and lower middle class"⁷².

There were too, clear limitations upon the degree of social intercourse between the various sectors of "respectable society". Although the greengrocer, the butcher or the petty industrialist might well have given his local brass band considerable financial support, have served on its committee and addressed it enthusiastically at the annual supper and general meeting, he does not normally appear to have actually taken the step of joining the society as a playing member. Similarly, the clerk or commercial traveller, accepted the working man he knew to be a respectable member of a religious congregation as a fellow member of a choral society, but gave wide berth to the brass band movement with its reputation (not totally undeserved) for intemperance and rowdiness. Many lower middle class parents undoubtedly directed their offsprings' musical aspirations away from cornet or trombone to less overtly proletarian instruments such as the violin and piano. Again, the millowner, the doctor, the lady of private means, could envisage membership of a prestigious, concert orientated choral society, with its celebrity conductors and fashionable audiences, but did not appear to have relished the more intimate contact with the "lower

classes" demanded of members of the competition choir. Consciousness of one's class and status were never far from the surface.

This mixture of integration and stratification illustrates much about the nature of society in the Yorkshire textile region. As has been argued earlier, by the late 19th century, the period from which the bulk of the evidence in this section emanates, the class consensus which had operated from the 1850's was fast collapsing, and the patterns of stratification were undoubtedly reflections of an increasingly rigid class society. But there was still sufficient flexibility for individuals to cross class boundaries in pursuit of ideals and interests. Undoubtedly a certain amount of the class collaboration that took place in musical life owed more to self-interest than either artistic or moral sensibility. Many middle class citizens saw their donation to the brass band as little more than a crude form of social control, while there were working men and women who sought the social cachet gained by admittance to such an illustrious institution as the Huddersfield Choral Society. But, at the same time, much was simply the result of the desire to follow one's interests with like-thinking people. In an age when class tensions were visibly escalating, the musical society was capable of becoming a focus for the life of a community far wider than that encompassed within a single social class.

ii) The Social Geography of Popular Music

The West Yorkshire textile district contained a great variety of settlement, ranging from the tiny moorland hamlets of the upper North and Holme Valleys, to the large cities of Bradford and Leeds. In general, all types of community produced some form of musical society, although villages of less than about 1,000 inhabitants were, with a few noteworthy exceptions, rarely able to sustain much more than a slightly undersized brass band. But, in terms of both quantity and quality, it was perhaps the larger village and the small town, the settlement with a population somewhere in the range of c. 3 - c. 15,000 people, which enjoyed the most flourishing musical life.

This is not to deny that there was much musical enthusiasm in the large towns and cities. Between 1850 and 1914, Leeds and its immediate environs, produced at least 21 brass bands, 32 choral societies,

3 orchestras, and a concertina band, hardly a poor record, and the other large urban areas were similarly well served. The large choral society was an especially important feature of the musical environment in these towns, and indeed, it was through the achievements of such bodies as the Huddersfield Choral Society and the Leeds Philharmonic that the textile district achieved a considerable degree of its musical reputation. But even in this instance, although these societies took their name from important towns and cities, they tended to draw members from a wide region. They focussed on large centres, not because they were deeply rooted there, but because if they were to maintain their quality and prestige, with the hired orchestras, celebrity conductors and soloists that this entailed, they needed the facilities and the income that only a large town could provide. The Bradford Festival Choral Society of 1856 included singers from over 30 towns and villages within a ten mile radius of the city, and as many as 27% of its membership came from communities with a population of less than 5,000⁷³. While it would be ridiculous to deny the contribution made to Yorkshire's musical stock by musicians from the larger towns, they were by no means the dominant group in the region's musical development.

The intensity of musical life in the industrial towns and villages of the district was often astonishing. Writing in 1887, Robert Marr observed that:

"It has been stated that in many of the smaller towns in the Yorkshire and Lancashire district every house has its musical instrument; and certainly, this is the impression produced upon a stranger walking through any of these small towns"⁷⁴.

Marr was undoubtedly exercising a little poetic licence, but there is much evidence to support the picture he was trying to establish. In the peak musical years of the 1890's and the early 1900's, Slaithwaite (Pop. 4,763 in 1901) supported a brass band, four choral societies, and an amateur orchestra, which by 1912, when it won the orchestral section at the Midland Music Festival, was amongst the finest in the country; Wyke (5,929) supported two top class brass bands and a concertina band; Queensbury (6,416) a brass band (the Black Dyke Mills Band), an orchestra and three choral societies; Cleckheaton (10,227) two brass bands, two choral societies and an orchestra; Horbury (6,736) a brass band, a choral society, an orchestra and a celebrated set of handbell ringers⁷⁵.

The list could be extended almost indefinitely. Even in the smallest villages where the potential for the establishment of musical societies was limited, there were several exceptional examples of musical fervour. The case of Netherton Brass Band, which in fact came from just outside the region under study, but is worthy of mention, is particularly striking. "Netherton Brass Band is a wonder", claimed an enthusiastic observer. "There are only about 300 inhabitants in the place, and they have a band of 22. Nearly every man in Netherton has been either a player or a committee man"⁷⁶. The village of Holme on the Yorkshire-Cheshire border was equally brass band orientated. Despite having to draw on a population of only 500 people, Holme Silver Band was successful in winning several important competitions in the late Victorian and Edwardian period⁷⁷.

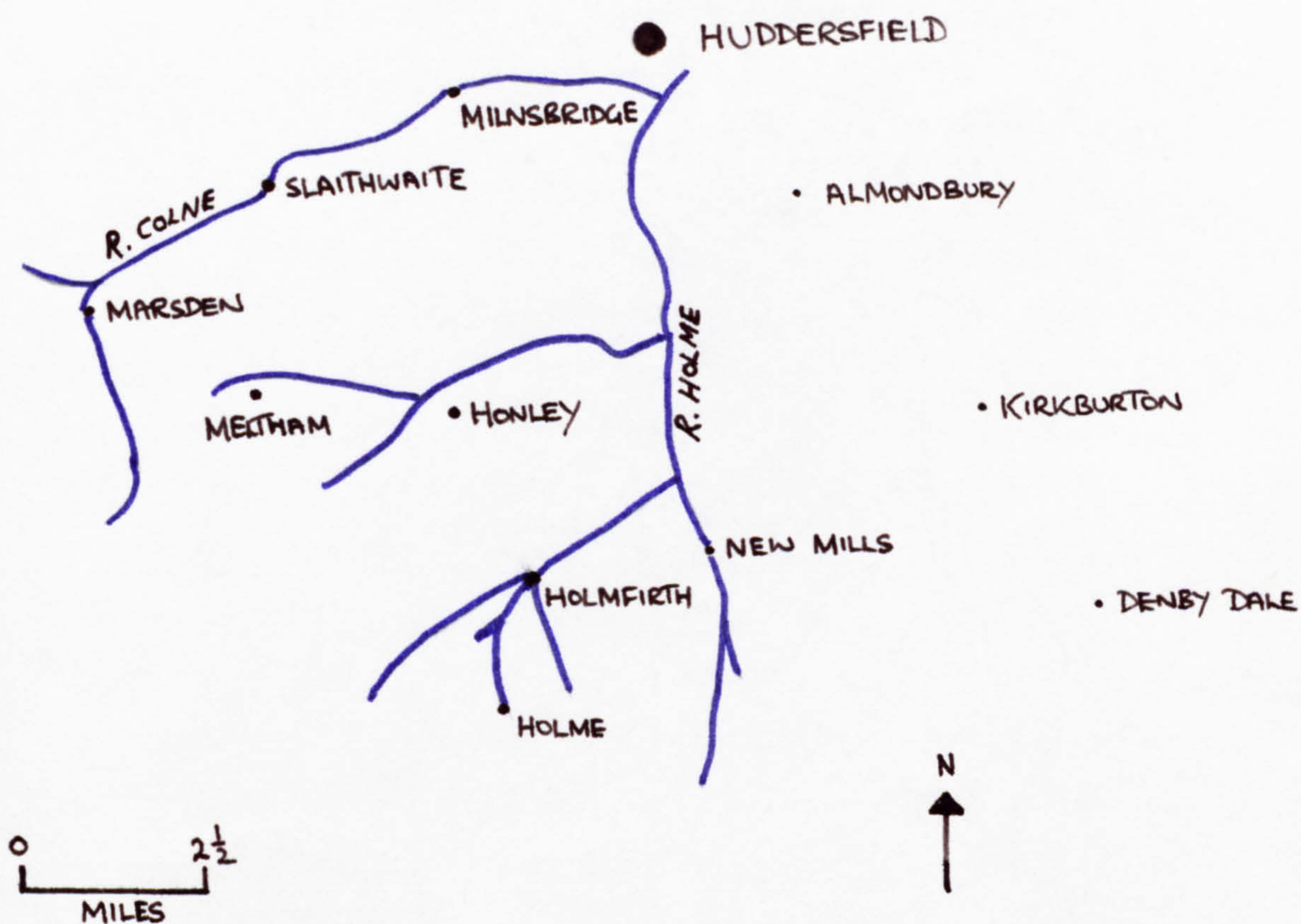
It is not simply the mere existence of these organisations that is important, however, but that so much of their music was of the highest quality. The link between the village community and high musical standards was widely commented on by contemporaries. A correspondent to Wright and Round's Brass Band News in 1889, argued that:

"Your good bands in the North are not the product of your large towns, Liverpool, Manchester, Bradford and Leeds (Leeds Forge Band is not in Leeds) are nearly as bad as London. It is the villages - where the band becomes the sole hobby of the bandsmen and the pride of the people - that produce your good bands"

Twenty years later, an eminent brass band journalist still felt this to be the case.

"If the villagers could only be made to see it, they have infinitely better chances of forming good bands than the dweller in large towns, for they have not so many counter attractions to cope with, and most of their spare time can be profitably spent in practising together. All the best bands have been reared in small villages. Black Dyke, Besses, Wyke, Kingston Mills and Honley are, or were, all village bands which have risen to the very top"⁷⁸.

Nowhere was this pattern of small town music-making more apparent than in the industrial settlements of the Colne and Holme Valleys. The parts of the two valleys which come within the textile region, comprise an area some 40 - 45 square miles immediately to the south and south-west of Huddersfield.



Although it is relevant in this particular context to refer to this district as a single area, such a description perhaps does a slight injustice both to the finer points of local history and local pride. The two valleys, although sharing a great deal in common, had certain important differences, and in particular exhibited different levels of economic development and population density. The Holme Valley, situated in the southernmost part of the textile region, was, particularly in its upper reaches, very thinly populated. The railway never penetrated beyond the township of Holmfirth and largely because of this, the valley never became as fully industrialised and urbanised as the Colne, remaining much more a complex of small scattered villages, hamlets and farmsteads. The population of the whole region stood at approximately 55,000 in 1901, with 25,000 in the Colne and 30,000 in

the larger, sprawling valleys of the Holme and its tributaries⁸⁰. Over the course of the 19th century and the first fifteen years of the 20th century, this area produced a quite remarkable total of 56 musical societies, almost identical to the number produced in Leeds, a city with 8 times the population. During the peak musical era of the 1890's, it is probable that there were as many as 35 - 40 societies functioning at any one time amongst this relatively sparse population. It is impossible to say exactly how many people were involved in this intense musical life, either as performers or as organisers. But perhaps more important than simply the number of participants, was the broad base of community support that underlay the activity; the fact that such a small population could support so many organisations is more than adequate testimony to the musicality of the population as a whole⁸¹.

Once again it is not merely the weight of numbers, but the quality of music that is so extraordinary. A list of the region's best known societies becomes a litany of all that was best in Victorian and Edwardian popular musical life. Meltham Mills brass band, which won the Belle Vue championships for three consecutive years between 1876 and 1878; Honley Band, Belle Vue champions in 1884; Linthwaite Band, one of the most consistently successful and influential of all Victorian brass bands; the Holme Valley Male Voice Choir, founded at the end of our period in 1910, but rapidly establishing itself as a premier competitive choir; Golcar Baptist Choir, which gained a far-reaching reputation in the competitive field from the 1890's; Crosland Moor United Handbell Ringers, which took handbell ringing to a new level of technical excellence in the Edwardian period, winning five consecutive Belle Vue championships in the process. Alongside these illustrious societies were many others who won respect for their achievements⁸².

It is somewhat easier to describe the well-developed nature of music in the small community than it is to explain it, and much of our explanation must at present be of a relatively generalised kind. Several factors probably exercised an influence, but two of the most important were the two commented upon by the Brass Band News correspondent noted above, the relative absence of counter-attractions and the intensity of local pride. Obviously it would be an exaggeration

to accept the writer's description of brass banding or even music in general as the "sole hobby" of the local musicians, let alone of the community in general. Many musicians enjoyed other forms of leisure activity, and even the smallest village had a range of recreational institutions ranging from the public house to the chapel which could serve as rivals to choir and band. But the fundamental feature of small town recreational geography was the absence, until the arrival of cinema in the years immediately before the First World War, of an entertainment industry. The music hall, the theatre, the dancing saloon, were almost unknown outside the larger towns, and indeed it was as late as the early 1900's that the music hall or "variety palace" as it had become known, reached towns as large as Dewsbury, Wakefield and Keighley⁸³. In the smaller communities, the need to make one's own entertainment was paramount. Alongside this, operated the vital ingredient of local patriotism. The population were anxious to help their local institutions to play, to organise, to give money, even, as with the youthful supporters of Dobcross Brass Band, to "go to practice and hold up the music for the men"⁸⁴. This local pride was well reflected in the works of the many antiquarians who, never slow to extol the virtues of their town or village, enthusiastically pounced upon any example of musical prowess, and used it to swell the chronicles of local achievement. Significantly, contemporary historians of the Holme and Colne Valleys seem to have devoted more space and enthusiasm to music than their counterparts in other areas. One writer informed his readers that the Colne Valley "has established a world wide fame for its music"⁸⁵. But if its reputation was perhaps just a little more localised than this gentleman appreciated, there can at least be no denying its vaunted position amongst its inhabitants.

It is difficult to explain the excessive musical interest of the people of the Colne and Holme Valleys. The region possessed no immediately apparent advantages over other parts of the textile district. There is no evidence to suggest that the habit of music making was given especial encouragement by local manufacturers. Indeed, the area seems remarkable for its proliferation of community-based institutions, with Hepworth Ironworks and Meltham Mills brass bands being the only organisations to have direct links with a particular workplace. Similarly, the religious geography does not provide any clue to the

region's musicality. Certainly, the region supported a strong nonconformist and crucially, from the musical standpoint, a strong Methodist contingent; according to the 1851 religious census, 37% of attendants in the Huddersfield Registration District, where most of the Colne and Holme Valleys lay, worshipped at chapels belonging to one or other Methodist sect⁸⁶. However, this was by no means exceptional in comparison with the rest of the textile region, and while the local Methodist presence was undeniably important in creating a suitable musical climate, it is hard to believe that it exerted an abnormal influence. There was clearly something "special" about the community life of this area, for it proved fertile ground for such a variety of institutions, but for the present, the vital combination of social and economic ingredients responsible for this situation elude the historian's grasp. But while for the present the exact conjunction of forces underlying the strength of the musical tradition in the small town and village and the quirks within it escapes total explanation, the existence of the tradition itself is strikingly clear. In these tight-knit industrial communities of the Yorkshire textile district, the British popular musical tradition reached its apotheosis.

Alongside these variations in the intensity and quality of musical life, existed slight but noteworthy regional differences in the distribution of the various types of musical organisation. While any locality within the textile district seemed to have been capable of producing a brass band, choir or orchestra, the concertina and handbell bands were subject to quite a degree of regional variation. From the evidence available to date the concertina band appears to have been common in the Heavy Woollen District, Halifax and North Bradford, having only a scattered existence in other areas. The handbell ringers, in turn, were strongest once again in the Heavy Woollen District, and in the Colne and Holme Valleys⁸⁷. It is clear why both the concertina and the handbell never became the predominant instruments of the district. The concertina was a relatively late entrant to the amateur musical arena, at least as an ensemble instrument and it clearly did not possess enough attraction to spread throughout the region as a whole, where the brass band in particular already met the musical needs of working men fairly adequately. A surprisingly difficult instrument to master, and with only a tiny musical literature and few skilled practitioners to coach and teach, the concertina could not hope to

"colonise" the whole region⁸⁸. The handbell, too, presented practical problems. It was an unsuitable vehicle for much working class music making; in particular, it could not be used on marches and processions.

But at present, we can only speculate as to why bands based on these instruments should inhabit such clearly limited areas. The concertina band's peculiar spread probably owed most to individual example, with an enthusiast inspiring emulation and imitation in his immediate locality. The geography of handbell ringing, however, perhaps owes its distinctive pattern to the religious structure of the region. Handbell ringers were originally drawn from the ranks of church tower bell ringers who, seeking to practise in more convivial surroundings than a cold church, retired to a cottage or to a public house to practise their changes on small sets of handbells. Increasingly from the 18th century, they began to ring tunes on their handbells as well as the complex peals which had previously been their speciality. The Heavy Woollen belt, and in particular the region around Huddersfield, which had a sizable number of long established Parish churches, were perhaps more likely to produce ringers, than for example Bradford Parish, with its notorious lack of church provision in the 17th and 18th centuries⁸⁹. The distinctive distribution of handbell bands seems to have been established by 1850, and a lack of expertise in other areas prevented its spread. While forming a significant sector of Yorkshire musical life, the concertina and handbell bands were to remain decidedly localised organisations⁹⁰.

iii) The Institutional Structure of Popular Music

The concern so far has been with establishing which types of community generated certain levels or certain aspects of musical activity, and although this is extremely important, discussion of the community as a whole, should not obscure the fact that there were specific institutions within it which acted as foci for the initiation and encouragement of musical societies. Ultimately, it is clear that the majority of organisations eventually became the "property" of a wide cross-section of the community, with a variety of people joining, supporting and financing a particular society's activities. This is particularly true of the brass band movement, with the public subscription band, supported by a large section of the community, rather than the efforts of one institution, being the norm.

Nevertheless, it should be remembered that a band or choir which might eventually enjoy the following of a whole village, and which might draw its members from a wide variety of backgrounds, may have owed its original establishment to a group in a particular street, pub, Sunday School, factory, union branch or whatever. In many instances, an organisation's exact origins cannot be traced, but in a number of cases, it is possible to locate its exact starting point, either because its origins are apparent from its name, or because unusually full details of its history still exist. The following table records the information which is available⁹¹.

Table Nine: Institutional Origins of Amateur Musical Societies, 1850-1914

	<u>Church/ Chapel</u>	<u>Political Society or Trade Union</u>	<u>Temperance Organisation</u>	<u>Place of work</u>	<u>Miscell- aneous</u>
Choral Societies	32	20	1	1	6
Brass/Military Bands	4	4	12	40	4
Orchestras	6	1	-	-	1
Handbell Teams	7	-	-	-	-
Concertina Bands	2	-	2	-	-

The fact that we only possess concrete evidence about a minority of societies, necessitates circumspection, but several patterns relating mainly to a dichotomy between choral societies and brass bands, do emerge. The centrality of church and chapel to the choral organisation is particularly obvious, and as will be argued later, it is probable that the majority of choral societies drew their members from those already active in church and chapel choirs. Certain instrumental organisations, particularly the orchestra and the handbell ringers, also emerged from this background, but the brass band enjoyed a far less intimate connection with religious institutions: perhaps the religious community were a little concerned about their members becoming too involved with the band movement's sometimes boisterous, masculine culture! This is not to suggest that bandsmen as a body had no contact with organised religion. The obituaries of many bandsmen contain

references to their allegiance to a particular denomination, while bands were often involved with religious bodies through their performances at Whit Walks and Sunday School anniversaries. But in general, brass bands were more likely to develop in a secular than a religious milieu.

A more common starting place for the brass band was not the church or chapel, but the workplace. Certainly, the works band, at least in Yorkshire, was never quite as common as many writers have assumed. Many contemporaries exaggerated their number, giving the impression that virtually all brass bands were works bands. Notable among these observers was Robert Marr, whose Music For The People, (1889) has been a central source for later writers who have tended to repeat his misconceptions⁹². Ronald Pearsall, for example, claims that: "Brass Bands were primarily works' bands, supported by enlightened employers who wished to keep their operatives out of the gin places"⁹³. In fact, from the information available, only some 15% of West Yorkshire's Victorian and Edwardian brass bands were specifically based on factory or pit and it is unlikely that many of the others had any more than relatively casual links with a particular workplace. However, the link between banding and the workplace, although not to be overstressed, does deserve mention because the works band was the largest single type of band apart from the "public subscription", and because, as seen in Section One of this Chapter, the benefits accruing to works bands often gave them elevated status in the band hierarchy.

There was also a clear link, although again perhaps not as clear a one as is sometimes insinuated, between the brass band and the Temperance Movement, with at least a dozen bands originating from a branch of the Band of Hope or similar body. It is noteworthy that Temperance workers felt the brass band to be the best means of advertising their message, whereas political organisations, who like their counterparts in the Temperance Movement were attempting to communicate certain moral and ideological standpoints, preferred to utilise the choir as their means of musical expression. Whether such bodies as the Co-operative Societies and the Clarion Clubs chose choirs rather than bands because they were cheaper, because they appeared to offer a better medium for the dissemination of ideas or because of their members' musical preference, is not clear, but it is significant that the political organisations seeking to serve the working class made

little attempt to establish their own branches of that class's most vital musical institution, the brass band.

Many societies which began as works bands, political choirs, temperance bands or whatever continued as such. However, not all of the societies remained loyal to the organisations that spawned them, and just as many chapel, school and works football and cricket teams abandoned their original sponsor in order to escape restrictions and/or to widen appeal, so many bands and choirs chose to pursue a path of independence⁹⁴. Religious bodies perhaps suffered most seriously in this respect. The famed Saltaire Prize Choir, originally closely connected to the Saltaire Wesleyan Chapel, ended its relationship with the chapel in 1900 and became a public subscription choir⁹⁵. Similarly, several brass bands connected to Christian missions and such-like bodies chose to abandon their overtly religious function in order to take a fuller part in the mainstream of brass band culture, and in particular, to become involved in the competitions that their evangelical sponsors tended to frown upon. The Bramley Christian Mission Band, metamorphosed into the Bramley Model Band in the early 1890's, before eventually amalgamating with Bramley Old Band in 1898. Again, in 1898, Bingley Mission Band "severed its connection from the mission altogether and paying them £10 for the same", became Bingley Band. Two years later, the Shipley Christian Temperance Band became Shipley Band, (opening a band club complete with bar in the process), while in the early 1900's, the Mirfield Baptist Military Band, which had grown out of the Baptist Young Men's Improvement Class, became a public band under the name of Mirfield Band⁹⁶. Such secessions did much to reinforce the views of those evangelicals who believed that by attempting to attract people to religion by means of such worldly institutions as brass bands or football clubs, the church and chapel merely hastened the processes of secularisation⁹⁷. It is unfortunate that no detailed evidence relating to these various schisms exists, for it would be valuable to discover the exact points of tension between the initiating body and the musical society. Perhaps it was simply inevitable that a certain number of bands and choirs, once obtaining a relatively high standard, would seek to escape the somewhat parochial and restrictive musical life that their founders sought to impose upon them.

It is crucial to appreciate that these various institutions noted here could feed the amateur musical tradition without actually initiating a musical society as such. Religious organisations were particularly important in this sense, having an especially close relationship with the Choral Movement. It is almost certain that while only 32 choral societies were intimately connected with a specific church or chapel, the majority of members of most other societies were at some stage members of a church or chapel choir. This was regularly commented upon by both observers of, and participants within, the choral movement. In May 1895, the Secretary of the Leeds Prize Musical Union recorded his choir's reliance upon church choir singers in the following rather desultory minute: "15 members in attendance, Ascension Day being responsible for so small an attendance, many of the members being on duty at church"⁹⁸. The use of oral history has brought across the centrality of the religious organisation in a particularly marked way. Every singer interviewed had a connection with a religious choir and, in general, seemed to view church and chapel as the choral movement's training ground. Apart from providing people with a basic musical training, the church and chapel choirs invariably acted as recruiting grounds, with older members who were attached to a local choral society taking younger members of the choir to choral society rehearsals and concerts and encouraging them to join. Miss Annie Smith was first introduced to the Bradford Festival Choral Society in 1906 by a fellow member of the Tetley Street Baptist choir, and Mrs. Anne-Marie Clough was encouraged to join in 1912 by members of the Festival Choral Society who sang with her in Holme Lane Congregational Choir. For young men in particular, the progression from choir-boy to member of the wider choral community could have wider social implications, symbolising the move from adolescence to manhood. James Petty of the Idle Musical Union, remembered this aspect.

"As you got older, then the men who would go to the Musical Union or the Glee Union or Male Voice Choir, would say, what about coming, when your voice broke, and so you became a man and went into men's company"⁹⁹.

While the choral society was undoubtedly the main beneficiary of the religious organisation's musical activity, the instrumental bodies were by no means unaffected. In the period before 1850, the church and chapel bands provided a musical education for many instrumentalists, and although these bands were in steady decline from the mid 19th century

a number still existed in West Yorkshire, even as late as 1900. Again a choirboy or girl might gain knowledge of instrumental music from another member of the choir. Sam Whitehead, who at 95 is still active in the musical life of the Holmfirth area, gained his knowledge of the violin from his chapel choirmaster, Henry Pollard, who, detecting talent in his young charge, bought him a violin. Having trained his protege, Pollard then introduced him into both the Holmfirth Choral Society Orchestra and the Scholes Philharmonic¹⁰⁰. It is probable that many brass bandsmen learnt part of their musical skill from church and chapel, although the major religious institution serving the band movement, at least from the late 19th century, was quite probably the Salvation Army.

The first Army band was founded by four members of the Fry family in Salisbury in 1878 and within five years there were over 400 in Great Britain as a whole¹⁰¹. Some of them were fairly unsophisticated and of strange composition; an early band in Bradford consisted of two violins, a banjo and brass whistle¹⁰². But as the century progressed, brass bands, often of a very high standard, became the norm. By 1907, the Army even thought it worthwhile to begin their own musical journal, The Bandsman & Songster¹⁰³. The Army attempted to isolate their bandsmen from the wider band world, banning their bands from all engagements other than Army ones and allowing them to play only music sanctioned by a special committee. But inevitably, such segregation was hard to impose. Ralph Nellist, a Bradford Salvationist bandsman, who in fact remained deeply committed to the Salvationist cause, took a strong interest in the "civilian" band movement, listening intently to the bands who visited the local parks and becoming a keen student of the British Bandsman newspaper, even though it had no connection with Salvation Army banding activity and was in fact a "proscribed" publication¹⁰⁴. It is easy to see that those with a less devout belief than Mr. Nellist, might easily be tempted to leave the Army and join an orthodox band. It is not possible to give specific instances of this happening in the Yorkshire Textile Region, but it was undoubtedly happening in many regions of the county, and it would be strange if West Yorkshire had been exempt. The British Bandsman, which it must be admitted did not like the Army because of its refusal to use the magazine, had no doubt about the extent of the tension within the Army bands.

"We frequently hear of players, and in some instances whole bands, seceding from the Salvation Army, which gives ample proof of wholesale dissatisfaction, due entirely to the conditions under which the bands are compelled to exist ... Further, it is within our knowledge that many of the players in Salvation Army bands owe their position entirely to their musical ability, and not on account of either religious fervour or their loyalty to the Salvation Army cause" 105.

Allowing for a certain exaggeration borne of self-interest, there was undoubtedly much truth in this description of a situation from which the wider band movement could only benefit.

While the religious organisation provided a vital source of membership and a means of education for local musical societies, perhaps even more important was an "institution" of a somewhat different type to that discussed so far - the family. Historians are only just beginning to pay attention to the importance of the family and have largely been content to leave analysis of its function to sociologists. But if music is in any way typical, then the family exerted enormous influence upon the choice of lifestyle available to its members. It was so often the primary agent of musical education and socialisation. It has already been illustrated in Chapter Two that certain families played a central role in the development of musical life before 1850. The pattern was to continue in the second half of the century. Sons followed fathers into bands and choirs with remarkable consistency providing a guaranteed source for the particular societies continued existence. The Hesling family supplied Bramley Band with 15 playing members between 1828 and 1906. Seven members of the Clough family were connected with Holme Brass Band until 1913 when they left en bloc following a dispute within the band. The Band only survived such a serious loss because another member of the family brought his six sons into its ranks¹⁰⁶. These are rather spectacular examples, but there are many cases of particular families making crucial contributions to a particular society. Five members of the Brearley family belonged to Mirfield Band in the early 20th century; the Broadheads, Leaks, Swallows and Dentons all supplied several members of Holme Band in the late 19th century & early 20th century; 4 Wilcock brothers sang in the Bradford Festival Choral Society in the 1880's and 90's; the Carters of Marsden, the Beaumont's of Longley, the Garner's of Almondbury all made substantial contributions to various

choral societies in the Huddersfield region in the middle period of the 19th century¹⁰⁷. The list could be continued for some considerable length, and even to this day, especially in the brass band world, "most members can claim to have some family connection, past or present"¹⁰⁸.

Clearly, a child was more likely to take an active interest in music if ~~its~~ parents were already involved in musical life, but as evidence from oral sources illustrates, if the parent was not interested there was often an aunt, uncle, elder brother, or sister ready to stimulate or direct any interest that they might perceive in their younger kinsmen. Annie Smith received much help from an elder sister, although she also had the benefit of musically interested parents; Sydney Crowther's youthful interest was stimulated by an uncle who sang in Huddersfield Parish Church choir and the Huddersfield Glee and Madrigal Society, an aunt who took him to concerts, another uncle and two cousins who were bell-ringers, and a further relative who played in Lindley Brass Band; Sam Whitehead was encouraged by an elder sister which helped compensate for parents who "didn't think anything about it, you know"¹⁰⁹. Interested parents and relations often began their young one's musical education at a very tender age, and ensured that they maintained fairly intensive practice habits. John Paley (1874-194?), still regarded today as one of the finest cornet players the country has produced, was given his first lesson by his father at the age of four. The rigorous training he underwent is still remembered in the oral tradition of Shipley, where Paley senior himself a cornet player and band trainer of distinction, kept a public house. Mr. Paley would serve drinks with the bar room door ajar so that he could hear his infant prodigy at work, and if there was an untoward silence, or if he felt his son had stopped playing too early, he would fly to the door and exhort him to "get back to that cornet"¹¹⁰. John Paley's experience was perhaps exceptional, but there were undoubtedly many, particularly instrumentalists, who were taught by parents from the age of six or seven, who were members of a band or orchestra by the age of 8 or 9, and whose subsequent careers were nurtured with much careful attention. Wilhelm Meyer Lutz (1822-1903), a distinguished Bradford Music teacher, noticed while conducting an orchestra in an outlying village, how such parental interest could have strange effects. Anxious to discover why the "Clarionet player

a young but clever and steady lad, jumped about a good deal', Lutz found that the young man's father, who played the trombone, sat immediately behind him and from time to time kicked his son, remarking "look out, Sammy, there's a flat cummin" ¹¹¹.

Excessive parental interest may not, of course, have been a good thing. Young Sammy probably suffered little more than a sore backside, while John Paley's early musical training led him into an illustrious musical career, which by all account he enjoyed, but there must have been many children forced to endure a painful and unsuitable musical education. The fate of those who resisted pressure to conform to parental desires, may have been an unpleasant one. Certain academic writers have claimed that the 19th century represents a period in which "freedom of choice" began to play an important part in the development of the individual's leisure activities. In pre-industrial communities one writer suggests, choices were "prescribed and defined" by local rules, habits and custom. With the onset of industrialisation, however, "the modern urban dweller seemed more and more to participate or not according to his whim or inclination". A worker no longer drank at work because it was accepted as part of the custom attached to a particular trade, but "worked steadily all day and then drank at the neighbourhood pub when and with whom he chose" ¹¹². Obviously, increases in free time and real wages coupled with changes in the nature of work, did allow people far greater choice of leisure activity in the 19th century. But cases such as John Paley's illustrate that this point must not be exaggerated and that "choices" could be imposed upon one at a very early age. Only when safely ensconced in adulthood did anything resembling a genuine freedom of choice emerge.

Not all amateur musicians enjoyed the benefits, questionable or otherwise, of a sympathetic family background. Some were indeed actively discouraged by parents or relatives, sometimes for religious reasons, but often simply because the family found music either of no interest or a positive irritant. Potential musicians were often outlawed to distant places by relatives (or neighbours) driven to distraction by the learner's efforts. One member of Ponden Brass Band confounded his angry father who had banished him outside, by climbing onto the roof of the house and practicing up there ¹¹³. It is possible to have some sympathy with irritated parents, for the

noise of regular cornet, or worst of all, violin practice, must have been difficult to bear on occasions, particularly if the family lived in overcrowded conditions. But, in general, a certain degree of musical interest in some department of the family, seems to have been a fundamental prerequisite to the development of most amateur musician's careers. Without fathers, mothers, sisters or whoever, nurturing and directing a child's interests, buying a book, suggesting a suitable choir to join, many members of the amateur musical fraternity would have chosen other ways of utilising their new found leisure time and surplus money.

Chapter Four

Patterns of Growth

The second half of the 19th century represented a period of massive expansion in British musical life. By 1900, there were more professional musicians, composers, institutes of musical education, musical journals and musical societies than at any previous time in the nation's history. Even as self-deprecating a breed as the Victorian music journalist, who had taken criticisms relating to Britain's being "Das Land ohne Musik" very much to heart, were sometimes able to take pride in this growth. As early as 1876, W. H. Cummings, looking back over the previous 40 years, cheerily informed readers of the Musical Times that:

"Were it not for the recorded statements of several accurate observers, we should hesitate in believing in such a marvellous transformation as has taken place within the short period specified".

He was especially impressed by the increased degree of amateur music making.

"Each country town, nay, almost every village, has its own musical society or societies; the difficult and deep passion music of Bach is performed in numberless churches, and even in the Corn Exchanges of far away county towns"¹.

Foreign observers were equally impressed by this enthusiasm for music. In 1897, Count Guiseppe Franchi Verney, sent by the Italian government to investigate systems of musical education in England, commented on the enormous amount of music produced and consumed there.

"Many people would decline to regard England as the musical country par excellence. On the other hand, there are few countries in the world where music is made the object of such enthusiastic worship. It might almost be said that music is a vital and indispensable element of English life"².

While Cummings in particular, was doubtless guilty of some exaggeration (particularly with regard to his view of Bach's popularity at that particular period), these observations underline the fundamentally healthy state of Victorian music. It remains critical orthodoxy to vilify the efforts of 19th century British composers, or at least those writing before the 1880's, and this condemnation can too easily lead to a wholesale dismissal of the age's musical activity. In fact, while the efforts of the composer may have resulted in sometimes questionable artistic achievement, the widespread development of amateur musical life gave British music a grass roots strength of truly impressive proportions³.

i) Patterns of Growth

Nowhere was this amateur musical culture to attain greater development than in the Yorkshire textile region. In 1850, there were perhaps 50-100 choirs and bands in the area; by the 1890's when local musical life was at its peak, it is probable that there were at least 350-400. Similarly, membership figures expanded throughout the period, new types of society appeared, opportunities for public performance increased, and an ever increasing body of service industries grew up to cater for the societies' needs, thus removing some of the hard labour experienced by earlier generations for music making. Obviously, expansion could not continue for ever, and from the early 20th century there were clear signs of stagnation, even decline, in regard to both the number of societies and participants. But despite this, a musical tradition of considerable size and durability had been created.

Although it is not always possible to pinpoint a society's exact foundation date, enough material is available to allow observation of growth rhythms over the period 1850-1914. The following table records the decade in which these societies, about which we do have concrete information regarding dates of origin, were founded.

Table Ten: Known Dates of Origin of Popular Musical Societies, c.1800-1914

	Choral Societies	Brass Bands	Amateur Orchestras	Concertina Bands	Handbell Ringers
Pre 1850	19	12	1	-	1
1850-9	10	8	1	-	-
1860-9	4	4	1	-	-
1870-9	9	7	-	-	1
1880-9	22	13	4	-	-
1890-9	22	13	6	1	2
1900-9	11	2	-	1	1
1910-14	3	1	-	-	-

While this analysis only accounts for approximately 30% of the organisations known to have existed, our picture can be supplemented, for, it is possible to suggest fairly accurate foundation dates for the remaining societies. Much can be learnt from noting the date of a society's first mention in the local press. Clearly, it is not feasible to analyse every West Yorkshire newspaper for every year under

study, but a considerable body of information can be gained from a less exhaustive (and exhausting!) survey. Four major newspapers, the Leeds Intelligencer, Bradford Observer, Halifax Guardian and Huddersfield Examiner, which between them covered the whole of the wool textile region, have been studied decennially, commencing in 1850. This information has been augmented where possible by material from other newspapers and from musical periodical literature. This method at least gives a guide to the decade in which a society was founded. Thus, the Mirfield Harmonic Society, noted by the Huddersfield Examiner in 1890, but not in 1880, was probably founded at some stage in the intervening 10 years. Again, information collected in this way is tabulated below.

Table Eleven: Approximate Dates of Origin of Popular Musical Societies, c.1800-1914 ⁴

	Choral Societies	Brass Bands	Amateur Orchestras	Concertina Bands	Handbell Ringers
Pre 1850	-	-	-	-	-
1850-9	9	33	-	-	4
1860-9	10	20	-	-	-
1870-9	11	20	-	-	2
1880-9	36	9	5	12	2
1890-9	67	30	3	2	2
1900-9	36	12	8	3	6
1910-14	7	-	3	1	1

These two sets of information provide us with a broad picture of the development of the amateur musical society. Clearly, the different types of musical society experienced slight but distinctive variation in growth patterns. The orchestra and the concertina band, for example, developed at a far later date than the other organisations under study, while the choral society enjoyed a greater degree of growth than other bodies in the late Victorian period. Furthermore, Table 11, which is admittedly based upon slightly impressionistic findings, suggests that the brass band movement, contrary to the experience of other forms of organisation, went through a period of slight difficulty in the 1880's. But overall, it is clear that the societies as a whole shared the same basic pattern of rise and fall: steady growth from the middle of the 19th century, with perhaps

something of a slowing down in the 1860's (the reasons for this are not clear - perhaps the financial resources of the region were simply not big enough to support any more expansion at that time), rapid growth in the last decades of the 19th century and early years of the 20th century, followed by a marked dropping off in the formation of new bodies in the years immediately preceding World War One.

A study of the membership of individual societies tends to illustrate a similar growth pattern (although in this instance, the stagnation in the 1860's is not so apparent). Both brass bands and choirs were relatively small institutions in the early and mid-19th century. Of the eight bands contesting at the first Belle Vue Contest in 1853, the largest was Bramley Band with 18 members, the smallest Mossley Temperance (the winners), and Bury Borough, with 10. The average size was 12-13⁵. An increase in numbers seems to have begun about this time, with 11 of the 15 bands competing in 1855, having 16 or more members. The number of players in a contesting band was held at 19 until 1873, when the Belle Vue authorities allowed 24, a figure quickly followed by most other competition organisers⁶. Between 1853 and 1873, therefore, the brass band had doubled in size. Choral societies grew at an even more spectacular pace. The Huddersfield Choral Society had only 62 members when founded in 1836, but this increased gradually through the 1850's to 85 by 1857, markedly between 1857 and 1881, by which stage membership had reached 250, and enormously over the next 15 years. By the middle of the 1890's, the society had almost 400 singing members. A slightly less substantial but nevertheless impressive growth, was exhibited by the Halifax Choral Society, whose membership rose from 74 in 1859, to 120 in 1870, reaching a peak of over 250 by the late 1890's⁷.

Equally significantly, however, most organisations suffered some form of membership problem after 1900. The two most notable historians of the brass band movement have offered contrary views of its health in the Edwardian period. Jack Scott states that: "Suddenly the brass band, as an entertainment medium, became an old-fashioned curiosity and the number of bands (and thus we presume, bandsmen) continued to diminish at a rapid rate". Messrs. Russell and Elliot, however, see the period as a plateau, a period of stagnation between late Victorian growth and post war decline.⁸ Certainly, in West Yorkshire at least, there is no evidence to support Scott's rather extreme view, but many

bands, if not actually losing members, had definite recruitment problems in the years immediately before World War One. "Can anyone account for the apathy of the younger generation against becoming bandsmen?", bemoaned the Yorkshire correspondent in one band paper in 1910. The larger choral societies, for their part, actually lost members. The membership of the Huddersfield Choral Society had fallen by some 10% between 1896 and 1912, while the Leeds Philharmonic having reached a peak membership of 443 in 1897-1898, had only 361 singers on their lists by 1908-1909, thus suffering a drop of 20% in a decade⁹. It is probable that some of the smaller societies were also having difficulty, experiencing particular trouble in finding male singers. Commenting on a concert by the Potternewton Choral Society in March 1905, the Leeds Mercury claimed that: "Like most suburban musical societies, the new organisation finds male choralists somewhat at a premium and the Leeds Musical Union was drawn upon for assistance in this direction"¹⁰. Clearly the zenith, at least in the numerical sense, had been passed.

The problems facing the Edwardian amateur musical society are dealt with in a separate section and for the present, the emphasis is upon the half century of more or less sustained growth after 1850. It is not always possible to investigate the growth pattern delineated in Tables 1-3 as fully as seems desirable. Neither the records of the societies themselves nor the reports of the foundation of new organisations in local newspapers, give many clues about the relationship between changed local circumstance and new musical initiatives. What is offered here is a discussion, in as detailed a manner as can be achieved, of a wide variety of factors which might explain the overall growth of the popular musical society in the second half of the 19th century, and in certain instances, the accelerated expansion from c. 1875.

ii) The Social and Economic Framework, 1850-1900

Musicologists and historians of music have, perhaps inevitably, looked far more at the overtly "musical" and "artistic" factors behind the take off of Victorian musical life, than at wider aspects of social and economic change. But it is surely essential to look beyond music alone, for it is unlikely that such factors as the emergence of cheap sheet music or the expansion of the music teaching profession could have exerted much influence on the growth of musical activity, or indeed have

taken place at all, without certain key social changes establishing a climate in which the musical factors could be of value. This section focuses on the numerous social and economic developments of the period which helped structure the growth of the amateur musical society, and the following section will examine the more obviously "musical" factors. Many of the factors discussed in this chapter will have operated on a national scale and not simply in West Yorkshire. It is not intended to suggest, however, that their effect would have been the same in every part of Britain. Rather it is hoped that the information provided here will give some indication of how widespread social, economic and cultural changes operated in one particular instance.

Time

Absolutely fundamental to what Cummings had termed the "marvellous transformation" of musical life, was the expansion, and above all, the formalisation of leisure time, which greatly enlarged the recreational opportunities of working class people. The emergence of shorter hours of work in the Yorkshire textile district, basically followed the national pattern so thoroughly delineated by Dr. Bienefeld¹¹. All operatives in wool textile factories were awarded the Saturday half-holiday in 1850, under the auspices of a shorter hours act designed to improve on the larger 1847 Factory Act¹². Over the next 25 years, this right was extended to virtually all those employed in workplaces open to official investigation. Workers outside these categories were inevitably anxious to achieve similar benefits, and were quite willing to take industrial action if their demands were not met by employers. Masons on the Yorkshire/Lancashire border undertook a protracted (but only partially successful) strike in 1860 for the Saturday half-holiday, an action which eventually spread to virtually all members of the trade throughout West Yorkshire¹³. On occasions, the employers acceded with alacrity to these demands, and indeed sometimes gave the half-holiday without any pressure being exerted from below. This happened on a wide scale between 1871 and 1873, surely one of the most remarkable periods in West Riding labour history, when dozens of employers enthusiastically embraced the cause of the half-holiday movement.

In late October 1871, a group of Keighley working men organised a meeting at which all trades were to discuss attitudes to the nine hour movement. But before it could be held, "the employers of the town had

held a meeting at which they resolved to concede the 9 hours to their workpeople"¹⁴. Four months later in Huddersfield, 18 Iron trade employers gave a 54 hour week "entirely unsolicited"¹⁵. Their rationale was by no means purely philanthropic. The West Riding in general, and the woollen textile trade in particular, were enjoying a period of such prosperity that even Victorian newspaper reporters, a resourceful group, showed signs of exhausting their hyperbole, when describing the economic situation¹⁶. Anxious to avoid the kind of protracted agitation that had emerged after the refusal of the Newcastle engineering employers to give ground to the nine hour day campaign earlier in 1871, a situation which if repeated locally would have severely undermined the boom, employers were quick to grant the new leisure time when the campaign reached West Yorkshire late in that year¹⁷. The employers in the iron trades, to whom the Newcastle experience was perhaps of greater relevance than most, were particularly willing exponents of this new departure in industrial relations, although many other trades were also involved. The employees, as far as can be ascertained, greeted these events with not a little surprise and considerable display of gratitude. In October 1871, when 15 Bradford engineering works and iron foundries granted their workforce a Saturday half-holiday from the following January, with overtime for all Saturday afternoons worked until that date, processions of workers carrying banners and petitions of loyalty swarmed about Bradford, calling at the houses of the major employers in turn, to give thanks¹⁸. In carnival spirit, the structure of 19th century leisure was redefined.

The activities of the 1870's established a week of between 50-60 hours as the average within the textile district, and although a few trades were to win further victories during the following decades, and conversely, certain employers took advantage of trade depressions to rescind earlier decisions to cut hours, this situation essentially appertained until 1914. That this was only an "average", must be stressed, for there was great variation both within and between occupational groups. At the most extreme, while the majority of plasterers in the Bradford district had obtained a $49\frac{1}{2}$ hour basic week by 1885, many local workpeople, shop assistants, domestic servants and some transport operatives were three notorious examples, were still working a 70 or 80 hour week as late as 1914¹⁹. Obviously, not all time free from work could be regarded as time free to devote to one's

leisure pursuits. Although many workers were actually spending less time at their job, and because of vastly improved communications from about the 1890's, often less time travelling, not all this new free time could be utilised for leisure activities. Sociologists often distinguish between "non-obligated", that is a period when one is entirely free to follow one's interests, and "obligated" time, which represents the period in which social and familial duties (visiting relatives, playing with children, helping with housework, something not beneath the dignity of some late Victorian and Edwardian working men as Paul Thompson has shown) have to be fulfilled. These are rather difficult concepts to use exactly, for there are inevitably overlaps between the two areas, but it reveals the complexity of the situation, and it is certain that part of the newly earned time off was absorbed by social obligation²⁰. But despite this, there can be no denying the widespread nature and the significance of the shorter working week. All of the trades studied by William Cudworth in his Condition of the Industrial Working Classes of Bradford and District, published in 1887, had enjoyed a decrease in working time since the 1830's, ranging from one hour (boilermakers) to 16½ hours (plumbers, glaziers and steamfitters), with the average gain in free time standing at 6 hours. A major social change had taken place²¹.

The normal location of the new leisure time was the evening, and above all, the Saturday afternoon, although some shop and warehouse assistants had to be satisfied with a half-holiday on Wednesdays. Certainly, it was probably slightly easier to learn voice parts or attend a band rehearsal after a 56 rather than a 72 hour week, but it was the creation of these new, distinct periods of free time into which leisure pursuits could expand, rather than the increase in free time in absolute terms, which proved most critical for the development of popular musical, and indeed for all, leisure activity. Evenings provided a focal point for concerts, and the expansion of concert life of all types in the second half of the century, was undoubtedly partly due to the fact that more people now finished work early enough to attend. Concerts, in turn, acted as a great stimulus to the growth of the musical society, by advertising their skills and encouraging emulation. Equally, the Saturday afternoon became the favoured location for the musical competitions, which, as will be seen later, were great stimulators of musical life. Certainly, the correlation between the

emergence of the Saturday half-holiday and the growth of the competition was not always as straightforward as the relationship between the holiday and professional football, whereby the free afternoon was often followed almost simultaneously by the establishment of a soccer club²². It was not, for example, for some twenty years after the final great expansion of free Saturday afternoons in the 1870's that the choral competition became an established feature of Yorkshire musical life. But, at the same time, without the existence of a clearly defined period of leisure such as that which Saturdays provided, the competition could not have developed in the way and to the extent that it did. In these ways, the new structure of 19th century leisure made a highly significant contribution to the development of the Yorkshire choral tradition.

Perhaps most fundamental of all, it was the emergence of these clearly defined leisure periods that led amateur musicians to make the musical society a central institution of music making. Born initially in a period of economic crisis and itself quite probably a response to that crisis, over the course of the 19th century, the formal society became the accepted vehicle for those with aspirations towards group musical activity. The older, informal style of musical activity whereby people had often shaped their working day to fit their musical requirements, was no longer practicable as the routines of work became more rigid; certainly as late as the 1860's, when perhaps 25% of all woollen weaving was still done by hand, there were still groups of outworkers who could uphold the old methods. But, by the next decade, even these guardians of old ways and customs were fast disappearing, and by the late 19th century, those weavers and woolcombers of 50 years earlier, who had done so much to lay the base of the popular musical tradition, could be described by the new generation of choristers and bandsmen as "musicians of the old school", their skilful timetabling of work and play regarded as an object of antiquarian interest²³. What was now demanded was organisation, public performance, a slotting into the shape and requirements of a new leisure pattern. The restructuring of the relationship between work and leisure did not simply provide the choirs and bands with the chance to expand in size and number; in an important sense, it was responsible for their very existence.

Money

From about the mid 19th century, sections of the British working class also began to enjoy an improvement in their financial condition, and even a relative prosperity, as the British industrial economy moved from a pattern of boom and slump to a more stable, mature phase. Beneath this bland generalisation, there lay immense regional and occupational variations, the experience of individual years of particular suffering and the presence of a sizable group at the very bottom of society who were bypassed by beneficial economic change. Individual years or short periods of economic hardship could cause difficulties for amateur musicians. It is probable that the slowing down in the growth of the brass band movement noted above, was the result of a depression which hit certain sections of the textile industry in the mid 1880's, a depression which would have hit the more "working class" bands harder than other types of musical society. But overall, there can be no mistaking the general pattern. By 1900, real wages were 80% higher than they had been in 1850²⁴. The most significant developments took place in the years of the "Great Depression", between 1876 and 1896, when the combined effect of a slight increase in actual wage rates and a 40% decrease in prices, resulted in a rise in real wages of approximately 66%²⁵. This statistic represents a national average, and inevitably there were considerable variations between geographical areas and different trades, but the working classes of the Yorkshire textile district, with certain possible exceptions, seem to have benefited at least as much as their counterparts in other regions.

In West Yorkshire, as in most parts of Britain, much of this increase of surplus income seems to have occurred in the middle 1870's and early 1880's. In Leeds, for example, the purchasing power of the pound increased by 70% between 1871 and 1884²⁶. But the whole period from the 1870's to the late 1890's appears to have been a good one from the financial viewpoint. The West Yorkshire Co-operative Societies, whose activities represent a reasonable index of working class prosperity, or lack of it, blossomed in the period between 1880 and 1900, with the Bradford branch increasing its membership from 5,611 to 20,206, and its trade from £70,000 to £240,000²⁷. Similarly, several of the Yorkshire working men appearing before the Royal Commission on Labour in 1892, seemed relatively content. J. Bune, an official of the

Leeds Brush Makers' Union, felt that the financial situation of his members had improved, while J. H. Beever, a representative of the Halifax Trade and Labour Council, claimed the condition of the Halifax working class to be "generally good, I think you might say"²⁸. Obviously such comments have to be regarded with a certain caution. Beevers, who as a silkdresser, was a skilled working man attempting to speak for the working class as a whole, and there were many in its lower echelons who would not have agreed with his description. It is also probable that for some occupational groups, particularly within the wool textile industry, the benefits were extremely short-lived and some workers may have suffered a slight decline in real wages in the late 19th century. Any debate about wages in the textile trade is bound to be highly speculative, and as distinguished an economic historian as Sir John Clapham claimed that it was almost impossible to detail long term trends in real wages. Wages varied enormously from mill to mill and from district to district, and were highly irregular, rising during periods of good trade declining often alarmingly during slack spells. Several people have ventured into this difficult area, however, and one recent observer, basing his conclusions on the contemporary estimates of A. L. Bowley and G. H. Wood, claims, "there is at least some evidence to suggest that monetary wage rates fell more sharply than the cost of living and that real wages did fall in some branches of the textile trade"²⁹. Obviously, the fact that some workers in the region's staple industry might have suffered an undermining of their financial position in the late 19th century, softens the more confident assertions about rising income. Furthermore, from the late 1890's, the overall increase in real wages halted, and the Edwardian era witnessed a decline for many workers. Nevertheless, there is much evidence of both a long term rise in real wages from 1850 to 1900 and a particularly marked one in the last quarter of the 19th century, and many members of at least the skilled and even semi-skilled working class must have had, often for the first time, enough surplus income to enable them to take a far fuller part in those leisure activities which, like the brass band and choral movements, demanded a significant financial outlay.

The growth of real wages experienced by a sizable sector of the working class was important, not simply because more people now had the financial resources to join societies, although this was obviously

important, but because it led to the increased wealth of local society at large. The musical society needed a large section of the community to give subscriptions, pay entrance fees at concerts and competitions and to make the endless little donations that kept them in existence. The great growth of activity particularly after 1875, could surely not have taken place without the small but significant expansion of surplus income in local society. It should, of course, never be forgotten that musical societies actually commenced in the period between 1820 and 1850, which for many working people represented a period of falling or at least extremely irregular wages, and rising hours of labour. But quite clearly, societies born in hardship were likely to flourish in a period of relative prosperity and improving conditions of labour. While many working people were capable of making immense sacrifice during the crisis years of the early 19th century, the twin processes of expanding income and decreasing hours in the period after 1850, and perhaps above all after 1875, represented an infinitely more propitious climate for the development of their recreational institutions.

The Lower Middle Class

This improvement in working class wages and hours, was accompanied in the late 19th century by a substantial increase in the size of the class immediately above them in the social scale. Although the lower middle class are not the focal point of this thesis, it is clear from the extent of their presence in both choral and orchestral traditions that they played an important part in local musical life and demand attention accordingly. Their growth stemmed largely from the particular expansion of the "white collar worker", the schoolteacher, the clerk, the commercial traveller and associated occupational groups. In 1851, this sector accounted for 144,035 of the occupied male population above the age of 15; by 1914 this figure had increased to 918,186. The growth of the commercial clerk had been especially marked, with this group accounting for 0.7% of the occupied population in 1851 and 3.0% by 1911³⁰. The census returns are not detailed enough to allow for close analysis of lower middle class growth in the textile region specifically, but in Yorkshire as a whole, numbers obviously expanded over the period. In 1851, there were at least 6,250 male white collar workers in the county, by 1911, 73,848³¹. They were not as plentiful in the textile region as in the major centres of "trade, commerce and government", such as London and Edinburgh, where some 10%

of the male labour force undertook white collar work. In late Victorian West Yorkshire's four largest towns, Leeds, Bradford, Halifax and Huddersfield, white collar workers accounted only for some 4-5% of occupied males, with the slightly more commercially orientated Leeds and Bradford having a marginally higher proportion than the two other towns³². Nevertheless, they had become a large enough occupational sector to have a significant impact upon the development of local society.

Their increased number was of great importance to the growth of many areas of popular recreation, for they considerably enlarged the sector of society which, with wages of approximately £120 to £200 per annum, possessed enough surplus income to take part in a relatively active leisure life outside of the home. Obviously, there were members of this "black coated proleteriat" who ignored the increasing opportunities for the use of their leisure, preferring largely domestic pursuits, either because they were determined to maintain a social exclusiveness from the working classes, or because they spent all available money on "keeping up appearances". But the image of the white collar worker sitting at home in a kind of splendid isolation, a picture still often encountered in academic works, is surely an exaggeration of the situation, as his presence in the ranks of the choral society, stalls and gallery of the music hall, and on the football terrace illustrates³³. Music, and the arts in general, appear to have held a particular interest for this section of the lower middle classes. David Lockwood in his pioneering The Blackcoated Worker, noted the "wider achievements which many clerks prized - in painting, music, history, literary composition"³⁴. Certainly, some of this interest may have stemmed from a desire to attain the outward trappings of culture, and thus establish a kind of superiority over the working classes. The widespread appearance of the amateur orchestra from about 1880 might have been partially due to this type of sensibility, with lower middle class musicians asserting their social dominance by choosing either for themselves, or their offspring, a stringed or reed instrument in preference to the more overtly working class brass. But it is dangerous to take this argument too far, for in many orchestras and in many choral societies, the lower middle class appear to have been quite content to mix at least with the upper echelons of the skilled working class. The growth of the white collar worker and the willingness of some of their number to join with their social "inferiors" gave an

undoubted boost to the musical life of late Victorian West Yorkshire.

Religion

While financial opportunity, a reasonable complement of free time and to a lesser extent the rise of the lower middle class, have always been regarded as a crucial basis for the expansion of popular recreation, religion has often been seen as its enemy. It is undeniable that certain areas of popular musical life, and above all, the music hall, were almost as much the victims of constant criticism from some religious quarters as had been bull-baiting & cock-fighting before it, but overall, the musical society, far from being objects of evangelical venom, found the prevailing religious atmosphere highly suitable for its development. Until the late 19th century, it was the choral society that benefited most. For those from religious backgrounds with musical pretensions, the choral society provided an outlet for their performing talents, while for those less disposed towards actual performance, its concert represented an ideal recreational vehicle. The popularity of the choral society lay in its utilisation of oratorio, which dominated the choral repertoire, particularly in the mid-Victorian period, thus providing "respectable" society, whether it be patrician or plebian, with a rational, respectable recreation steeped in sacred sentiment. Oratorio took on an immense significance for many Victorians, and social commentators were fascinated by its potential as a teacher and reinforcer of religious values. The Times correspondent at the 1859 Bradford Music Festival claimed that the working class choralists present, were "raised in the scale of humanity" by their performances of Handel and Haydn³⁵. The Messiah was the object of particular awe. Writing in 1888, the Leeds Borough organist, William Spark, while discussing the value of sacred music for working people, claimed that The Messiah "has done more to educate musical taste, unclasp the hands of charity, and unfold the mind of God to man, than any other composition, save the Bible itself"³⁶. His contemporary, F. J. Crowest, agreed claiming that: "The Messiah has probably done more to convince thousands of mankind that there is a God above us than all the theological works ever written"³⁷. Obviously, attitudes towards oratorio varied according to individual standpoints. For many, it held deep meaning, and the Bradford singer who claimed: "There's nothing to beat the Messiah for real truth", would have found many in wholehearted agreement³⁸.

Alternatively, there were doubtless people who saw attendance at it, or other oratorios, merely as a social duty, as an excuse for public display of righteous behaviour, or as a pleasant substitute for more strenuous devotional activity. But for all these persuasions, the choral society provided a highly suitable recreational form.

Mid-Victorian religious sensibility, which had done so much to provide a congenial climate for the performance of sacred music, was not to survive the 19th century unscathed, and although still of great significance, underwent considerable erosion in the final decades of the 19th century. Yet, paradoxically, this process was, in the short term at least, a major influence upon the expansion of not merely the choral movement, but of the popular musical association in general, in the final quarter of the 19th century. The theology underpinning the increasingly "liberal" religious atmosphere of the late 19th century has been excellently documented in recent monographs, and there is neither need nor space to go over the ground in detail here³⁹. There can be no doubt that the new developments had immense significance for the whole area of popular leisure. Pleasure, often an object of suspicion in the early and high Victorian periods, gradually came to be regarded by the majority of religious creeds as an acceptable and even a valuable experience and the new attitude was central to the expansion of musical activity. Church and chapel choirs came to be seen not simply as aids to religious observance, but as social units, recreational outlets for their members and a vehicle for contacting a wider public, to be utilised in the ever increasing number of concerts and entertainments provided by religious bodies in the final decades of the century. The Horton Lane Congregational Choral Society, Bradford, founded in 1890, was a part of the wider Horton Lane Chapel Guild, a body comprising some 17 different forms of leisure institution, which sought to attract younger people to the chapel, and many other religious based societies shared this philosophy⁴⁰. The result was an undoubted swelling of the choral movement, with at least 30 church and chapel choirs moving into the world of the concert hall and competition from about 1880. It was not merely the choir that benefited, for a number of orchestras, concertina bands and handbell-ringers were founded under the auspices of religious bodies at this time⁴¹.

The changing nature of religious attitudes had a particularly marked effect on the growth of choral competition. It is difficult to imagine the choral competition having emerged before this period, for it was too "sporty", too frivolous, perhaps even sacreligious, for previous religious regimens. It is doubtful whether the mid-Victorian choralists would have contemplated singing religious music in order to illustrate their musical superiority over others, and to gain earthly reward in the shape of money, cups, shields and medals. But by the 1890's, when in Dr. Macleod's words, the progress towards a more tolerant religious standpoint had become "a flood", sacred music formed the basis of the competitive repertoire for West Yorkshire's numerous choirs and particularly those of the mixed voice category⁴². Perhaps the ultimate was achieved in 1895 when Batley Vocal Union instigated a competition specifically for church and chapel choirs, situated within a four mile radius of Batley Town Hall. Fourteen choirs attended and the event was so popular that at both afternoon and evening sessions, hundreds had to be turned away. It included the act, previously inconceivable in the evangelical atmosphere of mid-Victorian Yorkshire, of chanting Psalm 95 for prizes of £6, £4, and £2⁴³. A great change had clearly taken place.

Certain denominations or sections within denominations, remained aloof from these changes. The majority of Quakers had opposed even the oratorio throughout the 19th century. In a letter to the Leeds Mercury in 1880, the Leeds Quaker industrialist and Lord Mayor, George Tatham, gave expression to their opinions.

"Music Festivals and oratorios seem to me to be the incongruous combination of divine worship with amusement - the most solemn act of the soul with an evening's entertainment - where the most awful and sacred themes and events are rehearsed, the highest and holiest names familiarly used, often addressed to many who may in no way accord with the subject, and by those whose outward daily lives afford little evidence of the sacredness of their offerings. It seems to me like drawing near with the mouth and lip, whilst the heart is far off" ⁴⁴.

While this was a somewhat extreme position, there were others who objected to the appearance of chapel choirs, orchestras and bands in what they saw as essentially secular roles. Some Baptists in particular gave firm resistance when in 1889, the London Baptist Association founded an orchestra in connection with their "forward" movement, a campaign

intending to proselytise in a manner more conducive to potential working class recruits, W. P. Lockheart, a Liverpool Baptist chastised them, using the words of what the Musical Herald referred to as "a well known Infidel". "These Christians have lost faith in their own gospel, for they now give the people concerts to attract them"⁴⁵. Such views were also expressed in West Yorkshire; in Bradford, the Tetley Street Baptist Choir refused to contemplate appearances in the competitive field, despite the entreaties of their choirmaster, because they saw their place as being in the chapel, serving purely devotional needs, rather than seeking secular glory⁴⁶. But such stances were becoming outdated. The choral movement, already eminently respectable, was bound to become even more attractive to the religious community, in a period when an active recreational life was no longer slightly suspect, but openly encouraged.

The emphasis has been very much on the choral movement, but in a very broad sense, the whole amateur musical world may well have benefited from these religious changes. It is probable that some evangelical parents may have taken a more tolerant attitude to music, allowing their children, if not themselves, to take a fuller part. This would have been of especial significance to orchestral societies and brass bands, which had a definite secular leaning as regards repertoire (and in the case of brass bands, sometimes in other more overtly social senses!) Similarly, people may have felt able to give financial support to organisations which they or their parents had previously viewed with suspicion. Some brass bands had made enemies in the mid 1850's for their association with the secularist Sunday open-air concerts held in London and many provincial towns, including Leeds. The correspondence columns of the Leeds newspapers had been full of angry reports from men like William Osburn, a local Sunday School teacher who claimed that his class which had never fallen below 25 pupils "even on very hot days" had dropped to a mere 15 on the first Sunday of the Woodhouse Moor Band concerts⁴⁷. In the later 19th century, although only a tiny number moved from the Christian to the secularist camp, in the new atmosphere such antagonisms as may have arisen could perhaps now be more easily forgotten.

Railways

Religion looms large in most studies of Victorian society and similar ubiquity can be claimed by the railway, the growth of which had

ramifications at every level of Victorian life. Music was no exception. Admittedly people had been prepared to walk enormous distances in order to participate in musical events in the pre-railway age, and to an extent this was still the case as late as 1914. But there were obviously limits to the distances people could walk and to the regularity with which they could walk them, and the development of the railway did much to expand popular musical life. It was perhaps the competition above all other aspects of musical activity that benefited most from the growth of the railway. It is inconceivable that such events as the Belle Vue or Crystal Palace competitions, which involved bringing people 200 or 300 miles to a particular spot on a particular day, and even some of the more regionalised championships which often attracted bands from distances of over 30 miles, could have taken place without the railway. Brass bands were undoubtedly the major beneficiaries in this respect. Enderby Jackson and his associates had fully appreciated the importance of the railway when attempting to set up the first Belle Vue contest, and from the time of that contest in 1853, until 1900, bandsmen were allowed cheap rates of travel for both contests and engagements⁴⁸. By the late 19th century, the accepted practice appears to have been for bands to pay single fare for a return journey to a contest and $1\frac{1}{4}$ fare for an engagement⁴⁹. Crucially, it was not only the competitors who enjoyed the benefits of cheap rail travel. Excursion trains for spectators were invariably organised for the majority of contests, and thus made possible the large attendances which encouraged promoters to continue the sponsorship of contests, and thus boost the development of musical activity. West Yorkshire along with most other industrialised areas had witnessed a spectacular boom in railway building from the 1840's, and local musicians and their supporters made good use of its advantages. No fewer than 13 excursion trains, mostly from Lancashire and West Yorkshire, took competitors to the Hawes Brass Band and Choral Contest in 1899⁵⁰. Choral societies, although sometimes allowed to negotiate a small discount, were never given as cheap a rate as the brass band by the railways. This was in spite of pressure exerted by choirs in the late 1890's. In May 1895, on the initiative of the Batley Vocal Union, a meeting was held at the Victoria Hotel, Leeds, to discuss the problem of rail travel. 55 representatives from 24 choirs attended, and "The North of England Association of Choirs and Vocal

Societies" emerged from their debate. It was short-lived and achieved little, either in regard to fares or the other issues, mainly concerning contest management, that it sought to agitate against. By September 1895, 271 choirs representing 11,455 people had signed a memorial to the major railway companies. By the end of the year it had been rejected⁵¹. Possibly the railways, realising that many choirs included a slightly more monied element, felt that they had less of a case than the brass band, or more likely, they simply felt that reductions were no longer profitable. In 1900, concessionary fares were even withdrawn from bands, and the blow was quickly felt. As will be illustrated shortly, the importance of cheap travel was never more fully appreciated than when it no longer existed.

Education

One final aspect of social change remains to be discussed: the emergence of state education. It has been left to the final stage of the analysis because of all the various phenomena considered, its relationship to the expansion of popular musical life has proved to be the least clear cut. While contemporaries often made great play of its impact, its actual effects may have been more limited than they appreciated. The fact that they credited it with such influence, however, demands that it receives attention.

Before 1840, the study of music in schools was almost non-existent. Lord Brougham had received a hostile reception when in 1835, he suggested that the rudiments of vocal music should be taught in National Schools, and there is no evidence to suggest that teachers in West Yorkshire, or indeed anywhere else, showed any particular interest in his ideas⁵². Something of a turning point was reached between 1839 and 1841, through the efforts of Dr. James Kay, a Manchester physician, and the first secretary of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, who had undertaken a tour of European schools, seeking for fresh educational ideas, in the late 1830's. Impressed by the potential of music as an educational tool, he set out to encourage its development, stressing its value in the Committee of Council minutes in 1840-1841, encouraging John Hullah to develop a sight-singing system which could be used in the musical education of both teachers and pupils, and establishing music on the syllabus at his private teacher training college at Battersea, and at St. Mark's College, Chelsea, opened by the National Society in 1841⁵³. From this stage, there were always a

certain number of teachers at least partially qualified in the teaching of music entering the profession, and this, coupled with a growing interest in the value of music in education, led to a growth of musical life in schools. By the 1850's, Honley National School, in the Holme Valley, felt confident enough to allow their children to give an annual Christmas concert of "Carols, songs, trios, glees, rounds and anthems, accompanied on the harmonium", and this was typical of the initiatives being undertaken⁵⁴. But the scope, quality, and indeed the actual existence of school music, was still almost entirely dependent upon the whim of individual teachers, and there were undoubtedly many schools in West Yorkshire as in other parts of the country, where music had no place on the curriculum. Only a state education system, many came to believe, could alter this situation and establish the unified, centrally directed musical policy necessary to establish a vigorous musical culture throughout the nation⁵⁵.

Their anger was considerable on discovering that music was not to receive a subsidy under the terms of the 1870 Education Bill. William Forster was apologetic, but explained that the decision was unavoidable because of the lack of suitably qualified inspectors, a situation which illustrates the extent to which music had been ignored in the Public Schools where most of the inspectorate had been educated. Eventually, after considerable pressure from all sections of the music profession, it was decided in 1871 that the grant to individual schools would be reduced by 1/- if music was not included in their syllabuses. This slightly negative measure marks the establishment of music in the state school curriculum, and although both central government and its representatives at local level sometimes showed great reluctance to regard music as a subject of any importance, it laid the basis for much development in the succeeding decades⁵⁶.

The initial emphasis was very heavily placed on vocal music. Its great appeal both to educationalists and many music specialists was its cheapness, and above all, its value as a vehicle for moral education. Kay had conceived of school music as a method of creating "an industrious, brave, loyal, and religious people", and fifty years later, his philosophy was still dominant. "A good song, with rousing and healthy words, would be likely to remain in children's memories and have a beneficial effect upon their characters", claimed Mr. Rooper, one of Bradford's Schools Inspectors in 1892. (He suggested a whole variety

of suitable song types including "war songs and patriotic songs of other nations", and strangely enough "wine and love songs")⁵⁷. The debate over the value of the folksong, which caused great division within educational circles from the last years of the 19th century, was as much a discussion of morality as of music. Novello's School Music Review which generally took a fairly tolerant line on innovatory projects, questioned the validity of using folksongs, attacking "their frank vulgarity in which quality they compete successfully with the much abused beery, music-hall song"⁵⁸. The pro-folk faction answered such criticism by claiming that far from undermining moral standards, folk music actually defended them, a riposte which brought forward the following satire from the School Music Review during the course of its review of a school folksong collection by Sydney H. Nicholson.

"The naughty boy should not be caned or given an imposition; he should be made to learn say The Bay of Biscay and if that fails try The Spotted Cow (No. 88 in the above book), and moral regeneration will set in, especially we should say if the song is transposed down a tone, as it is difficult to be moral in the high key in which it is written" ⁵⁹.

At first, singing was largely taught by ear, but from the early 1880's, pressure was exerted on the government by the musical establishment to encourage teaching by note. After much debate, it was agreed that schools teaching by ear would receive a grant of only 6d. a head, while those teaching by note, provided their pupils passed a test, would receive 1/-. As the following table illustrates, this financial incentive had a dramatic effect.

Table Twelve: No. of Children Taught by "Note" or by "Ear" in England and Wales, 1884-1891

	Note	Ear
1884	1,282,586	1,997,572
1891	2,686,138	1,080,513

Table Thirteen: No. of School Departments Using Various Singing Methods, 1884-1891

	Staff	Tonic-Sol-Fa	Ear
1884	2,396	6,773	18,593
1891	2,362	15,153	11,833

"Note" invariably referred to tonic-sol-fa, although a surprisingly high proportion of schools (10%) used the traditional staff notation to some extent. These statistics illustrate that by 1891, 70% of schoolchildren in England and Wales were being taught to sing from musical notation of one type or another and were singing to a high enough standard to gain the government grant⁶⁰. The long-awaited musical millenium was, it appeared, emerging on the skyline.

There were, particularly from the very end of the 19th century, attempts to move beyond the teaching of vocal music alone. There had always been a few schools where the learning of an instrument was encouraged but from about 1900 it became almost a commonplace. The chief school instrument was the violin, and it owed its elevated status to the commercial skills of Messrs. Murdoch and company who, by 1909, claimed to have supplied violins to some 400,000 pupils in over 500 schools, in the previous ten years. Based on a method begun at All Saints National School, Maidstone, in 1898, and therefore known as the "Maidstone system", their technique was simple and effective. They provided a violin on hire purchase, at the rate of 3d. a week, and then arranged for teaching facilities for a further 3d. a week⁶¹. It was used quite widely in the West Yorkshire area, and was presumably largely responsible for the growth of school orchestras - usually comprising violins and little else - that flourished in many Yorkshire schools from the early 20th century. Bradford appears to have been especially well endowed with school orchestras, with at least five in existence by the end of 1900. Drummond Road Senior School had a forty piece ensemble based on past and present students by 1903, while the 34 strong Hanson School Boys Orchestral Band, conducted by their music teacher James Brier, a respected figure in local brass band circles, attracted much acclaim because of the quality of their playing at the Bradford Exhibition concerts of 1904⁶². There were also efforts, in some schools, to encourage piano playing, but the considerable outlay involved in the purchase of the instruments prevented these schemes from ever reaching large proportions.

There were undoubtedly schools within West Yorkshire where little enthusiasm for music existed amongst the staff, even after all the reforms and monetary incentives of the late 19th century. Again, the voluntary schools who remained outside the state system until 1902 were not affected by these changes in policy, and their quality of musical

education was resultant on individual whim. But overall, there had been an impressive expansion of musical life affecting a large number of the school population. During the course of the late 19th century, Yorkshire, and the textile region in particular, gained an extraordinary reputation for the quality of its school music, bringing forward almost ecstatic responses from government inspectors⁶³. In 1905, Dr. MacNaught gained a remarkable favourable impression of Huddersfield school music, even amongst the poorest children. At the Parish Church School:

"it was at once obvious that the boys came from a lower social strata than any children I had previously seen. I accordingly readjusted my critical standards. But to my great surprise and pleasure I soon found myself listening to a musical tone, soft, sweet, and tender, that would have been creditable to a well-trained church choir" ⁶⁴.

In the same year, when the government were contemplating the introduction of new voice tests in conjunction with the payment of the music grant, they were first attempted in Bradford, because of the extremely high standards of school music in the city. In fact, as had half been expected, they were too difficult for the majority, although the scholars of Mr. T. P. Sykes's Great Horton Board School, whose older classes the inspectors claimed, "represent a high water mark of school music training reached only by schools here and there in the country", mastered them comfortably⁶⁵.

But the crucial issue concerns whether all this activity helped fuel the expansion of popular musical life in the textile region, and indeed, in other areas. Overall, most contemporaries thought that it probably did. For the School Music Review, the progress in musical education since 1870 "was a central factor in the great, we are almost tempted to say the phenomenal, progress the nation as a whole has made in music during the last thirty years". Again, in February 1910, it drew attention to a statement by Lt. Miller, bandmaster of the Royal Marines, claiming the existence of 4,000 brass bands in Yorkshire and Lancashire, involving 60,000 men. "It is true", the magazine argued, "that they did not learn to play brass instruments there [i.e. at school], but they acquired the elementary knowledge and practical skill that formed a foundation upon which later study was built". There is evidence to support those who believed in the influence of education

upon local society. The arrival of state education in 1870, with the vast increase in sight-singing which this produced after 1880, coincides with the great expansion in choral activity in this period. To a lesser extent, there is a correlation between the development of the orchestral society and the increased violin tuition. The emergence of a large body of young people with considerable musical accomplishments can only have enriched the local tradition. Again, the development of skills, in no obvious way connected with music, such as basic literacy, were an advantage to those seeking to enhance their musical life. Choral music in particular obviously became more approachable if the libretto could be read with ease.

But the picture is not quite so clear cut as it first appears. Many of the children undergoing musical training, would have found that their experience of the subject, either because it was badly taught, or because they possessed no particular talent at that stage of their lives, killed any musical potential they may have possessed. Mr. Watkins, an H.M.I., commented at a school music conference in 1892 that certain secondary school teachers had attempted pieces too difficult for their pupils and had thus "put them off"⁶⁶. In general - as one might perhaps expect - criticisms of this kind were rarely noted in the school music literature; but it is inevitable that some children were sufficiently discouraged to stop them even contemplating pursuing music on leaving school. An ex-Yorkshire miner with no singing ability could still remember with horrible clarity, the voice tests of half a century earlier. It was hard work for the "grunTERS", he recalled, most of whom, like himself, abandoned music as soon as they could⁶⁷. Many, who might later have developed a talent for instrumental if not vocal music, were lost in this way. Again, music might have suffered from the general anti-intellectualism that school could breed. In his excellent history of the working men's club, John Taylor has documented the swing away from "intellectual" to "social" pastimes at the clubs in the 1890's, and suggested that the new school attending generation, having experienced education for several years, felt no need for the auto didacticism of their forebears, who had been denied educational opportunity⁶⁸. Music, through its association with school, may well have been regarded as an unsuitable recreational pursuit, and whether individuals regained or developed a taste for it at a later date would depend on their future circumstances.

Alongside this, even those who enjoyed music at school were often never to utilise their skills on leaving. There was, to borrow from the language of the 19th century Catholic Church, a considerable "leakage" between school and organised musical society. This problem was recognised by several commentators and led even champions of school music such as the School Music Review to temper their enthusiasm for the Maidstone system, with the realistic assessment that if only 5% of those involved continued with the instrument, then the movement would have been successful⁶⁹. There were numerous alternative attractions for school leavers and particularly for males. One writer, later to become a devoted musical enthusiast, recalls how, of the 12 boys who began to study the violin during their Edwardian schooldays in Calverley, a village between Bradford and Leeds, he was the only one to still be playing four years after the commencement of their lessons. Even he "found billiards and other frivolities far more attractive than music", for a period immediately after leaving school, but was seduced back into the fold after hearing a friend perform a Chopin nocturne⁷⁰. Even if a pupil wanted to carry on with his or her music studies, there was not always a suitable (or inexpensive) teacher available. There were attempts to alleviate the problem. In 1893, W. H. Harrison, the secretary of the Armley and Wortley District Choral Society, sought to persuade Leeds Council to sponsor a "feeder" class for his society, drawn from recent school-leavers. Apart from being anxious to help his society, Harrison was trying to draw attention to the great wastage of money spent on a musical education that was not followed up⁷¹. The Council rejected his particular scheme, on the grounds that they would receive calls for aid from societies of poor quality, but they, and various other authorities, tried to provide some continuing musical education under the auspices of their Evening Classes. In 1896, they offered 7 evening singing classes as well as piano and violin classes, and established an Old Scholars' Choral Society⁷². Obviously this project succeeded in keeping some children within the musical community, but it can only have scraped the surface, even in as propitious a climate as that which existed in the 1890's.

Contemporary commentators were perhaps being just a little too optimistic, looking at the statistics concerning singing in schools, than at the growth of musical life around them, and claiming rather too much credit for the education system. They largely ignored the

possibility that society was having an influence on education, rather than vice versa. As J. G. Legge, a dissenting voice concerning education's importance in stimulating this growth, pointed out, Yorkshire was an extraordinarily musical area before the effect of the 1870 Education Act began to be felt, and it is perhaps not altogether surprising that West Yorkshire's child population proved to be so musically sensitive, given that they were building on the foundations established by earlier generations⁷³. His belief that musical education only had a positive effect in areas where a strong tradition ahead existed, is given some credence by the fact that London, where as many as 93% of schoolchildren sang well enough from notation to earn the 1/- grant, had arguably the most stunted amateur musical tradition in Britain⁷⁴. Further, it is significant that the school music did little for that critical element of popular musical life, the brass band. Despite Lt. Miller's claims, it is surely more likely that children attained their interest in, and knowledge of, the basics of music and banding, through the encouragement of family and friends, the principal agents of education in the band world, rather than through the school. Obviously, it would be dangerous to draw conclusions about the relationships between education and the amateur musical society on a national level from this localised evidence. Areas less well endowed with a native tradition than Yorkshire, may have benefited greatly from the changes brought about by enhanced educational opportunity. (It is interesting, however, that when looking for examples of the success of music in school, there was always a tendency for writers to look to Yorkshire or Lancashire for evidence). But in Yorkshire at least, the growth of school music, although having a certain degree of influence, was probably by no means as important a factor in the expansion of popular musical life as some critics assumed.

iii) The Musical Framework

The wide-ranging socio-economic changes which had taken place within local society in the second half of the 19th century, created an atmosphere in which a region already possessed with particular musical propensity could build an even larger, more impressive popular musical culture. The rise of the choral society, the brass band, and other related societies, was only one aspect of this great growth of musical enthusiasm that took place after 1850. The concert hall, the

music hall, the public house, the street, the beach and the living room became centres of musical activity to a scale hitherto unknown. In fact, for the non-musical, or indeed for the ultra musical irritated by anything but music of the highest quality, the Victorian period must have been somewhat trying. One can only have sympathy for John Leech, the Mid-Victorian illustrator, driven to moving house on several occasions, in search for peace, away from the endless round of street musicians and piano-tinkling neighbours⁷⁵.

To an extent, some of this expansion of musical life was in direct opposition to the interests of the musical organisation. As has been argued later in this chapter, purveyors of "passive" musical entertainment, the music hall impresario, the theatre manager, the publican, even certain concert promoters, may well have tempted people away from voluntary leisure institutions. But overall, in a period when music was held in such high esteem, all the various branches of activity must have reinforced each other to a considerable extent. Experience of a Beethoven symphony at a concert might have inspired the desire to join an orchestral society, and the strains of the William Tell overture from the pit of the Leeds City Varieties Music Hall or the Halifax People's Palace, while not necessarily encouraging a flood of applicants to the local orchestras and bands, might at least have led people to stop, listen and donate, when they heard a brass band playing this or similar "popular classics" in the park.

Sightsinging

But while most of this musical activity had at least some beneficial influence on the development of the popular musical society, there are certain facets which demand particular scrutiny. What follows is an analysis of those musical developments which did the most to help fuel the expansion of the popular musical tradition in West Yorkshire, and indeed in many other parts of the county. The singing-class movement is one phenomenon which exercised much influence on 19th century musical life, and has been seized upon by many writers. The second half of the 19th century was undoubtedly the period of the singing class's maximum achievement. The fanfares of the 1840's, described in Chapter 2, died down, and a period of solid, substantial activity commenced. By the 1860's, John Curwen's tonic sol-fa had emerged as the most successful of the various sightsinging methods developed during the enthusiasm of the early Victorian period. Curwen was certainly not to remain without

challengers. Early in the 20th century, The Musical Times noted that some 50 schemes of musical notation had been developed at various stages in the previous 50 years⁷⁶. But in every sense, his method appears to have been the most practicable. Although there is not space here to explore the strengths of Curwen's system in detail, perhaps its greatest asset was that, unlike many of these other schemes, tonic sol-fa was not simply a notation but a complete method of musical tuition involving rhythm, pitch and harmony. At its fullest, rather than simply obviating the necessity of coming to terms with traditional notation, it encouraged an understanding of musical theory and eventually led to usage of the accepted notation itself. Its development was in every sense a remarkable achievement for a man who had no knowledge of music when he began his researches⁷⁷.

As has already been seen in Chapter 2, some fairly extravagant claims have been made about the impact of sightsinging upon British music. There can be no denying that it enjoyed much success. Curwen quickly established a body of organisations to publicise his work. He began a magazine, The Tonic Sol fa Reporter in 1851, which was eventually to become the influential Musical Herald in 1889, followed by the Tonic Sol-fa Association in 1853, a diploma conferring college in 1862 and, arguably most important, a publishing house in 1867. Alongside all this, he published his Standard Course of Lessons and Exercises in the Tonic Sol-fa Method of Teaching Music which first appeared in 1858. It was substantially rewritten in 1872 and a third edition, on this occasion by Curwen's son John Spencer Curwen, appeared in 1901⁷⁸. By the final decades of the 19th century, John Curwen had become a powerful presence in the musical firmament. In sheer numerical terms, and sol-faists, like most Victorians, were fond of measuring achievement in terms of size, these ventures were highly successful. By 1860, only a decade after its commencement, the Association had 120,000 members. Again, between 1869 and 1884, some quarter of a million certificates were distributed by the college⁷⁹. Above all, as has been seen earlier in the chapter, Curwen's method was adopted on a wide scale by the state elementary schools. By 1891, when the Tonic Sol-fa Association held its Golden Jubilee celebrations, it could claim that "millions" had been taught to sing throughout the world by virtue of the system. To prove their point, celebrations were held not merely in London (at the Crystal Palace, and Ilford Cemetary, John

Curwen's burial place), but in Canada, the United States, New Zealand, Wales, Scotland, Japan and Madagascar!⁸⁰

The lost tribes of West Yorkshire happily took their place alongside their colonial brethren in this enthusiasm for the tonic sol-fa movement, and throughout the period the Reporter and the Herald contained reports of sightsinging activity in the region. Singing classes in Yorkshire, as in most places, had initially tended to be public, open to any interested parties, but from the 1850's they became more and more adjuncts of existing institutions such as Sunday Schools and Young Men's Improvement Societies. Certainly there were still public classes run by local enthusiasts, such as those led by E. F. Wilson, who instructed over 20 classes at Stanningley Mechanics Institute between 1868 and 1871⁸¹. But overall, such classes seem to have become more rare over the period. The fact that one now had to venture into the Dewsbury and Heckmondwike Gloryband Tabernacle or Saltaire Congregational Church to obtain the secrets of Tonic Sol-fa, may have frightened away some of the less devout souls who would have been more tempted by the older style of organisation⁸². But these essentially religious singing classes still served a vital role. In the traditional woollen communities, singing skills had been imported by teachers hired by small groups of individuals and vocal clubs. As these communities altered, with the changing textile industry, this old method had disappeared, and the singing classes of the Sunday Schools and so forth helped fill this gap in local cultural life. Many choir members would have been taught tonic-sol-fa on joining a choir, without actually having recourse to a singing class as such, but many of these various tonic sol-fa classes acted as training grounds for local choral societies. M. P. Clough, an ardent sightsinging enthusiast who had carried Curwen's banner for some twenty years in Leeds, informed readers of the Musical Herald in 1889 that "many of my best pupils have left good sol-fa classes, and gone directly to the (Leeds) Philharmonic Society in years past, to have the pleasure of singing with a band"⁸³. Given the status of the Leeds Philharmonic, it is probable that these were singers who had progressed from sol-fa to traditional notation, but not all singers would have needed to have developed such technical accomplishment, as some choirs will have used tonic sol-fa as an alternative, rather than a stepping stone, to orthodox notation.

It is impossible to discover how many societies sang entirely from sol-fa copies, but it is probable that the smaller choirs used it on a large scale. The Clarion Vocal Unions and the Co-operative choirs are examples of this, maintaining their preference for tonic sol-fa right up to the First World War. (One wonders what those early Victorian industrialists who had encouraged the use of the notation as a vehicle for class collaboration, would have thought of its being taken up by socialists and radicals). Music published in the sol-fa notation had the advantage of being considerably cheaper than that using traditional notation, as it was far easier to print, requiring only letters and numbers as opposed to musical symbols. Such a primary economic consideration must have encouraged its usage, particularly amongst the smaller, less affluent choirs⁸⁴.

But the picture in West Yorkshire at least was not quite as clear-cut as some commentators would have us believe. Firstly, although the tonic sol-fa system was the most successful of the new systems, one of the older ones, the Lancashire sol-fa system, which dated back at least until the early 18th century, was still popular in certain parts of Yorkshire as recently as the early 20th century. Greenwood's, The sol-fa system of teaching singing, as used in Lancashire and Yorkshire was published in 1879 and reprinted in 1907⁸⁵. More fundamentally, there must have been many people who took up the study of tonic sol-fa or indeed any sightsinging method, and perhaps particularly those who were under pressure from a religious or similar organisation to commence in the first instance, only to abandon music on completing their course. The classes usually followed specific courses laid down by the Tonic Sol-fa College, but once these were completed, the class usually dispersed much to the chagrin of the teachers, who sometimes tried to keep at least the most advanced singers together after completion. However, in general such efforts do not normally appear to have worked. Thus, just as there was a "leakage" between school and musical society, so there was between singing class and the society, for clearly, not every sol-faist sought to join a choral society on gaining his certificate.

But, of greatest importance, the system was never utilised to any significant extent by instrumental organisations, and thus whole areas of popular musical life were untouched by Curwen's crusade. The technical reasons for this were outlined by the Musical Record in 1871.

For instruments with fixed notes in particular, it claimed, tonic sol-fa was of little value.

"All pianists know that in reading music especially at first sight, the position of the notes on the staff is a great assistance to the player; and where all are reduced to a dead level, with only small figures put above or below every note, to show which octave it is to be played, the difficulty of deciphering a new piece will be enormously increased".

Curwen's followers attempted to allay criticism of Tonic sol-fa's "non-pictorial" nature, by making the same critique of much traditional notation and by arguing that as most music was not taken quickly at first encounter, the problems of "deciphering a new piece" were not as difficult as they were made out to be, and tonic sol-fa publications for brass band and orchestra were produced by Curwen at least as early as the 1860's. But there is very little evidence of their being used, and despite their efforts, the sol-faists were unable to capture the instrumental world. While the tonic sol-fa symbols were obviously successful in communicating musical information to the vocalist, for the instrumentalist, whose mind had to undertake the slightly more complex process of transferring details from the page not simply to the mouth but to the fingers, they were far less useful. Brass bandmen and instrumentalists in general learnt from traditional musical notation, although a certain amount of playing by ear, even amongst soloists who could not always read music at playing speed, was not uncommon⁸⁶.

In the last analysis, only the most perverse commentator could deny that the sightsinging craze, and tonic sol-fa above all, had a genuine impact upon the spread of popular music. Through the singing class, through church and chapel societies and the school curriculum, many thousands of people learnt to sing at sight. But at the same time, it has to be remembered that sightsinging in no way laid the basis of 19th century musical tradition. Furthermore, it was a boon to only one particular aspect of musical life, and as such represented only one of several, rather than the primary reason for the expansion of the Victorian musical society.

Music Publishing

Similar caution has to be exercised with regard to the development of the cheap publication of sheet music in the 19th century. The

revolution in music publishing was undeniably of immense significance to the growth of popular musical life, but certain aspects of its development have been slightly misrepresented. Musical historians have seen the production of cheap sheet music too much as an originator of the musical society, rather than part stimulator, part reflection of a growth that was already taking place. In particular they have accepted rather too literally the highly partisan accounts of music publishing which emerged from the house of Novello in the late 19th century, which, apart from tending to perpetrate this particular view, have somewhat exaggerated Novello's own role as a catalyst upon the development of Victorian music⁸⁷. Dr. Percy Young, echoing the words of Vincent Novello's daughter, has argued that: "In the broadest sense it is doubtful whether any two men have ever done more for the cultivation of music 'amongst the least wealthy classes' in Britain, than did Vincent and Alfred Novello"⁸⁸. Even when talking in "the broadest sense", it is a hefty claim and one that is difficult to justify wholly. There is no denying Novellos' pioneering role. Before the mid 19th century, printed music was far too expensive for individuals of slender means to purchase, and as has been seen, the early groups and societies had to buy one or two published copies and then laboriously (but lovingly) copy them out onto paper which they had often ruled themselves, as manuscript paper too was an expensive commodity. The progress of the second half of the 19th century rendered this process unnecessary. Throughout the 1840's, Novellos' music was considerably cheaper than that of other publishing houses; but it was in 1849 that, under Alfred's guidance, they made the vital breakthrough, reducing the price of the majority of their publications by 50%. Novello's achievement was based largely on utilisation of new printing technology, previously outlawed by the London printing unions. By the introduction of non-union men into this firm, Alfred Novello was able to counteract this opposition and begin his massive price cutting exercise. The cuts of 1849 were followed by others, less spectacular, but equally important, throughout the 1850's and early 1860's. In 1837 an edition of Handel's Messiah cost 1 guinea. By the early 1860's, this work and the majority of important oratorios, were available in a pocket-sized edition for 1/-. In the same decade, Novello, who made good use of the serial publication of sheet music, a process which as in the production of literature, helped facilitate cheapness, began to publish glees in series, with two

songs in each part, and the whole series of 30 costing only 1s. and 3d. These were immense strides, but the picture is slightly more complex than is usually allowed⁸⁹.

Novellos were undoubtedly pioneers in the publication of cheap sheet music, and as such deserve acclaim: not simply did their own publications lower prices, but other publishing houses were forced to follow suite if they were to survive, and thus Novello's initiative had a wide-ranging impact. But it must be remembered that, like tonic sol-fa, Novellos and the majority of their counterparts were providing only for the choral movement. That major musical institution of Dr. Young's "least wealthy classes", the brass band, received little direct stimulus from this initial outpouring of cheap music. Obviously, brass bands and related institutions must have benefited to a certain extent. A bandmaster seeking to arrange an oratorio for his band could now purchase a score at a greatly reduced price. But he still had the task of making the arrangement and if his pocket suffered less, the demands on his time were still massive. Overall, the history of band music publication followed an entirely separate course, featuring "heroes" from beyond the confines of most published histories of 19th century music, and before analysing the relation between the growth of the musical society and the efforts of Novello and indeed of music publishers in general, it is necessary to outline this neglected aspect of the popular musical tradition.

The publication of brass band music began in a limited way almost as soon as the brass band became established as a medium. The first known example of a publication specifically for brass band is MacFarlane's Eight popular airs for a brass band, which emerged from the house of R. Cocks and Co. of London in 1836. In the following year a weekly journal published by Wessel and Co. began to feature band material. There was quite a flurry of activity from this point with several other houses, including Boosey and Hawkes, experimenting with band publications. Most of this music appeared in London, which was inevitable, given the capital's primacy in the publishing trade⁹¹. There are no records of band music being published in West Yorkshire, although in 1859, Richard Smith commenced his Champion Brass Band Journal in relatively nearby Hull⁹¹.

In general, however, this published music appears to have reached only a very limited section of the band movement. In the Yorkshire

textile region, most music still appears to have been in manuscript form certainly in the 1860's and probably as late as the 1870's. Bandsmen relied heavily upon the efforts of their bandmasters and conductors to provide them with music, which these individuals had not merely to arrange and sometimes to compose, but often to copy out as well. The band books of Black Dyke Mills Band from 1855-1862, containing 43 works arranged for all the various parts, are entirely in the handwriting of their bandmaster, F. Galloway⁹². Not surprisingly, such monumental labours tended to be expensive: one band paid a professional musician £20 for the arrangement and production of a contest piece in 1875⁹³. This source was supplemented by the efforts of itinerant circus and theatre musicians. Richard Smith had spent much of his early life as a musician in a travelling circus and menagerie band and had often swelled his earnings by copying out and arranging music for bands in the towns he visited. It was this personal experience of the chronic shortage of band music that led Smith to commence his Champion Journal⁹⁴.

It was not until the mid 1870's that published band music really came into common usage. The breakthrough owed much to the foundation of a publishing company by Thomas Hargrove Wright and Henry Round, in Liverpool, in 1875⁹⁵. It is significant that, like Richard Smith, Henry Round was a professional musician, who had become involved with several local bands through compiling arrangements for them, and had seen the potential for a publishing business. Far from owing the stimulation it gained from the growth of band publishing to the traditional publishing houses, the band movement had provided its salvation from within. Wright and Round enjoyed enormous success and its efforts stimulated much, often equally lucrative, imitation. The company's success owed a certain amount to the initial lack of competition from other publishers, but perhaps most to the timing of their speculation, which coincided with the propitious recreational climate established by shorter hours and increasing real wages, and to their undoubted business acumen. The greatest achievement of Wright and Round's and their counterparts was to reduce drastically the price of brass band music. For 22/-, a subscriber to F. Richardson and Company's Cornet Journal in 1895, would have received some 20 pieces of music ranging from little waltzes to two major selections, Don John (Bishop), and Preciosa (Weber), arranged by John Ord Hume. These

larger selections were also available singly for 3/- (20 parts) with extra parts 1/-, duplicate parts 3d.⁹⁶ The days of the £20 arrangement fee had passed. These cheap publications were eagerly purchased and often formed the basis of many competitions. In 1896, for example, Round's publication of Donizetti's Lucia de Lamemoor was used at no fewer than 37 separate contests⁹⁷. The profit potential was clearly considerable and by the mid 1890's, 22 publishers were producing brass band material on a regular basis. The brass band publishing world had come of age⁹⁸.

It is important to grasp that this "coming of age" took place over half a century after the emergence of the first brass band. Music publishers by no means caused the growth of musical life; rather, their businesses grew alongside it, reinforcing but at the same time reflecting its expansion. The time-lag between the birth of the brass band movement and the emergence of its publishing industry underlines this point particularly clearly, but the same is broadly true of the relationship between publishing and choral music. There was a vigorous choral culture in West Yorkshire and in many other parts of the country before Alfred Novello made his price cuts in 1849. Even before the bulk of the cuts, "the cheap music of the house of Novello had called classes and societies into existence which, but for the aid they furnished, could have had no being", claimed Novello's anonymous historian in 1885⁹⁹. In fact they could, and did have an existence, albeit one hedged around with much hard work and sacrifice, but an existence nevertheless. The argument might indeed be reversed: the house of Novello and its counterparts would never have developed its pricing policy without the prior emergence of a choral tradition, and indeed, Alfred Novello virtually admitted this fact himself¹⁰⁰. These men, Novello, Round, et al., were businessmen, not philanthropists, as they are sometimes seen. It is interesting that as late as 1914, both concertina bands and handbell ringers were still neglected by publishers and had to use either brass band music - particularly suitable for concertina bands - or make arrangements from piano scores. This sector of the musical community was apparently rather too esoteric, and thus financially unattractive, to stimulate a response from music publishers.

The growth of cheap musical publication did not create the brass band and choral tradition then, but stimulated the existing movements.

It was so much easier to contemplate forming or joining a society when music was cheaply and easily available. The widespread availability of cheap sheet music, by the late 19th century, made the life of musical amateurs (and many professionals) a rather more relaxed one. The late-night candle-light vigils of the early 19th century were largely over, and everyone was grateful. When addressing the Halifax Choral Society's 50th anniversary dinner in 1869, Samuel Smith, who had been a member of its chorus, its secretary, and finally President of the Bradford Festival Choral Society, and with such a record was clearly in a position to know, claimed that the easy availability of cheap music had made choral singing an altogether less exhausting pastime¹⁰¹. People had certainly made enormous sacrifice, of both time and money, to enjoy their chosen recreation, in the period before sheet music became available, but it surely is unlikely that popular musical life would have reached the dimensions that it did by the 1890's if the same degree of sacrifice had been demanded, especially in an era when many rival recreational forms were emerging.

Instruments and Accessories: Manufacture and retail

The expansion of music publishing in the second half of the 19th century formed only a part, albeit a highly important one, of a larger process by which a wide range of service industries were established to meet the growing musical enthusiasm of the British population. By the 1890's, makers of instruments, manuscript paper, "band lamps for dark nights", trombone slide oil and innumerable other accoutrements, regaled amateur (and professional) musicians with their goods on a scale unknown either before or since, and every West Yorkshire town developed its coterie of musical dealers, anxious to pass these products on to the local populace. In 1894 a relatively small community such as Sowerby Bridge (pop. 7,592 in 1891) possessed two such dealers, while Bradford had no fewer than 46¹⁰². As with the emergence of cheap music, the growth of the musical service industry reflected and reinforced the emerging popular musical culture, rather than actually creating it and again, the expansion of the industry made the joining, formation and maintenance of choirs, bands and orchestras, cheaper, more practicable and more relaxing than in the pioneering years of the 18th and early 19th centuries.

Probably the most fundamental development in this context was the massive expansion of musical instrument manufacture. This took the

form not merely of a growth in the production of existing instruments, but of the development of entirely new types, as makers experimented with newly available technical processes and inventions. The instruments of the brass band represent one of the clearest examples of the creation of new forms, in this instance due to the imaginative usage of the newly-developed Perrinet valve system, by men such as Adolphe Sax. The development of the brass instrument family, which is dealt with in Chapter 5, formed only one aspect of this process. The concertina, a popular instrument in West Yorkshire and in many parts of the country, was a 19th century invention. Its originator was Sir Charles Wheatstone, more likely to be known for his work on the development of the electric telegraph, whose family owned a long-established instrument making business in London. Patented in 1844, its relatively low price and portability encouraged its rapid emergence, although, as was shown in Tables 10 & 11, the growth of the concertina ensemble did not take place until some 40 years after Wheatstone's invention¹⁰³. Furthermore, existing musical instruments were often greatly improved by the application of new technology, and overall, the aspiring musician of the Victorian age had a greater choice of reliable instruments than his ancestors would have believed possible.

The majority of the increased production of both pre-existing and new musical instruments, was met by the expansion of firms in existence before 1850, rather than the large-scale foundation of new businesses. By 1862, for example, there were 25 main makers of brass instruments, yet despite the huge growth of the band movement after this date, there were no major additions to their number¹⁰⁴. The size of these firms often increased considerably, however, and by 1895, Besson & Company of London employed several hundred men in their brass instrument department alone¹⁰⁵. It is noteworthy that the majority of important instrument manufacturers, and indeed the musical service industries in general, were situated in London. Even the brass band was more likely to purchase instruments made in the capital than in its own locality. R. Townend and Son of Bradford appear to have been the only brass instrument makers in the Yorkshire Textile Region, and although information relating to the firm is sparse, the firm does not appear to have produced on a particularly large scale. London's somewhat paradoxical primacy in the production of instruments for a

tradition that had its strength in the northern counties, owes much to its being the traditional centre of instrument making, and thus the repository of most of the skills and techniques related to the trade, and to its place as the nation's major port. Although a small amount of brass from the foundries of Birmingham was used by some manufacturers, the majority was imported from various European countries, and it is perhaps not surprising that the bulk of brass instrument production took place in the city where so much of the necessary raw material arrived. The North could offer few of the skills and facilities and remained largely dependent on the capital¹⁰⁶.

No other musical instrument was to be manufactured and purchased in greater profusion than the piano. It has been estimated that by 1910, there existed one piano for every 10 to 20 people in Britain. The instrument's enormous popularity in the second half of the century, owed much to technical developments in the previous 50 years¹⁰⁷. In 1800, John Hawkins, a civil engineer by profession, introduced his "Portable Grand Piano", which, with a little stretch of the imagination, can be termed the first upright piano to be constructed¹⁰⁸. Gradually, piano builders began to appreciate that the upright, which took up infinitely less room than the grand, offered enormous potential as a domestic instrument, and from the 1830's, uprights began to appear in the catalogues of several makers as they discovered methods of giving it a tone good enough to attract customers. By 1850, the English firm of Broadwood was producing domestic uprights for as little as £30, and the basis for the future expansion had been laid¹⁰⁹. Purchase of pianos increased rapidly throughout the second half of the century, reaching a peak in the final two decades. Although it is not possible to obtain detailed evidence about the precise extent of its permeation down the social scale, it is clear that the upper echelons of the working class were willing customers from a quite early period. As early as 1868, a writer in the Yorkshire Orchestra claimed that: "The piano forte is now to be found in almost every house - in all middle class houses certainly - and to an increasing extent in the habitations of the working classes". Twenty years later, William Cudworth commented upon the by-now widespread ownership of pianos amongst the working classes of Bradford, a fact which clearly pleased him: "[The] instrument may now be found almost in house-rows, and this implies a knowledge, more or less, of music, which is generally assumed to be a powerful factor in social education"¹¹⁰.

It is commonly argued that the purchase of a piano, particularly by the working classes, was more the result of social than musical considerations. This belief finds its most detailed exposition in the work of Professor Cyril Ehrlich, who suggests that for the working man the piano represented a status symbol, its purchase, an act of "social emulation". Ehrlich completes his section on the working classes and the piano with a quotation from D. H. Lawrence's Women in Love and it is clear that, in an admittedly less cynical manner, he agrees with the second speaker.

"Don't you think the collier's pianoforte is a symbol for something very real, a real desire for something higher in the collier's life?"

"Yes. Amazing heights of upright grandeur. It makes him so much higher in his neighbouring collier's eyes. He sees himself reflected in the neighbouring opinion several feet taller on the strength of the pianoforte and he is satisfied"¹¹¹.

There is undoubtedly much truth in this assertion, and many contemporaries appreciated this aspect of the piano's function. Frederick Crowest, writing in 1881, described the instrument as a "highly respectabilising piece of furniture", while Robert Roberts, remembering working-class Edwardian Salford, termed the piano a status symbol "of the highest significance"¹¹².

But the question that Lawrence's character posed surely deserves as much consideration as the answer it received. To assume, as Professor Ehrlich does, that a search for respectability lay at the root of virtually all working class piano purchase, is to deny the existence of any genuine musical sensibility amongst the working population. The enormous working class presence in the musical institutions studied in this thesis, illustrates a deep musical interest among that social group in West Yorkshire, and this was shared by their counterparts in many other areas. The purchase of a piano was often simply another manifestation of this appetite for music, and an attempt to satisfy it. For some, the search for status was the dominant motive, for others it was combined with musical enthusiasm, while for some, albeit probably a minority, purely musical considerations were uppermost. To dismiss this phenomenon as nothing more than social snobbery merely oversimplifies a complex picture and forgets a history of musical attainment often achieved by dint of hard work and self-sacrifice¹¹³.

It may seem a little strange to introduce the piano into a discussion of the musical society: there were after all no piano bands, even in the fertile environment of the Yorkshire Textile District! But in fact, the piano exerted a considerable influence over the shaping of all aspects of musical life. It has been argued that the widespread growth of piano purchase led to a decline in the playing of stringed and wind instruments and that as a result "the number of amateur ensembles of all kinds decreased"¹¹⁴. In West Yorkshire at least, however, it would appear that the massive expansion of piano-buying and the growth of the various musical societies progressed side by side. Far from being a rival, the piano helped nourish the choral and brass band movements. For many, the piano may have been their first real contact with music and have established an initial interest that eventually led to the choir or band. Certainly, many amateur musicians and singers were accomplished performers on the instrument. A large number of the brass bandmen featured in the various "biographical sketch" series run by the band magazines, were pianists, often playing the instrument to a high standard, and this wider musical experience can only have been of benefit to their banding activities. Again, many choralists used the piano as a tool for vocal practice, accompanying themselves while rehearsing their material. Obviously, not every pianist went on to sing or to learn the cornet or violin, and many saw the piano as an end in itself, a solitary pastime suitable for young girls whom parents sought to keep from wider social activities. But in the final analysis, the piano was clearly as much the friend as the enemy of the amateur musical ensemble.

The widespread purchase of the piano, and indeed, of many other musical instruments, by the working and the less affluent middle class, was made possible by the hire purchase system. The price of even the cheapest instruments made cash payment difficult and often impossible, even for the best paid working men. The cheaper violins (by the early 20th century, Hawkes supplied a range of instruments along with bow, case, extra set of strings, rosin and pitch pipes, which sold for between £1 and £2 10s. Od.) were perhaps within his reach with a little diligent saving - but even the poorest quality euphonium (£2 16s. Od. - £4 10s.), or BB^b bass (11 guineas) was obviously prohibitive¹¹⁵. Purchase of second-hand instruments presented one solution, and many pianos filtered downwards in this way, although

instruments bought in this way were not necessarily reliable, or, for that matter, cheap. Alternatively, organisations could raise the necessary money by public subscription, although this was not always possible, particularly if new instruments were needed in a period of economic difficulty, and was of course not possible if an instrument was for purely domestic use.

Hire purchase provided a suitable answer to the problem. It is not known when the system was first introduced in regard to musical instruments or who was its originator. The Bethnal Green firm, Moore and Moore, are sometimes cited as the initiators, but the Leeds newspaper publisher and musical enthusiast Frederick Spark, claimed the honour for Leeds music dealer Archibald Ramsden, although he produced no evidence to support his claim¹¹⁶. The "hire" system, as it was generally known, was the object of much criticism, particularly in relationship to the piano, which of all instruments was probably bought most frequently by this method. It was normal for the customer to place a deposit and then have three years to pay the remainder. But until the mid 1890's, when the law on hire purchase became clarified, it was possible for customers to fall prey to all manner of sharp practices, and to find themselves with no money and no piano¹¹⁷. It was also felt that the pianos being bought were hardly value for money. Frederick Crowest claimed that while the poorer quality manufacturers would argue that they were "doing humanity and the state a service in furnishing means whereby the working classes may provide themselves with pianofortes", they were in fact doing the very opposite, with their "gluing together of unseasoned woods and common materials", carrying "false harmonics and untrue chords into the home of hundreds and thousands of families"¹¹⁸. In a sense, there was truth in both arguments. While many would have purchased pianos that did little justice to any music that might have been extracted from them, these instruments might, in certain instances, have provided the rudiments of musical knowledge to those who would otherwise have been excluded from musical life. In the brass band movement, where the most respectable firms offered hire purchase schemes, the blessings were less mixed. "The credit system has become the very basis of brass bands", claimed Algenon Rose in 1895, and certainly this was often the only way the best quality instruments could be obtained¹¹⁹. Even here, however, there were occasional dangers, particularly in the mid 19th century,

before standard practices were fully established. In 1855, four members of Bradford Brass Band, who had entered into a crude form of hire purchase agreement with a local firm, found themselves settling their debts in the county court¹²⁰.

The music publishing and instrument making industries were undoubtedly the largest and most lucrative of the services that developed around the needs of the musical fraternity, in the 19th century. But they were accompanied and sometimes stimulated by a whole range of smaller, often highly specialised enterprises. The brass band movement in particular called into being a number of businesses seeking to meet its distinctive needs. By the late 19th century, the pages of the band magazines featured adverts from some 20 to 30 firms offering such necessary items as band stationery, music stands, lamps, balm for sore lips, waterproof ink to prevent manuscript music dissolving before the players' eyes on wet afternoons in the park, while at least three South Yorkshire businessmen offered themselves as specialists in the silver-plating of instruments¹²¹. Perhaps the largest single component, however, was the production of band uniforms. It is probable that bands adopted the practice of wearing uniforms, almost from the first days of the movement. The army and militia bands that the amateur bandsmen saw locally and indeed sometimes played in, all wore uniform and this inspired their civilian counterparts to emulation¹²². W. L. Marriner's band certainly had a uniform by 1850, while in 1856 Buslingthorpe Band enlivened the Hull Zoological Gardens Contest by wearing "sailor's uniform"¹²³. As the century progressed, it became customary to wear Sunday best at contests and leave the uniform for engagement work, and most bands felt it worthwhile having at least some item of uniform, even if it comprised only a peaked cap, to enhance their chances of gaining employment at fairs, feasts and Sunday School parades. The early uniforms were probably largely either military rejects or home-made, but by the 1890's, there were at least 8 firms specialising in uniform manufacture and supply, producing an array of colourful and sometimes highly unlikely garbs. Two of these firms were situated in Huddersfield, one other in Leeds. John Beevers of Huddersfield, was possibly the first man to enter this field, establishing a small business in 1864, collecting orders by riding about the surrounding district on horseback. By the late 1880's, he owned two quite sizable

mills devoted largely to the production of band uniforms¹²⁴. These garments could be surprisingly costly, with top quality bands spending as much as £50 for a complete set on certain extravagant occasions. The poorer bands were not neglected, however, with, in the late Victorian period, Beevers offering caps for as little as 3d. each, and the London firm of Avent and Company, a full uniform for as little as 8s. 9d. or £20 a set¹²⁵.

The Musical Press

Information concerning these services came to contemporaries largely through the pages of the musical press. In the middle 19th century, the number of periodicals devoted entirely to music, although growing, was still small. By 1900, there were at least 40 in existence, while there were many other journals and newspapers which gave coverage to musical events. Yorkshire's musical tradition was strong enough to produce three, admittedly short-lived, publications, over the course of the 19th century. The Yorkshire Orchestra, published in Sheffield and York, existed from December 1867 to November 1868; the Yorkshire Musician, claiming a circulation of 4,000, from August 1886 to June 1888, and the Yorkshire Musical Record, published in Farnley, Leeds, from March 1899 to early 1900¹²⁶. All of them, with the possible exception of the Musical Record, showed considerably more interest in the music profession than in the efforts of amateur societies, although all gave a certain degree of coverage, at least to the larger choral concerts and the most significant musical competitions. The most influential of the national publications was the Musical Times founded in 1842, as Mainzer's Musical Times and Singing Class Circular, before passing into the hands of Novello and Company in 1844 and taking on its more familiar title. As Scholes's Mirror of Music bears testimony, the Musical Times, particularly in its earliest years, and again from 1908, with the appearance of its Competition Festival Record supplement, gave considerable coverage to the choral movement¹²⁷. The Musical Herald, published by Curwen from 1889, also gave full details of developments in the field, and although no publication devoted entirely to the choral movement was ever developed, these two magazines did much to serve its needs¹²⁸.

The brass band movement, however, produced quite a body of specialist periodical literature. This was partly because it was so poorly served by the existing publications. It is noticeable that

Scholes's section on the brass band in the Mirror of Music is one of the shortest in the book, even though the Musical Times was supposed to be especially interested in the needs of the amateur musician¹²⁹. It is not surprising that many 19th century commentators despaired of popular musical culture when the magazines that they relied upon for much of their information and opinion gave so little coverage to one of its most dynamic elements. But at the same time, the establishment of the brass band press owed at least an equal amount to the attempts of the major band music publishers to advertise their goods, and in fact all the band periodicals emanated from one of the main publishing houses. The late 19th century, that key period of musical expansion, produced three journals, Wright and Round's Brass Band News, which commenced in 1881, The British Bandsman, published by Richard Smith and Company from 1887, and The Cornet, emanating from F. Richardson and Company of Sibsey, Lincolnshire, in 1893. Alongside these publications, several other magazines devoted considerable space to the movement, the most notable being Musical Progress published by the instrument dealers Hawks and Son of London from 1907.

All were monthlies, with the exception of the British Bandsman, which in March 1902 moved to weekly publication¹³⁰. The Bandsman, as it was generally known, was perhaps the best produced and the most influential of these magazines. Founded in 1887 as "a monthly magazine for bandmasters and members of military [in this context army bands] and brass bands", it passed through various stages in the 1890's, at one time leaving the brass band field altogether and appearing as the Orchestral Times. But in 1898, it was purchased along with the other components of Richard Smith and Co., by the musician and concert promoter J. Henry Iles, who devoted the magazine entirely to the brass band movement, using it skillfully to advertise the movement's achievements, and in particular those connected in some way to his firm¹³¹. It is not possible to provide detailed information relating to readership of the three papers, although as early as 1890 the Brass Band News claimed a circulation of 25,000¹³². Even if this figure is regarded as the product of a somewhat vivid editorial imagination and is cut by as much as 50%, it is suggestive of the widespread popularity of these magazines, allowing for the fact that this newspaper was only one of three, and that each paper was likely to be read by more than one person. One Yorkshire bandsman, whose musical life began in the

Edwardian period, remembers several local band secretaries buying 20 or 30 papers direct from the publishers, then selling them to individual band members¹³³. Cost was no deterrent to the would-be purchaser, with the British Bandsman costing only 1d. from 1902, and the other magazines 2d. They all contained a relatively wide body of material, with detailed reports of local events from correspondents with such elegant pen-names as "Midlandite", "Slow Worm" and "Shoddythorpe", forming the largest sector. These were augmented by articles on technical topics, on composers, particularly the early 19th century Italian operatic school, by outlines and analyses of the operas that the currently popular band selections were based upon, and by a sizable amount of advertising. Written in a very straightforward style which had little literary pretension, but which communicated information forcefully and economically, the journals were well-suited to the reading skills of the majority of the class for which they were produced. Although these publications appear somewhat crude when compared with some of the musical periodicals of the day, the information and assistance that they offered did much to guide and to stimulate the growing brass band movement.

The Musical Profession

The expansion of Victorian musical life produced a large-scale increase not simply in the number of musical services, but in personnel. In 1861, the population census recorded the presence in England and Wales of some 15,021 "musicians and music masters". By 1881, the number had risen to 25,546, and within twenty years it had almost doubled again, reaching 43,249 by 1901. In Yorkshire, the rise was equally dramatic, with the numbers trebling over the 40 years between 1861 and 1901. By 1901, there were 3,626 musicians and music teachers in the county as a whole¹³⁴. Many, and indeed probably the majority of these men and women, earned at least some of their income from music teaching, and although by no means all of them were involved in tuition directly relevant to the amateur musical society, the increased availability of professional expertise undoubtedly provided more people than in previous periods with skills that might eventually lead them to the choir, band or orchestra. At least some of the teachers made their talents available to the poorer sections of the community, by providing cheap lessons at public institutions. The Mechanics Institute was especially important in this sense. In the 1850's, an Italian class was

inaugurated at Wakefield Mechanical Institute for the benefit of would be opera singers, and if this was perhaps a slightly bizarre project, there were many more orthodox courses offered. Three of Huddersfield's most famous 19th century male vocalists, George Haigh of the Choral, the Glee and Madrigal and the renowned Huddersfield Orpheus Quartet, Alfred Halstead, regarded by many as one of the finest male altos in the country, and Benjamin Stocks, president of the Huddersfield Choral Society in the 1890's, all began their musical training at local Mechanics Institutes¹³⁵.

The efforts of professionals were augmented by a large body of part-time teachers. Hanson's Musical Directory of 1894 included several among their list of music teachers who followed another, often manual, occupation in the daytime, and this publication clearly only touched upon a few of their number¹³⁶. By the late 19th century there were many part-time teachers, particularly in working class areas, giving lessons for as little as 3d. an hour to aspiring singers, instrumentalists and pianists, a situation which led to rigorous attempts by the music profession to introduce legislation defending themselves against what they regarded as both a dilution of standards and a financial threat¹³⁷. Undoubtedly, some of them were barely competent (although the same criticism could be levelled at many professionals), but overall, together with the bona fide music profession, they did much to underpin the expansion of contemporary musical life. Alongside their traditional teaching role, professionals or better qualified semi-professionals were often utilised to add the final polish, particularly to the performances of the concert orientated choral societies and the top flight brass bands. Obviously, not every society chose, or indeed could afford, to use their services, and many remarkable musical achievements stemmed from choirs and bands trained by men (and only very occasionally women) who were in the truest sense amateurs. But many made use of this increasingly abundant body of musical skill.

The needs of the competitive brass band actually called into being a new type of professional musician: the band trainer. Many brass bands hired the services of a professional trainer who would visit them weekly or monthly, as well as conducting them at contests and occasional engagements. They have received a great deal of attention in brass band literature, and before discussing their role, it is essential to stress that they often owed much to the local bandmasters who served under

them. Bandmasters were normally particularly proficient bandsmen chosen by their fellow members to train and generally oversee the band, and it was a job that required a considerable degree of general musical ability, a knowledge of the brass band as a medium, patience and a great deal of work. Interviewed by the Cornet in 1898, B. D. Jackson commented rather acidly on his period as bandmaster with the high-ranking Batley Old Band during the 1880's and early 1890's, under the professional trainer, John Gladney. "I spent much time with them before Mr. Gladney came over to conduct. He got the praise and I got a lot of hardwork"¹³⁸. The professional was never a particularly numerous breed. Richardson's Brass Band Annual published between 1895 and 1901, usually listed no more than about 50, and nearly all of these were, inevitably, to be found in the North and Midlands. It is probable that some of those advertising in this publication were only semi-professionals, although the most successful practitioners were able to support themselves from their banding activities alone. Their exact duties depended upon how much money individual bands were prepared to spend. Sometimes professionals were hired merely to attend occasional rehearsals, after which they would leave the bandmaster with instructions for future practice, and to conduct the band at contests, while other bands might decide to have a weekly visit. Their relatively small numbers often resulted in their conducting many bands at the same contest. The domination of an event by one trainer usually took on its most heightened form when a contest took place in a region where one man held numerous posts. Thus in October 1901, Angus Holden, of Horbury, West Yorkshire, conducted six of the nine bands competing at the Holmfirth Contest¹³⁹.

The professional trainer appears to have made his initial appearance in the West Riding textile area in the 1850's; Herbert Milburn, John Whitley, J. Tidswell, William Hesling, and, above all, Richard Smith, all emerged as band teachers in the Leeds area in that decade. Biographical information is scanty, but it is probable that the majority of this group were professional musicians who had been drawn into the band movement at some stage of their career, rather than bandsmen who had worked "through the ranks", as was more normally the case in the later 19th century. This was certainly true of Richard Smith, who, as has been seen, was a Menagerie musician whose contact with the band movement originated with his acting as musical scribe

for local amateur bands in the towns he travelled through. It is not known when he began training bands, but he took two bands to the Hull Contest of 1856 and by 1861 had led various bands in the Leeds and Bradford area to 62 prizes¹⁴⁰.

But while Smith and his contemporaries may claim to have been the initiators of the band training profession, its most famous representatives, were Alexander Owen, John Gladney and Edwin Swift, the so-called "Big Three". These men were associated with virtually every top-class band in the North of England, in the period between 1875 and 1914. At the 1894 Belle Vue Contest, of the 18 competing bands, 14 were conducted by these three men¹⁴¹. Gladney was a little untypical of the late 19th century band trainers as a class, in that he came into the movement from the orchestral world. Born in Belfast in 1838, the son of a military bandmaster, he began his musical career as a militia bandsman, before becoming a professional musician in the 1850's, working with various travelling opera companies, and eventually joining the Halle as a clarinet player in 1861. He devoted himself to the brass band world from the 1870's, moved, so he later claimed, by his liking for brass instruments and a desire to make their potential better known, a wish to provide the working class with an alternative to the public house, and the belief that "good" music should be made available to the widest possible audience. He believed that by 1900 he had "created a desire for classical music in places that would have remained in ignorance for many years to come". He taught over 100 bands in Yorkshire and Lancashire, including both the Meltham Mills and the Kingston Mills Bands, who in 1876-1878 and 1885-1887 respectively won the Belle Vue Championship for three consecutive years. Overall, he conducted more 1st and 2nd prizewinning bands at Belle Vue than any other two conductors put together. He died in 1911 one of the most profoundly respected men the band movement has ever seen¹⁴².

Unlike Gladney, both Owen and Swift were products of the band world itself. Owen was born in Stalybridge, Cheshire, in 1851. Although he began his career in Lancashire, he became a celebrity during his period as solo cornet with Meltham Mills Band in the period between 1876 and 1878. He became actively involved in training in the 1880's and perhaps his most famous conductorship was that with the Lancashire Besses o' th' Barn, whom he took on a tour of France in

1905 (for which he was decorated by the French government), and on a World Tour, involving the United States, Canada, New Zealand, Fiji, and Australia in 1906-1907. He died in 1920¹⁴³. ¶ Edwin Swift was the only Yorkshireman of the trio, and in the main he restricted his activities to Yorkshire bands. Born at Milnsbridge in the Colne Valley in 1843, the son of a handloom weaver, he himself began work at a local woollen mill at the age of 9. His musical career began in a local drum and fife band in the following year, before he turned his attention to the cornet, doubtless inspired by the efforts of his two brothers, both members of Linthwaite Band. He made extraordinarily rapid strides and by the age of 16 had been made bandmaster of Linthwaite. He clearly possessed a considerable degree of inherent musical aptitude. While in his teens, he visited the bandroom of a local rival who were practising a march, which they had recently acquired, and of which they were inordinately proud. Swift went home, and without having had more than a brief listen to, and a glance at, the music, rescored it for his own band and then led them in a performance in the street, to the chagrin of the rival band. This talent was supplemented by phenomenal auto-didactic achievement. He studied music extremely seriously, often working late into the night studying and transcribing orchestral scores, developing a particular fondness for Wagner. In 1875, after leading Linthwaite Band to first prize at Belle Vue, he decided to become a full-time band trainer. From the mid 1870's until his death in 1904, he conducted 34 bands and won an enormous reputation for his skill as a teacher and arranger. He remained devoted to Wagner, and his Bayreuth selection written especially for Linthwaite Band, became one of the classics of the band repertoire. His funeral, attended by several thousand mourners, and led by an 80-strong massed band, was a moving testimony to his place in the late Victorian brass band world¹⁴⁴.

Although the increase in the size of the music profession owed a considerable amount to the expansion of amateur musical life, the increased availability of professional expertise in the textile area and other regions, in turn, did much to enlarge both the quantity and quality of popular musical culture. The music teachers, the band trainers and the choir conductors built up a network of musical education that ensured that the Victorian and Edwardian lower orders would have access to some degree of musical training. While some of them were undoubtedly mundane or even inefficient, the best set

standards which encouraged emulation and thus gave people a spur to join and form musical societies. In a number of crucial ways the music profession helped reinforce the expansion of the popular musical tradition.

The Competitive Ethos

The musical competition to which many of these professionals owed their raison d'être, was one of the most fundamental influences on the development of 19th and early 20th century music. Without its existence, scores of people and indeed societies, would have played no part in popular musical life. Competitions has been held in Britain from a very early period. Bellringing contests certainly date back to the 17th century, and the Welsh Eisteddfodau have a long historical lineage¹⁴⁵. But during the second half of the 19th century, virtually every area of amateur musical life became imbued to some degree with the competitive ethos. The brass band contest is the best known of its manifestations, and it was certainly the first to become widely established. There appears to have been a type of casual, impromptu contesting activity virtually from the moment amateur wind bands began to organise in the years after 1815. There is record of a contest at Sheffield in 1818, while the Lancashire Besses o' th' Barn Band took part in a competition which formed part of George IV's coronation celebrations in Lancashire in 1821¹⁴⁶. The first formal contest, however, was held at Burton Constable, near Hull, the home of Sir Clifford Constable, in the summer of 1845. Sir Clifford was persuaded by his sister-in-law Lady Chichester, to include a band contest of the type she had encountered in France, as one of the events in a day of jousting and general merrymaking, which was planned for the local populace by the Constable household. Five bands entered, and were guided by rules of the type which were to become so typical of the contesting world by the late 19th century. Each band was restricted to 12 players (by the 1860's, 19 was the normal limit, raised to 24 by the Belle Vue organisers in 1873, an example quickly followed by most other organisers), no drums were allowed, as they might be used to drown weak points in the performance (drums were not allowed in competitions until 1969), and the judge was located in a tightly secured tent to prevent him from knowing the identity of the competitors. The event proved to be exciting. Holmes Tannery Band tied with the Wold Brass Band (their respective testpieces had been selections from Mozart's 12th Mass, and Rossini's Barber of Seville)

and the judge ordered them to play once again. Eventually the Wold Band's rendering of the Hallelujah Chorus proved superior (or perhaps emotionally more effective) to Holmes Tannery's Der Freischutz selection, and they won the day and £12 prize money.

It was a small beginning but a highly significant one. That we know so much about so obscure an event is due to the presence at Burton Constable of Enderby Jackson, a member of Sir Clifford Constable's private dance band, which was on duty providing music on the terrace¹⁴⁷. Jackson's name looms large in the history of band contests. Born in Hull in 1827, the son of a tallow chandler, he enjoyed an education at Hull Grammar School, before joining a circus band and then taking up a number of posts in East Yorkshire as a trumpeter. He was genuinely impressed by the potential of the amateur movement shown by the events at Burton Constable, and he began to explore the possibilities for future growth. In 1851, he discussed his ideas with a number of bandsmen from other areas of the country whom he encountered at the Great Exhibition. Along with James Melling of the Stalybridge Old Band and Tallis Trimmel, an active bandsman in the Chesterfield area, he decided to organise a large contest for Northern and Midland bands. After several attempts to find a venue and persuade the railways to provide cheap rates for the bands, John Jennison, manager of the Belle Vue Pleasure Gardens, just outside Manchester, was persuaded to hold a drum and fife band contest in 1852, and the success of this pilot scheme led to the holding of a brass band contest on the first Monday of September, 1853. Coinciding with the local Gorton Wakes celebrations, it proved successful; with 8 bands, an estimated attendance of 16,000, and enthusiastic coverage by the press, the brass band contest was established. Belle Vue, in turn, became the major contest venue in Britain, attracting so many entrants that by 1886 the contest had to be split into two sections, with a contest for slightly "lesser" bands in July and the Championship in September.

The Belle Vue contest of 1853 stimulated an upsurge of contesting within the band world. Much of it was organised by Jackson, who along with his colleague Mr. R. Alderson, sponsored contests in numerous locations in the North and the Midlands. There were also signs of interest beyond the confines of the brass band movement, and in 1855, a handbell contest was established at Belle Vue. In 1860

came arguably Jackson's greatest achievement to date, when he persuaded the management of the Crystal Palace to hold a brass band festival. It was the first time London had really been exposed to the might of the brass band movement, and all the London based newspapers gave full and essentially enthusiastic coverage. The 1860 event was organised with traditional Victorian attention to size and spectacle. 44 bands, mainly drawn from Lancashire and Yorkshire, competed on the first day and 48 on the second, and on both days massed bands numbering 1,390 players drawn from the competing ensembles gathered to play The Wedding March, Rule Britannia, The Heavens are Telling, and inevitably, The Hallelujah Chorus. On the second day when only 1/- entrance was demanded, an estimated 20,000 people attended. The festivals were eventually discontinued after 1863, presumably because they were enormously costly to mount, and not until 1900 did the brass band contest make its triumphal return to the Palace. However, the publicity that the event aroused did much to stimulate the competitive idea.

Contests were becoming relatively frequent from the 1850's, at least in the North of England. Bramley Band attended 6 in 1859 alone, and in the following decades they became common enough for certain combinations to win impressive amounts of prize money¹⁴⁸. Bacup Band, from East Lancashire, won £1,500 between 1862 and 1871, while West Yorkshire's famed Meltham Mills Band won a remarkable £3,805 6s. 6d. between 1871 and 1883¹⁴⁹. But the real peak of the contesting movements was not achieved until the band movement itself reached its peak in the 1890's with a record number of 240 contests being attained in 1896¹⁵⁰. Despite its premier position in the brass band world, there were not an exceptionally large number of contests held in West Yorkshire itself. There were 15 in 1896, which meant that West Yorkshire bands often travelled into Lancashire (31 contests in 1896) or South Yorkshire (15), in order to contest¹⁵¹. The number began to fall nationally in the Edwardian period, although the contesting movement was still of considerable size in 1914, and in fact a major new event, in the shape of the Crystal Palace "National Championships", founded in 1900 by J. H. Iles, came into prominence during this period. The Crystal Palace competition grew to enormous size. There were four classes for brass bands, ranging from a championship class, with bands competing for a 1,000 guinea shield, to

a section for "junior" bands, that is bands who had never won a competition of any importance. A concertina band section was added in 1907, and there were thoughts of initiating a handbell contest, but no suitable premises could be found in the Crystal Palace complex. Brilliantly marketed by Iles through the pages of the British Bandsman this event to an extent supplanted the Belle Vue competition. It succeeded in attracting bands from the southern counties to an extent that Belle Vue had never done, while still attracting the majority of Northern bands, and it thus had a genuine claim to be a national championship¹⁵². But Belle Vue had been the first major contest and as a writer in Musical Progress stated in 1914, it "has won a place in brass band music which is held by no other place"; emotionally, if not in terms of status, it remained very much the bandsman's Mecca¹⁵³.

The expansion of the brass band contest did much to generate an enthusiasm for musical competition in general, and from the 1880s, as, for the reasons outlined in Section II, the climate became increasingly congenial to new musical projects, other areas of amateur music began to develop a competitive aspect. Virtually all forms of musical organisation in West Yorkshire were eventually affected by competitive fervour. The first recorded concertina band contest was held at Queensbury in 1883, and there appears to have been a spurt of activity in this field in the Yorkshire Area in the 1880's¹⁵⁴. Handbell contests became more common from about the turn of the century, and by the outbreak of the First World War, there were even occasional contests for the amateur orchestral society¹⁵⁵. Above all, the late 19th century saw the real take off of the choral competition both in West Yorkshire and in Britain as a whole. The relatively late arrival of the choral society into the contest arena was due partly to the large size of the societies which were most common in the mid 19th century, which would have made travelling to venues an extremely expensive business, and partly to the constraints imposed by the mid-Victorian religious atmosphere, which have already been discussed at some length. Musical historians have mainly concerned themselves with what may be termed the "Wakefield" sector of the competitive movement, the so-called competitive Music Festival, and although at least the initial establishment of choral competition in West Yorkshire owed little to the efforts of Miss Wakefield and her imitators, it is worth examining this aspect of the competitive tradition at this

juncture, for it was eventually to play a great part in enriching Yorkshire choral culture.

The competitive music Festival movement represents one of the most spectacular developments within British music in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Mary Wakefield herself never attempted to claim responsibility for its development, but there is no denying her enormous influence. Born in Kendal in 1853, the daughter of a Quaker businessman, Miss Wakefield was a lady of much musical ability, considerable financial means and radical sensibilities. Unable, because of her family's religious beliefs, to pursue as secular a career as that of a professional singer, she was nevertheless allowed to study singing under Signor Randegger in London during the 1870's, and she sang regularly at philanthropic concerts both in London and the provinces. After her father's death in 1889, she appears to have remained largely in Kendal, devoting herself to various social and political movements. Miss Wakefield was a close friend and devotee of Ruskin's, who from the late 1870's was a near neighbour at Coniston, and she was an active supporter of the Suffragette movement. The music festival can be seen as a compounding of her love of music and her social and political philosophy. In 1884 she contributed an article to the Musical Times entitled Amateur Music as it Should be, which emphasised the need to spread musical taste amongst the widest possible audience. Shortly before writing the article, she had stayed in Herefordshire with Sir Henry Leslie, who since 1880 had held a competition at Oswestry, which stressed that the competition was fundamentally a vehicle for musical education and not an excuse for prize-hunting and self-glorification, the two characteristics which he saw as the weakness of the Welsh Eisteddfod. Miss Wakefield was impressed enough to follow his lead, and in August 1885, three local quartet parties gathered on the Tennis Court at "Sedgwick", the Wakefield family home, to sing, in a spirit of friendly competition, Stephen's Ye Spotted Snakes. From this modest beginning, the Sedgwick festival (renamed the Westmorland in 1900 and eventually the Mary Wakefield Choral Competition after her death in 1910), grew in size and scope and fuelled a national movement¹⁵⁶.

By 1900, there existed some half dozen festivals all more or less modelled on the Westmorland example. In 1904, the Association of Musical Competition Festivals was founded after meeting at the

London home of Dowager Lady Beauchamp, and over 30 festivals affiliated. By 1914, there were 85 festivals in existence in Great Britain, of which 39 were affiliated to the A.M.C.F.¹⁵⁷. It is not known how many individuals were involved in this activity, although in 1906, when some 50 festivals were in existence, it is estimated that about 60,000 competitors had taken part¹⁵⁸. They were held in most parts of Britain, but there was a particular preponderance in rural locations. The emphasis upon the musically less developed rural areas was deliberate and formed a central part of the philosophy of the festival movement. Obviously, there was much local variation, but the majority of these events were united to a considerable extent by a shared philosophy. The emphasis was firmly on musical education through emulation and appreciation of one's rivals. "The Co-operative movement adapted to musical requirements" was Miss Wakefield's personal depiction of the festival, while Dr. William McNaught, the government's chief Inspector of school music and one of the prime movers of the competitive movement, called it "a school of music, and not a school of glory"¹⁵⁹. The methods used to realise these ideals were many. Miss Wakefield herself laid stress on the combined concert whereby at the end of the festival, all choirs came together to soothe wounds gained in musical battle by singing together. This feature was imitated by several other organisers, although it was by no means the norm¹⁶⁰. Similarly, there was an antipathy to money prizes, and many festivals offered medals and certificates instead. Again, festival organisers tended to set very rigid geographical limits upon competition, in an attempt to encourage local talent, rather than providing a killing ground for pre-existing, successful societies from further afield, although from about 1900 several festivals instigated "open" classes which attracted top class entrants from a wide area¹⁶¹.

The Yorkshire textile district was never a stronghold of the Wakefield movement. The movement was certainly of vital importance for Yorkshire choirs, for many travelled particularly to the events on the Lancashire coast and were suitably enhanced by the process. But West Yorkshire proved infertile ground for the actual development of the competitive festival, and in fact only one competition, the Summerscales held at Keighley from 1891, in any way reflected the movement's values and philosophy¹⁶². This is not altogether surprising. West Yorkshire was obviously a far more industrialised area than the

Lake District, North Lancashire, Surrey, or the other strongholds of Wakefieldism, and as such was not a propitious location for this rurally orientated movement. Further, Yorkshire's choral tradition was already strong enough not to need encouragement from well-intentioned musical philanthropists. The inspiration for the development of the choral competition in West Yorkshire stemmed from the Hardrow Scar Brass Band and Choral Contest founded in 1881, the first annual event with provision for choral societies organised in Yorkshire in the 19th century¹⁶³. Held in a natural amphitheatre in the midst of spectacular dales countryside, near Hawes, North Yorkshire, it regularly attracted attendances of several thousand people, brought to the site by innumerable excursion trains, eventually becoming one of the major events in the Northern musical calendar. Originally intended as an instrument of musical education, and in this sense at least initially, a "Wakefield"-style event, it rapidly dropped any educational pretensions it may have had, and became quite simply a contest¹⁶⁴. Gradually, from the early 1890's, societies who had travelled to Hawes, began to hold their own competitions. Between 1893 and 1895, the Leeds Musical Union attended six contests, held two of their own, and had the chance to enter perhaps a dozen others in Yorkshire and Lancashire¹⁶⁵. Various approaches were used, but the standard format involved one class for male voice choirs, one for mixed voice choirs, categories for solo, tenor and bass (and sometimes soprano and contralto), and finally, perhaps with an eye to audience statistics, a comic song contest. Heats were held in the afternoon, when each competitor sang a test piece, while in the evening, those fortunate enough to have sung the piece to the satisfaction of the judge or judges, screened from their sight by a curtain, would perform a piece of their own choice. Money prizes were usually given, although the amounts were invariably small¹⁶⁶. Eventually, when, from about the turn of the century, the West Yorkshire societies began to widen their horizons and started to attend the many Wakefield style contests held over the border in Lancashire, they began to transport some of their features back to their homeland, a tendency which delighted the many Yorkshire music critics and educationalists who had been highly critical of the "pot-hunting" aspect of their local competitions¹⁶⁷.

Overall, there can be no denying the effect that competitions of whatever variety had upon the growth of all forms of musical activity. Apart from the crucial influence they exercised upon both repertoire and technical standards, which will be discussed later, they encouraged the expansion of musical life. Competitions both advertised the cause of music and added a little glamour. As J. H. Elliot argued, contests "added just the necessary spice to the palates of many whose musical ambitions alone were not sufficiently urgent to compel them to partake"¹⁶⁸. Equally, they actually brought new societies into existence, something which is more clearly apparent in the choral field than elsewhere. Several famous Yorkshire choirs were founded specifically to compete at a particular contest. The Saltaire Prize Choir, one of the most successful mixed voice choirs ever to emerge in Britain, was founded in 1887 specifically to compete at Hawes, while the Leeds Musical Union was the result of a similar desire amongst a group of local singers in 1893¹⁶⁹. Encouraged by success in their initial forays, these societies became permanent organisations, holding their own competitions, which in turn stimulated the emergence of more societies. The emergence of the choral competition was clearly then another factor responsible for the accelerated growth of the choral movement in the last two decades of the 19th century. It was perhaps the competition more than any other factor that stimulated the foundation of the small 20-40 voice, mixed and male voice choirs that have so often been regarded as the archetypal choral unit, but which in fact were comparatively rare before the 1880's. In this way, the competition not merely provided a major stimulus to amateur music, but significantly widened its range of activity. While there were always many who claimed a basic incompatibility between art and competition, 19th and early 20th century musical life would have been altogether poorer without the influence of the competitive ethos.

A wide variety of factors aided the development of popular musical culture in the second half of the 19th century. Increases in both free time and real wages, to list only two of the more significant socio-economic factors, coupled with the efforts of music publishers and instrument dealers, the teachings of band trainers and choir conductors and the attraction of the competitive ethos, made it

possible for the population of the Yorkshire textile region (and indeed in most other areas), to involve themselves in musical life to an unparalleled degree. It would hardly have seemed possible in the peak years of the 1890's that within another decade the unmistakable signs of declining interest in the amateur musical tradition would begin to appear.

iv) Voluntary Organisations in Crisis, 1890-1914: A Musical Perspective

The Edwardian period appeared to many observers to be the most propitious to date for the development of working class musical taste. An editorial in the Music Student of November 1908, claimed that:

"The working classes are only just coming into their heritage as far as art music is concerned. What opportunities were there twenty years ago for the worker to enjoy orchestral music? Today, however, all over the country, orchestras, sometimes with municipal support, are multiplying, and the man of moderate income can hear more good music, and give his children a better musical training than ever he could before. This is a matter for rejoicing, for these are days of stress and strain and the mission of the Arts is more necessary today than ever it was"¹⁷⁰.

The writer, although underestimating the degree of working class musical activity that had taken place earlier in the 19th century, was quite justified in pointing to a growth in opportunity for musical appreciation and education. Not simply the emergence of orchestras, but the enhanced role of music in schools, the growth of the competitive Festival movement, the production of magazines like the Music Student, seemed to suggest a musical millennium. In fact, if Yorkshire is in any way typical, the years after about 1906 witnessed the very beginnings of decline amongst the main purveyors of art music to the working class, the choral society and the brass band. Membership of existing societies fell, audience support often dwindled and the founding of new organisations became less common. A decline in numbers is of course in no way synonymous with "decline" in a wider sense, and the period undoubtedly saw the achievement of far higher technical standards than had been attained before. But, overall, the loss in numbers was surely a tragedy for the development of English cultural life. Standards rose, but fewer people were taking part either in the raising or in the appreciation of these new

levels of artistic accomplishment. The final years of the pre-war period saw the beginning of a process, still continuing today, whereby the popular musical society, once the pride of a whole community, or at least a sizable section of it, became a specialist organisation catering for a diminishing minority.

The problems facing voluntary organisations in the late 19th century and early 20th century have recently been the focus for a stimulating study by Dr. Stephen Yeo¹⁷¹. Basing his conclusions on an immensely detailed analysis of Reading, he argues that the period 1890-1914 was one of "crisis" for most forms of voluntary body, whether it be a chapel or a rowing club. Clearly, Dr. Yeo's dating of the onset of "crisis" is not applicable to the musical society, at least in West Yorkshire, for the 1890's witnessed it's apotheosis, in terms of growth and popular support. Similarly, the actual noun "crisis", while valid in discussion of Reading, where many local activists perceived events in this way, is a little too dramatic a description both of the problems faced by Yorkshire musical society and the response to them, in the period after about 1900. In West Yorkshire, although problems were acknowledged and discussed, there was no sense of impending catastrophe. As was illustrated by Tables 10 and 11 in Section One, musical societies were still being formed in this period and there was generally much musical enthusiasm still in the air. But despite the differences in the situation between the two areas, it is valuable to use Dr. Yeo's analysis of the difficulties facing the voluntary organisations as a starting point for discussion. It is hoped that in this way, this section, apart from merely studying the problems of the local musical society, will, by testing and widening some of his hypotheses, provide a contribution to certain aspects of the debate he has initiated.

Yeo's initial concern was with the so-called "decline of religion" from the late 19th century, and his research into religious activity in Reading led him to the conclusion that the problems experienced by church and chapel were by no means peculiar to these institutions. "This book is informed by one simple idea; that there may be a common situation or context for voluntary and other organisations in different phases of capitalist development, rather than a series of discrete situations for different subject-areas for organisations such as religion, production, sport, education, welfare or politics"¹⁷².

He suggests six major forces which shaped the context within which voluntary organisations operated after 1890. The withdrawal of the "vice-presidential stratum", with regard to both time and money; poverty both "absolute and relative"; the "increasing expression and containment of an undeferential working class consciousness"; the "actions and inactions" of the organisations themselves; the "growing and altering presence of capitalist ideology and organisational modes, particularly in such areas as leisure"; and finally, "the altering presence of the state"¹⁷³. Two of these factors, the development of working class consciousness and the increased role of the state, in this instance through the educational system, are dealt with elsewhere and although evidence concerning the relationship between the musical society and education is ambiguous, it does seem that these two influences may well have worked against the interest of the band and choir. As has been seen, it is possible that the emergence of a radical working class movement from the 1890's may have driven middle class musicians away from those musical institutions where they were likely to be in contact with the working classes, while the association of music with a state education system not always loved by its pupils, may have led some to eschew any type of musical participation on leaving school. But in general, these factors had far less obvious influence upon the problems of the musical society than they appear to have done in the wider world of voluntary organisation¹⁷⁴. Of far greater significance was the problem of money.

"Poverty both absolute and relative" was hardly a new problem for the amateur musical society. It was a problem which had always placed them, and indeed most forms of voluntary organisation, if not in perpetual "crisis", then at least in a state of fairly continual anxiety. There had always been a sizable group within the local community whose appallingly low material standards prevented them from taking an active role in musical life, either as performer, financier or even spectator. Short-term industrial depression or dislocation invariably swelled their number, and created difficulties for the societies. The 1859 Belle Vue Brass Band Contest had to be abandoned because bad trade kept the number of entries down to three. Bad trade almost caused Holme Silver Band to collapse in the 1880's, when several bandsmen left the area in order to try and find work. In 1886, Cleckheaton Victoria band were forced to stop contesting because they

had no money for entry fees and travel payments after a depression in the local carpet industry. Again in 1895, the Brass Band News commented that:

"Bands around Batley and Dewsbury are hard put to just now. It has been a hard winter, and support is slack. Batley Old fight a good fight for existence, but they have to fight. Trade is bad and work is slack, and bands get disheartened" 175.

Overall, societies learnt to live with the unpleasant facts of economic life and showed remarkable resilience. But, from the early years of the 20th century, the financial position of the labouring population declined quite sharply. The period after 1850, although often fraught with periods of economic depression, witnessed a substantial increase in real wages. However, from about 1900, in Britain as a whole, real wages stopped rising and in some areas, particularly after 1908, may have actually fallen, as an increase in the cost of imports forced prices up¹⁷⁶. In the staple trades of West Yorkshire, miners perhaps continued to make financial gains, but in the woollen textile trade, there was no sign of any improvement in real wages, although as has already been stated, it is virtually impossible to make valid generalisations about as complex a situation as that which existed in the industry¹⁷⁷. Certainly, the degree of labour unrest in the period 1910-1913, including the astonishing occurrence of a major strike at that paragon of textile industry paternalism, John Foster's Black Dyke Mills, suggests at least the feeling amongst the West Yorkshire working class that their financial position was being eroded¹⁷⁸.

The financial problems engendered by this economic change were intensified by the simultaneous withdrawal of interest in popular musical culture by a significant sector of the local middle classes. This was West Yorkshire's equivalent of Reading's "withdrawal of the vice-presidential strata"; while those members of the middle class who were in vice-presidential and similar positions appear to have remained loyal to their particular choirs and bands, the number of middle class subscribers began to diminish in number at a dramatic rate. The choral society, always the largest utiliser of the subscription suffered worst. The Leeds Philharmonic Society had some 601 subscribers in 1897-1898; by 1903-1904, this number had decreased slightly to 566, but by 1914, it had fallen to approximately 400¹⁷⁹.

Nor were they alone in their difficulties. As early as 1905, the Huddersfield Glee and Madrigal Society were complaining of falling subscriptions, while in 1911, the annual report of the Leeds Choral Union noted that "the list of subscribers (was) still far from satisfactory". There was also much concern about audience size in general, with several societies admitting to continual disappointment at the public's response to their offerings¹⁸⁰.

These difficulties might have been overcome, had they not coincided with a period when societies faced escalating costs. Transport, the initial cheapness of which had provided such a spur to musical development from the 1850's, became increasingly expensive after 1900. Brass bands suffered considerably from the decision by the railway companies to remove the concessionary fare in 1900. This inevitably met much opposition, but the railways refused to be swayed, and their decision made contesting in particular a far more expensive pastime¹⁸¹. Choirs, although never sharing the advantage of special rates, felt the overall effect of increased prices and at least one major Yorkshire choir stopped competing because the increase in travel costs, not in any way met by a commensurate increase in prize money, made the business far too expensive¹⁸². Competition choirs were also affected by the growing tendency of organisers to demand that choirs should learn more than one test piece; by 1914, it was often necessary to purchase the music for as many as four pieces, and this could cost a choir almost £2 for each contest. Clearly, the price for switching the competitive emphasis away from "pot-hunting" toward a more demanding, more educative approach, was a considerable one. The secretary of a Leeds choir (40 voices) informed readers of the Musical Times in 1912 that his organisation had recently entered a competition at a major Lancashire festival at which they would have lost £9 8s. 0d. (and half a days's wages, as the competition involved a long journey) even if they had won 1st prize¹⁸³. At every level of local musical life, costs were rising in similar ways; fees for trainers, for professional musicians brought in to improve the quality of the orchestra, for hire of rehearsal facilities, all increased. What had never been a particularly lucrative pastime, was clearly becoming an expensive luxury.

The dual effect of rising costs and diminishing resources clearly retarded the expansion of local musical life. It prevented some

aspiring members from joining societies, and forced some existing members to leave. An ex-member of the Bradford Festival Choral Society remembers walking home after a general meeting had taken the decision to raise the membership fee from 5/- to 7/6d. per annum, with a tenor who told her with sad finality, "Well I am afraid its my last season I just can't pay another half crown"¹⁸⁴. Similarly, the rather strained financial situation of many in the community, meant that fewer people could contribute, or contribute as handsomely as normal, to local societies, and several brass bands in particular had severe financial problems as a result¹⁸⁵. Inevitably, this situation hardly encouraged the foundation of new societies, for the climate was clearly not ripe for expansion, when the existing bodies were so visibly struggling. The days of unbridled growth were over.

Many commentators felt that working class financial difficulties were intensified by the increasing pressures placed upon them, particularly by the expanding leisure industry, to part with what spare income they actually had. Philip Snowden argued this eloquently in his book The Living Wage, published in 1913.

"There has been an advance in the cost of living in another sense than by the increase in the price of commodities. New expenses have come into the category of necessities. The development of tramways, the coming of the halfpenny newspaper, the cheap but better class of music hall and the picture palace, the cheap periodicals and books, has added to the expenditure of the working classes, who cannot take advantage of these boons without incurring some little expense in sundries. The features of our advancing civilisation are always before the eyes of the working classes, and they fall into the habit of indulging in the cheaper ones These additional items of working class expenditure, coming out of wages which are stationary, make the struggle to live more intense, and compel a lessening of expenditure on absolute necessities"¹⁸⁶

The growth of the commercial entertainment industry was one of the most serious threats that voluntary organisations faced in the Edwardian period, challenging them for people's money and allegiance. It is unfortunate that lack of space prevented Dr. Yeo from analysing its growth in Reading, for here was "the growing and altering presence of capitalist ideology and organisational modes, in such areas as leisure" at its most influential¹⁸⁷. There had existed a nascent "industry" in the shape of the theatre, the pleasure fair, the broadside, even the early concert, since at least the mid 18th century, and it grew slowly but steadily throughout the early years of the 19th century¹⁸⁸. One of its most successful features, the music hall, had

been present in the larger Yorkshire towns since the 1850's. In a sense it had actually passed its peak by the late Edwardian period, with profits and attendance peaking somewhere in the 1890's¹⁸⁹. But in West Yorkshire two vital things happened in this period which made the medium an increased threat to the popular musical society.

Firstly, the music hall or variety theatre, as it was commonly called by this stage, had lost much of its stigma by the early 20th century. The industry was dominated from the 1890's by a small number of syndicates, who sought to maintain profit levels by attracting those members of the middle, and for that matter, the working classes, who had previously been repelled by the music hall's supposed association (often totally justified) with alcohol, prostitution and bawdy humour. Bars were banished from the body of the hall, new, exceedingly plush halls were built, and there was an increased emphasis on "family" acts, strongmen, ventriloquists, and tumblers as opposed to the singers and comedians who had predominated until the 1890's. As a result, people who might previously have eschewed the music hall, were now prepared to consider it as an entertainment¹⁹⁰. Alongside this, the syndicates began to open halls in the smaller towns, a break with previous policy, when halls had invariably been sited in the largest available centre of population. Music hall type entertainments had previously only been available to people in even as large a town as Keighley or Dewsbury in local public houses, or if they were prepared to make relatively expensive railway journeys into the nearest large town. This certainly happened to an extent: a correspondent to a Leeds newspaper as early as 1851 was terrified by the sight of the honest artisans of Horsforth, a small industrial village, piling into a railway train with the intention of visiting the recently opened Leeds Casino¹⁹¹. But such visits were presumably relatively infrequent for the majority, at least of the working classes, given the expense involved. However, after 1900, with the building of at least eight new variety theatres in places with a population of between 15-40,000, many more people than ever before had music hall entertainment very close at hand¹⁹².

These new initiatives within the music hall industry, although impressive, were nevertheless almost eclipsed by the expansion of the cinema. West Yorkshire's first taste of moving pictures probably came in October 1896, when the Lumiere Brothers Cinematographe Exhibition visited Rowley's Empire, a Huddersfield music hall. (It is duly

reported that during the showing of Arrival of a Train at Coitot Station, people began a panicky rush for the exits, something which apparently happened not simply in Huddersfield, but wherever the film was shown)¹⁹³. The bioscope, as the early film shows were known, became common especially in fairground booths and as a novelty attraction at the music hall from about this time, and most larger towns had some type of reasonably regular filmshow in a public hall by the early 1900's. The real boom, however, came in the last five years before World War One. In 1908, Bradford had only two regular cinematic venues. By 1914, it had at least 12, situated either in pre-existing halls or in the purpose-built "Electric Theatres" and "Theatre-de-Luxes" that began to emerge from this period. Smaller communities benefited just as much. Holmfirth, with a population of approximately 9,000 in 1911, had two "picture palaces", while Hebden Bridge, population approximately 7,000 also had two regular halls, Blake's "Alhambra" and "The Royal", known affectionately and descriptively as "The Wooden Hut"¹⁹⁴. By 1914, there were at least 3,500 cinemas in England, of which some 100-150 were situated in the Yorkshire textile region¹⁹⁵. With their relatively low admission prices, and their emergence not merely in the city but in rural or semi-rural areas, they attracted a public probably largely untouched by the existing commercial entertainment industry; this, along with their dramatic rate of growth, made them arguably the most astonishing development in the field of popular recreation that Britain had ever known¹⁹⁶.

Although far less permanent in its impact than either the cinema or music hall, the Edwardian roller-skating craze deserves at least a brief mention in this study, for it reached epidemic proportions between 1909 and 1911, and undoubtedly caused concern to all those seeking to maintain the younger generation within the ranks of a particular voluntary organisation. Rinks appeared all over the West Riding, with relatively small towns such as Brighouse (21,000 in 1911) managing to support one, and for short periods, two rinks¹⁹⁷. Young skaters, anxious to show off their skills, developed a range of activities associated with the sport, and there were even several roller hockey leagues in the area for a brief period. Skating was blamed by many music hall managements for a fall in profits during this period, and the pastime might have become a permanent, dominant feature of British youth culture, had not the emerging cinema proved a slightly more attractive proposition.

The final crucial component in the growth of commercial leisure from the late 19th century, was spectator sport. Only recently acknowledged by social historians as being a subject worthy of their attentions, its progress surely represents one of the most fundamental social changes of the period¹⁹⁸. Like the music hall, spectator sport was not a novel feature of the Edwardian landscape. Large crowds of paying customers had been known at sports events since the later 18th century, and it was estimated that as many as 30,000 people may have watched the major prize fights of the first quarter of the 19th century. The originality of the situation from the late 19th century onwards, lay in the regularity with which large crowds gathered to watch their chosen favourites¹⁹⁹. A wide range of sports, including athletics, cycling, swimming, boxing and even bowls, were attracting quite sizable crowds from the 1890's, but there were three major forms which received the greatest degree of patronage: cricket, rugby and soccer.

Of these three, there is only room here to deal with the latter. By 1914, Association Football clearly enjoyed the allegiance of the majority of winter sports spectators, in the textile region. It was not until after 1900 that the game had really established itself in the area. Although writers on football history tend to make generalised noises about the initial growth of the game being in "industrial areas", two specific areas, Lancashire and the Midlands, witnessed the first real flush of enthusiasm. Of the 12 founder members of the Football League in 1888, six (Accrington Stanley, Blackburn Rovers, Bolton Wanderers, Burnley, Everton and Preston North End), came from Lancashire, with all but Everton coming from a relatively small geographical area, three (Aston Villa, West Bromwich and Wolverhampton) from the West Midlands, and three (Derby County, Notts County and Stoke City) from the North Midlands²⁰⁰. West Yorkshire's initial love was for rugby and in some areas - notably in the heavy woollen district - it has maintained its foremost position to this day. When W. B. Crump, a league vice-president, presented Bradford City with the F. A. Cup in 1911, he went as far as to claim that it was "a wonderful thing that the West Riding of Yorkshire, where association football was scarcely known ten years ago, should provide a team for the final of the cup"²⁰¹.

Once established, the game was to become a major feature of contemporary social life. Stephen Yeo, who through his discussion of Reading F.C., has provided us with one of the few detailed views of an individual professional club during the early 20th century, has painted a fairly depressing picture of the club's existence. Faced with continual monetary crisis and poor attendance, the directors berated the public for their apathy, and even contemplated dissolution²⁰². But Reading Football Club in fact represent one of the most untypical examples of the professional soccer club at this time, that any historian could seek to study. Dr. Yeo believes that Reading can in crucial ways stand for Britain as a whole, a place "peculiarly appropriate for working towards a contextual view of the situation and experience of religious and other organisations"²⁰³. But in this one area at least, Reading far from typified the national experience. A struggling Southern League side, situated in an area with very little footballing tradition, Reading F.C.'s particular history is in direct opposition to the general development of the English football club at this time. By 1914, there were four fully professional clubs from the Yorkshire textile area in the Football League: Bradford Park Avenue (joined 1908), Bradford City (joined 1903), Leeds City (1905), and Huddersfield Town (1910). These four teams attracted spectators on an impressive scale, showing few of the problems exhibited by their counterpart in Reading. Bradford City were the region's only successful team at this time, spending most of the period 1903-1914 in the First Division, and usually finishing in a respectable position, as well as winning the F. A. Cup in 1910-1911. The other three sides spent most of their Edwardian career in the Second Division. As would be expected, Bradford City attracted the largest individual attendances. 40,000 people contrived to get into their ground at Valley Parade in March 1911, to see their F. A. Cup quarter final with Burnley, with 35,000 paying admission in the same year to see a decisive league game with Blackburn Rovers²⁰⁴. But it was not simply the successful teams that drew large crowds. Relatively unimportant matches could attract good attendances, especially if the opposition was attractive, and thus Chelsea's visit to Bradford Park Avenue in a Second Division match in April 1911, drew a 20,000 crowd. Even a totally unimportant Second Division match between 16th placed Huddersfield Town and 13th placed Glossop, drew

6,000 people to Huddersfield's ground in the same month²⁰⁵. Certainly, these clubs had periods of difficulty, particularly during a run of bad results, and money was never exactly plentiful. Football clubs have traditionally relied on transfer fees rather than money gained through the turnstiles for the bulk of their available revenue, however, and thus this situation, in an era before large fees became common, is not entirely unexpected. But overall, the growth of interest in professional football can only be described as spectacular.

Neither were footballers and football teams mere entertainers: they rapidly became the objects of intense loyalty and enthusiasm. An extreme example of this is afforded by the riotous jubilation exhibited by Bradfordians when Bradford City won the F. A. Cup in April 1911, by beating Newcastle United 1-0 in a replay at Old Trafford. (Lawrence, the Newcastle goalkeeper, helped considerably by allowing one of City's few shots to go between his legs and into the goal). The joy of the populace was unbounding.

"Everybody appeared to be out in the street, and the centre of the city, turn where you would, was seething with an enthusiastic, excited throng. People of all classes, and well-nigh all ages, were there The multitude surged and swayed in Town Hall Square, Forster Square and Peel Square, and almost every street converging into those centres was so densely crowded as to be practically impassible The open space in front of the Exchange Station was a solid mass of people, some of whom perched on walls or swarmed up lamp-posts in order to catch a glimpse of the cup which Speirs, sitting beside the driver, proudly held up so that all who looked might see. The cheering swept through the street in waves, and the teeming populace seemed almost frantic with joy. It was an amazing scene which those tired players looked down upon in the course of their triumphal progress through the centre of the city, and one that will not easily be forgotten".

All this, despite the fact that there was not a Yorkshireman in the side!²⁰⁶

The great take off the leisure industry was given a substantial boost by the revolution in urban transport which took place from the late 19th century. Until the 1880's, the majority of the population travelled about their immediate locality on foot, or, less commonly, in a waggonette owned by a private coaching company. But in the last two decades of the century, crucial changes were taking place. As early as 1871, Leeds Corporation built and leased out a tramway

running from the city centre to Headingley, and although other towns were slow in adopting this method of transport, by the mid 1880's, tramways were becoming relatively common²⁰⁷. The earliest trams were all horsedrawn, but as early as 1882, only a year after the first tramway had opened there, Bradford Corporation, faced with improbably steep hills all around the city centre, began to use steam trams, an innovation followed by most towns over the next decade²⁰⁸. Electrification was obviously the next step, with Leeds again the pioneers, installing their first electric trams in 1891. By the early 1900's, electrification was widespread, although steam trams were never completely ousted before 1914²⁰⁹. Bradford also began to use a small number of trolley buses from 1911, and in the outlying regions, a few hardy characters were even experimenting with motor buses²¹⁰. By the Edwardian era, the textile region enjoyed the benefits of a well developed road transport system. By 1910, Bradford employed over 1,000 people to operate and maintain their 239 cars, while Leeds Corporation could claim to have carried almost 80 million passengers²¹¹. The main joy of the tramway was its cheapness. In 1903, both Leeds and Bradford Corporations decided to instigate a maximum fare of 2d. and in these towns at least, it therefore became possible to travel distances of several miles, extremely cheaply²¹². It also penetrated some relatively isolated areas, thus accelerating the process by which villages became drawn into the orbit of the bigger centres of population. By 1911, Huddersfield Corporation steam trams had progressed as far up the Colne Valley as Marsden, a village some 7 miles from Huddersfield town centre²¹³. For the purveyors of mass entertainment, such developments were critical. Their potential, regular catchment area was vastly increased and they were quick to make use of this new facility, by siting tramstops as near as possible to their doors. For the organisers of musical societies and other voluntary bodies the transport revolution was merely abetting what was to become in time their mortal enemy²¹⁴.

This massive growth of leisure provision, transformed the recreational structure of the region. Whole new areas of activity were now on offer to the public, and the pre-existing leisure institutions were swiftly exposed to their competition. As early as 1893, a writer in the Brass Band News expressed concern that too many bandsmen spent winter Saturday afternoons watching (or presumably

playing) football, instead of parading and raising money for the band²¹⁵. By the 1900's, the complaints were increasing. Roller rinks caused a serious problem, not so much because they caused a loss of interest in music, but because rink managements attracted many bandsmen away from amateur bands by offering them paid engagements in the rink bands²¹⁶. While roller skating presented a particularly tangible problem, amateur musicians sensed that other new leisure pursuits were causing them problems. The baneful effect of the cinema was given as a major reason why one band's junior organisation had to break up due to lack of interest in 1911, while at least one choral society placed the blame for falling attendances squarely at the cinema's door²¹⁷. Obviously, it is dangerous to take these contemporary evaluations at face value. Dedicated men saw problems of growth and recruitment on a national scale facing them for the first time, and in looking around for explanations, inevitably turned their venom on the latest "fads" of the younger generation. Undoubtedly, many young men could and did visit the cinema, support a football team, go roller skating and still remain a committed member or supporter of a band or choir. Furthermore, the new entertainment media and the old, often forged a relatively happy co-existence. Brass bands regularly provided pre-match entertainment at sporting events and were sometimes hired, as was Brighthouse Temperance band in 1910, to play through the town, advertising the presence of a particular cinema, and to play in the interval during its programme²¹⁸. But at the same time, the new leisure pursuits must have caused many to change their habits.

The critical importance of these new features, and the cinema and to a lesser extent professional football in particular, was the attraction they had for the younger generation. By 1914, approximately 30% of cinema audiences were alleged to be under 18 years of age, and although there are no statistics available on football crowds, it is probable that a substantial proportion were males under the age of about 25²¹⁹. Many contemporaries feared for the morality and fitness of the nation's future workforce, feeling that Britain's young manhood was about to be turned into a race of passive onlookers. Baden-Powell, who had no objection to football as a game to play, claimed that "it is a vicious game when it draws crowds of lads away from playing the game themselves to be merely onlookers at a few paid performers". He drew a graphic picture of a football crowd comprising, "thousands of

boys and young men, pale, narrow-chested, hunched-up, miserable specimens, smoking endless cigarettes, numbers of them betting, all of them learning to be hysterical as they groan or cheer in panic unison with their neighbours"²²⁰. The darkness of the cinema, with the opportunities it provided to the straying hands of courting couples, worried many even more, and many cinema proprietors employed some form of vigilante patrol to curb any amatory tendencies amongst the audience²²¹. While much of the criticism directed at mass entertainment was somewhat misguided, in a vital sense it did threaten the old style of voluntary organisation, such as the brass band and the choir. They depended upon a regular supply of interested young people to maintain their existence, people to play and sing or to be willing supporters. By the late Edwardian period they were faced with a serious threat. There were, after all, for most people, only limited hours of leisure and, as Snowden pointed out, only a very small amount of surplus money, and there were choices now available that had been lacking in the 19th century. The cinema, the football match, the variety palace, and a considerable appeal, offering an excitement and a sense of freshness and novelty that the band and choir could not always match. Banding or choral singing perhaps began to appear dated, a little too parochial alongside these attractions. This was perhaps particularly the case in the smaller towns and villages, where commercial leisure was becoming available on a large scale for the first time. Local bands and choirs had provided a significant amount of the community's entertainment, but now new potent forms were challenging them. In those small communities in particular, musicians had often been heroes and focuses for local patriotism (and many still were and still are), but there were now new heroes, Tom Mix on the cinema screen, Jim Speirs and his team mates at Valley Parade, coming to challenge them. Against such seductive opposition, there was perhaps not a great deal the musical society could do.

Dr. Yeo's "contextual factors" clearly help explain the problems faced by voluntary organisations in West Yorkshire (even though such aspects of contemporary life as the growth of professional football enjoyed radically different histories in Reading and Bradford). But there remain two other areas of social change that have to be considered, changes which suggest that Yeo's analysis, penetrating though it is, needs to be extended further before we reach a full appreciation of the

problems ranged against musical and other voluntary bodies. Of undoubted importance was the changing place of religion in local society. The agonising over apathy, shortage of money, dwindling congregations and the other problems facing religious organisations, so well documented by Messrs. Macleod and Yeo, was as common in West Yorkshire as in any other part of Britain. In 1904, at the opening of Eastbrook Hall, a Wesleyan mission chapel sited in one of the poorest quarters of Bradford, the Reverend Marshall Hartley, President of the Methodist Conference, "Confessed that he sometimes felt a little anxious about the Methodism of this particular district of the connexion. It was said generally throughout the connexion that the Methodism of the city was not what it used to be; that there was not the same heart for devotion, the same liberality and the same success in Bradford and the surrounding circuits that there used to be. He hoped that this was all untrue". The Reverend Silvester Whitehead, a minister in neighbouring Shipley, claimed that to an extent, it was, for "there was a great deal of heart, vigour, and enthusiasm in the Methodism of Bradford still", although he conceded that "the condition of things had not been what it might be"²²². Other cities and towns were also feeling dissatisfied. A local minister told a Leeds Wesleyan circuit meeting in Holbeck Chapel, that: "They needed a revival; they wanted Christianity in Leeds, was the revival going to happen in the Holbeck circuit?" (There are no signs that it did). In Dewsbury, the congregation of the Parish Church were accused of financial "apathy". During the course of their annual general meeting at Cullingworth, between Bradford and Keighley, the Craven District of the Yorkshire Baptist Association informed the world that their chapels were going through a difficult period, although they hoped it was due to bad trade²²³.

Dr. Yeo's "contextual" approach has illustrated that religious organisations were not alone in their problems and their worries, and his provocative analysis questions some of our more confident assertions about the so-called "decline of religion". But it is inescapable, that in terms of sheer brute numbers, many religious organisations were in "decline" from about the late 19th century. In West Yorkshire, there were fears from about 1906 that the fall in numbers was irresistible, and Bradford Wesleyan Methodist Council breathed a very large sigh of relief when in 1913 the steady numerical

decline in the size of Bradford Wesleyanism witnessed in the previous six years, was arrested. However, as they soberly reminded readers of the Bradford Methodist, "we have a long way to go before we get back to the numbers of 1906"²²⁴. Similar sentiment could be expressed about the county as a whole. In 1909 alone, the five Wesleyan districts within Yorkshire lost over 1,700 members²²⁵. Certainly, as Dr. Yeo and many contemporaries pointed out, there was a great deal more to religion than the mere counting of heads. But for certain types of voluntary society, and for the choral society in particular, the loss of numbers was fundamental. The choral society was intimately connected with church and chapel, drawing upon their choirs and congregations for members. When the religious organisations lost members, it is quite likely that the choral society lost them too, and the picture of declining numbers outlined in Section I of this chapter owes at least a certain amount to this process. The pattern becomes clearer if it is looked at over a longer time span. In the 1890's, the Huddersfield Choral Society had some 400 members; in the late 1970's, it has between 200 and 220. Obviously there are many factors at work here, but one of the most fundamental, and one recognised by the society itself, is simply the decline in size of the chapel and church choir and congregation²²⁶. The process was only beginning in the Edwardian period, but its long term implications were extremely serious. Once its recruitment ground became seriously eroded, the choral tradition was bound to suffer.

Concomitant with the numerical decline, and arguably even more significant, from the point of view of particularly the choral society, was the emergence of a more tolerant, liberal theology from the 1870's. At first this benefited the choral movement and helped underpin its late 19th century expansion. But, in the final analysis, the erosion of high Victorian evangelicalism was merely the prelude to the decline of not simply religious observance, but much of the outward religious sentiment that had previously characterised society. This process could only weaken such a religious-centred movement as the choral movement. In many areas of recreation, the removal of claustrophobic religious mores proved to be a liberating force. It is hard to conceive of the explosion of leisure activities, some of which have been outlined already, taking place in the mid-Victorian religious climate. But the choral society, and particularly the large, oratorio-

centred concert societies were bound to suffer from the secular drift. The choral concert had provided respectable, religious Victorians with a suitable form of entertainment. In the altering atmosphere, such a form was no longer as necessary and no longer as attractive, as a whole range of more interesting possibilities emerged. This quite probably affected the middle classes, who had the largest amount of surplus income to spend on newly available pursuits, the most, and it is surely a major cause for the declining subscription lists and membership rolls that so worried and weakened the larger Edwardian choral societies. In August 1914, a writer in the magazine Musical Progress, commenting on the falling subscriptions of one of the Leeds choral societies, blamed golf, motor cars, picture palaces, and gramophones (along with high seat prices), for the society's problem. 40 years earlier, such frivolities, even if available, would have been frowned upon in religious, middle class Leeds, and the oratorios of the Leeds Philharmonic would have been regarded as an altogether more suitable recreation. By 1914, such attitudes were crumbling. The choral movement was in difficulties not simply because of "contextual factors" which affected all voluntary bodies, but because of the specific "crisis" of religion itself.

The description "crisis" applied to the voluntary organisation, conjures at first sight an image of disintegration, of institutions collapsing and disbanding. In fact, in West Yorkshire, one of the major causes of their problems was their large and ever increasing number, and this is the second factor which we need to add to Yeo's list. Problems arose not merely because of the socio-economic context, but because of an over-zealous attempt to meet the exigencies of that context. In West Yorkshire, as in most areas of the country, the 1890's and 1900's saw, for example, an overall growth in the number of sports clubs. It was not merely a matter of the pre-existing sport, rugby league, cricket, soccer, and so forth expanding in number, but new sports such as cycling, billiards and bowls were developing and gaining adherents. There was growth in other areas. A further development of great significance, because of its centring on the young, was the foundation of the many Youth Movements that took place in the early 20th century. The Scout Movement, founded in 1910, found adherents in many upper working class homes in West Yorkshire, while the Church Lads Brigade provided a suitable organisation for the less affluent²²⁷. Many of these movements were attached to religious

institutions, and as they, and the fellowships, improvement societies, literary clubs, drama clubs and suchlike organisations illustrate, although facing diminishing membership, church and chapel were continually seeking to extend their range of religio-recreational institutions. Similarly, the recreational penumbra attached to political institutions such as the Independent Labour Party and the Co-operative Movement, expanded considerably during the period. Overall, there were an increasing number of societies competing for a virtually static market, and it was inevitable that some organisations would lose at least some members. A member of the Church Street Quakers Monthly Meeting Institute in Reading, recognised this problem, at least as it operated within his own church, when in 1910 he blamed low attendances at the institute upon "the increasing number of meetings and organisations in which Friends are interested"²²⁸. But it had a wider application, and deserves greater consideration as a factor in the overall crisis in Edwardian voluntarism. The musical society probably suffered to an extent from this proliferation of alternatives, as members, potential members and supporters were given an ever widening choice of leisure pursuits, often in direct conflict with the needs of the musical organisation. Saturday afternoon was the focus for participation in football and cricket matches, just as it was for competitions and many engagements. Again, the spare hours of the evening housed the scout meeting and the rugby practice, just as it provided time for the band rehearsal. There had always been alternatives, rivals to the musical society, but never in such profusion; and these new additions added their weight to the confluence of forces within contemporary society undermining the choral and band movements.

The problems facing local musical societies were not taken entirely passively. There were attempts by several writers to stimulate a degree of self-criticism amongst musical organisations, and ensure that something was done. W. G. Rothery, a London schools inspector exhorted societies to "put their shoulders to the wheel", and find out what was happening, and to try to stop it²²⁹. In the last analysis, most people felt that their salvation had to lie in their music. It has been argued that brass bands in particular suffered poor support after 1900 because of their musical conservatism. But, while there is some truth in the allegations of conservatism, they are unfair to

the bands who were, albeit slowly, breaking out of the 19th century pattern²³⁰. At the same time, it is noteworthy that even the choirs, many of whom were performing new and adventurous and technically demanding works, were experiencing similar problems. In fact, it is quite possible that the new choral repertoire was a root cause of these difficulties. There were cases of mass resignations over committees' decisions to impose "new" music upon a reluctant choir²³¹. In the same way, one imagines that the new repertoire was not always to the liking of the audiences that the societies relied upon for support. The composer was gradually beginning to lose contact with some singers and with the local community. The choral society had begun as a product of community life, its largely religious flavour, its espousal of music which, for all other failings, usually possessed a strong tune, was closely related to contemporary taste. By 1914, choral music was becoming an increasingly specialist interest; the division between contemporary "art" music and the mass of society, so noticeable today, had its root in Edwardian England. Both music and society were to suffer. Similarly, the technical levels being accomplished by some of the organisations, both vocal and instrumental, by 1914, may have had the effect of frightening away potential musicians and organisations. Was it worth trying, when the top bands won all the prizes, and dominated so many of the available bookings? The standards had possibly become too high, and there was little room for the more casually-based societies who had survived in less skilful days.

It has to be stressed that the "decline" of the West Yorkshire musical tradition had reached only its earliest stages by 1914. In comparison with the situation which appertains in the late 20th century, the number of organisations in existence was vast, and their place in local society far more central. But decline there was, and it had begun, like so many other social changes often ascribed to the ramifications of the First World War, several years before 1914. Numerous social changes were influencing the recreational choices of the younger generation and affecting the nature of amateur musical life. Even if the First World War had been avoided, even if the further expansion and development of the cinema, and the development

of the radio had not taken place in the 1920's and 1930's, the bands and choirs of West Yorkshire would have faced problems of recruitment and finance, as sections of their traditional support began to look elsewhere for their leisure activities.

That these events did take place made the situation one of genuine crisis. The First World War disrupted local musical life, as it disrupted all aspects of social life. By December 1915, over 6,500 brass bandsmen alone had volunteered for the services. In some places, whole bands joined up, while it was common for bands to lose perhaps 6 men at a time. Many bands struggled on, managing to recruit young boys to take the place of their elders. Others collapsed, or found themselves seriously short of members²⁸². The picture is similar in other areas of musical life. It would clearly have taken a lengthy period to recover from such adversity. The crackle of Radio 2LO and the dulcet tones of Al Jolson and his counterparts, emerging from numberless gramophones and cinema loudspeakers, ensured that the period was not long enough.

Chapter Five

The Making of Music

1) Types of Performance

Over the course of the 19th century, the role of the musical community in West Yorkshire underwent a major transformation. In the early decades, music making tended to be informal and those societies that did exist, were as much clubs for enthusiasts, as they were public entertainers. Concerts, for example, other than those for subscribers and friends, were comparatively irregular, small scale events. By the end of the 19th century, from being rather private, insular institutions, choirs and bands had become a major element in local social life. The decrease in working hours and the slight but significant rise in real wages gained by the working classes, greatly invigorated the recreational climate, resulting in the emergence of a whole range of social events at which the talents of the musical society could be displayed. Even in an age when the leisure entrepreneur was emerging as a crucial force, the local community was still able to produce and still willing to cherish its own entertainers, on a remarkably large scale.

Clearly, not every type of performance can be neatly categorised as "entertainment". The brass band at a Sunday School anniversary or trade union demonstration, was taking part in local community ritual rather than providing music for amusement. The musical competition too was something more than entertainment. For the musicians and their close supporters it was a serious affair, and for some perhaps the *raison d'être* of their involvement in musical life. To an extent, the competition was thus a specialist, insular activity. But at the same time, competitions invariably drew large crowds, which were sometimes looking for little more than a pleasant day's relaxation. The Yorkshire Post claimed that for the 6,000 people at Hawes Choral and Brass Band Contest of 1899, "The whole business ... partook the nature of a huge picnic", with the crowd "lounging in the shade of the trees lining the rocky bed of the now greatly diminished stream, or basking in fierce sunlight", listening "in but listless fashion to the music"¹. Ultimately, even in what at first sight might appear as their more inward looking moments, the choirs and bands were in fact forming a central component in the local entertainment structure.

The formal concert loomed large in the public activities of all forms of musical society and indeed for both the large scale choral

society and the amateur orchestra, it provided the main form of contact with the wider community. Certainly, even as late as 1914, the constitutions of many choral societies proclaimed that their purpose was still "the study and practice of vocal music" and in a certain sense this was correct. Rehearsals provided members with musically educative experiences, and there was a general appreciation that there was more to the societies' existence than mere public performance². However, it is significant that after 1850, rehearsals were no longer eclectic and self-selected as they had been in the past, but were orientated almost solely towards the perfection of music for public consumption and, in general, from the mid 19th century, the concert dominated the philosophy of the choral movement. The habit of giving concerts usually began either because of a desire to show off combined with the desire to entertain the community, as illustrated by the Keighley Choral Society in their concert noted above³, or for purely economic motives. The Huddersfield Choral Society, for example, began giving an annual public concert in the 1840's in order to pay the rental for their rehearsal building. But as the century progressed, the economic necessity, while never entirely obliterated, was subsumed by a general feeling that concerts were simply the "done thing"⁴. In many ways, this was simply a reflection of a tendency prevalent in all aspects of British musical life⁵. But alongside this, societies were increasingly pointed in a more public direction by those eminent local professional musicians who had begun to take an active part in their activities from about 1850. In 1859, Huddersfield Choral Society appointed Robert Senior Burton, organist of Leeds Parish Church, as their conductor. Eventually, like virtually every society who dealt with this vain, idiosyncratic individual, they were to regret their association, but at this stage, they welcomed his prestigious appointment and agreed to pay him £25 per annum. This new financial exigency immediately necessitated a second public concert beside the one to meet their rent bill, and Burton himself was quick to add to the number. By the early 1860's, the society was giving four concerts a year, concerts of a more grandiose nature than had ever been attempted by his predecessors⁶. Increasingly, the local musicians who comprised the society's orchestra were supplemented and sometimes supplanted by professionals from

orchestras, and notably the Halle. National and even international vocal stars, including Henry Philips, Sims Reeves and Madam Adele Patti were engaged alongside and again often instead of the local singers and society members who had served as soloists in the earlier period⁷. This type of expansion took place not merely in Huddersfield, but in choral societies throughout the region. It was of course very much in the interest of men such as Burton in Huddersfield, William Spark in Leeds, or William Jackson in Bradford to encourage this new policy; as professionals they obviously sought the highest level of performance, but at the same time, their reputations were enhanced by such missionary activity. That these rather expensive projects became viable, illustrates that in general there was no real antagonism between the professional conductor and either the musicians themselves or the wider public. The members seem to have readily accepted their more public position, while local citizens were persuaded by considerations of either a musical, social or "civic pride" nature, to attend in considerable numbers⁸. In this way, the mid-Victorian choral society moved from its essentially insular, private existence to a place in public life. By the end of the 1860's, the pattern for the rest of the century had been irreversibly set.

The brass band and associated organisations were never to be quite as involved in concert hall activity as the choirs or orchestras. Certainly, most bands held an annual concert in order to raise money and by the 1890's, a handful of major brass bands regularly toured the country giving celebrity recitals⁹. But in general their concert giving activity was of what contemporaries lovingly referred to as the "al fresco" variety, in public parks, at flower shows, football matches and on seaside piers. Initially, the bands' avoidance of the concert hall may well have stemmed from the size of their repertoire, which was often neither large nor varied enough to provide suitable concert material. A further consideration was the sheer volume of sound a brass band could make, and many commentators, having been suitably deafened, considered that this rendered them totally unsuited to indoor performance¹⁰. In general, they were clearly better suited to the needs of outdoor performance than any other form of musical organisation, using instruments which could be played on the move (it would be rather difficult to march with a

cello!), which could, if wanted, make plentiful noise, and were less likely to go out of tune in the open air than most other types¹¹. Not all their engagements involved "concert" style performance. Rather, they often provided "incidental" music at ceremonies commemorating the opening of railways, reservoirs and schools, at village feasts and celebrations, or at political demonstrations and gatherings. Some of the less competent bands, in fact, never progressed beyond this stage while the majority of bands continued to perform this kind of function throughout the period. A communal occasion with no brass band was no occasion at all. But for better class organisations, the 19th century saw the rise of what to many people typifies the brass band movement - the public park concert.

Bands had given a certain number of open air concerts from the earlier days, but it was something that did not really gain any prominence until the mid 1850's. This take off was the direct result of the intense debate over the use of Sundays which marked the later years of this decade. Most of the Sabbatarian - secularist conflicts of the period (the Sunday Trading riots of 1855, the founding of the N.S.L., Walmsley's agitation for the Sunday opening of the British Museum), have been fairly well documented by historians¹². But alongside these, the lesser known issue of Sunday band performances generated a considerable degree of contemporary dissent. The issue began in Spring 1856 when Sir Benjamin Hall, Commissioner of Woods and Forests, gave permission for a number of band performances to be held on Sunday afternoons in London. At first, Lord Palmerston's government took no notice, but as the Anglican establishment, led by the Archbishop of Canterbury, began to rattle their swords, the London concerts at least were outlawed¹³. But the idea had captured the imagination of secularists in other areas of the country. Here, they argued, was a perfect vehicle for rational amusement, a chance for the working classes to hear good music and enjoy fresh air at the same time.

West Yorkshire was one of the many areas caught up in the activity, and Leeds in particular was to become heavily involved. A small group of local secularists organised a series of Sunday concerts on Woodhouse Moor, an open space known locally as "the lungs of Leeds"¹⁴. The concerts inevitably became a major focus for antagonistic religious and political groupings within local society.

The leading campaigner against the concerts was Edward Baines, M.P. for Leeds, and editor of the local Leeds Mercury which became almost a Sabbatarian broadsheet at times during that summer¹⁵. The Leeds Rational Recreation Society, a philanthropic body dedicated to undermining of the public house and related institutions by the provision of elevating alternatives, joined the Sabbatarian lobby and organised rival band concerts on Saturday nights, but although they attracted quite respectable attendances, they foundered by mid-August because of lack of finance¹⁶. On one occasion, a group of worshippers from the local Wesleyan Reform Churches marched in procession from Lady Lane Chapel to the Moor, where the Rev. Thomas Atkins warned the assembled revellers of the moral perils emanating from Sabbath desecration. Unfortunately, according to the lynx-eyed Mercury reporter, he only attracted some 315 listeners, while 1,376 witnessed the efforts of a rival secularist orator and 5,848 preferred the strains of the band¹⁷. The organisers retaliated by attacking "those who in an unwise spirit of puritanical gloom, seek to prevent the people from enjoying even the most innocent recreation on the Sunday", and their reported attendances of 15,000 on some occasions suggest that their initiative was a popular one¹⁸. Strangely enough, despite the relative success of the concerts in Leeds and in some other areas, 1857 saw no repeat performance, possibly because the trade depression of that year simply meant that the necessary funds were not available.

The Sunday concerts of 1856 had, in the final analysis, been intended as a blow against Sabbatarianism, rather than a demand for brass bands as such. But their success in terms of attendance can hardly have failed to be noted by local politicians and moral reformers looking for methods of "useful" recreation, and in this sense they played a considerable part in the development of the public performance. In many areas, the battle specifically for Sunday bands had still not been won by 1914. In 1913, Bradford Corporation, for example, were to bow to pressure from local religious leaders, rather than to that exerted by some 30,000 signatories to a petition calling for Sunday concerts¹⁹. But while Sunday remained a vexed issue, by 1914 virtually every municipal park in the textile district enjoyed band concerts on one of the other six days, often financially assisted by the local council.

There had been a steady growth in park and open space concerts throughout the 1860's, but it was really from the early 1870's that they became commonplace. This was partly a response to the supposed leisure needs of a working population faced with more spare time after the shorter hours agitation of 1871-1873, and partly the result of a desire to make the fullest use of the often expensive public parks which multiplied so rapidly at this period²⁰. The impulse behind, and the organisation of, park concerts in most West Yorkshire towns, seems to have been similar to that exemplified by the concerts organised in Bradford in 1871. In May of that year, a number of eminent local citizens drawn from the ranks of the local merchants and manufacturers, and including two of the leading musical enthusiasts in the local German community, Andrew Schlesinger and J. Sönnenthal, approached the Council Parks Committee and asked if they might provide band music in Manningham and Peel parks²¹. The committee agreed and offered to provide platforms - eventually superseded in any self-respecting park by elegant wooden bandstands - and music stands²². The band committee in time provided a certain amount of money and also asked for donations from the public in attendance to be put in collection boxes or into great white sheets, and for the rest of the century, the amount of money which had been "put into the Sheets" became a matter for regular debate and discussion in the local press²³. Bradford's first concert was held in Manningham Park on Saturday 3rd June 1871 and featured Bramley Band who were listened to by "a large and well-dressed crowd" who braved "a cold wind". The band committee were anxious to ensure that the maximum respectability surrounded their events. The Bradford Observer commented that: "There was some dancing going on, but of a furtive and disconnected kind, it being understood that the committee objected"²⁴. By the beginning of the 1890's, Bradford had five public parks, and each one featured brass band music on at least one night per week during the summer. In 1891, the Bradford Observer felt able to pronounce that "in no other town in England is instrumental music of such order supplied to the same extent as in the parks of Bradford"²⁵.

There can be no doubting the popularity of these concerts and audiences sometimes reached extremely impressive proportions. Obviously, it was difficult to gauge a crowd accurately, particularly

one which was rather fluid, with a certain number of people listening for a period and then moving on, but contemporary estimates at least give some impression. It is not possible to ascertain "average" attendance, but the visits of successful bands produced crowds to rival and sometimes supersede those attracted to professional football matches. In 1891, an estimated crowd of over 10,000 saw a performance by Black Dyke Mills Band at Denholme, at a time when the population of the village was just over 6,000. The celebrated Besses o' th' Barn drew a crowd of 10-12,000 to the People's Park in Halifax in June 1895, while in the same summer at Saltaire Park, a similar crowd listened to Cornholme Band, a band from just inside the Lancashire border who were enjoying a brief period of competitive success²⁶. Obviously many of these listeners were of a fairly casual type, and there was often a certain "rowdy" element, comprising mainly of children, who were a source of great irritation to the rest of the audience. A reviewer of a concert held in Victoria Park, Keighley, commented acidly that; "The selections abounded with hidden melodies - hidden by the noise of the children playing round the bandstand"²⁷. But, overall, the sheer size of the crowds, even if the figures noted above were sometimes inflated, suggests that the band concert represented one of the most popular forms of contemporary entertainment.

For most of the 19th century, brass bands were the only type of institution utilised in park concerts, but from the turn of the century, there was a degree of diversification. Handbell ringers were featured on occasions, with Birstal St. Saviour's ringers attracting over 5,000 people to a concert in Bradford Moor Park in 1907, and even amateur orchestras appeared in the Leeds parks²⁸. Above all, there was a great growth of military band performances, and this to an extent undermined and in some areas usurped the brass band's premier position, in this area of musical life. This was noted in the British Bandsman as being a national phenomenon well advanced by 1910²⁹. By that time, some band committees in West Yorkshire were employing virtually no brass bands at all. A variety of reasons were put forward by observers claiming that the military bands were smarter, more reliable, or that they played a more up to date selection of music. Strangely, the band committees never really explained their actions, and this must remain one of those quirks of

taste which elude the historian's grasp. Overall, this would appear to be only a temporary phenomenon, and to this day, the park concert remains a central pillar of brass band culture.

ii) Instrumentation and Personnel

Accompanying the emergence of the amateur musical community as a major component in the local entertainment configuration, was both an expansion of numbers within the societies, and a continual process of change with regard to their musical formation and instrumentation. The brass band, usually between 10 and 16 strong in the 1850's, often had as many as 30 members by the late 19th century, although, for competitive purposes, a limit of 24 was established³⁰. The choral society provides a more spectacular case, with several West Yorkshire choirs growing from perhaps 40 or 50 members in the mid 19th century, to as many as 350 to 450 by the 1890's³¹. Even the handbell ringers, although remaining essentially static in terms of personnel, expanded in terms of instrumentation, with the bulk of the competitive bands at least, purchasing peals of some 170 bells, instead of the previous 50 to 100, from the late 19th and early 20th centuries³². Size was to become almost a fetish for some Victorian musicians. At least until about 1900, when a marked reaction developed, many contemporaries seem to have derived aesthetic pleasure from sheer weight of numbers. But there were other important considerations. Institutions of religious, political or moral reform, perhaps took the doctrine of numbers to its furthest limit, for a large choir could be held up as tangible proof of their missionary success. The largest gatherings were usually to be found at the Crystal Palace, which served as the annual rallying point of all manner of associations. The Co-operative Festival of 1898, included a performance by a massed choir which was over 7,000 strong³³. Obviously, this was a phenomenon somewhat beyond the confines of this study, but even the orthodox musical societies and the choirs in particular, were keen students of number. Any increase in number was regarded as a symbol of musical health and vitality, and committees were always proud to have as many members as possible.

But while these great increases in size were undoubtedly important, changes of instrumentation and structure were perhaps of more lasting musical significance. During the 19th century, entirely new forms of

musical organisation were developed, while existing forms were altered to suit new musical trends and possibilities. The brass band provides the clearest and most important example of a new genre within the popular musical tradition and demands particular attention. In the early 19th century, wind bands played all manner of instruments involving brass, reed and even strings, and resulted in combinations that would sound slightly odd to ears attuned to the distinctive blend of the 20th century brass band³⁴. There was also no "typical" line-up, for each band used whatever instrument the local community could lay claim to. Yet, by the 1880's, the instrumentation of the majority of bands (at least those outside the south and south-west of England, which clung far more closely to the use of reeds) was vitually identical to that of today³³. It was claimed by Enderby Jackson that the first all brass bands emerged in South Wales in 1832, at the villages of Blaina and of Pontybydurum, respectively. This remains to be proven, however, and in fact it has not even been ascertained that such a place as Pontybydurum ever existed³⁶. The first all brass ensemble whose existence can be corroborated, was in fact founded in York in 1833 by an ex-army bandsman and a member of the City Waits, and by the end of the year, a rival band had been established in the city³⁷. The first all brass band in West Yorkshire was possibly Bramley Temperance who abandoned their reed instruments in 1836³⁸. By the late 1850's, the supersession of reed by brass instruments within Yorkshire and the Northern counties in general was almost complete.

The early all brass bands, like the mixed ensembles before them, were in no way standardised. At the first Belle Vue Contest of 1853, for example, the 18 strong Bramley Band employed 2 D flat soprano cornets, 3 A flat cornets, 2 trumpets, 2 French horns, 3 trombones, 2 ophicleides and one unidentified instrument, called an A flat tenor cornet by the band's historian, but in all probability a variety of tenor saxhorn³⁹. Dewsbury Band, however, had only 11 members who played 3 keyed bugles, 2 cornopeans, 3 trombones and 3 ophicleides⁴⁰. As the structure of both bands illustrates, there was as yet no related family of brass instruments that bands drew upon. Rather, they simply utilised any available instrument and bandmasters had to try and arrange music to suit their band's idiosyncrasies. Moreover, there was an absence of a really satisfactory bass instrument. The

ophecleide undertook the majority of bass parts at this stage, but its bass range was relatively limited, and this, coupled with the band's fairly small size, must have resulted in a thinner, more "trebly" sound than that which we are used to⁴¹.

The leading melodic instrument in the first half of the 19th century was either the keyed bugle, or the cornet-à-pistons, or cornopean, as it was sometimes called. The keyed bugle, patented in 1810 by Joseph Halliday, bandmaster of the Cavan Regiment of Militia (Dublin), gained considerable popularity in both military and amateur bands over the following decades and altogether, some 50 British musical instrument makers produced versions of the instrument⁴². But from the late 1830's, its place as the leading instrument was gradually usurped by the cornet-à-pistons. This instrument, known by 1850 simply as the cornet, was first introduced into Britain in 1838 when a Dutch instrument by Ludwig Embach of Amsterdam, came into the hands of George MacFarlane, a Scottish infantry bandmaster⁴³. The cornet was one of several brass instruments which appeared in this period, as instrument makers began to explore the possibilities of the newly invented valve. The development of the valve clearly represents one of the most significant events in the history of brass instruments, at last solving the problem of chromaticism. The first successful exponents of the valve system were Heinrich Stölzel and Friedrich Blümel⁴⁴. A joint patent was awarded to these two Germans in 1818, although it is unknown which of the two actually made the breakthrough, both claiming the honour. The majority of cornet makers used their system at least until about 1840, when it was superseded by a method developed by the Frenchman, Francis Perinet, in 1839⁴⁵. With a few modifications, the Perinet system is still in use today.

Over the course of the period from 1850 to 1880, the problems of instrumentation facing the brass band were overcome and the standardised band that is essentially still with us today, emerged⁴⁶. Fundamental changes began in the 1850's when, with the widespread adoption of the saxhorn, bands began to use a "family" of instruments. The saxhorn was one of two complete and proportionately related sets of brass instruments, the other being the saxtromba, developed by Adolphe Sax, a Paris based instrument maker, in 1844 and 1845⁴⁷. There were seven types of instrument in the saxhorn family; the high soprano, soprano, contralto, tenor, baritone,

euphonium and contra-bass (or bombardon as it became known). The soprano and contralto horns became extremely popular in France and Belgium, but never seriously challenged the cornet in Britain⁴⁸. The other four instruments, however, were to become, along with the cornet and trombone, the basis of the British brass band. They owe their popularity in Britain partly to the Distin family, who used saxhorns in their highly successful concert tours of the late 1840's, and to the 1851 Crystal Palace Exhibition, which placed these instruments before both potential dealers and musicians⁴⁹. It is usually claimed that the first band known to be fully equipped with saxhorns was Mossley Band (who in fact enjoyed the full title of Mossley Saxhorn Band for a period in the 1850's), but if name alone is any guide, Fairbairn Lawson's Wellington Saxhorn band, a Leeds based works band founded in December 1851, may well in fact have that honour⁵⁰. But despite this, it is indisputable that Mossley exerted a considerable influence on behalf of the saxhorn, by dint of winning the 1853 Belle Vue Contest, and thus thrusting the instrument into public view. Mossley's success clearly inspired many bands to purchase saxhorns⁵¹.

By 1860, largely because of the adoption of the saxhorn, and the disappearance of the keyed bugle, standardisation had progressed to a remarkable degree. In that year, at the first Crystal Palace Band Festival, the organiser, Enderby Jackson, arranged a performance of massed bands involving 1,390 bandsmen and the construction of the band was as follows:

144	Soprano	Cornets
394		Cornets
205	Tenor	Horns
100	Baritone	Horns
74	Tenor	Trombones
75	Bass	Trombones
80	Ophecleides	
155	Bombardons	
2	BB ^b	basses
+ 26 side drums, 1 giant drum and 1 organ ⁵² .		

It is abundantly clear from this that the majority of bands were taking on a recognisably "modern" appearance. Obviously not every band made the move towards the standard line-up at the same time and to the same extent. In 1860, for example, Black Dyke still had an E flat clarinet and a French horn in their line-up and such idiosyncrasies were inevitable⁵³. Bands may have had expert musicians on older instruments and were unwilling to lose them by altering to the saxhorn. There were also fundamental financial considerations. The purchase of a new set of instruments was an extremely arduous financial task, which in fact forced several bands into bankruptcy and dissolution⁵⁴. The bass instruments in particular were extremely expensive and this is perhaps the reason why the ophecleide, for all its faults, remained relatively common until the early 1870's. The 1860's and early 1870's also saw the steady introduction of the Flügelhorn, a later addition to the saxhorn family, based originally on the keyed bugle, and the only saxhorn with a forward bell to become popular. Black Dyke were probably the first British band to use the instrument, which by the 1870's was becoming standard equipment⁵⁵.

By the middle 1870's, the brass band had all but taken on the shape it still retains over 100 years later, and the only further change before 1914 was the replacement of two of the flügelhorns by cornets in the 1880's⁵⁶. In their Amateur Band Teacher's Guide, published in 1889, Wright and Round gave a suggested line-up, which is in fact basically that followed by the majority of bands, with slight alterations depending on availability of personnel and instruments, to this day.

1 E ^b soprano cornet		1 1st tenor trombone
3 B ^b solo cornets		1 2nd tenor trombone
2 B ^b repiano cornets	} all capable of playing flügelhorn as necessary	1 bass trombone
2 B ^b 2nd cornets		2 B ^b euphoniums
2 B ^b 3rd cornets		2 B ^b bombardons
1 1st E ^b tenor horn		2 E ^b bombardons
1 2nd E ^b tenor horn		1 B ^b bass
1 3rd E ^b tenor horn		1 B ^b bass
1 1st B ^b baritone horn		+ drums (not used in contests) ⁵⁷
1 2nd B ^b baritone horn		

The dominance of brass was never absolute. A handful of mixed Reed and Brass ensembles continued throughout the 19th century, and there was actually something of an increase in their number, in the early years of the 20th century⁵⁸. But basically, the brass band became the norm. No one single factor adequately explains the centrality of brass. Obviously, brass instruments were bound to have passed into far greater usage in the early 19th century, for this was a fertile period for this particular musical branch. The development of the valve led to a rash of experimentation, with makers seeking to utilise this new process in the production of improved instruments. This activity was reflected on the concert platform with the emergence of the valved trombone as an important component in the scores of many operatic composers, the re-emergence of the trumpet in the orchestra, and even the cornet was quite widely utilised by composers at this stage⁵⁹. As has been noted in Chapter Two, many early 19th century amateur musicians were keen students of the concert world and may well have been aware of these developments. They were undoubtedly aware of the Distin family and Jullien's virtuoso brass musicians. Perhaps even more important was the great improvement in military band music which took place from the late 18th century. Many local musicians were involved in both local militia and regular army bands during the Napoleonic wars and many of them will have come to appreciate the potential of brass instruments in this way⁶⁰.

But while all these are reasons for the increased popularity of brass instruments, they do not explain the development of ensembles composed entirely of brass. A whole range of possibilities suggest themselves here. It has been claimed that experience of the all brass cavalry bands which accompanied the regiments stationed in the North of England throughout the 1830's and 1840's, encouraged the adoption of a similar instrumentation amongst windbands⁶¹. Undoubtedly, the cavalry bands were probably the first of all brass bands that most of the population had heard, but while this must have had some impact upon musical taste, it is perhaps a little unrealistic to place very much emphasis on this. The military were hardly welcome visitors and it is surely unlikely that a body viewed almost as an army of occupation would have had too much influence on local tastes and habits. A more likely reason emanates from the

practical strengths afforded by brass as opposed to reed instruments. Brass instruments were easier to maintain than reeds, and far less sensitive to the vagaries of the climate, which must have become an increasingly important consideration as bands took on even more outdoor engagements⁶². Again, they were relatively easy to learn, with the relatively straightforward three valve action of most instruments presenting less problems to the absolute beginner than for example the clarinet, or bassoon⁶³. Certainly, the value of the valve became abundantly clear by the late 1850's, when the adoption of the saxhorn meant that, with the exception of the slide trombone, all brass band instruments were fingered in virtually the same way. This meant that individuals could move around the band, filling vacancies as needed, and this undoubtedly became a strong factor in the retention, if not the initial adoption, of brass⁶⁴. It is of course worth contemplating that the preference for brass over reed was a purely aesthetic consideration. It has been argued by one authority that "possibly the most influential factor was the exciting, bold and masculine sound of the brass band which appealed to the working class men", and clearly they would not have made the change unless they enjoyed the resultant tonal difference⁶⁵. Unfortunately, contemporary bandsmen appear to have left no explanation for their adoption of brass instruments, and in the final analysis, the historian is forced to take refuge in the familiar generalisation that "a combination" of factors was responsible; factors leading to one of the most fundamental developments within popular musical culture that Britain has ever witnessed.

While the reasons for the initial adoption of brass instruments are somewhat obscure, the process by which the band took on a standardised form has clearer cause. It was begun by the contest and sealed by the music publishing industry. It became increasingly obvious to bands from the 1850's, that a related family of instruments gave the best sound to the all brass ensemble, and bands who were seriously involved in competition began to imitate the line-up successfully developed by such bands as Mossley. As new instruments such as the flügelhorn were introduced with success by individual bands, the others followed suit, taking up the instrument as money became available. By 1875, this pattern of imitation had led to a nearly standardised line-up which was in turn consolidated by the

development of brass band music publication from this date. The music of such firms as Wright and Round's was so cheap in comparison with the privately produced testpiece, that bands happily settled for their publications and the line-up that they suggested⁶⁶. Once publishers began to make increasing amounts of money from their work, it became increasingly unlikely that they would encourage new initiatives without being absolutely sure that there would be a market. In 1899, the British Bandsman gave clear expression to the publishers' standpoint.

"The constitution [of the band] has, to a great extent, had the seal of efficiency placed upon it by publishers, who only issue parts for the present instrumentation. This of necessity renders any change in the present instrumentation one of serious import"⁶⁷.

No such change was to emerge.

That is not to say that there were no attempts at reform. There had always been many outside the movement who believed that the re-introduction of reed instruments would be beneficial; the late Victorian music publisher and writer, John Spencer Curwen, commented sadly that; "It is much to be regretted that these brass bands do not tone down their blare by the addition of flutes, clarinets, oboes, etc., making a properly balanced military band"⁶⁸. Much of this kind of criticism was based on ignorance, but from the late 19th century, many eminent trainers and critics within the band movement began a critical reassessment of the potential of the existing formation; the result was a substantial lobby in favour of the introduction of the saxophone. William Rimmer, James Brier, John Ord Hume and Joseph Weston Nicholl, all major figures within banding circles, expressed a belief at various times from the 1890's that a quartet of saxophones (or even, in Brier's case, a sextet), would give the band a totally new tonal dimension⁶⁹. Ord Hume, who had moved into the brass band world from the army, was especially interested in the development of reed instruments, and contributed several articles on the history and potential of the saxophone to the British Bandsman in 1902⁷⁰. In fact only two British bands, Sirocco Lodge (Belfast) and Perfection Soap Works (Warrington), added saxophones to their line-up in the period before 1914, and there appears to have been no attempt to utilise any other non standard instrument⁷¹. Even in the 60 years since the First World War, there have only been two changes of

instrumentation in the competition band; the addition of a second solo cornet in the early 1950's as the increasingly demanding nature of band music placed too much strain upon one man, and the allowing and subsequent encouragement of percussion at most competitions, beginning with the Belle Vue Championships of 1969⁷². Certainly, there were developments within the confines of the accepted instrumentation, and most notably the great popularity of quartet playing which developed in the late 19th century, when both competitions and concerts for quartets became a common feature. The traditional line-up involved two cornets, tenor horn and euphonium, but there was considerable scope for experimentation and Ord Hume in fact noted ten other possible permutations⁷³. But the wider changes hoped for by "the brass band chartists", as one writer dubbed the reformers, never materialised⁷⁴.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, there were many perfectly valid reasons for what many called the bands' "conservatism" in regard to the instrumentation issue. As has been stated, the bands themselves could not really have changed their formation unless the music publishers had given them a lead. Furthermore, the saxophone in particular would have presented all manner of technical problems for the majority of bandmasters, which they could not have surmounted without the publishers providing saxophone parts and special teaching material. There were few saxophonists in the country, and the use of the instrument would thus have resulted in training a new group of musicians to master what was in comparison with the majority of band instruments, a difficult instrument. There was also the question of cost and availability. As late as the early 1920's, when the saxophone was beginning to come into vogue as a dance band instrument, one Leeds musician had to order his instrument from America, a process which took 6 months to complete and cost him almost £80⁷⁵. For the working man, the saxophone was hardly practicable, and as the events of the next 60 years have shown, there was still much left for the existing combination to achieve, without the addition of new instruments.

Given the limitations of human voice, the choral society was far less subject to the large scale changes of "instrumentation" undergone by the brass band, but nevertheless, the 19th century represented a period of considerable change within choral culture.

By the late 19th century, the small mixed voice, the male voice and even occasionally the female voice choirs, had all become important features of the British choral tradition. But arguably the most important factor of all was the new role of women within the choral tradition. The majority of those societies founded before the 1850's, were largely male preserves. In 1837, only 8 of the Huddersfield Choral Society's 54 members were women. By 1895, the society had 187 female choristers, who made up a majority of the membership, and probably as early as 1875, females were dominant numerically in most choral societies, at least within West Yorkshire⁷⁶. Their presence obviously made a noticeable impact upon the musical structure of the societies. It had not been uncommon for male members to take the treble or soprano part in the early 19th century, while the male alto was almost universal. By the early 1860's, however, the female soprano was fully established, and by the late 19th century, the male alto was, at least in the mixed voice choir, a fast disappearing species. In 1877, the Huddersfield Choral Society had only 2 contraltos and almost 50 altos; by 1902, they included 77 contraltos and about a dozen male altos⁷⁷. It is not at all clear why the male alto and male treble should thus fall from grace. Did conductors and composers allow these voices to disappear from the choirs because they genuinely preferred the female sound, or because of increasing pressure for entry from women seeking to obtain a fuller recreational life? Contemporaries are reticent on this issue, tending to notice the phenomenon but making no attempt to evaluate the reasons behind it. Given the present state of knowledge, no definite answer can be given. The male alto, it should be said, by no means disappeared completely. Both the male voice choir, and the cathedral choir, did much to keep this voice form alive into the 20th century. But despite passing through somewhat of a vogue in recent years, it is highly unlikely that the male alto will ever regain its halcyon days of the early and middle 19th century⁷⁸.

iii) Repertoire

The period 1850-1914 witnessed an enormous increase in the variety of music available to the British public, as the twin expansion of music publishing and concert life made possible the dissemination of new compositions and styles on a scale hitherto unknown. The

amateur musical fraternity were highly sensitive to this process, and their repertoire faithfully reflects the many developments of the Victorian and Edwardian age. Every new feature, whether it be the dance music of Louis Jullien, the operas of Richard Wagner, or the musical comedies of Lionel Monckton, was seized upon by at least one form of organisation and pressed enthusiastically into use. By the early 20th century, in West Yorkshire at least, the societies offered local citizens a musical diet of extraordinary richness and variety.

Vocal

There was inevitably a considerable overlap between the repertoire of the various forms of musical institution, but there were enough nuances to make it useful to treat at least the "vocal" and "instrumental" repertoires separately. Vocal music remained throughout the period, the most "serious" component in the local tradition, based largely on an amalgam of sacred, and, increasingly after about 1880, secular, art music. Essentially, the West Yorkshire choral repertoire parallels the national pattern that Scholes so well delineated in The Mirror of Music⁷⁹. In the 1850's and early 1860's at least, the repertoire continued to be dominated by the compositions of Handel and Haydn, and in fact throughout the period, Handel's Messiah was never to be superseded, at least in the public eye, as the premier work in the choral canon. At first, musicians were eager to perform the work at any time, but from about the mid 19th century, it seems to have become firmly established as Christmas music. Not merely the local choral societies, but chapels, churches and sometimes Sunday Schools organised their own performances, and thus in the larger towns, it became possible to hear several Messiahs in one week. Such slavish adherence to the dictates of popular taste, angered music critics; Herbert Thompson spoke with ill-disguised annoyance, on one occasion, of "the usual Messiah outbreak at Christmas tide"⁸⁰. Some societies agreed with him, and sometimes provided alternatives, but they appreciated that Messiah, because of its enormous popularity, guaranteed an almost certain profit. Thus between 1856 and 1906, the Bradford Festival Choral Society gave the work 41 times and between 1870 and 1914, Leeds Philharmonic gave 31 performances⁸¹.

But despite the dominance of this work, the repertoire was always expanding: Mendelssohn's St. Paul and above all Elijah, became as popular as Handel's Judas Maccabeus and Israel in Egypt, and probably more popular than Haydn's Creation and The Seasons. By the 1870's and 1880's, these illustrious composers had been joined by virtually every composer with any pretension at establishing himself as a serious musical figure. The oratorio was the one piece of music, at least until about 1900, that every composer was expected to write. Groves Dictionary of Music and Musicians illustrated the premier position of oratorio when it said in 1889;

"The Oratorio is to the Musician the exact analogy of what the cathedral is to the Architect - the highest Art-form to the construction of which he can aspire" ⁸².

To compose an oratorio was to show an acceptance of contemporary fashion: it was also an almost certain way of earning money. Many of these oratorios were originally commissioned for the numerous provincial music festivals that mushroomed in the 19th century. These festivals, not to be confused with the Mary Wakefield Competitive Festivals, brought together, usually triennially, large numbers of the richer members of local society, who were entertained by a week of concerts (at enormous prices) featuring conductors and soloists from the very top ranks of the musical world. The first of these festivals, the Three Choirs Festival, held alternately at Hereford, Worcester and Gloucester Cathedrals, was founded as early as 1711. By the late 19th century, most self-respecting provincial towns with a population of over 100,000, held or had held a festival ⁸³. Much of the music thus produced was substandard. Dr. Percy Young, perhaps the foremost authority on the choral repertoire of the 19th century, has been particularly damning. "There has rarely been a period of fifty years in the whole history of music when so much deplorable music by so many experienced composers was written as in the last half of the nineteenth century" ⁸⁴. However, contemporaries appear to have thought otherwise, and all manner of apparently eminently forgettable works were, initially at least, hailed with great enthusiasm ⁸⁵. With all aspiring composers using the oratorio as a musical vehicle, the repertoire of the Yorkshire choral societies was littered with pieces played once, twice and then discarded. The Leeds Philharmonic Society, for example,

performed music by 47 different composers between 1870 and 1914, and performed almost thirty works on only one occasion⁸⁶. From the 1870's, the oratorio repertoire, once based so firmly upon a limited range of composers and compositions, now comprised a mixture involving a Christmas Messiah, performances of favourite works from the earlier decades, and a vast mass of essentially ephemeral material. The choral singer and his audience were exposed to a far greater amount of material than ever before. Rarely can a society have had so much contemporary music hurled at it as did that of late Victorian England.

But it was not merely the increased number of composers working within the traditional confines of the repertoire that fuelled the expansion. Equally critical was the willingness to adopt an ever widening variety of musical form illustrated by the various types of choral organisation. Amongst the larger societies there was, for example, a small but significant adoption of opera. Opera was never to enjoy a really significant place in the choral repertoire, partly because its associations with the theatre and its supposed licentiousness offended some of the stricter nonconformists, but also because many operas simply lose their attraction when presented in concert form. Nevertheless, occasional performances were given. Leeds Choral Society gave selections from popular French opera in 1843, while Bradford Vocal Association bravely attempted a complete concert performance of La Somnambula in 1859. In 1885, the Cross Stone Amateur Musical Society, a chapel-based organisation from near Todmorden, undertook what was for such a small society a remarkably courageous and adventurous project, by giving a performance of Wagner's Tannhauser⁸⁷. But it was largely from the 1890's, that there was a noticeable growth in operatic performance. In that decade, Bradford Festival Choral Society gave the third acts of both Lohengrin and Tannhauser, selection from The Flying Dutchman and a part of Weber's Der Freischütz. Leeds Philharmonic and Leeds Choral Union also gave several Wagner selections at concerts⁸⁸. The smaller bodies in general shied away from the demands placed by Wagner's music, but they also showed an interest in opera, and quite a craze began for concert performances

of early 19th century British opera, a slightly less meaty form than some, but opera nonetheless. The Batley, Morley and Sowerby Bridge Choral Societies, for example, all performed Wallace's Mauritana in the 1890's, and if many music critics were chastened by this, in their eyes "retrograde" development, full audiences illustrated that this tuneful work had become a firm popular favourite⁸⁹. In general, however, these changes were less significant than those taking place amongst the smaller societies,^{who} from the last 20 years of the century onward, offered the community many new areas of musical experience.

Oratorio, with the exception of The Messiah which everybody seemed to view as fair game, was essentially the preserve of the large scale societies, the Bradford Festival, Huddersfield, Halifax Choral Societies, organisations who had enough manpower and money to do justice to this type of work. Certainly, some smaller bodies, notably the Armley and Wortley Choral Society and Dewsbury Choral Society, won national recognition for the levels they achieved in oratorio performances with smaller choirs and less distinguished soloists⁹⁰. But in general, the many choirs numbering under 100 members which developed in the late 19th century, preferred to present a cantata in the first half of their concerts and a miscellaneous selection in the second. The output of cantata composition rose tremendously in the late 19th century, part stimulating, part feeding the needs of the ever growing number of middle sized organisations. Again, many were forgotten almost as soon as they were written, while a few, notably Sterndale Bennett's May Queen actually written in 1858 for the Leeds Music Festival, and Sullivan's Prodigal Son became somewhat over-familiar⁹¹. During the miscellaneous section of the concert, favourites from the Handel - Mendelssohn - Mozart tradition, coupled with glees, madrigals, part songs and solo rendering of such trusted pieces as Comin' Thru' The Rye and Home Sweet Home, formed the standard offering⁹².

While Sir Arthur Sullivan's Prodigal Son was decidedly popular in the late 19th century, he gained his ultimate prominence in the vocal repertoire for his collaboration with W. S. Gilbert in the Savoy operas, and the growth in popularity of operetta between 1890 and 1914 owed everything to their influence. The take-off of operetta was one of the most noticeable musical features of the period; throughout West Yorkshire amateur operatic societies emerged in

profusion during this period. It is critical to distinguish between the operatic societies and the organisations we traditionally refer to as choral societies. The bodies discussed so far, whether they be the Leeds Philharmonic or a short-lived competition choir, were involved in performing music in concert form, with no action, no make-up and no scenery, while the light operatic societies used all three of these features and are thus technically something outside of the choral tradition. Their repertoire was also often of a far less "serious" nature than that of the choral society. And yet in the final analysis, as a striking new feature within the confines of amateur vocalism, they at least deserve a mention. It was Gilbert and Sullivan who provided them with a repertoire that was to prove hugely successful with Yorkshire audiences. Productions of Iolanthe, The Mikado, Pirates of Penzance rapidly established themselves in the vocal tradition, sharing prime popularity with such unlikely bedfellows as Handel and Mendelssohn. In 1909, a performance of The Mikado by the Bradford Amateur Operatic Society made a profit of almost £350, according to the local paper "a record for one week's performance of opera by any society in the country"⁹³. They also provided a style that inspired many local composers to attempt imitations. Later generations do not remember Blatchford and Sykes of Halifax, Harwin and Akeroyd from Bradford, or Oglesby and Grimshaw of Leeds! But their offerings provided at least an alternative to a totally Gilbert and Sullivan dominated repertoire⁹⁴.

But perhaps the most important extension of the choral repertoire owed its origins to the growth of the musical competition. The competition demanded the existence of a range of short pieces which the various societies could use as test pieces. This was to lead to a large-scale increase in the singing of glees, madrigals and above all of partsongs. Certainly, this type of music had always had a part in the choral repertoire and was expanding from the 1870's and 1880's as the "miscellaneous" concert gained in popularity amongst choral societies. But with the development of competitions from the 1890's, it came to hold an enhanced place in the tradition.

At first, the range of material, particularly in the male voice section, tended to be fairly limited. It could be guaranteed, for example, that the audience at any competition would be certain of hearing Samuel Webbe's Wanton Gales, Yarwood's Gently Sighs The

Evening Breeze and Henry Hiles's Hushed in Death. The same few test pieces were often chosen by a number of choirs competing at the same event. Thus Battye's Child of the Sun was sung by three of the eleven choirs at the Halifax Competition of 1894, while John Goss's O thou whose Beams was chosen by three of the nine competitors at the Leeds Town Hall Competition in December 1895⁹⁵. The mixed voice category was always less restricted, possibly because there was more material available for mixed rather than male voice choirs. It was in the mixed section that far more sacred music was performed, selections from oratorio, or shorter religious works by composers as disparate as J. S. Bach and Arthur Sullivan⁹⁶, being the norm.

The early years of the 20th century were to witness a very considerable degree of change. The Wakefield style competitions were deeply concerned with not merely improving the performance of the existing repertoire, but with the creation of a new one. Composers were at first commissioned, and then later volunteered, to produce new works, and the music that they produced was regarded by many contemporaries, and indeed has been regarded by many recent scholars, as amongst the finest in the British choral tradition. These compositions aimed at extending the technical range of the choirs to the fullest; Cornelius's The Tempest was described by a musical journalist as possessing "abnormal difficulties", while Delius's On Craig Dhu, chosen as the mixed voice test piece at the Blackpool Festival of 1910, was regarded by many singers as physically impossible⁹⁷. There was also the very beginning of an attempt to resurrect choral music that had passed out of use, and as a result even a work by Palestrina could appear amongst the test pieces at Morecambe in 1909⁹⁸. From about 1900, many of the more ambitious West Yorkshire choirs made regular visits to the major Lancashire competitions at Blackpool, Morecambe, Southport and suchlike watering places, the venues at which the new repertoire was invariably first heard. Many were extremely successful at coping with the new technical demands and they began to transport these new compositions, and above all those of the two architects of the new tradition, Elgar and Bantock, back to West Yorkshire, using them as set tests at their own competitions, as "own choice" test pieces at other organisations' meetings, or as the basis for concert performances. The Halifax Madrigal Society gave concerts entirely

devoted to the works of Elgar in 1905, and Bantock seven years later⁹⁹. The result was that although the Yorkshire choirs might still perform some of the material popular in the 1890's, they possessed an infinitely wider repertoire by 1914, a growth which affected even the fairly minor societies. Thus in 1909, at the Pudsey Mechanics Institute competition, Outwood Church Glee Party, a small and hitherto unsuccessful body, who ten years previously had settled for Webbe, Hiles or Goss, could win a prize with Elgar's more demanding Feasting I Watch¹⁰⁰. The repertoire of the competitive choir had attained an entirely new level.

One of the most significant features of the enlarged choral culture as it existed by 1914, was its increasingly secular nature. While secular music had always had a place in the choral tradition, it was always a subordinate one. But in the last three decades of the century, this began to change. Secularisation obviously owed much to the developments outlined above; the new interest in opera, the take-off of operetta, the miscellaneous concert which contained much secular material, and the new partsong repertoire (although this is not to imply that the new competitive material was entirely secular). But even the libretto of many oratorios and cantata underwent a considerable shift away from the traditionally sacred base. Many composers deserted the Old Testament, previously the favourite hunting ground for texts, and found a whole range of new sources. There had always been a certain amount of oratorio that was not actually religious in theme, but was given the name because it was delivered in traditional oratorio style, with no scenery, costume and so forth. Haydn's Seasons is an example of this. But this tendency heightened from the late 19th century and works such as Hiawatha's Wedding Feast, Lord Ullin's Daughter and Omar Khayyam appeared in the repertoire. It is tempting to suggest that this development is a further example of the impact of changing religious attitudes upon the choral movement. A society increasingly ill-versed in the scriptures and no longer demanding a religious content from its entertainment, came to accept and perhaps even to call for secular libretto. The fact that much secular oratorio still sounded "religious", because of the traditional association between choral music and religion, doubtless helped those who might otherwise have been unwilling, to accept the change¹⁰¹.

The choral repertoire underwent a process of very considerable change during the period under study. Initially rooted in the sacred tradition, and involving the works of a relatively small number of composers, it expanded as the century progressed, to takeⁱⁿ an ever widening variety of music by an ever widening group of composers. Further, in the last quarter of the 19th century, the tradition became increasingly secularised, with the growth of the secular oratorio and cantata, the vast expansion of glees, madrigals and partsongs and the emergence of operatic selections and light opera. By 1914, the choral societies of West Yorkshire were performing a wider repertoire, and performing it with a higher degree of technical expertise, than would have seemed possible to those enthusiasts of the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

Instrumental

The instrumental organisations, like their choral counterparts, extended their repertoire throughout the period 1850 to 1914. In general, their range of material was far more catholic than that of the vocal societies. Brass bands, in particular, performed at an enormously wide range of functions and their music had to vary according to the needs of the situation. At the same time, there was far less music composed specifically for the instrumental bands (with the exception of the orchestra), than for choral groups, which necessitated the adoption of music from any area of the musical spectrum that suited the individual organisation's formation and requirements. The result was a blend of both "classical" and "popular" music that gave a genuine depth and multiformity to contemporary popular culture.

It would be incorrect to view the repertoire of the instrumental societies as homogenous. There were, for example, quite marked differences between the music of the brass band, and that of the amateur orchestra which had a specialist repertoire to draw upon. Moreover, there was a diversity within each instrumental category. In this sense, it has been suggested that when looking at the brass band, a division should be drawn between the music of the contesting and that of the non-contesting band¹⁰². There is much in this idea, for the latter were clearly far more limited in their choice of music than the contestors, preferring a mixture of relatively simple dance

music, glees and hymns. The division is perhaps slightly less valid in West Yorkshire, where, at least after about 1875, the vast majority of bands appear to have entered the contest field. Similarly, even the top flight contest bands sometimes undertook engagements which involved them in performing music of a relatively simple nature¹⁰³. Nevertheless, although the divisions were not rigid, their existence should be remembered. Similarly, at any one time, there would be societies at different states of development, and the nature of their musical stock would obviously vary accordingly. But allowing for these reservations, it still seems valid to deal with the instrumental canon en bloc. Societies at first sight as diverse as the Horbury Handbell Ringers and the Halifax Orchestral Society, drew to a remarkable degree upon the same common heritage.

It is possible to divide the instrumental repertoire into three broad categories: sacred, "classical" or "art" music, and "light". As has been argued elsewhere, these divisions, and particularly the last two, are not altogether satisfactory, but they do serve as an approximate guideline¹⁰⁴. Sacred music played a large part in the repertoire from the time of the first bands in the early 19th century. It was inevitable that the early organisations should be attracted to this type of music, living as they were in a musical community which had been nurtured in an essentially sacred tradition. Most wind bands included a variety of choruses from the best known oratorios of Handel and Haydn in their early performances, and in fact some early band concerts drew almost entirely upon music of this genre¹⁰⁵. Similarly, sacred works were quite widely utilised, at least until the 1860's, as contest pieces. Wold Band performed the Hallelujah Chorus at the historic Burton Constable Contest of 1845, while ten years later at the Hull contest of 1856, Batley Band were still able to take third prize with "The heavens are telling" from Haydn's Creation¹⁰⁶. Although largely displaced in the contest field by the mid 1860's, such music remained essential for any public performance at least until the late 19th century. All the bands appearing at the Bradford Park concerts in 1871 included music from either Handel, Haydn or the Kyrie and Gloria from Mozart's Twelfth Mass, and 25% of Saltaire Band's performances at Manningham Park in September of that year comprised sacred material¹⁰⁷. The change seems to have come some time in the 1890's. A writer in the British Bandsman in 1910, commented

that a significant decline in interest in sacred music had begun "about a dozen years ago"¹⁰⁸. By 1902, if the music at Huddersfield's Greenhead Park was in any way typical, virtually no sacred music was being performed in public concerts¹⁰⁹. All this is not to argue that it died out altogether. Choruses from oratorio were still played on occasion throughout the 20th century, while above all, the presence of bands at Sunday School anniversaries or Whit Walks determined the continued existence of a hymn playing tradition that is still present today. But overall, there can be no denying that unless bands were in a situation where anything other than sacred music would have been out of place, such music within the band tradition diminished considerably in the late 19th century. This was partly a reflection of the same lightening of religious mores that was affecting the content of the choral tradition, and partly due to the ever increasing availability of a wider range of brass band music, which bandsmen increasingly came to see as superior to the sacred selections of old.

The initial challenge to oratorio in both the concert and the competition came from the opera. The operatic selection was the most typical form of "art" music in the instrumental canon throughout the period under study. Certainly, by the Edwardian period, the first class brass bands were extending their range to take in works from outside this category, while the amateur orchestral society had always drawn to an extent upon the classical symphony, but in general, opera remained dominant.

It is sometimes suggested that the operatic selection was introduced solely for the needs of the brass band competition, which demanded music of an especially erudite nature, guaranteed to impress the judges¹¹⁰. There is doubtless something in this, but it must be remembered that this kind of music was being performed long before the advent of competitions. Enderby Jackson recalled "florid operatic selections" forming a part of the handbell repertoire in the mid 19th century, while wind bands were performing similar music by the 1840's¹¹¹. Marriner's Band included parts of Rossini's L'Italiana in Algeri in their repertoire by 1848, and it is probable that they were by no means untypical¹¹². Undoubtedly, the operatic selection did become popular for both handbell and brass band competitions. By the 1860's, operatic selections had in fact become almost a sine qua non in the competitive field. At the Bradford Contest of 1862, 20 of the 22 pieces played

were culled from opera¹¹³. But to a considerable extent, rather than attempting to impress, these bands were simply drawing on what was a standard element of the popular musical stock. Opera was popular enough and common enough in West Yorkshire's musical life for it to be almost inevitable that local musicians should look to it as a source of material.

Local musicians gained their initial appetite for opera from a variety of sources. Performances of opera as such were rare in the early 19th century. Even in as substantial a town as Bradford, it was not until 1856 that an opera company made a visit¹¹⁴. Leeds, the largest town in West Yorkshire, was a little more fortunate. In 1829, the Hunslet Lane Theatre offered its patrons The Marriage of Figaro, Der Freishutz and The Barber of Seville, and in 1851, a touring company gave Lucia de Lammermoor and The Daughter of the Regiment¹¹⁵. It is probable that these were rather approximate versions of the originals, but they gave opera a degree of exposure to audiences which almost certainly included a substantial working class element. Even in Leeds, however, such events were relatively uncommon. But this did not prevent opera from reaching the region on a large scale, through other channels. Particularly significant for the nascent band movement were the concerts of the Distin family and Louis Jullien, both of which attracted a certain amount of patronage from banding circles. Both included operatic selections in their repertoire, and this undoubtedly influenced bands in their own choice of material¹¹⁶. But perhaps most important of all, were the bands which accompanied travelling menageries and circuses. These bands were often of an extremely high standard, and they drew their music from a wide area. They had a double importance in this sense. Firstly, their performances reached fairly low down the social scale, while alongside this, they often visited the more remote areas where, despite the occasional strenuous walk to a neighbouring town, the local musicians were somewhat more cut off from the musical main stream than those in larger towns with greater access to the concert platform and the theatre. In this way, they enabled music, often drawn from the operatic canon, to reach a very wide audience indeed¹¹⁷.

Opera retained its popularity to a remarkable degree throughout the 19th century. "Opera" is of course a broad term, and in the 19th century covered an enormous range of vocal music. Until about 1880,

it was Italian opera and particularly the works of Donizetti, Verdi and Rossini, with some assistance from the repertoire of the French light operatic composers, and from the English trio of Balfe, Bishop and Wallace, which dominated the instrumental canon¹¹⁸. Even by the First World War, although challenged by a variety of other genres, Italian opera remained highly popular. It provided almost half the test pieces at the Belle Vue Band contests between 1853 and 1914 and at the Handbell contests at the same venue from 1855¹¹⁹. A similar pattern emerged at other contests. In 1896, for example, in the 151 contests where testpieces were imposed by organising committees, 48 pieces were drawn from the works of Italian composers written between 1833 and 1853¹²⁰. Inevitably, the contest selections passed into the concert repertoire where they reached a far wider public. At any stage between the 1850's and 1914, it was unusual for a contesting band not to perform at least three such selections in the typical concert programme¹²¹. Amateur orchestras were equally fond of music of this type, although while bands tended to give selections, orchestras usually performed complete overtures. Some selections or overtures enjoyed only a brief period of popularity, but certain works appear to have endured throughout the century, notably Rossini's Tancredi, Semiramide and William Tell, Donizetti's Lucrezia Borgia and Verdi's Il Trovatore. The band writer Samuel Cope went as far as to claim in 1907, that the aria Il Balen (The Tempest of the Heart) from Il Trovatore, was "so well-known that every bandsman can whistle it from memory"¹²².

The ubiquity of Italian opera owed much to the willingness of brass band music publishers to continue to ransack the works of established composers when compiling testpieces and music folios. This policy was totally understandable. Bandsmen were used to this type of music, and above all it was extremely popular with both bandsmen and, crucially, audiences. It is inconceivable that people would have attended concerts in the number that they did, unless they had appreciated the music offered. The great strength of much Italian opera and the reason for its wide appeal, was its melodic nature. Composed with a broadly based public in mind, its tunefulness enabled even relatively untutored audiences to gain much enjoyment from their listening, while its subtleties gave pleasure to the more expert. It is hardly surprising that it came to hold

such elevated status in nineteenth century popular culture.

The first real innovation in the repertoire came in the mid 1870's with the introduction of the works of Wagner. It has been claimed that the first performance of Wagner by a brass band took place in 1875, when Stalybridge Band, conducted by J. Sydney Jones, Musical Director of the Grand Theatre, Leeds, gave a selection from Tannhauser at a local concert¹²³. But it is to Edwin Swift that we must look to for the really critical pioneering of Wagner. Swift was a fanatical student of orchestral scores, and he developed a particular fascination for Wagner. It was his selection Bayreuth which was played with remarkable success by Linthwaite band in a number of competitions in the later 1870's, that really established Wagner in the band repertoire¹²⁴. There was an ever growing enthusiasm for Wagner, at contests in the 1880's and 1890's and these selections, like the Italian opera before them, quickly passed into the concert repertoire. At the fifteen concerts involving brass or "military" bands at Greenhead Park, Huddersfield, in 1902, 5 of the 30 operatic selections played were based on Wagner, making him (alongside Sir Arthur Sullivan) the most commonly performed composer in that particular season¹²⁵. Local orchestras were equally enthusiastic and the march from Tannhauser in particular, became a commonplace in the repertoire¹²⁶. The adoption of Wagner's music as early as the mid 1870's, provides an excellent example of the closeness with which leaders of the amateur societies followed developments in the wider musical world. Wagner was almost unknown in Britain until the early 1870's, and it was not until 1875 that anything other than his Flying Dutchman was performed¹²⁷. Yet as soon as his music began to appear in the concert hall, musicians such as Swift anxiously sought to absorb it into the local tradition.

But despite the broadening of horizons that this had brought about, by the end of the 19th century, there were clear signs that at least some of the leaders of the amateur musical community both in West Yorkshire and on a national scale, were becoming increasingly disenchanted with the existing instrumental repertoire. The move for reform, although present in every department, was strongest in the brass band movement. There was a strong feeling that band music had become outdated and ossified, and anger was directed in particular at the willingness of music publishers to produce selections based on the

more "obscure" works of composers such as Donizetti, rather than experiment with music drawn from more varied sources. Certainly some relatively little known music, such as Donizetti's Emilia or Verdi's Macbeth were utilised during this period, and the reception tended to be hostile¹²⁸. In 1914, a writer in the British Bandsman, which became the most vocal proponent of change, included a savage attack on that year's Belle Vue Test Piece, Mehul's Joseph und seiner Brüder. It was, he said, "of the customary anti-diluvian order, without a soul-stirring note in its composition from start to finish - one of the most commonplace and insipid pieces of rubbish we ever sat to hear"¹²⁹. There was also much criticism of the whole concept of "selections". It became something of a commonplace for writers to call upon young composers to produce original, worthwhile music composed especially for bands. W. J. Galloway drew a comparison between the transformation of choral music brought about by the new competition repertoire, and the bands' stolid continuation of what he regarded as largely outmoded musical practices, ending with a call to composers to "enlarge the limited musical interest of the bandsmen"¹³⁰.

Such criticism was not to go unheeded, and although the selection was to remain the premier form of contest music, and the more arcane areas of Italian opera continued to be ransacked by arrangers, the Edwardian period saw a genuine broadening of the brass band repertoire. The Crystal Palace Championships, founded in 1900, must take considerable credit for the changes that came about. The competition's organiser, J. H. Iles, both through the pages of the British Bandsman which he had purchased in 1898, and the policies pursued at the Crystal Palace, made a serious effort to encourage the appreciation of some of the more neglected aspects of the art music tradition¹³¹. Thus in 1906, 1907 and 1910, the somewhat neglected romantic composers were turned to, resulting in Gems of Chopin, Gems of Schuman and Gems of Schubert, respectively¹³². The most crucial portent for the future of the British band movement was, however, to come in 1913. In that year the Crystal Palace testpiece was a tone poem entitled Labour and Love by a young English composer called Percy Fletcher¹³³. This represented a genuine turning point in brass band history, for it heralded the beginning of the gradual disappearance of the "selection", and the beginning of a move toward the production of

music especially tailored to the brass band's needs. Such music was to become the norm in the interwar period and was in time to make the brass band a highly original musical medium¹³⁴.

Fletcher was born in Derby in 1880, the son of a local music teacher. He enjoyed a varied musical career, and at the time of composing Labour and Love was musical director at the Savoy Theatre, London. Inspired by winning a fifty guinea prize in a competition for military band composition, he wrote Labour and Love and offered it to Richard Smith and Co., Iles's music publishing company, with a view to publication. Iles, who had been talking about the need for original composition for a long period, decided that here was the chance to put this theory into practice. Predictably, the British Bandsman, Iles's publication, were ecstatic about the work. The magazine's editor, Samuel Cope, described it as "a masterful production. It will be intensely interesting for the student and thoughtful bandsman to peruse the score, to observe the constructional melodic plan and its sequence, to trace out the rhythmic design, to note the harmonic progressions, and to study the colours used in the arrangement"¹³⁵. Not everybody was quite so impressed. A writer in Musical Progress claimed that it was "probably the easiest test piece by which the championship has been won. Here and there were pitfalls in a technical sense, but of subtleties none"¹³⁶. But irrespective of the work's technical merits (the fact that it is still played even today suggests that it was a fairly worthwhile piece), it was a great step forward.¹³⁷ At last a serious composer had given the brass band an original piece of music and over the next decades, the process begun by Fletcher was to result in the creation of brass band music by innumerable prominent composers.¹³⁸ As J. H. Elliot stated: "It was a tentative beginning - but it marked the first important step in the emancipation of the brass band as a musical medium"¹³⁹.

All this activity took place at the centre of the brass band world, and partly due to the copious self-congratulation bequeathed to us through the pages of the British Bandsman, by J. H. Iles, it is a relatively well publicised issue. But there were many other people, less well-known to posterity, who did much to engender something of a renaissance in the band repertoire. In West Yorkshire, the most striking example is afforded by Joseph Weston Nicholl, who between 1910 and 1911, was conductor of the Black Dyke Mills Band. Nicholl

was in many ways a highly untypical figure in the band world. Born in Halifax in 1876, he enjoyed the privilege of an extremely full musical education, spending three years at the Royal Hochschule in Berlin, two years at an academy in Munich and finally a year at the Paris Conservatoire. This gave him the wide musical background denied to the vast majority of band trainers and conductors, and encouraged him to challenge prevailing orthodoxies and to raise existing standards¹⁴⁰. It is surprising that he ever became involved in the band movement, for the majority of his generation of professional musicians showed little sign of interest. His association with Black Dyke Mills was admittedly a short one. He found the work too exacting, and: "The practice room, too, unavoidably small, and the ff playing was a great strain on a sensitive ear"¹⁴¹. But in his short reign, he instigated a policy of almost total reform. He believed that the habit of "going to old second-rate composers for material" was wrong, and although regarding the introduction of Chopin and Schubert into the contest arena, noted above, as a step forward, he felt much more could be done. He scored a variety of music for Black Dyke, seeking both to use far more contemporary music and to arrange it in such a way as to make the whole band, rather than just the soloists, play at a high level. The result was that by 1911 Black Dyke were including Finlandia, the largo from Dvorak's New World Symphony, the 5/4 movement from Tschaikowsky's Pathetique, the slow movement from his 4th Symphony, and Guilmont's 1st Organ Symphony. Weston Nicholl also made what was probably the first transcription of Bach for brass band, with his setting of his Grand Fugue in G minor¹⁴². The extent of Nicholl's achievement is perhaps best measured if Black Dyke's concert repertoire of 1911 is compared with their own repertoire ten years previously, when they were conducted by the highly influential John Gladney, and also with that of Linthwaite Band in 1911, at a stage when Linthwaite were still a top class band. All the following concerts took place at Greenhead Park, Huddersfield¹⁴³.

Black Dyke, 12th June 1901

March	B. B. and C. F.	Verner
Overture	Poet & Peasant	Suppé
Selection	Cinq Mars	Gounod
"	Spohr's Works	(arr.) Gladney
"	Messenger Boy	Monckton
"	Ruy Blas	Lintz
Waltz	Hydropaten	Gung'l

Black Dyke, 26th June 1911

March	Pomp & Circumstance	Elgar
Selection	Gems of Schubert	(arr.) Rimmer
Largo	New World Symphony	Dvorak (arr. Nicholl)
Overture	Magic Flute	Mozart " "
Fugue	in G Minor	J. S. Bach
Tone Poem	Finlandia	Sibelius
Selection	L'Africaine	Meyerbeer
Scotch Patrol	Jamie	Dacre
Fantasia	Rossini's Works	Round

Linthwaite, 9th August 1911

Grand March	Impregnable	J. Ord Hume
Overture	The Viking's Daughter	Rimmer
Valse	Casino Tanze	Gung'l
Selection	Sullivan No. 1	
Euphonium solo	The Village Blacksmith	Weiss
Intermezzo	In the Twilight	Rimmer
Selection	Meyerbeer's Works	
Valse	Septembre	
Selection	Duchess of Dantzig	Monckton
Hymn	Abide With Me	

Black Dyke were playing far more "art music", drawn from a larger store of composers, than any band before the 1914 War. Similarly, under Weston Nicholl's direction, the band were showing some signs of moving away from the "selection" to the performance of complete movements, or even full works. While Black Dyke progressed more rapidly

in this sense than most other bands, they were only an extreme reflection of what was a fairly widespread change. The top flight amateur military bands whose more varied tonal range allowed for a slightly more adventurous approach, enjoyed a relatively innovative period. Again, Weston Nicholl was a significant figure; conducting the Bradford based West Riding Military Band from 1908 to 1911, he included the first movement from Schubert's Unfinished Symphony, Tschaikowsky's Nutcracker and two of Brahms's Hungarian Dances in their repertoire¹⁴⁴. But he was not alone in this process. Huddersfield Military Band performed Beethoven's 1st Symphony in 1910¹⁴⁵. Black Dyke were playing Liszt's Hungarian Rhapsody, a selection from Grieg's Sigurd Jorsfalter suite and Rachmaninoff's 3rd prelude, even before Nicholl's appointment¹⁴⁶. Even bands such as Huddersfield Fire Brigade, who had never featured amongst the elite, were performing selections from Schumann and Tschaikowsky respectively by 1908¹⁴⁷. The Edwardian period was a far more dynamic period as regards the brass band repertoire, than is often appreciated.

A similar process can be discerned among the amateur orchestral societies, and although the orchestra is not a major preoccupation in this study, it is worth surveying some of the central changes in this period. Until about the early 1880's, the amateur orchestra tended to serve simply as accompanists to the local choral societies, and thus oratorio became their primary musical interest. But the new wave of societies which began in the 1880's altered this pattern. They were from the first, concerned with secular music. At the outset this comprised what the President of the Halifax Orchestral Society described as "lighter French and Italian overtures, operatic selections and waltzes", and a great deal of dance music¹⁴⁸. Some of these overtures remained popular until 1914 and were often quite exacting works. Perhaps the three greatest favourites were Boildieu's overture to The Caliph of Baghdad - also beloved by handbell ringers - Mendelssohn's Ruy Blas, which seemed a starting place for many societies, and Wagner's Tannhauser march¹⁴⁹. From the late 1890's, societies began to be more adventurous. In certain situations this was simply due to wider availability of music. Thus in 1895, the Halifax Orchestral Society obtained the music library of the defunct Halifax Philharmonic and immediately, the range of their

repertoire increased vastly¹⁵⁰. But it was essentially the result of a genuine growth of technical ability, born of the ever-growing experience of public performance. Societies became increasingly willing to tackle lesser known and more demanding works. In November 1898, the Halifax Guardian described the following concert as "perhaps the most ambitious attempted by this excellent society for a long time".

Overture	Der Freischutz	Weber
Symphony	C minor	Mendelssohn
Overture	Die Meistersingers	Wagner
Entracte	Danse de Bacchantes	Gounod (from "Philemon and Baucis")
Selection	Hansel and Gretel	Humperdinck

The Guardian claimed that this was the first performance of the Meistersingers overture in Halifax (although the critic found it "slightly wooden") and almost certainly the first of the C Minor Symphony¹⁵¹. Several other commentators felt there to have been a real broadening of repertoire amongst a large number of organisations during this period. By 1914, the Longwood Philharmonic, a society from the suburbs of Huddersfield, conducted by Eli Brearley, a local shoemaker, included all nine Beethoven symphonies in their compass¹⁵². The Elland Orchestral Society had begun to look at some of the simpler works of Bach¹⁵³. The expansion of the orchestral repertoire varies from that of the brass band in the crucial sense that, in general, it was based on the enlargement of the musical areas already uppermost in the repertoire, rather than on any adoption of new categories. Orchestras still drew most heavily upon works from the Classical and early Romantic periods and especially upon those of Haydn, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, and of the French and Italian operatic composers. What was new, was that societies used a greater amount of this music than had previously been the case. By 1914, the amateur orchestral canon included a higher proportion of material from the pens of major composers than had ever been the case.

The emphasis has so far been on the "artistic" tradition within working class musical culture. It is essential that this tradition receives full-scale exploration for as will be shown later, ignorance of its existence has led to the perpetuation of some fundamental misconceptions about working class social life¹⁵⁴. But in the final

analysis, such music was probably a minority strand, albeit a very sizable one, within the overall range of the instrumental repertoire. Within the brass band world, it received its greatest exposure in the contest field, where by 1900 it enjoyed almost total domination. With regard to concerts, it is probable that the balance may have altered over the period with a slight increase in "art music" from the late 19th century, but there was probably still a slight majority of lighter music. If, for example, the open air performances at Greenhead Park, Huddersfield, in 1902, are analysed, only 33 of the 77 pieces of music played can be described as "art music" (43%)¹⁵⁵. At the endless parades, marches and civic functions at which bands performed, music from the lighter vein almost certainly predominated and overall, musicians from the majority of brass and other instrumental bands, played more music of this type than any other.

"Light" music is perhaps the least satisfactory of all our musical categories covering every type from the simplest dance music to the Savoy operas. Nevertheless, as a very general category, it at least serves to point up some of the variations within the repertoire. As with the sacred and art sectors, it changed and widened throughout the period. Until the later 19th century, the most common form was "dance" music. The craze for schottisches, polkas and quadrilles and so forth had been greatly stimulated by Louis Jullien, whose brass players took these forms to new levels of technical virtuosity¹⁵⁶. In the mid 19th century, bands often packed their performances with this kind of music, although unfortunately, the composers of this music often remain anonymous, and it is unclear whether bands were performing traditional dance music, compositions by bandsmen themselves or the works popularised and/or written by Jullien¹⁵⁷. Most of the early brass band publications such as J. P. Parry's The Brass Band, published by D'Almaine between 1834 and 1848, were composed largely of dances, although it is impossible to know whether such publications reached Yorkshire¹⁵⁸. By the 1870's, there was an increasing amount of this type of music being published for bands. Henry Round was especially prolific, and his work was certainly known to Saltaire Band, who played no fewer than five of his dances at a concert in Lister Park, Bradford, in 1879¹⁵⁹. Even as late as the 1890's, quite eminent bands served specifically as dance bands, if called upon to do so. Although, as noted above, many parks committees

were opposed to their concerts being used for the purposes of dancing, there were many functions at which dancing was accepted. In the summer of 1893, for example, Nazebottom Temperance, from Hebden Bridge, a competition band with some reputation, played Dance music on five consecutive Saturday afternoons at Hardcastle Crag, a local beauty spot¹⁶⁰. In this way, bands played an important role in the social life of the younger generation.

By about 1900, the role of dance music in the band repertoire was undoubtedly diminishing. Waltzes, certainly, remained popular, but quadrilles, polkas and the like were fast disappearing from the repertoire. Two new areas developed to fill the vacuum: "Specialist" light music comprising marches, overtures and fantasias, and the selection from operetta and musical comedy. Specialist music had always existed, published in magazines like Richard Smith's Champion Journal but with the expansion of brass band publishing in the last decades of the 19th century, the amount available increased enormously, both in scope and quality. The fantasia, a generic term for a showpiece based on either certain well known musical themes, or upon historical events, was particularly catholic in its range of topics. During the early 1900's, the West Riding Military Band included in their concert performances a piece entitled Tone-Picture of Darkie Life. The synopsis is worthy of full quotation.

"In the opening movement is heard the distant humming and singing of the "darkies" as they march to camp meeting. After "meeting" when the parson "has done gone home", the "old folks" indulge in an "ole time" rollicking dance. Soon the "young coons" join in and the pace becomes fast and furious, culminating in a wild "Buck Dance" accompanied by shouting, laughing, and the rattle of the bones and the strumming of the "ole banjo". At last, tired out, they went their way across the cotton fields to the well-loved strains of "The Old Folks at Home". A lively finale brings the scene to a close"¹⁶¹.

In a slightly more serious vein, there were the fantasias of Henry Round, whose Joan of Arc, Nil Desperandum, El Dorado and other pieces which placed quite heavy technical demands upon the performers, gained great popularity as contest test pieces from the late 19th century¹⁶². Overtures explicitly for brass band were a relatively new departure, but along with the march, they became regular features of the banding tradition. Two of the most prolific composers of this type of music were William Rimmer and John Ord Hume, and a

certain amount of their music remains in the repertoire to this day¹⁶³.

The increased popularity of operetta and musical comedy in the repertoire obviously reflects the wider developments of musical taste in general, but the fact that local societies, and brass bands in particular, were so responsive to this development, illustrates their sensitivity to a whole range of musical activity. The first "musical comedy" as opposed to a mere burlesque, is generally regarded to have been In Town, which was produced in London in 1892¹⁶⁴. By the beginning of the 20th century, musical comedy had become the rage of the London theatre world with its modern and/or exotic settings, exciting, often highly unlikely story lines, and hummable tunes, making it a huge box office draw. It began to make an appearance in the band repertoire at about the turn of the century, and very soon selections of the Duchess of Dantzig or The Spring Chicken began to appear on the programmes of even such mighty organisations as Black Dyke¹⁶⁵. Bands were particularly fond of Our Miss Gibbs, by Lionel Monckton and Ivan Caryll, although this perhaps owed as much to its storyline, which concerned "Tim" a Yorkshire bandsman lost in London, as to its musical virtue. (When Teddy Payne, the actor who had played "Tim" died in 1914, the British Bandsman gave a quite lengthy and appreciative obituary notice¹⁶⁶). There is perhaps no greater testimony to the catholicism of the bandsman's taste, and indeed to that of his public, than the fact that in the decade when Tschaikowsky, Chopin, Schumann and even J. S. Bach made an entrée into the band world, they were accompanied by the strains of Our Miss Gibbs.

Musical comedy and operetta are in many ways interchangeable expressions, and perhaps in the final analysis, what separates them is the modernity, both in terms of plot and music, of the former, compared with operetta's tendency to deal with historical situations and to look more towards the "art" rather than the "popular" tradition for musical stimulation. For Yorkshire bands, and British bands in general, operetta was synonymous with Sir Arthur Sullivan. Between 1900 and 1914 he became one of the most regularly performed composers in the brass band tradition. The band publishers literally poured out selections based on his music, and bands were thus able to offer listeners selections with titles as delightfully clumsy as

Gems From Sullivan, III¹⁶⁷. These portmanteau works occasionally ventured beyond the Savoy opera and included either his ballads, and above all the ubiquitous Lost Chord, or pieces from his "serious" works, such as Ivanhoe, but in general, operetta formed the basis. The melodies of Iolanthe or The Gondoliers became as familiar to bandsmen and their audiences as the arias of Donizetti and Rossini had been in previous decades. The compositions of Messrs. Gilbert and Sullivan were elevated to a premier position in popular taste, a position they have never relinquished.

iv) Critical Opinion and Amateur Musical Achievement

This great outpouring of musical activity could hardly have been ignored by contemporary observers, and although, as will be seen, there were areas of considerable ignorance, Victorian and Edwardian newspapers and periodical literature abound with personal views of popular musical life. It is worth sampling some of this material at this stage, for at the same time as providing much information about the attitude of so-called "informed" musical opinion towards the amateur society, it also offers our only guide to the technical ability of the institutions under study. In many ways it is almost impossible for a modern writer to pass judgement on the quality of musicianship. Little survives, particularly in terms of recorded music, on which to base a judgement. The views of contemporaries, however, although often contradictory and prejudiced, allow the formulation of at least the outline of such a critical assessment.

The historian of 19th century popular musicality is faced with a bewildering range of contemporary critical opinion. At one extreme is the view that working class taste was little short of moronic. This view was eloquently expressed by the Reverend Haweis who, in his influential Music and Morals claimed that:

"Music is not to our lower orders a deep rooted need, a means of expressing the pent-up and often oppressive emotions of the heart, but merely a noisy appendage to low pastimes" 168.

Even a certain number of writers supposedly sympathetic to the cultural needs of the working classes, possessed an extremely narrow view of popular artistic potential. A contributor to the Musical Times of September 1881, keen to improve levels of popular taste, suggested

concerts based on:

"the indigenous tunes and ballads of the British Isles ... that workman must be tired indeed who would not be roused by the sound of a jig, or a reel, or a hornpipe, to which if he chooses he may beat the time with hobnail boots or horny hands" 169.

It was a serious and in many ways valid suggestion, but the language, patronising even by Victorian standards, suggests a basically pessimistic view of working class sensitivity. Conversely, there were many willing to champion the abilities of the lower orders, including as distinguished a musician as Sir Charles Halle, who writing in 1895, commented that:

"Even among audiences composed chiefly of artisans and miners, I had again and again been struck with the keen discernment of good and bad, and the unquestionable musical instinct commonly revealed" 170.

Amateur musical societies were inevitably hauled into this debate to be praised or insulted according to the whim of the individual critic. Significantly, however, there was perhaps less written about the choirs and bands in the musical press than might have been expected. It is noticeable that a great deal of comment, especially in the metropolitan orientated periodicals such as the Musical Times, focussed almost exclusively upon the "passive" element of working class musical experience, and especially upon "that curse of modern times, the music hall"¹⁷¹. It is hardly surprising that many critics held a pessimistic view of popular taste if they remained in ignorance of so many developments in working class culture, and if their only knowledge of popular music was encountered in an institution that the majority of them viewed in moral and not artistic terms¹⁷². There was undoubtedly a greater awareness of popular music-making from the very end of the 19th century, with particular attention being paid to the growth of the Competitive Festival Movement. But there were still whole areas which were often either ignored or grossly distorted by the publications of the musical establishment.

In general, the more humble the social base of the organisation, and the more divorced from accepted musical values their make-up, the more likely they were to suffer in this way. Thus the choral, and to a slightly lesser extent the orchestral society, often with a scattering of eminent local citizens in their ranks, and featuring

a repertoire almost solely based on the works of eminent composers, increasingly gained the attention and recognition that they deserved. The concertina bands and handbell ringers, however, were completely beyond the pale. They were almost totally neglected by the contemporary musical press, and critics who were aware of their presence, viewed them as having no more than a novelty value. In 1907, "Shrillreed", the concertina correspondent in the British Bandsman claimed that light was beginning to break through. "There are many people who looked upon concertina bands only as some kind of comic amusement, but they have been undeceived and are learning that the concertinas can produce fine music"¹⁷³. But in fact there was much "undeceiving" still to take place. Almost 50 years later, Groves Dictionary could still damn the musical potential of the instrument by informing readers that "much variety of tone - but highly unpleasant tone - can be obtained by a skilful player"¹⁷⁴.

The brass band enjoyed a position some way between the total obscurity of the concertina ensemble and the more widely advertised achievements of the choir, although overall the degree of exposure given to the movement by such influential publications as the Musical Times was minimal. While it is possible to compile a history of the choral movement from the pages of this famous magazine, the potential historian of the band movement would be able to move little beyond the bare bones¹⁷⁵. One contributor to the magazine in the early 1880's even claimed that brass bands were not common in Britain¹⁷⁶. Perhaps the finest example of the attitude of the musical establishment towards the band movement, emerges in an article by the composer Josef Holbrooke, written for the British Bandsman magazine in 1913.

"When I had decided to attend the Crystal Palace last Saturday to listen to some brass band playing I was considerably amused, first with myself and then with my friends, who had the joke well rubbed into me that I should repent it to my dying day, and probably be on a sick bed after it, for life"¹⁷⁷.

It is worth noting here, that despite the forays of Holst, Elgar et al. into the band world after 1918, establishment attitudes did not change particularly rapidly. As late as 1927, Groves Dictionary made no mention of the brass band movement, while several distinguished inter-war critics and educationalists, including Percy Scholes, Landon Ronald and Peter Warlock were all genuinely surprised to discover the extent and quality of the movement¹⁷⁸.

Moreover, a certain amount of what was written about the band movement was little more than mere prejudice. It is clear that especially in the period up to about 1875, the social origins of brass bandmen led to an undervaluation of their musical ability, as this contribution to the Yorkshire Orchestra in 1868 clearly illustrates.

"Our brass bandmen are all mechanics; some of them, no doubt, fine specimens of humanity - rough, hardworking, honest fellows - deserving our highest admiration as mechanics, but lacking the refinement of feeling or the ability to become efficient musicians. The greatest delight many of them have is to wear a grand military uniform, so that they may parade in the streets at night, followed by a large crowd (usually composed of all the tag-rag and bobtail of the town) when "bang" goes the big drum, immediately followed by a terrific crash of nasty, coarse, brassy sounds, enough to terrify into fits our little ones, who are frequently awake out of the first sleep by these noisy, thoughtless, brassy men" 179.

For this gentleman, musical sensitivity was solely an attribute of the wealthy.

Accompanying and sometimes the direct result of this manifestation of Victorian class prejudice, was a feeling that brass band music was essentially a deviant form of the musical art. There was a commonly held scale of musical virtue, which regarded the brass band as clearly inferior to both the military band and the orchestra. A Bradford music teacher writing in the Musical Herald in 1889, held that "the prominence given to brass band music throughout Yorkshire" compared with "the comparatively few good military bands" proved a lack of "taste and refinement" amongst the local population¹⁸⁰. Such ideas were still prevalent in the Edwardian period. W. J. Galloway suggested that the involvement of brass bands in musical festivals of the Mary Wakefield type might "perhaps induce some of the more eager to take up the study of stringed instruments"¹⁸¹. Even as distinguished a personage as John Spencer Curwen, the son of tonic sol-fa's inventor and himself a passionate devotee of the tonic sol-fa Movement, a musical critic of some standing, and in every way a man supposedly dedicated to the cause of popular musical education, could dismiss what was arguably the major vehicle for musical education in industrial England with the following remark. "It is much to be regretted that these brass bands do not tone down their blare by the addition of flutes, clarionets, oboes, etc., making a properly balanced

military band. A good authority tells me that it is not the difficulty of learning the instruments of the wood band which stands in the way of this reform so much as the British love of noise. The people want plenty of tone, and the brass band gives it"¹⁸². In general, one must seriously doubt whether observers like Curwen had very much personal experience of brass band music.

But clearly, not all criticism of the contemporary situation can be dismissed quite so readily. There were many with a deep interest in the quality of amateur music who accepted the validity of such organisations as the brass band, and were anxious to give what they felt to be genuinely needed advice. From the later 19th century, as the whole nature of British musical culture broadened, the repertoire came under considerable criticism. Yet again, the brass band suffered most, although even the choral or orchestral society was occasionally criticised for its musical policy. Herbert Thompson's strictures on "messiah-mania" have been noted, and orchestras who gave less than what a local critic saw as the required amount of symphonic music, was always open to attack. The attack on the brass band's favouring of old style operatic selection and the demand for more quality music from young composers, has already been noted. But there were many other causes for complaint. There was a marked tendency to criticise bands who included "too much" non-classical music in their repertoire. Edward Misdale, a Bradford piano teacher, criticised Saltaire Band for the inclusion of five pieces of dance music by "that eminent(!) composer", Henry Round, at a park concert, and suggested that the conductor of Saltaire Band "might conscientiously substitute such names as Beethoven, Mozart etc., whose music, I venture to say, would be better appreciated"¹⁸³. It is interesting that the criticism of repertoire was often levelled at there being too much technique, too great an interest in "showy cornet solos" and technical "flashiness"¹⁸⁴. A correspondent in the Bradford Observer once claimed that bands were only fond of dance music because it gave their cornet player an excuse to show off his triple tonguing¹⁸⁵. Choral societies, and especially the competitive bodies, were also sometimes criticised on these grounds, with many critics feeling that works were sometimes chosen with regard to technical as opposed to artistic considerations, and that many pieces were practised to such an extent that by the time they were performed, much of the music's charm had been obliterated.

One cannot help feeling that in the last analysis, much of the criticism, if not exactly unfair, failed to appreciate many of the central factors that structured the musical tradition. A major consideration, rarely noted, was the strength of public opinion. When societies operated as private musical clubs, they could perform whatever they wanted. As soon as they became reliant upon the public for finance, then the repertoire had, at least to some extent, to reflect that public's musical values. A member of the Lister Park Band Committee countered Misdale's critique of Saltaire Band with the reminder that a programme of wholly classical music would not meet with the approval of the audience. Again, in 1913, "one of the ordinary public" took J. B. Priestley to task for referring to the lighter type of band music as "rubbish". "We mechanics, weavers and others, when we go to a band performance, we often take a tired body with us and it may be a jaded mind, and if what you call "rubbish" can, for a brief hour lift us out of ourselves and our mechanical daily grind that is surely something to the good"¹⁸⁶. The problem was perhaps most acute for those choral societies who earned most of their income from concert performance. Discretion had to be exercised in the choice of music performed. An unknown or untried work always ran the risk of attracting a small audience. As the secretary of one society informed subscribers in 1896, "unfortunately the public stayed away in such large numbers when a new work was performed that the society lost an enormous sum of money"¹⁸⁷. A similar recognition of popular demand led to the acceptance by most choir committees of the annual Messiah. It was both too popular and too good a money-raiser to be abandoned¹⁸⁸.

But it was not merely the suspicions of the audience which had to be allayed. It is critical to appreciate that the majority of local amateurs were people of little musical education, who saw music essentially as a hobby and not as a crusade for artistic perfection. Although in general willing to experiment quite widely, there were limits beyond which they would not go. In 1883, the committee of the Halifax Amateur Orchestral Society, worried by the decline in the orchestra's numbers, laid the blame squarely on the ambition of the conductor, on "the difficult character of much of the music and the rapid rate at which it is played. We are very anxious that the fact that the society is intended for amateurs should not be

forgotten and that therefore a sufficient amount of teaching should be given to enable the players to master the difficulties of the music put before them"¹⁸⁹. Mr. Whitaker, the offending conductor, was angry and unbending, and was eventually asked to resign. His replacement had to comply with the committee's demand that "easy" overtures be substituted for "difficult" ones, and that rather than spending the whole evening on one or two difficult works, at least half an hour of every rehearsal be devoted to dance music¹⁹⁰. The new conductor was eventually able to reintroduce quite complex pieces, but this incident which all but destroyed the society, illustrates what could happen if the pace was forced too quickly. Similarly, in 1913, over a quarter of the Keighley Musical Union left the society rather than perform Bath's The Wedding of Shon Maclean¹⁹¹. Similarly, even conductors and trainers, especially in the band movement, were restricted by the limits of their musical experience, and education. They had to make considerable sacrifices to study and arrange the music that they did utilise, and for the majority it was expecting too much to have asked them to go much further. As has been shown, something of a lead as regards reform of the repertoire was given by the major publishing companies, but commercial considerations meant that they could never be more than one step ahead of the bandsmen's taste. Only a fully trained professional like Joseph Weston Nicholl in a topflight, heavily-subsidised band like Black Dyke, could make really major innovations in the repertoire, and men like Weston Nicholl were rarities in the period before 1914.

There is one other critical sense in which contemporary critics somewhat misunderstood the nature of the amateur repertoire. Emphasis on the narrowness of the music selected, the predominance of opera in the bandsmen's canon, the popularity of virtuoso choral works or cornet solos, failed to appreciate the extent to which much of this music was aimed at a "specialist" market. Band composers and arrangers, for example, deliberately chose and shaped their music in order to show the technique of bands to its greatest effect. To claim this to be somehow de rigueur is to take a highly subjective standpoint. If early 19th century Italian opera was a suitable showcase for a band's talents, then its continued inclusion in the repertoire was totally defensible, from the bandsmen's standpoint.

The tendency to criticise band music for its "flashiness" has also led - and leads - to the undervaluing of the compositions of men like William Rimmer and Henry Round. Saltaire Band perhaps preferred to play five dance pieces by Henry Round, rather than music by Beethoven or Mozart, because it showed off the band's skill and demanded a high level of expertise. That music critics and amateur musicians often disagreed here, simply illustrates that they held rather different views of music's role. It is also surely not surprising, that bandsmen and singers developed a penchant for showing off their technical ability, for they were living in the age of the virtuoso. Nurtured as he was in a musical culture that lauded to the sky the achievements of Jenny Lind, Liszt or Paganini, it is not surprising that the working class musician sought a little glory from his art¹⁹².

As the prevalence of criticisms concerning hypervirtuosity imply, the majority of informed opinion, if dissatisfied with many elements of popular musical activity, was prepared to accept that technical ability existed in abundance. There were always degrees of variation between different organisations - not every band could be a Black Dyke, or every choir a Saltaire Prize - but at every stage between 1850 and 1914, the very best musical societies were lavishly praised by those commentators who encountered them. In 1861, for example, a correspondent of the Illustrated London News enthused about Saltaire Band's prizewinning performance of Verdi's Ernani at Crystal Palace, a performance which was, he reported, "full of beauty of form, depth, and cleanness, combined with an enrapturing characteristic expression in the subdued passages which charmed all listeners¹⁹³." 30 years later, a contributor to the Sunday Chronicle who visited Queensbury to study Black Dyke in 1893, went into positive raptures about the band.

"These bandsmen of the Black Dyke play the most classical and difficult music - merely popular, prancing, jigging tunes are out of their books - and they play with such earnestness and enthusiasm that the result is a level of artistic excellence not exceeded by some bands of highly cultured professional musicians. And this is not merely a solitary instance; it is typical of scores of cases which may be pointed out in Lancashire and Yorkshire" 194.

It is likely that the journalists quoted above were not music specialists, but this does not undermine their observations, for in general their comments were amplified by the words and actions of many prominent musicians. The critic and composer, Frederick Corder, made a memorable tribute to the northern choral tradition in the pages of the Musical Times.

"I have heard choirs of mill-girls that made me wonder what was left for the archangels; I have heard choirs of rough men brought to the fine edge of a solo quartet of trombones; but that crowning glory of the North, the well selected mixed choir carefully trained by some local conductor, can touch the heart and compel the unwilling tear in a way that nothing else can. Here is England's strength and beauty" 195.

At the 1913 Blackpool Music Festival, the judges were so enamoured by the performance of the Halifax Madrigal Society that they broke all accepted standards of behaviour, by standing and joining in the applause¹⁹⁶. Even the much maligned brass band astonished many. Once Josef Holbrooke had overcome his initial hilarity at the idea of actually listening to one, he admitted to being "astonished in a powerful degree" by the performance he witnessed¹⁹⁷. Perhaps the greatest tribute paid by the establishment to the brass band was the fact that so many orchestral brass musicians were drawn from the ranks of the band movement¹⁹⁸.

There was at the same time a feeling that the technical levels were continually progressing. Exponents of every branch of local musical life testified to this and by 1914, local musicians were performing music to a far higher level than would have seemed possible in the mid-19th century. There were innumerable factors contributing to this growth in ability. Experience counted for much; the longer members continued playing, the more competent both their playing and the tuition they might give to friends and family, were likely to become. The growth of facility for musical education, whether it be at school, through experience of concerts, or at the hands of the rapidly growing profession of music teachers was also fundamental. But progress in all branches of amateur musical life, owed perhaps its largest debt to the musical competition. Competition demanded an enormous degree of effort and technical mastery. A description of a typical practice by a contesting band, gives some indication of the preparation that went into a competition piece.

"Starting with the first chord, the selection is pulled to pieces; bar for bar and note for note; the whole combination of musical terms, attack, tone, precision, articulation, interpretation, expression etc., are in every sense strictly observed and brought to bear upon each separate individual's part There is scarcely a bar in the whole of the selection, but what is played both sectionally and individually many times over, the result being that in two or three hours (time to retire) a fifteen minutes selection is scarcely ended" ¹⁹⁹.

Contesting also generated a small but significant community of band trainers, men like Swift, Gladney, Owen and Rimmer who were able to devote their full time to the mastery and development of the band as a medium. They in turn inspired other bandmasters to follow the lead they set, and thus generally helped raise levels. Contemporaries had no doubt that this type of intensive practice, unnecessary before the introduction of contesting, had exerted a massive influence upon technical standards. The editor of one brass band publication claimed in the mid 1890's that; "Contesting has literally revolutionised the whole world of brass music, and its beneficial influence has more or less affected every brass band in the country In every respect, is the music of today far superior to that of 10 or 15 years ago"²⁰⁰. Observers of the choral movement were equally certain that a "revolution in technique" had been brought about by the competitive repertoire²⁰¹. Obviously not every society was involved in contesting, and in the world of the orchestra and the oratorio choirs in particular, competition was extremely rare. That their repertoire broadened and increasingly involved music of a more taxing nature, illustrates that the determination of an individual conductor could result in progress without the adjudicator's ear being an essential prerequisite. But overall, the growth of the competitive ethos was undoubtedly the primary agent behind a great deal of the century's musical improvement.

Clearly, not every member of West Yorkshire's musical community became a virtuoso. Hidden away in the back rows of choirs, or amongst the 2nd violins and 3rd cornets, were many who aspired to little more than basic competence (although obviously many excellent musicians commenced in such humble stations). Brass band music tended to be arranged so as to place maximum demand on the soloists with the rest of the band providing a relatively straightforward accompaniment²⁰². Again, a particularly good concertina player once turned down the

chance of joining a concertina band because it would have meant "too much one finger stuff", rather than giving him the chance to exhibit his own two handed excellence²⁰³. Not every amateur musician who achieved particularly high levels necessarily manifested his or her musical excellence in ways which would have won the approval of the musical establishment. This was particularly true of the brass band and related instrumental organisations. The majority of performers, it was generally claimed, had little grasp of musical theory. Scales, for example, would be known as the scale of 2 flats or 3 flats rather than B^b or E^b major²⁰⁴. Similarly, many bandsmen were poor sight-readers and even some of the top soloists had difficulties sight-reading at playing speed. Certainly there were a few, like Edwin Swift, who despite a lack of formal education, had a remarkably firm theoretical understanding due to what can only be seen as an extraordinary degree of innate musical ability, but such men were untypical. Nevertheless, it is clear that hard work on the part of the bandsmen, and patient instruction by the bandmaster or conductor nullified many of these potential weaknesses. Artistic achievement was possibly without the formal trappings that many thought necessary.

Undoubtedly, the standards attained pale against the levels achieved by modern organisations. Older brass bandsmen who have lived through the changes are the first to admit that technical levels are now much higher.

"These big bands, it sounds funny to say it, like the Lindley Band that won the Belle Vue Championship in 1900 - well they wouldn't have been able to play some of the stuff that our local band plays now" 205.

The old style of band arrangement, whereby the four soloists were stretched to the limit, while the majority of the band enjoyed relatively simple parts, has been replaced by a tendency, admittedly one that began amongst the very best bands in the late Edwardian period, which demands far more from every player. But viewed in the context of the period, much progress had been made. Contemporary composers and critics who took the trouble to investigate fully, were strongly impressed by the ability that so many organisations possessed. When the degree of self-sacrifice that accompanied so much of this musical activity is taken into account, the breadth of popular taste and the degree of technical excellence achieved, can only be cause for admiration.

v) The Arts and The Working Classes

There has been a strong tendency within recent scholarly studies of popular culture, to underrate and even deny the involvement of the 19th century and early 20th century English working class in that area of creative activity that we tentatively call "High Art". Certainly, some historians have increasingly come to appreciate that there were working men and women with a taste for Shakespeare, Wordsworth or Handel, but acknowledgement of this facet of working class life has yet to pass into the mainstream of academic debate²⁰⁶. Similarly, sociologists, to whom we turn for much of our guidance in the debate over culture and society, seem largely to concur with the opinion expressed by Stuart Hall and Paddy Whannel in their influential The Popular Arts, that the Industrial Revolution heralded a period in which the working class "were shut out from official 'high culture' by the barriers of class, money, literacy and education"²⁰⁷. Many musicologists have made similar statements. One writer has argued that for the working classes, the 19th century represented a "musical desert", that the majority of the population entered the 20th century "with very little experience of self-expression in music or the arts or of any sort of cultural background", while another recent musical commentator has echoed these sentiments claiming that the industrial working class "grew up with no contact with the world of high culture except, perhaps the language of the authorised version of the Bible"²⁰⁸. (This is a strange conclusion indeed for a man in the midst of devoting several pages to the repertoire of the brass band and choral movements). From this perspective, the arts became "bourgeois", the sole prerogative of a "dominant" social group for whom the appreciation of Handel and Mozart, Shakespeare and Milton, or Wordsworth and Coleridge was a badge of class, power and status.

This widespread belief in the historical exclusion of the working class from the arts, is perhaps not surprising given the pessimistic view of popular social life promulgated by the Victorian middle class observers upon whom modern commentators rely for so much of their source material. Even those sympathetic to the working classes, and in particular to their artistic needs, often left later generations with an extremely depressing picture. William Morris, whose writings are seminal to any discussion of popular artistic endeavour, possessed a bleak view of working class sensitivity. Civilisation,

he raged:

"has covered the many green fields with the hovels of slaves, and blighted the flowers and trees with poisonous gases, and turned the rivers into sewers; till over many parts of Britain the common people have forgotten what a field or a flower is like, and their idea of beauty is a gas-poisoned gin palace or a tawdry theatre" 209.

Again, in Art and Socialism, he spoke of "the black horror and reckless squalor of our manufacturing districts, so dreadful to the senses which are unused to them that it is ominous for the future of the race that any man can live among it in tolerable cheerfulness"²¹⁰. Morris was, of course, mainly concerned in his writings with the "decorative arts", rather than with the "intellectual arts" such as music, painting and sculpture, but on the occasions when he discussed the latter category, his strictures were equally severe.

"People sometimes talk as though the ordinary man in the street is the proper person to apply to for a judgement on works of art. They say he is unsophisticated, and so on. Now, just let us look the facts in the face As a matter of fact, he is not unsophisticated. On the contrary, he is steeped in the mere dregs of all the Arts that are current at the time he lives. Is not that absolutely and positively the state of the case? I am perfectly certain that in the art of music what the "unsophisticated" person takes to is not the fine works of Art, but the ordinary, commonplace, banal tunes which are drummed into his ears at every street corner. That is natural There is a tendency for all people to fall under the domination of tradition of some sort; and the fine tradition, the higher tradition, having disappeared, men will certainly fall into the power of the lower and inferior tradition" 211.

Under the destructive impulses of capitalism, working class creativity and artistic sensibility had been destroyed, and Art had become the possession "of a few rich or well-to-do people"²¹².

Morris's powerful writings (and those of other observers) paint an all too persuasive picture of a country driven to mass philistinism by capitalism, and it is hardly surprising that so many modern writers have at least a broad acceptance of his ideas. Yet Morris surely underrated the class he sought to serve, just as many scholars following in his tradition have underrated the class they sought to study. Undoubtedly, there were innumerable members of the working

class who had absolutely no interest in any form of the arts. Equally, there were many wealthy Victorians and Edwardians who conceived of the arts as their distinctive heritage, their possession; the way in which so many philanthropists handed out portions of "culture" to the working classes like alms to the deserving poor, is adequate testimony to this attitude. In a sense they were correct. The Upper Middle classes probably attended more cultural events and produced more creative artists than any other sector of British society. But in the last analysis, the concept of a working class excluded from the general stock of creative art supposes a cultural hierarchy which, at least in the musical field, and almost certainly in most others, simply did not exist. Far from existing beyond the bounds of "High Culture", many working class people, through their involvement either as spectator or performer with the amateur musical society, made it a vital part of their social experience.

The concept of "High Culture" is notoriously difficult to use. Generally, it is held to be a body of creative achievement which, by means of being produced by craftsmen who have a thorough understanding of their chosen medium, possesses considerable artistic and intellectual value, and a far more lasting quality than the often ephemeral, shallow products of market orientated mass culture. Certain critics have argued that the concept should be abandoned, claiming (often with considerable justification) that it has led to the undervaluing of many cultural artefacts produced outside the confines of what the guardians of "high art" have regarded as acceptable²¹³. However, this remains an extreme position and the majority of writers continue to use and to accept the idea, while at the same time invariably cocooning it in quotation marks, in acknowledgement of its complexity. Historians of music use a whole variety of adjectives such as "highbrow", "heavy", "quality", "serious", "classical" and "art", to describe the musical aspect of high culture, and in this study, the last of these appellations has been adopted²¹⁴. While the term "art music" is far from totally satisfactory, it is generally more acceptable than the other terms, which are either technically incorrect ("classical"), pejorative ("heavy" or "highbrow", for example, tend to make the music sound surprisingly boring), or value-laden. ("Quality" and "serious" make the particular work described sound infinitely superior to all other branches of the musical art).

Selecting a useful adjective, however, does not solve the problem of categorising the object described, of discovering or deciding where "art music" begins and ends and how it is differentiated from "popular music". At the most extreme points, distinguishing the two is straightforward enough: the difference is that between Bach and the Bay City Rollers, or in 19th century terms, between the songs of Schubert and those of the Music Hall. But there are many areas in between where the distinction is far less clear. Again, "art music" is by no means monolithic and some of its components are held to be of greater artistic value than others, and commentators have invented a somewhat subjective vocabulary, including such terms as light, popular classic, lowbrow, middlebrow and highbrow, in order to establish an approximate artistic hierarchy. These problems are heightened when dealing with the music of the 19th century and early 20th century, because Victorian and Edwardian definitions of "popular" and "art" and of "lowbrow" and "highbrow", were not necessarily identical to those that appertain today. Much of the period's music has been dismissed as worthless by most 20th century critics²¹⁵. Many modern musicologists would laugh long and loud if informed that a performance of Sir Henry Bishop's music by brass band or choir provided proof that the working classes had a stake in the heritage of high culture. But, in the last analysis, it must be the people of the period 1850-1914, and not the academics of the later 20th century, who define the boundaries of Victorian and Edwardian art music for us. Looking back, particularly at the Victorian period, from our own, it is perhaps inevitable that so much of its music appears sterile and of low artistic value. The 20th century has witnessed so many changes within the language of musical expression and at the same time, through the work of the media and as a result of academic research, has seen such a large-scale expansion of opportunity to listen to the previously forgotten music of earlier centuries, that the efforts of the Victorians, which are often antithetical to both the taste and the morality of our age, are bound to suffer by comparison.

There were, however, numerous Victorian composers, either long since forgotten or now the object of modern scorn, who in their own times were highly lauded. Sir Henry Bishop (1786-1855) affords an excellent example. The majority of 20th century critics have little

that is complimentary to say about him, and yet he attained the honour of being the first British musician to be knighted for his services to music, and was widely mourned and much praised when he died in 1855. The Times described him as a "distinguished composer", one "to whom the present musical reputation of the country, in its creative aspect owes so much". They went on to add that "few men have worked so labouriously, so productively and so honourably in a graceful and humanizing art as Henry Rowley Bishop, and his memory will ever be held in veneration and respect"²¹⁶. To modern minds, his music may appear extraordinarily limited. But both at the time of his death, and for a lengthy period afterward, he was held in great esteem. If a choir chose to perform his partsong The Chough and The Crow, or a band to give a selection from his opera, Guy Mannering, they were performing what they regarded as amongst the best of their contemporary culture.

All this is not to suggest that the 19th century critical opinion was governed by a rigid standard of taste. Ideas of what was or wasn't "good art" altered as the century progressed (Bishop's fall from grace began well before 1900), and there were always strong disagreements between various schools of critical thought, although these were probably less virulent in the half century after 1850 than they had been immediately before. But it is crucial to appreciate that contemporary attitudes were not always ours. Once this is grasped, the extent to which the amateur musical society, and through it the working class, drew upon the traditions of "High Culture", becomes strikingly apparent. It was the choral society that drew most heavily upon the tradition, for virtually all choral music, whether it was in the form of a full scale oratorio or a mere partsong fell into this category. Certainly, some choral forms were held in greater esteem than others. Oratorio, "the highest art-form" to which the composer could aspire, according to Groves Dictionary in 1887, was held to be somewhat superior to the cantata, which in turn had a more exalted place in the canon than the glee, madrigal and partsong²¹⁷. The partsong, particularly in the earlier part of the period, teetered on the very edge of the art music category. "When all has been said", commented Groves Dictionary in 1880, "the highest qualities of musicianship cannot find fitting exercise in the partsong"²¹⁸. Nevertheless, even the poorest partsongs were generally held to be of

greater artistic merit than the main forms of "popular song", the music hall ditty and the parlour ballad, while from the very late 19th century, the new repertoire created by Parry, Elgar, Bantock et al, "almost obliterated the restriction of style which formerly separated the English partsong from the larger choral piece"²¹⁹. It is also significant that the partsong in particular, and to an increasing extent after 1875, the larger choral works, acquainted both working class performers and listeners not merely with the musical but the literary branch of high culture. Throughout the period, writers of shorter choral pieces drew heavily upon secular poetry, and in this way, sections of the working classes came to have at least a superficial knowledge of the works of such writers as Tennyson, Longfellow and Blake²²⁰.

But what is perhaps the most vital aspect of the choral society's artistic involvement, was that choirs were not simply involved in the presentation and interpretation of the existing stock of art music, but were actually ensuring its continued development. Since the early 19th century, the choral society has enjoyed the distinction of being perhaps the only amateur artistic institution which has been responsible for the creation of original works of art. Throughout the period, the majority of choirs were composed of amateurs and/or "semi-professionals", people receiving payment for what was in the last analysis a leisure pursuit. But for the existence of this great amateur tradition, a great deal of art music would never have been written. Composers were always acutely aware of the need to produce marketable artistic commodities and they would have turned to other outlets if choral music had not offered a guaranteed source of income. As it was, the needs of innumerable choral societies, not simply in West Yorkshire but all over the country, provided almost every 19th century composer with much needed finance at some stage of his career. Perhaps the clearest example of the stimulation of the music tradition by the amateur choral society is afforded by the creation after c. 1890 of the new partsong repertoire aimed at the needs of the competitive choir. Composers such as Elgar and Bantock would simply not have written, or even contemplated writing the music that they produced from about the turn of the century, without the existence of choirs whose technical levels drove them to produce more and more demanding works. While it has to be

admitted that in modern artistic terms, and sometimes even in those of contemporary critics, a certain amount of Victorian and Edwardian choral music was of limited artistic value and hardly enriched British musical culture, much work of a high standard and a lasting significance would never have been written but for the existence of choirs in which the working classes, supposedly "excluded" from the traditions of "High Culture", played an important, and sometimes a leading, role.

The brass band and its related ensembles enjoyed a somewhat less intimate relationship with the art music tradition. First, they played a great deal of music that by no stretch of the imagination can be contained within that category. Alongside this, ignored until the very end of the Edwardian period by establishment musicians, and even then taken up only by relatively minor composers, the band movement rather than having a body of art music written especially for it, had to rework the existing tradition to suit its own needs. To an extent theirs was, therefore, an arm's length contact with the arts. Until the last years of the Edwardian period when it became more common to perform entire movements and even entire works, an opera, oratorio, or even a composer's whole career, were distilled into fifteen or twenty minute selections. Clearly, here was an important difference between the artistic experience of the bandsmen or handbell ringer and that of the choral or orchestral member. But, nevertheless, it is of the greatest significance that even if the manner in which the music was performed differed considerably to that envisaged by the composer, and even if it was often divorced from its original context, bandsmen looked to the tradition of High Culture for a considerable part of their music.

The art music within the band repertoire is usually seen as comprising largely of "popular classics". This is to an extent a useful description; the majority of band works such as Rigoletto, Il Trovatore, or Lohengrin, were well established, well known pieces of music by the later 19th century. But it has to be remembered that the idea of a "popular classic" is essentially a 20th century one. We are used to hearing certain works with almost monotonous regularity thanks to the efforts of the gramophone companies and the media. But what appears to the mid-20th century ear, a well established piece of music, had not always featured amongst the

dominant works of British musical culture, and often, the brass band, far from drawing upon the popular art music repertoire, was actually helping certain works to enter its store. Many works, later to become "popular classics" were taken up by brass bands very shortly after their first performance in this country and disseminated and popularised. The band movement showed a remarkable receptivity to new music. Its adoption of Wagner during his first period of real popularity in Britain in the 1870's has already been noted, but there are many other equally striking examples. The Belle Vue contest test pieces, which invariably passed rapidly into the mainstream of the brass band repertoire, were often arrangements of very recent music. Gounod's Faust was the basis of the testpiece in 1863, the year of the opera's British premiere. Similarly, Verdi's Un Ballo in Maschera, first performed in Britain in 1861, formed the test-piece in 1865. Meyerbeer's L'Africaine, first performed in 1865, was used at Belle Vue the following year, while Verdi's Aida was utilised in 1876, the actual year of its British premiere²²¹. Many other examples can be discovered at more local contests and concerts. Verdi's Il Trovatore, first performed in London in 1855, was used as a testpiece by no fewer than three bands at the Bradford contest of 1860²²². Certainly, this popularising process was more marked before about 1875 than after. From that date, bands tended to be largely content with the repertoire that they had already developed, but there were still examples of new works and newly established composers moving swiftly into the band repertoire even after 1900. Tschaikowsky, enormously popular with British concert audiences from the 1890's, was well represented in the band repertoire by the early 1900's. Similarly, Black Dyke included Sibelius's Finlandia in their repertoire by 1911, only five years after its first British performance, and only ten years after the first performance in this country of any piece of his music. From a late 20th century perspective, we might think of Finlandia as the "popular classic" par excellence, but it should not be assumed that it held this status sixty years ago. It was a new, fresh piece of music, and Black Dyke were facilitating its absorption into the mainstream of English musical life.

This somewhat changes our view of the brass band's relationship with the wider world of musical culture. It has been argued that the brass band movement was divorced from the core of serious musical life.

J. H. Elliott has claimed that "the whole great activity was conducted in almost complete segregation from the central musical life of the community. Only at remote points were participants brought into touch with any broad standards of culture"²²⁴. A recent American scholar, talking of the band repertoire, agrees claiming that: "Performer and audience alike rarely heard any of the pieces in their entirety or in their original orchestral or operatic form"²²⁵. In fact, it seems likely that bandmen, and perhaps even some of their audiences, were far more involved in the musical life of the community than we have realised. Certainly, the band movement was "in almost complete segregation", in the sense that they were more or less ignored by the musical establishment. But the situation was far more complex than these two writers imply. In a critical sense, the brass band, particularly in the early part of the period, actually represented to a considerable extent "the central musical life of the community". Before about 1875, and considerably later in some remoter areas, both in West Yorkshire and in Britain as a whole, the brass band was a major institution of musical education, bringing in albeit altered form, the new works of the art music repertoire, to the populace. If they had not played excerpts from opera, then this particular aspect of high culture would barely have reached the majority of the population, not because the local population had no inclination to hear it, but because the opportunity to do so, so rarely arose. Large sections of the middle classes, let alone the working classes, would have not encountered the works of Verdi, Donizetti, Meyerbeer, Wagner or Gounod to either the extent or with the speed that they did, without the efforts of the brass band movement²²⁶.

Moreover, there were many bandsmen who took an extremely full interest in the activities of the musical establishment whenever the opportunity arose. There is considerable evidence that bandsmen made the best of their limited opportunities to hear performances by professional musicians. It has already been shown that musicians in the late 18th century and early 19th century were prepared to walk great distances in order to see concerts, while in the 1840's and 1850's, bandsmen often made efforts to watch performances by such artists as the Distin family and the orchestra of Louis Jullien. By the late 19th century and early 20th century many bandsmen were making

the most of the increased availability of concert performances. The British Bandsman's Yorkshire correspondent drew attention to the large number of local bandsmen present at the Carl Rosa Company's Il Trovatore at Bradford in January 1907.

"'Il Trovatore' seemed to be a great favourite among bandsmen, judging from the large numbers that attended the performance of this opera. I noticed Mr. Heap, Mr. Brier, Mr. Phineas Ambler (who seemed to be enjoying himself), Mr. Aked Haley (who was explaining to his friend Mr. Pollard, the intricacies of the French horn), Messrs. Crowther and Simpson, the Wyke Trombonists, and scores of other bandsmen"²²⁷.

The same writer was pleased to notice that a Wagner orchestral concert at Leeds Town Hall, sponsored by the Leeds Borough organist, in December 1913, attracted a large number of bandsmen, several of whom had walked lengthy distances in order to be present²²⁸. On one occasion, the British Bandsman even printed a list of operas currently being performed in London for the benefit of provincial bandsmen contemplating visiting the Metropolis²²⁹. Alongside this enthusiastic body of concert-goers, there were too the select few noted previously, who were actually hired by visiting companies to play in the orchestra. Obviously, it cannot be ascertained just how many brass bandsmen (or concertina players, handbell ringers and so forth) moved beyond the mere performance of operatic selections to a wider appreciation of the musical form, but it is clear that the situation was more "hopeful" than the traditional interpretation allows²³⁰. For many bandsmen, opera was not something imposed upon them by publishers, bandmasters and contest committees, but a central part of their musical culture and a genuine source of artistic pleasure.

The inclusion of a sizeable body of art music in the choral and band repertoire was made easier, and to an extent likely, because the foundations for its appreciation were laid by a variety of other musical institutions. The amateur society was rarely attempting to impose a totally "alien" culture upon their audiences. Certainly, this foundation laying was far less the case in the period before about 1875, when the brass band or choir may well have been the only institution in a particular locality to provide regular contact with art music. But after that date, and even before in certain instances, there were other sources familiarising working class audiences with at

least the better known works of High Culture. A small number of working class men and women encountered the artistic tradition in the concert hall, at events sponsored by both impresarios and middle class philanthropists, and some of them undoubtedly became musical connoisseurs. The working class concert-goer obviously represented a minority of his class, but there were many other ways in which the bulk of the working population could obtain at least a rudimentary knowledge of art music. The music hall, and to a lesser extent the theatre, were especially important in this respect. The music hall's service to art music in its early years, and in particularly the performance of Gounod's Faust at the Canterbury Music Hall in 1859, has often been commented upon, but in fact throughout the period and perhaps increasingly after about 1890, most halls featured a certain amount of art music performed by a small orchestra of some 6 - 10 musicians. At the very least, an overture from either Italian or French opera was given at the beginning of each half of the programme²³¹. Some pieces became particularly popular and were thus performed with perhaps a little too much regularity: a contributor to the Yorkshire Daily Observer commenting upon the choice of music at the opening ceremony of the Bradford Alhambra in 1914, described the William Tell Overture, one of the pieces on the programme, as "that most hackneyed of all music hall classicalism"²³².

Again, the public house, both through formally organised singing sessions and informal music-making, provided many with a certain exposure to "High Culture". The public house singing saloon was very common in the larger towns of West Yorkshire from at least the 1840's until the early years of the 20th century, when the police began a rigorous campaign against them. In 1902, 368 of Bradford's public houses had music licences and perhaps 30-40 of the establishments had saloons which were almost small music halls²³³. It is probable that a few "popular classics" would have been performed in these institutions, if only in the form of a rendition of "Home, Sweet Home". Certainly, sacred music was often performed on Sunday nights in English public houses. This seems to have originated as a way of providing music on Sundays without violating the licencing laws, which outlawed Sunday performance of secular music in public houses. The practice became genuinely popular in some areas, with a

landlord in Birmingham thinking it worthwhile to spend £800 having an organ installed in the 1840's²³⁴. It must be stressed that there is no evidence of Sunday sacred music in West Yorkshire inns, but it is surely probable that some of the more commonly performed oratorio choruses may have found their way into the repertoire of some public house entertainers²³⁵. The public house was, of course, not merely a centre for organized musical entertainment, but of informal musical life, and it is perhaps in this way that the largest number of people were exposed to the art music repertoire, through the efforts of fellow customers. Even as late as the Edwardian period, choral singing seems to have taken place in public-houses. The Musical Home Journal of 10th March 1908, gave the following fascinating glimpse of public house glee singing in Huddersfield.

"It is no uncommon thing in the local public-houses to see several young fellows suddenly rise and give a lusty rendering of When Evening's Twilight or Here's Life and Health to England's King or Who will o'er the Down's? And that, be it duly set down, long before 11 p.m." ²³⁶.

At first sight the most unlikely, but in fact one of the most effective providers of High Culture to the working classes, was the street musician. Middle class Victorians spent a lifetime fulminating against his presence, and one can have a certain sympathy for bourgeois anxiety, for the endless round of German bands, barrel organs, blind fiddlers, nigger troupes, zither players and so forth, who inhabited the streets of the larger cities, must have been capable of emitting much unpleasant noise. But even their most stern critics appreciated that as "musicians to the poor", they performed an invaluable social function. The Reverend Haweis was positively ecstatic about the beneficiary effects of the organ grinder. "I bless that organ-man - a very Orpheus in Hell! I bless his music. I stand in that foul street where the blessed sunshines and where the music is playing. I give the man a penny to prolong the happiness of these poor people, of those hungry, pale, ragged children, and, as I retire, I am saluted as a public benefactor; was ever pleasure bought so cheap and pure"²³⁷. Writing in 1897, the Liverpool philanthropist, H. L. J. Jones, maintained that as many as two thirds of Liverpool's working class relied upon the organ grinder for their main source of music, and it is likely that a similar situation appertained in most large urban centres²³⁸. As yet, little is known about the repertoire

of West Yorkshire's street musicians, but it is probable that like their counterparts in London, Liverpool and Sheffield, they included a certain amount of music drawn from the best known oratorios and from French and Italian opera in their stock²³⁹. Obviously, many who experienced the pleasures of street music were far too poor to develop any musical inclination that it may have engendered: concerts, even the public park band performance, would have been beyond the means of many. But for some at least, the street musician provided one more means by which art music filtered down to the working community, thus creating a suitable climate for its adoption by the amateur musical society.

Clearly, it could never be claimed that art music formed the dominant strand within the popular musical tradition. In the earlier part of the period in particular, the folksong would still have held a prominent position in the repertoire, while throughout, the hymn and the music hall song were absolutely central to popular musical culture. It was indeed the latter two types that the working class turned to most naturally when seeking an outlet for musical expression. The Manningham Mills Strikers of 1890-91, invariably opened their weekly mass meeting with a rousing singsong, based on a mixture of the two. A local journalist noted on one occasion that the singing included renderings of Crown Him Lord of All, Sweet Beulah Land, The Tally Man, His First Wife and "a musical melange that is well known to pantomime admirers"²⁴⁰. A correspondent at a Bradford City - Nottingham Forest football match, some two decades later, witnessed the same type of musical mixture. While one section of the Bradford crowd sang a suitably bowdlerised version of My Girl's a Yorkshire Girl accompanied by handbells, bugles and tommy-talkers, "not far away another Yorkshire chorus was singing a hymn tune to the strains of concertinas"²⁴¹. Furthermore, even those working class musicians actively involved in the performance and interpretation of art music did not necessarily have a deep appreciation or understanding of its meaning and value. Undoubtedly, there were many who didn't treat the music or the composer with quite the degree of reverence that the majority of middle class critics believed necessary. Some had little or no idea about either the life or the musical aims of the composer, seeing, for example, Lucia de Lammermoor or Lohengrin as material for a virtuoso comet-solo, rather than an object of semi-

divine respect (although it should be remembered that there were also many within the confines of supposedly refined society, who despite regular attendance at concerts, had as little, or less respect and appreciation for the music as the most naïve working man musician. Contemporary critics regularly threw up their hands in horror, not simply at lack of taste or blind following of fashion, but at the sheer bad manners of middle class audiences, who talked, coughed, rustled programmes and came in and out during the course of the performance. It is noteworthy that commentators regularly made unfavourable comparison between the behaviour of the "best seats" and that of the more attentive lower middle and working class listeners in the gallery). But overall, appreciation of and involvement with the tradition of high culture, albeit often at a relatively superficial level, was considerably stronger than the majority of scholars have appreciated. For that, the amateur musical society could take a great deal of credit.

The existence of a flourishing art music tradition with the working class community, provides further evidence of the somewhat paradoxical situation by which, at least in the musical sphere, an intensely class conscious society produced, in an admittedly limited sense, a "common culture". Any music, provided it was not rampantly immoral was available to anybody who cared to perform it. Working class members of the audience at a brass band concert, could cross innumerable cultural boundaries during the course of an hour's listening, enjoying the musical comedy of Lionel Monckton, the opera of Richard Wagner and the marches of William Rimmer on the same programme. In the same way, parlour ballads, often seen as the sole preserve of the Victorian middle class, could reach a far wider audience. Moore's Kathleen Mavourneen had certainly reached the singing saloon of a Bradford public house visited by the journalist James Burnley in the late 1860's, and it is probable that many such songs passed into the working class repertoire²⁴². Again, many music hall songs, traditionally conceived by historians as authentic musical expressions of working class aspiration, were performed by middle class audiences in the drawing room, or were heard by them via the pierrot troupe, the pantomime or even the concert hall. From the 1890's, it is likely that the upper echelons of the middle class even began to visit the music hall itself²⁴³. Musical forms which have

traditionally been seen as the cultural products of one particular class were clearly often available to a far wider audience. Certainly, this must not be overstressed. There were thousands who were not involved in the appreciation or performance of music of any sort, either because of lack of inclination or economic necessity: to argue that the visit of a barrel organ to a Leeds slum gave local residents a genuine share in "High Culture", would be stretching the point. "High Culture", and the approximate "common culture" adumbrated here, were only available to "respectable" society. But despite these limitations, a great deal of music crossed the boundaries of class.

Chapter Six

Membership

i) Recruitment and Organisation

In the 19th and early 20th centuries, the decision to join any form of voluntary organisation was not, especially for poorer members of society, one to be taken lightly. Most societies made considerable demands upon their members' time, money and effort, and musical institutions added to these traditional elements the attainment of specialist skills, such as a knowledge of musical notation or instrumental technique, which rendered music a particularly exacting pastime. It is testimony to its great attraction that it had so many enthusiastic adherents.

A certain interest in and a flair for music was obviously a fundamental prerequisite for joining a musical society. The exact level of musical competence demanded of a prospective member varied according to the standing of the organisation. The well-established societies with reputations to maintain were interested only in the best available talent. From a very early stage, many choirs utilised a vetting system, either admitting only those singers of known ability or by giving candidates a voice test. Thus in 1843, the committee of the Huddersfield Choral Society decreed that one George Greenwood, "be invited to attend the next rehearsal - and that Henry Hall and J. Starkey station themselves on either side of him in order to ascertain whether he can take his part as a Bass vocalist in a creditable manner"¹. Obviously, he could, for he was accepted, but if he had been applying later in the century, admission may have proved more difficult. By this period, the concert societies had become too large to fit on the orchestras of most West Yorkshire halls and competition for the few available places became quite fierce. By the 1890's, Bradford Festival Choral Society were not merely reducing the numbers they actually tested, but failing 50% of the applicants they heard². Competition was especially strong amongst the female candidates who were always in the greatest supply. From the late 19th century, contraltos and sopranos seeking to join the B.F.C.S. had to face a selection panel for whom they performed scales, a sight-singing exercise and answered questions on musical notation and general musical knowledge³. Joining a first rank choral society could be as much a test of nerve as an extension of recreational horizons.

Entry into the top flight brass bands (or "cracks" as contemporaries called them) and into the competition choirs was restricted, as competition rules imposed strict limits on the size of organisations taking part. But while the competition choirs tended to engage members through use of the voice test, brass bands developed their own peculiar brand of recruitment, which quite simply consisted of taking the best players from other bands. A few bands, notably Black Dyke Mills, established junior sections in order to provide top class replacements for the main organisation, but overall this was not commonly adopted⁴. Instead, the top class bands tended to lure either the most promising players from less established bands or acknowledged experts from rival "cracks", with offers of financial reward or better job prospects. This was sometimes done on a large scale, as when, in the late 1880's, the emerging Leeds Forge Band took a large group of players from Black Dyke Mills by offering them higher wages. Such defections tended to spark off a chain reaction⁵. Thus in 1886, four members of Wyke Temperance, tempted by offers of money, committed the cardinal sin of joining the rival Wyke Old, and the Temperance Band (despite a degree of financial embarrassment which led to the secretary mortgaging his house to realise some capital) immediately hired replacements from other local bands⁶. This issue of poaching provided a source of real conflict within banding circles. Many bands felt justifiably aggrieved about a practice that constantly denuded them of their best players, thus reducing their chances of establishing themselves as a major band, and ensuring the dominance of a relatively small number of bands over a very long period. Nevertheless, in the period before 1914, very little action was taken, and it remained a common mode of enlistment. ¶ Fortunately, not all organisations were either as stringent or as aggressive in their search for members. At the more modest levels of amateur musical activity, there was often a belief that enthusiasm, at least initially, was arguably more important than technique or experience. A surprisingly large number of organisations and particularly instrumental ones, emerged from groups comprised almost totally of absolute beginners, who simply happened to show an interest in music. Bradford Postmens' Brass Band, founded in 1886, included only two or three members who could play at all. Similarly, only 8 of the 22 bandsmen who founded Wilsden Subscription Band in 1909 had any experience of

playing, while nearly half of the founder members of the Halifax (Northgate End) Orchestral Society needed elementary tuition before passing into the orchestra proper⁷. Eventually, many bands and choirs founded in this way were to attain a high standard and the musicality of the West Yorkshire textile district owed much to initiatives of this kind.

Irrespective of their method of entry, the members of a musical society had taken up a leisure pursuit that could prove expensive. Significantly, the more "popular" the society's social composition, the greater the individual's financial outlay tended to be. The competitive choir with its small and relatively humble membership, and the instrumental bands with their essentially working class make up and large outlay on instruments, tended to place a greater burden on their members than did societies such as the Huddersfield Choral Society. As early as 1863, Hopton Perseverance Band, from near Huddersfield, had a weekly subscription of 1/-, at a time when the £5 that this represented over the whole year, would have accounted for between 4% and 6% of a skilled worker's annual wage. Entry to the Honley Band founded in 1865 stood at £1. The Brass Band News's advice to bands in 1882, was that they charge members 7/6d. entrance payable in three instalments, and then 6d. a week⁸. It is unknown whether bands took this advice, but it is suggestive of the bands' high running costs. Not that the large choral societies offered a cheap alternative. A subscription was required, and the majority of societies preferred an annual as opposed to the weekly payment utilised by brass bands⁹. The average amount demanded rose throughout the period, with 2/6d. being fairly standard until about the 1880's, when 5/- became more common, and by 1914 some societies had enlarged the subscription to as much as 7/6d.¹⁰ Working class members often found this arrangement difficult, especially during a period of unemployment, or if they were not good savers. On occasions, sympathetic committees came to the rescue of financially embarrassed members. In 1906, W. J. Baxter, a bass singer with the Leeds Philharmonic, who had lost his job as a warehouseman, was allowed a free membership, as was Mr. Stott, a scavenger, on account of "extreme poverty"¹¹. Those too proud to advertise their plight simply left, or enmeshed themselves in financial crisis, as did four members of Bradford band who in 1855 found themselves in court after defaulting on payments for their instruments¹².

Yet, it is not the problems experienced in finding money, but the willingness of so many to expend considerable sums on their chosen form of recreation that leaves the most lasting impression. In general, money was paid with little fuss or complaint, and financial emergencies were met head on. In 1894, persons of the Leeds Musical Union pledged amounts ranging from 1 - 3 guineas to form the basis of a guarantee fund, lest the contest that the society was organising should lose money. Unfortunately, their fears were realised, and their members, although avoiding the full amount pledged, had to forfeit noticeable sums; James Shaw, a loom tuner, was asked for 9/11d., while William Turner, a bass singer from a working class district of Armley, was asked to find 4/11½d., a task which took him nearly two years¹³. Certainly, many amateur musicians stood to recoup their initial outlay through success in competition and, especially for the bandsmen, through engagement money, but the money still had to be found in the first place and overall, as will be seen, the financial return on the initial outlay was for the majority, fairly small, and for some, negligible. The size of the West Yorkshire musical community is testimony to degrees of frugality and self sacrifice which would have warmed the heart of the most fervent believer in self-help.

Alongside the payment of relatively substantial fees, members were expected to abide by quite stringent sets of rules and codes of conduct. The origins of these rules have already been discussed, in an earlier chapter, and there is no need to repeat that information here¹⁴. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the period after 1850 was that while the choral societies appear to have relaxed or abolished sanctions about swearing, drinking and even lateness at rehearsals, the brass bands maintained their codes of conduct just as rigidly¹⁵. This is not to suggest that choral societies tolerated any laxity and the top ranking societies in particular demanded both good attendance and good behaviour. The Edwardian letter books of the Leeds Philharmonic Society, for example, contain a number of stiff letters to erring members, while anything that smacked of flippant or immature behaviour at rehearsals of any major society guaranteed an instant rebuke¹⁶. But there can be no denying the comparison. The difference perhaps arose because the brass band, far more financially dependent upon the good will of the community than the choral society,

made particularly sure that its proceedings had at least a facade of decorum. That the rules were often more than just a facade would be confirmed by one H. Ferns, a member of Haworth Public Prize Band, who in June 1899 was fined 1/- for use of obscene language¹⁷.

At least the members were to some extent able to make and alter the rules which governed them, for throughout the whole period, the musical society remained in essence a democratic institution. This was perhaps most noticeable in the choral society, although this in turn was probably more genuinely democratic in the years up to the middle of the century, than in the latter half of the century. According to the rules drawn up by the Huddersfield Choral Society in 1836, for example, every member of the society was allowed to choose the music to be performed in rotation at monthly meetings, if the music was available. Discussion amongst the members concerning the standard of performance at rehearsals and concerts was allowed, provided it was undertaken in a polite manner¹⁸. From the mid 19th century, however, matters of organisation, policy and most important of all, repertoire, passed into the hands of a committee. This was happening in both the Huddersfield and Bradford Old Choral Societies, for example, by 1843¹⁹. The committee was a virtual necessity from this period, because the sheer size of the societies and the increased organisational load would have meant that rehearsals involved all discussion and no singing. But, the society at large were still able to exercise some restraint, for all officers of nearly all choral organisations were elected from the floor of the annual general meeting, and this included the man who was perhaps of greatest significance to a society's development, the conductor. He usually exercised considerable choice over repertoire, over choice of soloists at concerts and above all, the choir were wide open to the onslaught of his tongue at weekly rehearsals. Some music critics objected to the election of conductors on artistic grounds, claiming that a society might reject a man who attempted to stretch a choir by giving them unfamiliar music. There was perhaps something in this, but the societies needed such a fallback if they found a conductor genuinely unbearable. Such powers of election helped the Bradford Festival Choral Society over a difficult period in 1887. For some time the society had been unhappy with the conductorship of R. S. Burton, and at the February general meeting in 1887, some of the members led by one William Tate, called, against the wishes of most of the committee,

for his dismissal. Their rehearsals, Tate claimed, "had not been nearly so instructive and interesting as formerly - that too much time was devoted to one branch of study, to the neglect of others of equal importance and urgency, and that the members often separated without having advanced one step nearer to the realisation of the intentions of the composer". Burton fulminated, called the allegations "scandalous", but lost the election. The power of election was vital if the choral movement was to remain a hobby for its members rather than fodder for ambitious professionals²⁰.

Less is known about the inner workings of the band movement largely because their minute books have so rarely survived. They certainly employed committees, usually composed almost entirely of non-playing members who appear to have undertaken the bulk of organisational work. They were often, at least in theory, very sizeable bodies. Dobcross had a 20 strong committee in 1877 although its quorum eventually became only 5²¹. Dobcross elected their committee, but it is not clear whether this was standard practice and it is not known who was responsible for the vital decision concerning the choice of bandmaster and conductor. But even if a specific democratic mechanism did not always exist, there were ways of expressing disapproval and/or bringing about change. The most drastic course was to leave, but there were more subtle methods. A story is often told of the band who, becoming increasingly irritated at the dictatorial behaviour of their conductor, employed a small boy to climb on to the bandroom roof and pour quantities of wet soot through a small hole on to the offending individual's head²². The story is probably apochryphal, but the fact that it ever came into circulation illustrates that while a band would remain intensely loyal to somebody it respected, it could deal efficiently with those who aroused its wrath.

The degree of self-sacrifice and personal restraint demanded by anything other than the most limited excursion into local musical life, was clearly considerable. But, for the majority, it was more than adequately recompensed by the satisfaction engendered by their chosen leisure pursuit. This should in no way lead us to underrate the difficulties many had to overcome in order to take their place in choir or band. But it would be ridiculous not to acknowledge the pleasure that many obtained. It is essential to realise that not all

of this enjoyment stemmed from specifically "musical" activity and the rest of this chapter is devoted to an exploration of the social and even economic benefits, that accrued to those active in West Yorkshire's musical community.

ii) Social Life

The rehearsal, competition and concert all provided regular opportunity for sociability, with plentiful chance for talking, smoking and drinking once the musical activities were over. Alongside this, most societies arranged an annual or even more frequent, social highspot. Early in the century this normally took the form of a "knife and fork supper" or a tea meeting, but by the later 19th century, the range of activity had broadened. The degree of ostentation depended upon the size and wealth of the individual society. While in the 1880's, Bradford Moor Musical Union settled for an annual picnic²³, Bradford Festival Choral Society enjoyed tea and games on the lawn of their president's mansion, accompanied by the strains of the Black Dyke Mills Band²⁴, and during the presidency of Charles Sykes in the years immediately preceding the First World War, the members of the Huddersfield Glee and Madrigal Society were treated to an annual gala costing several hundred pounds²⁵. By the late 19th century, a small but increasing number of societies, usually brass bands and/or male voice choirs, organised themselves into actual social clubs, seeing this as a method of gaining the widest possible support, both moral and financial, from the local community as well as a chance to widen their own social lives. Bramley Band opened their bandroom as a working men's club from 1894 (the club has in fact outlived the band) and several others took the step of affiliating to the Club and Institute Union²⁶. Considerable numbers were enlisted in this way. The Shipley Musical Union Club had 260 members by 1902²⁷, while by the same date, Shipley Brass Band Social Club had over 400 members, who enjoyed access to a conversation room, recreation room and bar, in addition to a concert hall and the bandroom²⁸.

For many brass bandsmen, the Volunteer Movement offered a further dimension to their recreational life. Founded in 1859 as a response to fear of a French invasion, the Movement involved an estimated 8% of the adult male population by the 1870's. Many of the volunteer regiments raised in West Yorkshire and elsewhere had their own bands,

usually drawn from the ranks of the brass band movement. Thus Bramley Band combined their contesting and concert activities in the 1860's and 1870's by providing music at volunteer functions under the title of the Prince of Wales's own Yorkshire Hussars Regimental Band. Similarly, in the 1870's, Bowling Brass Band became the Third West Yorkshire Artillery Volunteers Band and Eccleshill Band became the Eccleshill Rifles. It is not clear whether volunteer bands were expected to play a full part in volunteer life alongside their musical efforts, but presumably for those individuals who were interested there were opportunities to go on the annual camps and to become involved in the various sporting activities, notably rifle-shooting, that the Volunteer Movement offered²⁹.

Although all types of musical society gave their members plentiful chance to enjoy themselves, there was undoubtedly a difference between the social life of the small, all male organisations, such as the brass band and the male voice choir, and that of the larger mixed choral societies and orchestral societies. There was, as Dr. Mackerness has put it, "a kind of masculine gaiety" about the brass band movement in particular³⁰. This is not to accept the beery stereotype of the brass band beloved by many simplifiers of popular culture³¹. Many of the bands originated from Temperance organisations and the membership often remained faithful to the creed, and their rules, as has been illustrated, showed great concern with respectability. But there can be no doubt that banding culture contained much that would have horrified the middle class ladies of, for example, the Huddersfield Choral Society. The public house played a central part in banding life, acting as the headquarters and bandroom for many bands, and as a rallying point for bands on contest days. Even when supposedly enlisted on the side of the Temperance cause, bandsmen were often alive to the temptation of drink. Cecil Dowling, a Leeds bandsman of many years standing, remembers seeing one band engaged to lead a Band of Hope demonstration, march en masse into a public house during a pause in the activities³². Christmas was a particularly alcoholic occasion, with bands marching from street to street in villages and towns, their playing often rewarded with offers of liquid refreshment³³. Certain male voice choirs were also aware of the attractions of alcoholic refreshment. (One Huddersfield choir is reputed to have drunk a hotel dry after a contest in the 1920's)³⁴. Obviously, much of this drinking simply resulted from the

fact that singing and playing is extremely thirsty work. But at the same time, the glass of ale was clearly a part of the ritual fabric of much male social life.

Gambling as well as drinking played something of a part in musical life. It was particularly prevalent in the brass band movement, where the likely results of contests awoke the betting faculties of those working men who might also be tempted to wager on cock-fights, boxing matches, road races, knur and spell matches and above all horse-racing. The exact extent of gambling and the amount of money "invested" is unclear, but the brass band periodicals were aware of the habit and regarded it with distaste³⁵. In particular, they saw it as a root cause of bad behaviour at contests, or "brass band hooliganism" as it became known.

Although not an example of brass band "social life" in the strictest extent, it is worthwhile examining "hooliganism" at this juncture, for it does bring across, albeit in an extreme sense, the atmosphere of "masculine gaiety" which pervaded the brass band world.

The most common cause of outbreaks of anger was either the presence of an "illegal" player in a band, for example a paid player in a band in a competition where such individuals were outlawed, or what was held to be a bad decision by the judge. Certain situations of this type could be resolved without recourse to violence. Thus, in 1858, certain bandsmen present at Peel Park Contest in Bradford were able to bring about the ejection of an illegal player from Saltaire Band by an expert display of peaceful civil disobedience. The Bradford Observer's report is worthy of quotation in full.

"The appearance of the Saltaire Band once again raised the disturbing elements. They were assailed by loud outcries, shouts of 'turn him out' etc. and counter demonstrations from their friends, producing a disgraceful scene that utterly defies description. A brief subsidence of the noise, and the leader essayed to begin, his men blew their loudest and strongest but louder above all arose the yell of a mob of instrumentalists congregated at the end of the orchestra, and the "brazen brass" rung out the wildest notes, now shrieking from a trumpet or cornet and anon rising in the deep, guttural tones of the ophecleides and trombones. The confusion was really 'most confounded' and very vexatious. This scene and others lasted perhaps half-an-hour, the leader of the Saltaire Band 'making faces' at his opponents, and trying to appear cool, "sitting down to wait it out", and acting certainly in a most foolish and reckless manner. At length he made a desperate start, but his opponents started also, and there was another outrageous scene of tumult and

and noise, in the midst of which Mr. Jackson [the judge] made his appearance from the tent and at once went to Mr. Smith, leader of the Saltaire Band, and ordered the removal of the individual objected to, a trombone player, who, it appears, was a professional man, and not entitled to play in the contest. Mr. Smith bowed to the referees calm and dispassionate decision, and the band was then allowed to play the tune in quietness" ³⁶.

In this instance, the judge emerged as the popular hero (despite his obvious slowness in acting), but more often than not, he was the villain. In July 1888, for example, Dr. William Spark, the Leeds Borough Organist, wrote to the British Bandsman to express his horror at the way he had been treated after judging a recent contest. "As soon as one band had found that they were unsuccessful, the members thereof launched out with a torrent of epithets which I doubt if the lowest riff-raff of Billingsgate and the East End of London could supersede or equal". The unfortunate Doctor then found himself on the same train as the band, one of whom, "was kind enough to say that he would tear me from limb to limb, an operation which I politely thanked him for and asked to postpone". When, later in the journey, a change of train was necessary, another band had to surround him on the station platform to protect him from his assailants³⁷. 1888 was, in fact, a bad year for "hooliganism" for in that year, even the illustrious Belle Vue Contest was subject to a display of bad feeling, with much "hissing and hooting" and attempts to "subject the judges to rough usage". Both Spark and the Belle Vue judges were, however, more fortunate than the adjudicator at a contest in Ilkley in the late 1890's, who was thrown into a stream after what one band felt to be a particularly unfair decision³⁸.

Such displays brought forth strong rebukes from the official organs of the band world. In September 1902, the British Bandsman made an all-out onslaught on the problem, following outbreaks of violence at two separate contests the previous Saturday. They stressed above all the need to avoid these episodes if the support of the community at large, and perhaps more important, the respect of the professional musician, was to be won³⁹. Possibly these words were heeded, for by 1911, a correspondent in the same paper could write that "vulgarity and hooliganism have for several years almost been an unknown quantity at our contests"⁴⁰.

It must be stressed that this especially rumbustious aspect of banding sub-culture showed itself only relatively rarely. The great majority of contests passed off without the threat or the actuality of violence. Similarly, it should not necessarily be thought that these displays of hooliganism show the movement as a whole to be any the less "artistically" concerned. Indeed, although sheer naked competitiveness coupled with the prevalence of gambling explain many of the incidents that took place, it is probable that others were at least partially inspired by wounded artistic pride. In the mid 1890's the Secretary of the Leeds Musical Union male voice choir noted after an unsuccessful appearance at a contest that "every member was thoroughly disgusted that the capital rendering of the piece had not been duly acknowledged". The choir desisted from staging a riot, although both the judge and the winning choir were subjected to a great deal of criticism by the Leeds singers and the Musical Union never again entered the contest⁴¹. It is surely likely that certain amateur musicians may have been driven to their more extreme actions by such setbacks, which they perceived as a lack of recognition for their hard-won artistic endeavour.

That band hooliganism ever existed is a fact of considerable significance, shedding much light on the debate over the role of "respectability" in 19th century working class life. Most historians of 19th century social life have accepted the contemporary distinction between "rough and respectable" recreations⁴². However, it is clear that on occasions, such a simple categorisation obscures more than it reveals. At first sight, brass banding was undoubtedly an essentially "respectable" pastime and most contemporary observers saw it as such. It was rational, civilised, attracted the "better class" of working man and was deserving of middle class patronage and support. Yet, as the incidence of hooliganism (and of gambling and occasional spates of drunkenness) illustrates, these men with their smart uniforms, their fondness for the music of Handel and Wagner, their spirit of self-sacrifice and thrift, were capable of acting in a manner more normally associated with the "lowest riff-raff of Billingsgate". The point is well made by the disciplinary record of Wyke Temperance Band, a teetotal organisation and thus at first sight, a paragon of rational recreational virtue, who were accused of violent behaviour toward judges on three occasions between 1888 and 1895. Spark implied

very strongly that it was Wyke Temperance who were responsible for his unpleasant experiences of 1888. Five years later, two of the band, the brothers Robert and Harry Bentley, were each fined £5 by Southport magistrates for offences arising out of a Whit Friday contest at the Lancashire resort. The contest judge, Howard Lees of Oldham, "was alleged to have been severely kicked by the defendants about the lower parts of the body. He had to be locked up in a greenhouse for safety, and was eventually taken to the station in a cab to allude his assailants". Finally, at Scarborough in September 1895, police had to rescue the judge Richard Stead, an eminent bandsman from Huddersfield, from an angry crowd, led, so Stead claimed, by the members and supporters of Wyke Temperance⁴³.

Wyke, it should be noted, hotly disputed the charges against the Bentleys, and the band as a whole clubbed together to pay the fines⁴⁴. But the evidence clearly suggests that a somewhat unruly disposition characterised the band at this period. Certain members of Wyke Temperance Band and of the band fraternity as a whole, were capable of behaviour which makes the application of the term "respectable" nonsense. Rather than seeing the labels "respectable" and "rough" as neat, distinct categories, we should instead be aware that people could take on a variety of different roles. The bandsman who might one day manifest all the various attributes demanded by the contemporary dictates of "respectability" could act in a totally contrary manner the next. The man in the elegant uniform, who had saved hard to help the band out of financial difficulties and whose interpretation of the cornet solo in a Wagner selection was second to none, might be the same person who could throw a punch at an unpopular judge. The "respectable" were not always what they seemed⁴⁵.

Contest hooliganism represented one of the more distasteful aspects of popular musical sub-culture. A more commendable aspect of the social life generated by the amateur society in the eyes of the middle classes, and an extremely rewarding one in the eyes of the musicians themselves, was the chance it offered for travel. From the late 18th century, it became common for the best local singers to be engaged at various festivals all over the country and this obviously gave them the chance to "see something of the world", but it was from about the middle of the 19th century that travel opportunities really widened⁴⁶. Initially it was the brass band which benefited most.

Their talents were regularly in demand at various functions and in 1864 the Bramley Band were engaged to play in as remote a location as the Belfast Botanical Gardens. (The visit was a huge success, marred only by the final few moments, when the band, having played all the way from the Gardens to the Harbour, stopped on reaching their ship, and were bombarded with stones by an angry crowd demanding more music)⁴⁷. Again, the growth of band competition greatly stimulated opportunity to travel. Many competitions were held fairly locally but from 1853 there were, at least for the top organisations, the annual trips to Belle Vue. As the century progressed, the competitive movement involved more and more musicians and greater distances. From the 1890's, choral societies regularly visited such pleasant places as Hawes, Morecambe and Blackpool (as well as journeying to towns within industrial Yorkshire such as Morley, Pudsey and Batley, far less worth a visit!), while from 1900, the Crystal Palace band competition drew thousands from West Yorkshire to the metropolis. From the late 19th century London was in fact to become a regular haunt of the top class bands and choirs. This was not a totally novel phenomenon. As early as 1851, Idle Brass Band were engaged by Thos. Cook to accompany a band of excursionists from Bradford and Leeds to the Great Exhibition. Isaac Murgatroyd, the band's leader, regarded that week "as one of the happiest of his life".

"Beside being boarded and treated generally like Lords and Dukes, the gentleman who employed us ... was so pleased with our achievements that he gave us each five shillings apiece extra"⁴⁸.

Seven years later, the Bradford Festival Choral Society made a five day visit to the capital, giving two concert performances and a Royal Command performance before Queen Victoria, Prince Albert and visiting European royalty, at Buckingham Palace. This was the brainchild of Samuel Smith, the originator of the Society and its first president, a wealthy local dyer who had been mayor of Bradford from 1851-53, an immensely popular figure in local life who combined a love of music with an astonishing ability to use it to advertise the glories of Bradford⁴⁹.

From the 1880's visits to the capital became almost a commonplace, with opportunities increasing as various agencies hired northern musical societies as attractions at various exhibitions and concerts. In the early 20th century, several northern bands were hired by the L.C.C. to

improve the quality of their public park concerts and amongst their number were Halifax King Cross, who were invited for a nine day stay, during the coronation week of 1902. This visit was clearly a great occasion for the men concerned. Nine days in a city "most of them have never been to before", guided tours round places of interest, a lunch as the guests of Bessons, the brass instrument makers, and the highlight, the playing of the National Anthem outside the gates of Buckingham Palace. This appears to have been a spontaneous move from the band rather than any imposed plan from outside. The band approached J. Henry Iles, who contacted Palace officials in a letter which encapsulates the half-admiring, half-patronising attitude typical of middle class band officianados towards their proletarian comrades.

"They are all working men, and notwithstanding this, play wonderfully well. They are respectable, and are clothed in a smart uniform ... the great privilege they are asking - if granted - would be appreciated in a way that I find exceedingly difficult to express in words" ⁵⁰.

As the Edwardian period progressed, for a small minority of choirs and bands, geographical horizons were widened still further, with the introduction of European and even world travel. This was pioneered by the Lancashire Besses o' th' Barn band. They had made a lengthy visit to the United States in 1891 but it was in the early years of the 20th century that they began to tour on a really wide scale, visiting France in 1905 and then from July 1906 to December 1907, undertaking a world tour which saw them visit the United States, Canada, New Zealand, Honolulu, Fiji and Australia⁵¹. By 1914, foreign travel, albeit not normally on the grandiose scale attempted by Besses, was becoming relatively frequent. Several West Yorkshire organisations were involved in this new development. Black Dyke Mills Band undertook a six month tour of the United States and Canada in 1906, while in the same year a choir drawn largely from the Leeds Philharmonic visited Germany⁵². In 1909, the Horbury Handbell Ringers visited America for six months - some of their members enjoying their visit so much that they chose to settle in the United States when the tour ended - and two years later fellow ringers from Crosland Moor United, journeyed to Australia and New Zealand. 1912 in turn witnessed the visit of the Leeds Philharmonic to Paris, and the entry of some 40 British choirs and bands including five from the textile district, in the gigantic

three day International Music Tournament organised by the Paris municipality⁵³.

The majority of these excursions owed at least part of their existence to the contemporary debate over Britain's role in international relations. Visits to France and indeed to Germany were specifically intended to cement good relations between Britain and her respective European neighbours⁵⁴. (John H. Iles, who organised the Besses' tour in 1905 and Alexander Owen who conducted the band, both received the Legion d'Honneur for their contribution to the Entente Cordiale)⁵⁵. Commonwealth tours, perhaps contradictorily, were seen as a method of generating an Imperial consciousness, both amongst the singers, those in the distant lands they were visiting, and perhaps most important, amongst politicians in Britain. Whether such visits actually had the desired ideological effects is debatable. At the Paris Festival, noble thoughts foundered upon the rock of poor arrangements and dirty hotels. Many of the British competitors found that their hotel reservations had in fact not been made, the food was diabolical and so forth, a situation bringing forth numerous attacks on French incompetence. The Bradford Weekly Telegraph correspondent accompanying the Bradford Old Choral Society, noted that the arrangements for taking competitors from their hotels to the competition "were as near perfection as possible. What was the reason? It was simply - an Englishman was in charge"⁵⁶. Similarly, the Musical Times bemoaned with venomous patriotism that they found "it difficult to understand why the whole business was not handed over to Messrs. Cook, a firm which British people can thoroughly trust"⁵⁷. The Telegraph writer clearly thought it only fair that two gendarmes who tried to prevent a rehearsal by Bradford Old in the Tuilleries Garden, were mobbed and eventually hospitalised by an angry crowd who had been listening to the singing⁵⁸. All this was hardly indicative of an Entente Cordiale at grass roots level!

Obviously there were other motives alongside these. Black Dyke's tour had a certain business dimension at least for the owners, as one of the directors made clear when he informed the band at their departure that: "John Foster and Co. Ltd. did business with Canada and America, and that the band would be looked upon to maintain the reputation of the firm"⁵⁹. For the majority of the members, such perspectives were undoubtedly accompanied or superseded by the simple

desire to utilise their abilities in such a way as to see areas of the world which, short of emigration, they could never conceive of visiting. Foreign travel would have been considerably more frequent if resources had not been so slender. For a predominantly working class organisation such as Crosland Moor United or Black Dyke, the visits were only possible because of the generosity of the local community and in Black Dyke's case because of a £1,000 contribution by the directors⁶⁰. When Leeds Philharmonic gave a series of concerts in Paris in 1912, only a number of anonymous donations enabled them to include some of their poorer members on the venture⁶¹. John Green, a Horbury millowner and the society's secretary, explained their predicament when refusing a further trip later in the same year. "As there are always many poor people with good voices who cannot afford to pay anything at all - indeed they lose their wages in being absent from their work - you will see that it may be difficult to get a chorus of fine singers together when the costs of the journey and hotel are not fully paid, and what can be done by some once in a year cannot be afforded twice"⁶². One can only guess at the excitement caused by visits to countries which were well beyond the horizons of the Edwardian English working classes. It must be stressed that the foreign visit was a luxury of a select handful of organisations, but even the regular trip to Belle Vue or Blackpool added colour and excitement to the daily routine. Music offered such experience in abundance.

Successful musicians were highly respected in the local community and often honoured for their achievements. Success in a concert could elicit enormous enthusiasm. When Cornholme Brass Band reached the Belle Vue Championship of September 1893, all the local mills shut for the whole Saturday and most of the village went to Manchester to watch the proceedings⁶³. (They came second, an amazing achievement for a band drawn from a very small community). One of the finest pictures of community enthusiasm is to be found in the Musical Times description of Saltaire Prize Choir's homecoming after their visit to the Morecambe Competitive Festival of 1896. It is worth quoting at length, because it illustrates not merely the pride of a close community in their choir, but an enthusiasm for choral music which had obviously reached almost epidemic proportions.

"Some hundreds of friends had congregated at the railway station, and patiently awaited the return of the excursion train and the news it would bring. The time of waiting was relieved by singing glees, anthems, hymns, and comic songs - truly a miscellaneous programme (Purday's tune to "Lead Kindly Light" being a chief favourite). An extempore choral contest was also conducted with great energy and zest by the younger spirits - representing, perhaps, future competitors in many a more serious struggle - and

THE HOUR OF 1.30 ON SUNDAY MORNING
saw undiminished the zeal and earnestness of the watchers".

At last the choir arrived and it transpired they had won.

"Despite the fact that the rain had commenced to fall, time-honoured custom demanded a short concert on the bridge. Here the victorious songsters took their stand, and somewhat travel weary, sang Pinsuti's emotional partsong The sea hath its pearls and, considering the state of the weather, expected that this would suffice. But no! The audience would hear all, and Great God of Love (madrigal in eight parts, by Pearsall) was sung splendidly - without copies and under the umbrella's canopy, for now the rain was coming down in torrents. Enthusiasm being somewhat quenched and curiosity satisfied, singers and audience dispersed and the little town resumed its state of normal respectability of demeanour.

"The significance of such an event remains with us, however, and points to the deep and abiding love of music, more particularly choral music, in this district, and the hearty appreciation of effort in the direction of increased excellence, which is so great a factor of inspiration and energy alike to conductor and choir" ⁶⁴.

Unfortunately - or perhaps fortunately - Saltaire had no local poet who could immortalise such events as succinctly as Haworth's Mark R. Peacock, who in the early Edwardian period composed a poem entitled "Haworth Public Prize Band: Prize Winners at Principal contests including: Belle Vue, Manchester; Morcambe; Huddersfield; Keighley; Skipton; etc. etc." ⁶⁵

While the majority of organisations drew support from throughout the local area, there were a small number which reflected tensions within the community. This is particularly true of those organisations who supported a particular political or moral cause. One can hardly imagine, for example, Honley Socialist Choir or Milnsbridge Socialist Band attracting the enthusiasm of local political rivals. One of the most extreme cases is provided by the village of Wyke, some four miles south-west of Bradford, which produced two of the 19th century's most

successful bands, Wyke Old and Wyke Temperance. The rivalry between the bands was immense, for it was based not merely upon musical grounds but upon attitudes to the whole Temperance issue. The Old band had many more supporters and, not surprisingly, this included all the local publicans. The Temperance band were regularly "hooted and hustled" as they returned home from contests and on two occasions, their drum was destroyed, once by a brick and once by a gentleman who emerged from a public house and ran straight through it⁶⁶. This tension seems to have subsided by the later 1880's, reflecting the whole range of changing attitudes towards drink in the working class community, although when the Temperance band was reorganised in 1900 it was still felt necessary to drop the name "Temperance" in an attempt to widen appeal⁶⁷.

Although competitive success often lay at the root of much of the pride felt by local residents in their musical community, displays of enthusiasm and respect were not simply restricted to the competitive situation. There was a steady, continuous interest amongst many people, particularly in the smaller village communities, in the activities of their musical fraternity. A reporter from the Sunday Chronicle who visited Queensbury in 1893, was interested to notice that the Black Dyke bandsmen were all well known celebrities, recognised and respected by many in the village⁶⁸. The people of Meltham in the Holme Valley, illustrated their appreciation of John Berry, a woollen milner, warpdresser and eventually a small farmer, who had played cornet with Meltham Mills band from 1865-1888, conducted Meltham Choral Society, and founded the Meltham Philharmonic Orchestra in 1897, by presenting him with his portrait in oils, a cloak and an illuminated address⁶⁹. Perhaps the most moving exhibition of respect was reserved for funerals. Crowds estimated at several thousands regularly assembled to mourn the passing of local musicians. That of the bandsman was an especially sombre occasion, with his band or more usually a massed gathering drawn from all local bands - Charles Auty a noted cornettist from the Huddersfield area had ten bands at his graveside - the bass drum and sometimes all the instruments draped in black, marching slowly at the head of the procession, playing first the "Dead March in Saul" and then one of the deceased's favourite hymns by the graveside⁷⁰.

iii) The Economic Benefits of Membership

Alongside these varied social experiences there were also more tangible rewards available to local musicians, for music could be a valuable source of financial support. Throughout the period the musical society acted as a type of friendly society in order to protect its membership against the difficulties of 19th century life. Some societies did in fact organise sick clubs amongst their membership⁷¹. In general, however, help to distressed, aged or infirm members tended to be organised as the need arose rather than on a formal basis. The most common form of assistance was financial and money was normally raised through a concert, with the proceeds going to the needy person. The history of local musical life is full of such events. Some of these attracted enormous attendance and must have greatly alleviated individual problems. In 1901, over 5,000 people raised £80 by attending an open air concert for the benefit of Albert Allinson, an ex-baritone horn player with Wyke Temperance Band, who had been crippled with rheumatism after rescuing a boy from a canal⁷². Such an act was bound to have been acknowledged by the community, but less overtly heroic figures were often the recipients of sizable sums of money. Significantly, it was often the local musical community as a group, rather than a specific society, that sought to alleviate a problem. Thus in 1865, the Keighley Musical Union, a choral organisation, held a concert for a Joshua Briggs, a trombonist in a local brass band, who had been unable to work for a long period following a serious spinal injury⁷³. Intense local rivalries were often temporarily forgotten in order to help a fellow musician. In 1889, Linthwaite Band gave a concert for four members of neighbouring Lindley Band injured in an accident on their way to a contest⁷⁴. Many societies also sought to use their musical talents to give financial assistance to needy members of society as a whole and not just the musical fraternity. In 1893, Idle Harmonic Union performed Messiah in aid of the poor of the parish. Two years later, in the midst of a serious trade depression, members of Wyke Temperance Band, showing a less aggressive side to their nature, served 1,220 "distressed citizens" with soup and bread at their bandroom, while the Leeds Musical Union appeared at a "distress" concert. It is significant that the three members who moved that the Musical Union should perform at this event were all working-men, whose sense of the hardship around

them was perhaps more acute than that of their lower middle class colleagues⁷⁵.

Financial assistance, however, was not merely restricted to times of great need. For the majority of singers and bandsmen, their hobby, while not an exceptionally lucrative one, offered a valuable source of additional income. It was common practice for any money earned which was not required to meet the society's expenses, to be distributed among members. In general, with the exception of brass band soloists who will be dealt with shortly, public performance represented a far better source of income for members than competition. Even the most successful competitive organisations did not make a great deal of profit, for travelling expenses, broken time payments and general running costs tended to absorb most of the prize money. The Todmorden Male Voice Choir, for example, one of the most successful choirs of the Edwardian period, won 34 prizes (worth £307 16s. 0d.) between June 1906 and February 1914, and yet made a profit of only £4 2s. 0d., and consistently unsuccessful competitors stood to make an overall loss⁷⁶. An organisation giving a public performance was at least likely to cover its basic expenses, thus leaving more money for individuals. Quite worthwhile sums of money could be gained in this way, particularly by the brass bands who in general were far more involved in professional engagements than the choirs. In 1859, for example, Bramley Band took £230 from 27 engagements, which must have left several pounds over for each bandsman⁷⁷. In times of unemployment or particular hardship such income was of considerable value. The historian of Bramley Band remembered that; "In 1849, we bandsmen had some very good engagements and they helped us over the hard times"⁷⁸. During the same decade, several of the handloom weavers in West Yorkshire went busking, an example widely followed by bandsmen during the coal strike of 1893 and in fact during most periods of monetary difficulty⁷⁹. A few were even fortunate enough to gain regular employment as musicians during crisis periods. Thus, 6 members, all miners, of Emley band, played for two successive summers in a dance band at Blackpool, when work was short during the 1890's⁸⁰.

The activities of these half dozen resourceful characters exemplifies that while the majority gained no more than a useful financial bonus from their music-making, a genuine class of semi-professionals did emerge amongst both bands and choirs. It was a very

fluid group, with some, like the Emley men utilising their talents only in times of need, and others regularly looking to music as a source of income. For the better quality singers, there was always the chance of capitalising on skills developed in the choral society, by strengthening choirs at provincial festivals or by singing solo parts in local chapel or church concerts. By the 1890's, opportunities for paid engagements had become frequent enough for an organisation called the West Riding Agency to produce a large directory of singers (and instrumentalists) available for booking, the vast majority of which were "amateurs"⁸¹. Payment was not particularly high, especially at music festivals, and on one celebrated occasion, in 1874, the Leeds Festival Chorus who had been offered £2 10s. Od. each for a full week's performance plus rehearsals, demanded that they receive £3 0s. Od. or they would not perform. Eventually, a compromise figure of £2 15s. Od. was attained⁸². But even if financial reward was not large, given the amount of work involved, there was also a considerable amount of kudos to be gained from such employment. Similarly, most better class instrumentalists regularly obtained evening employment in the bands at public houses, theatres, music halls, dance saloons, skating rinks and all the various other entertainment institutions which mushroomed throughout the area, particularly from the later 19th century⁸³. Some commentators found this offensive, for it could prevent bandsmen from attending practices and in some cases left bands desperately short of players. An editorial in The Cornet in January 1910 claimed that the current roller skating boom was proving a tremendous problem to many bands because it siphoned off so many musicians⁸⁴. But while the situation may have seemed depressing to a relatively affluent newspaper editor, to a working man in need of extra money, the picture looked very different.

One of the most significant groups of "semi-professionals" were the brass band soloists. Competition bands, as has been noted earlier, depended very heavily upon the skills of their soloists, and many (although by no means all) bands were often either prepared to pay retainers, or even to find, or in the case of works bands, to provide jobs, in order to obtain the best possible players. This whole issue developed into a raging controversy in the later 19th and earlier 20th centuries, but was never resolved because the major figures in the band establishment, both players and trainers, stood to lose so much from any

reform. Many contemporaries claimed that works bandsmen in particular were in fact not semi but fully professional, men with sinecures who were, as one irate correspondent argued, "paid by their masters rather for playing in the band than working on the works"⁸⁵.

Inevitably, the works bandsmen denied these charges, sometimes with a vigour that suggests, to the cynical observer, a guilty conscience. Phineas Bower, bandmaster of the Black Dyke Mills Band, explained to one reporter in a spate of denial, that:

"Some of us are stonemasons, some mechanics, some warp-dressers and we all work with our hands; we are all workmen. It is a workman's band absolutely; we are not professional musicians. It is just our hobby"⁸⁶.

In the final analysis, it is tempting to give Bower and similar bandsmen the benefit of the doubt, for while every effort was made to help bands, by providing practice accommodation, uniforms and so forth, even at Black Dyke Mills, any money lost through time taken off work was not made up by the company, and it appears that the majority of the bandsmen were actually expected to do a fairly normal workload⁸⁷. Some works bands were not even allowed to practice during work time, and while it would be fair to say that they were in general a very privileged class, they were not in the real sense professionals. Once again, while many contemporaries found the whole business a rather sordid one, one can sympathise to a certain extent with the desire to capitalise on their talents illustrated by men such as the half dozen Black Dyke bandsmen who joined Leeds Forge in the 1880's, tempted by the offer of higher wages, or with Frank Shaw, ex-Wyke Temperance and Halifax Temperance; "Good solo cornet will join any band where steady work is found"⁸⁸. While the non-works performer, who, it must be remembered, formed the majority of the bandsmen, did not often get the chance of job security, there was at least the opportunity to gain quite substantial sums from soloist work. By the Edwardian period, 30s. - 40s. a performance was normal emolument for such work⁸⁹. It was actually possible for some bandsmen to earn more, in this way, on a Saturday afternoon at a contest, than he had earned throughout the previous week in his regular job.

For a favoured few, the phenomenon which had begun as a leisure pursuit might eventually lead not merely to semi-professionalism but to a new career, and for what was in turn a minority of this group, it could

even result in what we would today think of as "stardom". Charles Knowles, a bookbinder who left the Leeds Philharmonic and Leeds Musical Union in the 1890's to pursue a full-time musical career, became by the 1920's a well-established London operatic singer⁹⁰. Further, John Paley, originally of the Black Dyke Mills Band, gained considerable popularity as a professional performer, at least within the north of England, topping the bill at several northern music halls with his virtuoso cornet performances⁹¹. Perhaps the most celebrated case is that of Mrs. Sunderland (nee Susan Sykes), a truly legendary figure in Yorkshire's musical history. The daughter of a Brighouse gardener, she progressed from singing as a chapel soloist and with local choral societies, to being one of Britain's major mid 19th century sopranos. She once sang before Queen Victoria, who is reputed to have said; "I am the Queen of England, but you are the Queen of Song". The story has an apochryphal ring, but whatever its origins, the nickname "Queen of Song" remained Mrs. Sunderland's until her death aged 86 in 1905. Her retirement in 1865, genuinely saddened the musical enthusiasts of Yorkshire. At her farewell concert in Huddersfield in 1865, the windows of the Concert Hall were opened wide to allow her voice to be heard by the thousands in the street, unable to obtain admission.⁹²

Not all of those aspiring to make music their chosen occupation were quite as fortunate (or as talented) as Mrs. Sunderland, however, and the majority enjoyed somewhat more mundane existences. For the (male) singer, possibly the most common form of professional employment was afforded by a position in a cathedral choir. Huddersfield alone, produced at least 34 singers who became cathedral choristers between 1800 and 1874⁹³. A number of local performers also obtained positions in the choruses of opera companies or, at the other extreme, in minstrel troupes. William Todd and Joel Hirst, both members of the Huddersfield Choral Society and the Huddersfield Glee and Madrigal Society, toured the world with the Sam Hague Minstrels in the 1880's, Todd eventually settling in the U.S.A., and Hirst returning to "civilian" life in Dewsbury⁹⁴. The employment potential of instrumentalists increased considerably throughout the century. The brass band has until very recently, been the main source of the country's professional brass players and this commenced at least as early as 1850 when Sam Hughes the opheclide player with the Welsh Cyfartha band, joined Louis Jullien's entourage⁹⁵. Over the course of the century, numerous bandsmen joined

orchestras ranging from the Halle to the ensembles of the London theatre, and the seaside "bands" that sprang up from the 1880's⁹⁶. But it was not merely working class brass instrumentalists who might reach professional rank. Tom Clay, a violinist from Slaithwaite, and several string and woodwind playing members of the Fawcett family of Eccleshill, typify a much larger group of instrumentalists who found professional employment⁹⁷.

One other aspect of the music profession that attracted amateur musicians was teaching. As was shown in Chapter 4, a sizable number of local musicians, including many from working class backgrounds, undertook a certain amount of teaching on a part-time basis and some eventually risked entering what was in danger of becoming an over-stocked market, on a full-time basis⁹⁸. Teaching could be quite a lucrative profession, particularly if combined with a range of other musical activities, as is illustrated by the career of Samuel Midgley, a miner's son from Bierley, near Bradford. Midgley began work in the pit at the age of 9, but after several years, a passion for learning directed by attendance at a local Mechanics Institute led him to become a pupil teacher. Always extraordinarily fond of music, he then decided to pursue it as a full-time career and he somehow collected enough money to study for a year at Leipzig Conservatorium in the 1870's, before returning to Bradford, where until his retirement in 1929, he taught music, gave piano recitals, and pioneered the cause of free chamber concerts for the poor. Over the course of this activity, he acquired a substantial villa in Bradford's most salubrious residential area and died a respected and relatively wealthy man⁹⁹.

The majority of teachers were, like Midgley, interested mainly in singing and/or the piano, but a few specialists did exist, notably in the brass band world, where by the beginning of the 20th century, there were perhaps some twenty to thirty individuals in West Yorkshire making their living from band teaching, or "training" as it was more generally known¹⁰⁰. It was quite common for a band to provide their trainer with a small business, so as to enable him to devote more of his time to music. Algernon Rose explained the process in some detail in his Talks with Bandsmen

"In the Midlands and the North, some of the most famous brass band trainers have commenced with the band with very scanty knowledge, being working men and having but little time to devote to the subject. The members perceiving conspicuous ability in their teacher, have clubbed together and bought for him a little business - like that of a tobacconist - so as to enable him to give the necessary time to musical study which the progress of the band has demanded. The £30 or £40 so advanced to the teacher is treated as a loan, and thus the band have their trainer secure" 101.

Clearly not everybody who chose to become a professional singer or a piano teacher emanated from the working classes. The 19th century musician still awaits his historian and much detailed work has to be done before confident analysis of the profession's social base can be made. But undoubtedly, there were quite considerable numbers of people from a working class background who found their way into the profession, thus embarking on a career which gave them a wage probably at least no lower than they had before, a certain degree of social status and perhaps above all, at least an element of that ingredient we now call "job satisfaction".

All this is not to claim that the local musical fraternity offered its membership an idyllic existence. The poorer members in particular could never be entirely cocooned against the workings of society by the simple act of belonging to choir or band, while musical activity itself could breed its own variety of bitterness, antagonism and mortification. Most organisations were beset at some time by unpleasant internal wranglings. Again, performance at concerts or competitions could be nerve racking and sometimes disastrous. It cannot have been exactly enjoyable to be subjected to the kind of criticism Bradford Postmen's Band was treated to by the judge of a contest held in May 1889. "Commenced very much out of tune, and poor tone, no attack, and soft parts far too loud. Solo for trombones etc. a failure. Overture evidently too difficult for the band. It was a poor performance from first note to last"¹⁰². Equally, there should be no attempt to argue that the popularity of music in 19th and early 20th century Yorkshire was based merely on a desire for riches or a yen for foreign climes. Only a small group had the opportunity to make any more than a useful, albeit at times critical, addition to their income. For the majority, music remained first and foremost a leisure pursuit.

It was quite simply too expensive, time consuming, even nerve racking to have been anything else: "Its rough to come home in your dirt, have a quick wash and change, grab your tea, and then go straight out to a gruelling two hour practice; you have to be tough and you have to want to do it very much"¹⁰³. Henry Living's succinct description of the brass bandsman's sacrifice might well be extended to the whole range of amateur musical activity.

But despite these necessary riders, it is clear that alongside the performance and enjoyment of music, the musical society offered its members a plethora of valuable social experience and financial aid. It gave a sense of fellowship, a social life, a useful source of income, a degree of self respect and often, the respect of the wider community. To appreciate this is to grasp the fundamental importance of music, and in fact of most forms of recreation in 19th century society. It was not some fringe activity usefully filling in the moments when people had nothing better to do. Rather, it was a central element in their very existence. Too often, academics have tended to view leisure in a somewhat negative way. Brass banding, pigeon racing or whatever, appear as antidotes to supposedly more important aspects of life, and most notably of course, to work. Recreation becomes a means of "escape": this is in fact the word used to describe the function of recreation by Dr. Paul Thompson in his work The Edwardians¹⁰⁴.

Obviously, in many ways the choir and band did provide an escape from day to day life, serving to soften the existence of many people. Such a view, however, can obscure as much as it reveals. Dr. Thompson informs us that: "Music or literature helped to ease the monotony of many Edwardian lives". But this is surely too limited an interpretation. It is only too clear from the degree of self-sacrifice demanded by much music-making, from the range of experiences it offered and the intense enthusiasm it generated that for many, music was not simply a way of relieving tedium, but was indeed the major feature of their existence, more significant than their work, their politics, perhaps even their poverty. Until it is appreciated that recreation was more than a mere ornamentation, its place in society will never be adequately understood¹⁰⁵.

Chapter Seven

Music and The Battle for the Working Class Mind

Music and the Battle for the Working Class Mind

That music should serve a purpose beyond that of mere amusement, was an axiom of Victorian social theory. Many 19th and early 20th century Britons had an overtly moralistic approach to the art, an attitude given articulate expression by John Spencer Curwen in his assessment of his father's tonic sol-fa method.

"The method was the indirect means of aiding worship, temperance, and culture, of holding young men and women among good influences, of reforming character, of spreading Christianity. The artistic aspect of the work done by the sol-fa method is indeed less prominent than its moral and religious influence" ¹.

Again, the American educationalist Charles Farnsworth, writing in the early 20th century, observed that the British, and indeed Europeans in general, "endeavour, by means of music to cultivate patriotic and social feelings, treating the subject as an essential in training the individual to be an efficient and contented citizen"². Certainly, there were clear signs of an "art for art's sake" mentality emerging, from the late 19th century. In 1907, a London schools inspector attacked the Tonic Sol-fa Association for their ignorance of what he saw as, "the modern way of looking upon music not merely as an appendage of religion, or drink, or teetotalism, but as an artistic force valuable for its own sake"³. Several years previously, the Leeds Borough organist had felt able to recommend the establishment of a series of cheap musical concerts, on musical grounds alone, while the organisers of the various competitive musical festivals appear to have had musical considerations uppermost in their schemes. But such men and women were still in a minority, professionals whose concern for their art often transcended social deliberations, and the old attitudes died hard. The T.S.F.A. ignored the inspector, and the many "lay" supporters of the Leeds organist felt it necessary to justify their support with various social and political arguments. The view of music as an object of social utility, a balm for society's many evils, remained extraordinarily common until 1914, and often beyond⁴.

Such a view was by no means a Victorian invention, but it was one that attained its apotheosis in the second half of the 19th century. It was not confined to music alone, for the arts and recreation in general were very often viewed in like manner, but music was always a

particularly popular component in the various attempts at social and moral regeneration through leisure⁵. From about the middle years of the century, a great body of musical schemes grew up, as social theorists of all opinions sought to make music serve their ends. The movement really began with William Hickson's singing classes in 1835 and the sightsinging mania of the following decade, but a whole range of activity grew up alongside the singing lesson, including the establishment of literally dozens of series of cheap concerts all over the country, the foundation of works bands, temperance bands and orchestras, and the establishment of the competitive music festivals. This "Music for the People" movement, as it was invariably referred to by contemporaries, has been largely neglected by historians, and yet it represented a national movement of considerable size and scope, and attracted the involvement of many prominent figures, including Jesse Collings and Octavia Hill⁶.

There is not room in this study to deal with the full scope of the "Music For The People" movement, but some analysis of its philosophy and achievement, particularly as it affected the choirs and bands of West Yorkshire, is essential to any study of 19th century working class music. Several manifestations of the moral approach to music, such as the tonic sol-fa movement and the theories of James Kay Shuttleworth, have been discussed already, but this chapter contains deeper analysis than that offered so far. In the first section in particular, some of the aspects of the movement studied did not involve the popular musical society as such. But it seems necessary to include material relating to the wider aspects of "Music For The People", if the role of music in 19th and early 20th century society is to be comprehended.

i) Music and the Defence of Bourgeois Society

Throughout the period, the majority of attempts to produce social change through music, centred on the middle class wish to destroy the potentially "dangerous" elements within working class culture, and to create a respectable, self-reliant, class collaborationist working class. Obviously, the lumping together of a large number of people and projects over a long period of time, and the ascribing to them of certain, similar viewpoints, does tend to obscure historical subtlety. The "defenders of bourgeois society" under study here, include both

the Whigs and Conservatives of the Leeds Rational Recreation Society, and Miss Mary Wakefield, whose espousal of Ruskinite and feminist views, suggest little of the cosy contentment with Victorian capitalism illustrated by her fellow believers in music's power in the Leeds Society⁷. But at the same time, although one detects a genuine and often radical sympathy for working people in Wakefield's writing, and in that of many of her fellow workers, her conclusions were remarkably similar to those of the conservative LRRS. In the last analysis, she sought collaboration not conflict, and a settlement of social problems within the existing system. Thus, while it is necessary to appreciate that there were many different strands comprising this middle class school of musical philanthropy, their views were similar enough in essence for them to be studied as a group.

Clearly, the aspects of popular culture under attack, the methods by which social transformation was supposed to be effected, and the ideology underpinning them, varied according to circumstance. The period 1850 to 1914 saw relationships between classes, and the issues which structured those relationships, change in a variety of ways, and music for the people reflected these changing preoccupations. At the heart of the earliest attempts by the middle classes to provide popular musical recreation, was the desire to limit the place of drink in working class culture, and in particular, to break the ever strengthening connection between the publican and entertainment. In West Yorkshire, the first sustained attempt to combat this evil through music, originated in Bradford, where, in 1848, two Whig Aldermen, Messrs. Rand and Samuel Smith, undertaking a tour of local inns in connection with licencing matters, were struck by the immense popularity of public house music. Smith, an ex-secretary of the Halifax Choral Society and a devoted musical enthusiast, was particularly delighted at the popularity of music amongst the local operatives, but equally angered by the place in which their taste for it was satisfied. "Such was the thirst for relaxation and recreation among the working people, that, on a Saturday night, wherever there was a sound of music to be heard, however offensive and contaminating the atmosphere might be, there a crowd of people was collected"⁸. His response was to suggest the building of a large music hall, in which the working classes might enjoy mainly music, but also lectures and

readings in an atmosphere of moral purity, free from the alcohol, noise and implied immorality of the public house singing room. Thus the lower orders would be weaned away from the drinking establishment, and offered a type of entertainment which would prove intellectually stimulating and beneficial to character.

"Here may we oftimes see the young men and old, with their wives and daughters, and sisters, listening with deep and rapt attention to the soul-inspiring strains of music, or to the fervid eloquence of some gifted teacher, going to their several houses elevated and refreshed, rising in the morning to their daily toil without headache and without regret (Hear, Hear)"⁹.

The result of Samuel Smith's agitation was the building of St. George's Hall, eventually opened in 1853 at the cost of £16,000. Similar responses throughout Britain produced such still famous concert halls as St. George's Hall in Liverpool and the Colston Hall in Bristol, while Leeds Town Hall was also seen partially as a popular concert hall¹⁰. Although not every town sought to produce such an edifice, many witnessed the utilisation of existing buildings by middle class reformers seeking to establish the concert as an alternative to the public house. In Leeds in May 1852, several years before the opening of either St. George's Hall or Leeds Town Hall, "cheap concerts for the people" were established by a group of wealthy industrialists, merchants, professional men and non-conformist churchmen, who, for the present shelving often substantial political and religious differences, came together in a body entitled the Leeds Rational Recreation Society¹¹. They were especially concerned with the apparent popularity of the Leeds Casino, a prototype music hall, where according to the Reverend A. M. Stalker: "The audience will be found alternately smoking, drinking, whistling, stamping, yelling, cursing, swearing, talking obscenely, and sometimes fighting. The audience is entertained from a stage at the extreme end of the building, with music, song, dancing, tumbling, sham fights, stilt-walking and a great variety of comic representation, which seldom fail to rivet the attention of the congregations. Now it need scarcely be mentioned that many of the representations are of a debasing and lust-serving order"¹². Within two years, the society's secretary, John Briggs, was claiming success in the assault on this and similar institutions. "The committee were satisfied that the movement had had a very important influence upon the

artisan classes of the town, many of whom had expressed the obligation they were under to the founders of the society for the opportunity afforded of gratifying their musical aspirations, apart from the demoralising influences of the casinos and the beer house"¹³.

The attempts to weaken the hold of the public house upon working class recreation, were accompanied by efforts to involve the lower classes themselves in music-making activity. The singing class movement, discussed in earlier chapters, was one aspect of this approach, but there were others. As was illustrated in Chapter 3, temperance organisations organised a considerable number of musical societies, and brass bands in particular, over the course of the century. The first Temperance band to be founded in West Yorkshire (and probably Britain as a whole) was established at Bramley in 1836¹⁴. It is not clear whether the band was initiated by a particular organisation, or simply by like-minded bandsmen, but its establishment set a precedent that many temperance bodies were to follow. Bands were seen by these bodies not merely as an excellent vehicle of rational recreation for their members, but as an attraction at their functions and demonstrations; it was possibly the brass band's suitability for open-air performance that led temperance organisations to prefer them to choirs. Bramley Temperance played at temperance festivals throughout Yorkshire in the 1840's, and spent 3 days in July 1843 accompanying the Irish temperance advocate Father Matthews, on his missionary tour in York¹⁵. In 1885, Batley Victoria Temperance Band were to be found at the head of the Batley Band of Hope Union demonstration, while in the same year at the Heckmondwike Union demonstration, the honour fell to the elegantly, if not succinctly named, Heckmondwike Gospel Temperance Association Brass Band¹⁶. It is not usually possible to discover which temperance organisation established which bands, although it is known that the Band of Hope were responsible for founding Wyke Temperance, originally as a drum and fife band, in 1869¹⁷. Concomitant with the emergence of temperance bands, it is probable that many bands, although not specifically temperance organizations, were supported by middle class citizens who agreed with the writer Algernon Rose, that brass banding "begets habits of absteemiousness"¹⁸. Although it often did not have this effect, there were enough examples of respectability and sobriety within the movement to make it seem worthy of middle class munificence.

By the late 19th century, as drink took on a less central role in working class culture, the fear of its consequences receded in the minds of many rational recreationists, and from this period, discussion of the public house played a far smaller part in debate over the social function of music¹⁹. But the desire to remodel patterns of popular leisure remained strong. Samuel Midgley, the Bradford music teacher, seeking council financial support for a series of chamber concerts for the working classes in 1907, claimed that music welded the family "into a beautiful and harmonious entity, training the sons and daughters in right ways, and thus keeping them from debasing and vicious companions and amusements". William Riley, a local shoe manufacturer, was more explicit: such a series of concerts would, he argued, clean the streets of "the young life of the city no one can pass along Market Street and Manningham Lane without feeling that something should be done to correct the evil influences of these parades". E. J. Smith, a prominent Liberal councillor, agreed wholeheartedly. "Sunday evening concerts would be specially beneficial. The state of Market Street and Manningham Lane on a Sunday night was a disgrace, and a concert in some public hall from eight o'clock to half past nine might do much to mitigate it"²⁰. Providing the working classes with the opportunity of listening to music, was not good enough reason to spur the majority of philanthropists into action. The concert was a weapon in a wider social struggle against the incipient immorality of the public house, the music hall, that fundamental aspect of working class courtship, the Sunday evening parade, and any other element of popular recreation which offended the dictates of respectable society.

Organisations such as the Leeds Rational Recreation Society were also attempting, not merely to remove people from potentially demoralising institutions, but to influence their thoughts and opinions by means of the alternative they offered. Perhaps the most pervasive idea underlying the various schemes for social regeneration through music, was the belief that music could serve as a social cement, as a bridgehead between antagonistic social classes. The language of musical philanthropists throughout the period is full of references to the concept of music as a vehicle for class collaboration, and as a way of instigating respect for the existing system of both industry and government, and its practitioners. The argument was at its firmest in

the earlier period. The final concert of the IRRS in April 1857 produced two archetypal statements from the eminent Leeds gentlemen on the platform. The mayor, John Botterill, told the assembled that:

"the importance of this society, no one who employed a large number of workmen could doubt. No workman could attend these concerts without having his taste refined, for no man could mingle amongst those moving in a higher sphere to himself, without such results, and without his ambition being excited to attain a position not less elevated and respected (Hear, Hear). It was to feelings such as these, that, in a great measure, they owed the great prosperity and commercial eminence of this country".

The society's president, John Hope Shaw, reinforced this claim with his own that: "It was impossible that all classes of society could mingle with each other week after week, as at these concerts, without feeling their mutual regard for each other strengthened and confirmed"²¹. Ten years later, an editorial in the Yorkshire Orchestra pushed the argument even further in an extravagant assertion that: "A music-loving nation is generally less disturbed under political agitation, and less subject to violent excitement from any cause, than a nation, where music is not necessarily one of the elements of public education"²².

As the period progressed, the rhetoric became less assertive, but the message remained the same. The Competitive Festival movement was often seen as a vehicle for the breaking down of social barriers. "The Competitive Festival Movement is responsible for much socialism, although of a very different kind from that conventionally associated with the word. A festival brings into pleasant contact people of all classes who, in the ordinary course of events, would probably not be on speaking terms"²³. Samuel Midgley had similar thoughts about the choral society: "those who are acquainted with our West Yorkshire choral societies know how it brings all classes together, making them one of heart and mind; woolcomber and master, scavenger and professional man all meet and rub shoulders together, and by so doing learn to appreciate each other in a way that is good for all"²⁴. As recently as 1974, a Huddersfield musician looking back over his town's musical history, and his own experience of 50 years' association with the Huddersfield Philharmonic Orchestra, wrote that, "the common experience of the choir rehearsal and the bandroom which cut across class distinctions, were important reasons why England was so little

disturbed by the disruptive forces which were so evident on the continent"²⁵. Clearly, the belief in the efficacy of music's power as a social healer has taken very deep root.

It is surely also significant in this context, that although "Music for the People" was a constant feature of the recreational landscape from the mid 19th century, it enjoyed particular peaks in the 1850's, the 1880's and in the early 1900's, all periods during which the middle classes exhibited intensified concern about the political behaviour of the working classes²⁶. The rash of cheap concerts in the 1850's are a part of that collective sigh of middle class relief exhaled as the chartist threat receded and the economy stabilised. They formed but one of the many attempts to build a political consensus on the economic foundation of mid-Victorian prosperity. The schemes of the 1880's and 1900's, however, represent a response not to what many saw as the emergence of a deradicalised working class, but to the threat of working class political militancy. Obviously, it would be too crude to see every musical project emanating from a middle class source as a direct attempt at political control. But there can be no doubt that in periods of widescale debate about working class political behaviour, and particularly during periods of popular agitation, middle class philanthropy of all types tended to increase, and many of the musical schemes of the period owed their origins to these particularly sensitive periods, when projects for the working class were being discussed with particular zest.

One of the best known examples of the attempt to use music in the service of better class relationships, and one which owed much to the middle class reaction against working class political action in the early and middle 19th century, was the works band. Some of the earliest experiments involving music as a social ameliorative, in fact took the form of a band, or indeed choir or orchestra, founded by an industrialist seeking ways of creating a rapport between capital and labour. Besses o' the' Barn Band, founded in 1818, were originally sponsored by a local cotton manufacturing family. Similarly, the London Lead Company supported bands at at least four of their mining villages in Yorkshire and Durham, between 1820 and 1825, proving particularly munificent to the band at Nent Head in North Yorkshire. Robert Owen's factory children were taught singing at New Lanark, John Strutt founded an orchestra and choir at his factory in

Belper, while Samuel Greg established an orchestra and choir, as well as encouraging all manner of other musical activity, at his factory village in Bollington, Cheshire, in 1832²⁷. In 1840, Greg wrote to the Factory Inspector, Leonard Horner, outlining the village's musical life. "Our music and singing engage many of both sexes - young and old, learned and unlearned, we have a small glee class that meets once a week round a cottage fire. There is another more numerous for sacred music that meets every Wednesday and Saturday during the winter, and really perform very well, at least I seldom hear music that pleases me more. A number of men have formed a band with clarionets, horns, and other wind instruments, and meet twice a week to practice, besides blowing and trumpeting nightly at their own homes. A few families are provided with pianos, and here I believe all the children of the household play on them. The guitar also is an instrument not unknown among us, and to these may be added sundry violins, violincellos, serpents, flutes, and some sort of thing they call a dulcimer and when you remember how few families we muster - not more than seventy or 80 - you will think with me that we are quite a musical society"²⁸.

The extensive musical culture encouraged by Greg represents a particularly developed form of philanthropy through music, but throughout the period, there were many manufacturers who sought, in less spectacular ways, to encourage music-making. It is unfortunate that the founders and supporters of organisations such as the Black Dyke Mills Band, left behind so few statements concerning their motives for such action. It should be appreciated that the first move did not always emanate from the employer. There has been a tendency among musical historians to overstress the imposition of music upon the workforce, but as the late-Victorian band observer Algernon Rose pointed out, on some occasions, the workforce approached their employer and asked for aid with instruments, rehearsal space and other necessities, rather than the employer deciding that it would be a good idea for his employees to become bandsmen. It is not clear how many works bands were inaugurated from below, but it is important to remember that this could happen²⁹.

Most contemporary observers saw the works band as essentially a vehicle for the control of the workforce. W. J. Galloway, writing in 1910, claimed that bandsmen were often found jobs "with the assumption that misconduct of incompetence meant dismissal. Thus the existence

of the band creates in working men an active interest in music; and musical proficiency, acquiring a direct economic value, acts as a powerful inducement to commercial industry, efficiency and good conduct. Here is a double gain of an uncommon character"³⁰.

Galloway saw the band as a method of control in a specific industrial sense, an institution for enforcing correct habits in the workplace. But it is probable that it was also regarded by manufacturers as having a wider social function. It is noteworthy that works bands tended to emerge either in firms which already enjoyed a certain reputation for paternalism in other fields relating to their workers' affairs, (factories such as Sir Titus Salt's Saltaire Mills, near Bradford, or James Ackroyd's Carpet Factory in Halifax), and/or in communities where the workplace was in an isolated geographical position and in which the owner already exerted an immense influence³¹. John Foster's of Queensbury, whose Black Dyke Mills Band provide the most famous example of a works band, represent an excellent case in this latter respect. By 1891, Foster's employed about half of the village's 6,500 inhabitants, and inevitably the fate of most of the others depended on the mill's continued success. They owned a great deal of their employees' living accommodation, and generally exerted influence over innumerable aspects of local life³². The presence of brass bands in these paternalistic environments, suggests that they were viewed by manufacturers as one more aspect, and one of the most public and thus perhaps one of the most useful, of a wider process through which employers maintained influence on the local community, through the exercise of benevolence.

While it seems inescapable that "social control" was a prime consideration, there were probably other factors involved. It is perhaps revealing that those employers who actually stimulated the establishment of a band, chose that particular form of music-making. In certain ways, the establishment of choirs might have represented a more valuable vehicle, if ideas of social control had been the only ones present. The choral society was infinitely cheaper to equip than the brass band, and its repertoire, especially the oratorio and cantata with its often overtly religious content, represented at first sight a more direct form of "indoctrination" than the brass band. There was certainly no animosity shown by manufacturers towards choral music, and occasional choral ventures were undertaken. A Bradford millowner

sponsored a performance of Handel's Messiah at his mill in 1850, and about half of the chorus and orchestra were drawn from his workforce³³. Similarly, several leading manufacturers from the same town donated tickets to their workers to enable them to visit sacred concerts at the Bradford Music Festivals of 1853, 1856 and 1859³⁴. But in general the choir was not exploited as a medium for employer-workforce collaboration. This preference is perhaps suggestive that advertising rather than, or at least alongside, mere social control, was a central part of their philosophy. A band that travelled the North in competitions was guaranteed to attract far more attention than a choir, which at least until the 1890's, was merely a concert-giving organisation operating only in a limited locality, where the firm was already well known. By the 1890's, the tradition of works bands was obviously too deeply entrenched to allow for change, and the choir remained beyond the philanthropists' hold.

Finally, while a desire to influence the habits of the workforce, an attempt to create loyalty, and to create good public relations were all important and probably central to the thoughts of men like John Foster, it is worth contemplating that for some employers at least, musical considerations did play some part in their thought. Many of the industrialists who encouraged bands were themselves either amateur performers, or had a keen interest in music. Foster had played the French horn in Peter Wharton's band, a reed band founded in Queensbury (or Queenshead as it was then), in 1816, a band which was the fore-runner of the village band which in turn was eventually taken over by Fosters and renamed the Black Dyke Mills Band in 1855. The Heatons of Ponden, near Keighley, who owned a local cotton mill, a corn mill and had interests in several local quarries and pits, were benefactors of Ponden Brass Band in the mid 19th century. They, too, were a noted local musical family, with several of the sons playing brass instruments. Similarly, William Lister Marriner, a Keighley worsted manufacturer whose works band was for a period one of the most successful in Great Britain, was a keen cornet player and the works band in fact evolved from a private band he had founded in 1844. Samson Fox, the guiding hand behind Leeds Forge Band (1882-1892), was keen enough on music (and publicity?) to provide £45,000 towards premises for the Royal College of Music in the 1880's. While it would perhaps be rather romantic to claim for these gentlemen that

their sole aim was to provide the wherewithal for their employees to make music, the decision to make music a part of their paternalist machinery may have been considerably influenced by their love of the art³⁵.

So far in this study, there has been little attention paid to the actual music used by these various bodies. To an extent, this reflects contemporary preoccupation; as is clear from the statements of the Leeds Rational Recreation Society and their counterparts quoted earlier, it was the nature of the musical event or institution, rather than the music itself, that they regarded as having the greatest importance. The bringing together either in the audience or in the society, of rich and poor, master and man, this was the essence of their intention. The Leeds Rational Recreation Society were quite happy for the working class members of the audience to hear songs such as Simon the Cellarer, which can hardly be seen as an ode to sobriety, provided that they heard them outside of the public house, and surrounded by the city's upper classes³⁶. There often appears to have been a belief that music of any type was simply a "good thing". But if the music itself added to the creation of a correct moral climate, then this was an added advantage, and it is worth looking briefly at certain aspects of the repertoire.

Oratorio was regarded as having particularly powerful influence upon the popular imagination. As was noted in Chapter 2, George Hogarth believed that the popularity of sacred music was the major cause for the lack of revolutionary zeal in early 19th century Yorkshire, and there were many, who, while not extending their enthusiasm for the art quite that far, believed it to be of inestimable importance in the elevation of the working classes. The choral singers of Bradford, were raised "in the scale of humanity" through their association with the divine works of Handel, Haydn, and Mendelssohn, claimed The Times in 1859³⁷. One can almost hear the chorus of "hear, hear" echoing from middle class villas throughout the country. Some organisations felt that the existing body of music was not adequate for their purpose, and sought to extend it by the production of new material. Temperance bodies were particularly fond of writing ditties on the frightening powers of alcohol, and the wonders of non-alcoholic alternatives. It is doubtful whether much of this material passed into the repertoire of the serious choral societies, although many attenders

at singing classes would have been faced with such works as Oh! Water For Me!, You must learn to say no, and Touch not the Cup³⁸. Equally, there were attempts to create a specifically "collaborationist" repertoire, praising the achievements of the Victorian and Edwardian ruling classes, and setting out the duties and roles of the labouring classes. In general, these appear to have been directed at school-children, but there were occasional moves towards the adult population³⁹.

One of the most intriguing works expressing this type of ideology was Percy Fletcher's tone poem for brass band, Labour and Love, the championship section testpiece at the Crystal Palace Contest of 1913. This work has received considerable attention from historians of music, because, as has been discussed in a previous chapter, it represented the first serious piece of programme music to be written for the brass band. But, the significance of the programme itself has been totally ignored. The work was intended to express the changing moods of a working man. At the beginning, he feels downtrodden, angry and despairing, a slave to a purposeless, physically tiring job. Eventually, in desperation, amidst "syncopated rhythms and rushing bass figures", followed by a trombone recitative, he resigns his job and returns, angry and bitter, to his wife. At this point, a gentle cornet solo takes over, expressing his wife's tender urging that he might return to his job. "She has her troubles but she meets them with a smile". At length, he is persuaded by her arguments, "and her delight in his decision is expressed in a cornet cadenza". The work ends with a martial movement, celebrating his joyous return to work.

"He smiles at his troubles, his heart swells with pride at his work; the movement becomes more earnest in style as he throws himself with determination into his task. resolved to improve his position by continued devotion to his daily task".

He has rediscovered his purpose in life; his work has become a "labour of love". It must be stressed that there is no direct evidence that either Fletcher, or J. H. Iles, the organiser of the Crystal Palace contests, saw the work as overt propaganda. But the piece illustrates with great clarity the enormous conservatism that lay behind so many middle class attempts to encourage the spread of the brass band, and music in general, amongst the working classes. It is fitting that the first major work for brass band by a recognised composer should be

a hymn to the joys of hard work, loyalty, self-improvement and contentment⁴⁰.

It would be wrong to forget that there was a purely artistic side to all these philanthropic institutions and morally and spiritually improving compositions. Many entrepreneurs who financed works bands liked music; Percy Fletcher was praised for producing high quality brass band music; and the "People's Concerts", particularly from the early 20th century, were of an increasingly high order. The audience at a popular concert in Leeds, Halifax or Huddersfield would have been treated to (as late as the 1880's), what was usually termed a "miscellaneous" concert, a mixture of several partsongs and glees, a well known aria from one of the more popular operas of Bellini, Donizetti or Rossini, an overture from similar operatic source, and some comic songs, from the pen of Samuel Lover or Henry Russell, whose effusions were held by Victorians to be both witty and considerably more moral than his music hall counterparts⁴¹. By 1900, this type of entertainment was fast being replaced by more adventurous fare. There could not be a greater difference than that between the traditional miscellaneous concert and those organised by Herbert Fricker, the Leeds Borough organist between 1902 and 1911. There was now a strong emphasis on orchestral music, with full symphonies performed at every concert. Whole evenings were devoted to the works of major composers, including, in 1905 alone, Wagner, Elgar and Tschaiikowsky. Moreover, a certain amount of exposure was given to relatively new orchestral music which had rarely been heard outside the London concert halls, including Sibelius's Karelia Suite, Debussy's L'Après Midi d'un Faune, and to the work of young English composers such as Havergal Brian and Leeds's own Frederick Kilvington Hattersley⁴². At Samuel Midgley's free chamber concerts in Bradford, works by composers including Beethoven, Brahms, Debussy, Liszt, Grieg, Elgar and Dvorak, never before offered to the "popular" concertgoers were performed⁴³. Perhaps most important of all, the Competitive Festival Movement, one of the most significant of all late Victorian and Edwardian Music for the People schemes, revolutionised the repertoire of the choral movement⁴⁴. The "raising of taste", the genuine improvement of popular musical life which early bodies like the LRRS had mentioned in passing, was clearly becoming a far more central preoccupation. But although by

this date, musical considerations were now often as important, and for some, perhaps more important, than social and political ones, music was still widely seen as a vehicle for the shaping of popular behaviour. The 19th century's utilitarian approach to the arts was too deeply entrenched to disappear with any great rapidity: indeed, its shadow is still with us today.

ii) Music and the Working Class Challenge

While the majority of schemes for the provision of music to the working classes were underpinned by an essentially conservative ideology, the defenders of contemporary civilisation were not alone in their belief in the ability of music, and the arts in general, to shape the minds of the labouring population. Criticisms of conditions, employers and even the government, had formed the stuff of many broadsides and folksongs from the 17th century and earlier⁴⁵. But in the 19th century, protest through "culture" blossomed to a degree hitherto unknown. A great stress on "the widening of the human experience through music, drama, reading and entertainment of all kinds" came to form a central pillar in the philosophy of many sections of the working class movement⁴⁶. Writing in 1851, the Chartist theoretician G. J. Harney, urged the reading of Tennyson upon readers of The Friend of the People, assuring them that it would sustain them through difficult times ahead.

"His poetry is a very world of wondrous beauty - purifying and ennobling beauty; and working men should be made acquainted with it that they may get beauty into their souls, and thence into their daily lives" ⁴⁷.

A fellow Chartist leader saw poetry in general as "something towards the great work of regenerating the now mentally debased - to cheer the physically oppressed - and to stimulate men to noble deeds for truth and freedom's sake"⁴⁸. Similar attitudes to the arts can be seen in the secularist movement, typified by a Whit Sunday Shakespeare reading held by Sheffield secularists in Winnats Pass above Castleton, in the Derbyshire peaks, in 1859⁴⁹. The list of such actions throughout the labour movement could be extended indefinitely. As well as utilising writings from the existing literary stock, radical organisations often sought to make their own contribution in order to further their cause. The theories and beliefs of the working class from Chartism onward, were expounded in poetry, novel, music and

theatre. The cultural offensives of the LRRS and their counterparts were not to pass unchallenged⁵⁰.

Throughout the 19th and early 20th century, music had an important role in the attempt to politicise the working classes, but efforts to harness popular musical culture to the needs of the radical working class movement, reached a peak from the late 19th century, and it is this period that receives particular attention here. The flowering of radical musical life that began in the 1880's, was largely an outgrowth of the late-Victorian socialist revival. Song played a central part in the life of the socialist pilgrims of the I.L.P. and S.D.F., acting as both a means of propaganda and a way of uplifting the spirit. F. W. Jowett, remembered singing socialist songs in the country lanes about Bradford and Leeds during the course of leafletting campaigns during the 1880's, and from that time onward, it was an unusual socialist gathering that was not enlivened with music⁵¹. Meetings, lectures, the services of the Labour Church, were all times of music making. The Labour Church movement in Bradford, drew upon an enormous range of musical composition⁵². There were also attempts by the Labour Church to introduce concert performances into their proceedings. In May 1895, a chamber concert was held at the afternoon meeting, and music by Mozart, Mascagni, Haydn, de Beriot, Chopin and others was performed to a "rather small audience", who nevertheless appear to have enjoyed the experience. "To the ordinary labour church attendants who are mostly composed of toilers in the factory, warehouse or workshop, it was indeed a gleam of sunshine"⁵³. Several months later, the experiment was repeated, and the Brownroyd Pleasant Sunday Afternoon Orchestra were called upon to provide an evening of entertainment which included Wagner's Tannhauser March, a selection from Auber's Crown Diamonds, and Von Suppé's overtures Morning Noon and Night and Poet and Peasant, all staple elements of the late-Victorian amateur orchestral repertoire⁵⁴.

Concert life within the socialist and labour movement was not restricted to the Labour Church, and under the auspices of other institutions it often took on a more immediately practical function than the mere introduction of "gleams of sunshine". In 1897, for example, concerts were organised by socialist organisations and local trade unionists to raise money for engineering workers at Huddersfield and at Rodley, a village to the west of Leeds, who had been locked out

during the course of a protracted dispute in the engineering trade⁵⁵. In the same year, a relief committee, headed by Ben Turner, a prominent local trade unionist and socialist leader, organised a series of concerts by the choir of the Penhryn Slate Quarries, Bethesda, North Wales, to raise funds for strikers at the Quarry who were entering a dispute that was eventually to last for over 3 years. The choir gave several open air performances in the textile region, and for the concert at Dewsbury, the Yorkshire Factory Times claimed an attendance of 20,000, testimony to both the musicality and the political awareness of the Yorkshire working classes at this time⁵⁶.

Like their counterparts in the temperance and such-like bodies, many socialist organisations were not content merely to provide concerts for their members to enjoy "passively", but sought to involve them in formal musical institutions. There are two areas of radical activity that demand attention in this context: the Co-operative and the Clarion movements. Certainly, there were other political organisations which produced musical societies, but in general, it was the Co-operative and Clarion movements that made the most vigorous efforts to use music in their campaigns. Significantly, very few musical or cultural projects emanated directly from the trade union movement. The Dewsbury Permanent Orchestral Band of Trade Unionists was active in the late 1890's, but it appears to have been an isolated example⁵⁷. Most organisations preferred to establish vocal rather than instrumental bodies. A handful of socialist brass bands connected with a particular I.L.P. branch or a socialist club, emerged in the 1890's, usually with the specific intention of providing music at rallies and demonstrations. One such band, Milnsbridge Socialist from the Colne Valley, widened their sphere of activity in the early 1900's and became a relatively successful competition band. In general, however, political bands were uncommon. Expensive to maintain, and unable to draw upon the much needed financial support of the widest possible community, they were more likely to be a drain upon finances than a valuable source of revenue⁵⁸. The choir, cheaper, and better suited to communicating specific ideas and slogans, became the typical radical musical institution, and the co-operative and clarion movements its greatest exponents.

To an extent, the co-operative movement fits a little unhappily into the "radical/Socialist" category under discussion here. From

about 1850, it increasingly abandoned its initial attempts to supersede capitalist society, and came to work within it, even speaking of itself as a form of "collective capitalism". Similarly, as a working class movement of impressive scope, (7% of Bradford's population were members by 1910), it attracted people from all areas of the political spectrum, and also many who viewed it merely as a source of cheap goods and in no sense as a political body. But for all the neglect of its original Owenite Millennialism, and its attraction to people of Conservative or apolitical standpoints, it remained, through its criticisms of many capitalist practices and its many links with the nascent socialist and labour parties, a body committed to change and to the establishment of a juster society, and as such can only be dealt with in this particular section⁵⁹.

It is not known when the first Co-operative choir was founded, but by 1914, there were (or had been) 8 such organisations in the Yorkshire textile region, and numerous others in different areas of the country⁶⁰. They were often of considerable size - the Huddersfield Co-operative Choir numbered 140 in 1899, with another 110 in training in a singing class - and obtained extremely high standards, the best societies being capable of performing some of the most demanding partsongs of the period⁶¹. The bulk of their activities appear to have centred on the provision of music at Co-operative festivals, fairs, and meetings, although the better quality choirs also gave a number of public performances. There was too, a competitive aspect to their singing, with national and, eventually, regional championships commencing from the late 1890's. Yorkshire choirs were usually successful at these events, with the Huddersfield, Bradford and Slaithwaite groups being particularly successful⁶². ¶ The Clarion choirs, or "vocal unions" as they preferred to be called, owed their particular existence to the proselytising of Robert Blatchford's brother, Montagu, whose "cheerful if somewhat cynical" articles under the pen-name Mont Blang, were a popular feature of the Clarion newspaper⁶³. Blatchford began his musical propaganda in a series of articles published in the Clarion in the autumn of 1894, which drew the attention of his readers to a choir he had started earlier that year amongst Halifax socialists and "fellow-travellers", and suggested that other areas might follow suit⁶⁴. In the following year, the Clarion Vocal Union was established to oversee the

activities of the Halifax choir and two or three others which had emerged by that date. By 1910, by which time at least 23 choirs were in existence (of which 9 were in West Yorkshire), the Vocal Union had become an established part of the Clarion's wideranging recreational penumbra⁶⁵. Blatchford tended to claim a wider originality for his scheme than was justified. He maintained that the Clarion Vocal Union was serving to halt the decline of English partsinging. In 1896, he informed an audience at Bradford Labour Institute that, "though there was plenty of singing, still the old art of glee or part-singing had almost entirely gone out of date"⁶⁶. In fact, the part-song had not really been "neglected", and while there can be no doubt that the 1890's saw an increased interest in it, the C.V.U.'s part in this revival formed only one small aspect of a far wider movement that had begun several years before Blatchford began his initiative. But while he clearly had slight delusions of grandeur, he undoubtedly deserves to be remembered as the pioneer of choral music within the late 19th century socialist movement.

Like the Co-operative choirs, the C.V.U.s' were seen as an important element of the radical entertainment configuration. "Come!", exhorted Blatchford, "we want some broad, humanizing interest to brighten the dingy round of our struggling party, some more genial and cheering amusement than political speeches and contested elections; and where can you find a more cheering, harmonising, inspiring force than choral music well sung"⁶⁷. This "brightening up" function proved to be one of the major aspects of C.V.U. activity. Choirs attended many open air meetings, rallies and addresses, and between speeches, gave rousing choruses of Awake Aeolian Lyre, The River Floweth Strong, or The Sea Hath Its Pearls. They were invariably commissioned to perform at every conceivable type of socialist entertainment, and as their standards improved, several choirs began to give their own concerts. From 1898, they also began their own competition. Blatchford had initially expressed a dislike for musical competitions, claiming after a visit to the Leeds Prize Musical Union's event in December 1895, that musical and artistic considerations were abandoned in favour of "length and difficulty", and promising that he would never take a choir to a competition⁶⁸. But his attitude soon softened, as it became clear

that the C.V.U. event could be far more an exercise in education and fellowship, than in pure competition. The idea for a competition originated at the first "annual meet", held in the idyllic setting of Bolton Woods, North Yorkshire, in 1897. 9 choirs numbering 400 vocalists and some 500 spectators gathered for an open air luncheon, a combined singing session, followed by a solo performance from every choir⁶⁹. No prizes were given, but Blatchford, moving rapidly from his earlier position, suggested that in future years, a system of prize-giving should be instituted. By the early 1900's, the C.V.U. competition had grown into an event of considerable proportions, with two regional qualifying heats and a final taking place alternately in Lancashire and Yorkshire. The final also featured a combined concert, and over the period, the C.V.U. commissioned the composition of a small number of original works for this performance. Several choirs developed quite a taste for competitive activity, and entered events outside of the Clarion orbit. The Keighley C.V.U., who consistently attained extremely high musical standards throughout the period, were regular attenders at Yorkshire competitions, making their debut in the Hardrow Scar contest only days before the first Clarion meet in 1897. Interestingly, they were reportedly extremely dissatisfied with the judge's (Miss Wakefield) decision to place them fourth out of 4⁷⁰. In this instance at least, the competitive ethos was clearly stronger than the yearning for fellowship and musical education!

While the "brightening" function of these concerts and competitions was regarded as having considerable importance, such events were at the same time viewed as critical vehicles for political and moral education. Organisers of both Co-operative and Clarion choirs, stressed the value of music as a means of "raising the masses". As has been seen already, this was hardly a new idea, but it gained a new urgency and cogency in this period, as the writings of Ruskin and Morris came to exercise enormous influence in the socialist and radical political movement. The statements of Montagu Blatchford and his counterparts in the Clarion movement were often coloured by the belief, so strongly held by Ruskin and Morris, in the power of beauty to civilise and raise the intellectual and moral horizons of the individual⁷¹. Georgina Pearce, the Clarion's music correspondent, expressed this standpoint eloquently, during the course

of a contribution to the magazine. "It is a noble thing to perform fine music; it helps us, all and each, to 'trample down the base' to realise our best selves, to be higher, happier and healthier human beings"⁷². It was believed that as more and more individuals were thus improved, society would gradually be regenerated and move towards socialism. The C.V.U. was just one aspect of the whole apparatus - the scouts, the wheelers, the vans, the ramblers - through which the Clarion movement sought to bring the transformation about⁷³. Similar views concerning the improvement of the individual, albeit from a less overtly socialistic standpoint, were often expressed in the Co-operative movement, where particular stress was placed on the need for self-improvement through intellectual activity, coming from the operatives themselves, "for there was a certain danger to character in schemes of paternal benevolence"⁷⁴. Alongside this, singing was intended to provide an active lesson in fellowship. Blatchford argued in 1895 that; "It is a lesson in discipline and socialism of the most convincing sort. It shows the interdependence of each on all; the necessity of every member doing a given duty in a given way at the proper time to the instant, and gives an exultant feeling of precision, unity, and power that would raise and dignify a tailor's dummy"⁷⁵. As such, a writer in the Keighley Labour Journal claimed, it could serve as "a first promise of what enjoyment may be obtained from life, when under the socialism which these choirs are using their voices to promote, all men and women have leisure to devote to intellectual pleasures"⁷⁶. Socialists of the late 19th and early 20th century, like the pioneers of Methodism almost 150 years earlier, strove to sing themselves to paradise.

It is noteworthy that they tried to accomplish their task by remaining to a considerable extent within the confines of the existing repertoire, and made only a limited effort to create a socialist and/or a co-operative alternative. In their street corner concerts, even in the recitals to an already committed audience the repertoire of both Co-operative and Clarion choirs remained remarkably similar to that of non-political choirs. Certainly they might show a tendency towards the inclusion of music with a "liberal" theme, notably Adolphe Adams Comrades, a setting of the radical poem Les Enfants De Paris, which was a common feature of Clarion concerts (but at the same time, it was also popular with non-political bodies

such as Golcar Baptists and Morley Glee Party who both favoured it as a testpiece)⁷⁷. Furthermore, the annual Clarion contest and concert usually featured an overtly political work. Montagu Blatchford's socialist hymn, Hark, a New Song Rising, was written for the Manchester meeting of 1906, while a number of works by professional composers with socialist sympathies were commissioned. In 1914, the annual concert featured a motet by Rutland Boughton entitled The City, "embodying the composer's vision of the ideal city", and a work entitled 1910, by the feminist composer Ethel Smythe, dedicated to the struggles of the women's suffrage movement⁷⁸. The Co-operative movement in its turn, produced a certain amount of propagandist material, including in 1898, a Co-operative songbook and a partsong entitled Here's a Health to the Cause⁷⁹. A certain amount of this material passed into use within the movement. At a mass meeting to celebrate the 50th anniversary of Bradford Co-operative Society in 1910, the audience sang Brothers in Co-operation (to the tune of Men of Harlech), Hope of Ages and Sons of Labour, and were then entertained by the Bradford Co-operative Choir and orchestra, who performed the song, Forward, All Ye Workers⁸⁰.

In general, however, socialist and Co-operative musical institutions were largely content to perform standard works. The programme of the Clarion Contest and Concert at Halifax in 1904 was well within the mainstream of the Edwardian choral tradition. Two choirs chose to perform Buck's Hymn to Music, while the others chose Caxton's Ode to Spring, King's Soldier, Rest, Elgar's O Happy Eyes and his Weary Wind of the West, while at the combined concert, the audience were treated to:

Judge Me O God	Mendelssohn
Hunting Song	Mendelssohn
Song of the Vikings	Fanning ⁸¹ .

Similarly, the works performed at the Co-operative contest at Grimsby in 1907, a contest involving a number of West Yorkshire choirs, were:

Moonlight	Fanning
Come to me, Gentle Sheep	H. Cowen
Sleeping Leaves	A. J. Caldicott
Break, Break	MacFarren
In this Hour of Softened Splendour	Pinsuti ⁸² .

By no stretch of the imagination can these songs be seen as overtly political, let alone as imparting any radical ideology. Even when performing at a specifically political event, choirs generally performed orthodox choral music. Undoubtedly, there were "political" favourites which were sung by choirs at rallies, demonstrations and so forth. The Comrades Song of Hope, The Marseillaise, The Red Flag and Carpenter's England Arise, the Long, Long Night is Over, were commonly performed, but they were often outnumbered by more traditional offerings. When singing at an open air meeting addressed by Philip Snowden at the village of Stanbury in 1897, Keighley C.V.U. were happy to give Awake, Aeolian Lyre, The River Floweth Strong and The Sea Hath Its Pearls⁸³. A musical manifestation of radical counter-culture made only a limited appearance.

This is not altogether unexpected. Blatchford and other theorists, like many of their antagonists seeking to use music to bolster the existing system, believed in the power of music per se, and not simply in that which had a particular message, to elevate the people⁸⁴. Moreover, previous radical generations had left remarkably little suitable music upon which the new socialist choirs could draw. The early industrial protest songs, The Four-loom Weaver, and such like, were often either dated, or unsuitable for performance by choral societies devoted largely to part, as opposed to unison, singing. Little did Edward Elgar, Ciro Pinsuti and even Felix Bartholdy-Mendelssohn know, that they were to be the preferred musical handmaidens of the socialist millen^{ium}.

iii) Popular Politics and the Musical Society in West Yorkshire.

Over the course of the period 1850-1914, working class lifestyles, attitudes and beliefs underwent much change. By 1914, the labouring classes were in general altogether more "respectable" - cleaner, less drunken, better educated - and more fully integrated into the framework of capitalist society than many an early 19th century observer would have dared believe possible. Even the socialists were happy about some of the changes which had taken place. While political developments may not have been all to their liking, the wider transformation of morality and behaviour can only have been pleasing to them. Although socialists, during the course of their musical propaganda, had made considerably less fuss about the evils of drink and working class

"immorality" in general, than their liberal-conservative counterparts, they were firm believers in the need for a sober, sensitive and respectable working class. Many exponents of Music for the People felt that they had contributed to the changes that had occurred. Music was after all such a powerful means of social change, they felt, it cannot have failed to exercise some effect.

In this final section, discussion of the relationship between popular attitudes, particularly political attitudes, and musical life, will concern only the musical society. Although, in order to gain the fullest picture of contemporary socio-musical theory, it was necessary in previous sections to look at wider aspects of musical activity, there is not space here to analyse the impact of such features as the cheap concert movement. It is likely, however, that many of the conclusions suggested here, are also applicable to the concert movement and other aspects of Music for the People. From a study of the musical society, it seems probable that in albeit often small, very modest ways, music did in fact have an impact upon the structure of contemporary life.

It might, for example, have exerted a slight influence upon popular attitudes to drink, that social evil which drew such attention from social observers of all types. By 1914, the alcoholic consumption of the labouring class had diminished considerably and was continuing to do so. Consumption of alcohol peaked in the mid 1870's, and although a really striking and lasting decrease did not emerge until the inter-war period, late-Victorians and Edwardians were marginally more sober than their forefathers⁸⁵. Temperance musical institutions were relatively common in the textile district and much was expected of them. Obviously, their influence should not be over-estimated. They were never numerous enough to assist more than a small number of people. Similarly, as the history of several temperance bands illustrates, the label "temperance" was one which its owners could wear extremely loosely. As noted earlier, Wyke Temperance band decided to rid themselves of the epithet "temperance" in 1900, because they found themselves £100 in debt and felt that too close an identification with the Temperance movement was restricting their public appeal⁸⁶. Perhaps even more indicative of the laxness with which the band adhered to the Temperance cause, was the presence in its ranks during the 1890's of three soloists who within a very

short time of leaving the band, and perhaps even during their association with it, became publicans⁸⁷. Several other bands took far less time than Wyke to disentangle themselves from the Temperance cause. Shipley Temperance Christian Mission Band, founded in 1887 and still a temperance/missionary band in the mid-1890's, had metamorphosed by 1901, into Shipley Brass Band, who were the proud owners of a social club, which included amongst its facilities, a bar⁸⁸.

Clearly, members of many temperance musical societies were, to say the least, half-hearted in their loyalty to the cause. Furthermore, it is indisputable that the declining role of drink owed far more to the wider changes outlined so well by Dr. Brian Harrison, the diminishing place of drink in workshop custom, the improvements in urban water supply, the weakening of the link between drink and entertainment, typified by the changes in the music hall, and so forth, than to the direct effect of temperance reformers, whether it be through use of brass bands or distribution of tracts⁸⁹. But music did have a small part to play. By no means all temperance musicians were as cynical as those discussed above, and many remained faithful to their beliefs. Association with temperance bands undoubtedly helped some working people to eschew the public house, while bands' presence at temperance rallies and such like, might well have served to make the cause more attractive to potential members. In this way, music made a small, but noteworthy, contribution in the changing popular attitudes to drink.

Equally, it is possible that association with a musical organisation of any type, may well have helped create, or at least reinforce, the development of not simply sobriety, but thrift and a general "social competence" amongst the labouring classes. Membership of a musical or indeed of any form of voluntary organisation, demanded regular payment of money, which in turn often necessitated the ability to save. It also called for a willingness to fulfil regular commitments, and for some at least, it provided the rudiments of organisational experience through committee work. Certainly, many managed to play a vital role in local musical life without ever mastering, or wanting to master, these skills, while at the same time, the very lowest ends of the working class who arguably needed them more

urgently than anybody else, were by and large excluded from the musical society. But overall, there were many whose range of social skills were developed, perhaps even originated, by their attachment to a band or choir. Here, in a very practical sense, was the "promotion of the intellectual and moral welfare of the working classes", that so many believers in music's reforming powers desired⁹⁰.

While the desire to create a temperate and respectable working class was, albeit for often different reasons, a point of agreement between all sectors of the Music for the People movement, there was clearly no such consensus regarding music's political role. The musical body was seen both as a vehicle for defending, and conversely, for transforming, existing society. It is by no means easy to establish direct relationships between leisure experiences and political culture, and much of what follows is speculative, but such speculation seems worthwhile. Historians have made remarkably little effort to deduce possible links between the two subject areas, and the possibility that leisure activities might have influenced the development of political consciousness has been only rarely explored. Because of the nature of their subject matter, labour historians are apt to spend most of their working hours immersed in the labour press, in trade union minutes, in the theories of William Morris, or in the memoirs of F. W. Jowett or Ben Turner and their comrades, and there is thus a tendency to assume that therein lies the essence of working class political culture. The overtly "political" happenings, strikes, wage negotiations, discussions of socialism and so forth, that they find within their sources, are seen as the fundamental factors which structure working class consciousness and behaviour. In fact, as a new generation of social historians, breaking out of the narrow confines of traditional labour history have made clear, there was more to the shaping of working class political experience than the events and institutions which labour historians have traditionally focused upon. The way in which people made use of their leisure should be seen as a part of this wider process⁹¹. Obviously, it would be ridiculous to make extravagant claims, seeing leisure as the arbiter of man's fate, and the essential ingredient of class consciousness. But it is hard to believe that it did not exert some considerable influence. Leisure and politics are after all not discrete entities,

but integral parts of the individual's life experience. The Yorkshire textile district was more than the home of the Poor Law Agitation, the Ten Hours Movement, Chartism, Owenism, the Independent Labour Party, and the other political movements that it is so often associated with in the minds of historians. It was also a centre of the brass band and choral movements, professional spectator sport, pigeon racing, rose fancying, bowls, and all manner of popular recreations. It was a region where 40,000 people could pay to watch an important football match, where a brass band could obtain a degree of loyalty that even Feargus O'Connor or F. W. Jowett would have envied. Recreation was a central part of people's lifestyle, and the opinions, interests and loyalties that it fostered must have played an important role in shaping their political stance and beliefs, and indeed, in shaping many other aspects of their life.

This is not to argue that the majority of people conceived of their banding or singing as a political act. Only inside the bands and choirs of the socialist and Co-operative movements might such thoughts have been uppermost. Attempts to elicit the relationship between music and politics during the course of discussion with working people actively involved in local musical life before 1914, have normally brought forth only furrowed eyebrows and baffled looks⁹². Politics was politics, music was music. However, this does not preclude the possibility of the relationship having existed: it is quite possible for an activity to possess a political dimension without the participants perceiving its existence. Certainly, it is hard to believe that musical, or any recreational experience, would normally result in the kind of catastrophic influence on political consciousness that could be engendered by a major political or industrial struggle. But in innumerable small but significant ways, the musical societies of the West Yorkshire textile district were helping to shape the political culture of the region and indeed, the whole nation.

From the perspective of working class experience, the period 1850-1914 is perhaps best divided into two basic sections; the first extending from 1850 to c. 1875, the so-called "Age of Equipoise" or period of "liberalisation", and the second from c. 1875 to 1914, a period which saw the revival of class-based politics and re-emergence of socialism, and a large scale expansion of trade unionism. There are

innumerable subtleties submerged within this division, but as a working outline it seems valid⁹³. But overall, while the essential differences between the two periods have to be remembered, the whole 65 year span was characterised by a process through which the working classes became ever more integrated into capitalist, liberal-democratic society. Certainly, the class consensus upon which the process was based was at its strongest in the 1850's and 1860's, and later, it came dangerously close to collapse at times. Perhaps in certain areas for short periods after about 1880, it did actually disintegrate. The late 1880's and early 1890's and the period between 1910 and 1913, saw some of the most intensely contested working class actions in English history. When one looks, for example, at the strike at Manningham Mills, Bradford, between December 1890 and April 1891, with its immense size and scope, the degree of working class support it attracted, and conversely, the middle class hostility it aroused, with troops called in by the local Liberal establishment, breaking up one strike meeting and chasing the hapless audience up a city centre street with bayonets drawn, it is almost like delving back into the exhilarating days of the 1790's, 1815-1820 or 1832. Again, from the late Victorian period, the historian encounters, in the shape of the Socialist League, the S.D.F. and even some members of the I.L.P., the language of class war, spoken with a fervour and an ideological certainty that had not been present for almost half a century⁹⁴.

But, in the final analysis, despite the clear growth of class consciousness from the 1880's, the emergence of militant trade unionism and the appearance of Labour as a separate political force, and one whose leaders often professed socialism, the threat to capitalist society was tiny. It is hard to disagree with the conclusion of an eminent sociologist that in the whole period after 1850 the majority of the working class was "impervious to the organised radical politics" and indeed one might add, to politics of any type⁹⁵. The number of people actively involved in the labour movement, whether it be in its political or industrial wing, even in as highly developed an area as West Yorkshire, was relatively small. Again, not only were activists a minority of their class, but their political culture, while often radical enough to cause consternation amongst the ranks of capital, was far from revolutionary. Socialism, as opposed to trade unionism and "labourism", remained weak, and in West Yorkshire, the dominant brand of socialism as practised by the I.L.P. was often,

particularly after 1900, almost identical to pre-existing mainstream radical politics. As two specialist writers have written, it had "a millennial flavour, a revolutionary style oratory, but a programme differing but little from progressive Liberalism". In 1901, a writer in the Manchester Guardian went as far as to say of the I.L.P. conference of that year, "what must strike a Liberal is, one would say, how much of the proceedings is devoted to the advocacy of traditional Liberal principles"⁹⁶.

Britain's relative lack of revolutionary or even socialist politics, and the extent of working class political uninterest, were the result of numerous factors⁹⁷. But it is quite probable that many leisure institutions, and in this instance, the popular musical organisation, played a not insignificant role amongst these more august historical events, as a reinforcer, and perhaps even a creator, of the "conservative" trends within the English political structure. The political manifestations of popular musical life were to conform far more closely to the model conceived by John Foster, the Leeds Rational Recreation Society and Samuel Midgley, than to that of Montagu Blatchford and his associates. This is not to argue that the membership of musical societies acquiesced meekly to the demands of the middle classes. It would be wrong to claim, for example, that the wealthy patrons of the brass band movement told the bandsmen that they must adopt a certain political stance and that the band then accepted their allotted role. Such an interpretation is too crude and mechanistic. Certainly, as will be seen, such a situation could arise on occasions, but in general, it seems probable that the musical community's essentially non-radical political stance stemmed from that community's own analysis of the situation and not simply from the imposition of external demands. The defenders of bourgeois society won the day largely because many amateur musicians came to discover from their own experience that society as it existed, had much to offer them.

Obviously, the relationship between music and politics is not totally clear cut. There were cases in which popular musical life reflected or enhanced the class tension within local society. The essentially working class composition of the brass band was in itself a reflection of the class divisions within contemporary society. Furthermore, musical societies can hardly be accused of subservience.

On one notable occasion, in the 1860's, the high water mark of popular radicalism and class harmony, members of the musical fraternity at Slaithwaite were asked to perform at a soirée in the Meeke and Walker Institute, to which several eminent personages, including Lord and Lady Dartmouth, were invited. The musicians, mainly choral singers, duly attended, but discovered that they had been allotted such a tiny amount of platform space within which to perform their duties, that they promptly left the building, leaving their distinguished guests musicless⁹⁸. This stern resistance to patronising behaviour from the middle classes, recurred in the Edwardian period, when a correspondent to the British Bandsman attacked the composer Joseph Holbrooke for his condescending attitude to the brass band movement shown during the course of a report on the 1913 Crystal Palace contest. It was nice to know, the correspondent said:

"that at least one of the members of the great musical aristocracy had looked down in the midst of our humble festivities and smiled benignly upon us scores of humble working men, gifted in no little degree with the spark of divine genius (for, we would also say, we do not believe for one moment all the musical brains of the county have been showered upon the student who attends the Royal Academy of Music and similar institutions) have made their lives a living sacrifice for the brass band cause, and are doing it today".

Here was intense pride at working class achievement, which coupled with a feeling of distress that the middle classes, and the musical establishment in particular, should somehow undervalue the movement's worth, amounted to a heightened degree of class consciousness⁹⁹.

Moreover, there were instances in which the musical society furthered the causes of radical reform and working class mobilisation. The Clarion vocal unions, Co-operative choirs and I.L.P. brass bands can only have furthered the radical/socialist cause by their stirring performances at rallies and meetings. Although we have no evidence of their music bringing about socialist conversions, their presence must have added to the attraction of their respective causes, as well as sometimes serving to communicate certain aspects of socialist or Co-operative theory. Furthermore, it was inevitable that musical organisations from outside the political sphere became involved to a certain extent with political organisations, trade unions and other bodies, if only because these groups, like any other, required entertainment at their

various functions, and particularly before the emergence of choirs and bands specifically attached to their cause, they had to draw upon the musical resources of the local community in order to satisfy the need. The most publicised link between the musical society and political and associated bodies, was that between the brass band and the labour movement. From their earliest moments, the annals of the brass band movement are full of examples of bands leading strikers, reformers and demonstrators into battle. Especially in the earlier period, this involved an element of danger. Several bands were present at Peterloo, and an eye-witness spotted a number of instruments abandoned in the street after the charge of the Yeomanry Cavalry and the 15th Hussars¹⁰⁰. On one notorious occasion, there was even a fatality. On the 27th May, 1844, Calverley and Greengates band were asked to play at an Orange procession in Bradford. Having played a considerable amount of traditional Orange music including Croppy Lie Down and Boyne Water, they turned for home, pursued by an ever growing crowd of Catholic Irish armed with sticks and stones. They had reached Otley Road, a suitable distance away from the town centre and the attentions of the police, when the crowd attacked. In the ensuing clash, Benjamin Gott, a bugle player, received fatal injuries, for which six men were transported for life¹⁰¹.

As the century progressed, and popular politics became more tranquil, such dangers receded and bands took their place in demonstrations unharmed. They formed a particularly close alliance with the trade union movement, and certain large trade union festivals became major events in the brass band calendar. The annual Yorkshire miners' demonstration affords an example of this. Described by one brass band paper in 1907 as "one of the great events of the band session", the event usually attracted over 50 bands whose playing was enthusiastically discussed in the pages of the band periodicals¹⁰². As well as performing at these annual rituals, bands were often willing to play for unionists, and indeed for non-unionists, during strikes. Brass bands were much in evidence during most major disputes between 1850 and 1914. At least four bands gave their services to the Manningham Mills strikers in 1890-1891, either marching at the head of processions or providing music at strike meetings¹⁰³. From the late 19th century, several bands took their service to the labour movement a stage further by assisting the socialist cause. The I.L.P. rally at

Bradford in 1903 was undoubtedly made much brighter by the presence of the Wyke Concertina Band, and in fact the brass band's contribution to the festivities of the working class movement throughout the period, if nothing else, gave it a degree of colour and spectacle¹⁰⁴. This willingness to play for the Labour Movement, called forth a number of attacks upon the band movement. Even by the end of the 19th century, there would have been many who still echoed the sentiments of a contributor to the Yorkshire Orchestra in 1868. "I look upon all persons who admire brass bands as possessing a primitive taste. Such music is only suited to precede a mob of inebriated rioters, revolutionists, electioneerists, trade unionists etc.; and I hope the day is not far distant when it will cease to exist and be looked upon as a barbarism of the past"¹⁰⁵.

But while a band's presence at trade union demonstrations or socialist gatherings helped boost those causes, it should not automatically be assumed either that such gatherings had a radicalising effect upon the bandsmen themselves, or that the organisations of the labour movement were the only political bodies to enjoy the services of the band movement. Lindley and Liversedge Bands, for example, both played at Primrose League functions in the 1890's. Again, in 1904, Southowram Brass Band played for the Illingworth Habitation of the Primrose League, Rishworth and Ryburn Valley Band for Greetland Conservatives' Garden Party, and Cleckheaton Victoria would have played at the Spen Valley Conservative and Unionists Association gala, had not heavy rain caused its cancellation¹⁰⁶. Some bands managed to develop a strictly businesslike approach to political events. Thus, during the 1839 election, Bramley Band played for both the Conservatives and Liberals on the same day, and while this remains an extreme case, it was probably not uncommon for bands to play for antagonistic political organisations during the course of a year¹⁰⁷. Brighouse Borough Band actually came quite close to repeating Bramley's disinterested action, when in June 1904, they led a demonstration of the unemployed, organised by the relatively militant Brighouse Trades Council, in the same week as persuading Sir Thomas Brooke-Hitching, the Conservative and Unionist candidate for the Elland Parliamentary division, to become their patron¹⁰⁸. The Huddersfield Glee and Madrigal Society (choral societies did make occasional ventures into the political arena, although opportunities were far more restricted)

showed a similar willingness to put art - not to mention money - before the principles of certain members in 1900, when the choir, which included a fair sprinkling of manufacturers and their wives amongst its ranks, sang before the T.U.C. congress at Huddersfield¹⁰⁹. At the same time, it should not be assumed that brass bands were the inevitable allies of the Labour movement. While willing to give assistance if the workers had clear support from the majority of the working community, as at Manningham Mills, bands did refuse to play at a strike procession if the strike action was arousing particular bitterness in the locality. Strikers at a dyeworks in Sowerby Bridge in 1910, were initially rejected by several bands whom they attempted to persuade to lead a demonstration. The strike, over union recognition, involved only 120 men rather than a large section of the village, and it was some time before local opinion swung firmly behind their cause. Until that stage, the bands stayed aloof, with Norland Band eventually agreeing to perform¹¹⁰.

It is not normally possible to capture the attitude of the rank and file bandsmen towards this "political" aspect of their pastime, for the band periodicals, while reporting political engagements, never explored the bandsmen's motives. In general, their strongest association was probably with the trade union movement, and this can have done no harm to the development of some form of trade union consciousness amongst band members. But at the same time, there is no clear evidence of a positive desire by bandsmen to help the union cause, and it is probable that some bandsmen were influenced more by their association with Conservative and Unionist functions. Some, of course, presumably saw everything purely in financial terms; they were being offered an engagement and provided it did not undermine their chances of getting further engagements, then they should take it. The Primrose League, the Co-operative movement and the I.L.P. were simply customers, along with church, chapel, Sunday school, football club and works outing, and it is just as possible that a "business", as opposed to a "political" mentality, won the day¹¹¹.

The question of the effect of "political" engagements upon the musicians' political viewpoint must remain open. But, as has already been argued, situations need not be overtly political to exercise a political effect, and there were a number of other ways in which the musical society exerted political influence. Essentially, it tended

to operate in a "conservative" direction. Of considerable significance was the musical society's potential for encouraging class collaboration. This tendency was perhaps most marked in the choral society, particularly the larger ones, and the amateur orchestra, where, as has been illustrated in Chapter 3, a wide variety of social groups came together. Samuel Midgley, writing in 1907, claimed that, "those who are acquainted with our West Yorkshire choral societies know how it brings all classes together, making them one of heart and mind; woolcomber and master, scavenger and professional man all meet and rub shoulders together, and by so doing learn to appreciate each other in a way that is good for all"¹¹². Midgley was not alone in his belief. A writer in the Musical Herald of 1891 claimed of the Huddersfield Choral Society that; "Two thirds of the members are working people, engaged in the industries of the town, yet the best families are proud to get their children into the choir, and gentle and simple stand side by side in the pursuit of art"¹¹³. Obviously, this point should not be exaggerated; it is not clear just how much mixing actually took place amongst the representatives of different social classes in the choral society. The fact that a joiner and a millowner were members of the same organisation, did not necessarily mean that they would converse with or like each other. Further, the very fact that singers from various social backgrounds could come together in their leisure time, illustrates the existence of a social climate already conducive to a degree of class collaboration, and the musical society must not be seen too much as the initiator of collaboration. However, it is quite possible that they did serve in some way to reinforce existing collaborationist tendencies and thus help contain latent class tension. Mutual respect based on an appreciation of technical skills exhibited by a social "better" or "inferior", the feeling of "togetherness", of unity of purpose that existed within individual societies, and any social contact that did take place, may well have helped create a lessening of class hostility amongst the musical community. Equally critical was the fact that the choral society and orchestra was yet another institution which both reflected and exacerbated the divisions within the working class. It helped to pull the labour aristocracy away from the semi and unskilled sectors of the local community, and attach them more firmly to men of respectability and greater social substance.

Brass and related bands, although far more universally working class in membership, may also have been affected by a type of collaborationist mentality, although one operating by somewhat different means. They needed the support of the widest possible community to ensure financial stability, and this necessitated maintaining relatively good relationships with the local middle classes. This consideration may have limited the band's political behaviour. Could it afford to upset a local benefactor by performing for a local union or socialist society? This was presumably a particular problem for works bandsmen whose jobs as well as their banding career depended upon their standing with their employer. Unfortunately, not enough is known about the exact restraints employers placed upon their musicians, but it is surely significant that no record has been located of a works band leading a strikers' procession, and similarly, on those rare occasions when paternalistic employers such as Sir Titus Salt and John Foster suffered the indignity of strike action, their bands appear to have played no part in assisting the workforce in their fight¹¹⁴. Alongside this, the need to consider the views of the local middle classes, whether they be patron of a band or merely supporter, may have helped structure individual bandsmen's attitude to politics in general - encouraging them to see the middle class as at the least, a necessary evil, at the most, a valuable asset. Obviously, very much depended on individual outlook, and it is hard to see musical experiences of the type outlined here unsettling the faith of a convinced activist. But for those tending towards uninterest in politics, their experience of middle class munificence may have been significant in shaping their political outlook.

The desire for class collaboration is by no means synonymous with a lack of political awareness, and it is not intended to suggest here that any lessening of class tension that musical life brought about, necessarily turned people away from politics altogether. Rather, the potential for pan-class activity that much music-making offered, should be seen as part of the complex network of social forces which helped the "popular radical" style of politics to remain so common in West Yorkshire, even in the years after 1890. As was seen in Chapter One, the Liberal Party retained a considerable body of

popular support until 1914, and even those who rejected Liberalism, and the popular radicalism of mid-Victorian England, seem to have preferred the I.L.P. to the more stridently socialist S.D.F. But, at the same time, it is possible that association with a band or choir, did serve to diminish interest in political and social issues, or lessen the possibility of their developing. Perhaps, by their very existence, recreational institutions limit the degree of political development within society. In a critical sense, leisure and politics were rivals, fighting for the time, money and commitment of the working population.¶ Historians have toyed with this idea for a long period, but it is one that has never been fully analysed. Clearly, the point must not be overstated. Membership of, in this instance, a musical society and a political party or union, were by no means mutually exclusive. Hundreds presumably managed membership of both, and some quite illustrious members of Yorkshire's musical community enjoyed a career in local politics, as the life of 3 members of the Huddersfield Choral Society illustrates. Ben Stocks, a member of the society from the 1860's, and president in the 1890's, was also a Liberal alderman. Thomas Cartwright, who, apart from being a member of the Huddersfield Choral Society, was also the conductor of the Crosland Moor United Handbell Ringers in the 1890's and early 1900's, was a Unionist councillor, and G. H. Haigh, who also sang with the Huddersfield Glee and Madrigal Society, was elected councillor for South Crosland and Netherton in 1896. (As well as fulfilling his political and musical obligations, he found time to become the Huddersfield and District Amateur Bowling Association champion at the turn of the century). All three of these men were from the ranks of the middle classes. Stocks was a stonemason turned architect, Cartwright had a small painting and decorating business, and Haigh was a tobacconist, and they thus had a little more spare time than many, in which to lead full musical and political careers¹¹⁵. There were probably some working men who managed a similar combination, if not to the extent of becoming councillors, then at least by serving on the committees of political organisations and trade unions¹¹⁶. However, while allowing for the existence of such people, it is obvious that thousands of working men, including many amateur musicians, did not become involved in political and trade union activity. In the Holme and Colne Valleys, for example, the core of West Yorkshire's musical life, there was only

a tiny trade union presence, and even in the period after 1890, the Colne Valley Labour Union and other radical political organisations had only a very small membership. Certainly, both in this area and in the West Yorkshire textile district in general, the clubs associated with the socialist movement often had sizable membership, while the socialist cause attracted enough support in the region to enable the return of three M.P.s in 1906 and another in 1907. But the act of voting or the membership of a socialist club does not necessarily signify any particularly deep commitment. Many working people, while perhaps sympathetic to the ideals of trade unionism, of Independent Labour, and even of socialism, were clearly devoting the bulk of their time and energy to other pursuits, of which music was undoubtedly one.

To a considerable extent, members of musical organisations were often positively encouraged to be apolitical, or at least non-sectarian, in their musical activities. The official historian of the Bradford Festival Choral Society, proudly asserted in 1907, that the refusal of a small number of Parliamentary reformers within the choir to sing for Lord Palmerston on a visit to the city in 1864, represented "the only occasion when the harmonious working of the society has been disturbed by the introduction of either political or religious questions"¹¹⁷. The editors of much brass band literature encouraged a divorce between music and politics. Algernon Rose, during the course of his advice on organising a brass band in Talks with Bandsmen stated that, "care should, however, be taken, if the band is to be representative of the town or neighbourhood, to invite no-one to preside who will give it a political or denominational bias". Similarly, an editorial in The Cornet after the election campaign of 1910, argued that: "It was not always good policy for bands to get mixed up in politics - as a band - for someone is bound to be offended. Bands cannot be too careful in this respect; there is so little to gain, and often much to lose"¹¹⁸. It is significant that the editor of the same magazine, while encouraging bands to give relief concerts for striking miners during the protracted dispute of 1893, and again during the Welsh dispute of 1898, when he offered to collect money and send it to the South Wales Band Association, viewed these concerts as attempts to help fellow bandsmen in difficulty, rather than acts of solidarity with fellow workers involved in

industrial struggle. The coal strike of 1893 was in the last analysis viewed as a tragedy for the band movement, and not as an important event in the history of labour.

"The great coal strike has naturally spread its devastating influence among several brass bands in mining districts. From what we hear, the pinch of poverty has wrought sad havoc in many bandsmen's homes. A large number of bands, or at least a portion of them, have been compelled to utilise their musical abilities as a means of procuring the necessities of life for selves and families, causing them to leave home and invade the neighbouring towns and villages, playing about the streets and appealing to a sympathetic public for much-needed assistance. In consequence of this deplorable disagreement "twixt masters and men", a large number of bands are unsettled and unable to do anything in the way of practice" ¹¹⁹.

Certainly, in most cases, bands and choirs do not appear to have interfered with individual members' political activities outside of the society, although it is significant that in the celebrated instance of the Huddersfield Choral Society passing a rule in 1843, threatening any member who attended the recently opened Owenite Hall of Science with expulsion, the interference was antagonistic to radical politics¹²⁰. Overall, the stress on art before politics may well have limited many amateur musicians' interest in political life.

Perhaps even more important, as has been seen, music provided numerous compensations, particularly for those members devoid of material possession and/or social status, which may have turned people, especially those not politically motivated in the first instance, away from seeking political solutions to their problems¹²¹. For the best and most ambitious singers of humble origin, the musical society could, as in the case of Charles Knowles or David Fernie, provide the beginnings of an escape route from the working class, a recreational pursuit which aided social mobility. Similarly, a number of singers received financial reward from their singing or playing, through their performances at various engagements, concerts and provincial festivals. But even the vast majority of singers who were not able to use skills developed in their leisure time to their material benefit, could still reap immense satisfaction from their chosen activity. Whether it took the form of competition success, with the swelling of local pride and adulation that often ensued, experiencing the thrill of singing under the baton of an eminent conductor, or merely making music that the

individual found pleasing, music could prove an extraordinarily gratifying social experience.

Avoidance of organised political activity has traditionally been termed "apathy" by both contemporary observers and by later generations of scholars. Dr. Stephen Yeo has, however, recently made a series of provocative assaults on this concept, and in the process has done much to change our conception of popular political behaviour. Writing of Reading between 1890 and 1914, but clearly believing his idea to have a wider relevance, he suggests:

"that there was a kind of apathy few would deny from a 1975 vantage point, even if the reality behind the apathy should not be seen in the terms chosen by those who identified and deplored it at the time. Positive attitudes there were, even if not the attitudes observers wanted there to be. The holders of these attitudes, already emancipated by ties of deference to a local civic leadership, did not turn in new loyalty towards the organised structures of formal nationalised politics. Rather did they turn away from what is usually called politics altogether, towards realistic cynicism about "them" up there in politics, combined either with settling for satisfaction which could be had without involving "them", or with deliberate attempts at by-passing politics via different forms of intermittent "syndicalism". What is called "apathy" is often another name for positive, in certain circumstances militant, rejections of current structures and ideologies in politics" 122.

Yeo's analysis is perhaps a little too concerned with the overtly political aspect of the phenomenon. People did not necessarily "turn away" from politics: many never even contemplated it in the first place, preferring to seek their pleasures and satisfaction from other areas of experience. But despite this, his appreciation of the positive aspect of "apathy" is fundamental to any study of working class politics. Leisure and in this case, musical activity, was surely a major way through which people "settled for satisfaction" without recourse to the political system and its exponents. The so-called political apathy of many working class people stemmed to a considerable extent from the fact that they often had "better" things to occupy their minds.

Speculation of the type undertaken in this chapter, if taken too far, can lead to a profoundly misleading history. Overlong immersion in the annals of popular recreation can, like absorption in any other

specialist area, lead to a rather idiosyncratic view of the relative importance of certain areas of Victorian and Edwardian life. There must be no attempt to create a picture of music healing all social wounds; of ill-fed, ill-clothed, unshod children skipping lightly through the middens of central Bradford, humming the Hallelujah Chorus and thinking only of Black Dyke's forthcoming visit to the local park. There was immense poverty and hardship in West Yorkshire throughout the period, and there were radical working class responses to that poverty and the system that created it. But there was also a considerable amount of happiness and contentment, and, except in brief periods of mass consciousness, a great deal of uninterest in all spheres of political and trade union activity. The musical society clearly played a part in creating that happiness, and it is at least possible that it helped shape the distinctive political culture that accompanied it.

Conclusions

Conclusions

This thesis has sought to contribute to the expanding debate about recreation and society, by providing an analysis of the amateur musical society in the West Yorkshire Textile District, between 1850 and 1914. Music was clearly an extraordinarily popular form of leisure activity in this period, and indeed, it was arguably the most pervasive element of English popular social life. The textile region was peculiarly well suited to the production of an intense amateur musical tradition, blessed as it was with a large Methodist presence, a vigorous community life, and, as a result of its industrialised character, a number of philanthropic industrialists who viewed music-making as a form of "rational recreation" worthy of their financial and moral support. Over the course of the century between 1815 and 1914, the region produced more than 600 choral societies, brass bands and related institutions.

The expansion of amateur musical activity began in the second half of the 18th century under the impact of the Methodist Great Awakening, but the first formally constituted musical organisations were not founded until immediately after the Napoleonic Wars. Their emergence at this time possibly resulted from the musical community's appreciation that a more public and more institutionalised form of musical life was necessary if the post-war economic dislocation and results of industrialisation were to be combated. The number of societies and the size of their membership grew slowly but steadily until c. 1850, after which date the increase in leisure time brought about by the Factory Acts of 1847 and 1850, and the slight improvement in the material condition of the skilled working classes, accelerated growth. Further increases of leisure time in the period 1871-73, rising real wages in the last quarter of the 19th century, combined in particular with a favourable religious climate, the growth of the lower middle class, and an overall enlargement of opportunity for musical education and involvement, led to an exceptionally pronounced expansion in musical life between 1875 and 1900. By the late 1890's, amateur musical life in the Yorkshire textile region had attained a size and diversity of quite remarkable proportions. Some 350-400 choral societies, brass bands, orchestras, handbell teams and concertina bands were in existence, involving perhaps 20,000 performing members

at any one time, and engaging the support and interest of many thousands more. From the early 1900's, however, as real wages began to fall, the societies' expenses rose and more attractive forms of popular leisure, such as the cinema and professional sport, appeared, most musical societies, and choral organisations in particular, began to encounter difficulties in recruiting new members and in obtaining public support. By 1914, the region's choirs and bands were visibly in quantitative, although never qualitative, decline.

At the outset, this research was based on the assumption that this extensive musical culture was largely the preserve of the working classes. In fact, a more subtle picture has emerged. The choral society, for example, appears to have been a pan-class institution, with the smaller, competition choirs drawing upon both upper working and lower middle classes, and the larger, concert-orientated bodies enjoying an almost equal proportion of upper working, lower middle and upper middle members. The brass band came closer to initial expectation, however, drawing virtually all of its playing members from the skilled and to a lesser extent, the semi-skilled, sector of the working class. But there is a sense in which even the brass band was not totally a "working class" organisation. Considerable amounts of financial and moral support came from the middle class. This, after all, was an age when the patronage of the more wealthy members of local society could mean the difference between survival and collapse, or between guaranteed success and a more mundane existence. It should also be noted here that the amateur orchestral society, usually assumed to have been very much a middle class institution, was in reality quite likely to have had at least a handful of working class members, and indeed certain societies had sizeable working class contingent. Because of this social intermingling, the musical societies of West Yorkshire provide an insight into the mechanics of 19th century society.

In general, historians have not been impressed by the attempts of the wealthy to provide for the recreational needs of the working classes, or by the record of class collaborationist leisure institutions. This is largely because they have focused on those projects which overtly attempted to mould the working class into a certain style of life and behaviour. The majority of these schemes

either collapsed or, (most notably in the case of the working men's club movement), were taken over by the working class and reshaped to suit their needs. But the history of Yorkshire's bands and choirs suggests that working people were sometimes prepared to accept sponsorship and aid from "above", provided that few or no strings were attached. It was perfectly possible for separate social classes to co-exist in pursuit of like-minded interests. The amateur musical society of all types, is more accurately viewed as an institution invested with the support of a wide community, rather than as one based solely on the working class. Certainly, this argument must not be taken to extremes; social integration had very definite limits. The unskilled working class was excluded from the amateur musical tradition almost entirely; working class women had only limited access to its activities, and the working man was far more likely to be pushed into intimate contact with the petite-bourgeoisie than with the upper echelons of the propertied class. But within these boundaries, class collaboration through recreation took place to a surprising degree.

Musical societies flourished throughout the region in the 19th century and early 20th century, but they appear to have emerged in particular profusion in villages and towns with a population of between 5-10,000, where local patriotism and inter-town rivalry encouraged the local community to support and lionise their institutions. Significantly, the Holme and Colne Valleys in the south-west corner of the region, areas where the small town and industrial village formed the dominant type of settlement, produced probably the most developed musical culture of all. There was an exception to this basic pattern in the form of the large choral society, which needed its base in a large urban centre in order to raise sufficient money to meet their often sizeable expenses. However, even these societies often drew upon the smaller communities for a considerable body of their membership and support. Most organisations, irrespective of their location, were rooted in the whole community rather than being attached to specific institutions, although a number of the smaller choral societies drew the bulk of their membership from a particular chapel or church, and perhaps 15-20% of the region's brass bands were centred on one mill or mine. Similarly, a small though significant

number of societies were attached to political (normally radical/socialist) organisations. There were also certain institutions which played a critical role in the training and in the "socialisation" of the amateur musician. Church and chapel were absolutely fundamental to the choral tradition, while the brass band and similar bodies tended to rely much more upon themselves, and upon the family unit, for the musical education of their members.

Once inside a choir or band, the amateur musician, and particularly the working class amateur, was likely to find his or her hobby expensive and demanding. Membership subscriptions were not always easy to find, particularly in times of un- or under-employment, and rehearsals and engagements placed an additional strain on a body already tired by a weekly load of between 50 and 70 hours of labour. But at the same time, there were substantial compensations. The musical society offered its membership companionship, self-respect, the possibility of a social life that might range from a pint in a local public house to a day trip to Blackpool or even a walk in the garden of the Tuileries Palace, the chance to earn a little money, and for the lucky minority, a degree of social mobility. Over the period under study, it is probable that several hundred singers and musicians who began their musical careers in a local choir, band or orchestra, found their way into the ranks of the music teaching profession, the Cathedral choir, the opera house and the symphony orchestra.

Perhaps most important of all, however, was the satisfaction and enjoyment obtained from the music itself. The society provided both its membership and the local community with an enormous range of music, helping create a popular musical culture for broader, and more inclusive of the traditions of "high culture", than has ever been appreciated. The choral society began the period with a clear preference for the sacred works of Handel, Haydn and Mendelssohn, and for the glees, madrigals and partsongs of the late 18th century and early 19th century British school. By the outbreak of the First World War, under the impact of the burst of creative activity engendered by the Competitive Festival movement coupled with the liberating influence of relaxing religious mores, choral culture embraced not only the ever popular oratorio, but the partsongs of Elgar, Bantock, Parry, Delius and others, a little Wagnerian opera

and the operettas of Gilbert and Sullivan. The instrumental societies, although a little less subject to new influences, witnessed a significant broadening of their repertoire. The brass band repertoire moved outward from an amalgam of dance music, oratorio and Italian opera, to encompass Wagner, certain Romantics including Chopin, Schumann and Schubert, some of the fashionable "new" composers notably Tchaikovsky and Sibelius, and inevitably Gilbert and Sullivan. Despite their ever broadening horizons, amateur musicians were often criticized for their conservatism and lack of vision. (Although importantly, very rarely for lack of ability and technical accomplishment). Undoubtedly, there were innumerable instances of addiction to old favourites and resistance to new works. But critics often expected too much from a section of the community which seldom possessed any formal musical education, and whose knowledge of current musical trends was inevitably limited by their often meagre financial resources and their geographical isolation from London, the centre of musical fashion. Given their circumstances, we can only marvel at the range of repertoire and the quality of performance that so many societies achieved.

It has been suggested in this study, that these social and aesthetic satisfactions gained through membership of the amateur musical society, linked with the degree of class collaboration that local musical life engendered, helped restrain class antagonism and to limit the growth of a popular political culture fundamentally opposed to the existing structure of society. Different social groups may well have been brought closer together by joint participation in their chosen recreation, while working class attitudes to the wealthy may have been softened by appreciation of the latter's philanthropic munificence. At the same time, the benefits gained from musical life may well have helped assuage some of the worst excesses of working class life under Victorian capitalism. A working man who had just won the respect of his village for his part in a contest, or gained a few pounds from local engagements, was perhaps more likely to be contented, or at least less discontented, than the working man who had neither of these advantages. It is also important in this context, that amateur musical life could take up a great deal of spare time and money, in a period when both were often in short supply, and that the musical society was often operated on an apolitical basis. Both of these factors may have hindered the advance of radical working class politics.

Clearly, there were many individuals who played a part in both political and musical life, and it was possible for the amateur musical society to contribute to the radicalisation of the working classes. The Co-operative and Clarion movements made significant attempts to utilise choral culture as a vehicle for political and social change, while the brass band movement became quite closely identified with trade unionism and even certain radical social movements. Again, certain individuals underwent potentially radicalising experiences as a result of their musical activity. But it is tempting to speculate that for the majority of musical amateurs, music was too time consuming, too demanding and too satisfying, to allow for a sustained personal involvement in other areas of social activity (including political and trade union activity), and that music's tendency to encourage class collaboration had a softening effect upon whatever radical political consciousness did develop. It must be stressed that there is no implication here that musical societies turned their members into deferential Tories. Indeed, by 1924, and earlier in certain places, the Yorkshire textile region had become a bulwark of Labour Party support. Rather, the suggestion is that popular musical life either helped swing people's interests away from politics altogether, and/or that it reinforced the popular radical/labourist, rather than the socialist tendencies, in the region's political culture.

Writers of local or regional history are often informed that their conclusions are only valid for the particular locality that they are concerned with. In this instance, it is undeniable that West Yorkshire enjoyed the reputation of being one of Britain's foremost centres of popular music-making and appreciation. But there was a great deal of activity in other areas of the country. By the late 19th century, virtually every town and large village in Britain possessed at least one variety of amateur musical society. The brass band (in the South and West of England, they are more accurately described as "brass and reed" or "military" bands) was perhaps the most pervasive of all. The brass band magazines recorded details of banding in virtually every corner of the country, and bands seem to have established themselves even in the tiniest communities. Alun Howkins has discovered 148 bands in rural Oxfordshire alone, between 1840 and 1914¹. In some

areas, amateur musical life reached impressive proportions. Many parts of Lancashire, the Black Country, the Durham Coalfield and industrialised Wales, enjoyed an amateur tradition similar in scope, style and content to that which flourished in West Yorkshire². Certainly, there were regional variations. The male voice choir, for example, appears to have been far more a feature of choral culture in Wales than West Yorkshire. This was possibly the result of the dominance of iron and steel manufacture, mining and quarrying in the Welsh industrial economy. These were all trades where employment opportunities for women were extremely limited, and which tended to produce communities placing a great stress on the primacy of women's domestic role. Thus, economically and socially, women were perhaps more likely to be excluded from extra-domestic leisure life. In the Yorkshire textile region, however, greater job opportunity for women and perhaps slightly less emphasis on her place in the home, may have enhanced women's ability to play a part in the wider recreational life of the community³. Again, the brass band developed far later in Wales and Scotland than in Yorkshire and England in general, probably because Welsh and Scottish protestantism initially had a far more hostile attitude to the performance of instrumental music in church than their English counterparts. This prevented amateur musicians in these countries from gaining the kind of religious based musical grounding so important to the musical tradition in Yorkshire⁴. Only detailed research will adequately explain these and other regional peculiarities which undoubtedly existed, and such research will enable the construction of a fuller picture of British music than can be gained from this one case study. But, overall, it is probable that much of the evidence and argument contained here will prove to be valid on a national scale.

As well as having a relevance for areas other than West Yorkshire, observations concerning the choral and band movements have an application to aspects of popular recreation wider than music alone. Clearly, caution must be shown in any attempt to draw conclusions about recreation in general, from a specific instance. The musical society was only one form of leisure institution, with many idiosyncratic features. But its history does appear to corroborate many of the findings of previous writers on leisure history, particularly those concerning the emergence and expansion of leisure institutions.

The central importance of the growth of both free time and surplus cash is abundantly clear in the case of both choral and band movements⁵. (However, it must always be remembered that even in the years between 1815 and 1848, men and women nurtured their chosen recreational and cultural activity in an age of genuine adversity, when wages were often falling and hours of work were increasing). These two factors underpinned the enlargement of popular musical life throughout the second half of the 19th century. Alongside this, the coming of the railway, the massive development of technical knowledge, which in the musical sphere led to such fundamental advances as the invention of reliable valve systems for brass instruments, the emergence of a cheap, popular press, itself a result of technical progress, all served to facilitate the growth of choral and band movements, just as they aided the growth of professional football, the seaside holiday, the volunteer movement, the music hall and innumerable other aspects of British social life⁶. Perhaps most important of all, study of the musical organisation illustrates the role of religion as a primary force in the shaping of the leisure institution and the climate in which it operated. All historians of leisure have drawn attention to the manner in which religious organisations encouraged or discouraged particular activities according to their supposed moral and spiritual value. The history of amateur music, and especially that of the choral movement, shows the religious world at its most positive in regard to popular recreation. The Methodist Movement of the 18th century laid much of the foundation for later expansion, while 19th century church and chapel provided a training ground for singers, and to a lesser extent, musicians, and encouraged the pursuit of music as a pastime because of its value as a "rational recreation". Music was to suffer little of the religious persecution inflicted upon so many areas of popular leisure. Totally acceptable to the dictates of religious opinion, the existence and continued health of the amateur musical society was assured.⁷

While historians and sociologists have in general been anxious to illustrate the ways in which socio-economic influences - economic climate, religion and technology - have structured the development of leisure institutions, they have been slightly less forthcoming in attempts to illustrate the equally significant ways in which these bodies in turn help shape the society that spawned them.⁸ One of the

most vital areas to be studied here is politics. Chapter Seven advances the hypothesis that the musical society exerted a mainly conservative influence, or at least, that it rarely had a radicalising effect. It seems possible, what might be true of music, may be valid for other features of popular recreation. Obviously, recreation could engender social conflict and class antagonism. The assault upon traditional recreations such as bull-baiting and cock-fighting, carried out by the evangelist ruling class between c. 1780 and 1850, was often fiercely resisted by the working classes, with consequent riots and clashes with the military. Probably the best known incident of this type took place at the Stamford Bull-Running, an event graphically described by Professor Malcolmson. Again, in the late 1850's, the attempt by the local magistracy to control the licencing of public houses in areas of the West Riding previously exempt from legislation, resulted in riots and the humiliation of unpopular local officials. One particular officious policeman in the village of Wibsey near Bradford was forced by an angry crowd to walk naked around the village streets⁹.

At the same time, existing social tension spilled over into the recreational arena. Most commentators on Victorian sport have noticed that late 19th century arguments over the growth of professionalism often took on the form of a dispute between working and middle classes¹⁰. At innumerable levels, differences of social class found reflection in the structure of leisure activity. This was shown most clearly in the pricing system of music halls, theatres and later, cinemas, with the middle class comfortably seated in plush stalls costing 6d. or 1/- a time, and the working classes wriggling about on bone hard benches in the gallery for 2d. or 3d.¹¹ Similarly, the researches of James Walvin and of Harold Perkin and his students at the University of Lancaster have illustrated that individual seaside resorts had a specific social tone. "The class consciousness of the Victorians ... was nowhere more evident than in their pleasure resorts. Most of the English in that age took their pleasures separately, in the company of their social equals"¹². Again, middle class membership of the volunteer movement fell away as the working classes began to join, while the leisure institutions of Victorian Edinburgh studied by R. Q. Gray appear to have been based more or less on single class groups¹³.

But while it is clear that 19th century and early 20th century leisure activity very often reflected the class divisions within British society, and at times actually fuelled class tensions, there is also much evidence to suggest that in general, it acted as a conservative force which helped stabilise rather than disrupt contemporary society. The choral society, the orchestra and to a lesser extent the brass band, remind us that it was possible for separate social classes to co-operate successfully and they were not the only institutions which brought people from different backgrounds together. Traditionally, boxing, cock-fighting and horse-racing were activities that brought the humblest and the mightiest into close proximity¹⁴. It is probable that detailed research into the leisure institutions based upon church, chapel and political society, all of which often attracted at the least an amalgam of upper working and lower middle class, will reveal that pan-class recreational institutions were by no means rare. It is quite possible that far more social integration took place through leisure than has been appreciated.

Perhaps more fundamental to recreation's stabilising, perhaps even de-politicising role, was that much recreational activity offered attractive, tangible rewards. Satisfaction, self-respect, excitement, a degree of financial gain, an elevated position in local society, could so often be derived from cricket, billiards, bowls or rose-fancying. Under these circumstances, it is possible that political solutions to people's problems, and particularly those solutions which depended upon long-term changes in society, appeared less necessary and less relevant¹⁵. Moreover, most recreation took place in a non-political atmosphere. People's spare hours and spare energy were often absorbed by pastimes which only rarely took on overtly political dimensions. And when leisure institutions did take on a political dimension, it was often profoundly conservative. This was particularly true of the commercial entertainment industry. The music hall, after a few semi-radical hiccoughs in the 1850's and 1860's, (and with the continuing exception of Tyneside, where as late as the 1890's, the songs of Tommy Armstrong and others guaranteed the inclusion of a socially critical element) was startlingly conservative - jingoistic, militaristic, protectionist, anti-Liberal and anti-socialist¹⁶. Popular theatre, although replete with melodrama featuring clashes between evil capitalists, homely working men and

virtuous, virginal factory maids, tended to resolve these epics in unreal but socially comforting ways¹⁷. Much popular literature, whether in the shape of newspaper, comic, women's magazine or even "quality" novel, was also often highly ambivalent in its political stance¹⁸. The entertainment industry's need to maintain the largest possible audience and thus cause the least offence, helped to create a popular cultural tradition that essentially lacked a genuinely radical aspect.

To suggest that much musical life and possibly other forms of recreation may have supported the existing social and political structure is not, however, to praise or to damn it. Some historians give the impression that they are mildly irritated by popular preference for non-radical or non-political recreational forms. Professor Vicinus in her Industrial Muse, comes close equating non-political popular art with "bad" art, when she describes dialect literature lacking a class-conscious dimension as "hollow and debased"¹⁹. But it is surely not the historian's task to pass moral judgement on the preferences of past generations. It is fruitless to criticise the fact that some men and women chose to sing, play the violin, tend their allotment or whatever rather than become closely involved in political activity. Rather, we should acknowledge their skills and achievements in their chosen pastimes.

This study ends when, for the first time, the world of amateur music was facing problems of recruitment and of declining public interest. But, it would be unfortunate if the final impression was a pessimistic one, for although neither the band or choral movements have subsequently regained the eminent position they attained in late Victorian society, they nevertheless remain a significant aspect of British social life in the late 20th century.

Today, they are certainly fewer in number, even in the areas where they once proliferated. In the late 19th century there were somewhere between 10,000 and 40,000 brass bands in existence in Britain. By 1920, there were at most 10,000, by 1939 perhaps 2,000, and in 1978 the Directory of British Brass Bands listed only 600 (although there are undoubtedly many others who did not trouble to enter the directory's list)²⁰. Similarly, choral societies have

serious difficulties in recruiting male members, and even the very finest choirs are always anxious to attract young male singers²¹. The amateur orchestral society in its turn, is now a far rarer animal than previously, while the concertina band has disappeared completely. However, all aspects of the so-called "traditional" working and quasi-working class culture which flourished after 1870, have faced serious hardship at some stage since 1918, and in many ways, the musical society has done as well as any to meet the exigencies of the last half-century. The musical culture described in this work has to a considerable degree survived the massive disruption caused by two world wars (and more recently, by national service). It has also withstood the impact of the mass media in the shape of talkies, the wireless and TV, the economic collapse of the inter-war period, (felt most strongly in the areas of "staple" industry where choirs and bands tend to flourish), the continued decline of religious observance - crucial particularly to the choral society - and the general break-up of traditional patterns of working class community life²². This very survival is an indication of music's exalted place in British popular culture.

The amateur tradition has certainly altered under the impact of these social and economic changes; indeed had it not done so, it is doubtful whether it would have survived at all. Firstly, societies have broadened their social base. The playing membership of the brass band is no longer as solidly working class as it was even thirty years ago. A certain number of teachers, managers, even accountants, have taken their place in the ranks of the movement alongside the skilled and semi-skilled working class²³. Neither is the brass band quite the male preserve that it once was, and although the top-flight bands still largely ignore female musical talents, there are many good quality bands with a sizeable female presence. The choral society too, although never a uniquely working class institution, appears to have a higher middle class contingent than ever before. This process of accommodation with previously neglected social groups, has given amateur musical life new strength and new areas of recruitment, as old ones have withered. Furthermore, some of the acute financial problems of earlier decades have been partly alleviated. From the 1930's, societies have been able to draw upon the considerable grants available from such philanthropic

bodies as the Carnegie Trust, and more recently from local and central government²⁴. Although most organisations still have to rely upon money earned at engagements or taken at the door of concerts, these new sources of monetary aid have often proved invaluable.

Equally important, they have learnt to co-exist with the institutions of mass communication that once threatened their existence. They broadcast, make records and appear on television: they draw from the repertoire created by the popular music industry and the cinema²⁵. It would be an unusual brass band concert that did not include at least one selection from a popular West End musical (especially The Sound of Music and West Side Story), and a TV signature tune. (Current favourites are Eye-Level and the ubiquitous Z-Cars). Equally, the amateur operatic society, an outgrowth of the choral movement just emerging in the period studied in this thesis, has a penchant for Hollywood musicals such as Oklahoma and Kismet, works which have become central pillars of British musical life. The majority of organisations have managed to achieve this rapport with the media without in any way losing their artistic integrity. Most choral societies are prepared at least once every season or two, to attempt an ambitious or little known work, more likely to bring only hard work and aesthetic enjoyment rather than hard cash²⁶. Again, many brass bands show an interest in the new repertoire being created by a younger generation of specialist band composers. This has led bands to a slightly schizophrenic existence. Public concerts tend to contain mostly music with which the majority of the audience are already familiar, while in competition and in certain concerts and broadcasts, the emphasis is upon specialist music, often technically demanding and satisfying for the player, but difficult for the non-cogrecenti to comprehend. This music, by composers such as Elgar Howarth, Malcolm Arnold, Gilbert Vinter and Harrison Birtwhistle, is the modern extension of the specialist band repertoire which began with Fletcher's Labour and Love in 1913, and continued through the 1920's and 1930's, when during a period of extreme adversity, the movement helped lay the basis for survival by commissioning works from such eminent men as Holst, Bartock, Elgar, Ireland and Bliss. This long tradition has given the brass band an ever developing technical

proficiency which has perhaps done more than anything else to ensure the Movement's continuation. It is hard, even in the later 20th century when musical choices are so wide, not to be impressed by sheer technical excellence²⁷.

But despite all this change, the choral and band movements as they exist today, are very clearly related to those of fifty and even one hundred years ago. There are men and women still active in local musical life who began their association with it in the early 1900's, and it is obvious that they regard modern day activity as a logical extension of the one they knew in childhood and youth, rather than a totally new phenomenon. Such people have every right to be contented, for the tradition they have nurtured for a lifetime is in a stronger state than it has been for a long time; far stronger than those critics of popular taste, who see only the worst kind of television and the bingo hall, would have us believe. The Huddersfield Choral Society's Messiah is still so popular, that those anxious to obtain good seats have to be prepared for a lengthy vigil (often lasting almost 24 hours) in cold December weather²⁸. There is never any shortage of applicants for places in school brass bands, and many major bands have junior sections comprising almost totally, children aged between 8 and 16. Commentators claim that there is an increased interest in choral singing in certain parts of the country, while the late 1960's and 1970's have seen a revival of interest in both handbell-ringing and concertina playing, and if this is sometimes as much the result of middle class enthusiasm for past working class culture, as a genuine flowering of working class culture itself, it is nevertheless a fact²⁹. The media, partly by stimulating a reaction against its own inadequacies, partly by facilitating the widespread decimation of musical skills and techniques, has aroused an interest in the possibilities of music-making from which choirs and bands can only benefit. They remain a major cultural legacy from the 19th century and represent not merely an interesting piece of antiquarianism, to be dissected, debated and then laid to rest, but a living testimony to the artistic skills and potential of generations of the "common people".

Appendix 1: The Popular Musical Societies of the West Yorkshire Textile District, 1800-1914¹

a) Amateur Orchestral Societies

<u>Name</u>	<u>Foundation date where known</u>
Armley Orchestral Band	
Bradford Amateur Orchestral Band	
Bradford Amateur Musical Society	1856
Bradford Orchestral Society	1860
Brighouse Permanent Orchestra	1896
Brown Royd Pleasant Sunday Afternoon Orchestra (Bradford)	
Calverley Orchestral Band	
Cleckheaton Orchestral Society	
Cross Hills Wesleyan Orchestral Band	
Dewsbury Orchestral Society	
Dewsbury Permanent Orchestral Band of Trade Unionists	
Elland Orchestral Society	
Halifax Amateur Orchestral Society	1881
Halifax (Northgate End) Orchestral Society	1882
Halifax Philharmonic	1850
Harehills Orchestra	
Heckmondwike Orchestral Society	
Hightown Orchestral Society	
Honley Orchestral Band	
Horbury Orchestral Society	1889
Huddersfield Philharmonic	1862
Huddersfield Symphony Society	
Keighley Orchestral Society	1898
King Cross Wesleyan Orchestral Society (Halifax)	
Leeds Permanent Orchestra	1895
Leeds Symphony Society	1890
Longwood Philharmonic	
Lowertown Orchestral Band (Oxenhope)	
Meltham Philharmonic	1897
Milnsbridge Orchestral Society	

<u>Name</u>	<u>Foundation Date</u> <u>where known</u>
a) <u>Amateur Orchestral Societies (Contd)</u>	
Otley Orchestral Society	
Queensbury Orchestral Band	
Scholes Philharmonic	
Silsden Orchestral Society	1894
Slaithwaite Philharmonic	1891
Spen Valley Orchestral Society	
St. John's Orchestral Society (West Vale)	
Thornton Orchestral Society	
Yeadon Amateur Orchestral Band	
b) <u>Brass Bands</u>	
Akroyd's (Halifax)	
Airedale (Bradford)	
Allerton	
Almondbury	
Alpaca Temperance (Bradford)	
Armley and Wortley	1895
Baildon	
Batley Old	
Batley Temperance	
Batley Victoria	
Battyeford	
Belle Vue (Wakefield)	1886
Bingley Mission Prize	
Bingley New	
Bingley Rifles	
Birkenshaw	
Birstall	
Blackburn Valley	
Black Dyke Mills Band	1855
Boldshay Victoria (Bradford)	
Bowling	
Bradford	

<u>Name</u>	<u>Foundation Date where known</u>
b) <u>Brass Bands (Contd)</u>	
Bradford Borough	1885
Bradford City	
Bradford Clarion	
Bradford Postmen	1886
Bradford Railway Foundry	
Bradford Victoria	
Bradford Teetotal Saxhorn	
Bradford Temperance	
Bradford Tramways	
Bramley	1836
Bramley Christian Mission	1884
Brighouse Borough	
Brighouse and Rastrick	
Brook's Band (Thwaites, nr. Keighley)	
Burley	
Buslingthorpe	
Buttershaw Mills (Bradford)	
California Works (Gomersal)	
Calverley and Greengates	
Canal Ironworks (Shipley)	
Carlton Temperance	
Chapelton	
Churwell	
Clayton	
Cleckheaton Victoria	1858
Cleckheaton Temperance	
Cliff's (Wortley)	
Clifton	1838
Comrades United (Leeds)	1893
Copley Mills (Halifax)	1880
Copley and Skircoat	
Cragg Vale Subscription	
Crigglestone	
Cross Gates	
Cross Hills	

<u>Name</u>	<u>Foundation Date where known</u>
b) <u>Brass Bands (Contd)</u>	
Daisy Hill (Bradford)	
Dalton Glee	
Darley	
Dawgreen (Dewsbury)	
Deighton Mills	
Delph	
Denby Dale	
Denby United	
Denholme Subscription	
Dewsbury Al	
Dewsbury Old	1850
Dewsbury Public	1907
Dewsbury Temperance	
Earlsheaton	1898
Eccleshill	
Elland Upper Edge	
Elland Victoria	
Elmwood Mills (Leeds)	
Elmwood's	
Fairbairn's (Leeds)	1851
Farnley Old	
Farnley Temperance	
Farsley Old	
Flockton	
Foster's, Edward and Sons (Halifax)	
Gawthorpe Britannia	
Gawthorpe Victoria	
Gildersome	
Golcar	
Gomersal	
Gommersal Mills (Leeds)	
Gooseye Newsholme (Nr. Keighley)	
Grange Moor	

<u>Name</u>	<u>Foundation date where known</u>
b) <u>Brass Bands (Contd)</u>	
Greengates	
Greetland and West Vale	
Great Horton	1877
Great Northern Railway (Ardsley)	
Guiseley	
Hade Edge	
Haley Hill	
Halifax Borough	
Halifax Corporation	
Halifax King Cross	1870
Halifax Temperance	1884
Halifax Victoria	
Harden Mills	
Harden Beck	
Hartshead	
Hartshead Moor	
Heaton	
Heckmondwike Flush Mills	
Heckmondwike Old	
Heptonstall	
Hepworth	
Highgate Mills (Clayton, Bradford)	
Hightown	
Hillhouse Temperance	
Hinchliffe Mill	1865
Holbeck	
Holme	1820
Holmfirth Temperance	
Honley	1865
Hopton Perseverance	1863
Horbury Victoria	
Horsforth	
Howarth Public Subscription	
Huddersfield Borough	
Huddersfield Catholic	
Huddersfield Fire Brigade	
Huddersfield Friendly and Trades	

<u>Name</u>	<u>Foundation date where known</u>
b) <u>Brass Bands (Contd)</u>	
Huddersfield Princess Street Mission	
Huddersfield Rifles	
Hunslet Leather Works	
Idle	
Idle and Thackley	1893
Ingledeu's (Leeds)	
Kingston Unity (Leeds)	
Kirkburton Old	1821
Kirkburton Temperance	
Kirkstall	
Kirkstall Forge	
Kirkstall Tannery	
Krumlin Mills (Halifax)	
Lee Mount (Halifax)	1888
Leeds Central	
Leeds City	
Leeds Corporation	
Leeds Excelsior Temperance	
Leeds Forge	1882
Leeds Joppa	
Leeds Milburn	
Leeds Model	1856
Leeds Police	1899
Leeds Postmen	1889
Leeds Railway Foundry	
Leeds Socialist	1896
Leeds Tramways	1911
Lobb Mill (Hebden Bridge)	
Lockwood	
Low Moor Ironworks (Bradford)	
Lightcliffe	
Lindley	
Linthwaite	1850
Liversedge	1889
Luddenden and Luddenden Foot Subscription	1891
Lumbfoot	

<u>Name</u>	<u>Foundation date where known</u>
b) <u>Brass Bands (Contd)</u>	
Marriner's Band (Keighley)	1845
Marsden	1895
Marsden Union	1830
Meltham Mills	1843
Milnsbridge Socialist	
Mirfield Baptist	1899
Mirfield Old	
Mixenden	
Mold Green	
Morley	
Morley Borough	
Morton Parochial	1887
Nazebottom Temperance	
Netherthong	
Norland	1878
North Leeds	
Northowram Subscription	
Oats Royd Mills	1864
Outlane	
Outwood	
Ossett Borough	
Ossett and Gawthorpe	
Ossett Temperance	
Ossett Victoria	
Ovenden	
Pellon Subscription	
Ponden	
Porritt and Whitham's (Leeds)	
Pratt's (Brighouse)	
Pudsey Borough	
Pudsey Fartown	1876
Pudsey West End	
Ravensthorpe	
Rawdon	
Richardshaw Lane (Stanningley)	

b) <u>Brass Bands (Contd)</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Foundation date where known</u>
	Ripponden	
	Rishworth and Ryburn Valley	
	Robin Hood (Wakefield)	
	Rutland Mills (Wakefield)	1874
	Saddleworth	
	Saltaire	
	Scapegoat Hill	
	Scholes	
	Sheepscar	
	Shelley	
	Shepley	
	Shipley	
	Skelmanthorpe	1869
	Silsden	
	Slaithwaite Union	
	Smith's Band (Leeds)	
	Southowram Subscription	
	Sowerby Bridge Subscription	
	Spink Well Mills (Dewsbury)	
	Springhead (Haworth)	
	St. Ann's (Leeds)	
	Stainland	
	Stanley	
	Stanningley Old	
	Stanningley Primitive Methodists	
	Thackley	
	Thornton	
	Thornhill Colliery (Dewsbury)	
	Union Foundry (Wakefield)	1854
	Upper Slaithwaite	1892
	Valley Road (Bradford)	
	Wakefield City	
	Waterloo (Brighouse)	
	West Ardsley United	
	West Vale	
	Whitworth	

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Foundation date where known</u>
b)	<u>Brass Bands (Contd)</u>	
	Wilsden	
	Wilsden Subscription	1909
	Wilson's Band (Leeds)	
	Woodhouse	
	Wooldale	
	Wyke Old	1856
	Wyke Temperance	1869
	Yeadon Old	1850
c)	<u>Choral Societies</u>	
	Albion Harmonic Society (Leeds)	
	Armley Choral Society	
	Armley and District Choral Society	1881
	Allerton Choral Society	
	Allerton Glee and Madrigal Society	
	Airedale Musical Union	1887
	Almondbury Choral Society	
	Batley and District Choral Union	
	Batley Prize Vocal Union	
	Batley Choral Society	
	Bingley Choral Society (i)	
	Bingley Choral Society (ii)	1898
	Bingley Co-operative Choir	
	Bingley Musical Union	1892
	Birstall Choral Society	
	Birstall Wesleyan Musical Society	
	Bradford Festival Choral Society	1856
	Bradford Old Choral Society	1821
	Bradford Philharmonic (i)	1831
	Bradford Philharmonic (ii)	
	Bradford Vocal Union	
	Bradford Co-operative Choral Society	1898
	Bradford Glee Union	1878
	Bradford Moor Musical Union	1883
x	Bradford Musical Union	1865

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Foundation date where known</u>
c)	<u>Choral Societies (Contd)</u>	
	Bradford Operatic Society	
	Bradford Clarion Vocal Union	1894
	Bradford Ladies Vocal Society	
	Bradford Vocal Association	1859
	Bradford Victoria Glee Society	
	Bramley Choral Society	
	Bramley Private Vocal Society	
	Brighouse Choral Society	
	Brighouse Glee and Madrigal	
x	Brighouse Glee Society	
x	Brighouse Lyric Glee Club	
	Burley Choral Society	
x	Burley Glee Union	1887
	Birkenshaw Philharmonic Society	
	Battysford Amateur Musical Society	
	Baildon Choral Society	
	Burton R.S. Amateur Choral Society	
	Bramhope Choral Society	
	Brockholes Music Society	1899
	Bramley Church Harmonic Society	
	Bramley Moriah Prize Choir	
	Cleckheaton Philharmonic	1841
	Cleckheaton Glee Club	
	Calverley Choral Society	
	Clayton Choral Society	1898
x	Clayton Glee Union	
	Cross Hills Choral Union	1893/94
	Cross Hills Liberal Glee Club	
	Colne Valley Vocal Union	
	Colne Valley Clarion Vocal Union	1898
	Cross Bank Wesleyan (Batley)	
	Crosland Hill Wesleyan	
	Crosland Moor Wesleyan Prize Choir	
	College Chapel (Bradford) Musical Society	
	Calverley Wesleyan	

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Foundation date where known</u>
c)	<u>Choral Societies (Contd)</u>	
	Dewsbury Choral Society	1847
	Dewsbury Wesleyan Centenary	
	Dewsbury Glee and Madrigal Society	
	Dewsbury Club and Institute	
	Dean Clough Choral Society	
	Dudley Hill Musical Union	
	Drighlington and Adwalton Choral Society	
	Deighton Choral Society	
	Eccleshill Prize Choir	
	Eccleshill Choral Society	1895
	Eccleshill Glee and Madrigal Society	
	Elland Amateur Musical Society	
	Elland Orpheus Society	
	Elland Glee and Madrigal Society	
	Eastbrook Wesleyan (Bradford)	
	Earlsheaton Glee Club	
	Elland Choral Society	
	Farnley Harmonic Society	1854
	Farsley Choral Society	
x	Farsley Male Voice Glee Union	
	Frizinghall and District Choral Society	
	Golcar Baptists	
	Golcar Choral Society	
	Greetland Vocal Union	
	Greetland and West Vale Choral Society	1874
	Grange Musical Union (Bradford)	
	Great Horton Musical Union	
	Gildersome Baptists	
	Halifax (Quarterly) Choral Society	1818
	Halifax Glee and Madrigal Society	1844
	Halifax Madrigal Society	1898
x	Halifax West End Glee Union	1889
	Halifax Clarion Vocal Union	
	Halifax (Monthly) Choral Society	1825
	Haley Hill (Halifax) Choral Society	

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Foundation date where known</u>
c)	<u>Choral Societies (Contd)</u>	
	Hebden Bridge Choral Society	
	Hebden Bridge Harmonic Society	
	Heaton Church	
	Heckmondwike Glee Club	
	Heckmondwike Choral Society .	1859
i)	Holmfirth Choral Society	
ii)	Holmfirth Choral Society	1856
	Holmfirth and District Choral Society	1882
	Horsforth Choral Society	
	Horsforth Vocal Union	
x	Horsforth Glee Society	1894
	Horbury Bridge Glee Society	
	Horton Lane Chapel Guild	1890
	Horton Old Choral Society	
	Honley Choral Society	1886
	Honley Musical Society	1896
	Holbeck Choral Society	
x	Holme Valley Male Voice Choir	1910
	Huddersfield Amateur Operatic Society	
	Huddersfield Glee and Madrigal Society	1875
	Huddersfield Choral Society	1836
	Huddersfield Orpheus Society	
	Huddersfield Clarion Vocal Union	1897
	Huddersfield Co-operative Prize Choir	
	Hunslet Choral Society	
x	Hunslet Musical Union	
	Headingley Vocal Society	
	Heaton and Frizinghall Choral Society	1886
	Halifax Amateur Operatic Society	
	Idle Harmonic Union	
	Idle Choral Society	
	Idle Liberal Club Musical Union	
	Keighley Choral Society	1837
	Keighley Musical Union	1852
	Keighley Glee and Madrigal Society	
	Keighley Amateur Choral Society	
	Keighley Glee Union	1892
	Keighley Clarion Choir	1895
	Keighley Orpheus Glee Union	

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Foundation date where known</u>
c)	<u>Choral Societies (Contd)</u>	
	Keighley Institute Choir	
	Keighley Albert Street Prize Choir	
	Keighley Vocal Union	1906
	Keighley St. Cecilia Ladies Choir	
	Leeds Blenheim	
x	Leeds (Prize) Musical Union	1893
	Leeds Arion Glee Society	
	Leeds Harmonic Union	
	Leeds Philharmonic Society	1870
	Leeds Choral Society	1842
	Leeds Old Choral Society	1838
	Leeds Madrigal and Motet Society	1852
	Leeds Temperance Choral Society	1881
	Leeds Sacred Harmonic Society	
	Leeds Amateur Operatic Society	1889
	Leeds Scottish Vocal Society	
	Leeds Clarion Vocal Union	
	Leeds Choral Union	1896
	Leeds Scarbro' Harmonic Society	
	Leeds Postal Harmonic Society	
	Leeds Co-operative Choral Society	
	Leeds Vocal Union	
	Leeds Private Vocal Society	1864
	Leeds Board School Choral Society	
	Lee Mount Musical Union	
x	Leigh Mills (Stanningley) Choral Society	
	Lidget Green Liberal Club Glee Union	
	Lightcliffe Choral Society	
	Lindley Choral Society	
	Liversedge and Heckmondwike United Glee Party	
	Liversedge Glee Club	
	Lindley Harmonic Glee Club	
	Little Horton Glee Union	1873
	Lidget Green Liberal Club Glee Union	
	Lockwood Choral Society	

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Foundation date where known</u>
c)	<u>Choral Societies (Contd)</u>	
	Manningham Musical Union	1880
	Manningham Vocal Union	
	Manningham Amateur Choral Society	
	Marsden Choral Society	
	Meltham Choral Society	
	Meltham Baptists	
	Meltham Choral Society	
	Mirfield Harmonic Society	
	Mirfield Choral Society	1887
	Milnsbridge and District Vocal Society	
	Mill-Hill Choral Union	
x	Morley Vocal Union	1895
	Morley Harmonic Union	1871
	Morley Choral Society	1893
	Morley Amateur Vocal Society	
	Morley Baptists	
	Morley Glee Party	1889
	Mytholmroyd Musical Society	
	New Mill Choral Society	
	New Mill Glee and Madrigal Society	
	New Leeds Musical Society	1883
	Ovenden Madrigal Society	1852
	Ovenden Musical Society	
	Ossett Prize Vocal Union	
	Ossett Choral Society	
	Ossett Wesleyan Prize Choir	
	Outwood Church Glee Society	
	Oakenshaw Glee Club	
	Pudsey Old Glee Union	
	Pudsey Vocal Union	
	Pudsey Choral Union	1877
	Pudsey Mechanics Institute Glee Society	
	Pudsey Mount Zion Glee Society	
x	Pudsey Social Harmonic Society	
	Pudsey Glee Union	
	Paddock Amateur Vocal Society	

<u>Name</u>	<u>Foundation date where known</u>
c) <u>Choral Societies (Contd)</u>	
Queensbury Choral Society	
Queensbury Glee Union	
Queensbury Musical Union	
Ripponden and District Choral Society	
Ravensthorpe St. Saviour's Glee Society	
Rothwell Harmonic Union	
Rastrick Glee and Madrigal Society	
Saltaire Prize Choir	1888
Saltaire Glee and Madrigal Society	
Saltaire Choral Society	
Saltaire Amateur Musical Society	
Sowerby Bridge Choral Society	
Sowerby Bridge (West End) Chapel Choir	
Sowerby Glee Union	
Slaithwaite Clarion Vocal Union	
Slaithwaite Glee and Madrigal Society	
Slaithwaite Choral Society	
Shepley Amateur Operatic Society	
Shepley and Shelly Musical Society	
Shipley Choral Society	
Shipley Vocal Union	
Shipley Amateur Musical Society	
Shipley Musical Union	1880
Shipley and District Choral Society	1856
Salem Musical Union (Bradford)	
Soyland Choir (Ripponden)	
Scholes Musical Society	
St. Chad's Choral Society	
South Leeds Vocal Union	
Shelf Musical Union	
Square Chapel (Halifax) Choral Society	
Shelf Glee Union	
Stainland Choral Union	
St. John's Musical Society (Clayton)	
Skelmanthorpe Choral Society	1886
Thornton Choral Society	1880
Thornton Vocal Union	1907
Thornton Musical Union	1889

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Foundation date where known</u>
c)	<u>Choral Societies (Contd)</u>	
	Thornhill Glee and Madrigal Society	
	Thornhill Lees Choral Society	
	Tong and District Choral Society	
	Undercliffe Glee Union	
	Wakefield Choral Society	
	Wakefield Harmonic Society	
	Wakefield Musical Union	
	Wortley Choral Society	
	Wortley Institute Vocal Union	
	Woodsome Choral Society	
	Westgate Baptists (Bradford)	
	Windhill Musical Union	1900
	West End Musical Society (Bradford)	
x	Wyke Glee Union	
	Yeadon and District Harmonic Union	1878
d)	<u>Concertina Bands</u>	
	Batley	
	Bradford	
	Brown Royd	
	Caddy Field Wesleyan (Halifax)	
	Girlington	
	Greengates	
	Guisseley Temperance	
	Halifax	
	Harrison Road Temperance (Halifax)	
	Heckmondwike	1902
	Huddersfield	
	Idle	
	Keighley Model	
	Keighley Star	
	Liversedge English,	
	Leeds East End	
	Luddenden	

<u>Name</u>	<u>Foundation date where known</u>
d) <u>Concertina Bands (Contd)</u>	
Morley	1911
Morley English	
Oakworth	
Thackley Excelsior	
Wyke and Low Moor Model	
e) <u>Handbell Ringers</u>	
Almondbury	
Almondbury Juniors	1906
Birstal St. Saviours	1879
Bradford Tennyson	
Crosland Moor Public	
Crosland Moor United	1890
Clifton Juniors	
Clifton Seniors	1849
Dewsbury	
Elland	1891
Holmfirth	
Honley	
Horbury	
Huddersfield	
Keighley	
Lane End (Holmfirth)	
Lepton United	
Lindley	
Liversedge Albert	
Meltham	
Mirfield	
Otley Ladies	
Park Lane (Keighley)	
Pudsey	
Shipley	
St. Aidan's (Ossett)	

Name

e) Handbell Ringers (Contd)

Thurlstone

Woodroyd (Honley)

f) Military Bands

Denshaw Reed

Dewsbury and District Military

Dyer's Club Military (Huddersfield)

Greenfield Military

Halifax Talbot

Huddersfield Military

Imperial Blue (Bradford)

Keighley Reed

Leeds Military

Riddlesden

Stannary Reed

Wakefield Cathedral

Wakefield Military

West Riding Military

Appendix 2: Social Origins of Choral Singers

a) Occupations of Fathers or Husbands of Female Members of the Leeds Philharmonic Society, 1894-95

- 1A : 5 professional engineers; 2 solicitors; 2 surgeons;
1 vicar; Baptist Minister; Accountant.
- 1B : 3 teachers of music; 1 grammar school master; "professor"
of drawing; artist; assistant newspaper editor.
- 2A : 3 drapers; 2 hat dealers; 2 butchers; 1 ladies tailor;
gents tailor; cab proprietor; grocer; bookseller;
joiner/undertaker; printer; stove merchant; ale bottler;
music publisher; music dealer; lead merchant; publisher;
eating house proprietor; potted meat manufacturer; glass and
china dealer.
- 2B : 4 "managers"; 1 brewery manager; bank manager.
- 3 : 10 commercial travellers; 6 "clerks"; 1 cashier; booking
clerk; bookkeeper.
- 4 : 2 "foremen"; 1 foreman moulder; gas meter inspection super-
visor.
- 5 : 5 composers; 2 joiners; 1 printer; warehouseman;
slater; painter; electrician; proof reader; caretaker.
- 6 : 1 machinist; letter carrier.
- 7 : Nil

b) Occupations of Fathers or Husbands of Female Members of the Huddersfield Choral Society, 1894-95

- 1A : 2 accountants; 2 consulting engineers; 2 vicars;
1 congregational minister; chemist; medical officer of
health.
- 1B : 3 schoolmasters; 1 head instructor.
- 2A : 3 woollen manufacturers; 3 butchers; 2 mungo and shoddy
merchants; 2 ironfounders; 2 waste merchants; 1 flock
merchant; "manufacturer"; tea and coffee merchant;
gunmaker; yarnspinner; printer/newspaper proprietor;
grocer; hatter; painter and decorator; stationer;
greengrocer; farmer; boot and shoe dealer.

b) Occupations of Fathers or Husbands of Female Members of the Huddersfield Choral Society, 1894-95 (Contd)

- 2B : 2 "managers".
- 3 : 4 commercial travellers; 3 cashiers; 2 insurance agents; clerk/sexton; bookkeeper, building society agent.
- 4 : Nil
- 5 : 2 painters; 2 scribbling engineers; 1 plumber, journeyman weaver; journeyman mason; journeyman iron moulder; warehouseman; journeyman cloth finisher; journeyman pattern weaver; fitter; journeyman cabinet maker; wheelwright.
- 6 : Nil.
- 7 : Nil.

c) Occupation of Male Members of Leeds Philharmonic Society, 1894-95

- 1A : 1 optician; dental surgeon; solicitor; architect; vicar.
- 1B : 4 board schoolmasters; 1 prison schoolmaster.
- 2A : 2 woollen manufacturers; 1 "merchant"; bookseller/printer; iron founder; glass and china dealer; brick and tile manufacturer; cloth merchant; victualler; watchmaker/grocer; tailor; confectioner; earthenware dealer; draper;
- 2B : 2 "managers"; 1 business manager; estate agent; insurance superintendent; manager of Leeds Gasworks.
- 3 : 8 commercial travellers; 6 "clerks"; 2 cashiers; 1 submanager; insurance agents; bookkeeper;
- 4 : 1 foreman; 1 overlooker.
- 5 : 3 joiners; 3 mechanics; 2 cabinet makers; 2 warehousemen; 1 bookbinder; cricketbat maker; print reader; telegraph operator; bootmaker; tinner; slater; printer; painter; compositor; coachbuilder; furrier; loom tuner; jeweller.
- 6 : Letter carrier.
- 7 : Nil.

d) Occupation of Male Members of Huddersfield Choral Society, 1894-95

- 1A : 2 solicitors; 1 designer; chartered accountant; school board accountant.
- 1B : Photographer.
- 2A : 2 cloth finishers; 2 coal merchants; 2 printers; 1 tea and coffee merchant; rope manufacturer; shoddy merchant; woollen manufacturer; woolcomber; shopkeeper; rag merchant; tailor; hatter; draper; rent dealer; corn-dealer; painter and decorator.
- 2B : Insurance surveyor.
- 3 : 2 commercial travellers; 2 cashiers; 2 agents; 2 "clerks"; 1 rate collector; salesman; commercial agent; bookkeeper.
- 4 : Foreman; head gardener.
- 5 : 3 journeymen weavers; 3 joiners; 3 painters; 2 journeymen scribbling engineers; 2 warehousemen; 2 saddlers; 2 bootmakers; 1 weaver; machine tester; dyer; working jeweller; journeyman French polisher; organ builder; journeyman beamer; printer; turner.

e) Occupation of Fathers or Husbands of Female Members of the Leeds Philharmonic Society, 1908-09

- 1A : 3 solicitors; 2 vicars; 1 accountant; music critic/barrister; engineer; chemist; carpet designer.
- 1B : 2 journalists; 1 town hall organist; clerk of works; school-master; music teacher.
- 2A : 3 butchers; 2 grocers; 2 tailors; 1 wholesale clothier; hosier; disinfectant manufacturer; hat manufacturer; screw and bolt manufacturer; glass and china dealer; woollen printer; leather manufacturer; lead pipe manufacturer; provision dealer; saddler; plumber; painter.
- 2B : Building society manager.
- 3 : 7 commercial travellers; 4 cashiers; 2 "clerks"; 1 solicitor's clerk; rate collector; insurance agent.

e) Occupation of Fathers or Husbands of Female Members of the Leeds Philharmonic Society, 1908-09 (Contd)

- 4 : 1 foreman engineer; overlooker.
- 5 : 3 mechanics; 2 cabinet makers; 2 joiners; 2 compositors; 2 engine tenters; 2 caretakers; 1 van driver; bookbinder; printer's reader; clockmaker; chairmaker; warehouseman; slater; fitter; carter; tinner; plasterer; planer; brickburner; tanner.
- 6 : 1 machinist; postman.
- 7 : Nil.

f) Occupations of Male Members of Leeds Philharmonic Society, 1908-09

- 1A : optician.
- 1B : 3 schoolteachers; 1 singing teacher.
- 2A : 2 woollen manufacturers; 1 dyer; boot and shoe manufacturer; music publisher; brick manufacturer; clothing manufacturer; false teeth manufacturer; jeweller; hardware dealer; tailor; painter and decorator; publican; draper; grocer;
- 2B : Superintendent of Leeds Gasworks; "manager".
- 3 : 8 "clerks"; 5 commercial travellers; 3 cashiers; 2 bookkeepers.
- 4 : Foreman; assistant superintendent of Leeds GPO telegraph department.
- 5 : 5 warehousemen; 4 compositors; 4 joiners; 2 bookbinders; 2 shoemakers; 2 tailors; 2 mechanics; 2 printers; 1 printer's reader; cricketbat maker; caretaker; dry-salter; engineer; fitter; ironworker; glasscutter; slater; painter; pattern maker; cabinet maker; plasterer; blacksmith.
- 6 : grocer's assistant; postman.
- 7 : scavenger.

Appendix 3: Working Class Composers in West Yorkshire, 1780-1914

Many working men were not content simply to accept the music offered to them by publishing houses and professional composers, but sought to compose their own. Their efforts have been largely ignored by historians of music, but it would be unfortunate if the compositions they created were not acknowledged, for the choral and band music produced by working men composers in the 18th century and 19th century is a further illustration of the degree of musical skill and understanding to be found amongst the "common people" of the industrial North.

Obviously, working class composers were often restricted by lack of time and lack of formal musical education, and just as working class literati tended to write poetry or dialect stories rather than full-length novels and plays, composers generally concentrated on shorter musical forms¹. Perhaps the most common composition of all produced by working men, was the hymn. Innumerable local musicians produced hymns, many of which are lost to posterity, although a surprisingly large number continue to re-emerge, turning up in attics and organ lofts during the course of spring cleaning². Often these hymns were rarely heard outside the composer's immediate locality, but a few writers did gain quite widespread popularity. Arguably, the most successful writer to appear in the textile region was Accepted "Cep" Widdop, (1749-1801), who came from the village of Illingworth, near Halifax. A woolcomber by trade, Widdop wrote a large number of hymns, many of which were published on his death in order to raise money for his family. Three of his tunes, Birstal, Widdop and Ossett, became especially popular, and indeed, the former tune still featured in the official Methodist hymnbook in the earlier years of the 20th century³.

Short works for brass bands, particularly marches, although probably less commonly composed by working men than hymns, were also produced in significant quantity. Edward Newton, a textile worker from Silsden on the northernmost tip of the textile region, wrote over 300 marches during the 19th century, many of which were published and assimilated into the repertoire of top quality bands. Similarly, George Wadsworth, a monumental stonemason from Holmfirth, composed almost all of the marches and dances published by the Rochdale firm of J. Frost & Son, in their Manchester Brass (and Military) Band Journal⁴.

A small, but significant number of working class composers went as far as to make a contribution to the development of the "art" music tradition. For the bandsman, this was most likely to involve the composer in the arrangement of the existing stock of art music, rather than in the creation of new material. As was shown in Chapter Five, the need for bandmasters and teachers to provide bands with arrangements was most urgent in the period before the mid-1870's, the date from which cheap, published arrangements became available on a wide scale. But even after this date, bandsmen grappled with operatic and, less regularly, symphonic scores, seeking to present their bands with the ultimate competition music. Edwin Swift, discussed extensively in Chapters Four and Five, was probably the region's most famous working man arranger, but there were others whose achievements won considerable praise from contemporaries. William Swingler (1859- ?), trainer of several bands in the Halifax area, had much success with his Wagner's Works, originally arranged during a short spell of employment with the Blackpool Winter Gardens Orchestra in 1894, and reworked for brass band two years later. Again, William Short of Wyke, made several pioneering attempts to utilise the romantic repertoire during the Edwardian period, and his Gems of Chopin and Gems of Schumann were used as championship test pieces at Crystal Palace in 1906 and 1907 respectively⁵.

The composer of vocal music had more opportunity actually to compose art music, through the vehicle of the glee and partsong. William Hollingworth (1840-1905), represents the textile district's most successful working class composer of vocal art music. Born in Bradford, Hollingworth began his working life at Foster's Black Dyke Mills, before moving to Holme Top Mill, Horton, where he was employed as a machinist. In the last years of his life, he had spells as a full-time "professor of music", and as a publican. His father was a noted composer of psalm tunes, and William, although unable to play any musical instrument, shared his father's gift for composition. Altogether, he wrote over 500 hymns, a Mass in F (1873), a Mass in G (1887) which passed into the repertoire of the Black Dyke Mills Band for a period in the early 1890's, and perhaps most important of all, a sizeable body of glees and partsongs, many of which were published by Novello. His glee, Here's Life and Health to England's Queen, was a particular favourite with Yorkshire male voice choirs. His reputation was considerable, if parochial. A subscription

raised in 1896 to acknowledge his achievements, was supported by over 80 choirs and bands in the Bradford area. However, when the eminent London singing teacher, Signor Randegger, came to Bradford to organise a Jubilee concert in 1887, he was initially reluctant to include Here's Life and Health on the programme, because he was totally unfamiliar with both the composer and his music. (He eventually decided to use the work and dutifully told the delighted Bradford populace that he was most impressed with it). Similarly, when the Leeds Musical Union performed Here's Life and Health to Sir Arthur Sullivan in 1898, Sullivan had to admit that he had heard of neither Hollingworth nor his glee. Like Randegger, he was impressed, and while the establishment seal of approval that he thus bestowed on the Yorkshire composer may well have been granted as much because of good manners as any musical consideration, Hollingworth now had the cachet of Sullivan's approval to add to the honour of being respected by as musical an audience as the choral singers of the West Riding⁶.

Attempts to compose or arrange music were not necessarily successful. In 1856, a contributor to the Leeds Intelligencer who had been treated to a performance of a brass band piece by the weaver-composer William Hesling, dismissed the work, claiming it to contain "many plagiarisms"⁷. Doubtless, the artistic efforts of Victorian working men led to many such humbling criticisms. But there can be no denying the existence within the working class musical community, of a real determination not merely to consume, but to produce music, to make a contribution to existing musical culture. Much of what resulted contained, at least by contemporary standards, a certain merit, and some, a lasting musical value.

Appendix 4: Composers, Streetnames and Christian Names

The following streetnames and christian names illustrate the popularity of music (and particularly that of Handel) within the Yorkshire textile district between 1800 and 1914.

Street Names

Handel Street, Golcar
Handel Street, Halifax
Handel Terrace, Bradford
Handel Terrace, Huddersfield
Haydn Street, Halifax
Haydn Street, Stanningley
Mozart Terrace, Slaithwaite

Christian Names

Handel Fawcett Snr.
Handel Fawcett Jnr.
Handel Haley
Handel Parker
Haydn Heap
Mendelssohn Fawcett
Mendelssohn Parker
Verdi Lawton
Weber Fawcett

FOOTNOTES

Introduction

1. J. F. Russell and J. H. Elliot, The Brass Band Movement (1936), pp. 160-1.
2. It should also be noted that brass bands in particular, have hardly enhanced their chances of recognition by judicious choice of nomenclature. Who would expect "mental and spiritual relief" from the Lincoln Malleable Iron and Steel Works or the Rugby Steam Shed, Silver Prize Bands?
3. These three scholars did much to open up the field in the 1960's and early 1970's with four seminal publications. A. Briggs, Mass Entertainment: The Origins of a Modern Industry (Adelaide, 1960); B. Harrison, "Religion and Recreation in Nineteenth Century England," Past and Present, No. 38, 1967 and Drink and The Victorians (1971); R. Malcolmson, Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850 (Cambridge, 1973).
4. It is clearly not possible to append here a list of all the various studies of popular recreation that have emerged in the last few years. But the growing importance of recreation in the current academic environment is illustrated by such events as the conferences held by the Society for the Study of Labour History at Sussex University in November 1975, for which see Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History, No. 32, 1976, pp. 5-18, and by the Oral History Society at Birmingham in October 1978, for which see Oral History, Vol. 7, No. 1, Spring 1979, pp. 5-6. Also significant in this respect is the appearance of issues of Victorian Studies and Journal of Contemporary History, devoted entirely to the themes of recreation and popular culture. See Victorian Studies, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1977 and Journal of Contemporary History, Vol. 13, No. 2, 1978.
5. Unfortunately, it has not proved possible to measure the exact size of popular musical life on a national scale. Contemporary estimates vary alarmingly. For example, in 1889, Wright and Round's Amateur Band Teacher's Guide claimed there to be 40,000 amateur wind bands in Britain. A few months later, Wright and Round's Brass Band News, claimed there to be 30,000, thus losing 10,000 bands and perhaps 200,000 bandsmen almost overnight! (10,000 might be a more accurate guess. Besson's, the instrument makers, had this number on their books in 1895). But while accurate measurement is difficult, it is obvious from even the most cursory glance at a 19th century newspaper, that music loomed large in contemporary life.
6. It should be noted that this study does not deal either with groups such as the Nigger Minstrel troupe, which used music only as part of a comedy routine, or with organisations such as the drum and fife band, where music was largely an accompaniment to parading or drill. Only those who placed total emphasis on music are investigated.

The word "amateur" was used by writers on music in the period under study, to denote those musicians not solely reliant upon music for their livelihood. Thus the amateur could be either somebody who sang or played entirely for pleasure and never received a penny, or somebody in full-time employment outside of music, who gained a

degree of monetary reward from his or her musical activity. Thus some "amateur" musicians were actually semi-professionals. However, use of the term seems valid, as it reflects Victorian and Edwardian usage. See below Chapter 6, section iii, pp.264-266, for the "semi-professional".

7. See Chapter 3 for detailed study of this question.
8. Phillip's remarks were quoted in the Tonic Sol-Fa Reporter, July 1879. For other acknowledgements of Yorkshire's intense musical enthusiasm see George Hogarth, "A Village Oratorio", in Mainzer's Musical Times, 15th November 1842; Morning Post, 1st September 1853; Times, 29th August 1859; School Music Review, November 1903 and January 1910; E. C. Bairstow, "Music in Yorkshire", Music and Letters, October 1920. (Bairstow's article does include a certain amount of criticism alongside the praise, suggesting that the majority of choral singers in the district had decidedly limited tastes). The two aspects of musical life most frequently praised in these observations were brass bands and choral societies.
9. This, of course, is not to suggest that the East and North Ridings had no musical tradition.
10. His work appeared in 1974 as Somewhere Further North (Sheffield)
11. This final consideration was a relatively minor one, but a valid one. The logistical problems involved in postgraduate research are often seriously underrated!
12. The phrase comes from Asa Briggs, The Age of Improvement (1959), p.403. The overall improvement in working class living standards from 1850 is too well known to demand detailed comment at this juncture. For further development, see below Chapter 4, Section 2, pp. 112-114.
13. Ronald Pearsall, Victorian Popular Music (Newton Abbot, 1975), p.199.
14. Although the book is only marginally relevant to this work, it should be mentioned that the social history of music as a genre has been greatly enriched by William Weber, Music and the Middle Class (1975). This book, by way of an analysis of concert life in London, Paris and Vienna between 1830 and 1848, makes a more strenuous effort than any previous work to illustrate the complex matrix of relationships that exist between music and society.
15. Some of the evidence emerging from my oral history work was presented at the Oral History Society's Autumn Conference on Leisure and Popular Culture, held at Birmingham, on October 28th, 1978. I would like to thank those present for their questions and comments, which have helped shape my attitude both towards the oral evidence and my overall argument. For details of the Conference, see Oral History, Spring 1979, op.cit.

Chapter One

1. For use of the term, or something approximating to it, by historians, see E. P. Thompson, "Homage to Tom Maguire", in A. Briggs and J. Saville (ed), Essays in Labour History, Vol. 1 (1960), p.279 and H. Pelling, Social Geography of British Elections, 1885-1910 (1967), pp. 297-304. Contemporaries also conceived of this area as a very definite region, although they rarely sought to give exact delineation to its boundaries.
2. See M. T. Wild, "The Yorkshire Wool Textile Industry", in J. G. Jenkins, The Wool Textile Industry in Great Britain (1972), pp. 185-234.
3. My underlining. Wild, op.cit., p.186
4. J. D. Marshall, "Local or Regional History - or both? A dialogue", Local Historian, Vol. 13, No. 1, 1978, p.5. Dr. Marshall's warnings against pedantry are well-founded, but there is a need to define regions more strictly than historians sometimes do, particularly if, as in Chapter 3 of this thesis, one is attempting to quantify. It is not possible to accurately gauge the number of amateur musical societies in the West Yorkshire textile district, if one does not know the size of the district.
5. See map on p.12.
6. Pelling, op.cit., p.300.
7. A. J. Taylor, "Leeds and The Victorian Economy", University of Leeds Review, Vol. 17, 1974, p.292.
8. See Wild op.cit., p.213-214; E. M. Sigsworth, Black Dyke Mills (Liverpool, 1958), p.16.
9. Taylor, op.cit., p.293
10. J. H. Clapham, The Woollen and Worsted Industries (1907), p.175.
11. Wild, op.cit., p.199.
12. Probably the fullest and most comprehensible discussion of the industries is to be found in K. G. Ponting's introduction to the reprint of Edward Baines, Account of The Woollen Manufacture of England (originally pub. 1875, new edition Newton Abbott, 1970), pp. 9-59.
13. Sigsworth, op.cit., pp.14-17
14. Wild, op.cit., pp.204-205
15. Wild, op.cit., p.225
16. James Burnley, Phases of Bradford Life (Bradford, 1871)
17. Wild, op.cit., pp.225-6.
18. See Clapham, op.cit., p.272
19. For Lister, S. Crane, The Great Merchant Prince (Typescript essay, 1973, in Bradford Library); Salt, see footnote 41 of this Chapter; Holden, J. R. Beckett, Bradford Portraits (Bradford 1892), p. 9; Ackroyd family, and Edward Ackroyd in particular, see R. Bretton, "Sir Edward Ackroyd", Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society, 1949; Crossley Family, see R. Bretton, "Crossleys of Dean Clough, Parts One and Two", in Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society, 1950 and 1951; for Fosters, see Sigsworth, op.cit., passim.

20. This paragraph is largely based on Sigsworth, op.cit., pp. 4-72.
21. See below, pp. 19-22.
22. Sigsworth, op.cit., pp. 73-76
23. B.Ob., 30th December 1871.
24. Sigsworth, op.cit., pp. 76-134.
25. Ibid; K. Laybourn, "Yorkshire Trade Unions and the Great Depression, 1873-1896" (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Lancaster, 1972), pp.5-6; Wild, op.cit., p.227.
26. Wild, op.cit., p.221
27. Laybourn, op.cit.
28. E. Hobsbawm, The Age of Revolution (1962), p.11. In 1901, Leeds had a population of 428,968, Bradford, 279,767, Halifax 104,936, Huddersfield 95,047. Figures from 1901 Census of England and Wales (1902).
29. Figures from J. Mawson, A Social Geography of a 19th Century Industrial City (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, Bradford, 1972), Appendix 1.
30. This was the word used by the mother of Willie Kaye, a Holme Valley brass bandsman, to describe the people of the region in the Edwardian period. See Transcript of Interview with Willie Kaye, p.5.
31. This is perhaps less true of Leeds than Bradford, Huddersfield and Halifax. Bradford still retains a particularly "villagey" feel.
32. A. B. Reach, The Yorkshire Textile District, edited by C. Aspin, (Helmsmore, 1972), p.13.
33. Adrian Elliot, The Establishment of Municipal Government in Bradford, 1837-1857 (unpub. Ph.D thesis, University of Bradford, 1976), p.23.
34. E. P. Thompson, The Making of The English Working Class (Penguin ed. 1968), p.320. Thompson's book gives what is still the definitive picture of the social dislocation of the 1820's and 1830's. See Chapters 9 and 10 in particular.
35. There were, however, still many areas of the textile district with totally inadequate sanitation, in 1914. See Thompson, in Briggs and Saville, op.cit., p.282, note 4.
36. See A. Briggs, "The Building of Leeds Town Hall", Publications of the Thoresby Society, XLVI, 1960, and Victorian Cities (1963), pp. 137-183.
37. Lister Park in 1870, Horton Park 1878, Bowling Park 1880, Bradford Moor Park 1884 and Harold Park, Low Moor in 1885. See Bradford Post Office Directory, 1906, p.662. For the opening of Roundhay Park in Leeds, see Asa Briggs, "The Eighteen Seventies", University of Leeds Review, Vol. 17, No. 2, 1974, pp.226-7
38. See below, pp. 107-114.

39. R. Sherard, The White Slaves of England (1897), p.145.
40. Henry Pelling, Popular Politics and Society in Late Victorian Britain (1968), p.141.
41. The best introduction to Salt's village is J. Reynolds, Saltaire (Bradford, 1976), which also contains a full bibliography. The standard, somewhat hagiographic biography of Salt, is by R. Balgarnie, Sir Titus Salt (1878, reprinted Settle, 1970).
42. N. W. Beresford, "The Back-to-Back House in Leeds, 1787-1937", in S. Chapman (ed.), The History of Working Class Housing (Newton Abbott, 1971), pp. 93-132.
43. Sherard, op.cit., p.147.
44. See below, Chapter 4, Section II, pp. 112-114 for wages.
45. For bad housing and the public house, see Brian Harrison, Drink and the Victorians (1971), p.47.
46. E. P. Thompson, Saville and Briggs, op.cit., p.279
47. Briggs, op.cit.
48. See M. Hartley and J. Ingilby, Life and Tradition in West Yorkshire (1976), p.92, and Jim Bullock, Bower's Row (East Ardsley, 1976), p.54, for information on the insularity of the small community.
49. Clapham, op.cit., p.207
50. The only substantial academic work dealing with the dialect literature of West Yorkshire is M. Vicinus, The Industrial Muse (1974), pp. 185-237. This section deals with dialect literature from all over the north, but contains much on the textile region.
51. For most valuable comments on 19th century civic pride, see T. Tholfsen, Working Class Radicalism in Mid-Victorian England (1976), p.21, pp.244-45.
52. For details of religious observation in the textile region in the mid 19th century, see the details of the 1851 census in Parliamentary Papers, 1852-53, LXXXIX, pp. 100-103. For useful information on the census itself and upon patterns of worship in West Yorkshire, see K. Inglis; Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian Britain (1963), and "Patterns of Religious worship in 1851", Journal of Ecclesiastical History, Vol. 11, 1960; D. M. Thompson, "The 1851 'Religious Census: Problems and Possibilities'", Victorian Studies, Vol. XI, 1967. For a view of religious observation in Bradford in the 1880's, see Census of Public Worship in Bradford (Bradford, 1881). Attendance appeared to have gone up very slightly, but not enough to satisfy the local religious establishment.
53. See Parliamentary Papers, op.cit., and Bradford census, op.cit.
54. Figures from The Nonconformist, 8th January 1873.
55. See J. T. Cliffe, The Yorkshire Gentry (1969), pp. 339-40.

56. The Victoria County History of Yorkshire, Vol III (1976), p.73-76, has some useful information on the problems facing early Methodists in the area. For the strength of Methodism in the West Riding, see R. Currie, Methodism Divided (1968), p.104. Currie's book contains a great deal of valuable material on early Methodism, as does R. Wearmouth, Methodism and the Common People in the 18th Century (1937); E. P. Thompson, Working Class, particularly Chapter II, and A. Armstrong The Church of England, The Methodists and Society, 1700-1850 (1973).
57. See Armstrong op.cit., p.90; Inglis op.cit., p.10-11; H. Macleod, Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City (1974), p.80, 215, suggests that in isolated regions (and parts of West Yorkshire were certainly that in the 18th century), the lack of effective domination by the established church was also accompanied by a quasi-paganism, which the Methodists managed to transform into a more orthodox religious enthusiasm, with the idea of salvation proving an attractive alternative to previous superstitious beliefs.
58. J. T. Baxter, "The Great Yorkshire Revival, 1792-96: A Study of Mass Revival among the Methodists", in M. Hill (ed.), Sociological Yearbook of Religion (1974), pp.46-71. This article is a detailed development of an argument originally suggested by E. P. Thompson, Working Class, Chapter II.
59. Currie, op.cit., pp.104-106; Baxter, op.cit., p.69. From Baxter's figures, there would appear to have been about 14,000 members of the Methodist church in the textile region in 1796, although of course Methodist influence would have been much wider than mere membership figures suggest. Given the region had a population of about 300,000 at this stage, it is clear that Methodism must have played an extremely significant role in local life.
60. For a development of this see below, pp.40-42.
61. The changing nature of Evangelicalism forms the basis of much of K. Inglis, op.cit., who concerns himself particularly with the ramifications that new ideas had in the field of social policy. Macleod, op.cit., in a chapter entitled "The Chaos", gives much stimulating comment, as does Currie op.cit., p.112-140, whose comments concern mainly the Methodist faith.
62. Inglis, op.cit., p.9.
63. For a development of this see below, pp.174-176.
64. It is not possible to list every book including material on working class politics in the textile region, but a reading of Thompson, Working Class, Tholfson, op.cit., D. Kynaston, King Labour (1976), and H. Pelling, The Origins of The Modern Labour Party, 1880-1900 (1965), will give at least an outline of the main events, movements and personalities in the period c. 1790-1900.
65. Quoted in Sigsworth, op.cit., p.xii
66. Laybourn, op.cit., p.132

67. Clapham, op.cit., pp.204-205. The situation did improve a little in the last years of the Edwardian period, but there was still a lack of real union consciousness in the industry. Worsted woolcombers, for example, became very militant in the period 1909-1910, during which time union membership amongst this group rose from 600 to 12,000. By the Summer of 1911, however, the number had dropped back to 4,000, a significant increase on the 1909 figure, but support was clearly not as solid as the union leaders had hoped. For the woolcombers and unionisation see, Yorkshire Factory Times, 5th October, 1911.
68. Clapham op.cit., pp.206-214, provides an analysis, which although written in 1904, has not really been superseded by any historian since then. Also very useful, however, is J. Reynolds and K. Laybourn, "The Emergence of the ILP in Bradford", International Review of Social History, 1975, pp.316-319, and K. Laybourn, op.cit., pp.132-159, which deals with the issue of trade unionism in all industries in the region.
69. Clapham, op.cit., pp.212-213, makes this point forcefully. Surprisingly, it does not appear to have been taken up by many historians. There is need for a comparative study of the two trades.
70. Clapham, op.cit., p.207
71. Laybourn, op.cit., p.iii.
72. Ibid., pp.133-134, 158-9.
73. Clapham, op.cit., p.205
74. See particularly, C. Pearce, The Manningham Mills Strike, University of Hull Occasional Papers, No. 7, 1975.
75. Henry Pelling, Social Geography, pp.289-307, pp.231-34.
76. This is generally attributed to the fact that the ILP fitted better into the mainstream political culture of the region than the SDF. In West Yorkshire, most ILP members, supporters and voters were ex-Liberals and they found the ILP's less overtly class-conscious politics more attractive than those of the SDF. Again, the ILP were far more sympathetic to the union movement than the SDF and this counted for much, given that men were often abandoning the Liberals because of that Party's hostility to the union cause. These ideas were expressed eloquently by Dr. Keith Laybourn and Dr. David Clark at a dayschool on the ILP held at the Leeds University Adult Education Centre in Bradford, on 8th April, 1978.
77. Thompson, in Briggs and Saville, op.cit., p.277, note 3.
78. Ibid.
79. The men elected were F. W. Jowett (Bradford West) in 1905; James Parker (Halifax) 1906; Victor Grayson (Colne Valley) 1907. Leeds East also returned a Labour candidate in 1906, in the shape of James O'Grady. Grayson's election is dealt with in searching detail by Henry Pelling, Popular Politics, pp.133-146.
80. Reynolds and Laybourn, op.cit., p.343

81. Thompson, in Briggs and Saville, op.cit., p.302-303; Pelling, Social Geography, p.293, p.297-98. Labour candidates did begin to enjoy a certain electoral success at a local level after 1906, but their policies were very close indeed to those of the Liberals. The majority of Labour councillors in Leeds, for example, saw themselves as the representatives of the Corporation workmen, rather than Socialists. See E.P. Hennock, Fit and Proper Persons (1973), pp.270-74.

Chapter Two

1. For an expression of the quite commonly held late Victorian view that modern musical life more or less began with Victoria's accession, see M.T., June 1887. Several recent writers studying the events of the 1840's imply a similar interpretation. See notes 55 and 56 in this chapter.
2. Charles Dibdin, "The Musical Tour of Mr. Dibdin" (Sheffield, 1788), p.196, quoted in E. D. MacKerness, A Social History of English Music (1964), p.113.
3. George Hogarth, "A Village Oratorio", reprinted in Mainzer's Musical Times, 15th November 1842, pp.131-133
4. MacKerness, op.cit., p.133
5. Joseph Craven, A Bronte Moorland Village and Its People: A History of Stanbury (Keighley, 1907), p.129.
6. William Cudworth, Music in Bradford (Bradford, 1885), pp.7-16.
7. For Foster's musical involvement see J. L. Scott, The Evolution of the Brass Band and Its Repertoire in Northern England (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, Sheffield, 1970), p.112.
8. Hogarth, op.cit.,
9. For the Fawcetts see J. Sutcliffe Smith, A Musical Pilgrimage in Yorkshire (Leeds, 1928), p.78, pp.95-6, and G. Wright, The Fawcetts of Eccleshill and Horsforth (1974); For Turton, S. Baring-Gould, Yorkshire Oddities, Vol. 1 (1877), pp.109-116; For Aumler, W. Watson, Idlethorpe, (Bradford, 1950), pp.451-53.
10. Committee of Council on Education, Minutes, 1840-1841 (1841), p.46.
11. E. P. Thompson, Working Class, pp.321-325, contains much valuable material on the cultural achievements of the weaving communities.
12. For evidence of similar happenings in other regions, see C. Aspin, Lancashire, The First Industrial Society (Helmsmore, 1969), pp.170-1; R. Elbourne, "Singing Away to the Click of the Shuttle", Local Historian, Vol. 12, No. 1, 1976.
13. J. Sutcliffe Smith, William Jackson, The Miller Musician (Leeds, 1926), p.20; A. Porritt, "18th and 19th Century Clubs and Societies in Halifax", Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society, 1964, p.85. For the development of the "village oratorio", see Brian Pritchard, "The Musical Festival and the Choral Society in England in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: A Social History", (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1968), pp.118-147, 249-272. It began in Lancashire in the 1760's, spreading into Yorkshire from about 1768. The "golden age" of the village oratorio came between c. 1810 and 1825. Closely connected with the pre-industrial lifestyle - most were held on feast days - it fell into decline as that lifestyle was eroded.
14. The Halifax Choral Society, for example, met initially at the Union Cross public house in Halifax. Halifax Guardian, 3rd April 1869. Slaithwaite Band met at the Harp Inn. A. Taylor, Brass Bands (1979), p.19; The Huddersfield Choral Society held its meetings initially at the Plough Inn, Westgate. W. Wilmshurst and S. H. Crowther, The Huddersfield Choral Society, 1836-1961 (Huddersfield, 1961), p.8.

15. See for example, W. Cudworth, op.cit., pp.7-8 & 13-14, for the Bradford Musical Friendly Society and Bradford Philharmonic.
16. E. Hargrave, "Musical Leeds in the 18th Century", Publications of the Thoresby Society, XXVIII, p.344.
17. For the link between civilian bands and military bands see J. L. Scott, op.cit., pp.3-9 & Taylor, op.cit., pp.17-18. The argument is given substance by the fact that there are examples of military bands actually metamorphosing into civilian bands immediately after the Peace. The Bolton Volunteer Band raised by Colonel Fletcher, a local industrialist, continued as the Bolton Reed Band after being demobilised in 1815. Scott, p.3, gives details. As yet, no evidence of this type has been unearthed in West Yorkshire. The other instrumental organisation to emerge at this time was the handbell team. For details of its origin; see below, p.93.
18. Dibdin quoted in MacKerness, op.cit.,
19. Carrodus's son, John Tiplady Carrodus, became one of Britain's premier violinists in the middle and later Victorian period. For the history of the Carrodus family and its musical exploits, see Ada Carrodus, John Tiplady Carrodus (1897), a hagiographic but nevertheless informative work.
20. Hogarth, op.cit.,
21. Hargrave, op.cit., p.329
22. MacKerness, op.cit., p.129
23. J. S. Curwen, "A Musical Village in Yorkshire", originally published in Leisure Hour, January 1891, reprinted in B.Ob., 2nd January 1891.
24. Carrodus, op.cit., p.3; Yorkshire Post, 19th August 1933.
25. See the Bradford Brass Band Treasurer's Book, 1854-6, in Bradford Central Library, Local Studies section. The use of Hire Purchase is dealt with more fully in Chapter 4, part 3, pp.138-145.
26. William Jackson (1816-1866), the son of a miller, who rose from relatively humble origins to become a minor composer of sacred music, a musical instrument dealer and a noted conductor, is discussed by J. Sutcliffe Smith, William Jackson, and by S. Unwin in W. Smith (ed.), Old Yorkshire, Vol. 5 (1884), p.250 and pp.282-284.
27. Anon, A Short History of Cheap Music (1887), p.vi
28. J. S. Curwen, Music at the Queen's Accession (1897), pp.29-30.
29. Minute Book of Keighley Choral Society, 8th February 1848, in Keighley Public Library.
30. The best guide to church music in the immediately pre-industrial period, is C. Dearnley, English Church Music, 1650-1750 (1970).
31. For the proclamation, P. Scholes, The Puritans and Music (1934) p.235; R. Woods, The Church Bands, in Folk Review, Feb. 1975.

32. New organs were installed, for example, at Halifax Parish Church in 1766, for details of which see below, p.41, and at Bradford, in 1786, for which see Cudworth, op.cit., p.3. Methodists, in theory at least, had a strong objection to organs until about 1850. See J. T. Lightwood, Stories of Methodist Music (1928), pp.14-51.
33. For studies of church bands in Sussex, see Canon K. H. MacDermott, Sussex Church Music in the Past (Chichester, 1923). This is still the fullest work on the subject of the church-band, although it will undoubtedly be surpassed by the research of Vic Gammon at Sussex University. See also R. Woods, op.cit., and the famous description of the Mellstock Band in Thomas Hardy, Under The Greenwood Tree (MacMillan ed. 1974), especially Chapters 3-6.
34. See J. Sutcliffe Smith, Pilgrimage, p.251
35. For works exploring the links between music and Methodism, see Eric Routley, The Musical Wesleys (1968); J. T. Lightwood, op.cit.; P. Scholes, Oxford Companion to Music (1970). Almost every general history of either Methodism or music, makes some reference to Methodism's intense use of music.
36. Routley, op.cit., p.29
37. For a particularly good account of the sitting-up, see Craven op.cit., pp.33-38. See also the article by W. Cudworth in The Yorkshireman, Midsummer ed. 1879.
38. Dr. W. Vincent, "Considerations on Parochial Music" (1790), quoted in J. S. Curwen, Accession, p.31.
39. Charles Wesley wrote 8,989 hymns to be used by Methodist congregations. Routley, op.cit., p.30.
40. R. M. Myers, Handel's Messiah (New York, 1948), p.229.
41. Halifax Courier 2nd Dec.1920, a cutting in the Alfred Clay, Press Cuttings Collection, Calderdale Public Library. For Bates also see J. S. Smith, Pilgrimage, pp.214-216.
42. Hargrave, op.cit., p.329.
43. P. Scholes, The Mirror of Music, Vol. 1 (1947), p.24.
44. Routley, op.cit., pp.15-23.
45. Ibid., pp.17-18
46. Some of these early conflicts are examined in Lightwood, op.cit. passim.
47. The fullest study of this movement is undoubtedly B. Rainbow, The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church (1970). This section draws heavily upon his work.
48. Quoted in M.T., October 1890, p.616.
49. See Rainbow, op.cit., pp.26-31
50. See for example, W. Cudworth, op.cit., pp.38-40, for the Church Choral Society in Bradford.
51. Rainbow, op.cit., passim.

52. G. Hogarth, op.cit.
53. The best short introduction to the theory and personalities of this decade, is probably still P. Scholes, Mirror, Vol. 1, pp. 1-21. Also very useful and more technical is B. Rainbow, The Land Without Music: Musical Education in England 1800-1860 and its Continental Antecedents (1967). For information about the theory and technique behind John Curwen's Tonic Sol-fa system, which was to be the basis of most sight-singing in the second half of the 19th century, see the articles by W. Shaw and K. Simpson, in K. Simpson (ed.), Some Great Musical Educators (1976). The most detailed material of all is in John Curwen's own, The Standard Course of Lessons and Exercises in the Tonic Sol-fa Method of Teaching Music, published originally in 1858, rewritten in 1872, and again in 1901, by Curwen's son, John Spencer Curwen.
54. Mackerness op.cit., p.165; R. Nettel, Christmas and its Carols (1960), p.100.
55. Rainbow, Land Without, p.57
56. Ibid., p.128
57. Scholes, Mirror, Vol. 1, p.14
58. M.M.T., 1st August 1842.
59. See M.M.T., 14th January 1843, 1st February 1843, 15th March 1843.
60. M.M.T., 15th April 1843.
61. M.M.T., 1st July 1843.
62. Leeds Intelligencer, 11th January 1845
63. Certainly, sightsinging activity continued in Leeds and throughout West Yorkshire. The Tonic-Sol-fa Reporter, a magazine begun by Curwen in 1853, carries regular reports of meetings and classes in most towns. But the initial crusading spirit had undoubtedly waned.
64. See the works referred to in note 49 for information. Also see below, pp.129-133.
65. P. Scholes, Oxford Companion, pp.197-198.
66. R. Nettel, "The Influence of The Industrial Revolution on English Music", Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association, 1945-46, pp. 26-27.
67. Press cutting, Halifax Courier, 22nd December 1920, in Clay op.cit. Clubs of quite a sophisticated nature seem to have existed in Lancashire since the early 18th century. See B. Pritchard, op.cit., p.120. The reason for the different pattern of development in the two counties is not clear, however.
68. See Ms. letter from J. Turney to Archdeacon Musgrave, and Halifax Guardian, 3rd April 1869, both in Halifax Music Scrapbooks, Vol.2 in Calderdale Archives department, for the origins of this society. For Queenshead Band see Scott, op.cit., p.112.
69. W. L. Wilmshurst and S. H. Crowther, op.cit., p.9, and Chorus Roll-Book, 1896-97, in possession of the Society.

70. See below, p.107.
71. Wilmshurst and Crowther, op.cit., pp.8-9 and pp. 13-14. See below p.106.
72. Rulebook of Bradford Old Choral Society (1843), in Bradford Central Library, Local Studies division.
73. Cudworth, op.cit., p.20. Not all concerts had economic motives. In 1847, Keighley Choral Society decided to hold a concert purely because it was "a good while since a musical treat was given by the society". Keighley Choral Minutes, 15th Dec. 1846.
74. Cudworth, op.cit., p.27. Brian Pritchard suggests an essentially "musical" explanation for the emergence of the choral society, claiming it to be a response to the needs of the music festival, the large scale choral gatherings which were held normally either annually or triennially in a number of towns and villages from the 18th century. Although some choral societies in England did have such an origin, there is no evidence that any of the West Yorkshire societies emerged because festival organisers wanted a permanent, efficient chorus. Pritchard himself acknowledges that the Halifax and Bradford societies of the 1820's were not connected to a festival. See B. Pritchard, op.cit., pp.309-10, 372-3.
75. Weber, op.cit., p.116. See below, pp.249-250, for the professional and his role in amateur music, 1850-1914.
76. See the cutting from Halifax Guardian, 3rd April, 1869 and the manuscript letter from J. Turney to Archdeacon Musgrave, President of the Halifax Choral Society, in Halifax Music Scrapbooks, op.cit., Vol. 2.
77. Weber, op.cit., p.6, for the national perspective.
78. Thompson, Working Class, Chapters 9 and 10 remains the definitive account.
79. For works dealing with the onslaught upon popular recreation during this period, see R. Malcolmson, op.cit.; B. Harrison, Past and Present, 1967; D. A. Reid, "The Decline of Saint Monday", Past and Present, No. 71, 1976; P. Bailey, Leisure and Class in Victorian England (1978); J. Walvin, Leisure and Society, 1830-1950 (1978), pp. 2-11, pp. 33-46; R. D. Storch, "The Policeman as Domestic Missionary: urban discipline and popular culture in northern England, 1850-1880", Journal of Social History, ix, 1976.
80. Thompson, Working Class, p.314 .

Chapter Three

i)

1. Mr. Hattersley's error occurs in his Goodbye to Yorkshire (1976), p.116.
2. The only academic to draw up an analysis of a society's composition is William Weber in Music and The Middle Class (1975), pp. 166-68 in which he looks at the membership of the Sacred Harmonic Society and the Men's Singing Society, both of London, and at membership of Parisian amateur orchestras.
3. G. Routh, Occupation and Pay in Great Britain, 1906-1960 (Cambridge 1965), pp.3-6, 155-57. My decision to use Routh's framework was partly informed by the fact that other historians appear to view it as a valuable tool for investigation. See for example, D. Hopkin, "The Membership of the Independent Labour Party, 1904-1910: A Spatial and Occupational Analysis", International Review of Social History, Vol. 20, 1975, and P. Thompson, The Edwardians (Paladin ed. 1977), pp.4-5.
4. W.R.B.B.N., Nov. 1888; B. Ob., 26th April 1893.
5. L.I., 5th June 1852; Yorkshire Orchestra, 8th January 1868; B.B., 16h August 1902.
6. The three Wyke recalcitrants were Fred Marshall, Hodgson Ingham and Wilfred Ingham. Cornet, March 1901; For Wilsden, see B.B., 28th Sept. 1907; Kitchen, B.B., 4th March 1911.
7. These 18 bandsmen were men who featured in the columns of the band periodicals on account of their achieving some particular musical distinction, being involved in a strange incident, or because of their death.
8. Cornet, Oct. 1893.
9. B. Ob., 2nd Sept. 1858
10. B.B. Oct. 1888.
11. L.M., 10th June 1856
12. L.M., 17th June 1856
13. Bradford Pioneer, 23rd May 1913
14. See Yorkshireman, 3rd August 1878, 17th August 1878, 12th Sept. 1878.
15. Brass Band Annual, 1898 (Sibsey, Lincolnshire), pp.28-9 in conjunction with Kelly's Leeds Directory, 1893
16. B.B., 1st Jan. 1910.
17. See below, pp. 278-282.
18. Salt himself was willing to lavish quite considerable amounts on his band. A writer in the Manchester Guardian, 25th July 1861, claimed that the band cost Sir Titus "more than £1,000 per annum, besides constant treats and tea-drinkings". While £1,000 represented but a fraction of Salt's wealth, and while he received adequate payment from his investment in terms of enhancement of his philanthropic reputation, such expenditure was nevertheless

generous by contemporary standards. Withdrawal of financial aid to the band seems to have followed hard on Salt's death in 1876. The band eventually dissolved in 1895. See W.R.B.B.N., April 1890 and Anon, Shipley Through The Camera (1902), p.43. The dissolution of Leeds Forge Band is dealt with in Brass Band Annual, 1898, op.cit., p.29.

19. Brass Band Annual, 1896, pp.19-23.
20. Cornet, Oct. 1894; Cornet, April 1901
21. H. Livings, That the Medals and the Baton be put on View (Newton Abbot, 1975), p.18.
22. See sleeve notes to Alistair Anderson Plays English Concertina (Trailer, LEA 2074).
23. H. N. Pobjoy and M. Pobjoy, The Story of The Ancient Parish of Hartshead Cum Clifton (Driffield, 1972), p.140. Peter Fawcett of Cleckheaton, West Yorkshire is currently researching a book on handbell-ringing, 1850-1930, and he informs me that all the evidence he has come across during his work on both literary and oral sources, suggests that handbell-ringing was essentially a working class pastime, and like brass banding, solely a male pursuit.
24. PEP, Arts Enquiry - Music (1949), p.113, my underlining.
25. Times, 18th Oct. 1902.
26. Helen Meller, Leisure and The Changing City, 1870-1914 (1976), p. 224. My underlining.
27. Huddersfield Choral Society Roll-Book, 1895-1896, in conjunction with W. White Clothing District Directory (Sheffield, 1894). Not until the 1891 and 1901 census returns become available will we be able to make the fullest use of membership records. Apart from only recording the occupation of heads of households, the trade directories did not normally include much information about the social structure of working-class districts. Nevertheless, the directories, particularly White's and Kelly's, do at least enable us to gain some insight into the social structure of late Victorian musical life.
28. S. Crowther, A Hundred Years of Making Music (Huddersfield, 1974), p. 22.
29. The reporter had heard the society at a concert during which they played the March from Tannhauser, Haydn's Seventh Symphony and Von Suppé's Poet and Peasant overture.
30. Colne Valley Almanac, 1911 (Huddersfield, 1911)
31. Musical Herald, March 1889. The Leeds Festival Chorus, which was a choir drawn from societies all over the region and not a choral society as such, had an exceptionally high middle class personnel because it involved its members in daytime performances on weekdays. Working class people could not normally afford to lose time off work, in order to perform.
32. A. L. Lloyd, Folk Song in England (Panther ed. 1967), p.316; G. S. Jones, "Working Class Culture and Working Class Politics in London 1870-1900", Journal of Social History, Vol. 7, 1974, p.498; R. Pearsall, Edwardian Popular Music (1975), p.110.

33. It may be that the choral movement in the Potteries was "working class". However, Nettel produces no concrete evidence.
34. G. Best, Mid-Victorian Britain (Panther, 1973), p.223. Pritchard op.cit., pp. 749-764, posits the arrival of middle class people into choral societies from 1860, although he brings forward no evidence to prove his assertion.
35. G. F. Sewell, A History of the Bradford Festival Choral Society (Bradford, 1907), p.54.
36. In his analysis of the Sacred Harmonic Society, William Weber depicts the society in the mid 19th century (and indeed in the 1830's) as being essentially "lower middle class", which thus suggests that choralism in London had a far less popular base than its counterpart in Yorkshire. However, Weber includes the artisans in the society in an occupational category which he terms "Economic Professions", therefore placing the artisan firmly into the middle class. One speculates as to whether Weber could know from his available source material if the men he terms "artisans" were masters or journeymen? It is surely probable that at least some of those he characterises as artisan professionals (as well as some of those members of the Sacred Harmonic Society whose social origins he could not trace) were in fact skilled working class journeymen, rather than lower middle class artisan masters. Whatever the case, however, Weber's analysis, which illustrates the presence of "white collar" workers, further erodes the traditional picture of choral culture being monolithically "working class". See Weber op.cit., pp.102-103 and table 21, p.107
37. This material is drawn largely from obituary notices in the region's press.
38. B. F. Scattergood, Leeds Musical Soiree (Leeds 1931), outlines the organisation's history; William Cudworth, op.cit., p.42.
39. All the information contained in Tables 4-7 and in the following paragraphs on the two societies comes from the Rollbook of the Huddersfield Choral Society, 1894-1895; the Rollbook of the Leeds Philharmonic 1894-5 and 1908-09; White's Clothing Directory op.cit., Kelly's Director of Leeds (Holborn, 1893). The percentage figures in the tables do not always add up to 100% due to the very slight error which develops when rounding figures up to one decimal point. For a detailed breakdown of members' occupations, see Appendix 2.
40. As was noted in Chapter One, Leeds enjoyed a particularly diverse economy and this may well have been a further contributory factor.
41. Sir John Barran, the second, was a member of the Philharmonic from 1896-1906. He was a director of the family clothing firm from 1903-1921. See D. Ryott, John Barran's of Leeds (1951), p.26 and p.55. Edward Kitson Clark was a member from 1894-1904. For the illustrious family firm, see E. K. Clark, Kitsons of Leeds (1938).

42. It did not prove possible to analyse changes within the social structure of the Huddersfield Choral Society, between 1895 and 1908, because by 1908, the trade directories gave only the scantiest information about Huddersfield. Only those local residents who were actually manufacturers, retailers, wholesalers, self-employed tradesmen or professionals were noted by directories and thus detailed study of the society becomes impossible.
43. Compare sections A & C of Appendix 2 with Sections E & F. The number of males in categories 1A and 1B had fallen particularly drastically between 1895 and 1908. See below, Chapter 4, Section 4, p.176, for a development of the attack on "modern" entertainments.
44. See below, Chapter 7, sections 2 and 3 for an analysis of class relationships within the choral society.
45. For recreation in Edinburgh, see "Styles of Life, The Labour Aristocracy and class relations in Later Nineteenth Century Edinburgh", International Review of Social History, Vol. 18, 1973, pp.436-452; the volunteers are dissected by Hugh Cunningham, The Volunteer Force (1975). On the Force's social composition, see pp.20-28.
46. The theme of working class women's leisure has not yet received the detailed attention it deserves, but it certainly appears that while women could be involved in "passive" forms of recreation - visiting the music hall and by the Edwardian period, the cinema and the public house - they were not generally active in leisure institutions, clubs and societies other than in a decidedly "feminine role"; for example running cake stalls at bazaars. For some good insights into women's leisure life in the Edwardian period, see J. A. Harrison, A West Riding Childhood (Guisley, 1968), p.91, and R. Roberts, The Classic Slum (Penguin ed. 1973), pp. 222-224. It may be, however, that detailed research into church and chapel based recreational institutions may alter our picture somewhat.
47. See below, p.196, on women in early choral societies. Patricia Branca, Silent Sisterhood (1975), p.18, notes the restricted social life, particularly of married middle class women. Even the choral society appears to have offered more opportunity to single middle class women, than to married ones, in 1894. About three-quarters of the 67 female members of the Leeds Philharmonic who came from social groups 1-3, were unmarried.
48. P. Thompson, op.cit., pp. 81-90, for a stimulating overview of sexual roles and attitudes in Edwardian England.
49. Teaching was a traditional avenue of social mobility for working class girls and indeed for males too. See Olive Banks, The Sociology of Education (1976 ed.), Chapter 7, Section 2. On the rising opportunities for girls in the clothing industry, see P. Steams, "Working Class Women in Britain 1870-1900", in M. Vicinus, Suffer and Be Still (1972), p.110. Most women going into the clothing industry were unmarried.
50. Rollbooks of Sowerby Bridge Choral Society; White's Directory op.cit.

51. S.M.R., June 1896; Daily Citizen, 9th November 1913; Competition Festival Record Supplement in M.T., Feb. 1914. It is probable that all three journalists responsible for these reports, all of whom appear to have been Home Counties based, were victims of the Yorkshire accent = working class origin theory. Undoubtedly, working class people played a big part in these choirs but did not provide the total membership.
52. Six of the sixteen members of the Burley Glee Union joined the Leeds Musical Union. See Leeds Musical Union Minute Book, 23rd March 1893.
53. Burley Glee Union Subscription Ledger: Leeds Musical Union Minutes and Treasurers Book; White's Directory, op.cit.; Kelly's Directory op.cit.
54. See J. Walvin, The People's Game (1974), pp. 78-87; B. Dobbs, Edwardians at Play (1973), pp. 37-64 and pp. 89-96.
55. It should be noted that the composition of choirs based on specific religious institutions will have added another dimension to the social structure of the choral movement. One assumes, for example, that the Horton Lane Congregational Chapel Guild Choir would have reflected the essentially lower middle and "middle" middle class nature of the late Victorian congregational church in England, while the Bramley Moriah Prize Choir, which was attached to a Primitive Methodist Chapel, would have included a substantially larger working class element. Unfortunately, no detailed source material relating to chapel-based choirs has survived. My knowledge of the social background of the various denominations is drawn largely from K. Inglis, Churches, and Robert Currie, op.cit.
56. The fullest study of the concert yet made is Weber, op.cit. His analysis of concert life in Vienna, Paris and London between 1830 and 1848 suggests that it was the growth of middle class purchasing power that underpinned the expansion of concert promotion during this period. Weber, op.cit., p.6. There would appear to have been a considerable expansion in the number of concerts held in the larger towns of Leeds, Bradford, Halifax and Huddersfield in the 1840's, and although admission prices rarely reached the level of those in the capital, one assumes that in general only the middle class, and in particular its more substantial sector, were able to afford regular attendance at events which rarely cost less than 5/-. Choral concerts, however, were cheaper than concerts of classical or operatic music.
57. Prices could sometimes go as low as 3d., particularly in the early 19th century. See Cudworth, op.cit., p.10 for an example of this. But 1/- became the established norm after 1850 for most of the larger societies, who often needed substantial revenue to pay for the hire of the musicians and singers who performed at their concerts.
58. Yorkshire Observer, 30th January 1926, obituary of William Hopkinson; Bradford Pioneer, 23rd May 1913.
59. See Midgley's lecture to the Bradford ILP in December 1912, published under the title Music and the Municipality (Bradford, 1912).

60. Leeds Philharmonic Subscription Ledger, 1897-98 in conjunction with Kelly, op.cit.
 61. Ibid.
 62. Leeds Mercury, 28th August 1859. The paper lists ten firms which gave employees free tickets.
 63. Sewell, op.cit., p.243. By the early 1900's, 1200 tickets were being given away.
 64. See the collection of programmes included in the minutes of the Leeds Musical Union, in Leeds City Archives.
 65. M. Hartley and J. Ingilby, Life and Tradition in West Yorkshire (1976), p.94.
 66. See Leeds Philharmonic Concert Programmes, 1875-6 and 1895-6, in Leeds City Library.
 67. Leeds Musical Union, Minute Book, 21st Sept. 1895, and White's Directory op.cit.
 68. For a detailed study of how a football club could largely be controlled by middle class business interests, see Stephen Yeo, Religion and Voluntary Organisations in Crisis (1976), pp. 189-196.
 69. Bradford Festival Choral Society Minutes, 1st March 1897; Yorkshire Evening Post, 7th February 1930. A substantial article about Embleton appeared on this date, the day on which the Leeds Choral Union presented him with a bust of himself.
 70. G. Best, op.cit., p.221
 71. For the social structure of Victorian and Edwardian religion, see Inglis, op.cit., H. Macleod, op.cit.
 72. Best, op.cit., p.220. This, of course, is only a generalisation: the borderline between "respectable" and "non-respectable", was not always clear. See below, pp. 252-256.
- ii)
73. See 1859 Bradford Music Festival Programme in the Hailstone Collection, York Minster Library. The Bradford Festival Choral Society provided the vast majority of singers for this event and the compiler of the programme has thoughtfully included the individual singer's place of residence alongside their names.
 74. R. Marr, Music and Musicians at the Edinburgh International Exhibition (Edinburgh, 1887), p.148.
 75. Population figures from Kelly's Directory of the West Riding, 1901 (Holborn, 1901).
 76. Cornet, Jan. 1894.
 77. Brass Band Annual, 1898 (Sibsey, Lincs), p.32.
 78. W.R.B.B.N., Feb. 1889.
 79. Map based upon map in M. T. Wild, op.cit., p.187.
 80. Neither of these two valleys have been investigated by historians to any extent. For useful information, see M. T. Wild, op.cit., p.217, 221; S. J. Streek, The Upper Holme Valley (Driffield, 1972); R. Brook, The Story of Huddersfield (1968)

81. The societies were as follows - Brass Bands: Golcar, Holmfirth Old, Holmfirth Temperance, Hade Edge, Hinchcliffe Mill, Holme, Honley, Linthwaite, Lockwood, Lindley, Marsden, Marsden Union, Meltham Mills, Milnsbridge Socialist, Netherthong, Outlane, Slaithwaite, Upper Slaithwaite. Choral Societies: Brockholes Music Society, Berry Brow Vocal Union, Crosland Hill Wesleyan, Crosland Moor Wesleyan Prize Choir, Colne Valley Vocal Union, Colne Valley Clarion Vocal Union, Golcar Baptists, Golcar Choral Society, Holmfirth Old Choral Society, Holmfirth and District Choral Society, Holme Valley Male Voice Choir, Honley Choral Society, Honley Musical Society, Honley Socialist Choir, Lindley Choral Society, Lindley Harmonic Glee Union, Lockwood Choral Society, Marsden Choral Society, Marsden Philharmonic, Milnsbridge and District Vocal Society, Meltham Baptists, Meltham Choral Society, Slaithwaite Clarion Vocal Union, Slaithwaite Choral Society, Slaithwaite Glee and Madrigal Society, Slaithwaite Co-operative Vocal Union. Handbell-Ringers: Crosland Moor United, Crosland Moor Public, Honley, Holmfirth, Lane End (Holmfirth), Lindley, Meltham. Orchestral Societies: Honley Orchestral Band, Meltham Philharmonic, Milnsbridge Orchestral Society, Slaithwaite Philharmonic, Scholes Philharmonic. It is impossible to estimate the number of performers involved, because of the overlap that doubtless existed between societies. For example, it is highly probable that several people belonged to all four Slaithwaite choirs and quite possibly to the Colne Valley Vocal Union as well, while members of Meltham Mills Brass Band were quite likely to be involved in the Meltham Philharmonic.
82. Meltham Mills' History up to the late 1890's, was very fully treated in Brass Band Annual 1896 (Sibsey, Lincs), pp. 19-23. The band still exists, although the glorious days of the late 1870's have never returned; Honley Band's exploits are covered by M. Jagger, History of Honley (1914), p.142-43, and an undated press cutting (probably from 1956 or 57) from the Huddersfield Examiner, in my possession; Holme Valley Male Voice Choir, see A. Booth, The Holme Valley Male Voice Choir, 1910-1931 (n.d., 1931?); Golcar Baptist Choir, Anon, Golcar Baptist Church, Centenary Souvenir, 1835-1935 (Huddersfield, 1935), p.20; Crosland Moor United, are discussed in M. Hartley and Joan Ingilby, op.cit., p.152. I am again grateful to Peter Fawcett for supplying me with details of their Belle Vue record.
83. G. J. Mellor, Northern Music Hall (Newcastle, 1970) is a somewhat cluttered, but nevertheless useful, introduction to the history of the music hall in the North. Pp. 121-189 contains a great deal of information on the expansion of the provincial music hall circuits which began in the late 1890's and continued until about 1910.
84. H. Livings, op.cit., p.31
85. D. F. E. Sykes, The History of the Colne Valley (Slaithwaite, 1906) p.4 and pp. 469-477, contains an informative section on the main 19th century musical celebrities of the region.

86. See Census of Religious Worship, 1851, in Parliamentary Papers, 1852-53, Vol. LXXXIX, pp. 100-103, for details of patterns of religious observation in the Colne and Holme Valleys and the textile region in general. Otley, Keighley and Hunslet registration districts all recorded higher Methodist attendance and indeed higher non-conformist attendance in general, than Huddersfield. There does not appear to have been any great growth of Methodism in the Colne and Holme Valleys later in the century, according to D. G. Clark in his paper on the Colne Valley Labour Party 1891-1917, delivered at the University of Leeds Extra-Mural Department Day School on the ILP, 8th April, 1978.
87. See Appendix 1, sections D and E.
88. The concertina was patented by Sir Charles Wheatstone in 1844 and did not really become widely available until late in the next decade. By that stage, a widespread musical culture based on a variety of other instruments already existed. Various types of concertina were developed, but the one adopted by the majority of bands was the English concertina, a surprisingly complex instrument, in all probability harder than a brass instrument to master. The first concertina bands did not emerge until late in the 19th century, with the first competition in Yorkshire probably being that held at Queensbury in 1883. A contest for concertinas was established at Belle Vue in 1905. On the concertina in general, see sleeve notes to Alistair Anderson, op.cit., and P. Scholes, Oxford Companion, p.865. For contests see B.B., 8th June, 29th June 1907.
89. On the development of handbell-ringing from tower-bell ringing, see E. Morris, The History and Art of Change Ringing (1931, 1974 ed.) p.437; P. Bedford, An Introduction to English Handbell Ringing (Chelmsford, 1974); N. Poore Tufts, The Art of Handbell Ringing (1962), pp. 19-20.
90. Handbell teams and concertina bands did exist in regions other than the Yorkshire textile district. But, in general, the majority of activity appears to have been restricted to the West Riding, Lancashire and North Derbyshire.
91. The "Miscellaneous" column refers to societies founded in such institutions as Mechanics Institutes, Young Men's Improvement Classes and LEA evening classes.
92. Marr, op.cit., p.127, implies very strongly that industrialists were largely responsible for the Movement in Yorkshire and Lancashire. As has been argued in Section One in this Chapter, their money and assistance was vital on many occasions, but it is an oversimplification to see them as the root of the band movement.
93. R. Pearsall, Victorian, p.199, see also, below, p. 8.
94. See J. Walvin, People's Game, pp. 56-61; S. Yeo, op.cit., pp. 163-184, is particularly good on the tension between religious bodies and their off-shoots.
95. B. Ob., 31st October 1900. The Observer referred only to an "unfortunate dispute" between the church trustees and the choir.

96. J. H. White, A Short History of Bramley Band (Bramley, 1906), p. 4; Cornet, Jan. 1898; Anon, Shipley Camera, p.43; H. N. Pobjoy, A History of Mirfield (Driffield,1969) p.202.
97. Musical Herald, September 1889, provides a good example of such a belief, in the form of a letter from W. P. Lockhart.
98. Leeds Musical Union Minute Book, 23rd May 1895.
99. Transcript of interview with Miss Annie Smith, pp. 1-2; with Mrs. A. Ashworth (nee Clough), p.1; with Mr. James Petty, p.1.
100. Transcript of interview with Sam Whitehead, pp. 2-3. Samuel Whitehead's career is deserving of mention for it represents a remarkable record of musical achievement. He began in Mount Tabor Chapel choir, Jackson Bridge, before moving on to the Holmfirth Choral Society, Scholes Philharmonic, the 10th West Yorkshire Regimental Band (during the First World War), the Holme Valley Male Voice Choir and the Netherthong Male Voice Choir, as well as playing at all manner of concerts, Sunday School gatherings and other musical events. All this from a man so frail at birth, that the doctor's advice to his mother was: "Lay on the little bugger, he'll never live!"
101. The standard history of Salvation Army Bands is B. Boon, Play The Music, Play (1966). See pp. 5-8 on the Fry family band.
102. Ibid., p.14
103. Ibid., p.177
104. B.B., 23rd April 1910, carried an article bitterly criticising the policies of the Salvationists, including the outlawing of the magazine and the fact that the Army would not allow their bands to buy instruments from any commercial agency. For Ralph Nellist's activities, see Transcript of Interview, p.1.
105. Ibid.
106. J. H. White, op.cit., p.4; Brass Band Annual, 1899 (Sibsey, Lincs), p.32.
107. Pobjoy, op.cit.; Huddersfield Weekly Examiner, 12th Jan. 1957; Sewell op.cit., p.197; Anon, Incidents in the Life of a Veteran Organist (Huddersfield, 1874), p.34, p.36, p.38.
108. Hinchliffe Mill Brass Band, 1872-1972, centenary souvenir, p.2
109. Transcriptions, op.cit., pp. 1-2, p.2, p.5.
110. For details of Paley's early career, Cornet, May 1893; the anecdote concerning his father's somewhat draconian methods was related by Harry Lambert, whose father knew John Paley well.
111. Quoted in K. Young, Music's Great Days in the Spas and Watering Places (London, 1908), p.85. Parental enthusiasm for their children's musical education meant that certain musical societies, particularly brass bands, although essentially adult institutions, often contained several juvenile members.
112. M. Marrus, (ed.), The Emergence of Leisure (New York, 1974), pp. 5-6, pp. 8-9.
113. J. Craven, op.cit., p.130.

Chapter Four

1. M.T., May 1876, p.455. The expression "Das Land Ohne Musik" was probably coined by Edward Hanslick, the Viennese critic, and was essentially a criticism of the mundane quality of much British musical composition. Many Victorian musical writers, however, interpreted it as a claim that the British were basically an unmusical race.
2. S.M.R., Nov. 1897
3. For a relatively standard critique of 19th century British music, see Young, History, pp. 441-480. There are some signs that certain Victorian composers, for example, Sir William Sterndale Bennett (1816-1876), are beginning to receive slightly more sympathetic attention from musical scholars. The centenary of Bennett's death in 1976 received considerable attention in the musical press and on Radio Three. It was also clear to anyone attending the Conference on Victorian Music, held at Leicester University in August/September 1979, that many Victorian composers are being rediscovered.

i)

4. It is probable that this method of assessing the growth pattern is unreliable for the period 1850-9. The newspaper analysis was not begun until 1850 and thus it is likely that the number of "new" societies claimed for the 1850's has been exaggerated, because of the lack of data from the pre-1850 period. This would affect the brass band movement in particular, because the early bands have left little source material through which we might double check our newspaper findings. It is therefore likely that the expansion of the band movement in the 1850's was perhaps a little less marked than it appears from this table.

It is possible, particularly in regard to the choral organisations, to corroborate the findings in Tables 10 and 11 by analysing the societies' names. The earliest societies were usually entitled simply "Choral" or "Philharmonic", but from about 1875, there emerged a rash of "Musical Unions", "Vocal Unions", and from the 1890's, the addition of the title "Prize", to denote success in competition (something also applicable to this instance to brass bands). Equally, there was a tendency from this period for organisations to bear the name of the institution that had spawned them, thus bequeathing to an unsuspecting world such elegantly named bodies as the Pudsey Mechanics Institute Glee Union. Although this method is perhaps too inaccurate to allow us to apportion societies to specific decades, it enables them to be fitted into slightly wider periods, and from this, it would appear that at least 70% of the choral societies not accounted for in Table 10 were founded between 1875 and 1914.

For a full list of bands and choirs in West Yorkshire between 1800-1914, see Appendix 1. 638 have been traced.

5. J. Scott, op.cit., p.140
6. Ibid., p.167. The figure remained at 24 until the 1950's when another cornet player was allowed, in recognition of the increasing complexity of band music. Percussion has been allowed in some contests since the early 1970's and thus the full-size contesting band can now be as large as 26. Most Yorkshire bands had a full-size complement of 24 from 1873 onwards.

7. W. Wilmshurst and S. Crowther, op.cit., p.9, p.14, p.27 and Huddersfield Choral Society Chorus Roll Book, 1896-97; Programmes of Halifax Choral Society, 10th March 1898; Anon, History of Halifax Choral Society, 1818-1918 (Halifax, 1918), p.9.
 8. Scott, op.cit., p.105; Russell and Elliot, op.cit., p.182
 9. B.B. 30th April 1910; Huddersfield Choral Society Chorus Roll Book, 1896-1912; Leeds Philharmonic Chorus Roll Book, 1897-1909. For a complaint about the "apathy" of the younger generation in the Elland district as regards music, see Brighouse Echo, 19th Aug. 1904.
 10. L.M., 1st March 1905. In January 1910, W. G. Rothery wrote an article in the S.M.R. claiming a shortage of male choral singers to be a national problem of increasing severity.
- ii)
11. M. A. Bienefeld, Working Hours in British Industry: An Economic History (1972).
 12. Ibid., p.47
 13. Ibid., p.84, p.95.
 14. B. Ob., 25th Oct. 1871
 15. Bienefeld, op.cit., p.107, note 72.
 16. See for example, B. Ob., 30th Dec. 1871
 17. For the Newcastle Agitation, see E. Allan, J. F. Clarke, N. McCord and D. Rowe, The Engineer's Strike of 1871 in North-East England (Newcastle, 1971).
 18. B. Ob., 30th October 1871. Similar scenes were enacted when the Bradford dyeworkers gained the 9 hour day in February 1872. See B. Ob., 5th Feb. 1872. For evidence of the 9 hour day being won on a national scale between 1871 and 1873, see Bienefeld, op.cit. pp. 106-118.
 19. W. Cudworth, Condition of the Industrial Classes of Bradford and District (1887), p.32; P. Thompson, Edwardians, op.cit., p.215.
 20. For these concepts see M. Marrus, op.cit., p.4; K. Roberts, Leisure (1970), pp. 6-8.
 21. Cudworth, op.cit., pp. 32-37
 22. J. Walvin, People's Game, p.53.
 23. G. F. Sewell, op.cit., p.115.
 24. E. Hobsbawm, Industry and Empire (1971, Pelican ed.), p.159.
 25. On wages, see P. Deane, "Contemporary Estimates of National Income in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century", Economic History Review, 1957.
 26. A. J. Taylor, "Leeds and the Victorian Economy," University of Leeds Review, Vol. 17, 1974, p.286.
 27. J. Bennett and J. Baldwin, City of Bradford Co-Operative Society Jubilee History, 1860-1910. (1910), pp. 254-56.

28. Royal Commission on Labour, Vol. 5, Group C evidence, 9527; 9769.
29. J. H. Clapham, op.cit., pp. 203-204. K. Laybourn, Yorkshire Trade Unions, p.390. Some groups outside of the textile industry, including miners in certain districts, were subjected to wage-cutting in the 1880's and 1890's, something which clearly helped fuel the trade union militancy of the decade. But it is not possible to gauge whether this caused a decline in real wages, for the price decline may have offset some of the effects of the cuts. See Cudworth, op.cit., p.41 and p.44, for examples of wage-cutting.
30. G. Crossick (ed.), The Lower Middle Class in Britain, 1870-1914 (1977), pp. 18-19.
31. Census of England and Wales, 1851, Population Tables, Vol 11, pp. 682-701; Census of England and Wales, 1911, Vol. 10, Part One, pp. 54-60.
32. G. Crossick, op.cit., pp. 19-20; Census of England and Wales, 1911, Vol. 2, pp. 662-3, p.668, p.674.
33. Crossick, op.cit., p.27 presents this type of picture of the lower middle-class.
34. D. Lockwood, The Blackcoated Worker (1958), p.21.
35. Times, 29th August 1859.
36. William Spark, Musical Memories (1888), p.463.
37. Quoted in R. M. Myers, op.cit., p.238. For examples of similar sentiments, see Myers p.235, 237. Myers, pp. 232-248, is an excellent introduction to "Handelmania".
38. Interview with Miss Annie Smith, transcript, p.5.
39. See in particular Hugh Macleod op.cit., and especially the section entitled "The Chaos". See also R. Currie, op.cit., pp. 112-140, and particularly pp. 131-38.
40. B. Ob., 14th February 1890.
41. See below, Chapter 3, Section iii, for a development of this.
42. Macleod, op.cit., p.96.
43. L.M., 2nd December 1895.
44. F. R. Spark and J. Bennett, History of the Leeds Musical Festivals, 1858-1889 (Leeds, 1892), p.154. See also M. Hennell, "Evangelicalism and Worldliness, 1770-1870", Studies in Church History No. 8, 1972, pp. 230-1, for non-conformist opposition to oratorio.
45. Musical Herald, September 1889.
46. Interview with Miss Annie Smith, Transcript, p.5.
47. L.M., 27th May 1856. For a national perspective on the Sunday bands, see E. Royle, Victorian Infidels (Manchester, 1976), p.260.
48. Russell and Elliot, op.cit., p.96-97.
49. W.R.B.B.N., May, 1890.
50. Yorkshire Post, 19th June 1899.
51. Leeds Musical Union Minute Book, 13th May 1895, 13th June 1895, 31st October 1895, Yorkshire Post, 9th Sept. 1895.

52. Brougham's plea is outlined in J. S. Curwen, Accession, p.17.
53. B. Rainbow, Land Without Music, pp. 1-128, covers this early period in considerable detail.
54. M. Jagger, Early Reminiscences of Mrs. Jagger (Honley, 1934), p.27.
55. For a typical argument in favour of music in state schools, see Yorkshire Orchestra, 7th December 1867.
56. The history of the period 1870-71 was set out in the inaugural edition of the School Music Review, which Novello published from 1892. See S.M.R., June 1892.
57. Quoted in B. Rainbow, Choral Revival, p.46; S.M.R., August 1892. On the propagandist elements of much 19th century school music, see R. Colls "Oh happy English Children! Coal, Class and Education in the North East", Past and Present, no. 73, 1976.
58. S.M.R., March 1904.
59. S.M.R., Nov. 1903.
60. S.M.R., June 1892. These are national statistics, but the Yorkshire textile district undoubtedly followed the national pattern.
61. S.M.R., April 1904, May 1909. There were obviously firms other than Murdoch and Company operating such a system. but they appear to have been its major protagonists.
62. Willie Kaye still remembers his school violin lessons in the Holme Valley. "A fellow called Pearce, a big man in Huddersfield he was at that time were teaching us. There'd be about 10 of us and we paid 3d. a week for us violin and 3d. a week for us lessons". Interview with Willie Kay, Transcript, p.1. J. A. Harrison, op.cit., p.111, contains details of a similar scheme. For the orchestras noted here, see S.M.R., April 1903, and July 1904.
63. S.M.R., Sept. 1897, includes a good example in the shape of a review of singing in Bradford schools.
64. S.M.R., April 1905.
65. S.M.R., Dec. 1905.
66. S.M.R., August 1902.
67. Jim Bullock, op.cit., pp. 99-100.
68. John Taylor, From Self-Help to Glamour (History Workshop Pamphlet, No. 7, 1972), pp. 61-2. See also G. Stedman Jones, "Working Class culture and working class politics in London, 1870-1900", Journal of Social History, Vol. 7, No. 4, 1974, pp. 488-489.
69. S.M.R., July 1907.
70. J. Harrison, op.cit., pp.111-112.
71. S.M.R., Sept. 1893, March 1894.
72. S.M.R., Oct. 1896.
73. S.M.R., Nov. 1893.

74. K. Simpson, "Present Problems", in K. Simpson (ed.), Some Great Music Educators (Borough Green, 1976), pp. 94-5.
- iii)
75. R. Pearsall, Victorian, p.190-1
76. S.M.R., April 1896.
77. For a relatively non-technical and extremely lucid appreciation of Curwen's work, see W. Shaw, "John Curwen", in K. Simpson (ed.) op.cit., pp. 30-42.
78. Ibid.; See also P. Scholes, Mirror, Vol. 1., p.15.
79. Rainbow, Choral Revival, p.154; R. Pearsall, Victorian, p.121.
80. M.T., August 1891, pp. 475-6, gave a detailed account of the tonic sol-fa jubilee celebrations.
81. Musical Herald, Sept. 1871.
82. Ibid., June 1871
83. Ibid., April 1889.
84. The supporters of tonic sol-fa stressed its economic benefits from an early stage in their campaign. See for example, Tonic Sol-Fa Reporter, April 1863.
85. P. Scholes, Mirror, Vol. 1, p.14. For the workings of the Lancashire system, see B. Pritchard, op.cit., p.119.
86. The relationship between tonic sol-fa and instrumental music is best approached by reading the Musical Record's comments and the Reporter's reply in Tonic Sol-Fa Reporter, 15th August 1871. In May 1889, the Musical Herald had to admit to a reader asking for advice about brass band music published in tonic sol-fa, that very little such music existed.
87. Anon, A Short History of Cheap Music (1887), although informative is extremely partisan.
88. P. Young, History, p.423. This comment paraphrases Mary Cowden Clarke, The Life and Labours of Vincent Novello (1863) quoted in Anon, A Century and a Half in Soho, 1811-1961 (Novello, 1961), p. 3. The Novello publishing house was founded in 1811 by W. Vincent Novello (1781-1861), who at the initial stage was essentially concerned with the publication of music for the Catholic Church. He was joined in business by his son, J. Alfred Novello (1810-1896) in 1829. In 1857, the day to day running of the firm passed to Henry Littleton, who had been the firm's manager and eventually in 1866, Littleton became sole proprietor of the firm.
89. Anon, History, outlines the major developments in pricing policy. See also, Young, History, pp. 421-423 and E. MacKerness, Social History, p.176.
90. J. Scott, op.cit., pp. 193-195, p.213.
91. B.B., Dec. 1889.
92. J. Scott, op.cit., pp. 229-237.
93. Ibid., p.250
94. See Smith's obituary in W.R.B.B.N., March 1890 and B.B., March 1890.

95. Scott, op.cit., pp. 249-250.
96. Richardson and Company became one of Wright and Round's major rivals in the 1890's. Cornet, Oct. 1895, gives details of the music listed here.
97. Brass Band Annual, 1897 (Sibsey, Lincs), pp. 68-71.
98. Scott, op.cit., pp. 253-54.
99. Anon, History, p.51. My underlining.
100. Ibid., pp. 52-55. Alfred Novello never made any secret of the fact that he sought to improve musical taste in a manner which in no way threatened his profit margins.
101. Halifax Guardian, 3rd April, 1869.
102. See Hansons Directory of the Musicians, Music Traders, Dancing Masters, Elocutionists, and Entertainers in Yorkshire (Leeds, 1894) for full details of the state of the musical service industry in the region. It is probable that some of the people listed as "musical dealers" were also involved in other retailing activity. For example, one of the music traders listed in Keighley, was essentially a jeweller. Nevertheless, the fact that people were prepared to diversify into the music trade is highly significant, as of course is the fact that somebody thought it profitable to publish a directory of musicians and music dealers.
103. See Neil Wayne's sleeve notes to Alistair Anderson Plays English Concertina, (Trailer LEA 2074) and P. Scholes, Companion, p.865.
104. Scott, op.cit., pp. 85-6.
105. A. Rose, Talks with Bandsmen (1895), p.125. The Besson Company, founded in 1858, had become one of the three largest brass instrument manufacturing companies by 1900.
106. Townend & Co. seem to have existed before 1850. See Scott, op.cit., p.85, But virtually nothing else is known about them. Of the 18 instrument manufacturers advertising in W.R.B.B.N. in 1895, 7, including all the major firms, were based in London, 3 in Birmingham, 2 in Manchester, and one each in Birkenhead, Bradford, Burton-on-Trent, Middlesbrough, Newcastle and Rochdale. A. Rose, op.cit., pp. 65-69, is extremely informative on the geographical origin of the brass used in instrument manufacture.
107. This figure was given by Professor Cyril Ehrlich of Queen's University, Belfast, during the course of a lecture delivered at the University of York, 30th January, 1975.
108. E. MacKerness, Social History, p.171
109. Ibid.
110. Yorkshire Orchestra, 8th February 1868; W. Cudworth, op.cit. p.58.
111. C. Ehrlich, The Piano: A History (1976), p.9 and p.107.
112. F. J. Crowest, Phases of Musical England (1881), p.191; R. Roberts, op.cit., p.153.
113. It is perhaps a little carping to criticise Professor Ehrlich for overstressing the social aspect of piano purchase, when at

other times in this thesis, historians of music have been berated for ignoring the social and economic basis of musical life. Nevertheless, although Ehrlich's work is of major importance in the sense that it is a true "social history" of music, his exaggeration of the importance of social emulation does little service to the history of popular music.

114. Henry Raynor, Music and Society Since 1815 (1976), p.232.
115. For these prices, see B.B., 1902; W.R.B.B.N., 1895.
116. Ehrlich, op.cit., p.100; F. R. Spark, Memories of My Life (1913), p.159. Spark may simply have been attempting to steal the glory for a local man, but Ramsden was certainly selling pianos on the "hire system" as early as 1855. See advertisements in L.I., 19th May 1855.
117. Ehrlich, op.cit., pp. 98-104.
118. F. J. Crowest, op.cit., p.203, pp. 200-201.
119. A. Rose, op.cit., p.305.
120. Bradford Brass Band, Treasurer's Book, 1854-56, op.cit. The members of the band, appear to have bought £78 13s. 6d. worth of instruments from a local musical dealer. Repayment appears to have been extremely irregular. Richard Kendell whose cornopean had cost him £3 ls. 0d. paid 5/- in May 1855, 8/- in the November, 5/- in January 1856 and the remaining 43/- the following January. By the next decade, instruments were increasingly purchased on behalf of the band as a whole, and individual ownership of instruments became rarer.
121. See the advertisement pages in W.R.B.B.N. over the course of the year 1895.
122. A. Taylor, op.cit., p.18.
123. Origins and Progress of Caminado Brass Band, op.cit., p.54; L.I. 5th July 1856.
124. For Beever's early career in uniform manufacture, see Russell and Elliott, op.cit., p.165. Dark blue was apparently a favourite colour when Beevers began production. The firm still exists today as Ronald Gill Uniforms Ltd. The firms in existence by 1895, apart from Beevers, were Avent and Company of Bristol; Hobson & Son; Edwin Lyons; Mallet, Porter and Dowd; and W. Moore, all of London; Harry Wilson's of Leeds and W. S. Hodgson of Huddersfield. There were probably other smaller dealers who met the needs of local bands. Cecil Dowling of Armley and Wortley Band, for example, remembers the band having uniforms made by a Jewish tailor in Leeds called Weinberg.
125. W.R.B.B.N., Jan. 1895.
126. Files of all three papers, albeit incomplete ones, can be found in Leeds Public Library, Reference Section. The Yorkshire Musician, can also be found in Kirklees Central Library and the Yorkshire Musical Record, in the British Library.

127. Scholes, Mirror, is undoubtedly the best introduction to the flavour of the Musical Times. For the magazines early history, see Anon, Cheap Music, p.33 and Scholes Mirror, Vol.1 pp. 1-3. The Competition Festival Record which was also published as a supplement to the School Music Review was essentially devoted to the choral competition.
128. The Herald was the descendant of the Tonic Sol-Fa Reporter. It began publication in January 1889, and was considerably less parochial than the Reporter.
129. Scholes, Mirror, Vol. 1, pp. 497-498.
130. The changeover was announced in B.B., 12th Jan. 1902 and commenced on 8th March 1902.
131. Russell and Elliot, op.cit., p.173; B.B., Sept. 1887. It became the Orchestral Times in 1891.
132. W.R.B.B.N., Jan. 1890.
133. Interview with Ralph Nellist, transcript, p.4.
134. E. MacKerness, Social History, p.233; Census of England and Wales, 1901, Returns for the County of York (1902), Table 35.
135. M. Tylecote, The Mechanics Institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire before 1851 (Manchester, 1957), pp. 273-74. Members of top-flight choral societies were sometimes fortunate enough to receive tuition from internationally renowned musicians. From the 1890's, a number of choirs hired top conductors to conduct their concerts. These men would normally only attend the concert and the final rehearsal, but were able to impart much information. Mrs. Anne-Marie Ashworth remembers with enthusiasm, singing with the B.F.C.S. under Frederick Cowen, Henry Coward and Sir Malcolm Sargent.
136. The part-time teachers in Bradford included a sign-writer, a textile operative (a plush-cutter) and a warpdresser.
137. Scholes, Mirror, Vol 2, pp. 723-729.
138. Cornet, Dec. 1898.
139. Cornet, Nov. 1901
140. For Whitley's banding activities in Leeds, see L.I., 5th June 1852. It is possible that Whitley was the same John Whitley who was organist at Harwood Church and Lord Harewood's private musician. See Halifax Music Scrapbook, Vol. 2, pp. 4-6, in Calderdale Central Library. William Hesling was a member of Bramley Brass Band. Richard Smith's early career as a trainer was outlined in the Illustrated London News, 3rd August 1861. See also B.B., March 1890 and W.R.B.B.N., March 1890. No information has been discovered relating to either Milburn or Tidswell, although both trained several bands in the textile region.
141. Russell and Elliot, op.cit., p.149.
142. B.B., May 1909; Yorkshire Daily Observer Budget, 16th December 1912. At least one man acknowledged John Gladney's achievements by naming his son after him: one Gladney Robinson was solo cornet with Keighley Brass Band in the years immediately before the First World War; see B.B., 2nd December 1911. See also Appendix 4 for other examples of people and streets named after composers.

143. Russell and Elliot, op.cit., pp. 144-6, 178-180; Owen's career is honoured to this day in the shape of the Alexander Owen Memorial Scholarship, a bursary enabling one particularly talented young brass musician per year to have two years of expert tuition. See Taylor, op.cit., pp. 214-217.
144. Russell and Elliot, op.cit., pp. 147-49; Cornet, March 1904. There is in existence an anonymous pamphlet, used by Russell and Elliot, and Taylor entitled, Life and Career of the Late Edwin Swift (Milnsbridge, 1904). Unfortunately, I have not been able to obtain a copy of this publication.
145. E. Morris, op.cit., p.557 notes a tower bell-ringing competition in East Anglia in 1733; P. Young, History, pp. 431-2.
146. J. Scott, op.cit., p.116; B.B., 4th April 1914.
147. This contest has received a tremendous amount of coverage in secondary works, but all accounts are based on Jackson's own account of the proceedings. See E. Jackson, "The Origin and Promotion of Brass Band Contests," Musical Opinion, March 1896. This article is one of the key sources of brass band history. The next two paragraphs are based on this, coupled with J. Scott, op.cit., pp. 218-219; Russell and Elliot, op.cit., pp. 113-117; A Taylor, op.cit., pp. 33-59. Taylor quite rightly points out that one of the reasons why Jackson's name looms so large in brass band history is because he wrote the article which we rely on for so much of our information about the early history of contesting. But nevertheless, while allowing for a certain degree of self-praise and embellishment, it does appear that Jackson did much to advertise and boost the brass band competition.
148. J. H. White, op.cit., pp. 19-20.
149. For Bacup, see Russell and Elliot, op.cit., p.135 and A. Taylor, op.cit., pp. 62-65. Meltham Mills' competitive success is outlined in Brass Band Annual, 1895 (Sibsey, Lincs), pp. 19-23.
150. Brass Band Annual, 1897 (Sibsey, Lincs), pp. 68-71.
151. Ibid.
152. Russell and Elliot, op.cit., pp. 171-76; The British Bandsman, 5th October 1907, included a large number of press reports on the previous week's National Championships, and these reports communicate much of the atmosphere and flavour of the event.
153. Musical Progress, June 1914.
154. B.B., 8th June 1907.
155. Competition Festival Record, June 1912.
156. Rosa Newmarch, Mary Wakefield, A Memoir (Kendal, 1912) is a sympathetic and not too hagiographic study of Wakefield's work. "Amateur Music as it should be" appeared in M.T., March 1884. Miss Wakefield contributed an article on Ruskin entitled, "Brantwood, Coniston: John Ruskin's Home", to Murray's Magazine, November 1890.
157. M.T., June 1904, p.392; M.T., August 1914, supplement, p.3.
158. M.T., June 1906, p.403.
159. M.T., June 1904, p.392; Competition Festival Record, July 1910.

160. R. Newmarch, op.cit., p.84
161. For an example of the self-consciously local festival, see the report on Bury Festival, Competition Festival Record, June 1910. It was at the open competition that the West Yorkshire choirs won much of their fame and fortune.
162. For a brief outline of the early history of the Summerscales Competition, see Yorkshire Daily Observer, 24th Oct. 1904. The competition was initially intended as a memorial to W. H. Summerscales a local woollen manufacturer and musical enthusiast.
163. See the posters for this event, filed in the Minute Book of the Leeds Musical Union.
164. In May 1976, the Hardrow Scar contest was revived by a group of brass band enthusiasts, and, without a choral division, looks like becoming an annual event. For the history of the Contest, see Taylor, op.cit., pp. 221-224.
165. The programmes of the Musical Union's competitions, held on 8th Dec. 1894 and 14th Dec. 1895 respectively, contain brief details of the competing choirs' records, and it is clear that the vast majority of them began competition work between 1891 and 1893.
166. For a typical contest, see programme of the Yeadon Mechanics Institute competition, 30th November 1895, in Leeds Musical Union Minute Book, 1895.
167. Yorkshire Post, 18th June 1894, contains a criticism of "pot-hunting".
168. Russell and Elliot, op.cit., p.121.
169. Leeds Musical Union Minutes, 23rd March, 1894; B. Lonsdale, History of Saltaire Methodist Church, 1868-1968 (Bradford, 1968), p.8.
- iv)
170. The Music Student was the journal of the Home Music Study Union, a body founded in 1907 with the aim of developing musical appreciation through study in small groups, meeting in people's houses. In some ways, although the founders never claimed this to be their object, the Union represented a return to the mode of musical education so common in the period before 1850.
171. S. Yeo, Religion and Voluntary Organisations in Crisis (1976)
172. Yeo, op.cit., p.1.
173. Dr. Yeo lists these factors on page 296. Although he says that 6 main contextual factors operated, he only lists 5. I am presuming that "the altering presence of the state" is the sixth factor.
174. The issue of class consciousness and musical life is dealt with below in Chapter 7, *passim*.
175. Taylor op.cit., p.48; Brass Band Annual, 1897 (Sibsey, Lincs), p.32; R. Marr, op.cit., p.143; W.R.B.B.N., April 1895.

176. For an overview of the economy during the period 1900-1914, see P. Thompson, op.cit., pp. 183-193.
177. J. H. Clapham, op.cit., pp. 203-04.
178. Yorkshire Factory Times, 31st March, 7th April, 1910. The strike involving 500 spinners virtually closed the factory for a week.
179. Leeds Philharmonic Subscription Ledgers, 1897-1904; Musical Progress, August 1914.
180. Huddersfield Daily Chronicle, 3rd July 1905; Yorkshire Observer Budget, 1st April 1911. There does appear to have been a general withdrawal from concert-going of all types, by a substantial section of middle class people at this time. In London, the process may well have begun earlier than in Yorkshire and other provincial areas. In 1898, Chappell's, the music publishers, had to discontinue their Monday and Saturday popular concerts, which had been highly successful elements of London musical life since the mid-1850's. At the same time, Novello and Company were losing money on a series of concerts promoted at the Albert Hall. A. Peacock and R. Weir, The Composer in the Market Place (1975), pp. 38-40, look at this phenomenon.
181. Orchestral Times, Feb. 1901
182. Musical Home Journal, 10th March 1908, recorded that the previously successful Huddersfield Glee and Madrigal Society had not competed since 1905, because of the expense.
183. S.M.R., Jan. 1912. My underlining
184. Interview with Mrs. A. Ashworth, transcript, p.3.
185. Several bands folded during the period 1900-1914, including Dewsbury, Nazebottom Temperance and Stanningley Old Band, all bands of relatively good standing. There were also a number of amalgamations between bands who found individual existence difficult. Obviously bands had collapsed in previous decades, but the situation in the Edwardian period, coupled as it was with comments about the "apathy" of the younger generation towards banding, was of a more serious nature than ever before.
186. Quoted in D. Read, Edwardian England, 1901-1915 (1972), p.50.
187. Yeo, op.cit., p.378, foot note 76, and page 296.
188. See J. H. Plumb, The Commercialisation of Leisure in 18th Century England (Reading, 1972) and by the same author "The Public, Literature, and the Arts in the Eighteenth Century" in M. Marrus (ed.), op.cit., pp. 12-37.
189. The economic structure of the music hall industry has barely been studied. D. F. Cheshire, Music Hall in Britain (Newton Abbot, 1974), p.103, suggests a decline in music-hall profitability from the late 1890's.
190. On the "cleaning-up" of the music hall and the development of a substantial middle-class clientele, see Cheshire, op.cit., pp. 52-53, 95-96; M. Vicinus, Industrial Muse, pp. 238-279; It is perhaps a little dangerous to generalise about the "music hall" as though it represented some homogenous institution, and it is probable that in the bigger cities there were still halls which catered almost exclusively for the working classes.

The new middle class clientele undoubtedly chose their place of entertainment very carefully. Mrs. Anne-Marie Ashworth, the daughter of a Bradford mill manager, went to the Bradford Empire, a new variety theatre, but not to the long-established Palace, an altogether more "popular" establishment. See Transcript of interview, p.4.

191. See letter from John Andrews Junior in L.M., 20th December 1851. The Casino, opened in 1849, was one of Britain's earliest music halls.
192. G. J. Mellor, Music Hall, pp. 121-189, explores the expansion of music hall in the North, in the late 1890's and early 1900's. Halls built round about 1900, include Bradford Empire (1899), Bradford Alhambra (1914), Dewsbury Empire (1909), Halifax Palace (1903), Huddersfield Palace (1909), Keighley Hippodrome (1900), Leeds Empire (1899) and Shipley Palace (1907).
193. G. J. Mellor, Picture Pioneers (Newcastle, 1971), p.13.
194. Picture Pioneers, lovingly chronicles the emergence of many of these cinemas. For the "wooden hut", see p.92. The statistics on the cinema in Bradford have been compiled from an analysis of the advertising columns of the Bradford Telegraph. By 1914, both the city centre and the suburbs had a good covering of cinemas.
195. D. Read, op.cit., p.66, gives the national statistics. The local estimate is based on G. J. Mellor, Pioneers, and analysis of the region's press.
196. The cinema was of course not without its enemies. A young mother whose son had been one of a gang of four caught breaking and entering in Halifax, claimed that her son "had spent the stolen money on picture halls and ice-cream!" "Picture halls", she said, "was one of the causes of the ruination of boys, and ice-cream shops were another". Bradford Telegraph, 18th June 1914.
197. R. Mitchell, Brighouse, Birth and Death of a Borough (Driffield, 1976), p.86.
198. I can remember that as recently as 1969, a fellow pupil at my school was ridiculed by a member of the staff, for suggesting in a mock 'O' level examination that one of the most significant effects of the railway was the boost it gave to spectator sport. The pupil's point was dismissed as "trivial in the extreme". Ten years later such an observation forms the stuff of several scholarly treatises on leisure!
199. J. Ford, This Sporting Land (1977), p.89, p.166.
200. On the origins of the Football League, see J. Walvin, People's Game, pp. 81-2.
201. Yorkshire Observer Budget, 29th April 1911.
202. Yeo, op.cit., pp. 189-196.
203. Ibid., p.27.
204. Yorkshire Observer, 18th March 1911; Ibid., 25th November 1911.
205. Ibid., 22nd April 1911, 8th April 1911.
206. Yorkshire Observer Budget, 29th April 1911. Speirs was the Bradford City Captain.

207. C. Speakman, Transport in Yorkshire (Clapham, 1969), p.69.
208. D. J. Croft, Bradford Tramways (1976), p.3.
209. C. I. Savage, An Economic History of Transport (1966), p.90.
210. P. Lingard, The First Bus in Yorkshire (Sheffield, 1975).
This tells of how in 1905, Ezra Laycock of Cowling near Skipton, introduced the first motor bus service in Yorkshire.
211. Croft, op.cit., p.4; Yorkshire Observer Budget, 9th April 1910.
212. Croft, op.cit., pp. 27-28.
213. Speakman, op.cit., Ibid.
214. The large choral societies may well have benefited slightly from the development of transport, as they needed to attract a large pool of people into the town centre to support them. But the majority of organisations can only have suffered from a phenomenon which took people away from their immediate locale.
215. W.R.B.B.N., May 1893
216. Cornet, Jan. 1910.
217. Cornet, Jan. 1914.
218. B.B., 9th April 1910.
219. Yeo, op.cit., p.378, note 76.
220. B. Dobbs, op.cit., p.31.
221. A. Marwick, The Deluge (Penguin, 1967), p.151.
222. Yorkshire Daily Observer, 22nd March 1904.
223. Ibid., 21st April 1904; 8th April 1904.
224. Bradford Methodist, May 1913.
225. Ibid., May 1909
226. I am grateful to Richard Barraclough, secretary of the Huddersfield Choral Society for discussing this point with me. But, while choral societies have suffered as a result of declining congregations, they and other musical organisations may have helped keep alive a spirit of popular religiosity. The Hallelujah Chorus or a hymn played by a brass band may well bring a religious "atmosphere" into many people's lives.
227. On youth movements in general, see J. Springhall, Youth and Empire (1977); W. Leach, Early Days of Scouting in Bradford (unpubl. typescript in Bradford Central Library, 1971), is useful for the local situation.
228. Yeo, op.cit., pp. 173-74
229. S.M.R., Jan. 1910.
230. See below, Chapter 5, Section ii, pp. 210-214.
231. Membership of the Keighley Musical Union fell from 209 to 138 during the course of the 1912-1913 season, largely due to dissatisfaction at having to perform Hubert Bath's Wedding of Shon Maclean. Attendance for the rehearsals for this work were so bad at one stage, that the committee contemplated abandoning the performance. See Keighley News, 26th April 1913.

232. See B.B., 31st Oct. 1914, 19th June 1915, 3rd July 1915, 14th Aug. 1915 for examples of disruption caused by loss of personnel due to enlistment. B.B., 24th Dec. 1915 and 28th Dec. 1918, give details of enlistment and the number of casualties amongst bandsmen. In all 1,287 bandsmen were killed in action. Obviously, the band world was not totally disrupted; the magazines remained in circulation and the annual Belle Vue Contest was still held. The movement probably benefited from having members in reserved occupations. Nevertheless, the war was an exceptionally disruptive influence.

Chapter Five

i)

1. Yorkshire Post, 19th June 1899
2. See below, pp. 249-250.
3. See above, Chapter Two, note 73.
4. For the economic reasons behind Huddersfield Choral Society's first ventures, see W. L. Wilmshurst and S. H. Crowther, op.cit. p.10.
5. Concerts of all type seem to have grown rapidly in number from about the 1840's. There is a certain amount of general information relating to the national perspective in Scholes, Mirror, Vol. 1., Chapter 5, pp.185-228. For greater detail, see Weber, op.cit., passim.
6. Wilmshurst and Crowther, op.cit., pp. 15-18
7. There is much information on the increasing use of celebrity soloists by Huddersfield and other societies in, Andrew D. Hirst, "The Growth of the 19th Century Choral Movement with Special Reference to the County of Yorkshire" (unpubl. B.A. dissertation, Univ. of Nottingham, 1976), pp. 31-32.
8. Judging by contemporary descriptions of audience behaviour, certain sections of the middle class contingent, very definitely regarded the music as the least of their reasons for going. For evidence of talking and yawning, and of the concert as an instrument for displays of wealth and fashion, see James Burnley, Phases of Bradford Life (Bradford, 1871), pp. 11-22.
9. For details of such a tour undertaken by Black Dyke Mills Band, see Cornet, Aug. 1893.
10. B. Ob., 11th November 1854.
11. See below, pp. 193, for the development of this point.
12. For an overview of the Sabbatarian issue during this period, see Edward Royle, Victorian Infidels (Manchester, 1976), pp. 258-261.
13. Ibid., p.260.
14. Unfortunately, the identity of the Leeds secularists involved in this activity cannot be ascertained from the existing evidence.
15. See for example, L.M., 20th May 1856.
16. L.I., 16th August 1856.
17. L.M., 10th August 1856.
18. L.M., 24th August, 1856.
19. The issue was given full coverage in the Bradford Pioneer, 19th December 1913.
20. For the growth of parks, see above Chapter 1, pp. 20-21.
21. B.Ob., 13th May 1871. Amongst the local notables involved in this project were Charles Semon, a stuff merchant; T. Andrews an architect and R. Goddard, a woolstapler. Schlesinger and Sönnenthal were both merchants. Details from White's Clothing District Directory (Sheffield, 1870).

22. Ibid.,
23. The satirical magazine, The Yorkshireman, took delight in pointing out that in Bradford, the "swells" of Manningham often paid less than the "humble frequenters" of Peel Park. See 3rd August 1878, 21st June 1878.
24. B. Ob., 5th June 1871
25. B. Ob., 27th June 1871
26. B.B., November 1891; W.R.B.B.N., July 1895; W.R.B.B.N., Sept. 1895. Although the estimated 10,000 at Denholme was quite possibly an exaggeration, it is possible that a crowd of at least somewhere near this size attended the Concert. Black Dyke Mills were based at Queensbury, only a short distance from Denholme and may well have brought "followers" with them. Also, neighbouring villages such as Thornton, Wilsden and Cullingworth would undoubtedly have sent sizeable contingents. The comparison with football crowds is based on observation of attendance figures in the Edwardian period. Bradford City enjoyed a particularly successful period in the years before 1914 and could attract "gates" of over 30,000 for important games. But crowds for league games at Huddersfield, Bradford Park Avenue and Leeds were regularly between 5,000 and 10,000, while crowds at Rugby League matches were almost always below this figure. Obviously, the brass band concert did not demand the regularity of attendance called for from football supporters, but the size of the audience was still impressive. (Statistics for football crowds are from the Yorkshire Observer). For more on football, see below Chapter 4, Section 4, pp. 168-173.
27. Keighley Labour Journal, 5th June 1897. I am indebted to David James, the Bradford Central Library Archivist, for this reference.
28. B.B., 20th July 1907
29. By "Military", I mean army bands, rather than amateur wind bands using both brass and reed. B.B. 5th March, 1910
- ii)
30. J. L. Scott, "The Evolution of the Brass Band and its Repertoire in Northern England" (Sheffield Univ. Unpub. Ph. D. thesis, 1970), p.155.
31. See Chorus Rollbooks of Huddersfield Choral Society and Leeds Philharmonic.
32. B.B., 20th July 1907.
33. B. Ob., 22nd August 1898
34. For the line up of some of the earliest bands see Scott, op.cit. pp.111-113.
35. Even today, wind bands in the south and west of England are likely to contain both brass and reed instruments.
36. J. F. Russell and J. H. Elliot, The Brass Band Movement (1936), p.46.
37. Ibid., pp. 46-47.

38. J. H. White, A Short History of Bramley Band (Bramley 1906), pp. 6-7.
39. Ibid., p.17; Scott, op.cit., p.136, Comments on the so-called A^b tenor cornet.
40. Ibid., p.136.
41. Ibid., p.156.
42. Ibid., p.26.
43. Ibid., p.47
44. Ibid., p.36-37; For the development and the rationale of the valve see Philip Bate, The Trumpet and Trombone (1972), pp. 141-182.
45. Scott, op.cit., p.54
46. The best overview of the developments in these years are to be found in Scott, pp. 21-106.
47. Ibid., p.72.
48. Ibid., p.73
49. Ibid., p.74, pp. 79-80; Russell and Elliot, op.cit., pp. 51-57
50. For Mossley, see Scott op.cit., p.137; For Fairbairn's see, L.I., 27th December 1851. It seems unlikely that the band would have included the name "saxhorn" unless they made extensive use of these instruments.
51. Scott, op.cit.
52. Robert Marr, Music & Musicians, pp. 131-2.
53. Scott, op.cit., p.149
54. This was indeed the eventual fate of Mossley, who in 1868 had to disband because they could not afford to replace their outmoded A^b and D^b saxhorns.
55. Scott, op.cit., p.158. Russell and Elliot, op.cit., p.211
56. Scott, op.cit.
57. Amateur Band Teachers Guide (Liverpool, 1889), p.2.
58. See Appendix A for a list of military bands most of which were still in existence in the early 20th century.
59. For trombone, see Bate, op.cit., p.140; for use of cornets in the orchestra see Scott, op.cit., p.50. The first use of the cornet in an English orchestral score came in Balfe's Maid of Artois, in 1835.
60. Russell and Elliot, op.cit., pp. 27-28; Scott, op.cit., pp. 3-9.
61. Scott, op.cit., p.9
62. Ibid., p.124
63. This was a common theme in Victorian musical writing. Enderby Jackson, talking of working class musicians, claimed that, "their hands, horned and often malformed by their daily toil, were well served in these new instruments by the short easy

manipulation, three fingers sufficing to work the mechanism of the three equi-distant pistons". British Bandsman, April 1896. Although this theory lead to an underestimation of the amount of reed and string playing amongst working men, (see below Chapter 3, pp. 64-66), there is undoubtedly truth in it.

64. Many bandsmen played virtually every instrument in the band, at some stage in their career. It was particularly common for members as they got older, to move from the cornet or horn to the bass section, where the music placed less demand upon the bandmen's physical condition, and particularly his gums and teeth. As the gum shrinks with age, and as teeth begin to fall out, the lip has less to "lean on" during playing, and this interferes with tone quality.
65. Scott, op.cit., p.124.
66. J. Sydney Jones, a leading conductor and arranger of the 1870's and 1880's charged the Lancashire, Stalybridge Old Band £20 in the 1870's for the arrangement of a test piece. The publications of Wright and Round's and similar publishing houses, could be obtained for a few shillings. See above, Chapter 4, pp. 135-137 for details of the brass band music publishing business.
67. B.B., 12th July 1902.
68. J. S. Curwen, "The Progress of Popular Music", Contemporary Review, August 1887.
69. See for example, Cornet, November 1898; May 1904; B.B., 12th July 1902; There was also a lobby in favour of the trumpet. See J. Weston Nicholl, in B.B., 18th March 1911.
70. J. Ord Hume's analysis and history of the saxophone appeared in B.B., 16th, 23rd August and 20th September 1902.
71. For Sirocco Lodge, see B.B., 12th July 1902; Perfection Soapworks, see B.B., 14th January 1911.
72. Scott, op.cit., p.167; For some interesting remarks on changing attitudes to percussion in contests, see the programme note, for the Wills Championship, Northern Region, Wolverhampton, 11th January 1970. Many bandsmen are still critical of the inclusion of percussion.
73. For standard line up, see Cornet, January 1910; Ord Hume's article on quartettes appeared in B.B., 1st November 1902.
74. The expression was coined by the British Bandsman's "Giles Gosling".
75. Information provided by the gentleman in question, Mr. Bert Wilkinson of Town Street, Bramley.
76. Roll books of Huddersfield Choral Society, 1895.
77. Cudworth, op.cit., p.7; Scholes, Mirror, p.57 and programmes of Huddersfield Cornet Society in Kirklees Public Library.
78. The disappearance of the male alto may have been the result of purely musical factors. Increasingly, from the time of Mendelssohn, the tessitura of the alto part became too high for the male voice, placing too heavy a strain upon it. See B. Pritchard, op.cit., pp. 765-766.

iii)

79. Scholes, Mirror, Vol. 1, Chapter 3.
80. M.T., February 1896, p.115.
81. Sewell, op.cit., p.271; Programme, Leeds Philharmonic Concerts, 1914.
82. Quoted in Pearsall, Victorian, p.143.
83. For the history of the festival, see Scholes, Mirror, Vol. 1, Chapter 4. Two were held in the Yorkshire textile region in the 19th century at Bradford in 1853, 1856 and 1859 and at Leeds in 1858 and triennially from 1874 onwards. The Leeds Festival continues to the present day. B. Pritchard, op.cit., provides the definitive study.
84. Young, Choral, p.236.
85. The populace of Bradford, for example, gave a rapturous welcome to the Yorkshire born composer William Jackson's The Year, specially composed for the 1859 Bradford Festival. It doesn't appear to have been performed again, however. See Musical World, 3rd September 1859, for its reception and for a critique by a London musical writer.
86. Programme, Leeds Philharmonic Concerts, 1914.
87. L.I., 27th May 1843; B. Ob. 4th April 1859; Halifax Guardian, 14th February 1885.
88. Sewell, op.cit., p.184 and p. 261.
89. M.T., April 1894, p.262; B.Ob., 6th March 1901
90. M.T., Nov. 1885, p.681; April 1898, p.263; November 1895, p.762.
91. On the commissioning of works for 19th century music Festivals, see B. Pritchard, op.cit., p.844.
92. Halifax Guardian, 18th April 1885, giving a report of a concert by St. John's Musical Society (Triangle), provides a good example of the genre.
93. Y.D.O., 1st February 1910.
94. For Blatchford and Sykes, see M.T., Nov. 1891, p.665. The Blatchford was undoubtedly Montagu Blatchford, for whom see below Chapter 7, pp. 288-289. For Harwin and Akeroyd and their work, The Professor; or, the Cruise of the Yacht "Scholastic" see M.T., January 1892, p.35. The Akeroyd, was A. T. Akeroyd, a local music teacher and choral conductor. For Oglesby and Grimshaw and their Amaranthus; or, the Enchanter and the Clown see M.T., April 1892, p.229. Arthur Grimshaw, who also wrote an operetta called El Escribano; or, the Rough and Ready Letter Writer, which the Musical Times wrote highly of in April 1891, was a local music teacher, and composer of some ability. He also wrote a considerable amount of orchestral music and church music. He died in 1913. For his obituary, see M.T., Sept. 1913, p.606.
95. For these occurrences, and for the competitive repertoire at this period, see the programmes and press cuttings in the minute books of the Leeds Musical Union, in Leeds City Archives.
96. This presumably reflects the fact that many more mixed voice than male voice choirs were connected to religious institutions.

97. Competition Festival Record, November 1908; Ibid., Nov. 1910 and Jan. 1911. In January 1911, a contributor to this journal claimed that: "A fine performance of this dreamy, moody piece is very striking, but anything short of this is a misery to all concerned".
98. When Flowery Meadows was the work; Competition Festival Record, July 1909.
99. Halifax Guardian, 25th Feb. 1905; Competition Festival Record, April 1912.
100. Competition Festival Record, April 1909. The progress made in this period makes nonsense of Brian Pritchard's assertion that by the early 20th century, the English choral tradition was an "almost musically valueless recreation". He claims, although he produces no evidence, that from 1860, as "middle class" choralists came into the Movement, standards declined. See Pritchard, op.cit., pp. 742-758.
101. On secular oratorio, see P. Young, Choral, p.218, p.226.
102. For a discussion of this see Scott, op.cit., pp. 215-222.
103. B.Ob., 20th May 1891, describes how 3 bands played "for the votaries of terpsichore".
104. For a development of this, see below, p.216, p.232.
105. L.I. 31st July 1852, for programmes of Baildon and Bramley bands.
106. Scott, op.cit., p.208; L.I., 5th July 1856.
107. For these performances see B.Ob., May 1871 - Sept. 1871. For Saltaire's concert see B.Ob., 9th September 1871.
108. B.B., 2nd April, 1910.
109. See concert programmes for 1902, in Kirklees Local History Library.
110. Scott, op.cit., p.195, Russell and Elliot, op.cit., p.168.
111. Enderby Jackson, "Origin and Promotion of Brass Band Contests", originally published in Musical Opinion, 1st March 1896. Reprinted in British Bandsman, April 1896.
112. They performed ^{the} work at the National School Room, Keighley in April 1848. See Minute Books of W. L. Marriners Band, in the Special Collection, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.
113. B. Ob., 9th August 1860.
114. J. C. Handby, A History of Opera in Bradford, 1856-1922 (Bradford, 1922).
115. J. A. Copley, "The Theatre in Hunslet Lane, (Part 2)", in Publications of The Thoresby Society, miscellany, Vol. 16, Part 3, 1976, p.196.
116. For Distin's repertoire, see Scott, op.cit., p.202; for Jullien see MacKerness, op.cit., pp. 181-3. For bandsmen at their concerts, see Scott, p.212 and Minute Books of Marriner's Band, op.cit., p.67.

117. For a fuller discussion of the Menagerie band, see below Chapter 5, Section II, p.207. Travelling theatre musicians were also a probable source of operatic music.
118. Scott, op.cit., pp. 195-223. Russell and Elliot, op.cit. pp. 168-70.
119. Russell and Elliot, op.cit., pp. 169-70. Concertina bands also made much use of Italian opera in contests; B.B., 8th June 1907.
120. F. Richardson's Brass Band Annual, 1897 (Sibsey, Lincs), pp. 68-71.
121. This observation is based on the concerts in Bradford from 1871 onwards and on these in Greenhead Park, Huddersfield, from the late 19th century to 1914.
122. B.B., 2nd February 1907
123. B.B., 4th April 1914
124. For a longer discussion of Edwin Swift, see above Chapter 4, Section III, p. 151.
125. Greenhead Park concert Programmes, op.cit., 1902.
126. It was performed by the Keighley and District Orchestral Society in 1899, the Halifax Orchestral Society in 1898, the Rothwell Orchestral Society in 1896, the Elland Orchestral Society in 1905, and by many other societies. The Lindley Handbell Ringers produced a performance of Tannhauser in 1907, but the B.B., 13th July 1907, felt that the work "did not adapt itself to performance on handbells very well".
127. For a good general introduction to the performance of Wagner's music in England, see Scholes, Mirror, Vol. 1, pp. 251-256.
128. "Obscure" is not meant in any pejorative sense. Verdi's MacBeth, for example, has recently been revived in England and is regarded as an important work. But it, and many other Italian operas, seized upon by brass band publishers, were only rarely performed in Britain in the 19th century, and many commentators felt that the selection of Italian opera purely because it was Italian opera, was needlessly limiting the band repertoire.
129. B.B., August, 1914.
130. W. J. Galloway, Musical England (1906), p.206.
131. For Iles see above Chapter Four, Section III, p.146-154.
132. For list of Crystal Palace test-pieces, 1900-1914, see the programme of the National Brass Band Championship (Yorkshire Region), 1977.
133. For an analysis of Fletcher's work in musical terms, see Scott, op.cit., p.261 and B.B., 6th September 1913. The political programme included in the work is discussed below in Chapter 7, Section 1, pp.283-284.
134. The interwar compositions for brass band by Elgar, Holst, Ireland, Cyril Jenkins, Arthur Bliss et al, are discussed in considerable detail by Russell and Elliot, op.cit., pp. 217-225, and Scott, op.cit., pp. 261-68, 405-410. There is as yet no serious academic work on the brass band repertoire of the last twenty

- or thirty years, and the immense progress of banding during this period can only be glimpsed by reading current band periodicals, such as Sounding Brass and Brass Band News. Of particular interest in illustrating the development of the brass band as an avant garde form, are the recordings of Grimethorpe Colliery Band under Harrison Birtwhistle.
135. Fletcher's musical career until 1913 is well sketched in B.B., 14th June 1913. Cope's assessment appeared in B.B., 27th Sept. 1913.
 136. Musical Progress, October 1913. Musical Progress was of course run by a rival firm, and these observations may reflect professional jealousy as much as anything else.
 137. Carlton Main Frickley Colliery Band, have recently recorded the work on their LP, Labour and Love (Grosvenor, GRS 1020).
 138. For an overview of specialised music since 1913, see Taylor op.cit., pp. 121-207.
 139. Russell and Elliott, op.cit., pp. 180-1
 140. Weston Nicholl received a lengthy and sympathetic obituary in the Halifax Courier, 2nd May 1925.
 141. Ibid
 142. Ibid
 143. Greenhead Park concert programmes, op.cit.,
 144. Ibid.
 145. Ibid.
 146. Ibid.
 147. Ibid.
 148. W. T. Walton, History of the Halifax (Northgate End) Orchestral Society, (Halifax, 1906), p.13.
 149. Francois Boieldieu (1775-1834), was an important, if now somewhat forgotten, French composer, largely of operatic music. Ruy Blas featured on the early programmes of Keighley and District Orchestral Society in February 1899, the Dewsbury Permanent Orchestral Band of Trade Unionists, in 1898.
 150. Walton, op.cit., Ibid.
 151. Yorkshire Post, 3rd Nov. 1898, Halifax Guardian, 5th Nov. 1898.
 152. M. Hartley and J. Ingilby, Life and Tradition in West Yorkshire (1976), p.152.
 153. Halifax Guardian, 7th January 1905.
 154. See below, pp. 230-244.
 155. Greenhead Park Concert Programmes, op.cit.
 156. MacKerness, Social History, pp. 181-3.
 157. For a concert of this type by Bramley Band, see B.Ob., 9th Nov. 1854; by Heckmondwike Artillery Volunteers, Ibid., 8th Aug. 1863.
 158. Scott, op.cit., p.194
 159. B.Ob., 11th July 1879.
 160. W.R.B.B.N., April 1893.

161. Greenhead Park Concert Programme, 22nd July 1903.
162. Scott gives an analysis of Joan of Arc on pp. 260-61. W.R.B.B.N noted in June 1889 that of the 53 contests to be held in the summer of that year, 10 had chosen Round's Excelsior as a test-piece. By April of the following year, 15 of the 26 contest committees already decided upon a contest piece, had chosen his Nil Desperandum.
163. William Rimmer (1862-1936). Son of the Bandmaster of the 13th Lancashire Rifle Volunteers. Leading cornet soloist in the 1880's but retired due to ill health. Very successful trainer, and arranger and composer of quite remarkable output.
- John Ord Hume (1864-1932). B. Edinburgh. Solo cornet in Royal Scots Greys in the 1880's, before turning his attention to brass bands, for which he was adjudicator, trainer and composer.
164. For a useful study of Musical Comedy, see R. Pearsall, Edwardian Popular Music (Newton Abbot, 1975) pp. 17-45.
165. See above, p.213 for Black Dyke and Monckton's Messenger Boy.
166. B.B., 11th July 1914. Lionel Monckton (1861-1924) wrote a large number of highly successful musical comedies in the Edwardian period, including A Country Girl, The Cingalee, The Quaker Girl, and The Dancing Mistress. Caryl (1861-1921) was responsible for The Duchess of Dantzig, The Girl From Kay's and Chin-Chin.
167. This was one of a set of arrangements by Ord Hume, produced for Richard Smith & Co.. Handbell teams also developed a penchant for Sullivan. A selection from the Mikado, was the testpiece at the 1910 Yorkshire Championships; B.B., 19th March 1910.
- iv)
168. H. R. Haweis, Music and Morals (1888 ed.), p.547.
169. This comment is interesting also, in that it represents one of the earliest manifestations of the interest in popular musical education through folk music, that was to become so prevalent by the late 19th century. See above, p.123.
170. Young, British, p.497.
171. The phrase occurs in the article on "Music For The People", in M.T., September 1881, pp. 456-457.
172. For moralistic attacks on the music hall in the M.T., see March 1879, p.140, where the songs were claimed to be full of "excessive vulgarity"; September 1881, p.457 and November 1885, pp. 652-53.
173. B.B. 12th January 1907.
174. Groves Dictionary of Music and Musicians (1954 ed.), p.392. In all fairness to the concertina's critics, however, the instrument's cause was not furthered by correspondents adopting as unpleasant a pen-name as "shrillreed" !
175. Scholes's section on bands in the Mirror of Music is very short, reflecting this poor coverage.
176. M.T., Oct. 1881, p.519. He thought this a "blessing".

177. B.B., 4th October 1913.
178. For the views of these three gentlemen, see K. Cook (Ed.), Oh, Listen to the Band (1950), pp. 13, 16, 36-67.
179. Yorkshire Orchestra, 8th August 1868. This was only one of several onslaughts directed at the brass band by this newspaper. See also 2nd May 1867 and 1st August 1868.
180. Musical Herald, September 1889. The teacher was Stocks Hammond of Frizinghall.
181. Galloway, op.cit., p.206.
182. J. S. Curwen, "The Progress of Popular Music", in Contemporary Review, August 1887, pp. 236-248, especially p.243.
183. B. Ob., 12th July 1879
184. Cook, op.cit., pp. 36-37
185. B. Ob., 17th July 1879.
186. Ibid; Bradford Pioneer, 2nd May 1914; Ibid, 23rd May 1914.
187. Undated and anonymous press cutting, referring to 15th April, 1896, Annual General Meeting of Huddersfield Choral Society, in Huddersfield Choral Society Minute Book.
188. M.T., Feb. 1895, pp. 114-15.
189. Halifax Amateur Orchestral Society, Minutes, May 19th 1883.
190. Ibid., January 1885.
191. The implications of this are dealt with above in Chapter 4, Section IV, p.178.
192. For the hysteria that greeted these artists, see Mrs. R. Maude, The Life of Jenny Lind (1926); W. Beckett, Liszt (1968 ed.); F. Dawson "Paganini in Leeds", Publications of the Thoresby Society, no. 33, 1935, gives an interesting local example of Paganini worship. Admittedly, the stress on virtuosity for its own sake abated to an extent from the middle of the century. See Weber, op.cit., p.60. But it was still to be found in the concert hall long after this date.
193. Illustrated London News, 3rd August 1861
194. Article originally from Sunday Chronicle, reprinted in the Cornet, October 1893.
195. Quoted in Galloway, op.cit., p.190.
196. Press cutting dated 25th October 1913, (probably from Halifax Guardian) in Alfred Clay, Press Cuttings Book, (Calderdale Reference Library), p.41.
197. B.B., 4th October 1913.
198. See below, Chapter 6, pp.267-8.
199. Orchestral Times and Bandsman, April 1891. The description is in fact of the methods employed by the Lancashire, Besses o' th' Barn Band, but it is typical of top level band training on a national scale.
200. Richardson's Brass Band Annual, 1895 (Sibsey, Lincs), p.9.

201. For an eloquent statement of this belief, see the report of the critic Ernest Newman's speech to the Worcestershire Musical Competition Committee, in Competition Festival Record, December 1910.
202. Probably the greatest change in band music since the early 1900's has been the production of music which placed demands on every member at some stage during the performance.
203. Interview with Mr. J. Haynes of Clayton, Bradford, Transcript p. 1.
204. Interview with Jim Wagstaffe, bass player with Hade Edge, Hepworth and Linthwaite bands over the course of the period, 1917-1973.
205. A Huddersfield bandsman, speaking in the late 1960's, quoted in B. Jackson, op.cit., p.33.
- v)
206. For example, on Shakespeare in the working man's club, see J. Taylor, op.cit., pp. 36-37.
207. Stuart Hall and Paddy Whannel, The Popular Arts (1964), p.52.
208. D. Thompson (ed.), Discrimination and Popular Culture (Penguin, 1968), p.172 and p.163; Henry Raynor, Music and Society Since 1815 (1976), p.152.
209. William Morris, "The Society of the Future", quoted in A. L. Morton (ed.), Political Writings of William Morris (1973), p.193. My underlining.
210. Ibid., pp. 125-26.
211. Quoted in E. P. Thompson, William Morris, Romantic to Revolutionary (1955), pp. 771-72.
212. Morton, op.cit., p.110
213. The concept is often used with the author making very little attempt to define exactly what he/she means by it. Some of the key components of so called "High Culture" are listed in M. A. Smith, S. Parker, C. S. Smith (ed.), Leisure & Society in Britain (1973), p.18; One of the most pungent arguments against use of the concept is S. Sontag, Against Interpretation (London 1967). Most books dealing in any way with the concept of "popular culture" deal to some extent with "High Culture". See particularly Hall and Whannel, op.cit., passim; C.W.E. Brigsby (ed.), The Politics of Popular Culture (1977); Richard Hoggart, The Uses of Literacy (1957).
214. "Highbrow" is Eric Hobsbawm's chosen adjective in The Age of Capital (1975), p.278. "Heavy" is Jack Scott's in his doctoral thesis, op.cit., p.229; "quality" is used by Ed. Lee in Music of the People (1970), p.89; "serious" is adopted by Helen Mellor in, Leisure and The Changing City, 1870-1914 (1976), p.223. "Classical" is of course the term in most regular usage. Finally "art" is chosen by Hall and Whannel, op.cit., pp. 24-25, Thompson, op.cit., p.155, and R. Elbourne, "Singing Away to the Click of the Shuttle", in Local Historian, Vol. 12, No. 1, 1976, p.13.

215. For a fairly standard critical view of 19th century music before about 1880, see P. Young, A History, pp. 441-480.
216. Times, May 3rd 1855.
217. See Ronald Pearsall, Victorian, p.143.
218. Groves, Dictionary of Music and Musicians, (1907 ed.), see entry "partsong".
219. Ibid., (1927 ed.), see entry "partsong". See also P. Scholes Companion, p.763.
220. Certainly, not all of the poetry used was of a very high standard. The poems that Tennyson produced for Sullivan's song-cycle, The Window, were thought to be poor, even by their author! But much of the period's better poetic stock was utilised by composers.
221. Details of the testpieces from J. F. Russell and J. H. Elliot, op.cit., pp. 169-70, and details of first performances from Alfred Lowenberg, Annals of Opera (1943).
222. Bradford Observer, 9th August, 1860.
223. For details of Sibelius and Tchaikowsky's popularity in the late 19th century and early 20th century, see P. Scholes, Mirror Vol.1 pp. 439-40, p.448. The whole of chapter xi, pp. 413-467 is extremely useful as a guide to the popularity of various foreign composers. Finlandia has the honour of being No. 1 in Alan Keith's B.B.C. Radio Series, Your 100 Best Tunes.
224. Russell and Elliot, op.cit., p.129
225. Jack Scott, op.cit., p.259
226. Sydney H. Crowther, from 1922 until the present day a music journalist with the Huddersfield Examiner, remembers clearly that his first introduction to Wagner, a composer that he came to hold in the highest esteem, came in the form of a performance of The Flying Dutchman by Lindley Brass Band, at a public park concert. See transcript of an interview with Mr. Crowther, p.2.
227. B.B., 12th January, 1907.
228. Musical Progress, January 1914.
229. B.B., 12th February 1910
230. Alan Redfearn, of Crewe and Alsager College, is conducting research into Leisure in Crewe between 1880 and 1914. He has interviewed several ex-railwayworkers who remembered visiting operatic performances in the Edwardian period. I am grateful to him for furnishing me with this information.
231. For Faust at the Canterbury, see Harold Scott, The Early Doors (1946), p.135. For details of a typical music-hall orchestra, see the programmes of Pullan's Music Hall, Bradford, in Bradford Central Library, Archives Division.
232. Y.D.O., 24th March 1914.
233. Y.D.O., 20th January 1902.
234. P. Razzell and R. W. Wainwright, (ed.) The Victorian Working Class (1973), pp. 318-19.

235. Certainly, hymn tunes are still sung in many West Yorkshire public houses on Sunday mornings, today. For example of this, see transcript of interview with Mr. Arthur Senior, pp. 3-4. For carol-singing at Christmas time in public houses in the Sheffield area, see the articles by Ian Russell, in Lore and Language, Nos. 3 and 8, and his sleeve notes on the L.P., A People's Carol (Lee 4065).
236. Musical Home Journal, 10th March 1908.
237. H. R. Haweis, Music and Morals (1888), pp. 533-40, describes the variety of street music and Haweis's attitude to it.
238. Musical Herald, April 1899.
239. See Haweis, op.cit., pp. 538-540, for examples of "art music" in the street musicians repertoire.
240. B. Ob., 20th February 1891.
241. Yorkshire Observer Budget, 11th March 1911.
242. James Burnley, Sketches of Bradford Life (1871), pp. 54-63 has much useful information on the singing saloon repertoire.
243. For an analysis of this process, see Chapter One of D. C. Russell, True Blues Stand to your Guns; Politics, Patriotism and Social Comment in Music Hall Song and Sketch, c. 1880-1914, (unpublished B.A. dissertation, University of York, 1974).

Chapter Six

1. Minute Book of the Huddersfield Choral Society, 25th July 1843.
2. Minute Books of Bradford Festival Choral Society, 17th December 1890.
3. Interview with Anne-Marie Ashworth (nee Clough), p.4.
4. For details of establishment of Black Dyke Juniors, see Robert Narr, Music For The People (Edinburgh 1889), pp. 118-121, and Music and Musicians at the Edinburgh International Exhibition (1887), pp. 96-102.
5. Cornet, Oct. 1893.
6. B.B., March 1896.
7. B.B., June 1888; B.B., 19th Feb. 1910; Minutes of Halifax (Northgate End) Orchestral Society, in Calderdale Archives.
8. H. N. Pobjoy, A History of Mirfield (Driffield, 1969), p.201; M. J. Jagger The History of Honley (Honley, 1914), p.143; W.R.B.B.N., April 1882, reprinted W.R.B.B.N., August 1889.
9. This was quite possibly the result of the choral society's tendency to be organised by its middle and lower-middle class membership. The subscription as opposed to the weekly payment appears to have been distinctly "middle class".
10. The Huddersfield, Bradford Festival and Leeds Philharmonic Societies all had 5/- subscriptions until the very end of the Edwardian period.
11. Chorus Roll-Books of Leeds Philharmonic, 1905-06, 1904-05.
12. See above Chapter 4 , pp. 143-44.
13. Minute Book of Leeds Prize Musical Union, 20th September 1894, pp. 51-52 and p.137.
14. See Chapter Two, pp. 49-53.
15. Certain choirs, particularly male voice choirs, never had any sanctions concerning the consumption of alcohol, and actually made a point of meeting in public houses, seeing drinking and singing as part of a wider culture of conviviality. See interview with James Petty, p.4.
16. See for example Philharmonic Letter Books, 29th January 1896, 25th March 1901, 12th March 1913.
17. I. Dewhirst, Gleanings From Edwardian Yorkshire (Driffield, 1975), p.28.
18. W. L. Wilmshurst and S. H. Crowther, The Huddersfield Choral Society, 1886-1961 (Huddersfield, 1961), p.9.
19. Ibid., p.13; Rule XXI of Bradford Choral Society Rulebook (Bradford, 1843).
20. See Minutes of Bradford Festival Choral Society, 3rd February 1887 and Bradford Observer, 4th February 1887.
21. Henry Livings, That the Medals and the Baton be Put on View (1975), p.12.

22. I was told this story by an anonymous gentleman at a band contest at St. George's Hall, Bradford, on 12th February 1978. It is apparently a fairly common band story.
23. Bradford Observer, 18th August, 1885.
24. G. F. Sewell, A History of the Bradford Festival Choral Society, (Bradford 1907), pp. 121-2.
25. Huddersfield Examiner, 22nd July 1911.
26. W.R.B.B.N., Jan. 1895.
27. Anon, Shipley Through The Camera (Shipley 1902), p.42.
28. Ibid., p.43.
29. For the origins and progress of the Volunteer Movement, see H. Cunningham, op.cit., For the volunteer bands noted here, see J. H. White, op.cit., p.25; B.Ob., 4th April 1873.
30. E. Mackerness, Social History, p.166.
31. The majority of Victorian and Edwardian bandsmen would have been as upset as those players spoken to by Brian Jackson in the 1960's, by the media image of the bandsman being a heavy drinker above all else. See B. Jackson, Working Class Community, (Pelican ed. 1972), p.25.
32. Transcript of Interview with Cecil Dowling, p.3.
33. Transcript of Interview with Arthur Senior, p.3.
34. Transcript of Interview with Sydney Crowther, p.3. The Holme Valley Male Voice Choir was the choir in question.
35. On gambling in general see R. McKibbin, "Working Class Gambling in Britain, 1880-1939", Past and Present, 82, 1979. Obviously the amount of money wagered on musical contests as opposed to horse-racing was relatively small. Nevertheless, substantial amounts may well have been involved. Members of the Lancashire Failsworth Reed Band "laid heavy wagers" on their winning a Reed Band Competition at Manchester in 1855, according to L.I., 28th July 1855. See Orchestral Times, Aug. 1896, for a condemnation of the practice.
36. B. Ob., 2nd September, 1858
37. B.B., July 1888.
38. For the Belle Vue incident, see B.B., October 1888 and for the Ilkley incident, transcript of interview with Cecil Dowling, p.3. Probably the most serious band riot in the 19th century took place at Linlithgow in Scotland in 1893. The crowd, furious that John Gladney had given the first prize to a band using a soloist borrowed from Besses o' th' Barn, charged the bandstand and had to be driven back by police. Stones and divots were then hurled at the police, and a wooden entrance gate ripped down and used to replenish the stock of missiles. Gladney, guarded by a cordon of police, was harried all the way to the station. For this spectacular occurrence, see Cornet, Aug. 1893.
39. The paper was especially annoyed that the Crystal Palace Championships with which the Bandsman was so closely associated, had been affected by a display of "ruffianism".

40. B.B., 14th Jan. 1911. Violence directed towards the judge has been almost unknown in contests since 1945, although some bandsmen are not averse to showing disapproval in the form of boos, jeers and whistles. In general, however, contests are nowadays extremely decorous occasions. In fairness to the Victorian and Edwardian "hooligan" element, it should be noted that a minority of judges were not above accepting bribes. Indeed, Cecil Dowling actually remembers Armley and Wortley being approached by a judge who offered them first prize in return for financial reward, an offer rejected in no uncertain terms. It is possible that certain outbreaks of violence may have stemmed from a belief that such malpractice had taken place, and should thus be seen as the meting out of moral justice. Given the widely accepted scrupulousness of most judges, however, this would only explain a small number of incidents.
41. Leeds Musical Union, Minutes, 1893, p.26 and pp. 51-2.
42. See for example, J. Myerscough, "The Recent History of the Use of Leisure Time", in I. Appleton, (ed.) Leisure Research and Policy (Edinburgh, 1974), p.16; G. Best. op.cit., p. 220.
43. Cornet, July 1893; W.R.B.B.N., July 1893; W.R.B.B.N., Sept. 1895.
44. W.R.B.B.N., Aug. 1893.
45. Peter Bailey has argued this point cogently in his article "Will the Real Bill Banks Please Stand Up? Towards a Role Analysis of Mid-Victorian Working Class Respectability", Journal of Social History, 12, 1979. However, he attempts to link his observation that people could move in and out of positions of "respectability according to the situation", to sociological role theory. He argues that in the tight, insular, pre-industrial community, one's behaviour came under continual scrutiny from the same small group. In the city, however, "the diversification of social context allows for a greater variability in personal behaviour as role activities become insulated from the continuous observation of actual and potential role others". But, Wyke was in fact not dissimilar in the 1890's, to the small pre-industrial community that Bailey has in mind. The Temperance bandsmen would have been under fairly close scrutiny from a specific community and news of their behaviour would have spread rapidly. It does not necessarily follow, therefore, that a "flexible" respectability could only flourish in a city context.
46. George Hogarth, in Mainzer's Musical Times, 15th November 1842. A group from Lancashire went as far as Salisbury as early as 1792. See Pritchard, op.cit., p.141.
47. J. H. White, op.cit., p.23.
48. W. Watson, Idlethorpe (Bradford, 1950), p.457.
49. G. F. Sewell, op.cit., pp. 53-65.
50. My underlining. B.B., 16th August, 1902.
51. For details of Besses's travels see B.B., June 1891; Russell and Elliot, op.cit., pp. 178-180.

52. This tour was unfortunately extremely poorly covered both by the Brass Band magazines and in the local press. But for essential details see Yorkshire Observer, 30th June 1906; 26th November 1906.
53. Yorkshire Observer, 20th-27th September 1906; C. M. Cudworth, Photographs of Old Horbury (Halifax 1973), p.45 (My pagination); M. Hartley and J. Ingilby, Life and Tradition in West Yorkshire (1976), p.152; The best coverage of the Paris Tournament is to be found in Competition Festival Record, May and June 1912. It is probable that overall, members enjoyed the shorter trips somewhat more than the longer tours, such as those undertaken by Black Dyke and Besses, which involved a tremendous amount of travelling in often uncomfortable conditions. On his return to England in 1906 after the American tour, Willie Jeffrey of Black Dyke recorded that: "I have asked the fellows and they wouldn't like to do it again". A Taylor, op.cit., p.103.
54. See E. D. MacKerness, Somewhere Further North (Sheffield, 1975), pp. 119-120, for the motives behind the foreign tours of Sheffield Choristers in 1906, 1908, and 1911. For contemporary statements, see the comments of Dr. Varrentrop, Burgomaster of Frankfurt, in Yorkshire Observer, 27th September 1906.
55. Russell and Elliot, op.cit., p.178.
56. Bradford Weekly Telegraph, 31st May 1912.
57. Competition Festival Record, July 1912.
58. Bradford Weekly Telegraph, op.cit.
59. Bradford Daily Argus, 29th June 1906.
60. Ibid.
61. Leeds Philharmonic Letter Books, 19th March 1912.
62. Ibid., 18th June 1912.
63. Cornet, October 1893.
64. S.M.R., June 1896.
65. I. Dewhirst, Gleanings From Edwardian Yorkshire (Driffield, 1975), p.26.
66. B.B., March 1896.
67. Cornet, January 1901
68. Ibid., October 1893.
69. B.B., 29th November 1902.
70. For Auty's funeral see W.R.B.B.N., June 1888. When Willie Lee, conductor of Dewsbury Old Band and Dewsbury Handbell Ringers died in April 1890, W.R.B.B.N. claimed that "several thousands" attended the funeral. Even allowing for exaggeration, this suggests the presence of a sizeable gathering.
71. For one such scheme initiated by R. S. Burton and the Leeds Choral Society, see L.I., 20th March, 1852.
72. Cornet, March 1901.
73. Keighley News, 25th November 1865.

74. W.R.B.B.N., June 1889.
75. W. Watson, op.cit., p.457; W.R.B.B.N., March 1895; Leeds Musical Union, Minutes, 14th Aug. 1895.
76. Competition Festival Record, Feb. 1914.
77. White, op.cit., pp. 19-20.
78. Ibid., pp. 14-15.
79. See J. Sykes, Slawit in the Sixties (Huddersfield n.d., c.1925) pp. 79-80; Cornet, October 1893.
80. Article on Emley Band in Huddersfield Weekly Examiner, 9th Feb. 1957.
81. See Hanson's Yorkshire Musical Directory (Leeds, 1894). The only copy that I have discovered is in Leeds City Reference Library. By "amateur" is meant somebody who earned their daily living by a profession other than music. "Semi-Professional" might be a better term, but the Victorian's preferred amateur.
82. F. R. Spark, J. Bennett, History of the Leeds Musical Festivals, 1858-1889 (Leeds, 1892), p.78.
83. For examples see, Obituary of Charles Auty, B.B., June 1888; note on James Wilkinson, B.B., January 1889; E. Lockwood, Colne Valley Folk (1936), pp. 159-161, for career of Richard Stead; B.B., 12th January 1907, for Bradford City Band members playing with Carl Rosa Opera Company in Bradford. In 1910, there appears to have been something of an effort by the Amalgamated Musicians Union to unionise roller skating rink bandsmen, but it is not clear how successful they were. See B.B., 22nd January 1910.
84. Cornet, January 1910.
85. W.R.B.B.N., November 1889; See the Cornet and W.R.B.B.N. from August 1893 to early 1895 for continued debate about paid players. The organisers of the 1894 Blackpool contest actually banned any band using paid players from taking part, but this was a rare case. Organisers were reluctant to do this, as it would exclude so many top bands and thus keep the attendance low.
86. Cornet, October 1893.
87. Ibid.
88. W.R.B.B.N., March 1895.
89. Cornet, May 1907.
90. E. Hick, Leeds Press Cuttings, Vol. 8 (Leeds City Reference Library), p.60.
91. Paley had toured the USA as a member of Gilmore's Band at the age of 18 in 1892; Cornet, May 1893. For Paley at Dewsbury Empire, see B.B., 24th December 1912.
92. No biography of Mrs. Sunderland exists, but a useful sketch can be found in W. Smith (ed.), Old Yorkshire, series 2, Vol. 2 (1890), pp. 235-238. For her farewell concert see R. Brook, The Story of Huddersfield, p.215.

93. R. Mellor, Memoirs of a Veteran Organist, (Huddersfield, 1874), pp. 33-34.
94. See cutting from Pastime, n.d. (c.1900), in Huddersfield Glee and Madrigal Society Miscellaneous box of cuttings, in Kirklees (Huddersfield) Archives Department.
95. Scott, op.cit., p.211.
96. There appears to have been a strong link between the Halle and the brass band fraternity. For examples of bandsmen passing into this orchestra, see R. Marr, Music and Musicians, p.156.; Young, British Music, p.489.
97. Colne Valley Almanac, 1911; for Fawcetts see Wright, The Fawcetts of Eccleshill and Horsforth (1974).
98. For the problems of the music teacher, see Scholes, Mirror, Vol. 11, pp. 726-27.
99. For Midgley's intriguing life see his autobiography, My Seventy Years Musical Memories, 1860-1930 (1934).
100. Brass Band Annual, 1894 (Sibsey, Lincs).
101. Algernon S. Rose, op.cit., p.325.
102. W.R.B.B.N., June 1889.
103. H. Livings, op.cit., p.36. It is all too easy to forget that recreation could bring a whole host of problems into people's lives. For a valuable discussion of this point, see P. Bailey, Leisure, Chapter Three and particularly, pp. 63-6.
104. P. Thompson, Edwardians, pp. 197-202.
105. Ibid., p.198. Dr. Thompson's "escape" category is also misleading because it is so wide. He includes under the heading "escape" both the "arts" and the public house and yet there is surely an immense difference in the type of activity demanded by these two phenomena. The public house, irrespective of the amount of alcohol consumed, generally placed far fewer intellectual demands upon its customers than the symphony concert or the Shakespeare Tragedy.

Chapter Seven

i)

1. Quoted in R. Pearsall, Victorian, p.119. The Curwen family and their followers were probably amongst the more extreme proponents of music's moral mission, but there were many who have agreed with the sentiments expressed in this quotation.
2. Farnsworth was visiting Europe on behalf of the American music teaching profession. See S.M.R., May 1909.
3. Ibid., Feb. 1907. The inspector concerned was W. G. Rothery.
4. For the establishment of the Leeds concerts see H. A. Fricker, Scheme for the Enlargement and Development of the Town Hall Organ Recitals (Leeds, 1902). For the public's reaction to them, see the Yorkshire Post and Yorkshire Evening Post, 1902-1913, especially Y.P., 5th and 6th November 1903, 27th, 28th November 1908; Y.E.P., 27th November 1908; and 21st March 1910 - 10th April 1910, for debate between "J.H.G." and Samuel Midgley of Bradford. The debates over musical competition were very fully covered in the Musical Times, and the Competition Festival Record, a supplement which appeared in M.T. from August 1908, and in the S.M.R. from 1910. The majority of competitive festival organiser's time was spent discussing music, but social considerations regularly emerged. In 1904, Dr. MacNaught, the Government's chief inspector of school music and a prominent member of the Festival Movement, stressed the great value of the competitive festival as a "social affair". "It is this aspect of the movement that should make us all very tolerant of musical shortcomings". M.T., June 1904, pp. 392-397.
5. For the politico-social uses of the arts in the 19th century, see T. Tholfsen, Working Class Radicalism in Mid-Victorian England (1976), pp. 168-176.
6. For Hickson, B. Rainbow, Land Without Music, pp. 35-37. Jesse Collings's philanthropic exploits along with those of Miss Hill and several other organisations, are discussed in F. Marshall, "Music and The People", Nineteenth Century, December 1880, pp. 921-932, and in M.T., June 1879. Also see, Octavia Hill, "Colour, Space and Music For the People", Nineteenth Century, June 1884, pp. 741-752. Blatchford is discussed in Section II of this chapter, pp. 288-289.

i)

7. From this point, this organisation is referred to in the text as the LRRS. For an excellent overview of music as a vehicle for defending society, see B. Pritchard, op.cit., pp. 502-571.
8. B.Ob., 15th Feb. 1849. Samuel Smith (1804-1873), a native of Halifax, came to Bradford in 1839, along with his 3 brothers, to establish Fieldhead Dyeworks. A moderate Whig, he quickly gained a foothold in local politics, eventually becoming Mayor of Bradford for successive years between 1851-53. He was an ardent musical enthusiast, helping establish some of Bradford's first Subscription Concerts in 1844, founding the Bradford Festival

Choral Society in 1856 and the Bradford Orchestral Society in 1860, as well as composing a certain amount of sacred music. William Rand (1796-1868), was a highly successful manufacturer, who, after an initial flirtation with Conservatism, was to become a prominent local Liberal. He was a Liberal alderman from 1847 to 1862 and was Mayor in 1850. See A. H. Robinson, "The Rands", in Bradford and Halifax Chamber of Commerce Journal 2, July-September, 1975.

9. B.Ob., 1st September 1853
10. The most detailed study of the building of St. George's Hall, Bradford, is found in H. Hird, "Bradford Remembrancer", (Halifax and London 1972), pp. 179-187. For Colstan Hall, see H. E. Meller, Leisure and The Changing City, 1870-1914 (1976), p.57. For Leeds Town Hall as a concert hall for the poor, see A. Briggs, "The Building of Leeds Town Hall," Publications of the Thoresby Society, XLVI (1960), p.288.
11. For the foundation meeting see L.M., 21st February 1852. It did not actually take on its formal title until May 1852.
12. Ibid., 10th January 1852. It was Stalker's letters to the press that initiated the debate over popular recreation, which in turn led to the founding of the LRRS. He was a Baptist minister in Leeds.
13. L.I. 6th May 1854.
14. J. H. White, op.cit., p.16-7.
15. Ibid.
16. L.M., 27th June 1885, 14th July 1885.
17. Cornet, September 1898.
18. A. Rose, op.cit., p.xii
19. The fullest study of the changing attitude to drink in the 19th century is the magnificent, B. Harrison, Drink And The Victorians (1971).
20. Y.D.O. 31st August 1907, 20th August 1907, 11th March 1907. Midgley's attempts to inaugurate subsidised chamber concerts in 1907 and again in 1911, produced a fascinating public response which tells us much about both middle class attitudes to popular leisure, and contemporary thought about municipal support for the arts. His campaign (which began in earnest with a lecture at Bradford Liberal Club in March 1907, reported in the Y.D.O., 11th March 1907) is dealt with in his autobiography, My Seventy Years Musical Memories (1934). But much can also be gained from the correspondence columns of the Y.D.O. from 10th August 1907 - 7th October 1907 and again from 9th October - 26th October 1910. Concerts eventually commenced in 1911, but Midgley had to fund them himself, the Conservatives and certain Liberals on the City Council deciding his plan was too expensive, and essentially an unnecessary luxury. Subsequent attendances of over 1,000, including many working men, illustrated that perhaps such councillors undervalued popular musical sensibility.
21. L.I., 5th May 1857.

22. Yorkshire Orchestra, 28th December 1867.
23. School Music Review, November 1909.
24. Y.D.O., 15th August 1907.
25. Sydney H. Crowther, A Hundred Years of Making Music (Huddersfield, 1974), p.22.
26. For a stimulating discussion of the relationship between working class political agitation and middle class philanthropy, see G. Stedman Jones, Outcast London (Oxford, 1974). In the late 1840's and 1850's there were "concerts for the people" in Sheffield, Glasgow, Birmingham, Bath, Manchester, Halifax, Huddersfield, Oldham and doubtless in many other areas. The early 1880's saw another spate of musical philanthropy, with innumerable articles, (M.T. June 1879, September 1880, March 1881, September 1882, August 1885, October 1885, November 1885, for example) and concerts in most Yorkshire towns, and also in Hemley, Manchester, Birmingham, Bridgewater, Nottingham and Oldham. For the activity of the early 20th century, see W. J. Galloway, Musical England (1910), pp. 47-65.
27. J. Scott, op.cit., pp. 113-15.
28. Samuel Greg, "Two Letters to Leonard Horner esq., on the capabilities of the Factory System" (1840), p.23, quoted in E. MacKerness, Social History, p.131.
29. Rose, op.cit., pp.303-304.
30. W. J. Galloway, op.cit., p.200.
31. Salt's model community is best approached through R. Balgarnie, Sir Titus Salt, (London, 1878), and J. Reynolds, Saltaire, (Bradford, 1976).
32. See E. Sigsworth, Black Dyke Mills (Liverpool, 1958), pp. ix-xii.
33. M.T., February 1850. The firm involved were Messrs. W. Fison & Co., Arundel Street.
34. Times, 5th September 1853, L.M., 25th August 1859.
35. Scott, op.cit., p.112; Joseph Craven, A Bronte Moorland Village and its People: A History of Stanbury (Keighley, 1907), pp. 129-130; The Origins and Progress of the Caminado Band: with a few short accounts of the most striking incidents in connection with its formation etc., Ms. in R. V. Marriner & Co. records, special collection, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds; Russell and Elliot, op.cit. pp. 160-161. For Fox's donation, see P. Young, History, p.496. A number of industrialists sought to gain as great an influence as possible in the sphere of working class recreation. Charles Sykes, a Huddersfield woollen manufacturer, combined the presidency of the Huddersfield Glee and Madrigal Society, with the highly prestigious presidency of Huddersfield Town Football Club.
36. A popular song by J. Liptrot Hatton (1809-1886), which concerns the dubious drinking habits of a barman.
37. Times, 29th August 1859
38. These were some of the songs advertised in the Tonic Sol-Fa Reporter in the 1850's.

39. Robert Colls, Past and Present, 73, 1976
40. The programme is outlined in B.B., 6th September 1913. Whether the majority of bandsmen were ever acquainted with the programme in any depth, is not known.
41. For a typical programme, see Halifax Guardian, 28th January 1854.
42. The programmes of these concerts from 27th September 1902 - January 30th 1909, are kept in the reference section of Leeds Public Library.
43. See for example, Y.D.O., 24th January 1911, 21st February 1911, 30th January 1912.
44. See below Chapter Four, pp. 202-203.
- ii)
45. See M. Vicinus, op.cit., Chapter One.
46. E. Royle, op.cit., p.233.
47. Quoted in Vicinus, op.cit., p.104. See also the comment by a writer in the "Miners Advocate", 6th April 1844, also quoted in Vicinus, p.61.
48. Quoted in Vicinus, op.cit., p.107
49. See Royle, op.cit., pp. 232-3.
50. See Vicinus, op.cit., Chapter 3, pp. 94-139 for an illuminating discussion of Chartist literature. On Chartist theatre, see C. Barker, "The Chartists, Theatre, Reform and Research", Theatre Quarterly, 1, 4, 1971.
51. For song in the socialist movement, see Stephen Yeo, "A New Life: The Religion of Socialism in Britain, 1873-96," in History Workshop, No. 4, Autumn 1977, pp. 34-5.
52. See the Bradford Labour Church songbook, in Bradford Central Library, Archives Dept.
53. Bradford Labour Echo, 18th and 25th May 1895.
54. Ibid., 29th February 1896.
55. Yorkshire Factory Times, 3rd November 1897.
56. For details of the Bethesda choir's visit, see Ibid., 2nd, 9th and 16th July, 1897. In 1905, a choir from a striking colliery in the Garw Valley, South Wales, went on a national fundraising tour and spent twelve days in Bradford, raising £58 during their stay there. See Forward, (the ILP newspaper for Bradford and district), 24th June 1905.
57. See Yorkshire Factory Times, 28th January 1898.
58. For a valuable discussion of the problems involved in founding specifically socialist bands, see B. Jackson, op.cit., p.24.
59. The best introduction to the 19th century and early 20th century Co-operative Movement is S. Pollard, "Nineteenth Century Co-Operation: From Community Building to Shopkeeping", in A. Briggs and J. Saville, Essays in Labour History, 1 (1967 ed.), pp. 74-112. For the movement in the textile district, there is

much useful information in the various jubilee histories published between 1909-1911. See for example, O. Balmforth, Huddersfield Industrial Society Ltd., Jubilee History (Manchester, 1910); Jos Rhodes, Half a Century of Co-operation in Keighley, 1860-1910 (Manchester, 1911); J. Bennett and J. Baldwin, City of Bradford Co-Operative Society Ltd., Jubilee History, 1860-1910 (Bradford, 1911).

60. Co-operative choirs were founded at, Bingley, Bradford, Delph, Huddersfield, Slaithwaite, Wakefield and Wilsden.
61. For the Huddersfield Choir, see Balmforth, op.cit., pp. 213, 215 217-220, 223.
62. Between October 1906 and March 1907, the Leeds Co-operative Choir fulfilled 35 engagements, a prodigious achievement by contemporary standards. See Co-operative News, 27th April 1907. The championships were well covered by the co-operative press.
63. Montagu Blatchford, (? - 1910). Apart from his work with the Clarion Movement, he was a member of Halifax schoolboard, a town councillor, President of the Halifax Federated Trades and Labour Council and a founder of the Halifax Arts and Craft Society. For obituaries, see Clarion, 22nd April 1910, Yorkshire Factory Times, 19th May 1910.
64. The articles appeared in the Clarion, 1st September, 15th September, 29th September 1894. The first of these, "On striking the lyre", is the most important.
65. For full size of the CVU see Clarion, 4th February 1910. Clarion vocal unions were founded in the textile district in Bradford, Colne Valley (based at Slaithwaite), Elland, Halifax, Huddersfield, Keighley, Leeds, Morley and Dobcross. There were also specifically "socialist" choirs, presumably attached to a club or institute at Farsley, nr. Leeds, and at Honley.
66. Bradford Labour Echo, 18th January 1896.
67. Clarion, 12th January 1895.
68. Ibid., 21st December 1895.
69. Ibid., 3rd July 1895.
70. For a typical CVU competition, Ibid., 4th May 1906. For Keighley CVU's disappointment, Keighley Labour Journal, 26th June 1897. I am indebted to David James, archivist of Bradford Central Library for this reference.
71. See particularly, A. L. Morton, op.cit., passim, and E. P. Thompson, Morris, passim.
72. Clarion, 4th May 1906.
73. For a study of one aspect of this, see David Prynne "The Clarion Clubs, Rambling and the Holiday Associations in Britain Since the 1890's", in Journal of Contemporary History, July 1976, pp. 65-75.
74. The speaker on this occasion was Earl Grey, addressing the National Co-operative Festival at Crystal Palace, in 1898. See B.Ob., 20th August 1898. There were, however, many infinitely more humble co-operators who would have agreed with this sentiment.

75. Clarion, 12th December 1895.
76. Keighley Labour Journal, 10th December 1898.
77. "Comrades in Arms" was a great favourite with both male and mixed voice choirs, for it could be interpreted either as an overtly socialist manner, or merely as an expression of mutual friendship.
78. Clarion, 4th May 1906; Competitive Festival Record, May 1914.
79. Co-operative News, 2nd July 1898.
80. Bennet and Baldwin, op.cit., pp. 235-36. There were people within the co-operative movement who sought to develop almost an alternative repertoire. Mr. S. Fairbrother, Chairman of the North-Western Regional Co-operative Choral Association said at Manchester in 1907 that Co-operative choirs should forget the "rubbish" imposed upon them by some entertainers and use material such as "The Marseillaise" and Ebenezer Elliot's, "When Wilt Thou Save The People?" See Co-operative News, 2nd March 1907. The only example of a brass band composition dedicated to the socialist or radical cause so far discovered, is Granville Bantock's, Festival March, which was composed for the 21st birthday celebrations of the ILP in 1914. See B.B., 11th and 18th April 1914.
81. Y.D.O., 25th September 1904.
82. Co-operative News, 21st September 1907.
83. Keighley Labour Journal, 28th August 1897.
84. This belief emerges very clearly in the early articles on the Clarion choirs, written by Blatchford in Autumn, 1895. See footnote 64 for details. This approach may well have helped push the Clarion Movement away from its early aggressive socialist standpoint towards the position whereby it became very much "a recreational society". See, S. Yeo, History Workshop, p.38.

iii)

85. Geoffrey Best, op.cit., p.240.
86. Cornet, January 1901. On this subject also see, T. L. Cooper, Brass Bands of Yorkshire (Clapham, 1974), p.97.
87. The three were Hodgson Ingham, Wilfred Ingham and Fred Marshall. See Cornet, March 1901.
88. Anon, Shipley Through The Camera (Bradford, 1902), p.43.
89. B. Harrison, op.cit., pp. 299-347.
90. The phrase was used by John Botterill, Mayor of Leeds, at a Leeds Rational Recreation Society concert in 1857. L.I., 5th May 1857.
91. Amongst the most significant attempts at relating leisure and politics are G. S. Jones, "Working Class Culture and Working Class Politics in London, 1870-1900", in Journal of Social History Vol. 7, No. 4, 1974; R. Q. Gray, International Review of Social History, 18, 1973; Donald Read, The English Provinces (1964), pp. 228-31. Works dealing with the issue are still, however, very rare.

92. This, of course, may have been due to the fact that elderly people do not expect to be asked questions on politics by an interviewer purportedly interested in music. In general, however, most of the people interviewed were fairly adamant that political activity and political discussion played little or no part in musical life.
93. Many "general" history books choose either 1875 or 1880 as convenient starting and stopping points.
94. The general outlines of working class political activity are dealt with in Chapter One. See footnotes 64-81 of that chapter for bibliographical information. On Manningham Mills, see particularly Pearce, op.cit., and Reynolds/Laybourn, op.cit.
95. D. Martin, A Sociology of English Religion (London, 1967)p.27. See also pp. 104-105.
96. J. Reynolds, K. Laybourn, op.cit., p.313; Henry Pelling, Origins, p.226.
97. The political events of the 17th century, the Imperialist adventures of the 18th century, which helped give Britain a strong enough commercial base to build a stable economy, the impact of Methodism, the willingness of the ruling class to make belated but crucial reforms, the basic consensus that existed, particularly after 1850, between the working class and middle class political nation, all these and a range of other factors of greater or lesser importance helped shape the English working classes' non-revolutionary, "labourist" political culture. It would be an impossible task to deal with all these various discussions and debates in this thesis; indeed it is difficult enough to provide a footnote pointing the reader to even a few of the relevant works. The following contain seminal discussions of English working class consciousness and political culture. E. P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (Penguin, 1968); E. P. Thompson, "The Peculiarities of the English", Socialist Register, 1965; W. Barrington More, The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy (1967); Tom Nairn "The English Working Class", in R. Blackburn, (ed), Ideology in Social Science (1972); Perry Anderson, "Origins of the Present Crisis", New Left Review, No. 23; J. Foster, Class Struggle and Industrial Revolution (1974); D. Martin and D. Rubinstein (ed.) Ideology and The Labour Movement (1979); All these works are written from one Marxist perspective or another, and contain a great deal of stimulating material. Despite the shared ideological standpoints of the authors, however, their actual arguments often vary considerably. For a non-Marxist perspective see T. Tholfsen, Working Class Radicalism in Mid-Victorian England (1976); H. F. Moorhouse, "The Marxist Theory of the Labour Aristocracy", in Social History, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1978. M. Hill, A Sociology of Religion, pp. 183-204 looks at the Methodist contribution to the lack of revolutionary consciousness in late 18th century and early 19th century.
98. John Sugden, Slaithwaite Notes, Past and Present (Huddersfield, 1905, 3rd edition), pp. 22-23.
99. B.B., 18th October 1913.

100. On music at Peterloo, S. Bamford, Passages in the Life of a Radical, Vol. 2 (1893 ed.), p.150.
101. J. H. White, op.cit., pp. 13-14.
102. Cornet, July 1907.
103. B. Ob., 31st January 1891. On Sunday 22nd March 1891, one of the largest meetings the strikers ever held, involving at least 10,000 people, was entertained by "sacred selections", performed by Daisy Hill Brass Band. B. Ob., 23rd March 1891.
104. B.Ob., 1st April 1903.
105. Yorkshire Orchestra, 8th January 1868.
106. B.B., September 1891; Brighouse Echo, 15th July, 19th August and 29th July 1904.
107. J. H. White, op.cit., p.7. The Tories paid £2, the Liberals 15/-.
108. Brighouse Echo, 10th June 1904.
109. Anon, The Huddersfield Glee and Madrigal Society: A Jubilee Record, 1876-1926, (Huddersfield, 1926), p.22. The Glee and Madrigal had a membership similar to that of the Huddersfield Choral Society, for which see Chapter 3, pp. 70-73.
110. Yorkshire Factory Times, 2nd June and 23rd June 1910; B.B., 9th July 1910. In other regions, notably Durham, bands specifically connected to union lodges seem to have emerged. See D. Douglass "The Durham Pitmen", in R. Samuel (ed.) Miners, Quarrymen and Saltworkers (1977), p.278, 280 and 287. In general, however, although there is plentiful evidence of the popular musical society both reflecting the class tensions of the period and siding with the causes of the Labour movement, the record of the English societies pales considerably against the record of their counterparts in the more volatile political climate of later 19th century and early 20th century Germany. The choral society had become a vehicle for political radicalism in both the German and Austrian states in the years after 1815, because it gave an excuse for people to come together in large groups, an activity strongly discouraged by the governments of the day. The societies were often pan-class bodies, but by the 1860's specifically working class choirs were emerging, reflecting the class tension of the period. In 1892 the Association of German Workingmen's Choral Societies was founded. In 1906, the organisation adopted the highly militant slogan; "If our women have now learnt that you don't dance with strike-breakers, we have learnt that you don't sing with the bourgeoisie". The Association and its successor, the German Workers Singing League, had very close links with the SPD and was seen by many as a central component in the creation of a worker's socialist counter-culture. Although the historian of the German choral movement, Dieter Dowe, argues that overall the choirs had only limited success in politicising the German working class, it is clear that German workers' choral culture had a far more radical, class-conscious aspect than its English equivalent. For the rise of the political choral society, see H. Raynor, op.cit., p.8. For the German choral movement, D. Dowe, "The Workingmen's Choral Movement in Germany Before the First World War", Journal of Contemporary History, Vol. 13, 2, 1978.

111. Arthur Senior, Secretary of Hinchcliffe Mill Brass Band from 1920-1934, claimed that in that period, bands would play quite happily for any political organisation that hired them. Of his own band he said; "Oh, they'd take anybody on for engagement". See interview with A. Senior, p.3. A similar impression emerged from discussion with Cecil Dowling of Armley and Wortley Band, relating to the period before 1914.
112. Y.D.O., 15th August, 1907. The "it" he refers to is of course music.
113. Musical Herald, January 1891.
114. Fosters did not suffer a strike of any description until April-May 1910.
115. For the careers of these individuals, see Huddersfield Examiner 27th February 1911, which gave Ben Stocks a fairly lengthy autobiography; Huddersfield Chronicle, 21st March 1914, for Cartwright; Pastime, undated, in Huddersfield Glee and Madrigal Society miscellaneous collection, in Kirklees Archives.
116. Cecil Dowling of Armley and Wortley Band combined his busy banding life with the role of subscription agent for the Horsforth district of the Transport and General Workers Union.
117. G. F. Sewell, op.cit., p.88
118. A Rose, op.cit., p.307; Cornet, Feb. 1910. It should be noted, however, that the stress here was upon the needs for bands to avoid politics, not individuals.
119. Cornet, Oct. 1893.
120. See Chapter 7, p. 308. It is worth pointing out, however, that when William Littlewood broke this law in 1843, he was merely reprimanded. See Huddersfield Choral Society Minutes, 14th April 1843.
121. These satisfactions and compensations are dealt with in Chapter 6.
122. S. Yeo, Religion, p.273.

Conclusions

1. Alun Howkins, Whitsuntide in 19th Century Oxfordshire, History Workshop Pamphlet No. 8, 1973, p.30.
2. These were all areas frequently praised by contemporaries for their intense musicality. Few of them have been studied in detail by musicologists with the exception of the Potteries, which as already noted, forms the basis of R. Nettel's Music in The Five Towns. For Lancashire, see R. P. Elbourne, Local Historian, 1976; For Wales, P. Young, History, pp. 461-63.
3. For the attitude towards the role of women in various types of industrial community, see P. Thompson, Edwardians, Chapter 6.
4. See Brass Band Annual 1895, (Sibsey, Lincs), pp. 10-11.
5. The importance of these two factors have been stressed by J. Walvin, People's, pp. 53-55; A. Briggs, Mass Entertainment, p.9; J. Myerscough, in I. Appleton (ed.), pp. 3-15.
6. For the importance of technological progress in leisure industry, see Briggs, Mass Entertainment, pp. 9, 12, 23-25.
7. There is much evidence of the "negative" side of the churches' role in B. Harrison, Past and Present, 1967 and R. Malcolmson, op.cit. For its more positive side, see J. Walvin, People's, pp. 56-57 which illustrates the importance of church and chapel in the development of the football club, and S. Yeo, Religion, passim, which illustrates extremely clearly the importance of the religious organisation as a sponsor of leisure institutions.
8. This is not to suggest that the subject has been completely ignored. For valuable attempts to connect leisure and politics, see P. Bailey, Leisure, pp. 169-182; R. Q. Gray, International Review of Social History, 1973; D. Prynne, Journal of Contemporary History, 1976; D. Read, The English Provinces, 1760-1960 (1964), pp. 228-232. Despite these and a small number of other works, however, the relationship between leisure and politics has received a remarkably small amount of attention.
9. R. Malcolmson, op.cit., pp. 127-29; R. D. Storch, "A Plague of Blue Locusts", International Review of Social History, Vol. 20, 1975, p.86. Storch's "The Policeman as Domestic Missionary: Urban Discipline and Popular Culture in Northern England, 1850-1880", Journal of Social History, Vol. 9, no. 4, 1975-6, is also invaluable as a study of the attack by the police on popular customs and the responses it elicited.
10. Walvin, People's, pp. 78-79, 113-115, deals with association football; B. Dobbs, Edwardians, pp. 41-3, 89-93, 123-129, looks at association football, rugby and cricket respectively.
11. R. Roberts, op.cit., p.148, commented on the class division in the local theatre. He also remembered, p.176, that the early cinema proprietors initially placed their "best" customers at the front in imitation of music hall and theatre practices, only to discover that for the pleasure of paying the highest prices, these people received only headaches and stiffnecks. In the face of much complaint, the policy was speedily reversed!

12. J. Walvin, Beside The Seaside (1978); H. Perkin, "The 'social tone' of Victorian Seaside Resorts in the North-West", Northern History, Vol. 11, 1975.
13. H. Cunningham, op.cit., pp. 33-50, R. Q. Gray, op.cit., p.444
14. R. Malcolmson, op.cit., pp. 43, 49-50, 67-71.
15. D. Rubinstein and D. Martin (ed.), op.cit., p.13, make it clear that many contemporaries were keenly aware that the working class in general preferred sport to politics. They suggest that there are sufficient complaints by radical leaders to this effect to enable the compilation of an anthology on the topic!
16. G. S. Jones, Journal of Social History, 1974; D. C. Russell, "True Blues Stand to your Guns: Politics, Patriotism and Social Comment in Music Hall Song and Sketch, c. 1880-1914", (unpubl. B.A. dissertation, University of York, 1974); L. Senelick, "Politics as Entertainment: Victorian Music-Hall Songs", Victorian Studies, XLIX, No. 2, 1975. For Armstrong, see A. Lloyd, op.cit., pp. 377-386.
17. Certainly, genuinely radical popular melodrama did emerge. See S. Trussler, "The Factory Lad: Melodrama as Propaganda", in Theatre Quarterly, 1, 4, 1971. But in general the genre tended to be escapist and conservative. For a good brief introduction to Victorian melodrama, see M. Booth, "The Metropolis on Stage", in H. Dyos and J. Wolff (ed.), The Victorian City Vol. 1 (1973), pp. 211-224.
18. D. Kynaston, King Labour (1976), pp. 98-119, contains useful information on the conservatism of much working class literary culture. See also A. Swingewood, The Myth of Mass Culture (1977), pp. 111-113.
19. M. Vicinus, op.cit., p.231
20. T. L. Cooper, op.cit., p.22; PEP, Music, p.109.
21. It is probable that the male voice choir may virtually disappear in some areas. Even in Bradford, which once possessed at least a dozen male voice choirs within a five mile radius, there are now only two such societies and the average age of the membership is about 55, where it once was about 35. See interview with James Petty, pp. 5-6. Everybody I spoke to regarding modern day choral culture said that recruitment of male singers was a problem. It is perhaps this aspect of popular musical culture that has suffered most severely of all since 1914 from these socio-economic changes.
22. For interesting contemporary responses to some of these changes and to the impact of the media in particular, see S. Harrison, Music For The Multitude (London 1939), pp. 355-371; PEP, Music, p.103-105; S. Midgley, Memories, op.cit., pp. 99-101; J. Sutcliffe Smith, Pilgrimage, is full of references to bands, choirs and orchestras disappearing after the First World War. See for example, p.59 and p.79.
23. See Henry Livings, op.cit., p.35. It is probable that the "middle class" members are usually sons of working men who have risen socially due to educational opportunity, rather than being drawn from the "traditional" middle class.

24. For the origins of this process, see PEP, Music, pp. 105-07.
25. The most spectacular example of such co-existence is provided by the Brighthouse and Rastrick Band's single, The Floral Dance, which reached No. 2 in the British Top Twenty, in December 1977.
26. This kind of policy can and does lead to occasional rebellions by some of the more conservatively minded members, but in general, an element of adventurousness does exist in amateur musical culture, all over the country.
27. For the work of Holst, Bantock et al see Russell and Elliot, op.cit., pp. 217-225.
28. Mrs. J. Wagstaff of Berry Brow, wife of a textile worker, has regularly been first or second in this queue for some 15 years and her stamina, and her kindness, in buying me a ticket, enabled me to see the Huddersfield Choral Society from the Town Hall's best seats, a never to be forgotten experience.
29. It is indeed probable that there are now more handbell teams in existence than ever before. Despite the concertina revival which owes much to the work of Neil Wayne and his Free Reed Record Company, the concertina band does not appear to have re-emerged into the musical arena.

Appendix 1

1. Choral societies marked with an x were male voice choirs. 638 societies have been traced in the period 1816-1914. 39 were orchestras; 242, brass bands; 293, choral societies; 22, concertina bands; 28, handbell ringers; 14, military bands.

Appendix 3

1. There was too, presumably a larger market for shorter literary and musical works than for longer works which made heavy demands upon the audience?
2. I would like to thank Mrs. Anne-Marie Wagstaff (nee Clough) of Birkenshaw, Bradford, for showing me a hand copied volume of hymn tunes, composed by her grandfather, a millwright, in the middle of the nineteenth century.
3. See the undated (c. 1906) press cutting in Alfred Clay, Press Cuttings Book, Calderdale Archives Department. J. S. Smith, Pilgrimage, p.226, also contains useful biographical information.
4. Newton was the subject of a biographical article in Cornet, Oct. 1903. For Wadsworth, Cornet, Nov. 1898.
5. Brass Band Annual, 1898, pp. 27-28.
6. For Hollingworth's career and compositions, see B.Ob., 8th June 1891; Bradford, 8th Feb. 1896. His major compositions are listed on the back of Here's Life and Health to England's Queen, (Novello, 1887.) (The glee was originally called Here's Life and Health to England's King, but the title was altered during Golden Jubilee year). Randegger's attitude to his music is dealt with in Bradford, op.cit. and Sullivan's attitude, in Leeds Musical Union Minute Book, 8th Oct. 1898. Sullivan was staying at a house in Leeds while conducting the Leeds Music Festival and the choir decided to sing outside the house, as a mark of respect for the composer. Sullivan in fact invited the choir inside, where several pieces were performed, to the members great delight.
7. L.I., 5th July 1856.

Bibliography

General Note

This listing is not a comprehensive bibliography for the study of the popular musical society, but merely includes those sources which were of particular value to this study. It does not contain all the materials consulted, nor does it contain all of the sources quoted in the notes. The majority of the materials listed here are available in the British Museum or the British Newspaper Library. Locations are given for those sources not obtainable in these two places, and a key to the location guide utilised in the bibliography, is given below.

- B = Bradford Central Library
Broth = Brotherton Library, University of Leeds
C = Calderdale Central Library, Halifax
K = Kirklees Central Library, Huddersfield
Ky = Keighley Central Library
L = Leeds City Reference Library
L.A. = Leeds City Archives Department
S.B. = Sowerby Bridge Public Library
Y.M. = Minster Library, York.

A. Primary Sources

1) Manuscript and other unpublished sources

- Bradford Brass Band Treasurer's Book, 1854-6 (B).
Bradford Festival Choral Society Minute Book (In possession of BFCS).
Bradford Music Festival, 1853-1859. 3 Volume collection of programmes and cuttings (YM).
Clay collection of press cuttings (C).
E. Fricker, "Herbert Austin Fricker, 1868-1943," Ms (L).
Greenhead Park, brass band concert programmes, 1901-1922 (K).
Halifax Amateur Orchestral Society, Minute Book, 1881-95 (C).
Halifax Monthly Choral Society, Minute Book, 1825-6 (C).
Halifax Music Scrapbook, 2 volumes (C).
Huddersfield Choral Society, Chorus roll books and Minutes, 1892-1913 (In possession of HCS).
Huddersfield Choral Society, programmes, 1861-1914.
Huddersfield Glee and Madrigal Society, minutes and cuttings (K).
Keighley Choral Society Minute Book, 1837-1852 (Ky)
Keighley Musical Union roll books, 1904-1923 (Ky)
Leeds Musical Union Minute books, programmes and cuttings, 1887-1913 (L.A.)

1) Manuscript and other unpublished sources (contd)

Leeds Philharmonic Society Minute book, roll book and subscription ledger, 1890-14 (L).

R. V. Marriner & Co. records, (Box 117), (Broth).

Sowerby Bridge Choral Society Minute book and roll book, 1892-1914 (S.B)

2) Parliamentary and Local Government

Census of England and Wales, 1851, 1881, 1891, 1911.

Proceedings of Leeds City Council, 1901-1914.

Report from Select Committee on Handloom Weavers Petitions, 1834.

Royal Commission on Labour, 1891-4.

3) Directories

Kelly's Directory of Leeds and its Neighbourhood (1888).

Kelly's Directory of the West Riding of Yorkshire (1893).

Post Office Bradford Directory (1891)

Post Office Bradford Directory (1906)

Post Office Bradford Directory (1912)

William White, History, Gazetteer and Directory of the West Riding of Yorkshire (Sheffield, 1837).

William White, Directory and Topography of Leeds, Bradford, and the Clothing Districts of the West Riding of Yorkshire (Sheffield, 1847).

William White, Directory and Gazetteer of the Whole of the Clothing Districts of the West Riding of Yorkshire (Sheffield, 1853).

William White, General and Commercial Directory of Leeds and Bradford (Sheffield, 1875).

William White, White's Clothing District Directory (Sheffield, 1894).

4) Newspapers and Periodicals

i) Newspapers

Bradford Daily Argus

Bradford Observer

Brighouse Echo

Halifax Guardian

Huddersfield Examiner

Keighley News

Leeds Intelligencer

Leeds Mercury

Times

Yorkshire Evening Post

Yorkshire Post

ii) Musical Press

Brass Band News

British Bandsman

Cornet

Mainzer's Musical Times and Singing Class Circular

Music Student

Musical Herald

Musical Progress

Musical Times

School Music Review

Tonic Sol-Fa Reporter

Yorkshire Musical Record

Yorkshire Musician

Yorkshire Orchestra

iii) Miscellaneous Periodicals

Bradford: A Review of Social Affairs

Bradford Pioneer

Clarion

Contemporary Review

Keighley Labour Union Journal

The Worker

Yorkshireman

Yorkshire Factory Times

5) Oral History

<u>Name</u>	<u>Type of Musician</u>	<u>Age on Interview</u>
Mrs. A. Ashworth	Choral singer	80
Miss W. Buckley	Choral singer	68
Sydney Crowther	Journalist and Organiser	81
Cecil Dowling	Bandsman	88
Joe Haynes	Concertina player	87
Harold Hirst	Cellist	70
Willie Kaye	Bandsman	80
Ralph Nellist	Bandsman	79
James Petty	Choral singer	75
Miss Annie Smith	Choral singer	95
James Wagstaffe	Bandsman	71
Sam Whitehead	Choral singer/violinist	95

Contemporary books, pamphlets and articles

6) Music

- Anon, A Short History of Cheap Music (1887)
- Anon, Incidents in the Life of a Veteran Organist (K), (Huddersfield 1874)
- Anon, The Halifax Choral Society, 1818-1918 (Halifax, 1918)
- E. Bairstow, Music in Yorkshire, in Music and Letters, Oct. 1920.
- A. Carrodus, J. T. Carrodus, Violinist: A Life Story, 1838-1895 (1897)
- F. J. Crowest, Phases of Musical England (1881)
- W. Cudworth, Music in Bradford (Bradford, 1885)
- J. Spencer Curwen, Music at the Queen's Accession (1897)
- J. Spencer Curwen, Studies in Worship Music (1881)
- J. Spencer Curwen, The Progress of Popular Music, in Contemporary Review, August 1887
- C. Dibdin, The Musical Tour of Mr. Dibdin (Sheffield, 1788)
- H. A. Fricker, Scheme For the Enlargement and Development of the Town Hall Organ Recitals (Leeds, 1902)
- W. J. Galloway, Musical England (1910)
- Hanson, Musical Directory of the Musicians in Yorkshire (Leeds, 1894)
- H. R. Haweis, Music and Morals (London, 1888, 15th edition)
- O. Hill, Colour, Space and Music For The People, in Nineteenth Century, vol. 15, 1884
- F. Kidson, Traditional Tunes (1891, 1970 reprint, East Ardsley)
- R. Marr, Music and Musicians at the Edinburgh International Festival (Edinburgh, 1887)
- R. Marr, Music For The People (Edinburgh, 1881)
- F. Marshall, Music and The People, in Nineteenth Century, December, 1880.
- S. Midgley, Music and the Municipality (B) (Bradford, 1912)
- S. Midgley, My Seventy Years Musical Memories (1934)
- W. Millington, Sketches of Local Musicians and Musical Societies (Pendlebury, 1884)
- R. Newmarch, Mary Wakefield: A Memoir (Kendal, 1912)
- R. Richardson & Company, Brass Band Annual, 1894-1898 (Sibsey, Lincs)
- A. Rose, Talks with Bandsmen (1895)
- G. F. Sewell, A History of the Bradford Festival Choral Society (Bradford, 1907)

6) Music (Contd)

- F. R. Spark, Memories of My Life (Leeds, 1913)
F. R. Spark & J. R. Bennett, The History of the Leeds Music Festival 1858-1889 (Leeds, 1892)
W. Spark, Musical Memories (1888)
J. Hesling White, A Short History of Bramley Band (Bramley, 1906)

7) West Yorkshire

- Anon, Shipley Through the Camera (Shipley, 1902)
E. Baines, Account of the Woollen Manufacture of England (1875, 1970 ed., Newton Abbot)
O. Balmforth, Huddersfield Industrial Society Ltd., Jubilee History (Manchester, 1910)
S. Baring Gould, Yorkshire Oddities, Vol. 1 (1877)
J. Bennett & J. Baldwin, City of Bradford Co-operative Society Ltd. Jubilee History, 1860-1910 (Bradford, 1911)
J. Burnley, Phases of Bradford Life (Bradford, 1870)
J. H. Clapham, The Woollen and Worsted Industries (1907)
J. Craven, A Bronte Moorland Village and its People: A History of Stanbury (Keighley, 1907)
William Cudworth, Condition of the Industrial Classes of Bradford and District (Bradford, 1887)
William Cudworth, Round About Bradford (Bradford, 1876)
J. Hole, Light More Light: On the Present State of Education amongst the Working Classes of Leeds and How it can be Improved (1860)
M. Jagger, The History of Honley (K) (Honley, 1914)
J. James, The History of Bradford and Its Parish (Bradford, 1866)
J. Lawson, Letters to the Young on Progress in Pudsey during the Last 60 Years (1887)
F. Peel, Spenn Valley, Past and Present (Heckmondwike, 1893)
S. Rayner, The History and Antiquities of Pudsey (1887)
A. Reach, The Yorkshire Textile District (1849, 1974 ed. Helmsmore)
J. Rhodes, Half a Century of Co-operation in Keighley, (Manchester, 1911)
W. Scruton, The Great Strike of 1825 (Bradford, 1880)
H. Speight, Chronicles and Stories of Bingley and District, (1904)

7) West Yorkshire (Contd)

- W. Smith, Old Yorkshire, Vol. 2 and Vol. 5 (1884, 1890)
- W. Smith, The History and Antiquities of Morley (1876)
- J. Sugden, Slaithwaite Notes, Past and Present (Huddersfield, 3rd ed. 1905)
- D. F. E. Sykes, The History of The Colne Valley (Slaithwaite, 1906)
- W. Watson, Idlethorpe (B) (1910)

8) Miscellaneous

- S. Baring-Gould, Old Country Life (1895)
- G. Howell, Labour Legislation, Labour Movement, Labour Leaders (1902)
- W. Howitt, The Rural Life of England (1844, 1971 reprint)
- G. J. Romanes, Essays (1897)
- R. Sherard, The White Slaves of England (1897)
- S. Webb and B. Cox, The Eight Hour Day (1891)

B. Secondary Sources: Books

9) General

- R. Altick, Victorian People and Ideas (1974)
- A. Armstrong, The Church of England, the Methodists and Society, 1700-1850 (1973)
- J. Burnett, Useful Toil (1974)
- S. P. Bell, Victorian Lancashire (Newton Abbot, 1974)
- G. Best, Mid-Victorian Britain (Panther ed., 1973)
- A. Briggs, Victorian Cities (1963)
- A. Briggs, Victorian People (Chicago, 1970)
- A. Briggs & J. Saville (ed.) Essays in Labour History (1960)
- S. G. Checkland, The Rise of Industrial Society in England, 1815-1885 (1971 ed.)
- G. Crossick (ed.) The Lower Middle Class in Britain, 1870-1914 (1977)
- R. Currie, Methodism Divided (1968)
- H. Dyas and M. Wolff, The Victorian City (1973)
- J. Foster, Class Struggle and The Industrial Revolution, (1977 ed.)

9) General (Contd)

- D. George, England in Transition (Penguin ed. 1967)
- J. F. C. Harrison, Early Victorians, 1832-1851 (1973)
- E. P. Hennock, Fit and Proper Persons (1973)
- M. Hill, A Sociology of English Religion (1973)
- E. Hobsbawm, The Age of Revolution (1962)
- E. Hobsbawm, The Age of Capital (1975)
- E. Hobsbawm, Industry and Empire (1969)
- K. Inglis, Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England (1963)
- B. Jackson, Working Class Community (Penguin ed. 1968)
- G. Kitson Clark, The Making of Victorian England (1970)
- D. Kynaston, King Labour (1976)
- H. Macleod, Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City (1974)
- D. Martin, A Sociology of English Religion (1967)
- D. E. Martin and
D. Rubinstein (ed.) Ideology and the Labour Movement (1979)
- A. L. Morton (ed.) Political Writings of William Morris (1973)
- E. A. Payne, The Free Church Tradition in the Life of England (1965)
- H. Pelling, The Origins of the Labour Party, 1880-1900 (Oxford, 1965)
- H. Pelling, Popular Politics and Society in Late Victorian England (1968)
- H. Pelling, The Social Geography of British Elections, 1885-1910 (1967)
- H. Perkins, The Age of the Railway (1970)
- H. Perkins, The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780-1880 (1969)
- P. Razzell and
R. Wainwright (ed.) The Victorian Working Class (1973)
- D. Read, Edwardian England, 1901-1915 (1972)
- D. Read, The English Provinces, c.1760-1960 (1964)
- R. Roberts, The Classic Slum (1973)
- G. Routh, Occupation and Pay in Great Britain, 1906-1960 (Cambridge, 1965)
- E. Royle, Radical Politics, 1790-1900: Religion and Unbelief (1971)
- E. Royle, Victorian Infidels (Manchester, 1976)
- P. Stearns, Lives of Labour (1975)

9) General (Contd)

- T. Tholfsen, Working Class Radicalism in Mid-Victorian England (1976)
- D. Thompson, Nonconformity in the Nineteenth Century (1972)
- E. P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (1968 ed.)
- E. P. Thompson, William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary (1955)
- P. Thompson, The Edwardians (1975)
- P. Thompson, The Voice of the Past (Oxford, 1978)
- M. Vicinus (ed.), Suffer and Be Still (Bloomington, Indiana, 1972)
- J. Vincent, The Formation of the Liberal Party (1966, Penguin ed.)
- S. Yeo, Religion and Voluntary Organisations in Crisis (1976)
- K. Young, Chapel (1972)

10) West Yorkshire

- Anon, The Centenary Book of Bradford (B) (Bradford, 1947)
- F. Barrett, A History of Queensbury (1963)
- R. Brook, The Story of Huddersfield (1964)
- I. Dewhirst, A History of Keighley (Keighley, 1974)
- J. Fieldhouse, Bradford (1978 ed.)
- J. A. Harrison, A West Riding Childhood (B) (Guiselley, 1967)
- M. Hartley and J. Ingilby, Life and Tradition in West Yorkshire (1976)
- R. Hattersley, Goodbye to Yorkshire (1976)
- H. Hird, Bradford Remembrancer (Bradford, 1972)
- J. La Page, The Story of Baildon (Bradford, 1951)
- E. Lockwood, Colne Valley Folk (1936)
- R. Mitchell, Brighouse: Portrait of a Town (1953)
- H. N. Pobjoy, A History of Mirfield (Driffield, 1969)
- E. Sigsworth, Black Dyke Mills (Liverpool, 1958)
- B. Turner, About Myself (1930)
- E. Williams, Holmfirth From Forest to Township (Huddersfield, 1975)

11) Leisure and Culture

- R. Altick, The English Common Reader (1958)
- I. Appleton (ed.) Leisure Research and Policy (Edinburgh, 1974)
- P. Bailey, Leisure and Class in Victorian England (1978)
- M. Bienefeld, Working Hours in British Industry (1972)
- A. Briggs, Mass Entertainment: The Origins of a Modern Industry (Adelaide, 1960)
- P. Burke, Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe (1978)
- A. Clayre, Ideas of Work and Play (1974)
- H. Cunningham, The Volunteer Force (1975)
- B. Dobbs, Edwardians at Play: Sport 1890-1914 (1973)
- J. Ford, This Sporting Land (1977)
- S. Hall and P. Whannel, The Popular Arts (1964)
- B. Harrison, Drink and The Victorians (1971)
- R. Hoggart, The Uses of Literacy (1973 ed.)
- A. Howkins, Whitsuntide in 19th Century Oxfordshire, History Workshop Pamphlet No. 8 (Oxford, 1973)
- L. James, Fiction For the Working Man (1974 ed.)
- R. Malcolmson, Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850 (Cambridge, 1973)
- M. Marrus (ed.) The Emergence of Leisure (New York, 1974)
- H. Meller Leisure and The Changing City (1976)
- G. J. Mellor, Picture Pioneers (Newcastle, 1971)
- S. Parker, The Sociology of Leisure (1976)
- J. H. Plumb, The Commercialisation of Leisure (Reading, 1973)
- K. Roberts, Leisure (1970)
- M. Smith, S. Parker, C. Smith (ed.) Leisure and Society in Britain (1973)
- A. Swingewood, The Myth of Mass Culture (1977)
- J. Taylor, From Self-Help to Glamour (History Workshop Pamphlet No. 7, Oxford 1972)
- D. Thompson, Discrimination and Popular Culture (1968 ed.)
- M. Tylecote, The Mechanics Institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire Before 1851 (1957)
- M. Vicinus, The Industrial Muse (1974)
- J. Walvin, Beside The Seaside (1977)

11) Leisure and Culture (Contd)

- J. Walvin, Leisure and Society (1978)
J. Walvin, The Peoples' Game (1974)
R. Williams, Culture and Society (1971 ed.)
R. Williams, The Long Revolution (1971 ed.)

12) Music

- T. Adorno, Introduction to the Sociology of Music
(Seabury, 1976)
- Anon, The Huddersfield Glee & Madrigal Society;
A Jubilee Record (Huddersfield, 1936)
- Anon, Slaithwaite Band: Golden Jubilee Year
(Slaithwaite, 1975)
- P. Bate, The Trumpet and Trombone (1972)
- P. Bedford, An Introduction to English Handbell
Ringing (Chelmsford, 1974)
- B. Boon, Play The Music Play (1966)
- A. Booth, The Holme Valley Male Voice Choir,
1910-1931 (n.d.)
- J. Brattan, The Victorian Popular Ballad (1975)
- D. Cheshire, Music Hall in Britain (Newton Abbot, 1974)
- M. Colbert, Leeds Philharmonic Society, Brochure 1970
(Leeds 1970)
- R. Colls, The Collier's Rant (1977)
- K. Cook (ed.) Oh, Listen to the Band (1950)
- T. Cooper, Brass Bands of Yorkshire (Clapham, 1974)
- S. Crowther, A Hundred Years of Making Music (Hudders-
field, 1974)
- W. Dean Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques
(Oxford, 1959)
- C. Dearnley, English Church Music, 1650-1750 (1970)
- C. Donakowski, A Muse For The Masses (Chicago, 1977)
- C. Ehrlich, The Piano, a History (1976)
- Groves Dictionary of Music and Musicians (1955 ed.)
- J. Handby, A History of Opera in Bradford, 1856-1922
(Bradford, 1922)
- S. Harrison, Music For The Multitude (1939)
- C. Humphries and W. Smith, Music Publishing In The British Isles
(Oxford, 1970)
- A. Hutchings, Church Music in the 19th Century (1967)

12) Music (Contd)

- E. Lee, Music of The People (1970)
- J. T. Lightwood, Music of the Methodist Hymn-Book (1955 ed.)
- J. T. Lightwood, Stories of Methodist Music: The 19th Century (1928)
- H. Livings, That the Medals and the Baton be put on View (Newton Abbot, 1975)
- A. L. Lloyd, Folk Song in England (1967 ed.)
- A. Lowenberg, Annals of Opera, 1597-1940 (Cambridge, 1943)
- K. H. MacDermott, Sussex Church Music in the Past (Chichester, 1923)
- E. MacKerness, A Social History of English Music (1964)
- E. MacKerness, Somewhere Further North (Sheffield, 1974)
- W. Mellers, Music and Society (1946)
- G. Mellor, Northern Music Hall (Newcastle, 1971)
- E. Morris, The History and Art of Change Ringing (1974 ed., Wakefield)
- R. Myers, Handel's "Messiah" (New York, 1948)
- R. Nettel, Music in the Five Towns (Oxford, 1944)
- R. Palmer, A Touch on the Times (Penguin, 1974)
- PEP Arts Enquiry: Music (1944)
- A. Peacock and R. Weir, The Composer in the Market Place (1975)
- R. Pearsall, Edwardian Popular Music (Newton Abbot, 1975)
- R. Pearsall, Victorian Popular Music (Newton Abbot, 1973)
- B. Rainbow, The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church (1970)
- B. Rainbow, The Land Without Music (1967)
- H. Raynor, Music and Society Since 1815 (1976)
- R. Rose, The History of the York Musical Society and the York Choral Society (York, 1948)
- E. Routley, The English Carol (1958)
- E. Routley, The Musical Wesleys (1968)
- J. F. Russell and J. H. Elliot, The Brass Band Movement (1936)
- P. Scholes, The Mirror of Music, Vol. 1 & 11 (1947)
- P. Scholes, Oxford Companion To Music (Oxford, 1970 ed.)

12) Music (Contd)

- P. Scholes, The Puritans and Music (1934)
K. Simpson (ed.) Some Great Music Educators (1976)
J. Sutcliffe Smith, The Life of William Jackson (Leeds, 1926)
J. Sutcliffe Smith, The Music of The Yorkshire Dales
(Leeds, 1930)
J. Sutcliffe Smith, A Musical Pilgrimage in Yorkshire
(Leeds, 1928)
A. Taylor, Brass Bands (1979)
M. Turner (ed.) The Parlour Song Book (1974)
W. Weber, Music and The Middle Class (1975)
R. Wharton and A. Clarke, Crown Street Comic Band (Bradford, 1977)
R. Wharton and A. Clarke, Tommy Talker Bands of West Yorkshire
(Todmorden, 1979)
I. Whitcomb, After the Ball (1973 ed.)
W. L. Wilmshurst and S. Crowther, The Huddersfield Choral Society, 1836-1961
(Huddersfield, 1961)
K. Young, Music's Great Days in the Spas and Watering
Places (1968)
P. Young, The Choral Tradition (1962)
P. Young, A History of British Music (1967)

13) Articles

- P. Bailey, ' "Will the real Bill Banks stand up?"
Towards a Role Analysis of Mid-Victorian
working class Respectability', Journal of
Social History, 12 (1979)
B. Barker, 'Anatomy of Reformism: The Social and
Political Ideas of the Labour Leadership
in Yorkshire', International Review of
Social History, 18 (1973)
J. L. Baxter, 'The Great Yorkshire Revival 1792-6', in
M. Hill (ed.), Sociological Yearbook of
Religion (1974)
J. A. Copley, 'The Theatre in Hunslet Lane', Parts one &
two, Publications of the Thoresby Society,
16 (1975-6)
R. Colls, ' "Oh Happy English Children": Coal, Class
and Education in the North-East', Past and
Present, 73 (1976)
D. Dowe, 'The Workingmen's Choral Movement in
Germany Before the First World War',
Journal of Contemporary History, 13 (1978)

13) Articles (Contd)

- R. P. Elbourne, 'Singing Away to the Click of the Shuttle: Musical Life in the Handloom Weaving Communities of Lancashire', Local Historian, 12 (1976)
- R. Q. Gray, 'Styles of Life, The "Labour Aristocracy" and Class Relations in Later 19th Century Edinburgh', International Review of Social History, 18 (1973)
- E. Hargrave, 'Musical Leeds in the Eighteenth Century', Publications of the Thoresby Society, 28 (1942)
- B. Harrison, 'Religion and Recreation in Nineteenth Century England', Past and Present, 38, (1968)
- B. Harrison, 'Philanthropy and The Victorians', Victorian Studies (1966)
- D. Hopkin, 'The Membership of the Independent Labour Party, 1904-10, A Spatial and Occupational Analysis', International Review of Social History, 20 (1975)
- A. Howkins, 'The Voice of the People: The Social Meaning and Context of Country Song', Oral History, 3 (1975)
- G. S. Jones, 'Working Class Culture and Working Class Politics in London, 1870-1900: Notes on the re-making of a Working Class', Journal of Social History, 7 (1974)
- E. MacKerness, 'Sources of Local Musical History', Local Historian, 11 (1975)
- J. D. Marshall, 'Local or Regional History - or both? A Dialogue', Local Historian, 13 (1978)
- R. McKibbin, 'Working Class Gambling in Britain, 1880-1939', Past and Present, 82 (1979)
- S. Meacham, ' "The Sense of an Impending Clash": English Working Class Unrest before the First World War', American Historical Review, 77 (1972)
- H. F. Moorhouse, 'The Marxist Theory of the Labour Aristocracy', Social History, 3 (1978)
- R. J. Morris, 'Leeds and The Crystal Palace', Victorian Studies, 13 (1970)
- R. Nettel, 'The Influence of the Industrial Revolution on English Music', Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association (1945-6)
- H. Perkins, 'The Social Tone of Victorian Sea-Side Resorts in the North-West', Northern History, 11 (1975)

13) Articles (Contd)

- S. Pollard, 'Factory Discipline in the Industrial Revolution', Economic History Review, 16 (1963-64)
- A. Porritt, '18th and 19th Century Clubs and Societies in Halifax', Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society (1964)
- D. Prynn, 'The Clarion Clubs, Rambling and the Holiday Associations in Britain Since the 1890's', Journal of Contemporary History (1976)
- D. Read, 'Work and Play in the Victorian North', Northern History, 13 (1977)
- D. Reid, 'The Decline of Saint Monday, 1776-1876', Past and Present, 71 (1976)
- J. Reynolds and K. Laybourn 'The Emergence of the ILP in Bradford', International Review of Social History, 20 (1975)
- L. Senelick, 'Politics as Entertainment: Victorian Music-Hall Songs', Victorian Studies, 19 (1975)
- J. Sharpe, 'The Impact of Industrial Society on English Folk-song: Some Observations', Contact (1976/77)
- L. Shiman, 'The Band of Hope Movement: Respectable Recreation for Working Class Children', Victorian Studies, 18 (1973)
- J. Sprittles, 'Leeds Music Festivals', Publications of the Thoresby Society, 64 (1960)
- E. Steele, 'Leeds and Victorian Politics', University of Leeds Review, 17 (1974)
- R. Storch, 'The Plague of Blue Locusts: Police Reform and Popular Resistance in Northern England, 1840-1857', International Review of Social History, 20 (1975)
- R. Storch, 'The Policeman as Domestic Missionary: Urban Discipline and Popular Culture in Northern England', Journal of Social History, 9 (1976)
- A. J. Taylor, 'Leeds and The Victorian Economy', University of Leeds Review, 17 (1974)
- K. Thomas, 'Work and Leisure in pre-industrial society', Past and Present, 29 (1964)
- E. P. Thompson, 'Time, work-discipline and industrial capitalism', Past and Present, 38 (1967)
- M. Wild, 'The Yorkshire Wool Textile Industry', in J. G. Jenkins, (ed.), The Wool Textile Industry in Great Britain (1972)

13) Articles (Contd)

- C. Wilson, 'Economy and Society in Late Victorian Britain', Economic History Review, 18 (1965)
- R. Woods, 'The Church Bands', Folk Review, Feb. (1975)
- 'Work and Leisure in Industrial Society': Conference Report, Past and Present, 30 (1965)
- 'The Working Class and Leisure - class expression and/or social control': Conference report, Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History, 32 (1976)
- M. Vicinus, 'The Study of Popular Culture', Victorian Studies, 18 (1975)
- S. Yeo, 'A New Life: The Religion of Socialism in Britain, 1883-1896', History Workshop, 4, (1977)

14) Dissertations

- K. Allan, "The Recreations and Amusements of the Industrial Working Class in the 2nd Quarter of the Nineteenth Century with special reference to Lancashire", University of Manchester, M.A. thesis, 1947.
- A. Hirst, "The Growth of the 19th century choral movement with special reference to the County of Yorkshire", University of Nottingham, B.A. dissertation, 1976.
- D. Kibart, "The City Palace of Varieties, 1898-1913", University of Leeds, M.A. thesis, 1973.
- K. Laybourn, "Yorkshire Trade Unions and the Great Depression, 1873-1896", University of Lancaster, D.Phil thesis, 1972.
- J. Mawson, "A Social Geography of a 19th Century Industrial City", University of Bradford, Ph.D. thesis, 1972.
- B. Pritchard, "The Music Festival and the Choral Society in England", University of Birmingham, Ph.D. thesis, 1968.
- J. L. Scott, "The Evolution of the Brass Band and its Repertoire in Northern England", University of Sheffield, Ph.D. thesis, 1970.