UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
RIVERSIDE

Reshaping British Concert Life: Tracking the Performance History of Hector Berlioz's *La Damnation de Faust* in Nineteenth-Century Britain

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Music

by

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September 2019

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation would not have been completed without the generous help and support from the following individuals. First, I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Byron Adams, and my committee members Dr. Rogerio Budasz, Dr. Walter Clark, and Dr. Leonora Saavedra for their unwavering support and guidance during this process. I am also indebted to Dr. Julian Rushton and Dr. D. Kern Holoman. Both have made have made important contributions to Berlioz scholarship and were incredibly generous and supportive in offering their expertise and assistance towards the completion of this project. In addition I would like to thank Dr. Charles McGuire, Dr. Christina Bashford, and Dr. Rachel Cowgill for their kind assistance and guidance with navigating Victorian scholarship, especially in regards to the Tonic Sol-fa Movement and the John Ella Collections at the Bodleian Library in Oxford.

Much of this research would not have been possible to complete without the funding of several grants, including: the American Musicology Society M. Elizabeth C. Bartlet Travel Grant; the University of California, Riverside Humanities Graduate Student Research Grant and the Alumni Graduate Research Travel Award; the Gluck Fellowship for the Arts; and the University of California, Riverside Ernest Propes Endowed Graduate Fellowship. The funding from these grants enabled the completion of this dissertation by covering the financial expenses of an extensive three-month research trip to France and Britain in the spring of 2017.

I would especially like to thank the archivists, librarians, and staff at the following institutions for their instrumental help in uncovering all of the primary sources that

enabled the completion of this dissertation: the Bibliothèque nationale de France; the British Library; the Royal College of Music; the Royal Albert Hall Archive; the Royal Academy of Music; the London Metropolitan Archive; Oxford University's Bodleian Library; the Manchester Central Library; the Hallé Orchestra Archive in Manchester; the Royal Northern College of Music, the Foundling Museum, the National Library of Scotland, The Victorian and Albert Museum; the Royal Opera House Archive; and the University of California Library System and Digital Collections.

Several individuals also offered their time and assistance over the course of my research trip to the UK. I am particularly grateful to Michael Mullen and Dr. Peter Horton at the Royal College of Music; Suzanne Keyte from the Royal Albert Hall Archive; Kathryn Adamson from the Royal Academy of Music; Heather Roberts from the Royal Northern College of Music; Matthew Dunne from the Brotherton Library at the University of Leeds; Vanessa Bond from the Royal Choral Society; Eilís McCarthy from the Royal Opera House Archives; Martin Holmes and from the Bodleian Library; Ros Edwards from the Henry Watson Music Library in Manchester; Eleanor Roberts from the Hallé Concerts Society; as well as Carla Arbagey, Philip Chiu, Caitlin St John, and the entire Interlibrary Loan Staff at the University of California, Riverside.

Last, but not least, I would like to thank my family and friends for their continued support throughout the lengthy process of completing this project, especially my fellow Riverside colleagues, Dr. Erica Siegel, Dr. Erica Jones, as well as my sister, Dr. Jaclyn Howerton.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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by

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University of California, Riverside, September 2019
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The 1846 première in Paris of Hector Berlioz's (1803–1869) dramatic choral adaptation of Goethe's poem *La Damnation de Faust* was initially deemed a failure. Undeterred, two years later Berlioz traveled to London to promote his music to the British public. While initially failing to capture the lasting attention of British audiences, by the end of the century, *Faust* had transformed from a virtually unknown musical work to a popular standard on British concert programs. Using the performance history of *Faust* as a case study, this dissertation tracks and contextualizes the work within the transformative shift in musical taste that occurred in Britain between 1848 and 1918. In trying to understand the move of highbrow musical forms into the realm of working-class culture, some scholars have begun addressing the use of music by nineteenth-century governments as a socioeconomic tool for class development; others have begun documenting the amateur choral movement in Victorian Britain. More work is needed, however, on understanding the link between the development of Victorian musical taste

and the growing socioeconomic changes of class morality and structure through music education as a response to industrialization.

In addition to identifying the British première of the work in February 1880 as the catalyst for cementing Berlioz's permanent place in the British orchestral repertoire, this study also discusses the orchestral training and audience development required for this first performance to occur as well as the transformative effect that it had on British concert life, particularly at the regional triennial musical festivals. Furthermore, this study explores the transition of *Faust* from the concert hall to popular seaside resorts and how this development laid the foundation for the even greater interest in Berlioz's music in the mid-twentieth century. By applying current theoretical discussions on the topics of British performance history, historiography, and transnational identity to data that was obtained through archival investigation, this research contributes towards a greater understanding of the cultural development in musical taste that occurred in late nineteenth-century Britain as well as the use of music as a philanthropic and socioeconomic tool in transnational contexts.

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INTRODUCTION

The 1846 première in Paris of *La Damnation de Faust*, H111, Hector Berlioz's (1803–1869) dramatic choral adaptation of Goethe's poem, was initially deemed a failure. Two years later, Berlioz traveled to London to promote his music to the British public. While initially failing to capture sustained attention from British audiences, by the end of the century, Berlioz's *Faust* had been transformed from a virtually unknown musical work to a popular standard on British concert programs. Using the performance history of *La Damnation de Faust* as a case study, this dissertation tracks and contextualizes the work within the transformative shift in musical taste that occurred in Britain between 1848 and 1918.

The British première of the work in February 1880 established Berlioz's permanent place in the British repertoire. To understand why, this investigation examines the orchestral training and audience development needed for this performance to occur. This was primarily accomplished through the championing of Berlioz's music by certain conductors such as Charles Hallé and August Manns. Furthermore, this study explores the transition of *La Damnation de Faust* from the concert hall to popular informal promenade concerts and how this development laid the foundation for the even greater interest in Berlioz's music in the mid-twentieth century. This was accomplished by applying current theoretical discussions on the topics of British performance history, historiography, and transnational identity to data that was obtained through archival investigation.

It is clear that Berlioz's music both reflected and helped reshape the reconstruction of British concert life that took place during the second half of the nineteenth century. Directly resulting from the effects of industrialization in cities such as Manchester, the new cultural displacements of urban growth had an immense impact on concert patterns and musical taste during the late Victorian Era. This was especially true among the middle- and working-classes. Furthermore, the rise of industrialization saw an increased focus on working conditions and leisure time. By the start of the Edwardian Era, these changes led to the development of specialized concert markets, with music and entertainment that was specifically designated for either highbrow or lowbrow audiences—depending on its type—as well as the class and social demographic that it catered towards.

Historical and Historiographical Context

Before tracing the performance history of *La Damnation de Faust* in Britain, it is prudent to look first at the genesis and world première of Berlioz's *légende dramatique*. The work was primarily composed during Berlioz's second concert tour of Germanic-speaking lands in 1845-46. This tour included stops in Prague, Pesth, Brunswick, Breslau, and Vienna.[1] The majority of *La Damnation de Faust* is an expansion of an earlier composition, *Huit Scénes de Faust*.[2] Berlioz extensively reworked all eight movements of the original work and used them as the basis to his new version of the

[1] David Cairns, *Berlioz: Servitude and Greatness*, vol. 2 (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1989), 332-351.

[2] The *Huit Scénes de Faust*, H33 were originally composed in 1828-29. Berlioz had first read *Faust* in Gérard de Nerval's (1808–1855) popular translation in 1828, which is ultimately what inspired him to compose his first opus, *Huit scènes des Faust*, the following year.

Faust legend.[3] He additionally added several new movements in order to give the work continuity. This included his own arrangement of the *Rákóczy March* (*Marche hongroise*). Berlioz actually completed the march while still on tour and therefore decided to test it at a concert in Pesth in February 1846. The march was an instant hit: "the thunders of the orchestra were powerless against such a volcano in eruption; nothing could stop it. We had to repeat the piece, of course. The second time, the audience could scarcely contain itself a few seconds longer to hear a bar or two of the coda."[4] A few months later, the rest of *La Damnation* was finally completed and Berlioz set about planning its première in Paris that winter. He had every reason to hope that *Faust* would be a success: "As a subject *Faust* is at least as well-known as *Romeo*, and generally considered to suit me; I am thought likely to have treated it well. All in all, there is every reason to hope that people will be extremely curious to hear this new work, which is on a larger scale and more varied in colour than its predecessors. I should at least cover my expenses."[5]

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[3] For more information, see David Cairns, *Berlioz: Servitude and Greatness, 1832-1869*, vol. 2, 332-65; D. Kern Holoman, *Berlioz* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 342-83; and Charlton, David and Mark A. Pottinger, "The Breslau Concert Tour of 1846: Provincial German Insights into Berlioz's Music and Aesthetic," in *The Musical Voyager: Berlioz in Europe*, ed. by David Charlton and Katharine Ellis (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2007), 80-94.

[4] Hector Berlioz, *Memoirs*, trans. by David Cairns (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1969), 387. In the original French: "la tempête de l'orchestre étant incapable de lutter avec l'éruption de ce volcan don't rien ne pouvait arrêter les violences. Il fallut recommencer, cela se devine; et la seconde fois ce fut à grand-peine que le public put se contenir deux ou trois seconds de plus qu'à la première, pour entendre quelques mesures de la *coda*." Published in Hector Berlioz, *Mémoires de Hector Berlioz*, ed. Pierre Citron, (France: Flammarion, 1991), 457. For more information on the success of the performance in Pesth, see David Cairns, *Berlioz*, 343-46.

[5] Hector Berlioz, *Memoirs*, trans. by David Cairns, 416. In the original French: "le sujet de *Faust* est célèbre tout autant que celui de *Roméo*, on croit généralement qu'il m'est sympathique et que je dois l'avoir bien traité. Tout fait donc espérer que la curiosité sera grande pour entendre cette nouvelle œuvre plus vaste, plus variée de tons que ses devancières, et que les dépenses qu'elle me cause seront au moins couvertes." Published in Hector Berlioz, *Mémoires*, ed. Pierre Citron, 491-92.

Despite his hopes, the première proved to be a total failure, both financially and artistically. While critics gave the work favorable reviews and Théophile Gautier (1811–1872) praised the work's originality and lack of concession to the Philistinism that was ravaging the Parisian upper-class at the time, the attendance at the première was woefully below Berlioz's expectations.[6] The concert hall was less than half full at the première on 6 December 1846 and even fewer people attended the second performance two weeks later on 20 December.[7] Berlioz incurred such heavy financial losses from the first two concerts that he was forced to cancel the third performance.[8] After enduring the worst failure of his career to date (at least until the London première of *Benvenuto Cellini* in 1853), Berlioz later wrote in his *Memoirs*, "nothing in my career as an artist wounded me more deeply than this unexpected indifference."[9] Berlioz's artistic confidence and faith in the Parisian public was shaken. The failure of *Faust* all but cemented his resolve that if he was to have any financial or artistic success, he would have to look outside of France to obtain it:

> Now for England. France is sinking to the lowest depths of stupidity in music; and the more I see of foreign countries the less I love my own. Pardon the blasphemy!... But art, in France, is dead—rotting in fact… One must go to places where it is still alive. It seems that ten years ago a remarkable revolution took place in England in the musical taste of the nation. We shall see, however.[10]

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[6] In fact, in terms of critical reviews, *La Damnation de Faust* was one of Berlioz's most successful premières. See David Cairns, *Berlioz: Servitude and Greatness*, 361-64 and D. Kern Holoman, *Berlioz*, 341.

[7] David Cairns, *Berlioz: Servitude and Greatness*, 362-65.

[8] Ibid. Cairns actually reported that Berlioz was left with a debt from the first two performances of five or six thousand francs without any immediate means to repay them.

[9] Hector Berlioz, *Memoirs*, trans. by David Cairns, 416. In the original French: "Rien dans ma carrière d'artiste ne m'a plus profondément blesse que cette indifference inattendue." Published in Hector Berlioz, *Mémoires*, ed. Pierre Citron, 492.

[10] Letter from Hector Berlioz to Humbert Ferrand, 1 November 1847. Translated in English in A. W. Ganz, *Berlioz in London* (London: Quality Press Ltd., 1950), 19. In the original French: "Voyons maintenant

As David Cairns and other Berlioz scholars have noted, the reason for this failure was inevitable.[11] With the age of Romanticism speedily coming to a close, Berlioz's music was increasingly becoming less and less popular in France. However, it was enjoying a much warmer acceptance abroad, especially in the Germanic and Austrian states.[12] Innovative for its time, *La Damnation de Faust* would have to wait another thirty years before it was finally embraced in Paris through the advocacy of Jules Étienne Pasdeloup (1819–1887), Charles Lamoureux (1834–1899), and Édouard Colonne (1838–1910). Undeterred by the failure of the work's première in Paris, Berlioz was determined to seek success abroad. After a few successful tours of Russia and the Germanic states that were both lucrative and well received, Berlioz felt that the time was ripe to try his luck in London.

Berlioz first arrived in England in November 1847 under the aegis of Louis Jullien (1812–1860) to conduct at Drury Lane. However, due to Jullien's unstable financial background, the venture soon ran out of capital and Jullien was forced to declare bankruptcy. By March of the following year Berlioz's financial situation was in dire straits. Fortunately, in that same month Berlioz established himself on the British

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l'Angelterre. La France deviant de plus en plus profondément bête à l'endroit de la musique; et *plus je vois l'étranger, moins j'aime ma patrie*. Pardon du blaspheme!... Mais l'art, en France, est mort; il se putréfie… Il faut don caller aux lieux où il existe encore. Il paraît qu'il s'est fait en Angelterre une singulière revolution depuis dix ans, dans le sens musical de la nation. Nous verrons bien." *Correspondance générale d'Hector Berlioz*, ed. Pierre Citron, vol. 3 (Paris: Flammarion, 1978), no. 1131. Note: the text in italics is an inversion that Berlioz had made of P. L. Buriette de Belloy's saying: "plus je vis d'Etrangers, plus j'aimai ma patrie."

[11] See for example, David Cairns, *Berlioz: Servitude and Greatness*, 361.

[12] In fact, Berlioz actually composed most of *La Damnation de Faust* during his second tour in 1845-46. For more information, see Hector Berlioz, *Mémoires*, ed. Pierre Citron, chapter 54 and David Cairns, *Berlioz: Servitude and Greatness*, 332-65.

musical scene. In addition to hosting Berlioz, London in 1848 was becoming a refuge for the many French artists who were trying to escape the political turmoil of the 1848 Revolution. Included among those musicians were old friends of Berlioz from Paris, such as the pianist and conductor Charles Hallé.

Berlioz conducted the first four performances of *La Damnation de Faust* in England during his first trip in 1848. The first, and perhaps most famous of these performances, took place on 7 February 1848 at the Drury Lane Theatre. The program only contained parts one and two from *Faust* (out of four total) on an all-Berlioz concert. It was given to a packed house and was well received by the London critics, particularly by Edward Holmes, who later wrote an enthusiastic review in the *Atlas* on 12 February 1848: "Since the first production of *Fidelio* in England, we have listened to nothing with such excitement and enthusiasm as to some of the compositions of M. Berlioz, performed in his very interesting concert on Monday, at Drury-lane."[13]

The audience liked the *Faust* scenes in particular. For example, more than one journal reports that the *Ballet des sylphes* and *Marche hongroise* were encored: "It was fully attended: and, in spite of its great length, attentively followed by a very large audience,—who became enthusiastic over a Hungarian March [*Marche hongroise*] at the end of the first part of 'Faust' and 'The Dance of Sylphs' in the second, and would have both *encored*. M. Berlioz himself, was received with due honours."[14] The event was a

[13] Edward Holmes, "A First Impression of the Genius of Hector Berlioz," *The Atlas*, 12 February 1848. Reprinted in *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, vol. 4, No. 89 (1 October 1851), 272-73.
[14] Original Italics. *The Athenaeum*, 12 February 1848, 171.

huge success for Berlioz, who immediately wrote to his friend Auguste Morel with the good news on 12 February:

> My music caught on with the English public like wild-fire; I was called at the end of the concert. As elsewhere, the "Hungarian March" and the "Scène des Sylphes" were encored. All musical London of importance was at Drury Lane that night, and the greater part of the artists worth anything came after the concert to congratulate me.[15]

Thus, in stark contrast to its première in Paris, *Faust* was an instant hit in London, especially in the narrative distributed by the composer and to his friends in the British press.[16]

Selections were performed three more times during his first trip, all of them conducted by Berlioz himself. The second concert was two months to the day after the first, on 7 April 1848 at Willis's Rooms. This concert was part of the Musical Union series led by John Ella, who had invited Berlioz to conduct the *Marche hongroise* at a concert for the Amateur Musical Society. As with the first performance, both Berlioz and the march were "enthusiastically received" and the march was encored.[17] The remaining two performances that year with extracts from *Faust* took place in June. Once again, both of these concerts included the *Marche hongroise*.

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[15] Letter from Hector Berlioz to Auguste Morel, 12 February 1848. Translated in English in A. W. Ganz, *Berlioz in London*, 41. In the original French: "Ma musique a pris sur ce public anglais comme le feu sur une trainee de poudre, j'ai été rappel après le concert, on a *encored* (comme ailleurs) la Marche Hongroise et la Scène des Sylphes ; tout ce qui a quelque importance musicale dans Londres était à Drury-Lane ce soir-là, et le concert au théâtre me féliciter." *Correspondance générale d'Hector Berlioz*, ed. Pierre Citron, vol. 3, no. 1173.

[16] Ibid. This is just one example of many letters that Berlioz sent during his London trips. In addition, he also had considerable influence in the reviews that were published in the local press. For example, see the reviews of the first concert that were published in *The Athenaeum*, 12 February 1848, 171 and by Edward Holmes in *The Atlas*, 12 February 1848.

[17] Francis Hueffer, *Half a Century of Music in England: 1837-1887* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1889), 194. Also mentioned in A. W. Ganz, *Berlioz in London*, 58.

The first was a performance of the march alone at Covent Garden on 16 June.[18] The second, was Berlioz's final concert in London on 29 June 1848 and included four movements from *La Damnation*: the chorus and *Ballet des sylphes*, Mephistopheles' Air, and the *Marche hongroise*: "The most interesting and engrossing of events of the present musical season happened yesterday, at the Hanover-Square Rooms, where the celebrated Hector Berlioz held his second concert since his sojourn in this country."[19] Although not full, the concert was well attended, with "almost every musical amateur in London" present.[20] Once again, the pieces from *Faust* were well received, particularly the *Ballet des sylphes* and the *Marche*, both of which were once again encored.[21] *The Morning Chronicle* reported that:

> The *choeur* and *ballet* from *Faust* is a fine specimen of one of the most dramatic and original inspirations of the composer; the song of Mephistopheles is wild and wonderful, the colouring of the orchestra being as exciting as it is novel; the chorus is magnificently scored and voiced with prodigious cleverness; the *Danse des Sylphes*, although founded on a common waltz tune of no great originality, is so conducted in the orchestra, that the effect is positively enthralling. The *decrescendo* to the end, is deliciously contrived, and the novel use of the harp is indescribably fantastic and pretty. This was received with the most unbounded applause from all parts of the room. The *Marche Hongroise* has already been criticised in these columns. It was brilliantly executed; but lost much of its effect from the absence of the drum, which although in the room, M. Berlioz was, for some unaccountable reason, not allowed to use.[22]

[18] Cited in list of performances in appendix of D. Kern Holoman, *Berlioz*, 621.
[19] "Concert of Hector Berlioz," *The Times*, 30 June 1848.
[20] "M. Hector Berlioz," *The Morning Chronicle*, 30 June 1848. See also "M. Hector Berlioz," *The Morning Post*, 1 July 1848.
[21] "M. Hector Berlioz," *The Morning Post*, 1 July 1848.
[22] "M. Hector Berlioz," *The Moring Chronicle*, 30 June 1848.

As with the previous three performances, the concert was a complete success that "created the utmost enthusiasm" and was pronounced "the most interesting of the whole season."[23]

Despite their initial popularity, selections from *Faust* were not heard again in London for four years. During that span, Berlioz made a second trip to England in 1851 as an official judge for the Great Exhibition that was held that year in Hyde Park. However, despite several attempts by the composer to put together a performance or two for the exhibition, he did not conduct any of his music during the trip. Inspired by the grandeur and spectacle of the Crystal Palace that had been erected in Hyde Park, Berlioz had been especially keen to once again perform selections from his *La Damnation*. If his plans had come to fruition, the concert might have been "a crowning act" for the success of the Great Exhibition, as the vast space of the Crystal Palace posed as a perfect template for Berlioz's talents at assembling an orchestra and chorus of epic proportions.[24] Although Berlioz did not have the chance to perform any of his music during the trip, the composer did work on strengthening his connections with many of the wealthy and influential members of London's musical circle. He kept up a regular correspondence with the publisher Frederick Beale (d. 1863) and his son Willert (1828–1894) as well as with the London critics J. W. Davison (1813–1885) and Henry Chorley (1808–1872). Berlioz frequently visited with them during his stays in London and it was through these

[23] Ibid.
[24] A.W. Ganz, *Berlioz in London*, 89. The failed attempts to put on a concert at the Exhibition are also briefly mentioned in David Cairns, *Berlioz: Servitude and Greatness*, 459 and 465-66.

connections that he was able to secure an engagement as the first conductor of the newly-formed New Philharmonic Society in London the following season.

Berlioz's third trip to London in 1852 consisted largely of this engagement. His friend and financial backer, Frederick Beale, had hired Berlioz to conduct six concerts for the first season of the New Philharmonic Society. Although his music was performed on five of the six concerts that he conducted, Berlioz elected to program a few selections from *La Damnation de Faust* on the New Philharmonic Society's sixth and final concert of the 1852 season. The concert took place on 9 June 1852 and contained selections from the first two parts of *Faust*.[25] This included repeat performances of both the *Ballet des sylphes* and the *Marche hongroise*, which were both encored.[26] A critic for *The Times* later observed that, compared to the initial warm reaction to the selections from *Faust* that were presented by Berlioz four years earlier, the response that they received by the audience at the New Philharmonic concert on 9 June, "created a *furore* in the fullest sense of the term. Even the fragments given there were so many beauties of the highest order that the sternest sceptic could hardly be cold enough to deny the claims of M. Berlioz as a composer of imagination—a musical painter, in short."[27] Over two thousand people crowded into Exeter Hall, not only to hear the *Faust* selections, but to see Berlioz's repeat his interpretation of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony.[28]

Two days later, Berlioz wrote to his sister:

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[25] Copies of the 9 June 1852 New Philharmonic Society program are currently housed at the Royal College of Music, London: Halls, Exeter Hall, St. Martin's, CH6Cc9 and at the British Library, [Programme books of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 5th,&6th concerts..., e.1395.a.(1.), 1852.
[26] Ibid.
[27] "New Philharmonic Society," *The Times*, 10 June 1852. Original Italics.
[28] Ibid.

> I am still excited by a success, the like of which, so the English tell me, has never been seen in London. Our last concert was a triumph. The excerpts from "*Faust*" were encored, and repeated amid storms of applause, then the huge audience called me back I do not know how often; they threw me laurel wreaths, and the cheers of the orchestra and the chorus etc., and the newspapers.[29]

After this concert, these selections would be programmed frequently, albeit sporadically, over the next several decades. However, from now on, all British performances of *Faust* were conducted by champions of the composer's music. Even though Berlioz made two more trips to London, in 1853 and 1855, the performance given by the New Philharmonic Society during his third trip was the fifth and final time that he conducted his *Faust* music in England. Intriguingly, Berlioz only ever conducted excerpts from the first two parts of *Faust* in London.[30]

Although Berlioz never conducted selections from *Faust* again during his last two trips to London, he did try to have an English translation of the complete score published through his English publisher, Frederick Beale.[31] The closest that he got to achieving this goal was in the events that followed upon the failure of his opera *Benvenuto Cellini* at Covent Garden, during his fourth trip in 1853. Although the première of *Cellini* was a

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[29] Letter from Hector Berlioz to his sister Adèle, 11 June 1852. Translated in English in A. W. Ganz, *Berlioz in London*, 148. In the original French: "Je suis dans tout l'enivrement d'un succès tel, qu'au dire des Anglais, on n'en a pas vu de pareil à Londres. Notre dernier concert a été triumphal. Mes fragments de *Faust* ont été redemandés, répétés au milieu d'une tempête d'applaudissements, puis cet immense auditoire m'a rappel je ne sais combine de fois, on m'a jeté des couronnes, et les vivats de l'orchestre des chœurs etc, et le journaux." *Correspondance générale d'Hector Berlioz*, ed. Pierre Citron, Yves Gérard, and Hugh MacDonald, vol. 4 (Paris: Flammarion, 1983), no. 1493.

[30] Performances in Britain of selections from parts three and four would not occur until Pasdeloup, who conducted most of the work at Her Majesty's Theatre in 1878.

[31] A piano arrangement of the most popular selection from *Faust*, the *Marche hongroise*, was actually transcribed by Sir Julius Benedict and published by Beale during Berlioz's first trip in 1848. See *Correspondance générale d'Hector Berlioz*, ed. Pierre Citron, vol. 3 (Paris: Flammarion, 1978), no. 1185 and 1191.

disaster, Berlioz was consoled somewhat by the outburst of resentment that the event had provoked on the part of all musical London and the overwhelming sympathy that was shown to him in the form of a subscription list for a testimonial concert.[32] Led by his publisher, Frederick Beale, Berlioz's friends had planned to hold a concert in in his honor at Exeter Hall. He recounted the event in several letters and later wrote a condensed version in his *Memoirs*.[33]

One of the most detailed accounts was in a letter to Franz Liszt, written the day before his departure from London:

> The artists of Covent Garden and the New Philharmonic Society wanted to give me a proof of their sympathy, by joining together to the number of two hundred in organizing, without any outlay on my part, a huge concert at Exeter Hall; they formed a committee and opened a subscription list for tickets for the concert, which soon reached nearly £200 (5,000 francs); but as they could not get Exeter Hall at a time when it was possible to give the concert, the plan had to be abandoned; later on, the instrumentalists had to leave London to attend the Norwich Festival.[34]

Beale brought the money that had been collected through subscriptions to Berlioz as a gift, but the composer refused it.[35] Instead, Berlioz and Beale agreed to use the money

[32] A.W. Ganz, *Berlioz in London*, 166-67.
[33] For example, see *Correspondance générale d'Hector Berlioz*, ed. Pierre Citron, Yves Gérard, and Hugh MacDonald, vol. 4, no. 1617 and 1619. See also Hector Berlioz, *Mémoires*, ed. Pierre Citron, 541-55.
[34] Letter from Hector Berlioz to Liszt, 10 July 1853. Translated in English in A. W. Ganz, *Berlioz in London*, 168-69. In the original French: "Les artistes de Covent-Garden et de la New Philharmonic Society ont voulu me donner à cette occasion une prevue de sympathie, en se réunissant au nombre de 220 pour organiser sans frais un immense concert à Exeter Hall ; ils ont formé un comité et ouvert une souscription pour les billets du concert, qui bientôt s'est élevée à près de 200£ (5000 fr), mais faute de pouvoir obtenir la salle d'Exeter-Hall à l'époque où le concert était possible, il a fallu renoncer à ce projet ; les instrumentistes devant plus tard quitter Londres pour se render au Festival de Norwich." *Correspondance générale d'Hector Berlioz,* ed. Pierre Citron, Yves Gérard, and Hugh MacDonald, vol. 4, no. 1617. See also David Cairns, *Berlioz: Servitude and Greatness*, 512.
[35] The sum amounted to two hundred guineas. See A. W. Ganz, *Berlioz in London*, 167.

towards paying Beale to publish a piano-vocal score with an English translation of *Faust*.[36]

The day that Berlioz left England for Paris on 9 July 1853, he had the editor of *The Musical World* publish a letter that he had written, which had been translated into English. The letter reported that the proposed concert in Exeter Hall would not take place. It also announced the plans for an English publication of *Faust*:

> The gentlemen of the Committee, organised to get it up, have conceived the delicate, charming, and generous idea of devoting the sum realised by the subscription opened for the concert to the acquisition of the score of my 'Faust,' which will be published, with English text, under the superintendence of Beale, and other members of the Committee.[37]

Berlioz concluded the letter by stating that he rejoiced at the performance at Covent Garden (the failed première of *Benvenuto Cellini*) because it allowed for: "a demonstration so sympathetic, intelligent, and worthily expressed."[38] He later wrote to his sister in order to explain the proposal to buy the English rights to *Faust*, which included his retention of one hundred pounds for the cost of engraving and printing the score as well as a lump sum of one hundred guineas for the purchase of his manuscript.[39]

However, any momentum that had begun in terms of publishing an English version of *Faust* dissolved upon Berlioz's return to Paris. The following April (1854), Berlioz wrote a letter to Chorley inquiring about the progress of the translation: "Where

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[36] D. Kern Holoman, *Berlioz*, 446.
[37] Published letter from Berlioz to the editor in *The Musical World*, 9 July 1853. Also published in A. W. Ganz, *Berlioz in London*, 174.
[38] Ibid.
[39] See letter from Hector Berlioz to his sister Adèle, 16 July 1853. *Correspondance générale d'Hector Berlioz*, ed. Pierre Citron, Yves Gérard, and Hugh MacDonald, vol. 4, no. 1619. Also translated in English in A. W. Ganz, *Berlioz in London*, 174.

is our *Faust*? I had sent Beale a complete copy of piano score and I imagine that it has been in your hands for a few weeks. It still contains quite a few faults, and I earnestly request you to have the *final proof* of the English edition sent to me before it is printed."[40] Unfortunately, this is the last documentation that references the proposed project. Although Chorley was supposed to create the first English translation of *Faust*, he never completed the job.

While an English translation of *La Damnation de Faust* was not published during Berlioz's lifetime, the first full score of the work with its original libretto was published in September 1854 in Paris under Richault.[41] That same year, Richault also published separate orchestral parts (a set of which were given to Berlioz as part of his agreement with the publisher), separate choral parts, and a piano and vocal score that was dedicated to Franz Liszt.[42] According to Cecil Hopkinson, this version of the score, which contained both the original French libretto as well as a German translation by a Mr. Minslaff (or Münzlaff), was also published that same year in Leipzig by Friedrich Hofmeister and in London by Cramer and Beale.[43] However, although the complete score

[40] Letter from Hector Berlioz to Henry Chorley, 14 April 1854. Translated by me. *Correspondance générale d'Hector Berlioz*, ed. Pierre Citron, Yves Gérard, and Hugh MacDonald, vol. 4, no. 1735. In the original French: "Où en est notre *Faust*? J'avais envoyé à beale un exemplaire complet de la partition de piano. Je pense qu'il est entre vos mains depuis quelques semaines. Il contient encore un assez bon nombre de fautes, et je vous prie en grâce de veiller à ce qu'on m'envoie la *dernière épreuve* de l'édition anglaise pour que je la revoie avant de laisser imprimer." Original italics. Also translated in English in A. W. Ganz, *Berlioz in London*, 174.

[41] The month is specified according to Müller-Reuter. Advertisements for the publication appeared in *La France Musicale* on 2 April 1854. See Cecil Hopkinson, *A Bibliography of the Musical and Literary Works of Hector Berlioz, 1803-1869* (Edinburgh, 1951; rev. R Macnutt, Tunbridge Wells, 1980), 115. Copies of the original edition with slight variants are held at the Royal College of Music and at the Bibliothèque nationale.

[42] Franz Liszt later returned the favor by dedicating his *Faust Symphony* to Berlioz in 1857.

[43] See Cecil Hopkinson, *A Bibliography of the Musical and Literary Works of Hector Berlioz, 1803-1869*, 115. Münzlaff's first name or biographical information is never mentioned in Berlioz's letters and

was available in Britain as early as 1854, the next British performance containing any of the vocal excerpts from *La Damnation de Faust* did not occur until Pasdeloup gave a nearly complete performance of the original French libretto with his orchestra while in residence at Her Majesty's Theatre on 1 June 1878.[44] This performance was significant, as it marked the first time that sections from parts three and four were performed in Britain.[45]

Sources and the Current State of Research on Berlioz in London

Because this research focuses on the performance history of Berlioz's *La Damnation de Faust* in Britain over a sixty-year period, I have employed a wide range of sources and methodologies in order to gather material. I began by looking at the source material written by Berlioz himself through an evaluation of his own large body of prose, including his problematic and sometimes inaccurate *Memoirs*, correspondence, and other published materials. In addition, I evaluated Berlioz's critical reviews and articles that were published in several Parisian periodicals, including the *Journal de Débats*. Berlioz was intensely aware of his place in history, especially during his final decade. As a result, he was careful throughout his career to control how the narrative of his life was presented. As the British critic Ernest Newman noted drily, Berlioz was known for embellishing and altering the story of his life in order to conform to a romantic narrative

Memoirs. There is only one brief mention of his name in David Cairn's biography. See David Cairns, *Berlioz: Servitude and Greatness*, 372.

[44] For more information, see "M. Pasdeloup's First Concert," *The Times*, 4 June 1878 and "Her Majesty's Theatre," *The Morning Post*, 3 June 1878. Jules Étienne Pasdeloup was born in Paris and educated in piano and conducting at the Conservatoire de Paris. His greatest contribution in the promotion of Berlioz's music was through his work with the Concerts Pasdeloup at the Cirque d'hiver, Paris between 1861 and 1884.

[45] Ibid.

of his own imagining. Therefore, his own personal narratives must be approached with great skepticism. Fortunately, scholarship about Berlioz is detailed and credible. The revival of research on the composer in the mid-twentieth century included superb work by David Cairns, D. Kern Holoman, Julian Rushton, Hugh Macdonald, Jacques Barzun, and Pierre Citron. While all of these sources discuss Berlioz's trips to London, none of them trace the performance history of Berlioz's music in Britain after the composer's death in 1869.

Another wave in Berlioz scholarship emerged during the celebration of the composer's bicentenary in 2003. This period saw a new influx of research, including *The Cambridge Companion to Berlioz* (2000) edited by Peter Bloom. This volume includes a selection of important articles relating to the composer's music and life, which was of assistance in this study. Finally, the most recent addition to Berlioz scholarship was the publication of *The Cambridge Berlioz Encyclopedia* (2018). Edited by Julian Rushton, the encyclopedia covers all aspects of Berlioz's life and includes several entries on important figures in the introduction and propagation of Berlioz's music in Britain. Several musicologists who specialize in nineteenth-century British music contributed their expertise to that volume, including Leanne Langley and Christina Bashford.[46] In terms of digital resources, one of the most comprehensive places to find information on

[46] Bashford's work on the relationship between Berlioz and his London associate, John Ella, was especially useful. For more information, see her full biography on John Ella, *The Pursuit of High Culture: John Ella and Chamber Music in Victorian London* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), as well as her article: "More than Dedication? Hector Berlioz and John Ella," which was published in David Charlton and Katharine Ellis's co-edited book, *The Musical Voyager: Berlioz in Europe* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2007), 3-24.

Berlioz today is the *Hector Berlioz Website* that is maintained and curated by Monir Tayeb and Michel Austin.[47]

At present, the major source of information that focuses on Berlioz in England is the book *Berlioz in London* by A.W. Ganz. This author wrote his book from the perspective of a devout admirer of Berlioz, rather than giving an unbiased account of the events that transpired in London. The reason for Ganz' favoritism is due to the fact that he is the grandson of Wilhelm Ganz, a longtime friend of Berlioz, who had played in the New Philharmonic Society orchestra when Berlioz conducted it in 1852. In addition to Ganz, there are numerous autobiographies that were published by London-based conductors and critics who had close associations with Berlioz. Two of the major ones that were critical for this project were J. W. Davison's *From Mendelssohn to Wagner: Being the Memoirs of J. W. Davison, Forty Years Music Critic of* "*The Times*" (which were published by his son in 1912) and H. Saxe Wyndham's *August Manns and the Saturday Concerts: A Memoir and a Retrospect* (1909).

Besides these sources, this study also relies on several later autobiographies that were written by early twentieth-century conductors who championed Berlioz's music. These include Sir Henry Wood's *My Life of Music: The Autobiography of Sir Henry Wood* (1946); Landon Ronald's *Myself and Others: Written Lest I forget* (1931); and Sir Dan Godfrey's *Memories and Music: Thirty-five Years of Conducting* (1924). Recent scholarship, including the biography of Dan Godfrey by Stephen Lloyd (*Sir Dan Godfrey: Champion of British Musicians*, 1995) and Fiona Palmer's *Conductors in*

[47] Both have done an excellent job in researching and compiling information on the composer.

Britain: 1870-1914 (2017), proved useful in regards to chronicling the history of lesser-known British conductors such as Dan Godfrey (1868–1939), Sir Landon Ronald (1873–1938), and Sir Joseph Barnby (1838-1896). I also consulted the plethora of literature and historiographic publications on Victorian music that were published in Britain during the late nineteenth-century. George Bernard Shaw's music criticism has been published in *Shaw's Music: The Complete Musical Criticism in Three Volumes* (1981). Other major historiographic studies on nineteenth-century music that discussed the performance history of Berlioz's music in Britain during the latter part of the century include: Francis Hueffer's *Half a Century of Music in England: 1837-1887* (1889); Wilhelm Kuhe's *My Musical Recollections* (1896); Ernest Ford's *A Short History of English Music* (1912); and Cecil Gray's *A Survey of Contemporary Music* (1924).

While A. W. Ganz's book is the only historical guide devoted solely to Berlioz's time in Britain, other recent musicological literature has touched upon the subject. Most of the current wave of research on Berlioz in England appeared in 2007, including Leanne Langley's influential article, "Agency and Change: Berlioz in Britain, 1870-1920," which was published in the *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*. In addition to being detailed and accurate, the article is also the only resource that currently discusses Berlioz's British reception during the late Victorian Era. The early stages of the research found here used Langley's article as a blueprint for the current state of research, especially in regards to:

> How Berlioz's music help shaped the total upheaval that took place in British concert life in the late 19th century, from the urban growth affecting concert patterns to changing attitudes towards leisure and religion, form shifts in aesthetic and intellectual debate to the development

> of specialized concert markets and the relation between entrepreneurship and (eventually) public subsidy for musical organizations.[48]

Other major sources used here include David Charlton and Katharine Ellis's co-edited book, *The Musical Voyager: Berlioz in Europe* (2007). This volume is an excellent resource on the reception of Berlioz during his London trips and contains a collection of essays by thirteen different scholars that focus on the musical activities of Hector Berlioz as a European phenomenon. In terms of scholarship that discusses the nineteenth-century British festival movement, Pippa Drummond's *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914* (2011) is an excellent and detailed resource. Other books that briefly chronicle the performances of Berlioz's music in other regions of Britain during the long nineteenth century include: Percy Scholes's *The Mirror of Music: 1844-1944* (1947) and Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman's *Music in the British Provinces, 1690-1914* (2007).[49]

In addition, there are several key works that address particular orchestras that specialized in Berlioz's music. For example, Michael Musgrave's *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace* (1995) provided a context for the study of Mann's promotion of *La Damnation de Faust* in chapter three. The primary biographical sources used in chapters one and two are the two autobiographies by Charles Hallé. The first, *The Autobiography of Charles Hallé with Correspondence and Diaries,* ed. Michael Kennedy (1972), was

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[48] Leanne Langley, "Agency and Change: Berlioz in Britain, 1870-1920," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 132/2 (2007): 347.

[49] The long nineteenth century, as defined by Eric Hobsbawm, refers to the period between 1789 and 1914. According to Hobsbawn, the period begins with the French Revolution that established a republic in Europe and ends with the start of the First World War, upon the conclusion of which in 1918 the long-enduring European power balance of the 19th century proper (1801–1900) was eliminated. For more information, see Hobsbawn's trilogy of books on the subject: *The Age of Revolution: Europe 1789–1848* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1962); *The Age of Capital: 1848–1875* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1975); and *The Age of Empire: 1875–1914* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1987).

written by Hallé and the other, *Life and Letters of Sir Charles Hallé; Being an Autobiography (1819-1860) with Correspondence and Diaries*, ed. by C. E. Hallé and Marie Hallé (1896), was compiled by his children and grandchildren. In addition, there is a recent biography by Robert Beale, *Charles Hallé: A Musical Life* (2007). Other books that contain a chronological assessment and description of the first hundred years of the Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra are Michael Kennedy's *The Hallé Tradition: A Century of Music* (1960) and *The Hallé 1858-1983: A History of the Orchestra* (1983).

Methodology

In order to reconstruct the performance history of *La Damnation de Faust* in Britain during the long nineteenth century, this study employs current methodological practices in British historiography. This is especially apparent since the early 2000s, when a new wave of publications on British music emerged as a result of the work by Cyril Ehrlich, "whose challenging and perspicacious books on the social and economic history of music in Britain in the modern period have had a huge impact on the field."[50] Spearheaded by scholars such as Katherine Ellis, Rachel Cowgill, Leanne Langley, and Christina Bashford, this new body of British historiography concentrates on the social and cultural impact of musical life in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Britain. Furthermore, in order to contextualize the data, the study relies on cultural analysis by historiographic accounts and periodicals from the long nineteenth century. Because the first complete performance of the work in Britain was given after the composer's death,

[50] Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley, *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), v.

this study focuses on the historical evolution of the work's growing reputation in Britain over a period of three generations. The first generation were those individuals who were friends of the composer and were active while he was still alive. The second generation were those who were active after Berlioz's death. This was the generation that was especially influenced by the Victorian reforms in education, such as the Tonic Sol-fa method that was promoted by John and Spencer Curwen. Charles Edward McGuire's book, *Music and Victorian Philanthropy: The Tonic Sol-fa Movement* (2009), proved especially influential to this study in regards to contextualizing the development of the performance history of *Faust* with the impact that the Tonic Sol-fa Movement as well as other Victorian reforms had on music education. Finally, the last generation marks those individuals for whom Berlioz was a historical figure. This was also the first generation who performed Berlioz's music through media such as early sound recordings and over radio.

In addition, by cataloging and statistically analyzing the performance history of the work during that period, this study tracks the early development of a "Berlioz canon" in Britain through contextualizing the popularity of *La Damnation de Faust*. Moreover, this history challenges the often accepted narrative of Berlioz in Britain, which has asserted that the composer's music only enjoyed a brief window of popularity in the 1880s and early 1890s and was subsequently ignored over the next forty years. Then there came the first Berlioz revival initiated largely by a new wave of Berlioz scholars and conductors in the 1920s. By contrast, this study confirms that Berlioz's music was

continuously performed in Britain throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Although an extensive amount of research has already been done regarding the reception of *La Damnation de Faust* in France, little work has been accomplished in terms of tracing the history of the work in Britain. Therefore, the primary aim of this study was to catalog the performance history of the work during the first sixty years that it was programmed in Britain. This task was accomplished through consulting numerous primary sources, including surviving nineteenth-century concert programs that are currently held in several archives throughout Britain and France. Dozens of nineteenth-century periodicals were also consulted. The latter served two purposes, as most periodicals not only provided basic information on the performance history of *La Damnation de Faust*, but also provided criticism and reviews of the concerts. Some of the primary periodicals that are cited are *The Musical Times*; *The Athenaeum*; *The Times* [London]; *The Manchester Guardian*; *The Morning Post*; *The Musical Standard*; *The Monthly Musical Record*; *The Musical World*; and *The Liverpool Mercury*. While some of these resources were obtained through microfilm at the University of California, Riverside, and at the British Library, most of these periodical sources used were inspected via digital archives such as the *London Times Digital Archive, 1785-2006* and the *Gale News Vault* that is owned and operated by Cengage Learning.

To compile statistics about performances, original concert programs held in several archives and institutions in Britain and France were consulted during a three-month research trip conducted between March and June 2017. These archives included:

the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the British Library, the Hallé Orchestra Archive in Manchester, the Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library, the Bodleian Library at Oxford University, the Royal Academy of Music, the Royal Albert Hall Archive, the Royal College of Music, the Royal Northern College of Music, the London Metropolitan Archive, The Foundling Museum, The National Library of Scotland, the University of Edinburgh, The Victorian and Albert Museum, and the University of Leeds, Brotherton Library.

I further consulted published books and original pamphlets that contained the concert program information for several of Britain's major orchestras. These included: Thomas Batley, *Sir Charles Hallé's Concerts in Manchester* (1895); Frederick Shinn, *Catalogue of the Principal Instrumental and Choral Works Performed at the Saturday Concerts (October 1855-May 1895)* (1895); and G. F. Sewell, *History of the Bradford Festival Choral Society from its Formation in 1856 to its Jubilee in 1906* (1907). However, it is important to note that these sources are not invariably accurate. Due to the limited resources that the authors of these editions had at the time, there are occasionally concerts missing from their publications as well as mistakes in dates of certain concerts or in the accuracy of what was programmed. Therefore, for the sake of this research, every effort was made to find a copy of the original concert program or, if not available, then to find at least two sources that verified the same date and program for each performance of *Faust*.

In general, printed concert programs were not typically used in Britain before the mid-nineteenth-century. Pioneers such as Hallé and Manns began distributing them for

their performances during the mid-century. Even so, printed programs were not available for every concert that contained Berlioz's music on the program. An example of this is the Crystal Palace concerts. While the Saturday concert programs were printed and the majority of them still survive today, the weekday and Sunday performance programs were never preserved. This, combined with the fact that newspapers did not report the daily concert programming for the Crystal Palace, means that the performance data from those concerts is now lost. This is a common problem when researching nineteenth-century concert programs.

Therefore, one of the major challenges in Victorian musical studies has historically been the challenge of obtaining accurate records of the concert programs.[51] The idea of the concert program was only first introduced to Britain during the Victorian era, mainly through the work of early music historians such as Sir George Grove (1820–1900). Even Victorian periodicals have been a source of contention, as it was often common practice throughout the nineteenth century not to include announcements for all of the upcoming performances in a local city, especially in regards to the popular promenade concerts as well as those performances that were done outside of London. Another common occurrence was to alter the information to make the concert seem more significant. For example, a concert advertisement might announce a first performance of a work by Berlioz on the program but then failed to specify what exactly it was a first performance of, or even check to see if the work had already, in fact, been performed in Britain before that date.

[51] Of course, encores announced from the stage were rarely mentioned.

Because of this, it has been difficult to obtain and create accurate records of the British performance history of certain works by composers such as Hector Berlioz. Even though many of the Victorian concert programs for the major orchestras have been preserved in archives, the majority of the concert programs that still survive today are difficult to track down. Most of the programs that were cataloged in this study were not even known to have existed before this project began. These frail programs were often in such poor condition that the pages were falling apart and in some cases were barely legible. While considerable efforts have already been made in order to create a digital listing of concert programs that is available online through open access on the site concertprogrammes.org, the searches on the site mainly provide a re-listing of certain miscellaneous collections of Victorian concert programs and the name of the archive where the catalog number is currently located—not what is specifically contained in each of those collections. In order to prevent the further deterioration of these source materials and preserve what little data remains of Victorian performance history, many of these collections need to be cataloged and digitized soon so that way they can be preserved for future musicological studies.

Once all of the data for each performance of *La Damnation de Faust* was obtained, the performances were then cataloged into a chronological list, dating from 1848 to 1918. Using spreadsheets and other statistical analysis, the data was then contextualized by incorporating it in a broad chronology. In summation, this research contributes to musicology by providing a detailed and accurate history of Hector Berlioz's *La Damnation de Faust* in Britain between 1848 and 1918. Such detail has

never been attempted until this dissertation. Its value will be to provide the basis for future research on both Berlioz and his place in the British canon.

Overview

The first three chapters function as case studies that track the cultural development of British concert life in two separate musical epicenters. Beginning first in Manchester, chapter one discusses how the cultural and financial effects of industrialization in the region ultimately led to the recruitment of the conductor and piano virtuoso, Charles Hallé, to the city. Besides being a close friend to Berlioz, Hallé proved to be the composer's most prominent champion in Britain. In addition, the chapter discusses the origins of the Manchester (later Hallé) Orchestra and analyzes the gradual shift in Manchester audiences through efforts by Hallé to educate audiences through repeatedly programming Berlioz's music during the first thirty years of his post. Picking up from where the first chapter leaves off, chapter two describes the circumstances of the first complete performance of *La Damnation de Faust* in Britain. As the chapter progresses, the history of subsequent performances that Hallé conducted of the complete work in London later that year will be traced, along with the effect of those performances in establishing the score's growing popularity.

The second case study in the promotion of *La Damnation de Faust* in Britain is discussed in chapter three. In addition to exploring the influence that August Manns had in promoting *Faust* and other Berlioz works in Britain at the Crystal Palace, the chapter examines Manns' role in establishing the early popularity of *La Damnation de Faust* in Scotland. Switching the focus to complete performances of *Faust* that occurred outside of

London, the fourth chapter relays how the score became a fixture of the choral festival movement. This was the case for the civic festivals, as the work's secular nature made it an ideal choice to program in the large civic town halls. Finally, the chapter concludes by briefly discussing the major festivals that performed *Faust* with the greatest frequency during that period.

Building on the previous chapter, the next chapter briefly follows the performance history of *La Damnation de Faust* in the numerous professional and amateur choral societies that had begun to increase during the late Victorian Era as a side-effect of the triennial choral festival movement. These choral societies were formed in an effort to keep the massive contingent of choristers singing together on an annual basis. The professional choral societies of London, such as the Royal Choral Society, emerged during this time as permanent institutions for choral performances of *La Damnation de Faust* in London. Furthermore, the chapter briefly chronicles the role that the German conductor Hans Richter had in the performance history of *La Damnation de Faust* in Britain, especially during his tenure as the permanent conductor in Manchester after Hallé's death in 1895.

Finally, chapter six discusses the transition of popular selections from *La Damnation de Faust* from the concert hall to popular concerts during the period between 1890 and 1918. In particular, it traces the natural inclusion of selections from the work at promenade concerts, such as those presented at the Queen's Hall Promenade Concerts. Not only was this new concert series an instant success in London, it was also responsible for the most performances of *La Damnation de Faust* in Britain by any one orchestra

during the first sixty years of the work in Britain. Finally, the chapter reveals the new wave of homegrown champions of Berlioz's music who emerged during this period, including conductors such as Landon Ronald at the helm of the New Symphony Orchestra and Sir Dan Godfrey at the helm of the Bournemouth Municipal Orchestra.

CHAPTER 1

Sir Charles Hallé and his role in bringing *La Damnation de Faust* to Britain: 1848-1880

Introduction

From the time of his arrival in Manchester in 1848 until his death forty-six years later, Sir Charles Hallé devoted his life not only to developing what would become his famous Hallé Orchestra, but, more importantly, developing the musical taste of the Manchester public. The German conductor's impact on the northern industrial city was so profound that the English composer and author Ernest Ford (1858–1919) later observed that in the span of his forty-six year tenure in Manchester "Hallé did, in those years, more than any dozen others for the cause of music in the North and Midlands."[52] Ford boasted,

> It will ever redound to the glory of Manchester that it was the birthplace of the awakening of the North of England to its own tremendous potentialities as a crusading force in the cause of music. If we think for one moment of the great, new and original, national school of composers that the North and the Midlands have been mainly instrumental in bringing into existence, we shall be better able to judge and more properly appreciate the work that Sir Charles Hallé accomplished.[53]

Building on Ford's information, this chapter chronicles Hallé's efforts to establish a level of musical excellence in Manchester. This was done by creating a new musical ensemble to perform the works that he deemed worthy of performance as well as to educate the people of Manchester through music. In addition to establishing the acceptance of works that were already standards on the continent, such as symphonies by Beethoven and Haydn, Hallé set out to train the people of Manchester to request works by contemporary composers such as Hector Berlioz. Through the gradual introduction and repetition of

[52] Ernest Ford, *A Short History of English Music* (New York: McBride, Nast, and Company, 1912), 136-38.
[53] Ibid.

Berlioz's music to the Free Trade Hall audiences, Hallé's efforts soon evinced a lasting effect. These efforts are manifest in the gradual promotion of Berlioz's *La Damnation de Faust* during the first thirty years of Hallé's tenure in Manchester. By analyzing the performance history of this work given by Hallé in Manchester, this chapter will show how much of an influence Hallé had in promoting his friend's music in Britain, and, through those efforts, his subsequent influence in shifting the musical taste of the public from popular promenade concert programming to a desire to hear serious symphonic and choral works.

Why Manchester as a hub for Berlioz's works?

The connection between Hallé and Berlioz dates back to when Hallé was residing in Paris. Born in Hagen, Westphalia on 11 April 1819, Hallé soon attracted notice as a child prodigy, performing his first solo piano recital at the age of four.[54] By the time that Hallé moved to Paris in 1836, he was already considered a virtuoso pianist. He was introduced to Berlioz through their mutual friend Stephen Heller (1813–1888) a little over a year after his arrival in Paris.[55] The two men soon formed a close friendship. Hallé considered his association with Berlioz ("le valiant Hector") to be his most important experience during this period of his life and in his later years often wondered why Berlioz showed "such interest in an artist of so little importance as I then was."[56] Hallé later

[54] Charles Hallé, *Life and Letters of Sir Charles Hallé; Being an Autobiography (1819-1860) with Correspondence and Diaries*, ed. by C. E. Hallé and Marie Hallé (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1896), 1-3. Sir Charles Hallé (1819–1895) was initially born as Karl Halle and only changed his name after settling in England in 1848. He was knighted in 1888.
[55] Ibid., 64.
[56] Ibid.

concluded that it must have been because of their mutual enthusiasm for the music of Beethoven, Gluck, Weber, and Spontini.

During his time in Paris, Hallé attended several premières of Berlioz's works, including the Requiem in 1837 and *Roméo et Juliette* in 1839. Hallé was impressed by Berlioz's prowess as a conductor and noted his power and command over the players:

> And what a picture he was at the head of his orchestra, with his eagle face, bushy hair, his air of command, and glowing enthusiasm. He was the most perfect conductor that I ever set eyes upon, one who held absolute power over his troops, and played upon them as a pianist upon the keyboard.[57]

Hallé often discussed the art of conducting with Berlioz throughout his residence in Paris.[58] Berlioz reciprocated Hallé's appreciation. For example, the French composer eagerly boasted of the transformative improvement the city of Manchester experienced under Hallé's management and even spoke of the city's resident orchestra's superiority to London orchestras. This can be seen in Berlioz's *Les soirées de l'orchestre* in which he praised Hallé's abilities as the conductor of the Manchester Gentlemen's Concerts, writing: "the one in Manchester, led at the present moment by Charles Hallé, that model pianist, that musician 'without fear and without reproach,' is perhaps superior to the London societies, if impartial judges are to be believed. At all events the beauty of the voices there is very remarkable, the musical sense very keen, the orchestra large and well trained."[59]

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[57] Charles Rigby, *Sir Charles Hallé: A Portrait for Today* (Manchester: The Dolphin Press, 1952), 49.
[58] Charles Hallé, *Life and Letters of Sir Charles Hallé*, ed. Hallé, 68.
[59] Hector Berlioz, *Les soirées de l'orchestre*, trans. and ed. by Jacques Barzun, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), 242 (Twenty-first Evening). Jacques Barzun confuses the orchestra that Berlioz is referring to in this passage and mislabels it as the Hallé Orchestra. This is actually incorrect. During the time that Berlioz wrote this assessment, Charles Hallé had only just arrived in Manchester and was at that time conducting the Manchester Gentlemen's Concerts. The Manchester Orchestra (later changed to Hallé

Neither distance, nor the rigors of a Channel crossing dampened their mutual friendship, as the French composer was one of the first people that Hallé went to see upon his initial arrival in the city when he first traveled to London in 1848.[60] The reason for Hallé's initial visit was twofold: first, he was primarily hired as a soloist at the request of John Ella to play on his Chamber Concert Series at the Musical Union. Second, this opportunity was used by Hallé to escape the turmoil of the 1848 Revolution in Paris. When Hallé first called upon his immediate arrival that March, Berlioz was not at his lodgings of 28 Maddox Street because he was leading a rehearsal at Drury Lane. Dismayed at first, Hallé returned to his residence only to discover a note from Berlioz saying that he would stop by his house that night at around 10 o'clock for a smoke.[61]

It's intriguing that Hallé chose to settle in Manchester, rather than cosmopolitan London, with the result that so many British premières of Berlioz's most innovative scores took place in the West Midlands. True, the city was by no means the same size as

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Orchestra) was not founded until after the 1857 Arts Treasures Exhibition in 1858 and the first publication of *Les soirées de l'orchestre* occurred in 1852. For original French text, see Hector Berlioz, *Les soirées de l'orchestre* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1895), 275. Just as in many other examples of Berlioz's writings, the French composer was in this instance exaggerating his position. For one thing, Berlioz could not have possibly ever heard the Gentlemen's Concert Orchestra perform. Berlioz never traveled to Manchester during his lifetime and the Gentlemen's Orchestra never performed outside of the city, especially as far south as London where Berlioz resided for all five of his trips to England between 1848 and 1855. It can therefore be deduced that all of Berlioz's information was supplied by Hallé.

[60] Berlioz was already in London in the midst of his contract with Louis Jullien at Drury Lane that constituted his first London trip from 3 November 1847 to 13 July 1848.

[61] "Mon cher Hallé—Je suis bien *fâché* d'avoir le plaisir de vous voir; je vous remercie néanmoins d'être venu à la maison aussitôt apres votre naufrage sur les côtes d'Angleterre. Si vous y êtes ce soir nous désolerons ensemble *en fumant*. Je reviendrai chez vous vers les 10 heures. Tout à vous—H. Berlioz." Letter from Hector Berlioz to Charles Hallé. March 1848. *Correspondance générale d'Hector Berlioz*, vol. 3, (ed. Pierre Citron, Paris: Flammarion, 1978), no. 1188, 532. The same letter is published in English in Charles Hallé, *Life and Letters of Sir Charles Hallé*, ed., Hallé, 102: "Dear Hallé,—I am very *sorry* to have the pleasure of seeing you, nevertheless I thank you for having come to this house so soon after your shipwreck on the coast of England. If you are at home tonight we shall lament together while *smoking*. I shall come to you about ten o'clock. Ever yours, H. Berlioz."

London but, thanks to the effects of the Industrial Revolution, by the late 1840s Manchester had developed into a booming powerhouse in the textile trade:

> The great crusading, reforming zeal of the nineteenth century was in the air. Nowhere was it more in evidence than in Manchester, where commerce was spreading its wings, bringing into the city wealth, intellect and culture, and creating in the surrounding districts squalor, ugliness and social discontent. The 'second city of the Kingdom' Cobden called it; for it combined throbbing industrial growth with the development of a spiritual and moral force which impelled its citizens to their noblest endeavours.[62]

Music was indeed developing in the city in the years leading up to Hallé's arrival, due in part to the growing middle class that was constantly looking for new entertainment options. As a result, amateur and professional music societies sprang up throughout the region, such as the Hargreaves Society. Established in 1841 by a local tax assessor and amateur musician named Hamer Hargreaves, the goal of the society was to practice and perform sacred music with a professional instrumental band.[63] Other societies, such as the Manchester Gentlemen's Concerts, soon emerged.[64] By the 1848-49 winter season, the working, middle, and upper classes were soon provided with numerous ample music sources to attend. These included performances of larger choral oratorios such as, *Messiah*, performed by the Manchester Mechanics Institution on 28 October 1848.

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[62] Michael Kennedy, *The Hallé Tradition: A Century of Music* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1960), 24.

[63] The executors and conductors of the society were John Owen and John Waddington. From 1845, the concert schedule was typically three sacred and three secular-miscellaneous programs per season with five weekly rehearsals. Program notes were supplied by Charles Sever (1807-88, a printer and music enthusiast in Manchester). The Society's audience figures from 1844 onwards exceeded an average of 1500 and was growing each year until it ceased operations in 1848-49. See Robert Beale, *Charles Hallé: A Musical Life* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 46-50.

[64] However, unlike the Hargreaves Society, which was more professional in its organization, other societies such as the Gentlemen's Concerts, were still predominantly amateur in nature and therefore did not have nearly as much rehearsal time between each concert. See Robert Beale, *Charles Hallé: A Musical Life*, 46-50.

Another was a performance of Mendelssohn's oratorio *St Paul* given by the same society on 9 December.[65]

During his 1848 stay in London, Hallé was invited to Manchester in order to perform a series of chamber concerts by the local calico printer Hermann Leo,

> Soon after my arrival, I was asked to play at the grand concerts at Covent Garden. Then I got an engagement with Ella, the Director of the Musical Union, and shortly afterwards a brother of Leo, the banker, who lived in Manchester, wrote to me, and asked me to come there. 'We want someone like you in Manchester,' he said. 'there are many musical people here. Won't you come?' At the time I speak of there was no winter season in London. The usual season was drawing to a close, so I said I would come to Manchester if I were guaranteed a certain number of pupils. A week later I received a reply that the pupils had been found, and to Manchester I went.[66]

In addition to his prominent position in the textile industry, Hermann Leo was then the director of the Gentlemen's Concerts that Hallé would soon be engaged to conduct the following year.[67]

Leo was part of the Jewish-German merchant community that had immigrated to Manchester in the early 1840s and was already becoming quite influential in the city's cultural development.[68] By the time of Hallé's first invitation to the city by Leo, the

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[65] Ibid., 49.

[66] "Interviews with Eminent Musicians: No. 1—Sir Charles and Lady Hallé," *The Strand* (January 1895), 12. Located in the Hallé Orchestra Archive, Manchester, UK.

[67] Hermann Leo had initially heard Charles Hallé perform during a solo recital on a business trip to Paris. Upon hearing that Hallé was in England in 1848, Leo jumped at the opportunity to bring him to Manchester. Michael Kennedy, *The Hallé 1858-1983: A History of the Orchestra* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), 3. The Gentlemen's Concerts date back to the 1770's when twenty-four amateur flautists would regularly convene at the local Manchester tavern, eventually converting themselves into an orchestra for which a permanent concert hall was established in 1777. See Charles Hallé, *The Autobiography of Charles Hallé with Correspondence and Diaries, ed. Michael* Kennedy. (London: Paul Elek Books Ltd., 1972), 14.

[68] Although the large boom of Germanic-Jewish immigration to Manchester occurred post-1875, "In reality, Eastern European settlement in Manchester must be located in an earlier period: on a small but significant scale in the 1840s, which saw the completion of an efficient and relatively cheap passenger

German community had already become a prosperous and important civic entity.[69] This community proved to be the driving force in transforming the cultural and intellectual life of Manchester:

> German industrialists and merchants brought with them the aspirations of the *Bildungsburgertum*, the educated middle class of the German states, and they became key players in the formation of middle-class cultural institutions in the industrial city. They connected Manchester and industrial Lancashire into a European mainstream and were central in the creation of much of the city's cultural capital. In so doing, they created a distinctive regional middle-class culture.[70]

It was this middle-class culture that not only brought Hallé to Manchester, but welcomed him wholeheartedly into their community:

> Hallé received his invitation to live in Manchester from a group of German merchants who resided there. Within the limitations of their environment these merchants strove to enjoy the cultural pleasures to which they had been accustomed in Germany; this cultural life centered round their *liedertafel*, a club which, as its name implies, was originally a singing-party but which was really more than this.[71]

The ulterior motive for wooing Hallé to Manchester was twofold. First, having an elite musician such as Hallé settled in the city meant that members of the growing Germanic

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service by rail and sea between Western Russia and Liverpool." Bill Williams, "'East and West': Class and Culture in Manchester Jewry, 1850-1920," 89. For more information of the immigration of the Germanic-Jewish community in Manchester and their effects on the development of middle class society see Bill Williams, "'East and West': Class and Culture in Manchester Jewry, 1850-1920," *Studia Rosenthaliana*, vol. 23, (Fall 1989): 88-106.

[69] Rosemary Ashton, *Little Germany: Exile and Asylum in Victorian England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 178. A newspaper article on the life of Charles Hallé in *The Scots Observer* in 1890 also observed that the "German element was already numerous and influential" at the time of Hallé's arrival in the city in 1848. See "Modern Men: Sir Charles Halle," *The Scots Observer*, 8 Feb 1890 from Banister Scrapbook Collection 2 (1888-1899), vol. 24, 120. Located in Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library.

[70] Jonathan Westaway, "The German Community in Manchester, Middle-Class Culture and the Development of Mountaineering in Britain, c. 1850-1914," *The English Historical Review*, 124/508 (2009): 571.

[71] Reginald Nettel, *The Orchestra in England* (London: A. W. Bain and Co. ltd., 1946), 163.

middle-class could have permanent local access to a first-class piano virtuoso who would give regular chamber recitals.[72]

Secondly, by choosing to settle in Manchester, Hallé was also guaranteeing himself a captive audience as well as an abundance of piano pupils. By this period, the industrialization in Manchester and London had also affected the piano-making trade, meaning that pianos were suddenly more affordable for middle-class households:

> By the 1850s, Britain had changed. It was now a more industrialized and urbanized society. The middle class, larger richer, and more powerful than it had been in 1820, sought to establish itself culturally. Mass production made many goods more affordable to the middle class, who forged and performed their identities in part through consumption and display.[73]

This was especially the case in piano manufacturing: "In mid-Victorian Britain the piano was an object of social emulation, of domesticity, and of leisure, in a society in which all three were important." [74] As a result, by the mid-nineteenth century there was a much larger demand for piano instructors within middle-class communities.

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[72] While the connection between Charles Hallé and the Jewish-German community of Manchester is often noted in texts concerning the history of the Hallé Orchestra, little work has yet been done concerning how much of an impact the Jewish-German community had on the development of musical culture in Manchester and the West Midlands. This topic, as well as the general investigation of nineteenth-century continental immigrants' influence on the development of British music, both merit further investigation.
[73] Susie L. Steinbach, *Understanding the Victorians: Politics, Culture, and Society in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 7.
[74] Ibid. In fact, the financial wealth in Manchester by the mid-nineteenth century was so great that often it would fund other cultural and musical projects in London. For example, the London music publisher Frederick Beale actually had started his business through early ties in Manchester: "The name of the firm is Addison and Beale. The two young partners are anxious, and as yet uncertain of the result of their venture. Robert Addison has served an apprenticeship in the music trade to Mills, of Bond Street ; and Frederick Beale, my father, has graduated with Chappell, of Bond Street; Chappell's son William went for the same purpose to Thomas Beale, a well-known music-seller of Manchester, when the latter's son, Frederick Beale, came to London." After his apprenticeship to Chappell, Frederick Beale moved to London and partnered with Robert Addison to create the publishing company Addison and Beale. In order to give the business in the early years a good start, money was "liberally supplied from Manchester," most likely through contracts and loans supplied and created by Frederick's father Thomas Beale. For more information, see Walter Maynard (Willert Beale), *The Light of Other Days Seen through the Wrong End of an Opera Glass*, vol. 1 (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1890), 4-5.

At a meeting held on 5 November 1849, Hallé's appointment was finalized with a salary of £120 per year and the agreement that his duties would officially begin on 1 January 1850.[75] However, Hallé certainly had second thoughts about his decision to take over the position in Manchester. For example, he later admitted that the first orchestral concert went off so badly that he immediately wanted to leave the city.[76] Reflecting upon Hallé's decision forty years later, Ford believed that Hallé:

> Accepted the conductorship with the greatest reluctance, and only on the understanding that his power should be unlimited to do what he thought necessary to remodel it. In fact, his early experience with it was so painful to him, and his dread of conducting the concerts so great, that he nearly abandoned the idea of settling in Manchester. However, the directors were far-seeing men, and, happily, largely through their efforts, Hallé was saved for the North.[77]

One of the major conditions that Hallé insisted upon before agreeing to take the conducting post of the Gentlemen's Concerts at Manchester was to obtain more artistic control over the orchestra than the previous directors had held. At a meeting on 5

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[75] Michael Kennedy, *The Hallé Tradition: A Century of Music*, 25-26.

[76] "Interviews with Eminent Musicians: No. 1—Sir Charles and Lady Hallé," *The Strand* (January 1895), 12. Located in the Hallé Orchestra Archive, Manchester, UK. The concert in question was the 13 September 1848 Gentlemen's Concert on which Hallé appeared as a soloist in the Emperor Concerto. *The Manchester Guardian* reported that Hallé's performance: "fully justified all that we ventured to say of him the other day upon hearsay… Hallé has a touch at once firm and delicate, rapid yet distinct and even, and his style is instinct with manly feeling and grace." However, Hallé's own reaction to this concert was: "the orchestra, oh, the orchestra! I was fresh from the Concerts du Conservatoire, from Hector Berlioz's orchestra, and I seriously thought of packing up and leaving Manchester, so that I might not have to endure a second of these wretched performances. But when I hinted at this, my friends gave me to understand that I was expected to change all this—to accomplish a revolution, in fact." Kennedy, *The Hallé Tradition: A Century of Music*, 20-21. It should also be noted that by this point his family had also joined him at his new address in Victoria Park, Manchester.

[77] Ernest Ford, *A Short History of English Music*, 137. Indeed, Manchester, along with Leeds and other such industrial cities, had a bracing effect upon the development of music in Britain. Through their promotion of sophisticated works by Berlioz and other great composers at annual civic music festivals, these cities would become the breeding ground for a new generation of native composers such as Elgar, Parry, and Stanford.

November 1849, Hallé outlined his vision of having the orchestra attain a suitable level of musicianship that would require several changes to the current system:

> Allow me now to explain my intentions in accepting the post which you have done me the honour of offering to me, and on the improvements which I shall make. I hope you will soon give me the opportunity to explain verbally at a meeting what I cannot indicate in a few words here. The task of creating a good orchestra, worthy of your institution and worthy to perform the beautiful compositions of the great masters, seems to me to be on what, above all, I should concentrate my every effort, and I believe that in that I am completely in accord with your own view.[78]

One of the first changes upon which Hallé insisted was to flush out the existing members of the Manchester Gentlemen's Band and replace them with more competent performers.[79] Hallé later admitted that this unpopular change was necessary in order to assemble his own orchestra of "competent" players, several of whom were so loyal to him that they remained permanently in the orchestra until Hallé's death forty years later.[80]

In addition to reorganizing the orchestra personnel, Hallé equally focused his attention on reorganizing the rehearsal system that the Gentlemen's Concerts had been using. Hallé felt that the system was too loosely organized and that the rehearsal time was inadequate:

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[78] Letter from Charles Hallé, 21 October 1849. Published in Michael Kennedy, *The Hallé Tradition: A Century of Music*, 26.

[79] "To arrive at this, the engagement of several fine artists seems to me to be indispensable and I hope you will put the necessary means within my power." Letter from Charles Hallé, 21 October 1849. Published in Kennedy, *The Hallé Tradition: A Century of Music*, 26. While seeming initially unfair to the existing members of the orchestra, this practice of changing out large sections of the orchestra under a new director was a common practice with many orchestras throughout Britain. For example, a similar scenario occurred when August Manns took over the Crystal Palace orchestra. For more information see Michael Musgrave, *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[80] "Interviews with Eminent Musicians: No. 1—Sir Charles and Lady Hallé," *The Strand* (January 1895), 12. Located in the Hallé Orchestra Archive, Manchester, UK.

> I shall also propose a considerable change in the organization followed at the present: indeed, the system of *one* rehearsal every 15 days, whereby the rehearsal is separated from the concert by a fortnight, cannot produce anything good. A much greater number of rehearsals is absolutely necessary.[81]

Hallé instead requested from the Gentlemen's Concerts committee that the orchestra would rehearse as often as he felt was required to prepare for each upcoming concert: "I would like the committee to give me power to fix, in the week preceding each concert, the number of rehearsals which I judge necessary. This is solely that I can get perfect performance and create, in these concerts, a rival with the best of their kind."[82]

Hallé had several other ulterior motives in his request to control the amount of rehearsal time. This new organizational authority allowed Hallé to change the order of the rehearsal schedule and additionally gave him the ability to change the way concerts had been traditionally scheduled up to that point:

> And, at the same time, I think that more regular "Private Concerts" should be arranged and that they should be given more importance. I propose, instead of four or five "Private Concerts" spread now unequally over a whole year, to give in the winter months (say from the beginning of November to the end of February) a series of six "Private Concerts" taking place regularly every three weeks.[83]

By fixing the scheduling of the "Private Concerts" to a regular schedule, Hallé was able to allow the orchestra to break annually for the start of the London season at the end of March. This ingenious reorganization gave Hallé the distinct advantage of no longer having to compete with other London orchestras for quality musicians: "My plan has

[81] Letter from Charles Hallé, 21 October 1849. Published in Michael Kennedy, *The Hallé Tradition: A Century of Music*, 26. Original italics.
[82] Ibid. Underscoring done by Hallé in the original letter.
[83] Ibid.

another advantage—that of giving the orchestra a rest during two or three months of the London season, which will enormously facilitate engagement of artists of the first order and, in all probability, will make their conditions far less onerous."[84] When Hallé took over the post in 1849, many of the London orchestras still shared the same musicians on an *ad hoc* basis through the infamous "deputy" system. During the busy concert season in London, many orchestras competed for the best musicians possible. This often meant that those orchestras that could not obtain the best players in town were sent deputies to fill the vacant positions, so that the first trumpet, for instance, who had played all the rehearsals sent a deputy to the performance. Hallé's plan to reschedule the Manchester Gentlemen's Concerts to occur during the offseason in London represented a significant step in the transformation of the nineteenth-century British orchestra. Because he was able to promise them steady, continuous work throughout the six-month-long winter season, Hallé's new scheduling method enabled him to recruit better quality musicians from London.[85] In addition, this scheduling method allowed Hallé to rehearse and keep his orchestra together throughout the season, compared to London where the pick-up freelancing culture made it almost impossible to keep a regular ensemble together each season.[86]

Another aspect that helped facilitate Hallé's new schedule was the increased ease of rail transportation. As a result of the 1844 Parliament mandate, which provided

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[84] Ibid.

[85] Hallé would also in later years often supply his orchestra musicians with pick-up work over the summer holiday at the seaside resorts and late summer musical festivals to enable them to have steady work year-round. While financially beneficial, this also led to the argument by his critics that he would at times overwork his musicians.

[86] For more info, see Reginald Nettel, *The Orchestra in England*, 170.

penny-per-mile third-class service on all of the national railway lines, rail travel by the 1850s and 1860s prospered: "In 1850, 68 million passengers journeys were made, and by 1871, 322 million messenger journeys were made."[87] Because of the increased mobility and cheaper fares, musicians were just one of many middle- and working-class professions that had begun to take advantage of this new service, "low fares remade city geographies: by making commuting more affordable, they contributed to the building of modest suburban areas for working-class and lower middle-class families."[88]

Eager to take advantage of this new service, Hallé and his orchestra frequently toured Britain, giving concerts as far south as Bristol and as far north as Edinburgh:

> He was incessantly traveling; but railway journeys, however long, never seemed to tire him. Many and many a time he would travel, say from Manchester to Edinburgh, conduct a rehearsal in the afternoon and a concert in the evening, and return to Manchester the same night, reaching home at four or five o'clock in the morning, and yet after a few hours' sleep he would be quite fresh again and ready for his next day's work.[89]

Although traveling by rail was more reliable than ever before, sometimes the train would breakdown and cause a delay. For example, on one occasion Hallé:

> Had a band of some fifty members of his orchestra with him, and after a long and tedious delay it occurred to one of them to express his feelings of strong dissatisfaction at things in general by an improvised solo on his instrument, which happened to be a bassoon. This encouraged others in different parts of the train to join their lamentations to his, each man on his own instrument, and soon night was made hideous by the most lamentable sounds ever suggested by the goddess of despair. Presently there came a move on the part of the train of a few yards, when flutes and clarinets set

[87] Susie L. Steinbach, *Understanding the Victorians: Politics, Culture, and Society in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 91.
[88] Ibid. The reliance of musicians on rail transportation continued to rise throughout the nineteenth century and, "By 1900 there were 142 special trains every Sunday in England and Wales to transport touring companies of actors and musicians." See Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 56.
[89] Charles Hallé, *Life and Letters of Sir Charles Hallé*, ed. Hallé, 150.

> up the liveliest airs of rejoicing; but again there was a stop, and fresh wails of anguish smote the astonished air.[90]

Hallé's frequent touring with his orchestra to various festivals and extra performances in northern towns was considered to be such a common occurrence by the 1880s that it was often remarked upon in the local press:

> Still, they are ready to admit that he has immensely developed the taste for the best instrumental music in all classes of society in and about Manchester. For, not content with his own special concerts, Sir Charles and his band are constantly moving about in the north of England and the Midlands; so that it has been said of him that he has spent more time in railway trains than any other musician in the world.[91]

The conductor's new rehearsal methods as well as the steady increase in performance opportunities that he provided for his musicians was so successful, that within a few short years of his initial appointment he was eventually able to abolish the deputy system in Manchester. This policy of no longer allowing orchestra members to hire last-minute subs or deputies on a regular basis was the first case of the abolishing of the orchestral deputy system in Britain.[92] While London-based orchestras such as the Philharmonic Society would continue to develop their own technical skills and artistry over the next

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[90] Charles Hallé, *Life and Letters of Sir Charles Hallé*, ed. Hallé, 150-51.

[91] "Modern Men: Sir Charles Halle," *The Scots Observer*, 8 February 1890. Press clipping located in Banister Scrapbook Collection 2 (1888-1899), R780.2 Sj3, vol. 24, Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library. However, this practice was not proprietary to Hallé and his orchestra, as many conductors by the mid-nineteenth century had discovered the convenience of traveling by rail. For example, Hector Berlioz, ever with a mind towards the cutting edge of innovation, was one of the first major conductors to take advantage of this new form of transportation through his own concert tours of Germany and Russia in the 1840s. For more information on the influence that rail transportation had on Berlioz's later concert tours of Russia and Germany, see David Cairns, *Berlioz: Servitude and Greatness*, vol. 2 (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1989).

[92] Michael Kennedy, *The Hallé 1858-1983: A History of the Orchestra*, 5.

few decades, they would not be able to catch up to Manchester in discipline and technical prowess until the 1890s.[93]

As a result of this reform, Hallé was able to develop the technical skill of his orchestra, which in turn gave him the opportunity to program larger and more complex works than those heard in London during that period. For example, before Hallé arrived in Manchester, Berlioz's larger works were never performed. However, after his appointment Hallé began programming some of the more popular, yet still challenging, selections from Berlioz's large choral work, *La Damnation de Faust*. For example, the *Marche hongroise* and *Ballet des sylphes* were performed in Manchester at least thirteen times in a three-year period between 1856 and 1859.[94] The first of these performances was on an Undress Gentlemen's Concert on 27 March 1856.[95] Although Berlioz was often considered as a "difficult" composer in the 1850s, his *Marche hongroise* was considered by one Manchester critic as an audience favorite on what was otherwise considered to be "too classical" of a program "for a general audience."[96] While it was

[93] Even so, the deputy system was still practiced by several London ensembles well into the early twentieth century. The Philharmonic Society only began adopting its current title of the Royal Philharmonic Society during its 100th season in 1912. For more info see Robert Elkin, *Royal Philharmonic: The Annals of the Royal Philharmonic Society* (London: Rider & Co, 1946). The last ensemble to do so was the modern-day London Symphony Orchestra in the mid-twentieth century. See Richard Morrison, *Orchestra, the LSO: A Century of Triumph and Turbulence* (London: Faber and Faber, 2004), 108-111.

[94] See complete list of *Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates. Unfortunately, at the time of this publication, the author was unable to locate any concert programs for the Gentlemen's Concerts in Manchester between 1849 and 1855. Part of the reason for this could be that concert programs might not have been made for the early Gentlemen's Concerts. The earliest Gentlemen's Concert conducted by Hallé found by the author that contained a Berlioz work on the program was on 26 September 1855. A copy of the program is currently housed at the Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library, Concert Hall, Manchester (1853-1870), R 780.69 Me 65, T. Seale.

[95] A copy of the program is available at Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library, Concert Hall, Manchester (1853-1870), R 780.69 Me 65, T. Seale. Also see "Manchester Concert Hall." *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* [Manchester, England] 29 Mar. 1856: 8.

[96] "Manchester Concert Hall." *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* [Manchester, England] 29 Mar. 1856: 8.

clear that the Manchester critics were still quite unfamiliar with Berlioz, evident from the misspelling of his name in the concert review, it was equally apparent that Berlioz's music created an immediate sensation with Manchester audiences: "We must note particularly the march by Hector Berliotz [sic], a remarkable specimen of writing on the part of this original composer."[97] Critics commented favorably on Hallé's high level of standards:

> Determined from the first never to pander to the taste of the multitude, no one has done more than he has to raise the standard of musical taste among us. In no single instance has he been known to play anything but the best music, and that in so refined a manner as to call forth an initial exercise of the appreciative faculty in the comparatively unlearned, and to quicken it where it had already begun to work. Without stooping to astonish by mere virtuosity, he has ever interpreted classical works in the true classical style.[98]

Under the influential guidance of the German conductor, within a few short years the cultural taste of the people were already beginning to look outward for more inspiring possibilities. Manchester, it seemed, was ripe for a cultural and musical awakening.

The 1857 Arts Treasures Exhibition and the Early Years of the Hallé Orchestra

The culmination of Hallé's hard work was the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition, which took place from 5 May to 17 October 1857. Spurred on by the success of the 1851 Great Exhibition in London and Manchester's official conferral of city status by Queen Victoria in 1853, the prospering business and affluent classes of Manchester wanted to advertise the growing cultural life of their metropolis. Whereas the 1851 Great

[97] Ibid. The misspelling of Berlioz's name is on purpose as that is how it was originally published in the review.
[98] Wilhelm Kuhe, *My Musical Recollections* (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1896), 106-107.

Exhibition in London was a celebration of industrial innovation, the 1857 Arts Treasures Exhibition was restricted to works of art with no industrial or trade items on display:

> Considering the characteristics of the respective cities, it is remarkable that London should have built the Palace of *Industry*, and Manchester the Palace of *Taste*—that the former should have amassed objects of *use*, and the latter objects of *beauty*, —that the world flocked to Hyde Park to see *manufactures and machinery*, and that it will flock to our manufacturing metropolis to see *pictures* and objects of *virtue*.[99]

This event included the construction of a large iron and glass building similar in style and construction to the Crystal Palace that had been constructed for the Great Exhibition six years prior.[100]

Hallé was contracted to provide musical entertainment for the duration of the festival, including Queen Victoria's visit on 30 June.[101] He was given the huge sum of £4515 in order to assemble an orchestra of fifty first-rate musicians for the duration of the exhibition as well as to create a choir of 500 amateur (who were presumably not paid) and professional singers from the principal choral societies around Manchester for the opening festival.[102] By following the ambitions of the Great Exhibition of intertwining cultural and moral aspirations that were offered to all classes of society, the admission

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[99] "Exhibition of the Treasures of Art at Manchester," *Leeds Mercury* [Leeds, England] 2 May 1857. Original Italics. The event was massive in scale, and is still considered to be the largest temporary art exhibit to ever be held in Britain. See "Art Treasures: The birth of the blockbuster," *The Daily Telegraph*, 13 November 2007.

[100] Built by C.D. Young & Co, of London and Edinburgh, the completed structure was 656 feet long and 200 feet wide and contained a wide central gallery running the length of the building. C.D. Young & Co, of London and Edinburgh were also responsible for the building of what would become the Victoria and Albert Museum in South Kensington, just south of the original Crystal Palace location in Hyde Park. See John J. Parkinson-Bailey, *Manchester: An Architectural History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 77–78.

[101] Reginald Nettel, *The Orchestra in England*, 167.

[102] "Art Treasures Exhibition," *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 2 May 1857: 9. See also *The Manchester Guardian*, 7 May, 24 Aug., 14 and 25 Sep. 1857 and Robert Beale, *Charles Hallé: A Musical Life*, pg. 87-88.

price for the Arts Treasures Exhibition was kept relatively low. The standard rate was 1 shilling, except on Thursdays, the first 11 days, and every day the final week, when the price was 2s 6d.[103] However, on some Saturdays the price was lowered further to 6d to enable the working classes to attend, which they did by the thousands. The last 6d day produced a record attendance of 21,700 people.[104]

Hallé and his newly-created exhibition orchestra had the opportunity to perform for a much wider audience than the general subscribers who attended the Gentlemen's Concerts: "Thousands of people from the northern counties heard a symphony for the first time at these concerts, and Hallé watched with interest how the appreciation of such works grew keener as the season went on."[105] Although Hallé only conducted a few concerts during the exhibition, including the opening and closing ceremonies and for Queen Victoria's visit, the orchestra performed virtually every day for six months under different assistant conductors. For example, the *Marche hongroise* from *Faust* made at least one appearance on a Wednesday popular concert conducted by Mr. Becquie de Peyreville on 9 September.[106]

At the close of the exhibition, the orchestra that Hallé had assembled had amassed six months of experience playing together. Seeking to capitalize on this shared experience, Hallé set to work in establishing the orchestra as a permanent organization in

[103] Ibid.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Reginald Nettel, *The Orchestra in England*, 167. Cyril Ehrlich noted that an estimated 1.5 million people attended the exhibition. See Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History*, 62.
[106] A copy of the program is housed at the Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library, Bannister Scrapbook Collection 2 (1888-1899), vol. 9.

the city. Building upon the standards that he first established during his time with the Gentlemen's Concerts, in 1858 Hallé and the Exhibition orchestra members announced the establishment of the Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra.[107] Following on the same practice as the Gentlemen's Concerts, the Hallé Orchestra performed mainly during the winter season. The fledgling orchestra's first concert took place at 7:30pm on 30 January 1858 in the Free Trade Hall under the title of "Mr. Charles Hallé's Grand Orchestral Concerts—Orchestra of Sixty Performers."[108]

The program for the concert contained many popular works that were standard fare for promenade and popular concerts during the period, including overtures by Rossini and Weber, Mendelssohn's *Three Songs without Words* played by Hallé on piano, and a selection from Verdi's *Il Trovatore*.[109] In addition, the *Ballet des sylphes* from *Faust* was also included on the program, sandwiched between works by Auber and Verdi.[110] The "beautifully played" ballet was immediately well received by audiences and critics alike, who demanded an immediate encore of the piece. Due to popular demand,

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[107] "An orchestra was formed in connection with the Exhibition, and when that was closed I kept it together. Of course, it was not half the size that it is at present. It was certainly not more than sixty performers, and hardly compared with the present band." Press clipping from 20 March 1893, "Half an Hour with Sir C. Halle," pasted in Bannister Scrapbook Collection 2 (1888-1899), vol. 23. Located in Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library.

[108] A copy of the program is published in Thomas Batley, *Sir Charles Hallé's Concerts in Manchester* (Manchester: Chas. Sever, 1895). Another loose copy is also held in the Hallé Orchestra Archive, Manchester. The Free Trade Hall was first built as a wooded pavilion to house the planned demonstrations by the Anti-Corn Law League in 1840 and was later replaced by a brick building in 1843. It was in this structure that the famous announcement was made at a meeting of the League to abolish the Corn Laws. In 1855 this building was torn down and replaced with the permanent structure that Hallé and his orchestra performed in starting in 1858 (Hallé actually first played there on 16 December 1856). With the exception of a ten-year period between 1940 and 1951 (when a bomb from the Manchester Blitz destroyed the interior of the hall, which was later rebuilt), the hall was continuously used by the Hallé Orchestra until 1996, when they moved to their new permanent home in the Bridgewater Hall. For more information, see Michael Kennedy, *The Hallé 1858-1983: A History of the Orchestra*, 388-89.

[109] Ibid.

[110] Ibid.

the ballet was also repeated at the following concert on 6 February.[111] During the course of the sixteen-concert season from 30 January to 15 May, the *Ballet des sylphes* was performed a total of five times, including on the first and last concerts. By the final concert that May, the piece was so popular that it had firmly established itself as one of the hits of the season.[112]

Hallé was relying on the kindled interest in classical music shown throughout the Arts Treasures Exhibition to establish his new orchestra on a solid fiscal basis. His success encouraged others. New musical societies were cropping up left and right throughout the region, as evinced in the local papers:

> The efforts which are being made in Manchester to organize amateur and professional choral societies have already had some influence of good, including slight improvement in the number and power of voice of the Monday Evening Concert choir. The public are getting more critical now they know that a superior choir to any which has existed of late years in Manchester is being organized.[113]

Despite the newfound musical enthusiasm, the Hallé Orchestra had a rocky inaugural season. As popular as the *Ballet des sylphes* was at the first concert on 30 January, that event was poorly attended. However, as Hallé rightly surmised, the programming was not the main cause for the low attendance, as the *Ballet des sylphes* was performed four more times throughout the season, including at the last concert, at which there was good

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[111] See *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 6 February 1858. Also cited in Robert Beale, *Charles Hallé: A Musical Life*, 101-102. A copy of the 6 February concert program is published in Thomas Batley, *Sir Charles Hallé's Concerts in Manchester*.

[112] See list of *Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates. Berlioz's works were performed a total of eight times that season: 5 *Ballet des sylphes*, 1 *Marche hongroise*, 1 *Carnaval Romain* overture, and 1 performance of the *Marche des pèlerins* (2nd movement) from *Harold en Italie*. See Thomas Batley, *Sir Charles Hallé's Concerts in Manchester*.

[113] "Manchester Musical Efforts," *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 10 April 1858.

attendance.[114] In fact, low attendance had nothing to do with the programming, but was rather a logistical and financial issue that plagued the first concerts of the season.

Hallé recognized that people attended the musical concerts at entertainment venues such as the Crystal Palace and Arts Treasures Exhibition not just to hear the orchestra perform, but to experience the grand spectacle of the entertainment venue as a whole: "the crowds that had thronged the exhibition did not come specially for the music, and that concerts offering nothing but music, and at necessarily higher prices for admission, could not expect the same popularity. It was a case for attempting some musical education for the whole community."[115] Hallé deduced that in order to induce the people of Manchester to attend musical concerts regularly, he would have to not only train the orchestra, but also educate the public into accepting symphonic works by Berlioz and other contemporary composers. This idea was certainly a novelty not just in Manchester, but in Britain in general. The only other attempt to train audiences to appreciate certain composers was taking place outside of central London in Sydenham, with the Crystal Palace Orchestra: "the English people, even of the more educated classes, had little or no appreciation of purely abstract music, their sympathies being confined more or less to oratorios and ballads. However, Hallé set himself to educate them, and history tells how he succeeded."[116]

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[114] According to reports from Robert Beale, Reginald Nettel, and Charles Hallé. See Reginald Nettel, *The Orchestra in England*, 167-68; Robert Beale, *Charles Hallé: A Musical Life*, 109-110; and "Interviews with Eminent Musicians: No. 1—Sir Charles and Lady Hallé," *The Strand* (January 1895), 12-13. Located in the Hallé Orchestra Archive, Manchester.

[115] Reginald Nettel, *The Orchestra in England*, 167.

[116] Ernest Ford, *A Short History of English Music*, 138. For information relating to the transformation of the Crystal Palace audience, see August Manns' Preface to Frederick Shinn, *Catalogue of the Principal Instrumental and Choral Works Performed at the Saturday Concerts (October 1855-May 1895)* (London,

One way in which Hallé achieved his objective was through canny marketing. His insistence on selling tickets for individual concerts was a novelty in 1858. The Gentlemen's Concerts had previously operated as a subscription series.[117] In spite of his daring innovations, Hallé's orchestra ended up with a small profit. As he recounted:

> In 1857, when the Art Traders' Exhibition was held, I engaged a very good orchestra, including musicians from France, Germany, and Holland. At the expiration of their engagement I felt sorry to think that they would have to disperse, and this gave me the idea of organising orchestral concerts, and I arranged the first series for that winter. The Free Trade Hall had just been built, and I began without any subscriptions whatever. At first the attendance was so poor that my friends predicted financial failure. There were thirty concerts in the series, and after the tenth or eleventh the tide turned, and I determined to go right on to the end. At the close of the season my agent, Mr. Forsyth, came to me, bringing with him my profit in three penny-pieces, amounting to half a crown! There was exactly a penny for each concert; but, small as the total was, it enables me to say that I never closed a season with the balance on the wrong side.[118]

There are a couple of embellishments in Hallé's version of events, however. First, Hallé and his associates had settled on the plan that the first winter season would feature thirty concerts.[119] However, as can be seen in Thomas Batley's book of Hallé Orchestra programs for the first thirty-seven years of the orchestra's existence, there were only

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Crystal Palace: F. M. Evans & Co., 1895). Here he states his intention to establish a classical repertory at the Crystal Palace. For more information on August Manns and his role in promoting Berlioz's music in Britain, see chapter 3. Hallé continued to push for the expansion of musical education in Manchester throughout the rest of his life, which culminated in October 1893 with the establishment of the Royal Manchester College of Music (later changed to the Royal Northern College of Music). The college was established with the aim of cultivating and training local musical talent and Hallé was named the first Principal and professor of pianoforte at the institution until his sudden death two years later.

[117] The Gentlemen's Concerts didn't even sell programs for each concert until Hallé insisted upon them during his second season in 1850. See Reginald Nettel, *The Orchestra in England*, 167.

[118] "Interviews with Eminent Musicians: No. 1—Sir Charles and Lady Hallé," *The Strand* (January 1895), 12-13. Located in the Hallé Orchestra Archive, Manchester. This narrative is also repeated in Charles Hallé, *The Autobiography of Charles Hallé*, 130-32.

[119] This narrative has also been repeated by several prominent British musicologists. For example, see Reginald Nettel, *The Orchestra in England*, 167-68.

sixteen concerts performed during the first 1858 winter season between 30 January and 15 May.[120] Given this information, it is quite clear that, based on the newspaper records that reported the poor concert attendance for the first half the season, the total of sixteen concerts had resulted in a net loss for Hallé and his orchestra.[121]

In addition, this information proves that Hallé orchestra concerts were not successful at first. However, one way in which Hallé could have been right in his assertion that all of his seasons were successful is if he was made this argument based on the overall attendance rather than the financial records and net income. While the first several concerts of the 1858 season were poorly attended, by the end the season audience numbers steadily increased to sold-out concerts. This would have made up the difference in attendance numbers. Thus, Hallé was able to count the season as a success: "It was not before nearly half the series of thirty concerts had been given that things took another aspect; the audience gradually became more numerous and more appreciative; at last full houses succeeded each other."[122]

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[120] See Thomas Batley, *Sir Charles Hallé's Concerts in Manchester*.

[121] Robert Beale discusses this discrepancy in greater detail, in which he also claims that there were only sixteen concerts in the first winter season and that it came out at a loss. According to Beale, the total number of concerts for the season is hard to calculate, as *The Musical World* reported twenty concerts that resulted in such a net loss that a charity concert was held for Hallé on 9 April 1859, with a profit of £350. However, after the majority of the 1858-9 season had passed the net profit to date of just 2s 6d (the amount that Hallé and his story describes) is believable, as it has also been widely established that Forsyth had presented Hallé with mid-season statements and checks representing the proceeds of the concerts thus far on multiple occasions. Perhaps in this case Forsyth did something similar at the earliest date when there were finally proceeds to declare sometime during the 1858-59 season. See Robert Beale, *Charles Hallé: A Musical Life*, 109-110.

[122] Charles Hallé, *The Autobiography of Charles Hallé*, 131-32. Unfortunately there is no way to analyze the exact financial and attendance records for Hallé's first 1858 winter season. The earliest surviving financial records for the orchestra are from the Nov 1859-April 1860. These records, plus the remaining financial records of the Hallé Orchestra leading up to the present day, are currently held in the Hallé Orchestra Archive in Manchester.

Another change that Hallé implemented was moving some of the weekly concerts to Saturday evenings, rather than occurring at mid-week, which was the traditional practice for the Gentlemen's Concerts. The reason for this change was purely for logistical and financial reasons. By moving the concert days to Saturday evenings, Hallé hoped to attract a larger portion of the middle-class families that lived in the city. By the mid-century, advances in Victorian working conditions had paved the way for businesses and offices (excluding shops) in London and the major industrial cities to close regularly around midday on Saturdays (the origin of the "weekend").[123] Because of the newfound leisure time, many middle-class families began to look for entertainment before the Sabbath.[124] As can be seen by their attendance records at the concerts held during the Arts Treasures Festivals, this demographic had shown a keen interest in classical music, and it was on this particular demographic that Hallé concentrated his efforts.[125] These labors proved effective. By 1866, the gradual spread of the half-day work day on Saturdays in Manchester saw a proliferation of events held at the Free Trade Hall.[126]

[123] For more information on the British pioneering of shorter working hours and better working conditions see, Gary Cross, *A Quest for Time: The Reduction of Work in Britain and France, 1840-1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989) and Wilfred B. Whitaker, *Victorian and Edwardian Shopworkers: The Struggle to Obtain Better Conditions and a Half-holiday* (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1973), 53-58.

[124] It's true that by mid-century, Saturdays were by common knowledge the most popular days to hold concerts, as it "was the day when the largest crowds were to be expected, for it was the workers' half-holiday." See Reginald Nettel, *The Orchestra in England*, 176.

[125] August Manns also took advantage of the better working conditions through his implementation of the Crystal Palace Saturday concert series in Sydenham. For more information, see chapter 3. Also briefly discussed in Simon McVeigh and Cyril Ehrlich, "The Modernisation of London Concert Life," in *The Business of Music*, ed. Michael Talbot (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002), 103-7.

[126] For more information on the use of Saturdays for evening entertainments in Manchester, see "Saturday Evening Concerts and Entertainments" in *Manchester Guardian* 22 Sep. 1866. Cited in Robert Beale, *Charles Hallé: A Musical Life*, 147.

Building on this success, Hallé began to offer weekly family concerts at a discount rate. To achieve this, Hallé carefully programmed his early concerts to have an equal sampling of both popular orchestral and operatic favorites, as well as a gradual sampling of more substantial classical works by composers such as Beethoven, Wagner, and Berlioz:

> The repertoire of his [Hallé's] band may be justly said to embrace the whole gamut of the classic and classic-romantic schools. He [Hallé] could scarcely be called a whole-hearted Wagnerian, but his mind was so receptive even to the last, that however antagonistic to his own feelings some of the latest developments in orchestral music proved to be, he submitted willingly to what he saw to be the inevitable tendency of the times, and formed his programmes in accordance with them, provided always that his ideal standard was maintained.[127]

In the case of programming *La Damnation de Faust*, Hallé started small with certain popular selections such as the *Ballet des sylphes* and the *Marche hongroise*, as they had already become popular standards for the Manchester public from the Gentlemen's Concerts and the Arts Treasures Exhibition concerts. For example, although the *Marche hongroise* was only performed at least twice before the inaugural 1858 season, during the Hallé Orchestra's first sixteen-concert season the *Ballet des sylphes* and the *Marche hongroise* were performed a combined total of six times.[128] In fact, by the end of the season, the *Ballet des sylphes* was considered one of the top hits performed by the orchestra that year.[129] Manchester audiences were so receptive to Berlioz's ballet that the work soon became the most popular selection from *Faust* in Manchester for the

[127] Ernest Ford, *A Short History of English Music*, 137.
[128] See list of *Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.
[129] "Manchester Musical Efforts," *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 10 April 1858.

next twenty years. Between 1858 and 1877 the *Ballet des sylphes* was performed by Charles Hallé with either the Gentlemen's Concerts or Hallé Orchestra at least seventeen times.[130] By comparison, the *Marche hongroise*, which in all other parts of Britain was by far the most popular selection from *Faust* and would remain the most popular well into the twentieth century, was only performed seven times in Manchester during that same twenty-year span.[131] The combined twenty-four total performances of selections from Berlioz's *Faust* were by far the highest number throughout Britain during this period.

Establishing Berlioz's Place in the Hallé Orchestra Repertoire

By the 1860-1 season, Hallé and his more ardent supports in Manchester had put together a seasonal concert formula that he would successfully utilize for the rest of his conducting career.[132] There were two major changes since the inaugural season: first, Hallé again moved the concerts days from Wednesday and Saturday evenings to exclusively take place on Thursday evenings (essentially abandoning the Saturday concerts altogether).[133] Second, he programmed each season to contain a standard of twenty concerts, eight of which were fully choral, that were available to the public through both subscriptions and single-ticket sales.[134] While Hallé's efforts to induce his public to appreciate Berlioz's *Faust* had some effect throughout the first three seasons, by the 1860s the popularity of the *Ballet des sylphes* and the *Marche hongroise* had greatly diminished. In the twenty-year period between 1860 and 1879, selections from *La*

[130] See list of *Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.
[131] Six performances given by Charles Hallé and one at the Arts Treasures Exhibition under Becquie de Peyreville.
[132] Robert Beale, *Charles Hallé: A Musical Life*, 139.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Ibid.

Damnation de Faust were only performed in Manchester a total of eight times: the *Ballet des sylphes* was heard six times, the *Marche hongroise* only twice.[135] This sudden drop in popularity was not just limited to selections from *Faust*, but occurred with the frequency of performance of all Berlioz's works in Manchester and throughout all of Britain.

One potential reason for this decline may have been that Berlioz's music was out of fashion on the continent during this period, especially in Paris. The twenty-year period between 1860 and 1879 included the last years of Berlioz's life, a time during which his activities both as a composer and conductor were down. This was due in part to his failing health brought on by an intestinal illness. Another reason was the nature of his compositional projects; the grand opera *Les Troyens* was composed between 1856 and 1858, and then revised off and on until 1863. There was also the creation of his comic opera *Béatrice et Bénédict*, which was completed between 1860 and 1862.

In addition, the lack of piano transcriptions available for purchase in countries such as Britain contributed to Berlioz's lack of fame during the 1860s and 1870s. Sheet music sales of piano reductions were a prime source of income for both composers and music publishers throughout the nineteenth century. Such reductions functioned as vehicles by which British audiences familiarized themselves with the music performed at orchestral concerts.[136] Due to the complexity of Berlioz's music, many of his more

[135] See list of *Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates. Hallé also conducted the *Ballet des sylphes* in Edinburgh and Glasgow on back-to-back nights on 13-14 February 1871.

[136] Many British publishers such as Novello and Cramer, Beale, & Co. made most of their income from piano sheet music sales. Starting in the mid-nineteenth century, each year the major publishes would publish a catalogue of the publications they currently offered for purchase. For example, when William Chappell joined the Cramer, Beale, & Co. in 1861 he was the one responsible for creating the catalog of published worked offered by the company during this time. See Willert Beale (Walter Maynard), *The Light*

popular scores were difficult to transcribe for piano and, therefore, were not as accessible for the general, piano-playing British public as were the scores of Mendelssohn and Meyerbeer.[137] Although Berlioz traveled throughout the 1860s, his conducting trips were limited and not on the same scale or pace as he had kept throughout the 1840s and 1850s.[138] While Berlioz's death in 1869 proved a cataclysmal event in his home country of France, who immediately afterwards embraced his music at last, other nations, excluding Germany, took longer to appreciate the French master.[139] In Britain, it was only in the years leading up to the 1880 season that Berlioz started to take hold, largely in part due to Manns and Hallé.

In order to meet the growing demand for programming larger scale works, by the 1865-66 season Hallé increased his orchestra to eighty musicians, including fifty-four strings.[140] Even though performances of Berlioz's music had declined within the twenty-

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of Other Days Seen Through the Wrong End of an Opera Glass, vol. 1 (London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1890), 39-40.

[137] For example, an early edition of a piano arrangement for four hands of the *Marche hongroise* was arranged by Sir Jules Benedict and was published by Cramer, Beale, & Co. in 1848. A copy of this edition is currently housed in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. See Cecil Hopkinson, *A Bibliography of the Musical and Literary Works of Hector Berlioz, 1803-1869* (Edinburgh, 1951; rev. R Macnutt, Tunbridge Wells, 1980), 118 fn279. See also entry for Beale, Thomas Frederick in *The Cambridge Berlioz Encyclopedia*, ed. by Julian Rushton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 19-20. For further discussion of published piano transcriptions of Berlioz's *Faust* that was available in Britain at the time, see chapter 3.

[138] The 1860s did include a trip to Vienna in 1866 to conduct the city's first complete performance of *La Damnation de Faust* and a second trip to Russia that proved quite lucrative for him, despite his ailing health. See David Cairns, *Berlioz: Servitude and Greatness, 1832-1869*, vol. 2, 744-48 (Vienna) and 758-67 (Russia).

[139] Jann Pasler does a fantastic job explaining the Berlioz revival in France after his death in her incredibly descriptive account of music during Third Republic France. For more information, see Jann Pasler, *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009). Germany was by far the most receptive of Berlioz's music during his lifetime and resulted in the composer traveling there frequently to perform his works. For more information on Berlioz's reception in Germany, see Gunther Braam and Arnold Jacobshagen, *Hector Berlioz in Deutschland: Texte und Dokumente zur deutschen Berlioz-Rezeption (1829-1843)*, (Göttingen: Hainholz, 2002).

[140] This was also the season when Hallé's net profits first exceeded £2000. See Robert Beale, *Charles Hallé: A Musical Life*, 145.

year period between 1860 and 1879, Hallé still continued to program his music regularly. In addition to his continued semi-annual performances of selections from *La Damnation de Faust*, Hallé began steadily programming more works, including Berlioz's overtures and selections from the symphonies.

Table 1.1: Select List of Berlioz conducted by Hallé, 1855-81[141]

Selection	Work	Location	Date
Marche des pèlerins	*Harold en Italie*	Manchester	19 Dec 1855
Marche des pèlerins	*Harold en Italie*	Manchester	20 Feb 1858
La reine Mab	*Roméo et Juliette*	Manchester	17 Dec 1863
Scène du Balcon [*sic*]	*Roméo et Juliette*	Manchester	30 Dec 1863
Marche des pèlerins	*Harold en Italie*	Manchester	8 Dec 1864
Roméo seul, Scène d'un Bal	*Roméo et Juliette*	Manchester	1 Feb 1866
Scène d'un Bal	*Symphonie fantastique*	Manchester	22 Nov 1866
Scène aux Champs	*Symphonie fantastique*	Manchester	31 Jan 1867
Scène du Balcon [*sic*]	*Roméo et Juliette*	Manchester	30 Jan 1873
Scène du Balcon [*sic*]	*Roméo et Juliette*	Edinburgh	14 Feb 1874[142]
Complete	*Harold en Italie*	Manchester	28 Jan 1875
Complete	*Harold en Italie*	Manchester	17 Jan 1878
Complete	*Harold en Italie*	Liverpool	29 Jan 1878
Complete	*Symphonie fantastique*	Manchester	9 Jan 1879[143]
Complete	*Symphonie fantastique*	Liverpool	14 Jan 1879[144]
Complete	*Roméo et Juliette*	Manchester	29 Dec 1881[145]

[141] The table contains only the performances of *Harold en Italie*, *Symphonie fantastique*, and *Roméo et Juliette* conducted by Charles Hallé up to the first complete performance of *Roméo et Juliette* in 1881. Copies of the programs can be found in: the Hallé Orchestra Archive, the Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library, and in Thomas Batley, *Sir Charles Hallé's Concerts in Manchester*.
[142] First performance of movement in Scotland.
[143] First complete performance in Britain.
[144] First complete performance in Liverpool, second complete performance in Britain. While Charles Hallé had started conducting numerous concerts for the Liverpool Philharmonic Society starting in the 1870s he did not officially take control as the permanent conductor of the organization until 1883 and held the post until his death in 1895.
[145] First complete performance in Manchester.

As Leanne Langley astutely notes, Hallé's practice was to introduce sections of Berlioz's longer works prior to a complete performance.[146] As can be seen from Table 1.1, which is in chronological order, Hallé first programmed the second movement of *Harold en Italie* a couple of times before performing the complete symphony on 28 January 1875.[147] Similarly, he conducted only single movements from the *Symphonie fantastique* before giving the first complete performance of the symphony in Britain on 9 January 1879. As for *Roméo et Juliette*, two instrumental sections were programmed on four separate occasions before he presented the complete symphony on 29 December 1881.[148]

Hallé's method of repeating selections before exposing the audience to a complete performance was employed to great effect with *La Damnation de Faust*. As can be seen from the above table (1.2), Hallé conducted performances of either the *Ballet des sylphes* or the *Marche hongroise* at least twenty-three times in the first thirty years of his tenure in Manchester before finally conducting a complete performance of the score in 1880.[149] Although selections from *La Damnation de Faust* were not performed every year, both the *Ballet* and *Marche* were performed frequently enough for audiences and critics to

[146] Leanne Langley was the first to make this observation in regards to how Hallé specifically programmed Berlioz's music in her thorough and excellent article on the reception of Berlioz's music in Britain between 1870 and 1920. For more information, see Leanne Langley, "Agency and Change: Berlioz in Britain, 1870-1920," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 132/2 (2007): 306-48.
[147] The *Marche des pèlerins* was conducted by Hallé once on a Gentlemen's Undress Concert on 19 December 1855 and then twice with the Manchester Orchestra on 20 February 1858 and 8 December 1864. A copy of the Gentlemen's Concert program is housed at Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library, Concert Hall, Manchester (1853-1870), R 780.69 Me 65, T. Seale. Copies of the Hallé Orchestra concert programs are published in Thomas Batley, *Sir Charles Hallé's Concerts in Manchester*.
[148] Copies of the Hallé Orchestra concert programs are published in Thomas Batley, *Sir Charles Hallé's Concerts in Manchester*.
[149] See list of *Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.

classify them as regular favorites.[150] The practice worked: by the time Hallé gave the first complete performance of *La Damnation de Faust* on 5 February 1880, audiences throughout Britain were so receptive to the work that Hallé conducted a total of seven complete performances of *Faust* over the next eleven months.[151]

Table 1.2: Performances of selections and complete performances of *La Damnation de Faust* conducted by Hallé, 1856-1880[152]

Year	Selection	Complete
1856	1	0
1858	9	0
1859	3	0
1861	1	0
1862	1	0
1863	1	0
1865	1	0
1870	1	0
1871	2	0
1872	1	0
1877	1	0
1879	1	0
1880	0	7
Total	23	7

The twenty-three total performances of *Faust* by Hallé during this thirty-year period were by far the most numerous compared to any other conductor in Britain pre-1880. The closest rival in total performances was Berlioz himself, who gave a total of five

[150] For example, a review of the first complete *Faust* performance in the 7 February 1880 *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* mentions "the well-known ballet of Sylphes in the second part." See "Mr. Charles Halle's Concerts Berlioz's 'Faust' Music." *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* [Manchester, England] 7 February 1880: 6.
[151] See list of *Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.
[152] All of the selections were performances of either the *Ballet des sylphes* or the *Marche hongroise* only. The first complete performance of *La Damnation de Faust* in Britain was given by Hallé on 5 February 1880. Copies of these programs can be found in the Manchester Central Library, Hallé Orchestra Archive, and published in Thomas Batley, *Sir Charles Hallé's Concerts in Manchester*.

performances of selections of the work during his first and third trips to London in 1848 and 1852.[153] In fact, Hallé performed selections from *Faust* so frequently during his first thirty years in Manchester that his total performances containing *Faust* selections made up almost half of his total concerts on which he conducted works by Berlioz from the time of being hired to direct the Gentlemen's Concerts in Manchester in 1849, up to the 1880 winter season.[154]

Table 1.3: Complete list of performances of Berlioz's works given by Hallé, 1848 - January 1880[155]

Work	Hallé
Benvenuto Cellini overture	1
Le carnaval romain overture	9
Les francs-juges overture	2
Harold en Italie (both selections and complete)	6
Symphonie fantastique (both selections and complete)	4
La Damnation de Faust	**23**
Roméo et Juliette (selection)	5
L'Invitation à la valse orchestration	4
Total	54

Conclusion

Under Hallé's leadership the city of Manchester ushered in a new era of orchestral excellence. For many years, the Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra was one of the leading professional orchestras in Britain. As Wilhelm Kuhe later wrote in his *Musical Recollections*:

[153] Ibid.
[154] See Table 1.3. For exact dates see list of *Faust* performances in Appendix.
[155] Note: all other Berlioz works not listed here were not performed during this period. Copies of these programs can be found in the British Library, Royal College of Music Library, Manchester Central Library, and Hallé Orchestra Archive. Most are also published in Thomas Batley, *Sir Charles Hallé's Concerts in Manchester*.

> What London lost may now be seen in the fact that in a few years Manchester became far and away the most musical city in England. Hallé not only instituted an annual series of twenty concerts during the winter season, but succeeded in getting together the first permanent provincial orchestra in the country, being thoroughly persuaded that the excellence of *ensemble* to be attained by a band of experts accustomed always to play together is a very different thing to the performance of a more or less heterogeneous body of instrumentalists, hastily gathered from London and other available centers, such as that with which Manchester had been obliged hitherto to content itself.[156]

By the eve of the British première of the complete *La Damnation de Faust* on 5 February 1880, Hallé had already proven himself to be a champion of Berlioz's *légende dramatique* in the West Midlands. After seeing the Manchester public's widely favorable reaction to the first complete British performance of the *Symphonie fantastique* given under his direction in 1879, Hallé perceived that the time was finally ripe to introduce Berlioz's massive choral works to the British public. However, even Charles Hallé could not have imagined the overwhelmingly warm response that the work would receive both in Manchester and throughout Britain within the coming year.

[156] Wilhelm Kuhe, *My Musical Recollections*, 108. His Italics.

CHAPTER 2

Sir Charles Hallé and his role in bringing *La Damnation de Faust* to Britain: 1880-1895

Introduction

By the start of the 1879-1880 Hallé orchestra season, the city of Manchester had undergone an extensive musical transformation. In the thirty years leading up to this season only a few standard selections from the score had been performed. However, once the first complete performance of *La Damnation de Faust* in Britain was given on 5 February 1880, the popularity of the work seemed to explode overnight. The exponential increase in the performances of the work during this time was partially due to its growing popularity among the Victorian upper, middle, and working classes. This occurred soon after a sudden surge of popularity in Paris. For example, in the years leading up to the first complete performance in Manchester, Hallé began to notice the steady increase in the middle-class gallery attendance at his concerts. Because of these factors, Hallé perceived that the time was ripe to introduce the full *légende dramatique* to the Mancunian public. The concert was indeed a watershed for the appreciation of Berlioz in Britain. This concert not only cemented Hallé's place as a master conductor for British audiences, but was the defining moment at which *Faust* became a standard in the British repertory.

This chapter examines Charles Hallé's critical role in giving the first complete performance of *La Damnation de Faust* in Britain as well as his promotion of it over the remaining fifteen years of his life. In addition to tracking how often *Faust* was presented during this period, this data will be contextualized in order to assess how much of an influence Hallé had in developing the musical taste of the British working classes

throughout the Mancunian region. As the English composer and conductor Ernest Ford observed:

> It would be difficult to over-estimate the services that Charles Hallé rendered to England, through this medium alone. As year followed year, so did one masterpiece after another find its way to Manchester, to meet the reception that only these northern enthusiasts know how to accord. To them, whether it were the work of a modern master, or a hitherto unknown work of Handel, the result was ever the same, granted that it touched their highly emotional sensibilities.[157]

The first complete performances of *La Damnation de Faust* in Britain

By the time of the first complete performance of *Faust* on 5 February 1880, audiences were well primed for its arrival. As noted in the previous chapter, the *Ballet des sylphes* and *Marche hongroise* were annual staples on concert programs. Two of Berlioz's symphonies—*Harold en Italie* and the *Symphonie fantastique*—had been performed complete in the area with great success. Thus, Hallé judged that the time was ripe for the entire score.[158] This was hardly an easy undertaking. Hallé painstakingly rehearsed the orchestra, which by this point had doubled in size since its formation in 1858, and recruited extra choral singers from the surrounding area to augment his well-trained resident choir.[159] Initially formed as the Manchester St. Cecilia Society by Hallé in 1850, the choral society at first functioned in the same manner as the Gentlemen's

[157] Ernest Ford, *A Short History of English Music* (New York: McBride, Nast, and Company, 1912), 221.
[158] For example, by August 1880 *The Monthly Musical Record* was already describing *Faust* as Berlioz's "greatest monument" and "one of his greatest works." See "Hector Berlioz and his *Faust*," *The Monthly Musical Record*, 1 August 1880, 101-104.
[159] Charles Hallé, *Life and Letters of Sir Charles Hallé; Being an Autobiography (1819-1860) with Correspondence and Diaries*, ed. by C. E. Hallé and Marie Hallé (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1896), 168.

Concerts: the society was a select group comprised of members from Manchester's elite social circles that met weekly under Hallé's direction.[160]

Unlike the local public, who were brought up on the choral traditions established by Joseph Mainzer and later John Hullah as well as John and Spencer Curwen, Hallé had no knowledge of the local English choral traditions when he first arrived in Manchester.[161] Instead, he based the musical training of the St. Cecilia Society from recollections of the German *Gesangverein*.[162] The society was traditionally amateur in nature and historically focused on performing secular music. Therefore, it was easy for Hallé to make the connection between the aims of the Germanic *Gesangverein* that he had been raised with and the secular nature of *Faust* as a perfect work for the amateurish St. Cecilia Choir to perform alongside his orchestra. Throughout the years of Hallé's tenure in Manchester, the St. Cecilia Choral Society grew alongside the Manchester Orchestra and Hallé often used it to perform on the orchestra's choral concerts.

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[160] Reginald Nettel, *The Orchestra in England* (London: A. W. Bain and Co. ltd., 1946), 166.

[161] See chapters 4 and 5 for more information on the vocal training of the Victorian middle and working classes as well as a brief discussion of the effects that the Tonic Sol-Fa Movement under John and Spencer Curwen had on *Faust*'s performance history in Britain. Charles Edward McGuire's book, *Music and Victorian Philanthropy: The Tonic Sol-fa Movement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), provides an excellent and updated account of the Tonic Sol-Fa Movement under the Curwens and its role in the development of music education programs both in Britain and throughout the British colonies.

[162] Reginald Nettel, *The Orchestra in England*, 166. The word *Gesangverein* literally translates to singing club. Many all-male *Gesangverein* were created in the Germanic states during the early nineteenth century as part of a male-chorus movement that was sweeping the European continent during this period. These societies were exclusive and amateur in nature and typically performed secular music. The *Berliner Liedertafel* was one of the first of these all-male choirs in Berlin. Comprised of twenty-five men, it was established by the German composer and teacher Carl Friedrich Zelter (1758–1832) in 1809 and became a model for similar groups in the region. For example, in reaction to the exclusiveness of the society, Ludwig Berger (1777–1839) and Bernhard Klein (1793–1832) formed their own *Liedertafel* in Berlin in 1819, which included E. T. A Hoffman (1776–1822) among its members. This tradition was continued in the latter half of the nineteenth century with the establishment of the *Berliner Liedertafel* in 1844 and the *Berliner Lehrergesangverein* in 1886. For more information, see Jim Samson, ed., *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 675.

Therefore, when the time came to use a choir for the first performance of *Faust* in 1880, the employment of the St. Cecilia Society was a logical choice. The additional voices needed to augment the society for the first complete performance of *Faust* were easy for Hallé to procure, as the region was stocked with good choirs, thanks to the previously mentioned vocal training efforts of Joseph Mainzer, John Hullah, and the Tonic Sol-Fa Movement.[163]

In addition to procuring the necessary voices and personnel needed to perform the work, the second major hurdle that Hallé needed to tackle was translating the vocal score from French to English.[164] The reason for this dates back to two years prior when a nearly

[163] Both the upper and working classes equally enjoyed the benefit of performing in amateur vocal societies throughout the province: "There were many music-lovers in lower walks of life whose activities in choral music played an important part in Lancashire life. The constant friction between employers and workers in the textile trade needed a special social technique if religious and intellectual life was to go on in nineteenth-century Lancashire, and a majority was determined that it should." Reginald Nettel, *The Orchestra in England*, 166. The historical prowess of vocal choirs in British provinces has been well documented in other sources including the aforementioned Reginald Nettel's *The Orchestra in England* and in Charles Edward McGuire's *Music and Victorian Philanthropy: The Tonic Sol-fa Movement*. In fact, the musical prowess of provincial choirs and the emphasis on musical training in primary schools as a means to educate children both morally and artistically was already a popular topic within Victorian society. For example, by 1880, John Hullah's 1878 report on musical education in English elementary schools was already widely published and often commented upon in *The Musical Times* and other music circulars. For more information, see Frances Hullah, *The Life of John Hullah* (Longmans & Co.: London, 1886) and Percy A. Scholes, *The Mirror of Music: 1844-1944*, 2 Vols. (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1947).

[164] Pasdeloup had given an almost complete performance of *La damnation de Faust* in French on 1 June 1878 at Her Majesty's Theater with his orchestra while on tour from Paris as part of Her Majesty's Theater's French opera season. While some consider the Pasdeloup 1878 performance of *Faust* as the first complete performance in Britain (see, for example, "Berlioz's 'Faust,'" *The Times*, 24 May 1880), it technically was not complete. While I have still been unable to locate a surviving copy of the program from this concert, the fact that it was given in French and not complete has been noted by several critics in later *Faust* performance reviews throughout the subsequent decades. For example, a press review of a Royal Choral Society performance of *Faust* in 1884 noted that "M. Pasdeloup, the same clever conductor and ardent admirer of Berlioz *who first introduced portions of the 'Faust'* at Her Majesty's Theatre" and that a complete performance was not given in London until "Mr. Charles Hallé gave his complete and excellent performances of the work at the Symphony Concerts held in St. James's Hall" in 1880. Cited from "Royal Albert Hall Choral Society," *The Sunday Times*, 30 November 1884. (Italics by author.) For this reason, I have classified the performance in the appendix of *Faust* performances in Britain as selections from the work rather than a complete performance.

complete performance of *La Damnation de Faust* was given by Pasdeloup and his orchestra with its original French text when the conductor did a tour of Britain with his orchestra. According to *The Times*, the performance was not well received by London audiences:

> In choosing so strange a work as Berlioz's *Damnation de Faust* for production at his first concert M. Pasdeloup has sacrificed his personal interests to his love for art or for a particular phase in art. Many amateurs would have been interested in seeing the celebrated *chef d'orchestre* conduct one of Beethoven's or Schumann's symphonies and in comparing his readings to those familiar works with those of Mr. Manns or Mr. Cusins. The works of Berlioz being, on the other hand, all but unknown in this country, the attention of the—we are sorry to say—extremely scanty audience was directed towards the composition rather than towards the conductor. Another drawback was the all but inevitably imperfect nature of the performance. The time which the overworked chorus at Her Majesty's Theatre could give to the rehearsal of such a work was naturally wholly inadequate, and under the circumstances it is a matter of surprise that an actual catastrophe was at least avoided.[165]

Because he was constantly aware of current musical events in London, Hallé must have observed the low audience attendance at Pasdeloup's 1878 performance.

Therefore, Hallé must have calculated that he would increase the overall success of performing *Faust* in Manchester if it was given in English rather than the original French text. British choirs, raised on *Messiah* and other oratorios, did not often sing in

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[165] "M. Pasdeloup's First Concert," *The Times*, 4 June 1878. Original Italics. Indeed, the review claimed that the choice to perform *La Damnation de Faust* was so misjudged by Pasdeloup that it greatly hindered his ability to adequately showcase his talents as a conductor: "After what has been said, it will be sufficiently clear that the choice of the work under discussion from among Berlioz's numerous compositions was anything but judicious on M. Pasdeloup's part" and that had he chosen any other of Berlioz's better works, in the opinion of *The Times* critic, "Such a programme would at the same time have given M. Pasdeloup a better opportunity of displaying those admirable qualities as a conductor which all visitors of the *Concerts Populaires* know him to be possessed of." Other press reviews shared similar reviews of the concert. For example, *The Morning Post* criticized that: "The performance of the work was by no means up to the mark expected of the band of her Majesty's Theatre, probably because of a want of complete understanding between the performers and their conductor, M. Pasdeloup." See "Her Majesty's Theatre," *The Morning Post*, 3 June 1878.

foreign languages. Furthermore, translating the text would also increase the work's accessibility to people of the lower, middle, and working classes who were not fluent in the language. In this assumption, Hallé's insight proved correct. Having the text sung in English engendered much wider audience interest, as listeners could follow the plot with ease. In fact, the English translation made by Hallé's daughter became the standard version used in Britain throughout the remainder of the century. In addition to attracting a much wider audience, the idea of performing the work in English also played into Hallé's educational ambition in Manchester. Hearing *Faust* in English, audiences were treated to a thrilling tale of morality that played directly into the Victorian ideals of self-betterment and moral upbringing:

> In countering this trend to commercialise and vulgarise music the Hallé concerts were held up as an educative ideal. One effect of the Hallé concerts was thus to sharpen the distinction between the 'commercial' and the 'cultural', and to serve as a measure of moral and aesthetic taste for different kinds of middle-class music in Manchester.[166]

The translation was such an overwhelming success that Hallé enthusiastically remarked upon it in a letter to his daughter, Marie Antoinette Caroline, the following year: "How things grow! I cannot help thinking now often of the evening when I asked you if you could not help me by translating *Faust*, and now people have actually come from Ireland to Huddersfield merely to hear it… They had been ruefully seasick, and said they would

[166] Simon Gunn "The Sublime and the Vulgar: the Hallé concerts and the constitution of 'high culture' in Manchester c. 1850–1880," *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 2/2 (1997): 221. This practice of aesthetically and morally uplifting the Manchester middle and working classes by exposing them to new and great cultural musical works was a fundamental concept that Hallé and his elite backers had been striving towards since the conductor's arrival: "Our chief hope is that the general introduction of the concerts like those of Mr Hallé will gradually raise the taste of the public." Quote from *The Free Lance*, 23 November 186. Cited in Simon Gunn "The Sublime and the Vulgar: the Hallé concerts and the constitution of 'high culture' in Manchester c. 1850–1880," 221.

not mind being so again the next day if they could hear *Faust* once more."[167] This translation was used in the first English text edition of the piano vocal score to *La Damnation de Faust*, which was published in June 1880 by Chappell & Co., 50 New Bond Street, London, "Lithographed, with the plate number of 16947 and sold at 7s. 6d."[168]

Steadfast in his convictions, Hallé had ignored the advice of several of his close confidants, such as the Manchester chorus master Edward Hecht, who had tried to dissuade him from performing the complete *Faust*, and had forged ahead with the preparations for the February performance.[169] News of Hallé's efforts traveled far and wide, as distinguished musicians travelled from all over Europe to attend the performance.[170] Hallé's extra effort paid off handsomely:

> In transferring Berlioz's Faust music to Manchester, Mr. Hallé has conferred another obligation upon his supporters, and added another to the list of works which they will be glad to have repeated. To orchestra and chorus the highest praise is due. The great weight of the performance fall

[167] Letter from Charles Hallé to his daughter Marie Antoinette Caroline after a performance of the work at the 1881 Huddersfield Festival on 23 October 1881. Cited in Michael Kennedy, *The Hallé Tradition: A Century of Music* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1960), 83; Hallé, *Life and Letters of Sir Charles Hallé*, ed. Hallé, 306-7; and in Robert Beale, *Charles Hallé: A Musical Life* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 161. Marie Antoinette Caroline (1845-1925) was a novelist and never married. Her English translation of *La Damnation de Faust* was used by Hallé for all of his subsequent performances throughout his career and became the standard version of the work performed throughout Britain leading up to the First World War.

[168] Copies of this edition are currently held in the British Library, Music Collections F.103.bb (date stamped 12 June 1880), the Macnutt collection in the Bibliothèque nationale, Faust [Musique imprimée] : dramatic legend / by Hector Berlioz, GR-VM MACNUTT-87, the Royal Scottish Academy of Music in Glasgow, and in the Cecil Hopkinson Collection that is currently housed in the National Library of Scotland. Marie Antoinette Caroline's translation of the libretto was used in the first three English editions of *La Damnation de Faust* that were published by Chappell & Co in 1880, 1887, and 1892. A copy of the 1892 edition is currently held in the British Library, Music Collections, F.103.i. For more information on the different English editions of *Faust*, see Cecil Hopkinson, *A Bibliography of the Musical and Literary Works of Hector Berlioz, 1803-1869* (Edinburgh, 1951; rev. R Macnutt, Tunbridge Wells, 1980), 118.

[169] For information on Edward Hecht wishing Hallé to cancel the performance, see Michael Kennedy, *The Hallé Tradition: A Century of Music*, 83.

[170] Ibid.

> upon the former, and they executed their task, which is subtly difficult, not only accurately, but with a spirit answering to the work which could scarcely be excelled.[171]

The audience was enthusiastic: "Mr. Hallé, before laying down his batôn, was greeted with specially warm applause."[172] The *Manchester Guardian* published a positive review, stating that the work was "magnificently given" and that: "The interest excited by the production of this work was evinced by the unusually crowded state of the hall on Thursday evening. It is long since we have noticed such unmistakable enthusiasm as was displayed during the whole evening."[173] The *Marche hongroise* was particularly well received. Already a favorite in the northern city, "the effect of the march was electric," as "an audience usually somewhat cold and receptive merely were aroused to such unwonted enthusiasm that nothing short of an encore would pacify them."[174] The outcome was indeed a triumph and the principal vocalists, Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, Robert Hilton, and George Henschel, were stunning in their solos as well.[175]

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[171] "Mr. Charles Halle's Concerts Berlioz's 'Faust' Music." *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* [Manchester, England] 7 February 1880: 6.
[172] Ibid.
[173] 'Mr. Charles Halle's Grand Concerts Berlioz's "Faust."' *The Manchester Guardian*. 7 February 1880.
[174] Ibid.
[175] "Mr. Charles Halle's Concerts Berlioz's 'Faust' Music." *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* [Manchester, England] 7 February 1880: 6. Sir Isidor George Henschel (1850–1934) was a baritone, pianist, conductor, and composer. In addition to being a close friend of Johannes Brahms, Henschel was also an active promoter of Berlioz's music in Britain during the 1880s and 1890s. For example, in addition to regularly appearing as Méphistophélès in British performances of *La Damnation*, Henschel also started a brief series known as the London Symphony Concerts in 1886. Henschel both conducted these concerts and regularly programmed Berlioz's music on them. For example, he conducted the *Marche hongroise* on the fifteenth concert of the first season of the London Symphony Concerts on 9 March 1887. A copy of the program for this concert is currently housed in Oxford, Bodleian Library, F. Gilbert Webb collection: London Symphony Orchestra (1886-1887), Mus. 318 d.30. For more information on Henschel and his promotion of Berlioz at the London Symphony Concerts, see Leanne Langley, "Agency and Change: Berlioz in Britain, 1870-1920," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 132/2 (2007): 327 and 330fn no. 55.

A detailed account of the concert was recalled by the local organist and music enthusiast William Thomas Freemantle, who stated that *Faust* was "magnificently given" by the Manchester Orchestra under Hallé's leadership and reveled in the work's "pictorial and descriptive elements."[176] Fremantle thought that Mephistopheles' Serenade was "so mocking and devilish in its repudiation of all ordinary rhythm, but withal so attractive, that its theme is one that lingers perhaps longer than any other."[177] Although the work was an overall triumph, there were certain critiques. The *Manchester Courier* complained of the "marked inferiority" of Berlioz's *Faust* to Charles Gounod's opera of the same name: "not only in the general character of the music, but in the artistic handling of the whole subject," especially in regard to the inferiority of the vocal score of *Faust* compared to its instrumental score.[178] Others, such as Fremantle, argued that the weakest parts of the work were only certain sections, such as the lovers' meeting in part three, but thought that other sections of the score made up for the one or two weaker parts: "the whole of part 4 is marvelous. It is utterly impossible for us to attempt to do justice to the dramatic intensity of the 'Ride to the Abyss.' Its horror is unparalleled in the range of musical expression, culminating in a crash so awful that the precipitation into the gulf becomes visible to the mental eye."[179]

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[176] Michael Kennedy, *The Hallé Tradition: A Century of Music*, 51-52. William Thomas Freemantle (1849–1931) was an organist, author, and ardent collector of eighteenth and nineteenth century choral and church music autographs. He wrote several books, including an unpublished biography of Hector Berlioz. This manuscript as well as a collection of letters and documents relating to the unpublished biography are currently part of the Freemantle Collection housed at the University of Leeds, Brotherton Library, Life of Berlioz's Biography by W. T. Freemantle: Bibliography, Correspondence and notes, MS 1700/6/2. Special thanks to Julian Rushton for bringing this information to my attention.
[177] Michael Kennedy, *The Hallé Tradition: A Century of Music*, 51-52.
[178] "Mr. Charles Halle's Concerts Berlioz's 'Faust' Music." *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* [Manchester, England] 7 February 1880: 6.
[179] Michael Kennedy, *The Hallé Tradition: A Century of Music*, 51-52.

By the end of the year, the historical significance of the performance was recognized for its impact on British concert life: "Of all the magnificent works, either new or comparatively unknown, which Mr. Charles Hallé has introduced during the last twenty-two years at his concerts in the metropolis of the north, not one has excited so much interest or such genuine enthusiasm as the *légende dramatique, La Damnation de Faust*, of Berlioz."[180] The magnitude of his accomplishment was not lost on the conductor either. Hallé considered the British première of *Faust* one of his greatest triumphs and later recalled that performing the work "gave him the greatest pleasure and interest" for "this was Berlioz's 'Faust.'"[181] His son later recounted in his father's autobiography on how much the performance meant to his father:

> But to give the work in its entirety had been my father's ambition for years, and he at last ventured on it in spite of the doubts expressed by many of his friends as to its proving a popular success. The concert excited much interest throughout England, and many well-known musicians repaired to Manchester to hear the first performance of a work which had been so much discussed¸ and about which so many contrary opinions were held.[182]

The concert was so well received that audiences demanded a repeat performance for the following week. Due to programming and scheduling issues, the repeat performance was delayed. It was given a month later on the final concert of the 1879-80 season on 11 March 1880 with the same soloists:

> The work was received with so much enthusiasm that my father gave it a second time during the same season, a very rare proceeding on his part. Indeed, it is worthy of note that during the thirty-eight years' existence of the Manchester concerts, this compliment has only been paid to the

[180] "Hector Berlioz's 'Faust,'" *The Monthly Musical Record*, 1 June 1880, 75.
[181] Charles Hallé, *The Life and Letters of Sir Charles Hallé*, ed. Hallé, 167.
[182] Ibid., 167-68.

> following great choral works: Handel's 'Messiah,' of which a double performance takes place every Christmas; Handel's 'Jephtha,' owing to the remarkable success of Mr. Sims Reeves in 1868; Gluck's 'Iphigenia,' given three times in the course of 1860; and the music of the 'Midsummer Night's Dream' by Mendelssohn, given twice in the season of 1857-1858.[183]

Although these were the first two complete performances of *La Damnation de Faust* in Britain, neither concert was widely covered outside of the Midlands. Because of this, many music critics, especially in London, tended to misdate the first complete performance of the work in Britain as actually occurring in London either two years earlier with the incomplete Pasdeloup 1878 performance or three months later with Hallé's London performances in May 1880 instead.[184]

Encouraged by his overwhelmingly successful performances in Manchester, Hallé arranged to perform *Faust* that spring as part of his London season. In order to save rehearsal time and to give his musicians more financial opportunities, Hallé brought the entire Manchester Orchestra and Choir with him for the London season.[185] However, part

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[183] Ibid., 168. For information on known copies of the concert program see list of *Faust* performances in Appendix.

[184] This misinformation was a rather common occurrence in the London press, as many London-based newspapers would often overlook the musical news in the provinces because they considered it sub-par to the sophistication and skills of the London orchestras. For example, a similar confusion occurred concerning the first complete British performance of the *Symphonie fantastique*. Many London-based newspapers first wrote that the first completed performance of the work in Britain was given by Wilhelm Ganz and the New Philharmonic Society on 30 April 1881 when this was actually the first complete performance given in central London. The symphony's first complete performance of the symphony in Britain was given in Manchester under Charles Hallé two years prior on 9 January 1879. See *The Manchester Guardian*, 11 January 1879, 5 for review of Hallé performance and "Mr. Ganz's Orchestral Concerts," *The Times*, 5 May 1881 for review of Ganz performance. It is also worth noting that the inconsistency in reporting claims of first performances in this period was such a common occurrence that the reviewer of the 1881 Ganz concert mistook the performance as the first in Britain even though the concert advertisement in *The Times* on the day of the performance on 30 April 1881 did correctly state that Ganz's performance of the *fantastique* was the "first time of performance in London."

[185] Almost all of the press reviews of the 21 and 22 May 1880 concerts stated that Hallé performed the work with his Manchester Orchestra and Choir. For example, see "Berlioz's 'Faust,'" *The Times*, 24 May

of Hallé's motivation was to show off the skill of his ensemble, as he later admitted that his reason for the expensive venture of transporting his entire orchestra to the capitol was based in his own ego: "It was due to my band, for their own self esteem at all events, that they should show themselves in London. I, too, wanted the people to see that it was not merely a provincial band."[186] Performing in London with his full orchestra and choir was an expensive undertaking, and one that even Hallé admitted was not cost effective enough for him to repeat annually: "But it was an expensive pleasure. There is, of course, increased cost and greater risk in arranging such concerts in London. On some of them I lost money."[187]

Although the first two performances of *Faust* in Manchester did not receive a great deal of attention from the London press, news of the performances did travel south through the musical gossip chain and created much anticipation for its London première that spring. One London critic for *The Times* lamented of the work's absence on Hallé's first concert that season:

> One is inclined to inquire why he did not identify his *début* as a conductor with the introduction of an unfamiliar and important work—such, for instance, as Berlioz's *Faust*, recently performed under his direction, and with enormous success, at Manchester. The services of a London choir might, one would think, have been obtained without too much difficulty

1880. The original program also states that the Manchester Orchestra was used, a copy of which is currently held in Box 28, John Johnson Collection Concerts, ANSW/06.98, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

[186] Press clipping from 20 March 1893, "Half an Hour with Sir C. Halle," pasted in Bannister Scrapbook Collection 2 (1888-1899), R780.2 Sj3, vol. 23, 129. Located in Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library.

[187] Hallé continued in this interview by giving an example of just how much the costs were to perform a concert with his full orchestra in London in 1893: "Now at this last concert the hall was as full as ever it could be, but I was only left with a surplus of £10 beyond all my expenses, which were over £400. I don't want to put down £400 often to pick up £10. I don't want to pay too dearly for my pleasure." Both quotes from press clipping from 20 March 1893, "Half an Hour with Sir C. Halle," pasted in Bannister Scrapbook Collection 2 (1888-1899), R780.2 Sj3, vol. 23, 129. Located in Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library.

> and Mr. Hallé's concerts would have gained that artistic significance and *raison d'être* which at present they somewhat lack.[188]

Critics and audiences did not have to wait much longer, however, as Hallé and his orchestra gave the first and second complete London performances of *Faust* on back-to-back nights on Friday and Saturday, 21 and 22 May 1880 at St. James's Hall: "The performance thus suggested took place on Friday night at St. James's-hall, and the result was such as fully to warrant Mr. Hallé's confidence in the merits of the work and the taste of the London public."[189] The soloists for both London performances were also the same ones that performed both the February and March performances in Manchester.[190]

The vast majority of London's music critics and enthusiasts immediately recognized the significance of both performances, comparing Hallé's costly gamble of bring his full forces to London for the sake of a novelty work by Berlioz to a "Quixotic spirit," that in the end produced a remarkable event: "Its circumstances were in themselves extraordinary—unique even, for, as far as we can discover, there is no precedent for the importation of a provincial band, chorus, and conductor, with the object

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[188] "Mr. Hallé's Orchestra," *The Times*, 11 March 1880, 5. By this period the ease of transportation throughout Britain due to the advances in the railroad was so great that Hallé was able to conduct the first two concerts of his London season for which this review was written on Tuesday, 9 March and still be back in plenty of time to conduct the second complete English performance of *Faust* in Manchester two days later on Thursday, 11 March, the same day that this review appeared in print.

[189] "Berlioz's 'Faust,'" *The Times*, 24 May 1880. A sampling of reviews of the concerts were also republished in the 29 May edition of *The Musical Standard*. See "Berlioz's 'Faust' at St. James's Hall," *The Musical Standard*, 29 May 1880, 345-48. Copies of the programs for both nights can be found in the Box 28, John Johnson Collection Concerts index, ANSW/06.98, Bodleian Library, Oxford. Continuing with the theme of the British tendency to inaccurately report first performances of works, even Charles Hallé's son mistakenly reported in Hallé's autobiography that the first London *Faust* concert on 21 May 1880 had taken place the following year in 1881. See Charles Hallé, *The Life and Letters of Sir Charles Hallé*, ed. Hallé, 168.

[190] See program copies located in the Box 28, John Johnson Collection Concerts index, ANSW/06.98, Bodleian Library, Oxford. The soloists for all of the concerts are also included in the list of *Faust* performances in Appendix.

of introducing to metropolitan amateurs a work they had never before heard."[191] The risk for Hallé was indeed great, both artistically and financially, as a novelty performance of a massive work such as *La Damnation de Faust* required a large audience draw in order to pay for the necessary expenses of performing the work, a requirement which was not always a guarantee with London audiences:

> Pecuniary benefit could hardly have been expected, since novelties, even when backed by a famous name, excite but little interest; and we are bound to assume, therefore, that the motive was chiefly artistic and personal. Mr. Hallé, no doubt, desired to show Londoners what an efficient musical machine he has constructed at Manchester, while those associated with him in the enterprise may have had a thought for Berlioz at a time when the world generally seems ready to admit that the French composer has been badly treated.[192]

If Hallé had any doubts about the venture, they were immediately set to rest after the first performance:

> Mr. Hallé has no reason to regret his temerity, if temerity entered into the matter at all. A better *ensemble* has not often challenged criticism; the excellent orchestra and well-trained choir of capital voices working together under their experienced chief with a unanimity that showed how much perfection depends upon a concentration of purpose and effort scarcely possible amid the diversified claims of metropolitan life.[193]

Both concerts garnered rave reviews from the London press and the musical circulars, who finally took notice of both the novelty and historical significance of Hallé's performances: "Not only was the hall crowded, but the attention with which everything was listened to and the enthusiasm excited by certain passages tended to show that English amateurs no longer reject music on account of its originality or even

[191] "La Damnation de Faust," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, vol. 21, No. 448 (June 1, 1880), 285.
[192] Ibid.
[193] Ibid. Original Italics.

eccentricity."[194] The performance given by both Hallé and the Manchester Orchestra were singled out for praise and the band "was simply perfect, and the spirit and variety of colour infused into the Rakoczy March [*Marche hongroise*]was equally conspicuous with the delicacy which marked the Danse des Sylphes, and other pieces demanding the most refined treatment."[195] In total, both performances of the work given by Hallé and his orchestra in London were considered by critics and audiences alike to be in every way superior to Pasdeloup's performance of an incomplete version of Berlioz's *Faust* two years prior. *The Times* even went so far as to remark that the overall performance was a triumph of British concert life: "As regards freshness of voices and perfect *ensemble*, the performance on Friday night has indeed seldom been matched in London."[196]

As a mark of the lasting popularity of the *Marche hongroise* (*Hungarian March*) and *Ballet des sylphes* with the British public, both of the movements received special commendation: "the celebrated Hungarian march, in which Berlioz has expended all his ingenuity to make the score impressive and effective" was during the performance "one of the most inspiriting pieces of orchestral music it is possible to imagine. We have often listened to it before, but never heard it properly until the occasion now referred to."[197] *The Musical Times* also made a point to single out the popularity and warm response garnered by both movements:

> Be this as it may the choruses were admirably sung, while the orchestra played from first to last with a success nothing short of astonishing, having regard to what was required of it. Brilliant and imposing in the

[194] "Berlioz's 'Faust,'" *The Times*, 24 May 1880.
[195] "Hector Berlioz's 'Faust,'" *The Standard*, 26 May 1880.
[196] "Berlioz's 'Faust,'" *The Times*, 24 May 1880.
[197] "Hector Berlioz's 'Faust,'" *The Standard*, 26 May 1880.

> Hungarian March, it was simply ravishing in the Dance of Sylphes, and everywhere put in its figures and laid on its colours with a master-hand.[198]

Both the *Marche hongroise* and the *Ballet des sylphes* were equally well received by London audiences and were both enthusiastically encored at each of the May performances.[199] In fact, as the performance records show, the popularity of both the *Ballet* and the *Marche* only increased throughout the following decade and, by the 1890s, the movements were so popular that they were frequently heard on popular and promenade concerts.[200] Hallé himself would also occasionally perform just one or two of these selections on his London concerts as encores. For example, he conducted the *Marche hongroise* to mark the end of the first half of his concert at St. James's Hall on 24 January 1890 in order to not have shifting audience members disrupt the colors of the "Queen Mab" Scherzo from Berlioz's *Roméo et Juliette* on their way to intermission.[201]

As a result of its immediate success in Manchester and London, *La Damnation de Faust* became a fashionable choral work on the London concert scene. By the third London performance of the work given by Hallé that November, audiences were still

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[198] "La Damnation de Faust," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, vol. 21, No. 448 (June 1, 1880), 286.

[199] "Hector Berlioz's 'Faust,'" *The Monthly Musical Record*, 1 June 1880, 76. Intriguingly, by the third London performance of the complete *Faust* that November reviews of the performance already considered an encore of the *Marche hongroise* (*Hungarian March*) to be the norm: 'The "Hungarian March" was as usual encored as a recognition of the perfection of the playing." See "St. James's Hall," *The Morning Post*, 22 November 1880.

[200] For example, while selections from *Faust* were performed in London alone at least twenty-two times throughout the 1880s, by in the following decade this number had quadrupled to over ninety performances. See list of *Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates. Furthermore, Sir Henry Wood would frequently perform both movements at the Queen's Hall Proms concerts that began in 1895. For more information, see chapter 6.

[201] "In order that the dainty colouring of the *Queen Mab* picture might not be lost in the noise made by a departing audience, the *Marche hongroise* from *Faust* was put in at the end of the concert; such expedients are rendered only necessary in our present state of musical education." Quote from "Two Orchestral Concerts" press clipping from 25 January 1890, pasted in Bannister Scrapbook Collection 2 (1888-1899), R780.2 Sj3, vol. 14. Located in Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library.

filling St. James's Hall to hear what was now considered by many to be Berlioz's masterpiece: "It was the third time the work had been given under his experienced direction in London, and the interest attached to the performance was such as to attract to the hall a large number of the most eminent members of the musical profession."[202] Likewise, the fourth performance given in London a month later was also warmly received by "an enthusiastic audience."[203] In total, the 1880-81 fall, winter, and spring seasons in London and Manchester saw ten complete performances of *Faust* conducted by Hallé alone. This number includes seven more performances in London at St. James's Hall as well as the work's first complete performance in Liverpool with the Manchester Orchestra on 8 March 1881.[204] The seven London performances were equally distributed throughout the year with one in November, one in December, two in January, one in March, and two in April.[205] All were equally well received by London audiences, who could not get enough of the long-neglected work: "The more we hear of *La Damnation de Faust*, the more apparent becomes the singular power of the composition."[206] By the

[202] "Berlioz's 'Faust,'" *The Standard*, 13 Dec 1880. For references to the labeling of *Faust* as Berlioz's masterpiece see "Hector Berlioz and his Faust," *The Monthly Musical Record*, 1 August 1880, 102.
[203] Desmond L Ryan, "Music," *The Examiner*, 18 December 1880; 3803; British Periodicals, 1408.
[204] See list of *Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates. The first complete performance of the work in Liverpool with Hallé and his orchestra was not unusual or cause for special circumstances, as by this time Hallé was regularly bringing his orchestra to Liverpool to perform the same programs that they already performed or were about to perform in Manchester. For example, the *Faust* performance on 8 March in Liverpool took place only two days before Hallé was schedule to conduct the work in Manchester and three days after he had conducted a performance of the work in London at St. James's Hall. In addition, Hallé's performing ties with the city of Liverpool were even more closely established two years later when Hallé took over as the official permanent conductor of the Liverpool Philharmonic Society from 1883 to 1895. The first complete performance of *La Damnation de Faust* was also given in Glasgow during this period by August Manns. For more information on the performance of Berlioz's work in Scotland, see chapter 3.
[205] See list of *Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.
[206] "Berlioz's 'Faust,'" *The Standard*, 13 December 1880. According to Reginald Nettel, a much different narrative of Hallé's London *Faust* concerts took place: "Less excusable was his failure to do justice to Berlioz's *Faust* in London in 1880. There had been London performances of selections from this work, but

end of the season, *Faust* had quickly become a staple work in the expanding British choral-orchestral repertoire as well as a calling card for Hallé himself, who conducted twenty-five of the next forty-eight total performances of the work throughout Britain (over half of the total performances) between 1880 and 1882.[207]

Hallé continued to perform *Faust* throughout the 1880s both in London and throughout the British provinces. However, he would not conduct back-to-back performances of the work again in London until January 1892. By this time, George Bernard Shaw, who at the time was working a music critic in London, wrote a review of these two performances that outlined just how much of an impact Hallé and his orchestra

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Hallé was the first to perform it complete in the metropolis. Had Hallé taken the whole Manchester orchestra to London for the event, an outstanding performance would have been assured, but Hallé allowed the London agent, Chappell, to persuade him to cut expenses by using only a few Manchester players and make up the orchestra with London players; in fact, to acquiesce to the casual system general outside Manchester. Chappell made a profit at the expense of Hallé's reputation, for although Hallé visited London with his orchestra at later dates, he never succeeded in establishing there the reputation for orchestral finesse that he and his men enjoyed in Manchester." Reginald Nettel, *The Orchestra in England*, 170. Michael Kennedy also noted the orchestra's lesser quality during the 1880-81 London *Faust* concerts as a cause of Hallé not bringing his full orchestra with him to London: see Michael Kennedy, *The Hallé Tradition: A Century of Music*, 83. As can be seen from the reviews of the 1880 *Faust* London concerts already cited here, the dating of 1880 by Nettel is actually a mistake that was confused with the February-March 1881 London concert series given by Hallé and his orchestra. While it is true that for the February 1881 London concerts Hallé did not bring his entire Manchester Orchestra with him to London in order to save costs by filling most of the orchestra with London ringers, the concert in question where Kennedy and Nettel form their argument was a review of the 5 February 1881 concert that did not contain any Berlioz on the program, but rather standard orchestral works that the London musicians should have performed with relative ease. See "Mr. Charles Hallé's Concerts," *The Times*, 8 February 1881, 8. However, while I could find copies of the concert program for Hallé's performance of *Faust* in London the following month on 5 March 1881, I was unable to find any press reviews of the February concert, perhaps due to the close proximity of the concert to the first complete performance of Berlioz's *L'Enfance du Christ* in London by Hallé on 26 February and the first complete performance of *Roméo et Juliette* in Britain by William G. Cusins and the Philharmonic Society on 10 March. It should be noted that the performance of *L'Enfance* given by Hallé and his combined orchestra of Manchester and London players was "open to much improvement" due to several pitch and performance problems by both the choir and orchestra: see "Berlioz's 'L'enfance Du Christ,'" *The Times*, 4 March 1881, 4.

[207] See list of *Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.

had made on the musical scene in London since their first performances of *Faust* a decade earlier:

> When he first introduced *The Damnation of Faust* here, there were no rival performances to compare with that of the Manchester band. Now the work is a stock piece at the Albert Hall and the Richter concerts; and it has been heard at the Crystal Palace. The result is that London is utterly eclipsed and brought to nought. In vain does Mr. Barnby guarantee metronomic regularity of *tempo* and accurate execution of every note in the score: the work is usually received at the Albert Hall as an unaffectedly pious composition in the oratorio style. Richter, by dint of incessant vigilance and urgency, only gets here and there a stroke of fancy, power or delicacy out of the orchestra in its own despite. Mr. Manns conducts *Faust* conscientiously, but without opposing any really sympathetic knowledge to the blank ignorance of the orchestra. Hallé simply indicates the quietest, amblingest *tempos* at his ease; and the score comes to life in the hands of players who understand every bar of it, and individualize every phrase.[208]

Although by this point both concerts were not as well attended as in Manchester, both London concerts in 1892 were splendidly played by both the orchestra and chorus, who performed with "the perfect balance between the parts. Soloists, choristers, and orchestra were proportioned to one another with absolute nicety."[209] The fact that Londoners now had a choice of performers in *La Damnation de Faust* is a testament to just how much of

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[208] Bernard Shaw, "The Absence of Orchestras," *The World*, 13 January 1892. Reprinted in *Shaw's Music: The Complete Musical Criticism in Three Volumes*, ed. by Dan H. Laurence, vol. 2 (London: Max Reinhardt, The Bodley Head, 1981), 519. George Bernard Shaw (1856–1950) was an Irish playwright, critic, polemicist, and political activist. In addition to his interests as a playwright and novelist, Shaw also worked as a music critic for *The World* from 1890 to 1894 where this review was first published. The writer had an apparent affinity for Hector Berlioz and his music, as he wrote an unpublished fictional story of Berlioz's exploits in 1880. Entitled *A Reminiscence of Hector Berlioz*, a copy of the manuscript is currently held in the British Library, George Bernard Shaw, author: 'A Reminiscence of Hector Berlioz's: 1880.ff. 78-107v, Add MS 50693. For more information of Shaw's affinity of Berlioz's music, see Jacques Barzun, "Berlioz and Shaw: An Affinity," *Shaw* (vol. 16, Unpublished Shaw, Penn State University Press, 1996), 67-87.

[209] "The Manchester Orchestra," *The Times*, 9 January 1892.

an impact Hallé's introduction of the work to the British Isles had on transforming the Victorian choral and orchestral concert repertoire.

La Damnation de Faust as an Annual Standard

The success of *La Damnation de Faust* brought not only the choral work, but also the composer to the forefront of British concert life. Indeed, the première of the work in February 1880 under Hallé's leadership can in many ways be considered the principal reason for Berlioz's ascent to a lasting place in the British orchestral repertoire over the next thirty years. Whereas excerpts from the work were only performed thirty-seven total times in Britain before 1880, between 1880 and 1918, *La Damnation de Faust* was programmed at least 560 times in Britain, both in the form of excerpts as well as complete performances.[210] This data can be seen in Table 2.1, broken down by decade and the ratio of performance frequency of concerts containing either selections or complete performances by percentage.

Hallé was certainly the most important figure in promoting Berlioz's *légende dramatique*. In addition to giving the first complete performance of the work in Britain, he also conducted at least forty-five complete performances of the work during the last fifteen years of his life.[211] This is by far the most complete performances of the work given by any other nineteenth-century conductor in Britain.[212]

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[210] See list of *Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.

[211] See list of *Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates. Hallé was so well known for his skill in conducting Berlioz's music that he was frequently hired to conduct complete performances of *Faust*. In fact, he was hired to conduct complete performances so frequently that, after the first 1880 performance, he only conducted concerts containing selections of the work eight more times between 1880 and his death in 1895.

[212] The closest two conductors to reach that number were Joseph Barnby who conducted at least eighteen complete performances and Hans Richter with at least fourteen. For clarity it should be noted that these

Table 2.1: Total Statistics of *La Damnation de Faust* Performances in Britain, 1848-1918[213]

Decade	Total	Complete	Performance Frequency	Selection	Performance Frequency
1848-1849	4	0	0%	4	100%
1850-1859	16	0	0%	16	100%
1860-1869	5	0	0%	5	100%
1870-1879	12	0	0%	12	100%
1880-1889	112	73	65%	39	35%
1890-1899	193	69	36%	124	64%
1900-1909	170	28	16%	142	84%
1910-1918	91	8	9%	83	91%
Total	603	178	30%	425	70%

Most of the performances that Hallé conducted were with his own Manchester Orchestra both in their home city as well as abroad. After the initial success of the first complete performance in Manchester in 1880, *Faust* immediately became a seasonal standard in the city: "Though Sir Charles has repeated it so often, its popularity seems in no way on the wane, if we may judge from the immense crowd that gathered in the Free-trade Hall last night."[214] In fact, the size of the crowd for Berlioz's *Faust* concerts was so great that it regularly competed with the majority of the choral concerts given throughout the Manchester season in terms of overall attendance over the next two decades. This was because the Manchester Orchestra's choral programs drew a much larger audience than

numbers only represent complete performances of the work conducted in Britain. See list of *Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.

[213] All of the statistics in Table 2.1 are derived from published and periodical sources as well as archival research completed in eleven different archives in England, Scotland, and France in the spring of 2017. Special thanks to the British Library, Royal College of Music, Royal Albert Hall Archive, Royal Academy of Music, London Metropolitan Archive, Oxford University's Bodleian Library, Manchester Central Library, Hallé Orchestra Archive, Royal Northern College of Music, the Foundling Museum, and the National Library of Scotland. For more information and exact dates, see list of *Faust* performances in Appendix.

[214] "Sir C. Halle's Grand Concerts: 'Faust,'" *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 9 November 1888.

its purely instrumental concerts during this period. By the mid-1880s, the audience attendance for those concerts frequently exceeded the seating capacity of the hall by substantial numbers.[215] These audience numbers, in combination with the increase in gallery prices made during the 1879-80 season, are the main source for identifying choral concerts as the money-spinners of the concert season, even after factoring in the extra costs that each concert incurred by hiring extra soloists as singers.[216]

The rise in prices for the gallery seating during the 1879-80 season were a direct result of the ambitions program that Hallé had planned for that season, which included the British première of the complete *Faust* that February. However, another crucial aspect was the steady increase in audience attendance that continued in spite of the increase in admission prices. This in turn can be directly linked to the orchestra's growing following among the middle class.[217] In essence, the more middle class people who attended the concerts meant that the demand for the gallery seats increased, which as a result would have caused the administration to raise the price of admission. This trend can be seen in

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[215] Robert Beale, *Charles Hallé: A Musical Life*, 206-207. Full accounts of the prices for each concert revenue and general audience draw can be found in the financial record books kept each season from the Hallé Orchestra's second season in 1859 to the present day. These books are currently located in the Hallé Orchestra Archive, Manchester.

[216] For complete information, see the Hallé Orchestra Financial Record Books located in the Hallé Orchestra Archive, Manchester. Robert Beale also does a fantastic job analyzing and contextualizing this financial information as well in his book on Charles Hallé. See Robert Beale, *Charles Hallé: A Musical Life*, 206-207 and 219.

[217] The increase in demand for music during this time also directly correlated with the exponential increase in musicians in London and the provinces: "The most basic fact about professional musicians in nineteenth-century Britain is the huge increase in their numbers, accelerating rapidly after 1870 and finishing soon after 1930. It was an expansion which far outstripped the rapid growth of the country's population: the latter almost doubled during this period, while the number of musicians increased sevenfold. In 1840 approximately 7,000 musicians were at work among some 27m. people; by 1930 there were about 50,000 musicians in a population (England, Wales, Scotland, and both parts of Ireland) of nearly 50m. people." For more information of the rise of the music profession in nineteenth-century Britain and its direct correlation with the rise of the middle-classes, see Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 51.

the financial records kept for the Manchester Orchestra concerts throughout the last fifteen years of Hallé's life.

In all of the complete *Faust* performances given by Hallé and his orchestra in Manchester throughout the 1880s, the attendance in the gallery section, where most of the affordable middle-class tickets were sold, averaged over 400 tickets per performance and matched overall ticket sales on the same level of popularity as the annual *Messiah* and *Elijah* performances.[218] In fact, Hallé later boasted that his orchestra's performances of these works under his leadership had such a profound impact on the working-class people that flocked to the galleries that they would often send him tokens of their appreciation: "A working-man, too, sometimes sends me a little present, made by himself, asking me to accept it in return for the great pleasure he has derived from the concerts."[219]

The case for the popularity of the *Faust* concerts among the middle- and working-classes can be further demonstrated when the attendance records of the *Messiah* and *Elijah* performances are compared to those of *Faust* throughout the 1880s. As the numbers recorded by the Manchester Orchestra clearly show, the popularity of *Faust* not only competed with the average attendance for *Messiah* and *Elijah*, but in some cases exceeded both. [220]

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[218] See the Hallé Orchestra Financial Record Books for the years 1879-1891 located in the Hallé Orchestra Archive, Manchester. The 1886-87 book was missing during my visit to the archive in June 2017. The only time that the gallery audiences for a complete *Faust* concert sold under 400 tickets in Manchester was in 1894. However, the drop in attendance among the middle class that year did not necessarily mean that the work was out of fashion, as it was also during that same year that the work was performed for the first time on stage as an opera in Manchester by the Carl Rosa Opera Company. For more information on this performance, see chapter 5.

[219] "Interviews with Eminent Musicians: No. 1—Sir Charles and Lady Hallé," *The Strand* (January 1895), 13. Located in the Hallé Orchestra Archive, Manchester.

[220] See Table 2.2.

Table 2.2: Attendance Record of Select Choral Concerts given by Charles Hallé and the Hallé Orchestra in Manchester, 1880-1894[221]

Date	Piece	Attendance	Season Average Attendance
5 Feb 1880	*Faust*	2354	1974
26 Feb 1880	*Elijah*	2883	1974
11 March 1880	*Faust*	3000	1974
25 Nov 1880	*Faust*	2754	2134
16 Dec 1880	*Messiah*	3127	2134
3 Feb 1881	*Elijah*	2727	2134
10 March 1881	*Faust*	3055	2134
22 Dec 1881	*Messiah*	2962	2124
12 Jan 1882	*Faust*	2900	2124
21 Dec 1882	*Messiah*	2948	2195
22 Dec 1882	*Messiah*	3039	2195
11 Jan 1883	*Faust*	2744	2195
15 Feb 1883	*Elijah*	2855	2195
10 Jan 1884	*Faust*	2588	2107
2 Jan 1885	*Faust*	2531	2155
31 Dec 1885	*Faust*	2293	2011
4 Feb 1886	*Elijah*	2661	2011
22 Dec 1887	*Messiah*	2439	1901
8 Nov 1888	*Faust*	2443	1940
29 Nov 1888	*Elijah*	2481	1940
12 Feb 1890	*Elijah*	2458	1959
6 March 1890	*Faust*	2263	1959
5 Nov 1891	*Faust*	2100	1829
11 Feb 1892	*Elijah*	2345	1829
4 Jan 1894	*Faust*	2236	1796
25 Oct 1894	*Faust*	1611	1844

For example, the second performance of *Faust* given in March 1880 drew over 3,000 people, whereas *Elijah* that year drew only 2,883.[222] This attendance number was well over the average audience attendance for the 18879-80 season at 1,974 people per

[221] All of the information in this table was obtained from the Hallé Orchestra Financial Record Books located in the Hallé Orchestra Archive, Manchester. The average attendance records for each season was calculated by Robert Beale in the appendix of his book: *Charles Hallé: A Musical Life*, 206-207 and 219.
[222] See the Hallé Orchestra Financial Record Book for the 1879-80 season located in the Hallé Orchestra Archive, Manchester.

concert.[223] Similarly, the *Faust* performance on 10 March 1881 drew over 3,000 people, whereas the performance of *Elijah* given just two weeks prior only drew 2,700 people; the average audience turnout for that season was 2,134.[224] Given these statistics, it becomes clear why within two years *La Damnation de Faust* had become an annual money-spinner for Hallé and the Manchester Orchestra.[225]

The average revenue and attendance draw of each subsequent *Faust* performance did not falter: even by the end of the decade in November 1888 *Faust* drew a virtually identical attendance of 2,400 people to the performance of *Elijah* given two weeks later. In addition, their numbers were well above the average concert attendance that season of 1,940 people.[226] Furthermore, this record of ticket sales accurately reflects the recollection of Hallé's son, who recalled seeing middle- and working-class men "standing and packed together in great discomfort" that "have yet listened for hours, and evidently with much appreciation, to most intricate and delicate music."[227] By the 1890s, the

[223] The average concert attendance is based on the table of Hallé's Manchester accounts summary in the Appendix of Robert Beale, *Charles Hallé: A Musical Life*, 219-20.
[224] See the Hallé Orchestra Financial Record Book for the 1880-81 season located in the Hallé Orchestra Archive, Manchester. The average concert attendance is based on the table of Hallé's Manchester accounts summary in the Appendix of Robert Beale, *Charles Hallé: A Musical Life*, 219-20.
[225] Michael Kennedy, *The Hallé Tradition: A Century of Music*, 54.
[226] See the Hallé Orchestra Financial Record Book for the 1888-89 season located in the Hallé Orchestra Archive, Manchester. The average concert attendance is based on the table of Hallé's Manchester accounts summary in the Appendix of Robert Beale, *Charles Hallé: A Musical Life*, 219-20.
[227] Charles Hallé, *The Life and Letters of Sir Charles Hallé*, ed. Hallé, 143. Also cited in Robert Beale, *Charles Hallé: A Musical Life*, 207. The gallery section for the Free Trade Hall was most likely standing-room seating. This can be deduced by comparing the Free Trade Hall's ticket policies to the concert hall policies in Liverpool: "Liverpool is only thirty-five miles from Manchester, and communications were excellent by the 1850s, so its concert life was inevitably influenced by Halle's activities. Perhaps this helps to explain why it developed more slowly, less professionally, and was apparently more constrained by class rigidities. The Philharmonic Society segregated its audience rigidly, allowing public access only to the gallery, much of it standing. The prevailing tone of exclusiveness is conveyed by a pompously obscure rule, frequently reiterated in programmes, which remained in force until 1909: 'No Gentleman above twenty-one years of age residing or carrying on business in Liverpool or within ten miles thereof, and not being an Officer of the Army or Navy, or Minister of Religion, is admissible to the Boxes or Stalls at the

performance of *Faust* had become such an annual tradition for Mancunian audiences that Hallé ended up conducting complete performances of the work on thirteen Manchester Orchestra seasons during the last fifteen years of his life, excepting only the 1887-88 and 1892-93 seasons.[228]

Hallé and his Orchestra's association with *La Damnation de Faust* was so strongly established that the score became a standard celebratory piece used to commemorate significant anniversaries. For example, complete performances of *Faust* were given to celebrate the occasion of the 500th concert given by the Manchester Orchestra on 10 March 1881 as well as to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the orchestra's founding at the close of the 1886-87 season, on 18 March 1887.[229] By 1890, *Faust* had enjoyed thirteen complete performance in Manchester alone and yet, in spite of its frequent performances, local music lovers were still filling the hall to hear the work a decade later:

> The cantata, though with the exception of one or two numbers entirely unknown a few years ago, is now among the more important choral works, only less familiar to our local audiences than the most popular of the oratorios of Handel, Haydn, and Mendelssohn. For many years it has been heard at least once every season, and though some of Sir Charles Hallé's subscribers have been wondering whether he might not without disadvantage let "Faust" rest for a time the large audiences which are

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Philharmonic Society's concerts unless he be a Proprietor, or member of the family residing at the house of a Proprietor, or has his name upon the list of Gentlemen having the Entree exhibited in the Corridors. Resident Gentlemen who are not Proprietors can acquire the right of Purchasing Tickets or of making use of Proprietors' Tickets during the season on payment of a Entrance Fee of 10s. 6d.'" See Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History*, 63.

[228] See list of *Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates. Copies of these programs are also all published in Thomas Batley, *Sir Charles Hallé's Concerts in Manchester* (Manchester: Chas. Sever, 1895).

[229] See list of *Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates. Copies of these programs are also all published in Thomas Batley, *Sir Charles Hallé's Concerts in Manchester*. The 18 March 1887 concert was also advertised as a benefit concert that could have been additionally programmed by Hallé and his investors as a way to raise funds after a poor return from the 1885-86 season. See Robert Beale, *Charles Hallé: A Musical Life*, 179.

> attracted when it is promised make it clear that the public have not grown weary of it.[230]

Four years later, on its fifteenth performance in Manchester, Berlioz's choral work was still praised by large audiences, especially the *Marche hongroise*, which had become such a favorite that it was often encored:

> So far as this is concerned, the public appreciation has placed "Faust" on a level which poor Berlioz never knew anything of in his lifetime; and we are not sure that the composer's recognition nowadays is not largely due to the persistent introduction to the public of his works, instrumental and choral, by his friend Sir Charles Hallé. It may, indeed, be doubted whether to-day the "Faust" legend as interpreted by Berlioz is as well known in Paris as in Manchester. Each time that we hear it we are more and more impressed by its most prominent features. The "Rakoczy march" is the chief of these.[231]

A shrewd businessman, Hallé was eager to acquiesce to his audiences' demand for annual *Faust* performances: "My business is to popularise admitted masterpieces. If there is a general demand for any novelty I will produce it, but I can't be expected to speculate in uncertainties."[232]

To this end, the Manchester Orchestra performed the complete *Faust* fifteen times under Hallé's baton in their home in the Free Trade Hall between 1880 and 1894 and another twenty-seven times under Hallé's leadership at venues outside of Manchester. This included performances of the work on tour and at amateur and triennial choral

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[230] 'Sir Charles Halle's Grand Concerts: Berlioz's "Faust,"' 7 March 1890, press clipping located in Banister Scrapbook Collection 2 (1888-1899), R780.2 Sj3, vol. 14, 285. Located in Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library.
[231] "Sir Charles Halle's Grand Concerts: Faust," 5 January 1894, press clipping located in Banister Scrapbook Collection 2 (1888-1899), R780.2 Sj3, vol. 24. Located in Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library.
[232] "Modern Men: Sir Charles Halle," *The Scots Observer*, 8 February 1890 from Banister Scrapbook Collection 2 (1888-1899), R780.2 Sj3, vol. 24, Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library.

festivals.[233] Therefore, the Manchester Orchestra gave at least forty-two complete performances of *La Damnation de Faust* throughout Britain between 1880 and 1894.[234] This is by far the most complete number of performances of *Faust* presented by any nineteenth-century British orchestra during this period.[235] In fact, Hallé performed Berlioz's *légende dramatique* so many times with his orchestra that he only conducted the complete work on three other occasions with different orchestras other than his own.[236] In addition, fourteen of the twenty-seven complete performances given by Hallé and his orchestra outside of Manchester were presented in London at St. James's Hall, a figure which demonstrates the immense popularity that *Faust* enjoyed after its introduction to London audiences in 1880.

However, whereas in Manchester audiences quickly became accustomed to hearing just one annual performance of the choral work per season, in London, Hallé's frequency with which the work was given was much different. Between 1880 and 1881, Hallé and his orchestra presented the complete *Faust* eleven times, but after that period the work was only performed three more times in London during the conductor's lifetime: once in 1884, and twice on back-to-back nights in January 1892.[237] This statistic, however, does not necessarily mean that London only frequently programmed *Faust* during a short, two-year window. On the contrary, just as in Manchester, the piece

[233] See list of *Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates. Copies of these programs are additionally all published in Thomas Batley, *Sir Charles Hallé's Concerts in Manchester*.
[234] See list of *Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.
[235] Ibid. The closest was the Royal Choral Society, who gave at least twenty complete performances of the work between their inception in 1871 and 1918.
[236] Once with the Liverpool Philharmonic Society in February 1890 and twice as a fully staged opera with the Carl Rosa Opera Company in 1894. See list of *Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.
[237] See list of *Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.

rapidly entered the London choral repertory as an almost annual occurrence. For example, during the fifteen-year span that the work was annually conducted in Manchester under Hallé, at least thirty-six complete performances of the work were given in London under various other conductors and orchestras.[238]

Table 2.3: Performances of selections and complete performances of *La Damnation de Faust* conducted by Hallé, 1880-1894[239]

Year	Selection	Complete
1880	0	7
1881	1	10
1882	2	5
1883	0	1
1884	1	2
1885	0	4
1886	1	2
1887	1	2
1888	0	1
1889	0	0
1890	2	3
1891	0	1
1892	1	2
1893	0	1
1894	1	4
Total	**10**	**45**

In addition to the performances in Manchester and London, thirteen other complete performances of Berlioz's *Faust* were given by Hallé and his orchestra during this

[238] Ibid.

[239] Copies of these programs can be found in the Manchester Central Library, Hallé Orchestra Archive, and published in Thomas Batley, *Sir Charles Hallé's Concerts in Manchester*. See list of *Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates. Note: Two of the four complete performances in 1894 were fully staged opera productions in conjunction with the Carl Rosa Opera Company.

fifteen-year period in eight other towns and cities throughout Britain.[240] Encouraged by Hallé's constant promotion of the work, by the end of the 1880s *Faust* had become a standard in both the metropolitan cities and throughout the British provinces. In the ten-year period between 1880 and 1890, it was performed over 112 times throughout Britain, forty of which were directed by Hallé.[241]

Throughout his career, *La Damnation de Faust* was by far the most frequently performed Berlioz work conducted by Hallé. Between his arrival in Manchester in 1848 and his death in 1895, Hallé conducted both selections and complete performances of the work at least seventy-eight times, fifty-five of which were given in the last fifteen years of his life.[242] However, the increase in frequency of Berlioz's music being programed by Hallé was not just confined to *Faust*. With the introduction of the complete *Faust* by Hallé, Berlioz's music became widely popular in Britain. Due to Hallé's advocacy, Berlioz's works were more frequently performed throughout Britain than ever before. For example, before his première of the complete *Faust* in 1880, Hallé only conducted Berlioz's music (both complete as well as movements from the larger works) fifty-four times in Britain.[243] However, after the first complete performance of *Faust*, the total

[240] The majority of these were in association with the large amateur and triennial choral festivals including Bristol, Bradford, Preston, and Huddersfield. For example, the Huddersfield performance was to commemorate the opening of the new town hall. As the reader will recall, it was actually after the 1881 Huddersfield Musical Festival performance of *Faust* that Hallé had written to his daughter to congratulate her on her English translation of the libretto and commented on his own disbelief at how popular the work was with Victorian audiences. See letter from Charles Hallé to his daughter Marie Antoinette Caroline after a performance of the work at the 1881 Huddersfield Festival on 23 Oct 1881. Cited in Michael Kennedy, *The Hallé Tradition: A Century of Music*, 83; Hallé, *The Life and Letters of Sir Charles Hallé*, ed. Hallé, 306-7; and in Robert Beale, *Charles Hallé: A Musical Life*, 161.
[241] See list of *Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.
[242] Ibid.
[243] Ibid.

number of performances of the French composer's works conducted by Hallé increased to 130 in just fifteen years, seventy-five of which were performances of Berlioz works other than *Faust*.[244]

Table 2.4: Statistics for Total Berlioz Performances Conducted by Hallé in Britain 1848-1894[245]

Decade	1856-59	1860-69	1870-79	1880-89	1890-95	Total
Performances of *La Damnation de Faust* Selections Only	13	4	6	6	4	33
Complete Performances of *La Damnation de Faust*	0	0	0	34	11	45
Total Performances of *La Damnation de Faust*	13	4	6	40	15	78
Combined Total of all other Berlioz Works Performed	10	9	12	52	23	106
Combined Total of all Berlioz Works Performed (incl. *Faust*)	23	13	18	92	38	184
Percent Ratio of *Faust* Performances to Total Performances of Berlioz Works	57%	31%	33%	43%	39%	42%

As can be seen from the statistics shown in Table 2.4, the 1880 British première of the complete *Faust* by Hallé was a pivotal moment that not only brought long overdue interest in the French composer's music, but also paved the way for the inclusion of many of Berlioz's major works in the ever-expanding Victorian concert repertoire. While it can

[244] Ibid.
[245] All of this data was obtained from the list of *Faust* performances located in the Appendix.

be argued that the British public's taste for Berlioz's music seemed to occur suddenly, for Mancunian audiences this was a culmination of steady efforts by Hallé. This fact was eloquently observed by Hallé in an interview for *The Strand* in 1895:

> Before 1848 solo sonatas were never played in public. Musicians held that the public did not understand them. Now you hesitate to select one, lest it be too well know. The difference is wonderful. I need scarcely tell you that when I commenced giving orchestral concerts, I did not play Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. But now I can play what I like, and my orchestra has increased from between fifty and sixty to one hundred and two performers.[246]

While Hallé slightly exaggerated his role in the eventual fame of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony in Britain, he still was correct in his remarks about his role in elevating British musical taste. He later boasted in the interview, which was published shortly after his death: "'But you have no idea,' continued Sir Charles, with enthusiasm, 'of the improvement that has taken place in the musical taste of Manchester; in fact, I maintain that nowhere else in England will you find an audience with such a highly-educated musical taste as you will in the Free Trade Hall in Manchester."[247]

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[246] "Interviews with Eminent Musicians: No. 1—Sir Charles and Lady Hallé," *The Strand* (January 1895), 13. Located in the Hallé Orchestra Archive, Manchester. Hallé also boasted of this same narrative in an interview two years prior: "When I began these [Gentlemen's] concerts a symphony was unknown to the public. A symphony was never played anywhere before the public. The people did not take kindly to it at the beginning. The whole thing is entirely changed now. Now I have at my concerts a most remarkable audience, but that audience has been built up, has been formed entirely." Published in press clipping from 20 March 1893, "Half an Hour with Sir C. Halle" that is pasted in Bannister Scrapbook Collection 2 (1888-1899), R780.2 Sj3, vol. 23. Located in Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library.

[247] "Interviews with Eminent Musicians: No. 1—Sir Charles and Lady Hallé," *The Strand* (January 1895), 12. Located in the Hallé Orchestra Archive, Manchester. It should be noted that some musicologist in recent years have made the argument that Hallé and his orchestra actually catered to the elite upper-classes of Manchester rather than making themselves accessible to the middle- and working-classes. Simon Gunn in particular has made an interesting argument towards this theory and builds a strong case by looking at the financial books and subscription numbers for evidence. However, the author does not account in his argument for several factors in the thirty-year span of the Hallé concerts in Manchester, including: inflation, the overall mobility between the classes as people began to make more money and the standards in wage and living conditions increased, and the overall effect that educating the middle- and working-class people of Manchester might have had in convincing more of them to purchase season subscriptions vs.

Hallé especially emphasized his cultivation of listeners from the middle- and working-classes: "This applied to all classes who frequent the concerts. The people who pay their shilling for admission are as appreciative as their richer neighbours."[248] He pointedly remarked on how well-informed the working-class segment of the Mancunian public were:

> Among the wealthier classes there are now many excellent amateurs, but the love of music is not confined to any class of society. For instance, when I was changing trains at Derby, the porter who carried my luggage startled me by saying, 'Will you please tell me, Sir Charles, when the "Elijah" will be performed at Manchester?' I at once told him, when he exclaimed with enthusiasm, 'I have got permission to go, and I've promised to take my missus with me to give her a treat.'[249]

Hallé's son later attested as to the amount of effort that his father had made in order to lighten the hard lot of working people:

> He believed, as all lovers of music believe, that it is above the power of words in its influence on the spiritual side of a man's nature, and that many a heart has been stirred to a sense of what is good and beautiful through music which otherwise might have gone through life unconscious that such things are. It was this faith that made my father's work of such absorbing interest to him, and which made him choose as the field of his labour those busy manufacturing towns of the north of England, where men's lives are spent in work—too often mere monotonous drudgery, and amid surroundings of dirt and ugliness such as the world has never seen before. To these grimy workers, to these makers of ships and of guns, of engines and of fabrics, whose ears were wearied by the ceaseless noise of machinery, he brought the strains of the most exquisite music ever heard

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overall ticket sales. In addition, this particular case study of the performance history of *La Damnation de Faust* is not necessarily affected by this argument because the popularity of *Faust* was on such a massive scale in terms of overall attendance that it can be easily deduced from the financial records that each performance of the work during this period drew a very large amount of single ticket sales in the shilling section seating of the gallery that would have been mostly comprised of those same middle- and working-class citizens. For more information, see Simon Gunn, "The Sublime and the Vulgar: the Hallé concerts and the constitution of 'high culture' in Manchester c. 1850–1880," *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 2/2 (1997): 208-228, especially 213.

[248] "Interviews with Eminent Musicians: No. 1—Sir Charles and Lady Hallé," *The Strand* (January 1895), 12. Located in the Hallé Orchestra Archive, Manchester.

[249] Ibid.

> by man, and made them forget, if but for a few minutes, the office and the workshop, and remember that existence has other things to offer.[250]

In other words, Hallé was an archetypal Victorian who believed in uplifting and educating his fellow citizens. To accomplish this goal, he had the good sense to use his friend Berlioz's music as one of his tools.

His efforts certainly paid off, as "under Sir Charles Hallé's indefatigable guidance" his Manchester Orchestra "has been the most potent means of educating popular taste to the appreciation of the highest forms of music that has ever existed in England in or outside of London."[251] Hallé's efforts eventually culminated with the founding of the Royal Manchester College of Music in 1893.[252] Even today, the brick and mortar building of the school that was erected by Hallé's efforts still remains as a lasting reminder of the role that he had in the musical development of the city. Hallé aptly reflected on his own legacy, "Berlioz's 'Faust' was a success. It was translated into English and printed entirely at my own expense and at my own wish. There were no

[250] Charles Hallé, *The Life and Letters of Sir Charles Hallé*, ed. Hallé, 180-81.
[251] "Modern Men: Sir Charles Halle," *The Scots Observer*, 8 February 1890, from Banister Scrapbook Collection 2 (1888-1899), R780.2 Sj3, vol. 24, 120. Located in Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library.
[252] Hallé had tirelessly argued for years of the city's need to have a conservatory dedicated to the training of their own local musicians and acted as the first principal of the school upon its creation in 1893 until his death just over a year later. In Hallé's own words, the goal of the conservatory was: "To train real musicians. The college is not to be a local institution in the strict, narrow meaning of those words. We shall accept pupils from any part of the country, and we intend to compete with London and the Continental conservatories, or any place in the world." Quote from press clipping from 20 March 1893, "Half an Hour with Sir C. Halle," pasted in Bannister Scrapbook Collection 2 (1888-1899), R780.2 Sj3, vol. 23. Located in Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library.

chorus parts, and I had to do everything to produce a dramatic legend which was totally unknown to the public. I was glad that it took well."[253]

Conclusion

By the time of Sir Charles Hallé's death in 1895, *La Damnation de Faust* was more popular than ever throughout the British provinces and was regularly heard on major orchestral society concerts, as well as on popular concerts, amateur and professional choral festivals, and on local brass band concerts.[254] In a poetic twist of fate, the year of Hallé's death in 1895 was the same year that the Queen's Hall Proms concerts began. Under the leadership of Sir Henry Wood, these concerts would pick up where Hallé left off in the promotion of Berlioz's music in Britain. In addition, the famed Hallé Orchestra continued to regularly perform *Faust* after Hallé's death well into the early twentieth century under a series of new conductors, including Sir Frederic Cowen, Hans Richter, Michael Balling, and Sir Thomas Beecham.

[253] Press clipping from 20 March 1893, "Half an Hour with Sir C. Halle," pasted in Bannister Scrapbook Collection 2 (1888-1899), R780.2 Sj3, vol. 23. Located in Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library.

[254] For example, selections from *Faust* were often programmed on the Besses-o'th'-Barn Band concerts during the early 1890's in Manchester. Copies of some of the programs are pasted in the Bannister Scrapbook Collection 2 (1888-1899), R780.2 Sj3, vol. 17, 20, and 26, located in Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library. See list of *Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.

CHAPTER 3

August Manns and *La Damnation de Faust* in Sydenham and Scotland, 1855-1900

Introduction

While Charles Hallé was busy transforming Manchester's musical life, London was considered to be the preeminent cultural center in Britain. Inspired by the celebration of Victorian innovation at the Great Exhibition of 1851, musical development in the capital flourished both inside and outside the city boundaries. Inside the city center, both the Philharmonic Society and the New Philharmonic Society continued their annual concert series. Italian opera continued to reign supreme at Covent Garden. Outside the city center, a new orchestra was established that swiftly became one of the leading musical institutions readily accessible to London throughout the second half of the nineteenth century:

> Let us first consider orchestral music, which has made enormous strides within the last fifty, or, more properly speaking, within the last twenty years. For the general appreciation of this, the highest form of music in its pure or absolute state, no one has done more in this country than Mr. Manns, the conductor of the Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts. The excellence of these performances is known all the world over, and their programmes comprise almost the entire range of classical and modern music, and bear ample testimony to the catholicity of taste and breadth of knowledge possessed by Mr. Manns and by Sir George Grove, who from the first had been, so to speak, the philosopher and guide of these concerts, and whose analysis of the music performed have largely contributed to their educational value.[255]

At the close of the Great Exhibition, the magnificent Crystal Palace was moved to Sydenham, a suburb just south of London, and was opened as a Victorian pleasure park,

[255] Francis Hueffer, *Half a Century of Music in England: 1837-1887, Essays Toward A History* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1889), 14.

complete with its own weekly entertainments and resident band. August Manns (1825–1907) was at-first hired as the assistant conductor to the German bandmaster Herr Schallehn when the Crystal Palace had opened in Sydenham in 1854.[256] Although Manns "did [his] very best to please [his] employer," after a few short months he was terminated when an incident arose between him and Schallehn.[257] A brief stint in Amsterdam ensued during the summer in 1855, but Manns was soon rehired by Sir George Grove to replace Schallehn as the Palace's full-time conductor.[258] Competition for the job was fierce, and Berlioz himself had toyed with the idea of taking over this position during his last trip to London in 1855. In fact, Berlioz and his second wife, Marie Recio, had actually visited the completed Crystal Palace in Sydenham during their stay in London.

Berlioz marveled at the updated design of the Crystal Palace. He had previously seen it during the Great Exhibition in 1851. He later wrote to his sister, Adèle, after his visit that: "Lately I spent part of the day at the Crystal Palace at Sydenham; it is one of the wonders of the world. I thought of Aladdin's palace, the Gardens of Semiramis… It is a dream."[259] In the same letter, Berlioz hinted to his sister the prospect of permanently

[256] Manns was hired to conduct the rehearsals as well as any performances that Schallhen did not want to conduct. He also wrote arrangements and Quadrilles for the band to perform. Before that, Manns had a background in the German military, but soon grew tired of the strict rules and regulations. H. Saxe Wyndham, *August Manns and the Saturday Concerts: A Memoir and a Retrospect* (London and Felling-on-Tyne: The Walter Scott publishing co., ltd., 1909), 14-15.
[257] Ibid., 15-18 and 21-27. To keep himself afloat in the interim that winter, Manns picked up the violin again and was hired to play in Edinburgh for the winter orchestra's season. This is most likely when Manns further established a close connection with the Scottish musicians that he would later utilize when he was appointed as the director of the Glasgow Choral Union.
[258] George Grove (1820–1900) had become secretary of the Crystal Palace Company under Paxton's leadership in 1852. See Michael Musgrave, *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 19.
[259] Letter from Hector Berlioz to his sister Adèle. 22 June 1855. *Correspondance générale d'Hector Berlioz*, vol. 5, ed. by Pierre Citron, Hugh Macdonald, and François Lesure (Paris: Flammarion, 1989), no. 1984: "J'ai passé dernièrement une partie de la journée au palais de Cristal à Sydenam; c'est une des

settling in England, just as his friend Hallé had done: "Very probably, to judge by my increased influence here, the different proposals made to me, the friends I make here every day, I shall finish by settling in London where I am establishing my position little by little."[260] At the same time, Marie had also written about her impressions of Sydenham and the murmurs of a proposed position for her husband: "Last week we went to the Crystal Palace and I am still lost in admiration at it! Hector will tell you about the proposal which has been made him to be director of the music of that institution and your husband will be able to advise him on the subject."[261] Although Marie had hinted in her letter of the idea of Berlioz obtaining a permanent post in London, neither Berlioz, Grove, nor any other official Crystal Palace board member ever mentioned that an offer to conduct the Palace ensemble had ever been made to Berlioz.[262]

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merveilles du monde. Je crois avoir vu le palais d'Aladin, les Jardins de Sémiramis… C'est un rêve." Also translated in English in A. W. Ganz, *Berlioz in London* (London: Quality Press Ltd., 1950), 190.

[260] Ibid. In the original French: "Très probablement, à en juger par l'accroissement de mon influence ici par les propositions diverses qu'on me fait, les amis que j'y acquiers chaque jour, je finirai par me fixer à Londres où ma place se fait peu à peu."

[261] Letter from Marie Recio to Mme. Duchêne de Vère. 2 July 1855. *Correspondance générale d'Hector Berlioz*, vol. 5, 123-4, fn. #1: "Nous sommes allés la semaine dernière au Cristal Palace et j'en suis encore émerveillée. Hector vous dira quelle proposition lui a été faite comme Chef de la musique de cet établissement et votre mari pourra le conseiller à ce sujet." Also translated in English in A. W. Ganz, *Berlioz in London*, 202.

[262] It is true that Herr Schallehn by June 1855 was already slated for replacement by the Crystal Palace Company. However, what is often overlooked is that Grove, who was then secretary of the Crystal Palace Company, had already offered the job with company's consent to August Manns before June 1855. Manns, who had immediately accepted, was unable to begin his tenure until September due to the fact that he had already signed a contract to conductor orchestral concerts in Amsterdam from May to October 1855. See H. Saxe Wyndham, *August Manns and the Saturday Concerts: A Memoir and a Retrospect*, 18 and 28-29. An example of the misinterpretation of Berlioz being offered a position through the Crystal Palace can be found in *Correspondance générale d'Hector Berlioz*, vol. 5, 113, fn. #1. It was also later repeated by David Cairns, *Berlioz: Servitude and Greatness*, vol. 2 (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1989), 576 and in Hugh MacDonald, ed., *Selected Letters of Berlioz*, trans. by Roger Nichols (London: W. W. Norton and Company, 1995), 329. Leanne Langley was one of the first to clarify the confusion made by Berlioz scholars in "Agency and Change: Berlioz in Britain, 1870-1920," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* (vol. 132, No. 2, 2007, 306-48), 312-15.

Ultimately the key factor that led Manns to win the job over other highly-qualified conductors—including Berlioz—was that Manns had been able to impress Grove with his desire to program unknown, rare, and novel compositions.[263] For example, in a letter that Manns later treasured among his most prized possessions, Grove had praised Manns for his willingness to program new and unheard-of compositions at the Crystal Palace:

> I like them very much, and would give a great deal to have such music done in the Crystal Palace. The overture op. 124 has only been done once in London in my recollection. Weber's "Clarinet Concerto," *never*. Berlioz's "Invitation a la Valse," *never*. Nor do I ever remember hearing of Mozart having written a finale to Gluck's *Iphigenia*. Your playing these rare works does you the highest honour.[264]

What is intriguing about this letter is that Grove listed an arrangement by Hector Berlioz. Although *L'Invitation à la valse* was originally composed by Weber, the version that was commonly programmed as a light concert item throughout the nineteenth century was Berlioz's skillful orchestral arrangement. In fact, this arrangement was so popular that many programs and conductors mistakenly considered it to be one of Berlioz's original works, often citing his name on programs as often as Weber's.[265]

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[263] See letter from George Grove to August Manns, 21 July 1855. Published in H. Saxe Wyndham, *August Manns and the Saturday Concerts*, 31.
[264] Ibid., 32. Original italics.
[265] Berlioz himself is believed to have conducted the first performance of his orchestrated version of *L'Invitation à la valse* at a Promenade concert at Drury Lane on 16 Nov 1847. See F. G. Edwards, "Berlioz in England. A Centenary Retrospect," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, vol. 44, No. 725 (July 1, 1903, 441-49), 444. Curiously, even though Manns had suggested this piece to Grove in his 1855 letter as a possible work to program, the earliest date that Manns had programmed *L'Invitation à la valse* on a Crystal Palace Saturday concert was on 11 February 1888. There is the possibility that the work could have been programmed at an earlier date on one of the daily concerts but it is impossible to know for sure due to that fact that no copies of the original programs were saved.

Manns agreed to take the position and, upon doing so, faced the difficult task in transforming the Crystal Palace band into the orchestra that he had envisioned for the hall. In Grove's official letter appointing Manns, the latter had already requested that he cut the band down to thirty-six from the original fifty-eight musicians in order to save costs.[266] Manns reluctantly agreed to these terms, but soon began to find a way around replacing the "wretched brass band installed there" with an ordinary string orchestra.[267] For example, Manns still hired a small string orchestra to play the first half of the opening concert of his inaugural season that consisted of "double-handed players of the wind band and about half a dozen extra strings from London."[268] The concert was a success. By the end of his first season as director, Grove's initial misgivings about the string orchestra were reversed. Within a short time, Manns had transformed the wind band of thirty-six into a large orchestra of sixteen first violins, fourteen second violins, eleven violas, ten cellos, ten double basses, and single winds.[269]

Under the careful scrutiny of its new musical director, the Crystal Palace orchestra soon, "'formed the backbone of orchestral musical culture in England' between 1855 and 1901."[270] Tickets to Mann's orchestra concerts were sold at a fraction of the cost compared to those for orchestra concerts in London. As a result, the Crystal Palace

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[266] Letter from George Grove to August Manns, 21 July 1855. H. Saxe Wyndham, *August Manns and the Saturday Concerts*, 31.
[267] Ernest Ford, *A Short History of English Music* (New York: McBride, Nast, and Company, 1912), 132-33.
[268] Cited as footnote from an article in *The Daily News*, 19 June I903 in H. Saxe Wyndham, *August Manns and the Saturday Concerts*, 36. The program for the first concert on 20 Oct 1855 is also reproduced in the same book on the following page.
[269] Reginald Nettel, *The Orchestra in England* (London: A. W. Bain and Co. ltd., 1946), 175.
[270] Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 61.

soon drew a large public audience. This chapter investigates two key factors surrounding the performance history of Berlioz's *Faust* in Britain. First, it will examine the influence that Manns had in promoting *Faust* and other Berlioz scores at the Crystal Palace. Second, the chapter will conclude by exploring Manns' role in establishing the popularity of *Faust* in Scotland, including conducting the first complete performance of the work in 1882.

August Manns: Leader of the Crystal Palace Orchestra and Champion of Berlioz

In the beginning, the Saturday programs presented at the Crystal Palace typically consisted of two overtures, a symphony, a concerto or some small orchestral piece, and four songs.[271] Just as Charles Hallé had implemented a strict, virtually year-round employment for his musicians in Manchester with the Gentlemen's Concerts, Manns regularly employed his winds and some of his strings and kept them in constant rehearsal six days a week for the majority of the long musical season.[272] In addition, Manns was one of the first conductors to employ a select core group of musicians as contract hires for a whole season, just as Hallé had begun doing in Manchester. However, unlike Hallé, Manns still allowed his musicians to freelance in London in the evenings. This pernicious leniency of the "deputy system" was due in part to the nature of the job at the Crystal Palace Orchestra.[273] Because the musicians were only hired for a short number of weeks,

[271] Reginald Nettel, *The Orchestra in England*, 175.The overall length was about half of a Philharmonic concert, which, as Wagner had famously complained, were already so long that they could not be adequately rehearsed in time.
[272] Ibid.
[273] Leanne Langley, "Agency and Change: Berlioz in Britain, 1870-1920," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 132/2 (2007): 314.

many of them needed to fill the remaining weeks of the calendar year with employment elsewhere.

For example, in Grove's initial letter of employment to Manns in 1855, he cautioned the conductor on keeping the fact of the freelancing world in London in mind when calculating the salaries for each new member of the band under his employ: "If you should engage any of your present musicians, you must consider that *after 7 in summer and 5 in winter their time is their own for other engagements*, and this should be taken into account in fixing their pay."[274] Thus, while Manns was ahead of his time in keeping the same players throughout each season on a regular rehearsal schedule, he was subjected to the same circumstances of the *ad hoc* "deputy system" that bedeviled the London music scene during this period.[275]

In spite of having to deal with the "deputy system," under Manns' disciplinary leadership the Crystal Palace Orchestra was soon performing beautifully. By January 1859, the newly devised Crystal Palace concerts were considered an essential institution

[274] Letter from George Grove to August Manns, 21 July 1855. H. Saxe Wyndham, *August Manns and the Saturday Concerts*, 32. Original italics.

[275] Even Berlioz had famously complained of the lack of discipline and consistency prevalent in mid-century London orchestras, writing during his first trip in 1848: "I am engaged here also for four concerts, and shall give the final next week, the 7th of February. We have not yet been able to get the whole orchestra together once for rehearsal. These gentlemen come and go when they please—some in the middle of the rehearsal, others before a fourth part is finished. On the first day I had no French horns at all; on the second I had three, on the third I had two, who went away after the fourth piece. That is the way they have in this country of understanding subordination." Letter from Hector Berlioz to Alexei Féodorovitch Lvov, 28 January 1848. Translated in English and reprinted in Percy A. Scholes, *The Mirror of Music: 1844-1944*, 2 Vols. (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1947), 379. The original French text as it appears in *Correspondance générale d'Hector Berlioz*, vol. 3, (ed. Pierre Citron, Paris: Flammarion, 1978), no. 1170 is: "On m'a engage aussi pour quatre concerts; je donnerai le premier dans huit jours, le 7 février. Nous n'avons pas encore pu avoir une seule fois l'orchestre complet pour les études. Ces messieurs viennent quand il leur plait et s'en vont à leurs affaires, les uns u milieu, les autres au quart des répétitions. Le premier jour, je n'ai point eu de cors du tout; le second, j'en ai eu trois; le troisiéme, j'en ai eu deux qui sont partis après le quatriéme morceau. Voilà comment on entend la subordination dans ce pays-ci."

in London musical life.[276] A weekly routine was soon instituted by Manns and the orchestra throughout the Crystal Palace season. There were concerts that were advertised as "daily music" that began around 12:30 p.m. and 2:30 p.m. (this would sometimes take place at 4 p.m.).[277] In addition, weekly Saturday concerts were presented, which in the early years began at 2 p.m., 2:15 or 2:30, but in later years were pushed back to 3 p.m. or 3:15 start times on special occasions.[278] This luxury of having a core group of players perform together twice daily during the twenty-six-week season gave Manns the unique opportunity of programming interesting works that up to that point were not commonly performed in Britain.

Out of all these weekly performances, the Saturday concerts were by far the most popular and were the most heavily attended each week.[279] One of the major reasons for the good attendance was the result of a series of economic reforms and legislation that had begun to take effect during this period. Starting around the mid-nineteenth century, in addition to their usual practice of closing on Sundays, London businesses and offices (excluding certain shops) began to regularly close on Saturdays around 1pm or 2pm. [280] This practice enabled working- and middle-class families to attend more entertainment venues such as the Crystal Palace on Saturdays, as they usually observed the Sunday

[276] H. Saxe Wyndham, *August Manns and the Saturday Concerts*, 54.
[277] Michael Musgrave, *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace*, 72.
[278] Ibid.
[279] However, the Sunday afternoon concerts were regularly advertised and the Friday concerts typically had the longest program offerings. See Reginald Nettel, *The Orchestra in England*, 176.
[280] For more information on the pioneering of shorter working hours and better working conditions in the Victorian Era see, Gary Cross, *A Quest for Time: The Reduction of Work in Britain and France, 1840-1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989) and Wilfred B. Whitaker, *Victorian and Edwardian Shopworkers: The Struggle to Obtain Better Conditions and a Half-holiday* (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1973), 53-58.

Sabbath. Eager to capitalize on this new supply of audience members, Manns immediately began to program the Saturday afternoon Crystal Palace concerts with rare and unusual works that he could advertise as "novelties." The direct result of this policy was an increase in the amount of people that attended the Saturday concerts each week.[281]

This innovative style of programming "novelties" such as Berlioz's overtures brought a new public to the Crystal Palace:

> The workers, too, were people of a wide variety of types, for besides heavy manual workers, the innumerable clerical workers with whom London abounded were all equally free on Saturday evenings, and, although the taverns drew a good proportion of the people, there were great numbers of wage-earners whose religious principles led them to avoid such evils, and to seek sources of entertainment for themselves and their families where liquor was not in evidence. These people chose musical performances as the best type of entertainment available in the social environment they knew. It did not rest here. Many who attended the Crystal Palace Saturday Evening Concerts were people of superior social standing whose genuine interest in orchestral music took them to Sydenham because the West End concerts did not give them all they wanted.[282]

Workers came to mingle; they did not solely devote themselves to exclusively listening to the music. This feature is what ultimately attracted such a wide variety of working- and middle-class audiences. Combined with the upper *echelon* that flocked to the Crystal Palace in search of novel and interesting musical works that Manns was eager to program, this practice led to a wide array of class representation at each Saturday concert.

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[281] For other examples of the association between shorter working hours and Manns' capitalization on it with the Crystal Palace Saturday concert programming, see McVeigh and Ehrlich, "The Modernisation of London Concert Life" in *The Business of Music*, ed. Michael Talbot (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002), 103-7 and Leanne Langley, "Agency and Change: Berlioz in Britain, 1870-1920," 315.
[282] Reginald Nettel, *The Orchestra in England*, 176.

However, the root cause as to why the Palace attracted such a wide variety of audience members each week was not just because they wanted to attend the Saturday concert performances. Just as audiences today crave the ability to multitask and socialize on their electronic devices while attending a live performance, people of all classes in the Victorian Era flocked to the Crystal Palace on weekends in order to explore all of the various entertainments that the location had to offer. This included meeting with friends and wandering about the building and grounds in search of entertainment at their own pace and discretion: "Not all the workers spending Saturday evening at the Crystal Palace would be likely to go there for the music alone, but they would sample it along with the other entertainments just as the visitors to the Great Exhibition had done."[283] This can be further deduced from the marketing ploy of the Crystal Palace being labeled as a "Pleasure Gardens." In addition, as alcohol was not served at the Palace, teetotaler and temperance crowds had opportunities to enjoy entertainment that was free from the constant threat of alcohol consumption and rowdiness that was a feature of the traditional taverns.[284] Essentially, the Crystal Palace cultivated a genteel and family-oriented audience.

One key provision that the Crystal Palace management provided was an easy rail connection into the center of London at an affordable rate. As Michael Musgrave points

[283] Ibid.

[284] It is also worth noting that a good number of audience members that came to the Crystal Palace to listen to Mann's orchestra could have also been those that later aligned themselves with the Tonic Sol-Fa movement that was led by John and Spencer Curwen that promoted temperance and a purification of the soul through music. For more information on the Tonic Sol-Fa Movement and its role in the Victorian Temperance Movement see Charles Edward McGuire, *Music and Victorian Philanthropy: The Tonic Sol-fa Movement*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

out, both Manns and the Crystal Palace management knew that the Saturday concert series would not have been able to attract a large enough audience to prove financially viable without accessible rail: "only a London audience would have been able to generate the wider interest necessary to sustain the programmes: a purely suburban audience is unthinkable for these concerts and would doubtless have led to a different policy towards the provision of orchestral music."[285] Thus, the Crystal Palace was certainly the only place within a day's journey of 1880s London where a crowd of that size could have the chance to hear novelty and rare works such as the complete back-to-back performance of Berlioz's *Symphonie fantastique* and *Lélio* at one sitting for an affordable a price.[286]

The earliest Saturday concert under August Manns' Crystal Palace Orchestra that contained a Berlioz work was given on 22 March 1856 in the Queen's Apartments in the North Wing of the building.[287] The work that Manns selected for the occasion was none

[285] Michael Musgrave, *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace*, 120.

[286] The only other closest option in Britain at this time would have been Charles Hallé and his orchestra in Manchester. Performances of both works on a single program were quite common during Berlioz's lifetime. For example, both works were performed back-to-back at the première of *Lélio* at the Paris Conservatoire on 9 December 1832. While *Lélio* was initially one of Berlioz's more popular works during his lifetime, by the end of the nineteenth century it fell out of fashion and was rarely performed. See David Cairns, *Berlioz: The Making of an Artist, 1803-1832*, vol. 1 (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1989), 432.

[287] In terms of keeping official records of the Crystal Palace programming, the only concert programs that were documented and conserved were the Saturday concert series programs. Copies of these sets, especially the Grove editions, are held at several libraries including the British Library and the Royal College of Music. Most of these performances have also been published in the outdated, but useful book by Frederick Shinn, *Catalogue of the Principal Instrumental and Choral Works Performed at the Saturday Concerts from October 1855 to May 1895* (London, Crystal Palace: F. M. Evans & Co., 1895). For example, the book contains a few misdates such as the thirteenth Saturday concert in 1880 on which the *Danse des Sylphes* (*Ballet des sylphes*) and *Marche Rakockzy* (*Marche hongroise*) from *La Damnation de Faust* were performed. The concert actually took place on 7 February but the book incorrectly misdates the concert as 17 February. It should be noted that the original program for the 22 March 1856 concert also mistakenly lists this performance as the first time that these two selections from *Faust* were performed in London. The reason for this was most likely to showcase that this was the first time that both selections were performed on the same concert at the new Crystal Palace location in Sydenham.

other than the *Marche hongroise* from *La Damnation de Faust*.[288] The march started the concert, which began at 2:30 p.m. A set of explanatory notes were printed with the program that contained a brief paragraph for each piece. The notes for the *Marche hongroise* were short and retold a version of the story written by Berlioz on the genesis of the march and the audience reaction at its first performance. At the end of the note, the anonymous author of the text wrote, "We cannot be expected to feel the magic of the national tune as the Hungarians did: but this is not necessary, for the March is a composition of prodigious vigour and effect, which needs no associations to make it liked."[289]

Programming selections or overtures by Berlioz soon became a common practice at the Crystal Palace. Curiously, although he began his performances of Berlioz's music at the Crystal Palace with the *Marche hongroise*, Manns did not frequently perform selections from *La Damnation de Faust* in the two decades that followed. In fact, the only other instance of Manns and the Crystal Palace orchestra performing the *Marche hongroise* before 1880 was in the course of a Saturday concert on 16 March 1861.[290] Instead, Manns promoted Berlioz's music through the consistent programming of his overtures.

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[288] A copy of the program is currently housed in the British Library, [Programmes of concerts given at the Crystal Palace between 1852 and 1891.], M.c.370.a.

[289] Ibid. Although George Grove wrote almost all of the program notes for the Crystal Palace concerts, it is unclear who the author is for the program notes from this concert.

[290] Thirteenth Saturday Concert. A copy of the program is housed in the Royal College of Music, London Crystal Palace Concert Programs, Bound Vols. 1856-60, 1860-65, 1865-67, 1867-68, 1868-69, 1869-70, CH6Da3. After that date, selections from *Faust* were not performed again at the Crystal Palace until nineteen years later, when the *Marche hongroise* was featured on a Saturday concert along with the *Ballet des sylphes* on 7 February 1880. A copy of that program is also currently held in the Grove set of Crystal Palace Programmes, 1880-81 at the Royal College of Music.

In the first twenty-six years that Manns conducted at the Crystal Palace, he performed Berlioz's overtures a total of eighteen times.[291] The performances of *Le corsaire* and *Béatrice et Bénédict* were the first performances in England of each overture.[292] Although there is no direct increase in frequency of the performance statistics of Berlioz's works that were programmed by Manns throughout the years that would prove without a doubt that he was deliberately trying to program Berlioz's music with a consistent frequency, the fact that there were at least twenty-seven performances of Berlioz's music conducted by Manns in the first twenty-six years of his tenure as director at the Crystal Palace suggests that he maintained an interest in Berlioz's music. In addition, it is important to remember that these statistics reflect the performances that are currently documented. Not all of the Crystal Palace performances that took place under Manns in this twenty-six year window are preserved.[293] Aside from the weekly Saturday concerts, programs for the vast majority of the daily weekday and Sunday afternoon Crystal Palace concerts were discarded. Therefore, it is impossible to track the total number of performances of Berlioz's music that may have taken place on the weekday and Sunday afternoon concerts during that period.

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[291] The frequency of these performances are illustrated in Table 3.1. Most of these can be found in Frederick Shinn, *Catalogue of the Principal Instrumental and Choral Works Performed at the Saturday Concerts (October 1855-May 1895)*. Copies of the individual concert programs are held at several libraries including the British Library and the Royal College of Music.

[292] *Le Corsaire* overture was performed on the eleventh Saturday concert on 28 February 1863 and the *Béatrice et Bénédict* overture was performed on the tenth Saturday concert on 10 February 1877. See Frederick Shinn, *Catalogue of the Principal Instrumental and Choral Works Performed at the Saturday Concerts (October 1855-May 1895)* and the Grove set of Crystal Palace Programmes, 1861-71 and 1876-77 currently housed in the Royal College of Music.

[293] Calculating two performances, six times a week, during a twenty-six week season for twenty-six years, this would mean that Manns would have given over 312 concerts each season and 8,112 concerts during that twenty-six year stretch; a vast amount compared to the standard twenty-concert season that Charles Hallé conducted in Manchester.

Based on the Crystal Palace programs that still survive, however, it is clear that establishing a classical repertory remained a central goal throughout Manns' tenure. For example, he later recalled:

> With this, so to say "improvised" Orchestra, the first attempt at the symphony was made at the Sixth Concert, on Saturday, the 1st of December 1855, when the two middle movements of Beethoven's Seventh Symphony were performed in the North Transept. This attempt seems to have been successful, for Beethoven's Nos. 2, 4, 8 and Mendelssohn's "Scotch" (the entire works) are to be found in the programmes of the next four Saturdays, and Schumann's No. 4 and Schubert's No. 9 had received their Crystal Palace christening before the end of the First Series had been reached in April, 1856.[294]

This passage confirms that Manns shared Charles Hallé's method of repeating selections of works before exposing them to a complete performance of a given novelty. In this case, he started with the middle movements of Beethoven's Seventh Symphony and gradually programmed more and more movements of the symphony until he was able to play the entire score. This also proved to be an efficient rehearsal technique, as it allowed him to introduce large and complicated scores to his orchestra through a piecemeal approach. Manns employed this tactic with Berlioz's music as well. The most obvious examples of this are his deliberate programming of selections of Berlioz's symphonies such as *Harold en Italie, Roméo et Juliette,* and the *Symphonie fantastique* before scheduling complete performances. For example, he first performed the second

[294] The 1855 concert that Manns is citing here was the first full orchestra concert under his direction at the Crystal Palace. Stated in Manns' Preface to Frederick Shinn, *Catalogue of the Principal Instrumental and Choral Works Performed at the Saturday Concerts (October 1855-May 1895)*. It is interesting to note that Hallé remarked in much the same retrospective vein on his influence on the working class people's musical taste in Manchester in an interview he did with *The Strand* in 1895. See "Interviews with Eminent Musicians: No. 1—Sir Charles and Lady Hallé," *The Strand* (January 1895), 12, a copy of which is currently located in the Hallé Orchestra Archive, Manchester.

movement ("Pilgrim's March") from *Harold en Italie* on 20 March 1869 before subsequently conducting the complete symphony on five separate occasions between 1878 and 1893.[295]

Roméo et Juliette received the same treatment. Manns programmed the second and fourth parts to the symphony in 1874 and 1880 respectively. It was only afterwards that he began to program more substantial selections from the score on subsequent concerts.[296] For example, he included the first movement alongside the second and fourth movements (both of which by that point had already been performed at the concert series) for a performance on 6 December 1884. He then finally conducted a complete performance in Sydenham on 15 December 1894.[297] Similarly, the *Symphonie fantastique* was introduced to Crystal Palace audiences using the same method. The second movement (*Un bal*) from the *Symphonie fantastique* was performed on 17 May 1879. This was then followed by a performance of the complete symphony on 22 October 1881.[298]

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[295] The concert dates are: 30 November 1878, 14 April 1883, 4 April 1885, 18 April 1891, and 18 November 1893. Copies of all of these programs are currently held in the George Grove set of Crystal Palace Programmes and in the bound set of Crystal Palace programs housed at the Royal College of Music.
[296] The concerts took place on 23 May 1874 and 3 April 1880. Both performances are listed in Frederick Shinn, *Catalogue of the Principal Instrumental and Choral Works Performed at the Saturday Concerts (October 1855-May 1895)*. However, it should be noted that in this publication the 1880 performance mistakenly credits Manns with conducting both the second and fourth movements of *Roméo et Juliette*, when it was really only the fourth movement that was performed. See the original copy of the program for the 3 April 1880 concert, which is currently housed in the Royal College of Music, George Grove set of Crystal Palace Programmes, 1879-80.
[297] Both performances are listed in Frederick Shinn, *Catalogue of the Principal Instrumental and Choral Works Performed at the Saturday Concerts (October 1855-May 1895)*. Copies of both programs are also currently housed in the Royal College of Music, George Grove set of Crystal Palace Programmes. Note that intriguingly, Manns also included a performance of the *Marche hongroise* on the same 1894 concert as the complete *Roméo et Juliette*.
[298] Ibid.

Judging by the surviving Crystal Palace programs, Manns elected to focus on Berlioz's overtures and symphonies rather than selections from *Faust*. This is especially puzzling given the fact that the more popular selections from *Faust*, such as the *Marche hongroise*, would have fit well with the way Manns utilized Berlioz's overtures to open or conclude a concert.[299]

Table 3.1 Complete list of performances of Berlioz's works given by Hallé and Manns, 1848 - January 1880[300]

Work	Hallé	Manns
Béatrice et Bénédict overture	0	1
Benvenuto Cellini overture	1	6
Le carnaval romain overture	9	5
Les francs-juges overture	2	4
Le roi Lear and *Rob Roy* overtures	0	0
Waverley overture	0	1
Le corsaire overture	0	1
All Other Vocal Works	0	0
Harold en Italie (both selections and complete)	6	3
Symphonie fantastique (both selections and complete)	4	1
La Damnation de Faust	23	2
Roméo et Juliette (selection)	5	1
Orchestrations of Works by Meyer	0	2
L'Invitation à la valse orchestration	4	0
Total	54	27

[299] This is also the same technique that Henry Wood later employed during the first thirty years of the Queen's Hall Proms concerts. Placing the Berlioz overture at the beginning or end of a concert was common on almost all of the programs that contained overtures by Berlioz that Manns conducted during his tenure at the Crystal Palace.

[300] Copies of these programs are in the British Library, Royal College of Music Library, Manchester Central Library, and the Hallé Orchestra Archive. Most are also published in Thomas Batley, *Sir Charles Hallé's Concerts in Manchester* (Manchester: Chas. Sever, 1895) for Manchester concerts and in Frederick Shinn, *Catalogue of the Principal Instrumental and Choral Works Performed at the Saturday Concerts (October 1855-May 1895)*. Special thanks to Michael Mullen and all of the Royal College of Music Librarians and Staff for their help in locating all of the Crystal Palace programs. Note: all other Berlioz works not listed here were not performed during this period by either conductor.

But, as can be seen in Table 3.1, the *Marche hongroise* from *Faust* was only performed twice on Saturday concerts in that twenty-six year span.[301] As shown from the collected data, while Hallé was by far the most loyal promoter of Berlioz's music in Britain at that time, his closest British rival in the promotion of Berlioz's music was August Manns.[302] The fact that Manns only conducted selections from *Faust* twice during this period of time is ultimately what caused Hallé's total to be almost double that of his in overall performances of Berlioz's music.

The intensity of Hallé's promotion of Berlioz's *Faust* compared to Manns becomes even more striking when compared to the total number of *La Damnation de Faust* performances that took place in Britain before 1880. Between the first performance of selections of *Faust* conducted by Berlioz in London in 1848 and the first complete performance given by Hallé in Manchester in 1880, there were at least thirty-seven total concerts in Britain that contained selections from *Faust*.[303] Hallé was responsible for more than half of those performances with twenty-three total (a 62% performance ratio); Berlioz himself was responsible for five (a 13.5% ratio); and Manns was responsible for just two (a 5% ratio). However, when the performances of all three

[301] It was only after the first complete performance of *Faust* by Manns' rival Charles Hallé in Manchester in February 1880 that Manns began to perform selections from the work more frequently. See Table 3.2. It should be noted that Manns could have given more performances of selections from *La Damnation de Faust* than the two dates currently known between 1850 and 1880. However, because the Saturday concert series was the only Crystal Palace concert series records that were kept during this period and the newspapers from this period did not list the daily weekday concert programs at the Crystal Palace, there is no way to know for sure the exact number of performances of the work that Manns conducted during this thirty-year period.

[302] For more information on August Manns and his contribution to the performance frequency of *La Damnation de Faust* in nineteenth-century Britain, see chapter 3.

[303] All of these concerts were selections and not complete performances. See list of *Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.

men are combined, the thirty total performances account for 81% of the total presentation of excerpts from *La Damnation de Faust* in Britain pre-1880. When combined, the twenty-five total performances of *Faust* selections conducted by Manns and Hallé amounted to 78% of the concerts containing selections from *Faust* in Britain before 1880.

One of the reasons why Berlioz was perhaps not as popular at the Crystal Palace as some of his contemporaries during this period was due to the lack of accessible piano transcriptions. Many composers during the early and mid-nineteenth century relied on piano transcriptions to promote the popularity of their works, especially in London, and to increase their overall revenue.[304] Berlioz was aware of this, which can be deduced from the frequent allusions to the publishing of his works in England found in his correspondence and in his *Memoirs.*[305] Unfortunately, due to the complexity of Berlioz's orchestrations, it was difficult to successfully transcribe his music for piano, especially in

[304] For example, there were numerous transcriptions of major works by Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer, and others offered through Novello and other London publishers. See, for example, Novello & Co., *The Complete Catalogue of Music Published by Novello and Company* (London: Novello & Co. 1904-1907).
[305] Berlioz often had his friends in the London press write favorable reviews of his music, such as James William Davison, Henry Chorley, and John Ella. For example, Berlioz wrote a letter thanking Davison for a review that he published in *The Musical World* (he also regularly published for *The Times*) on 14 February 1848 that stated: "Mon cher Davison, Je n'a lu qu'hier votre bienveillant article du "Musical World" et je vous en remercie, il est écrit dans le sens qui peut m'être ici le plus utile et j'y vois de votre part des dispositions amicales dont je suis bien touché et bien reconnaissant. Adieu, je vous serre la main. H. Berlioz." *Correspondance générale d'Hector Berlioz*, vol. 3, no. 1175. Originally cited in English in Henry Davison, *From Mendelssohn to Wagner: Being the Memoirs of J. W. Davison, Forty Years Music Critic of* "*The Times*" (London: William Reeves, 1912), 96: "My dear Davison—It was not till yesterday that I read your kind article in the "Musical World," for which I thank you, it is written in a way that can be most useful to me over here, and shows a friendly feeling on your part for which I am very touched and grateful. Yours sincerely, H. Berlioz." Berlioz and Ella's relationship was particularly utilized by both parties for professional benefit. In the case of the promotion of Berlioz's music in London, Ella would often advertise for upcoming performances and write favorable reviews of them in his *Record of the Musical Union*. For more information on the relationship between Berlioz and Ella, see Christina Bashford, *The Pursuit of High Culture: John Ella and Chamber Music in Victorian London* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007) and "More than Dedication? Hector Berlioz and John Ella," in *The Musical Voyager: Berlioz in Europe*, ed. by David Charlton and Katharine Ellis (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2007), 3-24.

an arrangement that would have been accessible to amateur pianists.[306] However, contrary to the consensus in London concerning Berlioz's music, Manns saw an opportunity to push piano transcriptions of Berlioz music as a way for audiences to grow familiar with the French composer's pieces as well as to familiarize themselves with the music before attending orchestral performances of it at the Crystal Palace.

To reach these audiences, Manns created a formal tuition program offered by the Crystal Palace School of Art, Science, and Literature (the woman's division of the school). This course aimed to instruct the target audience that had the most free time and financial stability to sign up for this type of course: affluent upper-middle-class women.[307] While at-first the school was small in size and course offerings, it steadily grew with each subsequent season. By the mid-1870s, a new course was advertised in the weekly concert programs: "Explanatory Demonstrations of Music." Through the playing of transcriptions for (mostly) piano duet, the course was designed to give lessons in performing technique as well as in general analysis of the music that was to be performed during the Crystal Palace season.[308] Sir Julius Benedict was employed to lead the twelve

[306] This situation was also further complicated by the fact that Berlioz did not play the piano and therefore had to rely on others to transcribe his music for him. For example, an early edition of a piano arrangement for four hands of the *Marche hongroise* was arranged by Jules Benedict and was published by Cramer, Beale, & Co. in 1848. A copy of this edition is currently housed in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. See Cecil Hopkinson, *A Bibliography of the Musical and Literary Works of Hector Berlioz, 1803-1869* (Edinburgh, 1951; rev. R Macnutt, Tunbridge Wells, 1980), pg. 118 fn279. See also entry for Beale, Thomas Frederick in *The Cambridge Berlioz Encyclopedia*, ed. by Julian Rushton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 19-20.

[307] The cost for the complete twelve week course was a steep £2 2s (equivalent to 3s. 6d. a week), which therefore implies that the course was designed for the wealthy upper-classes. For example, common laborers in the Victorian Era made on average only 3s. 9d. a week. See Dale H. Porter, *The Thames Embankment: Environment, Technology, and Society in Victorian London* (Akron, Ohio: University of Akron Press, 1998), 176. Advertisements for the school's music program first appeared in the Crystal Palace programs for the 1860-61 season. By 1871, over fourteen classes were regularly advertised in the Saturday Concert programs. See Michael Musgrave, *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace*, 167-69.

[308] Ibid., 169.

week course by teaching two sections on Thursdays.[309] Benedict's lectures included a healthy sampling of Berlioz's piano transcriptions and scores.[310] With this information, it is quite plausible to assume that Benedict could have easily prepared the class for an upcoming concert on 7 February 1880 that included the *Ballet des sylphes* and the *Rakockzy March* (*Marche hongroise*) with either the piano transcription by Jules Benedict (no relation) that had been published by Brandus in Paris and by Bote & Bock in Berlin in 1848, or any of the other ten transcriptions of the two selections that had become available in Britain beginning in 1878 and 1879.[311]

August Manns' Promotion of Berlioz Post-1880

The performance frequency of *La Damnation de Faust* on Crystal Palace concerts only began to increase significantly after the first complete performance of the work under Charles Hallé in Manchester on 5 February 1880. After this date, Manns conducted performances of either selections from or the complete *Faust* at least twenty-three times in the last twenty years of his tenure, both in Sydenham and in several other locations

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[309] Ibid.

[310] For example, Benedict's 1878-9 syllabus included *Harold en Italie* as a way for Manns to promote the work before an upcoming performance. Advertisements for this course on *Harold en Italie* can be found in the program for 23 February 1878, 481, a copy of which is currently housed in the Royal College of Music, George Grove set of Crystal Palace Programmes, 1878-79. For more information on the Crystal Palace's School of Art and Literature see Michael Musgrave, *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace*, 166-72. The school and its promotion of Berlioz is also briefly discussed in Leanne Langley, "Agency and Change: Berlioz in Britain, 1870-1920," 318 and 318fn no. 30.

[311] Cecil Hopkinson, *A Bibliography of the Musical and Literary Works of Hector Berlioz, 1803-1869*, 118-19. The year 1880 also saw new arrangements of the *Marche hongroise* by Edouard Marlois and the *Ballet des sylphes* from Berlioz's *Faust* by Wilhelm Czerny. The advertisement for the latter is on the back of the Marlois copy currently housed in the British Library. See "Rákoczy March introduced in H. Berlioz's ... Faust, for the Pianoforte, transcribed by E. Marlois., London, [1880]," h.1494.t. (10.). There was also a piano transcription in French of the *Ballet des sylphes* done by D. Vraisanges and published in London in 1878, a copy of which is also housed in the British Library, "Grande paraphrase brillante sur le Danse des Sylphes de La Damnation de Faust d'H. Berlioz. [P. F.], D. Vraisanges, Londres, [1878]," h.1495.e. (56.).

throughout Britain.[312] Furthermore, Manns' performances of *Faust* during these two decades was by far the most frequent compared to any other of Berlioz's works that he conducted during that same period.[313] Sixteen of the twenty-three total performances contained only selections from the complete work, mainly the *Marche hongroise*, the *Ballet des sylphes*, or the *Menuet de follets*.[314] The most popular movement from *Faust* at the Crystal Palace was easily the *Marche hongroise*; it was included on twenty-four out of the twenty-five total times that Manns conducted either selections from or the complete work during that period.[315]

In addition to the sixteen selections of *Faust* conducted by Manns between 1880 and 1900, he also conducted the complete work at least seven times.[316] Four of these performances were done at the Crystal Palace in 1888, 1889, 1893, and 1896 and one was done at the Albert Hall in Sheffield as part of the 1896 Sheffield Musical Festival.[317] The remaining two complete performances conducted by Manns were also the first two times

[312] See list of *Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates. Although Manns conducted the Crystal Palace until May 1900, the last record of him conducting a selection from *La Damnation de Faust* (the *Marche hongroise*) at the Crystal Palace occurred in 1899.
[313] In fact, it was also more than double the performances of the *Symphonie fantastique*, the second-most frequently performed work that Manns conducted in the same stretch of time. See Table 3.2.
[314] See list of *Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.
[315] Ibid. The only performance of *Faust* by Manns that did not include the march was on a concert given on 19 March 1881 when the aria "The King of Thule" was sung at the Crystal Palace by Miss Robertson. A copy of the program is currently held in the Grove set of Crystal Palace Programmes, 1880-81 at the Royal College of Music. Manns undoubtedly conducted more performances of *Faust* than this, but these are the only performances that are currently known from the surviving Saturday Concert Programs.
[316] See list of *Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.
[317] The exact dates were 14 April 1888 (first complete performance of *Faust* at the Crystal Palace), 6 April 1889, 15 April 1893, and 21 November 1896. For 1888 performance see "Amusements and Notices," *The Era* [London, England], 14 April 1888 and Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library, Bannister Scrapbook Collection 2 (1888-1899), R780.2 Sj3, vol. 10. Copies of the 1889, 1893, and 21 November 1896 performances are currently housed in the Grove set of Crystal Palace Programmes in the Royal College of Music. The Sheffield performance took place on 14 Oct 1896. A copy of that performance is currently housed in the Royal Academy of Music, Henry Wood Collection: Sheffield Musical Festival (1896-1933).

the complete work was performed in Scotland.[318] Thus, while Hallé deserves credit for organizing the first complete performance of *Faust* in England on 5 February 1880, the first complete performance of the work in Scotland was conducted by Manns and the Glasgow Choral Union two years later on 31 January 1882.[319]

The increase in performance frequency of Berlioz's works throughout the 1880s and 1890s was not just confined to *Faust*, but occurred with all of Berlioz's music (excluding his operas), especially his overtures. For example, this increase can be observed when analyzing the last twenty years of Manns' career from February 1880 to his retirement from the Crystal Palace podium in May 1900.[320] Whereas after 1880 the performance frequency of Berlioz's works given by Hallé more than doubled from fifty-four to 130 total performances, in the case of Manns, the total performances that he conducted of Berlioz's music quadrupled from twenty-seven to 116. In addition, Manns conducted Berlioz's overtures a total of twenty-three times during that period, which can be seen in Table 3.2.[321] Likewise, the performance frequency of Berlioz's symphonies was significantly higher at the Crystal Palace under Manns than was the case with Hallé during this twenty-year period. As shown in Table 3.2, Manns conducted *Harold en Italie* eight times, the *Symphonie fantastique* eleven times, *Roméo et Juliette* seven, as well as a

[318] A copy of the 31 January 1882 program is currently held at the British Library, Glasgow Choral Union (1877-1901), d.491. The second performance took place on 19 December that same year. Copies of that program are currently held in the British Library, Glasgow Choral Union (1877-1901), d.491 and in the British Isles, Box 24, John Johnson Collection Concerts index, ANSW/06.98, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
[319] A copy of the program can be found at the British Library, Glasgow Choral Union (1877-1901), d.491.
[320] For comparison, see data in Tables 3.1 and 3.2. Sir August Manns (1825–1907) went on to live another seven years after he retired from the Crystal Palace. He was knighted in 1903.
[321] Ibid.

single, rare performance of the *Grande Symphonie funèbre et triomphale* on 3 June 1882.[322]

Besides the first complete performance of *La Damnation de Faust* in 1880, Manns' sudden increase in performance frequency of Berlioz's music throughout the 1880s and 1890s can be attributed to several other key factors. First, both orchestras—that of the Crystal palace and that in Manchester—had enlarged over the years and were able to accommodate more diverse and modern repertoire.[323] For example, Berlioz was in many ways held as a reason for expanding the size of British orchestras. This can be seen in his *Grand traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration modernes*. In this treaty, Berlioz argued that the size of an orchestra needed to adequately fit the standard size concert halls of the time. For example, in the case of the Paris Conservatoire, a hall that Berlioz was quite familiar with, he posited that the venue in this case demanded that an orchestra should contain at least 120 musicians.[324] While the size of the orchestra according to

[322] Ibid. For further comparison see Table 3.2. The *Grande Symphonie funèbre et triomphale* performance on 3 June 1882 under Manns was the first complete performance of the work in Britain.

[323] For example, the orchestra for the 1856-57 Crystal Palace season was advertised as a very small chamber-size orchestra of only forty-five strong: twenty-four strings, eight winds, and twelve brass. However, by the 1884-85 season, the orchestra had doubled in size to a total of ninety-six players: fifty-six strings (over twice the amount in 1856), twelve winds, twelve to thirteen brass (depending on the program), two harps, timpani and percussion. The orchestra personnel list was occasionally printed in each of the Saturday Crystal Palace Concert Programs. For example, see the surviving copies of programs in the George Grove set of Crystal Palace Programmes currently housed at the Royal College of Music. The orchestra personnel for 1856-57 season are also reprinted in Appendix 2 of Michael Musgrave, *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace*, 218. The orchestra personnel for 1884-85 season was printed in several programs, including the 21 February 1885 Crystal Palace Saturday program, a copy of which is held in the George Grove Collection of Programmes at the Royal College of Music.

[324] "But the finest concert orchestra, for a room scarcely larger than that of the Conservatoire,— the most complete, the richest in gradations, in varieties of tone, the most majestic, the most powerful, and at the same time the most soft and smooth, would be an orchestra thus composed:— 21 First Violins, 20 Second do., 18 Violas, 8 First Violoncellos, 7 Second do., 10 Double-Basses, 4 Harps, 2 Piccolo Flutes, 2 Large Flutes, 2 Hautboys, 1 Corno Inglese, 2 Clarinets, 1 Corno di Bassetto, or one Bass-Clarinet, 4 Bassoons, 4 Horns with Cylinders, 2 Trumpets with Cylinders, 2 Cornets á Pistons (or with Valves, 3 Trombones (1 Alto, 2 Tenors or 3 Tenors), 1 Great Bass Trombone, 1 Ophicleide in B-flat (or a Base-Tuba), 2 Pairs of

Berlioz's standards was still on the large side, by the 1880s the size of the European orchestra had increased to the modern orchestral standard today of around eighty to a hundred musicians.[325]

By the time of *La Damnation de Faust*'s newfound popularity in 1880s Britain, the standard orchestra size had virtually doubled since the beginning of the century, and was therefore much better equipped to perform large-scale works by Romantic composers such as Berlioz.[326] This increase in the average British orchestra's size, combined with the proliferation in the number of ensembles that had cropped up during this period, had the effect of transforming the musical landscape as well as the musical taste of late-Victorian audiences:

> It is especially gratifying to notice that the progress of national taste marked by these facts is not restricted to London. Before this reign is over, every great provincial city ought to have an orchestra of its own, and an operatic theatre to boot, even as the small towns of France, Germany, and Italy have such orchestras and theatres, largely supported by municipal liberality.[327]

Kettle-Drums, and 4 Drummers, 1 Long Drum, and 1 Pair of Cymbals." Hector Berlioz, *A Treatise Upon Modern Instrumentation and Orchestration*, trans. by Mary Cowden Clarke (London: J. Alfred Novello, 1856), 241. For original version in French, see Hector Berlioz, *Grand Traité d'Instrumentation et d'Orchestration Modernes* (Paris, 1843; rev., plus *L'Art du chef d'orchestre*, Paris, 1855).

[325] For example, D. Kern Holoman opines the modern symphony orchestra at around ninety-some musicians (a dozen players in each string section combined with quadruple winds). Orchestration books such as Samuel Adler's, lists the modern orchestra from the time of Stravinsky and Mahler to a string section of 18, 16, 14, 12, 10, combined with quadruple wind and brass sections of up to 6 flutes, 5 oboes, 6 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 8 horns, 4 trumpets, 4 trombones, 2 tuba, 2 harps, piano, and 4-5 percussion; in essence, a Berlioz-size orchestra. See D. Kern Holoman, "Performing Berlioz," in *The Cambridge Companion to Berlioz*, 176 and Samuel Adler, *The Study of Orchestration*, Third Edition (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2002), 5.

[326] Ibid.

[327] Francis Hueffer, *Half a Century of Music in England: 1837-1887*, 15.

Table 3.2: Complete list of performances of Berlioz's works given by Hallé and Manns, February 1880–1900[328]

Work	Hallé	Manns
Benvenuto Cellini overture	2	10
Le carnaval romain overture	6	7
Les francs-juges overture	2	3
Le roi Lear overture	3	4
Waverley overture	4	3
Le corsaire overture	0	5
Rob Roy overture	0	1
All Other Vocal Works	12	7
Harold en Italie (both selections and complete)	5	8
Grande Symphonie funèbre et triomphale	0	1
Symphonie fantastique (both selections and complete)	10	11
Lélio, ou Le Retour à la vie	2	5
La Damnation de Faust	**55**	**23**
Roméo et Juliette (both selections and complete)	15	7
L'Enfance du Christ	9	2
Grande Messe des morts (Requiem)	0	6
Te Deum	0	2
Tristia	0	2
Béatrice et Bénédict selections	1	3
Les Troyens selections	0	3
L'Invitation à la valse orchestration	4	3
Total	130	116

[328] Copies of these programs can be found in the British Library, Royal College of Music Library, Manchester Central Library, the Hallé Orchestra Archive, the Royal Albert Hall Archive, Royal Academy of Music, London Metropolitan Archive, Oxford University's Bodleian Library, Manchester Central Library, Hallé Orchestra Archive, Royal Northern College of Music, the Foundling Museum, and the National Library of Scotland as we as through other periodicals and published sources. Most are also published in Thomas Batley, *Sir Charles Hallé's Concerts in Manchester* for Manchester concerts and in Frederick Shinn, *Catalogue of the Principal Instrumental and Choral Works Performed at the Saturday Concerts (October 1855-May 1895)*. See Appendix of *Faust* performances for a full list of sources consulted and for exact dates of each performance. Sir Charles Hallé died at the beginning of the 1895 Hallé Orchestra season. The Crystal Palace Orchestra was disbanded after the 1899-1900 season. Although no longer the official Crystal Palace Orchestra, Manns did conduct most of the two sets of six concerts for the 1900-01 season along with Henry Wood and Hans Richter. Afterwards, Manns tried to continue the orchestra as an amateur group. However, he did not retain the conducting post for very long, as the exertion of conducting proved too much for him by that point. See Michael Musgrave, *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace*, 127-32. All other works not listed here were not performed during this period by either conductor. This list only chronicles the total performances of Berlioz's music by each conductor and therefore does not reflect the total performances of Berlioz's music by either the Manchester Orchestra or the Crystal Palace Orchestra.

Manns vs. Hallé: A Comparison of Two Victorian Champions of Berlioz

Due to the efforts of Charles Hallé in Manchester and August Manns in Sydenham, Berlioz gradually became a fashionable composer to play.[329] In fact, between 1880 and 1882 both conductors were responsible for thirty-three of *La Damnation de Faust*'s forty-seven total performances during this period.[330]

Table 3.3: British Premières of select works by Berlioz, 1879-1882[331]

Work	Conductor	Location	Date
Symphonie fantastique	Charles Hallé	Manchester	9 January 1879
La Damnation de Faust	Charles Hallé	Manchester	5 February 1880
L'Enfance du Christ	Charles Hallé	Manchester	30 December 1880
Roméo et Juliette	W. G. Cusins	London	10 March 1881
Les Nuits d'été	Hans Richter	London	24 October 1881
Lélio, ou Le Retour à la vie	August Manns	Sydenham (London)	29 October 1881
Grande Symphonie funèbre et triomphale	August Manns	Sydenham (London)	3 June 1882

[329] This can be especially seen in the performance frequency of Berlioz's music immediately after the first complete performance of *Faust* on 5 February 1880.

[330] Hallé conducted twenty-five performances and August Manns conducted eight. See list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.

[331] Copies of all of the Hallé Manchester Orchestra concert programs are held at the Hallé Orchestra Archive. Most are also published in Thomas Batley, *Sir Charles Hallé's Concerts in Manchester*. Copies of the individual concert programs for August Manns and the Crystal Palace are held at several libraries, including the British Library and the Royal College of Music. The complete *Roméo et Juliette* was first performed in Britain on 10 March 1881 by W. G. Cusins and the Philharmonic Society. A copy of that program is currently housed at Oxford, Bodleian Library, F. Gilbert Webb collection: Philharmonic Society Programmes (1878-83), Mus. 318 d.29 (3). According to sources, the complete work had not been given anywhere since its first première in 1839 (Berlioz would always omit the finale when he performed it after the première), but parts had been initially rendered under Berlioz's direction of the New Philharmonic Society for their performance of selections from the work in 1852. See Myles Birket Foster, *History of the Philharmonic Society of London 1813-1912* (New York: John Lane Company, 1912), 378-80 and Francis Hueffer, *Half a Century of Music in England: 1837-1887*, 229-31. Not to be confused with the New Philharmonic Society that was started in 1852, the "old" Philharmonic Society dates back to 1813. After 1912, the society officially changed their name to the Royal Philharmonic Society. The Richter *Les Nuits d'été* concert took place at St. James's Hall on 24 October 1881. A copy of the program can be found in the Hallé Orchestra Archive, Richter Concerts, 1881 Autumn Season. See also "Richter Concerts," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, vol. 22, No. 465 (November 1, 1881), 570. Leanne Langley also believes that this concert is perhaps the world première of the complete work. See Leanne Langley, "Agency and Change: Berlioz in Britain, 1870-1920," 329fn no. 52.

Intriguingly, an informal competition emerged between these men on who was the more ardent champion of Berlioz's music. For example, as shown in Table. 3.3, in the four-year period between 1879 and 1882, seven of Berlioz's major works had their first complete performances in Britain from four different conductors, all of whom could be recognized as promoters of Berlioz's music during the second half of the nineteenth-century.[332]

In spite of the diverse array of conductors who were eager to promote Berlioz's music in Britain, the competition was certainly still the most pronounced between Hallé and Manns. For example, of the seven previously mentioned works that received their first complete performances in Britain between 1879 and 1882, five were given by either Charles Hallé or August Manns.[333] Throughout their respective tenures at their posts, Hallé and Manns were responsible for twelve British premières of Berlioz's works. In

[332] While Hallé and Manns were at the forefront of this movement, other conductors also began to champion Berlioz's music during this period, especially Wilhelm Ganz, Hans Richter, William G. Cusins, and Joseph Barnby. For example, the conductor Wilhelm Ganz (1833–1914) equally played a role in championing Berlioz's music in Britain, although not particularly *Faust*. The son of the violinist Adolph Ganz (1796–1870), Wilhelm first traveled to London in 1848 where he and his father played as violinists at Berlioz's concerts with the New Philharmonic Society. He later became the joint conductor of the New Philharmonic Concerts together with Henry Wylde in 1873, before finally taking over as the director in 1879. Under his leadership, the orchestra performed and promoted several of Berlioz's works in London, including the first London performance of the complete *Symphonie fantastique* in 1881 with an augmented orchestra. For more information, see Wilhelm Ganz, *Memoirs of a Musician: Reminiscences of Seventy Years of Musical Life* (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1913). Sir William George Cusins (1833–1893) was an English pianist, violinist, organist, conductor and composer. He conducted the Philharmonic Society from 1867 to 1883 and was an avid supporter of Berlioz's music, conducting at least ten performances of *Faust* selections under various ensembles between 1881 and 1893, including several royal performances at the request of Queen Victoria at Buckingham Palace. For more information, see list of *Faust* performances in Appendix.

[333] See Table 3.4.

regard to the total number of premières, Manns was certainly the clear winner, conducting a total of nine British premières compared to Hallé's three.[334]

Table 3.4: First Performances of Berlioz's Works in Britain Conducted by August Manns and Charles Hallé[335]

Date	Work	Conductor
28 February 1863	*Le Corsaire* overture	August Manns
10 February 1877	*Béatrice et Bénédict* overture	August Manns
9 January 1879	*Symphonie fantastique*	Charles Hallé
5 February 1880	*La Damnation de Faust*	Charles Hallé
30 December 1880	*L'Enfance du Christ*	Charles Hallé
29 October 1881	*Lélio, ou Le Retour à la vie*	August Manns
3 June 1882	*Grande Symphonie funèbre et triomphale*	August Manns
26 May 1883	*Grande Messe des Morts* (Requiem)	August Manns
18 April 1885	*Te Deum*	August Manns
2 March 1889	*Marche funèbre pour la dernière scène d'Hamlet* (No. 3 of *Tristia*)	August Manns
7 March 1891	*La Mort d'Ophélie* (No. 2 of *Tristia*)	August Manns
24 February 1900	*Rob Roy* overture	August Manns

As shown in Table 3.4, seven of the twelve premières given by Manns and Hallé occurred during the six-year period between 1879 and 1885. It can be therefore

[334] Ibid. However, this does not in any way diminish Hallé's contribution to promoting music in Britain, as all three of Hallé's British premières were of major works in the Berlioz canon and certainly the more well-known standards today: the *Symphonie fantastique*, *La Damnation de Faust*, and *L'Enfance du Christ*. In addition, it should be noted that while Manns and Hallé each respectively received credit for giving the first performances of several of Berlioz's works in Britain, they did not always give the first performance of the work in London. Because of this, oftentimes London critics and newspapers, which at the time did not always keep tabs on what was going on in the provinces, would mistakenly advertise and record the London première of a particular work as the official British première. For example, Hallé gave the British première of the complete *Symphonie fantastique* in Manchester in 1879 but Wilhelm Ganze gave the London première in 1881. Similarly, August Manns gave the British première of the complete *Grande Symphonie funèbre et Triomphale* in Sydenham in 1882 but Hans Richter received credit for the central London première of the work in 1885 owing to the fact that Sydenham in the 1880s was not officially considered part of London. (Today it is classified as a district within the south east London Boroughs of Lewisham, Bromley and Southwark after the creation of the County of London in 1889.)

[335] Note: August Manns also gave first performances during his tenure at the Crystal Palace of a few selections/arias from *Béatrice et Bénédict* and *Les Troyens* that were not included in the above table, which primarily focuses on first complete performances of Berlioz works in Britain.

concluded that the grouping of these first performances were directly caused by the Berlioz craze that followed upon the first complete performances of *Faust* in 1880. In the case of *Faust* alone, the work was programed at least 111 more times throughout Britain in the following decade, seventy-two of which were complete.[336]

Similar cases soon followed for each of the other Berlioz works that were premièred during this period. For example, after Manns premièred the *Grande Messe des Morts* in 1883, he and the Crystal Palace Orchestra performed the work an additional five times between 1883 and 1900.[337] Similarly, after Hallé premièred the complete *Symphonie fantastique* in 1879, the work was performed another twenty times by both Manns and Hallé (eleven by Manns, nine by Hallé) over the next twenty years.[338] Therefore, it can be concluded that while Hallé started the Victorian fascination with Berlioz's music through his premières of the *Symphonie fantastique, La Damnation de Faust*, and *L'Enfance* between 1879 and 1880, it was Manns who continued the cultivation of Berlioz's music over the long term in London. In some cases, Manns' taste for Berlioz backfired. For example, neither the *Symphonie funèbre et Triomphale* or *La Mort d'Ophélie* were met with favor by the Crystal Palace public.[339]

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[336] See list of *Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.
[337] See Table 3.2. See list of *Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.
[338] See Tables 3.1 and 3.2. See list of *Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.
[339] For example, this was the case for the single performance of the *Symphonie funèbre et Triomphale* on 3 June 1882 and the single performance each of *Marche Funebre -For the Last Scene of "Hamlet"* and *La Mort d'Ophélie* on 2 March 1889 and 7 March 1891. Copies of each of the programs are currently housed in the Royal College of Music, Grove set of Crystal Palace Programmes, 1882-83, 1888-89, and 1890-91. A review in *The Musical Times* of the 1881-82 Crystal Palace Monday Popular Concerts also noted on this problem of Berlioz's works. While novel in their first performance, many of them for some reason did not retain enough popularity to permanently enter the repertoire. See Henry C. Lunn, "The London Musical Season," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, vol. 23, No. 474 (August 1, 1882, 427-29), 428.

In the end, the only factor that ultimately caused Hallé to exceed Manns in total performances of Berlioz's music was his constant performance of *La Damnation de Faust*. This is especially true when comparing complete performances of the score. Between 1880 and 1894, Hallé conducted forty-five complete performances of *Faust*, compared to Manns' seven complete performances between 1882 and 1896.[340] There are several practical reasons to account for this discrepancy. Whereas Hallé had access to the resident professional choir in Manchester as well as several local amateur choirs in the surrounding towns from which to draw, Manns simply did not enjoy similar resources at the Crystal Palace. While the Crystal Palace did have its own resident choir from the early 1860s, the general impression from reviews was that the chorus was never outstanding and still needed to be augmented with other forces when performing large-scale works.[341] This lack of choral resources meant that Manns had to hire extra choral singers (and on some cases extra orchestral players) to supplement the orchestra each time he wanted to program a large-scale work on the Saturday concerts. The financial expenditures for these concerts, especially when Manns programmed larger choral works such as *Faust*, were a contentious issue with board members of the Crystal Palace company, who viewed the orchestra's management from the business perspective of trying to make as much profit from the building and grounds as possible.[342]

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[340] See list of *Faust* performances in Appendix for a complete list of how many times both Hallé and Manns conducted the complete *Faust* in Britain.

[341] See Michael Musgrave, *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace*, 76-77.

[342] For example, Grove once remarked in a speech to the Palace staff years later that when the Crystal Palace was first set to open in 1854 the entertainment for the hall was essentially an afterthought: "only a few months before the opening the directors met, under the presidency of Mr. Laing, M.P., to discuss the future management, and it came to light that no arrangements had been made for the provision of entertainments. 'Well,' someone remarked, 'we must have music,' and thereupon Grove was asked if any

In addition, Manns also had to contend with the small size of the stage that the orchestra performed on at the Crystal Palace. Despite several extensions to the stage, the last one occurring in 1868, the rostrum was never large enough to hold a chorus of 300 voices that Berlioz's choral works required. This problem of space actually resulted in a few performances of the composer's large-scale works, such as the *Te Deum*, to suffer greatly.[343] These logistical and financial constraints provide an explanation as to why Hallé and Manns specialized in different Berlioz works. While Hallé specialized in the larger-scale choral works such as *La Damnation de Faust*, *Roméo et Juliette*, and *L'Enfance du Christ*, Manns tended to perform the smaller-scale overtures and symphonies.[344] However, the conundrum on why Manns did not perform *Faust*, even selections of it, nearly as many times as Hallé is still baffling, especially given the evidence that Manns was able to hire extra musicians and choruses at the Crystal Palace frequently enough to perform the *Grande Messe des Morts* six times between 1883 and 1900.[345]

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applications had come in for the musical conductorship." See H. Saxe Wyndham, *August Manns and the Saturday Concerts,* 20-21. Furthermore, upon the appointment of Manns as director of the band a year later, Grove had implored Manns to keep in mind the need for being economical and efficient in his duties: "You must remember that, as the conductor of the band, you will be bound to do all you can to make the music *economical* as well as *efficient*." Original Italics. See letter from Grove to August Manns, 21 July 1855. Cited in H. Saxe Wyndham, *August Manns and the Saturday Concerts,* 32.

[343] For example, all of the reviews of the British première of the *Te Deum* given by Manns on 18 April 1885 focused on the novelty of hearing the work performed in Britain and, at the same time, complained about large orchestral and choral force that Berlioz's score demanded. See "Crystal Palace," *The Morning Post*, 20 April 1885, "Berlioz's Te Deum," *The Times*, 20 April 1885, and "New Music," *The Graphic*, 9 May 1885. Michael Musgrave comments on how much the numbers of musicians that Manns was able to hire directly affected his performances in both quality and programming. See Michael Musgrave, *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace*, 77.

[344] See Table 3.2.

[345] Ibid. The *Grande Messe des Morts* is scored for a massive orchestra and chorus including four separate brass bands at each corner of the stage. Berlioz indicates in his notes for his score that, while space is relative, he would prefer a force of up to 800 vocalists. See New Berlioz Edition of the score, ed. Jürgen Kindermann, vol. 9 (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1978). One speculative reason as to why Manns performed

Another possible reason as to why Manns did not conduct as many complete *Faust* performances as Hallé was because he did not have many opportunities to conduct the work outside of the confines of the Crystal Palace. Due to the nature of his position at the Crystal Palace, Manns was engaged six days a week for twenty-six weeks each year.[346] This meant that over half of his time each year was consumed by his duties at the Crystal Palace alone, which left little time to conduct elsewhere. In addition, starting in 1883, Manns was hired to conduct the triennial Handel Festivals.[347] While this employment offered Manns the opportunity to conduct large-scale choral works at the Crystal Palace, the repertory was confined to Handel and his contemporaries. Because of these factors, there were only a few cases where Manns was given the opportunity to conduct Berlioz's music outside of the Crystal Palace.[348]

In comparison, Charles Hallé's Manchester orchestra only had a twenty concert season, which afforded him much more time each week, both during and between seasons, to conduct other orchestras and musical festivals. For example, largely due to the Industrial Revolution's enhanced effects on rail transportation, Hallé supplemented his already busy duties in Manchester by regularly staging a large concert series in London each year as well as maintaining annual appearances as the resident conductor at several

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the work as frequently as he did was that the architectural space of the Crystal Palace was an ideal layout for the musicians to be placed around the glass hall.

[346] The Saturday concerts, for example, typically started the first Saturday in October and lasted until the end of April, with a brief interval in December. See surviving sets of programs located in the Royal College of Music and the British Library. Most of the Saturday concert dates are also published in Frederick Shinn, *Catalogue of the Principal Instrumental and Choral Works Performed at the Saturday Concerts (October 1855-May 1895).*

[347] For an overview of the history of the Handel Festivals under Manns, see Michael Musgrave, *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace*, 49-57.

[348] One of these rare examples was when Manns was invited to conduct the Sheffield Music Festival in 1896. For more information, see chapter 4.

major musical festivals, including Bradford and Bristol.[349] Thus, whereas August Manns was bound by the financial and time restrictions of the Crystal Palace, the diversity and flexibility of Hallé's numerous conducting activities gave him the freedom to perform Berlioz's music throughout the British provinces.

The Glasgow Choral Union and the Promotion of *La Damnation de Faust* in Scotland

One of the few conducting opportunities that August Manns enjoyed on a consistent basis during the time of his employment with the Crystal Palace was his direction of the Glasgow Choral Union, which he did for fifteen consecutive years starting with the 1878-79 season.[350] During this period, Manns took full opportunity of his artistic directorship to introduce *Faust* to the Scottish public by giving its first complete performance in Glasgow just eleven months after the British première in Manchester.[351] The performance was so well received by the Glaswegian public a repeat performance of the score was programmed by Manns for the following winter season.[352]

Between 1880 and 1894, Manns programmed *Faust* at least six times: two complete performances as well as four separate concerts containing selections from the

[349] See Appendix of *Faust* performances for a complete list of how often each conductor performed the complete work in Britain. For more information on Hallé's role in the promotion of *Faust* during British Choral Festival Movement, see chapter 4.
[350] H. Saxe Wyndham, *August Manns and the Saturday Concerts*, 121. Leanne Langley also gives a thorough summary of Manns' work in Glasgow in "Agency and Change: Berlioz in Britain, 1870-1920," 319-24.
[351] See list of *Faust* performances in Appendix. A copy of the original program is currently housed in the British Library, Glasgow Choral Union (1877-1901), d.491. Manns also gave the first complete performance of the *Symphonie fantastique* in Glasgow two weeks prior on 14 January 1882. See "Saturday Popular Concerts." *Glasgow Herald* [Glasgow, Scotland] 16 Jan. 1882: n.p.
[352] The performance took place on 19 December 1882. Copies of the 19 December concert program are housed in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, British Isles, Box 24, John Johnson Collection Concerts index, ANSW/06.98, and in the British Library, Glasgow Choral Union (1877-1901), d.491.

work.[353] Just as in London, by far the most popular movement from Berlioz's *Faust* in Scotland was the *Marche hongroise*. Twenty-nine out of the thirty-eight total performances of *Faust* that took place in Scotland between 1871 and 1912 contained the *Marche hongroise* as either a free-standing selection or part of a complete performance.[354] Thus, from a statistical perspective, the *Marche hongroise* was so popular in Scotland that it was performed on more than three-quarters of all of the concerts that contained at least selections of *Faust* on the program during this forty-year period. Furthermore, the march was included in all six of Manns' Scottish performances that contained either selections or the complete *Faust*.[355] Besides *Faust*, Manns also gave the first performances of at least four other Berlioz works in Scotland during his fifteen year tenure with the Glasgow Choral Union: the first complete performance of the *Symphonie fantastique* in 1882; *Le roi Lear* overture in 1883; the first complete performances of the *Grande Messe des Morts* in 1884; and *Le corsaire* overture in 1887.[356]

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[353] See list of *Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.

[354] Ibid. Fourteen were complete performances of *Faust* and sixteen were concerts that just contained the *Marche hongroise* as a selection from the work. There were undoubtedly more performances that the thirty-nine compiled here. However, due to the state of concert programs and records available from that time, it may be impossible to find a complete record of every performance of *Faust* given in nineteenth-century Scotland.

[355] The first performance containing Berlioz's *Faust* given by Manns with the Glasgow Choral Union on 21 December 1880 was actually of the *Marche hongroise* alone. A copy of the program is housed in the British Library, Glasgow Choral Union (1877-1901), d.491.

[356] The *Symphonie fantastique* was performed on 14 January 1882, *Le roi Lear* was performed on 4 December 1883, the *Grande Messe des Morts* was performed on 31 January 1884, and *Le corsaire* overture was performed on 11 January 1887. Copies of these concert programs are currently housed in British Library, Glasgow Choral Union (1877-1901), d.491. See also "Saturday Popular Concerts," *Glasgow Herald* [Glasgow, Scotland] 16 January 1882: n.p. for *Symphonie fantastique* performance. Note: Based on my research findings up to the time of this publication, I have also found evidence of August Manns having possibly given the first performances in Scotland with the Glasgow Choral Union of *Benvenuto Cellini* overture in 1882, *Les francs-juges* overture in 1883, *Harold en Italie* in 1881, the song *Zaïde* in 1885, and Berlioz's arrangement of Weber's *L'Invitation à la valse* in 1880. However, while these concert dates are

Manns' connections with the Scottish musical scene can be traced back to the winter 1854-55 season in Edinburgh, when he was offered employment as a first violinist by the conductor George Wood to temporarily supplement his income after his dismissal from the Crystal Palace.[357] In a curious twist of fate, Manns' stand-partner for the course of the season was none other than the father of the well-renown Scottish composer Sir Alexander Mackenzie.[358] Although brief, these connections with some musical figures in Scotland surely helped prepare for Manns' future work with the Glasgow Choral Union. The origins of this appointment are a bit hard to piece together. While the organization dates back to a society formed with the sole purpose of performing Handel's *Messiah* in 1843, it did not go by the name of the "Glasgow Choral Union" until 1855.[359] Even then, the organization that August Manns worked with, and which would later merged with the Scottish Orchestra to become the modern Royal National Scottish Orchestra in the twentieth-century, was only officially established as a result of the 1873 Glasgow

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the earliest dates that I have been able to locate of complete/first performances of the works in Scotland, they do not specifically state in the surviving programs that they are first performances, which is why I have abstained from listing them as such until more evidence can be found to confirm these findings. This evidence is based on the copies of programs currently held at the British Library, Glasgow Choral Union (1877-1901), d.491.

[357] H. Saxe Wyndham, *August Manns and the Saturday Concerts*, 26-27. Like Manns, Hallé also performed in Scotland before 1870. In Hallé's case, he conducted the Reid Concerts as part of the annual Edinburgh Orchestral Festival (1869-91). Hallé actually began conducting the Reid Concerts in 1868 and continued annually until 1890. See Michael Kennedy, *The Hallé Tradition: A Century of Music* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1960), 67. Incidentally, Manns was the conductor of the Reid Concerts in 1867-68. See H. Saxe Wyndham, *August Manns*, 224.

[358] Sir Alexander Mackenzie (1847–1935) was a Scottish composer and conductor best known for his roles as conductor of the Royal Philharmonic Society from 1893 to 1899 and Principal of the Royal Academy of Music from 1888 to 1924. At the time of Manns' employment with his father, Alexander was described as "a red-faced boy six or seven years old" who would run between the music stands at rehearsals. See "Mr. August Manns," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, vol. 39, No. 661 (March 1, 1898), 155.

[359] "Music in Scotland: A Brief Historical Survey," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, vol. 42, No. 705 (November 1, 1901), 726.

Musical Festival.[360] By the time that Manns received and accepted an invitation to conduct the Glasgow Choral Union six years later in 1879, the organization had gone through three different conductors: Sir Arthur Sullivan (1842–1900), Dr. Hans von Bülow (1830–1894), and Julius Tausch (1827–1895).[361]

Like Manchester, Glasgow by the 1870s had acquired enough financial capital though dramatic industrial expansion in the previous decades that they wanted to establish their own musical institutions. Therefore, at the start of the Glasgow Choral Union's first official season in 1874, the Committee members raised the substantial sum of £4,000 with the intent of performing sixteen concerts.[362] Unfortunately, the result was a net loss of £2,300 by the end of the first year.[363] This debt continued until Manns took over in 1879, at which time he reduced the concerts from sixteen to ten.[364] Under Manns' direction, the repertoire, budget, and size of the Choral Union saw an immediate increase. Part of this was due to Manns bringing a small contingent of Crystal Palace musicians with him each season to supplement the orchestra.[365] The Glasgow Choral Union

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[360] Ibid.

[361] H. Saxe Wyndham, *August Manns and the Saturday Concerts*, 121. Sir Arthur Seymour Sullivan was an English composer that is best known for the operatic collaborations that he produced with the dramatist W. S. Gilbert, including *H.M.S. Pinafore*, *The Pirates of Penzance* and *The Mikado*. Hans von Bülow was a German conductor, virtuoso pianist, and composer. As a conductor, his activity was critical for establishing the successes of several major nineteenth-century German composers, especially Richard Wagner and Johannes Brahms. Julius Tausch was a German conductor and composer. He studied at the Leipzig Conservatory and after graduating settled in Düsseldorf where he worked with Schumann's *Liedertafel*. He later succeeded Schumann as conductor of the music society, temporarily in 1853 and permanently in 1855. He only conducted in Glasgow for the winter 1878 season.

[362] Ibid., 122.

[363] Ibid.

[364] Ibid.

[365] According to Langley, a typical contingent of players from Crystal Palace in Glasgow for 1888-9 season consisted of 18 players: 11 strings, 2 winds, 4 brass, and 1 percussion (approx. 26% of the Choral Union Orchestra of 68 players that year). Langley also noted that Glasgow had employed London musicians to fill in their seasons before Manns took over. See Leanne Langley, "Agency and Change: Berlioz in Britain, 1870-1920," 319fn no. 31.

performed an intensive ten-week winter season from December to February, during which time they performed three concerts per week: two in Glasgow and at least one outside the city in locations that included Edinburgh, Greenock, Paisley, Perth, or Dundee.[366]

[366] Ibid.

CHAPTER 4

Bringing Berlioz to the People: *La Damnation de Faust* and the British Triennial Choral Festival, 1870–1918

Introduction

Hallé's first complete performances of *La Damnation de Faust* paved the way for the work's popularity at the British choral festivals: "The first hearing of "Faust" must have abundantly shown the genius which inspired it, and its continuous success at English musical centres, despite the many difficulties in its execution, points to its being given a permanent place in the repertory of our larger choral and orchestral societies."[367] These festivals were perhaps the most significant cultural and musical event throughout the British provinces during the nineteenth century. As Ernest Ford later observed:

> The great festivals of England are among the most important features in the musical history of the country. Their influence is for good in whatever direction you seek. They provide the composer with the most perfect means that human effort can devise, to render his ideals into actual effect. They give the soloist every incentive to the highest efforts. They create the subtle atmosphere which inspires chorus, orchestra, conductor and all, to supreme achievement.[368]

This chapter examines the role that *La Damnation de Faust* played at these festivals throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, especially in regard to the cultural impact that the work and the festivals in tandem had on shaping British musical culture at the turn of the twentieth century. In addition, the second half of this chapter will give a brief, sectional overview of several of the major festivals that were the most prominent in

[367] "Bristol Musical Festival: Berlioz's Dramatic Legend Faust," *Bristol Mercury and Daily Post*, 7 October 1885.
[368] Ernest Ford, *A Short History of English Music* (New York: McBride, Nast, and Company, 1912), 258.

terms of performing *La Damnation de Faust* during the late Victorian and Edwardian Eras.

La Damnation de Faust as a British Choral Festival Standard

During the early stages of the provincial festivals (roughly between 1784 and 1830), concert programming was tailored to supply an edifying musical experience for the audience. Over the next forty-year period between 1830 and 1870, this style of programming was gradually replaced as a result of the growing skill and developing musical taste of British audiences.[369] This was seen in the steady diet of larger choral works such as oratories, especially by Mendelssohn and other contemporary composers that were influenced by him. This development culminated in the period between 1870 and 1914, when the vast majority of festival programming featured large-scale choral works.

Each music festival featured leading singers and instrumentalists who were often drawn from London orchestras. The festivals were organized on a massive scale that resembled the mass concerts that Berlioz had conducted in Paris. [370] Thus, it's only natural that Berlioz's music, some of which was composed for massive forces, would find a home at these popular provincial festivals.

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[369] In essence, the same phenomenon that was discussed in the previous chapters with Charles Hallé in Manchester and August Manns in Sydenham.

[370] Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 1. The most prominent example is perhaps the concert that Berlioz conducted for the French Industrial Exposition on 1 August 1844, when he led over one thousand musicians in a performance to an audience of over eight thousand. See letter from Berlioz to his father, 19 August 1844. *Correspondance générale d'Hector Berlioz*, ed. Pierre Citron, vol. 3 (Paris: Flammarion, 1978), no. 919.

Table 4.1: Performance Statistics for Various British Choral Festivals that Performed *La Damnation de Faust*, 1871-1918

Group	Total	Complete	Selection	Date of First Performance
Birmingham Music Festival	3	3	0	1891
Blackpool Music Festival	1	0	1	1901
Bradford Festival Choral Society	8	8	0	1882
Brand Lane Festival	1	1	0	1916
Bristol Musical Festival	3	2	1	1882
Cardiff Triennial Musical Festival	3	3	0	1892
Cheltenham Musical Festival	1	0	1	1888
Chester Triennial Musical Festival	3	3	0	1885
Edinburgh Orchestral Festival	4	0	4	1871
Hereford Musical Festival	1	0	1	1897
Huddersfield Triennial Festival	2	1	1	1881
Leeds Musical Festival	1	1	0	1889
London Misc. Spring Choral Festival	1	0	1	1891
London Musical Festival	4	0	4	1899
Nonconformist Choir Union Festival	1	0	1	1905
North Staffordshire Musical Festival	1	1	0	1893
Norwich Triennial Musical Festival	5	4	1	1881
Preston Guild Festival	1	1	0	1882
Scarborough Musical Festival	1	1	0	1902
Sheffield Triennial Musical Festival	2	2	0	1896
Wolverhampton Music Festival	1	0	1	1883
Worcester Musical Festival	1	0	1	1884

In total, *La Damnation de Faust* was performed at least forty-nine times by at least twenty-two different choral festivals throughout Britain between 1871 and 1918.[371] Thirty-one of these were complete performances.[372] The exponential increase in popularity of the work throughout the late Victorian and Edwardian Era was largely due to the fact that this period directly coincided with the height of the festival movement in Britain between 1870 and 1914. During this period, there was scarcely a town in England that didn't have or take part in its own festival. Furthermore, the major institutions that had already been established, such as Birmingham, Three Choirs, Leeds, and Norwich, achieved national recognition and boasted of their cultural impact on the British provinces.[373]

As the movement progressed, festivals were soon classified into different types based on region and programming: civic or cathedral. Some examples of cathedral festivals include the Three Choirs Festival, Chester, and Norwich. By far the most common festivals by the end of the century were the civic festivals, which took place in newly constructed town halls. These were the festivals that primarily performed *La Damnation de Faust* because the work was secular and was, therefore, more suitable for performances outside of a cathedral. Examples of major civic festivals include Birmingham, Bradford, Leeds, and Sheffield. Finally, due to the increased affordability and further development of railway lines, by the end of the nineteenth century the seaside

[371] See Table 5.4. See list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.
[372] Ibid.
[373] For example, at the height of the provincial festival movement there were over a hundred towns and cities in England that held or promoted their own musical festivals. See Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*, 1-3.

and spa festival emerged as another form of the civic festival.[374] Examples of such festivals include Brighton, Bristol, Cardiff, Bournemouth, and Cheltenham.

Due to the nature of the large-scale programming, the musical festivals were a cultural and social experience for each provincial town, and often included formal dances and fancy dress balls after the evening concerts. For the working- and middle-class people who attended there were varied events that included: theatrical performances, extra band music, flower shows, and other activities.[375] In fact, due to the predominant desire for respectability, many of the middle-class "made it their duty to be present" at these festivals.[376] A typical festival schedule lasted about four days and contained concerts of sacred works that were oftentimes performed in one of the local cathedrals, especially at the Three Choirs Festival. These were then followed by concerts of various instrumental and secular vocal works in the afternoon and evening that were performed in the local town halls (for civic festivals such as Birmingham and Leeds, the town hall was used for both the morning and evening concerts).[377] Furthermore, another trademark for these festivals was their use of large, amateur choirs, which "lowered costs and added relations and friends to the paying audience."[378]

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[374] [Joseph Bennett], *A Short History of cheap Music as Exemplified in the Records of the House of Novello, Ewer, and Co. with Special Reference to the First Fifty Years of the Reign of her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria* (London and New York: Novello, Ewer and Co., 1887), 65. For more information on the different festival classifications, see Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*.

[375] For example, there were balloon ascents in the 1820s and 1830s. See Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*, 1-2.

[376] Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 69.

[377] Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*, 1-3.

[378] Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History*, 69.

As it was a secular work, *La Damnation de Faust* was not performed in cathedrals. Therefore, the evening concerts were apt venues for programming *Faust*. This was because its large-scale forces were readily available at the festivals. In addition, the plot of *Faust*, which is based on Goethe's original play, was considered to reflect the Victorian virtues of morality and self-betterment. However, as George Bernard Shaw acutely pointed out, Victorian audiences actually missed the point of Berlioz's interpretation of Goethe's play:

> Instead of the brimstonish orgy in Auerbach's cellar we have a soirée of the Young Men's Christian Association; the drunken blackguardism of Brander is replaced by the decorous conviviality of a respectable young bank clerk obliging with a display of his baritone voice (pronounced by the local pianoforte tuner equal to Hayden Coffin's); Faust reminds one of the gentleman in Sullivan's Sweethearts; the whiskered pandoors and the fierce hussars on the banks of the Danube become a Volunteer corps on the banks of the Serpentine; and all Brixton votes Berlioz a great composer, and finds a sulphurous sublimity in the whistles on the piccolo and clashes of the cymbals which bring Mr Henschel, as Mephistopheles, out of his chair.[379]

In essence, Victorians reinterpreted Berlioz's music and the story of *Faust* through their own eyes. Most of the performances of *Faust* that were given in Britain during this time were done with the first English translation by Marie Antoinette Caroline that heavily modified some sections of the original libretto.[380] For example, the original libretto for the drinking chorus in Auerbach's celler in scene six was:

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[379] Review first published in *The World*, 8 November 1893. Later republished in Bernard Shaw, *Music in London, 1890-94*, vol. 3 (London: Constable and Company Ltd,, 1932), 80-2.

[380] The original French libretto was all based on the French translation that Gérard de Nerval had done of Goethe's poem. The libretto for *La Damnation de Faust* was written by both Berlioz and Almire Gandonnière. The following text and note were written on the title page of the original manuscript: "Paroles de Hector Berlioz, Almire Gandonnière et Gérard de Nerval* d'après le Faust de Johann Wolfgang von Goethe" and "Les paroles du récitatif de Méphistophélès dans la cave de Leipzig, de la chanson latine des étudiants, du récitatif qui précède la danse des Follets, du Final de la 3ème partie, de

Oh! qu'il fait bon, quand le ciel tonne,
Rester près d'un bol enflammé,
Et se remplir comme une tonne,
Dans un cabaret enfumé!
J'aime le vin et cette eau blonde
Qui fait oublier le chagrin.
Quand ma mère me mit au monde
J'eus un ivrogne pour parrain.[381]

However, many of the vices described in the original libretto above, such as drinking in a smoky cabaret and having a drunkard for a godfather, are noticeably absent in the English translation in 1880:

When good red wine is freely flowing,
A fig for the tempest outside!
Fill and ne'er heed the wind that's blowing,
By punch-bowl and pipe we'll abide!
I love the glass that drowneth sorrow,
Since I was born I ne'er walked straight,
From my gossip the trick I borrow,—
He ever had a rolling gait![382]

toute la 4ème (à l'exception de la Romance de Marguerite) et de l'Epilogue, sont de M. H. Berlioz." ("Lyrics by Hector Berlioz, Almire Gandonnière and Gérard de Nerval * According to the Faust by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe" and "The words of the recitative of Mephistophélès in the cellar of Leipzig, of the Latin song of the students, of the recitative preceding the Menuet of the Follets, of the final of the 3rd part, of the whole 4th (except the romance of Marguerite) and of the epilogue, are by Mr. H. Berlioz.") The original manuscript is currently located in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Musique, MS-1190 (A).

[381] As printed in the original manuscript, which is currently located in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Musique, MS-1190 (A). Translated into English: "Oh! that it does good, when the sky is ton/Stay close to a flaming bowl/And fill up like a ton/In a smoky cabaret!/I love wine and this blond water/That makes you forget grief/When my mother put me in the world/I had a drunkard for a Godfather."

[382] As published in the original program for the first complete performance of *La Damnation de Faust* in Britain on 5 February 1880 by Hallé. A copy of the program with the printed English libretto is currently located in the Hallé Orchestra Archive, Manchester. This translation of the libretto was published in the first three English editions of *La Damnation de Faust* by Chappell & Co in 1880, 1887, and 1892. Copies of the 1880 and 1892 editions are currently held in the British Library, Music Collections, F.103.bb (1880) and F.103.i. (1892; this edition also contains a translation into Tonic Sol-fa Notation by Chas. Webb. A copy of the 1880 edition is also currently housed in the Macnutt collection in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Faust [Musique imprimée] : dramatic legend / by Hector Berlioz, GR-VM MACNUTT-87. For more information on the different English editions of *Faust*, see Cecil Hopkinson, *A Bibliography of the Musical and Literary Works of Hector Berlioz, 1803-1869* (Edinburgh, 1951; rev. R Macnutt, Tunbridge Wells, 1980), 118.

By whitewashing and omitting the parts of *La Damnation de Faust* that vividly portray the main character's demonic fall and eternal damnation, such as the orgy scene in Auerbach's cellar, Victorians instead repackaged Berlioz and his music in a way that specifically fit their morals and beliefs: "This does not mean that Berlioz has converted Brixton: it means that Brixton has converted Berlioz. Such conversions are always going on."[383]

Furthermore, the rapid development of festival programming that took place from the mid-nineteenth century onward was influenced by the Victorian singing-school movements headed by individuals such as John Hullah as well as John and Spencer Curwen.[384] These movements were created in response to the lack of music education in Britain at the time of Queen Victoria's ascension to the throne in 1837:

> Music, even the most elementary, not only does not form an essential of education in this country, but the idea of introducing it is not even dreamt of. It is urged, that it would be fruitless to attempt it, because the people are essentially unmusical; but may not they be anti-musical because it has not been attempted? The people roar and scream, because they have heard nothing but roaring and screaming - no music- from their childhood. Is harmony not to be taught?[385]

[383] Review first published in *The World*, 8 November 1893. Later republished in Bernard Shaw, *Music in London, 1890-94*, vol. 3 (London: Constable and Company Ltd,, 1932), 80-2.
[384] John Pyke Hullah (1812–1884) was an English composer and pioneer of teaching sight-singing to large masses of people through a system of fixed "Do" that was inaugurated by Guillaume Louis Bocquillon Wilhem. His adaptation of that system became extremely successful from 1840 to 1860, when it was eclipsed by the Tonic Sol-fa system. For more information on the Tonic Sol-fa System and its impact on nineteenth-century British music, see Charles Edward McGuire, *Music and Victorian Philanthropy: The Tonic Sol-fa Movement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
[385] Thomas Wyse, "Education Reform" (London: n.p., 1836), 186; quoted in J. Mainzer, *Music and Education* (1848; rpt. ed. Kilkenny: Boethius, 1985), 106. Wyse uses the term "harmony" here to indicate "music," not the skill of chord writing. Cited in Bernarr Rainbow, "The Rise of Popular Music Education in Nineteenth-Century England," *Victorian Studies*, 30/1 (autumn, 1986): 25.

In this passage, Thomas Wyse echoes the widespread sentiment that "No effort is made in any of our schools; and then we complain that there is no music amongst our scholars. It would be as reasonable to exclude grammar and then complain that we had no grammarians."[386] This argument was symptomatic of the time, as the Victorian Era oversaw a series of major reforms that essentially transformed the socioeconomic and cultural life of the British public.

The most prominent example of the reforms that took place in regards to music and education was the implementation of the Elementary Education Act of 1870. Commonly known as Forster's Education Act, the law set the framework for schooling of all children between the ages of 5 and 12 in England and Wales by establishing local education authorities with defined powers and authorizing public money to improve existing schools. This act also had a direct impact on the reformation of music education through both the appointing of Hullah as the Musical Inspector of Training Schools for England by the Council of Education in 1872 as well as through the indirect explosion in popularity and enthusiasm of various singing-school movements and societies.[387]

Based on the Victorian principle of using music as a socioeconomic tool for self-betterment, leaders of these music education movements worked to make singing classes available to large sections of the community, especially the middle- and working-classes:

> Throughout the century, amateur music-making blossomed in an environment where desires for self-improvement, moral salvation, and respectability predominated in almost every community. Certain forms of

[386] Ibid.
[387] See Frances Rosser Hullah, *The Life of John Hullah, LL. D.* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1886), 163.

> leisure activity were thought to promote personal and possibly national improvement, commonly known as "rational recreation."[388]

In essence, many Victorian's believed that: "music, and especially choral singing, with its perceived relationship to God and the church, came to be regarded as one of the most important means of achieving moral elevation."[389]

The principle of using music as a means of social improvement proved to be so popular that by the 1880s many of Britain's colonies were also implementing music education. For example, J. Summers, the Government Inspector of Music in the colony of Victoria in Canada, explained the purpose and effect of teaching music education in the colony's state schools:

> Singing is systematically taught to Classes vi., v., iv., iii., either by the "Numeral" or the Tonic Sol-fa methods, and these classes are inspected and examined in accordance with the Programme of Instruction issued by the Department of Education. The examination consists of "Elementary Knowledge," "Sight-singing," and "Song- singing"—the staff notation being that by which the "tests" are given. Some of our teachers employ the "Numeral" and some the Tonic Sol-fa methods, and the Department is satisfied to give the grant for results judging by the staff notation. Our classes number from 50 to 180, and are "failed" unless 50 percent succeed in passing the standard of Programme.[390]

Summers went on to state that at the time of his report in 1882 there were about thirty-six thousand children receiving music instruction throughout the colony and concluded,

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[388] Sarah E. Taylor, "Finding Themselves: Musical Revolutions in Nineteenth-century Staffordshire" in Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman, *Music in the British Provinces, 1690-1914* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 234-35. For example, the Tonic Sol-Fa movement, a way to "bring music to the lower classes" sold their official published journal, *The Tonic Sol-Fa Reporter*, for only a penny. However, the costs of production were much higher, which resulted in the journal not seeing a profit until 1861. See Herbert Simon, *Songs and Words: A History of the Curwen Press* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1973), 23.
[389] Ibid.
[390] J. Summers, "Singing in State Schools," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, vol. 23, No. 477 (November 1, 1882), 620.

"Singing is regarded in our State schools as the most popular subject of instruction, and as long as we obtain good singing we waive the choice of method of teaching."[391]

The choice of different teaching styles had certainly become an issue by the mid-nineteenth century. By this point, several different techniques had emerged in England. The supporters of each system proclaimed that their methods were the best solution to mass educate the public through song. Most of this credit was later given to John Hullah, who worked tirelessly to promote mass music education: "The educational impetus given to music in this country was largely due to the late Mr. John Hullah, who, in his private, and later on in his official capacity, as Government Inspector of Schools, did excellent service in diffusing elementary knowledge amongst all classes."[392] Hullah was a firm believer in his own method of musical notation and, therefore, strongly opposed the more popular Tonic Sol-fa system that was designed by his competitor, John Curwen.[393]

First invented by Sarah Ann Glover (1785–1867) in Norwich, England, the Tonic Sol-fa system was later adapted and mass marketed by John Curwen and his son Spencer. The system worked by teaching people to sing using anglicized solfege syllables to replace traditional music staff notation in a movable format that differed from the method of fixed "Do" that was promoted by Hullah. John Curwen (1816–1880) and his son Spencer Curwen (1847–1916) were the main promoters of the Tonic Sol-fa system throughout the Victorian Era. They published prolifically on the subject under their publishing firm J. Curwen & Sons (later shortened to Curwen Press) and even created a

[391] Ibid.
[392] Francis Hueffer, *Half a Century of Music in England: 1837-1887* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1889), 19.
[393] Ibid., 20.

Tonic Sol-fa College.[394] In the Tonic Sol-fa system created by Curwen, the seven letters refer to key relationship (relative pitch) compared to the absolute pitch of a fixed "Do."[395] In this system, Curwen combined several methods by utilizing the first letter (lower case) of each of the solmization tones (do, re, me, fa, sol, la, ti), and integrated it with a rhythmic system that used bar lines (prefixing strong beats), half bar lines (prefixing medium beats), and semicolons (prefixing weak beats) in each measure.[396]

Born out of the evangelical Protestantism that had arisen during the Victorian Era, Curwen's Tonic Sol-Fa Method was based on the conviction that music could be a moral force.[397] The system was disseminated to the lower industrial classes as part of a plan to improve people's lives with a particularly Victorian ideology of self-improvement: to make such individuals morally upright and to guide them in becoming efficient workers. This, in turn, represented a way of controlling the worker's lives during a century of rebellion and in many ways contributed to Britain's escape from the revolutions that dominated the European continent during that period. Individuality was suspect, even disruptive, but community activity, such as choral singing, reinforced conformity to both law and custom.

Because many Victorians were drawn to this belief that music itself could be considered a moral force, many choral societies as a result were attracted to the morality tale in *La Damnation de Faust*. As noted by Shaw above, the Victorians co-opted *Faust*

[394] For more information, see Charles Edward McGuire, *Music and Victorian Philanthropy: The Tonic Sol-fa Movement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
[395] Ibid.
[396] Ibid.
[397] Ibid.

for their own purposes by emphasizing the moral cautionary message of the story as a way to deter middle- and working-class audiences from over-indulgence, temptation, and sin. This connection between *Faust* and the Tonic Sol-fa method was further strengthened by the printing of several versions of the score in Tonic Sol-fa notation by the end of the century.[398] The possibility of exploiting music as a tool of social control proved so attractive that the demand for provincial festivals increased dramatically. In essence, music festivals were vehicles to morally contain and ideologically control the working classes.

Oddly, this explosion of interest in music festivals at the same time saw the weakening of the link between festivals and philanthropy. While the major festivals continued to donate their profits to charity, by January 1885 many had begun to call for a separation of the two:

> Some day the claims of music to support on its own account, and quite apart from questions of philanthropy, will be admitted by all educated persons. On the one hand, the charitable institutions of the country ought to receive sufficient sustenance without bribes to the wealthy in the form of concert tickets, and, on the other, the love of art should be so general that there should be not necessity to urge the public to listen to the finest oratorios on the ground that by so doing they would benefit the sick and the poor.[399]

Here, *The Musical Times* concluded that if the festivals needed to continue their charity efforts in order to obtain audience participation, then the nation as a whole had not

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[398] For example, the first English edition that contained Tonic Sol-fa notation was published by Chappell in 1887. It is now registered as edition 54 D (m) in Cecil Hopkinson, *A Bibliography of the Musical and Literary Works of Hector Berlioz, 1803-1869* (Edinburgh, 1951; rev. R Macnutt, Tunbridge Wells, 1980), 118.

[399] "The Growth of Musical Festivals," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, vol. 26, No. 503 (January 1, 1885, 8-9), 9. Also cited in Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*, 132.

developed neither musically nor philanthropically: "If it be absolutely necessary to combine festival-giving with charity, it proves that as a nation we are not yet sufficiently benevolent nor sufficiently musical."[400] This change in the financial state of the festivals equally affected the performance frequency of *Faust*. Because the festivals were able to supply the necessary resources to perform the score cheaply, *Faust* enjoyed more frequent performances. This in turn led to audiences becoming more familiar with the score, which therefore added to its growing popularity in Britain.

Another reason why *Faust* was more frequently performed at the festivals starting in the 1880s was because of the increase in rehearsal time for each festival during this period. Before the 1870s it was common for festival orchestras to have just one rehearsal before a three- or four-day festival, which led some to observe that this was the reason for the repetitive programing of works such as *Messiah*.[401] However, by the 1890s all of the festivals began to see a modest increase in rehearsal time. This is also a direct result of a change in the rehearsal culture that had developed by prominent conductors such as Hallé, Manns, and Sir Michael Costa (1808–1884).[402] In 1877, Costa complained that scheduling just one extra day of rehearsal for the Leeds Festival that year was not enough to master the difficult programming: "The committee must not ignore that there are three

[400] Ibid.
[401] Robin Humphrey Legge and W. E. Hansell, *Annals of the Norfolk and Norwich Triennial Musical Festivals, 1824–1893*, 50.
[402] Sir Michael Costa was an Italian-born conductor and composer. He conducted the Philharmonic Society from 1846 to 1854, of the Sacred Harmonic Society from 1848, the Handel festivals (1857–1880), and of the Birmingham Triennial Music Festival from 1849-1882. In addition, he conducted at the 1853 Bradford Festival and led the Leeds Festivals from 1874 to 1880.

new compositions; and many other things, although not new, require a great deal of time to rehearse, and the time is not sufficient."[403]

As evinced by the rise in the number of performances of *Faust* during this time, the programming for many of these festivals began to include more difficult and dramatic compositions between 1870 and 1900. This period also saw a rise in the emphasis of works by British composers, such as John Stainer and Edward Elgar, as well as the more frequent inclusion of German romantic works by Richard Wagner and Johannes Brahms. The most popular living composer at these festivals from 1870 to 1890 was a Frenchman, Charles Gounod.[404] As a French work on a German subject, *Faust* appealed to followers of both Gounod and Wagner. British critics often noted how Germanic the score seemed to them, and by saying so these critics were paying Berlioz's score a high compliment. For example, in a review of the first complete performance on 5 February 1880, the critic of *The Manchester Courier* noted the influence that Berlioz's *Faust* must have had on Wagner and Gounod:

> To the musician the great merit of the latter work lies in its suggestiveness. It is full of ideas from which the writer of descriptive or programme music can glean; and it would not be difficult to point out how every subsequent composer, especially including Wagner, and not forgetting Gounod, has, wittingly or otherwise, helped himself to leaves from Berlioz's book. In

[403] Frederick Robert Spark and Joseph Bennett, *History of the Leeds Musical Festivals, 1858–89* (2nd ed., Leeds: F. R. Spark; London: Novello, Ewer, 1892), 109. For examples and analysis of the influence that Hallé and Manns had on increasing rehearsal time of British orchestras see chapters 1-3 of this dissertation. Even with the steady increase in performance time, this was often still not enough to properly perform the difficult works, (as mentioned later under the Bristol Festival section with Hallé). Elgar for example, was also deeply affected by this issue, as the première of his *Dream of Gerontius* was a disaster due in part to insufficient rehearsal time. For more information the history of Elgar's oratorio, see Michael Kennedy, *Portrait of Elgar*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

[404] Gounod had written his own version of *Faust* in the form of an opera that was very popular at Covent Garden throughout the late nineteenth century.

> some respects, it is true that Berlioz was more the author of Wagner's so-called new theories than Wagner himself.[405]

The earliest known festival performance containing a selection of *Faust* on the program occurred in 1871 at the Edinburgh Musical Festival. The concert, which took place on 13 February, was presented in conjunction with Hallé and the Manchester Orchestra.[406] Created as a byproduct of the Reid Concert Series presented by the University of Edinburgh, the Edinburgh Orchestral Festival was often conducted by Hallé from the late 1860s until the end of his life, either with or without the Manchester Orchestra.[407] Selections from *Faust* appeared on four concerts during the Edinburgh Orchestral Festival between 1871 and 1890, all of which were conducted by Charles Hallé.[408] Two of these performances in 1871 and 1890 contained just the *Ballet des*

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[405] "Mr. Charles Halle's Concerts: Berlioz's 'Faust' Music," *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 7 February 1880. The comparison between Berlioz and Wagner has been well documented. For example, see Jacques Barzun, *Berlioz and the Romantic Century*, vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), 176– 202; David Cairns, *Berlioz: Servitude and Greatness, 1832–1869*, vol. 2, Ch. 24 and passim; Peter Bloom, "Berlioz and Wagner: Épisodes de la vie des artistes," in *The Cambridge Companion to Berlioz,* ed. by Peter Bloom (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 235–50; *Berlioz, Wagner und die Deutschen,* ed. Sieghart Döhring, Arnold Jacobshagen, and Gunther Braam (Cologne: Dohr, 2003), esp. Franz Piontek, "'Auch bin ich wahrlich nicht gleichgültig gegen ihn!' Wagner und Berlioz," 25–52; and the recent article by Katherine Kolb, "Flying Leaves: Between Berlioz and Wagner," *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 33/1 (University of California Press, summer 2009): 25-61.

[406] This was the only concert of the four containing an excerpt from *Faust* that was performed by Hallé with the Manchester Orchestra. The remaining three performances were all given with an official festival orchestra that contained a small contingent of members from Manchester. A copy of the program is currently housed in the Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library, Reid Concerts (1867-74), R780.69 Ed 87. See also the University of Edinburgh, *Reid Concerts: Concerts in the University of Edinburgh from 1841*, http://www.reidconcerts.music.ed.ac.uk/ (accessed 20 March 2019).

[407] The Reid Concerts, as they later became known, were started in 1841 under the direction of the first Reid Professor of Music, John Thomson, and have continued up to the present day. They are named after the Reid Chair of the Theory of Music, which was established in the University of Edinburgh in 1839 according to the terms of a bequest from General John Reid. One of the conditions of the bequest was that an annual concert be presented in memory of General Reid, on his birthday on 13 February each year. For more information, see the University of Edinburgh, *Reid Concerts: Concerts in the University of Edinburgh from 1841*, http://www.reidconcerts.music.ed.ac.uk/ (accessed 20 March 2019).

[408] All of these programs are available online at: the University of Edinburgh, *Reid Concerts: Concerts in the University of Edinburgh from 1841*, http://www.reidconcerts.music.ed.ac.uk/ (accessed 20 March 2019).

sylphes from *Faust* while the other in 1886 only contained the *Marche hongroise* (*Hungarian March*). The fourth performance of the work, which occurred on 11 February 1882, was the only time that the complete *La Damnation de Faust* was programed at this festival during the nineteenth century.[409]

The Choral Festivals in Bradford and Leeds

The greatest number of performances of *La Damnation de Faust* by any one festival during this period were given by the Bradford Choral Festival Society, which performed the complete work ten times between 1882 and 1904.[410] Eight of the ten complete performances given by the society were given at St. George's Hall as part of the Bradford Choral Festival.[411] While the northern industrial town historically enjoyed a strong tradition of choral singing, what is now regarded as Bradford's first important musical festival took place from 31 August to 2 September 1853 to commemorate the opening of the newly-built St. George's Hall.[412] The origins of the society's orchestra can be traced back to the Musical Friendly Society. Formed in 1821, it became a choral society in 1843.[413] By the year of the Great Exhibition in 1851, Bradford had a

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[409] Ibid.
[410] See list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates. Most of the Bradford Festival Choral Society performances are listed in G. F. Sewell, *History of the Bradford Festival Choral Society from its Formation in 1856 to its Jubilee in 1906* (Bradford: G. F. Sewell, 1907).
[411] Ibid., 138-40. The remaining two were given in Leeds in 1883 and 1886. The eleventh performance was of just the *Marche hongroise* alone as part of a special concert on 4 May 1883. See list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates. For information on 10 January 1883 performance in Leeds, see "Berlioz's 'Faust' at the Leeds Town Hall," *Leeds Mercury* [Leeds, England] 11 January 1883: n.p. For information on 16 February 1886 performance in Leeds, see "Berlioz's Faust," *Leeds Mercury* [Leeds, England] 17 February 1886: n.p.
[412] See G. F. Sewell, *History of the Bradford Festival Choral Society from its Formation in 1856 to its Jubilee in 1906*, chapter 1 for information on the construction of St. George's Hall and chapter 3 for information on the first festival in 1853.
[413] After the formation of a new Festival Choral Society in 1856 for the Bradford festival, the Musical Friendly Society became known as "The Old Choral Society." See Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*, 99.

population of over 100,000 people as well as a diverse and established manufacturing base, which made it well able to sustain a thriving musical festival each season.[414] Similar to Bristol and Huddersfield, most of the festival performances of the complete *Faust* were done in collaboration with the Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra: three were conducted by Hallé himself in 1882, 1885, and 1890, one was conducted by Robert Senior Burton in 1882, one was conducted by Mr. W. H. Garland in 1894, and three were conducted by the distinguished conductor and composer Frederic H. Cowen in 1898, 1901, and 1904.[415]

The first occasion that the complete *Faust* was performed in Bradford took place on 3 March 1882 after long and careful rehearsal on the part of the festival performers.[416] People of Bradford were so eager to hear this "novelty," that the concert was sold out: "the whole of the stall tickets had been taken up by subscribers and the committee were therefore under the necessity of providing a limited number of area-stall seats, tickets for which were charged 7s, 6d. each, the ordinary area seats being 4s. each."[417] Hallé led his Manchester Orchestra and the festival choir in an acclaimed performance. G. F. Sewell, who documented the history of the first fifty years of the Bradford festival, wrote:

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[414] Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*, 101.
[415] See list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates. All of these performances are also documented in G. F. Sewell, *History of the Bradford Festival Choral Society from its Formation in 1856 to its Jubilee in 1906*. R. S. Burton (1820–1892) was the organist of the Leeds Parish Church before taking over as conductor of the Bradford Choral Society. He was conductor and chorus master of many Yorkshire societies in York, Leeds, Huddersfield, Halifax, Barnsley, Harrogate, Holmfirth, Malton, and elsewhere. William Henry Garland (1852–1897) was a native of York, and commenced his musical career as a chorister at York Minster. He had a beautiful voice as a boy, and under the experienced and skillful tuition of Dr. Monk, who was at that time organist of the cathedral, was accustomed to sing the most difficult solos. He took over as the conductor of the Bradford Choral Society in 1892. For more information on Garland, see "The Late W. H. Garland," *The Musical Herald*, 1 April 1897, 121. Sir Frederic Hymen Cowen (1852–1935) was a British pianist, conductor and composer. Born in Jamaica, he was brought to England at the age of four and later went on to receive his musical training in Germany at the Leipzig Conservatorium.
[416] Ibid., 132-33.
[417] "Bradford Subscription Concerts: Berlioz's "Faust,"" *Leeds Mercury*, 6 March 1882.

> The success of the work was immediate and complete, and it at once took a very high position in popular estimation, the fine singing of Miss Davies and Mr. Lloyd raising enthusiasm to the highest pitch. To such an extent was this the case that the work was again given on October 27th in the same year, and with the same principals, with the exception that Mr. Thornton Wood took the place of Mr. Pyatt.[418]

The performance that took place in Bradford in October of that same year was equally well-received by local audiences. This concert was so successful that it was decided by the festival conductor, Mr. Burton, to perform the work again at Leeds the following January: "The success of *Faust* having been so pronounced in Bradford, Mr. Burton, the Society's conductor, determined to give the work in Leeds, and for this purpose engaged 200 members of the Society to form the chorus on the occasion, and the engagement was fulfilled to the perfect satisfaction of all concerned."[419] The clustered grouping of these performances are further proof that Berlioz's *Faust* enjoyed great popularity throughout Britain in the early 1880s. In fact, the work was so warmly received by Bradford audiences that: "Since its first performance in 1882, *Faust* has been repeated in Bradford no less than seven times, a strong evidence of its great popularity."[420] The third time the complete work was performed in Bradford as part of the 1885 festival, as well as at the 1890 and the 1894 festivals, the hall was completely sold out.[421]

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[418] G. F. Sewell, *History of the Bradford Festival Choral Society from its Formation in 1856 to its Jubilee in 1906*, 133.
[419] Ibid.
[420] Ibid.
[421] For information on the 1885 concert, see "Bradford Subscription Concerts Berlioz's 'Faust,'" *Leeds Mercury* [Leeds, England] 31 October 1885: n.p. and "Music in Bradford," *Leeds Mercury* [Leeds, England] 3 October 1885: n.p. For information on 1890 concert, see "Bradford Full-Dress Subscription Concerts," *Leeds Mercury* [Leeds, England] 1 November 1890: n.p. For 1894 performance, see "Bradford Festival Choral Society," *Leeds Mercury* [Leeds, England] 17 March 1894: n.p.

The final three complete performances of *Faust* presented in Bradford prior to the First World War were conducted by Frederic Cowen. With the exception of the 1904 performance, which was again played by the Hallé Orchestra from Manchester, the instrumental portion in 1898 and 1901 was actually performed by the permanent local orchestra.[422] Cowen conducted *Faust* frequently with several other ensembles besides Manchester and Bradford at the turn of the twentieth century, including with the Liverpool Philharmonic Society, the Glasgow Choral Union (which already knew the score well), as well as performances at the Cardiff and Scarborough Music Festivals in 1902.[423]

By comparison with Bradford, the nearby city of Leeds had a population of over 150,000 people and equally shared a strong choral tradition.[424] However, it took Leeds an additional five years more than Bradford to establish their own musical festival in 1858.[425] Before this date, there had only been a few scattered attempts to stage large-scale musical works in Leeds. The city possessed a thriving musical community, due to the work of the English organist and composer Samuel Sebastian Wesley (1810–1876) from 1842-1849.[426] Scatted attempts at festivals continued in the city until 1864, when a fully-fledged choral society was established through the consolidation of two groups, the Madrigal and Motet Societies.[427]

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[422] G. F. Sewell, *History of the Bradford Festival Choral Society from its Formation in 1856 to its Jubilee in 1906*, 247-66.
[423] See list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.
[424] Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*, 101.
[425] Ibid.
[426] Ibid., 102.
[427] Ibid., 102. The Leeds Festival officially continued on a triennial basis between 1858 and 1985.

One of the major reasons why a large festival was not attempted in Leeds before 1858 was because there was not a suitable venue.[428] Initiated and funded by civic authorities, a splendid new Town Hall was built in Leeds for two main purposes: to provide the civic authorities with an impressive permanent base of operations, and to give the citizens of Leeds an appropriate venue in which to stage large-scale musical events.[429] Although the first Leeds Festival took place with the opening of the Town Hall in 1858, it only continued on a triennial basis after the second festival in 1874.[430] Like the Birmingham Festival, the Leeds Festival enjoyed the luxury of being well-financed. The Leeds Festival was sold out most years, which generated large sums that the festival donated to the local city hospital.[431]

Although the Bradford Choral Festival Society performed *Faust* twice in Leeds, the work was performed only once as part of the Leeds Musical Festival. This performances was given on 9 October 1889 as the opening concert of the festival and was one of the few complete performances of the work conducted by Sir Arthur Sullivan.[432]

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[428] See *The Leeds Musical Festival, September; 1858; with Biographical Notices of the Principal Composers, and an Account of the Various Performances; to which is Appended a Description of the Inauguration of the Leeds Town Hall by Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen. From the Leeds Intelligencer* (Leeds, 1858), 1. Cited in Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*, 102.

[429] Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*, 102.

[430] Frederick Robert Spark and Joseph Bennett, *History of the Leeds Musical Festivals, 1858–89*, iii-iv.

[431] For example, the profit from the 1889 festival was £3,142. See *Programme, Souvenir and History of the Leeds Musical Festival held Oct. 9, 10, 11 and 12 1901 in the Victoria Hall, with a Short Account of Previous Festivals* (Leeds, 1901), 2-3. Cited in Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*, 123.

[432] Information on the concert and the history of the festival can be found in Frederick Robert Spark and Joseph Bennett, *History of the Leeds Musical Festivals, 1858–89*, 349 and 388. Intriguingly, the festival committee originally wanted to hire Charles Hallé to conduct the festival. However, they did not want to use Hallé's Manchester Orchestra, a condition that Hallé had insisted upon and he therefore turned down the offer. The festival committee then gave the conducting honors to Arthur Sullivan that year. See Ibid., 155-172.

Even with the periodic performances of the work by the Bradford Choral Society in Leeds over the previous few years, the decision to program the complete *Faust* on the 1889 festival program was still considered a bold experiment by some of the festival committee members: "The experiment was, it must be confessed, not a success. The choristers never felt "at home" during the performance, and there was a distinct lack of power and accurate intonation. These defects were noted by the musical critics, for the most part, in a kindly spirit."[433] Despite the lackluster performance, local audiences had highly anticipated the work's inclusion in the festival that year: "The production of Berlioz's "Faust" is by itself enough to arouse a strong feeling of interest among those who delight in music; and when, in addition, Madame Albani takes the *rôle* of Marguerite, it is not to be wondered at that yesterday evening the Coliseum was crowded to its utmost extent by an audience not only numerically strong but critically exacting."[434]

It should be noted that Spark's overview of the performance in *The History of the Leeds Musical Festivals* found nothing to criticize about the score, only the performance. *The Leeds Mercury* noted:

> With regard to the performance of the chorus, it may be needful to preface our observations by a reminder that the choir of the Leeds Festival having in former days risen to the highest possible standard, must continue to be judged by it. Practical criticism in such cases is relative and not absolute. The chorus began their public work in a disappointing manner with an indifferent "attack," with raggedness and faculty intonation among the tenors, and with sopranos who did not recall to mind the glories of 1874 and the Festival immediately succeeding.[435]

[433] Ibid., 354.
[434] "Berlioz's Faust," *Leeds Mercury*, 17 February 1886.
[435] "The Leeds Musical Festival: Berlioz's 'Faust,'" *Leeds Mercury*, 10 October 1889.

In addition, many of the reviews of the concert mention that the poor quality of the chorus, which may have been the result of overwork due to over-ambitious scheduling of "novelties."[436] Furthermore, the chorus was faulted by most of the critics for their performances throughout that year's festival.[437]

However, not all of the reviews of the Leeds chorus's performance that year were dismissing. For example, in a review of the Leeds Festival's performance of *Faust*, Frederick Corder wrote that: "The Leeds Choir (the only one I have heard) is beyond all comparison the finest choral body I have ever known, in England or abroad, both for tone and expression. How, after two such exhausting days of rehearsal they could sing Berlioz's 'Faust' to such perfection, passes my comprehension."[438] *The Leeds Mercury* did go on to opine that Berlioz's *Faust* was still a "happy choice for the opening concert, if only because the work is well known, and at the same time not exhausted, either in the sense of being out of date or familiar to excess."[439]

From a financial perspective, the 1889 festival brought in the most revenue of any of the other previous festivals, selling over 1,195 tickets in spite increased ticket sales. The revenue was used to pay for an extra orchestra rehearsal in London, extra part corrections, and for extra professional choral singers that were hired in to supplement the diminishing number of unpaid festival singers.[440] Even with all of the extra costs, when

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[436] Ibid. See also Frederick Robert Spark and Joseph Bennett, *History of the Leeds Musical Festivals, 1858–89*, 355.
[437] Which also could have been the case for Berlioz's notoriously difficult score. For more information, see Frederick Robert Spark and Joseph Bennett, *History of the Leeds Musical Festivals, 1858–89*, 360.
[438] Ibid., 366.
[439] "The Leeds Musical Festival: Berlioz's 'Faust,'" *Leeds Mercury*, 10 October 1889.
[440] Frederick Robert Spark and Joseph Bennett, *History of the Leeds Musical Festivals, 1858–89*, 361.

combined, all of these expenses amounted £230 15s. 7d. less than the previous festival.[441] Furthermore, it was reported that the performance of *Faust* was the second highest grossing concert at the festival, with single ticket sales amounting to £534 3s. 6d.[442]

Despite the fact that *Faust* was programmed at a single Leeds Festival, Berlioz's overtures were played during subsequent festivals.[443] Sullivan continued to direct the Leeds Festival until 1899, when he was forced out by the board for incompetence. The board then appointed the Irish-born composer and conductor Charles Villiers Stanford (1852–1924), who by then held positions at both Cambridge and the Royal College of Music. Stanford conducted the Leeds Festival from 1901 to 1910. Upon his appointment, Stanford set about modernizing the repertory.[444] Stanford never conducted *Faust* at Leeds, as by that point it was starting to be considered as old-fashioned by some of the committee by the time of his appointment.

Although it is well documented that Stanford disliked most of Berlioz's music, the decision to not program *Faust* during his tenure in Leeds was not due to Stanford, but to the board, which held the final say on festival repertory.[445] The board was often

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[441] Ibid.

[442] This is compared to the total 1195 ticket sales, which amounted to £6273 15s. 0d. in total profits. The highest single concert grossing that season was the Saturday Evening People's Festival concert, which consisted of a program of *Incidental Music to Macbeth* and the *Golden Legend*, both works by Sullivan. The ticket sales for that concert was £1010 17s. 0d. Overall, the 1889 festival made a total of £3142 16s. 0d. Ibid., 362.

[443] This included a performance of the *Carnaval Romain* Overture at the following festival (Ibid., 383) and a performance of the *Benvenuto Cellini* overture conducted by Stanford during the 1901 festival (a copy of the program is currently housed at the Foundling Museum Gerald Edward Coke Collection, Leeds Musical Festival, 1901: Friday evening, October 11 [programme], 10798).

[444] Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*, 145.

[445] Stanford's affinity towards Wagner's music and his dislike of modernist works by Berlioz and List has been well documented. For example, see Jeremy Dibble, *Charles Villiers Stanford: Man and Musician* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), and Kevin O'Connell, "Stanford and the Gods of Modern Music" in *The Musical Times*, vol. 146, No. 1890 (spring, 2005), 33-44.

stubborn and itself old-fashioned. For example, in March 1902 Stanford took exception to the Leeds Philharmonic decision to exclude Elgar's *Dream of Gerontius* from the program and reminded the ensemble, which was just about to perform *Faust*, of their public and artistic duty:

> A work which is the first English composition to be given at a Lower Rhine Festival (in consequence of which Sheffield upsets its programme to include it) *is not a work to be simply dismissed because A or B don't personally care for it.* It is the duty of a great choral society in a great town to let its public form their own judgement on such an important composition which has even reached with success Germany in its most Anglophobic temper. It is this spirit of private prejudices overriding public duties which has been at the root of the difficulties which so many composers have had during their lives. Look at Berlioz! Fancy a Philharmonic Committee in the '60's voting a performance of *Faust*! I can hear the easy way in which it would have been ruled out of court.[446]

Stanford's point was heard by the committee, which promptly programmed the *Dream of Gerontius* in March 1905.[447] After Stanford stepped down in 1910, the 1913 festival was then shared between three conductors: Arthur Nikisch, Sir Hugh Allen, and Elgar. Unfortunately, this proved to be the final year of the festival for some time, as it was suspended due to the war and did not resume until 1922.[448]

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[446] Letter from Stanford to J. H. Green, 15 March 1902, in Harry Plunket Greene, *Charles Villiers Stanford* (London: Edward Arnold, 1935), 156-57. Cited in Jeremy Dibble, *Charles Villiers Stanford: Man and Musician*, 347-48. Original Italics.

[447] Ibid. At the time of this publication, I have been unable to track down the exact performance date of the mentioned *Faust* performance in Leeds in March 1902 and if, in fact, it did take place. The Leeds Festival was not held in 1902 because it was given the previous year. The only work by Berlioz that was performed at the 1901 Leeds Festival was the overture to *Benevento Cellini* that was conducted by Stanford on the evening concert on 11 October. A copy of that concert's program is currently housed at the Foundling Museum, Gerald Edward Coke Collection, Leeds Musical Festival, 1901: Friday evening, October 11 [programme], 10798.

[448] Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*, 146.

Birmingham Triennial Festival

The Birmingham Festival presented Berlioz's complete *Faust* three times before 1920. These performances were conducted by Hans Richter in 1891, 1897, and 1909.[449] Richter first came to England in 1877 in order to aid the ailing Wagner as the conductor of a major festival of Wagner's works. This festival was acclaimed and afterwards Richter returned to Britain each year to conduct various orchestras, including the Hallé, until failing eyesight forced his retirement in 1911.[450] Richter was appointed as the main conductor for the Birmingham Festival in 1884, and remained in this post until 1909.

The Birmingham Festival started in 1768 when James Kempson approached the trustees of the recently founded Birmingham Hospital in regards to putting on a three-day festival in order to raise funds to help pay for the building costs.[451] At first the festival did not meet regularly until the triennial pattern was established in 1784. This pattern continued until 1793 when a fire in the theater in which the festival was held caused the event to be cancelled. The festival recommenced in 1829.[452] It flourished throughout the

[449] Copies of the 9 October 1891 and the 8 October 1897 festival programs are currently held in the British Library, Birmingham Triennial Musical Festival (1817-1909), 7894.s.1. A copy of the 8 October 1909 festival program held in the Foundling Museum Gerald Edward Coke Collection Birmingham Musical Festivals (1814-1912). In addition, Richter also conducted Berlioz's *Harold en Italie* at the 1903 Birmingham Festival in commemoration of the Berlioz centennial year. Copies of that program are held at the Foundling Museum Gerald Edward Coke Collection Birmingham Musical Festivals (1814-1912), 1050 and at the British Library, Birmingham Triennial Musical Festival (1817-1909), 7894.s.1.
[450] The spirit of this festival continued throughout the following decades and was brought back in the 1890s by Alfred Schulz-Curtius who organized several Grand Orchestral Concerts for Wagner starting in 1894. Curiously, the concerts often featured Berlioz's music on the programs as well, especially the overtures and symphonies. However, none of the concerts featured performances or selections from *La Damnation de Faust*. Copies of the programs for this series are currently housed at the British Library, Alfred Schulz-Curtius´ Grand Wagner Concerts (1894-98), g.1761.a.
[451] Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*, 39.
[452] Ibid.

mid-nineteenth century. Felix Mendelssohn conducted at the festival starting in 1837 and his oratorio *Elijah* was first performed at the 1846 festival.[453]

Following Mendelssohn's death, Sir Michael Costa was appointed as the new permanent conductor in 1849, a position which he held for three decades. Costa was never enamored by Berlioz, nor his music, a fact that dated back to the composer's London trips in the 1850s. Therefore, Costa never promoted Berlioz's music during his tenure at Birmingham, which also accounts for the long absence of *Faust* from the festival programs. Largely due to its reputation in commissioning and presenting important new works, such as Charles Gounod's oratorios *La rédemption* and *Mors et Vita* in 1882 and 1885 respectively, by the time that Richter took command in 1884, Birmingham was widely regarded as the most prestigious of England's provincial music festivals.

It was during Richter's tenure that the festival further expanded its repertoire to Berlioz and Wagner, as well as British composers such as Elgar and Parry. This led to the festival's relatively late first performance of *La Damnation de Faust* in 1891. For many years, this festival took place in late August, but in 1891 the Birmingham Festival committee decided to move the festival to early October in an attempt to stimulate ticket sales, which by that point had started to decline.[454] Although there was some apprehension at this move, the transition proved to be a smooth one, as the 1891 festival

[453] Mendelssohn's *Elijah* was not only an immediate hit at the 1846 festival, but remained one of the most popular oratorios in Britain throughout the nineteenth-century, second only to Handel's *Messiah*.
[454] The move was also in order to avoid competition with the Three Choirs Festival. For further information on the Birmingham Festival during the 1890s, see Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*, 146-47.

was an unparalleled success. *The Musical Times* reported that the festival had: "benefited the General Hospital by more than £5,000. Of this sum £3,000 has come in by way of donation, the remainder being profit on the performances."[455]

The significance of the 1891 festival was also marked by a performance of *La Damnation de Faust,* which occurred on the evening of 9 October:

> The Festival ended on Friday evening with a performance of Berlioz's "Faust," which attracted, as is customary a very large audience. This was an opportunity for the orchestra as well as chorus and solo vocalists, and right well did Richter's men take advantage of it, playing the Hungarian March, the Ballet of Sylphes, and the Dance of "Will-o'-the-Wisps" [*Menuet des follets*] with a splendour of tone and unity of purpose most satisfying to the hearer.[456]

What is particularly interesting in the above review of the performance in *The Musical Times* was the assertion that it was considered customary by the 1890s for the score to attract a large audience.

The next appearance of the score was when *Faust* was scheduled to conclude the 1897 festival. This performance was so eagerly anticipated that the hall was sold out days in advance of the final evening concert: "and indeed even last week upwards of 400 people who had sent in their money had their cheques returned to them. Standing room, however, was provided, and every inch of space was occupied."[457] Hans Richter was "enthusiastically applauded" after a "remarkably fine performance on the part of all

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[455] "Birmingham Musical Festival," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, vol. 32, No. 585 (November 1, 1891, 660-61), 661. £5000 in 1891 is equivalent in purchasing power to over 131 thousand dollars in 2016.
[456] "Birmingham Musical Festival," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, vol. 32, No. 585 (November 1, 1891, 660-61), 661. Copies of the 9 October 1891 festival program are currently held in the British Library, Birmingham Triennial Musical Festival (1817-1909), 7894.s.1 and in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Provincial Concerts, Box 23, John Johnson Collection Concerts index, ANSW/06.98.
[457] "Birmingham Musical Festival: The Final Performances," *Daily News*, 9 October 1897.

concerned, and especially the band and chorus."[458] In combination, the sold-out concerts and musical performances enabled the 1897 festival to be one of the most lucrative in the history of the festival.[459]

By the third time *Faust* was slotted to conclude the Birmingham festival in 1909, the reporting on the festival's programming and financial security struck a different tone. Much of the focus of the reviews were on the two main soloists: Mr. Henschel in the role of Mephistopheles and Madame Donalda in the role of Margaret:

> The evening concert was devoted entirely to Berlioz's "Faust." For some days past rumours had been actively circulated Mr. George Henschel's reading of the part of Mephistopheles was as unconventional as it was great. The performance to-night revealed the fact that the rumour had not exaggerated, for the interpretation came as a revelation to the large audience.[460]

The paper's shift of focus on the novelty of the soloists from that of the score itself signified that *Faust* was a repertory item. However, the familiarity of the work contributed to the lower attendance and ticket sales that year: "The total attendance at all performances was 8,349, against 11,053 in 1906, while the total receipts, including donations, amounted to £10,685, or £2,395 less than at the last festival."[461]

After Richter stepped down in 1909, Sir Henry Wood was appointed in 1912 to conduct what would be the last Birmingham Festival until 1968.[462] The festival was discontinued during the First World War, and never resumed on the grand pre-war scale

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[458] Ibid.
[459] "Birmingham Musical Festival," *The Era*, 9 October 1897.
[460] "Birmingham Festival: Berlioz's 'Faust,'" *The Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 9 October 1909.
[461] Ibid.
[462] For more information on the 1912 Birmingham Festival, see Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*, 148-49.

thereafter. However, a fourth performance of the complete *Faust* was conducted by Sir Thomas Beecham (1879–1961) on 16 October 1918 as part of the Birmingham Choral Society's annual season.[463] In many ways the Birmingham Choral Society was more persistent in performing *Faust* than the official Birmingham Festival, as in addition to the three performances of the work at the official Triennial Birmingham Festival, it was also performed with the Birmingham Choral Society as part of their annual repertoire at least four times throughout the long nineteenth century in 1882, 1 O883, 1892, and 1918.[464]

Norwich Triennial Festival

Besides Bradford, Leeds, and Birmingham, *La Damnation de Faust* was (for a brief time) a favorite at the Norwich Triennial Musical Festival. Dating back to the early nineteenth century, the Norwich Festival officially began operating on a triennial basis in 1824. At first, it primarily functioned as a charity event for generating funding for the Norwich Hospital.[465] The morning festival concerts were traditionally held in the

[463] Information on the program is published in Maurice Parker, *Sir Thomas Beecham, Bart, C.H. (1879-1961): A Calendar of his Concert and Theatrical Performances* (Westcliff-on-Sea: Sir Thomas Beecham Society, 1985). There is also a supplement that was published by Tony Benson in 1990. Born to a rich industrial family of liver-pill millionaires, Beecham began his career as a conductor in 1899. In addition to creating his own orchestra, Beecham was closely associated with several other British orchestras, including the he London Philharmonic, Royal Philharmonic, Liverpool Philharmonic, and Hallé Orchestra.

[464] See publications under "Festival Choral Society," in *Birmingham Daily Post* [Birmingham, England] on 17 February 1882, 2 February 1883, and "Festival Choral Society's Concert." *Birmingham Daily Post* [Birmingham, England] 9 December 1892. The first three of these performances were conducted by the choral society's permanent conductor, William Stockley (1830–1919) at the Birmingham Town Hall. Appointed as the choirmaster for both the city's festival and choral society starting in 1858, the choir flourished under Stockley's direction. In addition, most notable among the orchestra members was the young Edward Elgar, who played violin during this period and undoubtedly was first exposed to *Faust* while performing the complete work in 1882 and 1883. See also Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*, 95 and 119-20.

[465] Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*, 41-2. See also Edward Copeman, *Brief History of the Norfolk and Norwich Hospital* (2nd ed., Norwich: Jarrold and Sons, 1865), 37. Sir George Thomas Smart (1776–1867) was the first conductor of the festival, serving from 1824-36. Edward Taylor (1784–1863) then served as conductor from 1839-45, when he was then replaced by Sir Julius Benedict (1804–1885), who went on to conduct every Norwich Festival from 1845 to 1878.

cathedral, while the evening concerts were performed in the civic center, St. Andrew's Hall.[466] *Faust* was programmed for three consecutive festivals in 1881, 1884, and 1887 as well as at the 1899 and 1911 festivals.[467] Four out of five of these festivals contained complete performances.[468] The only exception was the 1884 festival, at which the *Marche hongroise* and *Ballet des sylphes* were performed "by desire."[469] The inclusion of these two movements in the Friday evening concert that year is not surprising, as one of the distinctive features of the evening concerts of the Norwich Festival was the routine inclusion of a significant number of popular works.[470]

Intriguingly, *Faust* was so popular at the first performance of the complete work during the 1881 festival that over 1,100 people paid a half-crown each—a large sum—to attend a dress rehearsal for the final concert: "This was an innovation at Norwich, and is likely, I should say, to become an established practice."[471] The attendance for the dress rehearsal was so high that the actual performance on Wednesday, 12 October had a much

[466] All of the performances of *Faust* during the festival were given in St. Andrew's Hall as well.
[467] See Table 5.4. See list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.
[468] Ibid.
[469] See "Norwich Musical Festival." *The Standard* [London, England] 18 October 1884: 3. A copy of the 1884 Festival program is housed in the Royal College of Music, Thomas Harper Programmes: London (1845-1884), CH6Ha6.
[470] A copy of the 1884 Festival program is housed in the Royal College of Music, Thomas Harper Programmes: London (1845-1884), CH6Ha6. For more information on the Norwich Festival itself, see Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914,* 116-17. Overall *La Damnation de Faust* was performed at least seven times in Britain that year: once each as part of the Norwich and Worcester Festivals, twice with the Royal Choral Society, and three times with the Manchester Orchestra. See list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.
[471] "Norwich Musical Festival," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, vol. 22, No. 465 (November 1, 1881), 566-568. The official concert took place on the Wednesday evening of the festival and the idea of opening up the final dress rehearsals to the public was initiated during the 1881 festival in order to increase revenue, as the previous festivals throughout the 1870s had not been as successful financially. Ticket prices were also reduced for the evening and popular concerts in order to generate more sales among the lower classes. See Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914,* 114-17.

smaller audience.[472] However, some critics attributed this to the actual secular nature of the libretto, which seemed to offend some of the more religious members of the festival:

> Some feeling appears to have been excited against "Faust" in Norwich. Religious susceptibilities were offended by the subject, and it is said that many members of the chorus were with difficulty persuaded to take part in the performance. This may have accounted for the small attendance of "patrons" and others over whom the "respectabilities" are dominant.[473]

Despite such scruples, the first performance of *Faust* in Norwich "was an unquestionable success."[474] The audience: "took to it in a very kindly spirit, and seemed to derive from it a good deal of enjoyment."[475] The complete *Faust* was played again to close the 1887 festival and was once again well received.[476]

Even with the warm response, the work was not performed again in Norwich until 1899. *Faust* opened that year's festival and was enthusiastically received: "The choice of Berlioz's "Faust" for the opening concert proved a singularly happy one. The work is a favourite with Norwich Festival-goers, and so is Madame Albani, who sang the part of Margaret there for the first time. Hence an audience that contrasted pleasantly with the meagre attendance on the inaugural night of the preceding festival. A better performance could hardly have been desired."[477]

Out of the five total performances of *Faust* at the Norwich festival, four were conducted by Alberto Randegger, another popular German conductor in Britain during

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[472] "Norwich Musical Festival," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, vol. 22, No. 465 (November 1, 1881), 566-568.
[473] Ibid.
[474] Ibid.
[475] Ibid.
[476] "Norwich Musical Festival," *The Standard*, 15 October 1887.
[477] H. K., "Music and Musicians: Norwich Musical Festival," *The Sunday Times* (London, England), Sunday, 8 October 1899: 6.

the late nineteenth-century, in 1881, 1884, 1887, and 1899.[478] He was the third choice of the Norwich Festival committee to succeed Sir Julius Benedict.[479] While Benedict did lead the festival in performing several novelties, Randegger and his committee placed a greater emphasis on new works. He was then succeed by Henry Wood for the 1908 and 1911 festivals held before the First World War.[480]

The Bristol Festival

The Bristol Festival was emblematic of the development of Victorian musical culture, as it was one of several triennial festivals that began between 1870 and 1900. Bristol was located in an area remote from the other major triennial festivals. Thriving commerce through the increase in tobacco trade and other imports made the city a wealthy one. Civic pride demanded a festival. Bristol employed professional orchestras and prominent conductors to accompany the large amateur (or mixed amateur and professional) festival choirs. For example, the three performances of *Faust* given at the Bristol Musical Festival in 1882, 1885, and 1893 were performed by Hallé and the Manchester Orchestra.[481] The first performance of *Faust* given at the festival in 1882

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[478] An Italian-born composer, conductor, and singing-teacher, Alberto Randegger (1832–1911) also served as the conductor for the Carl Rosa Opera Company from 1879 to 1885. For information on the 1887 *Faust* performance see "Norwich Musical Festival," *The Morning Post* [London, England] 15 October 1887: 5, "Norwich Musical Festival," *The Standard* [London, England] 15 October 1887: 2, and "The Norwich Musical Festival," *Bury and Norwich Post, and Suffolk Standard* [Bury Saint Edmunds, England] 18 October 1887: 5. A copy of the 1899 festival program is currently held in the Foundling Museum Gerald Edward Coke Collection, Norfolk and Norwich Musical Festival (1857-99, 4444). See also "Forthcoming Festivals," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, vol. 40, No. 478 (August 1, 1899, 529-30), 529.
[479] Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*), 116 and 170. Randegger conducted the Norwich festival from 1881 to 1905.
[480] Ibid., 142-3. For more information on Wood and his promotion of *Faust* at the Queen's Hall Promenade Concerts, see chapter 6.
[481] For information on the 1882 and 1885 Bristol Festival performances of *Faust* see "Bristol Musical Festival," *Bristol Mercury and Daily Post* [Bristol, England] 7 October 1885: n.p. and "Bristol Musical Festival," *Western Daily Press* [Yeovil, England] 23 October 1885: 3. For information on the 1893 Bristol Festival performance of *Faust*, see "Bristol Musical Festival," *Western Daily Press* [Yeovil, England] 26

contained just two of the more popular selections: the *Marche hongroise* and the *Ballet des sylphes*.[482]

The positive response to these two selections powered the way for the score's first complete performance in 1885.[483] Under Hallé's direction, this performance met with approbation. Both the *Marche hongroise* and *Ballet des sylphes* were encored. As reported in the *Western Daily Press*, "At the close of the work the audience applauded again and again, and appeared highly impressed with so magnificent a rendering of a production teeming with poetic intentions and magnificent conceptions in the main carried out in a masterly manner."[484] The performance of the score at the 1893 festival received an equally warm response from an audience that numbered 1,421.[485] In addition to the three *Faust* performances, Hallé programmed and conducted the complete *Roméo et Juliette* at the 1888 festival.[486]

At the outset, Bristol was established as a civic festival to be held in the town hall, the first of which happened over a four-day period in 1873.[487] Support for the festival, especially among the wealthy and upper middle-class, remained strong throughout this

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October 1893: 8, "Bristol Musical Festival," *The Citizen* [Gloucester, England] 26 October 1893: 3, and "The Talk of Bristol," *Bristol Mercury and Daily Post* [Bristol, England] 27 February 1893: n.p. It should be noted that Fiona M. Palmer (*Conductors in Britain: 1870-1914*, Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2017, 100) mistakenly attributes that August Manns had held the position as the permanent conductor of the Bristol Triennial Festival between 1873 and 1893. However, this information is incorrect. Charles Hallé actually conducted the first eight festivals in Bristol between 1873 and 1893. See Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*, 124.

[482] "Bristol Musical Festival," *Bristol Mercury and Daily Post* [Bristol, England] 7 October 1885: n.p.

[483] Ibid.

[484] "Bristol Musical Festival," *Western Daily Press* [Yeovil, England] 23 October 1885: 3.

[485] "Bristol Musical Festival," *Western Daily Press* [Yeovil, England] 26 October 1893: 8.

[486] See Bannister Scrapbook Collection 2 (1888-1899), R780.2 Sj3, vol. 12, held in the Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library.

[487] For example, the mayor and aldermen took an ongoing interest in the festival and even provided receptions for the festival performers in the Mansion House. See "Bristol Musical Festival," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, vol. 20, No. 441 (November 1, 1879, 579-83), 579.

period. For example, 350 guarantors pledged £25 each in 1879. By 1882, that amount had been reduced to just £10 each due an increase in support from patrons.[488] Many of the guarantors were members of the 'Festival Society,' which performed an important role in the musical life of Bristol:

> There is in Bristol a Musical Festival Society, consisting of ladies and gentlemen, guarantors of £10 each; and this body, through its representative committee, organises not only the grand demonstration every three years, but a series of concerts each winter. More than this, it has recently established educational classes in various districts of the city, and engaged competent teachers to impart instruction in music and singing. The charge being only three-pence per class, the advantages thus offered are open to all classes, while the committee are enabled to extend the resources and improve the material from which the festival chorus is drawn.[489]

Financial backing for the massive triennial festival remained strong in Bristol and leading citizens sought to promote a winter concert season as well as music classes in order to further the public's interest in music and the arts. The Society's interests in musical education was even further evident in 1882, when the proceeds for that year's festival were split between two causes. Some of the profits were given towards the foundation of a Bristol scholarship at the Royal College of Music, while the rest of the profits were given to the Bristol Royal Infirmary and the General Hospital.[490]

One unusual feature of the Bristol Festival was that the chorus, which typically numbered between three and four hundred voices, was comprised entirely of volunteers,

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[488] See reviews of 1879 and 1882 Bristol Musical Festival: "Bristol Musical Festival," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular,* vol. 20, No. 441 (November 1, 1879, 579-83), 580 and "Bristol Musical Festival," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular,* vol. 23, No. 477 (November 1, 1882, 598-601), 598.
[489] "Bristol Musical Festival," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular,* vol. 23, No. 477 (November 1, 1882, 598-601), 598.
[490] Ibid.

and were consistently well-reviewed in the press. The foundation of the strong amateur chorus was due to a succession of highly-regarded choral masters such as Alfred Stone (1841–1878), the Cathedral organist and choir-master for the first two festivals, and D.W. Rootham (1837–1922), who was appointed in 1878 as the director of the Bristol festival choir and chorus-master to the festival.[491] For example, recognition of his expert preparing of the choir for the performance of *Faust* in 1885 was noted by the press: "The performance of the strange and weird production yesterday afternoon was eminently satisfactory, as the choir had been carefully trained by Mr D. W. Rootham, and the instrumentalists were familiar with the production."[492]

Intriguingly, the practice of Hallé bringing his own orchestra to perform at the festival proved to have both a positive and negative effect. While the orchestra was more than able to perform the difficult music on the festival program, the hiring of an outside orchestra reduced the opportunity for orchestral development in Bristol. In fact, using the Manchester Orchestra as the festival's primary instrumentalists proved contentious at times, especially on the few occasions when the performances were unsatisfactory. This was the case in 1882, when the orchestra had a single day to rehearse material for seven demanding concerts: "It might have been supposed—nay, concluded even that Mr. Halle's orchestra would go to Bristol quite ready for the finishing touches of general rehearsal. The contrary was the case."[493]

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[491] Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914,* 125.
[492] "Bristol Musical Festival: Third Day," *Western Daily Press,* 23 October 1885.
[493] "Bristol Musical Festival," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular,* vol. 23, No. 477 (November 1, 1882, 598-601), 598.

Despite this rough performance, the public eagerly anticipated *Faust* at subsequent festivals, as was the case in 1885: "The festival performances of 1885 will be long remembered by those who attended them for the splendid rendering yesterday afternoon of that clever and eccentric production, "La Damnation de Faust," by Berlioz."[494] Indeed, parts of the score, such as the *Marche hongroise,* were so well-received that "the audience applauded vehemently, and would not be satisfied until the composition had been again given. A similar result attended the "Ballet of Sylphes," one of the most delightful movements by the master."[495] Audience enthusiasm in Bristol for the *Marche hongroise* never waned, as it was enthusiastically encored at the 1893 festival.[496] Even after Hallé's death, the Bristol Festival's commitment to Berlioz's music remained strong, as evinced by their performance of the *Grande Messe des Morts,* at the 1902 festival.[497] This performance, as well as the 1905 festival performances of *Symphonie fantastique* and its sequel, *Lélio,* were conducted by George Riseley.[498]

The Musical Festivals in Huddersfield and Chester

Incidentally, Hallé and the Manchester Orchestra were also responsible for giving the only complete performance of *Faust* at the Huddersfield Festival during the nineteenth century in 1881. This concert marked the official opening of Huddersfield

[494] "Bristol Musical Festival: Third Day," *Western Daily Press,* 23 October 1885.
[495] Ibid.
[496] "Bristol Musical Festival: The Evening Concert—Berlioz's 'Faust,'" *Western Daily Press*, 26 October 1893.
[497] This score had been programmed to commemorate those who had died in the Boer Wars.
[498] The Requiem concert took place on 10 October 1902 and the soloist was Charles Saunders. The 1905 performances of the *Symphonie fantastique* and *Lélio, ou Le Retour à la vie* took place on the 11 October concert, which was also under the direction of George Riseley. Copies of both programs are held in the Foundling Museum Gerald Edward Coke Collection, Bristol Musical Festival (1902-05), 10754-10760.

Town Hall as well as the first of the city's own brief festival series.[499] The festival was indeed grand in scale and was comprised of a band and chorus of over 350 performers, many of whom were amateurs.[500] *The Leeds Mercury* reported that the festival was an "extraordinary success" and that: "The first production in Yorkshire of the 'Faust' of Hector Berlioz [on] Friday night was alone sufficient to stamp the Huddersfield Festival with distinction."[501] Hallé conducted three popular selections from *Faust* as part of the evening concert for the one-day 1887 Huddersfield Musical Festival that was put on to raise funds for the local infirmary as well as to commemorate Queen' Victoria's Golden Jubilee.[502] Unfortunately, funding for the continuation of the Huddersfield Musical Festival was lacking, despite attempts to organize a third festival in 1893.[503]

The Chester Triennial Festival was also revived in 1879 under the leadership of Dr. Joseph Cox Bridge and the cathedral's precentor Reverend C. Hylton-Stewart.[504] Like the festivals in Huddersfield, Bristol, and Bradford, many of the members from Hallé's

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[499] The concert took place on 21 October 1881. A copy of the program is held in the British Library, Collection of programmes (1897), 7892.w.1. George Riseley (1845–1932) was appointed as the principle organist in at Bristol's Colston Hall in 1870 and six years later succeeded Corfe as the organist of Bristol Cathedral. As a conductor, he started a series of Monday Popular Concerts in the city in 1877 and the following year became conductor of the Bristol Orpheus Society. He was appointed as the conductor of the Bristol Festival between 1896 and 1912. See Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*, 149 and 231.

[500] The chorus for the *Faust* performance consisted of 67 sopranos (27 amateurs), 40 contraltos (24 amateurs), 26 altos (5 amateurs), 68 tenors (15 amateurs), 62 basses (18 amateurs), and 14 boys. Of the 277 total members (excluding the boys) 89 were amateurs. See Percy A. Scholes, *The Mirror of Music: 1844-1944*, 162-63.

[501] "The 'Faust' of Berlioz at Huddersfield," *Leeds Mercury* [Leeds, England] 24 October 1881: n.p.

[502] See "Huddersfield Musical Festival," *Leeds Mercury* [Leeds, England] 3 November 1887: n.p. and "Huddersfield Musical Festival," *Huddersfield Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser* [West Yorkshire England] 5 November 1887: 6.

[503] See "Suggested Musical festival for Huddersfield," *Huddersfield Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser* [West Yorkshire, England] 8 April 1893: 8.

[504] Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*, 127. Joseph Cox Bridge (1853–1929) was an English organist and composer. Born in Rochester, Kent, he became the organist of Chester Cathedral in 1877.

Orchestra were hired to perform at the Chester Festival as well.[505] The chorus was comprised of local singers who were augmented from choirs throughout the north of England, including contingents from Leeds, Bradford, and Manchester. [506] Although it had originally started at the beginning of the century, this cathedral festival was only performed intermittently a few times on a non-triennial basis between 1806 and 1829, when it was halted due to ecclesiastical objections.[507] Following a similar pattern of the Three Choirs, the Chester Festival held its sacred concerts inside the cathedral and secular events in the town hall. The festival chorus at first consisted almost exclusively of singers from the neighboring cathedrals, but this ensemble was later augmented in 1885 to include a contingent of forty members from Bradford's Choral Society.[508]

Dr. Joseph Cox Bridge, the cathedral organist in Chester from 1877 to 1925, was the driving force behind the festival's revitalization in 1879. Not only did Bridge conduct every single festival between 1879 and 1900, he also served as the honorary secretary of the organizing committee, a role which gave him considerable influence over the festival's programming.[509] This enthusiastic spirit also led Bridge to conduct all three performances of the complete *Faust* at the Chester Triennial Musical Festivals held in 1885, 1891, and 1900.[510] Just as in Norwich, the dress rehearsal for the first complete

[505] Ibid., 159.
[506] Ibid., 159.
[507] Ibid., 53-5 and 127. For information on the 1829 festival, see *The Harmonicon*, 7 (1829), 257.
[508] Shortly afterwards, Bridge was also appointed as the chorus-master of the Bradford Festival Choral Society. See G. F. Sewell, *History of the Bradford Festival Choral Society from its Formation in 1856 to its Jubilee in 1906*, 147.
[509] Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*, 127 and 159.
[510] For information on the 1885 Chester Festival performance of *Faust* see: "Chester Musical Festival," *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* [Manchester, England] 24 July 1885: 8 and "Chester Musical Festival," *The Cheshire Observer* [Chester, England] 25 July 1885: 5. For information on the 1891 Chester Festival performance of *Faust* see: "Chester Musical Festival," *Manchester Courier and*

performance in Chester was open to the public and, even with a small admissions fee, the hall was packed.[511] The "official" performance later that week was warmly received and "heartily applauded throughout."[512]

Even more intriguing was the 1891 festival, as in addition to the complete performance of *Faust* on the evening of the second day (23 July), Bridge conducted a performance of part two of Berlioz's *L'Enfance du Christ* at the second concert that afternoon.[513] Not even rain dampened the high spirits aroused by the festival, as both the morning and evening performances were well attended. The *Faust* performance that evening was heavily attended for what was, according to the report in the *Manchester Courier*: "by far the finest performance of the week so far."[514] This double feature of Berlioz's music on two concerts that took place the same day was repeated at the 1900 festival, which, sadly, proved to be the last of the Chester Triennial Festivals. In addition to a complete performance of *Faust* given at the evening concert on 26 July, the complete *Symphonie funèbre et Triomphale* was performed in the cathedral concert that morning to mark the commemoration of the British soldiers who had died during the Second Boer

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Lancashire General Advertiser [Manchester, England] 24 July 1891: 5 and "Chester Musical Festival," *Liverpool Mercury etc.* [Liverpool, England] 24 July 1891: n.p. A copy of this program is also housed in the Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library, Bannister Scrapbook Collection 2 (1888-1899), R780.2 Sj3, vol. 17. For information on the 1900 Chester Festival performance of *Faust* see: "Chester Musical Festival," *The Morning Post* [London, England] 27 July 1900: 3 and "Chester Musical Festival," *Glasgow Herald* [Glasgow, Scotland] 27 July 1900.

[511] "Chester Musical Festival," *The Cheshire Observer* [Chester, England] 25 July 1885: 5.

[512] Ibid.

[513] For more information on the 23 July performance of *L'Enfance* see: "Chester Musical Festival," *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* [Manchester, England] 24 July 1891: 5 and "Chester Musical Festival," *Liverpool Mercury* [Liverpool, England] 24 July 1891: n.p.

[514] Chester Musical Festival," *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* [Manchester, England] 24 July 1891: 5.

War.[515] As with the previous time Berlioz's music was double-featured on the same day, both the morning concert for the symphony and the evening production of *Faust* garnered a large audience. *Faust* was a sell-out as well as the only secular work on the entire festival program that year.[516]

The Seaside and Spa Festivals of Cardiff, Cheltenham, and Scarborough

In addition to the port cities such as Bristol, festivals were also instituted in the larger spa towns during the 1870s. One of the triennial festivals that began in the late 1880s was founded in the spa-town of Cheltenham.[517] This festival was founded in 1887 by a local organist and choir-master, John Alexander Matthews.[518] Although not officially part of the triennial festival of 1887, Matthews led his festival choir in the first performance of Part One from *Faust* in Cheltenham on 12 November 1888.[519] The performance was praised by the local press:

> The production of Berlioz's dramatic legend, "La Damnation de Faust," was in every degree remarkable. A better *ensemble* has not often challenged criticism; the excellent orchestra and the well-trained choir of capital voices working together under their experienced chief with a unanimity that showed how much depends on concentration of purpose.[520]

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[515] The Second Boer War lasted between 1899 and 1902. There are quite a few sources that mention this concert. Some of the more detailed press clippings include: "Chester Musical Festival," *The Morning Post* [London, England] 27 July 1900: 3, "Chester Musical Festival," *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* [Manchester, England] 27 July 1900: 8, and in *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, vol. 23, No. 477 (June 1, 1900), 385 and again in vol. 41, No. 691 (September 1, 1900), 595.
[516] "Chester Musical Festival," *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* [Manchester, England] 27 July 1900: 8.
[517] Set in cities that were entirely inland, a spa town was the name given to a city that was located near a mineral spring, which was then turned into a resort location that many people would flock to throughout the nineteenth century for purported health benefits. The most prominent example of a spa town in England is the city of Bath.
[518] Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*, 130.
[519] "Mr. Matthews' Concert." *Cheltenham Chronicle* [Cheltenham, England] 17 November 1888: 6.
[520] Ibid. Original italics. Although this concert made the work an instant hit in Cheltenham, the first complete performances of *Faust* did not occur until 1905, when it was given twice that year by the Cheltenham Philharmonic Society under the direction of Mr. C. J. Phillips. For information on the 17 May 1905 performance see: "Cheltenham Philharmonic Society," *The Citizen* [Gloucester, England] 18 May

The 1887 festival was so successful that it was decided to hold the event on a triennial basis. This occurred until 1896 when a smallpox epidemic in the city that year resulted in such a financial loss that the festival was discontinued.[521] However, three further festivals were held in 1900, 1903, and 1906 under the direction of John Alexander Matthews.[522]

Another resort festival that cropped up in the late 1890s was in Scarborough on the north-east coast. Created by prominent musicians from London under the leadership of Frederic H. Cowen, the festival was unable to sustain itself financially and folded after two festivals in 1899 and 1902. Although the festival was short-lived, it still managed to undertake a complete performance of *Faust* at the 1902 festival under Cowen's leadership.[523] According to *The Musical Times*, Cowen did a remarkable job leading the choir throughout the festival:

> To Dr. Cowen's plain and careful beat some of their success is undoubtedly due, but a large share of the honour must be accredited to the chorus-masters, Dr. Ely and Mr. Patman, for the vast improvement that has been effected. For the sake of accuracy it may be added that a small contingent of experienced singers from Bradford strengthened the chorus, adding no doubt to both its weight and its confidence.[524]

By the turn-of-the-century the festival's presentation of *Messiah, Elijah,* and Berlioz's *Faust* were considered outdated. For example, *The Musical Times* stated, "The

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1905: 3 and "The ' Faust' of Berlioz," *Cheltenham Looker-on, etc.* [Cheltenham, England] 20 May 1905: 510. For information on the 17 October 1905 performance see: "Cheltenham Philharmonic Society," *The Citizen* [Gloucester, England] 18 October 1905: 3 and "The Philharmonic Concert," *Cheltenham Looker-on, etc.* [Cheltenham, England] 21 October 1905.

[521] Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*, 158.

[522]Ibid., 157.

[523] A copy of the program is housed at the Royal Academy of Music, British Concert Programs 1900-1905, McCann Collection: United Kingdom (1900-1905). See also "The Scarborough Musical Festival," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* vol. 43, No. 716 (October 1, 1902), 677-678.

[524] "The Scarborough Musical Festival," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* vol. 43, No. 716 (October 1, 1902, 677-78), 678.

programme was not exacting, for though the ' Messiah,' ' Elijah,' Berlioz's ' Faust,' and Stanford's 'Revenge' present many difficulties, they are not unknown to most choralists, so that familiarity has taken off the edge of their awkward points."[525] Concerning the performance of *Faust* at the 1902 Scarborough Festival, the critic opined, "Little need be said of the performances of the more familiar works, which went well - ' Faust' quite brilliantly--under so experienced a chief, and with soloists as capable as Miss Agnes Nicholls, Miss Ada Crossley, Mr. William Green, and Mr. Andrew."[526]

Besides Scarborough, there were at least three performances of the complete *Faust* at the Cardiff Triennial Musical Festival during this period. These performances were presented in 1892, 1895, and 1902.[527] The audience at the first performance of the work at the 1892 festival was "most enthusiastic" to hear the score performed. Despite the low quality of the choir, which was strained by an over-ambitious program that season, the *Bristol Mercury and Daily Post* reported that the concert was well attended.[528] However, it was noted in *The Standard* that the programming of the largely unknown work had the opposite effect on attendance:

> Berlioz's *Faust* occupied the programme this morning, and there was some falling off in the attendance, due, without doubt, to the fact that the work was practically unknown to local amateurs. Those who came, however, were apparently much delighted, for the numbers which are

[525] Ibid.
[526] Ibid.
[527] For information on the 1892 Cardiff Festival performance of *Faust* see: "Cardiff Musical Festival," *Glasgow Herald* [Glasgow, Scotland] 24 Sept. 1892: n.p. For information on the 1895 Cardiff Festival performance of *Faust* see: "Cardiff Musical Festival," *Leeds Mercury* [Leeds, England] 20 September 1895: n.p. and "Cardiff Musical Festival," *Western Mail* [Cardiff, Wales] 20 September 1895: n.p. A copy of this program is also housed in the Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library, Concert Programs Analytical, BR780.69 CON1, vol. 14. A copy of the 1902 Cardiff Festival program is held in the British Library, Cardiff Triennial Musical Festival (1902), X.431/425.
[528] "Cardiff Musical Festival: Berlioz's Faust," *Bristol Mercury and Daily Post*, 24 September 1892: n.p.

> regarded with most favour in the Metropolis were received with enthusiastic applause and demands for repetition.[529]

However, the response to the work at Cardiff had the same effect as elsewhere: those who attended the performance enthusiastically received the work and both the *Marche hongroise* and *Ballet des sylphs* (which by this point had become a standard practice at most performances). Both this concert and the second performance of *Faust* at the 1895 Cardiff Festival were conducted by Sir Joseph Barnby, who was already quite familiar with the score through his performances of it with the Royal Choral Society.[530]The last performance in 1902, however, was conducted by Frederic Cowen.[531]

The North Staffordshire Festival

The North Staffordshire Festival was another festival that emerged in the 1880s. It first took place in 1888 in the town of Hanley.[532] The prodigiously talented Charles Swinnerton-Heap (1847–1900), who was an organist, pianist, composer and conductor, was the driving force behind the festival. He conducted the North Staffordshire Festival from its inception until the final festival in 1899.[533] The initial plan was to have the event on a triennial basis, but in order to avoid conflicts with the 1891 festivals in Birmingham and Chester, the second festival was pushed forward to 1890. This festival included a

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[529] "Cardiff Musical Festival," *The Standard*, 24 September 1892: 3.
[530] For information on the 1892 Cardiff Festival performance of *Faust* see: "Cardiff Musical Festival," *Glasgow Herald* [Glasgow, Scotland] 24 September 1892: n.p. A copy of the 1895 Cardiff Festival program of *Faust* is housed in the Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library, Concert Programs Analytical, BR780.69 CON1, vol. 14.
[531] A copy of the 1902 Cardiff Festival program of *Faust* is held in the British Library, Cardiff Triennial Musical Festival (1902), X.431/425.
[532] The town of Hanley now functions as the city center for the West Midland city of Stoke-on-Trent, which was formed through the joining together of six major towns in the region in 1910.
[533] Swinnerton-Heap also conducted the Birmingham Philharmonic Union from 1870 to 1886 and the Birmingham Triennial Festival in 1897.

Berlioz orchestration on the program, his arrangement of Weber's *L'Invitation à la valse*.[534] The only festival in North Staffordshire to include *La Damnation de Faust* was in 1893, when a performance was conducted by Swinnerton-Heap to open the third festival on 19 October in Victoria Hall.[535] Even the papers commented on the prudent choice of selecting a popular piece to open the festival, stating that, "It is a wise step to commence with the "Faust" of Berlioz, which has now become a standard work in Festival programmes."[536] Dr. Swinnerton-Heap's efforts were warmly received by the audience:

> With such an orchestra the score was illustrated in almost perfect manner. The ballet of "Sylphes" was given with extreme beauty, and the "Ride to the Abyss" with graphic effect. Dr. Heap, who was warmly welcomed on his appearance, conducted in his able way, and the performance owed much to his care and zeal.[537]

The overall attendance for the performance was good. As the critic for the *Birmingham Daily Post* commented: "The attendance was very good, the gallery, the one doubtful factor, being crowded, and very few vacant places being noticeable, even in the highest priced seats. The first day's proceedings may be pronounced a success."[538] Alas, the North Staffordshire Festival was only held twice more in 1896 and 1899.[539] It seemed

[534] The concert took place on 2 October 1890. A copy of the program is housed in the Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library, Bannister Scrapbook Collection 2 (1888-1899), R780.2 Sj3, vol. 16.
[535] "North Staffordshire Musical Festival," *Birmingham Daily Post* [Birmingham, England] 20 October 1893: n.p.
[536] Ibid.
[537] Ibid.
[538] Ibid.
[539] Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*, 154.

that, once Swinnerton-Heap died in 1900, any support for the festival in the region died with him.[540]

Among the orchestral players during this festival was the young Elgar, whose close study of *Faust* as an orchestral player at this festival as well as twice with William Stockley's Orchestra (also known as the Birmingham Choral Union and Orchestra) was undoubtedly an influence on passages found in his oratorio, *The Dream of Gerontius*.[541] For example, after the première of the work at the 1900 Birmingham Festival, *The Manchester Guardian*, which, thanks to Hallé's efforts, was very familiar with the score for *Faust*, commented that: "A comparison with Berlioz is simply inevitable—for Edward Elgar's dramatic power admits of comparison with the great masters" and that "Elgar's music, like parts of the poem, fairly merits the epithet 'Dantesque.'"[542]

The Sheffield Festival

As late as the 1890s, triennial festivals were still popping up all over Britain. For instance, the Sheffield Festival was not established until 1896. Although there had been sporadic festivals in Sheffield throughout the early nineteenth century dating back to as early as 1805, it was not until 1895 that a few members of the St. Cecilia Music Society "conceived the idea that Sheffield was ripe for a Musical Festival," which resulted in a

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[540] Ibid.

[541] The two performances of *Faust* that Elgar performed in with Stockley conducting took place on 16 February 1882 and 1 February 1883. See "Festival Choral Society," *Birmingham Daily Post* [Birmingham, England] 17 February 1882 and 2 February 1883. William Stockley (1830–1919) also trained the Birmingham Festival Chorus from 1858 to 1894. See Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*, 173.

[542] Michael Kennedy, *Portrait of Elgar*, 121-22. Elgar enjoyed Berlioz's music immensely, a fact that was later commented upon by Compton Mackenzie, who once described the composer as becoming so emotional upon listening to the "March to the Scaffold" from the *Symphonie fantastique* that: "he trembled all over and veins and beads of sweat stood out alarmingly on his head." Ibid., 185.

single performance of Mendelssohn's *Elijah* in order to "test the sympathy of the city with the proposal."[543] Once support for the festival was confirmed in the form of an initial investment of £5,000, the festival was approved: "it was no light task, but zeal and determination overcame all difficulties, and the Festival was a great success in every sense."[544]

August Manns was appointed as the festival's conductor and directed a complete performance of *Faust* during the inaugural festival on 14 October 1896.[545] It was modest in scope and lasted only two days, but the performers were first-rate. Manns brought a number of players from his Crystal Palace Orchestra. Ella Russell, Ben Davies, Charles Santley, and Arthur Barlow appeared as the vocal soloists for the *Faust* performance and the chorus was rehearsed by Henry Coward.[546] *Faust* was given at the last evening concert at the conclusion of the festival. The press notices were positive: "The performance of "Faust" last night made a fitting climax to the Festival series. The only drawback was the over-great success. The hall was packed, literally, from floor to ceiling, and the heat was so intense that one wondered how the performers managed so well."[547] The 1896 festival was lucrative, so that in addition to donating £120 to Medical Charities,

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[543] *Souvenir of the Sheffield Musical Festivals*, 19-21. A copy is currently housed in the Royal Academy of Music, Henry Wood Collection: Sheffield Musical Festival (1896-1933).
[544] Ibid.
[545] "Multiple Arts and Popular Culture Items," *Sheffield & Rotherham Independent* [Sheffield, England] 15 October 1896: 5. A copy of the program is currently housed at the Royal Academy of Music, Henry Wood Collection: Sheffield Musical Festival (1896-1933).
[546] Ibid. A native of Sheffield, Sir Henry Coward (1849–1944) was a conductor as well as a highly successful choir-trainer and singing teacher. In many ways a prime example of the effects of musical education and orchestral development during this period, Coward was first musically trained through the Tonic Sol-Fa College before completing a doctorate in music from Oxford. See Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*, 151.
[547] "The Evening Concert: Berlioz's 'Damnation of Faust,'" *Sheffield & Rotherham Independent* [Sheffield, England] 15 October 1896: 5.

a surplus balance of £660 3s. 10d. remained that was set aside to establish an official triennial festival.[548]

Even with the success of *Faust* at the 1896 festival, the complete work was not repeated at the next two festivals, held in 1899 and 1902. The next time a complete performance took place was in 1905. This time it was given under the direction of Felix Weingartner (1863–1942) on 6 October, who led a full orchestra and volunteer chorus of over 300 voices.[549] Although Weingartner was harshly critiqued for his interpretation of Bach's B-Minor Mass, *The Musical Times* reported that his interpretation of *Faust* had "achieved an absolute triumph."[550] This performance proved to be the last time *Faust* was given at the Sheffield Festival in the years leading up to the First World War. However, Berlioz's music was still programmed on subsequent festivals. The *Te Deum* was performed at the 1908 festival under the direction of Sir Henry Wood and *Roméo et Juliette* was performed at the 1914 festival.[551] Unfortunately, after that year the Sheffield Festival was discontinued due to the war and was not resumed in the immediate post-war period.

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[548] *Souvenir of the Sheffield Musical Festivals*, 19-21. A copy is currently housed in the Royal Academy of Music, Henry Wood Collection: Sheffield Musical Festival (1896-1933).

[549] Copies of the program are currently housed at: the British Library, Sheffield Triennial Musical Festival (1905), d.488.j. (5.), Bodleian Library, Oxford University, Provincial Concerts, Box 22, John Johnson Collection Concerts index, ANSW/06.98, and at the Royal Academy of Music, Henry Wood Collection: Sheffield Musical Festival (1896-1933). Felix Weingartner, was an Austrian conductor, composer and pianist. He was a noted champion of Berlioz's music, both as conductor as well as a co-editor (together with Charles Malherbe) of the first attempt at a complete edition of Berlioz's musical works, which appeared between 1900 and 1907 in order to coincide with the composer's centenary in 1903.

[550] "The Sheffield Musical Festival," *The Musical Times*, vol. 46, No. 753 (November 1, 1905, 739-40), 739.

[551] The concert took place on 6 October 1908. Copies of the program are currently held in the British Library, Sheffield Musical Festival (1908), X.431/426, Bodleian Library, Oxford University, Provincial Concerts, Box 22, John Johnson Collection Concerts index, ANSW/06.98, and in the Royal Academy of Music, Henry Wood Collection: Sheffield Musical Festival (1896-1933). For more information on the 1914 festival see: "Musical and Dramatic," *The Daily Mail* [Hull, England] 17 July 1914: 6.

The Three Choirs Festival

Although scholars such as Pippa Drummond consider the years between 1870 and 1890 as a highly successful period in the history of the British choral festival, this era proved to be quite difficult for the Three Choirs Festival.[552] Dating back to 1715 when the first official festival took place in Gloucester, the Three Choirs Festival is considered to be the oldest annual music festival in the world.[553] The festival traditionally involved the three Midland cathedral towns of Gloucester, Hereford, and Worcester, each of which alternate holding the festival each year.[554] By the 1870s, clerical support had dwindled and many felt that the festival would not survive. Part of the reason for this pessimism was that the clergy were against the mere idea of a festival. In addition, some of the Anglican clergy believed that it was unseemly to perform non-liturgical instrumental music (such as *La Damnation de Faust*) in a cathedral and therefore disapproved of selling tickets for the concerts, which was the main source of income for the festival, while others felt that the cathedrals should be accessible to worshipers at all times.[555]

These concerns were a primary cause for the very few performances of *Faust* at the Three Choirs during the latter half of the nineteenth century. It seemed that many involved with the festival felt that the 'theatrical' nature of evening concerts were

[552] See Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*, 108.
[553] Although earlier evidence of collaborations between the three cities date back further to 1709. Later, in the twentieth century, there were two interruptions in the festival performances due to the First and Second World Wars. For more information on the Three Choirs Festival, see Anthony Boden and Paul Hedley, *The Three Choirs Festival: A History* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017).
[554] Traditionally, the festival was held in early September. However, in 2012 the festival was moved to the last week of July in order to avoid clashing with the Summer Olympics that took place in London that year. Since then, the event has been permanently moved to be held annually during this earlier date.
[555] Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*, 109.

unsuitable for a serious, sacred festival.[556] However, many residents of the Three Choirs towns cited the charitable nature of the festival as well as the economic benefits to the towns.[557] The supporters of the festival succeeded in their aims. As each year progressed throughout the 1880s, the programming gradually evolved as well and began to include more secular works such as *La Damnation de Faust*. In addition to popular selections from *Faust*, this decade saw the first performances at the Three Choirs Festival of several works by British composers, including the first Gloucester performance of Hubert Parry's *Prometheus Unbound* (1880), *The Glories of Our Blood and State* (1883), and *Suite Moderne* (1886).[558]

Selections from *La Damnation de Faust* were only programmed on two of the Three Choirs Festivals during the nineteenth century. These performances occurred in the town halls during the 1884 festival in Worcester and during the 1897 festival in Hereford.[559] Berlioz's music was popular at the 1884 festival, with a total of four works performed on two of the concerts. For the first night of the festival on 9 September, four selections from three of Berlioz's works were performed, including the selections from

[556] Ibid.
[557] Ibid.
[558] Ibid., 113-14. Other notable first festival performances during this decade included Frederick Cowen's *Ruth* (Worcester, 1887) and Henry Holmes's *Christmas Day* (Worcester, 1881). In addition, Rosalind Ellicott, one of the leading female composers in Britain of her generation, was also given a platform to present her music at the Gloucester Festival in 1889. It should be noted that orchestral and secular works like the Parry were not presented in the cathedral, but in the town hall during the evening performances.
[559] Copies of the 1884 Worcester Festival program and the 1897 Hereford Festival program are held in the British Library, Worcester Musical Festival (1886-1938), 7903.bb.4 and Hereford Musical Festival (1870-1949), vol. 1897-1912, 7903.bb.1. In addition, other music by Berlioz besides *Faust* was programmed on the 1887 Worcester Festival, and the 1888, 1906, and 1909 Hereford Festivals, including a performance of the *Te Deum* at the 1906 Hereford Music Festival. Copies of the 1906 Festival performance can be found at the British Library Hereford Music Meeting (1906), c.376 and Hereford Musical Festival (1870-1949), vol. 1897-1912, 7903.bb.1 and at the Foundling Museum Gerald Edward Coke Collection, Hereford Musical Festival (1900-12), 1031.

Faust. The concert contained vocalists from Worcester, Hereford, Gloucester, and the Birmingham Festival Chorus, all of which were conducted by William Done in performances of Berlioz's "Absence" from *Les Nuits d'Ete* (soloist: Mrs. Hutchinson), "Bolero" (*Zaïde*), and the *Ballet des sylphes* and *Marche hongroise* from *Faust*.[560] According to *The Musical Times*, the performance of the *Ballet* and *Marche* was well received: "and the refined rendering by the band of the 'Danse des Sylphes,' from Berlioz's 'Faust,' was enthusiastically" encored by audience demand.[561] In addition, Berlioz's orchestration of Weber's *L'Invitation à la valse* was performed two nights later on the second concert, again conducted by William Done.[562]

Despite the audience's warm acceptance of the work, selections from *Faust* were not programmed again at the festival until 1897. As with the previous appearance of *Faust* selections in 1884, the 1897 festival contained performances of just the *Marche hongroise* and the *Ballet des sylphes*, which were conducted by Gloucester Cathedral organist George Robertson Sinclair (1863–1917) at the Shire Hall.[563] The selections were once again warmly applauded, but were not mentioned at all in the review of the festival

[560] Copies of the 1884 Worcester Festival programs are held in the British Library, Worcester Musical Festival (1886-1938), 7903.bb.4. William Done (1815–95) directed the Worcester festival from 1844 to 1887. See Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*, 89.
[561] "The Worcester Musical Festival," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* vol. 25, No. 500 (October 1, 1884, 577-78 and 583-85), 583.
[562] Copies of the 1884 Worcester Festival programs are held in the British Library, Worcester Musical Festival (1886-1938), 7903.bb.4.
[563] Copies of the 1897 Hereford Festival programs are held in the British Library, Hereford Musical Festival (1870-1949), vol. 1897-1912, 7903.bb.1. Although not part of the official Three Choirs Festival, George Robertson Sinclair (1863–1917) actually did conduct a complete performance of *La Damnation de Faust* with the Hereford Choral Society on a separate subscription concert on 11 April 1899. This was the first time a complete performance of the work was given in Hereford. For more information, see "Hereford Choral Society's Next Concert," *Hereford Times* [Hereford, England] 18 March 1899: 8 and "Hereford Choral Society," *Hereford Times* [Hereford, England] 15 April 1899: 8.

by *The Musical Times*, which stated that, although the audience enjoyed the concert, it was "unnecessary to dwell upon such well-known works and their performance, simply because a London band played them."[564] After this concert, *La Damnation de Faust* had to wait another hundred years for its first complete performance at the Three Choirs Festival, which finally took place during the 1998 festival in Gloucester.[565]

Conclusion

While the period between 1890 and 1914 saw further increase in the establishment of several new triennial festivals, many of these were short-lived. By the start of the First World War, many of the festivals that had flourished during the nineteenth century had folded due to financial constraints. In order to support the war effort, almost all of the festival activities ceased during the war years. However, the few festivals that did survive the disruption of the war, such as the Three Choirs Festival, continued to prosper throughout the twentieth century. Although subjected to a barrage of technological and cultural changes throughout the ensuing decades, many of these festivals, especially the Three Choirs, continue to serve a vital role in Britain's musical life.

[564] "Festival of the Three Choirs," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* vol. 38, No. 656 (October 1, 1897, 677-78 and 583-85), 678.

[565] Even one hundred years later, the 1998 performance was still considered a highly controversial issue to program the work at the festival. However, as a testament to the work's continued popularity and acceptance in Britain, the performance was a sell-out and received rave reviews from the Guardian's critic Barry Millington. See Anthony Boden and Paul Hedley, *The Three Choirs Festival: A History*, 343-44.

CHAPTER 5

Berlioz at the Turn of the Century: *La Damnation de Faust* as a Repertoire Standard for British Choral Societies and Orchestras, 1880-1918

Introduction

By the 1880s, *La Damnation de Faust* had entered the British choral repertory, as it had been transformed from a transgressive score into a morality tale by Victorian performers. It was taken up by festivals, but also by other organizations. As stated in the previous chapter, choral societies proliferated in Britain during the second half of the nineteenth century. These societies were by-products of the Victorian compulsion for reform, a compulsion in which music education performed a crucial role. As Charles Edward McGuire has pointed out, through the efforts of singing societies and music education methods, generations of children in the late Victorian Era were taught how to sing by ear using the Tonic Sol-Fa system and other non-traditional ear-training methods.[566]

The implementation of music education programs was so effective that within a single generation many Victorians of all classes were actively engaged in music, either through performing or attending various concerts and festivals:

> The state of music teaching in schools at the close of Victoria's reign presented a very different picture from the desolation prevailing when the queen came to the throne. Then, it had proved necessary to justify music teaching to the nation and Parliament on other than purely musical grounds. Now, the choice of school songs no longer depended principally upon the message of their words, and a wide array of national and folk

[566] For more information on the history of the Tonic Sol-fa Movement and its use as tool for music education, see Charles Edward McGuire, *Music and Victorian Philanthropy: The Tonic Sol-fa Movement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

> songs were being brought back into currency through children's participation.[567]

This idea of using music as an acceptable leisure activity was attractive to both the middle and working classes throughout the nineteenth century and many autodidacts from both of these demographics equally enjoyed the benefit of performing in amateur vocal societies:

> There were many music-lovers in lower walks of life whose activities in choral music played an important part in Lancashire life. The constant friction between employers and workers in the textile trade needed a special social technique if religious and intellectual life was to go on in nineteenth-century Lancashire, and a majority was determined that it should.[568]

Although the recruitment into these societies had exponentially increased during the late Victorian Era as a result of the numerous educational reforms, the tradition of recruiting amateur choristers from the working classes actually dates back to the late 1830s. For example, the official 'Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education for the years 1840-41' noted with satisfaction that many of the singers in the choral societies came from the middle class and artisan communities.[569] Furthermore, a famous passage regarding the Norwich Festival noted of the backgrounds of many of the choir singers: "Here is a chorus of two hundred and seventy voices, more than two hundred of whom are living in Norwich—weavers, dyers, tailors, and shoemakers, who leave their looms

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[567] See Bernarr Rainbow, "The Rise of Popular Music Education in Nineteenth-Century England," *Victorian Studies*, 30/1 (autumn, 1986): 47.
[568] Reginald Nettel, *The Orchestra in England* (A. W. Bain and Co. ltd., 1946), 166.
[569] Originally mentioned in Eric D. Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music* (London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1974), 155. See also Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 247.

and vats and shop-boards to perform the most sublime of Mozart's compositions with a degree of feeling and expression, quite marvelous."[570]

Part of the reason for such a widespread participation in these amateur societies from the working classes was due to the fact that many of the local business owners encouraged it as a means to promote community involvement for the numerous citizens that had migrated from the farms to the factory during the early nineteenth century.[571] In addition, many factory owners saw participation in these societies as a vehicle to help new workers transition into factory working conditions by allowing them to develop crucial industrialized labor skills, such as teamwork and discipline: "For the middle class, culture was in itself instructive but first required that people be instructed in it; hence the didactic character of attempts to encourage working-class 'appreciation' of music."[572] Combined with the influences from Non-Conformist sects and Methodism, this resulted in a passion for singing throughout Britain.[573] By the end of the century, there was scarcely a moderate-sized town that did not have its own local choral society. For

[570] Robin Humphrey Legge and W. E. Hansell, *Annals of the Norfolk and Norwich Triennial Musical Festivals, 1824–1893 with Portraits and Facsimiles and a Preface by J. A. Fuller-Maitland* (London: Jarrold and Sons, 1896), 57.
[571] This migration had occurred as a direct result of industrialization and reforms in agricultural efficiency. For more information, see Susie L. Steinbach, *Understanding the Victorians: Politics, Culture, and Society in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 77-97.
[572] Derek B. Scott, "Music and Social Class in Victorian London," *Urban History*, 29/1, Special Issue: Music and Urban History (May 2002): 69. This was especially apparent in the rise of the British Brass Band Movement among the middle- and working-classes: "The British Brass Band Movement, in the second half of the century, was another example of 'rational recreation', hence the willingness of factory owners to sponsor works bands. These bands had their roots in the industrial North, but the steel, ironworks and shipping companies of East London also had bands in the 1860s." Ibid. For more information on the rise of the British Brass Band Movement, see Trevor Herbert, ed., *The British Brass Band: A Musical and Social History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
[573] As Pippa Drummond astutely points out, even the original title for *The Musical Times* was actually *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* for most of the nineteenth century. See Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*, 243.

example, the North Staffordshire Festival that was founded in 1888 utilized a chorus formed from an amalgamation of at least nine separate choral societies that operated in the surrounding areas.[574]

Because of their connection with the triennial festivals, many of these local choral societies operated and performed the music that they had learned in preparation for the major festivals on an annual basis. This was a common and cost-effective practice that almost all of the British choral societies engaged in during this period. A prime example of a piece that benefited from this practice was *La Damnation de Faust*. Although the work presented certain challenges, it was a useful score to include in a local festival society's repertory. For example, the Birmingham Choral Society performed the complete *Faust* at least three times outside of the three performances that were officially part of the Birmingham Triennial Festival.[575] Likewise, the Bradford Choral Society performed the complete *Faust* on two separate occasion as part of their annual subscription series in Leeds in January 1883 and February 1886.[576]

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[574] Reginald Nettle, *Music in the Five Towns, 1840–1914: A Study of the Social Influence of Music in an Industrial District with a preface by Frank Howes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1944), 37.

[575] All of these performances were conducted by Mr. Stockley. Two of them were actually given a decade before the first official festival performance of the work at the height of the Berlioz fever in 1882 and 1883. The 1882 concert was also the first time the complete work was performed in Birmingham. For more information on the performances in 1882, 1883, and 1892 see the three separate entries entitled "Festival Choral Society," *Birmingham Daily Post* [Birmingham, England] on 17 February 1882, 2 February 1883, and 9 December 1892.

[576] See list of *Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates. Most of the Bradford Festival Choral Society performances are listed in G. F. Sewell, *History of the Bradford Festival Choral Society from its Formation in 1856 to its Jubilee in 1906* (Bradford: G. F. Sewell, 1907). For information on 10 January 1883 performance in Leeds, see "Berlioz's 'Faust' at the Leeds Town Hall." *Leeds Mercury* [Leeds, England] 11 January 1883: n.p. For information on 16 February 1886 performance in Leeds, see "Berlioz's Faust." *Leeds Mercury* [Leeds, England] 17 February 1886: n.p.

In addition to the familiarity of the work from the triennial festivals, the role played by male choruses in *Faust* easily suited the disposition of choral forces available at the time. This was partially because male voices were used exclusively in cathedral choirs. These singers tended to participate in secular choral societies as well, which resulted in many of the festivals encouraging the use of male voices for the treble and alto parts throughout most of the nineteenth century.[577] This was also a direct consequence of the British cathedral tradition. Birmingham, for example, was the first to admit women into their alto section as late as 1849.[578] Even so, the proportion of men to women was still lopsided, with just seventeen women compared to sixty male altos.[579]

Outside of the cathedral choir, other secular all-male musical organizations prospered during this time as a means of providing "rational recreation" to men from the various middle- and working-classes:

> "Rational recreation" was regarded by many Victorians as a highly desirable concomitant of the new leisure. The civilizing of industrial society, or its 'social control', was to be achieved by a two-pronged attack: the suppression of barbarous traditionally popular pastimes, and their replacement, in the phrase of an eminent factory master of the 1830s, by "endless sources of rational amusement."[580]

Based on the reforming zeal of the Victorian middle class, this concept promoted the idea of using one's leisure time for self-improvement:

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[577] See Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*, 246.
[578] Brian W. Pritchard, "The Musical Festival and the Choral Society in England in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century: A Social History," Unpublished Doctoral Thesis (University of Birmingham, 1968), 843. Cited in Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*, 246.
[579] Ibid. Other festivals soon began to follow Birmingham's example, but this imbalance was only righted after the turn of the twentieth century.
[580] Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 66. See also H. Phillips, *Musical and Personal Recollections during Half a Century* (1864), 234.

> Support was also drawn from the moral wing of mid-Victorian Liberalism, appealing to temperate, self-improving, respectable, and socially responsible citizens of all classes in the interests of progress, and attacking reactionary defenders of the status quo, those involved in drink, in betting, in brutal sports or lacking sexual restraint.[581]

In terms of gender discrepancy, this was especially the case for the leisure pursuits of men, who were more likely to fall into the various temptations and vices listed above: "Here was a zone where social distinctions were vulnerable, an area where some forms of association were cross-class, challenging conventional social distinctions."[582]

Therefore, by the mid-nineteenth century many middle- and working-class men had been recruited by these musical institutions: "Persuasion was used, but no coercion was needed to interest the working class in music; the all-pervasive ideology of respectability and improvement meant that music, instrumental as well as vocal, could be found even on the timetable at Mechanics' Institutes, especially after 1830."[583] The inclusion of the working-classes in musical activities can be particularly seen in the secular choral societies. As William Weber notes, established in 1832, the Sacred Harmonic Society in London, "acted as a rallying-point for people who felt distaste for the modish, status-seeking tendencies in the high-status popular-music world. In London

[581] Mike J. Huggins, "More Sinful Pleasures? Leisure, Respectability and the Male Middle Classes in Victorian England," *Journal of Social History*, 33/3 (2000): 586. For more information on rational recreation among the Victorian classes, see Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885* (London: Routledge, 1978).
[582] Ibid., 588.
[583] Derek B. Scott, "Music and Social Class in Victorian London," 69. For more information on the use of music as a leisure pursuit, see Dave Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840-1914: A Social History*, 2nd Edition (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987).

the choristers sang almost entirely religious music and thereby provided a strong moral contrast to the fashion-oriented benefit concerts."[584]

As the nineteenth century progressed, more women were slowly added to sing the soprano parts. This rebalance between genders was especially slow in the north of England. Male altos were still prominent as late as the 1880s. At the Leeds Festival in 1880 the alto section was comprised of thirty-four men compared to forty-one women.[585] Similarly, the performance of *Faust* at the Huddersfield Festival the following year contained a chorus that consisted of 67 sopranos, 40 women contraltos, 26 male altos, 68 tenors, 62 basses, and 14 boys.[586] However, this focus on male singers fit the choral demands of *La Damnation de Faust* perfectly, as the sonority of a male choir was expertly employed by Berlioz throughout the score. As the critic of *The Manchester Courier* noted, "it is essentially a masculine work, the opposite element being given little prominence."[587]

As a result, *La Damnation de Faust* became so popular on professional choral society programs that it was performed at least 178 times between 1880 and 1918.[588] For

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[584] William Weber, *Music and the Middle Class: The Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris, and Vienna between 1830 and 1848* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 1975), 118.
[585] Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914*, 246.
[586] Percy A. Scholes, *The Mirror of Music: 1844-1944*, vol. 1 (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1947), 162-63.
[587] "The Halle Concert," *The Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 30 November 1900. The newspaper also commented on the masculinity of the work after a performance given by Richter in Manchester in 1902: "The masculine element in it is very strong, not only as regards the soloists, but in the choral and orchestral portions." See "The Halle Concert," *The Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 7 March 1902.
[588] At the time of this publication I have uncovered at least 603 total performances of *La Damnation de Faust* between 1880 and 1918. (This number includes both performances of the complete work as well as concerts containing only selections from the score.) However, I have reason to believe that there were undoubtedly more than the ones already compiled by me. See list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.

example, in addition to regular programming in Manchester, first under Hallé and later under Hans Richter, the complete *Faust* was soon regularly programmed on London societies as well, most notably the Royal Choral Society under Joseph Barnby. Although Hallé was by far responsible for conducting the most complete performances of *Faust* during the nineteenth century, by 1918, several prominent British born conductors had begun to program the score. Picking up from where the previous chapters left off, this chapter discusses the continued performance history of *La Damnation de Faust* in Manchester and London between 1880 and 1918.

The Hallé after Hallé: The Orchestra's Role in the Promotion of *Faust* between 1895 and 1918 and the Rise of Hans Richter

By the time he died, Hallé had conducted *Faust* fifty-five times between 1880 and 1895.[589] After his death, the Manchester Orchestra (renamed after its pioneering conductor) continued to program Berlioz's score. Over the next thirty-five years it was conducted by: Sir Frederic Cowen (1895-99); Hans Richter (1899-1911); Michael Balling (1912-14); and Sir Thomas Beecham (in an advisory role only, 1915-1920). In the period between Hallé's death in 1895 and 1918, the Hallé Orchestra performed either the complete *Faust* or selections from the work a total of some thirty-two different times under the leadership of at least nine different conductors.[590] Fourteen of these performances were of the complete work.[591] The orchestra's continuation of performing *Faust* throughout the turn of the century made economic sense, as by this point the work

[589] See list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.
[590] Ibid.
[591] Ibid.

had become a repertory item that the orchestra, chorus, and soloists all knew and therefore could perform with little rehearsal time.

Of the four official permanent conductors who led the Hallé Orchestra between 1895 and 1918, Michael Balling (1866–1925) was the only one that did not conduct any performances of *Faust*.[592] Sir Frederic Cowen was responsible for conducting the work a total of four times: two complete performances and two selections.[593] One of the two complete performances was conducted in Manchester in 1898 and the other in Bradford as part of the 1904 Bradford Musical Festival.[594] Although Sir Thomas Beecham conducted *La Damnation de Faust* a total of eleven times during the early stages of his career leading up to the end of the 1918 season, he only conducted the complete score one time during that period. This performance took place on 25 October 1917 in Manchester as the second concert of the Hallé Orchestra's sixtieth season.[595] The performance was the twenty-fifth time the complete work was given by the orchestra

[592] Copies of all of the Hallé Orchestra programs between 1895 and 1918 are currently housed in the Hallé Orchestra Archive in Manchester, UK. Michael Balling was a German violist and conductor. Before conducing the Hallé Orchestra, Balling had at first established himself as a violist by playing the instrument with great success in Wagner operas at the Bayreuth Festival. He also later conducted there from 1906 to 1909 and in 1914.

[593] Curiously, both Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra performances containing selections from *Faust* that were conducted by Frederic Cowen took place in Ireland: the first was given in Dublin on 7 March 1898 and the second was given in Belfast on 10 April 1899. For information on the 7 March 1899 concert see Halle Orchestra Archive, Hoffman Papers, PC/28/1/2. For information on the 10 April 1899 concert see: "Halle Orchestra Concert." *Belfast News-Letter* [Belfast, Ireland] 7 Apr. 1899: n.p. and "Halle Orchestra Concert." *Belfast News-Letter* [Belfast, Ireland] 11 Apr. 1899: n.p.

[594] Copies of the 10 November 1898 program can be found in the British Library, Hallé Concerts Society (1898-99), 1560/657 and in the Hallé Orchestra Archive, Hallé Concerts, 1898-99. The 16 December 1904 performance in Bradford was the eighth time the complete *La Damnation de Faust* was given at the Bradford Musical Festival since its inception. For more information on this performance, see G. F. Sewell, *History of the Bradford Festival Choral Society from its Formation in 1856 to its Jubilee in 1906* (Bradford: G. F. Sewell, 1907), 265.

[595] A copy of the program is currently housed in the Hallé Orchestra Archive, Hallé Concerts, 1917-18. See also Michael Kennedy, *The Hallé Tradition: A Century of Music* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1960), 207.

since February 1880.[596] Augmenting the orchestra was a chorus of over 350 voices as well as the soloists: Miriam Licette, Frank Mullings, Harry Pashley, and Herbert Brown.[597] Ernest Newman, who loved Berlioz's music, supplied the program notes for the performance.[598] In addition to this complete performance, Beecham conducted selections from *Faust* with the Hallé Orchestra on four other occasions: one took place in St Helens, Merseyside in 1899 and the other three occurred in Manchester between 1915 and 1918.[599] The greatest number of performances of *La Damnation de Faust* that were given by the Hallé Orchestra under a single conductor after Hallé's death were led by Hans Richter. Between 1899 and 1911, Richter conducted at least seventeen total performances of the work with the Hallé Orchestra.[600] Eight of these performances were of the complete work.[601] In addition, Richter conducted *Faust* another ten times with various other ensembles throughout Britain, including six more complete performances.[602]

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[596] Ibid.
[597] Ibid.
[598] Ibid.
[599] In fact, the 6 December 1899 concert was the first professional concert that Thomas Beecham had ever conducted. For more information, see Maurice Parker, *Sir Thomas Beecham, Bart, C.H. (1879-1961): A Calendar of his Concert and Theatrical Performances* (Westcliff-on-Sea: Sir Thomas Beecham Society, 1985. Supplement published in 1990). For exact dates, see list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix.
[600] See list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.
[601] Ibid.
[602] See Table 5.1. For exact dates, see list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix. Three of these complete performances were given as part of the Birmingham Musical Festival in 1891, 1897, and 1909. For more information on Richter's role in the promotion of *Faust* with the Birmingham Festival, see chapter 4.

Table 5.1: Total Number of Performances of *La Damnation de Faust* given by Select Conductors, 1848-1918[603]

Conductor	Complete	Selection	Total
Henry J. Wood	3	151	154
Charles Hallé	45	33	78
Hans Richter	14	13	27
August Manns	7	18	25
Landon Ronald	0	23	23
Joseph Barnby	18	1	19
Cavallero L. Zavertal	0	19	19
Dan Godfrey	0	15	15
Frederic H. Cowen	7	7	14
Claude Jacquinot	12	0	12
Alberto Randegger	5	7	12
Thomas Beecham	2	9	11
W. G. Cusins	0	10	10
Arthur W. Payne	0	7	7
R. S. Burton	6	1	7
Edouard Colonne	0	6	6
Charles Lamoureux	0	5	5
Frederick Bridge	4	1	5
Hector Berlioz	0	5	5
Joseph Bradley	4	1	5
Hamilton Harty	0	1	1
M. Pasdeloup	0	1	1

A disciple of Richard Wagner, Hans Richter (1843–1916) first came to England in 1877 in order to aid his ailing friend and mentor as the conductor in a major series of Wagner concerts that were put on in London that year as part of a celebratory Wagner

[603] All of the statistics in Table 5.1 are derived from published and periodical sources as well as archival research completed in eleven different archives in England, Scotland, and France in the spring of 2017. Special thanks to the British Library, Royal College of Music, Royal Albert Hall Archive, Royal Academy of Music, London Metropolitan Archive, Oxford University's Bodleian Library, Manchester Central Library, Hallé Orchestra Archive, Royal Northern College of Music, the Foundling Museum, and the National Library of Scotland. For more information and exact dates of specific performances, see list of *Damnation of Faust* performances in Appendix.

festival.[604] Spearheaded by the longtime Wagner enthusiast Edward Dannreuther (1844–1905), who had founded the Wagner Society in England in 1872, the festival was comprised of six concerts entirely of Wagner's music.[605] The composer himself traveled to England for the event and shared the conducting duties with Hans Richter:

> [Wagner came] to personally conduct his own music, a task for which he knew himself, as all of us now know him, to be unfitted. The master, great as he is in other respects, is a poor conductor, equally lacking spirit and the power of control… but now is the time to acknowledge the very valuable services of Herr Richter, the Wagnerian conductor *par excellence*. Whenever the baton fell from the nerveless hand of the master, Herr Richter took it up to retrieve the fortunes of the day. And right well he did this. New life appeared to animate the orchestra, every man of whom seemed to be in a measure inspired.[606]

After the warm reception that he received during the Wagner festival, Richter began to make annual trips to England to conduct two series of concerts each year starting in 1879: one during the late spring and early summer and the other during the autumn and early

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[604] The spirit of this festival continued throughout the following decades and was brought back in the 1890s by Alfred Schulz-Curtius, who organized several Grand Orchestral Concerts for Wagner starting in 1894. These concerts often featured Berlioz's music on the programs as well, especially the overtures and symphonies. However, none of the concerts featured performances or selections from *La Damnation de Faust*. Copies of the programs for this series are currently housed at the British Library, Alfred Schulz-Curtius´ Grand Wagner Concerts (1894-98), g.1761.a.

[605] Christopher Fifield, *Hans Richter*, (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2016), 117; he is best remembered today as the teacher of Sir Hubert Parry. Edward Dannreuther was a German pianist and music critic, who settled in England after 1863. He published numerous books on music and was a supporter of both Wagner and Berlioz's music. He co-founded the Working Men's Society in 1867. A private society comprised of exclusive membership, the society met weekly where they would play and criticize individual performances of modern works by its members. Some of the music performed at these gatherings was by Hector Berlioz. For example, the 27 July 1867 concert included Berlioz's "Fête chez Capulet" from *Romeo and Juliette* that was arranged by Klindworth for two pianos, eight hands. For more information on Dannreuther and the Working Men's Society, see Jeremy Dibble, "Edward Dannreuther and the Orme Square Phenomenon," in Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley, *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000: 275-98), 280-81.

[606] "The Wagner Festival," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, vol. 18, No. 412 (1 June 1877), 276-7. Original italics. Also cited in Christopher Fifield, *Hans Richter*, 122-23. Christopher Fifield's definitive biography of Richter also contains a much more detailed account of the conductor's life and career in England.

winter. Advertised as the Richter Concerts, the enterprise was managed by the concert agent Narciso Vertigliano (or, as he styled himself, N. Vert, 1845–1905), who hired a freelance orchestra to accompany Richter for the duration of each mini-season.

The orchestra performed a series of concerts in London and then would tour the British provinces, often stopping in the major cities such as Manchester, Birmingham, and Edinburgh. Richter's concerts soon became famous for their high quality of music, which was later commented on by the playwright and music critic, George Bernard Shaw:

> When Herr Richter disbanded his orchestra on Monday last, London was left to face three months without concerts of high class music. Only the well-to-do amateurs will be any the worse, for there is practically no regular provision made at any time throughout the year for the mass of people who like good orchestral music, but who cannot afford to spend more than a couple of shillings a week on gratifying their taste. Of weekly concerts of recognized excellence we have two sets: the Saturday afternoons at the Crystal Palace in the winter and early spring, and the Richter concerts from spring to midsummer, with a few extra performances very late in the autumn or early winter.[607]

Richter's concerts often included Berlioz's music, particularly the overtures and symphonies.[608] In fact, after Wagner and Beethoven, Berlioz was the most performed composer in the first four years of the series.[609] Although Berlioz's music was often performed at the concerts, Richter did not program either the complete *La Damnation de*

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[607] Bernard Shaw, *Shaw's Music: The Complete Musical Criticism in Three Volumes*, ed. by Dan H. Laurence. vol. 1 (London: Max Reinhardt, The Bodley Head, 1981), 272-3.

[608] This can be seen in the copies of the seasonal programs that remain. Bound copies of the Richter concert seasons are held in the Hallé Orchestra Archive in Manchester, UK. Furthermore, all of the dates of Richter's concerts were kept by the conductor himself in private journals. These were later published in an appendix in Christopher Fifield, *Hans Richter*, 471-746.

[609] This information has been neatly organized in the form of a cumulative index that appeared at the back of the program for 18 May 1897 that is currently housed in the Mander & Mitchenson Theatre Collection, Trinity College of Music, London. Also cited in Leanne Langley, "Agency and Change: Berlioz in Britain, 1870-1920," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 132/2 (2007): 332 and 332fn no. 60.

Faust or even the more popular selections on one of his concerts until 1888. The first time that Richter conducted the work was a complete performance as part of his annual concert series in St. James's Hall on 18 June 1888.[610] The performance was well received by both critics and audiences:

> The critical crowd that sought for special features of interest in Dr. Hans Richter's reading of Berlioz's "Faust" on Monday evening found them almost exclusively in the execution of the picturesque instrumentation which adorns that masterpiece. If the Albert Hall choir retains pride of place for its unsurpassable rendering of the "Faust" choruses, it may with equal truth be said that the Richter band has now, under the inspiration of its accomplished chief, revealed a similar degree of perfections in its own branch of the work.[611]

Although there were not any encores given at this performance, the review from *The Times* concluded that Richter and his orchestra's interpretation of the work "was an achievement to be remembered."[612]

Richter's interpretation of *Faust* was, in fact, so well received that another complete performance was planned for the ninth and last concert of the following summer concert series in 1889.[613] After this performance, Bernard Shaw summed up Richter's masterful interpretation of Berlioz's score:

> Call no conductor sensitive in the highest degree […] until you have heard him in Berlioz and Mozart. I never unreservedly took my hat off to Richter until I saw him conduct Mozart's great symphony in E flat [no. 39]. Now, having heard him conduct Berlioz's *Faust*, I repeat the salutation […]

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[610] Copies of the program are currently held in the Hallé Orchestra Archive, Richter Concerts, 1888 Summer Season and in the Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library, Bannister Scrapbook Collection 2 (1888-1899), R780.2 Sj3, vol. 10.
[611] "Music and Musicians," *The Sunday Times* (London, England), Sunday, June 24, 1888; 7.
[612] Ibid.
[613] The concert took place on 8 July 1889. Copies of the program held in the Royal College of Music, London: St. James's Hall, Richter Concerts, 1889-94, CHGEa7 and in the Hallé Orchestra Archive, Richter Concerts, 1889 Summer Season. Richter was appointed as the permanent conductor of the Birmingham Festival in 1884 following the death of the previous conductor, Sir Michael Costa.

> When the scene on the banks of the Elbe began – more slowly than any but a great conductor would have dared to take it – then I knew that I might dream the scene without fear of awakening a disenchanted man. As to the dance of the will o' the wisps in the third part, Richter's interpretation of that most supernatural minuet was a masterpiece of conducting.[614]

Despite the fact that Richter had only performed the work twice in Britain before 1890, it was made clear to audiences and critics that he was very capable of conducting the difficult work.

Richter's third and fourth times conducting the score were also complete performances as part of the Birmingham Triennial Festivals in 1891 and 1897.[615] The fifth time Richter performed *Faust* in Britain was also during one of his Richter Concert Series presentation. This performance, which took place in Hull on 27 November 1900, also marked the first time that Richter conducted just excerpts from the work: the *Menuet des follets* and the *Marche hongroise*.[616] Thus, although Richter only conducted *Faust* five times during the first twenty years of his British conducting career, four of them were complete performances.

Richter continued this trend of specializing in complete performances of the work when he took over the Hallé Orchestra in 1899. He conducted the ensemble in a complete

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[614] "The Masterly Richter," *The Star*, 9 July 1889. Reprinted in Bernard Shaw, *Shaw's Music: The Complete Musical Criticism in Three Volumes*, ed. by Dan H. Laurence. vol. 1, 692-4.
[615] Copies of the 9 October 1891 festival program are currently held in the British Library, Birmingham Triennial Musical Festival (1817-1909), 7894.s.1 and in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Provincial Concerts, Box 23, John Johnson Collection Concerts index, ANSW/06.98. Copies of the 8 October 1897 festival program are currently held in the British Library, Birmingham Triennial Musical Festival (1817-1909), 7894.s.1. For more information on these performances and Richter's role in performing *Faust* during the choral festival movement, see chapter 4.
[616] "Musical & Dramatic," *Daily Mail* [Hull, England], 23 November 1900: 5.

performance of *Faust* on 29 November 1900.[617] By this time, the Hallé Orchestra had also grown: it increased its payroll to over a hundred musicians.[618] Although Richter did not acquiesce to the Manchester crowd's, by then, customary request for an encore of the *Marche hongroise*, this did not detract from the warm reaction given to him by the audience at the end of the performance. The press reviewed the concert as "a most conspicuous success, and could hardly have been improved."[619] Richter would go on to conduct *Faust* sixteen more times with the Hallé Orchestra over the course of the next eleven years, including seven more complete performance.[620] Two of these were in the year 1902, the latter of which was given in December as a commemoration of the composer's centenary (a year early).[621] The continuation of the annual performance of *Faust* in Manchester by Richter was even commented upon in the local press. As the music critic for the *Manchester Courier* noted, "An annual performance of Berlioz's "Faust" has been looked upon almost as part of the natural order of things since the work was introduced to Manchester and to England by Sir Charles Halle twenty-two years ago."[622]

Richter continued to conduct the Hallé Orchestra throughout the early 1900s. During that period, the orchestra passed many milestones, including its fiftieth anniversary in the 1907-08 season. To commemorate the occasion, Richter led the

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[617] Just two days after his fifth time conducting the work, listed above. A copy of the program is currently held in the Hallé Orchestra Archive, Hallé Concerts, 1900-01.
[618] Michael Kennedy, *The Hallé Tradition: A Century of Music*, 149.
[619] "The Halle Concerts," *The Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 30 November 1900.
[620] See list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.
[621] The centenary concert took place in Manchester on 11 December 1902. For more information, see Michael Kennedy, *The Hallé Tradition: A Century of Music*, 152.
[622] "The Halle Concerts," *The Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 7 March 1902.

orchestra in a gala concert on the first night of the season.[623] The program for this occasion contained many references to the orchestra's first concert in 1858, including a performance of the three most popular excerpts from *La Damnation de Faust*.[624] However, on this occasion it seemed that Richter's interpretation did not please. Critics complained that the ballet: "missed the requisite lightness and lilt, and as a consequence of the music, though neatly and accurately played, dragged unmistakably, while in the 'Hungarian march' [*Marche hongroise*] the tempo adopted was too deliberate and the conception too ponderous."[625]

Richter's last time conducting a complete performance of *Faust* in England was with an entirely different orchestra, in this case the London Symphony Orchestra with the combined amateur forces of the Hanley Glee and Madrigal Society.[626] Throughout his career in England, he conducted *La Damnation de Faust* at least twenty-seven times, the third highest number among conductors who performed the work in Britain throughout the long nineteenth-century.[627] In addition, Richter was the third highest in terms of complete performances of the work conducted during this period.[628]

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[623] The concert took place in Manchester on 7 October 1907. A copy of the program is housed in the Hallé Orchestra Archive, Hallé Concerts, 1907-08. See also "The Halle Concerts," *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* [Manchester, England], 18 Oct. 1907: 10 and Michael Kennedy, *The Hallé Tradition: A Century of Music*, 162-3.

[624] Ibid. Technically the program for the concert only listed the *Marche hongroise* and *Ballet des sylphes*. The inclusion of the *Menuet des follets* was written in by Richter himself in his personal conducting books. See Christopher Fifield, *Hans Richter* book, 716.

[625] "The Halle Concerts," *The Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 18 October 1907. Despite the negative reaction from the critics, these issues did not seem to bother the audience, who thoroughly enjoyed the performance and even obtained a rare encore of the march by Richter and the orchestra.

[626] The concert took place in the Queen's Hall on 6 March 1911. A copy of the program is held in the Halle Orchestra Archive, Hans Richter Archive, Box 1.

[627] See Table 5.1. For exact dates, see list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix.

[628] Ibid.

La Damnation de Faust under Joseph Barnby and the Royal Choral Society

After Hallé, the next conductor who was responsible for performing the complete *La Damnation de Faust* the most frequently in Britain was Sir Joseph Barnby (1838-1896). Born and raised in York, he was part of a new generation of British-born and trained musicians.[629] Barnby was educated at the Royal Academy of Music and, while there, he began to develop a close friendship with Sir Arthur Sullivan. Although Barnby soon became widely known for directing the Royal Choral Society, he was not the first conductor to lead the ensemble.

Charles Gounod had led the society during its first inaugural season. Founded in 1871, the same year that the Royal Albert Hall was completed, it became the resident choir for the new hall. The society's first concert took place on 8 May 1872.[630] The repertoire chosen and conducted by Gounod was well received by a fashionable audience that included Queen Victoria along with several members of the royal family.[631] Although considered a success, this concert was in many ways the pinnacle of Gounod's success with the choir, as the following concerts proved to be financially disastrous for both Gounod and the Society. He resigned from the position after the first season: "After seven weeks' trial the enterprise, although artistically and educationally successful, had to

[629] Some of Barnby's more well-known compositions include *Sweet and Low*, a popular lullaby that incorporated text by Alfred, Lord Tennyson, and the song *Now The Day Is Over*.
[630] A copy of the program is currently listed online through the Royal Albert Hall, "Our Performance History and Archive," *Royal Albert Hall Performance Archive*, http://catalogue.royalalberthall.com/Default.aspx? (accessed 26 February 2019).
[631] For more information, see "Music," *Daily News*, 9 May 1872: n.p. and "Royal Albert Hall," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, vol. 15, No. 352 (1 June 1872), 498.

be abandoned on financial grounds, the loss amounting to £6,000."[632] That same year, Gounod soon found himself in the middle of several public and private scandals. Gounod had initiated a lawsuit against the formidable London publisher Novello. At the same time, he had planned to mount a concert in July 1872 at the Royal Albert Hall without prior authorization by the Royal Albert Hall Council.[633] The combination of both scandals both added to the building controversy that resulted in Gounod's resignation from the Royal Albert Hall Choral Society by the end of the year.[634]

Largely due to his close connections with Novello, the most powerful choral publisher in Britain, the post of conductor of the Royal Choral Society was offered to Barnby.[635] Barnby accepted the post and immediately merged the resident Royal Choral Society with the chorus from the "Oratorio Concerts" that he had conducted in an agreement with the Albert Hall.[636] Instituted in 1867, and formed primarily of amateur singers, these "Oratorio Concerts" were performed by "Mr Barnby's Choir" and were underwritten by Novello. The understanding was that Barnby would feature music published by Novello at concerts in St. James's Hall.[637] A few years later, this chorus, still under Barnby's leadership, became known as the "Sunday Opera" and were

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[632] "Mr. John Hedley: Retirement from the Secretaryship of the Royal Choral Society," *The Musical Times*, vol. 51, No. 804 (1 February 1910, 87-89), 88. In 1872, £6,000 was roughly equivalent to $594,000 in 2019.
[633] Royal Albert Hall Minute Book, Minutes of 3rd Meeting of Council (27 June 1872), 39-44, appendix A. Also mentioned in letter from Gounod (24 June 1872). Cited in Fiona M. Palmer, *Conductors in Britain: 1870-1914*, 104.
[634] Cited in *The Musical Times*, 1 February 1910 and in Percy A. Scholes, *The Mirror of Music: 1844-1944*, 32.
[635] Royal Albert Hall Minute Book, Minutes of 7th Meeting of Council (23 November 1872), 74. Copy of the agreement between Messrs. Novello, Ewer & Co. and the Council of the Royal Albert Hall, signed by Novello (26 November 1872), 79. Cited in Fiona M. Palmer, *Conductors in Britain: 1870-1914*, 105.
[636] For more information, see chapter 3 from Fiona M. Palmer, *Conductors in Britain: 1870-1914*.
[637] Ibid.

responsible for giving the first London performance of J. S. Bach's *St. John Passion*. They finally merged with the Royal Choral Society in 1875.[638] Finally united under one banner, the Royal Choral Society developed into one of the prominent choral societies in London over the next two decades.[639]

During the first three decades of the Royal Choral Society's existence, the core season consisted of between seven and eleven concerts that were spread over a period of six months from November to late April or early May.[640] The Society performed *La Damnation de Faust* on an almost annual basis over the next twenty years. Between 1882 and 1911, there were twenty complete performances as well as a single concert of just selections.[641] Fourteen of these performances were under Barnby; the first of them took place on 22 March 1882.[642] After the performance, the London press praised Barnby and

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[638] Ibid.

[639] Including the establishment of an annual performance of Handel's *Messiah* on Good Friday in 1878. This tradition still continues up to the present day. The work proved to be the most popular piece that was performed by Barnby during his tenure with the Royal Choral Society, with more than sixty performances given between 1873 and 1896. The second most popular work was Mendelssohn's *Elijah* at twenty-seven performances. Statistics based on the Royal Albert Hall database and the collection of concert programs housed at the London Metropolitan Archive, Royal Choral Society, Box ACC/2370 (1871-1985) and Box LMA/4058 (1867-2000). It is unsurprising that these two works were the most popular choral works performed by the society during this period as they were by far the most popular choral pieces throughout Britain during the late Victorian Era, which can be seen from their performance records for the larger annual and triennial choral festivals. This was also the same case with the performance records given by Charles Hallé in Manchester that was previously discussed in chapter 2.

[640] Statistics based on the Royal Albert Hall database and the collection of concert programs housed at the London Metropolitan Archive, Royal Choral Society, Box ACC/2370 (1871-1985) and Box LMA/4058 (1867-2000).

[641] See Table 6.2 in chapter 6. For exact dates, see list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix.

[642] Barnby conducted the Royal Choral Society from February 1873 until his death in 1896. See Table 5.1. For exact dates, see list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix. Statistics based on the Royal Albert Hall database and the collection of concert programs housed at the London Metropolitan Archive, Royal Choral Society, Box ACC/2370 (1871-1985) and Box LMA/4058 (1867-2000). According to the Royal Albert Hall archival records, Joseph Barnby conducted the Royal Choral Society at the Royal Albert Hall at least 272 times during his tenure as director. See the Royal Albert Hall, "Our Performance History and Archive," *Royal Albert Hall Performance Archive*, http://catalogue.royalalberthall.com/Default.aspx? (accessed 26 February 2019).

the Society for their initiative in performing what at the time was still considered to be a modern score: "For this, if for no other reason, we should be inclined to hail the production of *Faust* as a good omen for the prosperity of a society which may be destined henceforth to play an important part in the development of choral music in London."[643] The review in *The Times* also lauded the ensemble, writing, "The audience which witnessed the performance on Wednesday night was, indeed, as numerous as it was appreciative, and it would be unjust to deny that at least part of the applause was due no less to the excellence of the rendering than to the beauty of the music."[644]

Other reviews proclaimed that, "the enthusiastic reception accorded to Berlioz's Faust" under the direction of Charles Hallé had paved the inevitable way for the work's general adoption by London's major choral societies and that it was therefore only natural that Joseph Barnby and the Royal Choral Society would follow suit.[645] The hard work of both conductor and chorus was additionally recognized by the critic for *The Standard*:

> Special pains have obviously been taken by Mr. Barnby over the preparation of Berlioz's masterpiece and the result of the performance of last night tends to show that the labour has not been wasted. Improvement could hardly be wished for; the most difficult portions of the music were rendered with unfailing accuracy, while there was at all times a breadth and expansiveness, or what may be described as an "open air" feeling, about the interpretation, thoroughly in keeping with the style of the author.[646]

[643] "Albert Hall," *The Times*, 25 March 1882.
[644] Ibid.
[645] "Royal Albert Hall Choral Society," *The Standard*, 23 March 1882.
[646] "Royal Albert Hall Choral Society," *The Standard*, 29 November 1884.

After this performance, *Faust* was programmed annually by the society for the next twenty years. Indeed, by the second performance, *The Musical Times* had taken notice of the score's hold on the London public and further remarked that it was "not likely to sink again into the neglect which it endured for nearly a generation."[647] Despite adverse critiques of Barnby's handling of the orchestra, within two years both he and Royal Choral Society had mastered it. A review from *The Era* of a 26 November 1884 performance opined, "nothing has ever been done better at the Albert Hall under Mr Barnby's skillful direction" and that "no praise can be too great for the decision, judgement, and good taste displayed by Mr Barnby."[648]

Part of the reason for Barnby making *Faust* a feature in the Royal Choral Society's repertory during this period was because he conducted *Faust* in the same way that he would conduct oratorios such as *Elijah*:

> When he [Hallé] first introduced *The Damnation of Faust* here, there were no rival performances to compare with that of the Manchester band. Now the work is a stock piece at the Albert Hall and the Richter concerts; and it has been heard at the Crystal Palace. The result is that London is utterly eclipsed and brought to nought. In vain does Mr. Barnby guarantee metronomic regularity of *tempo* and accurate execution of every note in the score: the work is usually received at the Albert Hall as an unaffectedly pious composition in the oratorio style.[649]

As testified to by the rapid increase in choral societies and triennial musical festivals, the oratorio genre was largely embraced by Victorians at the end of the nineteenth century:

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[647] "Royal Albert Hall Choral Society," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, vol. 24, No. 482 (1 April 1883), 195.
[648] "Berlioz's 'Faust'," *The Era*, 23 March 1882.
[649] Bernard Shaw, "The Absence of Orchestras," *The World*, 13 January 1892. Reprinted in *Shaw's Music: The Complete Musical Criticism in Three Volumes*, ed. by Dan H. Laurence, vol. 2 (London: Max Reinhardt, The Bodley Head, 1981), 519.

> Of all forms of music, that which has long appealed most deeply to the English people is, without question, the oratorio. For it they entertain not only affection but, and with good reason, gratitude. The oratorio became, as it were, a city of refuge to them. Within its walls they sought shelter from the grim and forbidding austerity to which Puritanism had doomed them.[650]

This high regard for the oratorio was understandable, as many Victorians associated the high status of the genre with the close connection that they placed between music and morality:

> It is a commonplace that Victorian attitudes towards music were usually suffused with, and frequently suffocated by, postures of religion and morality. Their most intense manifestation was the oratorio, attendance at which was a tribal rite, demonstrating piety and respectability; a form of religious observance at which applause was an irreverence and the audience made up for lack of musicality by its submission to orthodoxy.[651]

Because Victorians viewed *La Damnation de Faust* as a morality story that was often programmed each season alongside other famous oratorios such as *Elijah*, many choral societies began to classify the work in that same genre. For example, the annual programming of *Faust* alongside other oratorios as part of the Manchester choral season was later commented upon by Hallé's biographer, Robert Beale:

> In Victorian Britain, oratorios — Handel's *Messiah* and *Judas Maccabeus*, in particular, together with Haydn's *The Creation* and (rapidly promoted to the Pantheon) Mendelssohn's *Elijah* — were the most popular genre of music requiring orchestral forces. The above-named were to be the most performed of their kind over the whole succession of Hallé's concerts — along with Mendelssohn's *Lobgesang* (the second symphony) and Beethoven's *Choral Fantasia*. In the last 15 seasons of his life, *Messiah*, *Elijah*, and the newly canonized Berlioz's *Faust* were supremely popular, though the others mentioned above held their place through performance every four years at least.[652]

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[650] Ernest Ford, *A Short History of English Music* (New York: McBride, Nast, and Company, 1912), 150.
[651] Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History*, 68.
[652] Robert Beale, *Charles Hallé: A Musical Life* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 12-13. Original Italics.

However, not all of London's critics agreed with Barnby's anglicizing of *Faust* into the mold of an English oratorio. As Shaw pointed out, by conducting the work in the same style as *Elijah* and *Messiah*, Barnby was in reality transforming the very nature of Faust's eternal damnation that Berlioz was trying to emphasize in *La Damnation de Faust*:

> When the fierce strain put by my critical work on my powers of attention makes it necessary for me to allow my mind to ramble a little by way of relief, I like to go to the Albert Hall to hear one of the performances of the Royal Choral Society. I know nothing more interesting in its way than to wake up occasionally from a nap in the amphitheatre stalls, or to come out of a train of political or philosophic speculation, to listen for a few moments to an adaptation of some masterpiece of music to the tastes of what is called "the oratorio public." Berlioz's Faust is a particularly stiff subject for Albert Hall treatment. To comb that wild composer's hair, stuff him into a frock-coat and tall hat, stick a hymn-book in his hand, and obtain reverent applause for his ribald burlesque of an Amen chorus as if it were a genuine Handelian solemnity, is really a remarkable feat, and one which few conductors except Sir Joseph Barnby could achieve.[653]

Shaw was the only London critic that had the insight to point out that by conducting the work like an oratorio, Barnby was continuing the transformation of the work into a version that suited the reforming and philanthropic principles of Victorian audiences:

> Let me point out that the title of Berlioz's work is The Damnation of Faust, and that the most natural abbreviation would be, not Berlioz's Faust, but Berlioz's Damnation. Now the Albert Hall audience would certainly not feel easy with such a phrase in their mouths. I have even noticed a certain reluctance on the part of mixed assemblies of ladies and gentlemen unfamiliar with the German language to tolerate discussions of Wagner's Götterdämmerung, unless it were mentioned only as The Dusk of the Gods. Well, the sole criticism I have to make of the Albert Hall performance is that the damnation has been lifted from the work. It has been "saved," so to speak, and jogs along in a most respectable manner.

[653] Review first published in *The World*, 8 November 1893. Later republished in Bernard Shaw, *Music in London, 1890-94*, vol. 3 (London: Constable and Company Ltd,, 1932), 80-2.

> The march, which suggests household troops cheered by enthusiastic nursemaids, is encored; and so is the dance of sylphs, which squeaks like a tune on the hurdy-gurdy. The students' Jam nox stellata sounds as though middle-aged commercial travellers were having a turn at it. On the whole the performance, though all the materials and forces for a good one are at the conductor's disposal, is dull and suburban. The fact is, Berlioz is not Sir Joseph Barnby's affair.[654]

However, unlike Marie Antoinette Caroline, who had begun this transformation through the literal changing of the text in her English translation of the libretto, Barnby was taking the process one step further. By conducting the work in the dignified and suburban style of an oratorio, Barnby was actually altering the very nature of the work. As David Cairns insightfully notes:

> When Legouvé listened as Berlioz expounded *La Damnation*, while Théodore Ritter played from the piano-vocal score, he realized that every detail of the music had a purpose and a meaning: "No thought was so hidden, no sensation so fleeting but that he rendered it in the language of sound." (*Soixante Ans de Souvenirs*, I: 310-11). He was right: everything is in the music. We are there, breathing in the din and reek of Auerbach's Cellar and Brander's drunken belching, the sweetly lulling airs of the Elbe valley, the stillness of Marguerite's room. We are there watching the long column of soldiers and students roistering towards the distant town.[655]

Thus, by filtering and altering the demonic intent of Berlioz's score, Barnby and Victorian audiences completely transformed the very nature and heart of the work itself. Whereas Victorian audiences focused on the morality of Faust's fall into temptation and eternal damnation, the version of the Faust story that Berlioz had created in *La Damnation* focused on an entirely different message; that of isolation and loneliness. As Cairns notes, the subject of the work lies in, "the loneliness of Marguerite, her awakened

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[654] Ibid.
[655] David Cairns, "*La Damnation de Faust*," *The Cambridge Berlioz Encyclopedia*, ed. by Julian Rushton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 96.

passions deprived of their object; the loneliness of Méphistophélès himself, the being who can neither love nor die; the loneliness of Faust crying out to the vast, indifferent night sky for the satisfaction, the meaning that eternally eludes him."[656]

Although by 1884 it was noted that the fashion for *Faust* had subsided, the work continued to remain a popular hit among Victorian audiences:

> Because the rage for Berlioz's "Faust" has calmed down a little, there is no reason for supposing that it occupies a less exalted place than heretofore in the estimation of amateurs. Indeed, the numbers that went to hear the "dramatic legend" at the Albert Hall on Wednesday and the attitude of the audience throughout an admirable performance would suffice to belie such a notion.[657]

As one critic from *The Musical Times* observed, "No matter when performed, in the metropolis or in the country, crowds flock to hear, and, having heard, are ready to hear again."[658] This was certainly the case in London: *La Damnation de Faust* was performed in the English capital at least thirty-five times between 1878 and 1882, eighteen of which were complete performances that were mostly conducted by Hallé and Barnby.[659]

By 1892, Barnby and the Royal Choral Society's annual performances of *Faust* were considered a comfy ritual by the society's subscribers:

> The second Concert of the season, on the 23rd ult., was devoted to Berlioz's "Faust," a performance of which is now looked for annually almost as a matter of course by the subscribers. So far as regards the choral portions of the work, the rendering at the Albert Hall is

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[656] Ibid. D. Kern Holoman made a similar comparison, stating that: "It was not Goethe that Berlioz was trying to do particular justice, but to the more general concept of Romantic longing." See D. Kern Holoman, *Berlioz* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 375. For a further discussion on Berlioz's interpretation of Goethe's play, especially the diabolical nature of it, see Daniel Albright, *Berlioz's Semi-Operas* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2001), 81-132 and Michael Fend, "The Diabolical in Berlioz's *La Damnation de Faust*," *The Musical Voyager: Berlioz in Europe*, ed. by David Charlton and Katharine Ellis (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2007), 170-83.

[657] "Royal Albert Hall Choral Society," *The Sunday Times*, 30 November 1884.

[658] Cited in Percy A. Scholes, *The Mirror of Music: 1844-1944*, vol. 1, 108.

[659] See list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.

> unsurpassable and Sir Joseph Barnby's forces were well up to their usual mark on this occasion.[660]

Although the cavernous space of the Royal Albert Hall flattened out the daring choral and orchestral efforts of Berlioz's score, the audience did not seem to mind.[661] Nonetheless, it should be noted that by the early 1890s the annual performances of *Faust* by the Royal Choral Society did not invariably guarantee healthy ticket sales. For example, the performances in 1892 and 1894 each garnered the second lowest returns during both of those seasons.[662]

However, the root cause for the low attendance at those concerts was not necessarily because *Faust*'s popularity was waning due to audience fatigue, but was rather the result of too much of a good thing. During this decade, the Royal Choral Society had to compete with a large number of performances of the work given by other local ensembles. In fact, *Faust* was so popular in London that it was performed at least twenty-two times within the city boundaries as either the complete work or as standalone selections between 1890 and 1894.[663] For example, in 1892 Barnby's performance with the Royal Choral Society that November had to compete with seven other concerts of *Faust* in the capital that year that consisted of either excerpts from the work or the entire

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[660] "Royal Choral Society," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, vol. 33, No. 598 (1 December 1892), 725.
[661] Ibid. The acoustics of the hall have always been a criticism of the space since it first opened. For example, the economist W. S. Jevons in 1878 complained that the hall was an "irretrievable blunder" in size, acoustics, and location: "How strange it is that those whose purpose was the elevation of the public taste, the taste surely of the masses, should have placed their instrument of elevation as far as possible from the masses they were to elevate." See W. S. Jevons, *Amusements of the People* (1878), 18. Cited in Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History*, 61.
[662] Cited from the London Metropolitan Archives, ACC/2370/050, Royal Choral Society Cash Book (June 1886 – January 1947). Also cited in Fiona M. Palmer, *Conductors in Britain: 1870-1914*, 111-14.
[663] See list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.

score.[664] This was much the case for the Royal Choral Society's performance of the work in 1894. While *La Damnation de Faust* was performed four times in London that year (twice in the form of excerpts, twice as complete performances), the two complete performances were given within a week of each other: one was given at the Guildhall School of Music under Joseph Barnby on 5 December and the other was performed with the Royal Choral Society on 13 December under the baton of Alberto Randegger. Furthermore, the year of 1894 can in many ways be considered the climax of the fashion for *La Damnation de Faust* in Britain.

In addition to the continued annual performances of the score both complete and excerpts, that year saw the first British performances of *La Damnation de Faust* as an opera.[665] Berlioz's *Faust* was produced for the opera stage by the Royal Carl Rosa Opera Company as part of their 1894 season. Starting with its first performance in Liverpool on 3 February 1894, the work was performed by the company at least twelve times throughout Great Britain that year, including a few performances in Dublin during the company's tour of Ireland.[666] The responses to Berlioz's *Faust* as an opera were mixed. While some liked the staging of certain parts of the score, most critics and audiences

[664] Charles Hallé and the Manchester Orchestra gave the first two complete performances that year on back-to-back nights in January. See list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.
[665] The first performance of *La Damnation de Faust* as an opera was given in Monte Carlo in 1893. For more information on the performing history of Berlioz's work as an opera, see Heather Hadlock, "'Adapters, Falsifiers and Profiteers': Staging *La Damnation de Faust* in Monte Carlo and Paris, 1893–1903" in *Music in Goethe's Faust*, ed. by Lorraine Byrne Bodley (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), 214-29.
[666] The company also performed *La Damnation de Faust* in: Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Birmingham, and Dublin. For more information, see Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library, Bannister Scrapbook Collection 2 (1888-1899), R780.2 Sj3.

agreed with Berlioz's initial decision that the work as a whole suffered when it was performed on the operatic stage:

> The result of last evening's performance, speaking generally, was to confirm us in our first judgement, expressed at length that many portions of the design are greatly lifted in clearness and dramatic force by stage representation, but that the purely imaginative and unpersonal incidents and features of the weird and gloomy story are prejudiced rather than heightened in effect by the effort to give them "a local habitation and a name," and so to mix the substantial and the unreal for the continuous contemplation of an audience. For this reason the "Ballet of the Sylphs," and all the progress of the scene in which the ballet music for the Evil Spirits is heard, suffer by their trespass upon the realms of the imagination.[667]

This was especially apparent in the ride to the abyss section of the final act. For the staged version, the Carl Rosa Company built mechanical horses for the soloists to ride, which resulted in making the scene appear comical rather than menacing:

> On the last act we need refer only to the ride to hell, which is presumably offered to the public as the culmination of stage managers' efforts. Truth to tell, the stage manager fails lamentably here, as he was bound to fail. Admitted that the horses on which Faust and Mephistopheles make their wild journey are clever pieces of mechanism, and that the rolling panorama of cloud behind suggests to the eye of faith that the steeds are moving in obedience to the gesticulations of the riders, the scene is grotesque rather than impressive, and, like the ascending and descending of angels which follows it, too suggestive of pantomime. The wonderful music sweeping over the whole range of stronger emotions does not move one a bit in presence of these mechanical illusions.[668]

Despite the mixed reviews over the staging of the work, the Carl Rosa Company's performances of *Faust* were in general warmly received by audiences during their 1894 season. Even so, the general consensus that the score did not work as an opera eventually

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[667] Press clipping from 6 October 1894, "Prince's Theatre: The Royal Carl Rosa Opera Company," pasted in Bannister Scrapbook Collection 2 (1888-1899), R780.2 Sj3, vol. 25. Located in Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library.
[668] "Berlioz's 'Damnation of Faust,'" *Glasgow Herald*, 5 February 1894.

won out, as it was not performed as a staged opera in Britain again until the twentieth century.

Barnby continued to direct the Royal Choral Society for the next two years. Out of the nineteen total times that he conducted *La Damnation de Faust* in Britain, only five of those performances were without the Royal Choral Society. The first two were complete performances with the Cardiff Musical Festival in 1892 and 1895.[669] One complete performance and one performance of just the *Marche hongroise* excerpt alone were given with the Guildhall School of Music Orchestra in May and December 1894.[670] The fifth and final performance of *Faust* that was conducted by Barnby without the Royal Choral Society occurred on 14 November 1895.[671] This was the last time that Barnby conducted the complete work and it was also the only time that he conducted it with the Hallé Orchestra.[672] According to the press, Barnby did an admirable job on 14 November, and the Manchester public gave him the "heartiest" welcome "both at the opening and the

[669] For information on the 1892 Cardiff Festival performance of *Faust* see: "Cardiff Musical Festival," *Glasgow Herald* [Glasgow, Scotland] 24 Sept. 1892: n.p. For information on the 1895 Cardiff Festival performance of *Faust* see: "Cardiff Musical Festival," *Leeds Mercury* [Leeds, England] 20 September 1895: n.p. and "Cardiff Musical Festival," *Western Mail* [Cardiff, Wales] 20 September 1895: n.p. A copy of this program is also housed in the Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library, Concert Programs Analytical, BR780.69 CON1, vol. 14.

[670] See list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates. Copies of both programs are currently housed in the British Library, Collection of programmes (1893-95), 7892.w.1. Joseph Barnby was appointed principal of the Guildhall School of Music in 1892, the same year in which he was also bestowed the title of knighthood. Barnby was an educator for most of his professional career as he also worked as a Precentor and then later the Director of Music at Eton College, Windsor (1875-92) before accepting his appointment at the Guildhall School and also briefly conducted the Royal Academy of Music orchestra and chorus from 1886-88. For more information on Sir Joseph Barnby and his role as a music educator, see Fiona M. Palmer, *Conductors in Britain: 1870-1914*, 93-143.

[671] A copy of the program is currently housed in the Hallé Orchestra Archive, Programmes 1888-1896, HA/PR/2/1/30-38. See also Michael Kennedy, *The Hallé Tradition: A Century of Music*, 108.

[672] See Michael Kennedy, *The Hallé Tradition: A Century of Music*, 93. This concert marked the sixteenth time that the complete *Faust* was performed by the orchestra and was also an auspicious performance, as it occurred just three weeks after Charles Hallé had suddenly died of a cerebral hemorrhage mere hours after rehearsing the first concert of the Manchester season on 25 October 1895.

close of the concert."[673] Although Barnby was warmly applauded in Manchester, he was never as a successor to Hallé. Instead, as with several other prominent conductors at the time, Barnby was hired by the orchestra to fill-in throughout the 1895-96 season until Cowen was officially appointed as the new permanent director the following year.[674]

Two months after his final performance of *Faust* in Manchester, Barnby died at the age of fifty-seven. Even after his death, the Royal Choral Society continued to perform *Faust* regularly as part of their standard repertoire up until the turn of the century under three different conductors, including his successor, Sir Frederick Bridge (1844–1924).[675] Born into a musical family, Bridge was an organist, composer, and teacher. He taught harmony and counterpoint at the Royal College of Music and also composed several large-scale choral works. After taking over from Barnby, Bridge would go on to conduct the Royal Coral Society for the next twenty-five years. The process of finding a replacement for Barnby proved difficult: "The vacancy highlighted two things: first, the particularity of choral-orchestral conducting as a function when involving massive forces such as those at the [Royal Albert Hall]; and second, the state of large-scale oratorio

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[673] "Sir Charles Hallé's Concerts: The 'Faust' of Berlioz," *The Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 15 November 1895.

[674] Cowen would not last long in this position, as he was soon replaced in 1899 by Hans Richter, the man that the Hallé Society had been trying to convince to take over since Charles Hallé's death four years earlier. For more information on the interim years of the Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra between 1895 and 1899, leading up to the creation of the Hallé Concerts Society, see Michael Kennedy, *The Hallé Tradition: A Century of Music*, 97-107.

[675] Alberto Randegger conducted one complete performance on 13 December 1894 as the third concert of the Royal Choral Society's twenty-fourth season. Copies of the program are held in the British Library, Collection of programmes (1893-95), 7892.w.1 and in the London Metropolitan Archive, Royal Choral Society, Box ACC/2370 (1871-1985) and Box LMA/4058 (1867-2000). The other complete performance of *Faust* not conducted by Frederick Bridge or Joseph Barnby was led by Alexander C. Mackenzie just two months after Joseph Barnby's death on 12 March 1896. This performance of the *Ballet des sylphes* was particularly well received and it was repeated as an encore by the orchestra. A copy of the program is housed at the British Library, Collection of programmes (1895-96), 7892.w.1. See list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.

production and its value towards the end of the century."[676] Fortunately, after an extensive search, Bridge accepted the post and *The Musical Times* expressed its delight, "Professor Bridge's appointment is a matter for mutual congratulation. No man is more fitted by talent, training, and experience, to occupy the position. Like his predecessor, he is an organist—itself no slight guarantee of ability—his musical compositions are widely known, and on several occasions he has shown his power to conduct large choral bodies."[677]

Bridge's first chance to conduct *Faust* with the Royal Choral Society was during his inaugural season in 1897. He proved competent in the role of coordinating the massive choral forces. Afterwards, critics remarked that:

> Berlioz's "Faust" is one of the works most favoured by the Royal Choral Society and its patrons, and a large audience assembled last night at the Albert Hall to listen to the clever French composer's brilliant but eccentric version of the old legend. For many years past the Cantata has been one of the most successful efforts of this Society, and yesterday's performance was no exception to the rule. Indeed, in some respects a higher standard was attained.[678]

In fact, some critics of this first concert cruelly stated that Bridge's performance was superior to that of the recently deceased Barnby: "On the other hand, it is to be confessed that Sir Frederick Bridge handled the orchestra with a far greater insight and success than did his predecessor."[679] However, Bridge inevitably led the Royal Choral Society in a much different direction. During his twenty-five year period as conductor, Bridge led the

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[676] Fiona M. Palmer, *Conductors in Britain: 1870-1914*, 138.
[677] "Occasional Notes," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, vol. 37, No. 642 (1 August 1896), 524.
[678] "Albert Hall," *The Morning Post*, 10 December 1897.
[679] "Berlioz at the Albert Hall: The Royal Choral Society," *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 10 December 1897.

Royal Choral Society in just five presentations of *Faust*, including four complete performances in 1897, 1902, 1905, and 1910.[680] It appeared that annual performances of *Faust* had died with Barnby. Bridge's first aforementioned presentation of *Faust* took place on 9 December 1897 and was considered "a distinct success," largely due to his skill as a conductor:

> The highly trained choristers of the Royal Choral Society have seldom given a more effective performance of Berlioz's "Faust" than that which took place at the Albert Hall. This in no small measure arose from the improvement which has taken place with regard to the orchestra since Sir Frederick Bridge has assumed the direction, and which, owing to the nature of the work, was especially noticeable on this occasion.[681]

The next time that Bridge conducted the work occurred five years later on 4 December 1902 as the second concert of the Royal Choral Society's thirty-second season.[682]

The 1905 performance on 16 February was well-received. Due to its previous repetition, *The Musical Times* commented that by that point *Faust* had become such a familiar work on choir programs that the Royal Choral Society choristers "may be said to be heard at their best in its fantastic and realistic choruses."[683] Another aspect of this performance was that Bridge decided to use a different English translation of the text. Rather than using the version that had been made by Hallé's daughter, which had been

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[680] The only other performance of *Faust* conducted by Bridge was of just the *Marche hongroise* alone on a concert on 29 May 1911. This was a specialty concert given in the presence of the King and Queen of England. Copies of the program can be found at the London Metropolitan Archive, Royal Choral Society, Box ACC/2370 (1871-1985) and Box LMA/4058 (1867-2000) and in the Royal Albert Hall Performance Archive online, Programme (RAHE/1/1911/2). For more information, see list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix.

[681] "Royal Choral Society," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, vol. 39, No. 659 (1 January 1898), 24.

[682] Copies of the program are currently housed in the British Library, Collection of programmes (1902), 7892.w.1 and in the London Metropolitan Archive, Royal Choral Society, Box ACC/2370 (1871-1985) and Box LMA/4058 (1867-2000).

[683] "Royal Choral Society," *The Musical Times*, vol. 46, No. 745 (1 March 1905), 187.

the standard translation used throughout Britain since its first performance in 1880, this new translation of the libretto was completed by Paul England (1863–1932).[684] Along with the complete score, this version of Berlioz's libretto had been published by Novello two years earlier in October 1903.[685] In addition to the new English translation that was supplied by Paul England, this new publication of *Faust* was also the third edition to include a complete libretto and score that was translated into Tonic Sol-fa notation by W. G. McNaught.[686] While in some ways England's translation of the libretto tried to remain a little more accurate to Berlioz's original text, for the most part it remained heavily altered in order to fit the moral messages that Victorian audiences were by that point accustomed to expect in a *Faust* performance.

This can be particularly seen in the drinking chorus in Auerbach's cellar in scene six. As a reminder, the original libretto in French was:

> Oh! qu'il fait bon, quand le ciel tonne,
> Rester près d'un bol enflammé,
> Et se remplir comme une tonne,
> Dans un cabaret enfumé!
> J'aime le vin et cette eau blonde
> Qui fait oublier le chagrin.
> Quand ma mère me mit au monde

[684] Ibid. Paul England responsible for translating English editions of several popular works in Britain at the turn of the century. Besides *Faust*, he also created an English translation for the Tonic Sol-fa edition of Berlioz's *L'Enfance du Christ* for Novello the following year. A copy of that score is currently held at the British Library, *The Childhood of Christ ... Choruses and words of solos ...*, Berlioz, Hector, B.512.k. (5.), 1904.
[685] The prices and parts that were available for purchase through Novello in 1904 are listed in Novello & Co., *The complete catalogue of music published by Novello and Company* (London: Novello & Co., 1904-1907), Catalog No. 3, 8. For bibliographical information of the score, see Cecil Hopkinson, *A Bibliography of the Musical and Literary Works of Hector Berlioz, 1803-1869* (Edinburgh, 1951; rev. R Macnutt, Tunbridge Wells, 1980), 118.
[686] A complete copy of the 1903 Novello edition is currently held in the British Library, *Faust ... Choruses and words of solos only. Translated...*, Berlioz, Hector, B.382.g. (4.), 1903.

J'eus un ivrogne pour parrain.[687]

In the first English translation that was done by Marie Antoinette Caroline in 1880, the text was altered to:

> When good red wine is freely flowing,
> A fig for the tempest outside!
> Fill and ne'er heed the wind that's blowing,
> By punch-bowl and pipe we'll abide!
> I love the glass that drowneth sorrow,
> Since I was born I ne'er walked straight,
> From my gossip the trick I borrow,—
> He ever had a rolling gait![688]

In Paul England's 1903 version, the text of the drinking song was changed to include more of the original ideas, but overall still retained the same Victorian bleaching:

> Oh, it is rare when winter storms are loudly roaring,
> To sit where the wine sparkles bright,
> While to the roof a heavy cloud of smoke is soaring,
> To revel and drink thro' the night!
> Come, set the golden wine before me!
> I've loved it well since life began;
> I was thirsty when my mother bore me,
> Why should I change now I'm a man?[689]

Although this version is slightly closer in some ways to the original French text, it still omits several of the vices that Victorians tried to eradicate. For example, the idea of the revelry taking place in a cabaret was altered in this case to make it seem like the men

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[687] As printed in the original manuscript, which is currently located in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Musique, MS-1190 (A). Translated into English: "Oh! that it does good, when the sky is ton/Stay close to a flaming bowl/And fill up like a ton/In a smoky cabaret!/I love wine and this blond water/That makes you forget grief/When my mother put me in the world/I had a drunkard for a Godfather."
[688] As published in the original program for the first complete performance of *La Damnation de Faust* in Britain on 5 February 1880 by Hallé. A copy of the program with the printed English libretto is currently located in the Hallé Orchestra Archive, Manchester.
[689] See the printed copy of the 1903 version of *La Damnation de Faust* with Paul England's translation, which is currently held in the British Library, Faust ... Choruses and words of solos only. Translated…, B.382.g.(4.).

were drinking in a common leisure space for Victorian men during this time, such as a smoking room or music hall. Furthermore, although this version of the text includes the comparison that these men were born to be heavy drinkers, it still omits the original implication that the men drinking were raised by a surrogate Godfather who was also a drunkard. After this performance, the new translation of the libretto by England replaced the Hallé version as the primary translation used by the Royal Choral Society up to the start of the First World War. The last complete performance of *Faust* given by Bridge and the Royal Choral Society occurred on 20 January 1910.[690] Once again, the performance "attracted and interested a fairly large audience."[691] Despite the large attendance, the Royal Choral Society would perform only the *Marche hongroise* as a selection from *Faust* the following year on 29 May 1911.[692]

Conclusion

By the early 1900s, performances of the complete *La Damnation de Faust* had finally begun to wane. Part of this could have been due to the artistic preference of Bridge and the Royal Choral Society programming committee. Another reason could have been that the work had begun to be considered as outdated; or, having transcended to popular music halls, brass band, and promenade concerts, *Faust* quite simply by that point could have been experiencing heavy audience fatigue due to over-programming in

[690] "London Concerts," *The Musical Times*, vol. 51, No. 804 (1 February 1910), 110. A copy of the program is currently housed in the London Metropolitan Archive, Royal Choral Society, Box ACC/2370 (1871-1985) and Box LMA/4058 (1867-2000).
[691] Ibid.
[692] A copy of the program is currently housed in the London Metropolitan Archive, Royal Choral Society, Box ACC/2370 (1871-1985) and Box LMA/4058 (1867-2000). A record of the program is also kept in the Royal Albert Hall Performance Archive, which can be accessed online through the Royal Albert Hall Website's CalmView Database.

the previous two decades. In addition, most of these performances were often done in a stylistic manner that focused on a different message than the one the composer had originally intended. In the first decade of the twentieth century, *Faust* was soon overtaken by choral scores by British composers such as Parry and Stanford, as well as Samuel Coleridge-Taylor's *The Song of Hiawatha*. However, all of these works were swiftly eclipsed by Elgar's oratorios, *The Dream of Gerontius* (1900), *The Apostles* (1903) and *The Kingdom* (1906), which enjoyed immense popularity over the next thirty years. However, due to the advent of recording technology and radio, *Faust* still continued to enjoy a certain amount of attention.[693]

After the First World War, the appeal for large choral pieces associated with the pre-war era declined dramatically and choral pieces by other prominent British composers such as Ralph Vaughan Williams, Gustav Holst, and Benjamin Britten became repertory staples. In spite of this radical shift in musical style, *La Damnation de Faust* was still programmed periodically by various British choral ensembles throughout the inter-war period, until it found new life during the twentieth-century Berlioz revival under the baton of Sir Colin Davis.[694] As for the city of Manchester, the famed Hallé

[693] There were at least twelve different gramophone recordings made of just the *Marche hongroise* alone between 1906 and 1919, including one each conducted by Colonne, (1907), Landon Ronald (1912), and Thomas Beecham (1916). In addition, four recordings of the *Ballet des sylphes* were completed during this period as well as a recording of the complete *Faust* that was reduced on 20 short sides and conducted by Coppola in 1910/11. For more information, see Leanne Langley, "Agency and Change: Berlioz in Britain, 1870-1920," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 343. For more information on the early gramophone recording process in Britain, see Claude Graveley Arnold, *The Orchestra on Record, 1896-1926* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997), 32-7.

[694] In fact the work remains very popular in Britain even today. For example, at least sixteen performances of the complete work are scheduled in Britain throughout 2019, including a performance by the Hallé Orchestra in February, a performance as part of the Three Choirs Festival in Gloucester, and thirteen staged performances as part of the 2019 Glyndebourne Festival in Lewes, East Sussex.

Orchestra continued to perform Berlioz's music both during and after the First World War, especially *La Damnation de Faust*. By the time Sir Hamilton Harty took command in 1920, the Hallé had already assumed its position as one of the preeminent twentieth-century specialists of Berlioz's music.

CHAPTER 6

From the Unplayable to an Annual Standard: *La Damnation de Faust* as an Instrumental Favorite on Popular Concerts in London and at the Seaside Resorts, 1890-1918

Introduction

By far the highest number performances of music from *La Damnation de Faust* throughout the long nineteenth century were excerpts. Between 1890 and 1918, *Faust* was programmed at least 454 times in Britain.[695] However, only 105 of these were complete.[696] The remaining 349 performances were selections from the complete score.[697] Most of the time these selections were either one, two, or all three of the most popular instrumental movements, which had been published separately in both Britain and France by the mid-nineteenth century. These movements were often programmed on popular concerts throughout Britain, especially during the thirty-year period between 1888 and 1918.

Although selections from *Faust* had been included on popular and amateur concerts since their first introduction to British audiences by the composer himself in 1847 and 1852, the performance frequency of these movements exponentially increased after the first complete performance of the work in 1880. Whereas selections from *Faust* were only performed thirty-seven total times in Britain before this date, after the first

[695] See list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates. The long nineteenth century, as defined by Eric Hobsbawn, refers to the period between 1789 and 1914. According to Hobsbawn, the period begins with the French Revolution that established a republic in Europe and ends with the start of the First World War, upon the conclusion of which in 1918 the long-enduring European power balance of the 19th century proper (1801–1900) was eliminated. For more information, see Hobsbawn's trilogy of books on the subject: *The Age of Revolution: Europe 1789–1848* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1962); *The Age of Capital: 1848–1875* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1975); and *The Age of Empire: 1875–1914* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1987).
[696] Ibid.
[697] Ibid.

complete performance, selections of the work were programmed at least 385 times in Britain over the next thirty years.[698] By the end of the century, music from *Faust* was regularly performed by a variety of amateur and professional ensembles.

This was particularly evident in London. After the first complete performances of *Faust* given by Charles Hallé in the city in May 1880, the more popular selections from the work immediately entered the London concert repertoire. For example, the Band of the Coldstream Guards, under the leadership of its bandmaster Cadwallader Thomas, soon began performing a fantasia medley containing popular selections from the work as early as February 1881.[699] Cadwallader Thomas (1838–1899) was a former clarinetist in the band (1853–77), having been recruited by its first bandmaster Charles Godfrey I (1790–1863) at the age of fifteen.[700] Charles Godfrey's eldest son, Daniel Godfrey (1831–1903) was the father of Bournemouth's Dan Godfrey (who will be discussed later

[698] There were at least 566 total performances of *La Damnation de Faust* given in Britain between 1880 and 1918. See list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.
[699] There were at least five performances of *La Damnation de Faust* selections given by the Band of the Coldstream Guards between February 1881 and August 1883. Copies of the first four concert programs are held in Box 11 and 13, John Johnson Collection Concerts index, ANSW/06.98, Bodleian Library, Oxford. For the August 1883 performance, see *The Standard* [London, England] 8 August 1883: 4. See list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates. One of the oldest bands in existence today, the Band of the Coldstream Guards was officially formed on 16 May 1785. It is part of the Coldstream Guards, which is part of the Guards Division, Foot Guards regiments of the British Army. The Coldstream Guards were founded in 1650 as Monck's Regiment of Foot and was part of Cromwell's New Model Army. It is the oldest regiment in continuous existence in today's modern British Army. Since its inception, the Band's primary function has been to perform at ceremonial events, both at home and abroad, including the changing of the guard ceremony outside Buckingham Palace. The band was also the first of its kind to perform at the Queen's Hall in 1893. For more information on the history of the Coldstream Guards Band, see John Gleeson, *Pomp and Circumstance: A History on the Band of H.M. Coldstream Guards, 1685–2015* (London: Coldstream Guards and John Gleeson, 2015).
[700] See John Gleeson, *Pomp and Circumstance: A History on the Band of H.M. Coldstream Guards, 1685–2015*, 135-58. For more information on the history of the Godfrey family and its role as British bandmasters, see Stephen Lloyd, *Sir Dan Godfrey: Champion of British Musicians* (London: Thames Publishing, 1995), 13-15.

in this chapter).[701] In the early years Thomas shared a bandstand with Godfrey's second son, Adolphus Frederic ("Fred") Godfrey (1837–82), who later succeeded his father as bandmaster of the Coldstream Guards from 1863 until 1880.[702] He was then succeeded by Thomas, who directed the ensemble between 1880 and 1896.[703]

The accessibility and performance frequency of *Faust* reached its pinnacle in the 1890s and early 1900s. For example, by 1891, complete performances of *Faust* could be heard at the Birmingham and Chester Triennial Festivals as well as on successive nights in Glasgow and Dundee by the Glasgow Choral Union and by the Dundee Choral Union. At the same time, selections could be heard in popular brass band concerts such as the Besses-o'-th'-Barn Band in Manchester as well as on amateur benefit concerts such as the 1891 Spring Choral Festival for a London Sunday School Choir.[704] This trend not only reflected the popularity that *La Damnation de Faust* enjoyed by this time, but reflected how much change had taken place in British musical culture by the end of the nineteenth century. By the 1890s, British culture had seen a blossoming of musical performances due to an expanding number of new amateur and professional ensembles. Sundays, in particular, became a popular day for programming various concerts and entertainment events during this period.[705] As the expansion of concerts, music venues,

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[701] Ibid.
[702] Ibid.
[703] Ibid.
[704] For Glasgow concert, see original program housed in the British Library, Glasgow Choral Union (1877-1901), d.491. For Dundee concert, see "Dundee Amateur Choral Union." *Dundee Courier & Argus* [Dundee, Scotland] 8 and 10 Dec. 1891: n.p. For Besses-o'-th'-Barn Band concert in Manchester, see original program in Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library, Bannister Scrapbook Collection 2 (1888-1899), R780.2 Sj3, vol. 20. For London Spring concert, see Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library, Bannister Scrapbook Collection 2 (1888-1899), R780.2 Sj3, vol. 17.
[705] However, it was also still met with controversy due to its religious connections. Those who opposed secular pleasures on Sundays in the form of concerts, trading, travel, and other entertainment opportunities

and other live entertainment opportunities increased by the turn of the century, for the first time in British history, music had begun to play a central role in the daily life of the city.

This can be particularly seen in the coverage of musical events in both contemporary literature as well as in the extensive array of periodicals that were available during this period:

> For not only did the press expand prodigiously during the 1890s in terms of the number of titles: its attention to music also increased beyond recognition. *The Daily Telegraph*, for example, always included a dozen or more concert advertisements on its front page during the season (and many more for sheet music), while the *Standard* reviewed several concerts each day. Even suburban newspapers such as the *Brixton Free Press* reviewed concerts both central and local.[706]

This was apparent in periodicals such as *The Musical Times*, which by the 1890s had begun to provide an expanded and detailed selection of concert reviews.[707] Therefore, the frequency of performances of *La Damnation de Faust* by the end of the nineteenth century can be considered as a reflection of the times: "Indeed it is scarcely possible to pick up a publication of the 1890s that does not comment on London's musical life: not mere gossip (though this exists, too) but serious and perceptive analysis of musical trends. The weekly periodicals—the *Athenaeum*, the *Spectator*, and the *Saturday*

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were called Sabbatarians. There were also social Sabbatarians that focused on the labor issue of having people, especially musicians, work on Sundays. For more information on the controversy and gradual rise of Sunday concert series in England, see Simon McVeigh and Cyril Ehrlich, "The Modernization of London Concert Life around 1900," *The Business of Music*, ed. Michael Talbot (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002, 96-120), 106-107 and John Wigley, *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Sunday* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980).

[706] Simon McVeigh and Cyril Ehrlich, "The Modernization of London Concert Life around 1900," *The Business of Music*, ed. Michael Talbot, 97.

[707] This included newly dedicated sections to many of the other new triennial musical festivals that had begun cropping up during this period in addition to the major festivals in cities such as Birmingham that had been traditionally covered in *The Musical Times*.

Review—continued to give detailed coverage, but so, too, did family and women's magazines."[708]

In addition, this period saw the continued rise of native British conductors, such as Henry Wood, Thomas Beecham, Dan Godfrey, and Landon Ronald. While all of these conductors championed British composers such as Edward Elgar, Hubert Parry, Charles Villiers Stanford, Frederick Delius, and Ralph Vaughan Williams, each of them were still conscious of programming music that was popular with audiences during this time. This included most of Berlioz's major works, especially *La Damnation de Faust*. In fact, many of them soon began using certain works by Berlioz as calling cards for their own unique orchestral skills. For example, during his early career, it was common for the conductor and impresario Sir Thomas Beecham to open or close a concert with a performance of *Le carnaval romain* overture.[709] Similarly, Henry Wood used the *Marche hongroise* from *La*

[708] Simon McVeigh and Cyril Ehrlich, "The Modernization of London Concert Life around 1900," *The Business of Music*, ed. Michael Talbot, 97. The article also discusses the rise of musical entertainment opportunities during the early 1900s, especially the proliferation of miscellaneous concerts in the London area. Ibid., Table 2, 106.

[709] For example, between 1908 and 1918 Beecham conducted at least eighteen performances of the overture, and even included it as the opening piece on the inaugural concert of the Beecham Orchestra in February 1909 (Berlioz's *Te Deum* was also performed at that concert). See Robert Elkin, *Queen's Hall, 1893-1941* (London: Rider & Co., 1944), 46. Beecham also made an early recording that contained both the overture as well as the *Marche hongroise* with his personal orchestra in 1916. For more information, see Maurice Parker, *Sir Thomas Beecham, Bart, C.H. (1879-1961): A Calendar of his Concert and Theatrical Performances* (Westcliff-on-Sea: Sir Thomas Beecham Society, 1985, Supplement published in 1990. Leanne Langley also commented on Beecham's affinity towards conducting *Le carnaval romain*, stating that Beecham sealed his Berlioz association by the simple device of repeatedly performing the overture as a virtual signature tune by either opening or closing with the overture on nearly half of the 52 concerts that he conducted between 1908 and 1919. Langley additionally pointed out that this programming choice was a frank nod to the gallery and an assurance of quality to advance himself, his players, and their choice of music. See Leanne Langley, "Agency and Change: Berlioz in Britain, 1870-1920," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 132/2 (2007): 346.

Damnation de Faust to either start or end early promenade concerts and often treated it like a second national anthem.[710]

As a result, the three most popular movements from *Faust*—the *Marche hongroise*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Menuet des follet*—were often programmed on an almost weekly basis throughout the 1890s. This was not confined to London, but occurred in the rapidly expanding seaside resorts and Victorian pleasure gardens. Bournemouth, in particular, expanded into a musical center of its own, containing both its own festival as well as a resident municipal orchestra. By the turn-of-the-twentieth-century, Berlioz's music had become popular fare. This chapter discusses the performance history of the more popular selections from *La Damnation de Faust*, especially the *Marche hongroise*, at the end of the long nineteenth century. In addition, it tracks the inclusion of selections from *Faust* on various sorts of popular concerts.

Highbrows and Lowbrows: The Queen's Hall Promenade Concerts and their Inclusion of *Faust* Selections

The most prominent example of the popularity that selections from *Faust* had achieved in Britain at the end of the nineteenth century can be seen through their performance frequency on the early Queen's Hall Promenade concerts, more commonly

[710] This can be seen through an analysis of the early Proms concert programs. Copies of the early programs are currently housed at the British Library, Promenade concerts: programmes for ..., BBC Henry Wood Promenade Concerts, h.5470, at the Royal Academy of Music, Henry Wood Collection: Robert Newman Concerts (1901-1902), and at the Royal College of Music, London: Halls, Queen's Hall Proms 1896-1905, CH6Fa1. In addition, most, but not all, of the performances are listed online in the BBC Proms Online Archive, https://www.bbc.co.uk/proms/events/performers/by/a-z. Langley was one of the first to compare Wood's programming style of the *Marche hongroise* to a national anthem. See Leanne Langley, "Agency and Change: Berlioz in Britain, 1870-1920," 339. For exact dates and more details of each performance of the work by Wood, see list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix.

known by their informal name of the Proms. Although the origins of the British promenade concerts date back to the mid-eighteenth-century, they were still quite popular throughout the nineteenth-century, especially under the flamboyant and entrepreneurial conductor Louis Jullien (1812–1860), "who did [the] most to democratize and vitalize London's concert life [by] seizing the 'one shilling public' with flamboyance which concealed a wider musicianship than many of his detractors could discern or admit."[711] The promenade concerts that Jullien produced in Britain during the mid-nineteenth century made him a celebrity and were the primary vehicle for recouping funds from his other financially expensive business ventures.[712]

The overall experience at Jullien's promenade concerts was indeed an entertaining sight for all in attendance:

> Jullien's conducting, to say nothing of his appearance, was so amusing and eccentric that many people, to my knowledge, attended these concerts more for the sake of watching his 'beat' than hearing the music. But whatever faults, on artistic grounds, may have been found with the composer of the *British Army Quadrilles*, it should at least be placed to his credit that, by including in his programme, as he invariably did, a movement of a Beethoven symphony or some other classic, he was the means of popularizing good music amongst a class of the public who never had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with master-pieces. Not only in London was this the case, but in the provinces, where, at the

[711] Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 60. Louis Jullien was a French conductor and composer of light music. He studied at the Paris Conservatoire and lived in the city between 1826 and 1838. After this date, he fled to England in order to escape the massive debts that he had acquired (a common problem throughout his life) and came to live in London (1840–56), where he formed a good orchestra and conducted bands and orchestras at promenade concerts.

[712] Perhaps one of the most popular examples of Jullien's various enterprises was the 1848 opera project at Drury Lane Theatre that he had ambitiously contracted Berlioz to conduct. For more information on Berlioz's first trip to London and his associations with Louis Jullien, see David Cairns, *Berlioz: Servitude and Greatness*, vol. 2 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 391-420. For more information on the ways that Jullien used his promenade concerts to counteract his financial losses, see Adam Carse, *The Life of Jullien: Adventurer, Showman-Conductor and Establisher of the Promenade Concerts in England, together with a history of those concerts up to 1895* (Cambridge: We. Heffer and Sons Ltd., 1951), 60-61.

> conclusion of the Metropolitan season, Jullien was wont to take a small orchestra, giving concerts all over the country.[713]

Jullien's conducting was literally spectacular: "All the time this long process was in execution, the conductor, with jeweled baton in hand and the limelight focused on him, was strongly in evidence, and little wonder that he sank into his capacious, brilliantly upholstered chair at the end of it, so exhausted and hardly to be able to acknowledge the plaudits that were showered on him!"[714] The character of promenade concerts under Jullien's direction followed the traditional informal format, as the goal was to enable patrons to move about in order to see and hear the performance from different angles as well as to socialize in a relaxed environment.[715] At Jullien's concerts, tobacco and alcohol were served: "the atmosphere was of a description more allied to that of a Baccanalian orgie than to any possible function relating to art."[716] In order to match this relaxed atmosphere as well as to make the concert as accessible to as many people as possible, the price of admission was low. The music that he programmed was predominantly popular in nature and was often cheerful.[717]

This idea of creating an informal space where people could talk, eat, drink, smoke, flirt, and walk the hall freely during the performance was exactly what the businessman and musical impresario, Robert Newman (1858–1926), aimed for when he

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[713] Wilhelm Kuhe, *My Musical Recollections* (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1896), 88.
[714] Ernest Ford, *A Short History of English Music* (New York: McBride, Nast, and Company, 1912), 140-41.
[715] This is also why the name promenade was chosen for the concerts. The word had originated in France as *se prmener*—to go for a walk and *promenade*, a walk, or a place for walking. For more information, see David Cox, *The Henry Wood Proms*, 10-12.
[716] Ernest Ford, *A Short History of English Music*, 141.
[717] For more information on the history and origins of the promenade concert in England, see David Cox, *The Henry Wood Proms* (England: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1980), chapter 1.

established the Queen's Hall Proms in 1895.[718] In fact, the phenomenon of people moving about the back of the hall during the performances soon became known as promenading. For example, Mr. J. P. O'Callaghan, who attended the early Proms concerts, later noted:

> There was always plenty of room in the Hall in those early days—you could walk about a little without annoying people or getting unduly in their way. If not from the first, then very early on, the Promenade had in the centre a fountain which made an exceedingly gentle and charming sound. The water fell into a basin of at least five feet diameter, in which were exquisite flowers, small ornamental rocks, goldfish, and electric lights of various colours suitably masked by foliage—a wonderfully pretty effect, and one which gave an air of romance to the whole floor of the Hall. Many people habitually listened in the corridor, sitting on the hot-water pipes (which were not very hot). You could also get refreshments at any time during the concert in the refreshment rooms on the Promenade level, under the entrance to the Hall.[719]

Following Jullien's lead, Newman charged low prices: admission in 1895 was 1s. for the Promenade, 2s. for the Balcony, and 3s. or 5s. for the Grand Circle.[720] However, whereas promenade concerts in the past had focused exclusively only on light, popular fare, Newman created a series that combined both the "lowbrow" programming of traditional

[718] Completed two years prior, the Queen's Hall was built after a decision was made in 1887 to build a concert hall on the Crown land near St. George's Hall in Regent Street. Robert Newman became the first manager of the Queen's Hall in 1893, a position that he would hold until his death in 1926. At first, Newman funded the Promenade concerts himself, but in 1902 he went bankrupt and was forced to turn over the expense of funding the concert series to the German-born banker Sir Edgar Speyer. The latter would remain in that role until anti-German sentiment forced him to step down in 1914, at which point the music publishers Chappell & Co. took control of the concerts. See David Cox, *The Henry Wood Proms*, 42-43 and 64-8. The Queen's Hall would host the Promenade Concert series until 1941, when it was destroyed in the Blitz during the Second World War. After that, the Proms was moved to its current home at the Royal Albert Hall.

[719] Robert Elkin, *Queen's Hall, 1893-1941*, 28.

[720] Ibid., 26. In addition, a transferable season ticket could be bought for a guinea in the Promenade, two guineas in the Balcony, and three or five guineas in the Grand Circle.

promenade concerts with "classical" music that was typically reserved for the upper classes.[721]

Although this class distinction between highbrow and lowbrow music was apparent throughout the nineteenth century, the differences between the two musical styles and tastes were so far apart that the distinction was rarely even remarked upon. By the Edwardian Era, the increase in the amount of lowbrow musical entertainment options through music halls, musical comedies, and early recordings (such as the gramophone and later the early forms of cinema), meant that for the first time in history classical music was being outpaced by more popular alternatives, especially in the key demographics of the working- and middle-classes. Nevertheless, even with the growing demand for more popular lowbrow entertainment options, the people that made up these class demographics were still very much open towards attending performances of music by composers such as Berlioz and Franz Liszt.[722]

While this acceptance of innovative music by composers such as Berlioz continued among the working, middle, and upper classes throughout the late Victorian Era, by the end of the century, when composers such as Claude Debussy and Richard Strauss began to push the boundaries of harmony and tonality, it became apparent that the divide between highbrow classical music and the lowbrow music halls and popular concerts had been firmly established. In order to bridge the growing gap between the music halls and the traditional concert hall, Robert Newman devised his new series of

[721] The terms lowbrow and highbrow were actually first introduced during the Edwardian Era in the United States in 1908. See Ronald Pearsall, *Edwardian Popular Music* (Vermont: David and Charles, 1975), 104.
[722] For example, whereas the music critics in the mid-nineteenth century were indignant to Berlioz's music, "the sixpenny audience liked it." See Ronald Pearsall, *Edwardian Popular Music*, 101.

promenade concerts in a format that hearkened back to the informal, yet overwhelmingly popular promenade concerts that Louis Jullien had produced during the mid-nineteenth century. This format not only made the concerts accessible to a mass (and musically untrained) audience, but, through the gradual implementation of more highbrow literature each season, slowly educated the Queen's Hall audience into enjoying "classical" programs that ranged from Beethoven to early twentieth-century composers such as Debussy and Ravel.

Newman later stated that his goal was "to run nightly concerts and train the public by easy stages. Popular at first, gradually raising the standard until I have created a public for classical and modern music."[723] The plan was indeed ambitions. According to Ernest Ford, everyone who had attempted the idea in Britain before Newman and Sir Henry Wood, his newly appointed conductor, had failed: "Until Sir Henry Wood proved the contrary, the idea of presenting symphonies and other high-class music at a Promenade Concert with a view to attract paying audiences, appeared not only absolutely hopeless, but positively fanatical."[724]

In order for the scheme to work, both Newman and Wood knew that they needed to subtly and slowly educate their audiences, a tactic that was reflected in the programming of the first promenade concert on 10 August.[725] The program consisted of

[723] As cited by Ivan Hewett, "The Proms and the Promenerders," *The Daily Telegraph*, 12 July 2007.
[724] Ernest Ford, *A Short History of English Music*, 140. Sir Henry Wood (1869–1944) ended up conducting the Proms for almost half a century: from their creation in 1895 until his death in 1944. Sadly, he was not able to conduct the fiftieth anniversary concert, as he had taken ill during the week of its performance and was even forbidden to listen to the broadcast. He died a week later. For more information, see Ateş Orga, *The Proms*, (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1974), 121.
[725] A copy of the official program can be found online at the BBC Proms Online Archive, https://www.bbc.co.uk/events/er9p5v. As Gleeson notes, one overlooked fact about this first performance is

"no fewer than twenty-four items" and "was on distinctly 'popular' lines, the most serious being the *Rienzi* Overture."[726] In addition, Newman realized his plan of making the Proms concerts accessible to lowbrow patrons by offering various other informal entertainments throughout the hall, such as the novelty of cinema. Starting in 1896 and lasting for several years afterwards, Queen's Hall patrons were treated to short moving-pictures during the intermission of Proms concerts.[727] For the price of an extra sixpence, patrons were able to view the equivalent of silent newsreels that were advertised under the grander title of "Polytechnic Animated Pictures."[728]

In addition to his conducting duties, Wood was also tasked with piecing together and training a permanent orchestra from among London freelance musicians.[729] At first the orchestra was run under the same deputy system of hiring musicians on an *ad hoc* basis that had crippled many London-based orchestras throughout the nineteenth century. Although Hallé was the first to successfully put a stop to the system in Manchester during

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that it was not conducted by Wood: "What is *not* so widely known however is that the first concert of this venerable festival of music inaugurated at the Queen's Hall in 1895 was *not* conducted by Henry Wood and performed by his Queen's Hall Orchestra - but *was* directed by Cadwallader Thomas and performed largely by the band of the Coldstream Guards. Proof of this unlikely scenario comes via an article written by George Simpson within his *History of the Promenade Concerts*. Penned on the occasion of their 50th Anniversary, the author's recollections of these Proms concerts in their earliest incarnation noted: 'Accordingly, on Saturday evening, March 23rd 1895, we were regaled with a grand Promenade Concert given by the Band of the Coldstream Guards under the direction of Mr. C. Thomas.'" (Original Italics.) See John Gleeson, *Pomp and Circumstance: A History on the Band of H.M. Coldstream Guards, 1685–2015*, 151.

[726] Robert Elkin, *Queen's Hall, 1893-1941*, 26.

[727] Ibid., 27.

[728] Ibid., 27.This entertainment also provided the musicians with ample time during the intermission to wander over to licensed premises. Located in Great Portland Street and officially named 'The George,' but commonly known as 'The Glue Pot,' the premise offered the musicians drinks and entertainment until they were recalled (not always without difficulty) at the end of the intermission by the ringing of a large hand-bell.

[729] The Queen's Hall Promenade orchestra was actually only the third 'permanent' orchestra in England. The other two in 1895 were the Hallé Orchestra of Manchester and the Crystal Palace Orchestra under August Manns. See David Cox, *The Henry Wood Proms*, 19.

the 1850s, other prominent conductors had a more difficult time. For example, Manns was never able to abolish the system during his tenure at the Crystal Palace. Fortunately for Wood, the Proms did not have to suffer long under the practice of this tradition. The change did not occur without resistance from the musicians. It was only through Newman's support that Wood was finally able to put an end to the practice in the Queen's Hall Orchestra in 1904. This occurred in an anticlimactic fashion when Newman, "a man of few words," simply got up on the podium at a rehearsal one day that contained a large majority of unfamiliar faces, and stated, "Gentlemen, in future there will be no deputies! Good morning!"[730] Although abolishing the system had an immediate effect in terms of helping create a cohesive sound and approach for the Queen's Hall Orchestra, many of the players simply quit their positions in the ensemble. These players then banded together and formed the London Symphony Orchestra.[731]

The early Proms seasons included an innovative array of programming by Newman and Wood, especially on the themed "classical," "Wagner," and "novelty"

[730] David Cox, *The Henry Wood Proms*, 53-4.

[731] This is the same London Symphony Orchestra that is still prominent today. The orchestra was formed under a new set of innovative policies: this was the first time that orchestra members had co-opted the financial risk and control of the orchestra's policy and it was also the first time that the orchestra members had a say in retaining the right to engage their own conductor vs. the traditional method of the conductor hiring the musicians. Robert Newman did not hold any grudge against the musicians who had defected and even made the Queen's Hall available to them. He and Henry Wood attended the first concert given by the London Symphony Orchestra under the direction of Hans Richter at the Queen's Hall on 9 June 1904. Members of the London Symphony Orchestra clung to the practice of the deputy system for years, which resulted in serious disagreements between the musicians and the management in the 1930s and 1950s. To an extent, the system was never full abolished, although serious organizational changes and reforms in the orchestra's policy regarding the deputy system finally occurred in the 1950s (which in turn resulted in the orchestra's ascent to a preeminent position as a leading musical institution in the following decade that has continued to the present day). For more information on the circumstances surrounding the formation of the London Symphony Orchestra, see Henry J. Wood, *My Life of Music: The Autobiography Of Sir Henry Wood* (London: V. Gollancz, 1946), 212 and Richard Morrison, *Orchestra, the LSO: A Century of Triumph and Turbulence* (London: Faber and Faber, 2004), 11-24.

nights. By the end of the first season, *The Musical Times* gave a particularly favorable review of the concert series:

> As a whole, therefore, there is good cause for congratulation in the success of these Concerts, for judiciously managed, it is evident that they can be made greatly instrumental in fostering a love for orchestral music and in cultivating a taste for the best in art. The spacious lobbies and many-rooms afford abundant accommodation for those to whom the chief effect of music is apparently to give ideas that claim immediate utterance, and the music lover can listen and enjoy, undisturbed by the sound of corks departing too hastily into space.[732]

The review noted a steady increase in audience attendance: "until, during the last fortnight of the series, to promenade in the hall itself became an impossibility," which "convincingly showed that the scheme had gained wide favour and that these Concerts will in future be pleasurably anticipated by a large section of the public."[733]

The success of the first few seasons were not only a financial boon for Newman, but also proved his theory that "a large section of the public is prepared to accept something better than the 'British Army' Quadrille or the 'A See-Saw' Waltz."[734] By gradually incorporating in a relaxed setting serious symphonic works alongside traditional popular "promenade" fare, Newman pushed the boundaries of what could be accepted by Proms audience. This shift in the taste of the London public was later commented upon by the editor of *The Builder* in 1903:

> The progress in public musical taste of late years, in London at all events, is strikingly illustrated by these concerts. When promenade concerts were first started in England the programmes were almost entirely of the lighter kind of music, and a bit of classical music was only admitted now and

[732] "Promenade Concerts," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, vol. 36, No. 633 (1 November 1895), 744-45.
[733] Ibid.
[734] "Queen's Hall Promenade Concerts," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, vol. 36, No. 631 (1 September 1895), 600.

> then as an experiment. Now we find the greatest orchestral works of the great composers listened to with devout attention by an audience content to stand quietly throughout a long symphony, the liberty to 'promenade' being practically abandoned.[735]

This also affected the number of performances of selections from *La Damnation de Faust*. The first Proms concert that contained a selection from *Faust* on the program occurred on the third official Promenade concert on 12 August 1895, when the *Marche hongroise* was performed as a standalone item.[736] The march was well-received and soon became a favorite on early Proms concerts. The inclusion of the music from *La Damnation de Faust* in the concert series proved to be a canny choice for Newman. The work was considered to be serious, highbrow music from a classical composer, while at the same time movements from *Faust* such as the *Marche hongroise* and *Ballet des sylphes* were accessible enough so that they could be programed either on the more serious, thoughtful character of the first half of the concerts, or on the second half that contained more popular selections.[737]

During the first thirty-three seasons of the Promenade Concerts, Wood conducted selections from *Faust* on 125 separate occasions, including on the first Proms concert of the twentieth century.[738] In addition, *Faust* selections were performed at the Queen's Hall Promenade Concerts eleven other times during that period under five different

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[735] Robert Elkin, *Queen's Hall, 1893-1941*, 30.
[736] A copy of the official program can be found online: BBC Proms Online Archive, https://www.bbc.co.uk/events/exf38g.
[737] This style of programming selections from *Faust* as well as Berlioz's overtures at either the beginning, end, or before or right after intermission was also commonly employed by August Manns at the Crystal Palace Saturday concerts. For more information, see chapter 3.
[738] This concert took place on 25 August 1900 and contained a performance of the *Marche hongroise* to conclude the evening's program. A copy of the program is currently held at the British Library, Promenade concerts: programmes for ..., BBC Henry Wood Promenade Concerts, h.5470.

conductors. Four of the concerts were conducted by Henri Verbrugghen (1873–1934), the leader of the Proms orchestra, who would occasionally conduct the last piece of the evening. Another performance was conducted by Édouard Colonne (1838–1910) when he filled-in with the New Symphony Orchestra in 1908 while Wood and the Queen's Hall Orchestra were in Sheffield for the Triennial Musical Festival. The remaining six performances were given by three other conductors: two were conducted by Arthur W. Payne (1863–1932), two by Sir Thomas Beecham, and two by George Henschel (1850–1934).[739]

While the 125 performances of selections from *La Damnation de Faust* that Wood conducted at the Promenade Concerts would have placed him as the topmost conductor of *Faust* performances in the sixty-year period between 1848 and 1918, Wood additionally performed the work an extra twenty-nine times (including three complete performances) for other concert series, both inside and outside of London.[740] Almost all of these concerts were with the Queen's Hall Orchestra. In fact, out of the 154 total performances of *Faust* conducted by Wood, only four were not with the Queen's Hall Orchestra. The first was a complete performance of *Faust* that Wood had conducted as part of the Norwich Musical Festival on 26 October 1911.[741] The remaining three performances were given in Manchester with the Brand Lane Symphony Orchestra: one

[739] See list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates. Arthur W. Payne (1863–1932) was a violinist and a conductor. For information on George Henschel, see chapter 2.
[740] See list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.
[741] See "Norwich Musical Festival," *Times* [London, England], 27 October 1911: 9.

complete performance on 5 February 1916 as well as two performances of just the *Marche hongroise* alone on 26 December 1916 and on the same date in 1918.[742]

Wood's 154 total performances of *La Damnation de Faust* more than doubled Hallé's seventy-eight total performances of the work between 1856 and 1894.[743] Most of these performances were of the three popular selections from *Faust* that were mentioned above. These selections were either performed individually or were frequently grouped together as a combined unite of two or three movements. For example, between 1900 and 1909, the combined three movements were performed together for nearly half of the total performances of the work give at the Proms concert series during that period.[744] Still, the most popular individual movement from *Faust* that was programed at the Proms series was the *Marche hongroise*: it was performed 120 times on promenade concerts that featured selections from *Faust* on the program.[745] Table 6.1 gives data on the number of performances of the *Marche hongroise*, the *Ballet des sylphs*, and the *Menuet des follets*, singularly or in combination:

[742] Copies of the 1916 and 1918 Brand Lane Symphony Orchestra concert programs are currently housed at the Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library, Manchester Brand Lane Concerts Programmes collection.
[743] See chapter 5, Table 5.1.
[744] The three combined movements were performed as a unit on twenty-seven Promenade concerts during that period. See Table 6.1. For exact dates, see list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix.
[745] Ibid. In comparison, the *Ballet des sylphes* was only performed forty-six times and the *Menuet des follets* was only performed forty-two times.

Table 6.1: Performance Statistics of *La Damnation de Faust* at the Queen's Hall Promenade Concerts, 1895-1918

Decade	1895-99	1900-09	1910-18
Total Number of Performances Containing Selections from *Faust*	32	66	38
Number of concerts containing the *Marche hongroise*	27	63	30
Performance Frequency Percent Ratio of *Marche hongroise* to Total Performances	84%	95%	79%
Number of concerts containing the *Menuet des follets*	2	27	13
Performance Frequency Percent Ratio of *Menuet des follets* to Total Performances	6%	41%	34%
Number of concerts containing the *Ballet des sylphes*	5	28	13
Performance Frequency Percent Ratio of *Ballet des sylphes* to Total Performances	16%	42%	34%
Number of concerts containing All Three Movements	0	27	8
Performance Frequency Percent Ratio of All Three Movements to Total Performances	0%	41%	21%
Number of Concerts Containing Other Selections from *Faust*	0	3	4
Performance Frequency Percent Ratio of Other *Faust* Selections to Total Performances	0%	5%	11%
Total Perf. Conducted by Sir Henry Wood	32	59	34
Total Perf. Conducted by Henri Verbrugghen	0	4	0
Total Perf. Conducted by Édouard Colonne	0	1	0
Total Perf. Conducted by Arthur W. Payne	0	2	0
Total Perf. Conducted by Sir Thomas Beecham	0	0	2
Total Perf. Conducted by George Henschel	0	0	2

Table 6.2: Total *La Damnation de Faust* Performances given by Select Orchestras/Ensembles, 1848-1918

Group	Complete	Selection	Total
Queen's Hall Orchestra (total/all)	2	171	173
Queen's Hall Orchestra (Proms only)	0	136	136
Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	59	44	103
Royal Choral Society	20	1	21
New Symphony Orchestra (Royal Albert Hall Orchestra)	0	21	21
Glasgow Choral Union[746]	6	13	19
Crystal Palace Orchestra	5	14	19
Bournemouth Municipal Orchestra	0	15	15
Carl Rosa Opera Company[747]	14	0	14
London Symphony Orchestra[748]	1	10	11
Bradford Festival Choral Society	10	1	11
Scottish Orchestra[749]	2	7	9
Philharmonic Society[750]	0	3	3
New Philharmonic Society	0	1	1

In total, selections from *La Damnation de Faust* were performed at least 136 separate times during the first thirty-three years of the Queen's Hall Promenade concerts between 1895 and 1918.[751] This is by far the largest number of performances of *Faust* as either an excerpt or complete performance in any one orchestra throughout Britain during

[746] This number reflects the total performances of *La Damnation de Faust* given by the Glasgow Choral Union both before and after their merger with the Scottish Orchestra.
[747] All of these performances are fully staged opera performances. There are undoubtedly more performances than the amount listed, but these were the only ones that exact dates and locations have been confirmed at the time of this publication. For more information, see program copies and periodicals compiled in the Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library, Bannister Scrapbook Collection 2 (1888-1899), R780.2 Sj3, vol. 24-6.
[748] This is for the current London Symphony Orchestra that was founded in 1904 and should not be confused with the London Symphony that was established briefly by Henschel in the nineteenth century. For more information on the distinction, see Fiona M. Palmer, *Conductors in Britain: 1870-1914* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2017), 25.
[749] This number also contains the performances of *La Damnation de Faust* that were given as a combined effort with the Glasgow Choral Union both before and after the two organizations were officially combined by the 1894 season.
[750] The old Philharmonic Society was not officially changed to the Royal Philharmonic Society until 1912 as part of the celebration marking the orchestra's 100th season.
[751] See list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.

the long nineteenth century.[752] In fact, this total even outperformed the second-highest orchestra, the Manchester (Hallé), by thirty-five performances.[753] This number is even more staggering when added with the total performances of the work given by the Queen's Hall Orchestra outside of the Proms series.[754] In addition to their duties of performing the nightly proms concerts, the Queen's Hall Orchestra was hired regularly for other performances, including on various festivals and choral society concerts; they presented a winter symphonic concert season as well.

For example, the Queen's Hall Orchestra was responsible for performing both the Saturday Afternoon Symphony Concert series that was started by Newman in January 1897 as well as the Sunday Afternoon concert series that was later established under the auspices of the Sunday Concert Society that same year.[755] Initially a protest against the London County Council regarding profits from Sunday entertainments, the Sunday Concert Society was also managed by Newman. This series functioned with the same philanthropic intent as the various triennial choral festivals, providing surpluses from the receipts for each concert to "such charitable or other public purposes as the society's council might from time to time determine."[756] Furthermore, both the Saturday and the Sunday concert series were readily accessible to the public. This was especially true for

[752] See Table 6.2.
[753] Ibid.
[754] Initially founded as the Queen's Hall Orchestra in 1895, the name was later changed by Robert Newman in 1915 to the New Queen's Hall Orchestra. This name was kept until Robert Newman died in 1926 when, due to copyright issues of the publishing company Chappell owning the rights to the title, the orchestra's name was changed again to Sir Henry J. Wood's Symphony Orchestra. See Robert Elkin, *Queen's Hall, 1893-1941*, 33.
[755] Robert Elkin, *Queen's Hall, 1893-1941*, 27. Robert Newman retained management of the Sunday Afternoon concert series until 1924, when the series was then taken over by the London Symphony Orchestra.
[756] Ibid.

the Sunday Afternoon concerts, where, in order to comply with the law, a certain number of people were admitted to the concerts for free.[757]

When all of the various concert series that the Queen's Hall Orchestra performed during this period are combined, the orchestra performed either the complete *Faust* or selections from it at least 173 times between 1895 and 1918.[758] While most of these concerts contained selections from the work, at least two were complete performances.[759] Both were given at the Queen's Hall: the first was conducted by Alberto Randegger as part of the Queen's Hall Choral Society in 1897, and the second was conducted by Henry Wood as part of the Hanley Glee and Madrigal Society 1908 concert series.[760] Although most of the audience enjoyed the performance by Randegger on 18 March 1897, some of the critics felt the orchestra lacked spirit in the *Marche hongroise*: "The orchestral playing was not always satisfactory; the rendering of the "Hungarian March" [*Marche hongroise*] lacked spirit, and was suggestive of the return after a heavy field day, and the playing of the woodwind, and sometimes the first violins, was wanting in refinement and delicacy."[761]

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[757] In the early years this number was usually around seventy people, all of which were required to que up at the back entrance of the hall on Great Portland Street, usually between 1:30 and 2:45pm for a 3pm concert. According to Mr. J. P. O'Callaghan, over twice the amount of people that were actually admitted would line up each week. See Robert Elkin, *Queen's Hall, 1893-1941*, 28.
[758] See list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.
[759] Ibid.
[760] A copy of the 18 March 1897 performance under Randegger is housed at Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library, Concert Programs Analytical, BR780.69 CON1. See also "Queen's Hall," *Morning Post* [London, England], 19 March 1897: 3. A copy of the program for the 14 November 1908 performance conducted by Wood is housed at the British Library, Collection of programmes (1897), 7892.w.1. For more information on Alberto Randegger and the performances of *Faust* that he conducted, see chapter 4.
[761] "Queen's Hall," *The Morning Post* [London, England], 19 March 1897: 3.

What was perhaps even more intriguing about the reviews for this performance was the connoisseur-like tone that critics now assumed when reviewing Berlioz's music. This is a remarkable testament to how far and popular *Faust* had become with the British public within the span of a single generation:

> Now in the interpretation last night by the Queen's hall Choral Society under Mr. Randegger no such extreme view could justly be advanced. The great March was played finely, and, particularly in its magnificent concluding passages, with something of the keenness and abandonment even of Lamoureux's version; and the Leipzig cellar scene had a touch of the genuine tipsy element about it in the choral singing.[762]

Over a decade later, the second complete performance given by Henry Wood on 14 November 1908 was much more warmly received:

> The Queen's Hall Orchestra, conducted as usual by Mr. Henry J. Wood, gave a performance of 'Faust' (Berlioz), on November 14. The work had evidently been prepared with great care, and much of it was performed with striking success. If the 'Rakoczy' March did not create the effect it has done at some memorable performances, it may be said that the Sylph music and the other instrumental sections demanding subtle delicacy were beautifully given.[763]

Colonne, Lamoureux, and Robert Newman's London Musical Festival

In addition to the creation of the Promenade concert series, Newman also sponsored numerous small festivals throughout the 1890s as a pretext for presenting prominent foreign conductors and orchestras at the Queen's Hall. The concept of inviting

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[762] "'Faust' at the Queen's Hall," *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 19 March 1897.

[763] "Hanley Glee and Madrigal Society," *The Musical Times*, vol. 49, No. 790 (1 December 1908), 799. One of the interesting notes about this concert was that it marked the London debut of the Hanley Glee and Madrigal Society, a London-based organization comprised of 200 vocalists that were trained by Mr. John James. It was also noted in the article that this was not the first complete performance of *Faust* given by the society, as Wood had already conducted a complete performance of it in the choir's home town. However, due to the lack of information as to the exact date of this performance, it had not yet been added to the list of *Faust* performances in the appendix.

foreign conductors to give concerts in London was a common practice in Britain since the late eighteenth century.[764] Berlioz himself benefitted from this practice during his trips in the 1850s, when he was invited to conduct several different orchestras. There were Berlioz's appearances at Her Majesty's Theatre under the aegis of Louis Jullien and the New Philharmonic Society in 1852 and 1855.[765] Some twenty years later, the prominent French conductor Jules Étienne Pasdeloup began to make frequent trips to London both with and without his orchestra.[766] For example, as noted earlier, he gave a nearly-complete performance of *La Damnation de Faust* in French at Her Majesty's Theatre in 1878. Aside from Pasdeloup, two other French conductors also began to frequently perform in London in the following two decades: Charles Lamoureux and Édouard Colonne. [767]

Lamoureux was frequently contracted to conduct in London, especially throughout the latter part of his life in the 1880s and 1890s.[768] During these trips, he

[764] For specific information on the influence of foreign conductors on British music in the 1890s, see Fiona M. Palmer, *Conductors in Britain: 1870-1914*, 37-43.
[765] For a brief overview of the performance history of *La Damnation de Faust* during Berlioz's five trips to London, see Introduction. For more detailed information on each of the five trips, see David Cairns, *Berlioz: Servitude and Greatness*, vol. 2 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).
[766] The most prominent example in relation to the performance history of *La Damnation de Faust* would be Pasdeloup's almost complete performance of the work in 1878 at Her Majesty's Theater. See "M. Pasdeloup's First Concert," *The Times*, 4 June 1878.
[767] Lamoureux, Colonne, and Jules Pasdeloup were all French conductors that also played a prominent role in promoting Berlioz's music in Paris during the Third Republic. However, while Lamoureux and Pasdeloup often focused their attention on other foreign composers such as Wagner, Colonne primarily concentrated on French music, especially by Berlioz. For a summary of the first Berlioz revival in France that was promoted primarily by Berlioz's friend Ernest Reyer as well as through the efforts of Lamoureux, Colonne, Pasdeloup, and the Concerts du Conservatoire, see Lesley Wright, 'Berlioz's Impact in France', *The Cambridge Companion to Berlioz*, ed. Peter Bloom (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 253-68.
[768] Charles Lamoureux (1834–1899) was a French conductor and violinist who founded the Orchestre Lamoureux in 1881. Officially known as the Société des Nouveaux-Concerts and also known as the Concerts Lamoureux, the orchestra gave weekly concerts and played an important role in French musical society. For example, in addition to performing Berlioz's music, Lamoureux and his orchestra also gave

would often perform French music, especially works by Berlioz, whose music had achieved great popularity in France during the Third Republic.[769] Later, in the 1890s, Newman frequently invited Lamoureux and his orchestra to perform at the Queen's Hall for short festivals and concert series under various guises. These included: the Lamoureux Orchestral Festival; the Spring Season of Orchestral Concerts; and the London Musical Festival.[770] Selections from *La Damnation de Faust* were a particular favorite at these festivals. For example, the *Marche hongroise* was performed on four separate concerts as part of a brief London Musical Festival that was given annually at the Queen's Hall between 1897 and 1901.[771] Although Lamoureux and his orchestra were present for three of the four festival concerts that contained the *Marche hongroise* on the program, the French conductor only performed the march on one of the concerts with his orchestra on 26 March 1897.[772] The next two performances of the *Marche hongroise*

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several notable premières including Emmanuel Chabrier's *España* in 1883 and Gabriel Fauré's *Pavane* in 1888.

[769] For example, the first time that Lamoureux conducted a work by Berlioz on a London program occurred in 1881. See "Lamoureux Concerts," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, vol. 22, No. 458 (Apr. 1, 1881), 182-183. For this visit, Lamoureux conducted 104 London players in works by Gouvy, Lalo, Godard, Saint-Saëns, Massenet, Reyer, Widor, Delibes and Berlioz. Also cited in Leanne Langley, "Agency and Change: Berlioz in Britain, 1870-1920," 333 fn. #62.

[770] Copies of all of the various programs that Lamoureux conducted at the Queen's Hall under Robert Newman's management are currently housed at the British Library, [Programmes -of concerts given at Queen's Hall by M. Char... Lameroux, d.485, 1896. For more information on Robert Newman's engagement of Lamoureux, see Fiona M. Palmer, *Conductors in Britain: 1870-1914*, 41-43 and Percy A. Scholes, *The Mirror of Music: 1844-1944*, vol. 1 (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1947), 390-1.

[771] See list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates. After 1901 the London Festival actually continued under various other titles. While most of them were put on by various other benefactors and had varying themes (such as the "Three B's Festival" in 1915), the one unifying trait was that all of these miscellaneous festivals were held at the Queen's Hall. For more information, see Robert Elkin, *Queen's Hall, 1893-1941*, 74-83.

[772] A copy of the program for the 26 March 1897 concert is currently housed in the British Library, [Programmes -of concerts given at Queen's Hall by M. Char... Lameroux, d.485, 1896. The conducting and performing duties for the other two concerts on which selections from *Faust* were performed and that both Lamoureux and his orchestra were present for were shared with Henry Wood and the Queen's Hall Orchestra. As a result, these two performances of *Faust* selections were conducted by Henry Wood on 13

during this series were actually given by Wood and the Queen's Hall Orchestra on two separate concerts on 13 and 17 May as part of the 1899 festival.[773]

The final concert that featured selections from *La Damnation de Faust* as part of the London Musical Festival was also conducted by a Frenchman, in this case Lamoureux's rival, Édouard Colonne.[774] This performance took place on 29 April 1901. [775] It was the only concert of the festival series that contained more than one selection from *Faust* on the program.[776] In this case, the second most popular movement from the work during this period, the *Ballet des sylphes*, was performed alongside the *Marche hongroise*. Just as Hallé was Berlioz's champion in England, Colonne was the composer's advocate in Paris during the Third Republic. Beginning in 1875, Colonne programmed weekly performances of Berlioz's large-scale orchestral and choral works at

and 17 May 1899. Copies of the programs for the 1899 concerts are held in the Royal College of Music, London: Queen's Hall, London Musical Festival 1899; 1900, London Symphony Orchestra 1906-07; 1909-10, CH6Ea8 and the British Library, Collection of programmes (1899), 7892.w.1.

[773] Copies of the programs for the 1899 concerts are held in the Royal College of Music, London: Queen's Hall, London Musical Festival 1899; 1900, London Symphony Orchestra 1906-07; 1909-10, CH6Ea8 and the British Library, Collection of programmes (1899), 7892.w.1.

[774] Édouard Colonne (1838–1910) was born in Bordeaux, the son and grandson of musicians of Italian-Jewish descent. He trained in the Paris Conservatoire, where he won first prizes in violin and harmony. In 1873 he founded the "Concert National" at the Odéon Théatre with the music publisher Georges Hartmann, which later became known as the Concerts Colonne after they were moved to the Théâtre du Châtelet. A detailed biography as well as a complete, detailed list of all of the performance of Berlioz's music that were given by Colonne at his Châtelet concert series is available online: Monir Tayeb and Michel Austin, "Conductors: Édouard Colonne," *The Hector Berlioz Website*, http://www.hberlioz.com/champions/colonnee.htm (accessed 15 January 2019).

[775] A copy of the program for the 29 April 1901 concert is currently housed in the British Library, Collection of programmes (1901), 7892.w.1.

[776] Ibid.

his Concerts du Châtelet.[777] This included eleven complete performances of *La Damnation de Faust* in just one year between February 1877 and January 1878.[778]

Due to Colonne's careful preparation of the score, these concerts were a complete success. Just as in the case with Hallé, the performances of *La Damnation de Faust* conducted by Colonne in Paris established the score in the French repertory. For example, 117 performances of the work were presented at the Colonne Concerts alone by Berlioz's centenary in 1903.[779] Intriguingly, David Carins observed that *La Damnation de Faust* was actually the most popular of all of Berlioz's music in France during this period, followed closely by the *Symphonie fantastique*: "Though Colonne performed most of the other major works, they did not catch on to anything like the same extent. Berlioz was accepted—as the composer of a single work, at most of two: *Faust* and the Fantastic Symphony."[780] Based on the research findings presented here, the performance history of Berlioz's music in France during the late nineteenth century is, in fact, almost

[777] For more information on Berlioz's critical reception in nineteenth-century France, see Katharine Ellis, *Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France: La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris, 1834-80* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 219-34.
[778] Ibid. The first performance that Colonne gave of *Faust* in February 1877 was the first time the complete work had been performed in Paris since its première in 1846. Note that the performance took place just three years before Charles Hallé gave the first complete performance in Britain. Although Hallé by this time was permanently settled in Manchester, he still kept tabs on what was going on in Paris and, therefore, would have most likely been aware of this performance. For example, a copy of the complete performance of *La Damnation de Faust* at the Concerts du Châtelet given on 9 December 1877 is currently housed in the Bibliothèque nationale, [Recueil factice de programmes et d'articles de presse concernant diverses représentations de "la Damnation de Faust" de Berlioz (1877-1933)] [Texte imprimé], 8-RE-13345.
[779] David Cairns, *Berlioz: Servitude and Greatness*, vol. 2, 777-78. In fact, Colonne was even the first to record some of Berlioz's music on early commercial phonograph records for the French Pathé company, including a condensed version of the *Marche hongroise*. The middle development section of the march was cut in order to make the piece fit the maximum duration that recordings could accommodate at the time (under 4 minutes). For more information See Pathé catalogue, October 1901, 32: "Orchestre Symphonique. — Cylindres enregistrés par l'Orchestre Colonne, sous la direction même de ed. Colonne" and Tayeb, Monir and Michel Austin, "Conductors: Édouard Colonne," *The Hector Berlioz Website*, http://www.hberlioz.com/champions/colonnee.htm (accessed 15 January 2019)
[780] Ibid.

identical to what occurred in Britain during this period: *La Damnation de Faust* was by far the most popular of all of Berlioz's works, followed closely by his overtures and symphonies.

Sir Landon Ronald and the Overwhelming Popularity of the *Marche hongroise* with the New Symphony Orchestra

While Wood and Queen's Hall Orchestra were a major force in the promotion of the *Marche hongroise* and other *Faust* selections in London, they were not the only group to actively program the work in *fin de siècle* London. For example, Landon Ronald (1873–1938) frequently performed selections from *Faust* during his early career. Even though Ronald's career lasted well into the 1930s, it first emerged in the pre-war years when selections from *La Damnation de Faust* were still popular. Whereas conductors like Wood tended to focus their efforts on developing a particular ensemble, such as the Queen's Hall Orchestra, Ronald worked with multiple orchestras. He had regular conducting engagements with the London Symphony Orchestra and later succeeded Thomas Beecham as the primary conductor of the New Symphony Orchestra in 1908.[781]

Virtually all of the twenty-three total performances of *La Damnation de Faust* that Ronald conducted were given at the Royal Albert Hall.[782] Most of Ronald's performances of *Faust* selections happened there was because they were given with the New Symphony Orchestra. During the early twentieth century, this orchestra was the

[781] For more information on the conducting career of Landon Ronald, see Fiona M. Palmer, *Conductors in Britain: 1870-1914*, 197-261. Both orchestras that Ronald primarily conducted (the London Symphony Orchestra and the New Symphony Orchestra) were new orchestras that had been formed under the proviso that they were owned and governed by the players, rather than the conductors or managers. For more information, see Fiona M. Palmer, *Conductors in Britain: 1870-1914*, 210.
[782]See list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.

primary ensemble that was contracted to perform popular works as part of the weekly Sunday concert series that Ronald conducted at the Albert Hall.[783] As with the Queen's Hall Proms concerts, it was the popular nature of the Sunday Afternoon concert series at the Albert Hall as a popular promenade-style concert that led to the frequent presentation of selections from *Faust*.[784] Out of the twenty-three times that Ronald conducted selections from *Faust* between 1899 and 1918, eighteen were with the New Symphony Orchestra.[785] Prior to the orchestra's exclusive engagement for the Albert Hall's Sunday Afternoon concert series, the London Symphony Orchestra had alternated the performance duties with the Queen's Hall Orchestra under Wood. During that time, Ronald conducted three performances of the *Marche hongroise* with the London Symphony in the Albert Hall on 14 June and 8 November 1908 and on 21 February 1909.[786] The year that the London Symphony Orchestra was replaced by the New

[783] Started in 1909, the series was so successful that it was continued by Landon Ronald and the New Symphony Orchestra without a break for the next fourteen years. Their association with the Royal Albert Hall was quickly established, which led to the orchestra officially adopting the title "Royal Albert Hall Orchestra" for all occasions when they performed in the hall beginning in 1915. See Robert Elkin, *Queen's Hall, 1893-1941*, 45. Ronald remained the permanent conductor of the orchestra until it was officially disbanded in 1928.

[784] The concert series was, indeed, considered a less prestigious enterprise in comparison to the standard evening concerts. For example, the London Symphony Orchestra's main concerts usually featured central European conductors as a draw for audience attendance, while at the same time relegated the British-born Ronald to conduct the informal afternoon concert series. See Fiona M. Palmer, *Conductors in Britain: 1870-1914*, 214-15, fn. #85.

[785] See list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates. Copies of all of these programs are housed in the Royal Albert Hall Performance Archive and in the British Library, Collection of programmes (1899), 7892.w.1. The first concert that Ronald conducted a movement from *Faust* on was a performance of the *Marche hongroise* on a Grand Morning Concert with Madame Melba on 4 November 1899. Ronald shared the conducting duties for this concert with Signor Seppilli. A copy of the program is housed in the British Library, Collection of programmes (1899), 7892.w.1.

[786] Copies of all three of these programs are housed in the Royal Albert Hall, "Our Performance History and Archive," *Royal Albert Hall Performance Archive*, http://catalogue.royalalberthall.com/Default.aspx? (accessed 26 February 2019). According to Fiona Palmer, Landon Ronald conducted fifty-five concerts with the London Symphony Orchestra between 1905 and 1909, of which forty-two were for the Sunday concert series at the Royal Albert Hall. See Fiona M. Palmer, *Conductors in Britain: 1870-1914*, 214-15, fn. #85.

Symphony Orchestra for the Sunday concert series was the same year that Ronald had severed his ties with the London Symphony Orchestra in order to conduct the New Symphony Orchestra full time. This state of affairs led to speculation and a certain amount of controversy.[787] In addition, Ronald conducted a single performance of the *Marche hongroise* with the Hallé Orchestra in Manchester on 28 February 1918 as part of the Hallé Concerts Society.[788]

The *Marche hongroise* was by far the most frequent selection that Ronald conducted, giving at least twenty performances before 1918.[789] In comparison, the times that he conducted a selection of *Faust* other than the *Marche hongroise* were on three separate occasions. Each of these three performances contained a different selection from the work, including a performance of the *Ballet des sylphes* on a Miscellaneous Popular Concert on 17 December 1916 and a performance of the *Serenade* as part of a Sunday Concert on 22 April 1917.[790]

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[787] See the London Symphony Orchestra Minutes for 1909 and Ronald's description of the circumstances in Landon Ronald, *Myself and Others: Written Lest I forget* (London: Sampson, Low, Marston & Co., 1931), 22-37. See also Simon McVeigh, "The London Symphony Orchestra: The First Decade Revisited," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 138/2 (2013): 365-66. Also cited in Fiona M. Palmer, *Conductors in Britain: 1870-1914*, 214, fn. #83. The New Symphony Orchestra was started in 1905. See Palmer, 210.
[788] A copy of the program is currently housed in the Hallé Orchestra Archive, Hallé Concerts, 1917-18.
[789] See list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.
[790] Copies of all three of these programs are housed in the Royal Albert Hall, "Our Performance History and Archive," *Royal Albert Hall Performance Archive*, http://catalogue.royalalberthall.com/Default.aspx? (accessed 26 February 2019). In addition to his continued work with the New Symphony Orchestra on the Sunday afternoon concert series, Ronald also incorporated his earlier ties and interest in the recording industry through the Gramophone Company, making the NSO the "house orchestra' for the Gramophone Company" during the early 1900s. For more information, see Emily Claire Worthington, "The Modernisation of Wind Playing in London Orchestra, 1909-1939: A Study of Playing Style in Early Orchestral Recordings" (Unpublished PhD Dissertation: University of York, 2013), Chapter 3. Cited in Fiona M. Palmer, *Conductors in Britain: 1870-1914*, 217, fn. #101. See also Simon McVeigh, "The London Symphony Orchestra: The First Decade Revisited," 319, 328, 336, 361, 364-7, 370-2. Also cited in Palmer, 215, fn. #88.

Table 6.3: Performance Statistics of Certain Selections from *La Damnation de Faust*, 1848-1918

Decade	**1848-1849**	**1850-1859**	**1860-1869**	**1870-1879**	**1880-1889**	**1890-1899**	**1900-1909**	**1910-1918**
Total Number of Concerts Containing *La Damnation de Faust* on the Program	4	16	5	12	112	193	170	91
Total Number of *Marche hongroise* Performances	4	7	1	3	98	158	156	78
Performance Frequency of *Marche hongroise*	100%	44%	20%	25%	88%	82%	92%	86%
Total Number of *Menuet des follets* Performances	0	0	0	1	78	83	75	25
Performance Frequency of *Menuet des follets*	0%	0%	0%	8%	70%	43%	44%	27%
Total Number of *Ballets des sylphes* Performances	2	10	4	9	89	95	89	28
Performance Frequency of *Ballets des sylphes*	50%	63%	80%	75%	79%	49%	52%	31%
Total Number of Performances Containing Other Selections from *Faust*	2	1	0	1	86	88	35	17
Performance Frequency of Other Selections from *Faust*	50%	6%	0%	8%	77%	46%	21%	19%

However, the popularity of the *Marche hongroise* was not only limited to Landon Ronald's performances. The frequency of performance of all the times that *Faust* was performed in Britain between 1848 and 1918 demonstrates that the *Marche* was by far the most popular selection from the work during that sixty-year period. Out of the total 603 performances of *Faust* as either the complete work or selections that occurred during that time frame, the *Marche hongroise* appeared on 505 of those performances. As illustrated in Table 6.3, the *Ballet des sylphes* was the more popular movement before the first complete performance of *Faust* in 1880. After this date, the *Marche hongroise* emerged as the clear favorite. Between 1880 and 1918, the *Marche hongroise* was performed at least 490 times.[791] This is compared to the *Ballet des sylphes*, which was given 301 times, and the *Menuet des follets*, which received at total of at least 261 performances during that same stretch of time.[792]

Berlioz by the Sea: Sir Dan Godfrey as a Champion of *Faust* in Bournemouth

Selections from *Faust* became so popular on orchestral programming by the turn of the twentieth century that orchestras outside of London constantly programmed movements from it on their annual seasons. This was apparent in the seaside resort and spa towns that began to emerge during the latter half of the nineteenth century:

> The growth of seaside resorts, again dependent upon railways, was important, not only because it assembled large audiences in a few weeks of concentrated spending, but because the season coincided with the musician's traditionally slack summer. Resort employment was not new: in addition to the spas musicians had long been accustomed to visiting Brighton and a few similar places.[793]

[791] See Table 6.3. See list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.
[792] Ibid.
[793] Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History*, 56.

For example, as Cyril Ehrlich notes, "The 1871 census already listed forty-eight seaside resorts, with small resident populations but large seasonal influxes: Blackpool had only 6,000 residents but was entertaining 600,000 visitors in the season."[794] Just as British towns began to develop their own choral societies and triennial festivals, many of them also began to form their own municipal orchestras. As Ehrlich notes, one outstanding example of "the most sustained and successful attempt to build an audience for good music in a seaside resort" was the city of Bournemouth.[795]

Situated geographically along the south coast of Britain, by the end of the century Bournemouth had become a destination for holiday and resort activities.[796] Like most resort towns during that period, Bournemouth employed a small military band to provide musical entertainment. However, by the early 1890s many visitors and tourists began to complain that bands alone were not sufficient. Not long after, this issue was officially addressed in the local press, which blamed the Town Council for their lack-of interest in providing more funding towards music: "Those who complain of the want of attractive amusement in Bournemouth must have forgotten that there is periodically provided for intelligent minds an excellent comedy in the meetings of the Town Council."[797] This type

[794] Ibid.
[795] Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History*, 65.
[796] The first of these types of seaside and spa towns to begin providing musical entertainment was the city of Blackpool as early as 1879. This city of Cheltenham also followed Blackpool's lead a decade later. See Fiona M. Palmer, *Conductors in Britain: 1870-1914*, 217.
[797] Stephen Lloyd, *Sir Dan Godfrey: Champion of British Musicians*, 19-20.

of criticism directly led to the Bournemouth Corporation acquiring the lease of the Winter Gardens in 1891 for the sum of £11,000.[798]

The council's main objective in building the Winter Gardens and establishing a local musical attraction was focused on gratifying two main groups of tourists. In the winter months, the gardens served as an entertainment venue for those who traveled to the town for medicinal purposes, such as "the alleged medicinal properties of the local pine trees" and pure seaside air.[799] By contrast, in the summer months Bournemouth catered to the "pleasure-seeking clientele" that was mainly comprised of wealthy upper- and middle-class visitors.[800] The Winter Gardens resort was immediately successful, attracting an "increasingly plebian" crowd during the summer months, especially from the West Midlands and West Country.[801] By 1910, a restaurant-car train was introduced to shuttle visitors from Manchester to Bournemouth.[802] By 1911 the resort in Bournemouth had become the second-largest resort town by census population next to Brighton.[803] The close connection between Manchester and Bournemouth is of interest concerning the performance history of *La Damnation de Faust*, as the close ties between

[798] Ibid. Originally built in November 1877 as a commercial exhibition hall, the Winter Gardens pavilion was constructed in the same style of the Crystal Palace, which had become popular after 1851. In order to update the building and grounds to a satisfactory state, an additional £4,000 was allocated to refurbish the Winter Gardens, which were reopened in 1893 as a "temple of music."
[799] See John K. Walton, *The English Seaside Resort: A Social History, 1750-1914* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1983), 39 and 65-70. The book is an excellent resource on the social and cultural history and development of the English seaside resort.
[800] Ibid. Throughout the book, Walton describes the period between 1880 and 1914 as a "golden age" for the English seaside resort. Not coincidentally, this was the same time period when *La Damnation de Faust* was performed the most frequently in Britain.
[801] Ibid., 65-70. Although the town also continued to attract numerous middle-class visitors from London and the rest of the country during this period.
[802] Ibid., 105.
[803] Ibid., 105. For more information, see also John K. Walton, *The British Seaside: Holidays and Resorts in the Twentieth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 76.

both locations most likely played a part in prompting Godfrey into programing the more popular selections from *Faust* during the winter months.[804]

Like Manns, Godfrey had been influenced by the municipal support for the arts in Germany, where he had lived briefly during his youth. He was eager to bring those ideas and traditions to his post in Bournemouth. Godfrey later stated that at the start of his career he had set three main goals for himself: "The first was that I might be the instrument whereby Bournemouth should become first in music; the second was that I might help the young British composer; the third was that I might instill into the inhabitants of Bournemouth the love of good music."[805] The first performance of the resort band under Godfrey's direction took place in the Winter Garden pavilion on 22 May 1893. Three separate concerts were performed throughout the day, each of which contained a selection of both popular and classical numbers that were loudly applauded.[806] One of the papers reported that: "It is not an exaggeration to say that never before has there been witnessed in Bournemouth such a gathering, and such a scene, as

[804] Born into a long line of British bandmasters, Sir Daniel "Dan" Eyers Godfrey (1868–1939) was one of the most famous conductors in nineteenth-century British band music. He was named after his father, Lieutenant Daniel Godfrey (1831–1903), who was also a famous bandmaster. After receiving his musical education at the Royal College of Music, where he played principal clarinet in the college's orchestra under the conductorship of Sir Charles Stanford, Godfrey went on to receive a bandmaster's diploma from the Royal Academy of Music in 1890. He obtained the position in Bournemouth through his father, who had initially received the letter of request from the city. Following a brief correspondence and a subsequent meeting, Godfrey was given a five-month summer contract by the Bournemouth City Council in 1893. He was hired to conduct a uniformed military band of thirty musicians that included: "enough 'double-handed players'—musicians who could play a wind as well as a string instrument—so that the whole band was not required, some could play as a string band in the Winter Gardens while the remainder formed a military band on the pier." For more information on the history of the Godfrey family and their influence in the British band music, see Stephen Lloyd, *Sir Dan Godfrey: Champion of British Musicians*, 11-16, 21.

[805] As stated by Godfrey at a 1919 meeting in Bournemouth of the Charminster Road Brotherhood. Ibid., 24.

[806] Stephen Lloyd, *Sir Dan Godfrey: Champion of British Musicians*, 22. Some of the works performed that day included Rossini's *William Tell* Overture, Weber's *Oberon* Overture, a few arrangements by Godfrey, as well as pieces by Sullivan, Wagner, Schubert, Louis Ganne, and Gounod.

that which presented itself inside—and we may almost add at the entrance to—the Winter Gardens on Monday."[807]

Declared an instant success, an estimated ten thousand people attended the first day alone, netting a total profit of £200 for the day.[808] Within a fortnight, these numbers had increased to over thirty-two thousand people with various receipts adding up to £790.[809] Following the success of the first season, Godfrey proposed the following November to expand the band's funding by adding afternoon symphonic concerts. The town council granted the proposal, which resulted in the formation of the Bournemouth Municipal Orchestra.[810] In addition to his bandmaster duties, Godfrey was appointed as the resident Musical Director of the Bournemouth Corporation, which made him the conductor of the "first actual *permanent* municipal orchestra in the United Kingdom."[811]

Fueled by two successful seasons, Godfrey expanded the musical activities in the city the following year by initiating the Winter Symphony Concerts. Taking place between October 1895 and May 1896, the first series of Winter Symphony Concerts was held on Monday and Thursday evenings. This concert series was significant, as it gave Godfrey a vehicle to highlight and promote a variety of new music by British-born

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[807] Ibid.
[808] Ibid.
[809] Ibid.
[810] See Richard Roberts, "The Corporation as Impresario: The Municipal Provision of Entertainment in Victorian and Edwardian Bournemouth," in John K. Walton and James Walvin, Eds., *Leisure in Britain 1780-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), 137-58.
[811] Sir Dan Godfrey, *Memories and Music: Thirty-five Years of Conducting*, 73. See also Hadley Watkins, *The Bournemouth Municipal Orchestra. Conductor, Mr. Dan Godfrey, Hon. R.A.M., Musical Director to the Corporation of Bournemouth. Twenty-One Years of Municipal Music, 1893-1914: A Souvenir Record of Growth and Development with Chronologia of Chief Events. Compiled and Edited (for the Winter Gardens Committee)* (Bournemouth: Richmond Hill Printing Works, 1914), 22. Also cited in Fiona M. Palmer, *Conductors in Britain: 1870-1914*, 219 fn. #113.

composers as well as popular favorites by foreign composers. Popular selections from *Faust* were included on the programs for this Winter Concert series. In the first eight years, selections from *Faust* were performed at least fifteen times during the Winter Garden season.[812] Almost all of these performances were of either the *Marche hongroise*, the *Ballet des sylphes*, or the *Menuet des follets* as standalone items.[813] In fact, the concert statistics for *Faust* selections in Bournemouth in many ways is a direct reflection of the statistics in Table 6.3. For example, more than half of the *Faust* performances in Bournemouth by Godfrey and his band were of the *Marche hongroise*.[814]

Just as Manns had revolutionized the cultural practices of the British orchestra at the Crystal Palace, Godfrey sought to do the same in Bournemouth:

> Yet even in these very early days, Godfrey's ambition—for such it clearly was, as he was to acknowledge in his farewell speech in 1934—of supplying more than just military band music, can be detected. Almost certainly he had in mind as a model August Manns' Crystal Palace concerts, especially the famed Saturday concerts that frequently offered opportunities for young native composers, in a venue that coincidentally had obvious parallels with the Winter Gardens."[815]

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[812] See list of *La damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates. A copy of the Bournemouth Winter Gardens program that contains all of the dates when selections of *Faust* were performed up to the year 1903 is currently held at the University of Leeds, Brotherton Library Special Collections, Concert and Theatre Programmes (1894-1940), MS 1544. It should be noted that the statistics of performances of Berlioz's works by Godfrey and the Bournemouth Municipal Orchestra are only from the first ten years of the orchestra's existence, up to 1903. There are undoubtedly more performances of Berlioz's music by the orchestra that occurred after this date. However, the exact dates and number of performances after this date are still unknown and require further investigation.

[813] There was one occasion on 14 December 1903 that both the *Marche hongroise* and the *Ballet des sylphes* were performed on the same concert both to commemorate the Berlioz centenary as well as to mark the 500th concert by the Bournemouth Municipal Orchestra. Copies of this program are currently held at the British Library, Collection of programmes (1903), 7892.w.1 and at the University of Leeds, Brotherton Library Special Collections, Concert and Theatre Programmes (1894-1940), MS 1544.

[814] The March was performed eight times, the *Ballet des sylphes* was performed six times, and the Menuet was performed just twice. See list of *La Damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.

[815] Stephen Lloyd, *Sir Dan Godfrey: Champion of British Musicians*, 24. The hall at the Winter Gardens where Godfrey performed was indeed very much similar in construct to the Crystal Palace. Both buildings were actually constructed in a design that is very similar to a Palm House—a large greenhouse that is typically constructed out of large sheets of glass and wrought-iron frames. A prime example of an existing

Godfrey immediately set to work in enacting his own vision of "offering symphonic music" in Bournemouth that was "not too demanding for the average listener and that was also suited to his modest forces."[816]

As the city's primary music director, Godfrey programed music that catered to a wide demographic based on class, education, appreciation, and taste. Just as Newman and Wood had sought to educate the London public, Dan Godfrey's goal was to modify his programs over time in order to cultivate a more informed audience. Godfrey accomplished this by shortening the program length for each concert.[817] Furthermore, during the summer season, he conducted popular repertory:

> The programme formula he found most acceptable was an overture, a symphony, a concerto and a novelty item. This for a full symphony concert. Those who preferred lighter fare could attend his Monday Popular Concerts (he dropped the name 'Classical' in favour of 'Popular'), where Godfrey's policy was to whet the appetite of the more serious-minded members of these audiences with single movements from typical symphonies, such as the finale of a Haydn symphony, the slow movement from Mozart's *Symphony in E-flat*, the Allegretto from Beethoven's *Seventh Symphony*, one movement from Schubert's *Unfinished Symphony*, the *Scherzo* from Mendelssohn's *Scotch Symphony*, the Largo of Dvořák's Symphony from the New *World*, or the finale of Brahms' s *Symphony in D*.[818]

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and working palm house is located at the Royal Botanic Gardens in Kew just outside of London. This is also the closest example one can get today to experiencing the structure and acoustics of what the Crystal Palace was like before it was destroyed by fire in 1936. The Bournemouth Municipal Orchestra continued to perform at the Winter Gardens until 1979. Even then, the theater was still continuously used until 2002 when it officially closed. The building was razed in 2006.

[816] Ibid.

[817] "His excellent results were obtained by much rehearsal of short programmes. He regarded one and a half hours' music as the limit that a seaside audience would stand on a pleasant afternoon." Reginald Nettel, *The Orchestra in England* (London: A. W. Bain and Co. ltd., 1946), 201-202.

[818] Ibid., 201-202. Original Italics.

Godfrey's shrewd program idea worked well. During his first few years at Bournemouth, symphonies by Beethoven and Brahms were rarely performed. By the 1909 season, however, Godfrey observed that those same symphonies were "so fully appreciated here [during the 1908 season] that I intend again to perform them all during the [following] season."[819] In addition to composers such as Beethoven and Wagner, Berlioz's overtures and other selections were presented. For example, *Le roi Lear* was programmed on a concert in 1896 and the overture *Le carnaval romain* was performed on at least three concerts in 1897.[820] Similarly, selections from *La Damnation de Faust* such as the *Marche hongroise* and the *Ballet des sylphes* were programmed as well. For example, nine out of the fifteen total performances of *Faust* selections that Godfrey conducted at the Winter Gardens before 1904 were during the Monday Popular Concerts.[821] Furthermore, all but one of those nine concerts contained performances of either the *Marche hongroise* or the *Ballet des sylphes*.[822]

Under Godfrey's scrutinizing eye, the evolution of concert programming in Bournemouth continued throughout the early twentieth century. For example, *The Musical Times* noted in 1916 that—compared to the programming of Godfrey's first concert in 1893—the difference in concert fare: "served to show that popular taste has

[819] See Fiona M. Palmer, *Conductors in Britain: 1870-1914*, 251-53. This statement was made following the programing of the complete Beethoven symphonies during the 1908 season. For more information on the programming of the Bournemouth Municipal Orchestra leading up to the First World War, see Stephen Lloyd, *Sir Dan Godfrey: Champion of British Musicians*, 17-107.
[820] See the copy of the Bournemouth Winter Gardens program that contains all of the dates when Berlioz's music was performed up to the year 1903, which is currently held at the University of Leeds, Brotherton Library Special Collections, Concert and Theatre Programmes (1894-1940), MS 1544.
[821] See list of *La damnation de Faust* performances in Appendix for exact dates.
[822] Ibid.

been educated."[823] By 1914, the orchestra had grown dramatically to fifty-three players and the orchestra's cost of operation had increased to £10,000.[824] This included 600 Winter Garden concerts as well as 650 concerts on the town's piers.[825] The orchestra continued to grow throughout the following years. Although Bournemouth was equally affected by the First World War, music in the city continued to flourish in the inter-war years until Dan Godfrey's eventual retirement in 1934.[826]

Conclusion

By the outbreak of the First World War, the musical taste of the British public had altered. Yet, despite growing political turmoil and the changing cultural and political perspective between the generations that marked the Victorian, Edwardian, and finally Georgian Eras, Berlioz's music still maintained a clear profile in the British concert repertoire. Although not performed as frequently as during the late nineteenth century, selections from *La Damnation de Faust* and occasional complete performances were still common. The only significant decrease in the frequency of *Faust* performances occurred during the First World War, when the war effort took precedence over concert-going. After the war, conductors such as Wood and Ronald continued to program music from *Faust*, including at the Proms, which continued despite Newman's death in 1926.[827]

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[823] "Dan Godfrey and Bournemouth," *The Musical Times*, vol. 57, No. 876 (1 February 1916, 73-76), 75.
[824] See Fiona M. Palmer, *Conductors in Britain: 1870-1914*, 223-24. Even with the increase in expenses, the orchestra was usually able to make a small profit each season. For example, the orchestra's expenses in 1910 were £4,525 0s. 1d. but the total receipts for the Winter Gardens that season were £12,855 0s. 4d.
[825] Ibid. These performance numbers also included the free public band concerts that were supplied through the halfpenny rate.
[826] For more information on the programming of the Bournemouth Municipal Orchestra during the inter-war years as well as the circumstances surrounding Godfrey's eventual retirement, see Stephen Lloyd, *Sir Dan Godfrey: Champion of British Musicians*, 108-216.
[827] After Newman's death, the BBC took over at the start of the summer season in 1927, avoiding any break in continuity in the series. See Robert Elkin, *Queen's Hall, 1893-1941*, 33.

CONCLUSION

In the span of three generations, *La Damnation de Faust* had grown from an esoteric work by an avant-garde French composer to a popular favorite. Selections from it were performed by brass bands, choruses, and orchestras throughout Britain. This was the result of advocacy. First by Hallé and Manns, both of whom hailed from German-speaking countries, and second, by such British conductors as Barnby and Wood. Aside from performances, three British critics emerged as champions of Berlioz's music by the turn of the century: Ernest Newman (1868-1959), W. J. Turner (1889–1946), and Tom S. Wotton (1862–1939). All three of these men promoted and studied Berlioz's music during the early twentieth century and published several books and scholarly articles about Berlioz.[828] Newman's writings, in particular, spanned a sixty-year period:

> Newman approached Berlioz from an original viewpoint as romantic and classic. The most refreshing thing about Newman was that his views developed. His opinions on *Les Troyens*, for instance, can be compared and contrasted over four decades: in 'Berlioz and "The Trojans"' (*Sunday Times*, 19 June, 4 September, 1921), in '"The Trojans"' (*Sunday Times*, 24 March 1935), in *Opera Nights* (Putnam, 1943), as well as in the series of articles in the *Sunday Times* in April, May and June 1957."[829]

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[828] Ernest Newman was the music critic for the *Sunday Times* (London) from 1920 until his death forty years later. The name Newman was actually an alias used by the English critic whose real name was William Roberts. For more information on the life of Newman, see Paul Watt, *Ernest Newman: A Critical Biography* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2017). Walter James Redfern Turner was an Australian-born, English-domiciled writer and critic. Although Turner wrote several novels, poems, and plays throughout his career as a writer, he is most widely known today for his musical biographies of Mozart, Beethoven and Berlioz. For example, is biography on Berlioz, *Berlioz: The Man and His Work*, was published in 1934. Tom S. Wotton was a British musician who began taking an active interest in Berlioz's music starting in the 1880s. For more information on his life and contribution to Berlioz studies, see "Berlioz: Pioneers and Champions, Biographers and critics: Tom S. Wotton (1862-1939)," *The Hector Berlioz Website*, Curated by Monir Tayeb and Michel Austin: http://www.hberlioz.com/champions/wottone.htm (Accessed 23 April 2019).

[829] See Michael Wright, "Berlioz and Anglo-American Criticism," *ADAM International Review*, No. 331-333 (1969): 93-101. Also reproduced at the author's permission on *The Hector Berlioz Website*, Curated by Monir Tayeb and Michel Austin: http://www.hberlioz.com/others/MWright1969.htm (Accessed 3 April 2019).

As a critic for *The Sunday Times*, Newman wrote more than sixty articles that presented the French composer in a favourable light.[830] During that time, he also published an updated and corrected English translation of the composer's *Mémoires*.[831] While Newman was engaged with Berlioz's music throughout his long career, Wotton was considered to be "the most significant figure of the three" during the early twentieth century.[832] Noted for his numerous short publications and talks on the composer that occurred before the Berlioz Centenary in 1903, Wotton's chief contribution was his biography, *Hector Berlioz*. This biography is recognized as: "his greatest work, and the most important in Berliozian scholarship to that date. This independently observed study of various aspects of the composer and his music called halt to some of the more complacently accepted fallacies, and, in the pre-Barzun era, could be described as the first big assessment of Berlioz in English."[833]

Published in 1935, Wotton's study also coincided with a revival of the composer's music in Britain that began in the late 1920s:

> It is with Cecil Gray perhaps that we begin to feel the wind blowing more strongly for Berlioz, in his *Survey of Contemporary Music* (O.U.P., 1924) and 'Notes on Music' (*Calendar of Modern Letters*, September 1925-February 1926). At one time he thought of writing a book on Berlioz, but W. J. Turner forestalled him. In 'A note on Berlioz's (*Nation and Athenaeum*, 28 May 1927), he prophesied that the time for revaluation had come.[834]

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[830] The other composer that Newman frequently wrote favorably about was Richard Wagner. See Paul Watt, *Ernest Newman: A Critical Biography*, 128.
[831] See Hector Berlioz, *Mémoires*, trans. by Ernest Newman (New York: Tudor, 1932).
[832] See Michael Wright, "Berlioz and Anglo-American Criticism," *ADAM International Review*, No. 331-333 (1969): 93-101. Also reproduced at the author's permission on *The Hector Berlioz Website*, Curated by Monir Tayeb and Michel Austin: http://www.hberlioz.com/others/MWright1969.htm (Accessed 3 April 2019).
[833] Ibid.
[834] Ibid.

However, the narrative proposed by these authors that Berlioz's music was only popular in Britain during just a short time in the 1880s and 1890s has been refuted by this performance history.

As the statistics presented at length in this study prove, the frequency of performance of *La Damnation of Faust* during a sixty-year period in Britain show that not only was *Faust* easily considered to be Berlioz's most popular work in Britain, but that the work was actually performed continually until the First World War. As my research confirms, the changes in the musical taste of the British public directly coincided with the increased popularity of *La Damnation de Faust* during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Its popularity was a reflection of how the taste for serious orchestral music had changed from 1880 to 1914:

> One of the most striking features in the recent development of musical progress in England is the somewhat sudden rise into popularity of orchestral music. One might almost say that as regards this form of art, the vast majority of English people were at one time as dead to any appreciation of it, as their descendants today, are alive to its value, and eager to take every opportunity to extend their knowledge of it.[835]

This transformation of musical taste of the British concert-going public can also be seen through various snapshots of the critical attitude towards Berlioz's music during this same stretch of time.

Although he was warmly received during his five trips to London, Berlioz was quickly forgotten in the years following his last trip in 1855. Even the announcement of his death in 1869 was only given a perfunctory notice in *The Musical Times*: "The death

[835] Ernest Ford, *A Short History of English Music* (New York: McBride, Nast, and Company, 1912), 125.

of Hector Berlioz, which took place in Paris during the past month, will have but little effect upon art or artists; for, although in music he thought as deeply, and worked as earnestly, as any who have left an immortal name, his compositions never took a permanent hold upon the public mind."[836] In fact, *La Damnation de Faust* was not even mentioned as one of Berlioz's major compositions in this notice.

By time of the British première of the complete *Faust* in Manchester and London in 1880, however, critical opinion of both Berlioz and *Faust* had changed dramatically:

> The simple truth is that Berlioz, like most great and original composers, was in advance of his age. With the exception of a few pieces—such, for instance, as his overture to the 'Carnival Romain,' or the Rakoczy March and the Dance of the Sylphs in the 'Damnation of Faust'—his music is not of a character to be readily appreciated on a first hearing. The unusual turns of the melody, the strangeness of some of the harmonies, and the complexity of the rhythms all require familiarity before they can be properly enjoyed. But each fresh hearing reveals new beauties; and we believe that the time will come ere long when the works of Berlioz will be among the most popular in our concert *répertoire*.[837]

With each repetition of *Faust* over the next few decades, Berlioz's music grew in popularity and acceptance. Even the British composer Hubert Parry (1848–1918), who was known for his often negative opinions of French composers, acknowledged the importance of *La Damnation de Faust*: "But quite independent of these very marked peculiarities of his character, his genius and originality are incontestable. When the spirit of a situation like the opening scene of "Faust" or Margaret's meditation in the prison

[836] "Miscellaneous Intelligence," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* (vol. 14, No. 314, 1 April 1869) 53. H. C. Lunn, editor.
[837] "Crystal Palace," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* (vol. 21, No. 454, 1 December 1880) 602.

inspired him wholesomely, he was capable of rising to very high and genuinely musical conceptions."[838]

In addition to frequent live performances of *Faust* in the concert halls, Berlioz's music by the *fin de siècle* was also enjoying the effects of the changes in technology through the advent of early sound recording. For example, between 1906 and 1919, "nearly 30 acoustic recordings were made of nine Berlioz pieces or bits of them."[839] This was especially apparent in regards to selections from *La Damnation de Faust*. During that period, twelve recordings of the *Marche hongroise* were made; four of the *Ballet des sylphs*; and one of the *Menuet des follets*.[840] In fact, *Faust* was considered to be such a popular work in Britain by the eve of the First World War, that a complete recording of it was attempted on twenty short-sided records in 1910-11.[841]

The popularity of *Faust* continued throughout the Edwardian Era, especially in the form of selections at local promenade concerts. The only major change in the score's popularity in Britain occurred just before the First World War. Although performances of *Faust* continued both during and after the war, the programming of selections from the work significantly decreased during the inter-war years. The reason for this drop is not

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[838] Hubert Parry, *The Art of Music*, (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co., 1893), 304. In terms of the classification of Berlioz's music, it is interesting to point out that even though Berlioz had been dead for over twenty years by the time of Parry's publication, the author still chose to include his discussion of Berlioz and his music under the chapter entitled: "Modern Tendencies."

[839] Leanne Langley, "Agency and Change: Berlioz in Britain, 1870-1920," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 132/2 (2007): 343 and 343fn no. 89.

[840] Ibid.

[841] See HMV catalogues of 1910-11 and Claude Graveley Arnold, *The Orchestra on Record, 1896-1926* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997), 32-7. For the recording, Coppola conduced the Orchestre des Concerts Pasdeloup and Monteux the Paris Symphony Orchestra. Cited in Leanne Langley, "Agency and Change: Berlioz in Britain, 1870-1920," 343 and 343fn no. 89. In addition, Wilhelm Backhaus and Wanda Landowska in the early twentieth century made elegant piano rolls of other plums from *Faust* for home reproduction.

hard to discern. Like Mendelssohn's *Elijah*, *Faust* came to be regarded as the relic of a bygone era. Although it was not performed as nearly as often as it was before the war, *Faust* was still regularly programmed over the next two decades. For example, performances of *Faust* were frequently heard in Stockport, Manchester, Sheffield, London, and Birmingham throughout the mid-1930s.[842] This included a complete performance of the work at the 1930 Birmingham Festival as well as a fully-staged performance of the work at Covent Garden under the direction of Sir Thomas Beecham in 1933.[843]

Therefore, the revival of Berlioz's music in the 1920s was not necessarily a renewal of interest in the French composer's music overall, but was rather an expansion by British music critics into exploring scores other than *Faust*. For example, by 1924 Cecil Gray had observed the following about Berlioz's music:

> The position of Berlioz is probably unique in the history of music. Throughout his lifetime, from the very outset of his career even, his work never ceased to provoke the wildest enthusiasm on the one hand, and the most violent hostility on the other. Even today, although fifty years and more have elapsed since his death, the musical world is still as sharply divided into two camps concerning him as it was a century ago. To his admirers he is simply one of the very greatest of all composers who have ever lived; to his adversaries he is a less than second-rate figure, a mere scene-painter in sounds, with nothing save a gift for orchestration to commend him. If the latter have so far probably been in the majority, the

[842] Copies of these concert programs are held at the following locations: Manchester Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library, University of Leeds, Brotherton Library Special Collections, the Hallé Orchestra Archive, the London Metropolitan Archive, the John Johnson Collection Concerts index in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Royal Northern College of Music, Programmes (1839-1981), and the National Library of Scotland.

[843] A copy of the 1930 Birmingham Festival program is currently housed in the Royal Northern College of Music, Programmes (1839-1981). For more information on the 1933 performance at Covent Garden, see Harold Rosenthal, *Two Centuries of Opera at Covent Garden* (London: Putnam, 1958), 483-84.

> former have made up for their numerical inferiority by a fanaticism which opposition has only served to strengthen and confirm.[844]

As Gray later noted, this divide between Britain's contemporary critics and conductors soon became so pronounced that: "By the late 1920s, therefore, it was clear that something should be done about the 'Berlioz problem'."[845] In this regard, the overwhelming popularity of a handful of scores, such as *Faust*, constituted a "problem" in that the majority of Berlioz's other works were relatively unknown to British concert-goers. Therefore, in 1928: "eight eminent composers and music critics took part in a discussion in a famous Soho restaurant, with the object of 'airing' their diverse views in order to see if any consensus of opinion could be reached."[846] The debate was fierce, but, despite the pro-Berlioz support of Hamilton Harty and others, the meeting ended inconclusively.[847]

By the mid-twentieth century, another wave of interest in Berlioz emerged in the form of conductors such as Colin Davis and musicologists such as David Cairns, Hugh Macdonald, and Julian Rushton. Davis, in particular, was instrumental in the continued process of recording Berlioz's entire catalog of works, especially on long-playing stereophonic recordings, which were later transferred onto compact discs. With its brilliant orchestration, Berlioz's music became a favorite of audiophiles, especially in

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[844] Cecil Gray, *A Survey of Contemporary Music*, Second edition (London: Oxford University Press, 1927), 211.
[845] See Michael Wright, "Berlioz and Anglo-American Criticism," *ADAM International Review*, No. 331-333 (1969): 93-101. Also reproduced at the author's permission on *The Hector Berlioz Website*, Curated by Monir Tayeb and Michel Austin: http://www.hberlioz.com/others/MWright1969.htm (Accessed 3 April 2019).
[846] Ibid. Included among the men present were Edwin Evans, Hamilton Harty, Percy Scholes, Percy Buck, M. D. Calvocoressi, Hubert Foss and Harvey Grace.
[847] Ibid.

Britain. This meant that even rarities, such as *Lélio, ou Le Retour à la vie* or the complete *Les Troyens* as well as popular works such as *La Damnation de Faust* were given multiple recordings of the highest quality and interpretation.[848] Many of these were done by Davis and were frequently broadcasted by the BBC. In 1969, for instance, while Davis was in the middle of recording all of Berlioz's major works for the Phillips Recording Company, he conducted a live performance of the *Grande Messe des Morts* at the BBC Proms to mark the centenaries of both Hector Berlioz and Henry Wood (who was born the year Berlioz had died).[849] Due to the innovations and initiatives of these musicians and scholars, as well as through the amateur support of Berlioz enthusiasts through British organizations such as the Berlioz Society, *La Damnation de Faust* has maintained its position in the British repertory.[850] Because of this, even after the bicentenary of the composer in 2003 and the 150th anniversary of his death in 2019, Berlioz scholarship remains a relevant field in twenty-first-century musicological studies.

[848] For example, Davis recorded *La Damnation de Faust* with the London Symphony Orchestra, London Symphony Orchestra Chorus, Ambrosian Singers and Wandsworth School Boys' Choir for Phillips in July 1973 (B00000E35N).
[849] Philips recorded the concert and had the records on sale by the following Tuesday morning, less than sixty hours later. In order to accomplish this, the record sleeves were printed in advance. See Barrie Hall, *The Proms: and the men who made them* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1981), 167.
[850] For example, for a recent discussion on the reception of *La Damnation de Faust* in Russia, see Linda Edmondson's "*La Damnation de Faust* in Russia," in *The Berlioz Society Bulletin* (Number 180, August 2009), 3-14.

APPENDIX

Performances of *La Damnation de Faust* in Britain, 1848-1918

This appendix lists all of the performances of Berlioz's *La Damnation de Faust* in Britain, both complete and in the form of selections from the work, from the first known performances in 1848 until the end of 1918. It should be stressed that all of the 603 performances listed here are only those that have been currently found and cataloged at the time of the publication of this dissertation. There are undoubtedly more performances that occurred in Britain (especially in Ireland and Scotland) during the sixty-year period between 1848 and 1918, but these are the only performance dates that have been documented.

The performances are listed chronologically from earliest to latest. Beside the date and year of each performance, each listing includes the city and venue where the concert took place, the conductor, ensemble, and principal performers, as well as what selections from *Faust* were performed (when the information is available). When the information is not known, the column is either left blank or a "?" is placed there to indicate the information is currently unknown. For the sake of this research, every effort was made to find a copy of the original concert program or, if not available, to find at least two sources that verified the same date and program for each performance of *Faust* listed below. The list was compiled through several different types of sources, including original concert programs, periodicals, advertisements, and, when available, other published primary sources. All of the sources used to complete this appendix are listed first and are then followed by the table containing the complete list of performances.

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List of *Faust* Performances in Chronological Order

Date	Year	City	Location	Conductor	Ensemble	Details/Extra Info
7-Feb	1848	London	Drury Lane Theater	Hector Berlioz		(Monday) "Mr. Berlioz's First Grand Instrumental and Vocal Concert." Parts I and II of *La Damnation de Faust*, in English (Sims Reeves: Faust; Weiss: Méphistophélès; Gregg: Brander).
7-Apr	1848	London	Musical Union, Willis's Rooms in King Street, St. James's	Hector Berlioz	Musical Union	(Friday) Berlioz conducted the *Marche hongroise* at a concert for the Amateur Musical Society.
16-Jun	1848	London	Covent Garden	Hector Berlioz		(Friday) Performed *Marche hongroise*.
29-Jun	1848	London	Hanover Square Rooms	Hector Berlioz		(Thursday) Program: Le *Carnaval Romain*. Le Chasseur danois (Bouché). Mvt. 1-3 of *Harold en Italie* (Hill). Zaïde and "romance française" (Mme Sabatier). Choeur et *Ballet des sylphes* and Air de Méstophélès (M. Bouché) and *Marche hongroise* from *Faust*. An Air by Berlioz (soloist: M. Massol), La Captive and another selection (Mme Viardot) and Berlioz's arr. of Weber's *Invitation a la Valse*. Also works by Mendelssohn and Bellini on program. According to Cairns

						Berlioz, an unnamed "romance française" was also performed. According to F. G. Edwards program notes from 2 Nov. 1935 concert, this concert took place at Druary Lane Theater as well.
9-Jun	1852	London	Exeter Hall	Hector Berlioz	New Philharmonic Society	(Wednesday) Sixth and last New Philharmonic Society concert. Program: Selections from *Faust* including: Pastoral, Rondo and Chorus, Recitative, *Marche hongroise*, Recitiatve, Chorus and *Ballet des sylphes*. Soloists: Reichart and Staudigl. Also performed works by Weber, Liszt (Mme Pleyel, piano), Wylde, and Benedict and Beethoven's Ninth Symphony.
22-Mar	1856	Sydenham	Crystal Palace	August Manns	Crystal Palace Orchestra	(Sunday) Performed *Marche hongroise*.
27-Mar	1856	Manchester	Concert Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester Gentlemen's Concerts?	(Thursday) Undress Concert. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
9-Sep	1857	Manchester	Exhibition Hall	Mr. Becquie de Peyreville	Art Treasures Exhibition Orchestra	(Wednesday) Art Treasures Exhibition, Musical Performances. Performed *Marche hongroise*.

30-Jan	1858	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Saturday) 1st concert of the season. The program started at 7:30pm and was billed as "Mr. Charles Hallé's Grand Orchestral Concerts—Orchestra of Sixty Performers. Reserved seats 2s. 6d., Gallery and body of hall (unreserved) 1s. Subscription for a series of Eight Concerts 20s." On the program was the *Ballet des sylphes* from Berlioz's Damnation of Faust.
6-Feb	1858	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Saturday) 2nd concert of the season. Performance of *Ballet des sylphes* was repeated from the previous week's concert.
27-Feb	1858	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Saturday) 5th concert of the season. *Ballet des sylphes* was again repeated.
20-Mar	1858	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Saturday) 8th concert of the season. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
21-Apr	1858	Manchester	Concert Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester Gentlemen's Orchestra	(Wednesday) Manchester Gentlemen's Concerts. Undress Concert. Performed *Ballet des sylphes*.
15-May	1858	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Saturday) 16th (last) concert of the season. Performed *Ballet des sylphes*.
29-Sep	1858	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Wednesday) 3rd concert of the season. Performed *Ballet des sylphes*.

8-Dec	1858	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Wednesday) 13th concert of the season. Weekly Wednesday Evening concert series. Charles Hallé performed *Marche hongroise* from *Faust* as a solo on piano.
22-Dec	1858	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Wednesday) 15th concert of the season. Performed *Ballet des sylphes*.
19-Jan	1859	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Wednesday) 18th concert of the season. Weekly Wednesday Evening concert series. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
23-Mar	1859	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Wednesday) 26th concert of the season. Performed *Ballet des sylphes*.
7-Dec	1859	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Wednesday) 5th concert of the season. Performed *Ballet des sylphes*.
16-Mar	1861	London	Crystal Palace	August Manns	Crystal Palace Orchestra	(13th Saturday concert) Performed *Marche hongroise*.
31-Oct	1861	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Thursday) 3rd concert of the season. Performed *Ballet des sylphes*.
6-Nov	1862	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Thursday) 3rd concert of the season. The Whole of the Celebrated Exhibition Music. Band and Chorus of nearly 300. Performed *Ballet des sylphes*.
18-Mar	1863	Manchester	Concert Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester Gentlemen's Orchestra	(Wednesday) Dress Concert. Performed *Ballet des sylphes*.

9-Mar	1865	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Thursday) 20th concert of the season. Performed *Ballet des sylphes*.
27-Oct	1870	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Thursday) 1st concert of 13th season. Performed *Ballet des sylphes*.
13-Feb	1871	Edinburgh	Music Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Monday) Edinburgh Orchestral Festival. Reid Concert. Performed Ballets des Sylphes.
14-Feb	1871	Glasgow	City Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	2nd performance in Glasgow City Hall. Performed Ballets des Sylphes.
21-Nov	1872	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Thursday) 4th concert of 15th season. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
? ?	1874-75	London	Orme Square	Edward Dannreuther	Edward Dannreuther Choir	The prospectus of 1874-75 proposed Berlioz's works *L'Enfance du Christ* and *La Damnation de Faust*. The pieces were difficult, unfamiliar, and there was little or no performing tradition of them in England. (An official performance of the work by this group has still not been confirmed)
29-Nov	1877	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Thursday) 6th concert of 20th season. Performed *Ballet des sylphes*.
26-Dec	1877	Glasgow	New Public Halls	Dr. Hans von Bülow	Glasgow Choral Union	(Wednesday) 6th Orchestral Concert of season. Performed *Ballet des sylphes* and *Marche hongroise*.

1-Jun	1878	London	Her Majesty's Theatre	M. Pasdeloup	Pasdeloup Orchestra from Paris	(Saturday morning) A performance tour of Pasdeloup from France. Program: the almost complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Minnie Hauk, Signor Marini, and Signor Rota. The performance was in the original French.
2-Jul	1878	London	St. James's Hall		Musical Union	(Tuesday) No. 7 matinee concert of the Musical Union season. Director: John Ella. Alfred Jaëll played a keyboard arrangement of the *Ballet des sylphes* from *Faust*. According to Christina Bashford, "More than Dedication?" from *Musical Voyager*, this was almost certainly at the performer's suggestion.
26-Nov	1878	London	St. James's Hall	H. Weist Hill		(Wednesday) Madame Jenny Viard-Louis' Orchestral and Vocal Concerts. 2nd season, 1st concert. Performed the *Ballet des sylphes*.
17-Dec	1878	Glasgow	New Public Halls	Herr Julius Tausch	Glasgow Choral Union	(Tuesday) 5th Orchestral Concert of season. Performed the *Ballet des sylphes*.
6-Mar	1879	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Thursday) 19th concert of 21st season. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
5-Feb	1880	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	15th concert of 22nd season. Manchester Hallé Orchestra and Hallé Choir of over 350 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davis,

						Edward Lloyd, Mr. Hilton and George Henschel. **First complete performance in England.**
7-Feb	1880	Sydenham	Crystal Palace	August Manns	Crystal Palace Orchestra	(13th Saturday concert) Performed *Ballet des sylphes* (first time at these concerts) and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by George Grove. Note: Catalog of Saturday Programs book misdates this performance for 17 Feb 1880.
11-Mar	1880	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Thursday) 20th concert of 22nd season. Manchester Hallé Orchestra and Hallé Choir of over 350 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. (Repeat) Soloists: Mary Davis, Edward Lloyd, Mr. Hilton and George Henschel.
21-May	1880	London	St. James's Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Friday) **First complete performance in London** of *La Damnation de Faust*. Charles Hallé with Manchester Orchestra and Hallé Choir of 300 performers. Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, Mr. Hilton, Herr Henschel.
22-May	1880	London	St. James's Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Saturday) Repeat of complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Charles Hallé with Manchester Orchestra and Hallé Choir of 300 performers.

						Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, Mr. Hilton, Herr Henschel.
10-Jul	1880	Sydenham	Crystal Palace	August Manns	Crystal Palace Orchestra	(Saturday) Royal Normal College and Academy of Music for the Blind with the Crystal Palace Saturday Orchestra. Attended by Duke and Duchess of Connaught. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
8-Nov	1880	Cheetham	Town Hall	Henry Walker	Cheetham Glee and Choral Union	(Monday) 19th season. Pianist and Conductor: Mr. Henry Walker. Performed arr. for 2 pianos of *Marche hongroise*. Soloists: Miss Royle and Mr. Henry Walker.
20-Nov	1880	London	St. James's Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and London Choir	(Saturday) Band and Chorus of 300 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, Mr. Santley, and Mr. Pyatt.
25-Nov	1880	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and Choir	Thursday) 5th concert of 23rd season. Manchester Hallé Orchestra and Hallé Choir of over 350 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davis, Edward Lloyd, Mr. Hilton and Mr. Santley.
11-Dec	1880	London	St. James's Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and London Choir	(Saturday) Band and Chorus of 300 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary

						Davies, Edward Lloyd, Mr. Santley, and Mr. Pyatt.
21-Dec	1880	Glasgow	St. Andrew's Hall	August Manns	Glasgow Choral Union	(Tuesday) 2nd Orchestral Concert of season. Performed *Marche hongroise* from *Faust* and Berlioz's arr. of Weber's *Invitation a la Valse*. Program notes from Crystal Palace programs by George Grove.
8-Jan	1881	London	St. James's Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and London Choir	(Saturday) Band and Chorus of 300 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, Mr. Santley, and Mr. Pyatt.
29-Jan	1881	London	St. James's Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and London Choir	(Saturday) Band and Chorus of 300 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, Mr. Santley, and Mr. Pyatt.
14-Feb	1881	Cheetham	Town Hall	Henry Walker	Cheetham Glee and Choral Union	(Monday) 3rd concert of 19th season. Pianist and Conductor: Mr. Henry Walker. Performed arr. for 2 pianos of *Marche hongroise* from *Faust*. Soloists: Miss Royle and Mr. Henry Walker.
25-Feb	1881	London	Mansion House	Cadwallader Thomas	Coldstream Guards' Band	(Friday) Performed a Fantasia medley of *La Damnation de Faust*.
5-Mar	1881	London	St. James's Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Saturday) A repeat performance of complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Band and Chorus of 300 performers.

						Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, Mr. Pyatt, Mr Santley.
8-Mar	1881	Liverpool	Philharmonic Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Tuesday) Halle Orchestra and 400 singers and instrumentalists. Complete performance of *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, R. Hilton, Mr. Santley. First complete performance in Liverpool.
10-Mar	1881	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and Choir	(Thursday) 20th (last) concert of 23rd season. Over 350 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, R. Hilton, Mr. Santley.
12-Mar	1881	Sydenham	Crystal Palace	August Manns	Crystal Palace Orchestra	(17th Saturday concert) Performed *Ballet des sylphes* and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by George Grove.
19-Mar	1881	Sydenham	Crystal Palace	August Manns	Crystal Palace Orchestra	(18th Saturday concert) Performed "King of Thule" from *Faust*. Soloist: Miss Robertson. Program notes by George Grove.
23-Apr	1881	London	St. James's Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Saturday) Performance of complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Band and Chorus of 300 performers. Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, Mr. Pyatt, Mr Santley.
30-Apr	1881	London	St. James's Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Saturday evening) Performance of complete *La Damnation de Faust*.

						Band and Chorus of 300 performers. Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, Mr. Pyatt, Mr Santley.
18-May	1881	London	Buckingham Palace	W. G. Cusins		(Wednesday) Evening concert of vocal and instrumental music. Performed "Easter Hymn," solo and chorus from *La Damnation de Faust* (soloist: Maas) and Berlioz's *Carnaval Romain* overture.
27-May	1881	London	Saint Bartholomew's Hospital	Cadwallader Thomas	Coldstream Guards Band	(Friday) Conversazione in the New Buildings of the Medical School. Concert performed in the Museum. Performed selections from *La Damnation de Faust*.
5-Aug	1881	London	The Guildhall	Cadwallader Thomas	Coldstream Guards Band	(Friday) Conversazione at Guildhall on the occasion of the visit of the members for the International Medical Congress. Performed selection from *La Damnation de Faust*.
12-Oct	1881	Norwich	St. Andrew's Hall	Alberto Randegger	Norwich Festival Orchestra	(Wednesday Evening) Norwich Musical Festival. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Over 1100 people paid a half-a-crown each to attend a full dress rehearsal given at the Norwich Music Festival on Monday 10 October, a first for its time.

21-Oct	1881	Huddersfield	Town Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and Choir	(Friday) Huddersfield Music Festival. Band and Chorus of 350 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Edward Lloyd, Mary Davies, Frederic King, Mr. Santley. The work was performed to inaugurate the new town hall.
26-Nov	1881	London	St. James's Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and London Choir	(Saturday) Band and Chorus of 300 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, Mr. Santley, and Mr. Pyatt.
7-Dec	1881	Sheffield	Albert Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Wednesday) Performed *Ballet des sylphes* and *Marche hongroise* from *Faust* and Berlioz's song "Spectre de la Rose." Soloist: Miss Orridge. Financially supported by Mr. Freemantle.
10-Dec	1881	London	St. James's Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and London Choir	(Saturday) Band and Chorus of 300 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, Mr. Santley, and Mr. Pyatt.
12-Jan	1882	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and Choir	(Thursday) 12th concert of 24th season. Over 350 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, R. Hilton, Mr. Santley.

27-Jan	1882	Huddersfield	Town Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and Choir	(Friday) Band and Chorus of 350 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Edward Lloyd, Mary Davies, Mr. Bartin, Mr. Santley. Second performance of complete work in Huddersfield.
31-Jan	1882	Glasgow	St. Andrew's Hall	August Manns	Glasgow Choral Union	(Tuesday) 4th Choral Concert. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloist: Mary Davies, Barton M'Guckin, Signor Foli, and a Member of the Choral Union. **First complete performance in Scotland.** Program notes from George Grove's Crystal Palace program.
11-Feb	1882	Edinburgh	Music Hall	Charles Hallé	Edinburgh Orchestral Festival Orchestra	(Saturday) Reid Concert. 2nd Grand Orchestral Concert. Edinburgh Orchestral Festival. Orchestra of 70 performers. Performed Selections from *Faust*, including Part 3: Scene 1: Margaret's Dwelling, King of Thule, Scene 2: Evocation, *Menuet de follets*, Serenade and Chorus of Spirits, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*. Soloists: Mary Davies and Mr. F. King.
16-Feb	1882	Birmingham	Town Hall	Mr. Stockley	Birmingham Choral Society and Orchestra	(Thursday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, Frederic King, Mr. Lander. First time

						complete work done in Birmingham.
3-Mar	1882	Bradford	St. George's Hall	Charles Hallé	Bradford Festival Choral Society and Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Friday) Subscription Concert. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, Fred King, and Mr. Pyatt. The 1st of 7 performances of Faust by Bradford Choral Society between 1856 and 1906.
4-Mar	1882	Sydenham	Crystal Palace	August Manns	Crystal Palace Orchestra	13th concert of season. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
14-Mar	1882	Liverpool	Philharmonic Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and Choir	(Tuesday) Complete performance of *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, Robert Hilton, Mr. Santley. 2nd complete performance in Liverpool.
22-Mar	1882	London	Royal Albert Hall	Joseph Barnby	Royal Choral Society	(Wednesday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Marie Roze, Mr. Vernon-Rigby, Mr. Pyatt, and Mr. F. King.
18-May	1882	London	Mansion House	Cadwallader Thomas	Coldstream Guards' Band	(Thursday) Performed a Fantasia medley of *La Damnation de Faust*.
14-Jun	1882	Oxford	Wadham College Gardens	Mr. Kreyer	The Band of the Royal Marines	Musical Féte. Performed an arr. of selections from *La Damnation de Faust* (solo for principal instruments).
28-Jun	1882	London	Buckingham Palace	W. G. Cusins		Wednesday Evening concert that included vocal and instrumental music conducted by Cusins,

						including the “Chorus of Gnomes and Symphs” from *La Damnation de Faust*.
8-Sep	1882	Preston	Public Hall	Charles Hallé	Preston Choral Society and Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Friday) Preston Guild Festival. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, Frederic King, and Mr. Hilton.
? Oct	1882	Bristol	Colston Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and festival chorus	4th Bristol Musical Festival. Performed *Marche hongroise* and *Ballet des sylphes*.
27-Oct	1882	Bradford	St. George’s Hall	Robert Senior Burton	Bradford Festival Choral Society	(Friday) Subscription Concert. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, Fred King, and Mr Thornton Wood. The 2nd of 7 performances of Faust by Bradford Choral Society between 1856 and 1906.
27-Nov	1882	Manchester	Athenaeum Hall	Dr. Henry Hiles	Athenaeum Musical Society	1st concert of 16th season. Performed "Serenade” from *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloist: Mrs. Hiles.
19-Dec	1882	Glasgow	St. Andrew’s Hall	August Manns	Glasgow Choral Union	(Tuesday) 2nd concert of season. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Frederic King, Edward Lloyd, Mr. J. Fleming. Program notes from W. A. Barrett. Second performance by Glasgow Choral Union.

10-Jan	1883	Leeds	Town Hall	Robert Senior Burton	Bradford Festival Choral Society	(Wednesday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, Frederic King, and Mr Thornton Wood.
11-Jan	1883	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and Choir	(Thursday) 12th concert of 25th season. Over 350 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, R. Hilton, Mr. Santley.
1-Feb	1883	Birmingham	Town Hall	Mr. Stockley	Birmingham Choral Society and Orchestra	(Thursday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, Mr. Ludwig, Mr. Lander. 2nd performance of work by Birmingham Choral Society.
14-Mar	1883	London	Royal Albert Hall	Joseph Barnby	Royal Choral Society	(Wednesday) 12th season. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: ?
11-Apr	1883	London	Royal Albert Hall	Joseph Barnby	Royal Choral Society	(Wednesday) 12th season. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: ?
4-May	1883	Bradford	St. George's Hall	Robert Senior Burton?	Bradford Choral Society	(Friday) A free complimentary concert was given by the request of the city mayor. The last piece on the first half of the program was the *Marche hongroise*.

9-May	1883	London	St. James's Hall	W. G. Cusins	(Royal) Philharmonic Society	(Wednesday) 5th concert of season. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Note: Advertisement for the concert states that *Carnaval Romain* overture was performed instead.
8-Aug	1883	London	Theatre Royal Covent Garden	Mr. A. Gwyllym Crowe	Grand Orchestra and Band of Coldstream Guards	(Wednesday) Classical Night. Promenade Concerts. 100 performers. Performed *Ballet des sylphes*.
13-Sep	1883	Wolverhampton	Agricultural Hall	Dr. Heap	Wolverhampton Music Festival	(Thursday) Evening concert, 1st day of 6th Triennial Festival. The Wolverhampton Music Festival (amateur). Musicians from London and Manchester Orchestras and chorus of 250 voices. Performed *Ballet des sylphes*.
18-Oct	1883	Sydenham	Crystal Palace	August Manns	Crystal Palace Orchestra	(Thursday) Popular Evening Concert. Performed *Marche hongroise* and *Menuet de follets*.
7-Nov	1883	London	Royal Albert Hall	Joseph Barnby	Royal Choral Society	(Wednesday) First concert of 13th season. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Madame Albani, Edward Lloyd, Mr. Santley, and Mr. Pyatt.
10-Jan	1884	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and Choir	(Thursday) 12th concert of 26th season. Over 350 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, R. Hilton, Mr. F. King.

7-Feb	1884	London	Royal Albert Hall	Joseph Barnby	Royal Choral Society	(Thursday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mrs. Whitney, Edward Lloyd, H. Pyatt, and Frederic King, This was a repeat performance of the full work "by desire."
4-Mar	1884	Liverpool	Philharmonic Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and Choir	(Tuesday) Mr. Charles Hallé's Benefit Concert. Performed first and second parts of *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Anna Williams, Edward Lloyd, Mr. Hilton, and Mr. Santley.
9-Sep	1884	Worcester	Public Hall	William Done	Worcester Musical Festival Orchestra and Chorus	(Tuesday) Worcester Musical Festival. First concert. Chorus supplied by Worcester, Hereford, Gloucester, and the Birmingham Festival Chorus. Performed Berlioz selections: "Absence" from Les Nuits d'Ete (soloist: Mrs. Hutchinson), "Bolero" (Zaïde) (Soloist: Mrs. Hutchinson), and the *Ballet des sylphes* and *Marche hongroise* from *Faust*.
17-Oct	1884	Norwich	St. Andrew's Hall	Alberto Randegger	Norwich Musical Festival	(Friday) Closing concert. Norfolk and Norwich 21st Triennial Musical Festival. Performed Ballet de Sylphes and *Marche hongroise* "by desire."

29-Oct	1884	London	Royal Albert Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and Sacred Harmonic Society	(Wednesday) Sacred Harmonic Society. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, Mr. H. Pyatt, and Mr. Santley.
26-Nov	1884	London	Royal Albert Hall	Joseph Barnby	Royal Choral Society	(Wednesday) 3rd concert of 14th season. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Madame Valleria, Mr. Edward Lloyd, Mr. Henry Pyatt, and Mr. F. Barrington Foote. Organ: Dr. Stainer.
2-Jan	1885	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and Choir	(Friday) 10th concert of 27th season. Over 350 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, R. Hilton, Mr. Santley.
23-Jul	1885	Chester	Music Hall	Dr. J. C. Bridge	Chester Musical Festival Orchestra	(Thursday Evening) Chester Triennial Musical Festival. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, Mr. Santley, and Mr. Brereton.
22-Oct	1885	Bristol	Colston Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and Festival Choir	(Thursday) 5th Bristol Musical Festival. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Madame Albani, Edward Lloyd, Mr. Hilton, and Mr. Santley.

30-Oct	1885	Bradford	St. George's Hall	Charles Hallé	Bradford Festival Choral Society and Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Friday) Subscription Concert. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, Mr. Henschel, and Mr Kingsley. 3rd time performed here.
31-Dec	1885	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and Choir	(Thursday) 10th concert of 28th season. Over 350 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, R. Hilton, Mr. Henschel.
6-Jan	1886	London	Buckingham Palace	Mr. W. G. Cusins		(Thursday) State Concert by Command of the Queen. Orchestra and Chorus of 160 performers including her Majesty's Private Band assisted by members from the principal orchestral and choral societies in London. Performed "Song de Faust" and the *Ballet des sylphes* from *Faust*. Soloists: Edward Lloyd and M. Maurel.
20-Jan	1886	London	Royal Albert Hall	Joseph Barnby	Royal Choral Society	(Wednesday) 6th concert of 15th season. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Madame Valleria, Edward Lloyd, Henry Pyatt, and Barrington Foote.
13-Feb	1886	Edinburgh	Music Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Saturday) Reid Concert. Edinburgh Orchestral Festival. Performed *Marche hongroise* from *Faust*.

16-Feb	1886	Leeds	Coliseum, Cookridge Street	Robert Senior Burton	Bradford Festival Chorus	(Tuesday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Madame Albani, Edward Lloyd, Mr. Santley, and Charles Kingsley.
3-Mar	1886	York	Festival Concert Room	Robert Senior Burton	York Musical Society	(Wednesday) Last Concert of the Season. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Miss Tomlinson, Mr. Seymour Jackson, Mr. A. Beresford, and Charles Kingsley.
3-May	1886	Hull	Artillery Barracks, Park-Street	Mr. Jackman	Hull Vocal Society	(Monday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mrs. Hutchinson, Edward Lloyd, Mr. Barrington Foote, and Mr. F. R. Helman. 1st time performed in Hull.
30-Jun	1886	London	Buckingham Palace	W. G. Cusins		(Wednesday) Evening concert of vocal and instrumental music. Performed *Ballet des sylphes* and "Song de Faust" from *Faust*. Soloists: Lloyd and Maurel.
10-Nov	1886	Huddersfield	Town Hall	Mr. J. North	Huddersfield Choral Society	(Wednesday) First concert of 1886-87 season. Chorus and Orchestra of 450 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Edward Lloyd, Mary Davies, Mr. William Bartin, Mr. Watkin Mills. 3rd performance of complete work in Huddersfield.

17-Nov	1886	Leeds	Coliseum, Cookridge Street	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and Leeds Philharmonic Society	(Wednesday) First concert of the series. Leeds Popular Concerts. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, Mr. Santley, and Mr. Hilton.
26-Nov	1886	Bristol	Colston Hall	Dr. J. C. Bridge	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and Festival Choir	(Friday) Bristol Musical Festival Society. Two concert series. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, Mr. Worlock, and Mr. Santley. 2nd time complete work performed in Bristol.
30-Dec	1886	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and Choir	(Thursday) 10th concert of 29th season. Over 350 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, R. Hilton, Mr. Stantley.
? Feb	1887	Leicester	Temperance Hall	Mr. Ellis?	Leicester Philharmonic Society	Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mr. Santley, ?, ?, ? 1st performance in Leicester.
1-Feb	1887	Glasgow	St. Andrew's Hall	August Manns	Glasgow Choral Union	(Tuesday) 11th Orchestral Concert of thirteenth season. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise* from *Faust*.
16-Feb	1887	York	Festival Concert Room	Robert Senior Burton	York Musical Society	(Wednesday) 2nd Concert of the Season. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Miss Hamlin, Mr. D. S. Macdonald, Mr.

						W. H. Dawson, and Mr. C. Kingsley.
9-Mar	1887	London	St. James's Hall	Henschel	London Symphony Orchestra	(Wednesday) 15th concert of 1st season. London Symphony Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise* from *Faust*. Program notes by Joseph Bennett.
18-Mar	1887	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and Choir	(Friday) Mr. Charles Hallé Benefit Concert. Last concert of 29th season. Over 350 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, R. Hilton, Mr. Stantley.
22-Mar	1887	Nottingham	Albert Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and Sacred Harmonic Society	(Tuesday) Sacred Harmonic Society's Last Grand Subscription Concert. Charles Halle Orchestra of 66 performers with Chorus of 250 voices. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, Mr. Tufnail, Barrington Foote.
11-Apr	1887	Sheffield	Albert Hall			(Monday) Grand Organ Recital. Soloist: Mr. E. H. Lemare, F. C. O. Performed arrangement for organ of *Marche hongroise* from *Faust*.
30-Apr	1887	London	Royal Albert Hall	Joseph Barnby	Royal Choral Society	(Saturday) Last concert of 16th season. Band and Chorus of 1000. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Madame Albani,

						Edward Lloyd, Henry Pyatt, and Watkin Mills.
8-Oct	1887	Sydenham	Crystal Palace	August Manns	Crystal Palace Orchestra	(1st Saturday concert) Performed *Ballet des sylphes*, *Menuet de follets*, and *Marche hongroise* from *Faust*. Program notes by George Grove.
14-Oct	1887	Norwich	St. Andrew's Hall	Alberto Randegger	Norwich Festival Orchestra	(Friday) Last concert of the festival. Norfolk and Norwich 22nd Triennial Musical Festival. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Annie Marriott, Edward Lloyd, Mr. Santley, and Mr. Brockbank.
2-Nov	1887	Huddersfield	Town Hall	Charles Hallé	Huddersfield Chorus supplemented by Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Wednesday) Evening Concert of daylong Huddersfield Musical Festival to benefit the Huddersfield Infirmary and in honor of Her Majesty's Jubilee (2nd festival to take place there). Performed *Marche hongroise*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Menuet de follets*
19-Jan	1888	London	Royal Albert Hall	Joseph Barnby	Royal Choral Society	(Thursday) 5th concert of 17th season. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Madame Nordica, Charles Banks, Henry Pyatt, and Mr. Henschel.

26-Jan	1888	Sunderland	Victoria Hall	Mr. Kilburn	Sunderland Philharmonic Society and Crystal Palace Orchestra	(Thursday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Iver McKay, Robert Grice, and Mr. Wm. Riley.
2-Feb	1888	Glasgow	St. Andrew's Hall	Joseph Bradley	Glasgow Choral Union	(Thursday) 10th Choral Concert. Orchestra of 75 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Iver M'Kay, Frederic King, Robert Grice. Program notes by W. A. Barrett.
8-Mar	1888	Leicester	Temperance Hall	Mr. Ellis	Leicester Philharmonic Society	(Thursday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mrs. Hutchinson, Iver McKay, Watkin Mills, and Mr. R. C. Allen. 2nd performance in Leicester.
14-Apr	1888	Sydenham	Crystal Palace	August Manns	London Vocal Union, and Crystal Palace Orchestra and Choir	(Saturday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Madame Nordien, Edward Lloyd, Barrington Foote, and Mr. R. Hilton. First performance of complete work at Crystal Palace.
18-Jun	1888	London	St. James's Hall	Hans Richter	Richter Orchestra	(Monday) 6th concert of the summer season. Richter Concerts. Manager: N. Vert. Orchestra and chorus of 300 performers including the Richter Choir augmented by members of the late "Mr. Henry Leslie's Choir." Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*.

						Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, Bantock Pierpoint, and Mr. Charles Santley. First performance at the Richter Concerts. Program notes by C. A. B.
8-Nov	1888	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and Choir	(Thursday) 3rd concert of 31st season. Over 350 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, R. Hilton, Max Heinrich. 12th time in Manchester.
12-Nov	1888	Cheltenham	Assembly Rooms	J. A. Matthews	J. A. Matthews's Festival Choir	(Monday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Belle Cole, Charles Banks, and ? 1st performance in Cheltenham.
11-Jan	1889	Blackburn	Town Hall	Mr. J. H. Rooks	Blackburn St. Cecilia Society	(Friday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, Mr. Santley, and John Higginson.
16-Jan	1889	London	Royal Albert Hall	Joseph Barnby	Royal Choral Society	(Wednesday) 5th concert of 18th season. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust* in place of the initially programmed Benoit oratorio Lucifer. Soloists: Margaret MacIntyre, Iver McKay, Watkin Mills, and Henry Pyatt. Season prospectus lists original date of 30 March on which Lucifer was performed instead.

22-Mar	1889	Huddersfield	Town Hall	John North	Huddersfield Choral Society	(Friday) 201st concert by society. Chorus and Orchestra of 450 performers including members of Manchester Hallé Orchestra. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Charles Banks, William Bartin, Mr. Watkin Mills. 4th performance of complete work in Huddersfield.
6-Apr	1889	Sydenham	Crystal Palace	August Manns	Crystal Palace Orchestra and Choir	(19th Saturday concert) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mrs. Hutchinson, Edward Lloyd, W. H. Bereton, Robert Hilton. Manns also had to borrow choral forces from the Glasgow Choral Union for the performance.
31-May	1889	London	Buckingham Palace	W. G. Cusins		(Friday) Special State Concert given by command of Queen Victoria. Orchestra and chorus of 160 performers comprised of her Majesty's private band, assisted by members selected from the principal orchestral and choral societies in London. Performed "Introduction," "Chorus," and *Marche hongroise* from *Faust* (soloist: Edward Lloyd) and the Duo "Vous soupirez, Madame" from Berlioz's *Béatrice et Bénédict* (soloists: Mesdames Nordica and Patey).

8-Jul	1889	London	St. James's Hall	Hans Richter	Richter Orchestra	(Monday) 9th and last concert of summer season. Richter Concerts. Richter choir and orchestra of over 300 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Edward Lloyd, Bantock Pierpoint, Max Heinrich. Program notes by C. A. B.
9-Oct	1889	Leeds	Town Hall	Sir Arthur Sullivan	Leeds Festival Orchestra	(Wednesday) 7th Leeds Musical Festival. Performed the complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Madame Albani, Edward Lloyd, Watkin Mills, and Mr. Brereton. The work was scheduled to open the festival.
30-Oct	1889	London	Royal Albert Hall	Joseph Barnby	Royal Choral Society	(Wednesday) 1st concert of 19th season. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Madame Albani, Mr. Iver McKay, Mr. Ben Grove, and Mr. Henschel.
1-Nov	1889	London	St. James's Hall	W. G. Cusins		(Friday) 3rd and last Sarasate Concert. Performed *Marche hongroise* from *Faust*.
28-Nov	1889	Hull	Public Rooms	Mr. Hudson	Hull Vocal Society	(Thursday) 1st concert of winter season. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mrs. Hutchinson, Mr. Iver McKay, Mr. F. R. Helman, and Mr. Barrington Foote.

4-Dec	1889	London	Princes' Hall			(Wednesday) Mr. and Mrs. Henschel's Vocal Recitals. Performed "There was a King of Thule" from *Faust*. Soloist: Mrs. Henschel.
12-Dec	1889	London	St. James's Hall	Charles Villiers Stanford		(Friday) Herr Waldemar Meyer Two Grand Orchestral Concerts. Orchestra of 70 performers. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
7-Jan	1890	Glasgow	St. Andrew's Hall	August Manns	Glasgow Choral Union	(Tuesday) 7th Orchestral Concert of sixteenth season. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*.
24-Jan	1890	London	St. James's Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Friday) Full Manchester Orchestra of 100. Performed Berlioz's *Roméo et Juliette* (instrumental sections only with Lady Hallé soloist). Written in pencil in the program found is the *Marche hongroise* from *Faust*. Hallé must have performed the march as an encore to provide exit music for audience to leave to at end of concert.
15-Feb	1890	Edinburgh	Music Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Saturday) Reid Concert. 3rd concert of the 21st year of the Edinburgh Orchestral Festival. Reid Concerts. Farewell Performance by Sir Charles Hallé's Orchestra. Performed *Ballet des sylphes*.

18-Feb	1890	Liverpool	Philharmonic Hall	Charles Hallé	Liverpool Philharmonic Society	(Tuesday) 10th concert of season. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Madame Valleria, Mr. Thorndike, Mrd. Edward Lloyd, and Mr. Pierpoint.
6-Mar	1890	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and Choir	(Thursday) 19th concert of 32nd season. Over 350 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mrs. Henschel, Edward Lloyd, R. Hilton, Mr. Henschel. 13th time performed at these concerts.
27-May	1890	Dublin	Royal University Building	Dr. Joseph Smith and Joseph Robinson	Dublin Musical Society	(Tuesday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mary Davies, Henry Piercy, Signor Foli, Mr. R. M'Nevin, jun. It was also performed again by same people and place a few years later.
27-Jun	1890	London	St. James's Hall	Frederic H. Cowen		(Friday) Madame Zoé Caryll's Grand Morning Concert. Performed Serenade from *Faust*. Soloist: Andrew Black.
4-Jul	1890	Sunderland	Roker Park	Mr. W. W. Lax	Band of the Sunderland Constabulary	(Friday) Performed *Marche hongroise*.
31-Oct	1890	Bradford	St. George's Hall	Charles Hallé	Bradford Festival Choral Society and Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Friday) 1st Subscription Concert of 26th season. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mr. and Mrs. Henschel, Iver McKay, and John Coates. 4th time performed here.

22-Nov	1890	Manchester	Central Hall, Oldham Street	Mr. J. Calligan	Central Hall Brass Band	(Saturday) The 136th Gospel Temperance Concert. Performed selection from *La Damnation de Faust* for violin solo. Soloist: Mr. Sam Norman, Jun.
26-Nov	1890	London	Royal Albert Hall	Joseph Barnby	Royal Choral Society	(Wednesday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloist: Madame Albani, Ben Davies, Ben Grove, and Mr. Henschel.
14-Mar	1891	London	Royal Albert Hall	?	London Sunday School Choir and amateur orchestra	(Saturday) Spring Choral Festival. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
15-Apr	1891	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Mr. A. Owen	Besses-o'-th'-Barn Band	(Wednesday) Mr. G. W. Lane's Wednesday Concerts. Last concert of the season. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
13-Jun	1891	London	St. James's Hall	W. G. Cusins		(Saturday) Sarasate Concerts. 4th concert. Full orchestral accompaniment. Performed arrangement of *Marche hongroise* from *Faust*.
23-Jul	1891	Chester	Music Hall	Dr. J. C. Bridge	Chester Musical Festival Orchestra	(Thursday Evening) 2nd Day of the Chester Triennial Musical Festival. Band and Chorus of 350 consisting of members of the Chester Musical Society, voices from Manchester, Bradford, and Leeds, and members of the Hallé Manchester Orchestra. Organ: Mr. J. T. Hughes. Performed

						complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mrs. Henschel, Edward Lloyd, A. S. Kinnell, and Robert Grice.
9-Oct	1891	Birmingham	Town Hall	Hans Richter	Birmingham Festival Orchestra	(Friday) Birmingham Music Festival. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Henschel, Mr. Brereton, Miss Macintyre. Program notes by Joseph Bennett.
26-Oct	1891	Manchester	Free Trade Hall		Besses-o'-th'-Barn Band	(Monday) Grand Concert with the London Military Band. Assisted by the Besses-o'-th'-Barn Band. President: Sir Arthur Sullivan. The Besses-o'-th'-Barn Brass Band performed a grand selection from *La Damnation de Faust*.
5-Nov	1891	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and Choir	(Thursday) 2nd concert of 34th season. Over 350 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mrs. Henschel, Edward Lloyd, R. Hilton, Mr. Henschel. 14th time performed at these concerts.
8-Dec	1891	Glasgow	St. Andrew's Hall	Joseph Bradley	Glasgow Choral Union	(Tuesday) 2nd Choral Concert. Orchestra of 90 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mrs. Henschel, Iver M'Kay, J. W. Render, Mr.

						Henschel. Program notes by W. A. Barrett.
9-Dec	1891	Dundee	Kinnaird Hall	Carl Dreschler Hamilton	Dundee Amateur Choral Union	(Wednesday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mrs. Henschel, Iver M'Kay, J. W. Render, Mr. George Henschel. 1st time complete work performed in Dundee.
8-Jan	1892	London	St. James's Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and Choir	(Friday) 3rd concert of season. Sir Charles Halle Grand Concerts at St. James's Hall. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Full Manchester Orchestra of 100 and Sir Charles Halle's Manchester Chorus. Soloists: Mrs. Henschel, Mr. Barton McGuckin, Mr. Robert Hilton, and Mr. Henschel.
9-Jan	1892	London	St. James's Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and Choir	(Saturday) 4th concert of season. Sir Charles Halle Grand Concerts at St. James's Hall. A repeat performance of complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Full Manchester Orchestra of 100 and Sir Charles Halle's Manchester Chorus. Soloists: Mrs. Henschel, Mr. Barton McGuckin, Mr. Robert Hilton, and Mr. Henschel.

11-Jan	1892	Blackburn	Exchange Hall	Mr. James H. Rooks	Blackburn St. Cecilia Society and Vocal Union and members of Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Monday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mrs. Henschel, Mr. Barton McGuckin, Watkin Mills, Mr. D. C. Taylor. 2nd time performed by group.
5-Feb	1892	London	St. James's Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Friday) Sir Charles Halle's Grand Orchestral Concerts. Orchestra of 100 performers. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise* "by desire/demand."
17-Mar	1892	Barnsley	Harvey Institute	Robert Senior Burton	St. Cecilia Society	(Thursday) St. Cecilia Society with augmented chorus of 200. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Miss Zipora Monterth, Henry Piercy, William Bartin, Mr. W. H. Brereton.
26-Mar	1892	Sydenham	Crystal Palace	August Manns	Crystal Palace Orchestra	(17th Saturday concert) Performed *Ballet des sylphes*, *Menuet de follets*, and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by George Grove.
8-May	1892	Salford	Volunteer Drill Shed and Ground, Cross Lane	Mr. A. Owen	Besses-o'th'-Barn Band	(Sunday) Two Grand Sacred Concerts. Performed selection from *La Damnation de Faust*.
25-Jun	1892	London	St. James's Hall	W. G. Cusins		(Saturday) Sarasate Concerts. 3rd concert. Performed *Marche hongroise*.

15-Jul	1892	London	St. James's Hall	Warwick Williams	The London Military Band	(Friday) Grand Morning Concert in aid of the Mauritius Hurricane Relief Fund. Guest Conductors: Ganz, Bendall, De Nevers, and Carlo Ducci. Performed selection from *La Damnation de Faust*.
24-Jul	1892	?	?	Thomas Valentine	Kingston Mills Prize Band	(Sunday Afternoon) Grand Sacred Concert. Performed selection from *La Damnation de Faust*.
23-Sep	1892	Cardiff	Park Hall	Joseph Barnby	Cardiff Festival Orchestra	(Friday) Cardiff Musical Festival. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Anna Williams, Ben Davies, Mr. Ludwig, and Mr. Watkin Mills.
23-Nov	1892	London	Royal Albert Hall	Joseph Barnby	Royal Choral Society	(Wednesday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Anna Williams, Iver McKay, Robert Grice, Mr. Henschel.
8-Dec	1892	Birmingham	Town Hall	Mr. Stockley	Birmingham Choral Society and Orchestra	(Thursday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mrs. Hutchinson, Henry Piercy, John Ridding, and Mr. Henschel.
13-Dec	1892	Middlesbrough	Town Hall	Mr. N. Kilburn	Middlesbrough Musical Union	(Tuesday) Over 60 instrumentalists from various local orchestras. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Medora Henson, Iver McKay, Norman Salmond, Mr. Nutton.
17-Dec	1892	Glasgow	St. Andrew's Hall	Joseph Bradley	Glasgow Choral Union	(Saturday) 2nd concert of series. Glasgow Saturday Popular Concerts. Performed *Menuet de*

						follets, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*.
15-Mar	1893	Westminster	Town Hall	Stewart MacPherson	Westminster Orchestral Society	(Wednesday) 24th Grand Orchestral Concert. Performed *Ballet des sylphes*.
15-Apr	1893	Sydenham	Crystal Palace	August Manns	Crystal Palace Orchestra and Choir	(19th Saturday concert) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Miss Macintyre, Ben Davies, Robert Grice, Mr. Henschel.
8-May	1893	London	Highbury Athenaem	Mr. Betjemann	Highbury Philharmonic Society	(Monday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Helen Trust, Edward Lloyd, Andrew Black, and Mr. Kempton.
17-Jun	1893	London	St. James's Hall	W. G. Cusins		(Saturday) Sarasate Concerts under direction of Mr. N. Vert. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
19-Jun	1893	London	Portman Rooms, Baker Street	Louis D. Strelitskie		(Monday) Mr. Louis D. Strelitskie Orchestral Concert. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
4-Aug	1893	Hartlepool	Hartlepool Promenade	Mr. J. R. Christon	Old Operatic Band	(Friday) Music on the Promenade. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
19-Oct	1893	Hanley	Victoria Hall	Dr. Swinnerton Heap	North Staffordshire Festival Orchestra	(Thursday) 1st concert of 3rd North Staffordshire Musical Festival. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Esther Palliser, Henry Piercy, Watkin Mills, and William Evans.

25-Oct	1893	Bristol	Colston Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and Festival Choir	(Wednesday) 8th Bristol Musical Festival. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Esther Pallister, Edward Lloyd, Mr. Montague Worlock, and Mr. Santley. 3rd time complete work performed at festival.
2-Nov	1893	London	Royal Albert Hall	Joseph Barnby	Royal Choral Society	(Thursday) 1st concert of 23rd season. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mrs. Henschel, Ben Davies, Robert Grice, and Mr. Henschel. Royal Choral Society's Professional Orchestra accompanied. Gounod's Marche Religeuse performed after intermission to respect the memory of Gounod, who had died the previous month. He was the first conductor of the society.
29-Nov	1893	Dublin	Royal University Building	Dr. Joseph Smith	Dublin Musical Society	(Wednesday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Miss Medora Henson, Edward Lloyd, Bantock Pierpoint, Mr. R. M'Nevin, jun. 2nd complete performance in Dublin.
1-Dec	1893	Preston	Public Hall	Signor Risegari	Preston Choral Society and Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Friday) Chorus of over 300 voices. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Medora Henson, Ben Davies, Watkin Mills, and Mr. T. N. Livesey.

4-Dec	1893	Edinburgh	Music Hall	Mr. Henschel	Edinburgh Royal Choral Union	(Monday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mrs. Henschel, Barton McGuckin, Mr. Price, and Mr. Cockburn. 1st complete performance in Edinburgh.
? ?	1894	Leicester	Temperance Hall	Mr. Ellis?	Leicester Philharmonic Society	(?) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: ? 3rd complete performance in Leicester.
4-Jan	1894	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and Choir	(Thursday) 10th concert of 36th season. Over 350 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mrs. Henschel, Edward Lloyd, A. S. Kinnell, Mr. Henschel.
9-Jan	1894	Glasgow	St. Andrew's Hall	August Manns	Glasgow Choral Union	(Tuesday) 7th Orchestral Concert. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by George Grove.
22-Jan	1894	Glasgow	St. Andrew's Hall	Henschel	Scottish Orchestra Company	(Monday) 7th concert of season. Glasgow Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*.
3-Feb	1894	Liverpool	Court Theatre	Charles Hallé	Royal Carl Rosa Opera Company	(Saturday) Orchestra of 50 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mlle. Zelie de Lussan, Mr. Barton M'Guckin, Mr. Lempriere Pringle, and Mr. Alec Marsh. Adapted to the stage by Mr. T. H. Friend. The first completely staged performance of the work in England. Note:

						Supposedly performed a total of 9 times in Liverpool this month under direction of Claude Jacquinot but not all dates confirmed.
10-Feb	1894	Glasgow	St. Andrew's Hall	Henschel	Scottish Orchestra Company	(Saturday) 8th popular concert of season. Performed selections from *La Damnation de Faust*.
16-Mar	1894	Bradford	St. George's Hall	Mr. W. A. Garland	Bradford Festival Choral Society	(Friday) Bradford Music Festival. Bradford Festival Choral Society and a local Band. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Medora Henson, Iver McKay, Watkin Mills, and William Thornton. 5th time performed during festival.
20-Mar	1894	Manchester	Theatre Royal	Charles Hallé	Royal Carl Rosa Opera Company	(Tuesday) The opening night in Manchester of the fully staged version of the complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Subsequent performances were conducted by Claude Jacquinot. Soloists: Mdlle. Zelie de Lussan, Barton McGuckin, Mr. Lempriere Pringle, and Alec Marsh. Adapted for the stage by T. H. Friend. Scenery: W. F. Robson. Dresses by Miss Pearce, Mr. Norton, and M. Alias. Ballets arr. by

						Madame Cormani. Mis en Scene by T. H. Friend.
24-Mar	1894	Manchester	Theatre Royal	Claude Jacquinot	Royal Carl Rosa Opera Company	(Saturday) Orchestra of 50 performers. A repeat performance of fully staged version of complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mdlle. Zelie de Lussan, Barton McGuckin, Mr. L. Pringle, and Alec Marsh. Adapted to the stage by Mr. T. H. Friend. 2nd of 4 total performances in Manchester.
? March or April	1894	Manchester	Theatre Royal	Claude Jacquinot	Royal Carl Rosa Opera Company	(?) Orchestra of 50 performers. A repeat performance of fully staged version of complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mdlle. Zelie de Lussan, Barton McGuckin, Mr. L. Pringle, and Alec Marsh. Adapted to the stage by Mr. T. H. Friend. 3rd? or 4th? of 4 total performances in Manchester.
2-Apr	1894	Manchester	Theatre Royal	Claude Jacquinot	Royal Carl Rosa Opera Company	(Monday) Orchestra of 50 performers. A repeat performance of fully staged version of complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mdlle. Zelie de Lussan, Barton McGuckin, Mr. L. Pringle, and Alec

						Marsh. Adapted to the stage by Mr. T. H. Friend. 3rd? or 4th? of 4 total performances in Manchester.
27-Apr	1894	Glasgow	Theatre-Royal	Claude Jacquinot	Royal Carl Rosa Opera Company	(Friday) Orchestra of 50 performers. First performance in Glasgow of fully staged version of complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mdlle. Zelie de Lussan, Barton McGuckin, Mr. Lempriere Pringle, and Alec Marsh. Adapted to the stage by Mr. T. H. Friend.
15-May	1894	Edinburgh	Lyceum Theatre	Claude Jacquinot	Royal Carl Rosa Opera Company	(Tuesday) Orchestra of 50 performers. First performance in Edinburg of fully staged version of complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mdlle. Zelie de Lussan, Barton McGuckin, Mr. Lempriere Pringle, and Alec Marsh. Adapted to the stage by Mr. T. H. Friend.
19-May	1894	London	Queen's Hall	Joseph Barnby	Guildhall School of Music Orchestra and Choir	(Saturday) Grand Moring Concert under the direction of Mr. N. Vert. In aid of the funds of the Charing Cross Hospital. Performed *Marche hongroise* from *Faust*.
2-Jun	1894	Birmingham	Theatre Royal	Claude Jacquinot	Royal Carl Rosa Opera Company	(Saturday) Last night of Birmingham series. Orchestra of 50 performers. Performed fully staged version of complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mdlle. Zelie de

						Lussan, Barton McGuckin, Mr. W. Llewellyn, and Alec Marsh. Adapted to the stage by Mr. T. H. Friend.
11-Aug	1894	Arbroath, Scotland	Gayfield Park		Kirkcaldy Trades Band	(Saturday) Annual Brass Band Contest. The 2nd prize went to the band Kirkcaldy Trades, who performed selections from *La Damnation de Faust*. The Kirkcaldy Trades also won the silver medal for best trombone players for their performance. Over four thousand people in attendance.
12-Aug	1894	Manchester	Manchester Racecourse, New Barns	Mr. A. Owen	Besses-o'th'-Barn Band and the Enys Street Brass Band	(Sunday Afternoon) Two Grand Sacred Concerts. Performed selection from *La Damnation de Faust* that were arranged by A. Owen.
28-Aug	1894	Sunderland	Mowbray Park	W. W. Lax	Sunderland Constabulary	(Tuesday) Music in the Parks. Performed a selection from *La Damnation de Faust* for the 1st time in Sunderland.
5-Sep	1894	Dublin	Gaiety Theatre	Claude Jacquinot	Royal Carl Rosa Opera Company	(Wednesday) Orchestra of 50 performers. Performed fully staged version of complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Alice Esty, Alec Marsh, Mr. W. Llewellyn, and Barton McGuckin. Adapted to the stage by Mr. T. H. Friend. First

						staged performance of the work in Ireland.
12-Sep	1894	Dublin	Gaiety Theatre	Claude Jacquinot	Royal Carl Rosa Opera Company	(Wednesday) Orchestra of 50 performers. Performed fully staged version of complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Alice Esty, Alec Marsh, Mr. W. Llewellyn, and Barton McGuckin. Adapted to the stage by Mr. T. H. Friend. This was a popular demand repeat (2nd) performance of the staged work in Dublin.
5-Oct	1894	Manchester	Prince's Theatre	Claude Jacquinot	Royal Carl Rosa Opera Company	(Friday) Performed fully staged version of complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Alice Esty, Alec Marsh, Mr. W. Llewellyn, and Barton M'Guckin. Adapted to the stage by Mr. T. H. Friend.
19-Oct	1894	Birmingham	Theatre Royal	Claude Jacquinot	Royal Carl Rosa Opera Company	(Friday) Orchestra of 50 performers. Performed fully staged version of complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Alice Esty, Barton McGuckin, Mr. W. Llewellyn, and Alec Marsh. Adapted to the stage by Mr. T. H. Friend.
25-Oct	1894	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Charles Hallé	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Thursday) 1st concert of 37th season. Performed *Marche hongroise*.

6-Nov	1894	Glasgow	St. Andrew's Hall	Joseph Bradley	Glasgow Choral Union and the Scottish Orchestra	(Tuesday) 2nd Choral Concert. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mrs. Henschel, Edward Lloyd, Lempriere Pringle, Mr. Henschel. Program notes by W. A. Barrett. Debut concert of combined Choral Union and Scottish Orchestra.
16-Nov	1894	Halifax	Drill Hall	Charles Hallé	Halifax Choral Society and members of Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Friday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Clara (Leighton) Davies, Mr. Hirwen Jones, Mr. Watkin Mills, and Albert Barnes.
21-Nov	1894	London	St. James's Hall			(Wednesday) 1st concert of season. Ballad Concerts. Performed "The King of Thule" from *Faust*. Soloist: Mary Davies. Accompanist: Henry Bird.
5-Dec	1894	London	Queen's Hall	Joseph Barnby	Guildhall School of Music Orchestra	(Wednesday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Jessie Hudleston, Lloyd Chandos, Charles Phillips, Charles Hinchliff.
13-Dec	1894	London	Royal Albert Hall	Alberto Randegger	Royal Choral Society	(Thursday) 3rd concert of 24th season. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Ella Russell, Signor Campanini, Douglas Powell, Andrew Black. Organist: W. Hodge. Royal Choral Society's Professional Orchestra accompanied.

15-Dec	1894	Sydenham	Crystal Palace	August Manns	Crystal Palace Orchestra and Choir	(10th Saturday concert) Performed *Marche hongroise* from *Faust* (Program notes by George Grove) and complete *Roméo et Juliette* (First time at Crystal Palace. Program notes by C. A. B. Soloist: Miss Dews, Edwin Wareham, Norman Salmond).
28-Jan	1895	Liverpool	Court Theatre	Claude Jacquinot	Royal Carl Rosa Opera Company	(Monday) Orchestra of 50 performers. Performed fully staged version of complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Alice Esty, Barton McGuckin, Wilson Sheffield, and Alec Marsh. Adapted to the stage by Mr. T. H. Friend.
5-Mar	1895	Nottingham	Theatre Royal	Claude Jacquinot	Royal Carl Rosa Opera Company	(Tuesday) 2nd concert of Nottingham series. Orchestra of 50 performers. Performed fully staged version of complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Alice Esty, Barton McGuckin, Wilson Sheffield, and Alec Marsh. Adapted to the stage by Mr. T. H. Friend.
7-Mar	1895	London	Queen's Hall	Alberto Randegger	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Sunday) Orchestral Concert Series by Robert Newman. Performed *Ballet des sylphes*.
7-Mar	1895	Bath	Pump Room	?		(Thursday) Bath Pump Room Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.

12-Aug	1895	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Monday) Promenade Concert. New Queens Hall Orchestra. Manager: Robert Newman. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Proms première of work.
17-Aug	1895	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concert. Manager: Robert Newman. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
19-Aug	1895	Hastings	St. Leonards Pier Pavillion	Mr. Marriott?	St. Leonards Pier Orchestra	(Monday) St. Leonards Pier Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
23-Aug	1895	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Friday) Promenade Concert. Manager: Robert Newman. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
30-Aug	1895	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Friday) Promenade Concert. Manager: Robert Newman. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
5-Sep	1895	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Thursday) Promenade Concert. Manager: Robert Newman. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
9-Sep	1895	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Monday) Promenade Concert. Manager: Robert Newman. Performed *Menuet de follets* from *Faust*.
19-Sep	1895	Cardiff	Park Hall	Joseph Barnby	Cardiff Festival Choir and Orchestra	(Thursday) Cardiff Triennial Musical Festival. 2nd day of the festival. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Madame Albani, Miss Florence Oliver, Ben Davies, Mr. Ffrangcon-Davies, and Douglas Powell.

20-Sep	1895	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Friday) Promenade Concert. Manager: Robert Newman. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
3-Oct	1895	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Thursday) Promenade Concert. Manager: Robert Newman. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
14-Nov	1895	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Joseph Barnby	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and Choir	(Thursday) 3rd concert of 38th season. Over 350 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Amy Sherwin, Ivor McKay, A. S. Kinnell, Andrew Black. 16th time performed by Halle orchestra in Manchester.
20-Nov	1895	Derby	Drill Hall	Charles Hancock	Derby Choral Union	(Wednesday) Derby Choral Union (amateur choral society). Included additional members from Manchester Hallé Orchestra. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Clara Samuell, Edward Branscombe, David Bispham, Charles Tree. 1st performance of work in Derby. There was a horrible rainstorm the day of the performance.
21-Nov	1895	Bournemouth	Winter Gardens	Dan Godfrey	Bournemouth Municipal Symphony Orchestra	(Thursday) Performed *Marche hongroise*.
30-Nov	1895	Sydenham	Crystal Palace	August Manns	Crystal Palace Orchestra	(8th Saturday concert) Performed *Ballet des sylphes, Menuet de*

						follets, and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by George Grove.
30-Nov	1895	Manchester	Free Trade Hall			(Saturday) A Concert and Exhibition of Colour Music: The New Art. Mr. Wallace Rimington's great invention: The Colour Organ accompanied by vocal and instrumental music. Performed "There dwelt a King" (of Thule) from *Faust*. Vocalist: Mary Davies. Colour Organ: Ernest Pitts. Piano: Mr. R. Thorley Brown.
12-Jan	1896	London	Great Hall of Imperial Institute	Alberto Randegger	Imperial Institute (Amateur) Orchestra	(Wednesday) Ladies' Concert. Performed *Ballet des sylphes*.
4-Feb	1896	Glasgow	St. Andrew's Hall	Willem Kes	Glasgow Choral Union and the Scottish Orchestra	(Tuesday) 12th Orchestral Concert. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
12-Mar	1896	London	Royal Albert Hall	Alexander C. Mackenzie	Royal Choral Society	(Thursday) Band and chorus of 1000. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Ella Russell, Ben Davis, Douglas Powell, Mr. Henschel. Organist: W. Hodge. Royal Choral Society's Professional Orchestra accompanied.
20-Mar	1896	Belfast	Ulster Hall	Dr. Koeller	Belfast Philharmonic Society	(Friday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Alice

						Esty, Herbert Grover, David Bispham.
16-Apr	1896	London	Queen's Hall	Charles Lamoureux	Lamoureux Orchestra from Paris	(Thursday) Grand Orchestral Concert under direction of Robert Newman. Performed by Charles Lamoureux and his orchestra from Paris. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
19-Apr	1896	Salford, Manchester	Regent Theatre	Mr. A. Owen	Besses-o'th'-Barn Band	(Sunday Afternoon) Two Sacred Concerts. Performed selection from *La Damnation de Faust*.
26-Apr	1896	London	Royal Albert Hall	Cavallero L. Zavertal	Royal Artillery Band	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed organ solo arrangement of *Marche hongroise* from *Faust*. Organ soloist: Edward H Le Mare.
29-Aug	1896	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concert. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
5-Sep	1896	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concert. Performed *Ballet des sylphes*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
10-Sep	1896	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Thursday) Promenade Concert. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
24-Sep	1896	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Thursday) Promenade Concert. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
4-Oct	1896	London	Queen's Hall	Alberto Randegger	Queen's Hall Orchestra	Sunday Afternoon Orchestra Concerts. Performed *Ballet des sylphes* and *Menuet de follets* from *Faust*.

12-Oct	1896	London	Queen's Hall	Edouard Colonne	Colonne Orchestra from Paris	(Monday) First concert of series. Colonne Orchestra from Paris's first time in England. Performed selections from *La Damnation de Faust*: *Menuet de follets*, "Ballade du Roi de Thùle" (Soloist: Mlle. Marcella Pregi, Viola: M. Monteux), *Ballet des sylphes*, "Romance de Marguerite" (Soloist: Mlle. Marcella Pregi, Cor Anglais: M. Longy), and the *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
14-Oct	1896	Sheffield	Albert Hall	August Manns	Sheffield Festival Orchestra	(Wednesday) Sheffield Musical Festival. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Ella Russell, Ben Davies, Mr. Santley, Arthur Barlow. Henry Coward prepared and rehearsed the chorus and orchestra.
17-Oct	1896	London	Queen's Hall	Edouard Colonne	Colonne Orchestra from Paris	(Saturday Afternoon) Fourth and last concert of series. Performed *Marche hongroise* by special desire. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
1-Nov	1896	London	Queen's Hall	Alberto Randegger	Queen's Hall Orchestra	Sunday Afternoon Orchestra Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.

3-Nov	1896	Leeds	Town Hall	Alfred Benton	Leeds Choral Union and Orchestra	(Tuesday) 1st concert of season. Leeds Choral Union and Leeds Permanent Orchestra (largely augmented). Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mabel Berrey, Ben Davies, David Bispham, Charles Knowles.
6-Nov	1896	Oldham, Manchester	Unity Hall	William M. Lawton	Oldham Orchestral Society	(Friday) 1st subscription concert of 4th season. Performed *Marche hongroise*. First time at these concerts.
7-Nov	1896	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concert. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
21-Nov	1896	Sydenham	Crystal Palace	August Manns	Crystal Palace Orchestra and Choir	(8th Saturday concert) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Clara Samuell, Lloyd Chandos, Watkins Mills, Mr. A. H. Gee. Program notes by C. A. B.
27-Nov	1896	Belfast	Ulster Hall	Dr. Koeller	Belfast Philharmonic Society	(Friday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mrs. Louis Mantell, Herbert Grover, Watkin Mills. The *Marche hongroise* was repeated by popular demand.
29-Nov	1896	London	Queen's Hall	Alberto Randegger	Queen's Hall Orchestra	Sunday Afternoon Orchestral Concerts. Performed Air "Invocation of Nature" from *Faust*. Soloist: Herbert Grover.

1-Dec	1896	Glasgow	St. Andrew's Hall	Willem Kes	Glasgow Choral Union and the Scottish Orchestra	(Tuesday) 4th Orchestral Concert. Performed *Ballet des sylphes* and *Menuet de follets* from *Faust*.
6-Dec	1896	London	Royal Albert Hall	Cavallero L. Zavertal	Royal Artillery Band	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Ballet des sylphes*.
26-Dec	1896	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concert. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
? ?	1897	Nottingham?		H.A. Branscombe	Nottingham Sacred Harmonic Society	The Nottingham Sacred Harmonic Society did a performance of the complete *La Damnation de Faust* sometime in 1897. Could not locate any further information.
30-Jan	1897	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concert. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
5-Mar	1897	Oldham, Manchester	Unity Hall	William M. Lawton	Oldham Orchestral Society	(Friday) 3rd subscription concert of 4th season. Performed selections from *La Damnation de Faust*: "Introduction," "Air de Mephisto," "Chorus of Soldiers and Students," "Brander's Song," "Romance de Marguerite," and "Fugue-Amen Chorus." First time at these concerts.
18-Mar	1897	London	Queen's Hall	Alberto Randegger	Queen's Hall Choral Society and Orchestra	(Thursday) 4th season. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Organist: Henry J. Wood. Soloists: Madame Duma, Mr. Edward

						Branscombe, Mr. Watkin Mills, and Mr. F. B. Ranalow. A Manchester clipping listed the organist as Mr. H. W. Richards.
20-Mar	1897	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) 5th concert, Queens Hall Symphony Concerts. Grand Orchestra of 103. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
24-Mar	1897	London	Queen's Hall	Alexander C. Mackenzie	(Royal) Philharmonic Society	(Wednesday) 1st concert of season. Performed Berlioz's *Symphonie fantastique*, Chanson, and "Le roi de Thule" from *Faust*. Soloist: Mme Blanche Marchesi.
26-Mar	1897	London	Queen's Hall	Charles Lamoureux	Lamoureux Orchestra from Paris	(Friday) 5th concert, Spring Season of Orchestral Festival Concerts under direction of Robert Newman. Charles Lamoureux's Full Parisian Orchestra of 100 performers. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
28-Mar	1897	London	Royal Albert Hall	Cavallero L. Zavertal	Royal Artillery Band	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
? April	1897	London	Queen's Hall	Stanley Marchant	?	Performance of complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Reported in the Musical Times.
10-Apr	1897	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concert. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
20-Jun	1897	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Sunday) Grand Wagner Concert. Orchestra of 103 players. Grand

						Chorus of 400 voices. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
21-Jun	1897	London	Queen's Hall	Warwick Williams	London Military Band	(Monday) Jubilee Eve Concert and Ball under direction of Robert Newman. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
30-Aug	1897	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Monday) Promenade Concert. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
9-Sep	1897	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Thursday) Popular Night at Promenade Concerts. Performed *Ballet des sylphes*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
11-Sep	1897	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Popular Night at Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets* from *Faust*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
14-Sep	1897	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Tuesday) Popular Night at Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
14-Sep	1897	Hereford	Shire Hall	George Robertson Sinclair	Hereford Festival Orchestra	(Tuesday) Hereford Musical Festival. Grand Concert. Chorus comprised of Hereford, Gloucester, Worcester, and a small contingent from Leeds. Performed *Ballet des sylphes* and *Marche hongroise*.
29-Sep	1897	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Wednesday) Tchaikovsky Night at Promenade Concerts. Performed

						Marche hongroise. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
2-Oct	1897	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Popular Night at Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques. Mr. H. Spencer Clarke's Animated Pictures in the Small Hall during intermission.
3-Oct	1897	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	Sunday Afternoon Orchestral Concerts. Orchestra of 90. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
8-Oct	1897	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Friday) Wagner Night at Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
8-Oct	1897	Birmingham	Town Hall	Hans Richter	Birmingham Festival Orchestra	(Friday) Last concert of festival. Birmingham Music Festival. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloist: Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Bispham, Mr. Plunket Greene, Madame Albani. Program notes by C. A. B.
16-Oct	1897	Liverpool	Philharmonic Hall	A. E. Rodewald	Liverpool Orchestral Society	(Saturday) Performed *Marche hongroise*.
30-Nov	1897	Glasgow	St. Andrew's Hall	Joseph Bradley	Glasgow Choral Union and the Scottish Orchestra	(Tuesday) 1st Choral Concert. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Jenny Taggart, Ben Davies, Walter Harvey,

						Lempriere Pringle. Program notes by W. A. Barrett.
9-Dec	1897	London	Royal Albert Hall	Frederick Bridge	Royal Choral Society	(Thursday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Ella Russell, Ben Davies, Daniel Price, Andrew Black. Organist: H. L. Balfour. Royal Choral Society's Professional Orchestra accompanied.
10-Jan	1898	Bournemouth	Winter Gardens	Dan Godfrey	Bournemouth Municipal Symphony Orchestra	(Monday) Performed *Marche hongroise*.
13-Jan	1898	Bournemouth	Winter Gardens	Dan Godfrey	Bournemouth Municipal Symphony Orchestra	(Thursday) Performed *Ballet des sylphes*.
2-Mar	1898	London	Queen's Hall	Charles Lamoureux	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Wednesday) 2nd concert of series. Grand Orchestral Concert under direction of Robert Newman. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
7-Mar	1898	Dublin	Lyric Hall	Frederic H. Cowen	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Monday) 1st concert of series. Performed *Ballet des sylphes*.
21-Mar	1898	Bournemouth	Winter Gardens	Dan Godfrey	Bournemouth Municipal Symphony Orchestra	(Monday) Performed *Ballet des sylphes* from *Faust* as well as the complete *Symphonie fantastique*, *Benvenuto Cellini* overture, and "Serenade for Cor Anglais, Violin, Harp, and Orchestra."

29-Apr	1898	London	Queen's Hall	Ernest Ford	Royal Amateur Orchestral Society	(Friday) Royal Amateur Orchestral Society Smoking Concert. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
30-Apr	1898	Sydenham	Crystal Palace	August Manns	Crystal Palace Orchestra	(16th Saturday concert) Performed *Menuet de follets* and *Marche hongroise* from *Faust*.
3-May	1898	London	the Athenaeum, Highbury New Park, N.	G. H. Betjemann	Highbury Philharmonic Society	(Tuesday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Ella Russell, William Green, Mr. Ranalow, and Andrew Black.
4-May	1898	London	Queen's Hall	Charles Lamoureux	Lamoureux Orchestra from Paris	(Wednesday) Grand Orchestral Concert under direction of Robert Newman. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
6-May	1898	London	Portman Rooms, Baker Street	Lennox Clayton	North London Orchestral Society	(Friday) Performed *Marche hongroise*.
3-Jul	1898	London	Royal Albert Hall	Cavallero L. Zavertal	Royal Artillery Band	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
6-Jul	1898	London	St. James's Hall	Charles Villiers Stanford	Royal College of Music Orchestra	(Wednesday) Royal College of Music Orchestral Concert. Performed the romance "Ah me, my heart" from *Faust*.
10-Sep	1898	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Popular Night at Promenade Concerts. Performed *Ballet des sylphes* and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.

18-Sep	1898	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	Sunday Afternoon Orchestral Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
22-Sep	1898	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Thursday) Popular Night at Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques. The Polytechnic Animated Pictures in the Small Hall during intermission. This continued to be advertised on each program throughout the rest of the season.
4-Oct	1898	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Tuesday) Plebiscite Night at Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
6-Oct	1898	Bournemouth	Winter Gardens	Dan Godfrey	Bournemouth Municipal Symphony Orchestra	(Thursday) Performed *Marche hongroise*.
16-Oct	1898	London	Royal Albert Hall	Cavallero L. Zavertal	Royal Artillery Band	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
10-Nov	1898	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Frederic H. Cowen	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and Choir	(Thursday) 4th concert of 41st season. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloist: Helen Jaxon, Lloyd Chandos, A.S. Kinnell, Andrew Black. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
16-Nov	1898	London	Queen's Hall	Charles Lamoureux	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Wednesday) 2nd concert, Mr. Robert Newman's Lamoureux

						Concerts. Queen's Hall Orchestra of 103. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
24-Nov	1898	Bournemouth	Winter Gardens	Dan Godfrey	Bournemouth Municipal Symphony Orchestra	(Thursday) Performed *Menuet de follets* from *Faust*.
25-Nov	1898	Bradford	St. George's Hall	Frederic H. Cowen	Bradford Festival Choral Society and Orchestra	(Friday) Bradford Music Festival. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Helen Jaxon, Lloyd Chandos, Watkin Mills, and W. Chippendale. 6th time performed here.
26-Nov	1898	Salford	Royal Technical Institute	Mr. J. Knowles	Members of the Hallé Choir	(Saturday) Lecture by Mr. R. H. Wilson, Choral Conductor to the Hallé Concerts, on Hector Berlioz: A Sketch of his Life and Influence on Modern Music, with a performance of Solo and Choral Selections from *La Damnation de Faust*. The Choruses performed by members of the Hallé Choir. Piano: Leonard Parker. Organ: Mr. R. H. Wilson. Soloists: Ethel Panton, Millicent Holbrook, Walter S. Nesbitt, and Mr. J. Youatt.
4-Dec	1898	London	Royal Albert Hall	Cavallero L. Zavertal	Royal Artillery Band	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
13-Dec	1898	Glasgow	St. Andrew's Hall	Wilhelm Bruch	Glasgow Choral Union and the	(Tuesday) 3rd Orchestral Concert. Performed *Ballet des sylphes* and *Marche hongroise*.

					Scottish Orchestra	
28-Dec	1898	Edinburgh	M'Ewan Hall	Mr. Collinson	Edinburgh Choral Union	(Wednesday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Helen Jaxon, Herbert Grover, Daniel Price, and Robert Maitland. Third time the complete work was performed in Edinburgh. According to a program from 5 March 1958, this was the last performance of complete Faust in Edinburgh by the Edinburgh Royal Choral Union until 1958.
6-Feb	1899	London	Queen's Hall, Langham Place	Arthur W. Payne	Stock Exchange Orchestral and Choral Society	(Monday) 2nd subscription concert. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
13-Mar	1899	Bournemouth	Winter Gardens	Dan Godfrey	Bournemouth Municipal Symphony Orchestra	(Monday) Performed *Ballet des sylphes*.
10-Apr	1899	Belfast	Ulster Hall	Frederic H. Cowen	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Tuesday) Hallé Orchestra on tour. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
11-Apr	1899	Hereford	Shire Hall	George Robertson Sinclair	Hereford Choral Society	(Tuesday) Chorus of 120 singers. Band augmented with members of Queen's Hall orchestra and Festival Orchestras. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Maggie Purvis, William Green, Dan

						Price, Fred Lightowler. 1st time complete work performed here.
19-Apr	1899	Bournemouth	Winter Gardens	Dan Godfrey	Bournemouth Municipal Symphony Orchestra	(Wednesday) Performed *Marche hongroise*.
13-May	1899	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra and the Lamoureux Paris Orchestra	(Saturday afternoon). London Musical Festival, 1899. Manager: Robert Newman. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
17-May	1899	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra and the Lamoureux Paris Orchestra	(Wednesday afternoon). London Musical Festival, 1899. Manager: Robert Newman. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
13-Jun	1899	London	St. James's Hall	Julian Marshall	South Hampstead Orchestra	(Tuesday) 14th Annual Concert. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
18-Jun	1899	London	Royal Albert Hall	Cavallero L. Zavertal	Royal Artillery Band	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
2-Jul	1899	New Brighton, Merseyside	New Brighton Tower	Granville Bantock	New Brighton Celebrated Tower Orchestra	(Sunday) All Berlioz Concert. New Brighton Tower Sunday Concerts. Musical Director: Mr. Granville Bantock. Leader: Mr. Vasco V. Akeroyd. Performed Berlioz's *Carnaval Romain* overture, the complete *Symphonie fantastique*, the

						Marche hongroise from *Faust*, and "Trio for two flutes and harp" from *L'Enfance du Christ* (soloists: Mr. V. L. Needham, Mr. R. Pierrepoint, and Gwyneth James).
26-Aug	1899	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
2-Sep	1899	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Ballet des sylphes*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
16-Sep	1899	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
30-Sep	1899	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
3-Oct	1899	Norwich	St. Andrew's Hall	Alberto Randegger	Norwich Festival Orchestra	(Tuesday) Norfolk and Norwich 26th Triennial Musical Festival. Band and Chorus of 350 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Edward Lloyd, Andrew Black, Robert Radford, Madame Albani. Program notes by Joseph Bennett.
7-Oct	1899	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.

19-Oct	1899	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Thursday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Ballet des sylphes* and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
28-Oct	1899	Sydenham	Crystal Palace	August Manns	Crystal Palace Orchestra	4th Saturday Concert. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
4-Nov	1899	London	Royal Albert Hall	Signor Seppilli and Landon Ronald		(Saturday) Grand Morning Concert with Madame Melba. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
7-Nov	1899	Liverpool	Philharmonic Hall	Frederic H. Cowen	Liverpool Philharmonic Society	(Tuesday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Helen Jaxon, Hamilton Earle, Edward Lloyd, and Andrew Black.
12-Nov	1899	London	Royal Albert Hall	Cavallero L. Zavertal	Royal Artillery Band	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
6-Dec	1899	St Helens, Merseyside	St. Helens Town Hall	Thomas Beecham	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Wednesday) Beecham's 1st professional concert. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
29-Jan	1900	Bournemouth	Winter Gardens	Dan Godfrey	Bournemouth Municipal Symphony Orchestra	(Monday) Performed *Menuet de follets* from *Faust*.
14-Feb	1900	Middlesbrough	Town Hall	Mr. N. Kilburn	Middlesbrough Musical Union	(Wednesday) Orchestra comprised from various local orchestras. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Agnes Nicholls, William Green, Watkin Mills, and Dan Billington.

19-Feb	1900	Bournemouth	Winter Gardens	Dan Godfrey	Bournemouth Municipal Symphony Orchestra	(Monday) Performed *Marche hongroise*.
22-Feb	1900	Bournemouth	Winter Gardens	Dan Godfrey	Bournemouth Municipal Symphony Orchestra	(Thursday) Performed *Ballet des sylphes*.
27-Feb	1900	London	Victoria Hall, Ealing	J. Cliffe Forrester	Ealing Orchestral Society	(Tuesday) 1st concert. Profits were given to the War Fund of the Middlesex Regiment. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
4-Mar	1900	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Sunday) Performed *Marche hongroise*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Menuet de follets* from *Faust*.
8-Apr	1900	London	Royal Albert Hall	Cavallero L. Zavertal	Royal Artillery Band	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
10-Jun	1900	New Brighton, Merseyside	New Brighton Tower	Granville Bantock	New Brighton Celebrated Tower Orchestra	(Sunday) 2nd concert of 3rd series. New Brighton Tower Sunday Concerts. Musical Director: Mr. Granville Bantock. Leader: Mr. Vasco V. Akeroyd. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
26-Jul	1900	Chester	Music Hall	Joseph Bridge	Chester Festival Orchestra	(Thursday Evening) Chester Musical Festival. Band and Chorus of 300 performers. Leeds contingent did not take part for space. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Alice Esty, William Green, Andrew Black, and

						Charles Knowles. Third time performed at this festival.
29-Jul	1900	London	Royal Albert Hall	Cavallero L. Zavertal	Royal Artillery Band	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
25-Aug	1900	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
4-Sep	1900	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Tuesday) Popular Night at Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Menuet de follets* from *Faust*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
22-Sep	1900	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Popular Night at Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Menuet de follets* from *Faust*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
29-Sep	1900	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Popular Night at Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
3-Oct	1900	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Wednesday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Ballet des sylphes*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.

6-Oct	1900	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Popular Night at Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
7-Oct	1900	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	Sunday Concert Society's Sunday Afternoon Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Menuet de follets* from *Faust*.
23-Oct	1900	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Tuesday) Brahms Night at Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
27-Oct	1900	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Robert Newman's Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
2-Nov	1900	Manchester	Royal Manchester College of Music	?	Royal Manchester College of Music Orchestra	(Friday) Student's Monthly Musical Evening or Open Practice. Performed "Brander's Song" from *Faust*. Soloist: Fowler Burton
18-Nov	1900	London	Queen's Hall	Arthur W. Payne	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Sunday) Performed *Marche hongroise*.
27-Nov	1900	Hull	Assembly Room	Hans Richter	Richter Orchestra	(Tuesday) Richter Concert. Richter's Orchestra of 100 performers. Performed *Menuet de follets* and *Marche hongroise*.
29-Nov	1900	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Hans Richter	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and Choir	(Thursday) 7th concert of 43rd season. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloist: Helen Jaxon, Ben Davies, Fowler Burton,

						Andrew Black. English version. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
5-Jan	1901	Glasgow	St. Andrew's Hall	Frederic H. Cowen	Glasgow Choral Union	(Saturday) 6th Popular Concert. Performed selections from *La Damnation de Faust*.
9-Feb	1901	Halifax	Victoria Hall	Hans Richter	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra?	(Saturday) Opening of the Victoria Hall. Performed "Easter Hymn" and *Marche hongroise* from *Faust*.
17-Feb	1901	London	Royal Albert Hall	Cavallero L. Zavertal	Royal Artillery Band	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
20-Mar	1901	Newcastle	Town Hall	Hans Richter	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra?	(Wednesday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Helen Jaxon, Mr. W. Green, Thornton, and Andrew Black.
29-Apr	1901	London	Queen's Hall	Edouard Colonne	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Monday Evening). London Musical Festival, 1901. Performed *Ballet des sylphes* and *Marche hongroise*.
15-May	1901	Blackpool	Winter Gardens Theatre	Hans Richter	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and other local orchestra and choir members	(Wednesday) Blackpool Music Festival. Over 250 performers total. Performed *Ballet des sylphes* and *Marche hongroise*.
16-Jun	1901	London	Royal Albert Hall	Cavallero L. Zavertal	Royal Artillery Band	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
24-Aug	1901	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) First night of Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.

29-Aug	1901	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Thursday) Popular Night at Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
21-Sep	1901	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
24-Sep	1901	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Tuesday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
1-Oct	1901	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Tuesday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
5-Oct	1901	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
10-Oct	1901	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Thursday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
13-Oct	1901	London	Royal Albert Hall	Cavallero L. Zavertal	Royal Artillery Band	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Ballet des sylphes*.
16-Oct	1901	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Wednesday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
17-Oct	1901	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Thursday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.

25-Oct	1901	Bradford	St. George's Hall	Frederic H. Cowen	Bradford Festival Choral Society and Orchestra	(Friday) Bradford Music Festival. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Helen Jaxon, Thomas, William Thornton, and Dan Price. 7th time performed here.
28-Oct	1901	Bournemouth	Winter Gardens	Dan Godfrey	Bournemouth Municipal Symphony Orchestra	(Monday) Performed *Marche hongroise*.
9-Nov	1901	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
10-Nov	1901	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	Sunday Concert Society's Sunday Afternoon Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*.
15-Nov	1901	Halifax	Victoria Hall	Hans Richter	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra?	(Friday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Agnes Nicholls, William Green, Watkin Mills, and Mr. H. Shepley.
17-Nov	1901	Dundee, Scotland	Town Hall	?	The Imperial Blue Hungarian Band	(Sunday) Sacred Concert. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
24-Nov	1901	London	Royal Albert Hall	Cavallero L. Zavertal	Royal Artillery Band	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
28-Dec	1901	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
3-Jan	1902	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Friday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.

18-Jan	1902	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday Evening) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
19-Jan	1902	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	Sunday Concert Society's Sunday Afternoon Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*.
25-Jan	1902	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*.
1-Feb	1902	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concerts. Last night of Winter Proms Season. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
6-Mar	1902	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Hans Richter	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and Choir	(Thursday) 19th concert of 44th season. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloist: Helen Jaxon, Ben Davies, Fowler Burton, Andrew Black. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques.
16-Mar	1902	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	Sunday Concert Society's Sunday Afternoon Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
16-Jun	1902	London	Queen's Hall	Arthur Nikisch	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Monday) Nikisch Concert. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*.
13-Jul	1902	London	Royal Albert Hall	Cavallero L. Zavertal	Royal Artillery Band	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
23-Aug	1902	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.

4-Sep	1902	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Thursday) Popular Night at Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques and Percy Pitt.
18-Sep	1902	Scarborough	Town Hall?	Frederic H. Cowen	Scarborough Festival Orchestra	(Thursday) 2nd day of 2nd Scarborough Musical Festival. Orchestra and Chorus of over 300. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Agnes Nicholls, William Green, Andrew Black, Charles Knowles.
27-Sep	1902	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Popular Night at Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques and Percy Pitt.
11-Oct	1902	Cardiff	Park Hall	Frederic H. Cowen	Cardiff Festival Choir and Orchestra	(Saturday) Cardiff Triennial Musical Festival. 8th concert of 1902 festival. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Ella Russell, Ben Davies, Ffrangcon Davies, Ivor Foster. Program notes by W. A. Morgan.
25-Oct	1902	London	Queen's Hall	Arthur W. Payne	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Popular Night at Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques and Percy Pitt.

3-Nov	1902	Bournemouth	Winter Gardens	Dan Godfrey	Bournemouth Municipal Symphony Orchestra	(Monday) Performed *Marche hongroise*.
6-Nov	1902	London	Queen's Hall	Arthur W. Payne	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Thursday) Popular Night at Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise* and "Romance de Marguerite – D'amour l'ardente flamme" (Soloist: Ellyson Russell) from *Faust*. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques and Percy Pitt.
17-Nov	1902	Hull	Assembly Rooms	Dr. Smith	Hull Vocal Society	(Monday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Amy Perry, Henry Beaumont, Joseph, Lycett, Charles Ratcliffe.
23-Nov	1902	London	Queen's Hall	Arthur W. Payne	Queen's Hall Orchestra	Sunday Concert Society's Sunday Afternoon Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*.
30-Nov	1902	London	Queen's Hall	Arthur W. Payne	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Sunday) Sunday Concert Society. Repeat of 23 Nov. 1902 concert. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*.
4-Dec	1902	London	Royal Albert Hall	Frederick Bridge	Royal Choral Society	(Thursday) 2nd concert of 32nd season. Band and chorus of 1000. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Madame Sobrino, Charles Saunders, Andrew Black, Harry Dearth.

11-Dec	1902	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Hans Richter	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and Choir	(Thursday) 9th concert of 45th season. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloist: Helen Jaxon, William Green, Fowler Burton, Andrew Black. Program notes by Edgar F. Jacques. This performance was Hallé Orchestra's celebration of Berlioz's centenary (a year early).
29-Dec	1902	Bournemouth	Winter Gardens	Dan Godfrey	Bournemouth Municipal Symphony Orchestra	(Monday) Performed *Ballet des sylphes*.
10-Feb	1903	Liverpool	Philharmonic Hall	Frederic H. Cowen	Liverpool Philharmonic Society	(Tuesday) 9th subscription concert of season. Performed "Devant la maison" from *Faust*. Soloist: M. Plançon.
22-Feb	1903	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Sunday) Sunday Concert Society. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*.
29-Mar	1903	London	Royal Albert Hall	Cavallero L. Zavertal	Royal Artillery Band	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
14-Jun	1903	London	Royal Albert Hall	Cavallero L. Zavertal	Royal Artillery Band	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
16-Jun	1903	London	Queen's Hall	Arthur Nikisch	Queen's Hall Orchestra	Orchestra of 110. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*.
22-Aug	1903	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) First night of Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de*

						follets, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*.
8-Sep	1903	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Tuesday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
19-Sep	1903	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Sousa's Imperial Edward March also on program.
22-Oct	1903	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Thursday) Popular Night at Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets* and *Marche hongroise*.
23-Oct	1903	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Friday) Popular Night at Promenade Concerts and last night of season. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
3-Nov	1903	London	Queen's Hall	Hans Richter	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Tuesday) 1st concert of season (6 total). Halle Orchestra of 100 performers. Berlioz Evening in Commemoration of the 100th Anniversary of the Composer's Birth. Performed: the overtures *Le Carnaval Romain*, *Béatrice et Bénédict*, *Le roi Lear*, *Benvenuto Cellini* overture, the *Marche hongroise* from *Faust*, and the complete *Harold en Italie* (soloist: Simon Spelman).

10-Dec	1903	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Hans Richter	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra and Choir	(Thursday) 8th concert of 46th season. Hallé Concerts Society. Orchestra and chorus of 350 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Helen Jaxon, William Green, Fowler Burton, and Andrew Black. Program notes by Ernest Newman. Presented as centenary concert for Berlioz.
14-Dec	1903	Bournemouth	Winter Gardens	Dan Godfrey	Bournemouth Municipal Symphony Orchestra	(Monday) 500th Symphony Concert and Berlioz Centenary. Performed Berlioz's: "Trojan March" from *Les Troyens*, *Carnaval Romain* overture, *Ballet des sylphes* and *Marche hongroise* from *Faust*, Reverie et Caprice (soloist: Charles Fletcher), "Capulet's Feast," "Love Scene," and "Queen Mab Scherzo" from *Roméo et Juliette* (first 3 mvts). Program notes by Walter Barnett.
20-Dec	1903	London	Royal Albert Hall	Cavallero L. Zavertal	Royal Artillery Band	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
12-Jan	1904	Glasgow	St. Andrew's Hall	Edouard Colonne	Scottish Orchestra	(Tuesday) 7th concert of season. Berlioz themed centenary concert. Performed selections from *Faust* including *Marche hongroise* and *Ballet des sylphes*.
29 Feb	1904	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Hans Richter	Manchester Gentlemen's Concerts	(Monday) Performed *Ballet des sylphes*.

8-Jun	1904	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Wednesday) Life Boat Concert. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*.
2-Jul	1904	North of London	Heath Lodge, Hampstead Heath	John Cheshire	Port Sunlight Village Choir	(Saturday) Vocal and Orchestral Concert. Performed the *Marche hongroise* on the same concert as Sousa's *Stars and Stripes Forever!*
6-Aug	1904	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
13-Aug	1904	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Popular Night at Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Percy Pitt and A. Kalisch.
26-Aug	1904	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Friday) Mozart-Beethoven Night at Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Percy Pitt and A. Kalisch.
5-Sep	1904	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Monday) Wagner Night at Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Percy Pitt and A. Kalisch.
10-Sep	1904	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Popular Night at Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Percy Pitt and A. Kalisch.

19-Sep	1904	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Monday) Wagner Night at Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Percy Pitt and A. Kalisch.
18-Oct	1904	Burnley	Mechanic's Institute	Hans Richter	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Tuesday) Performed *Ballet des sylphes* and *Marche hongroise*.
21-Oct	1904	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Friday) Last night of the season. Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Percy Pitt and A. Kalisch.
11-Dec	1904	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	Sunday Concert Society Sunday Afternoon Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*.
16-Dec	1904	Bradford	St. George's Hall	Frederic H. Cowen	Bradford Festival Choral Society	(Friday) Bradford Music Festival. Manchester Hallé Orchestra. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Helen Jaxon, Evan Williams, Andrew Black, and Walter Chippendale. 8th time performed here.
16-Dec	1904	Perth	City Hall	Mr. F. S. Graves	Perth Musical Society	(Friday) Cole's Orchestra and Chorus of 100. Conductor: Mr. F. S. Graves. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Alice Esty, Henry Brearly, Robert Burnett, and David Martin.
5-Feb	1905	London	Royal Albert Hall	Cavallero L. Zavertal	Royal Artillery String Band	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Royal Artillery String Band of 80

						performers. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
16-Feb	1905	London	Queen's Hall	Edouard Colonne	London Symphony Orchestra	(Thursday) Performed Berlioz's *Carnaval Romain* overture and *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise* from *Faust*.
16-Feb	1905	London	Royal Albert Hall	Frederick Bridge	Royal Choral Society	Thursday) 5th concert of 34th season. Band and chorus of 1000. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Suzanne Adams, Ben Davies, Dan Price, Harry Dearth.
15-Apr	1905	London	Queen's Hall			(Saturday afternoon) 2nd of Two Recitals by Wanda Landowska. Performed Liszt's arrangement of *Ballet des sylphes* from *Faust*.
23-Apr	1905	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Sunday) National Sunday League Grand Orchestral Concert. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*.
7-May	1905	London	Queen's Hall	Alexander C. Mackenzie and Arthur W. Payne	London Symphony Orchestra	Sunday Concert Society Sunday Afternoon Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*.
17-May	1905	Cheltenham	Town Hall	Mr. C. J. Phillips	Cheltenham Philharmonic Society	(Wednesday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Ethel Lister, Henry Beaumont, Ernest Davies, and Charles Tree.

						William Wallace's version. First time complete work performed here.
19-Aug	1905	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) First night of the season. Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Percy Pitt and A. Kalisch.
24-Aug	1905	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Thursday) Popular Night at Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Percy Pitt and A. Kalisch.
4-Sep	1905	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Monday) Wagner Night at Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Percy Pitt and A. Kalisch.
16-Sep	1905	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Popular Night at Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Percy Pitt and A. Kalisch.
30-Sep	1905	London	Queen's Hall	Henri Verbrugghen	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Popular Night at Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise* from *Faust* and *Carnaval Romain* overture (Conductor: Henry J. Wood).

						Program notes by Percy Pitt and A. Kalisch.
6-Oct	1905	Sheffield	Albert Hall	Felix Weingartner	Sheffield Festival Orchestra	(Friday) Sheffield Triennial Musical Festival. Full orchestra and voluntary chorus of over 300 voices. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Madame De Vere, Mr. John Coates, Mr. Joseph Lycett, and Mr. Andrew Black.
15-Oct	1905	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	Sunday Concert Society's Sunday Afternoon Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*.
17-Oct	1905	Cheltenham	Town Hall	Mr. C. J. Phillips	Cheltenham Philharmonic Society	(Tuesday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Gwladys Lindsa, Henry Boulderson, Dalton Baker. William Wallace's version. 2nd time complete work performed here. Repeat of May performance by popular demand.
21-Oct	1905	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Dr. T. Keighley	Nonconformist Choir Union Festival	(Saturday) Band and Chorus of 500 performers. Performed *Ballet des sylphes* and *Marche hongroise*.
25-Oct	1905	London	Queen's Hall	Henri Verbrugghen	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Wednesday) Tchaikovsky-Mahler Night at Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Percy Pitt and A. Kalisch.

27-Oct	1905	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Friday) Last night of the season. Promenade Concerts. Benefit Concert for the Members of the Queen's Hall Orchestra. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Percy Pitt and A. Kalisch.
5-Nov	1905	London	Royal Albert Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Ballet des sylphes*.
26-Nov	1905	London	Royal Albert Hall	Alberto Randegger	London Symphony Orchestra	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
1-Dec	1905	London	Ealing, Victoria Hall	J. Cliffe Forrester	Ealing Choral and Orchestral Society	(Friday) 18th season. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Ethel Lister, Alfred Heather, Charles Tree, F. Robertson.
23-Feb	1906	Manchester, Oldham	Empire Theatre	Frederick Dawson	Oldham Orchestral Society	(Friday) 3rd subscription concert of 13th season. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
26-Feb	1906	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Hans Richter	Manchester Gentlemen's Concerts	(Monday) Performed *Ballet des sylphes* from *Faust*.
22-Mar	1906	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Hans Richter	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Thursday) Manchester Orchestra Pension-fund Concert. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
22-Apr	1906	London	Royal Albert Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.

3-May	1906	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Thursday) Symphony Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*.
21-Aug	1906	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Tuesday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Percy Pitt and A. Kalisch.
4-Sep	1906	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Tuesday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Percy Pitt and A. Kalisch.
20-Sep	1906	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Thursday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Percy Pitt and A. Kalisch.
22-Sep	1906	London	Queen's Hall	Henri Verbrugghen	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Percy Pitt and A. Kalisch.
4-Oct	1906	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Thursday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Percy Pitt and A. Kalisch.
13-Oct	1906	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*.

						Program notes by Percy Pitt and A. Kalisch.
22-Oct	1906	London	Queen's Hall	Henri Verbrugghen	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Monday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Percy Pitt and A. Kalisch.
29-Nov	1906	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Hans Richter	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Thursday) 7th concert of 49th season. Hallé Concerts Society. Orchestra and chorus of 350 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Helen Jaxon, John Harrison, Fowler Burton, and Charles Clarke. Program notes by Ernest Newman.
29-Dec	1906	Glasgow	St. Andrew's Hall	Frederic H. Cowen	Glasgow Choral Union and Scottish Orchestra	(Saturday) 7th Popular Concert. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
? ?	1906-07	Sheffield?	Albert Hall?	Dr. Coward?	Sheffield Musical Union	The Sheffield Musical Union promised a performance of *La Damnation de Faust* conducted by Dr. Coward in the winter 1906-07 season.
? ?	1907	London	Holland Park			Private concert. Included performance of the *Marche hongroise*. The program contains several errors including misspelling of the title of the march.

7-Apr	1907	London	Queen's Hall	Charles Villiers Stanford	London Symphony Orchestra	(Sunday) Sunday Concert Society's Orchestral Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*.
24-Aug	1907	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Percy Pitt and A. Kalisch.
10-Sep	1907	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Tuesday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Percy Pitt and A. Kalisch.
7-Oct	1907	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Hans Richter	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Thursday) 1st concert of 50th season. Hallé Concerts Society. Performed *Ballet des sylphes* and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Ernest Newman. To mark the 50th anniversary, the program reflected the first concert ever performed by orchestra on 17 October 1858. According to Richter conducting books the *Menuet de follets* was also performed.
19-Oct	1907	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Simon Speelman	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Saturday) 1st concert of season. Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
25-Oct	1907	Scotland, Turriff	Turriff Parish Church			(Friday) Organ Recital by the Pupils of John Ewart. Performed

						arrangement of *Marche hongroise* from *Faust*. Soloist: Miss Garden.
26-Oct	1907	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Last night of the season. Promenade Concerts. Queen's Hall Orchestra's Endowment-Fund Concert. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Percy Pitt and A. Kalisch.
15-Nov	1907	Hull	Assembly Rooms, Jarratt Street	Walter Porter	Hull Harmonic Society	(Friday) 1st concert of season. Full band and chorus of 250 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Jenny Taggart, Anderson Nicol, Robert Burnett, and Mr. Chas. Ratcliffe.
30-Nov	1907	Liverpool	Philharmonic Hall	Hans Richter	Liverpool Philharmonic Society?	(Saturday) Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*.
11-Dec	1907	Dublin	Theatre Royal	Hans Richter	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra?	(Wednesday) Performed *Marche hongroise* as an encore.
? ?	1908	Leicester	Temperance Hall	Mr. Ellis?	Leicester Philharmonic Society	(?) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: ? 4th performance in Leicester.
5-Jan	1908	London	Royal Albert Hall	Emil Mlynarski	London Symphony Orchestra	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
30-Jan	1908	Birmingham	Town Hall	Thomas Beecham	New Symphony Orchestra	(Thursday) Birmingham City Choral Society Concert. Performed *Marche hongroise*.

25-Feb	1908	Liverpool	Philharmonic Hall	Frederic H. Cowen	Liverpool Philharmonic Society	(Tuesday) 10th subscription concert of season. Grand Orchestral Night. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
16-Mar	1908	Aberdeen	Aberdeen Music Hall	Arthur Nikisch	London Symphony Orchestra	(Monday) 3rd Harrison Concert. London Symphony Orchestra of 70 performers. Performed *Ballet des sylphes* and *Marche hongroise*.
14-Jun	1908	London	Royal Albert Hall	Landon Ronald	London Symphony Orchestra	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
29-Aug	1908	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
10-Oct	1908	London	Queen's Hall	Edouard Colonne	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
20-Oct	1908	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Tuesday) Promenade Concerts. Performed arias "Among the Roses" and "Mephistopheles's Song" from *Faust*. Soloist: Robert Burnett. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
24-Oct	1908	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Last Night of the Season. Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
30-Oct	1908	Manchester, Oldham	Empire Theatre	Frederick Dawson	Oldham Orchestral Society	(Friday) 1st subscription concert of 16th season. Performed *Marche hongroise*.

8-Nov	1908	London	Royal Albert Hall	Landon Ronald	London Symphony Orchestra	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
14-Nov	1908	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Hanley Glee and Madrigal Society and Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) First appearance in London. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mrs. Henry J. Wood, Walter Hyde, Robert Burnett, Francis Harford.
21-Feb	1909	London	Royal Albert Hall	Landon Ronald	London Symphony Orchestra	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
28-Aug	1909	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
2-Sep	1909	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Thursday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
14-Sep	1909	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Tuesday) Promenade Concerts. Performed Mephisto's Song "They Say a Monarch Mighty," the song "Among the Roses," and Serenade "Dearest Katherine" from *Faust*. Soloist: Herbert Brown. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
21-Sep	1909	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Tuesday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.

3-Oct	1909	London	Royal Albert Hall	Landon Ronald	New Symphony Orchestra	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
8-Oct	1909	Birmingham	Town Hall	Hans Richter	Birmingham Festival Orchestra	(Friday) Birmingham Music Festival. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Walter Hyde, George Henschel, Robert Radford, Madame Donalda. Program notes by C. A. B.
12-Oct	1909	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Tuesday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
2-Dec	1909	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Hans Richter	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Thursday) 7th concert of 52nd season. Hallé Concerts Society. Orchestra and chorus of 350 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Mrs. Henry J. Wood, Walter Hyde, Fowler Burton, and Frederic Austin. 23rd time at these concerts. Program notes by Ernest Newman.
? ?	1909-10	London	Royal Albert Hall?	F.W. Belchamber	Willesden Green Choral Society	The Willesden Green Choral Society performed the complete *La Damnation de Faust* sometime during the 1909-1910 winter season.
20-Jan	1910	London	Royal Albert Hall	Frederick Bridge	Royal Choral Society	(Thursday) 4th concert of 39th season. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Miss Perceval Allen, Ben Davies, Bertram Mills, and George Hensechel.

30-Jan	1910	London	Royal Albert Hall	Landon Ronald	New Symphony Orchestra	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
20-Feb	1910	London	Royal Opera Covent Garden	Arthur Nikisch	London Symphony Orchestra	(Sunday) Performed *Ballet des sylphes* and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by F. Gilbert Webb.
18-Jun	1910	London	Royal Albert Hall	Landon Ronald	New Symphony Orchestra	(Saturday) Welcome Back Concert to Mme. Melba, After Her Prolonged Absence Abroad. Performed *Marche hongroise*. This concert had been moved from 7 May 1910 because it had to be postponed due to the death of King Edward VII.
13-Aug	1910	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) First night of Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
23-Aug	1910	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Tuesday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*.
3-Sep	1910	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concerts. Performed "Mephisto's Serenade" and "Song of the Flea" from *Faust*. Soloist: Herbert Heyner. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
8-Sep	1910	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Thursday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise* as well as songs "Vrai Dieu, messieurs," "Voici des Roses," and "Devant la maison" from *Faust*. Soloist: Robert Burnett.

1-Oct	1910	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets, Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
12-Oct	1910	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Wednesday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
4-Dec	1910	London	Royal Albert Hall	Landon Ronald	New Symphony Orchestra	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
14-Dec	1910	Manchester	Memorial Hall	Herbert Whittaker	Manchester Vocal Society	(Wednesday) 2nd concert of 44th season. Music Director: Herbert Whittaker. Performed Chorus "Thou must leave Thy lowly dwelling" from Berlioz's *L'Enfance du Christ* and Chorus and Dance of Peasants "Now for the Dance" from *Faust*.
31-Dec	1910	Glasgow	St. Andrew's Hall	Emil Mlynarski	Glasgow Choral Union and Scottish Orchestra	(Saturday) 7th Saturday Popular Concert. Conductor: Emil Mlynarski. Performed *Ballet des sylphes*, "Dance of Gnomes," and the *Marche hongroise* from *Faust*.
24-Jan	1911	St Helens, Merseyside	St. Helens Town Hall	Thomas Beecham	Beecham Symphony Orchestra	(Tuesday) Performed *Marche hongroise*.
19-Feb	1911	London	Royal Albert Hall	Landon Ronald	New Symphony Orchestra	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
6-Mar	1911	London	Queen's Hall	Hans Richter	London Symphony Orchestra and Hanley Glee and Madrigal Society	(Monday) 8th concert of season. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust* with the Hanley Glee and Madrigal Society. Soloists: Madame Donalda, Walter Hyde, Robert

						Burnett, David Brazell. Program notes by F. Gilbert Webb.
13-Mar	1911	Liverpool	Philharmonic Hall	Hans Richter	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Monday) Dr. Richter's Farewell Concert. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Herbert McCullagh.
23-Mar	1911	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Hans Richter	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Thursday) 21st concert of 53rd season. Benefit Concert of the Hallé Orchestra Pension Fund. Hallé Concerts Society. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Ernest Newman.
29-May	1911	London	Royal Albert Hall	Frederick Bridge	Royal Choral Society and the Royal Amateur Orchestral Society	(Monday) Royal Concert in the presence of the King and Queen. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
15-Aug	1911	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Tuesday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets, Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
1-Sep	1911	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Friday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
19-Sep	1911	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Tuesday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.

24-Sep	1911	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	Sunday Concert Society's Sunday Afternoon Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*.
1-Oct	1911	London	Royal Albert Hall	Landon Ronald	New Symphony Orchestra	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
5-Oct	1911	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Thursday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
7-Oct	1911	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
26-Oct	1911	Norwich	St. Andrew's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Norwich Festival Choir and Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Thursday Evening) Norfolk and Norwich 30th Triennial Musical Festival. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: ?
29-Oct	1911	London	Lewisham Hippodrome	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Sunday) National Sunday League "Sunday Evenings for the People." Performed *Marche hongroise*.
18-Nov	1911	London	Alexandra Palace	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Program of Grand Concert. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Mrs. Rosa Newmarch.
14-Dec	1911	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Prof. Müller-Reuter	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Thursday) 9th concert of 54th season. Hallé Concerts Society. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Miss Mabel Manson, Maurice D'Oisley, Fowler

						Burton, Thorpe Bates. Program notes by Ernest Newman.
14-Feb	1912	Dundee, Scotland	Kinnaird Hall	Charles M. Cowe	Dundee Amateur Choral Union	(Wednesday) Mr. W. H. Cole's Band. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Emily Breare, Maurice D'Oisley, Charles Knowles, and Philip Malcolm. Over 20 years since the last complete performance was given by group.
23-Feb	1912	Manchester, Oldham	Greenacres Hall	Frederick Dawson	Oldham Orchestral Society	(Friday) 3rd subscription concert of 19th season. Performed *Marche hongroise*. 4th time performed at these concerts.
31-Mar	1912	London	Royal Albert Hall	Landon Ronald	New Symphony Orchestra	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
31-Aug	1912	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
17-Sep	1912	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Tuesday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
3-Oct	1912	London	Queen's Hall	George Henschel	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Thursday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets* and *Ballet des sylphes*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.

4-Oct	1912	London	Queen's Hall	George Henschel	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Friday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
26-Oct	1912	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Last Night of the Season. Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
24-Nov	1912	London	Royal Albert Hall	Landon Ronald	New Symphony Orchestra	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
30-Nov	1912	London	Alexandra Palace	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Program of Grand Concert. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Mrs. Rosa Newmarch.
12-Jan	1913	London	The Palladium	Thomas Beecham	Beecham Symphony Orchestra	(Sunday) National Sunday League Grand Orchestral Concert. Performed Berlioz's *Carnaval Romain* overture and the *Marche hongroise* from *Faust*. Program notes by F. Gilbert Webb.
23-Feb	1913	London	Royal Albert Hall	Landon Ronald	New Symphony Orchestra	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
27-Aug	1913	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Wednesday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
23-Sep	1913	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Tuesday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets, Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
3-Oct	1913	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Friday) Promenade Concerts. Performed song "Among the Roses"

						from *Faust*. Soloist: Herbert Heyner. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
25-Oct	1913	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Last Night of the Season. Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
30-Nov	1913	London	Royal Albert Hall	Landon Ronald	New Symphony Orchestra	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
19-Feb	1914	London	Queen's Hall	Mengelberg	Royal Philharmonic Society	(Thursday) Performed *Marche hongroise*.
19-Apr	1914	London	Royal Albert Hall	Landon Ronald	New Symphony Orchestra	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
6-May	1914	London	Royal Albert Hall	Willy Ferrero	New Symphony Orchestra	(Wednesday) Willy Ferrero, Aged 7 and a Half - Première Performance. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
24-Aug	1914	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Monday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
12-Sep	1914	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
16-Sep	1914	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Wednesday) Promenade Concerts. Performed aria "Mephisto's Serenade" from *Faust*. Soloist: Darrell Fancourt. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
24-Oct	1914	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concerts. Last night of season. Performed

						Marche hongroise. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
18-Apr	1915	London	Royal Albert Hall	Landon Ronald	New Symphony Orchestra	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
31-May	1915	London	Royal Albert Hall	Thomas Beecham	New Symphony Orchestra	(Monday) Promenade Concert. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
29-Jun	1915	London	Holland Park		Karoly Klay's Imperial Blue Hungarian Band	(Tuesday) Private concert given by Karoly Klay's Imperial Blue Hungarian Band. Performed Berlioz's *Marche hongroise* from *Faust*. The program contains several errors including misspelling of the composer and the title of the march.
21-Aug	1915	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
28-Sep	1915	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Tuesday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets, Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise* from *Faust* and 2nd mvt. "Pilgrim's March" from *Harold en Italie*. Soloist: Eric Coates. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
9-Oct	1915	London	Queen's Hall	Thomas Beecham	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
4-Nov	1915	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Thomas Beecham	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Thursday) 4th concert of 58th season. A Great Choral Evening. Hallé Concerts Society. Orchestra and Chorus of 350 performers.

						Chorus Director: Mr. R. H. Wilson. Performed "Romance of Margaret" from *Faust*. Soloist: Marianne Weber-Delacre. Program notes by Ernest Newman.
28-Nov	1915	London	Royal Albert Hall	Landon Ronald	New Symphony Orchestra	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
8-Dec	1915	London	Royal Albert Hall	Lennox Clayton	Royal Artillery Band and Westminster Orchestral Society	(Wednesday) Christmas in Wartime. Conductors: E. C. Stretton and Lennox Clayton. The Westminster Orchestral Society performed the *Marche hongroise* to close concert. The charity concert was attended by HM Queen Maria Amelie of Portugal and HRH Princess Alexander of Teck.
5-Feb	1916	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Henry J. Wood	Manchester Philharmonic Society and the Brand Lane Symphony Orchestra	(Saturday) Brand Lane Festival. Band and Chorus of 300. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Madame Marchesi, Frank Mullings, Norman Allin, and Thorpe Bates.
19-Sep	1916	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Tuesday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets* and *Ballet des sylphes*.
23-Sep	1916	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
2-Oct	1916	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Monday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.

10-Oct	1916	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Monday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets* and *Ballet des sylphes*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
17-Dec	1916	London	Royal Albert Hall	Landon Ronald	New Symphony Orchestra	(Sunday) Miscellaneous Popular Concert. Performed Berlioz's *Carnaval Romain* overture and *Ballet des sylphes* from *Faust*. Note: According to Royal Albert Online Archive the Faust ballet was from Gounod's.
26-Dec	1916	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Henry J. Wood	Brand Lane Symphony Orchestra	(Tuesday) 4th concert of series. Brand Lane Orchestral Grand Holiday Programme. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
18-Jan	1917	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Thomas Beecham	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Thursday) 12th concert of 59th season. Hallé Concerts Society. Performed *Menuet de follets, Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Ernest Newman.
26-Mar	1917	Stockport	Centenary Hall (Stockport Sunday School)	Dr. Keighley	Stockport Vocal Union including members of the Hallé Orchestra	(Monday) 3rd concert of 44th season. Music Director: Dr. Keighley. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
1-Apr	1917	London	Royal Albert Hall	Landon Ronald	New Symphony Orchestra	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed Berlioz's "Marche Rococo."

22-Apr	1917	London	Royal Albert Hall	Landon Ronald	New Symphony Orchestra	(Sunday) Sunday Concerts. Performed "Serenade" from *Faust*. Soloist: Murray Davey.
25-Aug	1917	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concerts. 1st concert of the season. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
22-Sep	1917	Manchester	New Queen's Theatre	Julius Harrison	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Saturday) Sir Thomas Beecham's Season of Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
26-Sep	1917	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Wednesday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets* and *Ballet des sylphes*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
4-Oct	1917	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Thursday Afternoon) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
25-Oct	1917	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Thomas Beecham	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Thursday) 2nd concert of 60th season. Hallé Concerts Society. Orchestra and chorus of 350 performers. Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Miriam Licette, Frank Mullings, Harry Pashley, and Herbert Brown. Program notes by Ernest Newman. 25th performance of Faust by the Hallé Orchestra.
4-Nov	1917	London	Royal Albert Hall	Landon Ronald	New Symphony Orchestra	(Sunday) 13th season. Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.

28-Feb	1918	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Landon Ronald	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Thursday) 11th concert of 60th season. Hallé Concerts Society. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Ernest Newman.
24-Mar	1918	London	Royal Albert Hall	Landon Ronald	New Symphony Orchestra	(Sunday) 13th season. Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
15-Aug	1918	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Thursday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
14-Sep	1918	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
22-Sep	1918	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Sunday Afternoon) Sunday Concerts. Performed *Marche hongroise*.
5-Oct	1918	London	Queen's Hall	Henry J. Wood	Queen's Hall Orchestra	(Saturday) Promenade Concerts. Performed *Menuet de follets* and *Ballet des sylphes*. Program notes by Rosa Newmarch.
5-Oct	1918	Manchester	New Queen's Theatre	Julius Harrison	Manchester Beecham Orchestra	(Saturday) Sir Thomas Beecham's 2nd season of Promenade Concerts. 6th concert. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by A. J. Sheldon.
16-Oct	1918	Birmingham	Central Hall	Thomas Beecham	Birmingham Festival Choral Society	(Wednesday) Performed complete *La Damnation de Faust*. Soloists: Gladys Ancrum, Frank Mullings,

						Arthur Cranmer, and Herbert Brown.
22-Oct	1918	Manchester	New Queen's Theatre	Hamilton Harty	Manchester Beecham Orchestra	(Tuesday) Sir Thomas Beecham's 2nd season of Promenade Concerts. 20th concert. Performed *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by A. J. Sheldon.
23-Nov	1918	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Thomas Beecham	Manchester (Hallé) Orchestra	(Saturday) 4th concert of 61st season. Hallé Concerts Society. Performed *Menuet de follets*, *Ballet des sylphes*, and *Marche hongroise*. Program notes by Ernest Newman.
26-Dec	1918	Manchester	Free Trade Hall	Henry J. Wood	Brand Lane Symphony Orchestra	(Thursday) Boxing Day Orchestral Concert. Grand Holiday Programme. Performed *Marche hongroise*.

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The Free Lance
Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser [Dublin, Ireland]
Glasgow Herald
The Graphic
The Harmonicon
Hastings & St. Leonard's Observer [Hastings, England]
Hereford Times
Huddersfield Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser
Huddersfield Daily Chronicle
Hull Daily Mail
Leeds Mercury
Leicester Chronicle and the Leicestershire Mercury
Liverpool Mercury
Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser
The Manchester Guardian
The Monthly Musical Record
The Morning Chronicle
The Morning Post
The Musical Herald
The Musical Standard
The Musical Times
The Musical World
Newcastle Weekly Courant
Nottingham Evening Post
North-Eastern Daily Gazette [Middlesbrough, England]
Northern Daily Mail and South Durham Herald [Hartlepool, England]
The Northern Echo [Darlington, England]
Pall Mall Gazette
Preston Guardian etc. [Preston, England]
The Scots Observer
Sheffield & Rotherham Independent
Sheffield Daily Telegraph
The Standard
The Star
The Strand
The Sunday Times [London]
Sunderland Daily Echo and Shipping Gazette
The Times [London]
Western Daily Press [Yeovil, England]
Western Mail [Cardiff, Wales]
The World
York Herald
Yorkshire Evening Post [Leeds, England]