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Sir Hubert Parry: An Intellectual Portrait

Nugunn Wattanapat

2016

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
Doctoral Degree in Music

Durham University

ABSTRACT

Hubert Parry (1848-1918) is known by music listeners today as a composer rather than as a music scholar, yet his contemporaries recognised him as a highly prolific and influential educator and an accomplished writer on musical subjects. This thesis is the first in-depth investigation of its kind into this lesser-known side of Parry's career, using his literary works as a vantage point from which to evaluate his highly complex persona. Through a close examination of available primary and secondary materials, the thesis aims to develop a biographically and historically consistent view of his writings, while also addressing serious discrepancies in current estimates of his philosophical opinions. Parry's formative influences, his interests in science, his moral and socially conscious view of art, his views on religion, and his response to Nietzschean philosophy constitute the focus of this study. An attempt is also made towards the end to reconcile these findings with his music, through a contextual examination of the six 'ethical cantatas'. This research opens new perspectives for Parry scholarship and lays the groundwork for a better understanding of the composer's unique role in the development of music and musical scholarship in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Britain.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is perhaps unusual to begin an academic work with an unenviable confession. In my work folders, nestled between the endless scans of the Parry manuscripts and the chaotic mess of accumulated observations on Victorian society, lie less nuanced jottings on how best to begin and end a resignation letter. Several years ago, unforeseen personal circumstances turned this project from a labour of love into a stressful, potentially unmanageable burden. The recipient of the letter, had it been composed, would have been my supervisor, Professor Dibble, who had invested hours after hours to see me succeed. It was the professor's endless patience, his unwavering enthusiasm for my work, his tremendous generosity and moral encouragement that motivated me to keep pressing forward. I am forever thankful for his intellectual support, his constructive criticism as well as the freedom he afforded me to form my own independent conclusions, and especially for the opportunity to have worked closely with him for more than five years. I owe so much of my intellectual curiosity and development to him. Needless to say, the present work would not have been achievable without his guidance.

I thank my secondary supervisor, Professor Zon, for his continued interest in my work, his stimulating advice and criticisms, and memorable discussions on Darwin, Spencer and Victorian evolutionism. For the completion of this thesis, I am enormously indebted to the kindness and support of Laura Ponsonby, with whom I first met while seeking materials for my Master's research on Parry's piano works. She was always interested to hear about my projects and eager to point me in the right direction. Sadly, Laura passed away in January this year, and I can only hope to honour her memory to the best of my abilities with my work. I extend my deepest gratitude to Kate and Ian Russell, who, with Laura, received me so warmly into their home on several occasions and trusted me with access to the manuscripts; I am deeply grateful for the remarkable experience and precious memories they have both given me. I thank Roger and Jenny Head for the unique opportunity to visit Highnam Court, and Jane Bruton for an unforgettable tour of the premises. While at Highnam, I was also very fortunate to have been given a formal introduction to Gambier Parry and the Church of the Holy Innocents by Ken Starr. The staff at the Royal College of Music, the British Library, Senate

House Library, Bodleian Library, Durham University Library and the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland have been enormously helpful in locating source materials for this study. I express my special thanks to Martin Holmes and Peter Horton for their kind assistance with the collections at the Weston Library and the Royal College of Music, respectively. I am also extremely grateful for the company of all my university peers and past mentors, who have provided me with encouragement and followed my work and progress over the years.

Last but not least, this thesis simply could not exist without the invaluable support of my close friends and family. I owe my fledgling interest in music to my piano teachers, Amy Akavuti, Marita Winstanley and Wallace Woodley. I am very thankful to Alison Dibble, whose endless hospitality and kindness helped me tremendously along the way. My friend, Sudharsan, was always a relentless and honest critic of my writings, as well as a constant intellectual companion throughout my prolonged academic struggle. Nana, Opa and my cousin Jeen have also been enormously supportive over the past years. This thesis is dedicated to my parents, for their endless love, understanding and sacrifice; I thank them for their steadfast confidence in my abilities, and for enabling me to receive the education that has taught me to always see the world with critical and uncompromising eyes.

N. W.

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PREFACE

Although generally remembered for his musical achievements, Sir Charles Hubert Hastings Parry (1848-1918) was also a profoundly influential force in British musical scholarship at the crucial period of its professional formation. His active literary career, which closely parallels his artistic development, spans more than four decades from the 1870s until his death. During this time, he made numerous significant contributions to British musicology, beginning with his widely-known articles for *Grove's Dictionary* (1879-1889); followed by his *Studies of Great Composers* (1886); *The Art of Music* (1893), republished as *The Evolution of the Art of Music* (1896); *The Music of the Seventeenth Century* (1902); *Johann Sebastian Bach* (1909); and lastly *Style in Musical Art* (1911). His scholarly activities were not confined to writing, however; they were always conducted in tandem with his numerous other duties in his professorial roles at the Royal College of Music and Oxford University.

Propelled by his unique artistic and philosophical vision, Parry laboured throughout his public career to invigorate musical research and scholarship in Britain, at a time when the earnest study of musicology was still a novelty in British academic institutions. Through the progression of his works, Parry consistently sought to extricate musicology from its journalistic roots and to grant it a more empirical status, worthy of a serious academic discipline. Widely read by his contemporaries and pupils, his writings were practically significant for their challenge to theorists and critics (during the period when the study of acoustics gained enormous traction), their unabashed defence of creative liberty and secular experimentation, their emphasis on the moral responsibilities of art, and their commitment to exposing the myth of England's unmusical past. The uniqueness of Parry's contributions to musicology and their capacity to attract a broad spectrum of readers, which made them all the more consequential to the musical life of the country, stemmed from the author's eclectic outlook and his lifelong exposure to current philosophical and scientific ideas. The *Evolution of the Art of Music*, for instance, looked to the scientific theories of Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer to create a historical narrative that was considered refreshing for its time, while *Style in Musical Art* derived much of its energy from the capable moralism of John Ruskin and the political philosophy of John Stuart Mill.

On the question of his exceptional intellectual alertness, Parry's personal biography provides crucial insight. One particular incident from his formative years may furnish a preliminary example. On 5 February 1875, he and his intellectual peers met to discuss the 'Characteristics of the Present Age'. His friend, Hugh Montgomery, aptly described the age in which they lived as follows:

> Such things as the rising estimate and money value of the fine arts, the outspoken nature of our critical and scientific literature, the apparent decline of what we may call chivalry of behavior among men of the upper classes and many other things of this kind, the advance of science we can hardly call a feature of the age, for science has been advancing with approximately equal rapidity for a long period, but perhaps its popularization maybe a characteristic... The features which I shall look upon as… remarkable and distinctive are (1) the development of humanity to man & beast. The provision now made to spare suffering to every class of the unfortunate & … use of chloroform & laughing gas for any operation down to having a tooth out… The formation of societies and the passing of laws—for the first time in the history of the world—for the prevention of cruelty to animals… the development of altruistic morality… after some retardation caused by religious bigotry & national rivalry… (2) The universal diffusion of what is called education – arrived in some countries approaching in others; which whatever its actual value… [brings] all the information possessed by the upper classes within the reach of the whole people, thus giving to the claims of democracy a strength they never had before… Other differences of the age such as facilities of communication, the wonderful multiplication and circulation of newspapers and other cheap literature, the applications of science to politics, medicine, manufacture, agriculture &c…[1]

A deep awareness of the century's advances in the Western world of science and technology, the decline of religion, the growth of radical politics and the march of democracy underlies Parry's thoughts on music and its place in society. As hinted above, he began writing about music when it was still an unrecognised profession in high society; by the time of his death, not just composition, but musical scholarship, was a thriving aspect of English life – stunted only by the ravages of the Great War. Parry's writings on music are important not only because they constitute a largely understudied aspect of his biography, or because they reveal a great deal about the conditions of British musicology, but also because they capture so much—through the author's eclectic breadth of learning—the changing spectrum of political, religious and philosophical discourse in Victorian and Edwardian England.

This thesis is an exploration of Parry's literary career and his intellectual preoccupations from his early forays into historiography to his more mature writings. The subject of Parry's work as a

[1] Hugh Montgomery. 'Common place book', PRONI MS. D627/444, pp. 42r-5r.

writer and a historian has been broached by several writers. Shortly after the composer's death, *The Musical Times* published an article entitled 'The Words of Sir Hubert Parry' by F. Gilbert Webb.[2] John Fuller Maitland contributed an entry on his literary works in the *RCM Magazine* for Christmas term, 1918.[3] On 19 September 1919 appeared E. J. Dent's article, 'Parry as Musical Historian', in the *Athenaeum*.[4] Charles Larcom Graves dedicated Chapter XIII in the second volume of his authoritative biography (1926) to Parry's legacy as 'Author, Historian, Critic', following a chapter on his music.[5] Although Graves recognised the significance of Parry's career as a man of letters in conjunction with his work as a composer, his isolated treatment of Parry's life, music and literary output left a fragmented impression, inadvertently reinforcing the image of a composer who, in addition to music, took on academic roles on the side to the detriment of his creative genius. The value of Graves' volumes for the present study lies in the richness of detail afforded to Parry's formative and extra-musical interests. Jeremy Dibble's major reappraisal of Parry's life and works more than sixty years later provided a compelling portrait of the composer as an eclectic thinker, who brought his unique intellectual background to bear upon the creation of his art. Featuring a complete list of Parry's published writings,[6] Dibble's work was an elaboration of the author's own doctoral project, aspiring to a more analytical estimate of Parry's music, which was absent from Graves' more voluble chronicle of the composer's life.[7] His later article, 'Parry as Historiographer', appearing in volume one of *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies* (1999), lent insight into the composer's often marginalised role as a music scholar, during a crucial time in the development of British musicology.[8] Recent scholars have not neglected the relevance of Parry's achievements as a historian and the influence they in turn exerted upon his music. Michael Allis, in his study of the composer's creative process (2003)[9],

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[2] F. Gilbert Webb. 'The words of Sir Hubert Parry', *The Musical Times* 59/909 (1 Nov. 1918), pp. 492-4.
[3] See Charles Larcom Graves. *Hubert Parry: his life and works, vol. 2* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1926), p. 229.
[4] 'Parry as musical historian', *The Athenaeum*, 19 September 1919.
[5] Graves, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-45.
[6] Jeremy Dibble. *C. Hubert H. Parry: his life and music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 525-6.
[7] Compare the opinions of a reviewer for the *Musical Times* in 1926: "This biography, though far too long for convenience or sustained interest where the ordinary reader is concerned, has the merit of leaving us with a vivid impression of an extraordinarily versatile and attractive personality. Perhaps this is a virtue of Mr. Graves's defect—an over-accommodating and too-expansive method. At a very early stage we feel that he lavishes far too much space on trivial details of the Eton days, and, later, on purely domestic happenings…" See 'Hubert Parry: his life and works by C. L. Graves', *The Musical Times* 67/1000 (1 Jun. 1926), pp. 524-5.
[8] Dibble. 'Parry as historiographer' in *Nineteenth-century British music studies vol. 1*, ed. Bennett Zon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 37-51.
[9] Michael Allis. *Parry's creative process* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

draws abundantly from Parry's writings in his concluding sections. The same can be said of Bernard Benoliel's work, *Parry before Jerusalem* (1997)[10], which was published along with various excerpts of Parry's writings. Indeed the composer's written works were widely read after his death, both in England and overseas; the *Evolution of the Art of Music* was reissued many times, while his *Grove* articles remained standard texts in musical studies for years. Through the efforts of recent scholarship, Parry's literary labours are once again beginning to emerge from the obscure position that they, along with his music, not so long ago occupied.

Although recent scholars, such as those mentioned above, have recognised the magnitude of Parry's literary efforts, there has not yet been an in-depth examination of his works. For a time, such an undertaking has been dissuaded by the opinion that Parry's literary (or academic) and musical lives were necessarily incompatible.[11] As cross-disciplinary scholarship has begun to take interest in certain aspects of Parry's writings (in particular his views on evolution[12]), however, the need for a fuller and more impartial account of his intellectual preoccupations becomes evident. Situated within this significant knowledge gap, this study aims to elucidate the prevalent wisdom which sees Parry the musician and Parry the historiographer as conflicting personalities. It offers a clearer account of his writings, develops a more biographically consistent view of his works, and reveals his place in the context of late-Victorian and Edwardian culture by establishing the influence of other scientific, political and philosophical minds on his thinking. The work also contributes a fresh way of understanding his music (namely the 'ethical cantatas') as well as his place and significance in the history of English music. The scope of the present thesis encompasses the span of Parry's entire career, beginning with his formative years and concluding with his final monograph, *Instinct and Character*. The reception of Parry's writings are alluded to in passing, but this thesis does not set out to fully navigate the web of his influence. The present author believes that this topic would benefit from a detailed examination, which follows naturally from, but lies beyond, the scope of the present work.

Utilising a variety of first and second hand sources, the first chapter provides a chronological overview of Parry's literary works and prepares the context for later discussions; it is intended as an

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[10] Bernard Benoliel. *Parry before Jerusalem: studies of his life and music with excerpts from his published writings* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997).

[11] For example, see Bernard Benoliel. *Parry before Jerusalem: studies of his life and music with excerpts from his published writings* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), p. 131.

[12] See, for instance, Bennett Zon. 'C. Hubert H. Parry, The Evolution of the Art of Music (1893/96)', *Victorian Review* 35/1 (Spring 2009), pp. 68-72.

accessible road-map for the student of Parry's writings, as later chapters deal with the more thematic issues raised by the works. The next chapter deals with his formative period, focusing in particular on his debt to Oxford University and his contributions latterly to *Grove's Dictionary*. The intermediate chapters examine his views on evolution, morality, religion, democracy, race, and nationalism, respectively; they also include discussions of his debt to Charles Darwin, Herbert Spencer, John Ruskin, John Stuart Mill, and many other Victorian intellectuals. The division of the chapters highlights both the biographical and the critical aspects of this thesis, and its aim to achieve a more wholesome picture of Parry's intellectual life. Thus, an attempt has been made to structure these chapters in a way that makes the most thematic and chronological sense, allowing readers to trace the development of Parry's mind through the natural progression of his written works. The conclusions drawn from these chapters challenge prevalent scholarly interpretations of his views on evolution and race, revealing Parry instead as an opponent of social injustice and a champion of democracy. The work also revises modern accounts of his estimate of Mozart, Bach, Beethoven, Wagner and other composers. His mature thought is treated in the penultimate chapter, which includes a discussion of his (hitherto largely neglected) relationship with Nietzsche's philosophy, along with an examination of his unpublished treatise, *Instinct and Character*. Lastly, it would be premature to end the discussion without exploring the implications of his philosophy on his music. The final chapter relates the findings back to the realm of composition by looking specifically at his six 'ethical cantatas'. This chapter crucially repairs the myth of two Parrys by demonstrating how faithfully the composer translated his own philosophical beliefs into practice. It gives just some examples of how a better acquaintance with Parry's literary works can furnish new insight, and change current perceptions about his music, thus opening new avenues for further musicological research.

Parry was a keen reader of current events and literature, as evidenced by more than 1,500 book titles listed in the back pages of his diaries. More than forty years' worth of his complete reading lists form the indispensable backbone of this research and have been reproduced in the appendix for reference by future students. In addition to the published materials (namely all his books, articles, and printed recollections), the following study draws extensively from unpublished sources, including Parry's personal correspondence, diaries, notebooks, lectures and other manuscripts. Care has been taken to ensure the accurate transcription of such documents, and, in order to limit the size of the work, priority has been given to the verbatim quotation of unpublished materials. For the most part, these manuscripts are held in archives situated in four locations: Shulbrede Priory, the Royal College

of Music, the British Library and the Bodleian Library. The bulk of the materials is kept at the Ponsonby home in West Sussex. The Shulbrede collection, being rather personal in nature, comprises the whole of his diaries which began in his Eton years, undated notebooks, numerous letters, rough drafts and typescript copies of lectures, other relevant manuscripts, both literary and musical, as well as annotated books from his private library. The diaries of his wife, Maude, and other items of familial and posthumous interest can also be found there. In addition to its large collection of musical manuscripts, the Royal College of Music also houses a wide variety of items which are highly useful to the student of his writings, such as his lectures on music (given during his association with the school), essays, letters and other literary miscellania. Several specimens of his (especially later) correspondence have been deposited in the British Library, along with some drafts of his musical and literary works. The Parry archive at Oxford is chiefly musical; it consists of numerous manuscripts, including his early experiments and choral works, which are nonetheless highly pertinent to the study of his intellectual development.

1. Outline of Parry's Literary Works

Parry was a voluminous writer on musical subjects, and the absence of any dedicated chronological account of his written oeuvre in current literature will justify its place here, as a basis or map for the exploration of his intellectual development. The present chapter represents a consolidation of various sources and opinions, as well as other materials, including newspaper entries, reviews and, naturally, Parry's own writings, his diaries and notes, to provide a preliminary summary of his career in letters. It is intended as a navigational aid for the student of Parry's writings, and as an introduction to some of the key and recurrent themes in his thought. The chapter prepares the ground for subsequent, more in-depth discussions of his literary and philosophical ideas that may not always render the chronological aspect apparent, or cannot practically be attempted in the limited space below.

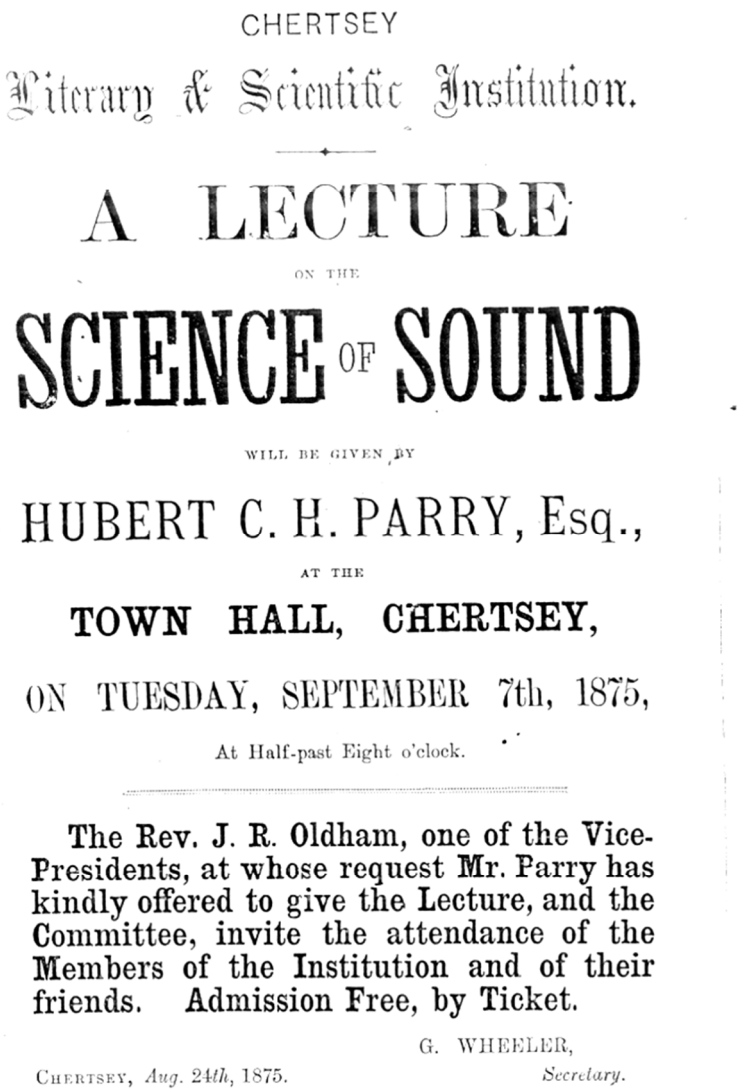
* * *

> If any of you have come here this evening in the expectation of being amused I am afraid you will be disappointed. I have given you credit for being capable of receiving pleasure from a little intellectual exercise; and if any of you are unaccustomed to that sort of exercise the sooner you try the happier you will be, for there is nothing more lastingly enjoyable in the world…[1]

These words opened Parry's first public lecture on 'The Science of Sound', given at the Town Hall in Chertsey on 7 September 1875, before the Chertsey Literary and Scientific Institution. Many such literary societies flourished in the 1830s in a number of major towns and districts, catering to the middle-class demand for intellectual improvement and providing their members with opportunities to hear visiting speakers talk on a range of topics. At the time of giving this lecture (at the invitation of Rev. J. R. Oldham), Parry was twenty-seven years old. He had completed his degree in modern history

[1] 'A lecture on the science of sound', Town Hall, Chertsey, 7 September 1875, handwritten MS at ShP (Shulbrede Priory).

and jurisprudence at Oxford, was married to Lady Maude Herbert, and had already entered into a career as an underwriter at Lloyd's in London as a way of placating his mother-in-law and his father.



CHERTSEY

Literary & Scientific Institution.

A LECTURE

ON THE

SCIENCE OF SOUND

WILL BE GIVEN BY

HUBERT C. H. PARRY, Esq.,

AT THE

TOWN HALL, CHERTSEY,

ON TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 7th, 1875,

At Half-past Eight o'clock.

The Rev. J. R. Oldham, one of the Vice-Presidents, at whose request Mr. Parry has kindly offered to give the Lecture, and the Committee, invite the attendance of the Members of the Institution and of their friends. Admission Free, by Ticket.

G. WHEELER,

CHERTSEY, *Aug. 24th*, 1875. *Secretary.*

The lecture covers the topics of how sound is produced, the velocity of sound travelling through various media, the human sense organ for detecting sound, and the physical differences between noise and music. It reflects Parry's formative interest in both science and music, which was reinforced by his acquaintance with John Tyndall's lectures on sound (1867, read 1873), Sedley Taylor's *Sound and Music* (1873, read 1874) and other scientific primers such as Balfour Stewart's

Elementary Physics (1871, read 1874). His 'Science of Sound' lecture presents Tyndall's findings in an accessible way for the non-technical audience. This is evidenced by his already unique method and style of presentation, discernible also in his mature lectures, which aims to communicate difficult concepts through simple analogies and everyday examples—though never speaking down to the audience. The speaker's fondness for illustrations is shown in the way that he explains the subject with reference to familiar objects, including cannons, floating corks, umbrellas, broken windows, candles, pistols and firecrackers. Interestingly, the section elaborating the distinction between music and noise does not dwell on the philosophical problem of what constitutes 'music' (indeed for the purposes of this paper, he considers even a cow's low to be musical). Consistent with his later views, there is no attempt to dictate what is acceptably 'musical' and what is not by an appeal to acoustic theory or scientific authority.

Parry's career in letters can be said to have formally begun in 1875 for several other reasons. He made his first major stride as a poet a few months earlier in May, in the form of *A Sequence of Analogies*, a set of six thematically related lyrics (according to Dibble, modelled on Meredith)[2] revolving around a contemplation of death and the afterlife.[3] The work appeared in *Macmillan's Magazine* alongside other renowned poets, authors and men of letters, including E. A. Freeman, Mark Pattison, Margaret Oliphant and others.[4] The first lyric in the set describes a lover's longing for reunion with his beloved, the loss of hope, and the promise of release in death. The second poem invokes the doctrine of God's omnipresence, presenting three instances of beauty in unperceived existence, and showing that they do not cease to be wondrous simply because they are not witnessed by man. There is a reference to the 'Spirit of Music' as man's internal anchor, prefiguring by several decades his later *Invocation to Music* (1895)—or the "one thing that availeth" in the *Love that Casteth out Fear* (1904). The third deals with the dichotomy between worldly despair and "hopes that are in Heaven sealed", culminating in the unity of kindred souls, while the fourth speaks to his confidence in the laws of nature and the ultimate reward of man's perseverance. Parry would of course revisit the theme of the relationship between man and nature in *A Song of Darkness and Light* (1898). In the fifth lyric, he contrasts two seasons, much like in Shelley's *Summer and Winter* (1829), although, as in

[2] Dibble. *C. Hubert H. Parry: his life and music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 126.
[3] *Macmillan's magazine, vol. 32* (Cambridge: Macmillan & Co., 1875), pp. 50-3.
[4] See Charles Larcom Graves. *Hubert Parry: his life and works, vol. 2* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1926), p. p. 229.

Beyond These Voices There Is Peace (1908), he reminds us of the continuity of nature's eternal cycle and shows that winter is "but birth to brighter day". The final lyric in the set answers the question posed in the fourth ("What is beyond that passing bell?") by reassuring man that there is indeed peace after death. All the six 'analogies' impart the lesson of courage and optimism in the face of death or adversity. The poetry is often prosaic, and the eschatological subject seems, at a glance, too conventionally Christian, but it is worth remembering that in the 1870s Parry was undergoing a thorough crisis of faith and was trying to reconcile aspects of the religion with his own humanistic creed. Indeed the lyrics anticipate the philosophical content of his later ethical cantatas. They show, at a very early stage, the consistency of his selective reading of the Christian doctrine to support his own secular vision for mankind.

A Sequence of Analogies was accepted for publication by George Grove (then second editor of the magazine), whom Parry had known since his time at Oxford, and who was now backing his progress as a man of letters in at least one other way: by enlisting him in the cause of his upcoming *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. As a reviewer for London's *Daily News* perceived, Grove's ambitious project provided readers with an English alternative to Fétis' popular but error-ridden biographical dictionaries, as well as unifying the often separate areas of musical research (from theory to philosophy, history and biography) in the eclectic breadth of its four volumes.[5] The dictionary also brought English music and musicians into greater prominence through the collaborative work of native scholars. Parry received a jovial letter of invitation from Grove in July 1875, asking him to supply an article on 'Arrangement'.[6] By November of the same year, Grove had entrusted him with a greater part to play in the project:

> When we came up to town in November Grove asked me to take a larger share in the work of the Musical Dictionary & to help him to edit it. A grand opportunity for me both to work & to learn. It was very kind of him. I soon had lots to do. Reading all the articles through & correcting, & cutting down those that are too long, & adding to those that were incomplete… & best of all going to the British Museum to get up my own work, which there will be plenty of.[7]

Parry's editorial work for the dictionary undoubtedly helped to broaden his knowledge on contemporary musical subjects. Over the span of a decade, he also committed himself to extensive

[5] 'A dictionary of music', *Daily News (London)*, 19 January 1878, issue 9906.
[6] See Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 127.
[7] Diary, 3 October 1876 (reflecting on November).

musicological research and ultimately contributed more than a hundred of his own articles to the dictionary. Most of his major entries were tellingly of a theoretical-historical nature, dealing with the development of the sonata, the suite, the symphony and so forth; these technical subjects were naturally suited to his own inclinations as a budding composer. The personal significance of his contributions to the dictionary is discussed at greater length in a later chapter.

Parry's work for Grove propelled him into a more presentable career in the eyes of Victorian propriety—that of a scholar rather than that of a musician. He freed himself from his unhappy existence at Lloyd's in 1877 and was able to turn his attention more closely to experimenting with composition. In 1883, when the third volume of the dictionary was published, Grove had already taken up his post as director at the newly-formed Royal College of Music[8] and was keen to involve the aspirant Parry on his staff. By the time of his appointment as a Professor of Musical History, Parry was already a father of two, had acquired land in Rustington for the construction of Knight's Croft, and had produced his major choral work, *Prometheus Unbound* (1880). The first lecture to reflect his commitment to historical scholarship was a paper given at the Royal Musical Association, entitled 'On some bearings on the historical method upon music', on 3 November 1884.[9] Here, he set out to tackle the problems of contemporary 'histories' of music, bringing his evolutionary perspective and his undergraduate training as a historiographer to the table. The paper was centred around a challenge on the 'heroic' view of history and his proposal for a more objective and contextual reading of the past.

Parry was conferred an honorary doctorate of music by Cambridge University in 1883. He delivered numerous lectures in his capacity as professor at the Royal College of Music, beginning with eight courses on music history from 1883 to 1885.[10] 'A History of Opera' was given at the Birmingham and Midland Institute in December 1884, at around the same time as he was working on his opera *Guenever*. Mirroring his work for *Grove's Dictionary*, he read a paper on the 'Development of Sonata Form' at Cambridge University in 1885. His close links with Oxford, Cambridge and the Royal College of Music compounded his status as a music scholar and, perhaps damagingly, as an 'academic'

[8] An in-depth account of the foundation and the early constitution of the Royal College of Music can be found in Giles Brightwell. *'One equal music': the royal college of music, its inception and the legacy of Sir George Grove 1883-1895*, doctoral dissertation (University of Durham, 2007).
[9] Parry. 'On some bearings on the historical method upon music', *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 11th Sess. (1884-5), pp. 1-17.
[10] Lectures, GB-Lcm (Royal College of Music) MS. 4305-11.

composer. On 5 March, he also presented a lecture on 'The Great German Song Writers' before the Gloucester Literary and Scientific Association. Addressing middle-class audiences soon became a recurring aspect of Parry's work as an educator. He believed that the future of music rested in the hands of the middle class[11], and therefore dedicated a large part of his career to reforming national musical taste along bourgeois lines. Reflecting his political stance, Parry was soon involved, from 1884, in the production of a series of essays on famous composers for Alicia Leith's *Every Girl's Magazine* (Routledge). According to Kristine Moruzi, the magazine, which was in circulation from 1878 to 1887, "marks the first 'modern' magazine for girls, in the sense that it was intended to be entertaining and informative, but not overly religious or didactic while also decreasing the emphasis on homemaking."[12] Parry consistently adopted a casual and conversational tone throughout his articles; or as Graves observed, he breathed into them a certain "slanginess of a high-spirited school boy".[13] At the time, Parry's clear-headed approach provided a strong contrast with the "spurious Johnsonianism which decorated most of the musical criticism of the time."[14] Although the work was intended for young people, the author never spoke down to his juvenile readers. His respect for their intelligence ensured the work's appeal to a more general readership, when Routledge undertook to publish them in the form of *Studies of Great Composers* (1887).

As Parry's diaries show, the research for these articles often demanded a considerable amount of time and toil: "Worked nearly all day at Article on Weber for Miss Leith. Not altogether a congenial subject to me; & what I did today was not good."[15] On top of this, Maude's variable state of health was a cause for ongoing concern. On New Year's Eve of 1884, Parry was still plugging away at the Mozart article: "In evening corrected proofs of Mozart article, which took me up till 12 o'clock".[16] The results reveal a healthy balance of individualism (an emphasis on the independence and individuality of composers) and contextualism (seeing composers as part of larger historical trends) that he tried to maintain in all his later historical writings. The articles collected in the 1887 publication included those on Palestrina, Handel, Bach, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Weber, Schubert, Mendelssohn, Schumann and Wagner. Parry's biases against Italian and French music are glaringly in evidence

[11] 'National music taste', *The Bedfordshire Advertiser*, 30 June 1899, p. 7.
[12] Kristine Moruzi. *Constructing girlhood through the periodical press, 1850-1915* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), p. 8.
[13] Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 224.
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] Diary, 26 December 1884.
[16] Diary, 31 December 1884.

throughout these articles, which are almost exclusive in their championship of Teutonic composers (with the exception of Palestrina). The section on Bach bears witness to his early fascination with the German composer, which was only to intensify with time, while his appreciation and extolment of Wagner reflects the influence of his mentor, Edward Dannreuther. On the other hand, Parry here struggles to give an honest estimate of Mendelssohn, with whom he had undergone a youthful disillusionment; Fuller Maitland once noted that "it is amusing to see how Parry avoids a critical estimate of Mendelssohn, such as would undoubtedly have offended many of his readers in 1887."[17] One of the most interesting aspects of the *Studies of Great Composers*, pointed out by Graves, is the pervasiveness of the author's "democratic temper", leading him to praise composers such as Haydn of being of "a thoroughly plebeian extraction"[18]—a theme he would more closely pursue in his lectures on music and democracy and in *Style in Musical Art* (1911).

At the conclusion of his first series of RCM lectures and the publication of his first book, *Studies of Great Composers*, Parry was turning his energy to the study of the history of choral music. A series of four Royal Institution lectures in the early months of 1888 treated the subject of 'Early secular music from the thirteenth century until the beginning of the seventeenth century'.[19] Parry also gave several lectures at the Royal College of Music on oratorios and secular choral music (for example, Easter term 1888), English choral music (Christmas term 1891) and so forth. In his lecture on choral music from 1300 to 1600, he discussed the progress of choral music in terms of "periods of vigorous activity and periods of dullness and quiescence,"[20] the former being represented by music of the thirteenth century—the work of troubadours, trouvères and minnesingers—and the latter by the fourteenth century. Indeed Parry considered the fourteenth century as a musical wasteland due to the lack of surviving musical documents. He was aware of Machaut, but the scantiness of evidence led him to a questionable verdict: "the only thing I have seen of Machault is fearfully crude, and does not appear to show any great advance [on thirteenth-century polyphony]".[21] The discussion culminated with the contrastive geniuses of Palestrina (the first of his 'great composers') and Lasso. Some of the same opinions and reflections on choral music were also replicated at Oxford (for example, a lecture

[17] Quoted in Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 228.
[18] *Ibid.*
[19] Given on 9, 16, 23 February and 1 March 1888.
[20] Lecture, GB-Lcm MS. 4316, p. 5r.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 7r.

on the oratorio was given there in May 1887 and a paper on Peri, Cavalli, Carissimi and Monteverdi was read in the Easter term of 1891).

Compounding his active schedule as a public lecturer, Parry gave a talk at the Masonic Hall before the Birmingham and Midland Musical Guild on the 'Characteristics of early English secular choral music' on 8 February 1890.[22] The occasion was recorded in the pages of the *Birmingham Daily Post* the day after. The president of the guild, S. S. Stratton, remarked that such lectures were important as they enabled "the members of the public to hear authorities of music who were not likely to come to Birmingham on a purely speculative visit."[23] The talk covered Dunstable, Dowland, Morley and Henry VIII's musical affinities, showing that English music had been more cosmopolitan than national in the past. However, this was not necessarily a cause for regret. For Parry, nationalism in music meant the adaptation of all available resources to the most estimable qualities of a local disposition. He was, in this respect, trying to assure the audience that music in England could still have a bright musical future, a conviction imbued with the optimism of the English Musical Renaissance approaching the turn of the century.

Even more significantly, the emphasis on secular choral music was part of his wider interest in the historical tension between the sacred and the secular, which led to the rise of the Lutheran aesthetic. Parry gave another lecture on choral music before the Leeds Philosophical Institute on 4 November 1890, entitled 'The effect produced by the musical revolution of 1600 upon choral music'. The research that he was carrying on in the early late 1880s and early 1890s strengthened his apparatus for the task of writing the Oxford volume on seventeenth-century music, less than a decade later. They undoubtedly influenced his own choral output during the period and amplified his sense of differentiation between the genres of oratorio and opera. Unsurprisingly, Purcell's music also occupied a prominent place in his thought during this time, especially as a result of his studies of W. A. Cummings' *Purcell* in 1891. Cummings had founded the Purcell Society in 1876, and Parry was now playing his part as a public advocate in the dissemination of their findings. In February 1891, he returned to the Royal Institution again to give another series of lectures, this time on 'The position of Lully, Purcell, and Scarlatti in the history of opera.'[24] His writings on Purcell always exude a sense of

[22] Lecture, GB-Lcm MS. 4337.
[23] 'Dr. C. Hubert Parry on Early English Music', *The Birmingham Daily Post*, 8 February 1890, p. 5.
[24] Lecture, GB-Lcm MS. 4338.

novelty and discovery, much like his later treatment of Bachian 'byways'. His views on the English composer were later expanded in *The Art of Music* and in an article for the *National Review* for the bicentenary of Purcell's death in 1895, for which occasion he also supplied the *Invocation to Music*.[25] In this paper, Parry presented Purcell as an individual who suffered from the state of society in which he lived (yet he could speak more positively about Charles II's secular tastes in the later Oxford volume). According to Parry, Purcell imbibed many foreign resources of art but adapted them serviceably for an English context.

A simultaneous development from 1884 onwards was the extensive research Parry undertook for his second book, *The Art of Music* (1893), at Kegan Paul's instigation.[26] This brought him into contact with many other prominent scholars of the day, including A. J. Hipkins for his work on scales, Harry Johnston for 'savage' music and Herbert Spencer for the origin of music. Much time was spent reading in the British Museum where he solicited the help of William Barclay Squire, who was in charge of the music collections there. The *Art of Music* was an actualisation of his proposed 'historical method upon music'. It was not a 'history' of music *per se*, but rather an ambitious overview of music as a universal human experience, in which he sought to explain the development of complex musical systems by tracing their development from more primitive stages. As Parry later said of his holistic approach, "I want you to get rid of the idea that history consists of dates and names and facts. If it were conceivably possible it would be a great advantage to abolish dates altogether."[27] He wanted to produce a 'history' that emphasised not the parts but the relations of parts. R. O. Morris once wrote in regard to the writings that Parry "had the true historical perspective: he saw facts and tendencies not in isolation but in correlation with other facts and tendencies."[28] In the natural sciences, Darwin had already shown that even the most apparently intricate biological systems could be explicated by gradual changes acting continuously over long periods of time. True to his naturalistic worldview,

[25] Typescript at ShP.
[26] Early rough drafts of the work, written on the back pages of various proofs of his choral works, were given to Lady Montgomery-Massingberd of Gunby Hall, see Bod. MS. Mus. d.229.
[27] 'First lecture from Xmas 1908 terminal series', GB-Lcm MS. 4329, p. 1r. In his first Easter term lecture, 1915, Parry similarly advised his students, "Dates help you to make sense of distances, and true relations, but if they do not suggest anything in the real work that has been done they are of no use to the man who knows them." See GB-Lcm MS. 4811, p. 3r.
[28] Quoted in Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

Parry's work was a reaction against the supernatural explanation for musical genius, and an attempt to understand the 'art of music' as a human activity situated within constantly changing social contexts.

The *Musical Times*' review of the work appeared on 1 June 1894.[29] The reviewer commended Parry for dispelling the myth that history consisted only in dates and facts. The chapter concerning the origin of music was applauded for its empirical basis: "There are no fanciful assumptions, no guesses—everything is strictly scientific and easily verifiable." Much like A. J. Hipkins, who had congratulated Parry in private correspondence, the reviewer praised his work on scales as "superior to anything hitherto written."[30] The *Musical Times* also added that the book would benefit from being retitled as 'The Evolution of the Art of Music'. Parry heeded this suggestion, and in 1896 the work was reissued as volume LXXX of the International Scientific Series. Begun in 1872 by H. S. King, the International Scientific Series was a collaborative effort of European and American scholars to assemble "an elegant and valuable library of popular science."[31] The *Evolution of the Art of Music* joined the ranks of other works by many distinguished men of science including Huxley, Tyndall, Spencer, Lubbock, Vogel and Romanes, the other work relating to music being Pietro Blaserna's *Theory of Sound in its Relation to Music*. Some of the volumes treated the complications of evolutionary theory, such as Walter Bagehot's *Physics and Politics*. It is important to note that although Parry had been attracted to evolutionary thought since the early 1870s, the book's strong scientific thrust was very much a retrospective decision made in light of the *Musical Times*' persuasion. On 28 February 1890, when Parry had just turned forty-two and while he was still working on the original proofs for the *Art of Music*, he presented a lecture on 'Evolution in Music' at the Royal Institution, with its vice president, J. A. Grant, in the chair.[32] In this lecture, Parry gave his first public endorsement of Spencer's view of evolution. Indulging in a plethora of metaphors from the evolution of planets to the evolution of life, he set out to investigate the evolution of music from its homogeneous beginnings to its heterogeneous present. It should be observed that Parry's reading of

[29] 'The art of music by C. Hubert H. Parry', *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 35/616 (1 Jun. 1894), p. 404.
[30] *Ibid.*
[31] Leslie Howsam. *Kegan Paul: a Victorian imprint: publishers, books and cultural history* (London: Kegan Paul, 1998), p. 33.
[32] Typescript at ShP. At around the same time, Frederick Niecks was giving his series of lectures on the 'Early developments of the forms of instrumental music'; see the notice in 'Musical mems', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 26 February 1890, p. 6.

evolutionary teleology, like in the *Art of Music*, was not entirely optimistic, and ended on a cautionary note that the laws of nature should not discourage artistic innovation.

The opportunity to reissue the work as part of the *International Scientific Series* was an inviting prospect for the music scholar who wished to free musicology from its more journalistic moorings, characteristic of Charles Burney's writings. Parry, as a matter of fact, was an outspoken opponent of traditional music criticism and journalism. In his book *Science and Culture* (1880, read 1888), Huxley had shown how the scientific method could be propitiously extended into the fields of philosophy, education and so forth.[33] Reflecting the work's heightened scientific emphasis, Parry edited his 1893 proofs to include a more convincing evolutionary lexicon, as well as to mask some of its original 'democratic' intent (discussed in a later chapter). He also used the opportunity to incorporate new materials, including J. W. Fewkes' phonographic research on the Zuni Indians in America. The *Musical Times* in 1896 congratulated him on the work's overhaul: "We are pleased to know that Dr. Parry agrees with us…" and continued to praise the volume as "epoch-making".[34] As Graves noted, however, early press reception was not always positive. Some of the work's most contentious segments were his opinions of Meyerbeer and Mozart, as well as his biases towards German music in general. The problem with the incremental view of musical development, as well as Parry's use of special pleading, was detected by Bernard Shaw: "Dr. Parry knocks the end of an admirable book to pieces by following up the technical development of music, which is, of course, continuous from generation to generation, instead of the development and differentiation of the purposes of the men who composed music."[35] Later critics such as Hadow and Fuller Maitland, however, were more able to see past these difficulties, and were generally more responsive to the direction that Parry had hoped to steer musical scholarship in the 1890s. The book continued to enjoy popularity in the United States, even after scholars had begun to show their hostility towards evolutionary interpretations of history. In 1930, H. C. Colles reissued the work with two additional chapters on modern music to ensure its longevity into the new century.

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[33] Compare Dibble. 'Parry as historiographer' in *Nineteenth-century British music studies vol. 1*, ed. Bennett Zon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), p. 46.
[34] 'The evolution of the art of music by C. Hubert H. Parry', *the Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 37/643 (1 Sep. 1896), p. 605.
[35] George Bernard Shaw. *Music in London 1890-94, vol. 3* (London: Constable & Co. Ltd., 1932), p. 183.

The *Art of Music* did not bear the impression of a history text, but the materials Parry had accumulated during his research allowed for a more traditional history to be compiled in the same year. Indeed the prospect of writing a primer for students had already been suggested in a letter from Stainer, albeit on an operatic subject:

> It strikes me that a small handy-book on the principle of Felix Clementi's "Dictionaire Lyrique" (which of course you know) – plus an Introduction by you on the History of the Opera would be a very great hit if published "Novello's Primers". The weak point in Felix Clementi is the English operas – this could be enlarged by addition. Would it be possible for you to slowly compile such a book? We (authors of the Primers) all receive the same pay namely, & royalty on each 1/-, thus if the "Dictionary of the Opera" sold at 3/- you would get 3d per copy. My primers sell at 2/- so I get 2d per copy – but 50,000 of my "Harmony" have been sold and 30,000 of the "Organ"!!! So I have been well remunerated. Just think it over.[36]

The Summary of the History and Development of Mediaeval and Modern European Music (1893), like his earlier collection of essays on great composers, was intended for a young readership. Novello's educational series included many instructional books by other authors such as Cummings, Curwen and Prout; Dannreuther also contributed two volumes on the subject of ornamentation between 1893-5. Benoliel notes that the *Summary* "offers no subject matter Parry has not covered with greater insight elsewhere"[37], although the author does devote a considerable amount of space to the discussion of opera in Italy and in France, as well as in Germany. But the absence—or perhaps omission—of any substantial commentary on opera in England, despite Stainer's instigation, leads one to suspect that there was a motive to discourage its influence among a new generation of students (indeed Parry's role-model, Brahms, was a composer whom he perceived to have excelled in all branches of music except opera). Writing in August 1894, a reviewer for the *Morning Post* highlighted the work's serious flaws: "Unmindful of the saying, 'qui trop embrasse mal étreint', the author has attempted to condense the entire history of his art into the limited compass of 115 pages."[38] Although a compendious primer of its scope cannot be expected to treat its subject matter with great subtlety, there are instances where Parry's "powers of condensation"[39] (in the words of F. Gilbert Webb) do not live up to basic editorial obligations. The reviewer highlighted many inaccuracies in the text, namely errors to the birthdates of

[36] Letter from John Stainer to Parry, 22 April 18xx, ShP.
[37] Benoliel, *op. cit.*, p. 139.
[38] 'Recent musical publications', *The Morning Post*, 25 August 1894, p. 2.
[39] Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 492.

Auber, Rubinstein, Reinecke, Rheinberger and Moszkowski, and the omission of dates of death for certain composers. As Graves perceptively asserted in the biography, "Parry was not a very careful proof-reader, and was frequently liable to commit small errors with regards to dates and facts."[40] The author also fails to observe several modern composers, including Bruckner and Strauss—all symptoms of the work's hasty production—but the reviewer's intimation that "a bare record of facts would in many ways have answered the purpose far better" was fundamentally against everything that Parry believed a 'history' of music should entail. In the new edition of the work, issued in 1904, the author is at least able to correct many of the inaccuracies in the text, and to bring the survey up to the last decade of the nineteenth century. Goldmark, Bruneau, Mascagni and Strauss are added, although Bruckner is still conspicuously missing (a situation not helped by the lack of exposure to his works in England). The revision also pays closer attention to the progress of opera in England, through the mention of Stanford, Cowen, Mackenzie, MacCunn and Goring Thomas, the latter of whom Parry credits with the possession of "an instinct for genuine operatic style which is rare in composers of this country".[41]

Parry reached an important milestone in his career both as a composer and a music scholar in 1895. Grove's retirement in the Christmas term of 1894 placed him at the head of the Royal College of Music; as Dibble maintains, "the offer of the position of Directorship to Parry not only affirmed his achievements as a composer, scholar, and teacher, but also, and more importantly, was a testimony to his extraordinary charisma."[42] The level of energy that he brought to the college can be gauged from the recollections and testimonials of his pupils (discussed in Chapter VIII of Graves' work). Parry's responsibilities as an educator now extended to his work for the Associate Board and as an examiner at Oxford and London universities; private correspondence shows that he was also consulted by Hadow on the reform of music examinations in training colleges. Furthermore, the University of Durham conferred an honorary degree of D.C.L. on him in 1894. Dibble observes that by 1896, Parry's public and administrative duties had pervaded all aspects of his life; indeed in his diaries "we find a catalogue of short, sharp factual statements ranging from meetings with parents of aspiring young

[40] Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 235.
[41] Parry. *Summary of the history and development of medieval and modern European music* (London: Novello, 1904/1893), p. 130.
[42] Dibble. *C. Hubert H. Parry: his life and music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 318.

musicians, administration, examinations, illustrations for lectures…, student problems, and concerts."[43]

During the 1890s, or the 'naughty nineties', Parry came significantly under the influence of the decadent and naturalistic literature of the time (as explored in later chapters). The issue was the encroachment of biologism and the science of heredity upon the determination of political conduct, and the racialisation of class inequalities. Parry's own solutions, emphasising the removal of racial and class barriers in the interests of an all-inclusive democracy, formed a *leitmotif* of his written work during this period. How could the artist's *individual* personality—the building block of a well-informed democracy—be preserved in the midst of an urban, commercialistic nightmare? The problem led him to adopt a philosophy that emphasised art's independence from science, as well as its separation from the general tendencies of social progress. A series of four lectures on 'Expression and Design in Music', given at the Royal Institution in the early months of 1893, provided an early glimpse of the position taken in his *Style in Musical Art* (1911).[44] The topic was a carry-forward from the 'Balance of Expression and Design' chapter in the *Art of Music*. In the second of these lectures, delivered on 28 January, Parry moved away from his general elucidation of sacred and secular music to discuss the creative personality of Monteverdi, equating him with Wagner.[45] Much like in his subsequent series of lectures at the same venue (in 1896), he stressed the importance of adopting a sympathetic attitude towards history, as it allowed for modern listeners to reconnect with the genius of foregone composers such as Monteverdi. Parry accepted as fact that every human being was bound, to an extent, to be part and parcel of the age in which he was born, but he was far from saying this prescriptively. Citing the example of 'Orpheus', he showed the value of impulsive experimentation in a populous society suffering from an excess of order and a loss of individuality.

Parry's 1896 lectures at the Royal Institution, 'Realism and Idealism in Art'[46], work to the same end of promoting personal initiative and the sincerity of the art-maker. As the title suggests, the lectures treat the appropriate use of 'realistic suggestions' in music, teaching the audience to distinguish between realistic devices that are used merely for superficial purposes, and those which

[43] *Ibid.,* p. 338.
[44] On 21, 28 January, 4 and 11 February 1893.
[45] 'Notes and gleanings', *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper*, 3 February 1893, p. 8.
[46] Given on 1, 8 and 15 February 1896. See account in 'Critical faculty in music', *The Era*, 15 February 1896, p. 9.

boast a genuine 'ideal' quality. Parry's use of the term 'ideal' is thoroughly Ruskinian, borrowed from volume II of *Modern Painters*. Indeed it was Ruskin who pitted the idealism of J. W. Turner against the imitative methods of Dutch painters; *Modern Painters* also teaches that realism and idealism are not opposed to one another, but simply that the latter invokes the middleman of the imagination.[47] As Parry explains, realism in art should be expressed in terms of the ideal, and the ideal should in turn suggest the real. This distinction also allows him to defend music with extra-musical connotations. In his book, Ruskin teaches that the test of genuine art is the extent to which a work can be said to bear the stamp of the imagination. For Parry, 'criticism' is not something that should only be practised by critics; citing Bach's preludes and Beethoven's painstaking revisions of his *'Eroica' Symphony*, he argues that composers need to possess not only 'creative' power but 'self-critical' power. Those who do not learn to be self-dependent risk losing their creative impulse, because they rely too much on other people's thinking. By the same token, critics who depended too much on theory as the basis of their arguments miss the point of art, which is to stimulate imagination, creativity and debate. They do an injustice to art by erecting an imaginary, theoretical barrier around its otherwise endless possibilities. The standards of art are always changing like fashion, and our opinions of what constitutes the 'beautiful' are relative. According to Parry, a Chinese listener would find European music "very foolish stuff indeed". Thus, the only way to comprehend music is to put oneself in the position of the composer, and to try to understand the original aims and intentions behind the work.

As later chapters argue, Parry's discourse led invariably to his defence of democracy and his support for the enfranchisement of the masses. Towards the end of the century, he closely monitored the spread of music among the working people. He became involved in choral societies, such as the Bath Choral and Orchestral Society in 1894: "I am glad to see that music in Bath is going ahead so vigorously. Of course I shall be proud to join your list of vice-presidents. I could hardly do otherwise when I see you do me the honour to announce a work of mine in your list of forthcoming performances."[48] In an interview for *London Argus* in 1899, Parry averred that he was delighted at the progress being made by the people in forming choral and orchestral societies nationwide, although

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[47] "Any work of art which represents, not a material object, but the mental conception of a material object, is, in the primary sense of the word, ideal. That is to say, it represents an idea and not a thing… Ideal works of art, therefore, in the first sense, represent the result of an act of imagination." John Ruskin. *Modern painters, vol. 2* (London: George Allen, 1906/1846), p. 109.

[48] 'Bath facts and fancies', *The Bath Chronicle*, 8 November 1894, p. 8.

voicing his reservations toward the proposed Municipal Opera House.[49] His optimism for national music was part of his wider faith in the intelligence of the common people. Parry became vice-president of the Folk-Song Society in 1899, promoting the conservation and study of folk music of pre-commercial Britain (the circumstances surrounding the founding of the society and his views on folksong are discussed in another chapter[50]). His emphasis on the cultivation of national music led him to a tireless study of the music of early English composers. In his lecture on 'The conditions of the development of the style of pure choral writing' on 13 June 1900, given in the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford, Parry allied English music with German intellectualism, as opposed to sensuous Italian music.[51] He examined the music of Dunstable and other English composers, with the help of Barclay Squire's resourceful collections. At the same time, Parry was also catching up with Stainer's important studies of Dufay, a composer who had escaped mention in *The Art of Music*.

Earlier in 1899, Parry launched a controversial attack on modern hymn music in his capacity as president of the Royal College of Organists. During his speech at the handing over of the Fellowship Diplomas on 7 January, he reminded students that diplomas were merely proof of a special kind of knowledge.[52] The attack on "flabby, incoherent, sentimental" hymns followed his dislike of religious orthodoxy and formulaic methods in music. As reported in the pages of the *Musical Times*, Parry used his platform to proclaim that "the state of the branch of music which they are especially responsible for does not tend to show that they have used their power exclusively for good." His ideas on church music were summarised at the Church Congress in 1899, in a paper entitled the 'Essentials of Church Music', wherein he criticised the commercialisation of musical taste and examined the problem of inept arrangements (compare his article on 'arrangements' in *Grove's Dictionary*).[53] True to his democratic vision, Parry consistently sought to blur the lines between classical and popular music, and to show that every kind of music, even those for popular taste, can be 'good'—a far cry from the opinion that he uncompromisingly discouraged the growth of the music hall and popular music. The

[49] 'National musical taste', *The Bedfordshire Advertiser*, 30 June 1899, p. 7.
[50] His inaugural address on folk-song, see 'Inaugural address', *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* 1/1 (1899), pp. 1-3.
[51] See 'Sir Hubert Parry on the development of choral music', *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 16 June 1900, p. 10.
[52] Parry. 'Sir Hubert Parry on the duties of an organist', *Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 40/672 (1 Feb. 1899), p 96.
[53] Parry. 'The essentials of church music', *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 40/682 (1 Dec. 1899), pp. 815-7.

notion that only the classical type could be good was merely an expression of the aristocratic elitism of the eighteenth century. In the following year, 1900, he began to explore the concept of 'byways', arguing that genuine music such as Bach's occured in spite of mainstream evolution. 'Byways' were Parry's personal challenge to the belief that since art was so 'developed', it no longer had room for experiments off the beaten track. This was summarised in a course of three lectures at the Royal Institution ('Neglected Byways in Music'), as well as in a lecture at the Westbourne Park Chapel on 4 December 1900.[54] As Parry recounted in his diary: "Lecture at Westbourne Park Institute… about 1000 of them. Went off very well as I happened to find things come easily. Singing illustrations good."[55]

Similar ideas were later expounded in his lecture on 'Curious Experiments in Early Choral Music' at the Albert Hall in Sheffield (under the auspices of the Sheffield Literary and Philosophical Institute) on 6 February 1901.[56] The paper shows Parry's continued ambition to combat the ossification of musical taste, reminding audiences of the value of artistic experimentation. The account in the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* of the event highlights the unique style of his lectures: "It was not only that he had a good deal highly interesting to say, but he said it in such a happy way… No poring over a laboriously compiled manuscript, but a genial chat, interspersed with many a laughter-provoking aside."[57] This same genial quality, especially when addressing younger audiences, is discernable in many of his other addresses, as well as in much of his writings. In his earlier lectures on 'Expression and Design', for example, *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper* reported that Parry was "never at a loss for humorous phrases to brighten his materials."[58] His lectures were almost always accompanied by an ample supply of musical illustrations; the choir of the Sheffield Musical Union was present under Henry Coward to provide vocal demonstrations for the audience.

Parry saw his mission as an educator as that of encouraging sincerity and innovation among students and preventing art from the constant threat of ossification. When he was elected Heather

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[54] Typescript at ShP.
[55] Diary, 4 December 1900.
[56] This was advertised as 'Characteristic experiments in early music' in the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 17 January 1901, p. 3; typescript at ShP. Parry also visited the Sheffield Musical Union in November 1892 to conduct his oratorio, 'Judith'. See 'Dr. Hubert C. H. Parry', *The Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 2 November 1892, p. 3.
[57] 'Sir Hubert Parry in Sheffield', *The Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 7 February 1901, p. 3.
[58] 'Notes and gleanings', *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper*, 3 February 1893, p. 8.

Professor of Music in 1900, he opened his inaugural lecture by paying tribute to Stainer's liberal personality.[59] The object of the Oxford degree, as the previous professor perceived, was to open minds and to allow students the freedom to discover their own unique individualities, within a sympathetic learning environment. Furthermore, university examinations needed to be frequently updated to stay current with new ideas and currents in art.[60] The lecture took place in the Town Hall on 7 March; as Parry recollected in his diary, "My first lecture at Oxford in Professorial capacity. I think the reason of its being given in the Town Hall was that Sheldonian was being painted or somehow unavailable… Town Hall quite full. Managed to get through without my stumbling or hesitation but felt very depressed after."[61] Such remarks in his diaries as well as his habit of preparing meticulous word-for-word notes show that he never took his lecturing roles for granted or felt entirely comfortable addressing large audiences. The topic chosen for the occasion was the 'varieties of style', which was naturally intended to demonstrate the multifarious possibilities of art to the aspiring musician or composer.

The years leading up to 1902 were mainly devoted to the preparation of his fourth book, *Music of the Seventeenth Century*. Graves mentioned that Parry was in close correspondence during this period with Hadow, the editor of the series. The other volumes in the *Oxford History of Music* were provided by H. E. Wooldridge (early music, 1901-5), Fuller Maitland (age of Bach and Handel, 1902), Hadow (Viennese period, 1904) and Dannreuther (Romantic period, 1905). As the *Spectator* declared many years later, in light of the revised editions, "It was not so much that there were giants in the earth in those days as there were in England scholarly musicians who kept themselves up to date in musical research, particularly such research as was published in German."[62] Parry often betrayed an unhealthy bias against the music of the seventeenth century, for example in his 1901 lecture in Sheffield, where he described the century as essentially barren and devoid of genuine works. Fuller Maitland once regretted that the seventeenth century did not give Parry ample opportunities to shine,

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[59] 'Professor Parry's inaugural lecture', *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 10 March 1900, p. 8.

[60] Parry's views on examinations can be gleaned from 'Sir Hubert Parry on examinations', *The Musical Times* 59/907 (1 Sep. 1918), pp. 406-7. In a letter to Hadow in November 1899, Parry wrote that "I am always trying to bring the tests and questions up to date as much as possible…" Like Hadow, Parry advocated for a residential degree at Oxford. To C. H. Lloyd on 11 October 1898, he complained, "Why should a place like Oxford grant degrees wholesale to the rank and file of the profession, for just a fee and an examination?"; quoted in Graves, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-2.

[61] Diary, 7 March 1900.

[62] 'The Oxford history of music', *The Spectator*, 1 October 1932, p. 32.

considering his greater affinity for music in Bach's time and beyond.[63] Yet, as argued in a later chapter, the subject was still very close and personal to him in the way that it was directly concerned with the secularisation of art and allowed him to survey the forerunners of his musical hero, Bach. A reviewer in the *Musical Times* grasped this point: "For the historian it proves to be a most suggestive century; it shows the slow growth of secular music; of instrumental music shaking itself free from the fettering principles of choral writing."[64] The result was a strongly biased work due to Parry's readiness to see the century as preparatory for German Protestant music, such that Italian secular trends were for the most part deprecated. There was, however, no shortage of material or paucity of research, as Parry was informed in April 1900 that his manuscript was twice the size of the space allotted. According to Graves, the preparation for the book was a particularly arduous affair. This was partly due to his breakdown in health in 1901, but also due to a rift with Clarendon Press regarding significant delay to the publication of the title.[65]

The review by Cecie Stainer in the *Musical Times* attested to the work's scholarly merit and long-lasting value. Indeed the *Oxford History of Music* as a whole was an important landmark—such as *Grove's Dictionary* was—in the history of musical scholarship in England. The significance of Parry's volume was by no means limited to the fresh insight that he brought to the study of seventeenth-century music; it was also important at a more biographical level. During this time, his aversion to certain types of church music and the oratorio in the 1890s was prompting him to work out a new type of choral music that would answer the predicament of modern culture and democracy. In setting out to write his 'ethical cantatas', Parry was inspired first and foremost by the seventeenth-century models with which his own research had brought him closely in touch. Since Parry supplied his own text for many of the cantatas, these works are of high interest to the student of his literary corpus (the most philosophically suggestive piece being *The Vision of Life*).[66] His work on the cantatas also coincided with a heightened interest in solo song, as evidenced by the rapid progress he made with the *English Lyrics* (sets VI to IX). Parry was attempting to effect the same reform as he was

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[63] See Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

[64] Cecie Stainer. 'Sir Hubert Parry on seventeenth-century music', *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 43/718 (1 Dec. 1902), pp. 807-8.

[65] *Ibid.*

[66] See also a letter from Richard Northcott, 20 September 1907, ShP, expressing his chief's interest in publishing Parry's poem, *The Vision of Life*; the revised version of the poem was ultimately published in the second volume of Grave's biography. Parry's ethical cantatas are discussed in greater detail in a later chapter.

bringing to choral music in the sphere of song—arguably with even greater success. As might be expected, Parry delivered several related lectures on this topic in the early 1900s, suggesting a close parallel between his literary and musical endeavours. 'Types of Song' was given at the Westbourne Park Institute in 1904,[67] four years after his paper on 'Byways' was read there. 'How Modern Song Grew Up', discussing the development of the solo song through performed pieces by Caccini, Lawes, Purcell, Mozart, Schubert, Schumann and others, was given at Reading University College in November 1910.[68]

The popular notion that Parry's creative life was significantly hampered by his academic obligations seems somewhat justified when it is considered that, along with his commitment to completing the ethical cantatas, he had already agreed to take on the task of supplying a biographical volume for G. P. Putnam's Sons on Bach. Parry must have perceived such a work to be the logical outcome of his seventeenth-century investigations; however, as the subject was most dear to him, it was a heavy burden to bear on top of his other engagements. The idea for such a volume appears to have been afloat even before his work on seventeenth-century music concluded. On 22 June 1900, Richard Aldrich, the editor of the *Musical Biographies* series, wrote to Parry:

> G, P. Putnam's Sons have informed me of your beginning on the biography of Bach in our series on the Great Musicians which is most gratifying news to them and to myself after long and unavoidable delays. They have also informed me of your query as to the use of musical illustrations in notation. They agree with me in thinking it highly desirable that you should use such illustrations to whatever extent you think desirable in carrying out the plan of your work. In my opinion they would add greatly to the interest of such a book on the part of the class of readers for whom the series is intended.[69]

In 1901, the publisher sent him a complimentary copy of W. J. Henderson's *Richard Wagner*, which Parry would not find the time to read until 1903. The same letter included a reminder that he was still to contribute to the series his work on Bach: "We may remind you that we are to have the honor of including in this series a volume from your own pen. We trust that you may be pleased with the form in which the series is being published, and that you may be able to advise us that good progress is being made with your own book."[70] By the time the book was finally brought out in 1910, Parry had

[67] Typescript at ShP.
[68] Parry. 'How modern song grew up', *The Musical Times* 52/815 (1 Jan. 1911), pp. 11-5.
[69] Letter from Richard Aldrich to Parry, 22 June 1900, ShP.
[70] Typewritten letter from G. P. Putnam & Sons to Parry, 3 December 1901, ShP.

already turned away from his abortive cantatas, and had resigned from his post at Oxford in accordance with his doctor's recommendations:

> In our opinion it is imperative in the interests of your health that you should unload many of your multifarious duties, and now, not later on. We are well aware that resignation of positions which you hold must entail serious loss to those bodies which are profitting by your help and guidance. But the maintenance of health is essential to the performance of all work, and therefore the public, equally with your own interests will be best served by the following of our recommendations.[71]

In the years leading up to 1910, Parry gave regular biographical lectures at the Royal College of Music on numerous composers, including Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Weber, Schubert, Berlioz, Mendelsohn, Chopin, Schumann, Liszt and Wagner. He undoubtedly felt most at home on the topic of Bach (the subject of his Christmas term 1904 lecture), but his treatment of the composer in his book, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Story of the Development of a Great Personality*, as Graves pointed out, never bordered on the sentimental.[72] The work was an attempt to get at the underlying qualities of Bach's liberal personality, rather than to regurgitate the details of his life as purveyed in Spitta's pioneering research. Parry achieved this by showing that Bach, due to his 'great personality', was receptive to both sacred and secular influences through his time at Weimar, Cöthen and Leipzig. Bach's ability to adapt various styles for different purposes and to move freely between secular and sacred idioms in his works played to his advantage. Furthermore, his open-mindedness allowed him to connect with a wide range of musical contexts and styles. Parry's emphasis on seeing Bach in relation to wider music history, and historical facts in relation to each other, left the following impression on a reviewer for the *Musical Times*: "The book often reads like a general history of music, without leaving its particular subject… It is difficult to resist the conclusion that he has done nothing finer than this discerning and faithful delineation of Johann Sebastian Bach."[73] On the other hand, the focused, biographical nature of his subject, which he treated with enormous respect, discouraged prolonged maltreatment of Italian or French music that is typically met with in his other writings. The book was very positively received; as William Richmond wrote, "If Parry had only written his book on

[71] Typewritten letter from Bertrand Dawson (Parry's doctor), 24 October 1907, ShP.
[72] Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 238.
[73] 'Sir Hubert Parry on Bach', *The Musical Times* 51/807 (1 May 1910), p. 292.

Bach, to me his magnum opus in literature, it would suffice to place him in the first rank of musical historians and critics."[74]

Parry's work on Bach completes a historical narrative that began, arguably, with 'The effect produced by the musical revolution of 1600 upon choral music' in 1890. In the person of Bach, Parry had found the ideal type of a 'democratic' citizen and artist, who would ensure the survival of devotional music in a thoroughly secular environment. Bach was the final and most important piece of the puzzle in his chronicle of the secularisation and the democratisation of music. Unsurprisingly, his views on this subject were echoed on a separate occasion at around the same time, in a lecture on 'Music and Democracy', delivered in November 1909 before the Author's Club.[75] For Parry, music was among the most powerful resources that democracy had at its disposal. With the fast growth of music literacy and education among the lower classes, he could announce that music was an art in which everyone had to meet on grounds of equality. Parry saw music not simply as an end-product of a composer's creative process, but also as a communal activity, a creative opportunity for the individual, and a catalyst for intellectual exchange in an open-minded society.

It is a testament to the consistency of his thinking, as well as evidence that he had shaped his seventeenth-century narrative with the interests of democracy in mind, that his opinions on music and democracy had been expressed two decades prior to 1909. On 30 March 1889, Parry delivered a lecture at the Working Men's College in London on the subject of 'Music and Democracy'.[76] Founded in 1854, the Working Men's College was an attempt by Christian Socialists, namely F. D. Maurice (the founder), Thomas Hughes and others, to bring the type of learning enjoyed by the upper classes within reach of the working people, offering night classes to workers and artisans who had no other means of furthering their education. Among its supporters were Charles Kingsley, William Morris, Dante Gabriel Rossetti and John Stuart Mill; Ruskin was also deeply invested in the progress of the College. In his democracy lecture of 1889, Parry had expressed his sympathy with the educational advancement of the people, equating the progress of democracy to a "promising, but lumbering boy".[77] The crisis in art was precipitated by the fact that more genuine art yielded no commercial profit. The aristocracy could no longer be trusted with the responsibility of promoting culture, as it

[74] Quoted in Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 241.
[75] See account in the *Cheltenham Chronicle and Gloucestershire Graphic*, 30 October 1909, p. 5; typescript at ShP.
[76] 'Music and democracy', *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper*, 31 March 1889, p. 12.
[77] *Ibid.*

had transformed into a plutocracy. Thus, the people at large must take the mantle of power. Parry's 1889 lecture was more foreboding in tone than when he revisited the topic twenty years later. The passage of two decades and the liberal lights of the Edwardian era had made him more optimistic about the future and the promise of democracy.

Parry's writings from the 1890s onwards stand apart from his earlier works in being more thoroughly conditioned by his democratic consciousness. This was arguably the result of his prolonged confrontation with decadent currents in literature and philosophy during the *fin de siècle*. As an establishment figure, he felt an obligation to defend the vulnerable image of the common people. Previously, Parry had been more concerned with developing an empirical approach towards the study of music (as with the *Grove* articles and the *Evolution of the Art of Music*). His later writings, like his later music, were driven by a sense of ethical responsibility commensurate with his public positions. They are not impartial works of scholarship, but what they sometimes lack in objectivity they make up for in passion and insight. Much like Ruskin, Parry used his Oxford professorship as a platform from which to catapult his moral vision of art. Indeed the lectures on 'style' were more than just lessons in theory or history; they were part of his wider ambition to promote genuineness in music, as well as to impart a more liberal—more democratic—attitude towards composition, performance and musical appreciation.

The Oxford lectures which Parry gave between 1900 and 1907 were collected and printed by Macmillan as *Style in Musical Art* (1911). Appearing the same year as Adler's *Der Stil in der Musik* (a more academically rigorous work than its English namesake), Parry's title encapsulated a wide range of topics, from the varieties of style, musical texture, the use of realistic devices, the influence of audiences, and so forth. Many of the chapters were expansions of ideas already encountered in other places of his writings. Parry's analytical powers arguably were at their best in the chapters delineating the differences between choral and instrumental style. One of the underlying themes in the work was the failure of music criticism and the need for more constructive lines of approaching discourse on art:

> It seems very likely that the majority of those who lost their lives in the greatest contests in history had no idea what they were fighting for. And the same seems to be the case with

> those who wage wordy warfare on questions of art. They are so eager to come to blows that they do not make up their minds clearly as to what they are disputing about.[78]

Style in Musical Art was an attempt to transform how critics, listeners and musicians argued about the value of different musical works. Taking the cue from Ruskin, the author constantly aimed at seeing music in relation to the other arts. He also sought to improve the status of music by making it the most relevant art-form in a society moving towards true democracy. As W. A. S. Benson pointed out, "The deep-rooted analogy between music and the architectural arts is familiar ground, but the handling of this analogy in *The Art of Music* and *Style in Musical Art* is such as to give these books a very high place in the general theory of aesthetics."[79] Combined with Parry's unique manner of writing, the effect is a work that appeals to a wide audience (much like the Slade Professor's lectures on art) and is highly accessible even to non-musicians. The organist and music teacher, Albion Percy Alderson, thus wrote to Parry on 24 November 1912:

> Is there any chance of your book on 'Style' coming out in a cheaper edition in the near future? In my humble opinion the book is priceless; but everyone who is at all interested in music - & especially its many students all over the country should have it by them always & I feel that the price is a serious obstacle to a good many who would have it. It is the finest book since Ruskin's 'Seven Lamps' & I am sure the world would have been better had this book been procurable at a smaller price, at first.[80]

There was talk in 1908 of having the manuscript translated into German by one K. Bielschowsky, although the project was not pursued further. Graves noted that *Style in Musical Art* was more concerned with the music of the present than was *The Evolution of the Art of Music*. However, the book never attained the popularity of his earlier treatise, which would reach its fifth edition in 1909, and was also being published by Appleton in New York.

Parry continued to propound similar views in his later addresses and lectures. 'The Meaning of Ugliness in Art' was given at the International Musical Congress in London, on 30 May 1911.[81] The event, organised by the International Musical Society, was audited by many foreign visitors (Guido Adler was present as Vice-President of the Congress, speaking just before Parry at the opening

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[78] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 319.
[79] W. A. S. Benson, 'Style and form in art', *Music & Letters* 1/4 (Oct. 1920), p. 302.
[80] Letter from Albion Percy Alderson to Parry, 24 November 1912, ShP.
[81] See Charles Maclean, ed., *Report of the fourth congress of the International Musical Society: London, 29th May – 3rd June, 1911* (London: Novello & Co. Ltd., 1912), pp. 77–83; or 'The meaning of ugliness', *The Musical Times* 52/822 (1 Aug. 1911), pp. 507-511.

ceremony).[82] Parry's lecture was directed once again at the widest possible audience—as the *Saturday Review* reported: "Sir Hubert Parry's contribution… was itself, according to the summary, nearly meaningless to a serious artist. From the point of view of the man in the street it was soothingly platitudinous."[83] The lecture promoted the view that 'ugly' and 'beautiful' were relative terms: "Liberal minds also feel that all progress is made by facing things which are disagreeable and finding out what they really mean… Every advance in art has been made by accepting something which has been condemned as ugly by recognised artistic authorities. It is not so very long ago that such simple things as major thirds and major sixths were regarded as unpleasant." 'Ugliness' was merely matter in the wrong place. The lecture also justified ugliness that was the result of the artist's genuine expression, rather than ugliness for the sake of being ugly. Similarly, in his paper on the 'Things That Matter', appearing in the *Musical Quarterly* several years later, in July 1915, Parry discussed the refinement of art through the expression of the artist's inner being. The test of good art was its ability to stand the test of time, not merely of fashion. As written in the *Times Literary Supplement*, "He [Parry] writes with a full heart out of a great store of learning; the spacious things, the things that really matter."[84]

As Graves elucidated, Parry's diary of 1908 tells "a continuous story of distress, suffering and effort."[85] His heart condition was worsening, and the severance of his ties with Oxford was a cause for deep regret. This coincided with the completion of *Beyond These Voices There is Peace*, the last of his ethical cantatas, after which Parry returned to setting music to poems by other authors and to compose his final symphony in 1912. Although he conceded most of his other public obligations, Parry remained a firm fixture at the Royal College of Music until his death, launching in 1909 his terminal lectures on the topics of English music, early opera and oratorio. To gauge the nature and significance of his long directorship, one must refer to his extra-musical addresses in Colles' *College Addresses delivered to pupils of the Royal College of Music by Sir C. Hubert H. Parry*, published by Macmillan in 1920.[86] Parry always encouraged his pupils to look at their subject from a variety of perspectives, as well as to broaden their scope by always paying due attention to other important

[82] 'The International Musical Congress', *The Musical Times* 52/821 (1 Jul. 1911), pp. 441-454.
[83] *The Saturday review of politics, literature, science and art, vol. 111* (London: J. W. Parker and Son, 1911), p. 706.
[84] *Times Literary Supplement*, 4 January 1912.
[85] Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
[86] Parry. *College addresses delivered to pupils of the Royal College of Music*, ed. Henry Cope Colles (London: Macmillan, 1920).

things besides music. Specialism in education in the 1900s had become a modern necessity, but it had to be tempered with curiosity about matters beyond the scope of one's typical learning.

The final phase of Parry's life was characterised by his distress at the anticipated horrors of war. As a pro-Teuton, he was deeply appalled by Germany's 'will to power' in the years leading up to 1914. Parry believed that music could help offset the traumatic effects of war, promoting a truer form of heroism amidst a swelling tide of patriotism, and keeping alive the democratic spirit which reminded people of their common humanity. To this end, he was involved in the 'Music in War-time' movement and various other musical charities. As Graves recounted, he also wanted to aid the war effort by accommodating wounded soldiers at Highnam.[87] In 1913, Parry turned down an invitation from Macmillan to write another history textbook, feeling that his old age would militate against such an undertaking.[88] Barclay Squire continued to interest him with specimens from the British Museum, sending him a thematic list of Tallis' hymn tunes in January 1914.[89] In many aspects, however, such as the completion of his magnum opus (on Bach), his resignation from Oxford, the conclusion of the ethical cantatas, Parry was already putting his long literary career to rest.

Yet in 1915, when the war had become an onerous national preoccupation, he could not resist the urge to carry out another major literary project—a summary of his philosophical outlook on life. The fact that his ethical cantatas had not struck a sympathetic chord with the audience might have led him to feel unaccomplished in getting his important ethical message across. If Parry spent much of his time arguing that music could express deeper emotions where language failed, he was now seeing the reverse side of the coin – that what he had to say was too serious a matter to be left to guesswork and interpretation. The treatise was to be called *Instinct and Character*. Parry justified his extra-musical project in a letter to Macmillan, which is quoted at length in Dibble's book, persuading him to publish the work:

> I am almost ashamed to confess, in these days, that I have been at work for some years on a book which is not ostensibly connected with music. It is sort of apologia which I could not resist the craving to make, in connection with my having devoted my life mostly to art, which so many people think to be merely self-indulgence… It works out to something like the same conclusion as Kidd's Social Evolution, but by a very different road…[90]

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[87] Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
[88] Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 476.
[89] Letter from William Barclay Squire to Parry, 21 January 1914, ShP.
[90] Letter to Macmillan, 30 May 1918, BL Add. MS 55239, quoted in Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 493.

Parry had been, for a time, interested in Kidd's work on social evolution. In 1911, he read Nietzsche and other philosophers in an attempt to come to terms with German militarism, but the experience left him largely disillusioned. *Instinct and Character*, a response in many ways to the likes of Nietzsche, promoted liberal values of freedom, equality and tolerance at a time of universal barbarism and cruelty. On 14 June 1918, however, the letter came from Macmillan declining the book. Parry was understandably distraught by this outcome, although he had sensed some months earlier that the work, which had been a rare outlet for optimism during the war, was doomed to failure.[91] He was now seventy years old, and the war continued to rage on without any sign of abatement. As Dibble explains, he still returned to *Instinct and Character* in the hope that something could still be done to rescue it from oblivion, taking occasional refuge at Shulbrede in the West Sussex countryside to work on his drafts.[92] There was a last spark of optimism as news of the Allied offensive against Germany reached home, but sadly Parry would never live to see the war's end. In his last month, he suffered from a suppurating cyst and, lacking sufficient immunity, died on 7 October 1918 from influenza (during the global pandemic), only a matter of weeks before Germany surrendered. Parry's funeral at St. Paul's Cathedral was attended by representatives from many societies, among them Sight Singing Colleges, Tonic Solfa College, the Royal Geographical Society, the Royal Yacht Squadron and the People's Concert Society. The wide attendance of his funeral from all levels of society was indicative of a life dedicated not only to music, but to other learning, such as can only be better understood through a careful consideration of his literary output.

In 1921, Parry's son-in-law, Arthur Ponsonby, approached numerous publishers and consulted several readers with the view that Parry's unprinted script might find a new relevance in the post-war climate. By the close of 1921, all efforts to secure publication for *Instinct and Character* had ended abortively. Ponsonby's final endeavour was to send the original manuscripts to one Miss M. M. Wills to be converted into typewritten copies. The transcription work was due to finish in November 1921, but the book's prodigious length and the influenza epidemic delayed the process until February 1922.[93] The four copies were deposited at Shulbrede Priory, the Bodleian, the British Library and the Royal College of Music, where they have escaped much scholarly attention after Graves perused the work for the purposes of the biography in the early 1920s.

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[91] Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 493.
[92] *Ibid.*, p. 494.
[93] See correspondence between Arthur Ponsonby and M. M. Wills, ShP.

2. THE FORMATIVE PERIOD

The early biographical details of Parry's life are especially relevant to the consideration of his intellectual development. Charles Hubert Hastings Parry was born to Thomas Gambier Parry (1816-1888) and Isabella Fynes-Clinton (1816-1848) on 27 February 1848. Gambier Parry was a painter and a collector of art who led a busy life both at home and abroad. Despite a lonely childhood, Hubert was exposed, at a very early age, to his father's artistic circles. Gambier Parry entertained many prominent and learned guests from the upper echelons of society at their home in Highnam.[1] Although the family was thoroughly artistic, Hubert's musical progress was held back by the social stigma which deemed the musician's career unworthy of a gentleman; as he jokingly recollected in older age, "Oh, you like music do you? Well, it's a nice amusement for people who can't afford to hunt."[2] He began his education in Malvern in 1856 and, in his tenth year, moved to a preparatory school at Twyford, near Winchester, where his musical training benefited from the presence of S. S. Wesley and at home with Edward Brind (the organist at Highnam Church). Parry then entered Evans's House at Eton in 1861; his time at the prestigious school brought him into contact with many important friends from influential backgrounds, including the Lytteltons, Julian Sturgis, George Herbert and Edward W. Hamilton, with many of whom he forged lasting intellectual friendships.[3] Beginning in 1863, he studied music with George Elvey, the organist of St. George's Chapel at Windsor. While still at Eton, Parry became the youngest person successfully to obtain an Oxford B. Mus. degree.

Besides this early connection with the university, Parry had his sights set on gaining admission at Exeter College, taking his matriculation examinations in 1867.[4] Thus began the formal preparation for his career as a scholar and a historian. The effect of Parry's Oxford education on his later position as a historiographer is an often-neglected aspect of his biography, based on the assumption that his career in music began after his departure from university; whereas, in Parry's case, the intellectual

[1] See Jeremy Dibble. *C. Hubert H. Parry: his life and music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 9.
[2] Parry, quoted in Scott Goddard's article in the *News Chronicle (Central 5000)*, 27 February 1948.
[3] See Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

milieu of Oxford with its current thinking on history, law, religion and science proved to be enormously formative. The following sections attend to this gap in existing literature regarding Parry's early training by discussing the intellectual climate at Parry's Oxford (1867-1870), his intellectual associations during his time in London and his work for *Grove's Dictionary* (1870s), and the crystallisation of his ideas in his first Musical Association paper, 'On Some Bearings of the Historical Method upon Music' (1884). During his time at Oxford, Parry encountered some of the historical ideas which would greatly inform the directions of his own future historiographical undertakings, a situation facilitated by the parallel developments of the combined school of modern history and jurisprudence at the university. After his departure from Oxford, he expanded his intellectual horizons through personal readings of George Eliot, Samuel Butler, Matthew Arnold, Charles Darwin, Herbert Spencer and numerous other unorthodox writers and thinkers. The *Grove* assignment became a testing ground for his evolutionary musings; it also propelled him to the study of the more theoretical and technical aspects of music—a task well-suited to his early compositional attainments. The discussions below also demonstrate how these early tendencies culminate in his Musical Association paper, a quasi-positivist challenge on traditional musical scholarship.

2.1 The State of Oxford University During Parry's Studentship, 1867-1870

> Oxford, the Oxford of the past, has many faults, and she has heavily paid for them in defeat, in isolation, in want of hold upon the modern world. Yet we in Oxford, brought up amidst the beauty and sweetness of that beautiful place, have not failed to seize one truth:—the truth that beauty and sweetness are essential characters of a complete human perfection. When I insist on this, I am all in the faith and tradition of Oxford. I say boldly that this our sentiment for beauty and sweetness, our sentiment against hideousness and rawness, has been at the bottom of our attachment to so many beaten causes, and of our opposition to so many triumphant movements.
>
> – Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy* (1869)[5]

In April 1875, Robert Oldham came to see Parry for dinner in Ottershaw, near Woking. Upon his

[5] Matthew Arnold. *Culture and anarchy: an essay in political and social criticism* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1869), p. 35.

visit, Parry showed his friend a specimen of *Conochilus volvo* under the microscope, which he had found in a pond on Woking Common. Afterwards, the two had "tremendous talks" on the subject of "immortality, belief in God, prayer."[6] The composer later reflected in his diary that "he [Oldham] reminded me of old Oxford days; for one does not often now come across people sufficiently in earnest, or sufficiently liberal to talk happily with on such subjects."[7] Indeed Parry memorialised the years between 1867 and 1870 as having a special significance in his own intellectual development. In a confessional letter to his father in 1873, in which he announced the moral poverty of organised religion, he noted that "It was not till I was reading history at Oxford and had done what logic was required… that I began to consider the value of modern dogmas and theology."[8] To understand why he rated the value of his Oxford training so highly, it is important first to consider the state of the university at the period of his studentship and the significance of his degree in modern history and jurisprudence.

The intellectual preparation which Parry received going into Oxford can be gauged by his long list of leaving books. Dibble writes that "perhaps the greatest benefit for Parry on leaving Eton was the tradition of 'leaving books' in which masters and pupils provided those leaving the school with money to purchase a handsome collection of volumes."[9] Some of the books were picked out by Parry himself, but others were gifts from his friends and acquaintances. The books served as a foundation for his personal library; reflecting his interests in history, the titles he received included Niebuhr's *History of Rome*, Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, Hallam's *View of the State during the Middle Ages*, *The Constitutional History of England* and *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, Thirlwall's *History of Greece*, Creasy's *The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World*, Beckett's *Comic History of England*, Napier's *Florentine History*, Lindsay's *Lives of the Lindsays*, John Churchill's *Letters and Dispatches*, de Lamartine's *History of the Constituent Assembly*, Edwards' *Polish Captivity*, Fischel's *English Constitution*, Bray's *Life of Thomas Stothard*, and many more items. From the Gladstones, Parry received a copy of Mitford's *History of Greece*. The gifts were not restricted to historical texts only. The literary works and poetry of Cowper, Tennyson, Byron, Shakespeare, Moore, Chaucer, Scott,

[6] Diary, 12 April 1875.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] Letter to Thomas Gambier Parry, 15 December 1873, ShP, quoted in Anthony Boden. *Parrys of the Golden Vale: background to genius* (London: Thames Publishing, 1998), p. 158.
[9] Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

Shenstone, Burns, Milton, Dryden, Dante, Wadsworth, Pope, Browning, Keats, Coleridge, Longfellow and Macaulay also featured on the list.

Although scholars have generally treated Parry's Oxford education as a distraction from his subsequent musical career, a study of his literary calling must begin with an equal acknowledgement of his ambitions outside music. The composer owed a large debt to his three-year association with the university, and a survey of the intellectual conditions at Oxford can illuminate an understanding of his thought. Crucially, his undergraduate existence at Oxford coincided with a critical time in the history of educational reform. The Tractarian movement against theological liberalism sparked controversy in the 1830s, following the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. After losing momentum to John Henry Newman's defection to Roman Catholicism in 1845[10] (Parry studied Newman's *Apologia pro Vita sua* during his time at the university), religious conservatism at Oxford persisted under the foresight of John Keble, Edward Pusey and later S. R. Driver. Many opposed to the teachings of the Tractarians believed in the necessity of separating church and university.[11] Benjamin Jowett, for instance, advocated a theology school which would treat the Bible critically as if it were any other book.[12] The musically-inclined philologist Max Müller similarly proposed to expand the field of historical theology beyond its traditional, biblical scope.[13] The University Reform Act, stimulated by Gladstone's support, was passed in 1854, and the Hebdomadal Council which it founded delegated certain administrative rights to the university, whereas that power had once rested on a dualism, namely in Congregation and Convocation. As a result, the university was vastly transformed from "an entirely Anglican and largely clerical society"[14] to a more autonomous, secular and classless environment.[15] In Mark Pattison's words:

> In 1846 we were in Old Tory Oxford: not somnolent because it was fiercely debating, as in the days of Henry VIII, its eternal Church question… In 1850 all this was suddenly

[10] See C. Brad Faught. *The Oxford movement: a thematic history of the Tractarians and their times* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), p. 43.
[11] This secular spirit, however, was exhibited as early as in 1809 in the columns of the liberal Edinburgh Review. See Sydney Smith. 'Edgeworth's professional education', *The Edinburgh Review* 15 (Oct. 1809), p. 50.
[12] Peter Hinchliff. 'Religious issues, 1870-1914' in *The history of the University of Oxford, vol. vii: nineteenth-century Oxford, part 2*, ed. M. G. Brock and M. C. Curthoys (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 97.
[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 102-3.
[14] John Sparrow. *Mark Pattison and the idea of a university* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), p. 83.
[15] See Arthur Jason Engel. *From clergyman to don: the rise of the academic profession in nineteenth-century Oxford* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983).

> changed as if by the wand of a magician. A restless fever of change had spread through the colleges—the wonder-working phrase, University reform, had been uttered, and that in the House of Commons. The sounds seemed to breathe new life into us…[16]

In 1865, Jowett could similarly reflect in a private letter that:

> When I was an undergraduate we were fed upon Bishop Butler and Aristotle's Ethics, and almost all teaching leaned to the support of the doctrines of authority. Now there are new subjects, Modern History and Physical Science, and more important than these, perhaps, is the real study of metaphysics in the *Literaae Humaniores* school—every man in the last ten years who goes in for honours has read Bacon, and probably Locke, Mill's *Logic*, Plato, Aristotle, and the history of ancient philosophy. See how impossible this makes a return to the old doctrines of authority.[17]

As Jowett's account indicates, the spirit of reform that swept over Oxford carried far-reaching implications for its students, including Parry. The transformation also led in the long run to an opening of doors that had been sealed for centuries to those without social privilege – a trend which followed through well into the twentieth century.[18] Edward Lyulph Stanley, late fellow of Balliol College, reported in 1869 that the bill had called for the "absolute removal of parliamentary restrictions upon religious equality in the university; liberty left to the university and to the colleges to determine for themselves how far they would be sectarian, how far really national institutions."[19] Whereas conservative colleges like St. John's and Magdalen were recalcitrant to change, such colleges as Wadham and Balliol, where the liberal W. H. Fremantle was appointed and from which T. H. Green, the English purveyor of Hegelian metaphysics, graduated, took up the banner of progressive liberalism. Exeter, then under the rectorship of John Prideaux Lightfoot, was also comparatively fast to respond to the requirements of a modern Oxford. Though her strengths lay formerly in athletics, Parry's college in the 1850s was to occupy "a high place in the University through the reputation of her Fellows and the academic achievements of her scholars."[20] The timing of Parry's arrival enabled him to reap the benefits of the academic opportunities resulting from this major reform. At the same

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[16] Mark Pattison, quoted in Sparrow, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
[17] Jowett, quoted in Evelyn Abbott and Lewis Campbell. *The life and letters of Benjamin Jowett, vol. 1* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1897), p. 412.
[18] For more recent developments, see Joseph Soares. *The decline of privilege: the modernisation of Oxford University* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).
[19] Edward Lyulph Stanley. *Oxford University reform* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, 1869), p. 3.
[20] William Keatley Stride. *Exeter College* (London: F. E. Robinson and Co., 1900), p. 140. For more on Parry's time at Exeter, see John Warrack. 'Hubert Parry at Exeter' in *Exeter College Association Register* (1998), pp. 58-69.

time, despite liberal encroachments into many aspects of university life, the atmosphere of the reformed Oxford was never hostile enough to discourage the religious Parry from matriculating at the college in the first place.[21] Indeed the situation at Christ Church, where his brother Clinton[22] and many of his Eton friends matriculated, was noticeably less alarming in the wake of reform.[23] Observing the aftermath of the reform bill, William Reginald Ward could conclude that "the violent controversies of the early 'fifties effected surprisingly little change in the balance of forces in Oxford."[24]

In 1850, a proposal to establish a combined school of law and modern history at Oxford was successfully advanced, and the study of modern history officially began in 1853. Parry's decision to read law and history was in fulfilment of his father's wish that he should pursue a commercial career instead of a musical one. The choice of the subject followed naturally for the reason that, in Reba Soffer's words, "the [combined] school concentrated increasingly on country gentlemen and notoriously idle passmen who needed a valuable educating influence upon their minds."[25] Formal musical studies were consequently pushed to the background of Parry's daily routine, although his musically active lifestyle alleviated this loss to some extent. Graves wrote that "there is little mention of lectures or reading for the schools in Hubert Parry's diary of this term, but a great deal about music."[26] The young Parry wasted no time in becoming involved in collegiate musical societies, which brought him into immediate contact with some of the more prominent musical minds of the time, including Stainer[27], Ouseley and others (the dubious condition of music at Oxford is treated by Susan

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[21] The city itself, according to Dibble, was still very much a "magnet for prominent members of the Anglican clergy who regularly preached sermons in the college chapels and university church that was intended to provide moral directives to the students." See Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

[22] As Boden suggests, "perhaps the shameful way in which Clinton had behaved there had persuaded Gambier Parry that an alternative should be found… and so Exeter was chosen." Boden, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

[23] The 1854 Act elicited change to both the examination and tutorial systems of the university, damage from which Christ Church escaped relatively unscathed: "These defects in the tutorial system were felt more in the smaller colleges than in the large ones. At Christ Church there were no closed Studentships, and the quality of appointments to tutorship was, on the whole, high." Christ Church witnessed another wave of disputes leading up to its own Act of 1867, but the controversy surpassed the typical 'liberal-against-conservative' paradigm. See E. G. W. Bill and J. F. A. Mason. *Christ Church and reform 1850-1867* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 25, 186.

[24] William Reginald Ward. *Victorian Oxford* (London: Frank Cass and Co., 1965), p. 210.

[25] Reba Soffer. 'Modern history' in *The history of the University of Oxford, vol. vii: nineteenth-century Oxford, part 2*, ed. M. G. Brock and M. C. Curthoys (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 362.

[26] Charles Larcom Graves. *Hubert Parry: his life and works, vol. 1* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1926), p. 80.

[27] See Dibble. *John Stainer: a life in music* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), pp. 116-7.

Wollenberg in her book[28]; efforts to mandate residence for the music degree was not accomplished until long after Parry's own professorship at the university).

Parry's admission in 1867 meant that he would have witnessed the state of law and modern history prior to its separation into independent disciplines in 1872. Before the formation of the combined school, the teaching of history had been conspicuously uninterested in contemporary thought. According to Reba Soffer, those who studied history treated their subject as "an epic illustration of the qualities of England's governing elite" and as means of engendering "a general conception of intelligent citizenship rather than to further a professional discipline."[29] Proponents of the combined school tried to align their subject with contemporary economics, politics and so forth.[30] Indeed the agitation to modernise scholarship was not exclusive to the historical discipline. All was in keeping with the spirit of a reforming Oxford: the advocacy for specialised schools, the substitution of written for oral examinations, the restructuring of the teaching profession, and later the abolition of religious tests. A correspondence between Francis Jeune, then Master of Pembroke College, and Henry Vaughan, Regius Professor of Modern History[31], in 1850 outlined the groundwork for a statute which would determine Parry's choice of subject under the new syllabus: "English History should be divided into two portions indeed… the former should comprehend the centuries between the Norman Conquest and the end of the reign of Henry VIIth. The second from the accession of Henry VIIIth to the end of the 18th century."[32] In law, as suggested also by his reading lists, Parry would have studied Blackstone on real property and the same author on personal property; Barry Nicholas explains that "all [law] candidates… were required to offer either a part of Blackstone's *Commentaries* or Justinian's *Institutes*".[33]

Although modern history and law shared a seemingly common set of principles, the disciplines were ultimately separated in 1872. One contention was that modern history, having been brought

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[28] See Susan Wollenberg. *Music at Oxford in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
[29] Soffer, *op. cit.*, p. 361.
[30] *Ibid.*
[31] The Regius professorship was founded in 1724; for list of professors see *The historical register of the University of Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1888), p. 60.
[32] Francis Jeune, quoted in Edward Watson Bill. *University reform in nineteenth century Oxford: a study of Henry Halford Vaughan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 83.
[33] Barry Nicholas. 'Jurisprudence' in *The history of the University of Oxford, vol. vii: nineteenth-century Oxford, part 2*, ed. M. G. Brock and M. C. Curthoys (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 386.

about to replace an outmoded conception of history, was in the process of re-establishing itself as a fresh and living subject, concerned with progressive aspects of social development, whereas law was still very much a "static subject".[34] Parry's association with the combined school, however, coincided with stable times. William Stubbs held the Regius professorship from 1866 for almost two decades until 1884. The school had previously prospered under Henry Halford Vaughan (from 1848 until 1858), whose lectures, according to Stubbs, supplied the "stimulus… to the study of Modern History at the moment that it was taking its place among the recognised subjects of the Schools",[35] and by his immediate successor, Goldwin Smith (1858-1866; Parry studied his lectures on modern history in 1870). The significance of Stubbs' lengthy maintenance of the school is corroborated by the fact that his own biographical legacy is strongest in that association. One account of his life mentions the "great school" that "arose in the middle of the nineteenth century which embodied and expressed enthusiasm of the time for an orderly study of the past," and that "of the workers in that school, the greatest was William Stubbs".[36] Stubbs' moderate personality helped to maintain a sense of equilibrium amidst the reforms that characterised the period of his office. His position often skewed towards mild conservatism[37]; however, the capacity for unbiased observation was reportedly one of his outstanding qualities.

Under Stubbs' professorship, the growth of the school proceeded with a unified sense of purpose. Soffer writes that "Stubbs produced a grand historical scheme that was both didactic and complacent. History was a theodicy in which moral forces always triumphed over the immoral."[38] Oxford historians soon attained a more professional standard of scholarship, echoing the academic development of the sciences. The moral aspect of history was retained through the subject's affiliation with jurisprudence; this mirrored conventional Victorian sensibilities, which revered hardship and labour as the goal proper of education. However, whereas history was once perceived as a compendium of noble qualities to be imitated by its students, it was now a professional discipline – one that was increasingly concerned with the rationalisation of past events in the story of human progress. Modern history was considered to be more relevant to the present age than ancient history.

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[34] *Ibid.*
[35] William Stubbs, from his *Seventeenth lectures* (1886), quoted in Bill, *op. cit.*, p. 175.
[36] William Holden Hutton, ed. *Letters of William Stubbs: bishop of Oxford 1825-1901* (London: Archibald Constable and Co., 1904), p. 3.
[37] See Soffer, *op. cit.*, p. 366.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 368.

Here was the foundation, if not blueprint, upon which Parry would later construct his own idea of music history. From the opinion that man represented the summit of God's design, history became a subject that ought to be treated with the utmost reverence and respect. According to Stubbs, history, or the "knowledge of adventures, the development, the changeful career, the varied growths, the ambitions, aspirations, and, if you like, the approximating destinies of mankind", which "claims a place second to none in the roll of sciences" was to be pursued "for its own sake, not merely for its effects as an education agent, or its usefulness in the business of life."[39] Stubbs' legacy boasted two important aspects: first, the extension of the utilitarian ideal beyond the consideration of proximate results; and second, the emplacement of history in the 'roll of sciences'. The latter point, as it is highly pertinent to Parry's empirically-based work, is more fully considered below.

In his study of the Oxford sciences, Nicolaas Rupke lists Thomas Hornsby, John Kidd, William Buckland, Charles Daubeny and Baden Powell among the leading scientific figures at the university in the nineteenth century.[40] The sciences at Oxford, like many other disciplines, were inevitably swept along in the tumultuous currents of the Tractarian crisis. Prior to the publication of the Tracts, Oxford had been ripe with promise and hope for "linking scientific education and research with agricultural and industrial progress".[41] Newman's popularity brought about a rapid decline in attendance in geology; as Rupke explains, "Buckland's fossil discoveries were no longer a match for the ethical power of Newman's pulpit in St. Mary's."[42] Although the year 1850 restored some hope for the revivification of the sciences, crucially as it saw the establishment of the university's Honour School of Natural Science, the sciences at Oxford continued to be resisted by thinkers who associated themselves with Newman's ideal, and who "regarded science as inferior to classics as a means of cultivating the mind".[43] Science ultimately secured its reputation on other fronts, for instance the construction of the

[39] From the lecture 'Methods of historical study', delivered on 18 May 1877, reproduced in Stubbs. *Seventeenth lectures on the study of medieval and modern history and kindred subjects* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886), p. 75.
[40] Nicolaas Rupke. 'Scientific awakening and geology' in *The history of the University of Oxford, vol. vi: nineteenth-century Oxford, part 1*, ed. M. G. Brock and M. C. Curthoys (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 549.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 560.
[42] *Ibid.*, p. 561.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 559.

University Museum[44], not only for the housing of natural history specimens but also to create a public consciousness for the different branches of science (in 1861 the museum became the venue of one of the greatest debates in scientific history – that of Samuel Wilberforce and Thomas Huxley on the subject of natural selection). Much like modern history, the natural sciences underwent a major transformation, relinquishing old ties with Paley's natural theology and becoming more specialised in the process. According to Robert Fox, "through the 1850s and 1860s, for all the frustrations, the voice of science in Oxford was becoming unmistakably louder and less easy to ignore."[45] Indeed, by the late 1860s, science arrived at its second heyday, however short-lived, and Oxford could once again boast its strong position in the sciences, second not even to Cambridge.[46] In 1871, the year after Parry left the university, Huxley could affirm that "there was nowhere in the world a more efficient or better school, so far as it went, for teaching the great branches of physical science than was at the present time to be found in the University of Oxford."[47] As Thomas Glick notes regarding the spread of new scientific ideas at the university, "the efforts of broadly liberal factions towards reforming Oxford and Cambridge universities helped indirectly to establish Darwinian supporters there, too."[48] Although resisted by Wilberforce and Robert Owen, the message of Darwin's theory could no longer be shrugged off as a minor disturbance.

Within the context of the progress of Oxford sciences, Parry, like Stubbs, realised that the onslaught of evolutionary thought on traditional creationist assumptions represented a watershed in the way that the subject of history should be treated. Although the reputation of the sciences at Oxford went into a sharp decline in the 1870s[49], the growing influence of scientific thought upon other schools of knowledge characterised the spirit of the university at the time of Parry's admission. Even if the premise of the divine was not yet a matter to be openly contested, historians were now inclined to see their subject as a form of quasi-scientific inquiry which could ultimately bear important academic results. The object of rigorous truth-seeking and cross-examination soon replaced the pragmatism

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[44] See Robert Fox. 'The University Museum and Oxford science, 1850-1880' in *The history of the University of Oxford, vol. vi: nineteenth-century Oxford, part 1*, ed. M. G. Brock and M. C. Curthoys (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 549.
[45] *Ibid.,* p. 673.
[46] *Ibid.,* p. 682.
[47] Thomas Huxley, from *Nature* 30 (Nov. 1871), quoted in *ibid.*
[48] Thomas Glick. *The comparative reception of Darwinism* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1988), p. 13.
[49] Janet Howarth. 'Oxford for arts: the natural sciences, 1880-1914' in *The history of the University of Oxford, vol. vii: nineteenth-century Oxford, part 2*, ed. M. G. Brock and M. C. Curthoys (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 457.

which had served to define the function of a university education for many centuries. Parry, an enemy of Newman's ideology, was an unmistakable intellectual offspring of this brand of higher education.

The less conspicuous aspect of Parry's Oxford education, his complementary studies in law, is worth a passing comment. At the time of his studentship, law was suffering from a spate of administrative problems, partly due to the compromises it had to make in mutual service of history. Stubbs later admitted that law and history had no other connection other than that they shared "a similar bulk of entomological reading".[50] Parry's reading lists predictably include works such as Maine's *Ancient Law*, Collett's *Justinian's Institutes* and Stephen's *Commentaries on the Laws of England.* It is interesting that his 'unconversion' letter to his father mentioned that history (and with no mention of law) had urged him to do "what logic was required" and led him to agnosticism's doorstep. The composer appears to have regarded his historical training much more highly than law. As Barry Nicholas further explains, college lectures for law students were often delivered by those who also taught history, and there was a lack of an adequate textbook on jurisprudence. The teachers of both disciplines were consequently at pains to demand the establishment of independent schools. Law's dubious reputation and its lack of satisfactory instruction explain its subordinate role in the context of Parry's personal development.

In his biography, Graves discussed the wider intellectual aspects of Parry's time at Oxford. In 1868, "he was elected to the Oxford Essay Club," founded in 1852 by Arthur Butler and George Goschen, "an unsolicited and unexpected honour". There is a mention in 1869 of "midnight talks with Frank Pownall on literature and art and religion to dodging proctors and bull-dogs, from high thinking and the study of Burke to beer and skittles at Sandford"[51]; and in 1870, prior to leaving Oxford, he attended Ruskin's inaugural lectures on art and morality.[52] He also familiarised himself with the empirical thinking of Locke and Hume. In his last year he studied Grote's liberal interpretation of Greek history and ancient democracy, challenging the biases of Mitford and other Tory writers on the subject, which arguably helped to form his own democratic interpretation of music history later on. Gibbon's *Roman Empire* (vols. 1-8) perhaps produced a similar effect. Parry

[50] Stubbs, from the lecture 'On the present state and prospects of historical study', delivered on 17 May 1876, quoted in Bill, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
[51] Graves, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-12.
[52] Parry subsequently read Ruskin's *Queen of the air* (1869); details of his attendance at the Oxford lectures can be found in Dibble. *C. Hubert H. Parry: his life and music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 78.

was a man of many colleges, in that he hardly restricted himself to the circle of Exeter. He read excessively (seven or eight hours per day) whilst a student, an investment which "carried [him] into a Second Class", and which became a habit he continued in later life.

According to his diary, Parry felt his parting from the intellectually invigorating atmosphere of the university "most bitterly".[53] The environment at Oxford proved significant to the development of his intellectual personality for several reasons. Arriving in 1867, Parry happily avoided the stages of Tractarian dispute that rendered any chance of educational reform unlikely. He set foot in Exeter College in the aftermath of the Reform Act of 1854, with the sciences in their happiest state since the 1830s. Scientific values of inquiry and precision were being transferred into other areas of education, especially modern history. The spirit of both challenge and conservatism remained the lifeblood of the Oxford which Parry entered. Dibble observes that "in many ways Oxford was merely a social and educational extension of life at Eton,"[54] which is true with regard to his connection with Christ Church, but taking into account the spirit of reform, Oxford was more of a radical departure from Eton than simply an extension of it. Effective reform in Eton was delayed until 1868—too late for Parry to have benefited from it.[55] Post-reform Oxford tells a more convincing story of his formative influences at a time of nation-wide transition. His association with the combined school had further implications. It provided him with the opportunity to study history alongside its more career-specific counterpart. Even though law was a prominent feature of his undergraduate existence, the climate of the combined school was more congenial to the advancement of history than law, and it is to history that Parry owed a greater intellectual debt. Nevertheless, the interdisciplinary combination of the two fostered a legal education that did not neglect to emphasise the relevance of historical inquisition, and a historical education that was based on the judicial weighing of facts. An indication of what Parry imbibed can be judged from the following passage from *Studies of Great Composers*: "[Music historians had begun] to ask in a more judicial mood what their [composers'] works represent artistically. Do they open up any new vistas? Do they show mastery of any new resource? Do they put things in a light never thought of before? Do they lead any whither?"[56] In terms of modern history, Parry might be considered as one among the first generation of initiates into the new historical order

[53] From his diary, mentioned in Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 122.
[54] Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
[55] For an early defence of the Etonian system, see the pamphlet by William Johnson Cory, entitled *Eton reform* (1861).
[56] Parry. *Studies of great composers* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1904/1887), p. 376.

under the guidance of Stubbs, as expanded in a later section. Lastly, Stubbs' consistent representation of history as a report of humanity's moral progress, which the teachers of the subject gradually agreed to adopt, proved an invaluable lesson that had a long-lasting effect on Parry's own directions as a historian of music.

2.2 Early Tendencies and the *Grove* Articles

> Hopes that are in Heaven sealed
> There shall perish never;
> Love that springs from souls' divineness
> Floweth on for ever.
> Purer spirits knit by loving,
> Nought on earth shall sever,
> Till together as they roam
> They reach their everlasting home.
>
> – Excerpt from Parry, 'A Sequence of Analogies' (1875)[57]

If Oxford proved a hindrance to Parry's musical progress, the circumstances following his departure from the university augmented the crisis to a greater degree. In order to demonstrate his financial fitness to marry Maude, he had, against his will, entered into a career in insurance at Lloyd's in London, with devastating results as far as his music was concerned. Parry's newfound duties only served to emphasise his disaffection for business, as already manifest during his unmusical summer in Liège with Monsieur Pradez.[58] Dibble writes that "with a modest exception of two unambitious pieces of church music… and a song 'Fairest dreams may be forgotten' to his own words, composition had all but ceased."[59] Parry found sporadic relief through his involvement in the musical scene that the city had to offer. By 1870, London had developed a bustling concert life through August Mann's tenure at the Crystal Palace, the progress of St. James's Hall and Joseph Barnby's oratorio concerts. London's

[57] Parry. 'A sequence of analogies' in *Macmillan's Magazine* 32 (May 1875), p. 51.
[58] Dibble, op. cit., p. 68.
[59] *Ibid.*, p. 77.

predilection especially for foreign music and musicians also enabled Parry to develop familiarity with current musical trends.

This section explores his early intellectual influences and tendencies after his departure from the university and up to the time of his involvement with *Grove's Dictionary*. After marriage to Maude Herbert, the strain of Parry's work at Lloyd's and the "feverish letter-writing"[60] caused him to discontinue his diary in 1872. His thirst for intellectual improvement continued however. In 1873, he familiarised himself with Butler's *Erewhon* and Arnold's *Literature and Dogma*. According to Graves, these two works "materially assisted in his divergence from orthodoxy".[61] Indeed the seeds of his 'divergence' which were sown during his time at Oxford were now due to germinate (the same rebellious spirit that led to his early apostasy of Mendelssohnism). Oxford in itself did not, however, deliver the fatal blow to his belief in dogma. In 1867, Parry was in every sense of the word religious,[62] and in 1870, when reflecting upon his unhappy situation at Lloyd's, he could still write: "Such is destiny, till the powerful hand of God shall shorten it, and take us if He will (and that we believe assuredly, through Jesus Christ) to the eternity of peace and assurance unchangeable."[63] Nevertheless, it is clear from his confessional letter to his father that Oxford played a large role in engendering his scepticism by introducing him to the uncomfortable aspects of ecclesiastical history. He read Buckle's *History of Civilisation in England* (1857) and Maine's *Ancient Law* (1861) in 1869. His study for the degree also consisted in a painstaking reading of numerous volumes of Milman's *History of Latin Christianity* (1855). In Parry's own recollection, he was:

> struck first with the history of the wrangling and fighting which went on in the earliest ages of the Church. The very unsaintly and acrimonious bitterness which the fathers used to one another in discussing dogmas. And the extraordinary and often questionable manner in which such dogmas were fixed, and how often they changed, and how much it seemed a matter of chance what we hold now.[64]

Dibble, in his article 'Parry as Historiographer', identifies a triumvirate of influences which helped shape the composer's mind, *viz.* that of John Ruskin and his ethical view of art, that of Herbert

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[60] *Ibid.*, p. 85.
[61] Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 138.
[62] See Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
[63] Parry, quoted in Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 124.
[64] Letter to Thomas Gambier Parry, 15 December 1873, reproduced in Boden, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-60.

Spencer and his evolutionary thinking, and that of John Stuart Mill's utilitarianism.[65] To add a sense of chronology to this view, Mill was largely and extensively studied in 1869 during his time at Oxford. Ruskin's *Queen of the Air*, a contemporary study of the value of myths, was read in October 1870, some months after attending the Slade Professor's lecture on art. Spencer's *First Principles of Philosophy* was encountered just a year later. Parry had already begun to doubt the validity of Christian dogma, and Ruskin (who identified as an 'unconvert') showed him how the moral lessons provided by religion could be retained without the dogma. Ruskin made his moral plea convincingly (according to Parry, almost to the point of tedium) in his inaugural lectures,[66] by changing the discourse of art to emphasise the moral questions concerning the nation as a whole, leaving the details of religion behind. In the words of George Landow, Ruskin's newfound religion of humanity concentrated on "the problems of an earthly existence, seeking to provide the faith and strength, not to conduct pilgrimages toward a heavenly Jerusalem but to endure and make homes in London and Manchester."[67] Parry quickly aligned himself with this ideal, for even while at Oxford he was more sympathetic to the idea of "a great love for any fellow man or woman"[68] than to any aspect of supernatural religion. Thus, when Parry attended Cannon Liddon's mystical sermon at Highnam, in 1868, which emphasised the primacy of love over dogma, he could note in his diary that "an atheist might have listened to such a sermon with delight."[69] When he later studied Aurelius' *Meditations*, in 1873, he found the views on "personal morality" expressed there to be "infinitely more true and even more workable than any modern theory."[70] Indeed the young Parry held that "virtue must be followed for itself alone" and not in the hope of an external life, and that the "consciousness of virtue is the only perfect happiness."[71]

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[65] Dibble. 'Parry as historiographer' in *Nineteenth-century British music studies vol. 1*, ed. Bennett Zon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 37-51.
[66] John Ruskin. *The works of John Ruskin: lectures on art and 'Aratra Pentelici' with lectures and notes on Greek art and mythology 1870* (London: George Allen, 1905), p. 43.
[67] George Landow. *The aesthetic and critical theories of John Ruskin* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1971), p. 311.
[68] Parry, quoted in Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 106.
[69] *Ibid.*
[70] Parry, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 135.
[71] *Ibid.*

Parry also read Matthew Arnold's *Literature and Dogma* in July 1873.[72] In many respects, the work was an extension of the position advanced by Ruskin and helped to fortify Parry's conviction that righteousness, not dogma, was the object of religious devotion. Arnold's constant reminder that God is Righteousness,[73] hand in hand with his virulent critique of the "Bishops of Winchester and Gloucester"[74] was very much in line with Parry's disposition at the present stage of his removal from orthodoxy. His diary contains the following praise of Arnold's success:

> He has the boldness to take up a distinct line of his own, neither pandering to the extreme taste of enthusiastic sceptics nor showing a tittle of leniency to self-satisfied theologians. It expresses to me what I myself have always wished to put into words, without success, with regard to the life and work of Christ, and the view which we should take of Him and His reporters.[75]

Arnold's own background in Oxford might have helped to increase the appeal of his work to a nostalgic Parry, longing to return to the life of mind at the university. By contrast, he was still very distant from the influence of the Cambridge moralists, who were making headway during this time, and did not embrace the works of Henry Sidgwick until many years later in 1898.[76] Arnold, at least in *Literature and Dogma*, represented a force of moderation that he readily warmed to. On the other hand, Parry was less impressed by the more aggressive and satirical tone of *Culture and Anarchy*, although he was in agreement with many of Arnold's observations. Parry's radicalism was always stronger in his views on politics than in his attitude towards religion, yet he was also extremely hostile towards Roman Catholicism (his religious views are treated in greater detail in a different chapter). He always stood apart from the affront of atheism, since atheism was taken in Victorian society synonymously with immorality. As Parry testified in the letter to his father, what put the nail in the coffin for him was his realisation of the moral shortness of pious men. By 1873, all that remained of his religious upbringing was his fundamental faith in God who is 'good':

> I believe in religion, but one so pure and simple that its chiefest maxim is 'strive after virtue for itself'. I believe that the theological part of Christianity and all dogmas connected with it are a mistake. I believe in Communion as one of the best formalities of religion possible—because it is the 'Eucharist'—that which reminds us of our mutual dependence

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[72] *Ibid.*, p. 138.
[73] See the discussion in Basil Willey. *Nineteenth century studies: Coleridge to Matthew Arnold* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1949), p. 268.
[74] Matthew Arnold. *Literature and dogma* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1883/1873), p. 3.
[75] Parry, quoted in Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 139.
[76] Dibble. *C. Hubert H. Parry: his life and music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 359.

> on one another and our mutual duties of love and affection for one another. And I think that if people had that idea when they went instead of some dogmatic theory or some extravagant feeling of sentiment, there would be less sorrow and distress in the world.[77]

Gambier Parry's unsympathetic response, in which he accused his son of intolerance of mind ("I have for some time past noticed in you the painful anxiety & growing pride of intellect and great impatience of any opinion contrary to your own"[78]), did little to alleviate his sense of disconnect from conventional society and his estrangement from the values of his own religious upbringing:

> I ask – indeed with the awful responsibilities of a father I must demand it, that you avoid to the very utmost any influence, by expression of opinion or otherwise, on your brothers and sisters – to disturb those pure and holy principles of 'the Faith', which it has been the greatest object of my life – now nearly worn out – to sow in them.[79]

Parry found himself walking the divergent path of his older brother Clinton, who had shamed the family with his unorthodox behaviour, his alcoholic dependence and opium addiction, but with whom Parry was extremely close (see accounts in Boden's *Parrys of Golden Vale*). A later scholar might investigate the intellectual influence that Clinton, before his dipsomania became irreversible, must have exerted on Parry's impressionable mind. Some years later, Clinton sent an essay to their father and, according to Parry's diary, elicited the same uncordial response from 'Possie':

> Possie has sent me an essay by Clin on 'Cosmic Emotion' which Clin had sent to him to read. He does not make a word of comment in sending to me but Clin writes to me that he had received a furious letter from Possie about it, which Clin decides metaphorically as a 'foaming at the mouth'. The article is very poetical-philosophical, full of Clin's old warm hearted breadth of feeling, but containing many allusions to advanced views of Utilitarianism & Biology & reference to modern philosophies, quoting them with approval, which of course raised Possie's High Church ire to a terrible degree. Clin evidently doesn't know the state of Possie's opinions or he would never have sent it him.[80]

Butler's *Erewhon* was one among a list of important political and social novels which Parry absorbed in the early 1870s. He was a voracious reader of not only English but also French literature and poetry. While at Oxford, he read Victor Hugo's works and imbibed the continental spirit of the French Revolution. Parry also developed a fascination for Shelley's radical poetry, reading *Queen Mab*, *The Revolt of Islam*, *Adonaïs* and *Alastor* in his early years (1869-1872), and ultimately setting

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[77] Parry, quoted in Boden, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-60.
[78] Letter from Thomas Gambier Parry, 19 December 1873, ShP.
[79] *Ibid.*
[80] Diary, 22 October 1877.

Prometheus Unbound to music in 1880. Meanwhile, he never surrendered his early interest in Swinburne's writings. He was greatly influenced by the works of George Eliot, whose novels feature prominently in his reading lists of 1870-2. Starting with *Adam Bede* in 1870, Parry went on to read the *Spanish Gypsy*, *Romola*, *Armgart*, *Middlemarch* and more. Eliot's (as well as Butler's) appeal was her moral psychology, her Comtean faith in progress[81] and her emphasis on sympathetic responsiveness towards others. Carlyle once wrote that "no character, we may affirm, was ever rightly understood, till it had first been regarded with a certain feeling, not of tolerance only, but of sympathy"[82]; indeed for Eliot, as Elizabeth Ermarth explains, "sympathy lies near the heart of moral life"[83]. Living a caged existence in commercial London, he was drawn, like de Vigny, to the task of exploring the role of the artist in society. Those like Eliot and Ruskin showed him that art was not merely a privilege, but could provide the essential moral edification of life.

In the early 1870s, Parry's ethical stance was developing hand in hand with his materialising political views. According to Dibble, he displayed an early "sympathy for egalitarianism and political reform"[84] and harboured an intense dislike of the aristocracy. After leaving Oxford, he continued to study John Stuart Mill almost religiously, imbibing "no less than eight of Mill's works" between 1870 and 1875.[85] Mill's *Principles of Political Economy*, building on the celebrated works of Adam Smith and David Ricardo, was read in 1870. Both Mill and Smith saw individuals as beings influenced by their social and cultural environment; Mill went further and attempted to establish political economy as a branch of social science. At the time of reading *Principles*, Parry was already acquainted with his *Essay on Civilisation*, *On Liberty* and *Representative Government*. *Utilitarianism* was studied twice in 1872 and 1875. In 1874 and 1875, he familiarised himself with the *Subjection of Women*, as well as the posthumous *Essays on Religion* and the voluminous *System of Logic*. (The extent of Mill's influence is discussed in another chapter.)

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[81] For the influence of positivist philosophy on Eliot's writings, see especially T. R. Wright. 'George Eliot and positivism: a reassessment', *The Modern Language Review* 76/2 (Apr. 1981), pp. 257-72.
[82] Thomas Carlyle, quoted in Hugh Walker. *The literature of the Victorian era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913), p. 54.
[83] Elizabeth Deeds Ermarth. *George Eliot* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1985), p. 90.
[84] Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
[85] See Dibble. 'Parry as historiographer' in *Nineteenth-century British music studies vol. 1*, ed. Bennett Zon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 42-3.

Parry took from Mill his uncompromising position on liberty, his attitude and commitment towards democracy, his wider view of utilitarianism, and a system of logic so broad in breadth as to protect him from the dangers of formalism. Mill's works, such as his famous essay *On Liberty*, however, sat at the end of an intellectual tradition. His individualism, utilitarianism and liberalism, classical in origin, turned a blind eye to the burgeoning science of heredity. Thus, according to Hugh Walker, Mill failed to "assimilate the greatest constructive idea of the nineteenth century, that of evolution".[86] Hegel, Lamarck, Lyell, Spencer, and of course Darwin had, through their writings, vastly transformed the nature of nineteenth-century intellectual discourse. Parry's formative learning was characterised by this juxtaposition of both pre-evolutionary (Enlightenment) and evolutionary thought. Those like Grote failed to profit from the new idea, treating ancient democracy on the same plane as modern democracy,[87] while Maine's *Ancient Law*, very much a reflection of the historical jurisprudence through which Parry passed as a student, adopted the methodology of multilinear evolution to explain the progress of primitive legal systems and institutions. Indeed the main aspect of Parry's learning was a growing awareness of the potential of history when it is viewed through the suggestive lenses of science.

Eliot's evolutionary novels achieved a blend of science and morality as Parry would aspire to replicate in his own thinking. In her novels, Eliot frequently adopts a scientific attitude of questioning in the examination of society and morality. One of her great powers as a writer was her ability to maintain a close contact with the scientific world throughout her writings, while never losing sight of the important questions or the sympathy of her readers. Parry assimilated empirical attitudes towards historical interpretation during his time at Oxford. He also lived at a time when being a domestic naturalist was an increasingly popular pastime. As Lynn Barber explains, "every Victorian young lady, it seemed, could reel off the names of twenty different kinds of fern or fungus, and every Victorian clergyman nurtured a secret ambition to publish a natural history of his parish in imitation of Gilbert White."[88] The eminent clergyman, Charles Kingsley, said that it was White's *Natural History of Selborne* (1789; a work Parry did not read until much later) that, after Linnaeus, "turned the tide in favour of Natural History, among the higher classes at least."[89] The study of natural history was not

[86] Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 173.
[87] *Ibid.*
[88] Lynn Barber. *The heyday of natural history: 1820-1870* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1980), p. 13.
[89] Charles Kingsley. *Glaucus, or, 'the wonders of the shore'* (Cambridge: Macmillan and Co., 1855), p. 7.

built into the fabric of Parry's Eton education, as physical sciences did not appear in the curriculum until post-reform times when, according to H. C. Lyte, it was "introduced as one of the regular subjects of study for the Fifth Form in 1869."[90] Nevertheless, the private study of natural history had become extremely popular, especially in the aftermath of Paley's *Natural Theology* (1802). The basic premise was that the study of nature might bring one closer to appreciating God's work, just as the study of a watch might bring one closer to appreciating the talent of the watchmaker. (Natural historians used this argument to defend their occupation against utilitarian objections.) Parry held a high fascination for the subject in this *private* manner; as Graves noted, he was "more than a hedge-naturalist and his careful observations on the peculiarities of the growth of yellow flowering nettles were only the first of a series of experiments which led him on to the use of the microscope, and his subsequent studies in mycology and algology."[91] There is an account in the *Musical Times* (1898) of his lectures on astronomy at Littlehampton, as well as the story of how he came to the rescue of a lecturer by extemporising "on his own microscopic experiences in order to keep the audiences amused".[92] The extent of his learning in scientific matters can be better judged by his notebook of 'natural history observations', which dates back to 1878. The following excerpts are indicative of the overall quality of his notes:

> Great many fine specimens of Volvox globator & a few small Closteria in a large deep clear pool in the water meadows at Leominster. An Actinopharynx also & rotifers, Daphnia, & small Infusoria…
>
> The flowers of the Saggitaria quite over by this time & the plants there are looking quite dull & dirty; & fruit bent down & frequently in the water (It's a wonder to me how it ripens).
>
> I watched a Diatom in active motion. It moved straight ahead for some way with considerable quickness. Oncoming into contact with an object it turned on its side as if to try & pass that way, after waiting in vain in this position. For some time it lay flat again & commenced a return journey. It came in contact with a very fine & delicate specimen of Closterium acerosum & again turned on its side, & by that means successfully forced itself under the Desmid (its end in that position being rounded) & without displacing the Desmid very much passed under it & proceeded in its way.
>
> … The endochrome orange colour & the tips quite white. The motion is singularly smooth & regular; not the least by jerks it turned often considerably & altered the direction of

[90] Henry Churchill Lyte. *A history of Eton College: 1440-1875* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1875), p. 481.
[91] Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 133.
[92] 'Hubert Parry', *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 39/665 (1 Jul. 1898), p. 447.

> motion by turning a little on its axis. As though the nucleus were a pivot. The distance traversed must have been upwards of twenty times the length of the frustule in a few minutes. Sometimes it seemed to attach firmly by an end (perhaps catching in some sticky substance) & then to rise up to considerable angle from the glass along which it had been sliding.[93]

In the same notebook, there are extensive studies of lichens, sketches of 'mushroom spores and spore-bearing cells', and drawings of many other of observations he made under the microscope. Parry also made detailed studies of Andrew Pritchard's classification of *Infusoria* and Lindsay's 'synopsis of the natural order and genera'. His passion for science was not merely a hobby or a gentleman's privilege. Much like Eliot, Parry looked at science from the position of an apostate of conventional religion. Science would fill the moral void left by the decline of traditional Christianity. Parry's occupation with evolutionary thought was, therefore, an extension of his existing concern for human welfare, which had its roots in the feeling that there was a widening gulf between contemporary religion and ethics. Notwithstanding the view, popularised by William Draper and others, that religion was engaged in a strenuous warfare with Darwinism, Joseph Altholz explains in *The Mind and Art of Victorian England* that the conflict should be viewed as a crisis within religion itself,[94] or more precisely, the struggle of faith against the changing moral attitudes of the zeitgeist. As Jerome Schneewind suggests, it was only after this initial crisis that "the public was being asked to choose whether it would decide upon its beliefs in a scientific way or in some other."[95] This moral dilemma gave impetus to what Walter Houghton perceived as "the extension of scientific assumptions and methods from the physical world to the whole life of man."[96]

When Parry first met Herbert Spencer at the Gloucester Festival in 1874, the philosopher left a striking impression on him "by not standing up in the *Hallelujah* and *Sanctus* of other Choruses in which the public adopted that posture."[97] Parry had a rare opportunity afterwards to exchange "a few words with him on casual subjects", and felt "quite overwhelmed by the honour" to have met the eminent philosopher in person.[98] At the time, he was already acquainted with Spencer's *First Principles*

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[93] Black embossed 'natural history observations' notebook, ShP.
[94] Joseph Altholz. 'The warfare of conscience with theology' in *Religion in Victorian Britain, vol. iv: interpretations*, ed. Gerald Parsons (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p. 151.
[95] Jerome Schneewind. *Sidgwick's ethics and Victorian moral philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 19.
[96] Walter Houghton. *The Victorian frame of mind: 1830-1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), p. 33.
[97] Parry, quoted in Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 146.
[98] *Ibid.*

of Philosophy, *Social Statics* and *The Study of Sociology*. Parry readily associated himself with Spencer's iconoclastic temperament, perhaps also with his progressive outlook on female suffrage (at that time), and his readiness to challenge the aristocracy. Spencer's *First Principles*, which he studied in 1871 and reread in 1875, was an ambitious attempt to lay out the foundation for a synthesis of modern scientific knowledge. Indeed when the voluminous *System of Synthetic Philosophy* was completed in 1896, Parry joined many others including his friend Lushington, Lecky, Hooker and Grove in congratulating the philosopher.[99] He saw the promise of Spencer's effort to integrate scientific discoveries and an empirical worldview into the province of social and moral action. Spencer equated physiological laws with morality: "moral truth, as now interpreted, proves to be a development of physiological truth; for the so-called moral law is in reality the law of complete life."[100] As pointed out by Robert J. Richards, *Social Statics* witnessed the erosion of the divine sanction of morality and a growing emphasis on the immutable laws of nature.[101] Spencer's systematic theory of evolution, conceived in the Lamarckian tradition before Darwin's, proved crucial in the development of Parry's historical thinking, culminating eventually in his own work on the *Evolution of the Art of Music* (expanded in the next chapter).

Parry read Darwin's account of his travels on the Beagle in *A Naturalist's Voyage round the World* in 1874, compounding his interests in natural history. He did not, however, study the *Origin of Species* until the August of 1878,[102] after the birth of both Dorothea and Gwendolen, and crucially around the time he was preparing his final articles for *Grove's Dictionary*. Between these dates, he became involved in an informal 'Essay and Discussion Club' hosted by his friend, Hugh Montgomery. According to Dibble, the group, composed of his friends from Oxford (Eddie Hamilton, Frank Pownall, William Hoare, Pepys Cockerell, etc.[103]), met weekly at Montgomery's home in Bayswater as well as at Hoare's place on Clarges Street to discuss issues in contemporary philosophy, politics and so forth, "topics for whom their great high priest was Herbert Spencer".[104] The first meeting apparently

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[99] See David Duncan. *The life and letters of Herbert Spencer* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1911), pp. 383-5.
[100] Herbert Spencer. *Social statics* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1883/1851), p. 508.
[101] Robert J. Richards. *Darwin and the emergence of evolutionary theories of mind and behaviour* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), p. 267.
[102] See 1877 diary; 12 August: "Fine & very hot. Bathed & read Origin of Species – examined seaweed. Walked after dinner with Maudie." 13 August: "…walked on the sands, Maudie with us, read some Origin of Species." 18 August: "Walked about with Maudie. Bathed & … finished Origin of Species."
[103] Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 121.
[104] *Ibid.*

took place on 1 February 1875. The details of the occasion, along with Parry's youthful mannerisms, were vividly recorded by Montgomery in his 'common place book':

> On Monday evening, the first of February 1875, there met in Pepys Cockerell's rooms No. 11 Bayswater St. at a quarter to eleven after the Monday popular concert, Willy Hoarse, Hubert Parry, Frank Pownall and myself, to talk over with our host the arrangement of a small essay club. The idea of this club was stated by Pepys for the purpose primarily of improving himself and me in formulating our ideas and putting them into good English and rubbing these against those of a few intelligent men of our own standing, probably with as much benefit to them as to us. Cockerell not only hit upon the plan and brought us together to consider it but also worked out the details to some extent with happy ingenuity, and suggested that we should first write on a series of exceedingly general subjects in order to show each other the nature of our general opinions and views, beginning with "the characteristics of the present age", in order, as he said, to see what each of us chiefly took notice of, proceeding with the theme of the course a man should take through it or as Strauss puts it "Wie ordnen wir unser Leben?" and so on. W. Hoare with his admirable savoir faire was the most satisfactory factor in the first meeting, though he really suggested nothing that S.P.C. had not thought of. Hubert Parry was hard to read, inclined to fly off to all sorts of extraneous subjects – taking a fancy in the middle of our discussion to compound some fish and potatoe salad provided by Pepys in addition to scalloped oysters and sandwiches with needless care for our bodily wants, and which Hubert afterwards had a few minutes before declined to have anything to say to. F. Pownall came in late and was quiet when he came. We all agreed to write on the first subject suggested by Pepys and to meet and read our writings (not to exceed ¼ an hour each) at Hoare's rooms next Monday – when he said we should all have to scallop our own oysters.[105]

As Montgomery's notes show, the topic of the first essay was the 'Characteristics of the Present Age'. Their second meeting treated utilitarianism and the progress of science and morals, and was framed around the pertinent question: "How should we order our lives under the circumstances of the time?"[106] Such ideas as the difference between man and beast, the importance of sports as a "natural and healthy instinct of mankind", and the renouncement of blood sport and cruelty to animals as a vestige of a primal instinct were discussed (these were often regurgitated by Parry in his own notebooks).[107] On 1 March, the group returned to tackle utilitarianism as a system of ethics and the significance of free will as a 'working hypothesis' for ethical discourse.[108] 'National Greatness' was discoursed the week after, with the group seeking to discover what the true nature of 'nationality' was.[109] Here, Montgomery acknowledged "the decline of kinships in blood & language as a basis for

[105] Hugh Montgomery. 'Common place book', PRONI MS. D627/444, pp. 40r-1r.
[106] *Ibid.*, p. 46r.
[107] *Ibid.*, p. 58r.
[108] *Ibid.*, p. 61r.
[109] *Ibid.*, p. 62r.

nationality" due to such factors as universal education or equal political participation.[110] The idea that (democratic) nations were not determined by race or language would become of paramount importance in Parry's later writings.

In a sense, Parry's understanding of evolution was pre-Darwinian and largely derived from Spencer, although he rapidly made Darwin the cynosure of his later perusal. Paradoxically, he always acknowledged Darwin as the major and most credible proponent of evolutionary theory, rather than Spencer. Parry later verified his debt to both Darwin and Spencer in an autobiographical synopsis of his early life. Here, Darwin is tellingly mentioned first and on a separate plane of emphasis than Spencer: "working out the historical development of modern music, on the lines analogous to Darwin's – and for whose works and Spencer's came therefrom to deal with music in that manner. Results being shown in articles 'Form', 'Harmony', & 'the History of Sonata', 'Symphony' & 'Variations' in the *Dictionary of Music & Musicians*."[111]

For all his extensive reading and intellectual exploration, perhaps the single greatest influence on Parry's mind during this formative period came from his association with the celebrated German pianist, Edward Dannreuther. After failing to secure tutelage with Brahms through Walter Broadwood and Joachim,[112] the option to study with Dannreuther in London became more and more of a welcome inevitability. Dannreuther had been impressed by the seven *Charakterbilder*, which were brought to his attention by Parry's half-sisters. Although Parry originally approached Dannreuther for piano lessons, in 1873, his influence ultimately surpassed technical instruction on the keyboard instrument. Dannreuther, who was only four years older, nevertheless became the life-long mentor for whom the composer reserved the highest reverence, as evinced by the highly affectionate manner of their later correspondence:

> Most best,
> Where have you got stowed away? Is it London by this time? I shall have to be up next Sunday and hope to find you at Orme Square in the afternoon. I've all manner of things to get wisdom from you about...[113]

[110] *Ibid.*, p. 63r.
[111] Bod. MS. Eng. Letters e.117.
[112] Dibble, *op. cit.,* pp. 100-1.
[113] Letter to Edward Dannreuther, 19 October 1881, Bod. MS. Eng. Letters e.117.

The scarcity of information available on Dannreuther makes it difficult to gauge the actual impact of the pianist's nonconforming personality on the composer's mind. However, there is reason to think that his influence was immense. Parry always kept his teacher up to date with his musical progress, consistently sending him early drafts of his experiments. Important works like the *Großes Duo* of 1877 came at the height of his early contact with Dannreuther. Parry was also quickly drawn to the radical atmosphere of Dannreuther's private chamber concerts at 12 Orme Square, Bayswater.[114] Indeed his new mentor's merits extended beyond his pianistic abilities. He was an early champion of Wagner at a time when critics in England were almost singularly hostile to Wagner's dramatic offerings. He founded the London Wagner Society just the year before taking Parry as his pupil. Dannreuther promoted the spirit of modernism in complacent England, infecting his student with a sense of liberation which Elvey, Brind and Sterndale Bennett could not have stimulated to the same extent in their mutual pupil.[115] While Macfarren forbade Parry from drinking from the intellectual fountain of Bayreuth, Dannreuther stood for the freedom of expression and experimentation. "Eduard Dannreuther introduced him [Parry] to the music of Richard Wagner and Johannes Brahms," writes a Parry scholar, Jason Farris.[116] The mental preparation which he received from Dannreuther perhaps allowed him to retain his admiration for Wagner despite being aware of the negative aspects of Wagner's personality. Ultimately, Dannreuther's radicalism proved both penetrating and infectious, and his influence on his pupil extended beyond the scope of music. In Dibble's words, he was "much

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[114] On Dannreuther, see Dibble. 'Dannreuther and the Orme Square phenomenon' in *Music and British culture, 1875-1914: essays in honour of Cyril Ehrlich* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 275-98. There is also a short article written by the same author in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, and another in *Grove's Dictionary*. This, along with a few pertinent entries in the *Musical Times* and other articles comprise the scarcity of information available on Dannreuther's musical and literary contributions. The reader may find it useful to consult the following publications by Dannreuther himself: *The Romantic period* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), and *Musical ornamentation, 2 vols.* (London: Novello, Ewer and Co., 1893-5).

[115] Wilbert Fleury similarly argues that "of the three [Dannreuther, Sterndale Bennett and Macfarren], Dannreuther had the greatest impact on the young Parry." See Wilbert Fleury. *Motivic structure in the chorale-based organ works of Sir Charles Hubert Parry: an analytical survey*, doctoral dissertation (University of Cincinnati, 2007), p. 8.

[116] Jason Farris. *Seven unpublished organ works by Sir C. Hubert H. Parry in Bodleian Library Ms. Mus. C. 136 and Ms. Mus. C. 457*, doctoral dissertation (University of Houston, 2009), p. 12. Farris' latter point concerning Brahms is in need of slight adjustment since Parry held a fair opinion of Brahms some years before he became associated with Dannreuther.

more than a mere musician; deeply versed in letters and art, and capable of expressing himself with a caustic wit."[117]

Like Parry, Dannreuther was a significant contributor to *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. His later contributions to the *Novello's Music Primers* series and the *Oxford History of Music* also paralleled Parry's own scholarly ambitions. Dannreuther's articles for Grove reflected his interests and expertise as a talented performer as well as his great enthusiasm for contemporary music, which he passed onto his pupil. Undoubtedly, Parry's own submissions for *Grove's Dictionary* from the mid-1870s were largely the result of his stylistic investigations under Dannreuther's guidance. Grove also exhibited a sensitivity to the young composer's personal needs in the choice of assignments. The topics allotted to him were mainly those which could be profitably approached from the perspective of a composer undergoing the crucial, experimental stage of his development. This allowed Parry to pursue both his own music and his scholarly work without feeling much disparity between the two, and in a way that could also help him grow as a composer. For example, his first article on 'Arrangement' was both pertinent from a compositional and a historical point of view, helping to develop his sense of period and style. His work on 'Symphony' coincided with his own symphonic ventures, especially his First and Second Symphonies. Furthermore, Grove's assignment placed Parry at the very forefront of musical scholarship in England. Not only did his work for the dictionary initiate his career as a scholar of music, it gave him the rare prospect of escaping from his unhappy career at Lloyd's. The young Parry thus took his new responsibilities very seriously. His diaries show that the articles were not merely an avocation, but that they rather formed a major part of his daily routine. By the end of this long engagement, which lasted from 1875 to 1886, he had produced a sum of over 114 articles. The wide scope and space limitations of the dictionary dictated that most of Parry's entries had to be short, comprising not more than a few paragraphs each. Other articles (especially those on 'Symphony', 'Sonata' and 'Suite'), however, as Grove realised, allowed better opportunities for expansion. Writing to Parry on 24 May 1886 concerning his final contribution ('Working Out'), the editor made the following qualifications:

> Dear P.
> Thanks for the proof. I can't give up my point. An article on 'Working out' is not only an exposition of what 'Working out' ought to be with 'strict binary form', but it ought to show what the composers have done in transgressing or modifying that form. How such

[117] Dibble. 'Dannreuther and the Orme Square phenomenon' in *Music and British culture, 1875-1914: essays in honour of Cyril Ehrlich* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 298.

> examples as the Eroica, No. 4, Schumann Nos 4 & 1, Schubert C major, etc. ought surely to be included and commented on. At least, I am sure that if I read the article and found no notice of such examples I should be disappointed.
> Very little change need be made provided you don't feel disposed to expatiate. It is not necessary to take out the word 'rare' – "in some instances great composers have introduced new features and subjects, as for example Beethoven, etc."
> Please don't think me for tenacious – but always,
> Yours affectionately
> G. Grove[118]

The following portion of this section attends to Parry's important contributions to *Grove's Dictionary*, which were especially crucial to his own formative development as a musical scholar. The four volumes of the *Dictionary* were published in 1879, 1880, 1883 and 1889. Since the work was brought out in sequence, Parry was forced to treat the subjects alphabetically, so that 'Arrangement' was written in 1875 for the 1879 volume; 'Key' in 1878 for the 1880 volume; and 'Symphony' and 'Variations' from 1879 onwards for the 1889 volume. This perhaps played to his advantage, as the longer articles relating to form, such as 'Sonata', 'Suite' or 'Variations', enjoyed belated appearances, allowing him to tackle more elementary topics before arriving at his most comprehensive article, 'Symphony' (which spans a total of 34 pages).[119]

Parry's work for *Grove's Dictionary* strengthened his conceptualisation of music history as an evolutionary narrative. His first article hints at a way of seeing music with an organism or species undergoing evolutionary adaptations. As noted by London's *Daily News*, Parry's article on 'Arrangement', much like Ebenezer Prout's entry on 'Adaptation', navigates the problem: "in what degree it is lawful to modernise the music of the ancients by 'arranging' it with 'additional accompaniment' ".[120] Parry sees 'arrangement' as the "musical counterpart of literary translation".[121] Like languages, each musical style consists of attributes which set it apart from other mode of expression. Composers utilise different musical variables to meet constantly changing 'conditions of presentment'. Similarly, the work of an arranger is to adapt music into new situations. Parry explains the difficulty which arises when composers set themselves to arranger older music—a danger which

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[118] Letter from George Grove, 24 May 1886, ShP.
[119] All the same, it may be regretted that students of Parry's works understand less about the chronology of his early intellectual development as a result of the skewed placement of these articles.
[120] 'A dictionary of music', *Daily News (London)*, 19 January 1878, issue 9906.
[121] Parry. 'Arrangement' in *A dictionary of music and musicians, vol. 1*, ed. George Grove (London: Macmillan and Co., 1879), p. 89. See also discussion in Kara Lynn Van Dine. *Musical arrangements and questions of genre: a study of Liszt's interpretive approaches*, PhD dissertation (University of North Texas, 2010), pp. 22, 37-8.

emanates from the modern "freedom of interpretation".[122] Indeed an evolutionary understanding of music history would allow composers to make use of and 'adapt' musical resources from the past more profitably.

For Parry, music is a means to emotional expression, and genuine composers are in the intellectual business of discovering the appropriate ways to express their feelings.[123] Unsurprisingly, his early article on 'Chorale' prefigures much of his mature vindications of the expressive capacity of Teutonic music and his fascination with Luther's hymns such as *Ein feste Burg*. Modern methods of musical expression, he holds, are adaptations of accumulated historical resources, achieved over human history by a slow process of artificial selection. It is indicative of his unique historical approach, which stresses the gradual transformation of technical elements, that although the majority of his articles are concerned with the theoretical aspects of composition, such as 'Coda', 'Chord', 'Consonance', 'Modulation' and 'Passing Note', he is consistently at pains to clarify the historical rationale behind each of the musical devices. For such reasons, A. Peter Brown finds that Parry's 'Symphony' article was "perhaps one of the first articles of its type to view the genre from a comprehensive stylistic and historical view."[124] In his 'Harmony' article of 1878, Parry further maintains that the ancient composers, lacking foresight, occupied themselves with purely melodic music since they had no conception of harmony, a topic revisited in the chapter on 'Incipient Harmony' in the *Evolution of the Art of Music*. One of the dangerous assumptions associated with this view is the notion that past music necessarily suffered from a lack of technical resources. However, as later chapters maintain, Parry never assumes that what is new or more evolved must be better from an artistic point of view. Even in his *Grove* articles, he holds that adaptations are *context-dependent* and the future is unknowable. As a consequence, he sees the development of harmony, not as inevitable according to the 'laws of Nature' as it is often perceived, but as purely circumstantial (an argument that would become integral to the *Evolution of the Art of Music*). In the article on 'Harmony', he

[122] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 93.
[123] "Voices or instruments are languages by which the thoughts or emotions of composers are made known to the world," *ibid.*, p. 89.
[124] A. Peter Brown. *The European symphony from ca. 1800 to ca. 1930: Great Britain, Russia, and France, vol. 3* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), p. 207.

speaks of Greek scales as being "adapted for the development of the effective resources of melody"[125] and explains the difficulty with adapting such scales to harmonic contexts.

Parry's early interest in the organisation of musical materials from a composer's point of view, combined with his scientific curiosity, led him to seek out a history of music that would explain complex mechanics by tangible means. He soon discovered that Spencer's formula of evolution from incoherent homogeneity to coherent heterogeneity answered his purpose well. For Parry, the conveyance of expression was not possible unless there existed some intrinsic and fundamental level of human organisation. His historical outlook, prompted by his ethical convictions as a composer, erred even at this formative stage by making the test of sophistication and intellectualism the universal criteria across all musical cultures. With this view in mind, he entered upon the task of writing 'Symphony', 'Suite', 'Sonata' and 'Variations' in the late 1870s, shortly after having studied both *The Origin of Species* and *The Descent of Man.*[126] The effect was a stronger resonance of evolutionary thought than in the former articles. Darwin had shown him how "endless forms most beautiful" had been evolved from a universal ancestor. Indeed Parry was beginning to see different branches of the musical art as different branches of an evolutionary tree; the lower down the tree, the lesser variety there existed between the musical species: "In the early harmonic times the relationships of nearly all the different branches of composition were close."[127] Music had indiscriminate beginnings in primitive noise-making, and some time had to pass before each musical form "came by degrees to have a more special significance".[128] The reason for the divergence of types, or speciation, was the changing intellectual[129] and social circumstances of the period. The suite, for instance, evolved through a meticulous "process of selection"[130] and thereby developed its characteristics such as

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[125] Parry. 'Harmony' in *A dictionary of music and musicians, vol. 1*, ed. George Grove (London: Macmillan and Co., 1879), p. 669.
[126] Parry read Darwin's *Descent of Man* (1871) in 1878; see Dibble 'Parry as historiographer' in *Nineteenth-century British music studies vol. 1*, ed. Bennett Zon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 37-8.
[127] Parry. 'Symphony' in *A dictionary of music and musicians, vol. 4*, ed. George Grove (London: Macmillan and Co., 1889), p. 13.
[128] *Ibid*., p. 10. Parry is referring specifically to symphonies in this instance.
[129] See, for instance, Parry's 'Sonata' article, where he writes: "The history of the Sonata is the history of an attempt to cope with one of the most singular problems ever presented to the mind of man, and its solution is one of the most successful achievements of his artistic instincts." Parry. 'Sonata' in *A dictionary of music and musicians, vol. 3*, ed. George Grove (London: Macmillan and Co., 1883), p. 554.
[130] Parry. 'Suite' in *A dictionary of music and musicians, vol. 3*, ed. George Grove (London: Macmillan and Co., 1880), p. 756.

uniformity of key, different types of motions and a lack of explicit subjects. Likewise, the development of the symphony during Haydn's lifetime reflected the conditions of a public whose tastes for art composers were expected to satisfy.[131] The use of music to achieve emotional ends was often discouraged by inauspicious social circumstances: "Haydn was influenced by these [public] conditions till the last. There is more fun and gaiety in his music than pensiveness or serious reflection."[132] During the classical period, the intellectual standards of society allowed composers to cultivate a more serious attitude towards music; in Beethoven's hands the symphony "could be no longer fit for lightness and triviality".[133] After Beethoven, the "changing conditions"[134] yet again allowed composers to take the symphony in new directions. Parry imposed an almost Malthusian check on the possibility of a symphonic utopia: "In the millions of the human species there are endless varieties of mental and emotional qualities… and the many-sided qualities of artistic work, even far below the highest standard, find their excuse and explanation in the various groups and types of mind whose artistic desires they satisfy."[135]

Although they do not amount to a declaration of his sympathies with either Darwin or Spencer, let alone an organised theory of evolution, Parry's articles for *Grove's Dictionary* show how he became increasingly immersed in evolutionary thought in the 1870s. Motivated by his Oxford training, a Victorian love for classification and his utilitarian common sense, he sought to elevate the study of music history from the tradition occupied by Charles Burney, John Hawkins and others into a less journalistic, more meticulous and empirical venture. From the mid-1870s to the beginning of the next decade, he was uncovering ways to formalise the study of music history. This was not a project he carried out informally, but an integral aspect of his early career in music. The *leitmotif* of his later thought is a sympathetic study of historical style from a practitioner's, rather than a theoretician's, perspective – a task helped by his own growing reputation as a composer (thus, his articles on theory were informative but never pedantic). In the next section, the influences of Parry's Oxford background and his work on the *Grove* articles are traced to their culmination in the paper,

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[131] "They wanted to be healthily pleased and entertained, not stirred with deep emotion," Parry. 'Symphony' in *A dictionary of music and musicians, vol. 4*, ed. George Grove (London: Macmillan and Co., 1883), p. 22.
[132] *Ibid.*
[133] *Ibid.*, p. 27.
[134] *Ibid.*, p. 28.
[135] *Ibid.*

'On Some Bearings of the Historical Method upon Music', which he gave before the Musical Association in the November of 1884.[136]

2.3 Towards a 'Historical Method upon Music' (1884)

In 1883, Grove formally initiated Parry's academic career by enlisting him in the Prince of Wales' "great experiment", i.e. the Royal College of Music. Much of the following year, according to Graves, was spent giving lessons and lectures at the RCM and examining for Trinity College of Music (London), Oxford, and Cambridge.[137] Parry presented a summary of his historiographical position in a paper delivered before the Musical Association on 3 November 1884. The significance of this paper can be gauged by first considering the venue at which it was given. The Musical Association had been formed merely a decade earlier, as a result of a meeting of prominent men in English music and science (including John Tyndall and William Pole).[138] In a letter to William Spottiswoode in 1874, John Stainer (the founder) explained that the society would comprise "the foremost Musicians, theoretical as well as practical, of the day; the principal patrons of the Art; and also those scientific men whose researches have been directed to the subject of acoustics, and to kindred enquiries."[139] The character of its early constitution ensured that science was to occupy a crucial place in the life of the society. While there was no shortage of papers given on musical subjects, Hugh Cobbe suggests that "in the early years there was a marked bias towards the scientific men."[140] Science here mainly refers to the study of acoustics, which was gaining wide popularity at the time. A few examples of papers collected and printed in the first issue demonstrate the trend: 'Temperament' by R. H. M. Bosanquet, 'Illustrations of Just and Tempered Intonation' by Alexander John Ellis and 'On Extending the Compass and Increasing the Tone of Stringed Instruments' by W. H. Stone. Papers on the subject of music history were rarer occurrences; some of these were provided by Ouseley, Stainer and Prout.

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[136] Parry. 'On some bearings of the historical method upon music', *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 11th Sess. (1884-1885), pp. 1-17.
[137] Graves, *op. cit., vol. 1,* p. 246.
[138] Hugh Cobbe. 'The Royal Musical Association 1874-1901', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 110 (1983-1984), p. 111.
[139] John Stainer, from a letter dated 8 April 1874, quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 111-2.
[140] Cobbe, *ibid.*, p. 116.

Parry's address was the first of its kind to emphasise the problem of methodology in the writing of music history. Given his authority as a newly appointed Professor of Musical History at the Royal College of Music, the paper might be considered as a historian's manifesto, challenging the status quo of musical scholarship in England and setting out his own vision for the discipline. In his address, he set out to reconcile the scholarly study of music with the "general tendency of thought" of the day, namely the adoption of Darwinian evolution "to explain phenomena of various kinds, and all manner of philosophical questions."[141] Indeed Parry had hoped that his paper's strong evolutionary bent would hold an immediate appeal at an institution largely represented by scientific minds. According to Cobbe, Stainer, who chaired the meeting, "expected it [the paper] to engender lively controversy."[142] Parry felt afterwards, however, that the paper was "not much relished" by his audience.[143] This section discusses the content of the paper, the formative motivation behind the work (especially its positivist background), and lastly the reaction which it elicited at the Royal Musical Association.

Despite the popularity of Darwinian thought at the time, Parry in 1884 perceived that his opinion was still a minority one within the musical community. Indeed Rowbotham's three-volume history, expounding a dualistic view of musical development in three distinct stages, would only appear one year later, with Rockstro's *History of Music* following suit in 1886 (read 1888). The nineteenth century saw other English histories of music including William Bingley's *Musical Biography* (1814), Thomas Busby's *General History of Music* (1819), William Crotch's collection of lectures on music (1831), George Hogarth's *Musical History, Biography and Criticism* (1835) and John Hullah's *History of Modern Music* (1862) and the *Third or Transitional Period of Musical History* (1865).[144] It is uncertain whether Parry read these works, although he did not encounter Carl Engel's *Music of the Most Ancient Nations* (1864) until 1889, while he was penning his own evolutionary treatise. As will become evident throughout this chapter, his paper can be more happily situated within the context of Stubbs' school of modern history. The historian, Mandell Creighton, reflected that "with Stubbs began the scientific pursuit of modern history, as he impressed his views upon us

[141] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
[142] Cobbe, *op. cit.*, p. 117.
[143] See Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 246.
[144] See Vincent Duckles. 'Musicology' in *Music in Britain: The Romantic age, 1800-1914*, ed. Nicholas Temperley (London: Athlone Press, 1981), pp. 483-502.

younger men."[145] Creighton himself insisted that progress was "founded on the historical experience of the evolution of human affairs. Its object is to understand the past as a whole, to note in every age the thing which was accomplished."[146] Unhampered by biblical considerations, Parry showed an even greater readiness than Creighton to colligate this view of history with Darwin's thinking:

> We associate this way of looking at things chiefly with the name of Darwin; but he himself was also the product of the tendencies of the time before him, and though a great work fell to his share to do, it seems as if the accumulation of evidence and the accurate habits of observation, cultivated by the study of sciences, must have inevitably brought about the same condition of things in time, even without the advantage of having so much of the work centralised in him.[147]

The paper's opening reflections about the reciprocity of human disciplines premise the speaker's own attempt to modernise the scholarly study of music, through the confluence of other academic trends. At the heart of scientific progress, Parry argues, is the study of evolution, or the examination of "the history of successive stages of change, and inferences based upon similarity of action, or uniformity of general tendencies in a long succession of events."[148] His understanding is that music, unlike other arts, is essentially a modern phenomenon, yet, paradoxically the study of its history had failed to synchronise with modern thought.[149] The task facing the modern music historian is to "piece together a tolerably continuous record of progress of musical art from the earliest times when its modern forms presented themselves."[150] Parry directs this view against the manner of seeing history as a fragmented collection of noteworthy events, as the latter is "unlikely to give a broad and liberal view of the many-sided possibilities of art."[151] In consequence, he is keen to promote a new method which, essentially empirical, will assist the student in rationalising musical techniques, forms and genres through agencies of historical circumstance and social conditions.

According to Parry, progress in music is made possible not by the continuous increment of artistic 'laws'. Rather, such laws being artificial constructs representing the intellectual conditions in

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[145] Louise Creighton. *Life and letters of Mandell Creighton, sometime Bishop of London* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1904), p. 61.
[146] See Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 279.
[147] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
[148] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
[149] *Ibid.*, p. 2.
[150] *Ibid.*
[151] *Ibid.*

which they had been shaped, have to be abandoned or revised with time.[152] He also holds that artistic laws are inversely correlated with the accumulation of new technical resources. Similarly, as prefigured in the *Grove* articles (especially the one on 'Arrangement'), musical forms adapted to certain conditions cannot simply be transposed into new conditions while retaining their original effect. This leads to a practical problem, and Parry devotes some space to discuss peripheral issues such as plagiarism in music and the importance of individuality in art. The paper's central thesis is that music historians have been too remiss in not seeing that artistic decisions are made in the context of their environment: "it is not only to be noticed that certain ways of dealing with structure are characteristic of individuals, but they are also characteristic of periods".[153] A true contextual understanding of history also benefits the *liberal* composer, who wishes to make the fullest use of the resources of the past and adapt them to answer the artistic challenges of the present times. Parry emphasises the significance of such a historical outlook on, not only composers, but musicians, critics and listeners alike.

Interestingly, although Parry claimed kinship with Darwin, at no point in his writings did he ever explicate the revolutionary significance of natural selection (although his reading lists suggest he was quite familiar with the theory). Rather, what Darwin's legacy largely meant for him was the triumph of the naturalistic view of life over the supernatural explanation, which saw gifted artists as divinely inspired. Parry's interest in mapping out a continuous record of civilisation according to natural laws was product of Enlightenment thinking, which gained a new significance in the light of Darwin's accomplishments. Inherently tied to this outlook was the idea of 'progress', and the question of how progress might be explained from a purely naturalistic perspective.[154] In *Philosophies of Music History*, Warren Dwight Allen writes that the modern sense of progress "did not dawn upon human minds until the seventeenth century, during the Baroque era."[155] It is necessary to add that thinkers since Greek and Roman times approached a similar conception by elaborating the cyclic view of life. The idea of progress to which Allen attributes to the moderns suggests not only progress in the proximate sense, but predicates the immortality of the human race, its general unsusceptibility to

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[152] *Ibid.*, p. 4.
[153] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[154] As Parry argues: "There is an obvious analogy between the progress of music and the progress of the development of sciences and all kinds of discovery." *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[155] Warren Dwight Allen. *Philosophies of music history: a study of general histories of music 1600-1960* (New York: Dover Publications, 1962/1939), p. 246.

retrogression, and the certainty of growth (an idea popularly attributed to Bernard de Fontenelle in 1688). The modern concept of progress was not far removed from the old, and an age of hopeful rational revolutions, such as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were, received its teleological provisions with open arms. Thus, in his *Social Change and History*, Robert Nisbet challenges the notion, held by influential historians such as Logan Pearsall Smith and J. B. Bury, that ancient thinkers were indifferent to the concept of progress: "The Greeks made growth, as we saw, a normal attribute of things."[156] Later thinkers gave the concept at least three additional attributes: 1. the perpetual nature of change; 2. that said change would tend in the direction of progress (with an emphasis on the stages of infancy, childhood and maturation); and 3. that civilisation, in the main, would "continue to progress forever".[157] Parry's own idea of progress, as will shortly be discussed here (and elaborated in a later chapter), was an amalgamation of both old and new thinking.

Parry was at Oxford not only when the sciences prospered, but when the positivist question was very much in the air. The following portion of this chapter traces the influence of positivist ideas on Parry's thinking in his Musical Association paper. Positivism argued for the replacement of metaphysical explanations with scientific ones. It is closely related to 'scientism', i.e. a belief in the validity of science to the exclusion of other modes of thinking (a term nowadays used pejoratively to suggest a conflation of morality and science), but it should not be equated with 'scientism' in the simpler sense of trying to look at the world objectively, rationally and empirically. Among the progressive histories to appear in Parry's reading lists, the most pertinent is Henry Thomas Buckle's *History of Civilisation in England*. Like Auguste Comte and Frederic Harrison, Buckle advanced a 'science' of history that emphasised the significance of, in the words of Comte, "laws over which he [man] has no control".[158] Indeed for Parry and many of his intellectual peers, Baconian and Newtonian science had demonstrated convincingly that everything occurred according to the operations of natural laws, and so it seemed reasonable to assume that man, too, progressed in accordance with certain, immutable principles – whether divinely prescribed or naturally inevitable. Part of the positivist agenda was to limit the explanation to the domain of the natural sciences. Thinkers such as Buckle in England or Hippolyte Taine in France sought to uncover the scientific laws

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[156] Robert Nisbet. *Social change and history: aspects of the Western theory of development* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 113.
[157] *Ibid.,* p. 47.
[158] Auguste Comte. 'The positive philosophy and the study of history' in *Theories of history*, ed. Patrick Gardiner (New York: Free Press, 1959), pp. 80-1.

governing humanity's progress. If in doing so, they subjugated the role of the individual by exposing his weaknesses against the supremacy of the collective, it is because they perceived that any consistent law must forbid the eccentric in favour of the uniform – in other words, *natura non facit saltus*. Parry detected the same Leibnizian emphasis on continuity in Darwin's biological writings. Indeed the same gradualist concept (explaining change as the cumulative result of continuous processes) underlies Charles Lyell's geological imagination and the transmutation hypotheses of Jean-Baptiste Lamarck and Robert Chambers.

According to Frederick Teggart, the 'science of history' errs in overestimating the historian's ability to balance the study of discrete 'events' with that of the processes and mechanisms of social 'change'.[159] As a result, historical narratives often conform more to *a priori* assumptions rather than to historical facts, or as Hayden White explains: "These explanations, in turn, represent products of decisions to ignore specific 'domains' in the interest of achieving a purely formal coherency in representation."[160] When Parry urges in the paper to write history in a narrative rather than an annalistic way, and to see the individual in light of his environment rather than as a master of his own fate, he is abiding faithfully by the positivist tradition of those like Buckle, Harrison and Comte, and therefore subjecting his works to the very points of contention as described by Teggart and White above.

Although Parry identified evolution as the 'general tendency of thought' of the day, he was also aware that a contrary idea persisted as a strong undercurrent in English thought. On top of the Hegelian energies still present in the European imagination, one of Britain's own literary giants, Thomas Carlyle, made his enduring mark on the classical tradition of hero-worship. His Romantic idealism led to the view that "universal history is at bottom the history of great men".[161] This opinion was replicated by many writers on the subject of music. For instance, George Hogarth's celebrated essay (1800) on Beethoven contains the following passage:

> The biography of great artists is one of the most important branches of the literature of Art. A knowledge of their lives and fortunes is interesting to those who regard their works

[159] Frederick Teggart. *Theory and processes of history* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1941), p. 150.
[160] White is here paraphrasing the French anthropologist, Claude Lévi-Strauss. See Hayden White. 'Interpretation in history', *New Literary History* 4/2 (Winter 1973), p. 289.
[161] See especially his series of lectures on the subject, reproduced in Carlyle. *On heroes, hero-worship, and the heroic in history* (London: James Fraser, 1841).

> with delight and admiration; and much light is thrown upon their genius and character as artists, by the circumstances of their personal history, and an observation of their dispositions, habits, and character as *men*.[162]

As late as in 1885, the year of the bicentennial anniversary of Handel's birth, Macfarren could say before the Musical Association that:

> The year has come when the experience of two centuries has given us the opportunity to know and to judge our great heroes, and let us be the conservators and transmitters of the homage that is due to Handel and Bach.[163]

When speaking to the forum in 1884, Parry was thus addressing no invisible foes. He was himself a close reader of Carlyle's works, imbibing his famous texts on *Chartism*, the *French Revolution* and his heroic vision of *Frederick the Great* as a student at Oxford. *Past and Present* was read later on in 1874, his *Reminiscences* in 1881 and *The Life of John Sterling* in 1886. The language of Parry's paper suggests that he was trying to galvanise the support of those reared in the tradition of hero-worship:

> Such a study need not by any means lessen the pre-eminence of a great master, often rather the contrary; for it will show what he owes to his forerunners and what is essentially his work, and in what particulars his own personality expresses himself, and generally what is the real nature of his contribution to the progress and enrichment of art.[164]

He held that contemporary music history enshrined a fundamental error in seeing composers as gifted individuals, detached from their outward circumstances and surroundings. Starting in that same year (1884), he would go on to attempt 'such a study' that did not impair, but rather improve, the memory of historical giants in his essays for *Every Girl's Magazine*, later collected as the *Studies of Great Composers* (1887). The idea that Parry tried to downplay the significance of revolutionary individuals by making them mere pawns in the game of history is a modern fallacy.[165]

Similarly, while present scholarship often considers his work to—as it were—recapitulate Victorian evolutionary thought,[166] Parry rather saw himself as holding a minority, radical position in

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[162] George Hogarth. *Lives of celebrated musicians: Beethoven* (London: R. Cocks & Co., 1800), preface.
[163] George Alexander Macfarren. 'Handel and Bach, part I', *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 11th Sess. (1884-1885), p. 49.
[164] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
[165] See, for instance, Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 117.
[166] See Bennett Zon. 'C. Hubert H. Parry, The Evolution of the Art of Music (1893/96)', *Victorian Review* 35/1 (Spring 2009), pp. 68-72.

aspiring to translate scientific scrupulousness into the historical domain. In his essay, 'English Historians and the Opposition to Positivism', Christopher Parker refutes the notion that Victorian historians were preponderantly positivists. Rather, "virtually all important figures in the development of historiography and of history as an academic subject, from the 1850s to the end of the Victorian era, were explicitly hostile to positivism and to its chief practitioners, Comte and Buckle."[167] Parker associates Goldwin Smith, Stubbs, Froude, Acton, Kingsley, Simpson and others with the revolt against Buckle's approach to writing history. British idealists like R. G. Collingwood held that the natural and social sciences should be separate domains of knowledge, and that history was by and large unique and unrepeatable. As John Stuart Mill argued in *A System of Logic*, the opposition to positivism was often "grounded on the doctrine of Free Will, or, in other words, on the denial that the law of invariable Causation holds true of human volitions."[168] If man was subject to the imperatives of an unbending natural order, to what extent was he still in control of his own actions?

Although English idealists opposed positivism on moral grounds, Parry's approach to history was not unconcerned with morality simply because it purported to be scientific. Adopting Whewell's methods of consilience,[169] the Victorian man of science shared with the twentieth-century specialist the incentive to discover and codify the laws of nature, but he often lacked the degree of emotional detachment required by modern, objective science. This characteristic was manifest in both ideological camps—positivist and idealist—alike. The science of history under Stubbs became a medium through which man could better understand his Maker, while at the heart of Comte's 'religion of humanity' lay the conviction that traditional religion was no longer relevant or actually detrimental to morality.[170] E. B. Tylor, the famous anthropologist, famously held that the "science of culture is essentially a reformer's science."[171] Likewise, the "great auto-didact", George Lewes, "with

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[167] Christopher Parker. 'English historians and the opposition to positivism', *History and Theory* 22/2 (May 1983), p. 121.
[168] John Stuart Mill, quoted in *ibid.,* p. 125.
[169] For Whewell's contributions, see the first section of Menachem Fisch. 'Whewell's consilience of inductions—an evaluation', *Philosophy of Science* 52/2 (Jun. 1985), pp. 239-44. Darwin's debt to Whewell is discussed in Michael Ruse. 'Darwin's debt to philosophy: an examination of the influence of the philosophical ideas of John F. W. Herschel and William Whewell on the development of Charles Darwin's theory of evolution', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science* 6/2 (Jun. 1975), pp. 59-81.
[170] On Comte's dissatisfaction with Christianity, See Wright. *The religion of humanity: the impact of Comtean positivism on Victorian Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 26.
[171] Edward Burnett Tylor. *Primitive culture, vol. 2* (London: Murray, 1871), p. 539.

his own laboratory facilities in the basement of his home," writes Rick Rylance, "was not, as future generations would be, acculturated into the hermetic world of laboratory science."[172] Even Thomas Huxley, who came closest to evading the naturalistic fallacy in his famous Romanes lecture, was a man of science in this outmoded sense of the word; resisting the modern notion of a reticent 'scientist' for a greater part of his career, Huxley found science deprived of its ethical context both an unpleasant and a dangerous affair.[173]

As suggested previously, Parry warmed to the scientific contributions of Mill, Spencer and Darwin increasingly *after* he became convinced of the moral depravity of religion. It is unsurprising, therefore, that the aspects of scholarship he challenges in the paper are those especially tied up with the traditional appeal to divine intervention – it is because he refuses to acknowledge the supernatural as a legitimate *terminus a quo* of historical scholarship. Legal positivism, the brainchild of Benthamite jurisprudence which held sway at Oxford, had already defied the tradition that sought to explain laws as divine commandments. Similarly, the paper argues against the notion that history is merely a record of "divinely appointed prophet[s] whose judgment is infallible."[174] These prophets are great men who "seem to work as quickly and lightly as they please and yet to be always sure of being right, and we are driven… to credit them with almost supernatural powers, and to think of them as having received a special mission which makes them independent of all the usual courses of things."[175] Even such men, he maintains, are to a good extent the products of their times. His view is a milder form of what Spencer states in *Social Statics*: "men who seem the prime movers, are merely the tools with which it works; and were they absent it would quickly find others."[176]

In adopting this position, Parry ultimately parted ways with Stubbs, by whose teachings many Oxford historians had had their eyes opened to the moral significance of their subject. If Stubbs' position rested on the assumption of the divine, then to disavow the relevance of God in the making of the great men was to destroy the foundation upon which countless historians have justified their preoccupation with the past. A new way of thinking was required if history was still to press its claim

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[172] Rick Rylance. *Victorian psychology and British culture 1850-1880* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 75.
[173] Paul White. *Thomas Huxley: making the 'man of science'* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 173.
[174] Parry, *op. cit.,* p. 3.
[175] *Ibid.*
[176] Spencer, *op. cit*., p. 473.

to moral legitimacy – then the requisite of any reputable profession. Indeed, the dilemma was very similar to that faced by Comte or the other positivists. Although aligning himself with science, Parry had set himself to the rather unscientific task of rescuing the *moral* integrity of history, without resorting to supernatural agency. In Comte's positivist religion, which has been thoroughly rebuked by Kantian and Coleridgean idealists, one finds the Carlylean hero not destroyed but reinvented in the florescence of secular humanism (as the *Grand-Être*).[177] Mill, in his famous essay on positivism, identifies the uneasy friction between Comte the pursuer of knowledge, and Comte who would happily suppress certain lines of knowledge in the name of moral duty. Mill perceptively writes, "Novalis says of Spinoza that he was a God-intoxicated man: M. Comte is a morality-intoxicated man. Every question with him is one of morality, and no motive but that of morality is permitted."[178] And so it was for Parry: Hubert Parry was a morality-intoxicated man. His interests in science, as thoroughly evident in his paper, were always complemented, if not predicated, by a moral belief in the illuminating power of history. His philosophical outlook was deeply motivated by the considerations of morality from the first to the very last, and the genuine scientific intentions with which he began perceptibly eroded with the *fin-de-siècle* crisis in morality, especially in response to the rapid expansion of decadent thought. Mill's explanation also reconnects the idealist and the positivist at their most common ground, that is, on the bridge of ethics—lawfully owned by neither—but commuted frequently by both parties.

It is unclear whether Parry studied any of Comte's works first-hand, but his influence on the intellectual milieu would have been quite palpable, especially through the composer's intimate contact with Mill's and Eliot's writings, as well as with the secularist movement at the time. Interestingly, Dannreuther's book on Wagner opens with a quotation by Comte: "L'art attend avec impatience une impulsion organique, susceptible à la fois de régénérer sa propre vitalité, et de déployer ses eminents attributs sociaux."[179] One of Parry's close intellectual friends, Vernon Lushington, was also highly well-versed in the positivist point of view.[180] Another Comtean strand in Parry's early thinking is the

[177] On Kant and Coleridge in English historical thought, and the "revolt against empiricism and materialism", see Parker. *The English idea of history from Coleridge to Collingwood* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 9-29.
[178] John Stuart Mill. *Auguste Comte and positivism* (London: Trübner, 1865), p. 140.
[179] Dannreuther. *Richard Wagner: his tendencies and theories* (London: Augener & Co., 1873), p. 1.
[180] As David Taylor shows in his recent publication on *The Lushingtons of Pyports*, Vernon's home in Cobham was frequented by many positivist thinkers, including John Henry Bridges and the social reformer, Charles Booth. Rather indicative of Parry's own intellectual sympathies, Vernon's circle of friends also included

proposed method by which he considered knowledge to be most efficiently transmitted among composers of the highest rank. In his paper, Parry maintains that "the most serviceable part of their [the composer's] education [is] the careful study of the works of craftsmen of their art, more especially of those who were living nearest to them in point of time, and they always applied the knowledge they gained, as nearly as possible, to the style of their own age and country."[181] The composer—first conceded to being inescapably conditioned by his outward circumstances—also exists on a more individualistic plane; he inherits inspiration only from the best minds of past generations, while preventing the undesirable elements of art from resurfacing in art history. Comte had similarly advertised knowledge as a currency to be passed on between only a select few who are truly deserving of its possession. The chosen representatives of humanity act as guardians of the world's intellectual treasures, adding what they can to their value while they are in possession of them, before passing them on to those who are most qualified to pick up the trail where it is dropped; "as M. Comte truly says," Mill writes, "the highest minds, even now, live in thought with the great dead, far more than with the living."[182] Parry's similar obsession with, and his enormous reverence for, the past—both recent and distant—is often unfairly brushed over by those wishing to regard him as a unambiguous prophet of upward evolutionism. Comte's rigorous sanctions on the movements of human knowledge exemplify a reaction against the spirit of unguided scientific inquiry, as men of science gravitate more and more towards specialism. For Comte and his disciples, religious positivism provided a bulwark against the great evil occasioned by the blind whims of intellectual fashion. Where Greek philosophy failed, man in his advanced stage of positivity must learn to guard himself against the perilous "mischiefs of intellectual culture left to its own guidance."[183] As later chapters demonstrate, Parry was plagued in his whole thinking by the constant threat of the possibility of social regression, which was often even stronger than his faith in progress itself.

Viewed in this light, the 'Historical Method upon Music' qualifies for a special kind of reading. It is essentially a didactic essay which promotes a historical approach to musicianship. Parry warns of

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members of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (William Holman Hunt and Arthur Hughes) and Christian Socialists, whose names are often associated with the Working Men's College (Richard Buckley Litchfield, Leslie Stephen, A. J. Munby, etc.). See David Taylor. *'Under the cellar': the Lushingtons of Pyports, a Victorian family in Cobham – and elsewhere in Surrey* (Grosvenor House Publishing Limited, 2015), pp. 45-65.

[181] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[182] Mill, *op. cit.,* p. 136.

[183] *Ibid.,* p. 189.

the neglect of history among composers, musicians and music critics alike. If allowed to persist, humanity runs the likelihood of regression, because historical knowledge—like scientific knowledge—provides man with insight into the nuances of his conditions. To do without historical knowledge is to steer a boat without a rudder, and to entrust the lives of its passengers to the whims of the fickle sea. Music, among other things, loses its inherited meaning in the absence of context. Parry believes that the continued transmission of knowledge holds the key to man's worldly salvation[184] (as he does not consider that man could get his salvation from elsewhere). If artists are the visionaries of society, inasmuch as they are also reflectors of its present conditions, they must make themselves receptive to all shades of social anxieties and burden themselves with the reserves of knowledge that bygone humanity has to offer. As discussed later on, Parry is here speaking in the most quintessential language of Ruskin. For Ruskin, as David Fenner explains, both the artist and his audience are called to have "a discerning eye"; Fenner argues that "while Pater, Wilde, Schopenhauer, and Ruskin were all interested in the elevation that could be achieved through the arts, Ruskin saw this elevation offered not merely in the individual but society."[185] Similarly, Parry recognises that even though artists bring provident visions for man at large to bear, society can only change, not from *without*, but rather from *within*. Hence, the artist must not alienate himself from society completely if he wishes also to improve it. One of the keys to understanding Parry's historical vision lies in the student's ability to ascertain the distinct roles he assigned to separate segments of society, from the celebrated artist to the common man, as well as an ability to envisage them working as a composite unity—one might even say, in the wholesome spirit of Comte's or Eliot's 'religion of humanity'.[186] Parry's paper aspires to reconnect the musician, composer and listener on a common plane of understanding, bringing every man closer to unity through music. How will they know how this art should be 'commonly' experienced? – this, he argues, is ultimately a lesson to be determined by the patient study of historical contexts:

> Men may make their inferences from them [historical knowledge] differently, but difference of opinion is not always an evil, and if those differences are based upon broader

[184] Parry, *op. cit.,* p. 5.
[185] David Fenner. *Art in context: understanding aesthetic value* (Athens: Swallow Press, 2008), p. 8.
[186] See discussion on the Comtean vision for a unity of man, in Mabel Wilson. 'Auguste Comte's conception of humanity', *International Journal of Ethics* 38/1 (Oct. 1927), pp. 88-102.

> grounds, and upon more real understanding of the points at issue than has frequently been the case on previous occasions, it will be a real gain to the art.[187]

Parry's diaries show that he later regretted the audience did not respond as well to his ideas as he had hoped. After the paper, the chairman commended him on his treatment of form: "it seems to me that… [the subject of form] has been grossly misunderstood up to the present time, and I think this is the very first time I have heard it stated in what appears to my mind a reasonable and proper shape. Having heard what he said about it I seem to breathe freely…"[188] Much like Parry, Stainer disapproved of critics whose obsession with formal or theoretical correctness got in the way of their appreciation of the music. Since, as Parry already argued, "certain forms of art were prosperous at certain times in history, and different ones at others,"[189] what was a good standard in the past might no longer be a viable standard in the present, let alone the future. Stainer grasped the practical implications of Parry's developmental theory, that those who stood "against advance" and innovation did so at their own peril against the tide of progress.[190] This was one of the reasons why Parry was drawn so acutely to Darwin's work. As Adrian Desmond has shown with regard to Darwin, "in his notebooks he actually talked of the natural, lawful processes of change in nature and society obviating the need for any sort of violent interpretation."[191] One of the reasons Darwinism was so popular among radicals and liberals was because it allowed for them to contemplate the possibility of democracy and the overthrow of aristocratic authority. Like many other radical thinkers, Parry welcomed the idea of the transmutation of species because it provided a stabilising, incremental view of progress. This belief, as elaborated later on, was not grounded in the certitude of a knowable future but rather a future of endless possibilities. In much the same vein, art was perceived as a continually evolving enterprise and, as such, there were no limits and finalities that the critic might impose on the freedoms of the artist. Like Parry, Stainer also recognised that such a view of history need not belittle the past in favour of the present: "I have just as much pleasure in listening to a mass of Palestrina as to going and listening to some glorious music of Wagner."[192] The wealth of resources at the modern

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[187] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
[188] Post-paper discussion, in *ibid.*, p. 9.
[189] Parry, in *ibid.*, p. 2.
[190] Stainer, in *ibid.*, p. 11.
[191] Adrian Desmond. *The politics of evolution: morphology, medicine, and reform in Radical London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), p. 2.
[192] Stainer, in Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

composer's disposal did not allow him to be complacent about his own situation. Quite the contrary, in Parry's previous words, "in our time the accumulation [of musical knowledge] is vast, but the necessity of mastering the known is not less imperative, before we can set our seal upon a great point of art we must do as they did, and know and understand what has been done before us."[193] Innovation required an understanding of what had come before, and modern composers had such a wide vantage point of the past that they were overwhelmed by it, so much so that "it seems probable that the time of great composers is past, and that the world will see no more of them in the highest sense."[194]

Grove, who was late to the address, disagreed with Stainer's remarks and denied that progress in music required historically-established forms to be radically altered or dispensed with. According to Grove, classical forms were "grounded in the very nature of the art"[195]; thus, they had to be preserved in the interest of *true* progress. Parry's position was that there must be certain formal agreements upon which music could render itself apprehendible to the audience, but his historical outlook, with its emphasis on flexibility and circumstance, did not permit him to generalise about the future in such a way. Furthermore, Grove's views were conditioned by his own posture as a musical amateur; he believed that music should be readily comprehensible to non-musicians as well as musicians, leading him to favour simple forms comprising well-balanced repeats and recapitulations.[196] True to his argument, Parry responded by emphasising the point of continuity in formal development and noted that Grove was "often too hasty in thinking that analysis is so much of your business. The pleasure of art ought not to come solely from analysis of form… Music has to absorb and to take possession of you… Form must be part of the art, but you need not analyse it and see it at every moment."[197] Ferdinand Praeger, known today for his troubled affinity with Wagnerism, added that it was no business of a composer ever to talk down to his audience, aligning himself with Parry's position.[198] Stainer agreed to differ with Grove: "because the symphonic form is so beautiful it seems to me no reason why it should not go through any amount of evolution commencing from the present time, and I sincerely hope it may."[199]

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[193] Parry, in *ibid.*, p. 8.
[194] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[195] Grove, in *ibid.*, p. 13.
[196] "You [Stainer] are a musician, you are not an ordinary hearer. Music is not written for musicians, it is written for the world, and that is one of the things that I fear you are forgetting." *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[197] Parry, in *ibid.*, p. 15.
[198] Praeger, in *ibid.*, pp. 15-6.
[199] Stainer, in *ibid.*, p. 17.

Parry's unpleasant memory of the occasion might have stemmed from Grove's protest, despite his not having witnessed a good part of the paper. This was arguably made worse by the fact that Grove was his intellectual benefactor and enabler of his early academic progress, not to mention a tremendous influence in the development of English musical scholarship. He might have felt that the post-paper discussion was steered in the wrong direction; it transpired into a debate about the significance of form, while his intentions to reform the study of music history went unnoticed. However, this lack of scholarly sympathy did not prevent him from making the pursuit of this historical vision his life's work. As Parry later affirmed in the preface to his *Studies of Great Composers*:

> The object of the work as a whole was to help people of average general intelligence to get some idea of the positions which the most important composers occupy in the historical development of the art; by showing their relations to one another, and the social, personal, and historical conditions which made them individually the representatives of various branches and phases of musical art.[200]

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to reexamine Parry's formative background as an emerging music scholar by studying three aspects of his formative period (from 1867 to 1884): 1. the influence of his Oxford education; 2. his intellectual development after leaving the university and leading to his work for *Grove's Dictionary*; and 3. the formulation of his ideas in his Musical Association paper. The timely secular reforms at Oxford meant that it became a centre of scientific progress and important intellectual debates, which evidently steered Parry down his path of unorthodoxy. The lessons and values imbibed during his association with Stubbs' school of modern history greatly informed his future literary undertakings. Although it seemed Parry had left the life of mind behind when he settled into business in London, he was able to satiate his intellectual appetite through incessant reading of scientific treatises and social novels, friendship with like-minded individuals, and especially the stimulation he received from his piano teacher, Dannreuther. The philosophical writings of Mill, Ruskin and Spencer formed the main triumvirate of influences during and after his time at Oxford, followed closely by his reading of Darwin. His interests in evolution and its implications on music

[200] Parry. *Studies of great composers* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1904/1887), p. v.

found a testing ground in his assignments for *Grove's Dictionary*, which were especially suited to his compositional background due to the theoretical nature of the topics involved. Finally, his 1884 paper on the 'Historical Method upon Music', providing an early account of his historiographical agenda, is an important document because it shows the eclectic breadth of his early learning. Combining his great interest in science, history and morality, and his positivist outlook, it establishes that writing history was not something that Parry did casually or randomly, but was actually an essential part of his musical career. E. J. Dent once wrote that Parry "differs from all other historians of music in that he approached musical history as a composer".[201] This re-evaluation shows that the inverse of the statement could be just as true and no less significant: Parry also differed from many composers in that he approached composition as a devoted historian of music.

[201] Edward J. Dent. 'Parry as a musical historian', *The Athenaeum* (19 September 1909), quoted in Bernard Benoliel. *Parry before Jerusalem: studies of his life and music with excerpts from his published writings* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), p. 117.

3. SCIENTIFIC VENTURE: *THE EVOLUTION OF THE ART OF MUSIC*

The previous chapter, which encompassed the formative years up to 1884, emphasised Parry's early scientific leanings and his ambition to create a naturalistic framework for the study of music history. In the 1880s, pressured by greater public expectations, Parry found himself in the unenviable position of having to juggle both his academic and artistic responsibilities, beginning work on *The Art of Music* (1893) in 1884. The present chapter, which is divided into three sections, focuses on his attempt to introduce a scientific approach to music history in his major treatise. The first section ascertains the extent to which he was influenced by arguably the two most significant evolutionary thinkers of his time, Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer; it begins with a necessarily abbreviated report on some pertinent scholarly insights into the relationship between Darwin and Social Darwinism which took after his name. It also questions the prevalent narrative that sees Parry as uncritically embracing Spencer's doctrine at the expense of Darwin's. The second and third sections examine his views on the origins of music and the subsequent evolution of the art, respectively. A more biographically situated reading of the *Art of Music* shows that scholars have been too ready to emphasise Parry's closeness to Spencer, at the expense of misrepresenting some of his positions as well as his motivations behind his work entirely.

3.1 The Influence of Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer

> Each individual, receiving the benefits and the injuries due to its own nature and consequent conduct, has to carry on that conduct subject to the restriction that it shall not in any large measure impede the conduct by which each other individual achieves benefits or brings on itself injuries.
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> – Herbert Spencer, *The Principles of Ethics* (1879-93)[1]

[1] Herbert Spencer on 'justice', as jotted down in Parry's notebook. *The principles of ethics, vol. 2* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1896/1893), p. 8.

Carlyle wrote in his lecture on *Heroes* that "This world, after all our science and sciences, is still a miracle, wonderful, inscrutable, magical and more, to whosoever will think of it."[1] As an intellectual who drew inspiration from a wide range of literary sources, Parry had long been exposed to Carlyle's metaphysical sophistication and his hostility towards British empiricism. In his paper on the 'Historical Method upon Music', Parry had already distinguished himself as an opponent of hero-worship and mysticism, upholding the values of scientific clarity in the study of music history. Two significant Victorian thinkers who shared an intense distrust of Carlyle were Darwin and Spencer. The famed author of *The Origin of Species* once said of Carlyle: "I never met a man with a mind so ill adapted for scientific research."[2] Similarly, for Spencer, the Scottish philosopher "displayed an inability to think discreditable to an ordinary cultivated intelligence, much more to one ranked as a thinker."[3] In *Facts and Comments*, Spencer also disparaged "the ridiculous Carlylean theory of the Great Man and his achievements, absolutely ignores the genesis of social structures and functions which has been going on through the ages."[4] As argued in the previous chapter, Parry's scientific venture began, first and foremost, as a reaction against a mystical and a religious worldview. Evolution—the contentious idea of the time—posed a tremendous challenge to dogma and was the natural recourse for the nonconforming thinker opposed to Carlyle's or Whewell's idealism. From the 1870s onwards, when Parry was closely studying Spencer and taking up the task of writing the *Grove* articles, Darwinian thought was also approaching the zenith of its popularity. Surveying the public reception to Darwin's thought, Alvar Ellegård argues that the theory passed through several stages of unbalanced press reception following the publication of the *Origin* in 1859. In the third period (1870-1872), with the debut of the *Descent of Man*, the theory came under especially heavy scrutiny and controversy as it became clear that Darwin had intended to enlist the human species under the ape family (a task already attempted by Thomas Huxley in his *Man's Place in Nature* and Charles Lyell in

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[1] Thomas Carlyle. *On heroes, hero-worship, and the heroic in history* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1906/1841), p. 8.

[2] Francis Darwin, ed., *The life and letters of Charles Darwin, including an autobiographical chapter, vol. 1* (London: John Murray, 1887), p. 78.

[3] Spencer. *An autobiography, vol. 1* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1904), p. 441. For Spencer's views on Carlyle, see also William Baker. 'Spencer's unpublished reminiscences of Carlyle: the "perfect owl of minerva for knowledge" on a "poet without music" ', *Neophilologus* 60/1 (Jan. 1976), pp. 145-52.

[4] Spencer. *Facts and comments* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1902), p. 33. In this regard, Bennett Zon's interpretation of Parry's championship of Wagner as an evolutionary expression of Carlylean hero-worship is not accurate.

the *Antiquity of Man*).[5] Within the context of his own youthful departure from conventional religion, Parry's readiness to adopt the theory of evolution and apply it to the realm of art was a statement of his naturalistic outlook (one which refused to see man as an exception to the rest of nature) and his ideological closeness to the pulse of Huxley's influential X-Club. This section is an attempt to explain Parry's profound interest in both Darwin and Spencer; it does so not by trying to segregate Darwinian or Spencerian aspects of his thought, but by first questioning the scholarly tendency to distance Darwin as far as possible from the multifarious ideologies of Social Darwinism.

Ellegård maintains that, in the contest of ideas surrounding the publication of *The Origin* and its aftermath, Darwin's proposed mechanism of natural selection met with fierce resistance on all fronts.[6] Huxley, for instance, found it difficult to afford as much explanatory power as Darwin had to the process of natural selection. The slow acceptance of Darwin's selective mechanism suggests the idea that there had been a Kuhnian revolution, supposedly occurring in 1859, needs to be rethought. Writing in the 1870s, Ernest Mayr urges scholars to adopt a wider outlook on the nature of the revolution, incorporating the work of Lyell or Lamarck on the one end and Weismann on heredity on the other.[7] According to Mayr, the *Origin* represents "the midpoint of the so-called Darwinian revolution rather than its beginning".[8] Unlike Michael Ruse or Jonathan Hodge, Mayr does not dispense with the idea of a Darwinian revolution altogether, arguing that six major points of belief were rejected in the process of the theory's objectification.[9] Sandra Herbert suggests the idea of a 'rolling revolution', crediting not only the theory's advocates but also its severest opponents, like Cuvier, Lyell and Malthus, with its success.[10] For Ruse, post-Darwinian science was "often really poor-quality science"; what Darwin and Wallace proposed in a premature environment had to be salvaged

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[5] Alvar Ellegård. *Darwin and the general reader: the reception of Darwin's theory of evolution in the British periodical press, 1859-1872* (Goteborg: Goteborgs Universitet, 1958), p. 28.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 32.
[7] This is also the work of Loren Eiseley in his book, *Darwin and the mysterious Mr. X: new light on the evolutionists* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1979). For a general survey of the Darwin industry, see Michael Ruse. 'The Darwin industry: a guide', *Victorian Studies* 39/2 (Winter 1996), pp. 217-35.
[8] Ernst Mayr. 'The nature of the Darwinian revolution', *Science* New Series 176/4038 (2 Jun. 1972), p. 988.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] Sandra Herbert. 'The Darwinian revolution revisited', *Journal of the History of Biology* 38/1, The "Darwinian Revolution": Whether, What and Whose? (Spring 2005), p. 62.

out of the wreckage of intellectual discombobulation.[11] The narrative of a revolution is not discarded, but whether it was 'Darwinian' at all becomes the pertinent question. Thus, according to Peter Bowler, the revolution was principally *non*-Darwinian, and was championed by men like Spencer for whom natural selection existed only as a peripheral concept (a point partially rejected by Spencer's recent biographer, Mark Francis).[12]

Several scholars have made the distinctness of Darwin's theory from Spencer's the starting point of their investigation into Parry's work, firmly emplacing him within the non-Darwinian context. For Bennett Zon, emphasising (as Bowler does) the internal contradictions between Darwin's and Spencer's theories, Parry's evolutionary ideas were possibly even 'non non-Darwinian'.[13] Zon suggests that Victorian evolutionary musicologists including Parry could be separated into two camps, 'a-Darwinists' and 'pick-n-mix Darwinists', denoting either a complete disregard of Darwin's work or the selective espousal of some aspects of his theory, respectively.[14] This approach, however, has not been entirely conducive to the understanding of the composer's personal response to evolutionary theory, let alone his motivations for maintaining such a worldview. The question whether Parry would be better served by the label Darwinian or Spencerian, while providing crucial insight into the intellectual cross-currents of the period, has often confined scholars to the exclusive study of his one treatise, *The Evolution of the Art of Music*, at the expense of his other writings and the personal context of the work. In some cases, it has led interpreters to speculate on Parry's motives based on ideological inference rather than on biographical fact (especially since Social Darwinism has been used to justify racist and imperialist policies in the past). As a result, there is a pronounced disparity between two representations of Parry, one constructed by cross-disciplinary writers, and the other by his biographers – one sees Parry as a Eurocentric racist, motivated by imperialistic or even

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[11] Ruse. 'The Darwinian revolution: rethinking its meaning and significance', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 106, Supplement I: In the Light of Evolution: Two Centuries of Darwin (16 Jun. 2009), p. 10046.

[12] Peter Bowler. *The non-Darwinian revolution: reinterpreting a historical myth* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1988). In his recent biography of Spencer, Mark Francis casts some doubt on the synthetic philosopher's Lamarckian heritage: "Neither in his use of data nor in his conclusions did Spencer's early ideas resemble theories of natural selection or of Lamarckian evolution. The adaptive aspects of Spencer's work concerned change within single animals, individual psyches or particular cultures." See Francis. *Herbert Spencer and the invention of modern life* (Chesham: Acumen, 2007), p. 209.

[13] Bennett Zon. 'The "non-Darwinian" revolution and the great chain of musical being' in *Evolution and Victorian culture*, ed. Bernard Lightman and Bennett Zon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 197.

[14] *Ibid.*

misogynistic impulses, while the other sees the same historical figure as an anti-imperialist, an opponent of racism, and a passionate advocate of female suffrage and equality. That this incongruence has been allowed to persist in present-day literature speaks to the risks of making speculative, interdisciplinary departures before biographical matters have been adequately settled. The function of the present thesis is largely to bring Parry's intellectual biography back into the purview of modern scholarship.

As Mike Hawkins explains, one of the ways in which historians have tried to exonerate Darwin from the ideological perversions of Social Darwinism has been to portray him as an impartial scientist "concerned with discovering the principles of organic evolution by means of argument, experiment and observation."[15] His methodological differences with Spencer are rightly emphasised; Darwin's respect for the synthetic philosopher was checked by his awareness of the latter thinker's *a posteriori* deficiencies: "If he had trained himself to observe more, even at the expense of… some loss of thinking power, he would have been a wonderful man."[16] While Spencer formulated his synthetic system based on haphazard intuition and a loosely woven mesh of scientific, philosophical and political ideas, Darwin sought to fortify his theory by offering converging lines of empirical evidence, knowing that his book would provoke fierce intellectual opposition. According to Ruse, Darwin was well-versed in the hypothetico-deductive traditions of Herschel and Whewell; his aim was to become the "Newton of biology", that is, to prove beyond reasonable doubt that evolution was as factual as the laws of gravity.[17] Similarly, there is a tendency among writers to stress the non-scientific content of Social Darwinism as a point of distinction, often with Social Darwinism being taken synonymously with Spencerianism. As Mark Francis points out:

> Such badge-engineering proposes that while, in the modern era, theories of natural selection were used as doctrines of racial competition, this blemish was not Darwin's fault. There is a transfer of blame at work here: Darwin is innocent, therefore the fault must lie elsewhere. At this point Spencer is arbitrarily substituted for Darwin, presumably because he too was well known and, not being a professional scientist, he serves as a more acceptable scapegoat. However, this substitution is unsatisfactory since Spencer was no

[15] Mike Hawkins. *Social Darwinism in European and American thought 1860-1945: nature as model and nature as threat* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 14.
[16] On the fundamental differences of Darwin's and Spencer's theories, see Derek Freeman. 'The evolutionary theories of Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer', *Current Anthropology* 15/3 (Sep. 1974), pp. 211-37.
[17] Ruse. 'Darwin's debt to philosophy: an examination of the influence of the philosophical ideas of John F. W. Herschel and William Whewell on the development of Charles Darwin's theory of evolution', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science* 6/2 (Jun. 1975), p. 166.

> more racist than Darwin: there is no evidence for Spencer's guilt, and the charge against him is even less well founded.[18]

Other historians opposed to this reading question Darwin's immunity and argue that his accomplishments should not be taken out of their ideological context.[19] They emphasise the socio-political elements of Darwin's theory, his closeness to and intellectual kinship with Spencer, his own status as a Social Darwinist and so forth. On some accounts, Darwin's theory was successful mainly because it arrived at a timely juncture in the history of science. Scientific disciplines were becoming rapidly professionalised in universities, and the idea of the scientific specialist was already beginning to displace that of the eclectic generalist.[20] Darwin's celebrity status, as Vassiliki Smocovitis explains, signals "the fact that the new profession of science served legitimating functions (and was in term legitimated by) popular audiences."[21] Whereas Bowler makes the non-prevalence of natural selection the substance of his argument, other interpreters stress that Darwin himself held wider sympathies than was generally admitted. Works such as Desmond and Moore's *Darwin's Sacred Cause* (2010) have revitalised the image of the naturalist as a moral and social thinker. Desmond and Moore maintain that "From the very outset Darwin concerned himself with the unity of humankind. This notion of 'brotherhood' grounded his evolutionary enterprise."[22] Darwin's views on human racial origins and his idea of a universal brotherhood of mankind were part of his appeal to radical thinkers, including Parry. There is a contextual justification for this view: as Jim Endersby argues, natural science in Victorian England was essentially a 'sympathetic' science.[23] Sympathy with the natural world was a pre-requisite trait of the naturalist (like Darwin and Hooker) who wished to understand

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[18] Francis, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

[19] Robert J. Richards identifies 'right' and 'left' extremes in Darwin interpretation, the former being more abstract and the latter more socially or politically oriented (i.e. internalist and externalist). See Richards. 'Biology' in *From natural philosophy to the sciences: writing the history of nineteenth-century science*, ed. David Cahan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), p. 30. On Darwin's often unacknowledged debt to Spencer and *vice versa*, see Valerie Haines. 'Spencer, Darwin, and the question of reciprocal influence', *Journal of the History of Biology* 24/3 (Autumn 1991), pp. 409-31.

[20] On the subject of professionalism in late-Victorian England and beyond, see Harold Perkin. *The rise of professional society: England since 1880* (London: Routledge, 1989).

[21] Vassiliki Smocovitis. ' "It ain't over 'til it's over": rethinking the Darwinian revolution', *Journal of the History of Biology* 38/1, The "Darwinian Revolution": Whether, What and Whose? (Spring 2005), p. 40.

[22] Adrian Desmond and James Moore. *Darwin's sacred cause: how hatred of slavery shaped Darwin's views on human evolution* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2009), p. xvi.

[23] Jim Endersby. 'Sympathetic science: Charles Darwin, Joseph Hooker, and the passions of Victorian naturalists', *Victorian Studies* 51/2, Special Issue: Darwin and the Evolution of Victorian Studies (Winter 2009), pp. 299-320.

more about the subject of his inquiry. His goal was to bring himself, and mankind at large, into closer contact with the natural world, or in Darwin's case to demonstrate the connectedness of all life from microbes to man. As discussed in a later chapter, it is clear from *Instinct and Character* that these compassionate aspects, especially with regard to racial singularity, were what Parry obtained from his reading of Darwin. Building on Humboldt's Romantic concepts of nature (with its insistence on a common origin of species as opposed to special creation), Darwinian evolution represented a high point in the sympathetic tradition within the natural sciences. Indeed Darwin, like E. B. Taylor, created an atmosphere in which the question of race and cultural differences could be pursued without enmity. The author of the *Origin of Species* was, above all, a believer in progress, who saw evolutionary fact as promising the realisation of man's greater potentials: "And as natural selection works solely by and for the good of each being, all corporeal and mental endowments will tend to progress towards perfection."[24] Science in this respect gave moral assurance where theology, with its emphasis on sin and man's expulsion from Eden, lacked logical jurisdiction. Hawkins demonstrates that while Darwin did not construct such a complete social theory of evolution himself, he was undeniably a Social Darwinist in every sense of the term.[25] The *Origin of Species* provided an intellectual framework in which evolutionary theory could be applied to social and mental phenomena, such as attempted in *The Descent of Man* and *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*. As Hawkins further notes, Darwin shared many conventional views regarding the evolutionary superiority of civilised nations over savage populations, as well as notions of women's cerebral inferiority to men.[26] In a similar vein, Robert J. Richards maintains that "Darwin's theory preserved nature's moral purpose and used teleological means of doing so."[27] Insofar as Darwin saw fit to draw parallels between animal breeding and natural selection, he originally envisaged a morally-purposive natural selector rather than the crude form of selection with which his theory is nowadays associated.

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[24] Darwin. *On the origin of species* (London: John Murray, 1859), p. 489.
[25] Hawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 36.
[27] Richards. 'Darwin's place in the history of thought: a reevaluation', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 106, Supplement 1: In the Light of Evolution: Two Centuries of Darwin (16 Jun. 2009), p. 10056.

The term 'non-Darwinian', by making a theoretical point the basis of an historical polemic, creates a false dichotomy which conflates Darwinism with non-teleological thought. This is evident in Zon's juxtaposition of Spencerian 'certainty' and Darwinian 'doubt', leading to a problematic assessment of Parry's *Evolution of the Art of Music* as a work of pseudo-scientific, intellectual arrogance.[28] Zon's reading also experiences difficulties on at least two other fronts: firstly, J. G. Lennox has argued that Darwin was in fact a teleologist[29], and secondly, Mark Francis has put a question mark on Spencer's teleological reputation.[30] Such an interpretation not only glosses over Parry's strong empirical background[31] but also unfairly downplays his Darwinian ties. Indeed for Darwin and his supporters, natural selection was the means by which progress could be explained[32]; their evolutionary doctrine was founded not upon the denial of the inevitability of progress, but rather upon the notion that progress was more or less a universally constituted fact needing to be accounted for by the rigorous practice of science.[33]

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[28] See Zon. 'C. Hubert H. Parry, The Evolution of the Art of Music (1893/96)', *Victorian Review* 35/1 (Spring 2009), pp. 68-72.

[29] James Lennox. 'Darwin was a teleologist', *Biology and Philosophy* 8/4 (1993), pp. 409-21. The Swiss anatomist, Albert von Kölliker, saw the teleological aspects of Darwin's thinking as a vice, while Asa Gray saw it as a virtue; see John Beatty. 'Teleology and the relationship of biology to the physical sciences in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries' in *Newton's legacy: the origins and influence of Newtonian science*, ed. Frank Durham and Robert Purrington (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), pp. 113-44.

[30] As Francis argues, "for Spencer, as for his early mentor T. H. Huxley, biological evolution was not a matter of directed growth, but a blind materialistic progression starting from the earlier forms of life." See Francis. 'Herbert Spencer' in *The Wiley-Blackwell companion to major social theorists, vol. 1*, ed. George Ritzer and Jeffrey Stepnisky (Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2011), p. 171.

[31] On the influence of British empiricism on musicology, see Bojan Bujic. 'Musicology and intellectual history: a backward glance to the year 1885', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 111 (1984-1985), pp. 139-54.

[32] Darwin later clarifies, in the fifth edition of his *Origin of Species*, that natural selection "does not necessarily include progressive development – it only takes advantage of such variations as arise and are beneficial to each creature under its complex relations of life." See Darwin. *On the origin of species*, 5th ed. (London: John Murray, 1869), p. 145.

[33] The argument is not intended to undermine Darwin's scientific credentials by ascribing to it extraneous, moral attributes. Darwin, it must be repeated, saw virtue in doing good science; his capacity to commit to a revised view of natural selection later in life testifies to his overriding belief in the empirical process. Interpreters like Richards rightly warn against the temptation to over-simplify Darwin's response to political pressure: "Darwin may have grown up in a political and social context of individualistic utilitarianism, but his biology of moral behaviour turned out to be authentically altruistic and expressly antiutilitarian. One simply could not predict in advance what the most powerful forces shaping the science might be." See Richards, *op. cit.*, p. 10060; and Richards. 'Biology' in *From natural philosophy to the sciences: writing the history of nineteenth-century science*, ed. David Cahan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), p. 30.

Although Darwin was later to adopt a less teleological view of nature, he left an unconverted legacy in his chef-d'oeuvre, the *Origin*, replete with suggestions that nature tended to the "production of higher animals".[34] Parry understood Darwin's richly implicative work within the context of Mill's *System of Logic*, and later the writings of John Morley, emphasising human history as a sequence of causes and effects. Victorian radicals including Parry saw the science of evolution as verifying the possibility, or rather the inevitability, of social change. Winwood Reade's *Martyrdom of Man*, which he encountered in 1873, stressed man's perfectibility through the elimination of disease; Reade presented a secular view of history that was deeply entrenched in the language of positivism and Social Darwinism.[35] Man's future, according to Reade, lay in the pursuit of scientific knowledge, culminating in the success of space exploration. As Parry acknowledged in his paper to the Musical Association, Darwin's theory was a devastating nail in the coffin for the theological hypothesis; his theory convincingly validated the gradualist, mechanistic conception of nature. Mayr writes that "natural selection provides a satisfactory explanation for the course of organic evolution and makes an invoking of supernatural teleological forces unnecessary."[36] Like the rest of the natural world, the development of human arts now required a naturalistic, ultimately secular, explanation. Parry held that even the most complex musical systems could be reduced to a simple source, much to the detriment of the doctrine of special creation. On the other hand, the conspicuous absence of natural selection from Parry's evolutionary narrative was a reflection, not of his ignorance of the details of Darwin's theory, but of his view that music was an artificial product that could not be limited to the processes of selection and competition which exerted a direct, incontrovertible influence on the rest of the natural world. Human history differed from natural history in being predicated in the operations of man's intellect, his hyper-awareness of his own existence, and the exercise of free will. Here, Parry had more in common with Huxley, who perceptibly maintained that society culminated in the transcendence of natural selection. Man had the power to influence the tendencies of evolution to his own benefit, though he achieved this by first strengthening his understanding of the way in which change occurred *naturally*. Indeed Parry's views on the origins of music, as the next section demonstrates, conformed neither to Darwin's or Spencer's account; as it happens, he was

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[34] Darwin, *op. cit.*, p. 490. For discussion, see Lennox, *op. cit.*, p. 411.
[35] See Hawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
[36] Mayr. *What makes biology unique?: considerations on the autonomy of a scientific discipline* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 61.

fundamentally uninterested in tracing out the *unconscious* developments of the musical art. Rather, his positivist reading of history documented the progress of art as a deliberately sustained act of human problem-solving under variable intellectual conditions.[37]

In working out his general argument for the *Evolution of the Art of Music*, however, Parry inherited more from the rich language of Spencer's synthetic philosophy than from Darwin's theory of natural selection.[38] Spencer's evolutionary vocabulary went beyond the study of the animal kingdom to make evolution the guiding principle of all phenomena, providing a veritable arsenal with which to defend evolutionary thought outside its empirical habitat of biology. To understand the extent of Spencer's influence on Parry, it is important to dispel the prevalent assumption that he was an uncompromising advocate of Spencer's social theory. Rather, his attachment to Spencer had its basis in the synthetic philosopher's radical political views, his rejection of dogma and his uneasy relationship with traditional utilitarianism, all of which the composer enthusiastically shared in his formative period (indeed, at around the time he first encountered Spencer's writings). As his diary shows, he was first struck by Spencer's unorthodox behaviour, his readiness to defy authority, to withstand prosecution and to challenge social conformity.[39] "The starting-point of Spencer's quest," says David Wiltshire of Spencer's dissenting background, was "his repudiation of Christianity"[40] – as it was also for the young Parry, struggling to uphold his Christian faith after his disenchanting exposure to ecclesiastical history at Oxford. Furthermore, Spencer's political daring, clothed in evolutionary jargon, comfortably matched Parry's youthful agitation for social reform ("to the true reformer no institution is sacred, no belief above criticism"[41]) with a Victorian predilection for piecemeal change

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[37] On the currency of the idea of progress in music historiography, see Rudolf Flotzinger. 'Progress and development in music history' in *Idea of progress*, ed. Arnold Burgen, et. al. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1997), pp. 121-38.

[38] For discussion of Spencer's sociological thought, see, for instance, Robert Perrin. 'Herbert Spencer's four theories of social evolution', *American Journal of Sociology* 81/6 (May 1976), pp. 1339-59; Werner Stark. 'Herbert Spencer's three sociologies', *American Sociological Review* 26/4 (Aug. 1961), pp. 515-21; F. W. Maitland. 'Mr. Herbert Spencer's theory of society', *Mind* 8/32 (Oct. 1883), pp. 506-24; and Thomas Munro. 'Evolution and progress in the arts: a reappraisal of Herbert Spencer's theory', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 18/3 (Mar. 1960), pp. 294-315.

[39] See Jeremy Dibble. *C. Hubert H. Parry: His life and music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 115.

[40] David Wiltshire. *The social and political thought of Herbert Spencer* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 61.

[41] From Spencer's essay on 'manners and fashion', collected in Spencer. *Essays, scientific, political, and speculative, vol. 3* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1891), p. 31.

("as between infancy and maturity there is no short cut by which may be avoided the tedious process of growth and development through insensible increments"[42]).

At the heart of Parry's championship of Spencer lies a shared contempt for the aristocracy and a radical demand for electoral reform and universal suffrage. In contrast to Richard Hofstadter's caricature of Spencer as an ultra-conservative thinker, the early Spencer of *The Proper Sphere of Government* argued for the transfer of political power to the people at large, as a means of combating the tyranny of empire and big government. *Social Statics*, one of the first works by Spencer which Parry studied (in 1871), offered an uncompromising defence of man's inalienable individual rights.[43] Elsewhere, Spencer consistently condemned militarism and colonialism, advocated disestablishment and Free Trade; his radical positions on women's suffrage and land nationalisation were not withdrawn until later on in his intellectual career. Evolution, in this regard, protected society against the threat of conservative stagnation. As Wiltshire notes, the idea of adaptation was a cornerstone of Spencer's social thinking: "in *Social Statics* the perfection of man is described as perfect adaptation to the social mode of life."[44] This view of evolution, solidified by Darwin's findings, did not depict social progress as an "unfolding after a specific plan"[45] in the positivist manner, but rather examined history in terms of a series of adaptations to volatile external conditions. Spencer was also at pains to minimise the necessitarian implications of his theory, repudiating Comte's convenient law of the three stages.[46] Adaptation assumed an even more central position in *The Principles of Sociology*, where an organism's failure to adapt to the environment is seen as a deficit to its survivability. Parry similarly wrote in his notebook: "Adaptability is also subject to that same condition. If it was necessary for the preservation of a species those who were adaptable would survive and those who were not would perish. The unadaptable would be eliminated."[47] For the author of *Instinct and Character*, the fact of social evolution amounted to a radical attack on Toryism; those who showed a temperamental disinclination to respond to new ideas were destined to lose ground in the public contest of life.

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[42] Spencer, quoted in J. W. Burrow. *Evolution and society: a study in Victorian social theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), p. 112.
[43] Wiltshire, *op. cit.*, p. 63.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 200.
[45] *Ibid.*
[46] *Ibid.*, p. 236.
[47] Notebook.

Spencer's theory ultimately added a sense of incontrovertibility to the dynamics of social change. Making his case for universal suffrage, Spencer convincingly presented the aristocracy as a force which upset the social equilibrium and stalls progress. The aristocracy was seen, in J. D. Y. Peel's words, as "a foreign imposition, 'the Norman yoke', and the law, rigid as it was ministered, the supreme Normanism".[48] Thomas Paine's urban radicalism carried the banner of middle-class protest, while for John Stuart Mill, in his essays on *The Spirit of the Age*, the French Revolution had inaugurated a transitive period of self-consciousness by dismantling the myth of aristocratic inevitability. Spencer's disdain of fashion heralded the composer's own distrust of Wilde's aestheticism in the 1890s. According to Wiltshire, Spencer found fashion to be "remotely descended forms of obeisance to autocratic rulers"[49] – an argument which Parry reinvigorated in *Instinct and Character*. Parry's attachment to the synthetic philosopher, then, sprang from a much more radical source than admitted by modern interpreters, who would rather see his evolutionary ideas as an embodiment of Victorian racial complacency. Evolution gave Victorian radicals a more flexible view of world history, one which emphasised the continuity of change over cultural ossification. This had important ramifications for Parry's liberal account of musical development. For the author of *Man Versus the State*, well-intended over-legislation created a dangerous pathway to social disequlibrium.[50] Similarly, Parry saw over-legislation (in society as well as in art) as erroneously assuming a finality of man's condition, a proposition which ran at odds with Darwin's teachings.[51] His case for artistic freedom was essentially built on Spencer's and Mill's criticisms of Bentham's act utilitarianism. Spencer was careful to resist Mill's classification of him as an anti-utilitarian in a footnote near the end of *Utilitarianism*. Parry's version of indirect utilitarianism recognised that happiness could not be served up to people by telling them what kind of music to make or enjoy. As expanded in another chapter, Mill held that humans enjoyed greater happiness when they cultivated and exercised their higher faculties. For Parry, music critics and theorists imposed an unneeded obstruction by telling composers what they could or could not do, ultimately restricting the range of their experience. He perceived, as Stainer did, that music was too rich and complex to be reduced to theory. Furthermore, according to David Weinstein, Spencer held that "as each person becomes happier, each person

[48] J. D. Y. Peel. *Herbert Spencer: the evolution of a sociologist* (New York: Basic Books, 1971), p. 60.
[49] Wiltshire, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 106.
[51] Notebook.

becomes more moral as well. Thus, each person tends to become more adept at respecting everyone else's moral rights, enabling everyone else to become happier and more moral in turn."[52] In true Spencerian fashion, Parry was deeply concerned with how art could maximise happiness and consequentially morality, and how this happiness could be distributed across intellectually uneven populations. Later in life, Parry would blame the suppression of artistic liberty for the European relapse into military aggression.

An evolutionary history of music derived from Spencer corroborated Parry's notion of the art's intractable variety and complexity. In the 1850s and 1860s, through the discourse of his *Principles of Psychology,* 'Transcendental Physiology' and 'Progress, its law and cause', Spencer had begun to seize upon several components of his mature evolutionary hypothesis.[53] He developed his early evolutionary impressions into a complete theory in the *First Principles*, which Parry studied in 1871 and later revisited in 1875. Here, Spencer expounded the law of the instability of the homogeneous, the law of the multiplication of effects, and the law of segregation. In the *Evolution of the Art of Music* and his lecture on music and evolution, Parry readily adopted Spencer's definition of evolution as a passage from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous. In his notebook, he jotted down that "evolution is, in one sense, the perpetual development of new groups of associated movements of constant and more perfect adaptations of new forms of motions."[54] The proliferation of musical styles testified to Spencer's stated law of the increasing specialisation of functions. As music became more complex so its range of possible applications multiplied. Like Spencer, Parry saw evolution as proceeding in a seesaw motion[55]; progress was born out of a homogeneous state of instability and was the result of the perpetual conflict between evolution and dissolution. *Instinct and Character* also regurgitated Spencer's premature version of the theory of the conservation of energy and the persistence of force, a position then already hopelessly outdated.[56] Parry found Spencer's attempt to unify knowledge and his sustained argumentation persuasive, because they corresponded well with his own belief that the

[52] David Weinstein. *Equal freedom and utility: Herbert Spencer's liberal utilitarianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 216.
[53] Wiltshire, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
[54] Notebook.
[55] Notebook.
[56] *Instinct and Character*, pp. 1-3.

highest knowledge equalled an ability to see facts, not independently by themselves, but in relation to each other.[57]

While Parry was undoubtedly greatly indebted to Spencer, modern scholarship is largely silent on the nature of their differences.[58] Spencer's evolutionary system was a product of his individualistic political ideology, informed by his own background as an economist and the influence of James Wilson, Naussau Senior, Thomas Hodgkin and others. In turn, Spencer was able to deduce strong *laissez-faire* positions from his universal precepts; as Wiltshire writes, "the use of evolution to bolster individualism thus involved Spencer in a circular re-validation of his own beliefs."[59] Although Parry viewed Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (read 1870 and revisited in 1916) and *laissez-faire* economics favourably (quoting Smith on his criticism of mercantilism in *Instinct and Character*[60]), he approached Spencer's theory not necessarily as an individualist but a historian searching for a framework in which to explore the complexity of music. Upholding his values of economic competition, Spencer viewed the landed aristocracy as standing opposed to his ideal of the self-made entrepreneur.[61] For Parry, however, steeped in Ruskinian thought, money was not the measure of true wealth[62]; as Ruskin taught in *Unto This Last*: "[seek] not greater wealth, but simpler pleasure; not higher fortune, but deeper felicity… There is no wealth but life. Life, including all its powers of love, of joy, and of admiration."[63] While Spencer distrusted socialists like Morris and Ruskin for spreading a populist doctrine framed in error, Parry remained a resilient critic of individualistic commercialism throughout his life. More importantly, he saw music as a raw expression of human solidarity against cold-blooded utilitarianism and a stronghold against the avarice of the capitalists.

As a consequence of Spencer's *laissez-faire* impulses, struggle and conflict played a significantly larger role in his model of evolution than in Parry's. Spencer's attack on over-legislation had its basis

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[57] He also argues in *Instinct and Character* that "every branch of human thought is complementary to every other; and that as soon as the particular ways in which they are complementary are discovered they seem to locate themselves in accordance with affinities." *Ibid*., p. 375.
[58] John Offer is more careful than many modern interpreters to ascribe to Parry a certain degree of independence from Spencerian thought. See Offer. 'An examination of Spencer's sociology of music and its impact on music historiography in Britain', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 14/1 (Jun. 1983), p. 48.
[59] Wiltshire, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
[60] Charles Larcom Graves. *Hubert Parry: his life and works, vol. 2* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1926), p. 339.
[61] Wiltshire, *op. cit.*, p. 217.
[62] See Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
[63] John Ruskin. *Unto this last* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1921/1860), pp. 116, 125.

in a Lamarckian distrust of state intervention (not shared by Parry); he treated with acute scepticism anything that interfered with the natural workings of evolution. For Spencer, suffering was an essential part of social existence because progress depended on the non-survival of the non-elect. Welfare measures discouraged individual incentive, impeded Lamarckian growth and damaged society as a whole.[64] While Spencer and Parry both saw suffering and unhappiness as signs of imperfect adaptation, their proposed remedies were vastly different. Parry's disagreement with Spencer stemmed from his view of humanity as essentially biologically non-hierarchical[65]; his social philosophy was an ambiguous blend of Enlightenment and evolutionary thought. On the subject of education, for example, Parry's egalitarian disposition favoured state-imposed uniformity, whereas Spencer saw state education as interfering with natural selection.[66] One crucial distinction, substantiated in later sections, is that whereas Spencer regarded the growth of political morality as an emotive rather than a rational process[67], for Parry, like Buckle and the other positivists, it was predominantly a rational process. Unlike Spencer, the composer also drew a sharp contrast between the state of nature and the state of art, especially with respect to music. While Parry was motivated by Spencer's endeavour to marry social theory to biology, borrowing his metaphor of a social organism[68], cultural progress for Parry ultimately meant the non-biological transfer of knowledge from one generation to the next. Thus, Spencer's habit of reducing art into a purely scientific question did not sit well with the composer:

> [Spencer] once informed me that art was passing into such a state of extravagant complexity that it was impossible for the ear to disintegrate the confused mass of sound. I argued that a first-rate conductor, like Richter, for instance, could hear every single part in the most complex piece of orchestration, and even if one little hautboy played a wrong note he could pick it out, and that if he could not he would not be worth his place. But the philosopher merely repeated that it was a scientific question, and that it could be demonstrated that the human ear could not identify the details or unravel the complications of more than a certain number of sounds at a time, as the apparatus was not

[64] Wiltshire, *op. cit.*, p. 154.
[65] On Spencer's conflicting allegiances to hereditarianism and environmentalism, see Peel, *op. cit.*, p. 144.
[66] Spencer views on education were shaped by his own childhood experiences and his libertarian ideal of limited state interference. See Wiltshire, *op. cit.*, p. 143.
[67] Spencer. *An autobiography, vol. 2* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1904), p. 366: "It had become manifest to me that men are rational beings but in a very limited sense."
[68] On Spencer's 'democratic' vision of a social organism and his use of scientific rhetoric to advertise his political affiliation, see James Elwick. 'Herbert Spencer and the disunity of the social organism', *History of Science* 41 (2003), pp. 35-72.

> provided for it. I answered that his theory was contrary to fact and experience, and we both remained where we were.[69]

For all their emphasis on realism and 'truth to nature', the Pre-Raphaelites, by whom the composer was greatly influenced, also maintained an inviolable distinction between art and nature. As with his disagreement with Grove on the subject of form, Parry was sceptical of any attempt to determine the best possible music through scientific speculation. Evolution, for Parry, was primarily descriptive, not prescriptive – nor was it a necessarily benevolent force as Spencer believed. While commentators often equate Spencerianism with the highest optimism and confidence in progress, Parry was arguably closer in his optimistic outlook to Darwin in seeing evolution as engendering a world of new creative opportunities, than to Spencer's more pessimistic view of social development, bought at the expense of the suffering of the multitudes.[70] The distinction becomes pronounced when Spencer's later fears of social regression are considered. Parry read *Facts and Comments* in 1903 and shared its author's antipathy towards imperialism and his concerns about degeneration. Unlike Spencer's response to social regression, however, Parry's did not entail a surrender of his support for universal suffrage or his other radical positions (his personal brand of reform Darwinism is treated in later discussions). What Spencer regarded as the 're-barbarisation' of society was, for the composer, the result of the unchecked growth of commercialism, the spread of misinformation among the people and the power struggle between powerful elites and an awakening democracy.

Although deeply interested in psychology, Parry was generally not invested in his writings, as Spencer was, in phrenological research.[71] He retained a much more classical view of associationism in the pre-evolutionary, Lockean tradition. His distinctness in these respects was more than just ideological. As Peel points out in his biography of Spencer, "the nature of Spencer's system, and the way he thought, are intimately related to his personal character."[72] Spencer's success as a systematic thinker was hampered by his self-confidence and a notorious unwillingness to read authors he

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[69] 'Herbert Spencer and music', *The Edinburgh Evening News*, 31 December 1903, p. 4.
[70] See discussion in Haines. 'Is Spencer's theory an evolutionary theory?', *American Journal of Sociology* 93/5 (Mar. 1988), p. 1201.
[71] Zon also discusses Parry's work through the lenses of von Baerian and Haecklian recapitulationism; however, in reality Parry's rationalisation makes no tangible appeal to embryological thought, nor does recapitulation theory hold good in relation to his emphasis on musical reforms, which render many historical models obsolete and irrelevant to modern music.
[72] Peel, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

disagreed with or to update his opinions in the light of new evidence. On the other hand, Parry was a vociferous (and at times even unselective) reader and a highly eclectic thinker; he was more receptive, for example, than Spencer to the contemporary challenge to Lamarckian use-inheritance. The composer was also evidently aware of the pitfalls of Spencer's character and his lack of profundity on the subject of music, questioning his attitude towards modern art and especially modern music (yet his estimate of Meyerbeer, despite his dubious methods of arriving at it[73], was arguably fairer than Parry's). Spencer's recalcitrance towards modern forms of music was interpreted as a symptom of his advocacy of theory over experience. Parry thus often found himself in the unenviable position of disagreeing with the esteemed thinker:

> My recollections of talks with Mr. Spencer are very scrappy and uncertain, and too many of the things I remember most vividly were naturally such as I profoundly disagreed with. They usually had nothing to do with music. One which I remember most definitely was about football, which he at the time condemned very decisively as a brutal and a demoralizing game. I could not help chaffing him a little about it, as he looked so supremely unlikely to have any practical experience. He took it quite well, but persisted in reiterating his objection and suggestions… Another time we were talking about contemporary Art, and, after pouring a good deal of scorn upon the most prominent painters of the day, he ended solemnly with the remark that 'Art had a great future before it, in the line of making machinery beautiful – that there was so much room for application of beauty of design and detail in the making of the cylinders of engines, and piston-rods and cranks and driving wheels.'[74]

Parry is usually regarded as being at the receiving end of Spencer's intellectual largesse. That his memory of Spencer consisted mainly in their friendly disputes points to the highly, albeit often unacknowledged, reciprocal nature of their relationship.[75] Spencer's musical opinions in *Facts and Comments* mirror some of Parry's own positions, especially his alertness to the corrupting influence of virtuosity on the audience, while at other times Spencer misleadingly quotes the composer in support of his own theory of music's origins in impassioned speech.[76] Klaus Wachsmann speculates that Parry's absence in Spencer's autobiography might be due to the philosopher's lack of concern for

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[73] Spencer famously contrasted Meyerbeer and Mozart by counting the number of scale-passages and arpeggios appearing in their works. See *Facts and comments* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1902), p. 113.
[74] 'Herbert Spencer: some recollections by Sir Hubert Parry', *The Musical Times* 45/731 (1 Jan. 1904), p. 28.
[75] Klaus Wachsmann writes, "If Parry stood so clearly under Spencer's influence, one might well ask whether this relation was mutual. Strangely enough, there is no mention of his friend in Spencer's autobiography." See Wachsmann. 'Spencer to Hood: a changing view of non-European music', *Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and* Ireland 1973 (1973), p. 7.
[76] Spencer, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

observations and details.[77] By the time Parry made his recollections for the *Musical Times*, the passage of time had put some distance between him and his youthful devotion to the philosopher. Yet Spencer's enormous influence on his mature thought is indisputable: his emphasis on the subjectivity of knowledge (against the positivists), his agnostic doctrine of the 'Unknowable', his view that society is an aggregate of individuals and that the character of society is only as good as the character of its constituent units, all find echoes in Parry's writings from his *Evolution of the Art of Music* through to *Instinct and Character*. Although the whereabouts of their private correspondence is not known, Parry's preface to the *Evolution of the Art of Music* shows that he sought Spencer's guidance when writing on the topic of 'savage' music.[78] With regard to Spencer's evolutionary theory, the general principles were deemed more important than the discrepancies and flaws in the details:

> Whatever his judgment was on matters of detail, the general exposition of his principles of evolution and psychology and so forth have had an effect on the interpretation of artistic developments which is of supreme importance.[79]

When Spencer died in 1903, Parry wrote to Charles Holme, Spencer's executor and editor of the *Studio*, expressing his inability to attend the cremation due to the pressure of his work at the Royal College of Music.[80] By then, Parry had already distanced himself more assertively from Spencer's views and had begun exploring new musicological avenues, beginning with his research into seventeenth-century music. Yet both Darwin and Spencer played a deeply ingrained role in the composer's early thought, and they exerted a long-lasting influence on his writings. Darwin's mission to secure a natural understanding of the biological world, the ground-breaking success of his evolutionary theory, along with Spencer's exemplary method of addressing social complexity and the ideological openness of his metaphor of cosmic evolution, invited a musicological response from the scientifically-minded Parry. The most direct result of this early, crucial intellectual association is the *Evolution of the Art of Music*, a work intended to revitalise musical scholarship in England and to change the way that the whole history of music might be perceived.

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[77] Wachsmann, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
[78] Parry. *The evolution of the art of music* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1905/1893), p. v.
[79] 'Herbert Spencer: some recollections by Sir Hubert Parry', *The Musical Times* 45/731 (1 Jan. 1904), p. 28.
[80] Letter from Hubert Parry to Charles Holme, 12 December 1903, Senate House Library, GB 96 MS 791.

3.2 From Savagery to Civility: The Quest for Music's Origins

At the heart of Parry's search for a naturalistic account of music lies the question of how music originated in the first place, given the untenability of special creation. This section discusses his ideas in the *Evolution of the Art of Music* in relation to other Victorian theories of music's origins, especially Darwin's and Spencer's. Parry's unique position, informed by his practical knowledge as a composer, highlights his ideological distance from the more theoretical and scientific minds of the day who also confronted the same problem. As a practitioner of music, Parry viewed the question of the art's origins as closely linked with its ideal functions in modern society. For the composer, the emergence of musical consciousness represents an important milestone in man's cultural ascent from a condition of savagery to that of civility, through which the state of man and the state of nature became properly segregated. His conclusions on the specifics of musical beginnings can also be seen to premise his strong convictions regarding the civilising nature of the art.

In the absence of direct evidence, Victorian intellectuals offered many conflicting hypotheses as to how music might have originated. As Zon points out, Joseph Goddard was the first Victorian thinker to attempt an evolutionary explanation of music's origins in 1857.[81] Spencer's famous article for *Fraser's Magazine*, aptly entitled 'The Origin and Function of Music', appeared later that same year. In his article, Spencer posits that music developed out of emotionally intensified speech tones and that qualities such as loudness and variances in pitch indicate a higher level of emotional engagement. Darwin's position, contrary to Spencer's, was developed through his early work on birdsong; Darwin first hinted at a theory of music's origins based on natural and sexual selection in his posthumous *Essay of 1844*.[82] The *Descent of Man* presents an evolutionary explanation of music which runs counter to Spencer's speech-to-music arrangement. Music, according to Darwin, predates speech and was originally developed through courtship rituals. He further suggests, in Edward Lippmann's

[81] Zon. 'The "non-Darwinian" revolution and the great chain of musical being' in *Evolution and Victorian culture*, ed. Bernard Lightman and Bennett Zon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 196; see also Zon. ' "Spiritual" selection: Joseph Goddard and the music theology of evolution' in *Music and theology in nineteenth-century Britain*, ed. Martin Clarke (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), p. 235.
[82] On Darwin's position on music's origins, see Peter Kivy. 'Charles Darwin on music', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 12/1 (Spring 1959), pp. 42-8.

words, that "musical sounds were one of the bases for the development of language."[83] In his book, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (1872), the famed naturalist asserts that Spencer's explanation is "too general and vague to throw much light on the various differences, with the exception of that of loudness, between ordinary speech and emotional speech, and singing."[84]

The English psychologist, Edmund Gurney, popularised the controversy in his work, the *Power of Sound,* siding primarily with Darwin's courtship hypothesis. The debate lived on healthily in the pages of the philosophic journal, *Mind*, but the extent to which Parry was aware of its recent developments, or was able to incorporate them into his own thought process, is not known. Indeed in 1891, the *Evolution of the Art of Music* was only two years away from its completion, and the author was overwhelmed by the amount of new ethnological information flowing in from the field. In his book, Parry takes a middle-ground between Darwin and Spencer, envisaging music and speech as originating from a common source. This is not made explicit by the author, but can be discerned from his manner of addressing music and language in analogous terms:

> All such utterances are music in the rough, and out of such elements the art of music has grown, just as the elaborate arts of human speech must have grown out of the grunts and whinings of primitive savages. But neither art nor speech begins till something definite appears in the texture of its material. Some intellectual process must be brought to bear upon both to make them capable of being retained in the mind; and the early steps of both are very similar.[85]

With Darwin's theory of sexual selection, Parry's formulation in the *Evolution of the Art of Music* had very little in common. In the *Descent of Man*, Darwin argues from birdsong that "language owes its origin to the imitation and modification of various natural sounds, the voices of other animals, and man's own instinctive cries, aided by signs and gestures."[86] Parry's own naturalist interests in birds is best observed here in passing: in 1903, he was in correspondence with the Oxford-trained solicitor, W. L. Mellersh, on the flocking behaviour of starlings.[87] Mellersh passed Parry's observations on Irish gannets to the ornithologist, Edmund Selous (brother of the famous explorer and hunter, Frederick Selous). Mellersh was trying to popularise his book on the birds of

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[83] Edward Lippman. *A history of Western musical aesthetics* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), p. 276.
[84] Darwin. *The expression of the emotions in man and animals* (London: John Murray, 1872), p. 9.
[85] Parry. *The evolution of the art of music* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1905/1893), p. 6.
[86] Darwin. *The descent of man, vol. 1* (London: John Murray, 1871), p. 56.
[87] Letter from William Lock Mellersh to Hubert Parry, 14 February 1903, ShP.

Gloucestershire (which Parry came around to read in 1910); he also shared with the composer a mutual interest in music. Parry's Romantic conviction that music began with expression, however, led him to dismiss the notion that language, or indeed music, could have originally come about in the imitation of birdsong.[88] Regardless of whether or not musical sounds have their basis in the mimicry of nature, as a hypothesis intended to explain the phenomena of musical expression, the idea is too superficial and glosses over the actual point of the art (as Peter Kivy notes, "it must be conceded that music did not hold an important position in Darwin's thought"[89]). Parry was more concerned with explaining the origin of music as an *artistic* phenomenon and its staying power in human society throughout the ages. How could music's enormous sympathetic and expressive powers be explained? His reticence towards Darwin's theory might have also stemmed from his conservative stance on sex. Would an evolutionary theory of music derived from sexual indulgence denigrate its credibility as a 'noble' art? Darwinian sexual selection was the theme of Eliot's *Middlemarch*, challenging the scientific justification of women's inferiority (Parry named his first daughter after the novel's female protagonist, Dorothea Brooke, and his second daughter, Gwendolen, after a character in *Daniel Deronda*). Eliot's reservations on giving sexual rivalry too wide a licence in society reflected Parry's own dislike of hereditarianism and biologism. Furthermore, Darwin's idea contained severe Platonic restrictions, such as when he argued that "music arouses in us various emotions, but not the more terrible ones of horror, fear, rage, &c. It awakens the gentler feelings of tenderness and love."[90] Parry's musical career was a statement against the simplistic and complacent utilitarian view which saw music as merely a socially useful pastime. On the very first page of *The Evolution of the Art of Music*, he offered music's sympathetic qualities as a bulwark against man's "cold-blooded utilitarian motives".[91]

The advantage of Spencer's explanation over Darwin's theory of sexual rivalry, which made it more immediately appealing to the composer, was that it discussed music primarily as an emotional experience. Parry saw musical articulations chiefly as attempts to convey expression, and speech as being more specifically geared towards meaning. However, John Offer perceives that "when discussing

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[88] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
[89] Kivy, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
[90] In the first edition, Darwin writes: "Music affects every emotion, but does not by itself excite in us the more terrible emotions of horror, rage, &c." See Darwin. *The descent of man, vol. 2* (London: John Murray, 1871), p. 335.
[91] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

the origin of music Parry, whilst sharing Spencer's language, refrains from actually claiming that music evolved from excited speech".[92] For Parry, it was not a matter of chronology but rather of focus: one tended to the evolution of language, the other to the development of music *as an art form*. This conspicuously set him apart from Spencer's view that music was an extension of speech. Parry also differed from Spencer on the question of rhythm, adopting a stance closer to Richard Wallaschek's in *Primitive Music* (1893). During the period that Wallaschek was working and living in London, between 1890 and 1895, he became a prominent participant in the debate on music's origins. In the July 1891 volume of *Mind*, the author argues that "whereas Mr. Spencer, however, seems to think that musical modulation originates in the modulation of speech, I maintain that it arises directly from the rhythmical impulse."[93] Wallaschek bases his conclusion on 1) the fact that rhythm plays a superior role to melody in even the music of modern-day primitive cultures; 2) the incongruity in the development of speech *per se* and speech used in singing; and 3) the view that "music is an expression of emotion, speech the expression of thought."[94] The third point is similar to Parry's, although Wallaschek goes a step further by dissociating intellectual and emotional faculties of the brain[95], speculating that in the primitive stage of mental development "thought and emotion [might] have not yet become clearly differentiated."[96] Zon, in attempting to link Parry with Spencer and in opposition to Rowbotham, maintains inaccurately that "for Parry the origins of music lie in vocal roots."[97] In reality, the *Evolution of the Art of Music* argues that musical expression can be divided into two orders, melodic and rhythmic. The author appears inclined to sit on the fence on the question of chronology, whereas Wallaschek directly opposes Spencer's speech theory. In *The Music of the Seventeenth Century*, Parry similarly stresses the importance of rhythm and dancing:

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[92] Offer, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

[93] Richard Wallaschek. 'On the origin of music,' *Mind* 16/ 63 (Jul. 1891), p. 382. The discussion was followed up in *Mind* New Series 1/1 (Jan. 1892), pp. 155-6.

[94] Wallaschek. *Primitive music* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1893), p. 253.

[95] See Amy Graziano and Julene K. Johnson. 'Richard Wallaschek's nineteenth-century contributions to the psychology of music', *Music Perception: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 23/4 (Apr. 2006), p. 293: "Although not widely recognised, Wallaschek was an early contributor to the field of music psychology."

[96] Wallaschek, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

[97] Zon. *Representing non-Western music in nineteenth-century Britain* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2007), p. 111. In a more recent essay, however, Zon appears to contradict his own statement: "Following on from Engel, Rowbotham and Parry, for all of whom music begins paradigmatically with the Drum stage…" See Zon. 'The non-Darwinian' revolution and the great chain of musical being' in *Evolution and Victorian culture*, ed. Bernard Lightman and Bennett Zon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 217.

> There can hardly have been any time in the history of the human race when men refrained from dancing; and where dancing is, there must be some kind of rhythmic music to inspire and regulate it. Not much ancient instrumental dance music has been preserved, but even the earliest mediaeval secular songs always have a rhythmic character, which indicates that they once were connected with dance motions…[98]

It is therefore unsurprising that Wallaschek would cite Parry's authority (his 'Dance Rhythm' article in *Grove's Dictionary*) in *Primitive Music*, while making his point against Spencer's: "definiteness in any kind of music, whether figure or phrase, was first arrived at through connection with dancing."[99]

In his *History of Music Aesthetics*, Enrich Fubini remarks that "work on the origins of music by a Spencer, Darwin, Wallaschek, Combarieu and others was misguided in the sense that these thinkers took no account of music's artistic dimension."[100] Indeed in *Facts and Comments*, Spencer confronts the criticisms of those like Edmund Gurney and Ernest Newman[101] by setting out to "dissipate utterly the supposition that the [1857] essay… was intended to be a theory of music at large".[102] The main peculiarity which decisively distinguishes Parry's position from Spencer's is that the former was always considered with the bigger picture of music's ideal function in mind. The *Evolution of the Art of Music* uses music's origins to inaugurate discussions about the artificiality and the diversification of music, while Spencer, Wallaschek and others rely more overtly on the idea of vestigial structures to account for the functional disparity between proto-music of the past and music of the present.

Parry constructs his case from the premise that sympathy is a universal virtue of mankind, though he does not claim to know how this sympathy originated.[103] While, as Darwin had assured his readers in the *Descent*, the instinct of sympathy is not a distinctly human feature, the conscious and balanced pursuit to grow in mutual understanding is something exclusively reserved for the more

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[98] Parry. *The music of the seventeenth century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), p. 10.
[99] Parry, from his article, 'Dance rhythm', cited in Wallaschek, *op. cit.*, p. 236.
[100] Enrico Fubini. *The history of music aesthetics*, trans. Michael Hatwell (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan Press, Ltd., 1990), p. 356; Fubini's remarks must be read with a degree of scepticism, considering Spencer's rebuttal in *Facts and Comments* and Wallaschek's holistic concept of 'Musikvorstellung'. On the latter point, see Graziano and K. Johnson. 'The influence of scientific research on nineteenth-century musical thought: the work of Richard Wallaschek', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 37 (2006), p. 20.
[101] For Newman's criticisms of Spencer, see Ernest Newman. *Musical Studies*, 3rd ed. (Edinburgh: Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., 1913), pp. 189-218.
[102] Spencer. *Facts and comments* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1902), p. 61.
[103] Whether it is the "higher development of an original instinct" or the "outcome of [man's] state of mutual dependence"; see Parry. *The evolution of the art of music* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1905/1893), p. 1.

functional phases of social life. There are an infinite number of ways in which humans can "excite their sympathetic instincts", but art stands apart in emphasising *mutual* expression. Artists are "peculiarly susceptible to [internal and external] beauty of some kind"[104], and their explorations into deeper realms of thought and emotions make them desire to share their experiences with others. As Delia da Sousa Correa explains, Spencer similarly perceives that:

> Sympathy is crucial to human happiness and the precondition of the behavior which distinguishes civilization from barbarism… According to Spencer, the function of civilisation is to curb the aggressive characteristics of pre-social man, replacing them with altruistic desires. His evolutionary model of human society and psychology leads him to conclude that the progress of civilization will increase the extent to which people express their emotions.[105]

Music, furthermore, stands apart from the other arts in being directly associated with expression. Although Parry does not aver that non-musical arts are less concerned with expression, he believes that as far as the question of origins goes, painting and sculpture have their beginnings in imitation, whereas music has its beginnings in expression.[106] To take Walter Pater slightly out of context, *all art does aspire to the condition of music* – as a matter of fact, art cannot be considered truly art until it ceases to be imitative. Music's claim to emotional immediacy thus enables him to place it, as Spencer and the Romantics had done so before him, at the head of the arts.

Central to Parry's dichotomy of art versus nature is the theory that music develops via a loss of "direct significance"[107], as art effectively throws a blanket over the crudities of primitive expression. On this subject, he seems to echo Stainer's position that "art cannot be said to exist unless there is an appeal to Emotions by means of the Intellect."[108] Because musical variables become increasingly distinguished "under the necessities of artistic convention"[109], the initial result is a restriction of expressive freedom as opposed to greater access to the emotions. Rather than a statement of Western hegemony, Parry's attempt to place harmonic music at the apex of evolutionary development must be

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[104] *Ibid.*, p. 2.
[105] Delia da Sousa Correa. *George Eliot, music and Victorian culture* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 19.
[106] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
[107] *Ibid.*
[108] John Stainer. *Music in its relation to the intellect and emotions* (London: Novello and Company, Ltd., 1892), p. 18.
[109] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

understood within the context of a contemporary polemic concerning the natural basis of harmony. As Larry Whatley explains, "the nineteenth-century British theorists were primarily concerned with formulating a theory of harmony, to explain the origins of chords in terms of natural acoustical phenomena."[110] Alfred Day worked out a rigid theory of harmony partly derived from Rameau's teachings of 'natural harmony' in his *Treatise on Harmony* (1845). Whereas in the previous century, Rousseau had identified melody as the natural source of musical expression, the Romantic emphasis on chromatic structures had rendered such a position untenable. George Alexander Macfarren, under whom Parry studied in 1875, was a major proponent of Day's theory, who, according to Percy A. Scholes "reduced the Day system to practical teaching form, basing it on a series of rules and exercises, in his *Rudiments of Harmony* (1860)".[111] Macfarren's commitment to Day's contentious theory ultimately led to his resignation from the Royal Academy of Music in 1848; he went on to publish a revised edition of Day's *Treatise* in 1885. Parry's diary of 1875 shows that Macfarren and he were in profound disagreement "about a progression which he [Macfarren] held to be inadmissible":[112]

> I could see that he was very angry, but he was wonderfully patient. I held that a chord which was made up of notes which are in the minor scale is always legitimate. He said that the common chord of the minor third (i.e. of the relative major) was inadmissible in a progression from the key to its dominant…[113]

In his biography of Parry, Dibble refers to the composer's disaffection with "Macfarren's doctrinaire attitude to harmony" and argues that "the conservative ethos of Macfarren's teaching, particularly in the province of harmony and form, did little to activate Parry's creative development."[114] When his friend Stuart Wortley asked him for help with technical matters of composition, Parry naturally referred him to Macfarren because he did not feel himself "sufficiently habituated to the technical restrictions to be able to put my finger down with certainty upon the offences against the arbitrary laws."[115] In addition to Macfarren, Frederick Ouseley was also a proponent of Day's system, adopting aspects of his work in his own *Treatise of Harmony* (1868).[116] At

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[110] G. Larry Whatley. 'Music theory' in *Music in Britain: the Romantic age, 1800-1914*, ed. Nicholas Temperley (London: Athlone Press, 1981), p. 475.
[111] Percy A. Scholes. *Mirror of music, 1844-1944, vol. 2* (London, Novello and Company, Ltd., 1947), p. 709.
[112] Parry. Diary, 20 April 1875, quoted in Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 123.
[113] *Ibid.*
[114] Dibble, *ibid.*
[115] Letter to Stuart Wortley, 3 January 1878, GB-Lcm MS. 4764.
[116] See Scholes, *op. cit.,* p. 709.

around the time that Parry was studying under Macfarren, the debate was still in progress; C. E. Stephens read a paper that year before the Musical Association on 'The Fallacies of Dr. Day's Theory of Harmony'. Parry contributed an article on Day in *Grove's Dictionary* a few years later, in 1879, in which he summarised the key points of Day's *Treatise*: "the most important part of his theory… is its division of styles into Strict or Diatonic, and Free or Chromatic, and the discussion of the fundamental discords which can be used without preparation."[117] Although he credited Day for his achievements—"no other theory yet proposed can rival it in consistency and comprehensiveness"[118]—Parry cautiously pointed out the theory's vulnerability and the physician's failure to reconcile theory and practice. The objections raised in the article included Day's forbiddance of the sharp fifth and "his view of the capacity of the interval of the augmented sixth for being inverted as a diminished third."[119] Parry's early distrust of theorists continued to intensify over the years; in *Style in Musical Art*, he argued that theory "in whatever department of human affairs it is met with—must rightly and always be regarded with distrust and suspicion."[120] In repudiating theory, he was aligning himself intellectually with Stainer, whose *Theory of Harmony Founded on the Tempered Scale* (1871) was read in 1872. Stainer disapprovingly observed that "modern theorists attempt to draw their laws of harmony from both sources, by taking a series of natural harmonics and thence evolving laws which shall govern the progression of chords made up of tempered intervals."[121] He would return to affirm the artificiality of both scale and harmony in a small pamphlet entitled *Music in Its Relation to the Intellect and the Emotions* (brought out a year before Parry's *Art of Music*), quoting the authority of Helmholtz on music and Tyndall on the empirical nature of science.[122]

Ebenezer Prout relinquished his ties with Day's theory several years later, in the sixteenth edition of his *Harmony: Its Theory and Practice* (1901).[123] Prout's conversion was symbolic of the *fin*

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[117] Parry. 'Day, Alfred' in *A dictionary of music and musicians, vol. 1*, ed. George Grove (London: Macmillan and Co., 1879), p. 436.
[118] *Ibid.*, p. 438.
[119] *Ibid.*
[120] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 313.
[121] Stainer. *A theory of harmony founded on the tempered scale* (London: Rivingtons, 1872), p. viii.
[122] *Ibid.*, p. 12. Biographies of John Stainer include Peter Charlton. *John Stainer and the musical life of Victorian Britain* (London: Newton Abbott, 1984); and Dibble. *John Stainer: a life in music* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2007). Perhaps a more focused study on Stainer's intellectual career and his theory of harmony is overdue.
[123] Whatley, *op. cit.,* p. 477.

de siècle concession that music was for the most part man-made and not a product founded in nature. Whatley explains that "while earlier theorists wrote almost exclusively about harmony, its origin, and the rules for writing it correctly, Prout… became more concerned with the practice of music than with its theory".[124] Helmholtz's *Tonempfindungen* made its translated appearance in England in 1875. Helmholtz, whose *Popular Scientific Lectures* Parry read in 1889 while preparing the *Art of Music*, argued in the former work:

> Hence it follows… that the system of scales, modes, and harmonic tissues does not rest solely upon unalterable natural laws, but is at least partly also the result of aesthetical principles, which have already changed, and will still further change, with the progressive development of humanity.[125]

Parry acquainted himself with Gurney's *Power of Sound* in 1881 and William Pole's *Philosophy of Music* in 1890 – both works heavily reliant on Helmholtz's pioneering research on acoustics. Pole carried Helmholtz's suggestion of the artificial nature of harmony to the extreme. Helmholtz, he argued, had attempted with enormous success to "bridge over the great gulf that previously existed between the science of acoustics and the art of music."[126] Pole warned emphatically: "Do not tell the student that such and such combinations, such and such progressions, are dictated by an unquestionable origin in natural necessity or natural laws, and that to violate them is a crime against philosophy and science."[127] Parry, in compiling the *Evolution of the Art of Music*, found himself at the forefront of the fight for creative liberty. In his book, he thus attempted to portray harmony as representing artificiality *par excellence*, with the origin of scales being contrastively associated with nature's random processes ("what interval the primitive savage chose at the outset was probably very much a matter of accident"[128]). Evolution must attest to music's variability, its infinite possibilities and the impossibility of theoretical consensus. As Gillian Beer explains, "diversification, not truth to type, is the creative principle" of Darwinian evolution.[129]

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[124] *Ibid.*, p. 478.
[125] Hermann von Helmholtz, quoted in William Pole. *The philosophy of music*, 6th ed. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., 1924), p. 13; Wallaschek dismisses this point in *Primitive Music*.
[126] Pole, *ibid.*, p. 7.
[127] *Ibid.*, p. 300. Stainer also echoed Pole's conclusions in *Music in its relation to the intellect and emotions* (London: Novello and Company, Ltd., 1892), p. 15.
[128] Parry. *The evolution of the art of music* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1905/1893), p. 15.
[129] Gillian Beer, quoted in Graham Handley. *George Eliot: a guide through the critical maze* (Bristol: Bristol Press, 1990), p. 101.

Parry's opposition of art and nature pits proto-music against music as an established art form. The origin of music is fundamentally the *conscious* recognition of the expressive possibilities of art. Humans in an intellectually advanced stage of society are able to collaborate further in the construction and transmission of their musical traditions, and better to transfer the collective memory of their musical past to future generations: "The story of music has been that of a slow building up and extension of artistic means of formulating in terms of design utterances and counterparts of utterances which in their raw state are direct expressions of feeling and sensibility."[130] The most important criteria for art, in this respect, is definiteness, because without some degree of definiteness the accurate transmission of art would be impossible. For Parry, the fundamental human desire for coherent musical expression thus acts as a passage from the savage state to the civilised state. However, coherency of expression is only a means to an end; music does not complete as soon as it becomes perfectly systematised. Parry's Darwin-inspired teleology is a non-predictive chronology of man as he continues to appropriate himself to the Arnoldian ideal of cultural wholeness—i.e. seeing culture as blossoming "in the love of perfection".[131] From this standpoint, Parry's critique of music in the Roman Empire can be read as a critique of Roman culture as a whole, alluding to the failings of her citizenry to absorb the ideals of 'sweetness and light':

> The decrepit condition of music in the early centuries of our era was as much owing to the neglect of the art by the Romans as to the falling to pieces of their empire. I should like to think that their neglect of the higher art of music was a concomitant of the corrupt condition of society which led to their downfall.[132]

While the Roman Empire invites his censure for the neglect and abuses of her cultural gifts, primitive man had not the benefit of historical experience to be judged by the same severe standards as modern man. When discussing music's origins, Parry thus follows Rockstro (whose *History of Music* was read in 1888) in recognising the feats of 'primitive' people, who had to approach art practically from scratch – even if modern listeners may feel inclined to regard their music as unintelligible. A passage in *Style in Musical Art* attests to his sympathetic outlook on music of the distant past:

> The more different periods and phases of art, and especially of music, are studied, the more it is seen that types with which the world has completely fallen out of touch, and regards as

[130] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
[131] Matthew Arnold. *Culture and anarchy* (London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1869), p. 8. *Telos*, in this instance, does not denote a knowable final state of art, but the maintenance of a spirit of "growing and becoming, in a perpetual advance in beauty and wisdom." See *ibid.*, p. 81.
[132] Parry. 'Evolution in music', lecture delivered at the Royal Institution, 28 February 1890, ShP.

> pure blundering barbarities, have their own methods and purposes; and though the metamorphosis which has been undergone is so complete that at first sight they seem almost unintelligible, by degrees, as the facts are unravelled and put in their places, and the inwardness of their methods are revealed, it becomes clear that the art of the present could not be what it is unless its development had gone through the forgotten phases; and that the men of long past days were engaged in solving just the same problems as the men of the present, though the terms in which they are expressed are now unfamiliar. And it is the ardour of the patient explorers and searchers after unfamiliar details which supplies the means of making these phases again intelligible.[133]

Parry's sympathy with the past does not lead him to downplay the achievements of modern composers either. In *Style in Musical Art*, he goes further in his attempt to do justice to both the past and present by showing how the nature of art has been transformed over time. Parry holds that as art becomes more complex and varied so the risk of stylistic confusion increases. Modern artists are overwhelmed by the immensity of past experiences, especially since they lack a sympathetic outlook towards history. Hence, sympathy, the inner flame which inspires man to create art, must be garnered on a historical as well as a personal level. In his *Philosophies of Music History*, Warren Dwight Allen maintains that "both Burney and Parry regard the standards of their own day as infallible criteria."[134] This is profoundly inaccurate, since Parry specifically warns that it would be a fallacy to judge the music of the past by the standards of the present:

> The familiar habit of average humanity of thinking that what they are accustomed to is the only thing that thing that can be right, has commonly led people to think that what is called the modern European scale is the only proper and natural one.[135]

Parry's sympathetic approach to primitive culture indicates a high level of independence from Spencer's Lamarckian view of social growth. The famed music critic, Ernest Newman, recognised, perhaps more so than any other commentator of his day, the incompatibilities between Parry's and Spencer's positions. In his *Musical Studies*, he pitted Parry against Spencer precisely on the issue of music's origins. Newman maintained that Parry understood, contrary to Spencer, that "music has its origin not in speech, but in the venting of mere vague emotion in mere vague sound."[136] In holding this opinion, Parry gave primitive people the possibility of speedy advance: "To pass from an

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[133] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 17.
[134] Warren Dwight Allen. *Philosophies of music history: a study of general histories of music 1600-1960* (New York: Dover Publications, 1962/1939), p. 230.
[135] Parry. *The evolution of the art of music* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1905/1893), p. 15.
[136] Newman, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

indefinite howl to a definite series of notes, when an instrument has been invented that guides the voice and fixes its tones, may be the work of a day."[137] No long process of Lamarckian evolution was needed to explain the origin of music; as Newman explained, "we find innate in the human organism every element out of which music can grow."[138]

Attesting to the author's cultural sensitivity, the *Evolution of the Art of Music* carries this fluid view of progress further by allowing for the inverse possibility of rapid social regression.[139] The longevity of art in society is first and foremost a matter of sustained culture and education. Primitivism, in this regard, is not a racial category but a condition that persists in "lonely isolated districts well removed from any of the influences of education and culture."[140] Parry's emphasis on culture is reminiscent not only of Matthew Arnold's but also of E. B. Tylor's work, stressing unilineal evolution and the 'psychic unity of mankind' (he evidently became acquainted with Tylor's *Primitive Culture* during his voyage with Sedley Taylor to South America, in 1885).[141] As George Stocking explains, "although Tylor thought rather more in terms of evolutionary product and Arnold of individual process, both men conceived culture in normative humanist terms as a conscious 'cultivation' of the capacities which are most characteristically human."[142] Joan Leopold notes that Tylor saw biological and cultural development as separate issues, and culture as chiefly "the product of more or less conscious human invention".[143] Culture becomes transferable across societies and is not limited to the locale of its invention. Even though Parry is reluctant to attribute music's early successes to cultural diffusion (with racial and national prejudices tending to take precedence over foreign elements in pre-liberal societies), this human capacity for cross-cultural exchange is the foundation upon which his whole vision of a democratic music rests.

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[137] *Ibid.,* p. 215. Compare with Pole*, op. cit.*, p. 87: "This definition is very much aided when, as often happens, the nations have introduced musical instruments having the capability of giving fixed tones."
[138] Newman, *op. cit.*, p. 217.
[139] See Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 8: "The tendency to revert to primitive conditions is frequently to be met with even in the most advanced stages of art."
[140] *Ibid.,* p. 47.
[141] Graves, *op. cit., vol. 1*, p. 254.
[142] George W. Stocking. 'Matthew Arnold, E. B. Tylor, and the uses of invention', *American Anthropologist* New Series 65/4 (Aug. 1963), p. 795. For discussion, see also Stocking. *Race, culture, and evolution: essays in the history of anthropology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), p. 116.
[143] Joan Leopold. *Culture in comparative and evolutionary perspective: E. B. Tylor and the making of Primitive Culture* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1980), p. 37.

Ultimately, Parry's views on music's origins are a unique blend of his evolutionary beliefs, his idealisation of the art (from a practitioner's perspective), as well as his anthropological conception of culture as a product of human agency. Although scholars have generally identified his position with Spencer's, it is more profitably considered as a response to the controversy surrounding music's artificiality and the unnaturalness of harmony. His approach differs from Spencer's and Darwin's in that it emphasises music's status as an art and sees its beginnings in sympathy as a testament of man's psychic similarity. In the *Evolution of the Art of Music*, the mystery of music's origins is closely tied to the problem of how its resources are accumulated throughout history as a product of both individual aspiration and cultural experience.

3.3 A Re-Evaluation of the *Evolution of the Art of Music*

Originally published in 1893 and reissued in 1896, Parry's *Evolution of the Art of Music* underwent numerous editions and was highly acclaimed for its holistic and ambitious survey of musical development. In this major work, which did much to cement its author's reputation as a musical scholar, Parry sets out to argue that Western music has passed through at least three crises with Palestrina, Bach and Beethoven, all of which represents moments of successful reconciliation between expression and design. The musical resources upon which artists draw for their expression, Parry contends throughout the work, are a continuation of a long cultural heritage, which can be traced back through the mists of evolution. The *Evolution of the Art of Music* is structured around discussions of scales, folk-music, harmony, early choral music, secular music, the combination of choral and secular music, instrumental music and modern music, respectively. For the most part, the key aspects of his ideas are discussed below in the order that they appear in the book.

The *Evolution of the Art of Music* is a work as widely discussed as it is misunderstood. In his article on Spencer's influence on Victorian musical thinkers, Offer approvingly paraphrases Allen's summary of Parry's position in the *Evolution of the Art of Music*:

> [Parry believes] (1) that music 'created itself', like other organisms,
> (2) That the various divisions of music were at first united.

(3) That this unity was that of undifferentiated homogeneity.
(4) That progressive evolution took place to the definite, clear-cut forms of modern art.[144]

A close reading of Parry's work, however, shows Offer's and Allen's simplification of Parry's position to be rather erroneous. The first point, that he believes 'music created itself', entirely contradicts his emphasis on the artificial nature of art – that music is strictly a human product invented for human purposes. The second point does little justice to Parry's acknowledgement of the multifariousness of primitive melodic systems, or his concession that the process of heterogeneous differentiation, as it occurred most noticeably in Europe, was largely circumstantial. The third point, barring its reliance on the second point, is fair and highlights the Spencerian influence on his thinking. The fourth, however, implies a teleological view of history which Parry would have been reluctant to endorse. One of the great paradoxes is that he would have questioned any complacent belief in progress of the sort he is accused by modern commentators to have unabashedly espoused:

> A state of society in which a few people enjoyed the results of their ancestors having annexed all the material advantages of the world and regarded the rest of humanity as merely provided by Providence to minister to their vanities, would be peculiarly favourable to the exuberance of conventional pattern-making and elegant futilities; while the successful overthrow of such a poisonous tradition and the general acceptance of the widest claims of humanity to common justice naturally brought an overwhelming impulse of human feeling into play.[145]

The recurrent theme of *The Evolution of the Art of Music*, omitted by modern commentators, is that heterogeneity in art is not a condition to be achieved by some natural tendency of evolution, but by continuous and persistent cultural effort. Hence, the future of music rests not on racial or biological guarantee but upon the practical decisions of an artistically-informed collective. Building from the insight of his position on music's origins, the following discussion presents a different reading of *The Evolution of the Art of Music* that goes beyond citing his debt to metaphors of organic growth. Although scholars have been eager to segregate the Darwinian or Spencerian strains in Parry's writings, his 'scientific' mindset is perhaps not best measured by the extent to which his ideas can be interpreted as conforming either theory of evolution, but rather by evaluating the empirical attitude that he adopted in his survey of history. His book, in its relation to his wider convictions, is better

[144] Offer. 'An examination of Spencer's sociology of music and its impact on music historiography in Britain', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 14/1 (Jun. 1983), p. 49.
[145] Parry in *A narrative history of music,* ed. Leland Hall and Cesar Saerchiger (New York: The National Society of Music, 1915), p. xxxvi.

understood as an attempt to broaden the historical memory of readers predisposed to thinking that there can only be one correct way of writing music. Parry's venture into the past reveals that every musical tradition has its purpose and relevance to the people who partook in its creation, even if such meaning and value is lost to modern listeners.

The arguments in Parry's *Evolution of the Art of Music* carry on comfortably from his position that music originates in the acquisition of formal definiteness. For art to grow and develop, there has to be an elementary set of resources at the artist's disposal. Before humans had invented any definite system of music, they initially sang at randomly selected intervals, which materialised over time through the aegis of culture into melodic scales. In very early stages of musical development, natural inflections in speaking helped to determine which of the many possible intervals were chosen. Parry speculates that the downward interval of a fourth was commonly selected, but that in rarer cases an upwards fifth was chosen.[146] Whether the fourth or the fifth was chosen played an important part in determining which species of scales were eventually developed. Where the fifth was prominent, the system tended to be pentatonic, as in the Chinese, Javanese and Japanese scales; where the fourth was chosen the scale was often heptatonic, as in the Indian, Persian, Arabic, Egyptian and Greek systems.[147] Scales were developed by further ornamental additions to the essential notes, initially because of the uncertainty of the voice in hitting the wide intervals accurately, leading to the adoption of peripheral notes approaching the fourth or the fifth. The fact that Japanese and Greek systems both share this skeletal characteristic points to a case of convergent evolution.[148]

Under the influence of both theory and practice, other degrees of the scale were subsequently plotted out. Whether in the end a scale was pentatonic or heptatonic carried further implications. Scales built on the former system, with their intervals further apart, were more limited as they did not readily admit of equal distribution or as many notes in sequential order. Thus, although pentatonic systems "admitted of very elaborate and artistic music", the standard was generally low "both in the development of the scale and the art it serves."[149] For instance, early Chinese musicians were able to ascertain the complete sequence of twelve semitones, by way of mythical and theoretical speculation;

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[146] Parry. *The evolution of the art of music* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1905/1893), p. 21.
[147] *Ibid.*
[148] *Ibid.*, p. 20.
[149] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

however, the habit of thinking in pentatonic terms proved difficult to unlearn – a situation not helped by the fact that the Chinese were a nation "so tied and bound by ordinances and dogmatic regulations".[150] The Japanese system, on the contrary, is commended for its practical elasticity in spite of its pentatonic origins. The Siamese system, supposedly derived from the pentatonic Javanese system, has similarly betrayed its original limitations to arrive at a more characteristically artificial state. In such examples, the pentatonic foundations have been modified in the interest of artistic liberty. Thus, the Javanese Gamelan Salendro scale implies "a very remarkable artificial development of scale-sense"[151]; the Siamese system was adorned to the extent that it no longer contained either perfect fourths or fifths, exemplifying "a kind of musical art in the highest degree complicated and extensive"[152]; and the scale of the Scottish bagpipe was "a highly artificial product" despite its obvious quasi-pentatonic appearances.[153]

Parry's emphasis on the artificial reversal of natural tendency in the invention of art, as established in the previous section, is a recurring aspect of his thought. Whereas heptatonic and pentatonic conditions were arrived at by random circumstances, to go beyond them required the intervention of deliberate culture, which the Romans lacked, and a desire to improve upon existent methods rather than mere bewilderment at musical effects, typical of the Greeks. In treating music of the Hellenic world, he adopts an incredulous position not unlike Burney's.[154] Although the Greeks were enthusiastic about music, their enthusiasm is not proof of high artistic development. Often, Greek musicians were too invested in mere displays of technical prowess: "The artistic standards of the music of the Greeks was very far behind their standard of observation and general intelligence in

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[150] *Ibid.*, p .37.
[151] *Ibid.*
[152] *Ibid.*, p. 39.
[153] *Ibid.*
[154] To Burney's credit, he claims to have been "free from prejudice against the ancients," and to have "always admired and reverenced them [the Greeks] in the models they have given us in every species of writing, as well as in the beautiful remains of their sculpture, painting, and architecture, and therefore should most willingly contribute my utmost in support of their claims to a melody and harmony superior to our own, if there were facts sufficiently numerous, clear, and indisputable, to found them upon." See Burney. *A general history of music: from the earliest ages to the present period, vol. 1* (London, 1776), p. 113. Generally speaking, Burney was better acquainted with—and held wider sympathies for—contemporary music than his rival, Hawkins, a champion of *stile antico* church music; thus Burney, like Parry, was inclined to locate progress precisely where Hawkins was witnessing the downfall of the art. See discussion in Glenn Stanley. 'Historiography', *Grove Music Online*, Oxford University Press; and Percy A. Scholes. 'Hawkins, Sir John (i).' *Grove Music Online*, Oxford University Press (accessed 27 Aug. 2013).

other matters."[155] The Greeks spent much of their time theorising about music, and, as with the story of Chinese music, an unhealthy disparity between theory and practice persisted in their art. His distrust of theory notwithstanding, Parry does not belittle the work of theoreticians where theory can be said to improve upon the logic of a musical system, and where it encourages further artistic experimentation. From this more neutral position, Parry is able to speak positively of the Persians who applied "mathematical treatment of a highly theoretical kind to the further development of the scale."[156] On the opposite end, the Indian system appears highly complex though it had won its artificial status chiefly without the aid of theory. In both cases, musicians were able to construct a system that happily surpassed heptatonic inhibitions, whether by the assimilation of theory into practice or the advancement of an existing aural tradition.

The argument holds consistently throughout the book that music is an artificial product which contradicts (Parry frequently uses the term 'inverts'), rather than evolves organically from, primitive conditions. Developed music does *not* represent a mere expansion of primitive models but a systematic rejection of its natural heritage. It follows that for a man to be able fully to appreciate any musical system, he must first be schooled in it. Unnatural intervals such as sevenths and seconds, for instance, appear unimaginable except in the light of cultural education. Where education falters, it is inconceivable that such artificial excogitations would continue to persist in the memory of the people. Similarly, education in other domains of human activity often tells upon the musical product. Parry does not posit a direct link between musical intelligence and intelligence in other affairs, although he recognises that artistic organisation demands a level of intellectual engagement that is not necessarily replicated in all human societies. Parry considers the music of Siam, Egypt and Hungary to fall short of engaging its participants intellectually. But where the public is more informed and more receptive to the cerebral basis of art, musicians can step out of their reclusive shadows to make their influences felt more positively within their communities.

The author's belief in the superiority of harmonic over melodic systems concurs with his conviction that art should be logical, consistent and systematically conceived. Indeed, a substantial part of the *Evolution of the Art of Music* can be read as a critical defence of the Western harmonic system. This has sometimes raised objections of racism and Eurocentrism; according to Bennett Zon,

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[155] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
[156] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

the *Evolution of the Art of Music* boasts an unabashed "Eurocentric Western agenda", extolling Western music at the expense of other traditions.[157] In the *Evolution of the Art of Music*, Parry undoubtedly presents modern Western music in the most favourable light (by no means as blatantly as William Pole puts it: "it was reserved for the white race to create the true art of music"[158]). However, the idea that Parry saw non-Western music as being primitive or fossilised moments in evolutionary history is a serious misinterpretation of his position. Firstly, Parry did not view musical development as a universal scheme in which harmony was a predetermined end or the standard by which all music must be judged. H. C. Colles', in his preface to the 1930 reissue of the work, writes perceptively that Parry's evolutionary ideas "can only be applicable to those phases of the present day which claim kinship with the past."[159] Secondly, Parry was not compelled by theoretical necessity to associate non-Western traditions with primitive simplicity. Many times in the book, he alludes to the highly complex artistic products of non-Western origins that would appear utterly incomprehensible to those who are only familiar with the Western harmonic system. Thirdly, a simplified view of linear evolution from savagery to civilisation does not accord well with the details of harmonic development, a process which Parry argues frequently involved throwbacks to primitive stages of music as a result of the abandonment of culturally inherited practices.

Once again, Parry's defence of harmony derives from the distinction he draws between natural and artificial music: "Our modern harmonic system is an elaborately artificial product which has so far inverted the aspects of things."[160] In melodic systems throughout the world, singing tends to take precedence over other considerations, and the musical product is bound to the natural inflections of the voice. On the contrary, the harmonic system was evolved to cater to the expansive capabilities of instruments, encouraging a higher level of artificiality than permitted under the previous system. The development of harmony has thus far reversed man's attitude towards music completely – cadences that once tended downwards now tends upwards (i.e. the leading note); music once perceived horizontally and top-down is now perceived vertically and bottom-up (chordally).[161] In the harmonic system, every degree of the scale has a functional role in relation to the tonic and can be employed in a

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[157] Zon. *Representing non-Western music in nineteenth-cen*tury *Britain* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2007), p. 112.
[158] Pole, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
[159] See H. C. Colles' preface to Parry. *The evolution of the art of music* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1930), p. xxxii.
[160] Parry. *The evolution of the art of music* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1905/1893), p. 18.
[161] *Ibid.*

chromatic context without the usual modal restrictions. Thus, while harmonic music retains an essential syntax without which music would cease to be coherent, it also allows for the greatest malleability in its sharp repudiation of melodic norms.

Often, Parry's tendency to elevate the status of harmonic over melodic systems has been interpreted as a direct espousal of Comte's law of the three stages. The model of three stages is consistently met with in his other writings on evolution, as well as in *Style in Musical Art*: "Almost everything that man achieves is achieved in three marked and obvious phases."[162] He proclaims unmistakably in his foreword to *A Narrative History of Music* (1915) that:

> Mankind, like the individual, passes through three stages in his manner of producing and doing things. The first is unconscious and spontaneous, the second is self-critical, analytical, and self-conscious; and the third is the synthesis which comes of the recovery of spontaneity with all the advantages of the absorption of right principles of action.[163]

In her article on 'Melody and the Historiography of Music', Ruth Solie applies this to Parry's evolutionary account of music from the monophonic (unconscious and spontaneous), to the polyphonic (analytical and self-conscious) and the harmonic (synthesis).[164] It is important to note where the comparison ends. In reality, both the polyphonic and harmonic phases would be better classified under Parry's second stage, while Romantic music would fall under the third. Contrary to Solie's account, Parry only uses the three stages loosely to mean 1. focusing on the expressive ends, 2. focusing on the technical means, and 3. applying the means to the ends, not to represent the progress from the melodic to the harmonic. Furthermore, for Parry, the Western harmonic system does not represent an inevitable state through which all music must pass in order to achieve greater complexity and synthesis; it is only one of the many possible ways of doing so. Naturally, he holds that the Western system is the most commendable system yet in existence, due to the success which it has had in obliterating its own modal heritage. However, that a different or even better system might hypothetically exist is little doubted: "It will probably be a good many centuries before any new system is justified by such a mass of great artistic works as the one which the instincts of our ancestors have

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[162] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 251.
[163] Parry in *A narrative history of music,* ed. Leland Hall and Cesar Saerchiger (New York: The National Society of Music, 1915), p. xxxii.
[164] Ruth Solie. 'Melody and the historiography of music', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 43/2 (Apr. - Jun. 1982), p. 298.

gradually evolved for our advantage."[165] In the *Evolution of the Art of Music* as well as in his other writings, Parry uses Comte's model of the three stages strictly to account for the development of Western harmony, not to confine non-Western music to the same patterns of development. The closest he gets to such a proclamation is when he writes that "if Japanese music is spared the contamination of modern European popular music it will probably go through the same phases as early medieval music."[166] Here, he is alluding to the malleability of the Japanese scale system and its potential to be repurposed for harmonic treatment. Furthermore, Parry forecasts that if Japanese music is *not* spared the contamination of Western music, no long process of development would be necessary for the discovery of something akin to harmony. In the same non-Lamarckian vein, he does not maintain that the melodic systems of the past are musical systems caught in an arrested stage of mental development.

For Parry, the story of the development of Western harmony goes back to the regulation of the ancient church modes in the fourth and fifth centuries. From the tenth to the sixteenth century, choral music was cultivated mainly in ecclesiastical settings.[167] Composers of church music avoided any strong sense of rhythmic drive in their works, since Christian rituals called for music that emphasised "inwardness and quietude, and the absence of any outward energetic signs of excitement."[168] The rhythmic aspects of music were more profitably developed under secular conditions. The conservatism of the church confined composers to a very specific domain of art. Church musicians worked out how voices could blend together when sung simultaneously at different intervals; they determined that fourths and fifths were consonant while thirds and sixths were dissonant. The modern conception of consonant thirds and sixths required composers to acquire a new sense of the relations of the different degrees of the scale under the harmonic system: "Harmonisation implies the understanding of the relations of different chords or combinations to one another."[169] Harmony suggests more than just the simultaneous occurrence of sounds, but a system of managing musical contrasts in which such practices can be accounted for in a logical manner.

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[165] Parry. *The evolution of the art of music* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1905/1893), p. 46.
[166] *Ibid.*, p. 88.
[167] *Ibid.*, p. 83.
[168] *Ibid.*, p. 82.
[169] *Ibid.*, p. 88.

In the history of Western music, the ancient modes were gradually adapted into more pliant scales (i.e. major and minor) via the admission of in-between notes.[170] Modern harmony, in other words, began as a rejection of the modal assurances of the ecclesiastical past, though it owes a large debt as well to the constitution of the original modes. Parry sees the period between the ninth and fifteenth centuries as an infantile stage in the development of harmony, during which the church modes had not yet been repurposed for harmonic use, while the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries constitute the adolescent years before its maturation. Although Parry frequently employs metaphors of growth, he is far from implying that the music of the past (before Beethoven's time) was child-like or immature. As a matter of fact, he considers the instrumental works of Bach and Handel to be more 'mature' than those of Galuppi, Paradisi and Haydn, and argues that "Palestrina and Marenzio feel more mature than even later works by Lulli and Scarlatti."[171] Given the tendency of modern scholarship to interpret his growth analogies as evidence of his biological depreciation of the past,[172] Parry's own words in the *Evolution of the Art of Music* must be taken as the most trustworthy authority on the issue: "Maturity is a relative term altogether. If a man's ideas are worth expressing, and are capable of being expressed completely within the limits of his resources, his productions may be in a certain sense completely mature at almost any epoch in the progress of artistic development."[173]

In the invention of Western harmony, Parry contends that the emotional restrictions imposed by the church had to be offset by progress on the secular side of the art. Music in the ecclesiastical context was incapacitated by the institutional avoidance of rhythmic vagaries. By imposing too many restrictions on art, the church effectively discouraged musicians from developing more definite tunes and subjects, to the detriment of formal variety. While some hymns, masses and motets showed signs of greater differentiation, Parry believes their differences to be "more nominal than real".[174] True heterogeneity in Western music had its origin in the collision of ecclesiastical "modal purity" and the secular freedom of experimentation.[175] In the *Evolution of the Art of Music*, secular music is not

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[170] *Ibid.*, p. 112.
[171] *Ibid.*, p. 175.
[172] Waschmann, for instance, echoes Allen's verdict in stressing that Parry "had no hesitation in declaring the music of the Middle Ages to be primitive and that of seventeenth century Europe to be somewhat immature." See Waschmann, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
[173] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 175.
[174] *Ibid.*, p. 124.
[175] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

presented as an evolutionary outgrowth of sacred music. Rather, Parry implies that the two always co-existed, although the latter suffered from a lack of recognition among serious musicians reared in the unquestionable tradition of the church. Before society began to challenge its religious authorities, the standards of pious music, whether stylistic or notational, were commonly assumed to be definitive. In other words, secular art could not prosper until there was a consentient recognition that other dimensions of human experience existed beyond the boundaries of religion.

Modern scholars committed to portraying Parry as a proponent of complacent, ethnocentric teleology unanimously overlook the significance of abrupt revolutionary change in his historiography of Western music.[176] Indeed the single most important development in history of Western music, according to Parry, involved the overturn of the religious ethos and the "rapid decay and collapse of the whole system of the old art."[177] He speaks favourably of revolutions when they can be justified by their objectives and results. When revolutions dismantle autocratic establishments and free artists from the control of self-interested patronage, the outcome is a welcome gain for the art. In Parry's view, the history of music is not merely a story of the accumulation and re-contextualisation of technical resources; it is a story set in the throes of reform – the uprising of the common folk, the constant questioning of authority, and the plebeian struggle for artistic liberty and democracy. The author of *The Evolution of the Art of Music* posits no complacent model of evolutionary growth based on the unfolding of racial potential (his positions on democracy and on racial desegregation are discussed in greater depth in later chapters).

Artists in a post-revolution world have to learn to salvage "the wisdom of those whose heads have been cut off."[178] They are embroiled in the eternal conflict of liberty and servitude – of past and present. For Parry, one of the greatest problems of modern art is how the enormous amount of knowledge accumulated in the past could be retained in the memory of the present generation. He sees art history as a mutual testing ground for two types of humanity, the technically adept and the hypersensitive visionary. The former class is populated by names like Mozart, Haydn and Mendelssohn, while the latter includes Bach, Beethoven, Gluck and Wagner. While a balance of design and expression is desirable, it is not always possible given the varieties of human temperament. Musical history is replete with instances of composers belonging to either of the two extremes:

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[176] See Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
[177] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 123.
[178] *Ibid.*, p. 126.

Carissimi and Monteverdi, Handel and Bach, Mozart and Beethoven, and Chopin and Liszt. In the sixteenth century, composers like Cavalieri, Caccini, Galilei and Peri began to focus on experimenting with instrumental writing, questioning the culturally accepted norms of *prima pratica*; they found themselves at a crossroads of how they wanted to invent music for a freer, more secular world. As a common theme in Parry's writings, the split of human temperament manifests itself again in the way different sixteenth-century composers utilised their new palette of technical possibilities. The 'significance of Monteverde' (incidentally, the title of one of Parry's lectures) was his ability to prioritise expression over design, and to "aim decisively at histrionic effect"[179], given the overwhelming allure of material acquisition.

Carissimi's choral ventures stood at the height of a reaction against the "crude speculativeness of new style".[180] The oratorio's illegitimate birth in the contest of old and new methods symbolises Parry's own love-hate relationship with the choral form. The *Evolution of the Art of Music* puts seventeenth-century music in a period of stylistic reconciliation, a topic which he would greatly expand upon in his later contribution to the *Oxford History of Music*. Parry's nuanced treatment of the transition from the sacred to the secular has unfortunately escaped the notice of recent scholars. For example, in his discussion of organ music, especially the organ fugue, he demonstrates the intricate development of an instrumental form dubiously suspended between its historical ties with the church and its harmonic potential – between 'the one world dead, and the other powerless to be born'. His Whig idealisation of secular art envisages a buffer state between spiritual orthodoxy on the one hand and materialistic unorthodoxy on the other (a sure indication of his humanist position, which recognises the cultural and spiritual value of religion as well as denouncing its irrational elements).

Most importantly, the seventeenth century sets the stage for the bipartisan genius of his musical hero, J. S. Bach. The composer of the *Well-tempered Clavier* realised the potential of the new art and harvested the power of equal temperament to bring together the spiritual and formal aspects of his art. Parry's personal preference for expression over design is articulated in a blatant form of German-centrism, often at the expense of significantly downplaying the achievements of other nations. He associates the Teutonic spirit in music with the old polyphony rather than the new harmonic system. Parry holds that initially, the social circumstances of Italy allowed its musical life to

[179] *Ibid.*, p. 135.
[180] *Ibid.*

prosper, while Germany and England endured the disruption of the Thirty Years' War. In France, Lully nearly paralysed the progress of art by conceding to public theatrical taste (Lully, however, was able to develop an operatic plan "which was more mature and complete than any other of his time"[181] through a systematic handling of relief and tension). In Parry's evolutionary narrative, the various, intertwined branches of musical art developed at different opportunities and under different social conditions. Each musical style, evolved for different audiences and purposes, faced its own unique host of problems: opera composers had to compensate for the dramatic aspect of their art form, while fugue writers wrestled with the temptation to produce mechanical pieces of "sheer excess of artifice".[182]

In the midst of historical uncertainty, Parry looks to formal expansion in the seventeenth century, such as in Corelli's *sonatas da chiesa*, for evidence of the liberal provisions of the new harmonic system. The ternary configuration of sonata form, he argues, was the result of a critical development on binary dance tunes.[183] As musical subjects became more defined under the influence of rhythm and harmony, new opportunities of thematic development arose which would not have been possible under the purely polyphonic system. In the *Evolution of the Art of Music*, Parry hypothesises that the process of structural change from binary to ternary occurred over four iterations, involving an insertion of modulations between the first and second subjects, and a transposition of this material to a harmonically independent section, i.e. the middle portion of the sonata:

> *1st form:* a^1, transition ending in b^2 | a^2, transition ending in b^1.
> *2nd form:* A^1, B^2 | A^2, modulations, B^1.
> *3rd form:* A^1, B^2 | A^2, modulations, A^1, B^1.
> *4th form:* A^1, B^2 | modulation and development, A^1, B^1.

Similarly, he traces the development of sonata movements (notably the binary design) to Baroque dance suites and to the time of Lully, when composers were writing slow introductions in their operatic overtures (i.e. analogous to the slow introductions of symphonic first movements). The sonata's early association with the violin justifies the choice of a slow, dignified introduction, since the fugal opening of the first movement often could not immediately command the listener's attention.

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[181] *Ibid.*, p. 175.
[182] *Ibid.*, p. 154.
[183] *Ibid.*, p. 236.

The traditional usage of the fugue for the opening shows that composers have historically intended the first movement to appeal to man's intellectual faculties. As such, the first movement had—and still has—a tendency to be logical and formal, while the second movement contrasts the first by appealing instead to the emotions. The third and final movements provide the "re-establishment of healthy brightness of tone—a recall to the realities of life."[184] Composers have progressively arrived at a musical form which holds the potential of encapsulating the widest range of human experience. Parry's emphasis on achieving psychological completeness through the creative manipulation of form characterises his undogmatic approach to stylistic criticism.

In recent appraisals of the *Evolution of the Art of Music*, the author's complex view of gradual development through the whims of circumstance and the labyrinth of abortive 'byways' has been misconstrued as a simplistic, lineal model of evolutionary growth, representing the rigidity of the 'Great Chain of Being'. In his reading of the chapter on 'Modern Phases of Opera', Zon suggests that Parry intended to show that "it is Wagner, rather than Beethoven or Mozart, who represents the apogee of musical mastery and survival. It is only Wagner who achieves 'endurance' of reputation as well as concentration and intellectual brilliance."[185] This argument has no basis in fact and perpetuates a serious—yet not uncommon—misreading of the work. In his book, Parry never depicts Wagner as superior to Beethoven, Brahms, Bach, or even Palestrina. Similarly, throughout his compositional life, he freely rejected Wagner's example especially when it came to writing symphonic music. The reality is that he assimilated as much of Wagner as he wanted in *Prometheus Unbound*, acknowledged Wagner as a pioneer in opera (a musical form which he personally detested), while happily dismissing

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[184] *Ibid*., p. 202.

[185] Zon. 'From great man to fittest survivor: reputation, recapitulation and survival in Victorian concepts of Wagner's genius', *Musicæ Scientiæ,* special issue (2009-2010), p. 421. The quotation which is most cited in connection with this view is lifted from the *Evolution of the Art of Music*: "Of the method itself it may be said that it is the logical outcome of the efforts of the long line of previous composers, and the most completely organised system for the purposes of musical expression that the world has yet seen." Parry, however, makes this comment in the specific context of the music-drama. True to his democratic sentiment, he also emphasises how Wagner's music could "affect people in different ways." The passage continues by defending itself against a teleological interpretation: "Of what has been done in the line of opera since Wagner's death, it is not yet time to speak in detail. Some of the most successful opera composers have been considerably influenced by his personality, and a few have endeavoured to apply his methods; but it can hardly be said as yet whether the results make any fresh advance of artistic importance. A disposition to compromise is obvious, and it may well be that a step backwards is necessary, as a preliminary to another larger stride forwards. But so far the number of new operas which have any genuine pervading vitality may be counted on the fingers of one hand, and from a few individual instances no one can gather substantial grounds for generalisation."

his influence in other contexts. Parry believed that music was subjective and that each musical form had its own relevance to the audience it was intended to serve. In his opinion, Bach saved the fugue from slipping into formality in the eighteenth century, Beethoven rescued the sonata from its mechanical existence at the turn of the nineteenth century (as he had previously argued in *Grove's Dictionary*), and Wagner did the same for opera in his own century.

With regard to the final parts of the book, H. C. Colles detects that the author "did not adopt the same method of amassing and sorting evidence for the latter part of his historical survey that he had used for the earlier part."[186] It was as if a naturalist had completed his long voyage around the world and had come back to survey the familiar ecology of his own backyard: "he relied for his knowledge of modern music on examples which specially appealed to him as a cultivated musician of his time together with what came his way in the concert room."[187] The chapters are a testament to his Teutonic biases, especially in its exaltation of Brahms and Wagner and the neglect of Dvořák, Tchaikovsky and others; for the Parry scholar, they also offer insight into his personal approach to composition. Furthermore, Parry's idea of 'synthesis' within the Comtean paradigm has the broader political connotation of reinvigorating public (democratic) participation in music; he sees that social pressures were forcing serious music out of aristocratic confinement and into the public domain. On the German intellectual front, A. B. Marx was viewing musical progress as unfolding towards the fulfilment of man's spiritual freedom, from small formal aspirations to the crowning superiority of Beethoven's sonata type.[188] Parry's tripartite breakdown of music history appears at times more Hegelian than Comtean, with its emphasis on the stylistic imbalances of past music. History records the progress of man from the unfree to the free, which, under the Spencerian paradigm, also meant growth from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous. Arguably, the later sections read more like a weary postscript to an already ended historical narrative. There is a sense that, to a large extent, the development of harmonic music has already reached its apogee with Beethoven, and that modern composers linger in a state of oblivion as they search for new ways to revitalise art at the threshold of a new century.

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[186] Colles, *op. cit.*, p. xvii.
[187] *Ibid.*
[188] See Scott Burnham. 'The role of sonata form in A. B. Marx's theory of form', *Journal of Music Theory* 33/2 (Autumn 1989), p. 263.

A passage from the *Evolution of the Art of Music* summarises his position succinctly: "The long story of the development of music is a continuous and unbroken record of human effort to extend and enhance the possibilities of effects of sound upon human sensibilities."[189] The techniques of musical art have been evolved throughout the ages to meet changing artistic challenges. The test of genuine art, however, is not the range of techniques amassed throughout history, but the extent to which a composer can learn from history and apply his chosen means to expressive ends. Thus, Parry holds that it is perfectly possible for a work to be 'mature' at almost any stage in the history of music; evolution simply accounts for the abundance of materials obtained through cultural transmission: "No doubt a primeval savage might be inspired with feelings very much like those of some modern composers, but the means and knowledge of how to express these feelings in terms of art would be lacking." Parry's evolutionary narrative stresses that everything has a historical or causal relevance – that different branches of music were evolved for different purposes in different contexts. By sympathetically engaging with history and developing a contextual understanding of the past, composers can learn how to utilise historical styles more effectively for modern purposes. Fully acknowledging the uncertainty of the future, the author thus concludes:

> It rests with a very wide public now to decide what the future of the art shall be; and if its members can understand a little what music means and how it came to be what it is, perhaps it may tend to encourage sincerity in the composer, and to enable themselves to arrive at an attitude which is not too open to be imposed upon by those who have other ends in view than honouring and enriching their art.[190]

3.4 Conclusion

In his paper to the Musical Association in 1884, Parry explained the importance of developing a sound historical method and an empirical attitude towards the past. Nine years later, the *Evolution of the Art of Music* fulfilled many of his earlier goals and ambitions. In addition to his undergraduate training in history, Parry was deeply influenced by Darwin, Spencer and the progress of evolutionary theory in biology and sociology. Responding to Darwin's call for light to be "thrown on the origin of man and his history"[191], he attempted to explain the complexity of modern music in a gradualist manner,

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[189] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 273.
[190] *Ibid.*, p. 337.
[191] Darwin. *On the origin of species* (London: John Murray, 1859), p. 488.

rejecting supernatural explanations, Carlylean mysticism and hero-worship, while also adopting Spencer's general definition of evolution as progress from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous to account for the apparent variety and complexity of modern art. Evolution, for Parry, was an empirical model for gauging the relation of cause and effect. Discussing music's origins, he found himself in the thick of an ongoing controversy about the natural basis of harmony. Parry argued that music was an artificial creation rather than a product of nature – an important distinction to make as it protected the creative freedom of the artist and paved the way for his own defence of Western harmony. The views expressed in the *Evolution of the Art of Music* were ultimately tied to his idealisation of culture as a space of free exhibition and expression. In the next chapter, the ethical foundation of his writings and the influence of moral thinkers, such as Ruskin and Mill, are admitted into the picture.

4. Style and Moral Expression

The *Evolution of the Art of Music* was an attempt to explore the complexities of modern music and to account for the accumulation of musical resources throughout history. In the 1890s, appalled by the pessimism of literary decadence, Parry was shifting his attention to a much more pertinent question: how the technical resources of evolution, insignificant by themselves, could be applied to the furtherance of art. Indeed there was an obvious political aspect to his adoption of Darwinian evolution in the first treatise. While it cannot be denied that he was genuinely interested in evolution, it may be argued that he never intended *The Evolution of the Art of Music* to be an exclusively scientific work, detached from the aesthetic or the moral considerations of art. 'Evolution' was, in some respects, an afterthought – added to give the work a more scientific veracity. Thus, between the 1893 and the 1896 editions, watchwords like "homogeneous", "assuredly" and "by degrees" were deliberately inserted, phrases such as "which is characteristic of evolution" added to formerly neutral sentences, "appreciable" music became "artistically effective" music, "inconsequentially" became "incoherently", "theory" became "process", and "commonly" was replaced with "inevitably".[1] As Dibble explains in his article on 'Grove's Musical Dictionary', the growth of musical nationalism in Britain was consolidated by rapid progress in music education since the 1850s (i.e. the founding of the National Training School of Music and the formal introduction of music to schools in 1870).[2] Whereas music began to make a mark in the public sphere, he notes that "there was one vital area of British musical life that lacked proper credence or definition: this was musicology."[3] Considering Parry's role in Francis Hueffer's so-called English Musical Renaissance, was the haphazardly rebranded *Evolution of the Art of Music*, then, not a very tactical manoeuvre to improve the reputation of music as a hard discipline and to replicate the success of Stubbs' modern history at Oxford?

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[1] Compare Parry's pencilled corrections in his personal copy of *The Art of Music*, ShP.
[2] Jeremy Dibble. 'Grove's musical dictionary: a national document' in *Musical constructions of nationalism: essays on the history and ideology of European musical culture 1800-1945,* ed. Harry White and Michael Murphy (Cork: Cork University Press, 2001), pp. 33-50.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

Surely, Parry could be a convincing spokesperson for evolution whenever the situation demanded it of him (his paper on 'Evolution and Music' at the Royal Institution is a case in point). However, the desire to make musicology more scientific was only one aspect of his wider cultural mission, and as such, the *Evolution of the Art of Music* provides an incomplete—if not at times misleading—picture of his thought and influence. In his later writings, especially from 1896 onwards, Parry was seeking to enhance music's credibility as an art form and to improve its status on chiefly ethical rather than scientific grounds, as Ruskin had done so for painting, drawing and architecture, or Arnold for poetry. This chapter turns from the discussion of Parry's scientific endeavours to investigate the underlying ethical concerns that permeate his writings, first by discussing the influence of John Ruskin and John Stuart Mill, and then by considering his attitude towards stylistic criticism in *Style in Musical Art*. Published by Macmillan in 1911, the book was an adaptation of his lectures at Oxford, which were originally designed as a coherent series of lessons on different aspects of musical 'style' (e.g. its diversity, influences, or development), spreading over his period of his tenure. Indeed *Style in Musical Art* was a much more personal work than the *Evolution of the Art of Music*, especially from a compositional standpoint, since it was less burdened by the specifications of scientific objectivity that gave the previous work its inconsistent tone. This chapter shows that in his capacity as Heather Professor of Music at Oxford (between 1900 and 1908), Parry sought to revitalise music, not by reinventing musicology, but rather by galvanising students to challenge the disparaging social image of musicians, and by uniting them under a common moral discourse and artistic purpose.

4.1 The Influence of John Ruskin and John Stuart Mill

> If Art does not enlarge men's sympathies, it does nothing morally. I have had heart-cutting experience that opinions are a poor cement between human souls; and the only effect I ardently long to produce by my writings, is that those who read them should be better able to imagine and to feel the pains and the joys of those who differ from themselves in everything but the broad fact of being struggling erring human creatures.
>
> – George Eliot, letter to Charles Bray (5 July 1859)[4]

[4] George Eliot. *The George Eliot letters, vol. 3*, ed. Gordon Haight (London: Yale University Press, 1954), p. 111.

In the widely-read *Evolution of the Art of Music*, Parry had attempted to show that sympathy—a desire to connect mentally with other men and to empathise with their emotions—lies at the root of all musical endeavour throughout history, even if the forms in which it is expressed may be astoundingly different. According to the author, light can be thrown on past music "if modern habits of musical thought can be put aside".[5] In one of his first terminal lectures at the Royal College of Music, he encouraged his pupils to adopt an open-minded attitude towards history: "Everyone enjoys yet more when they have a fuller knowledge of the general ways of music, and can interpret the music of each time to themselves by the light that is thrown on it by the music of another."[6] Modern insensitivities to music of the past arose from a failure of sympathetic imagination, by "expecting and looking for the wrong thing [in music], and this is just one of the most serious failings which may be counteracted by a fain experience of the history, or rather of the different styles which characterise different periods."[7] Parry taught his students that the excessive study of history does not necessarily make one a prisoner of the past. Quite the contrary:

> I don't mean to say that our natural sensibilities are to be despised or neglected. I think we ought to cultivate them in the highest degree, and in every department of art we can. But we can really only do that by being in sympathy with our composers.[8]

The other courses of historical lectures until 1886 (of which there were eight) were given with the same sympathetic principles in mind. As a composer gaining national recognition, Parry's stern advocacy of historical awareness had important reverberations beyond the boundaries of the college. His message heralded the changing of times for a nation accustomed to importing foreign musicians, rather than producing her own. Ruskin famously held that "it is impossible, as impossible as to raise the dead, to restore anything that has ever been great or beautiful in architecture."[9] Without disparaging revivalist practices, Parry maintained that the country could not be complacent with its own historical achievements but should continually evolve a musical art suitable for its own time and place. As society was always susceptible to change, artists had a responsibility to themselves and to others to keep up with the times, in addition to learning from the past.

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[5] Parry. *The evolution of the art of music* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1905/1893), p. 18.
[6] Lecture, GB-Lcm MS. 4305.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] John Ruskin. *The seven lamps of architecture, library edition, VIII* (London: George Allen, 1903/1849), p. 242.

This foundation in empathy enabled him to argue for music's power to promote in man a sense of feeling of his collective responsibilities, and to turn music from a static to a living (and a scientifically relevant) subject. Indeed works like Sally Shuttleworth's *Charlotte Brontë and Victorian Psychology* have drawn crucial links between Victorian literature and the psychological developments of the time. In *Villette*, a work which Parry read more than once, Brontë explores the internal life of the protagonist, Lucy Snowe, as she responds and adapts to external culture.[10] *Instinct and Character* is saturated with attempts to explain the formation of habit through upbringing and education. As many scholars including Rick Rylance, Gregory Tate and Kay Young demonstrate, Victorian writers and poets increasingly viewed their subjects through the lenses of psychology, utilising the power of metaphor to cross the disciplinary divide. Parry imbibed the psychological realism of Eliot's *Adam Bede* at Highnam at an early age, and followed Moore, in *Esther Waters* (read 1894), into the unfathomable realms and complexity of the human mind. The composer was an undoubted beneficiary of this scientific and literary tradition. Mill's associationism informed his thinking about ethics, whether it was the discrimination between higher and lower pleasures, or his psychological insight into the relationship the artist and the perceiver, which formed an integral aspect of *Style in Musical Art*. His understanding of musical forms was deeply psychological (emphasising intellectual stimulation, perception of harmonic dissonance and resolution, control of monotony, mental fatigue and rest), as evinced by the programmatic elements in his later symphonies. He also took after Spencer's emphasis on seeing the mind not as an entity but as a process. Like Eliot, Parry saw mental activity as being in a stage of flux; he consistently stressed the subjectivity of experience, the receptiveness of the mind to new experiences and the limits of objectivity in art.

In this regard, Ruskin's influence on Parry's thought on art and morality can hardly be overstated. Ruskin formulated a theory of art which, in the words of George Landow, "manages to pay careful attention to the work of art, its character, and its effects upon the audience."[11] For Ruskin, art was unique in that it allowed us to glimpse into the inner life and soul of another human being, providing insight into another person's internal condition and thereby justifying its own egregious subjectivity. As Landow perceives, the truth revealed by Ruskin's 'pathetic fallacy' was a

[10] See Sally Shuttleworth. *Charlotte Brontë and Victorian psychology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 219.
[11] George Landow. *The aesthetic and critical theories of John Ruskin* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1971), p. 16.

phenomenological truth that could not be obtained by other methods of investigation besides those of art.[12] Building on Ruskin's foundations, Parry similarly divorced music from its obligations to external truth. Music did not need to represent reality, so long as the feelings it furnished were genuine and emanate from real, intense emotions. Like Ruskin, Parry often warned of the danger of seeing things from a limited point of view; J. M. W. Turner excelled in creating, not realistic topographical images but imaginative landscapes, because of his powers to create in his mind an imaginative, ideal state – and his courage to see things beyond a limited purview.[13] Art consisted in the continual expansion of emotional experience and sympathy. Great art, according to both Ruskin and Parry, was at its most basic definition the "expression of the spirits of great men."[14]

The gospel of art that Ruskin taught at Oxford might have also resonated well with Parry for the reason of his own upbringing. His father was a distinguished water-colourist and a seasoned art collector, who could count Landseer, Thackeray and Ruskin among his friends.[15] Dibble writes that "Ruskin also thought highly of Gambier Parry's own talents… moreover, the two men shared an admiration for Turner at a time when the artist had undergone savage attacks from reviewers."[16] His interest in art, whether fourteenth-century or pre-Raphaelite, was a natural extension of his growing up at Highnam. Another important aspect of Parry's upbringing stemmed from his father's religious outlook. Gambier Parry was at pains to impart a stern Anglo-Catholic education on his children, though his lessons did not sink well with Clinton, just as they did not sink well with Hubert. Parry's crisis of faith in the 1870s (the topic of the next chapter) strengthened the appeal of Ruskin's secular message for society. Indeed in the 1850s, Ruskin's own geological investigations had put his worldview at odds with that of biblical diluvialism.[17] He became 'unconverted' by the end of the decade and did not rediscover his faith until 1875. Thus, by the time he wrote the final volume of *Modern Painters* (1860), Ruskin had already recanted his earlier belief in the antagonism of body and spirit, as Parry also did in the process of his own departure from religion. At the pinnacle of his period of

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[12] *Ibid.*, p. 32.
[13] For Ruskin's distinction between symbolic and imitative art, see *ibid.*, p. 30.
[14] Ruskin, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 31.
[15] Gambier Parry's circle also included leading architects of the Gothic revival such as William Burges, George Gilbert Scott, George Edmund Street and William White. For biographical information, see the catalogue, *Thomas Gambier Parry (1816-1888) as artist and collector*, ed. Dennis Farr (London: Courtauld Institute Galleries, 1993).
[16] Dibble. *C. Hubert H. Parry: his life and music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 9.
[17] See the chapter on Ruskin's 'Loss of Belief' in Landow, *op. cit.*, pp. 265-92.

'unconversion' in the late 1850s and 1860s, Ruskin famously turned his attention from art to social criticism.[18] Peter Anthony warns that, despite this startling shift of emphasis in his writings, historians should not forget that "there is only one Ruskin."[19] For Ruskin, society and art were deeply related and fundamentally inseparable issues: "the close relationship between art and morality is the explanation of the relationship between Ruskin's art work and his social criticism… Social criticism grew out of art criticism because of his view which he took of art as an essentially moral activity."[20] Most consequentially for Parry, Ruskin imparted a great sense of historical significance on the Reformation, drawing a sharp contrast between Catholic and Protestant impulses in art. One of the central questions of *Modern Painters* was how artists could retain their sense of hope in a post-Reformation world, and how the standards of 'invention spiritual' could be upheld in an increasingly secular environment.[21] In an age of disbelief and scientific doubt, art fills the moral void left by religion because of its ability to describe emotional, rather than physical, reality.

Throughout his literary career, Parry wholeheartedly embraced Ruskin's perception of art as a direct reflection of society's collective value and deeds. In *The Queen of the Air*, which he read the same year as he attended Ruskin's inaugural lectures, the author argued that art should not be "conceived didactically, but [referring in particular to Homeric poems] are didactic in their essence."[22] Ruskin maintained in opposition to utilitarian wisdom that art itself could not guarantee the moral status of society, as it was an "exponent" of a society's ethical state rather than its root or cause. According to the newly appointed Slade Professor, "You must have the right moral state first, or you cannot have the art… You will observe also that *absolute* artlessness, to men in any kind of moral health, is impossible."[23] Parry similarly told his students at the Royal College of Music that "the character of people and the general state and standard of thought and feeling always has something to do with the sort of art they produce."[24] Such a distinction allowed him, in his later writings, to assert the mutual growth of music and democracy, while also upholding art's independence from social

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[18] For a discussion of Ruskin's political ideas, see *ibid.*, pp. 55-72.
[19] Peter Anthony. *John Ruskin's labour: a study of Ruskin's social theory* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 8.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[21] Landow, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
[22] Ruskin. *The Cestus of Aglaia and the queen of the air, library edition, XIX* (London: George Allen, 1905/1869), p. 307.
[23] Ruskin. *Lectures on art* (London: George Allen, 1903/1887), p. 97.
[24] Lecture, GB-Lcm MS. 4307, p. 10.

affairs. As Landow points out, *Unto This Last* impugns the economic system which has allowed "inhuman relations of men" and social inequity to exist.[25] As for art, the emphasis falls once again on sincerity of expression. The avoidance of maudlin emotionalism, which resolves in anti-social egotism, lies at the heart of both Ruskin's interpretations of Turner and Parry's idealisation of German musical culture.

In his famous 1870 inaugural lecture, Ruskin inspired a new generation of thinkers to "make your country again a royal throne of kings; a sceptred isle[26], for all the world a source of light, a centre for peace; mistress of Learning and of the Arts", declaring that it is the nation's "imperial duty" to strive for artistic excellence.[27] Driven by Ruskin's ethical plea for art, Parry began the process of investigating music's social value in his own writings. He read *Ariadne Florentina* (1876) and *Sesame and Lilies* (1865) in 1888, *The Harbours of England* (1856) in 1895, and *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849) in 1902. He frequently made notes of Ruskin's lectures and books in his own notebooks. From *Ariadne Florentina*, he observed the passages on the distinction between noble and destructive art, the use of shade and lighting, the tendency of engravers to "put themselves under the order of publishers and print-sellers" (to which Parry added: "compare the position of modern pianists"), and the sincerity of the "really scientific artist" who "not only asserts bravely what he does see, but confesses honestly what he does not."[28] Parry also heeded Ruskin's distinction between northern and southern schools, the problems of taking a strict grammarian's attitude towards literary criticism, the economic use of artistic resources in engraving, and the dilemma of art in a stratified society (from which Parry derived his greater optimism for the music of the middle class):

> Modern aristocratic life is too vulgar, and modern peasant life too unhappy, to furnish subjects of noble study; while, even were it otherwise, the multiplication of designs by painters of second-rate power is no more desirable than the writing of music by inferior composers.[29]

While Ruskin devoted his life to propounding his ethical view of art, one subject occupied a more obscure place in his thought, and that subject was music. A. M. Wakefield mentions in her book

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[25] Landow, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
[26] Parry draws from the same verse from John of Gaunt's speech in *Richard II* in his unison song, *England* (1918).
[27] Ruskin, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
[28] Notebook.
[29] Ruskin. *Ariadne Florentina: six lectures on wood and metal engraving* (London: George Allen, 1875), p. 245.

on Ruskin's musical thought that "in youth music does not seem to have been an important influence in his life."[30] The social stigma against musicians ensured that they were conspicuously absent from his circles of influence; for instance, when Ruskin tried to secure a visit from Jenny Lind to his family mansion at Denmark Hill, the family refused on grounds that an opera singer did not belong "to the sort of society that could be received there!"[31] Ruskin's lack of a sound musical background contributed to his serious disconnect with music's 'higher' achievement later in life. In *A Door-keeper of Music*, J. A. Fuller Maitland recalls how his attempt to introduce Ruskin to *Meistersinger* ended in calamity. Furthermore, Ruskin shared with many other Victorians a predilection for Platonic tenets[32] (Joseph Mainzer, for example, declares in *Music and Education* that "what Plato advises the statesmen of Greece to imitate, must again become a reality to us"[33]), which stressed the primacy of the vocal over instrumental music. He detested Wagner's music drama, but favoured the works of Haydn, Mozart, Handel, Bach and Corelli. Mozart's *Don Giovanni* delighted him, while Parry treated the entire repertoire of comic operas with undisguised suspicion. In his earlier writings, Ruskin also portrayed music as an inferior art form to painting. One of his biographers, Alice Maynell, suggests that he might have harboured "a sense of separateness of an art that imitates nothing"[34], after having already established that good art finds its inspiration in the divine beauty of the natural world. Indeed in the opening pages of the *Evolution of the Art of Music*, Parry responds to Ruskin's dilemma by separating music completely from the burden of imitation.[35]

Whatever were his shortcomings, Ruskin took a deep, personal interest in composition and made abundant room for music in his thought on art and morality. As William Gatens writes, "Certainly his meditations upon the moral, social, religious, and educational aspects of music are of a

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[30] A. M. Wakefield. *Ruskin on music* (London: George Allen, 1894), p. 6.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 9.
[32] William Gatens. 'John Ruskin and music', *Victorian Studies* 30/1, Music in Victorian Society and Culture (Autumn 1986), p. 93.
[33] Joseph Mainzer. *Music and education* (London: Longman, 1848), p. 36.
[34] Alice Meynell. *John Ruskin* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1900), p. 37.
[35] Peter Garratt explains how *Modern Painters* simultaneously glorifies the realism of Turner and condemns imitation. He further points out that Ruskin was "a writer committed, above all, to an epistemological aesthetic," sympathetic to the claims of associationism and of empirical psychology; to quote Charles Reeve, "Ruskin wants to argue that nothing can be known with absolute certainty." See Peter Garratt. *Victorian empiricism: self, knowledge, and reality in Ruskin, Bain, Lewes, Spencer, and George Eliot* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2010), pp. 71, 99.

piece with his utopian vision."[36] The *Queen of the Air* includes copious references to music, such as the following well-known passage:

> Music is thus, in her health, the teacher of perfect order, and is the voice of the obedience of angels, and the companion of the course of the spheres of heaven; and in her depravity she is also the teacher of perfect disorder and disobedience, and the Gloria in Excelsis becomes the Marseillaise.[37]

Most of his remarks on music, however, are useful analogies for the other arts; they do not constitute a system of thinking about music in its own right. Even if one could dispute Anthony's assessment that "Ruskin liked music but did not have a lot to say about it"[38], it is still true that music never occupied a central place in Ruskin's thoughts, and that his writings were never intended for a musical audience. Another reason why his musical musings never garnered the specialised interest of a work like Haweis' *Music and Morals* is pointed out by Wakefield:

> When a man is the possessor of world-wide fame in one special line, it often happens that some points of his work… are eclipsed by the lustre of the main theme, and remain overlooked by many ardent students of his writings.[39]

Parry, it would seem, had an eye for finding avenues for meaningful discussion and seeing how musicology, in its current ambivalent state, could thrive along paths already traversed by other disciplines of knowledge. A believer in 'leading by example', his literary career was a plea for students to take a wider interest in music in relation to other subjects. He was the eclectic thinker *par excellence*, as evinced by the corpus of his writings from the *Evolution of the Art of Music* to *Instinct and Character*. Thus, he was able to turn Darwin's, Spencer's and Ruskin's limited knowledge about music as a living art form to his own advantage. In her book on Ruskin and music, Wakefield writes that "there are two sides to musical criticism," scientific and moral, and argues that while Ruskin was never in a position to realise music "scientifically or technically", he did spend much time reflecting on music's moral operations.[40] Through his longstanding admiration for Ruskin's artistic morality, Parry was moving from his evolutionary moorings to discuss music's moral relevance to society.

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[36] Gatens, *op. cit.*, p. 97.
[37] Ruskin. *The Cestus of Aglaia and the queen of the air, library edition, XIX* (London: George Allen, 1905/1869), p. 344.
[38] Anthony, *op. cit.,* p. 10.
[39] Wakefield, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

John Offer reveals only a half-truth when he writes that Parry "gives his opinions of the merits of composers quite openly, with no attempt to clothe them in evolutionary jargon… his own common sense protects him from 'ranking' 'great' composers in line with their evolutionary position."[41] Not 'common-sense', but a conscious effort to achieve two separate goals, explains his ambivalence towards deriving a prescriptive 'ought' from a descriptive 'is'. The conflict of interest between science and morality is nowhere better represented in Parry's writings than in the distinction he consistently makes between style and expression. In *Style in Musical Art*, style is introduced as a constantly changing phenomenon, or the "adaptation of diction or technique to the conditions by which and in which a work of art or literature is to be presented".[42] On the other hand, Parry considers a person's desire to express himself to be largely ahistoric, meaning that although certain periods may amplify the opportunities and tendencies of expression, the underlying impulse to sympathetic conduct remains the same. Evolution describes the accumulation of artistic resources but does not explain how these resources could be utilised for expressive purposes. As shown in the previous chapter, Parry maintains that some composers are more design-oriented, while others are more geared towards expression (his dualistic thinking is reminiscent of Arnold's contrast of Hebraism and Hellenism[43], or Mill's distinction between Benthamite and Coleridgean impulses). *Style in Musical Art* investigates not only the relation of design and expression, but also treats the multifaceted applications of style in a diverse society. Originally intended for an audience of aspiring composers and musicians, it leaves the territory of evolution and transgresses into Ruskin's unquantifiable world of art criticism.

Style in Musical Art, arguably the musical incarnation of Ruskin's inaugural lectures or his *Seven Lamps*, seeks to change popular habits of listening to music and to explain its stylistic principles to the reader in an accessible way. Mounting the arguments in favour of sincerity in *all* types of music, Parry is essentially doing for German music what Ruskin had done for Gothic architecture. 'Truth', 'power', 'beauty' and 'life' are Ruskinian watchwords that weave their way comfortably through Parry's text. Ruskin's focus on technique in his Oxford lectures are replicated in Parry's attentive

[41] John Offer. 'An examination of Spencer's sociology of music and its impact on music historiography in Britain', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 14/1 (Jun. 1983), p. 49.
[42] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), pp. 107-8.
[43] See Donald Stone. 'Matthew Arnold and the pragmatics of Hebraism and Hellenism', *Poetics Today* 19/2, Hellenism and Hebraism Reconsidered: The Poetics of Cultural Influence and Exchange II (Summer 1998), pp. 179-98.

canvassing of the various aspects of composition. One of the major themes of *Style in Musical Art* is the handling of what Ruskin might call 'perpetual variety', whether in combining instruments to create new textures, or when dealing with form. Parry discourages mawkishness in art and shares with Ruskin a disdain in things purely ornamental, while stressing the power of colour—responsibly utilised—in adding depth and mystery to art. In agreement with Ruskin, Parry maintains that purely devotional art is ideally "mysterious and subjective".[44] He locates in folk music genuine expressions of playfulness, simplicity and tenderness[45] of the sort which Ruskin discovers in Édouard Frère's depictions of children: "a pennyworth of humanity is worth all the great manifestations of mere ingenuity and cleverness."[46] Emphasising historical associations, Parry attacks the solipsism inherent in 'art for art's sake' and argues for a restoration of the emotional intensity that has been sapped by the theoretical musings of art critics and formalists. Ruskin's spirituality, from which he derived his theory of 'Typical Beauty' in *Modern Painters*, finds echoes in the composer's discourse on the symbolic representations of internal emotions. However, while Parry responds enthusiastically to Ruskin's view of music's emotional strengths, he happily injects his own judgment when it comes to stating his musical allegiances. Their tastes in music being vastly different, Parry places more emphasis on the intellectual side of music than does Ruskin, all the while Parry's estimate of harmony is generally a much higher one than Ruskin's.

What Parry took from his lifelong interest in Ruskin's writings was the idea that the problems of art and society were intimately connected. In linking music with economics and politics, Parry turned to one of his other intellectual heroes, John Stuart Mill. The pervasiveness of Mill's writings in Parry's reading lists has already been treated in an earlier chapter; his works on representative government, liberty and utilitarianism all formed an integral aspect of the young Parry's intellectual pabulum. It was most likely from Mill that Parry derived the essence of his revolt against positivism and act utilitarianism (the theory that an action is good if it produces the maximum happiness) and constructed his unique views of music as a democratic art. Although many thinkers contemporaneous with Mill, including Ruskin and Arnold, perceived him as a fatalist and an advocate of cultural anarchy, Mill rather saw himself as a middleman between Bentham's utilitarianism and the

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 31.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 112.
[46] *Ibid.*, p. 257.

metaphysics of Coleridge and Wordsworth. He disliked rigid system-building and treated with scepticism the positivist tendency to identify universal laws that govern the human condition:

> It is melancholy to observe how a man like M. Comte has had all his views of history warped & distorted by the necessity of proving that civilisation has but one law, & that a law of progressive advancement; how it blinds him to all the merits of the Greeks & Romans (& the demerits of the middle ages) because there was improvement in some things at such periods, he thinks there must have been so in all: why not allow that while mankind advanced in some things, they went back in others?[47]

At the heart of Mill's defection was the realisation that the classical utilitarianism of Bentham and his own father predicates, in the words of Karl Britton, "a rational morality in opposition to a sentimental one", erroneously disparaging "conscience, affection, reverence, family feeling, impulsive generosity."[48] Such a Gradgrindian view of society (as it happens, Parry was an avid reader of Dickens and must have also been receptive of his outspoken critique of utilitarianism) allows for less room than Mill could be content with for the "internal culture of the individual"[49]; it enslaves men too unforgivingly to the conditioning of their own environment. In his *Autobiography*, which Parry got his hands on as soon as it was brought out in 1873, Mill explains his dilemma quite succinctly:

> I felt as if I was scientifically proved to be the helpless slave of antecedent circumstances; as if my character and that all others had been formed for us by agencies beyond our control, and was wholly out of our own power.[50]

Mill's halfway-house solution is well-known. In the second chapter of *Utilitarianism*, he espouses a qualitative hedonism which relegates the task of determining the 'higher' pleasures to more experienced men. Indeed Parry favours the same kind of artistic esotericism in his writings, but, as is the case with Mill, not in a particularly elitist sense. As Mill clarifies in a letter to Alexander Bain, his essay *On Liberty* is not meant to promote an "intellectual aristocracy of *lumières*"; rather, he intends it to encourage an atmosphere of open discussion in which an intellectual culture might better flourish.[51] In *Style in Musical Art*, the great artists are those who expose themselves to the widest range of

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[47] Letter from John Stuart Mill to Gustave D'Eichthal, 8 October 1829; for Mill's letters see *The collected works: the earlier letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848 part I* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963).
[48] Karl Britton. *John Stuart Mill* (Middlesex: Penguin Books Inc., 1953), p. 19.
[49] *Ibid.,* p. 73.
[50] Mill. *The collected works*: *autobiography and literary essays* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981/1873), p. 175.
[51] Mill, quoted in Michael Levin. *J. S. Mill on civilisation and barbarism* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 95.

experience, both past and present. They thrive best in societies where the freedom of expression is protected by law, allowing for the fruits of discussion to be of value to all, not just to a limited section of society. Furthermore, Mill is suspicious of any claim (often made by sectarian dogmatists) to absolute truth. People more often only have access to *half*-truths, and the best way to arrive at the whole truth is to open up a dialogue between the dissenting parties, which would allow for information to be examined under a greater diversity of perspectives.[52]

According to Mill, then, the one indispensable characteristic of any progressive society was the allowance it made for the free competition of ideas. Consequently, cultures which obstructed free thought often provoked his derision; as Oskar Kurer explains, Mill believed that "what has preserved Europe up to now from a stagnation like China's is not 'any superior excellence in them [European nations]… but their remarkable diversity of character and culture.'"[53] Parry similarly opposed the Chinese tendency to social conformity and rejected its ensuing art forms. Underpinning *Style in Musical Art* was a preoccupation with the perceived dichotomy between Occidental and Oriental attitudes towards art, with 'developed' art being always connected with intellectual nonconformity. Like Mill, he was also an outspoken critic of commercialism, since he saw that commercialism thrived on the unthinking unanimity of the masses: "it is in the interest of commercialism to keep intelligence meagre, and imagination inactive."[54] In *Style in Musical Art*, Parry elaborated that commercialism "has no foundation in personality, but is concocted by jumbling up the phrases and external traits of true personalities to gull the public and secure their money."[55] The same emphasis on retaining an independence of thought characterised Parry's views on democracy. Having personally witnessed two of the great electoral reforms of the century, he recognised with Mill that democracy had had to be purchased at a hefty price. Indeed one of Mill's great fears for the democratic nation was the ineluctable tyranny of the majority over the minority. Uninformed masses now carried the burden of political participation; as Parry explained in *Instinct and Character*, they were becoming increasingly

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[52] Compare Parry's belief that "differences of opinion so often arise through people having only partial view of their subjects. One party sees one part and the other party quite a different part, and when they are fighting, it is all about different things." Parry, *op. cit.,* p. 320.

[53] Oskar Kurer. *John Stuart Mill: the politics of progress* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1991), p. 16. For an examination of how Victorian politics helped shape Mill's opinions on China, see Levin, *op. cit.,* pp. 80-102.

[54] Notebook.

[55] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 258.

vulnerable to the "arts of the demagogue"[56] and to the manipulation of resourceful elites, who controlled the news outlets:

> The principal herd-drivers of modern life are the newspapers; which, from being originally what their name implies, have been manoeuvred by the influence of various instincts of gain, religion, or that of mere general energy into becoming the organisers of public opinion…[57]

Following the philosopher, Parry realised that the spirit of unquestioning conformity constituted a greater threat in a democratic society than elsewhere. Liberty, as a way of life, necessitated an understanding of one's personal democratic responsibilities and active participation in the political process, while conformity militated against both, resulting in an autocratic society. In *Representative Government*, Mill wrote that "all intellectual superiority is the fruit of active effort."[58] According to Kurer, Mill understood 'active' character to be "much less liable to be ridden with envy, but more likely to use his own energy to improve himself in 'moral excellence'… Activity, therefore, is a reason also for moral superiority."[59] The ideal of leading an 'active' life became a recurrent theme in Parry's thinking. He held that to express wrongly in music was better than to not express at all. Similarly, to struggle against basic impulses was more virtuous than to succumb to them under the pretences of biological or cultural necessity:

> He [a man] cannot alter them [his special qualities and aptitudes], any more than he can pick and choose his parents. But he can direct them. Whether we are weak or strong, healthy or delicate, gifted or ungifted, each of us has to accept the outfit which has got to serve for the making of a life… That is to say, each man has the supreme opportunity of being something himself, instead of being an ineffectual copy of what he thinks his neighbours are.[60]

Individualism, at its best moments, protected democratic autonomy; at its worst moments, it led to solipsism. Since each human character was ultimately different, Parry concluded that every man had

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[56] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 65; Parry continues, "This danger is accentuated by the development of commercialism, which fully appreciates the immense opportunities for making fortunes which lie in the readiness of humanity to be herded by artificially contrived fashions or by ingenious application of the beguilements of advertizing."

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 67.

[58] Mill, quoted in Kurer, *op. cit.,* p. 14.

[59] Kurer, *ibid.* For an examination of Mill's ideas on social improvement, see especially John Robson. *The improvement of mankind: the social and political thought of John Stuart Mill* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968).

[60] Parry. *College addresses delivered to pupils of the Royal College of Music*, ed. Henry Cope Colles (London: Macmillan, 1920), p. 155.

the potential of bringing something unique to the table, by submitting it to the sympathetic (but critical) scrutiny of others, and thereby broadening the range of man's knowledge and experience. Thus, for Parry, the question of the value of one's life was perfectly relative. Each man carried the burden of making the most of his own life equally, regardless of his hereditary or social advantage:

> Life becomes a grand sort of game in which there is an infinity of chances and an infinity of possibilities of taking the wrong turning; we have to keep wide-awake to face the chances and mischances and make the best of them; and to recognise the seductive wrong turnings that lead to quagmires and to decline their alluring falsities. The best we can hope for when the game comes to an end is to feel that we have not been beaten, and that we can say good-bye to the world with the confidence that the number of times we have done the wrong thing does not altogether swamp the number of times we have done the right thing.[61]

Parry's philosophy of 'working with what one has' is ambiguous at best, preaching cold scientific determinism at first glance and discountenancing it at the next possible convenience. As a later chapter explores in much greater detail, Parry, who had adopted Weismann's views on heredity by the time he came to write *Style in Musical Art*, often paid lip service to the scientific opinion that (in William Dampier's description) "education can but bring into prominence characters already in being"[62]; however, unlike Galton, he did not seek reform on hereditary grounds but consistently stressed the power of shaping one's character through habit and education (as Lecky did to a lesser extent): "There must be copious instances where habits formed under strong surrounding influences quite counterbalance the peculiarities of life and conduct which come from heredity."[63] Indeed when Mill considered the problem of racial differences in the speculative age before Mendel and Weismann, he was left to uphold his belief in man's power of self-improvement and the emendation of human nature on less than scientific grounds. Bernard Semmel writes that "we can only see Mill's unwillingness to entertain any doubts as a species of faith"[64]:

> … If people were predestined to occupy a lowly position from the time of birth, if they were not capable of improvement because they were Negroes, or Russians, or proletarians, or women, Mill's view of the world would be shaken. Yet, though a man's character was determined by the experiences of his life, largely by forms imposed upon him by others

[61] *Ibid.*, pp. 151-2.
[62] William Dampier. *A history of science and its relations with philosophy and religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971/1929), p. 287.
[63] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 153.
[64] Bernard Semmel. *John Stuart Mill and the pursuit of virtue* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 29.

> and by social conditions, Mill was to insist that a person was still sufficiently free, by acting on himself, to improve his own moral and intellectual lot.[65]

Although Parry was not much indebted to German philosophy (despite his high opinion of German art, he did not read many German thinkers), he shared with Mill a Teutonically-derived Romantic strain in defending the spontaneity of expression against the positivist subordination of the emotions. Following Mill, Parry consciously shifted the argument away from heredity to emphasise the influence of culture and individual actions. He seldom extolled musicians for possessing innate gifts, but rather for the tenacity with which they carried out their artistic feats. Ultimately, the value of art was not only measured by the quality of the artistic product, but the mental process through which the individual underwent in order to create or internalise it:

> It is not by gifts alone that men may win honour among their fellows, but by the consistent cleanness and straightness and strenuousness of their lives, and the honest use of such gifts as they have. There are plenty of men endowed with great gifts and powers who win no deep regard and who do not excite hearty pleasure when men think of them…[66]

This had an enormous impact on the way Parry perceived the inherently subjective nature of art and art criticism. Good art embodied the genuineness of character and the social climate which gave rise to it; objectively speaking, there was no one correct way of writing music, but an artist might either be sincere or insincere in his approach. Mill's faith in the perfectibility of the self led him to extol the value of the artist in society as a complementary one to that of the scientist. He once wrote to Carlyle that "the highest destiny of all lies in that direction [of art]", for in the hands of the artist "truth becomes impressive and a living principle of action."[67] A testament to his Wordsworthian background, Mill placed an enormous emphasis on the power of art to promote empathy through the exercise of man's imaginative faculty. Stewart Robert Scott goes as far as to suggest that Mill could perhaps be exonerated from the fallacy of composition contained within his defence of utility, if it is considered alongside his lesser-known theory of imagination.[68] Ruskin had similarly accentuated the artist's imaginative faculty: "the greater parts of works of art, more especially those devoted to the

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[65] *Ibid.*
[66] Parry. *College addresses delivered to pupils of the Royal College of Music* (London: Macmillan, 1920), p. 147.
[67] Mill, quoted in Britton, *op. cit.,* p. 30.
[68] Stewart Robert Scott. 'Utilitarianism meets Romanticism: J. S. Mill's theory of imagination', *History of Philosophy Quarterly* 10/4 (Oct. 1993), p. 384.

expression of ideas of beauty, are the results of the agency of imagination."[69] Imagination determined how artists perceived the internal and external elements of their world; as Robert Hewison argues, Ruskin's concept of imagination as a form of visual perception had a sound basis in the empirical psychology of Hobbes and Locke.[70] For Parry, building from the same psychological foundations, art—the ideal form of imaginative perception—became the prime vehicle for empathy and the surest means of bringing isolated individuals together, and to help them develop a sense of obligation towards the greater good.

Mill saw eye to eye with Coleridge and Carlyle in placing a supreme interest and value on the honest striving after virtue. Semmel points out that Mill ultimately was not a mechanist like Buckle, who paradoxically looked up to him for guidance, but rather a liberal humanist who believed that "a good society could not long survive the eclipse of a freely chosen virtue."[71] In the sixth book of his *System of Logic*, Mill attempted to reconcile free will and natural necessity by arguing that the circumstances which dictate a person's behaviour, being so numerous in nature, could not restrict the person to a particular type of character "with such absolute sway" or deprive him of the capacity to alter his environment (and therefore his own character).[72] His proposed science of ethology was an effort to, in the words of Nicholas Capaldi, "study how cultural context makes us what we are."[73] Parry confronted a similar problem in *Instinct and Character*; he wrote that "it is not really the question whether the will is free that matters, but whether if it were not free man would cease to be responsible for his actions."[74] Like Mill, Parry accepted predestinarianism only to the extent that actions were determined by their antecedents, but held that it should not mitigate the responsibility of a person to take control of his own life:

> Each individual man is the product of precedent causes. But every product becomes in its turn a cause or group of causes. So each individual man becomes in his turn a cause or group of causes and is responsible for the consequences that ensue.[75]

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[69] Ruskin. *Modern painters, vol. 2* (London: George Allen, 1906/1846), p. 110.
[70] Robert Hewison. *John Ruskin: the argument of the eye* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), p. 70.
[71] Semmel, *op. cit.*, pp. 147, 198.
[72] Mill, quoted in Antis Loizides. *John Stuart Mill's Platonic heritage: happiness through character* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2013) p. 162.
[73] Nicholas Capaldi. 'John Stuart Mill's defense of liberal culture' in *Mill and the moral character of liberalism*, ed. Eldon Eisenach (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), p. 102.
[74] Parry. *Instinct and character*, pp. 382-3.
[75] *Ibid.*, p. 389.

Not unlike his friend Hugh Montgomery, who explained before the essay club in March 1875 that "free will must be assumed as a working hypothesis"[76], Parry saw the practical value of belief in free will but rejected absolutely the claim of its divine origin. Dismissing the predestinarian supposition that man "cannot be good if it is predestined otherwise" as a "deliciously ludicrous tangle"[77], *Instinct and Character* echoes Mill's proposal for a science of character-formation in order to promote a better understanding of causes and effects.[78] Man's sense of responsibility is a direct extension of his spiritual outfit, which separates him from the lower animals. Nevertheless, responsibility can only be learnt through experience, because it implies the careful "recognition of consequents and their influence upon antecedents."[79] Art produces a favourable atmosphere for the sympathetic understanding of different cultures and human conditions; it amplifies the individual's range of experience in response to the rise of professional society. In this way, the artist leads the world by virtue of his good example.

Lastly, Scott and other commentators, including David Bromwich, have pointed to the Romantic essence of Mill's endeavour to renew utilitarianism for modern usage.[80] Mill, as did Carlyle, whom he looked up to on occasion (like Parry, he resisted Carlyle's authoritarian proclivities), adopted a Stoic outlook on human nature that stressed the ideal of virtue over material wealth and progress.[81] He considered Carlyle, Coleridge and German philosophers to be "worshippers of independence"[82] – and in no denigratory sense of the term. Parry similarly inherited the Christian-Stoic ideal of self-mastery, adopting its lessons in healthy opposition to the pursuit of "cold-blooded utilitarian motives".[83] His diaries tell a congruous story of his life-long exposure to Stoic and Epicurean literature; Parry encountered Aurelius' *Meditations* in 1873, Epictetus' *Discourses* in 1880, Pater's *Marius the Epicurean* in 1897 and no less than eight titles by Seneca in his early years.

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[76] Hugh Montgomery. 'Common place book', PRONI MS. D627/444, p. 16r.
[77] *Ibid*., p. 387.
[78] Compare *ibid.*: "Where there is an infinity of possible alternatives, interpretation means the power to discern which of the concurrent causes will be strongest. The most influential of the causes determine the effect. But till the most influential causes prove themselves to be so, the issue appears to be uncertain."
[79] *Ibid.*, p. 391.
[80] See Bromwich's introductory essay in Mill. *On liberty,* ed. David Bromwich and George Kateb (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).
[81] Semmel, *op. cit.*, p. 94.
[82] *Ibid.*, p. 91.
[83] Parry. *The evolution of the art of music* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1905/1893), p. 1.

After completing the *Evolution of the Art of Music* in 1896, Parry turned his attention away from evolution to trace the moral implications of the art, shifting the narrative, as it were, from design to expression, and asking how the two could be reconciled. Ruskin's combination of art and morality (and seeing the two as inseparable) lies at the heart of Parry's own thinking about music. His meticulous attention to melding technique with expression prompted Parry's own stylistic investigations in *Style in Musical Art.* Through Ruskin's example—but more than just emulating his successes—Parry found a way to elevate the musical profession from the mire of traditional utilitarianism to a superior position at the head of the other arts. In linking music with society, he was also deeply influenced by Mill's social and political thought. As the next section explores in greater depth, Parry utilised Mill's liberal way of thinking about human character to rethink the function of art and art criticism in a modern, democratic society.

4.2 'Disarming Criticism' in *Style in Musical Art*

When Hadow suggests, in the first volume of his *Studies in Modern Music* (1892), that music can be divided into two contrasting orders, "of which the second resembles the first as little as a clockwork automaton resembles a man,"[84] he is defending the very same standard of personal integrity which he had seen passionately defended in Parry's *Studies of Great Composers*. Hadow maintains that when "a work of Art is living if it bears throughout the impress of its maker's personality: it is dead if we can trace its true inspiration to an external source."[85] Personality and sincerity in art are not just desirable qualities in art—they are its inalienable *raison d'etre*, without which art ceases completely to be relevant to society. Hadow aligns his view with the Ruskinian maxim that "originality is not newness, it is genuineness."[86] While it may be impossible to give a definition of 'vitality' in art, he perceives that artistic ingenuity ineluctably bears upon the creative product, and that a musical critic may know this in the same manner that a critic of poetry may tell a sincere poem from an insincere one. Regardless, the author deplores that no such method of evaluation yet existed for the music critic; Vinet and

[84] Henry Hadow. *Studies in modern music: Hector Berlioz, Robert Schumann, Richard Wagner* (London: Seeley and Co. Limited, 1893), p. 23.
[85] *Ibid.,* p. 24.
[86] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

Arnold had done for poetry what no one had done for the musical art.[87] Parry read Hadow's work—which was in fact dedicated to him—in the same year that saw the publication of his own *Art of Music* (in 1893). *Style in Musical Art* was effectively, whether directly or indirectly, a response to Hadow's challenge. In his book, Parry sought to arrive at the principles of stylistic analysis and to reimagine the manner in which music should be appreciated and criticised. This section builds on an understanding of Parry's intellectual heritage (i.e. Ruskin and Mill) to explain the positions taken by him in *Style in Musical Art*.

Hadow's 'Discourse on Method' opens with a Cartesian perspective[88] – a clear expression of the author's desire to establish an empirical methodology of musical criticism. He proposes that in order for criticism to be possible at all, there would first need to be some agreed-upon criteria among composers and listeners, so that "to write for the one in a style only suited to the other is to stand self-condemned in any court of artistic fitness or propriety."[89] In other words, a piece of music should never be judged outside its intended context. In *Style in Musical Art*, Parry opens by declaring that style is "an external attribute—a means to an end, and in no wise comparable to actual qualities of character or action in man, or the thought embodied in what is said in poetry, or the idea embodied in art."[90] Why should an artist concern himself with style at all? He argues that they cannot do without it. For a listener to be able to keep up with the composer, there should be a rationale for why certain artistic choices are made rather than others. The test of style is the consistent use of artistic resources. However, style is not measured by the quality of the thoughts which the composer intends to express through its application: "the style can be no more than a criterion whether the thing is well expressed or no."[91] Matthew Arnold, in *The Study of Poetry*, calls for scientific objectivity in the criticism of poetry. Parry realises that, in the same way, by removing style definitively from the domain of subjective expression, its history and potential can be more empirically examined.

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[87] *Ibid.*, p. 53.
[88] "Sur les objets dont on se propose l'étude, il faut chercher non pas les opinions d'autrui ou ses propres conjectures, mais ce que l'on peut voir clairement, avec évidence, ou déduire avec certitude, car la science ne s'acquiert pas autrement."
[89] *Ibid.*, p. 50.
[90] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 2.
[91] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

According to Parry, the characteristics of any given style depend on a range of factors, not the least of which are the physical properties of the instruments themselves. For instance, the acoustic attributes of an organ—its sustaining power and sheer volume of sound—would determine its applications in music as well as its suitability to be employed alongside other instruments. The lute stands opposed to the organ, while the piano combines the strengths of both, allowing for greater articulation and rapidity of action.[92] It may be noted that Parry's emphasis on the melodic tendencies of purely vocal music[93] is consistent with his argument, in the *Evolution of the Art of Music*, that the development of harmony was largely a product of instrumental and secular licence. Internalising Ruskin's lessons, Parry consistently draws analogies between music and the other arts to illustrate his own points:

> The qualities of the materials used in sculpture, in all kinds of metal work, in architecture, and even more subtly in all kinds of painting, serve as the primary bases of style in those ranges of artistic expression.[94]

The limitations of different instruments seem to imply that some instruments are inherently better suited for certain 'conditions of presentment' than others. The reality, however, is not so simple. Parry argues that a number of other influences are ultimately at play, be they material, general, psychological, racial or personal.[95] It must be remembered that in his evolutionary narrative, music becomes emancipated only when it becomes entirely artificial. What he calls 'composite' style in the fifth chapter of *Style in Musical Art* simply signifies the emancipation of art from its natural limitations. The natural inclinations of the instruments, therefore, play a limited role in determining style once the effects of artificial culture are also accounted for. He likens the combination of different instruments to the free-play of individuals in Mill's account of liberty:

> The most complete definition of such composite style is like the familiar definition of liberty. It is that which affords the fullest exercise of the resources of all the instruments engaged which will not hinder or diminish the effect of one another.[96]

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[92] *Ibid.*, p. 38.
[93] *Ibid.*, p. 22.
[94] *Ibid.*, p. 72.
[95] *Ibid.*, p. 37.
[96] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

Is it stylistically amiss to write music in which the instruments are not optimally accorded, or in which one is unevenly subordinated to the other? When discussing the relations between the piano and stringed instruments in chamber music[97], Parry seems to gravitate towards this conclusion. Yet, at the same time, he recognises that 'composite' style cannot be governed by conciliatory considerations alone. Imbalances can be justified when they are a product of artistic deliberation rather than ignorance; indeed, the ability to handle uneven musical effects speaks to a high level of artistic competence. Parry maintains that by understanding how individual styles can be consolidated into a composite one, the scope of one's art will be expanded.[98]

That composers seek recombinations of instruments and techniques highlights the difficulties of maintaining a consistency of style in modern practice. The human mind struggles to keep a hold of all the lessons throughout history.[99] The adverse effect of having accumulated an abundant store of artistic resources is that the raw materials themselves become, with the passage of time, further and further removed from their intended effects and fall into misuse. As contexts themselves change, certain features of art lose their original relevance, while in compound situations, development in one aspect of art inevitably disturbs what delicate relations it has established with other aspects of art. In the example previously alluded to, the technical advances in piano-making has emboldened composers to develop their techniques accordingly. However, when the new methods were carried over to chamber music, the results were not initially convincing because they were ill-adapted for that purpose. A process of recalibration was needed to accommodate the new techniques which had been prematurely won on the pianistic front.

If style is, by the author's own admission, the "adaptation of the materials of art or literature to the conditions of presentment,"[100] and if the conditions of presentment are practically inexhaustible owing to the infinite variability of human character, then it follows that the possibilities of style are also endless. Parry affirms: "the standards change from day to day, new spheres of artistic energy are

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[97] *Ibid.*, p. 87.

[98] Compare the following comment from his notebook: "Composers do not want to be complicated. They only want a liberal choice of means to express what ever comes to them to deal with."

[99] "To understand anything at all one must be able to classify and get the hosts of facts into something like a pattern in the mind, to help it to keep stock of the bearings. If you have your head full of thousands of mere facts, they do little bother then stupefy you. But if you get them into relation with one another they take on significance…" Lecture, GB-Lcm MS. 4329, pp. 2v-3r.

[100] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 88.

discovered."[101] The argument is an especially crucial one for him, because it vindicates his scepticism towards theoretical abstractions in music. Unsurprisingly, he launches his attack on music critics and theorists in the chapter on 'Theory and Academicism', challenging the very sort of scholasticism which Shaw intuitively attributes to him. According to Parry:

> The principle of accepting what purports to be authoritative, and acting upon it instead of realising in one's inner being the truth of what the principles imply, is at the root of all academism. The higher phases of academicism are those in which the maker of music uses forms of procedure because he has heard them recommended, and not because he has realised them as part of his own artistic experience.[102]

One of the symptoms of professional society is that artists become so preoccupied in their own bubbles that they shut their minds to other forms of art; they "get into ruts and… do the artistic work mechanically, and without heart and emotional spirit."[103] They lose their sense of stylistic nuance as a result of the lack of exposure to other developments around them. The situation is exacerbated by the injurious notion that artistic progress consists only in the acquisition of new methods and principles. Like Arnold, Parry rejects 'art for art's sake' because it dissociates art from the concerns of society. In such types of art, the measure of originality assumes the ill-advised form of 'newness', instead of 'genuineness'.

As stated previously, style is chiefly concerned with the proper adaptation of artistic materials to varying contexts. However, style alone can say nothing about the genuineness of a work of art. Parry points out that a piece of music can be completely decorous from a stylistic point of view but still be lacking in essential individuality and ingenuity. The central question of his aesthetical writings is how, given the fluctuations of human temperament, a balance of style and expression can be achieved. According to Parry, a composer who pays too much attention to style often ends up writing "stereotyped forms and [using] artistic devices without realizing their effect in his own individual consciousness."[104] The same goes for the composer who, to use Ruskin's terminology, conceives art too didactically (an almost prophetic prognosis of the ethical cantatas). Like Ruskin, Parry's response

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[101] *Ibid.*, p. 377.
[102] *Ibid.*, p. 310.
[103] Parry is hopeful that youths, when energised, are protected by their enthusiasm for art from seeing their profession as a 'drudgery': "the wider your sympathies are the more likelihood there is that you will keep your engagement of your art fresh and unwearied." See Lecture, GB-Lcm MS. 4312.
[104] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 311.

to the dilemma lies in seeing art from the standpoint of 'sincerity'; he strongly opposes Wilde's contention that "in all important matters, style, not sincerity, is the essential"[105] (not least because he is reacting directly against Wilde's aesthetic tradition). For Parry, the absolute requirement of all good art is sincerity; when art lacks sincerity it sinks into averageness and inauthenticity. His defence of sincerity draws a sharp contrast between introspective and extrospective artists. Matthew Arnold had already argued that consideration of the inward man allows us to look beyond our differences, thus enabling us to reconnect better with the distant past. Because human nature is fundamentally the same throughout the ages, art that treats inward subjects stands a greater chance of being truly timeless; it remains relevant even as external culture becomes more and more unrecognisable. As Parry writes, "the lack of personal initiative deprives such works of substance, and consequently of permanence."[106] He entertains the unobvious paradox that while music relies on culture to convey meaning, the composer relies on his sincerity to protect art from cultural ossification. For this reason, he sees materialism as posing the biggest threat to art by divesting artists of their own individuality. Music, because of its non-mimetic origins, stands at the forefront of the artistic offensive against materialism. Parry is part and parcel of the mainstream Romantic tradition, championed by Hoffman, Tieck, Schumann, Wagner and others, which repudiates the imitative principles of eighteenth-century art.[107] Hints of Mill's influence also abound in the following passage concerning the materialistic tendencies of modern civilisation:

> Materialism is merely the preference for the lower pleasures of the sense rather than for the higher pleasures of the mind. The peculiarity of the material sensuous pleasures is that they induce every kind of falseness and vulgarity, and seem to evoke the most odious qualities of humanity—greed, vanity, arrogance, cynicism, dishonesty, hatred, and corruption… Music at the moment is one of the most hopeful antidotes to such materialism, but only so when it is of the highest quality.[108]

Parry's position is that the evolution of musical techniques allows for temperamental qualities to be infused into art in a greater variety of ways. However, to pursue material wealth in art as an end—

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[105] Oscar Wilde. *Epigrams: phrases and philosophies for the use of the young* (London: A. R. Keller & Co., Inc, 1907), p. 142.
[106] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 386.
[107] See Edward Lippman. *A history of Western musical aesthetics* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), p. 207.
[108] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 426.

rather than a means to an end—is no different from adopting the acquisitive ethic elsewhere in life.[109] Although art is assisted by the accumulation of methods, Parry firmly holds that it is rather "through temperament that art, literature, and life too, are progressive."[110]

Parry recognises that a serious question mark hangs over his extolling of music as a medium for the conveyance of emotions. He treats the question of how music comes to express anything at all in the chapter on the 'Use of Thematic Material'. Here, the author challenges the claim that music cannot express due to its lack of lexical cues by arguing that humans do not think solely in words, but also in concepts. The Anglo-German philologist, Max Müller, had already maintained that while words assist in the intellection of concepts, they are not always necessary for the mental reconstruction of said concepts. George Romanes, weighing in on the exchanges between Müller and Galton, argues that "when a definite structure of conceptual ideation has been built up by the aid of words, it may afterwards persist independently of such aid; the scaffolding was required for the original construction of the edifice, but not for its subsequent stability."[111] This suggests that language does not possess an exclusive monopoly on the transmission of ideas. The complexities of modern life, according to Parry, warrant other kinds of organisation besides language. As social existence becomes more specialised, he sees that music "comes more and more to be a presentment in compact forms of those big feelings and large ideas."[112] Thus, while music lacks the denotative abilities of language, it can still tap into a region of conceptual thought where words fail. The assumption is entirely dependent on the notion that music is an artificial construct and is powerless to communicate anything without a cultural consensus. Parry recognises that music is not a universal language, and that the music of one culture can be mere noise from a different cultural perspective. His conviction that music should involve a ratiocinative process, emphasising consistency of technique, has its basis in the argument that without some kind of logic music loses its capacity to communicate effectively. A rationally-conceived musical tradition strengthens its appeal across cultural divides, perhaps because Parry realises that, ideally, logical thinking does not need to be confined to geographical boundaries. His attempt to curb the influence of external culture in culturally transmitted art leads him to argue that good music is necessarily biographical and personal in nature.

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[109] Compare his attack on the acquisitive instinct and on millionaires in *Instinct and Character*, p. 39.
[110] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 264.
[111] George Romanes. 'Thought without words', *Nature* 36 (Jun. 1887), p. 171.
[112] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

Although Parry subscribes to a dualistic view of art, his incremental view of cultural growth guides him to view Romanticism as more of a continuation rather than a negation of the Classical tradition. He argues that while Classical composers facilitated the "growth of artistic processes for making thematic material more and more significant,"[113] Romantic composers applied these resources more specifically to the purposes of self-expression. His view is similar to Mill's idea, derived from Comte, of the alternation between critical and organic periods; for Parry, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries represented the critical stage of secular doubt, while the nineteenth century stood for the progress towards social and spiritual cohesion. Like Mill, Parry sees his own task as helping society through its crucial organic phase. In the *Evolution of the Art of Music*, he embarks on a comparison of Mozart's G minor *Symphony* and Beethoven's *Piano Sonata Op. 2 No. 1* to substantiate his dualistic thesis.[114] The argument holds that although Mozart and Beethoven employed similar arpeggiaic themes, they ended up developing two completely different works of music as a result of their complementary (rather than opposite) attitudes towards art. In keeping with the empirical orientation of his book, Parry cautions that "the object of this detailed comparison is not to emphasise Beethoven's greatness at the expense of Mozart, but to show the general tendencies of evolution," conceding that "there are other cases in which Mozart undoubtedly has the advantage."[115] However, what begins as mere observation rapidly erodes into an *ad hominem* attack on Mozart—the man himself. Parry's treatment of the Austrian composer, which has elicited the criticism of many scholars, has generally been misunderstood and is worthy of reappraisal. The misunderstanding arises from an erroneous interpretation of his evolutionary views (disputed in previous chapters). In his book, *Mozart in Retrospect*, Alec Hyatt King writes that Parry's aversion to Mozart carried "the same patronising tone… found in his historical writings, which show that he viewed all eighteenth-century composers as the forerunners of Beethoven."[116] Raymond Leppard argues along similar lines as regards Parry's opinion of both Bach and Mozart.[117] In reality, however, many composers whom Parry greatly admired, including Palestrina, Monteverdi, Handel and Bach, arguably worked under even less

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[113] *Ibid*., p. 293.

[114] On Parry's opinion of Beethoven's piano works, see also Lecture, GB-Lcm MS. 1906.

[115] Parry. *The evolution of the art of music* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1905/1893), p. 266.

[116] Alec Hyatt King. *Mozart in retrospect: studies in criticism and bibliography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 41.

[117] Raymond Leppard. *Raymond Leppard on music: an anthology of critical and personal writings*, ed. Thomas P. Lewis (White Plains, NY: Pro/Am Music Resources, 1993), p. 106; this argument reoccurs nearly *verbatim* in Tönu Puu. *Arts, sciences, and economics: a historical safari* (Berlin: Springer, 2006), p. 122, both quoting Parry out of context in his judgment of Bach, as well as of Mozart.

resourceful conditions than Mozart's—yet they all escaped criticism of the type which he levels against Mozart (and also notably against Meyerbeer) in the *Evolution of the Art of Music*. Though it makes for a compelling argument to suggest that his historical judgment was hopelessly skewed by his evolutionary worldview, the accusation is quite unfair as he seems perfectly capable of entertaining a much more favourable view of Haydn – adjacent to his comments on Mozart.

What writers have not adequately acknowledged is that Parry frequently warned against judging past music by the standards of the present. The fact of the matter is that, in the *Evolution of the Art of Music*, he uses Haydn's Teutonic[118] character as a point of reference to show exactly where Mozart had gone wrong *within the context of his own time*. He attributes Mozart's failings to the unfortunate conditions of his environment and suggests that the composer's musical upbringing was perhaps too congenial for his own good: "he [Mozart] was almost entirely relieved of the individual struggle to ascertain things and make up his mind about them for himself."[119] Yet it demands no stretch of the imagination to derive from this that the author views Mozart's shortcomings not merely as a failure of circumstance, but as a failure of both personal will and character. While, in the *Evolution of the Art of Music*, he never doubts that Mozart was an extremely gifted composer, he questions the sincerity of his music. Parry's mantra is that gift alone does not translate to good art. In his opinion, Mozart never rises far above complacency because he is too assured of his circumstance; he represents "the type of man who is contented with the average process of things."[120] Thus, in his 'Variations' article for *Grove's Dictionary*, Parry could conclude that Mozart's variations are "neither impressive nor genuinely interesting", for no other reason than that the composer "was not naturally a man of deep feeling or intellectuality."[121]

Parry's disaffection with Mozart was by no means unique to his time and place. As Nicholas Kenyon points out, there were but few champions of Mozart in Parry's England, namely Shaw, Dent

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[118] Hadow disagrees with Parry on the question of Haydn's ethnicity, citing instead the authority of Franjo Kuhač. See Hadow. *A Croatian composer: notes toward the study of Joseph Haydn* (London: Seeley and Co. Limited, 1897), p. 17: "The evidence here… can only point to one of two conclusions: either that the law of nationality is inapplicable to Haydn, or that his assignment to the German race is an ethnological error. The former alternative is unsatisfactory enough." Parry's proneness to committing 'ethnological errors' is treated in a later chapter.

[119] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

[120] *Ibid.*, p. 251.

[121] Parry. 'Variations' in *A dictionary of music and musicians, vol. 4* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1883), p. 224.

and Tovey.[122] Hadow, not unlike Parry, saw Mozart and Haydn as precursors to Beethoven, once dismissing Mozart's operas as containing "no coherent story nor even any serious attempt at dramatic illusion"[123]—a view shared even by Ernest Newman. In fairness to Parry, he always recognised Mozart's gifts and made no attempt to downplay the extent of his technical abilities. Speaking of Mozart's treatment of opera in the *Evolution of the Art of Music*, the author argues that "everything is articulate, finished, full of life… Mozart at this early stage shows himself a completely mature master of all the practical resources of orchestration; and in almost every department and every aspect of the work a like fine artistic sense is shown."[124] As a matter of fact, Parry strives to find a place for Mozart in the rank of great composers, for which act he has not been duly credited. Mozart figures predominantly in his *Studies of Great Composers*, where he is portrayed as a tragic figure whose "brave struggle with constant work" brought him no remuneration and ultimately "broke his health".[125] Furthermore, Parry here sees the *Requiem* as an act of personal redemption, written at a time when Mozart finally succumbed to the emotional side of his nature.[126] As part of his aspiration to place Mozart on a somewhat equal footing with Haydn or Beethoven, he accepts the view that there are essentially two necessary types of creative mind, complementing each other in art history. His dualistic view of art is as much an attempt at inclusion as it is at exclusion.

All this hinges on a questionable assumption that Mozart's works are somehow less sincere than Beethoven's. If art is subjective, how can sincerity in art be gauged? For Parry, the answer lies in the accordance of stylistic means to expressive ends. Ruskin argues that the ideal artist combines "the two faculties, acuteness of feeling, and command of it."[127] It must be noted that Parry's ideal unity of style and expression does not represent the midpoint between his hyperbolised characterisations of Mozart and Beethoven, since in his view, there is no inverse correlation between stylistic cogency and intensity of expression. As later chapters show, although he accepts Ruskin's view that an artist should

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[122] Nicholas Kenyon. *The Pegasus pocket guide to Mozart* (New York: Pegasus Books, 2006), p. 24.
[123] See Hadow. *Studies in modern music* (London: Seeley and Co. Limited, 1893), p. 15.
[124] Parry. *The evolution of the art of music* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1905/1893), pp. 224-5.
[125] Parry. *Studies of great composers* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1904/1886), p. 155.
[126] *Ibid*., p. 153. For the reception of Mozart's *Requiem* in nineteenth-century Britain, see Simon Keefe. *Mozart's Requiem: reception, work, completion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 83-4; and Rachel Cowgill. ' "Hence, base intruder, hence": rejection and assimilation in the early English reception of Mozart's Requiem' in *Europe, empire, and spectacle in nineteenth-century British music*, ed. Rachel Cowgill (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 9-28.
[127] Ruskin. *Modern painters, vol. 3* (New York: J. Wiley, 1863/1856), p. 2.

be both "sensitive and impassive" (Landow)[128], and to an extent disinterested – but not desensitised, Parry has no patience for moderatism because it denied the variability and the vitality of life. Anticipating the central thesis of *Instinct and Character*, *Style in Musical Art* maintains that life is what gives art its personality and differentiates genuine art from clever imitations: "The very first necessity of permanence is life, not mere stability."[129] Instead of denying spontaneity in art, his theory combines Ruskin's artistic morality with Arnold's concern with architectonics – the unity and relation of parts in the creative whole. The internal consistency of a work of art is important, because it points to the creator's singularity or clarity of purpose. He discovers evidence of effective stylistic procedures where there is a genuine impulse to expression.

The test of time is a useful guide for discerning quality in art, because art which survives the scrutiny of many generations possesses a timeless—essentially human—appeal, allowing it to transcend local customs. A superficial work of art may captivate an immediate audience, but sincerity is what gives art its permanence. Championing historical consciousness among artists, Parry in *Style in Musical Art* speaks of the "universal touchstones of quality"[130]—perhaps a nod to Arnold's touchstone method—but goes further than Arnold in admitting that they do not exist, at least not in music. For him, the past inspires but does not dictate the present and the future. Parry maintains that music's subjectivity and its "chameleon-like properties"[131] discourage universal generalisations and the establishment of hard rules. When music is reduced to rules and regulations, it loses the spontaneous quality which amplifies its psychological dimension. Whereas the pictorial arts rely on a degree of objective realism, as Ruskin shows in his lessons on light and shade, Parry thinks that music is least effective at its most representative moments (i.e. when it purposely references external reality). Parry also sees that the act of listening is in itself a subjective experience on the perceiver's part; as Gurney elaborates in *The Power of Sound*, "it is often found that music which wears a definable expression to one person, does not wear it or wears a different one to another, though the music may be equally enjoyed by both."[132] The listener injects his own experiences and emotions and interprets the music in his own personal way. A great musical work does not tell its listeners what to feel but maximises its

[128] Landow, *op. cit.*, p. 388.
[129] Parry, *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 388.
[130] *Ibid.*, p. 376.
[131] *Ibid.*, p. 377.
[132] Edmund Gurney. *The power of sound* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1880), p. 339.

appeal by affecting many people in many different ways. It "belongs to all people and speaks to the natural man whether he is grander or a cobbler, so long as he has any real musical sense at all."[133] The most timeless masterpiece reaches out to the widest section of mankind; it is essentially plebeian in its balancing of sympathy and critical distance from everyday fashion.

Parry's aesthetic convictions ultimately tell on his critique of music criticism itself. Music cannot escape its essential subjectivity, but by injecting a sense of objectivity to music criticism, the critic can keep alive the artist's obligation to sincere expression. Like Arnold, he sees that the critic, by taking on the role of the dissemination of ideas in society, has a responsibility to the public to be impartial—hence his awareness of the past and his detached focus on style. At a personal level, a critic may disagree with the sentiment conveyed by a piece of music, but he is a propagator of current ideas, not a custodian of thought. The solution to combat commercial music is not to inculcate the censorship of a Platonic state, but to allow for the free exchange of ideas. If critics construct theoretical barriers to musical appreciation or divide themselves into camps (i.e. Wagner vs. Brahms), they limit the range of enjoyment for other people. Self-criticism works the same way—it is the constant warding off of temptations to shy away from newer types of experience. In *Style in Musical Art*, Parry happily concedes that there must be different kinds of music to suit different inclinations of people: "as there is a style for the greatest things, so there is for the least."[134] While modern scholarship has been quick to point out his prejudices against popular music, in the same inaugural speech, he argues that:

> Even popular comic operas can be admirable when the true style has been found… And it would be absurd to consider the style of light art as of no consequence. There must be in all men's lives infinite degrees of mood, from serious to playful.[135]

The tendency of music in the wake of mass enfranchisement is to "encourage the diffusion of the service of art among thousands, who through it have the opportunity to express their own individual views of the world, of the problems of their lives, and the meaning of what they see around them."[136] The music critic, like the composer, becomes an agent of democracy, a model of responsible listenership, rather than an oligarchical influencer of public opinions. His views on this subject closely reflect his liberal opinions on education, which are treated in a different chapter.

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[133] Lecture, GB-Lcm MS. 4307, p. 11.
[134] *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[135] *Ibid.*, taken from his inaugural speech, given on 7 March 1900.
[136] *Ibid.*, p. 262.

In *Style in Musical Art*, Parry tackles the question of how music can still be relevant in society when it depends so heavily on convention-driven subjectivity. Although the work is far from being scientific, his ideas can be located in the context of a growing awareness of the complexities and mysteries of human psychology. Man's internal operations can be just as important and have a profound influence on his perception of external reality. Ruskin had shown how 'ideal' art can tell us something about our internal feelings. For Parry, the lack of an objective standard of art promotes nonconformity of thought and open-mindedness.[137] Music can offer insight into the infinite variability of the human condition, but since it is the most subjective of the arts, it has to rely on transmitted culture to convey any kind of meaning at all. Parry is concerned to find out how we can have a musical convention that is not just blind conformity to local fashion—a truly personal, sincere work of art that breaks away from local tradition and reaches out to all people, despite their cultural differences. His answer draws consistently from Mill's idea of liberty, and the notion that freedom of expression is conducive to democracy. The role of the music critic in society is to promote a sympathetic way of responding to music, not to limit the flow of ideas. Ultimately, Parry's faith rests as much in the integrity of the artist as it did in the power of a well-informed public to drive out base impulses in art, while retaining what is genuine and good for generations to come. The closing remarks of *Style in Musical Art* capture his idealism and his optimistic outlook on man's future in democracy:

> Such quality proves to be the appeal of the finest and most ardent spirits to the spiritual ears of such as can meet them on the highest ground; and by such converse humanity threads its way through its bewilderments towards the light.[138]

4.3 Conclusion

In addition to his debt to Darwin's and Spencer's evolutionary worldview, Parry was deeply influenced in his thinking by Ruskin's ethical tone and Mill's discourses on character and liberty. He used his platform as an educator to change society's attitude towards musicians and the musical profession. *Style in Musical Art* represents a fresh departure from the dynamic narrative of the *Evolution of the Art of Music*, in search of the common strand of humanity that runs through the works of the ancients

[137] *Ibid.*, p. 417: "The best minds are those which are most capable of seeing many sides of the same question."
[138] *Ibid.*, p. 427.

and moderns. As a result of his dual interests, Parry developed a syncretism of moral aesthetics and evolutionary historiography of which Ruskin, opposed to Darwin's teachings, would not have personally approved. Drawing from his lessons from Ruskin, Mill and other influential thinkers, he was able to claim for music a place at the forefront of the popular struggle for democracy in his work. The next chapter considers his agnostic worldview and explains how he utilised a secular narrative of emancipation to strengthen his vision for music as a democratic force in society.

5. MUSIC FROM SECULARISM TO DEMOCRACY

This chapter navigates two important themes in Parry's historical narrative, that of the secularisation and the subsequent democratisation of music. At the core of *Style in Musical Art*, as explored in the previous chapter, was his view of art as a moralising agent in society and his mission to maximise the creative independence of artists. Parry developed his individualistic tendencies from an acquaintance with the writings of Emerson, Maeterlinck, and especially Henry Fielding.[1] The search for an ideal condition of society in which individuals could thrive—to what extent it should be paternalistic or promote autonomy (the two reciprocal aspects of the Victorian emphasis on character, according to Richard Bellamy[2])—became the concern of many political and philosophical observers. Many influential thinkers whom Parry studied, such as Spencer, examined the relationship between the state and the individual and concluded that the state should not intrude upon certain individual liberties. Robert Owen famously adopted a more paternalistic approach in his experiment at New Lanark.[3] For Mill, with whom Parry was mostly aligned intellectually, paternalism may be warranted in rare instances,[4] but the despotism of society was a thing of the past.[5] In his own writings, Parry hoped to

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[1] The composer once noted of Fielding's *Amelia*: "it has many significant passages… on the evils of the old system of preferments to offices, & promotions in the army & cet. by favour & the immeasurable superiority of the [Adam Smith's] competitive system." See Diary, June 1875. For Amelia's "unmistakable satiric portraits of corruption", see Tifanny Potter. *Honest sins: Georgian libertinism and the plays and novels of Henry Fielding* (Kingston, ON: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), p. 146.

[2] See Richard Bellamy, ed. *Victorian liberalism* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 7.

[3] Frank Podmore. *Robert Owen* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1906), p. 427. More recent scholarship has emphasised Owen's ambivalent stance towards democracy and paternalism by throwing light on his positions on national education, taxation and so forth; Gregory Claeys has taken the argument further to show that Owen wished "to transcend politics" altogether. See, for instance, J. F. C. Harrison. *Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), p. 76. John Bone argues that Owen was one whom "the reformists call an aristocrat, the aristocrats a Jacobin". Bone, quoted in Gregory Claeys. 'Paternalism and democracy in the politics of Robert Owen', *International Review of Social History* 27/2 (Aug. 1982), p. 167.

[4] For a study of Mill's attitude towards paternalism see Claeys. *Mill and paternalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

[5] Mill's work on liberty can also be read as a representation of the philosophy of self-help. In his seminal work, Samuel Smiles refers to Mill as "one of our greatest living thinkers"; quoting Mill, he argues that "the solid foundations of liberty must rest upon individual character: which is also the only sure guarantee for social security and national progress." See Samuel Smiles. *Self-help: with illustrations of character and conduct* (London: John Murray, 1859), pp. 3, 192.

show that the thorough secularisation of art and society (especially in the seventeenth century) had led to the end of religious despotism and enabled democracy to assert itself, through the recognition of individual rather than ecclesiastical interests. This democracy would act as a moderating influence against man's rebellious passions and facilitate society's return to organicism, as per Mill's account of social progress.

Thus, Parry's writings on the subject of the seventeenth century onwards, with its emphasis on the rise of secular music, can be read as an important, conscious stride towards his democratic position. As such, it is perhaps preferable to treat the topics of secularism and democracy as part of the same narrative (as intended by Parry). This chapter opens with a discussion of his religious views, which has been a topic of much controversy among scholars, and resolves some of the contradictions in modern estimates of his religiosity. Armed with a more accurate picture of Parry's position on religion, the section which follows discusses the narrative of the secularisation of music in his writings, leading to his idealisation of Bach. The final section addresses his views on democracy and his vision for a democratic music, which hinges on the success of his 'secularising' narrative. The chapter mainly narrows down on two of his major works, conceived at around the time of his Oxford lectures: the *Music of the Seventeenth Century* (1902) and *Johann Sebastian Bach* (1909).

5.1 Parry's Religious Beliefs and His Commitment to Agnosticism

> Oh those who on that morn in manger lay
> a lowly child, by Love Eternal given,
> A Saviour now! Oh guide our faltering steps
> that we ne'ever wander from the path of Heaven.
>
> To that bless'd place, whose portals wide invite
> by thy sweet Grace, we lift our longing eyes,
> That we may come, in the Redeemed, to join
> the Glorious Hymns of thy Eternal Praise.
>
> – Excerpt from "words for a Christmas hymn, written for my dear Children,"
> by Thomas Gambier Parry

Parry's intellectual personality, as elaborated by his eldest daughter in a letter to the *Musical Times*[16], so strongly contradicts Arnold Bax's characterisation in *Farewell My Youth*[17], that neither account should be taken for granted. For no fault of hers, Dorothea was perhaps too close to her father to preside as an impartial judge of his character, while Bax was motivated by a personal disaffection from the Royal College of Music while delivering his verdict on its director.[18] A better understanding of Parry's religious views can resolve some of the perceived contradictions between the radical and conservative aspects of Parry's philosophy and music. In this section, his religious views are considered in relation to current scholarly opinion and biographical evidence. The discussion below also draws from the context of Victorian nonbelief and the politics of secularism to formulate a more accurate view of his agnostic creed.

Scholars generally concur in thinking that Parry was an agnostic who, much like Vaughan Williams, Finzi or Howells, happened to also have a predilection for writing religious music. For Erik Routley and Lionel Dakers, the composer was "indeed not a churchman but an agnostic and a subscriber to the Rationalist Press Association,"[19] a view repeated by David Brown in *God & Mystery in Words*, according to whom Parry was close to being an atheist.[20] Some interpreters, such as Peter Brown, have gone further to contrast Parry's religious and political unorthodoxy with Stanford's ultra-conservative outlook, providing readers with a sense of antithesis within the post-Grove 'Renaissance' establishment.[21] Gordon Mursell, the author of *English Spirituality*, mentions that "Parry was an agnostic, steeped in the philosophy of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche".[22] This position overstates the

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[16] See Dorothea Ponsonby. 'Hubert Parry', *The Musical Times* 97/1359 (May 1956), p. 263.

[17] As Bax writes, "I conclude that Parry was too ingrainedly the conventional Englishman… Such conservatism as Parry's does not propagate works of searching imagination… Parry, Stanford, Mackenzie—they were all three solid reputable citizens and ratepayers of the United Kingdom, model husbands and fathers without a doubt, respected members of the most irreproachably conservative clubs, and in Yeats's phrase had no 'strange friend'." Arnold Bax. *Farewell, my youth* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1943), pp. 27-8.

[18] Bax remarks in his book that "I always had a vague notion that it [RCM] was a more aristocratic and pompous place than our old Academy." Regarding Stanford with equal suspicion, Bax perceives Parry to be the patrician head of an ultra-conservative establishment, i.e. the Royal College of Music. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

[19] Erik Routley and Lionel Dakers. *A short history of English church music, rev. ed.* (London: Mowbrays, 1997/1977), p. 82.

[20] David Brown. *God & mystery in words* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), footnote to p. 211.

[21] The differences are especially palpable in their approaches to education. Compare A. Peter Brown. *The European symphony from ca. 1800 to ca. 1930: Great Britain, Russia, and France, vol. 3* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), p. 157: "Stanford was a political conservative; Parry was a progressive. Stanford was a man of belief; Parry an agnostic and antagonistic towards church ritual."

[22] Gordon Mursell. *English spirituality: from 1700 to the present day* (London: SPCK, 2001), p. 186.

influence of Schopenhauer in Parry's thinking[23] (as a matter of fact, Schopenhauer does not appear at all in his reading lists) and glosses over the fact that his relationship with Nietzsche's philosophy was a highly reactionary and ambiguous one. Indeed Parry's attitude towards religion has been a subject of much conjecture and often questionable speculation. Discussing Parry's "atheistic" and racial determinism, Matthew Riley suggests that the author of the *Evolution of the Art of Music* "could not match Hadow's generosity of spirit, and his remarks became increasingly dyspeptic, sarcastic and shrill"[24]; although Graves many decades ago perceived the very opposite, that Parry became less shrill towards religion as he matured (an equally disputable assertion).[25] Meanwhile, Parry's setting of *Prometheus Unbound* has attracted scholarly attention as a rare embodiment of an unholy trinity (the composer, the poet and the subject matter).[26] Another author, John Wolffe, speculates that the composer conceived *Jerusalem* "much more in a culture of patriotic celebration than one of religious devotion and aspiration"[27], presumably on account of his agnostic beliefs. This is, however, inaccurate as Parry absolutely detested patriotism, and also because it constructs a false dichotomy between religious and nationalistic sentiment, whereas for Parry, both emanate from man's instinct for reverence and communal feeling.[28] Furthermore, the Blake anthem is not particularly representative of his broad output of choral works, much of which is unquestionably religious in nature.

While scholars disagree on the extent of Parry's irreligiosity, the contrary opinion that he was a believer, or a 'confirmed Anglican', simply because he set religious words to music or because of his

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[23] Absence of evidence is not necessarily positive evidence of absence. Colles explains that Parry "was keenly desirous to stimulate the pupils to take an interest in what lay outside their immediate and daily tasks," and describes a small debating society which was started by the students at RCM in 1896 in this connection. According to Paul Spicer, Holst, Vaughan Williams, Ireland, Hurlstone, *et al.* all formed part of this network, and Schopenhauer was among the philosophers discussed. See Spicer. *Sir George Dyson: his life and music* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), p. 18.

[24] Matthew Riley. *British music and modernism, 1895-1960* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), p. 20. The closeness of Hadow's and Parry's thinking has been discussed in a previous chapter.

[25] Charles Larcom Graves. *Hubert Parry: his life and works, vol. 2* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1926), p. 152.

[26] See, for instance, Paul Bertagnolli. *Prometheus in music: representations of the myth in the Romantic era* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 251-93. Shelley attracted a following in Victorian times, especially among the pre-Raphaelites, but often for his lyrical rather than radical vision.

[27] John Wolffe. ' "Praise to the Holiest in the Height": hymns and church music' in *Religion in Victorian Britain: culture and empire, vol. 5*, ed. John Wolffe (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), p. 77. Another interpreter who erroneously reads *Jerusalem* as exemplifying Parry's chauvinistic vein is Wilfrid Mellers: "Parry nurtured the Imperial Dream, making music collateral with Arne's 'Rule Britannia'… [with its] mindless optimism of the Common Man in his martially and materially prosperous nation." See Mellers. *Celestial music?: some masterpieces of European religious music* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), p. 174.

[28] See Parry. *Instinct and character,* p. 148.

religious upbringing, is much more erroneous. Peter Pirie responded rather dismissively to Dorothea's letter by saying, "how strange, though, that it is possible to apply the word 'free-thinker' to one who set so fervently so much religious matter."[29] Quoting Shaw's vitriolic critique of *Job*, he returned to question Parry's unorthodoxy again in 1979: "Though friends of Parry are anxious to point out that he was nearly a socialist and almost a free-thinker… he set a lot of the Bible to music."[30] This false equivalence posits that Parry could not have been a radical thinker because he was not a radical composer, or *vice versa*. Unsurprisingly, the composer merits only a few mentions in Pirie's Elgar-oriented account of the English Musical Renaissance.

Between the two extremes lies the view that Parry was a wavering non-believer or believer in God. In Dibble's estimation, the composer emerges as a reluctant agnostic, ultimately believing in some kind of higher power in the pantheistic sense[31]; David Brown interprets (somewhat inaccurately) Dibble's account as documenting Parry's "move from conservative Evangelism to a form of agnostic theism".[32] However, even this position is not completely correct, the notion that the composer believed in some abstract form of a deity being largely derived from his early years (after Oxford) and not at all representative of his mature sentiment. Scholarship in some quarters reflects this current state of ambiguity: Timothy Day, perhaps following Graves, describes Parry as a "reverent agnostic"[33]—one wonders how an agnostic can be 'reverent' towards an unknowable entity. In *Parry before Jerusalem*, Benoliel warns that Parry's "avid agnosticism" should be "clearly distinguished from atheism"[34], although one finds when reading Parry's writings that these were by no means mutually exclusive positions. Another author more accurately labels him as an "agnostic with Christian aspirations".[35] Taken collectively, these instances show a lack of scholarly consensus on the composer's

[29] Peter Pirie. 'Hubert Parry', *The Musical Times* 97/1361 (Jul. 1956), p. 371.
[30] Pirie. *The English musical renaissance* (New York: St. Martin's Press Inc., 1979), p. 20.
[31] For Jeremy Dibble on Parry's religious views, see Dibble. *C. Hubert H. Parry: his life and music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 109-13.
[32] David Brown. 'From *Elijah* (1846) to *The Kingdom* (1906): music and scripture interacting in the nineteenth-century English oratorio' in *Music and theology in nineteenth-century Britain*, ed. Martin Clarke (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), p. 188.
[33] Timothy Day. 'English cathedral choirs in the twentieth century' in *The Cambridge companion to singing*, ed. John Potter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 126.
[34] Bernard Benoliel. *Parry before Jerusalem: studies of his life and music with excerpts from his published writings* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), p. 4.
[35] Mellers, *op. cit.,* p. 173.

apparently ambiguous stance on religion. However, it is a received ambiguity rather than an ambiguity on Parry's own behalf, as the discussion below seeks to demonstrate.

Parry's distrust of organised religion occurred during his time at Oxford, but it was not until after leaving the university that he completely abandoned the notion of a personal god. In his early years, he found a sympathetic intellectual companion in his cousin Edward Hamilton (later private secretary to Gladstone), who dared to question religious orthodoxy within the bounds of good sense. Benoliel reflects on the nature of Parry's and Hamilton's "easy camaraderie" in his book, and claims that it was Hamilton who "could claim to know [Parry] best."[36] Hamilton's friendship undoubtedly served as a source of stability amid Parry's growing discontent with the religious conservatism and the Toryism of his friends and relatives. An entry in his diary gives an account of how, on a Sunday afternoon in 1870, Parry and 'Eddie' had been in a lengthy conversation about religion, after which they ended up expressing "sympathy for each other over feelings with regard to the 'High Churchism' in which we have been brought up, and with which we are surrounded."[37] This was the first time Parry would learn that Eddie's thoughts were much aligned with his own. In his recollection, they were both so content with this mutual discovery that they freely opened up to each other, allowing "bitterness to flow from [their] mouths without reserve."[38]

This and other entries from Parry's diaries reveal the extent of his disillusionment in the 1870s. His early criticism of religion revolved around the idea that the transcendental nature of faith "blinds many… to worldly duties and considerations".[39] When religious people took on a high "standard of holiness", they became too self-assured and intolerant of people who disagreed with them (a direct violation of the democratic principle).[40] Independence of thought—including the ability rationally to disagree with the Church's authority—was discouraged; as Parry lamented in his diary of 1870, "the search for truth is denied them. Their religion is no longer honest & pure & moral…"[41] Religion emanated from a desire to do good, but fell spectacularly foul of mistaking spiritual seeking for unquestionable faith in dogma. Parry developed a pathological dislike for 'exclusive-salvationists',

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[36] Benoliel, *op. cit.*, p. 99.
[37] Diary, 1870. This passage has been quoted in Graves, *op. cit., vol. 2*, pp. 150-1.
[38] *Ibid.*
[39] *Ibid.*
[40] "They are forced to busy themselves in dogmatic theology, to read many authorities on such questions & specially to study the opinions & sermons of their leaders." *Ibid.*
[41] *Ibid.*

who not only professed to have intimate knowledge of the unknowable, but ostracised and condemned those who challenged their position of ontological privilege (he frequently referred to Bishop Colenso, who was trialed for heresy for defending free thought). According to Parry:

> Everyone who disagrees with them is out of communion with them. Anyone who endeavours to use the god-sent & pure-shining light of reason is condemned… This is the culmination of Charitable Pharisaism.[42]

The effect was, ironically, "to split up the church for whose unity they are always praying"[43], inventing imaginary barriers to the unity of man. Religion was divisive because it "fuels man's angry passions".[44] The main cause for acrimony between religious men was doctrinal, based upon "questionable interpretation of scripture, made by frail human beings like themselves."[45] When Parry began to formulate his evolutionary ideas, it became clear to him that human knowledge was accumulative and self-correcting. The wisdom of a people was proportionate to the level of historical experience at their disposal. Progress, therefore, was not made by holding historical scripture inerrant and impervious to revision. He was adamant on this point: the High Churchmen's insistence upon the unassailable truth of their doctrine only exposed their "own bigotry", which was "two-fold greater than those they abuse."[46]

While rejecting dogmatism, the young Parry still reserved sympathy for liberal Christians who "never forced [their views] on others & would never gainsay a man who held his own criticisms."[47] He delighted in the sermons of Stafford Brooke[48], who preached a progressive version of the Abrahamic religion to which he could better relate. Parry had trouble reconciling the claims of religion and science; Brooke chose to define faith, however, not as a propensity to believe without reason but as a willingness to embrace reason or else "our religion would be mere hypocrisy."[49] The preacher resisted

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[42] *Ibid.*
[43] *Ibid.*
[44] Diary, 15 January 1871.
[45] Diary, 1870.
[46] *Ibid.*
[47] *Ibid.*
[48] Diary, 15 January 1871. Parry had a similar response when he attended Cannon Liddon's undogmatic sermon at Highnam; he retrospected that "an atheist might have listened to such a sermon with delight." See Graves, *op. cit., vol. 1*, p. 106. Another liberal sermon was that given by 'Old Goodford' on 5 June 1870, as recorded in his diary.
[49] Diary, 15 January 1871.

mainstream Christianity by choosing to "forsake dogmatism" in favour of the notion that religion "progresses by perpetual revelation."[50] Seeing this liberal, non-literal side of religion deterred Parry from denouncing his Christian heritage entirely. Indeed, Parry would capitalise on this belief in the reformability of Christianity in his later writings and choral experiments.

Although mid-century secularism, developed in the aftermath of the Chartist defeat, appealed more decidedly to the working class (its torchbearer, George Holyoake, was often "accused of creating Holyoakites, not freethinkers"[51]), Parry's form of disbelief exhibited a more certain intellectual bent, which was more indicative of his sound literary background. He was no stranger to the popular political writings of Thomas Paine, namely the *Rights of Man* (widely read by working-class radicals), but epistemologically his views were deeply rooted in the British tradition of Locke and Hume. Parry familiarised himself with Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* in 1869 as a student. He was also familiar with Hume's philosophy, in addition to his historical writings, studying Huxley's volume on the philosopher in 1879. Huxley's work is remembered nowadays not only for its perceptive treatment of Hume, but also for the interpolation of Huxley's own agnostic ideas, for which he claimed a kinship with Hume's thought.[52]

The main source of Parry's unorthodox perspective during the immediate period after Oxford came from his involvement in Pepys Cockerell's 'Essay and Discussion' club, as delineated in an earlier chapter. His friend, Hugh Montgomery, who was deeply influenced by Comte's positivistic sociology, saw the history of human thought as "an encroachment of experience, i.e. positive knowledge on speculation, i.e. imagination and belief of the unproven".[53] Following Buckle in his *History of Civilisation in England*, Montgomery held out the hope that as the scientific method became more widespread, there would be a correlative decline in supernatural beliefs: "the more we can

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[50] *Ibid.*

[51] Shirley Mullen. 'Keeping the faith: the struggle for a militant atheist press, 1839-62', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 25/4 (Winter 1992), p. 154. See also Graeme Smith. *A short history of secularism* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008), p. 173: "In many ways, Holyoake was Bradlaugh's intellectual and political inferior". His achievement was in laying the groundwork for secularism, making it more socially acceptable even before the approach of Darwin, Colenso, Mill, Buckle, et al. For Bradlaugh, see Walter Arnstein. *The Bradlaugh case: a study in late Victorian opinion and politics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965).

[52] See Bernard Lightman. 'Huxley and scientific agnosticism: the strange history of a failed rhetorical strategy', *The British Journal for the History of Science* 35/3 (Sep. 2002), p. 277.

[53] Hugh Montgomery. 'Common place book', PRONI MS. D627/444, p. 6r.

believe of natural the less we need to believe of supernatural."[54] Parry's empirical mind made him highly suspicious of any notions of the supernatural. In his monumental work, *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, Hume had already shown miracles to consist in violations of the laws of nature.[55] The burden of proof weighed on those who accepted such miraculous claims to be true, not on those who refused to believe in them. Proceeding from a similar rationale, Parry revealed his aversion to supernatural religion in a passage from his diary which reads:

> Long talk with Maudie in the evening about supernaturalism, to which I think she is too lenient. Saying she does not like to judge so many of her friends who claim truth for personal inspiration & revelation, like Joy, & Mary & co., for all reason has to say against it…[56]

Butler's *Erewhon* (he wrote in his diary that "I scarcely ever liked a book better"[57]) alerted Parry to the "fallacies of people's everyday beliefs & actions"[58] and helped him develop the confidence to stand up against popular opinion. The autobiographical *Way of All Flesh*, critical of Victorian platitudes and at the time highly praised by Shaw, was also read in older age. In the year before his involvement with the essay club and during his time at Lloyd's, Parry neglected his diary for some months for having nothing to comment about, save "ill-natured growls at Society, the mockeries and falsities of people of the religious species, and the empty-headed flunkeyism and false views."[59] Here was a glimpse into the solitary side of his personality and into the searching artist, who was dissatisfied with the world and all that was in it – a side rarely disclosed by Shaw's caricature of him as an establishment figure. Parry often mentioned feeling out of place for asserting his sympathy for Gladstonian liberalism; he was understandably appalled at the newfound Catholicism of his mother-in-law and sister-in-law. His loss of faith undoubtedly outraged his father[60], who had built the Holy

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[54] *Ibid.*
[55] See Huxley's agreement and objections in Thomas Huxley. *Hume* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1897), p. 130.
[56] Diary, 23 May 1873.
[57] See Diary, September 1873.
[58] *Ibid.*
[59] Quoted in Graves, *op. cit., vol. 1*, p. 145.
[60] Writing to Parry after having received a letter declaring his apostasy, Gambier Parry implored: "I have for some time past noticed in you the painful anxiety & growing pride of intellect and great impatience of any opinion contrary to your own… I must also hope & pray that your sweet and precious Maude may escape this deadliest poison of the Pride of modern life." Letter, 19 December 1873, ShP.

Innocents Church at Highnam in memory of his wife and children[61], and who had already lost Clinton to dipsomania and religious infidelity.

During the first meeting of the 'Essay and Discussion' club, the subject of 'positive agnosticism' was brought up in passing.[62] Parry's empirical turn of mind unsurprisingly brought him closer to Huxley's agnostic creed, which had much in common with Spencer's formulation of the Unknowable in *First Principles*. His own words from his notebook attests to a wholesale acceptance of Huxley's ideas:

> People who set up for knowledge about the Deity, divide him off with so many persons with such & such attributes & habits… which seems to point to the fact that the best fruits will come from them who confess they can know nothing about him, & go on their way…[63]

In *Instinct and Character*, he further explained:

> No one knows really and exactly what the word supernatural means. As a matter of fact no one can. For the claim of those who appeal to it is that it is outside cognizance. All knowledge is based on experience. It is not therefore a subject of knowledge.[64]

Parry consequently rejected any notion of a personal god who interfered with the affairs of humankind. To be sure, he adopted an agnostic stance which was in no sense a compromise between belief and disbelief in God. For him, agnosticism was an epistemological stance – a refusal to concern himself with a non-empirical question (leading to the political humanism that appealed to men like George Holyoake and Charles Bradlaugh). For all practical intents and purposes, therefore, Parry was indeed an agnostic atheist, who did not hold a belief in the existence of a deity, and who perceived that the universe could be better explained by natural causes. The seemingly less aggressive term, 'agnostic', has allowed interpreters to downplay the extent of Parry's irreligiosity and his fundamental atheism or apatheism. Graves, for example, argued that "from the age of twenty-three to that of seventy his religious opinions underwent no substantial change,"[65] and maintained that although Parry remained an agnostic throughout his life, he became more reverent as well as more tolerant of

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[61] Isabella died of consumption twelve days after giving birth to Hubert. The Holy Innocents church, built over the course of only three years (1848-51) after her death in the Gothic Revival style, is located a short walk away from the Parry home in Gloucestershire.
[62] See Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 45r.
[63] Notebook.
[64] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 208.
[65] Graves, *op. cit., vol. 2*, p. 152.

the religion that he once openly despised: "[He] refrained from saying 'Mumbo Jumbo' even though he *felt* it just as strongly."[66] In reality, the mature Parry channelled his indignation into a positive programme for change, based on his principles of liberty and democracy. In old age, he seemed not to have doubted the essential falsehood of the Godhead: "It was man that made God in the image of man. In the image of man created he him."[67] However, the freedom of religious expression formed an important aspect of his liberal philosophy, and the lessons, which he had learnt from Mill, George Eliot and others, showed him that all agitation for change must begin with sympathy and mutual understanding. Regardless, there was never place for organised religion in his distinctive brand of idealism, nor a return to Christian piety in old age. Indeed as he began to explore internationalism later on in life, religion would come to be seen as a perpetual threat to social progress and an even greater obstacle to human unity than ever before.

Stephen Town accurately notes that in Graves' work, Parry's "propensity for melancholy and religious unorthodoxy [was] diluted or suppressed".[68] One of the ways in which Graves attempted to portray Parry as a religious figure was to diminish his status as a sceptical thinker.[69] Thus, in the biography, calling attention to the composer's deep spirituality, he asserted that "it would be incorrect and unjust to say that he had a sceptical mind."[70] As it turns out, Parry was a deeply sceptical thinker and the complete reverse of Graves' portrayal. While he did protest against "reckless scepticism"[71] and "the extreme taste of enthusiastic sceptics"[72], Parry believed in a healthy form of scepticism and loathed blind and unthinking faith; according to his like-minded friend, Montgomery, "Everyone of us must be his own Socrates and cross-examine his own opinions before being positive about them... We cannot pronounce of any opinion that it is absolutely true but some opinions withstand the cross-examination."[73] In the *Treatise of Human Nature*, Hume similarly denounced "excessive" scepticism,

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[66] *Ibid.,* p. 153.
[67] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 164.
[68] Stephen Town. *An imperishable heritage: British choral music from Parry to Dyson* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), p.4.
[69] Graves also wrote, for instance, that "yet in all his diaries… there is not a note of the irreverence that is bitter or profane," and that "Hubert Parry's ethical idealism was animated by a truly Christian spirit." See *op. cit, vol. 2*, pp. 152, 7.
[70] *Ibid.*, p. 155.
[71] Diary, 20 November 1870.
[72] Diary, 8 September 1873.
[73] Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 31r.

or Pyrrhonism, and advocated a "mitigated" and "academical" kind of scepticism.[74] By consistently defending the importance of doubt and empirical evidence, Parry established himself as a sceptic in every sense of the word:

> All knowledge is based on experience, therefore if a thing is contrary to the evidence of experience it is not knowledge. The supernatural depends mainly on the limitations of knowledge. It is essentially the people whose knowledge and understanding are very limited who believes in anything supernatural…[75]

Inspired also, perhaps, by his knowledge of the Sophists, Parry viewed doubt as a great virtue – if not one of man's greatest virtues. Religion was dangerous because it had convinced people that "doubt is damnable"[76], teaching them to accept supernatural explanations in the absence of scientific clarity. People who sought supernatural explanations for natural occurrences did so because they could not "appreciate how wonderful the natural universe is"[77], since their understanding of the world was limited. Fear of the unknown, rather than true reverence of it, led one to turn away from scientific investigation: "It saves them trouble and enables their short-sighted indolence to imagine that it is more comfortable to let mysteries be."[78] He wrote in his notebook that "certitude is craved for by the human mind because it seems to relieve the mind of the responsibility of verification; the responsibility of the effort of thinking."[79] Montgomery, a close student of Plato's dialogues, warned of the "conceit of knowledge without the reality"[80], while Mill told his audience as early as 1823 that "there is no fact better ascertained than the facility with which men are persuaded to believe what they wish."[81] Wishful thinking was the arch-enemy of science, and, as Montgomery perceived in more Comtean terms, some minds retreated to the theological state when faced with the daunting uncertainty of the metaphysical state.[82] For Hume, scepticism provided the best protection against dogma[83], and for thinkers like Huxley, Tyndall, and indeed Parry, the scientific method was the tried

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[74] David Hume. *An enquiry concerning human understanding* (Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1921/1748), p. 171.
[75] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 208.
[76] Diary, 20 November 1870.
[77] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 207.
[78] *Ibid.*, p. 150.
[79] Notebook.
[80] Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 40r.
[81] From his early speech on the 'Utility of Knowledge', given at the Mutual Improvement Society in 1823.
[82] Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
[83] See Huxley, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

and tested means by which the world around them could be explained. Leslie Stephen, in the *Science of Ethics*, went as far as to declare that facts could only be proved through scientific observation alone. Consequently, pseudo-scientific pretenses of knowledge should be resolutely condemned; as Graves also recognised in the biography, "Christian Science he [Parry] pronounced to be 'even madder and more hopeless than Kenelm Digby's sympathetic powders for wounds.'"[84] Parry was extremely sceptical of the reckless conflation of science and faith. When John Sowerby wrote in his popular *British Wild Flowers*, for example, that the study of botany involved the perusal of "many volumes, with close and unremitting attention to that Great One whose pages lie ever open before us", Parry retorted in the margin with a quip: "Which volume is that, oh hyperbolical Johnson?!" Stafford Brooke's liberal sermon appealed to him because, in it, the intellect was justly portrayed as "the guard & watchman of the soul – who says I cannot admit you without examining your passport."[85]

Victorian culture displayed a certain antagonism towards this voluntary appreciation of doubt. The prophetic Carlyle took scepticism to mean not only "intellectual doubt" but also "moral doubt", and it was this doubt which plagued Enlightenment thinkers and led eventually to their "spiritual paralysis".[86] Historians often refer to the period of Queen Victoria's reign as a contradictory age consistently at odds with itself – a time of industrial confidence and colonial exhibitionism, as well as of doubt and daring self-criticism. Hers was a period of rigorous piety and philanthropy, as well as of scientific progress, psychological emancipation, ruthless *laissez-faire* and religious infidelity. Moral puritanism on the one hand, a reaction against Georgian laxity, was checked by the forces of aesthetic decadence on the other, which looked forward to Edwardian pessimism and the forlornness of the pre-war years. Jacob Bronowski argues that Victorian thinkers "differed from the doubters of our age because they not only looked for answers but found them, to their satisfaction".[87] In this contradictory age, the spirit of questioning is shown as transient, but never sustained or perpetual. However, for Parry and many other Victorian thinkers, perpetuity of doubt was the very foundation upon which they staked their independence from religion. Parry believed that everything should be questioned

[84] Graves, *op. cit.*, *vol. 2*, p. 154
[85] Diary, 20 November 1870.
[86] Thomas Carlyle. *On heroes, hero-worship and the heroic in history* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1906/1841), p. 13.
[87] Jacob Bronowski. 'Unbelief and science' in *Ideas and beliefs of the Victorians: an historic revaluation of the Victorian age* (London: Sylvan Press Ltd., 1949), p. 164.

and, wherever possible, examined under the microscope. If there was one area where his scepticism erred, it was the high level of optimism which he sometimes placed on the progress of science and technology; one historian observes in regard to the scientific optimism exhibited by many English radicals that "Victorian rationalism was a faith, like any other kind of belief."[88]

Nevertheless, Parry's faith in the scientific method hinged on an awareness of the limitations of knowledge, rather than the confidence that everything there was to know could be known through the rational activity of science. Indeed Huxley warned his generation that "the known is finite, the unknown infinite; intellectually we stand on an islet in the midst of an illimitable ocean of inexplicability."[89] Parry, *contra* Carlyle, perceived the world to be no less a wondrous place in the absence of an 'Everlasting Yea', taking issue with his doctrines of work and hero-worship, which were felt to discourage critical thinking. The author of *Instinct and Character* faulted religion for capitalising on man's fear of the unknown and for making a virtue out of faith. For Parry, a natural understanding of the world was just as wonderful as, or was even more wonderful than, a supernatural one: "To men who know and understand the light of day it is not ordinary or uninspiring: all things are full of wonder."[90] He disliked materialism and saw the position of the empiricist as not one which hated mystery or endorsed cold materialism, but one which embraced mystery and found spiritual satisfaction in the attempt to understand it. Contrarily:

> the feeble and cowardly and unenterprising have not the energy to look into them [mysteries], and remain trembling on the verge till their lives' end – afraid that something will burst out of the mystery and devour them. They are glad to be told they must not enquire into this and that, and that man must accept mystery as part of his duty – because it saves them trouble and enables their short-sighted indolence to imagine that it is more comfortable to let mysteries be.[91]

Like many other Victorian thinkers, Parry likely inherited a sense of unresolved tension between English materialism and German mysticism from Carlyle.[92] At the same time, he was responsive to Walt Whitman's transcendentalist poetry. Mysticism was not absent from his natural curiosity of the world; however, it was typically confined to the sphere of imaginative art (which had

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[88] Noel Annan. 'The strands of unbelief' in *ibid.,* p. 155.
[89] Huxley. 'On the reception of "the Origin of Species" ' in *The life and letters of Charles Darwin, vol. 2*, ed. Francis Darwin (London: John Murray, 1887), p. 204.
[90] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 149.
[91] *Ibid.*, p. 150.
[92] See David Riede. 'Transgression, authority, and the church of literature' in *Victorian connections*, ed. Jerome McGann (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1989), p. 94.

no obligation to external reality) rather than that of science (which had a direct responsibility to truth). While there was, in this sense, a nod to the value of the occult, his musings on religion ultimately betrayed a less compromising scientific mindset. All superstitious, ritualistic practices elicited his strongest disapproval, and he deliberately evaded attendance at his first daughter's christening. Parry once explained that:

> Whatever may be argued to the contrary the tenets are subject to the investigations of intelligence. If they do not approve themselves to the spiritual standards of peoples, or satisfy their conceptions of truths by which they can live and thrive, they must inevitably be questioned and tested by the light of enquiry. If the mind is shut off from such enquiries and forbidden to enter the sacred precincts, the tenets which are so shielded become stagnant. They drift into being formalities.[93]

What Parry's spirituality was, then, was far from an enabling tolerance of religious opinions as Graves' account, in its silence on the matter, seems to indicate. He subscribed to an unorthodox definition of religion which was neither supernatural nor even remotely Christian. R. O. Morris accurately asserted that "religion for Parry meant largely the regulation of man's conduct to man; it was a matter of character and works, not of theology or mysticism."[94] Parry was most assuredly not a theist, because he never appealed to divine causation, but to what extent could he be described as an atheist? Scholars generally tend to view atheism as a position too radical for Victorian tastes, but as Victorian radicals like Montgomery perceived, "it is short and easy to say 'there is no God'… Would it not be at least equally true and more expedient to say 'God is not a person like a man, neither an intelligence like the mind of man nor a spirit like that aspect of man's mind which he calls soul, neither a creator nor a father nor a judge but God is whatever is true, whatever is good and whatever is beautiful".[95] Mere disbelief in God was seen as logical and easy; it was much more difficult to go beyond that to fill the void left by the death of theism.

At the beginning of the century, it was fashionable to dismiss atheism on grounds of Paley's natural theology.[96] However, Lyell's uniformitarianism and Darwin's theory of evolution soon supplied natural explanations for apparent design, mounting an intellectual revolt against Ussher's implausible chronology of life. Edward Royle notes that "the scientific arguments did not in general

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[93] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 197.
[94] Reginald Owen Morris. 'Hubert Parry', *Music & Letters* 1/2 (Apr. 1920), p. 101.
[95] Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 5r.
[96] See Joseph Banks. *Victorian values* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1981), p. 17.

create unbelief but they did supply evidence to those who were losing their faith on other grounds."[97] Parry's argument against religion was primarily moral and secondarily scientific. Yet, for all his antagonism towards theistic religion, atheism was never entertained as a viable expression of his discontent. During the Victorian period, the atheist was often characterised as a lawless anarchist—an egoistic being deemed at war "against moral restraints… treacherous to the truth".[98] Despite its Enlightenment heritage and early commencement[99], atheism was a largely disorganised current in Victorian thought, unpropitiously linked with the intemperance of the working people. Furthermore, as Llewellyn Woodward perceives, "atheism and revolutionary politics seemed to flourish together"[100], unfortunately at a time when only England could boast its immunity from the trauma of revolution that had swept across mainland Europe. The admittance of atheism was viewed as a threat to the social order that had kept England comparatively safe from the chaos of disintegration, and which had also made it a safe haven for continental exiles.[101] Indeed there was no indication that atheism became more acceptable in society as the century progressed, although its epistemological counterpart, agnosticism, soon became in Britain, as in the United States, a "self-sustaining phenomenon".[102]

The disparaging light in which Victorian infidels were portrayed led them to pursue more diplomatic lines of approach. It was not because Parry still believed in some form of a deity that he resisted the label of atheism, but because atheism was considered to be a negative and an empty philosophical system which only led to intellectual cul-de-sacs. So long as non-belief retained an antithetical relationship to theism, it was frozen by the impossible task of positively disproving God.

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[97] Edward Royle. *Victorian infidels: the origins of the British Secularist Movement 1791–1866* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1974), p. 119.

[98] George Jacob Holyoake. *The principles of secularism illustrated,* 3rd ed. (London: Book Store 282 Strand, 1871), p. 9.

[99] Matthew Turner produced his *Answers to Dr. Priestley's Letters* in 1782 and Shelley, *The Necessity of Atheism*, in 1811; the former work is said by David Berman to have inaugurated 'avowed atheism' as opposed to the weaker infidelic tradition before it. In his book, Berman distinguishes between two historical types of atheism, speculative and non-speculative (or practical). For discussion, see Berman. *A history of atheism in Britain: from Hobbes to Russell* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 13.

[100] Llewellyn Woodward also notes the "large circulation of atheistical and anti-clerical literature" in the "danger-centres of revolution", namely the large industrial towns where trade unions, radical politics and secularism thrived. See Woodward. *The Oxford history of England: the age of reform, 1815-1870,* 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), p. 503.

[101] See Sabine Freitag. *Exiles from European revolutions: refugees in mid-Victorian England* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003).

[102] See James Turner's study of agnosticism in the United States. Turner. *Without God, without creed: the origins of unbelief in America* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1985), p. 171.

Victorian social thinkers and reformers recognised that it was necessary to uphold a more positive programme for disbelief in order to bring change to society; according to J. Humphrey Parry, "the great principle with you [G. J. Holyoake] and I commonly advocate and of which you are now the martyr, is not atheism or any other ism, but the right of every man to promulgate his opinions upon every subject without incurring civil penalty."[103] Harriet Martineau, in 1853, explained that:

> The adoption of the term Secularism is justified by its including a large number of persons who are not Atheists, and uniting them for action which has Secularism as its object, and not Atheism. On this ground… prejudice is got rid of, the use of the name Secularism is found advantageous.[104]

The secularist mission for promoting liberty was, in some respects, driven by an impulse for self-preservation, in that it protected the right of the infidel to blaspheme without punishment. As Parry's friend, Montgomery, observed in 1874, "We no longer put men to death for heresy—but we still say 'Piety is doing as I do' (Euthyphro) and persecute to a certain extent socially those who think differently from us and more especially if they attempt to teach others."[105] George Holyoake, who coined the term 'secularism', defended it plainly as "the moral duty of man in this life deduced from considerations which pertain to this life alone".[106] No longer did infidelity entail an active falsification of faith; it had simply become a disregard of it in the interest of earthly affairs. Secularism was, for Holyoake, a "scheme of rights"[107], whose "leading ideas… are Humanism, Moralism, Materialism, Utilitarian unity."[108] Royle notes that the secularist movement started off at a great disadvantage since atheism was "hard to make socially 'safe'"[109], but it was the combination of disbelief and a positive[110] programme for liberal reform which rescued the credibility of the non-believers. The secret to the success of Victorian secularism lay in its ability, in Greg Urban's words, to "move across boundaries

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[103] J. Humphreys Parry, quoted in Royle, *op. cit.,* p. 80.
[104] Harriet Martineau, from a letter to Lloyd Garrison (1853), quoted in Holyoake, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
[105] Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 32r.
[106] For his biography see Lee Grugel. *George Jacob Holyoake: a study in the evolution of a Victorian radical* (Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, 1976).
[107] Holyoake. 'Secularism, the practical philosophy of the people', *Cowen tracts* (1854), p. 4.
[108] Holyoake. *The principles of secularism illustrated,* 3rd ed. (London: Book Store 282 Strand, 1871), p. 28.
[109] Royle, *op. cit.,* p. 244.
[110] And assuredly 'positivistic'; Holyoake's 'Practical philosophy of the people' was printed with a quote from Comte's *Positive Philosophy* on its cover: "Each of us is aware, if he looks back upon his own history, that he was a theologian in his childhood, a metaphysician in his youth, and a natural philosopher in his manhood." To be a secularist meant to embrace intellectual maturity—and indeed 'manhood'.

created by differing communities of belief".[111] In his book, *The Silent Revolution*, Herbert Schlossberg argues that the comparative lack of violent political strife, discussed previously, has blinded historians to the "revolutionary changes that occurred in [nineteenth-century] England". Secularism—not atheism—was to be a key mover and catalyst in England's 'silent revolution'.

Parry's secular humanism meant that he could value the positive elements of religion without subscribing to any of its supernatural tenets. Like Benjamin Kidd, whose work he followed closely later in life, he was persuaded into a functional defence of (some forms of) religion as an agency of philanthropy and democracy. Christianity could teach the lessons of loving your neighbour and turning the other cheek; it also told the pertinent stories of "the patient sufferers in long lives of sickness"[112], important to those who could find no immediate recourse in democracy. The story of Christ's suffering on the cross could also teach the triumph of love over evil. Drawing upon the characterisation of Jesus in Strauss' *Das Leben Jesu* (1835, translated by Eliot in 1846), Parry was able to disconnect Christianity from its supernatural aspects and to see Christ as a historical figure who imparted valuable moral lessons to his followers. The story of Christ and his martyrs taught man to "always suffer & endure all our petty annoyances & sorrows by following such examples".[113] Arnold's humanist treatment of Christ in *Literature and Dogma* fascinated him, because it articulated "the view with which we should regard both him [Christ] & his reporters"[114]; he confessed in his diary that the book's moderate tone appealed to him even more so than it did to Eddie Hamilton.

One of the questions that Montgomery frequently contemplated, in response to analytical thinkers like David Strauss and Leslie Stephen, was whether or not nonconforming thinkers like himself should still identify as Christians, given their opposition to virtually all of Christian dogma.[115] In framing his answer in the positive, Montgomery challenged John Wesley's equation of Christianity with witchcraft and argued that miraculous narratives in the Bible were merely "vehicles in which Christ's moral teachings had to be introduced and made popular in a superstitious age".[116] The portrayal of Christ as a strictly historical figure provoked the ire of many religious thinkers, especially

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[111] Greg Urban. 'The circulation of secularism', *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, Vol. 21 No. 1/4, Secular Imaginaries (Dec. 2008), p. 18.
[112] Diary, 15 January 1871.
[113] *Ibid.*
[114] Diary, 8 September 1873.
[115] For instance, see Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 5r (draft for an article, dated 15 July 1873).
[116] *Ibid.*, p. 20r.

those already offended by the latitudinarian tendencies of the Broad churchmen and other liberal theologists, such as J. F. D. Maurice. For Parry, however, such a reading was the only way in which Christianity could be salvaged from the intellectual carnage engendered by rationalism. He had already rejected all the theological aspects of the Christian faith unconditionally. The belief in a personal god who cared for each individual was what Herbert Spencer might call 'egoistic' or 'ego-altruistic'.[117] The Christian "conception of a heaven of [eternal] rest"[118], when taken literally, was counterproductive because it belittled the true dynamics of work and rest and taught that worldly problems were transient and unimportant; Montgomery similarly held that "the prospect of death is necessary to ensure activity from man – an assurance of immortality would encourage procrastination and obstruct progress."[119] In *Instinct and Character*, Parry refused to entertain the idea of a supernatural 'soul'; he explained that "the soul of man is that part of him which is concerned when the instinct of religion comes into activity,"[120] and adopted the naturalistic stance that "what man calls 'spiritual' is not isolated or dissevered from the system of the universe."[121] The idea of being subservient to a divine ruler "who has absolute power over the life and circumstances of the dependant and can exercise it in a totally capricious way and cause the dependant to suffer pain and distress and hunger and thirst at his will"[122] disturbed Parry's anti-autocratic sensibilities in a visceral way. He had absolutely no sympathy for the mediaeval, omniscient and omnipresent "god of evil and his myrmidons".[123] For him, ancestral sin was a deeply erroneous and injurious belief, which had somehow persuaded men to think that they were innately evil or helpless without divine assistance. Like Montgomery, he found little to commend in the Christian staples of the trinity, incarnation and atonement.[124] The doctrine of vicarious redemption directly contradicted his philosophy of self-reliance: "it is the peculiar attribute of an autocratic regime to destroy in the individual the sense of his duties and of his responsibilities."[125] Parry's intense dislike of the Christian theory of exclusive salvation might have also been fuelled by Lecky's chapter on 'Persecution' in his *History of the Rise*

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[117] Compare *ibid.*, p. 77r (sketch of letter to the Board of Religious Education, dated 25 November 1876).
[118] Notebook.
[119] Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 14r.
[120] Parry, *Instinct and character*, p. 219.
[121] *Ibid.*, p. 410.
[122] Notebook.
[123] Parry, *Instinct and character*, p. 137.
[124] Compare Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 77r.
[125] Notebook.

and Influence of Rationalism in Europe, which he read multiple times in 1870. In his work, Lecky maintained that religious persecution had "exercised an enormous influence over the belief of mankind."[126] Following Lecky, Parry considered exclusive salvation to be a form of mental persecution – the tactic of religious authorities who, unable to win nonbelievers over on rational grounds, coerced them into conformity by the threat of social alienation and eternal damnation, saying that those who "do not likewise & think likewise are unworthy of the Xtian name."[127]

All things considered, Parry could only be called a cultural Christian who happened to live in a nation with a strong Christian heritage. With the exception of his study of David Margolioth's impartial *Mohammed and the Rise of Islam* (which treats the prophet as a historical figure) in 1910, and T. W. Rhys Davids' *Buddhism*, an examination of the life of Gautama, in 1915, he was not particularly well-versed in the details of other faiths besides his own. Regardless, Parry did not believe in the superiority of the Christian faith over other religions. He would have been painfully aware of the pagan roots of Christianity, as Buckle affirmed in the *History of Civilisation*, or that Christ's teachings might have been largely borrowed from pagan sources. The problem with an exclusively Christian education, ministered by the Church, was its sectarian neglect of the moral lessons offered throughout pre-Christian history: "the models of life and conduct offered by ancient history, are all pre-Christian – that is to say frankly, pagan."[128] For Mill, Christian morality was too passive; it was reactive rather than proactive. Reflecting on the ancient wisdom of Socrates, Montgomery similarly questioned in his 'common place book', "how wrong are we then to condemn a man & his opinions because he is a pagan."[129] Naturally, the criticism was not limited to Christianity; but while Parry was critical of all religions equally, he saw in them a common aspiration towards spiritual gratification that ran as a thread through the various expressions of faith: "the thousands of religions… agree in some sort of the essentials which underlie them."[130] The teachings of different religions varied because they had been evolved to accommodate various social and cultural conditions. For Parry, however, the differences were often merely *symbolic*: "The effect of the tenets of Brahmanism, Buddhism,

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[126] William Edward Hartpole Lecky. *History of the rise and influence of the spirit of Rationalism in Europe, vol. 2* (London: Watts & Co., 1910/1865), p. 4. Lecky maintains that the Reformation conduced to the abandonment of the doctrine of "transmitted guilt". See *vol. 1*, p. 136.
[127] Diary, 1870, quoted in Graves, *op. cit., vol. 2*, p. 151.
[128] Parry, *Instinct and character,* p. 97.
[129] Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 32r.
[130] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

Zoroastrianism, Confucianism, Mohammedanism, is not to make their views of what is honourable and beneficial in human nature incompatible, but mainly the terms in which the ideas are symbolised".[131] Indeed the rapturous excitement that communion provides caused men to "fasten eagerly on the symbols and accessories"[132] rather than on the truly important, moral essence of religion. Hence:

> a man may begin a devout Anglican, and then become an intelligent and philosophic agnostic, and follow that up with a spell of esoteric Buddhism, and then become a Christian Socialist, and finally plunge into Roman Catholicism…[133]

People who attached themselves to symbols committed the geographical error of conforming "to whatever kind of religious ceremonials happen to be in vogue in the country or class in which they live."[134] Instead, Parry consistently promoted a kind of moral eclecticism which would value religious teachings based on their merits rather than their geographical origin. In *Instinct and Character*, he connected this argument with Mill's idea of the tyranny of the majority.[135] A person who refused to be persuaded by the religion of his locale is not necessarily irreligious *per se*. According to Parry:

> It is by no means the case that men who cease to be dependent on certain groups of symbols necessarily cease also to be inspired by the instinct of religion… Their sense of responsibility, which is one of the products of the instinct of religion, will not let them rest satisfied with opinions merely because they are generally held by other people. The other people happen to be different, but the fact that they are the majority is an insufficient reason for believing them to be right.[136]

As mentioned earlier, fear of the unknown is the prime mover of primitive religion. Supernatural beliefs give the illusion of fact to help people cope with the unknown.[137] Faith is divisive because people are taught that the symbols of their worship can only be the correct ones, and that they have an exclusive claim to truth. They disparage other people's faiths, symbolically, since they are

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[131] *Ibid.*
[132] *Ibid.*, p. 277.
[133] *Ibid.*
[134] *Ibid.*, p. 167.
[135] *Ibid.*, p. 196: "The idea that any opinions are correct because they are held by the majority has always proved to be unsafe."
[136] *Ibid.*
[137] "Men who are incapable of feeling religion except with the help of concrete symbols naturally think that those who are not dependent on symbols have no religion at all," *ibid.,* p. 193. Compare Notebook. "It is when men endeavour to insist that the concrete facts involved in an ideal must be accepted in preference to the concrete facts of observation and actual knowledge that danger to religion begins."

found to contradict with and to threaten their own beliefs. However, the consolation offered by the conceit of knowledge is not worth the price of social disunity. For religion to remain relevant in a globalising society, the author of *Instinct and Character* argues that it would have to dissociate itself from symbols and accessories – to embrace genuine feelings of awe and reverence for things which have wider implications for the human race as a whole.

Like Montgomery, Parry saw Protestantism as an intermediate step from Roman Catholicism towards rationalism, or a *modus vivendi* between science and religion, a position clearly expressed in his lifelong championship of Bach. Bach's devotional music, as explored in the next section, appealed to him because it showed how religion could be divorced from dogma and at the same time retain its spiritual character through the conduit of art. Matthew Arnold had famously demonstrated that poetry could survive religion as the vehicle of devotional thought, because it did not depend on falsifiable facts for its spiritual validity:

> Our religion has materialised itself in the fact, in the supposed fact; it has attached its emotion to the fact, and now the fact is failing it. But for poetry the idea is everything; the rest is a world of illusion, of divine illusion. Poetry attaches its emotion to the idea; the idea is the fact. The strongest part of our religion to-day is its unconscious poetry.[138]

According to Montgomery, "The dogmatic past of our religion should be replaced by science, the emotional by poetry and art especially by the art most easily brought to bear on the masses."[139] The art to which Montgomery referred was none other than music, in its direct appeal to the senses and its opposition to the mimetic arts. Influenced by positivist thinking, he imagined that religion would gravitate more and more in the future towards the realm of scientific knowledge. While science would replace dogma, he envisaged that music would supersede long-held religious customs: "Musical performances must form an important feature in the parish of the future… The Service may be gradually modified to a performance of Oratorio or Symphony or Serious Opera even."[140] Parry's ideas on the function of music in society were identical with his friend's in this regard. In *Instinct and Character*, he explained that "art does in itself, when genuine, bring men into ardent fellowship."[141] Music, in his opinion, could salvage the good in religion and revitalise man's devotional feelings in a

[138] Matthew Arnold. *The study of poetry: John Keats, Wordsworth*, ed. Susan Sheridan (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1896/1880), p. 1.
[139] Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 4r.
[140] *Ibid.*, p. 5.
[141] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

democratic age, where religion, in its conventional and institutional form, no longer held any relevance. His position was not, as it had been in his youth, a defence of a moderate brand of religion, but rather an attempt to reform Christianity into an ultimately secular moral system. If the pillars of the church were too precious in the mind of the nation to be demolished without moral consequences, they had to be modified—through the sympathetic influence of the arts—to support a philosophy of humanism that would also bring about democracy. The essential characteristic of this renovated church was that it would no longer be a house of God, but rather a house of Man; or as Mary Coleridge put it in one of her poems (set to music by Parry in 1909 as the eschatological song 'There' in memory of the late poetess):

> No grey cathedral, wide and wondrous fair,
> That I may tread where all my fathers trod.
> Nay, nay, my soul, no house of God is there,
> But only God.[142]

As the next two sections show, the narrative of a secular emancipation and the succession of music as an agency of democracy is a crucial, albeit often neglected, aspect of his historical writings.

An examination of Parry's religious views reveals the question whether he was a theist or an atheist to be fundamentally misleading. Like George Eliot, Parry gradually moved away from a theistic, and later a pantheistic, view of the universe to embrace a decidedly secular humanist position where man lived in an indifferent universe, and where the only force for change was himself and his growing sense of responsibility towards his fellow man: "man's destiny rests with himself. He is slowly learning it. He glosses over it by saying 'heaven helps those who help themselves'."[143] Man's spirituality, which art (and not religion) now held the burden of preserving, was his ability to retain an

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[142] 'Only God', of course, for Parry meaning 'only Love'. Mary Coleridge's father, Arthur Duke, founded the Bach Choir in 1875, in which Parry sang. The relationship between Mary and Parry demands closer study, and can provide mutual insight into their views on God, religion, etc. They were both indrawn individuals and were both misunderstood by their critics as conventional Victorians of landed birth. Both were also passionate readers of radical texts, from Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* to Darwin's *Descent of Man*. Mary found poetry as an outlet for her unorthodox feelings, while Parry took recourse in music. The ninth set of the *English Lyrics* is the only one, apart from the lesser Shakespearean collection (no. 2), to be composed of text from a single author; for such reasons it is also the most organic of his *Lyrics*, being unified by philosophical motifs of a common authorship. For Mary Coleridge's religious views, see *Gathered leaves from the prose of Mary E. Coleridge*, ed. Edith Sichel (London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1911), pp. 20, 31; and *The collected poems of Mary Coleridge*, ed. Theresa Whistler (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1954).

[143] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

optimistic view of his existence and to craft his own purpose for the good of the species. Parry was a man of no creed and no faith in the supernatural.[144] In his maturity, he could only express complete apathy towards the question of God's whereabouts. But this opinion is contradicted by several portrayals of him as a man constantly obsessing over the probability of the existence of a deity. In her book, *Two Witnesses*, Gwendolen claimed for her father nothing short of a deathbed conversion in his final moments:

> A few days before he died he sat up and, stretching his arms out widely, he spoke as though already far from us, to Someone in another world, saying clearly: "Oh God—I see." And in his face, as he fell back, there shone a light of utter appeasement, a complete and marvellous joy.[145]

This account, however, ran contrary to all that Parry stood for in either his mature philosophical writings or his musical imagination.

5.2 The Secular Bach: Parry's Interest in Seventeenth-Century Music

Parry contributed the third volume to the *Oxford History of Music* in 1902; the work, published by Clarendon Press, was a comprehensive survey of the Baroque period from before Monteverdi and Cavalli to the precursors of Bach. The early chapters deal with the transition from the old polyphony to the secular effusion of the seventeenth century. The later chapters trace the stylistic developments in the latter parts of the century, which Parry sees as culminating in the remarkable figure of Bach (the final section, aptly titled 'The Beginning of German Music', hints at the underlying pro-Teutonic element which is conspicuous throughout the work). The seventeenth century might appear, in retrospect, a curious assignment for a composer whose natural orbit was among his Romantic contemporaries (it was his own tutor, Dannreuther, who supplied the volume on the nineteenth century). However, while Parry would arguably have felt more at home with the nineteenth century, his closeness to his own period might have been disadvantageous from a scholarly point of view (as

[144] Later interpreters might be inclined to describe him as a premature Unitarian Universalist, who promoted a creedless search for spiritual growth.
[145] Gwendolen Greene. *Two witnesses: a personal recollection of Hubert Parry and Friedrich von Hügel* (London: J. M. Dent, 1930), p. 92.

Colles suggested was the major flaw of the final chapters of *Evolution of the Art of Music*[146]). However, it is arguable that the bias was not completely obviated even with a two-century gap in the author's favour. This was owing to the fact that Parry saw the seventeenth century as a highly crucial development in the history of the secularisation of music – it naturally became an extremely personal subject-matter to him. A common misinterpretation of his evolutionary worldview has been to think that he glorified modern music while looking down upon seventeenth-century music as an infantile or underdeveloped period of art. Warren Dwight Allen, for instance, draws considerable attention to Parry's "reference to the seventeenth century as an 'immature period'".[147] In reality, the main defect of the Oxford volume was not that he felt so detached from that period that he lacked sympathy for its claims to art. Quite the opposite, Parry considered the seventeenth century to be a critical—if not the most critical—period in Western musical history, perhaps even to the point that rendered an unbiased treatment unlikely. He felt a deep attachment to the achievements of the northern schools in particular, often at the expense of the south. This recognition of the centrality of Baroque music in Parry's historical scheme allows scholars to see his writings (as well as the neoclassical elements of his music) in a different light. Indeed the Oxford volume also marks an important development in his intellectual trajectory; at the turn of the century, Parry became much more involved in the problems of society, morality, secularism and democracy, the effects of which are also manifest in *Style in Musical Art*. The narrative of the secularisation of art which began with the Oxford volume culminated in his deeply personal study of Bach in 1909. It is also not a coincidence that he conceptualised his neo-Baroque 'ethical cantatas' during this crucial period between 1903 and 1909.

The fundamental idea behind the Oxford volume is secularism as it pertains to music. The author argues that "the meaning of the musical revolution of the seventeenth century was the secularisation of the art."[148] The idea can be traced back to the *Evolution of the Art of Music*, where he outlines the transition from contrapuntal to tonal music of the *seconda pratica*. However, a more immediate forerunner to this conception can be found in his lecture on 'byways', given at the

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[146] Henry Cope Colles' preface to Parry's *Evolution of the art of music* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1930), p. xxxii. Contrast this with Warren Dwight Allen's opinion that Parry was "an impartial critic of his contemporaries." Allen. *Philosophies of music history: a study of general histories of music 1600-1960* (New York: Dover Publications, 1962/1939), p. 116.

[147] *Ibid.*, pp. 229-30.

[148] Parry. *The music of the seventeenth century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), p. 258.

Westbourne Park Chapel in 1900. Unsurprisingly, the lecture introduces a discussion of the seventeenth-century "tendency towards secularism which was destined to transform the whole of musical art."[149] Before discussing Parry's treatment of Baroque music, it may be worthwhile to address the idea of byways which arguably shaped his perception of the period and its composers.

Parry's metaphorical byways are, in short, products of experimental phases in musical history. Their meaning is unfortunately shrouded in a veil of obscurity, a fate exacerbated by his natural fondness for metaphors and a propensity to carry them to excessive lengths. This seems to be a defect of Parry's literary style by and large. For example, he adopts the metaphor originally to describe primitive stages of exploration, portraying byways mainly as accidental products of agrarian industry.[150] Later on, however, he presents them as heterogeneous results of an "intermediate stage of human development"[151], showing how they are unlikely to occur under either primitive or advanced conditions. The latter usage appears to be merely an oratory device to help ease into a discussion of seventeenth-century music; this period-specific description of byways, however, gives a false impression of his own understanding of the metaphor. In reality, he intends byway to mean simply an artistic path less-travelled, unpopular with the public but often full of hidden merit. From such a definition, byways appear instead as *timeless* inventions (which is precisely why he warns that "it would be presumptuous to describe any comparatively recent artistic product as either a byway or neglected"[152]). In his lecture, Parry develops the metaphor in contrast with the notion of an artistic 'highway' – the elected thoroughfare of a public "too practical to neglect serviceable roads"[153] ('serviceable', naturally, means only so in the eyes of the public itself). His optimism about human judgment, democracy and the reliability of the test of time was always kept in check by a profound distrust of public opinion. He compromises here by entertaining the idea that highways can be downgraded to byways, given the right set of circumstances. Although Italian opera had once been extremely popular, it was falling out of touch with the demands of Romanticism. Similarly, byways can also be upgraded to highways, i.e. when public opinion becomes more favourable. The definitive example is Bach, whose line of art, admittedly a byway in the sense of its late homage to polyphony (or

[149] Lecture on 'Byways', given at the Westbourne Park Chapel, 4 December 1900, ShP, p. 7.
[150] *Ibid.*, p. 1.
[151] *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[152] *Ibid.*, p. 4.
[153] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

rather, counterpoint) while the rest of the musical world had moved on, indicates nothing of the crude primitiveness with which the metaphor is formerly associated.

Parry's conception of byways as dependent on public opinion invalidates the opinion (held, for instance, by Hughes and Stradling[154]) that he perceived musical evolution in terms of a linear development from Bach to Beethoven and to Wagner. As far as evolution is concerned, composers like Bach and Beethoven were in fact deviations from the popular paths of least resistance (i.e. evolutionary highways). Similarly, the domestic genius of Purcell amounts to nothing more than an abandoned by-road in history. The progressive history of music, in other words, is a history of dissent from majority opinion. A better way to understand Parry's chosen metaphor is to take into account the liberal lesson it was designed to teach. Musical byways are experiments and ventures by the artist into the realms of the unknown. True to his convictions, the author shows that man's fear of the unknown is detrimental to both his intellectual and spiritual progress. Thus, in his estimation, composers associated with *Nuove Musiche* were audacious explorers who dared to look beyond the artificial conventions laid out by the church. Cavalli was like "a wanderer in a new country, threading the thorny ways of an almost unexplored artistic region, and trying first one direction and then another."[155] Their works were 'infantile' only in the sense that they had to divorce themselves, out of sheer necessity, from an established artistic oligarchy.

For Parry, the historical significance of the seventeenth century is precisely that it was an age of byways – a generative period during which artists finally won their liberty from their ecclesiastical masters and discovered the emotional potential of art, in its broader secular context.[156] In his byway lecture, he portrays Gabrieli, for instance, as an adventurous spirit who was unafraid to indulge in

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[154] "Above all, for Parry, Bach was the originator of the 'Darwinian' process, the pure evolutionary current that led, through Beethoven, to the contemporary genius of Brahms." Meirion Hughes and R. A. Stradling. *The English musical renaissance 1840-1940: constructing a national music* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001/1993), p. 36. Contrast this with Parry's view that "Bach's byway may be in the future more frequented than the highway upon which Mozart, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Spohr, Haydn moved." Lecture on 'Byways', p. 5. For Parry, evolution was a branching model. Thus, when commenting about the seeming linearity of development, he did not invoke evolutionary necessity but explained that "When the difficulties of the inter-communication are considered, it is surprising to see the uniformity of progress which was made in different countries in the third quarter of the century. It was probably owing to the fact that the pre-eminence of the Italians was universally recognised." Parry. *The music of the seventeenth century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), p. 326.

[155] *Ibid.*, pp. 137-8.

[156] Parry, Lecture on 'Byways', pp. 8, 19.

"undisguised secularism" when writing his music.[157] While Parry, in the Oxford volume, emphasises the role of secular composers in the seventeenth century, he seldom does it at the expense of deprecating the work of church composers, such as Lasso or Marenzio, whom he collectively regards as the spiritual forefathers of Bach. By stressing the narrative of the exhaustive secularisation of art, however, he is generally more prone to downplay the influence of secular music (i.e. in the form of the chanson and the madrigal) in the period prior to that of his study. For instance, while Burney had argued in his *A General History of Music* that "fancies on instruments… had taken place of vocal madrigals and motets"[158] in the seventeenth century, Parry takes a more distinctively secular outlook, suggesting that "it is much more likely that the taste for them died out as the taste for secular music of the new order pervaded musical circles".[159] More importantly, Parry demonstrates the merits of experimentation by appealing to historical evidence; his method is to map out the past in a way which highlights the extent of our debt to the pioneers of bygone generations. Even if many experimental attempts ended up proving abortive (so-called 'neglected byways'), in the sense that they were never incorporated into the mainstream development of music, his argument is that the historian must learn to see their value in their own contexts: "though these by-roads are failures, from one point of view, they may be successes from another… If we approach byways equipped with a capacity for thoughtful contemplation, then we can gain from them."[160]

The remark, "then we can gain from them", is highly telling. For Parry, byways are conterminous with differences of opinion, and the plurality of them speaks to a diverse society which has learnt to accept the fundamental freedom of thought, necessary for democracy to exist and thrive. Hence, although some lines of art may never bear fruit to the public at large, their existence still points to a healthy state of society moving towards mass enfranchisement. That byways can transmute into

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[157] *Ibid.*, p. 8.
[158] Charles Burney. *A general history of music from the earliest ages to the present period, vol. 2* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1935/1789), p. 406. In the same vein, Thomas Busby writes that "motets and madrigals were converted into lessons and symphonies, and performed as *fantasies* or *fancies*." Busby. *A general history of music from the earliest times to the present, vol. 1* (London, 1819), p. 188.
[159] Parry. *The music of the seventeenth century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), p. 208.
[160] Lecture on 'Byways', p. 3. For Parry's views on the subjectivity of art, compare the following passage: "To judge by the artistic standard of the later works of the same kind which have survived, it seems very natural that musicians who were versed in the secrets of the perfect art of choral composition might well have been amused by such infantile experiments. But Galilei and his fellows saw the matter from a different point of view…" Parry. *The music of the seventeenth century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), p. 26.

highways and *vice versa* keeps the threat of intellectual stagnation at bay, and that they proliferate is a welcome sign of the loosening hold of religious certainties. The author avers that man's intellectual potential prior to the seventeenth century had been kept dormant by the oppressive rule of the church. There was, in Parry's own words (which could easily have been said by Lecky or any other Victorian rationalist), a tumultuous "uprising of the human mind" in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, leading to a "gradual emancipation of the intelligence".[161] On the subject of subjugation, he writes in his notebook that:

> Progress does not consist in filling up rules & restrictions, by adding to the hindrances of individual expression & gagging the elements that are dangerous to society… The increase of law is proof of degradation… The true test of progress is abrogation of law, such as implies genuine, intrinsic improvement in humanity itself. The institution of artificial restrictions is a confession of failure. You can never contrive restrictions to restrain man from wrong doing which will not in some measure hinder man also from right doing.[162]

So long as the church controlled every aspect of the arts and learning, society could not progress in any real sense. Congregational music suppressed individuality and emotional energy, since it emphasised obedience before ecclesiastical authority. While pagan practices made freer use of dancing and bodily movement, the church often tried to separate the physical from the spiritual, resisting the full rhythmic potential of the musical art. According to Parry, the exclusive monopoly that the church exercised over the means of musical production and notation created a social stigma, which prevented secular music from being taken seriously among respectable composers.[163] As he explained in the Oxford volume, the situation discouraged less radical minds, like Orazio Vecchi, from expressing "in musical terms the emotions and states of man which are not included in the conventional circuit of what is commonly conceived to be religion."[164] Many other composers, including Jacques Arcadelt, reluctantly adopted both methods simultaneously, albeit not always compatibly.

In *Rationalism in Europe*, Lecky singled out the seventeenth century, that of Descartes and Locke, as the age in which secular philosophy thrived.[165] For Parry, it was the opportune moment

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[161] Parry. *The music of the seventeenth century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), p. 4. He argues that post-Reformation instrumental music developed in at least three overlapping arteries: i. on the basis of old choral music (eg. organ music); ii. upon expansions of secular dance songs; and iii. on virtuosic lines. See *ibid.*, p. 63.
[162] Notebook.
[163] Parry. *The music of the seventeenth century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), p. 3.
[164] *Ibid.*, p. 4.
[165] Lecky, *op. cit.*, *vol. 1*, p. 146.

during which "the general spread of culture and refinement beyond the Church's border had created too large and weighty a mass of independent public opinion for her to crush by her old methods."[166] Radicalism could now assert itself in the social order. The tables were turned at last, and the public was coming to recognise that:

> there is a spiritual life apart from the sphere to which man's spiritual advisers had endeavoured to restrict it; a sphere of human thought where devotion and deep reverence, nobility and aspiration, may find expression beyond the utmost bounds of theology or tradition.[167]

In Cavalli's newfound secular world, "there were no landmarks, no settled and accepted orthodoxies, no ruts."[168] As Mill had shown, social progress depended on the expansion, not the curbing, of human experience. Aware of its own declining power and influence, the church responded violently in a desperate attempt at self-preservation: "she made her last attempt to suppress all independence at the Reformation."[169] His linking byways with the seventeenth century was a political statement of the triumph of secularism over the paternalistic character of the church – a church which "aimed at worldly as well as spiritual domination".[170] In the Oxford volume, Parry was determined to prove that the secular uprising, when it happened, was decisive and uncompromising in its eradication of Roman Catholic theocracy. This, in turn, provided the context for the book's questionable opening contention that "the change in the character and methods of musical art at the end of the sixteenth century was so decisive and abrupt."[171] For Parry, the seventeenth century was to be a reckless and annihilative artistic revolution that he, as a radical and a rationalist, could personally endorse – a Cambrian explosion, so to speak, of activity in all fields of art by which, to quote Darwin's popular refrain, "endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been, and are being, evolved."[172] Or as the author elaborated:

> Until this fact, and the right of man to use the highest resources of art for other purpose than ecclesiastical religion, had been established, such achievements as Beethoven's

[166] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
[167] *Ibid.*
[168] *Ibid.,* p. 138.
[169] *Ibid.*, p. 4.
[170] *Ibid.*
[171] *Ibid.*, p. 1.
[172] Charles Darwin. *On the origin of species* (London: John Murray, 1859), p. 490.

> instrumental compositions, Mozart's and Wagner's operas, and even the divinest achievements of John Sebastian Bach were impossible.[173]

In his book, however, Parry evidently struggles to uphold this idea of an abrupt change alongside the historical continuity of his everyday preachment. He is far from accepting the revolutionary narrative at face value; true to his evolutionary beliefs, he still perceives that a transitional series could be discerned by looking at intermediate composers such as Lasso or Arcadelt.[174] Parry tries to locate 'missing links' between seemingly impossible leaps[175], and rails against the doctrine of spontaneous generation as applied to music history.[176] Finding transitional patterns by way of eliminating anomalies is his chosen method for estimating Bach's undated opuses. He finds in Elizabethan and Carolean composers good evidence of "a transitional state of things, as if the composers were neither quite off with the old love nor on with the new."[177] In Italy, where the spread of the new style was rapid, Parry recognises that the transition from the old polyphonists (i.e. Palestrina and Marenzio) to the pioneers of monody and new homophony (i.e. Rossi, Carissimi, Cesti, Legrenzi and Stradella) would be more difficult to discern.

For Parry, the seventeenth-century was preparatory for the arrival of Bach, but not because Bach stood next in line in the evolutionary series as commonly suggested. His biographical treatment of Bach is important not only because it provides insight into his life-long championship of the composer, but also because it picks up the narrative exactly where it is left off, providing the climax anticipated in the previous volume. In the Oxford volume, Parry had tried to show the secular revolution in both its positive and negative aspects. A part of that narrative involved seeing the process of secularism as an amoral force, requiring the spiritual input of strong artistic personalities for its sustenance. In his notebook, he explains that composers "only want a liberal choice of means to express what ever comes to them to deal with."[178] Secularism, in its revolt against religious absolutism, affirmed their artistic birth-right. However, the deterioration of Italian music was also the product of

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[173] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
[174] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[175] See, for example, the discussion of transitional canzone forms in *ibid.*, p. 318.
[176] *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[177] *Ibid.*, p. 207.
[178] Notebook.

secularism imbuing unchecked a purblind public. For him, the seventeenth century was as much grounds for regression as it was for progression.

Like the English positivists such as Richard Congreve and Frederic Harrison, Parry was profoundly troubled throughout his intellectual career by a dystopian vision of a world, divested of its spiritual content. Bernard Paris writes of George Eliot that she became increasingly preoccupied with the one question: "How can man lead a meaningful, morally satisfying life in an absurd universe?"[179] Parry came to acknowledge the same 'absurd' universe as Eliot's through his close acquaintance with Zola's naturalism and Hardy's pessimistic fatalism. Eliot's faith in the 'religion of humanity' testified to the positivistic strain in her thought; she had met with Harrison in 1860 and was a student of both Comte and Congreve.[180] Although Parry hoped as much to find an alternative to faith, he was fundamentally opposed to the conventional idea of religion, even if it were to be repurposed for secular use (in the positivistic sense). Thus, while he thought that the negative effects of a thoroughly secular society could be compensated by the spiritual contributions of art, he did not mean, by this, for art to facilitate a return to society's religious orthodoxy. His idealisation of Bach provides the key to understanding how he believed spirituality could be restored in a culture that can no longer seek recourse in its old, theological certainties. Furthermore, that the task of reconciliation fell to Bach—a composer—offers insight into what he considered the role of the artist to be, in preparing society for the ultimate challenge of democracy.

In the Oxford volume, Parry had imported the theme of a secular emancipation into Burney's existing framework of history. Similarly, in his work on Bach, he condenses Philipp Spitta's research[181] to facilitate his running narrative. The intent of the latter work was to construct a cohesive portrait of Bach's personality, and to bring to the fore the "human qualities" in his music. For Parry, "the mere events and facts of the [Bach's] life apart from [his] Art are insignificant."[182] This premise provided him with ample opportunity to advance his views of the German composer and to derive his own 'story of the development of a great personality' from the biographical details of Bach's life.

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[179] Bernard Paris. 'George Eliot's religion of humanity', *ELH* 29/4 (Dec. 1962), pp. 419.
[180] See Martha Vogeler. *Frederic Harrison: the vocations of a positivist* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), p. 57.
[181] Spitta's two-volume biography of Bach was brought out in 1873 and 1880; it was translated into English in 1884-5.
[182] Parry. *Johann Sebastian Bach: the story of the development of a great personality* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909), p. vi.

The author's ambition to emphasise Bach's spiritual independence from social conditions leads him to a curious admission, which at first may seem to contradict his Ruskinian combination of art and society:

> Great national movements have taken place, and periods of enlightenment have come about in which the standards of men's thoughts and habits have been elevated and disinterested, and have borne fruit in heroic and nobly purposed deeds, without any corresponding artistic utterance.[183]

The reason for this, he explains, is that good art concerns itself with personality, while progress (in this case, the secularisation of society) does not: "culture and progress alike deprecate aggressive individual prominence."[184] Parry's ability to see social progress as amoral or even detrimental to individual growth points to the unspoken distinction which he often draws between evolution and ethics. In his notebook, he asks, "What is progress? The universe is always changing and it must either change for better or worse,"[185] and later explains that "progress is—among other things expansion—it is in things bad as well as good."[186] Elsewhere, Parry gives a more positive definition of progress; it is "the appreciation of what has been learnt from experience to the practical activities, mental, instinctive and temperamental, of social life."[187]

According to Warren Dwight Allen, Parry sees composers as players in a larger scheme of progressive development (undoubtedly the outcome of his emphasis on assimilation and historical continuity), often at the expense of their individual autonomy.[188] Contrary to Allen's estimate, however, individuality is never absent from Parry's historical imagination. Art, by Parry's account, differs from other human activities in that it welcomes "so frankly the evidences of personality… It demands as one of its first necessities copious and consistent proofs of individuality."[189] The driving force behind his conception of art, therefore, is individuality despite progress, not progress despite individuality, as typically supposed. The rapid proliferation of secular art in the seventeenth century shows that evolution *cannot* guarantee quality in art. As a matter of fact, Parry envisages the

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[183] "It is manifest that their [artistic] development is a thing of itself, and quite independent of the development of mankind in things outside the range of art." *Ibid.*, p. 4.
[184] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
[185] Notebook.
[186] Notebook.
[187] Notebook.
[188] Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 117.
[189] Parry. *Johann Sebastian Bach* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909), p. 1.

mainstream development of music as a runaway train headed for disaster. The significance of Bach as a byway traveller, who indulged in the belated art of counterpoint, was that he was independent enough to follow his own ideals, and that he was *progressive* enough to not be lured by the promises of mainstream progress. In other words, Bach was an individual who was not afraid to endure the tyranny of the "complaisant majority"[190]; he was prepared to shape history to his own ends rather than merely be a silent part of it.

In the Oxford volume, Bach is portrayed as an essentially religious composer, yet in the biography much greater emphasis is placed on his secular roots.[191] In the former account, secularism is presented as endangering the integrity of the unwary artist; in the latter, it is the "health-giving"[192] component of Bach's formative period which exercised long-lasting influence on his creative personality. Parry looks askance at Bach's early religious education (although he gives due credit to its non-Pietistic foundations[193]). He divides Bach's life into alternating phases of secular and sacred activity: i.e. his upbringing (exposure to secular music), Weimar (religious), Cöthen (secular), and Leipzig (catering to a religious audience). With Bach, perhaps more so than any other composer, the line between religion and irreligion had become exceedingly difficult to discern – indeed as Parry maintains, by the end of his artistic career, he had achieved an impossible synthesis of polarities.

Paul Steinitz explains that, despite Luther's liturgical reforms, the Mass in Bach's time "was retained as the principle service in the new Protestant Church."[194] Parry, of course, hopes to dissociate the composer from the Roman Catholic tradition as much as possible. Thus, when Bach is shown to have adopted the conventional Latin form of the Magnificat, Parry argues that it was because his "large-minded and liberal common sense"[195] allowed him to sympathise with other traditions not his own. Many commentators before and since Friedrich Blume (1962)[196], such as Michael Marissen,

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[190] *Ibid*., p. 2.
[191] *Ibid*., p. 26.
[192] *Ibid*., p. 27.
[193] *Ibid*., p. 31. As Leo Schrade notes: "The authorities of the school Bach attended were violently opposed to Pietism." See Schrade. 'Bach: the conflict between the sacred and the secular', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 7/2 (Apr. 1946), p. 156.
[194] Paul Steinitz. 'Bach's Lutheran Masses', *The Musical Times* 109/1501 (Mar. 1968), p. 231.
[195] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 220.
[196] Friedrich Blume. 'Outlines of a new picture of Bach', *Music & Letters,* 44/3 (Jul. 1963), pp. 214-27. On Bach's Lutheran background, see also Richard Plantinga. 'The integration of music and theology in J. S. Bach' in *Resonant witness: conversations between music and theology,* ed. Jeremy Begbie and Steven Guthrie (Grand

Gerhard Herz, Michael Linton and Robert Stevenson, have written specifically on Bach's music in relation to his theological (and secular) background.[197] In Blume's controversial view, Karl Hermann Bitter and Philipp Spitta have constructed an unfair image of Bach as the "great Lutheran cantor, the retrospective champion of tradition, the orthodox preacher of the Bible"; Blume doubts Bach's "ancestral connection to church music", pointing instead to the preponderance of his court duties.[198] He argues that when Bach was faced with the choice between the church or the court, he "came down on the side which promised the musician the greater freedom of development."[199] Parry had indeed anticipated this argument by many decades in his attempt to emphasise the progressive, secular side of Bach's character. He wrote of Prince Leopold, Bach's employer during his 'secular' period, that "the world owes some recognition to the young prince whose peculiar and well-defined tastes exercised so much influence in the development of the composite sum-total of the artistic personality of John Sebastian."[200] Parry, who always held the profoundest hatred of the aristocracy, here finds a historical compromise that allows him to value its contribution to the spread of a secular musical culture, beyond the bounds of the church:

> Though in later times the hereditary principle has been a good deal criticised, it is futile to ignore that in the past it has produced rulers and leaders of men who have exercised far-reaching influence for good… and it is no exaggeration to say that without the material help… received from them, it is unlikely that many of the greatest compositions would ever have been written.[201]

While, in retrospect, Parry can certainly be viewed as an early proponent of a 'secular' Bach, it is also true that he would have deemed the question, 'was Bach secular or religious?', a fundamentally misleading one, answerable only by saying that he was open-minded enough to be both. In his estimate, Bach's religious side was not confined to his distinctive treatment of church music; it imbued his overall character with a sense of devotion towards art, which the Italian composers after

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Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2011), p. 219; and Robin Leaver. *J.S. Bach and Scripture: glosses from the Calov Bible Commentary* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1985).

[197] For example: Michael Marissen. *The social and religious designs of J. S. Bach's Brandenburg Concertos* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); Gerhard Herz. 'Bach's religion', *Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music* 1/2 (Jun. 1946), pp. 124-138; Michael Linton. 'Bach, Luther, and the "Magnificat" ', *Bach* 17/2 (Apr. 1986), pp. 3-15; Robert Stevenson. 'Bach's religious environment: the well springs of religious emotion that nourished the creative life of Protestantism's greatest composer', *The Journal of Religion* 30/4 (Oct. 1950), pp. 246-55.

[198] Blume. 'Outlines of a new picture of Bach', *Music & Letters* 44/3 (Jul. 1963), p. 217.

[199] *Ibid.*, p. 223.

[200] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

[201] *Ibid.*, p. 58.

Monteverdi conspicuously lacked. Italy's failure was a failure of popular culture to preserve the devotional aspect of social life, traditionally found in religious music, in a modern, secular environment – a fault exacerbated by a public-induced loss of artistic independence and individuality. Bach's spirituality, on the other hand, entailed a completely new outlook towards not only sacred music, but to the musical art at large. To strengthen his case, Parry looks to Germany's Protestant culture to see why the conditions had been more favourable to Bach's personal development:

> The instinct of the Teutonic Protestant was to get away from all hagiology and paraphernalia and external accessories of the Roman form of Christianity, and to reinfuse the story of Christ's life and teaching with vivid reality, most especially in the human aspects.[202]

When Bach set himself to compose the Masses, therefore, he surrendered his liberal, Protestant ideals and caused a relapse in his music into old religious platitudes and tired musical conventions.[203] By contrast, Parry sees the Passion form as more congenial to the composer's disposition.[204] In a subtly ahistorical way, Parry is projecting his own hope for the future by maintaining that Bach's spirituality skewed towards "the deep love for the manhood" or the "unlimited brooding on the ideal possibilities of the ideal human character", as opposed to "abasement before the infinite magnificence of the Godhead".[205] Yet he writes under no illusion that the composer was a modernist; he readily concedes that themes such as 'humility', 'exultation' and 'womanliness' lay beyond the scope of Bach's spiritual concern.[206]

The purpose of Parry's book was to establish its subject—a man entrusted with the role of reconciling secularism and religion—as a liberal and a free-thinker. For Leo Schrade, writing many years later, Bach "brings in the idea of reform; he conceives of a new and inspiring aim."[207] Robert Marshall similarly claims that the German composer became more progressive in older age, citing (in

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[202] *Ibid.*, p. 232.
[203] *Ibid.*, p. 154.
[204] The Passion form allowed Bach to "dwell upon things which appeal to the feelings, and… to contemplate them from various points of view." See *ibid.*, p. 236.
[205] *Ibid.*, p. 232.
[206] *Ibid.*, p. 245.
[207] Schrade, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

the manner of Blume) his tendency to adopt the secular *galant* style.[208] Marshall's position was opposed in 1985 by Frederick Neumann, who avers, in an article for the *Musical Quarterly*, that Bach's "late Baroque style could vary within a wide range without thereby breaking out of its stylistic frame."[209] In Neumann's opinion, Bach could not be dubbed as 'progressive' since his works were stylistically in line with the polyphonic idioms then prevalent. Marshall at least heeds that Bach "follows the latest fashion; he does not normally lead it"[210]; 'progressive' and 'innovative', accordingly, are related albeit not synonymous terms. Marshall's argument echoes Parry's observations in this respect. Parry had hoped to show that Bach was progressive, not necessarily because he was innovative, but rather because he had the courage to stand for the best principles – whether old or new. Like Hadow, Parry regarded genuineness, rather than inventiveness, as the litmus test of a strong artistic character. Neumann proposes that Bach's conservatism protected him from having to "compromise his aesthetic conviction to curry favour with the Dresden Establishment."[211] Parry would argue slightly differently that this so-called 'conservatism' was, in fact, a testament to the composer's progressive nature. Indeed the strength of mind to defy mainstream fashion is anything but conservative:

> The typically conservative mind is the one with a limited outlook which imagines that because its little square yard of a garden plot seems to work out as a completely solved pattern with all its bits in the right places, it must not on any account be disturbed to make it fit into bigger-pattern schemes.[212]

Parry's evaluation of Bach's character lends insight into his own career as a composer. To recall Pirie's objection, how could a free-thinker "set so fervently so much religious matter"[213]? For Shaw, Parry was musically "a conservative, out-of-touch pedant,"[214] although, as Michael Allis

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[208] He argues that "[by the 1740s] Bach [had] allowed himself to be influenced by the latest developments in musical fashion." See Robert Marshall. 'Bach the progressive: observations on his later works', *The Musical Quarterly* 62/3 (Jul. 1976), pp. 353-5.
[209] Frederick Neumann. 'Bach: progressive or conservative and the authorship of the Goldberg Aria', *The Musical Quarterly* 71/3, Anniversaries: 1. Johann Sebastian Bach – b. 1685; Heinrich Schütz – b. 1585 (1985), p. 281.
[210] Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 355.
[211] Neumann, *op. cit.*, p. 294.
[212] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 90.
[213] Pirie. 'Hubert Parry', *The Musical Times* 97/1361 (Jul. 1956), p. 371.
[214] George Bernard Shaw, quoted in Jason Farris. *Seven unpublished organ works by Sir C. Hubert H. Parry in Bodleian Library Ms. Mus. C. 136 and Ms. Mus. C. 457*, doctoral dissertation (University of Houston: 2009), p. 5.

explains, Shaw had his own anti-establishment motives to warrant his often exaggerated antipathy towards official men like Parry, Stanford and Mackenzie.[215] Similarly, Stephen Banfield diagnoses Parry's liberal imagination as largely "thwarted… in his prose as in his compositions, by a sterile aristocratic lineage"[216] – a thoroughly unjust simplification of a complex, radical figure. Scholars have grappled in much the same way with Brahms' liberal politics on the one hand, and his reactionary musical style on the other. One explanation provided by Margaret Notley is that, since liberalism extolled human reason, the Classical tonal system—with its emphasis on logical thematic development—appealed more directly to liberal sensibilities than the emotional meanderings of nineteenth-century Romanticism.[217] This would explain why Parry held Brahms in such high regard, and also why he often treated the 'intellectual' side of music in connection with the new secularism that he championed:

> The formal or constructive elements in musical art therefore represent its practical and intellectual side; and it will be observed that they began to be noticeable in music with the first steps into the region of the non-ecclesiastical, and that they grew more important and more perfect the further music moved away from the old traditions of the choral art of the church.[218]

Most crucially, for Parry, to be progressive means to be open-minded. Hence, he constantly refers in the book to Bach's "usual openness of mind" as proof of his progressive character.[219] The juxtaposition of Bach's Weimar and Cöthen periods shows how Bach was willing to step out of familiar territory to adapt to hostile artistic surroundings, without sacrificing his lofty ideals.[220] Parry's narrative of the seventeenth century and its culmination in Bach is essentially a story of the triumph of open-minded liberalism after the defeat of the oppressive church. While the modern historian can

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[215] Michael Allis. *Parry's creative process* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p. 6.
[216] Stephen Banfield. 'The artist and society' in *Music in Britain: the Romantic age, 1800-1914*, ed. Nicholas Temperley (London: Athlone Press, 1981), p. 27.
[217] Margaret Notley. 'Brahms as liberal: genre, style, and politics in late nineteenth-century Vienna', *19th-Century Music* 17/2 (Autumn 1993), p. 113.
[218] Parry. *The music of the seventeenth century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), p. 264. Indeed for Parry, "the highest types of labour are all mental." See Notebook.
[219] Parry. *Johann Sebastian Bach* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909), p. 327. This is sometimes wrongly interpreted as showing the author's adoption of evolutionary or recapitulation theory. Bach 'recapitulates' many aspects of the past because he is open-minded enough to learn from history. Recapitulation theory, in the biological sense, has virtually no place in Parry's historical thought. It is important to note, again, that Parry considers Bach, like Cavalli and other secularists, not as a culmination of evolution but rather a "lone traveller wandering down a deep shady lane, all by himself." See Lecture on 'Byways', p. 5.
[220] See *ibid*., p. 104.

only treat such narratives with due suspicion, it was only typical of a thinker who could not resist the temptation of finding moral lessons in a historical landscape, where God no longer figured as the driving force of human behaviour and social transformation.

5.3 Music in Transition to Democracy

The final piece of Parry's story of man's spiritual emancipation is the establishment of democracy as a source of egalitarian pressure and social cohesion. The thorough secularisation of the art, discussed in the previous chapter, has awakened the general population to the endless emotional and creative—essentially democratic—possibilities of art. He believed that society could diminish its animosities by repairing the artificial divides imposed by religion, and by acknowledging the equal rights of all individuals. Bach's liberal mindset, his individualism and spiritual vision could lead the world by example. By bringing people together within an arena of sympathetic discourse, music—in its non-mimetic capacity—could help us see beyond our own narrow views of the world, reveal our essential 'psychic unity', and be a catalyst for universal suffrage. Parry lived at a time when democracy was *the* urgent issue. Carlyle wrote in *Past and Present* that democracy was "the inexorable demand of these ages."[221] Likewise, Disraeli declared in 1867 that "the Working Class question is the real question, and that is the thing that demands to be settled."[222] In his study of the transition to democracy in Victorian England, Trygve Tholfsen stresses the role which industrial towns and urban politics played in the movement for mass enfranchisement.[223] At the start of the period, there was a crisis in class relations between the working class and the bourgeoisie.[224] The turning point, according to Tholfsen, was "at the end of the 1850's… when workingmen joined forces with the middle-class Radicals."[225] Parry would find himself at the forefront of this radical movement to extend the franchise to all members of

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[221] Thomas Carlyle. *Past and present* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1870/1843), p. 267.
[222] Benjamin Disraeli to John Bright, March 1867, quoted in Peter Stansky. *The Victorian revolution: government and society in Victoria's Britain* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1973) p. 169.
[223] Trygve Tholfsen. 'The transition to democracy in Victorian England', *International Review of Social History* 6/2 (Aug. 1961), p. 227. For further discussion see James Cornford. 'The transformation of Conservatism in the late nineteenth century', *Victorian Studies* 7/1, Symposium on Victorian Affairs 2 (Sep. 1963), pp. 35-66.
[224] Tholfsen, *op. cit.*, p. 228.
[225] *Ibid.*, p. 242.

society, regardless of class. This section treats Parry's views on democracy in relation to other Victorian thinkers, and his vision of music as a democratic art.

Parry's ardent involvement in the fight for women's suffrage deserves some recognition in this discourse. His wife, Maude, was a close friend of both Agnes and Rhoda Garrett, key figures in the suffrage movement[226]; she became president of the Brighton and Hove branch of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS), sponsoring a petition against the Cat and Mouse Act of 1913.[227] In the December of 1909, Parry spoke at a suffragist meeting chaired by Maude; among other speakers were Millicent Fawcett[228] and Mrs. Bertrand Russell (Hannah Whitall Smith).[229] He was a diligent reader of suffragist literature, imbibing Mill's *The Subjection of Women* in 1874, Fawcett's early novel, *Janet Doncaster*, in 1879,[230] Olive Schreiner's *The Story of an African Farm* in 1888, and Sylvia Pankhurst's *The Suffragette* in 1911.[231] A contrary literary sentiment can be found in Mrs. Humphrey Ward's novels, which Parry also read profusely and continued to do so even after she became the editor of the *Anti-Suffrage Review* in 1908.[232] On 12 April 1918, Parry and Maude joined

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[226] Elizabeth Crawford. *The women's suffrage movement in Britain and Ireland: a regional survey* (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 206. For a survey of the women's suffrage movement in Britain, see especially Sophia A. van Wingerden. *The women's suffrage movement in Britain, 1866-1928* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999); and the concise summary by Harold Smith. *The British women's suffrage campaign 1866-1928* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 1998).

[227] Claire Hirshfield. 'The actress as social activist' in *Politics, gender, and the arts: women, the arts, and society*, ed. Ronald Dotterer and Susan Bowers (London and Toronto: Susquehanna University Press, 1992), p. 81. Maud signed the Declaration in Favour of Women's Suffrage in 1889, see record in Crawford. *The women's suffrage movement: a reference guide 1866-1928* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 238.

[228] Fawcett emerged as a leader of the movement in the 1880s. See biographical notes in Susan Hamilton, ed., *Criminals, idiots, women and minors: Victorian writing by women on women, vol. 2* (Ontario: Broadview Press, 2004), p. 237.

[229] *Woman's Leader, vol. 1* (National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 1909), p. 474.

[230] Fawcett's heroine was declared by Evelyn Stanhope to have been a striking model of a "strong-minded female type"; Janet Howarth views her as a "thinly disguised autobiographical figure". See Evelyn Stanhope, 8 July 1875, quoted in David Rubinstein. 'Victorian feminists: Henry and Millicent Garrett Fawcett', in *The blind Victorian: Henry Fawcett and British liberalism*, ed. Lawrence Goldman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 76; and Janet Howarth. 'Mrs. Henry Fawcett' in *Votes for women*, ed. Sandra Holton and June Purvis (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 94.

[231] Sylvia, the daughter of Emmeline Pankhurst and a militant promoter of women's rights, was also an outspoken "anti-Fascist and anti-racist" critic of imperialism. See Clare Midgley. 'Bringing the Empire home: women activists in imperial Britain' in *At home with the Empire: metropolitan culture and the imperial world*, ed. Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p, 249.

[232] Parry read many of Mrs. Humphrey Ward's novels, including *The case of Richard Meynell*, *Delia Blanchflower*, etc. She was the "driving force" behind the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League, which was established in June 1908. See Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

Fawcett and other activists at a gathering in Littlehampton to mark the passage of the Representation of the People Act.[233] 'Jerusalem', first deployed for the Fight for Right movement, which the composer later found too chauvinistic for his own taste, found a new lease of life among the suffragists when it was featured at a NUWSS concert at Queen's Hall in March 1918.[234]

Although democracy gained a foothold in Victorian society through a series of franchise reforms, it was met with suspicion on many intellectual fronts. Carlyle, like Plato, distrusted the ability of the common man to make important political decisions. According to William Henry Hudson, Carlyle saw that "the one hope for our distracted world of to-day lies in the strength and wisdom of the few, not in the organised unwisdom of the many,"[235] hence establishing the necessity for the spiritual hero of *Sartor Resartus*. Ruskin was a passionate critic of industrial capitalism. Taking the cue from the influential Carlyle, he feared the encroachment of materialism and the correlative decline of morality and spirituality. In *Unto this Last*, Ruskin favoured a paternalistic relationship between the worker and the master. Indeed for Ruskin, the antidote to anarchy was not democracy but socialism. Some Victorian critics showed more ambivalence towards democracy. Although Matthew Arnold shared Ruskin's and Carlyle's concern about the anarchistic tendencies of individualism, he favoured the egalitarian solution and believed in the power of education to transform the masses.[236] According to Benjamin Lippincott, the author of *Culture and Anarchy* "looked upon democracy as a movement in which the mass of men were beginning to discover themselves."[237] Lecky's *Democracy and Liberty*, which Parry read in 1896 (the year it was brought out), was a literary bulwark against the tide of democracy.[238] The author warned of the growth of misinformation, believing democracy to be subject to vilification on both the 'majority' and 'minority' fronts.

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[233] Crawford, *The women's suffrage movement in Britain and Ireland: a regional survey* (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 199.
[234] Details of the circumstances surrounding the conception and the first performance of *Jerusalem* can be found in Dibble. *C. Hubert H. Parry: his life and music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 483-5; see also David Doughan and Peter Gordon. *Women, clubs and associations in Britain* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 122.
[235] William Henry Hudson's introduction to Carlyle. *Sartor Resartus: on heroes, hero-worship and the heroic in history* (London: J. M. Dent, 1908), p. xvi.
[236] Benjamin Lippincott. *Victorian critics of democracy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1938), p. 95.
[237] *Ibid*., p. 118.
[238] As Lecky warns, "I think, abundantly seen, a tendency to democracy does not mean a tendency to parliamentary government, or even a tendency towards greater liberty." Lecky. *Democracy and liberty, vol. 1* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1903/1896), p. 256.

Familiar with the works of Mill and Tocqueville, Parry shared with the above critics a profound distrust of the rule of the mob. He affirmed in his final treatise, *Instinct and Character*, for instance, that "the public opinion which is based on the applause of the majority, is the crudest democraticism in existence."[239] However, unlike Tocqueville, he did not see it as redounding to the discredit of democracy, but rather as a problem inherited from the historical abuses of the aristocratic system:

> The facts do not tell against democracy but the reverse. The awful manifestations of the mob are mainly the fruit of the conditions which have come about through the misuse of opportunities serving the world by the prosperous classes through yielding to basic forms of instinct.[240]

For Parry, democracy meant the basic "provision of safeguards against the instincts of people who have obtained positions of advantage," designed to protect the people from the tyranny of the privileged few.[241] Against Carlyle's condemnation of the masses, he consistently shifted the blame to the ruling elite who, acting in their own interests, had condemned people to unequal opportunities and therefore to political incompetence: "the fault of a system are owing to the faults and deficiencies of those who profit by the system."[242] The elitist fear of the mob was hypocritical, since the 'tyranny of the majority' was ultimately the consequence of the historical 'tyranny of the minority', created by a fundamental flaw in the aristocratic principle:

> The tendency of all privilege is to narrow the outlook. The people who chance to have been prosperous have been content to contemplate their own prosperity, and those who were not have had to live in conditions which ministered neither to the health of the soul nor the body.[243]

Democracy not only worked to the removal of social obstructions in the interests of intellectual liberty, it promoted the notion of man's essential unity and equality before the law. At the heart of Parry's defence of democracy was the principle of open discussion. Thus, unlike Carlyle or Ruskin,

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[239] Parry. *Instinct and Character*, p. 113.
[240] *Ibid.*
[241] *Ibid.*, p. 320.
[242] *Ibid.*, p. 46. Parry continues: "the test of a fine standard of mind and disposition is whether those who are in a position to enjoy the purely material advantages of the system are capable of rising above the demoralizing temptation, and addressing themselves strenuously to the remedy of abuses and injustices and wrongs even if their own store of possession is somewhat diminished thereby, and their pride a little flouted."
[243] *Ibid.*, p. 114.

Parry faulted the aristocracy for its deliberate manipulations of public opinion rather than the masses for believing what they were told to be true:

> When a large class has been stupefied and degraded through the misuses of privileged positions by a small minority and the herd is roused to shake off their burdens in spiteful and unprofitable ways it is no discredit to the democracy, but to those who repudiated their opportunities to make democracy intelligent and just.[244]

Parry had sound faith in the democratic system though he was alert to the problems elucidated by his contemporaries. He also arguably inherited from Tocqueville (and indeed from Lecky) the 'inevitably thesis', as Marvin Zetterbaum calls it, or the idea that the march of democracy was inevitable, even if it were unpleasant.[245] Traces of the idea can be found in his notion of the ineluctable decline of the standards of modern music, through the expansion of the artistic franchise (i.e. the breakdown of the so-called aristocratic sonata and the rise of programme music). According to Seymour Drescher, Zetterbaum presents Tocqueville's political philosophy in *Democracy in America* as "a series of salutary myths"[246]; Tocqueville never truly explained why democracy was bound to succeed.[247] Zetterbaum contends that the inevitability thesis formed a key component of Tocqueville's strategy to ease society's transition into democracy.[248] It is possible that Parry adhered to the same 'inevitability' argument for the same pragmatic reasons: "As democracy goes inevitably forward the general conditions produce the singular result that those who are in some ways best qualified to lead become themselves led."[249] More importantly, he was writing with the hindsight of the numerous reforms which unequivocally pointed in the direction of universal suffrage.

Parry's ideas on music in relation to democracy were most fully elaborated in 1909, at the end of his research on the seventeenth-century and Bach. However, the notion that music could serve democratic ends was not a late development in his thinking, but arguably the starting point of it. As early as in the closing remarks of the first edition of the *Art of Music*, he had written that:

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[244] *Ibid.*
[245] Marvin Zetterbaum. *Tocqueville and the problem of democracy* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967), p. 21.
[246] Seymour Drescher. *Dilemmas of democracy: Tocqueville and modernization* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1968), p. 21.
[247] Matthew Mancini. *Alexis de Tocqueville and American intellectuals: from his times to ours* (Landham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), p. 206.
[248] *Ibid.*
[249] Parry, *Instinct and character*, p. 70.

> …any possibility of bringing people into touch with those highest moments in art in which great ideals were realised, in music in which noble aspirations were successfully embodied, is a chance of enriching the human experience in the noblest manner; and the humanising influences which democracy may hereafter have at its disposal may thereby be infinitely enlarged.

In his personal copy of the work, Parry made important corrections for the 1896 edition, which saw the omission of the phrase 'bringing people into touch' and the substitution of the word 'mankind' for 'democracy'.[250] This was likely because he felt the political orientation of the original phrasing to detract from the scientific integrity of the work. The sentence in its final form appeared as follows:

> …any possibility of getting into touch with those highest moments in art in which great ideals have been realised, in which noble aspirations and noble sentiments have been successfully embodied, is a chance of enriching human experience in the noblest manner: and through such sympathies and interests the humanising influences which mankind will hereafter have at its disposal may be infinitely enlarged.[251]

Similarly, when the *Summary of Music History* was brought out in 1893, it contained the solitary remark that choral music thrived best in democratic societies such as England[252] – but the theme was not pursued any further. However, when the work was revised in 1904 with the hindsight of the *fin de siècle*, the notion of music's democratic promise had apparently pervaded his thinking. The appended chapter on 'The Last Decade of the Nineteenth Century' now explained that Romanticism was a protest against the aristocratic past, music was in transition to democracy, and music's prominent place in the hierarchy of the arts reflected its superior fitness to be adapted for democratic purposes. Programme music, the author argued, was a manifestation of the democratic aspirations of the age; thus "the type of art which was destined to serve the purposes of the newly-awakening democracy was planted in the very being of the aristocratic Sonata."[253] Because of his political beliefs, Parry came to perceive, as interpreters like Alfred Einstein did for different reasons, that the Romantic age spanned the entire nineteenth century or more. In this way, Parry always personally identified with the

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[250] Parry's personal copy of the first edition of *The Art of Music*, ShP.
[251] Parry. *The evolution of the art of music* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1905/1893), p. 337.
[252] Parry. *Summary of the history and development of medieval and modern European music* (London: Novello, 1893), p. 115: "Choral music seems to thrive best in countries where independent democratic spirit is strong and tempered with common sense. England has always been happiest in such music, and it is most natural that this characteristic form of modern art should thrive in her soil."
[253] *Ibid.*, p. 116. Compare Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 295: "Programme music—or representative music—becomes the submissive descendant of the classical sonata instead of a rival and an enemy." His early Grove article on the subject, while also emphasising the Beethovenesque ancestry of programme music, contains no disposition towards political commentary.

Romantics; he never fully recognised modernism, in the Dahlhausian sense, as a self-sufficing development in the history of the art.

At the other end of the chronological spectrum, Bach, the premature Romantic, was portrayed as the premature democrat. The strengths of his artistic character—his open-mindedness, thoroughness of action, sincerity of expression and candidness of thought—all pointed to a truly 'democratic' nature. For Parry, democracy's success depended on the enlistment of such sympathetic, secular-cum-religious individuals. Unlike Carlyle's spiritual heroes, these were not aristocratic but everyday liberal personalities, whose infectious spirit transcended class boundaries:

> Free democracies are only possible when there is a general appreciation of the diverse qualities of human character which enable men to see beyond their petty individual interests and to feel their relation to human society in general.[254]

Bach's example demonstrated how music could be aligned to the purposes of democracy. At first, his music fell upon deaf ears because the musically literate segments of society still preferred the formalities of the 'aristocratic Sonata', but in the end, the non-aristocratic genuineness and wide human appeal of his works won them over. The political instability of the nineteenth century created a fertile environment for the resuscitation of Bach's liberal ideals; the growth of commercialism and the rapid pulse of fashion demanded the counterpoise of more timeless art such as Bach's. Parry's democratic defence of Bach also led him to reflect upon his own role as a musician in a society indisposed to recognise music-making as a legitimate profession. By making music serviceable to democracy, he instilled in his pupils a new sense of purpose which harnessed strength from their inferior position in society – turning a social disadvantage into an artistic advantage. As he would confess in his speech on 'Music and Democracy':

> On this occasion I feel as if I was called on for an apologia. Why should a man with any sense of proportion, with any appreciation of what is due from him as his contribution to the comfort and contentment of his fellows, and general smooth working of social conditions choose to devote his life to such a thing as music?[255]

If England was bound for democracy, as Parry wished to believe, why then the constant social denigration of music—that democratic art *par excellence*—to such an extent as to provoke his

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[254] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 399.
[255] Lecture on 'Music and democracy', delivered before the Author's Club, November 1909, p. 1.

defensive remarks? Once again the aristocracy, rather than the wider public, was to blame. During the eighteenth century, the upper sections of society enjoyed an almost exclusive "monopoly on music"[256] – a privilege since lost to the people. The music hall phenomenon, the development of cheap printing, the spread of music education in schools, the growth of opportunities in specialist training, and the popularity of the sight-singing movement, all pointed towards the diffusion of music among the previously disenfranchised members of society. It caused a reaction from the upper classes, making them suspicious of music as a professional activity.[257] Parry had no tolerance for millionaires and their "hyper-rich" existence[258]; launching into an especially impassioned invective in *Instinct and Character*, he argued that "a millionaire is a kind of parasite which has the power of absorbing an enormous proportion of the nutriment of the body public."[259] He was appalled by the growth of consumeristic culture in America, especially the unchecked spread of what he termed the "millionaire disease".[260] Like Tocqueville and Henry Brooks Adams, the unnamed author of *Democracy: A Novel* (1880, read 1882), who exposed the corruption of the American political system, Parry was especially apprehensive about the future of democracy in the United States. At the same time, he believed that England could learn its lessons from the successes and failures of American democracy.

Parry optimistically held that England was in a unique position to develop democracy to its full potential. James Garratt explains that in Germany, where Wagner attempted to influence the morality of the public through the medium of theatre, there was a fervent attempt to "fence off such [popular] music from the autonomous sphere of professional music-making."[261] In England, Parry thought that the onslaught of democracy had been more conducive to the destabilisation of the musical elite: "The mission of democracy is to convert the false estimate of art as an appanage of luxury."[262] While he distrusted majority opinion, he trusted less the gentry's ability to care for the well-being of the poor.

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[256] *Ibid*., p. 5.
[257] *Ibid.*, p. 4: "Rich people want nothing to do with music if it is inexpensive or if it is favoured predominantly by the public."
[258] *Ibid.*
[259] *Instinct and character*, p. 367.
[260] *Ibid*., p. 39. Parry deplores the sight of wealthy New Yorkers "associated together to give their toy dogs the most expensive dinner they could possibly devise, with all the expensive adjuncts for which the dogs could not conceivably have the faintest sense of appreciation."
[261] James Garratt. *Music, culture and social reform in the age of Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 139.
[262] Notebook.

Jochen Eisentraut argues that Parry poured scorn on the "unregenerate public" (Parry's own words) in attacking commercial music.[263] The scorn, however, was actually wholly reserved for the commercialists who wished to keep public intelligence at bay. In *Instinct and Character*, the author described how the aristocracy, rather than elevating the standards of culture, became antagonistic to culture whenever it intruded on their privilege:

> If education and culture tend to undermine the basis on which his pride is reared education and culture are thoroughly objectionable and must be derided and evaded and generally treated with contumely… The members of the wealthy family kept all knowledge of the hovel dwellers out of sight by constantly occupying themselves with a closely packed routine of amusements…[264]

The paradoxical deduction was that England, 'das Land ohne Musik', in its most decadent moments, had in fact paved the way for a truly democratic art, "so after going through a lot of varying experiences the art finally proves to be what it has often said to be, the Art of the Democracy".[265] While the lack of a lofty standard of music gave proof of the nation's artistic blight, it also gave proof that democracy was in full swing, tearing down aristocratic sensibilities there more so than elsewhere. This hopeful vision for England supplied the impetus and the *raison d'être* for the Musical Renaissance of which he was part.

What did Parry mean by music being more fundamentally 'democratic' than the other arts? In his lecture, he explains that music is unique in that it "can't be annexed by anyone".[266] While paintings and sculptures can be acquired by the rich, music has to be performed before an audience – and increasingly a classless one. Ideally, musicians are treated according to their skills rather than their wealth or social status; music "is the art in which every class must meet on an equality… Music is every man's property, and every man can make its finest products of his own, if he will."[267] Composers, musicians, listeners and critics share a harmless venue for spiritual and intellectual exchange. The psychological adventure it invites allows the individual to sympathise with others in their moments of happiness and distress. Even if music cannot express anything *per se*, the act of

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[263] Jochen Eisentraut. *The accessibility of music: participation, reception, and contact* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 199.
[264] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 42.
[265] Lecture on 'Music and democracy', p. 5.
[266] *Ibid.*, p. 4.
[267] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

consistently attempting to relate to others, made pleasant by the enjoyment received from music's direct appeal to the senses, makes the activity worthwhile. Indeed the crucial lesson of Bach is that music can transcend the barriers of caste and religion; his music could "appeal not only to the Christian but also to a pagan who had but the slenderest knowledge of the traditions of Christianity."[268] Music, in its sympathetic capacity, becomes not the House of God but the House of Man, bringing "people out from their various seclusions, and giving them something to meet together for."[269]

William Morris, after Carlyle, detested the politics of an industrialised England and the materialistic ethos of modern capitalism. Both Morris and Ruskin sounded alarms that commercialism would sever the integrity of the artist, replacing genuine art with manufactured art. Parry appears to have considered music more immune to commercialist destruction than her sister arts. Thus, instead of adopting an elitist disdain towards popular music, he advocated, in his lecture, the free-market of experiences at all costs:

> No doubt I shall be supposed to be advocating 'fine art' and 'high art', and all such well-meant futilities. I regret to confess that the very sound of such formulas has a tendency to expose the dog-tooth in me. What I am advocating is the music that is most enjoyable, and the more enjoyable the more we enjoy it.[270]

For Parry, a retreat to an elitist Hobbesianism offered no permanent solution the problems facing the nation. In order for music to be truly democratic, it would have to admit of the whole spectrum of human experience – and not just those which current wisdom deemed as respectable. Society only learnt to appreciate genuine art when it had made adequate room for the free contest of ideas. The visionary musician, downtrodden by aristocratic prejudice, led the struggle for mass emancipation by upholding the values of independence and free thought in his own art – historically against the conforming influence of theocracy, and now against the conforming influence of an encroaching commercialism.

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[268] Parry. *Johann Sebastian Bach* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909), p. 279.
[269] Lecture on 'Music and democracy', p. 8.
[270] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

5.4 Conclusion

The 'Music and Democracy' lecture concludes a series of expositions from 1900 to 1909, exploring the liberating effects which secularism exerted upon seventeenth-century music (via the metaphor of byways), and showing how later composers such as Bach came to infuse the art with new spiritual and human significance. Such genuine qualities of art render it serviceable to the interests of democracy. A background familiarity with Parry's religious views and the Victorian context of disbelief has contributed to a better understanding of his secular historiography. Finally, as Parry considered religious and nationalistic feelings to emanate from the same instinctual source, the discussion clears the path for an examination of his ideas on race and nationalism, which is taken up in the next chapter.

6. Race, Nationalism and the Revival of Folksong

> In short, Dr. Pascal had only one belief—the belief in life. Life was the only divine manifestation. Life was God, the grand motor, the soul of the universe. And life had no other instrument than heredity; heredity made the world; so that if its laws could be known and directed, the world could be made to one's will.
>
> – Émile Zola, *Doctor Pascal*[1]

An outcome of his belief that art is a mirror of society, Parry's intrigue in the racial characteristics of music permeates all his works from the *Studies of Great Composers* to *Instinct and Character*. Since much of his writings are apparently couched in racial terminology, scholars have been quick to interpret his works as fundamentally racialist. For Bennett Zon, the *Evolution of the Art of Music* represents a "high point of scientific racism in music" and exemplifies Victorian "scientific racism translated into a musicological environment."[2] Martin Clayton suggests that the work could be read as part of the broader fabric of Victorian nationalism, serving as an intellectual buttress to the neo-imperialism of the *fin de siècle*.[3] Such an interpretation has allowed scholars in other fields, such as Rens Bod, to accept Parry's "racist world view" as given.[4] In the present author's opinion, which is supported by biographical evidence, the composer was in fact a critic of racism, nationalism and imperialism. While by no means exonerating Parry from his capacity to imbue popular racial prejudices, this chapter stresses the importance of understanding his position from a more biographical standpoint, and the necessity of going beyond the *Evolution of the Art of Music* to see his works from a wider perspective. The following discussion builds on the work of previous chapters to explain his ideas in terms more consonant with other aspects of his intellectual development, i.e. his

[1] Émile Zola. *Doctor Pascal*, trans. Mary Serrano (New York: The Macmillan & Company, 1901/1893), p. 37.
[2] Bennett Zon. *Representing non-Western music in nineteenth-century Britain* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2007), pp. 10, 113.
[3] Martin Clayton. *Music and orientalism in the British Empire, 1780s*-1940s, ed. Martin Clayton and Bennett Zon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 76.
[4] Rens Bod. *A new history of the humanities: the search for principles and patterns from antiquity to the present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 307.

scientific interests, his secular humanism, his ethical idealism, his enthusiasm for democracy, and the anthropocentric optimism of his later years. The chapter opens with a cursory glance at the Victorian intellectual context in which Parry developed his ideas. The next section discusses his own views in detail. The widespread notion that Parry took refuge in science in order to promote or justify his racist or imperialist agenda is demonstrably untrue. It is suggested that Parry looked to nationalism, not as an extension of a racist worldview, but rather as a response to the growing epidemic of racial theories. This ultimately leads to the discussion of folksong. Rather than seeing folksong as a measure of man's racial separation, the final section contends that Parry's defence of folk music can better be understood in the less racially-charged context that this chapter provides.

6.1 Race and Imperialism in Parry's Britain

To grossly simplify a complex story, English perceptions of race underwent a series of profound transformations in the nineteenth century. Just as Jacques Barzun has shown that French ideas of race could be traced back to the times of Caesar and Tacitus[5], England received from history assumptions about its Anglo-Saxon origins, shaped by the narrative of the Norman Conquest. Robert Miles argues that the concept of race was first introduced into the English language in the sixteenth century.[6] Before Victorian times, the word was adopted mainly in the biblical sense of lineage (e.g. "the race and stock of Abraham"[7]). According to Michael Banton, however, race began to take on a new meaning around the year 1800[8]; it came to signify a physical or biological category, reflecting the development of Linneaen taxonomy in the sciences.

The nineteenth century saw the contest of two conflicting views concerning man's origin: monogenism and polygenism. The former posits the common ancestry of mankind, while the latter argues for uncommon descent. In the earlier parts of the century, British ethnology, as it was

[5] Michael Banton. *Idea of race* (London: Tavistock Publications Limited, 1977), p. 16.
[6] Robert Miles. *Racism and migrant labor* (New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982), p. 91.
[7] Banton, *op. cit*., p. 18.
[8] *Ibid.*

represented in such forums as the Aborigines' Protection Society, was a largely humanitarian affair.[9] Its main proponent, James Cowles Prichard, articulated the monogenist hypothesis of the unity of mankind; he set out to explain how diversity could exist between men, given their common parentage of Adam and Eve.[10] Prichard's theological monogenism did not go unchallenged into the century, however. The re-emerging school of polygenism, once believed by Voltaire, Hume and Henry Home, reached its height in the 1850s (Prichard having died in 1848). By that time, philology had become more firmly established academically[11], while Strauss and Feuerbach were causing a stir overseas with their works of higher criticism. Young-earth creationism, the foundational belief of Prichardian monogenism, was no longer a scientifically tenable position; Prichard was eventually forced to concede that the world might be a lot older than he imagined, allowing *homo sapiens* a little more time to become radically diversified.[12]

The appeal of polygenism was its more scientific character and its intellectual independence from biblical precedents. However, there were also less scientific motives for asserting the uncommon ancestry of man. If the monogenist position was often (not always) adopted by Wilberforcean abolitionists hoping to affirm the oneness of God's children in a post-Babel world[13], the polygenist alternative went from strength to strength in an age of ruthless colonial expansion, as Europeans were brought into prolonged contact with the seemingly uncivilised world. In 1854, following the lead of Samuel Morton, Josiah Nott and George Gliddon concluded that the "permanence of Type is accepted by science as the surest test of specific character" and that "history affords no evidence of the

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[9] The Aborigines' Protection Society (founded in 1837), a strong reflection of Prichard's Quaker and Evangelical background, was motivated by both humanitarian and anthropological impulses. George W. Stocking, Jr. *Victorian anthropology* (New York: The Free Press, 1987), p. 242.

[10] Painfully aware of British exploits overseas, Pritchard was not so optimistic that the 'savage' races could be saved. He ultimately became more interested in the collection and preservation of ethnographic data than in the humanitarian effort to protect the natives. Thus, the Ethnological Society of London, later formed in 1843 as an offshoot of the Aborigines' Protection Society, assumed a more scientific character while still retaining part of its humanitarian heritage.

[11] Max Müller became Taylorian Professor at Oxford in 1854.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 52. Prichard was also pressured by the fast growth of polygenism into adopting a more strictly environmentalist position to account for man's racial diversity. Even within the monogenist school, thinkers like Sir William Lawrence (1783-1867) could not adopt Prichard's biblical arguments wholesale. See John Jackson and Nadine Weidman. *Race, racism, and science; social impact and interaction* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO Inc., 2004), p. 37.

[13] Yet, as Mark Moberg argues, although "one might think that monogenists would be more likely to accept human equality… in practice they [monogenists] weren't that much more tolerant in their sentiments". See Moeberg. *Engaging anthropological theory: a social and political history* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), p. 107.

transformation of one Type into another."[14] James Hunt, who founded the Anthropological Society of London in 1863, faulted his critics as being (according to Christine Bolt) "individuals afflicted by 'rights-of-man mania' who made 'the gigantic assumption of absolute human equality', an assumption which indicated 'defective reasoning… a sham and a delusion.'"[15] This new society, whose members included the renowned anatomist Robert Knox, posed itself as an enemy of the 'ethnological' way of conducting scientific research, making Prichard and his allies the prime targets of their intellectual ridicule.[16]

Greater emphasis was placed on the study of man's physical and anatomical differences, especially phrenology[17], hitherto dismissed as mere adaptations to differences of geography and climate. Alfred Haddon and Robert Dunn, neither of whom were racist in the sense of Knox, could point to the structural anomalies of the Negro face, while John Crawfurd could call attention to the "broad and innate difference, physical, intellectual, and moral" between the European and Asiatic races.[18] Savage races, previously thought to have "degenerated" from a nobler stock due to environmental factors, were now declared as immutably barbarous, separated from the civilised races by degrees of biological differences. Some, like James Reddie, even held that miscegenation (a "filthy theory") would produce infertile offspring.[19] In Germany, this extreme position was kept in check by Romantic notions of the 'noble savage'; in England, many anthropologists like W. H. Flower, Charles Hamilton, Groom Napier and others[20], following Cuvier's lead[21], became increasingly preoccupied with the task of classifying man into different orders. In many of these classifications, as per Gobineau's view, the Aryan race emerged as indubitably superior to other members of the genus 'man'.

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[14] See Banton, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
[15] Christine Bolt. *Victorian attitudes to race* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1971), p. 6.
[16] Stocking, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
[17] Phrenology had already been imported from Germany by Johann Spurzheim; it was spearheaded in Edinburgh by George Combe and became influential on the evolutionary thought of Chambers and Spencer.
[18] Bolt, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
[19] David Livingstone. *Adam's ancestors: race, religion, and the politics of human origins* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2008), p. 124.
[20] See Bolt, *op. cit.*, p. 4; also Banton, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
[21] Cuvier believed that Homo sapiens could be divided into three distinct races: Caucasian, Mongolian and Ethiopian. See Banton, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

Parry's century, therefore, saw a sharp decline in the reputation of the racial 'others'. Banton explains that this growing sense of racial prejudice was further stimulated by overseas events, such as the Opium Wars, the Crimean War, the mutiny of 1857, the American Civil War and the Jamaican rebellion at Morant Bay.[22] Newspapers and periodicals reported, sometimes pictorially, the horrors endured at the jaw-of-death frontlines. Travellers to the colonies and beyond brought back with them uncomfortable tales of "cannibalism, patricide, widow-strangling, wife-spearing, and infanticide."[23] At the same time, the Victorians could contrast this horrendous image of barbarism with the relentless progress of industry, science and commerce in their own nation. In *Style in Musical Art*, Parry could draw examples from the advances of railway and electric lights to prove, not so much a developmental, but an adaptational point.[24] As John Summerson puts it: "the Victorians thought they could put their finger on progress; they even thought, for a brief joyous moment, that it could be exhibited—in a glass case."[25]

This stark contrast between civilised and uncivilised life put a serious question mark on the assumption of man's common ancestry. Yet, as Banton points out, it is dangerous to assume a connection "between imperialism and racial doctrine."[26] The racial ideas that were carried forward into Parry's formative years from the 1850s and 1860s had arguably been formed under less imperialistic impulses.[27] The racist theories of Hunt and Knox were by no means accepted by the majority of the people, among whom the Christian view of universal brotherhood still held sway. Colonial sentiment before the 'new imperialism' did not prevent the formation of Gladstone's anti-imperialist ministry in 1868. Early historians could thus take the extreme view, as R. L. Schuyler did, that "the decade 1861-70 [Parry's formative decade] may fairly be called a critical period in British

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[22] *Ibid*., p. 60.
[23] Stocking, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
[24] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 58: "When railways first came in the carriages were made in imitation of stage coaches, with many of the traditional ornaments representing paraphernalia which could not possibly be required in railways. So with the electric light. When it first came into use people had to adopt the forms and types of decoration which had been evolved for candles; including even the rim or collar which was the artistic presentation of the device for catching the guttering wax; and we sometimes even see such absurd confusion in the sense of style as an electric light stuck in the end of a sham candle made of china or glass."
[25] John Summerson. '1851—a new age, a new style' in *Ideas and beliefs of the Victorians: an historic revaluation of the Victorian age* (London: Sylvan Press, 1949), p. 70.
[26] Banton, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
[27] See John Crangle. 'The decline of anti-imperialism in the age of Disraeli and Gladstone', *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies* 13 (1974), p. 75.

imperial history, for it was during those years that tendencies in England toward the disruption of the Empire reached their climax."[28]

The important development in British anthropology to occur, closer to Parry's formative years (and of which he was profoundly aware), was the emergence of classical evolutionism as the accepted model of how the contrast between primitive and developed culture could be studied. Stocking, in *Victorian Anthropology*, describes it as a merging of two former intellectual trends: the concern over the variety of mankind, which was still in part theological, and the study of social progress, drawing from the positivist school of thought.[29] A proponent of unilinear evolution, E. B. Tylor attempted to trace the development of religion from animism to polytheism and to monotheism. John Lubbock, whose work on animal instinct and intelligence Parry would read while gathering data for *Instinct and Character*, promoted the use of the data of contemporary savagery in the absence of archaeological links[30]; he also subscribed to the anti-degenerationist view, echoed by Parry, that savages were in fact capable of progress.[31] Thus, there was in the new doctrine a synthesis of the monogenist and the polygenist positions. Tylor's doctrine of survivals was founded on the assumption of man's psychic unity. While Spencer accepted the idea of common ancestry, however, he could just as easily, citing slow Lamarkian processes, point to the evolutionary separation that kept civilised and primitive societies apart.[32]

The Ethnological Society and the Anthropological Society rejoined in 1871 to form the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Tylor continued to dominate the anthropological scene during the time Parry was preparing the *Evolution of the Art of Music*. In 1889, Tylor could still declare that "strict method has… as yet, only been introduced over part of the anthropological field."[33] The view, promoted by Zon, that music history lagged behind other musicological pursuits in not embracing true Darwinism, must be understood from the perspective

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[28] R. L. Schuyler. 'The climax of anti-imperialism in England', *Political Science Quarterly* 36/4 (Dec. 1921), p. 538. Modern scholarship now tends to see this period as an "era of muted opposition". For discussion see Gregory Claeys. *Imperial sceptics: British sceptics of Empire: 1850-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 6-7.

[29] Stocking, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 154.

[31] As also noted by Ernest Newman. *Musical studies,* 3rd ed. (London: John Lane, 1914/1905), p. 218.

[32] See Stocking, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

[33] Edward Burnett Tylor. 'On a method of investigating the development of institutions; applied to laws of marriage and descent', *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 18 (1889), p. 245.

that Parry's formative background had been more historical than scientific; and that, in an effort to align his findings with science, he relied heavily on classical evolutionism, then the respectable way of conducting anthropological business, and by no means a doctrine under "manifest cultural and intellectual opposition" as Zon suggests.[34] Boas' critique of nineteenth-century anthropology came in 1911; by then, the *Evolution of the Art of Music* had been in circulation for nearly twenty years and Parry had but seven more years to live. The notion that his historiographical ideas, developed in the 1880s, were a fringe phenomenon, adopted to justify his own personal racial biases at a time when the rest of the academic world had moved on, is both a historically and biographically untenable position.

There are a number of reasons why an interdisciplinary observer might be tempted to situate Parry within the context of rampant racism or imperialism. He began to make strides into the musical world coincidentally with Disraeli's quarrel with the 'little Englanders' in the 1870s. Imperialist sentiment was becoming much more pronounced; the Suez Canal was acquired in 1875 and the Queen was made Empress of India a year later. During this decade, Parry participated in a scholarly enterprise (*Grove's Dictionary*) which aspired to establish a historical basis for national music.[35] Of the four symphonies he produced over the next ten years, one carried the epithet 'The English'[36]—a title which could perhaps be taken as suggestive of patriotic penmanship. He rose to fame as the country's premier composer in the late 1880s, *Blest Pair of Sirens* becoming a fixture in the national repertoire in 1887. Performed at St. James' Hall on a royal occasion, Dibble observes that "the excitement generated by *Blest Pair of Sirens* was very much in keeping with the general level of public enthusiasm for the Queen's Golden Jubilee."[37] Such was his popularity that in the following years, he was commissioned to produce a spate of oratorios from *Judith* to *King Saul.* From 1888 onwards, he also became a frequent speaker at the Royal Institution, giving talks on topics ranging from early music to

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[34] "Parry's *Evolution of the Art of Music* exemplifies this empire [unaware of its crumbling hold on power], clinging to the assurances of the past in the face of increasingly manifest cultural and intellectual opposition." Zon. 'C. Hubert H. Parry, The Evolution of the Art of Music (1893/96)', *Victorian Review* 35/1 (Spring 2009), p. 71.

[35] See Jeremy Dibble. 'Grove's musical dictionary: a national document' in *Musical constructions of nationalism: essays on the history and ideology of European musical culture 1800-1945*, ed. Harry White and Michael Murphey (Cork: Cork University Press, 2001), p. 46.

[36] Parry had in mind the title of a 'Short Symphony'. Dibble suggests that it might have been Joseph Bennett who popularised the epithet 'English'. See Dibble. *C. Hubert H. Parry: his life and music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 277.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 258.

philosophy; according to Dibble, Parry's "links with 'high society' reached a watershed during 1891".[38] He subsequently succeeded Grove as director of the Royal College of Music, at the end of 1894, taking high command of an institution which could boast the architectural credentials of Sir Henry Cole (instigator of the Great Exhibition) and the support of the Prince of Wales, and which had just in the same year moved to its more magisterial home on Prince Consort Road. He was knighted by the Queen in 1898 and made baronet in 1902. It would not be an exaggeration to say that, through his achievements, Parry became a paternal figure for a generation of young, ambitious British composers to emerge in the first quarter of the twentieth century.[39]

An observer might be compelled to construe Parry's multifarious official duties as signs of his willful participation in the musical expansion of Empire. Dave Russell explains that the latter half of the nineteenth century saw three processes of change: expansion of British musical life, diversification of musical practices, and nationalisation of music through the auspices of industrialisation and commercialism.[40] Music, as Parry optimistically observed, was becoming less stratified along class lines. Derek Scott notes that patriotic songs after the 1890s began to embrace the geography of Britain as a whole.[41] There was an emerging sense of Britain as a united polity[42], and music such as Parry's helped to delineate this national identity. Jeffrey Richards shows that composers often looked to past traditions of church music and the oratorio in order to pinpoint 'Englishness' or 'Britishness' in music. Those disillusioned with the industrial present searched for worthy precursors in the folk music of 'Merrie England' and the Golden Age.[43] The Victorian recourse to the historical-pastoral tradition was popular because, as Richards points out, it could appeal to both the left and right extremes of the political spectrum.[44]

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[38] *Ibid.*, p. 291.
[39] Many of whose names appear in Joseph Holbrooke. *Contemporary British composers* (London: Cecil Palmer, 1925).
[40] Dave Russell. *Popular music in England 1840-1914: a social history* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997/1987), pp. 4-7. See also Jeffrey Richards. *Imperialism and music: Britain 1876-1953* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 9.
[41] See Derek Scott. *The singing bourgeois: songs of the Victorian drawing room and parlour,* 2nd ed. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 169-80.
[42] Richards, *op. cit.*, p. 13. For further discussion see James Day. *'Englishness' in music: from Elizabethan times to Elgar, Tippett and Britten* (London: Thames Publishing, 1999).
[43] Richards, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
[44] *Ibid.*

During this period, there was a flood of music for use on official occasions, in the form of hymns, anthems and marches. As a testament to the spirit of the age, the *Musical Times* reported of Mackenzie's *Empire Flag* in 1887 (the year of *Blest Pair*) that the "the words repudiate the notion that the various colonies are distinct nations owing allegiance to one power, but emphasise the unity of feeling which should belong to under the protection of the Empire flag."[45] In his research, Richards could draw further parallels between Arthur Sullivan and the poet laureate Tennyson, as well as between Elgar and Kipling.[46] While Parry played an enormous role in the construction of Britain's national music, both through his literary and musical works, and while he was well aware of Elgar's chivalric notions of Empire[47], to examine the imperial context of British music is to acknowledge Parry's ideological distance from it all. Unlike Sullivan, Mackenzie, Stanford or Elgar, he simply refused to write music celebrating the pomp and power of the Empire. (Indeed by 1914 Parry was moved to lampoon Elgar's *Pomp and Circumstance* marches in his incidental music to Aristophanes' *The Archanians*, written for the Oxford University Dramatic Society.) When an invitation came from Richter to write a Jubilee Overture in 1887, Parry wrote to his wife: "I had a letter from Richter this morning inviting me to write a Jubilee Overture!!!! I really can't. The idea is disgusting. I am so stupid! It's just as if all my wits were clean gone."[48] His response to Richter, quoted in Dibble's work, is worth reproducing here:

> It is kind of you to propose my writing something of the Jubilee order; and if I had not the most invincible repugnance to it I should gladly do it rather than not meet your kindness halfway. But what with Jubilee buttons, and Jubilee cards, and Jubilee Anthems, and Jubilee hymn tunes, and Jubilee bunkum of all sorts, I cannot bring myself to join the company. Too much use has been made of the occasion in ways that are not pleasant to

[45] *Musical Times*, 1 May 1887; quoted *ibid.*, p. 128.
[46] Sullivan was a "musical celebrant of crown and Empire" who hymned the British Empire in his own ways; he dedicated many of his works, including *Ivanhoe* and *The Martyr of Antioch*, to royal persons. Likewise, Elgar was a conservative patriot and a keen supporter of the Empire in its Edwardian phase (Richards questions Michael Kennedy's exculpation of Elgar from imperialism by inventing conflicting images of his private and public life). But as Richards points out, that Elgar was an imperialist need not be conceded with shame because, for him, 'Empire' was not synonymous with 'jingoism'—it was rather a vehicle "for the practice of a modern chivalry, for work, long, hard, and thankless, in fulfilment of the Christian ethic on earth." See *ibid.*, p. 23.
[47] Graves noted that for Parry, heroism "is chivalrous and frank, modest and unaggressive, cheerful in adversity and unboastful in success… A truly independent democratic spirit would never submit to the debasing influence of militarism." See Charles Larcom Graves. *Hubert Parry: his life and works, vol. 2* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1926), p. 71.
[48] Quoted in Dibble. *C. Hubert H. Parry: his life and music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 258.

> meet with, and even if I could put my own dislike of it in my pocket my friends would not like it I'm sure. Forgive me![49]

On this note, the Coronation *Te Deum* (1911) for George V, rubbing shoulders with Elgar's sombre *Coronation March*, was hardly given to patriotic sentiment. Similarly, the choice of *Blest Pair* for the Jubilee occasion was something of a compromise. Stanford had originally planned for *The Glories of Our Blood and State* to be performed, but the poem's morbid line 'Sceptre and crown must tumble down' sparked controversy.[50] As Britain's national composer, Parry was deeply aware of the conflict of interest between his public role and his own radical convictions. James Garratt explains that for composers like Elgar, Parry and Stanford, writing public works (namely oratorios) was largely a matter of matching "their own personalities and impulses with the conventions of the genre."[51] In his collection of essays, *Free Thought and the Musician*, Ernest Walker argues that the split between Parry's private ambitions and public expectations reached its peak with *Judith*, after which he pursued a more personal style that formed "a connected exposition of his philosophy of life, on the whole theistic rather than specifically Christian."[52] While Michael Kennedy has been charged with attempting to drive an impossible wedge between Elgar the private man and Elgar the public figure[53], Parry's biography seems on the contrary to invite such a treatment. As the composer himself admitted to Hamish MacCunn:

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[49] Letter to Hans Richter, 29 April 1887, quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 258-9.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 249.
[51] James Garratt. 'Britain and Ireland' in *Nineteenth-century choral music*, ed. Donna M. Di Grazia (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 347.
[52] From 'A generation of music', read at a conference at Woodbrooke, Birmingham, August 1919; see Ernest Walker. *Free thought and the musician: and other essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946), p. 72. Interestingly, Walker has in mind not the ethical cantatas but the tragic stories of *Job* and *King Saul*.
[53] *Ibid.*, p. 44. Michael Kennedy, in his *Portrait of Elgar*, cautions that "some of the 'jingoism' and 'imperialism' in the political air at the time has been associated with his music, usually in a superficial and inaccurate manner." Kennedy. *Portrait of Elgar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973/1968), p. 132. Another scholar, J. P. E. Harper-Scott, warns against the tendency in post-colonial studies to view imperialism as the "dominant ideology of British society"; Elgar's lower-middle class upbringing rather suggested his distance from the ideological tenets of imperialism. See Harper-Scott. 'Deconstruction of the Belle époque: interlace structures and the Second Symphony' in *Elgar studies*, ed. J. P. E. Harper-Scott and Julian Rushton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 174-8. See also Bernard Porter. *The absent-minded imperialists: Empire, society, and culture in Britain* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); and Daniel Grimley. '"The spirit-stirring drum": Elgar and populism' in *Edward Elgar and his world*, ed. Byron Adams (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), pp. 107-8. Lastly, for discussion on Elgar's ceremonial music, see Diana McVeagh. *Edward Elgar: his life and music* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1955), p. 181.

> I do not recognize distinctions of rank and society in any way more than I am absolutely forced to. My life is an excessively secluded and domestic one; partly owing to having more to do than I can get through, and partly to my wife's excessive delicacy… no small part of my care in life is to see that she [Maude] is not tired and worried with people coming in.[54]

Indeed, despite his relations with high society, Parry was often inwardly troubled by his social environment, regularly taking to the sea to escape the monotony of his public life.[55] Dibble speculates that "had it not been for such as Lord Beresford, Lord de Vesci, and later Lady Radnor, his withdrawal from aristocratic society might have been swift." It is significant that, in trying to exonerate Elgar from the charge of excessive jingoism, Kennedy uses Parry's radicalism as a benchmark against which to measure Elgar's unique cast of mind.[56]

Before the critical reappraisal of his life and works in the 1990s, the view that Parry was a Victorian imperialist and chauvinist, disposed to the racial intolerance which was common in his time, might have been a little easier to defend. The biographical evidence now weighs against such a position. Writing a decade later, Richards could refer to the great irony that *Blest Pair of Sirens*—music which flowed the pen of a staunch anti-imperialist—should have been the work to inspire the musical idiom of Empire. That Parry's musical style could come, in a sense, to exemplify 'Britishness' in music is as paradoxical as the fact that his writings have also come, in another sense, to represent the polygenism and racism associated with Empire. There appears to be a serious disparity between present depictions of Parry the composer and Parry the historiographer. This chapter continues the process of closing the gap between two adverse representations of the same historical figure.

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[54] Quoted in Dibble, *op. cit.*, pp. 262-3.

[55] On Parry's sailing adventures, see Trevor Hold. 'Tales of Mr. Toad: the secret life of Hubert Parry', *The Musical Times* 133/1798 (Dec. 1992), pp. 625-7.

[56] Kennedy, *op. cit.*, p. 133: "He [Elgar] was a conservative, the natural result of his upbringing in a family which had relied on royal and squirearchical patronage. In this respect he was the opposite of Parry, born into the landed gentry, who despised conservatism. Yet Elgar too, had the radical streak…"

6.2 Parry's Anti-Imperialism and His Views on Race

> There is no earthly thing more mean and despicable, in my mind, than an English gentleman destitute of all sense of his responsibilities and opportunities, and only revelling in the luxuries of our high civilization, and thinking himself a great person.
>
> – Thomas Arnold, *Life and Correspondence*[57]

Parry's disaffection with *nobilmente* (Elgar's term) was not merely an aesthetic objection. To the youthful Parry, a keen but not uncritical[58] supporter of Gladstone's policies, the imperialistic Disraeli was "cunning, crafty, mean, unscrupulous, artificial, a poser, a juggler with words, a fantastic braggart, a worshipper of tinsel and pasteboard, superficial vulgar, insincere, venomous when he thought it was safe to bully, glossy and fawning when he thought it served his shallow aims."[59] He was deeply opposed to the conservatism of his father, Maude's family (the Herberts) and others around him. Parry's first meeting with Gladstone was in 1869.[60] In 1878, during Gladstone's agitation against the Bulgarian atrocities, he witnessed Bradlaugh's bold speech against pro-Turkish Toryism in Hyde Park – an event which quickly turned violent, and which only served to strengthen his sense of separation from the members of his own class.[61] As with religion, Parry found an outlet for his political thoughts in Edward Hamilton, who in later life could count himself as "one who was privileged to know Mr. Gladstone for nearly forty years and still more privileged to have been brought into the closest contact with him for a considerable time."[62] Parry's commitment to Liberal politics was a life-long affair. The year of Gladstone's death (Parry attended his funeral at Westminster Abbey[63]), Hamilton published a monograph on Gladstone which Parry read as soon as it came out. He was a close student of the works of the anti-imperialist statesman, John Morley, reading his biography of Gladstone (1903) in 1906 and

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[57] Thomas Arnold. *The life and correspondence of Thomas Arnold, vol. 2* (London: B. Fellowes, 1844), p. 211.
[58] See Bernard Benoliel. *Parry before Jerusalem: studies of his life and music with excerpts from his published writings* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), p. 101; and Graves, *op. cit., vol. 1,* pp. 136-8.
[59] Quoted in Graves, *ibid.*, *vol. 2*, p. 136.
[60] Benoliel, *op. cit.*, p. 98.
[61] For details of the event, see John Mackinnon Robertson. *Charles Bradlaugh* (London: Forgotten Books, 2013/1920), p. 56.
[62] See Hamilton. *The diary of Sir Edward Walter Hamilton, 1880-1885* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).
[63] Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 356.

his *Recollections* (1917) in 1918. In the latter work, Morley defined the collective 'Jingo', whom Parry despised, as "men who held that territory was territory, and all territory was worth acquiring without regard to cost," questioning Joseph Chamberlain's equation of Empire with 'love of country'.[64] Another Liberal author whom Parry was influenced by was J. A. Hobson. Hobson's enquiries into the South African War (1900, read that same year) led him to identify capitalism as the driving force behind modern imperialism. Reflecting Morley's distrust of Empire, as Timo Särkkä explains, Hobson saw jingoism as a pernicious "state of mind in which society degenerates rather than evolves."[65]

Parry's son-in-law, Arthur Ponsonby, in the words of his biographer, was equally "outraged by the sordid connection between the Rand capitalists and Imperialism."[66] Events such as the Jameson Raid of 1895 angered many Radicals and polarised Liberal politics along the little- versus big-Englander axis. Ponsonby's cautious views towards Empire are reflected in Parry's own writings. After the distressful Boer episode, he could comment with relief that "true wisdom is manifested by acts that came after, by a British liberal government who granted free institutions to South Africans without distinction of race."[67] It was Campbell-Bannerman's post-Gladstonian campaign, deeply opposed to Rosebery's foreign policies, which finally restored independence to the Boer Republics in 1906. Parry wrote in the same discourse that "the bully who tries to impose his opinion upon other people is regarded as a highly objectionable person."[68] The jingoistic impulse for acquisition, exhibited by the advocates of Empire, would fall squarely under his criticism that:

> It is lack of exercises of the instinct of enquiry which sets class against class, sect against sect, people against people, race against race. They all believe in their own virtues. They all believe that their methods are the only ones. They all indulge futilely in the self-against-everything-else instinct, till the instinct of enquiry steps in and enlarges the horizon… The

[64] As Morley wrote, "the very word empire is in history and essence military; emperor means soldier; all modern history and tradition associate empires with war." See John Morley. *Recollections* (London: Macmillan, 1917), p. 80. See also discussion in Mira Matikkala. *Empire and imperial ambition: liberty, Englishness and anti-imperialism in late-Victorian Britain* (New York: I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 2011), p. 81.
[65] Timo Särkkä. *Hobson's imperialism: a study in late-Victorian political thought*, doctoral dissertation (University of Jyväskylä, 2009), p.50.
[66] Raymond A. Jones. *Arthur Ponsonby: the politics of life* (London: Christopher Helm Ltd., 1989), p. 22. After the Great War, when Ponsonby learnt that the liberal imperialist, J. A. Spender, would be tasked with authoring Campbell-Bannerman's biography, he expressed concern that "Spender would play down the differences that existed between Campbell-Bannerman and the Liberal Imperialists…", see p. 127.
[67] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 142. His defence of free institutions and critique of autocratic societies can be found *ibid.*, pp. 378-80.
[68] *Ibid.*, p. 142.

> unity of society which sets great store on justice has to be founded on patient enquiry where real justice is.[69]

His radicalism notwithstanding, Parry refused to confine himself to the world of party politics. At times, he could even be a passionate defender of tradition and a conservative sceptic of trade unions. He adopted a personal policy of never being so confident about something as to be impervious to evidence (a policy that rings true of his mercurial attitude towards Irish Home Rule, which undoubtedly caused offence to Irish Tories such as Stanford and his son-in-law Harry Plunket Greene).[70] Echoing Mill's teachings on liberty, he firmly believed that "the world cannot get on if people… do not admit the full rights of other people to differ from them."[71] Parry's reading lists show how faithfully he carried this precept into private practice. For example, he read avidly the biographies of Disraeli and went on to examine Hugh Cecil's defence of conservatism in old age. In the early 1910s, he consulted no less than ten of Nietzsche's works, despite the fact that he held that philosopher in disrepute. He formed a habit of pencilling in jocular remarks on the margins of texts he disagreed with. However, despite his liberalities, Parry did not always meet intellectual dishonesty or arrogance where he found them with saintly patience:

> It has always been a disposition of mine when I hear violent remarks or violent abuse to go over to and join those against whom the violence is expressed. You say the Radical Party 'stinks in the nostrils of every good Irishman from the day he can hear, see, or smell'. There is therefore nothing for me to do but to say quite clearly and decisively that I am a Radical.[72]

What of his attitude towards race and his alleged 'racism'? Despite his radicalism and his rejection of inherited beliefs, Parry was part and parcel of an intellectual tradition that took the assumption of human racial differences for granted. He developed a sense of racial permanency through his acquaintance with colonial literature of the time. Works he read, such as Sleigh's *Forty-one Years in India*, Milner's *England in Egypt*, Corbett's *England in the Mediterranean*, Lyall's *Rise and Expansion of the British Dominion in India*, Bryce's *Impressions of South Africa* and Collison's *In the Wake of the War Canoe*, all informed his knowledge of colonial events and, consequently, his

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[69] *Ibid.*, p. 102.
[70] "Though I hold that a man should be sure of his opinions… I do hold that other people who have come by different ways and by the utmost efforts to find out the truth may also be right." See Graves, *op. cit., vol. 2*, p. 145.
[71] Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 144.
[72] *Ibid.*, p. 145.

perception of racial difference. Imperialist and racialist sentiment channelled through the popular works of Kipling (whom Parry read with interest from the 1890s onwards), from the early *Plain Tales* to the static representations of Oriental culture in his more mature writings. Many authors painted vicious images of slavery in terms which led even the most commiserative readers to question the equal biological status of man. In his book, *Where Black Rules White* (1900, read 1902), Hesketh Prichard concluded from his own observations of Haiti on a bleak note: "Can the Negro rule himself? Is he congenitally capable? … Today, and as matters stand, he certainly cannot…"[73] The equation of race and social inefficacy was not an uncommon assumption to make. According to Bradley Deane, Kipling's 'White Man's Burden' developed out of his paternalistic belief that "native subjects can never rule themselves… Kipling can imagine no future in which India might take up the burden of its own governance".[74]

Parry's idea of race was also heavily influenced by the historical and literary works which he imbibed during the formative years. Histories of England and romantic novels[75] developed notions of fixed racial characteristics and introspectively defined 'Englishness' of character. Banton explains that "nineteenth-century Englishmen continually celebrated their liberty… and looked to their history to discover where that liberty and where those institutions had come from. They found their answers in the Anglo-Saxon heritage."[76] Historical novels such as Kingsley's *Hereward the Wake* (1866, read 1880) invoked the discredited myth of the Norman yoke to romanticise the Anglo-Saxons, who held onto their liberties in the face of oppression.[77] H. M. Hyndman, in *The Historical Basis of Socialism* (1883, read 1886), found the qualities of self-reliance and independence essential for the development of socialism in the nation's past. Not only did this fondness for racial generalisation help to sequester the English character from the rest of the world, it fortified the notion that all races of men could be distinguished in terms of differences of temperament—an idea absolutely central to Parry's thinking.

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[73] Hesketh Prichard. *Where black rules white: a journey across and about Hayti* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900), p. 283.
[74] Bradley Deane. *Masculinity and the new imperialism: rewriting manhood in British popular literature, 1870-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 49.
[75] See James Simmons. 'The novelist as historian: an unexplored tract of Victorian historiography', *Victorian Studies* 14/3 (Mar. 1971), pp. 293-305.
[76] Banton, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
[77] The Anglo-Saxons "kept alive in their hearts that proud spirit of personal independence…" See Charles Kingsley. *Hereward the Wake: last of the English* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1866), p. 5.

The assumption led him to see eye to eye with Kingsley[78] that the history of the world could be understood in terms of different races being called into action at different moments, in order to fulfil their separate destinies; as Kingsley declared, "A succession of races had been called by God to accomplish particular tasks in his plan for the world. Each race had its youth, its time of greatness and decline."[79] In this manner, Parry perceived that the musical torch was passed from the Italians to the Germans towards the end of the seventeenth century. Only then was the Teutonic race given its chance to realise the "great musical destiny"[80] that it had in store.

The literature of the time expounded the doctrine that "nations were defined by inherited racial characteristics and their conflicts were racial struggles."[81] This was absorbed into Parry's racial way of thinking at an early age. His youthful diatribe against Disraeli, aggravated by his first-hand experience with the self-flattery of *Coningsby* (1844, read 1870), has almost the characteristics of Sir Walter Scott's anti-Semitism.[82] The 'race' idea came to have special significance when he turned, at Ruskin's signal, to theorising about art's relation to society. He thought that by understanding the racial characteristics of a people, he could understand their art better, and *vice versa*. In particular, he held that music provided the most reliable account of national or racial temperament. He did not realise that such a method was prone to the biases of subjectivity which he personally repudiated. The problem became especially acute when Parry had to deal with musical cultures that he was not intimately knowledgeable about.

The extent of this formative literary influence on Parry's later writings is reflected by his highly ambiguous usage of the word 'race'. By the middle of the century, as Stocking notes, "the process by which 'race' took on a clearly biological meaning was by no means complete, and contemporary biological assumption in fact justified a confusion of physical and cultural characteristics."[83] This lexical ambiguity, characteristic of Parry's works, was part of the intellectual baggage carried over

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[78] For Parry's personal recollections of Kingsley, see Diary, 3 October 1875: "Later we had Dr Kingsley whom I found more than ever the best of company & we spent much time together in the library and over the microscope. His stories are endless, & his conversational powers unlimited, & full of varied information (occasionally unsound) which is rendered additionally interesting by his peculiar views of life & philosophy. George says these views are very transitory & uncertain…"

[79] Quoted in Banton, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

[80] Parry. *The music of the seventeenth century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), p. 409.

[81] Banton, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

[82] See Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

[83] Stocking, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

from the eighteenth century. Banton argues that Hume, in his *History of England* (1754, read 1869 at Oxford), had "no obvious criteria for classifying social units."[84] Similarly, Walter Scott and Edward Bulwer-Lytton used the word 'race' in various different ways without appreciable consistency. In his own works, Parry could refer to the 'Latin race', the 'special races', the 'savage races', the 'races of the great Indian peninsula', the 'Teutonic race', but he could also refer to the Germans as a mixture of races, the Czech or the Poles as races, as well as the 'human race' collectively. He took the word to mean a lot of things, but in the *Evolution of the Art of Music* 'race' simply did not imply hereditary differences. In that book, he referred to the various races as being determined by different "modes of life and climactic conditions"[85] and took the word synonymously with nations (he did not refer to the Anglo-Saxons but treated the English as a singular race). Although the literary idea of race intrigued him, and while he took a formative interest in biological classification (which he learnt from William Lauder Lindsay and Andrew Pritchard), Parry was not as interested—as many scientific minds of his time were—with the hierarchical or anatomical organisation of the various races of mankind.[86]

In the *Evolution of the Art of Music*, Parry seeks to counter supernaturalistic interpretations of European music history, which invoked divine intervention, by showing that the complexity of modern practices can be explained in non-saltational (i.e. incremental) terms. Taking the cue from classical evolutionists, he assumes that the simplicity of savage music furnished living analogies of European music in its primitive stages. He ponders in his notebook that "among savage races we still find the first stages of Musical Development going on."[87] Like Lubbock, who, according to Stocking, argued the case "by a kind of argument from opposites, emphasising the absence of what Europeans took for granted, the presence of what they regarded as offensive"[88], Parry allows his own perceptions of civilisation to influence his reflections on primitive society. A product of the 1880s and early 1890s, the *Evolution of the Art of Music* lacks adequate recourse to what Christine Bolt refers to as "degree of relativism which is essential for the study of societies as working systems,"[89] which was only to come

[84] Banton, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
[85] Parry. *The evolution of the art of music* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1905/1893), p. 81.
[86] But not out of ignorance in (or even complete apathy towards) such theories; Graves wrote, for example, that "Mrs. Ponsonby tells me that he was always tracing racial characteristics in various friends and relatives, and would argue whether So-and-so was a Neanderthal or a Cromagnon type." See Graves, *op. cit., vol. 2*, p. 131.
[87] Notebook.
[88] Stocking, *op. cit.*, p. 154.
[89] Bolt, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

after the Great War had shattered basic assumptions about the nature of social progress. As Zon notes, however, Parry, in the *Evolution of the Art of Music*, is not completely "without sympathy towards certain types of non-Western music… especially where it has relevance to the imperial or historical context of Britain at the time."[90] According to this interpretation, not only did imperialism encourage the notion of Western superiority in music, it paradoxically protected the author from taking a negative view of *all* non-Western cultures (just as Henry Maine saw racial theory as affirming the "common Aryan parentage of Englishman and Hindoo"[91]). From this perspective, then, Parry was an 'arm-chair' racist whose work betrayed Britain's imperial biases and contributed to the ideological dehumanisation of her colonial possessions.

Parry's true motives, however, lacked the malicious, racist edge often implied by modern scholarship. For one, Stocking explains that arm-chair anthropologists were not "unaffected by their experiences abroad" or limited by the ethnographic data available to them,[92] nor did they set out purposely to distort facts to their own ideological purposes. Parry's sympathetic responses to some aspects of non-Western music were undoubtedly influenced by the imperial prejudices of the time, but they were also inspired by a genuine intent to get in touch with the modes of thinking of primitive people, based on the Darwinian assumption of man's common ancestry and on the ideal of the naturalist as sympathetic observers of facts. Victorian anthropologists might have been constrained by a wide degree of separation from the subjects of their inquiry, but they were not always uncritical consumers of second-hand information. Tylor, for instance, proposed the 'test of recurrence' as a statistical means of checking the reliability of witness testimonies,[93] while Parry relied only on sources he considered to be authoritative, and on methods and observations which he felt were "thoroughly trustworthy".[94] In the absence of direct evidence, the author of the *Evolution of the Art of Music* was not tempted to argue from evolutionary necessity (he argued of the scale of the Scottish bagpipe that "no historical materials seem available to help the unravelling of its development"[95], and of the Javanese Slendro and Pelog that "there is no possibility of unravelling the process of the development

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[90] Zon. *Representing non-Western music in nineteenth-century Britain* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2007), p. 112.
[91] Henry Sumner Maine. *Lectures on the early history of institutions* (London: John Murray, 1914/1874), p. 18.
[92] Stocking, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
[93] Tylor. *Primitive culture, vol. 1* (London: Murray, 1871), p. 9.
[94] Parry. *The evolution of the art of music* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1905/1893), p. 38.
[95] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

of the scales."[96]). As a composer and musician, Parry was deeply motivated by the sympathetic task of "reaching out a hand to primitive types of our own species," believing that it was "quite right" for civilised people to "extend the sphere of their imaginative sympathies" rather than be restricted to the capsule of their own existence.[97]

In the context of Victorian social anthropology, to argue from the data of contemporary savagery was not merely to assert the superiority of Western civilisation, but also to concede that mankind was singular rather than plural. According to Stocking, anti-Darwinian degenerationists often rejected the possibility that savages could progress without external help. They posited an ever-widening gap between the savage and the cultured man, insisting that "savages were 'the degenerate descendants of far superior ancestors' rather than the contemporary remnants or equivalents of the primitive ancestors of civilised man."[98] Contrary to Zon's assertion that Parry "champions a style of racism that deems the savage incapable of progressing", he was in fact in agreement with Lubbock's conception of the progressive savage.[99] For Parry, the study of primitive culture disclosed their parallels with modern culture ("our [Western] idea of civilisation"[100]) – which in turn proved the psychic unity of mankind. Reflecting his Ruskinian cast of mind, Parry also drew a fundamental distinction between material and spiritual progress. Hence, even though he subscribed to a gradualist view of history, Parry paradoxically rejected the materialistic gap that was believed by classical evolutionists to have kept primitive and developed societies separate.[101] Unsurprisingly, he held that the study of primitive music would allow the modern composer to "draw fresh nutriment from the poetic and human suggestions," provided by his exposure to different cultures. He believed that it would supply the civilised observer with a "welcome sense" of being free from "the incubus of over-elaborated civilization."[102]

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[96] *Ibid.*

[97] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 406.

[98] Stocking, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

[99] As a note of optimism, Parry writes: "It is not so long ago that the same races which have now developed such capacities of active sympathy not only tortured but burnt human beings alive for their theological or antitheological opinions." see Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 126.

[100] Parry. 'Inaugural address', *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* 1/1 (1899), p. 2.

[101] Compare Bolt, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

[102] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 406.

Parry penned his treatise at a time when collected tunes from afar travelled back in the form of Western notation. Aware of the inaccurateness of his sources, he promoted the use of phonography—novel at the time—since it offered "such opportunities of getting at the real facts of primitive and barbarous music as have never before been available for the investigation of such subjects."[103] He apparently realised that an appreciation of primitive music could not come about if it were studied primarily through Eurocentric lenses. Discussing the Javanese Slendro scale in the *Evolution of the Art of Music*, for example, the author commented that "to our European ideas such a scale seems almost inconceivable… How such a scale could be tuned by ear almost passes comprehension… The Siamese system is almost as extraordinary."[104] A. J. Hipkins, who had famously advised readers to "forget the glory and splendour of our modern harmony" and to appreciate the "existence of a really intimate expressive melodic music, capable of the greatest refinement of treatment, and altogether outside the experience of the Western musician"[105], wrote to Parry in February 1893, commending him on his research: "I congratulate you on your interesting chapter on Scales. It is the only popular epitome yet to the fore, and you have dealt with it in a really admirable manner."[106] During his work on the *Evolution of the Art of Music*, Parry was also in correspondence with Harry H. Johnston, the explorer and social administrator who played an important role in the 'Scramble for Africa', and who took a particular interest in the study of African dialects. Known for his sympathetic treatment of the cultures which he encountered and studied, he would later become a close friend of the Ponsonbys and a supporter of Maude's activism for women's suffrage.[107] Johnston was on a diplomatic assignment in Lisbon when he wrote to Parry, answering twenty-one questions which Parry had sent him 'concerning savage music'. The student may perhaps speculate on how the questions were originally worded based on the responses:

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[103] The phonograph was invented in 1877 but only became popular when it was improved in the late 1880's. Parry received the idea through his acquaintance with the pioneering work of the American ethnologist, J. W. Fewkes.

[104] Parry. *The evolution of the art of music* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1905/1893), p. 39.

[105] See C. R. Day. *The music and musical instruments of southern India and the Deccan* (London: Novello, Ewer & Co., 1891), p. xi.

[106] Parry wrote back presumably asking for feedback, and Hipkins weighed in the following week that "I think your corrected statements of the Ellis hypothesis of the fifth perfectly clear and to be understood by the ordinary reader"; he also suggested on a more critical note that "I can't help thinking the Greek scale business will have to be done over again and with due use of the Comparative method." See Letters from A. J. Hipkins, 13 and 21 February 1893, ShP.

[107] Benoliel, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

> *No. 11.* Yes, and do you not notice this also in European Languages especially the Latin tongues? French & Portuguese especially the surest way of detecting an Englishman speaking French (however proper may be his grammar, fluency & accent) is the way in which he has failed to catch up the peculiar French cadence… *No. 13-14.* Yes, they sometimes sing (without European influence…) very pleasing harmonies. And often a soloist will be caught up before he has finished his phrase by a kind of antiphonic chorus… *No. 16.* No. The time seems clearly understood and syncopation is often used… *No. 19.* Yes, most certainly – their tunes are as distinct as ours – though they may not appear so to a European ear. But certain oft-repeated formulas may become recognisable.[108]

Despite his genuine attempt to come to terms with 'savage' music, Parry was incapacitated by two clear disadvantages: firstly, that he was not a specialist on primitive culture, and secondly, that he had to balance his time between his academic work and his other obligations as a composer. The preface to the *Evolution of the Art of Music* mentions that the work had to be delayed due to "the constantly increasing mass of data and evidence about the music of savages, folk music, and mediaeval music."[109] As reported in the *Musical Times*, comparative musicology was, at the time, on the rise through the efforts of Carl Engel, A. J. Hipkins, F. T. Piggot, C. R. Day and others.[110] Between 1884 and 1893, folk music also gained greater exposure and appreciation through the work of Lucy Broadwood, Sabine Baring-Gould, Frank Kidson and William Alexander Barrett.[111] The book's ambitious scope ultimately backfired; in *Parry before Jerusalem*, Benoliel concludes—not without fairness—that "the first five chapters of the book are now so outdated as to be obsolete… Parry was having a hard time, understandably, in keeping abreast of these developments."[112]

It is easy to forget that primitive culture only occupies the space of one chapter of the work's broad scope. While readers have latched onto this obvious disproportion of content as evidence of the work's racist underpinnings, Parry's racial prejudices are actually much more conspicuous in the chapters that follow. The radical-minded music critic, Ernest Newman, made the *Evolution of the Art of Music* the subject of rebuke in his article on 'Music and Race' (1901). Interestingly, Newman's critique focused not on the preliminary chapters but the "jaunty, naked, and unashamed appearance

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[108] Letter from H. H. Johnston, 10 April 1889, ShP. Johnston also suggested to him that the origins of dance and singing "were inseparably bound up together" – a position that Parry was already inclining towards and would personally adopt in the *Evolution of the Art of Music*.
[109] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. v.
[110] See Percy Scholes. *Mirror of music, 1844-1944, vol. 2* (London: Novello and Company, Ltd., 1947), p. 766.
[111] *Ibid.,* p. 781.
[112] Benoliel, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

of some of the most dreadful racial fallacies… [which] begin about the middle of the book."[113] He correctly perceived that, as Parry moved (from the fifth chapter onwards) from cultural observations to treating specific composers, his manner of subjecting individuals to racial stereotypes became more uncomfortable – and indeed more racist.

Curiously, modern scholarship, usually fixated on seeing Parry as racially biased against non-Western traditions, has been comparatively silent on criticising his (far more blatant) ethnocentric distortions of Western music history. Corroborating Newman's criticisms, the author of the *Evolution of the Art of Music* held the Italian mind to be more attuned to external beauty than to expression. Victorian perceptions of Italy were greatly influenced by the politics of the time. Unlike their ignorant state of knowledge about the non-Western world, Europe was much more connected and more widely travelled. As Susan Thurin notes, rail travel to Rome had been shortened from twenty-one days in 1843 to two and a half days by 1860.[114] Parry was in Italy with Barclay Squire in 1889 and casually returned on several occasions.[115] According to Dibble, the music he experienced at St. Mark's served to cement his suspicions about Italian music: "plain, empty… purely meretricious".[116] For the general public, Dickens, Ruskin, Frances Trollope and other writers provided popular sketches and notes on various Italian cities.[117] Aspects of Dickens' travelogue confirmed the luscious and intemperate Italian lifestyle of Parry's stereotype. While Dickens deplored the state of Italian art, Ruskin attacked Renaissance architecture (in his *Stones of Venice*) and popularised what Robert M. Dainotto calls—of Montesquieu's climate theory—the "latitudinal rhetoric of north and south".[118] Like Ruskin's work, the *Evolution of the Art of Music* divided Europe along the 'cold' north-west and the 'hot' south-east. Dainotto contends that southerners were often perceived as Europe's 'internal Other', and that Italy was "consistently represented… as Europe's backward south."[119] As Katarina Gephardt explains, the

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[113] Ernest Newman. 'Music and race' in *Studies in music: by various authors*, ed. Robin Grey (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., Ltd., 1901), p. 303.
[114] Susan Thurin. 'Travel and tourism' in *Victorian Britain: an encyclopedia*, ed. Sally Mitchell (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1988), p. 817.
[115] Parry made excursions to Italy in 1893, 1907, 1908 and 1909. For his sojourn in Trent with Barclay Squire, see Dibble, *op. cit.*, pp. 280-1.
[116] *Ibid.*
[117] Manfred Pfister. *The fatal gift of beauty: the Italies of British travellers* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996), p. 434. On British perceptions of Italy, see also Hilary Fraser. *The Victorians and Renaissance Italy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992).
[118] Roberto Dainotto. *Europe (in theory)* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), p. 63.
[119] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

polarisation of Europe reflected the decline of the Ottoman Empire and the consequent "shift of the perceived center of European civilisation from the Mediterranean to the northwest of Europe."[120] Thus, in his *Plain Speaker* (1826), William Hazlitt could speak collectively of Italians whose blood is "enriched and ripened by basking in more genial plains", and whose temperament is "more sociable with matter, more gross, impure, indifferent, from relying on its own strength".[121] Meanwhile, Bulwer-Lytton could emphasise the more robust character of the northern races, which made them superior to the inhabitants of the south.[122] Hugh Haweis comfortably adopted this duality in *Music and Morals*:

> Beethoven is the "true and tender North." Italy is the "fierce and fickle South." The Italians know this, and that is why the Italians dislike Beethoven. They can not make his music express emotion down to their level, and so they do not sing him or play him.[123]

The polarisation of Europe's north and south is evident in much of Parry's works, especially *Style in Musical Art*. As Gephardt maintains, however, Victorian perceptions of Italian culture were not always coruscating.[124] Many English radicals who reprobated the politics of imperialism looked to the *Risorgimento* as a model on which to build a just society.[125] Parry, on several occasions, could juxtapose Italian and German music on a more equal footing. However, in his cyclic, Kingsleyan view of history as a chronicle of successive races fulfilling their own destinies, Italian achievements were often relegated to the past, with the more "self-controlled"[126] Germans surpassing other nations at the end of the seventeenth century. The line of demarcation, however, did not always run across national boundaries. In his study of Bach, he contrasted the music of Germany's Protestant north with its Roman Catholic south.[127] The geographical thesis was loose, and it was often readily modified to fit the purposes of the argument at hand.

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[120] Katarina Gephardt. *The idea of Europe in British travel narratives, 1789-1914* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), p. 12.
[121] William Hazlitt. *The plain speaker: opinions on books, men, and things* (London: Bell & Daldy, 1870/1826), pp. 237-8.
[122] Banton, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
[123] Hugh Haweis. *Music and morals* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1900/1871), p. 94.
[124] Gephardt, *op. cit.*, p. 12: "The periphery is conceived as a parallel space that can either confirm Britain's centrality or expose its failure to measure up to perceived European norms of civilisation and progress."
[125] For radical reactions to the Risorgimento, see Marcella Sutcliffe. *Victorian radicals and Italian democrats* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014).
[126] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 172.
[127] Parry. *Johann Sebastian Bach: the story of the development of a great personality* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909), p. 232.

While Parry viewed the Italians and Germans as diametrically opposed, he typically depicted the French temperament as mediating between the two extremes, although with unique characteristics of its own. Lulli's and Rameau's operas showed the French gift for dramatic expression. Drawing examples across history from Couperin to Berlioz, Parry thought he had put a finger on a permanent attribute of French music: "from the first their musical utterance required to be put in motion by some definite idea external to music."[128] On the other hand, the English character was perceived to be more introspective than the French, and thus more closely aligned with the Teutonic spirit. In the *Evolution of the Art of Music*, Parry detected in 'Sumer is icumen in' the "genuine love of country, of freedom, of action and heartiness"[129]; he spoke of the "hardness and boldness"[130] of the music of Byrd and Gibbons, and like many other historians of the day, he inculcated without question the idea of an English love of liberty. Similarly, in his seventeenth-century treatise, the author looked to the aristocratic masque for confirmation of the temperamental distance between English and Italian music.[131] In a curious case of role reversal, he credited the English aristocracy with maintaining a high intellectual standard at a time when the *recitative* style became corrupted by the Italian public. He did not appear to have recognised the double standard of his later defence of democratic music in England. The English were ultimately portrayed as a more conservative and self-controlled people; early seventeenth-century composers of the ayres (Robert Jones, Thomas Ford, etc.) maintained a healthy connection with the old polyphony while the revolutionary wind of *Nuove Musiche* blew unchecked in the south – in this way, they could claim a historical analogy with Bach. Indeed, the view that English and German music was spiritually aligned reflected the strong feeling of cultural affinity which many Victorians felt towards Germany.[132] Troubled by materialistic decadence, Victorian thinkers drew inspiration from the German revolt against the eighteenth-century Enlightenment[133]; Parry was profoundly influenced by the intellectual methods of higher criticism. As John R. Davis notes, German culture was often perceived as more tolerant, "more liberal, or libertarian, than in

[128] Parry. *The evolution of the art of music* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1905/1893), p. 276.
[129] *Ibid.*, p. 76.
[130] *Ibid.*, p. 121.
[131] Parry. *The music of the seventeenth century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), p. 196.
[132] For example, Parry writes: "now both English and Teutons have always had a great feeling for direct expression in the music itself." Parry. *The evolution of the art of music* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1905/1893), p. 163.
[133] John R. Davis. *The Victorians and Germany* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007), p. 388.

Britain"[134] – an assumption clearly echoed in Parry's idealisation of Bach. "It must be remembered," wrote Fuller Maitland, "that we all shared the same conviction that Germany was our 'spiritual home'."[135] In music, this cultural kinship was further strengthened by the vast popularity of Handel's and Mendelssohn's oratorios in England.[136]

There is, throughout Parry's writings, a sense of a broad spectrum of temperament, with the races arranged in a discernable order from the perceptive northern Germans, to the English, to the southern Germans, to the French, and lastly to the Italians and the Spaniards.[137] The racial framework provided him with convenient pigeonholes into which different musical styles could be shuffled. Parry, however, did not adopt the thesis in any consistent manner. Newman pointed to his disingenuous treatment of Mozart and Haydn: even though both were Austrians[138], Parry essentially viewed Mozart as Italian and Haydn as German. At the time, Haydn's ethnicity was also being hotly debated, casting doubt on his casual depiction of the composer as a Teuton (Parry evidently became aware of Hadow's hypothesis in 1898).[139] His views on Palestrina were equally problematic.[140] Since Palestrina lived at a time prior to the public destruction of high art, Parry could praise Palestrina's works—without any hint of racial bias—as "the highest and purest kind of choral music."[141] After Palestrina, Monteverdi represented as it were the final hurdle before the demise of Italian music. Although not pointed out by Newman, Parry's treatment of Monteverdi provides the surest self-falsification of his racial thesis. In the *Evolution of the Art of Music*, he portrayed Monteverdi as an antithesis of 'Italianism' in art; Parry could thus make it appear as if Italian composers after Monteverdi broke away "from the path which Monteverde had chosen, and leaving it for other nations to follow up to important results."[142] In his paper on the 'Significance of Monteverde', Parry

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[134] *Ibid.*, p. 99.
[135] Quoted in Graves, *op. cit., vol. 2*, p. 231.
[136] For Mendelssohn's role in sustaining English interest in oratorio, see Wilfrid Blunt. *On wings of song: a biography of Felix Mendelssohn* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1974), p. 249.
[137] Spain never figured predominantly in Parry's historical thought; see passing mentions in Parry. *The evolution of the art of music* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1905/1893), p. 60.
[138] Newman demonstrated the absurdity of Parry's geographical argument by comparing the birthplaces of the two composers, Mozart being born closer to Bonn than Haydn. See Newman, *op. cit.*, p. 306.
[139] See William Henry Hadow. *A Croatian composer* (London: Seeley and Co. Ltd., 1897).
[140] As Newman pointed out: "Palestrina and many of the older Church composers go far to upset the theory that mere 'external beauty' is the great characteristic of the Italians." Newman, *op. cit.*, p. 303.
[141] Parry. *Studies of great composers* (London: Routledge and K Paul, 1886), p. 15.
[142] Parry. *The evolution of the art of music* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1905/1893), p. 146.

returned to praise the Italian composer for the essential humanity of his art. According to him, Monteverdi "delve[s] into human life and feeling, and get their highest inspirations from their keen sympathy with their fellow-creatures and their insight into them."[143] Would he not have been content to describe his Teutonic hero, Bach, in much the same terms?

If a composer appeared to live up to the stereotypes of his race, then a racial connection was often unabashedly drawn (e.g. his caustic treatment of Berlioz[144]). If he did not, then the thesis was happily abandoned. Parry would at least refrain from drawing *a priori* conclusions on a composer based on his nationality or ethnicity, as shown by his readiness to praise the Italian Monteverdi and to censure the Austrian Mozart. The idea of innate racial differences was foreign to him; in his first Musical Association address, he argued that music often reflected "the race to which the composer belongs, or attaches himself in spirit."[145] According to Newman, Parry's flexible usage of racial terminology "is charmingly symmetrical, but hardly scientific."[146] If Mozart could be written off as less 'Teutonic' than Palestrina or Monteverdi, why not consider the Italian temperament 'Teutonic', or the German temperament 'Italian'?[147] Could Parry not have reversed his narrative by taking the Italianism of Palestrina's time as the touchstone by which to measure the quality of music since Monteverdi?

As Newman correctly perceived, when Parry spoke of Teutonicism in art he simply meant sincerity of expression: "If a composer of any nation shows this spirit, he has the spirit of Teutonism; if a German has not the spirit, he is not a 'true Teuton'. The formula is utter chaos."[148] Parry adopted vague racial definitions mainly to show how man's temperamental qualities could affect music in different ways, in easy-to-understand terms. He was not a cultural relativist.[149] He believed in the

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[143] Parry. 'The significance of Monteverde', *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 42nd Sess. (1915-1916), pp. 64-5.

[144] Parry. *The evolution of the art of music* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1905/1893), p. 276: "The fact of his being a Frenchman reduces its significance a little. The French have never shown any talent for self-dependent instrumental music."

[145] Parry. 'On some bearings of the historical method upon music', *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 11th Sess. (1884-1885), p. 6.

[146] Newman, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

[147] As Newman put it, "I can very well imagine Dr. Parry, if these two artists [Michelangelo and Leonardo] had been Germans, contrasting them, as typical of the German spirit, with Raphael or Titian." *Ibid.*, p. 305.

[148] *Ibid.*, p. 307.

[149] Yet art itself is perfectly relative (as discussed in a previous chapter). Compare his argument in *Instinct and Character*, p. 146: "And yet it has to be remembered that everything is relative. Beauty and ugliness are both of them relative, and so are virtue and vice; and so are sympathy and antipathy."

superiority of Germany's liberal culture. He looked to Germany as the "most effectual of all nations in the argumentative war, in insistence on liberty of conviction, and in appeal to men's judgment and sense of right,"[150] and saw that genuine products of art would thrive best under such social conditions. On the other hand, he was hostile towards non-'Teutonic' art—i.e. art which showed little initiative or personality. He thought that Italian recitative "can only by courtesy be called music at all, for it has neither comeliness nor organisation"[151] (a view somewhat contradicted by his equation of Italian music with excessive formalism[152]). Needless to say, his aversion to Italian culture was almost pathological and often hampered his ability to report on the subject more objectively. Parry too readily dismissed the artistic potential of less prominent Italian composers, and yet he was perceptibly more capable of viewing lesser Germans in a more positive light. Parry saw the works of Heinrich Schütz, Andreas Hammerschmidt, Johann Rudolph Ahle and their contemporaries as inclining towards the genius of Bach. He also considered the German chorales to be "religious folk-songs"[153]—proof positive of the separation between German devotionalism and Italian secularism (representing two radically different ways of arriving at homophony). In the *Evolution of the Art of Music*, Parry credited Schütz with inaugurating the transition of German music from polyphony to modern homophony, advancing the racial paradox that Schütz's training with Giovanni Gabrieli shielded him from the mainstream developments of Italian music.[154] (The influence of Schütz and other German composers on Parry's own music is discussed in a later chapter.)

Newman's objection to Parry's racial thesis hinged on a scientific understanding of 'race', which was more typical of his generation than when Parry set out to write the *Evolution of the Art of Music*. A delayed product of the 1880s, Parry's work maintained at least some ideological distance from the racial determinism that invoked the critic's indignation. While Newman saw Parry's

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[150] Parry. *Johann Sebastian Bach: the story of the development of a great personality* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909), p. 5.
[151] Parry. *The music of the seventeenth century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), p. 198.
[152] See, for example, his assessment of Cavalli's music; *ibid.*, p. 137.
[153] *Ibid.*, p. 112.
[154] By raising Schütz above others like Hammerschmidt, Ahle and Pachelbel in their order of 'Germanness', Parry unfairly downplays the extent to which Schütz was influenced by Italian composers. He does not mention, for instance, that the first Symphoniae sacrae was the product of Schütz's visit to Italy in 1628 to study with Monteverdi. The music, more virtuosic in character, points to Schütz's readiness to assimilate Italian characteristics rather than an inclination to withdraw from them. Parry limits Schütz to the influences of Monteverdi and Gabrieli, portraying him as a domestic genius, while arguing that Hammerschmidt and others arrived at a more popular style under the auspices of later Italianism. See *ibid.*, p. 413.

adoption of racial categories as clearly 'unscientific', it was also 'pre-scientific' in the sense that it showed belated kinship with an older tradition of racial thinking and a divorce from the scientific ideas of race then prevalent. In his article, Newman argued that "the plain truth evidently is that German music became deeper in content than the Italian, because the social circumstances of the two nations were different."[155] Parry would have been in complete agreement with Newman's diagnosis. He would also have heeded the critic's paraphrase of Mill:

> It is a good many years ago now since John Stuart Mill laid it down that of all the methods of accounting for the differences between one nation's characteristics and those of another, the method of explaining everything by 'race' was assuredly the most vulgar.[156]

Newman gave his criticism in the hope that "the next edition of the work will be rid of what is almost its only defect."[157] It is not known whether Parry was made aware of Newman's input (the high priest of musical criticism during his time being not Newman but Shaw[158]). With the alarming growth of hereditarianism, however, Parry was recalled to clarify his views on race several years later in *Style in Musical Art*. Here, he resolved some of the issues raised by Newman in 1901. He denounced immediately the idea that national characteristics were hereditary, speaking against the "dangers

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[155] Newman, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

[156] Mill's actual words read: "Of all vulgar modes of escaping from the consideration of the effect of social and moral influences on the human mind, the most vulgar is that of attributing the diversities of conduct and character to inherent natural differences." From John Stuart Mill. *Principles of political economy with some of their applications to social philosophy, vol. 1* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1871/1848), p. 398.

[157] Newman, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

[158] Newman published his important works on Gluck and Wagner in 1890s. For his own research on Wagner, Parry relied instead on Dannreuther's translations of Wagner's essay, and on the writings of the American music critic, William James Henderson. He also read Wagner's autobiography (1870) in 1914. The chronological gap between the Parry and Newman was substantial enough that the only work Parry appears to have read by Newman was his translation of Albert Schweitzer's book on Bach (published in 1911, two years after Parry's own study was brought out by G. P. Putnam's Sons). In return Newman, more receptive to the luscious musical worlds of Berlioz, Schoenberg, Bruckner and Sibelius, was typically apathetic towards Parry's music, which felt timid, unadventurous and outdated by comparison. Newman, however, found Parry's writings more agreeable. Reared in the same Radical and empirical tradition, they showed some of the same principled commitment to rationalism, clear-headed approach to stylistic criticism, and scepticism towards formalism which Newman was to carry to greater heights in his own writings. In a sense, Parry's writings were able to stay relevant longer than his music did into the new century. For Wagnerism in England, see Emma Sutton. *Aubrey Beardsley and British Wagnerism in the 1890s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); William Blissett. 'Ernest Newman and English Wagnerism', *Music & Letters* 40/4 (Oct. 1959), pp. 311-23. For Newman's radicalism, see discussion in Sutton, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-9; and Deryck Cooke. 'Ernest Newman (1868-1959)', *Tempo* 52 (Autumn 1959), p. 2. A critical biography of the music critic by Paul Watt is forthcoming.

which are entailed by too hasty generalisation."[159] Parry recognised that his chosen racial units were in fact "composite" units, made up of very different biological races – a point apparently taken for granted in the earlier work. He also affirmed that racial (national) characteristics were impermanent: "nations sometimes present conspicuous differences of behaviour and even of character at different periods of their existence."[160] The fact that racial characteristics were dynamic served "as a warning not to rush to conclusions too confidently."[161] This was a crucial admission for him to make since, in his earlier writings, Parry could take distinctive racial qualities to be synonymous with permanent *national* characteristics.[162] In *Instinct and Character*, he adopted a very different position:

> It would be dangerous to propose a definition of their characteristics, but no one would deny that they offer clear idiosyncrasies which distinguish them from one another. The proposal to consider nations as merely 'geographical expressions' has some justification when the racial source is in question. Most nations are extremely mixed; but nevertheless they are unified by being subject to special laws and customs and by a tendency to adopt a local attitude of mind.[163]

While the *Evolution of the Art of Music* contained not a single mention of heredity, almost all of his subsequent works from the 1890s onwards would draw attention to the idea in some way or other. Thus, rather than at Newman's instigation, he more likely felt the need to revise his racial attitudes as a result of this personal awareness of the growing science of heredity. He studied August Weismann's *Essays upon Heredity* in 1897. Weismann's contributions to biology, according to Ernst Mayr, included his advocacy of Darwinian evolution and of particulate inheritance, his refutation of Lamarckism, and his emphasis on sexual reproduction as a mechanism for achieving genetic diversity.[164] Parry's interests in science led him to examine Mendel's particulate theory of 1916,

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[159] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 153.
[160] He could humorously envisage that "a stranger coming from another planet, who could by any means see the two [Hanoverian and Elizabethan people] together at once, might easily be deceived into thinking they were not the same people." *Ibid.*, p. 154.
[161] *Ibid.*, p. 155.
[162] "And though the interchange of national products has more or less assimilated the arts of certain countries, the nature of man still governs his predilections, as is easily seen by the average differences of tastes in art in such countries as Italy, France, and Germany." *The evolution of the art of music* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1905/1893), p. 61.
[163] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 397.
[164] Ernst Mayr. *Toward a new philosophy of biology: observations of an evolutionist* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), pp. 519-20. On Weismann's critique of Lamarckism and his theory of the germ-plasm see Frederick Churchill. 'August Weismann and a break from tradition', *Journal of the History of Biology* 1/1 (Spring 1968), pp. 91-112. For discussion of the Darwinian context in relation to Weismann, see Timothy

through the writings of Reginald Punnett (inventor of the Punnett square) and William Bateson. Between 1889 and 1902, he enthusiastically read the naturalistic works of the French novelist, Émile Zola. He became disturbed by the author's emphasis on the power of heredity to shape man's character, and on man's helplessness against its influence. It may be worth mentioning that Zola initially became interested in heredity through his knowledge of Prosper Lucas' *Traité de l'hérédité naturelle*[165]; in his novels, he explored heredity through tragic characters such as Madeleine Férat, who "struggle to escape a native milieu, a tainted past, a script visited on them at birth."[166]

The notion that heredity lay at the root of man's racial and behavioural differences became so well-established that, by the end of the century, Parry was apparently pushed to accept it at a *prima facie* level. A close reading of his writings, however, suggests that he was constantly seeking to downplay the role of heredity in shaping human destiny. In *Style in Musical Art*, Parry urged readers to suspend their judgment until more evidence than a "little smattering of knowledge of the science of heredity" was available.[167] In his opinion, Zola's fatalism was built on an exaggerated interpretation of the limited science at hand. Despite the "the attractiveness of theories of heredity", which had pervaded "recent fiction, from the colossal Kougon Macquart series to the little chapter of slum life in a daily paper," Parry still cautioned that everything "is not as simple as it looks".[168] He would undoubtedly have been highly sceptical of Galton's eugenic theories in his *Inquiries into Human Faculty* (1883, read 1908). Galton's inductivism led him to believe, in the words of John Jackson and Nadine Weidman, that "we did not need to know the mechanism of heredity to see its effects."[169] Having shown in *Hereditary Genius* (1869) that mental characteristics were inheritable, Galton could

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Shanahan. *The evolution of Darwinism: selection, adaptation and progress in evolutionary biology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 120; and Charlotte Weissman. 'Germinal Selection: a Weismannian solution to Lamarckian problematics' in *Transformations of Lamarckism: from subtle fluids to molecular biology*, ed. Snait Gissis and Eva Jablonka (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011), pp. 57-65.

[165] See Henry Mitterand. 'Zola, ce rêveur définitif' in *Zola*, ed. Harold Bloom (Philadelphia: Chelsea House, 2004), p. 253.

[166] Frederick Brown. 'The master plan' in *Zola*, ed. Harold Bloom (Philadelphia: Chelsea House, 2004), p. 118. Zola contrasted his naturalistic programme with Balzac's more pragmatic and ethical imperative: "my work will be less social than scientific… I don't want to… imitate Balzac in telling men how to manage their affairs… It will suffice to be a scientist, to describe what is by searching for what lies underneath." Quoted in *ibid.*

[167] Parry. 'Inaugural address', *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* 1/1 (1899), p. 1.

[168] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 153.

[169] John Jackson and Nadine Weidman. *Race, racism, and science: social impact and interaction* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2004), p. 101.

derive eugenic solutions in the absence of a clear understanding of genetics.[170] In the *Studies of Great Composers*, the author questioned how Handel, whose father hated music, could be explained by those "who believe in the special directions of hereditary genius."[171] He was also not inclined to entertain Galton's hypothesis in relation to Bach's strong artistic lineage. In fact, Parry remained recalcitrant even after genetics had become more well-established in the 1910s. He read Grant Madison's *Passing of the Great Race*, a major eugenic work heavily dependent on Mendelian inheritance, in 1917. *Instinct and Character*, however, lacked any recourse to such ideas and methods. Parry deterred from working with hereditary science not only because it was incomplete, but more importantly because it was starkly incompatible with his personal vision of life. Heredity confined man, otherwise full of potential, to the closet of his own biological make-up. Hostile towards aristocracy and hereditary privilege, Parry was worried that heredity would be used to justify anti-democratic sentiment, keeping society stratified and unequal. The scientifically-minded author of the *Evolution of the Art of Music* thus found himself in the curious position of having to adopt a seemingly 'unscientific' stance in his later literary expositions.

Given his empirical bent of mind, Parry could not simply dismiss the science of heredity altogether. He had to accept the doctrine in a way that caused the least amount of friction with his humanistic beliefs. Parry's compromise was a collision of science and ethics of sorts; interestingly, he was able to use some aspects of hereditary science to discredit its more pernicious implications. In *Style in Musical Art*, he exploited Weismann's (erroneous) calculations in order to trivialise the effects of hereditary factors on man's nature. Weismann, who still adhered to blending inheritance in 1889, prior to the rediscovery of Mendel's work, held that germ-plasms multiplied and accumulated during fertilisation and that sexual reproduction increased variation within populations.[172] Parry wrote, reflecting Weismann's position, that:

> As Weismann pointed out long ago, in the course of ten generations we accumulate 1024 direct ancestors[173], and this supplies a man with a very fair opportunity to escape the

[170] Galton also firmly dissociates 'nature' and 'nurture' in works such as *English men of science: their nature and nurture* (1874).
[171] Parry. *Studies of great composers* (London: Routledge and K Paul, 1886), p. 25.
[172] See Stephanie Meirmans. 'The evolution of the problem of sex' in *Lost sex: the evolutionary biology of parthenogenesis*, ed. Isa Schön, Koen Martens and Peter van Dijk (New York: Springer, 2009), pp. 21-46.
[173] As Meirmans points out, Weismann made made an error in his calculations, and the correct number of germ plasms should have been 512. *Ibid.,* p. 29.

> virtues or vices of any particularly conspicuous individual, to weaken hereditary predispositions, and to enable that great counterpoise, habit, to assert itself.[174]

Instinct and Character expanded on this line of argument:

> If they had followed the trail [of thought] consistently they would have found that the maternal great-grand-father could not have initiated the trouble. There must equally have been some reason why he was such a wastrel. He did not begin the evil. There were rows and rows of strong man before Agamemnon and of weak ones before the last Czar of Muscovy… If the circumstances of his life awaken noble, generous, selfless predispositions, derived also from some of those ancestors, he may become one of the greatest benefactors of the race.[175]

Circumstance, not heredity, was to be the prime determinant of racial character. Throughout his intellectual career, Parry paid lip service to the science of heredity without any desire to carry its suggestions any further than necessary. Discussing William Wallace's *The Threshold of Music* (which Parry read in 1915), Zon notes that "what differentiates Wallace from Parry is his scientific belief in the idea of a musical faculty, a topic current since Gurney, if not before, but one to which Parry does not appear to subscribe directly."[176] In fact, Parry often hinted at some special faculty through countless references to the innate musical abilities of the Italians. Rather than using this as evidence of the superiority of the Italians, however, he characteristically turned the argument on its head. Music came so naturally to the Italians that they "consequently take it less seriously than other races";[177] their inborn advantage obstructed, rather than facilitated, artistic progress. On the other hand, the Germans, lacking any special endowment, had to work out their own musical salvation from the ground up. They could not take their art for granted but, instead, had to treat it with respect and caution. As discussed in the previous chapter, Parry saw music as a democratic activity in which all participants had to "meet on an equality". Thus, he tended to view genius not as a birth-right, but as something arrived at through independent thought and personal initiative. He did not argue outright that genius was not congenital, but consistently tried to limit its significance, telling his students that "many men who have great special gifts seem to have gaps in their mental outfit in other respects, and sometimes are singularly stupid and blind… They never bring any solid fruit that is worth having and

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[174] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 153.
[175] Parry. *Instinct and character*, pp. 385-6.
[176] Zon. 'From great man to fittest survivor: Reputation, recapitulation and survival in Victorian concepts of Wagner's genius', *Musicae Scientiae*, Special issue (2009-2010), p. 423.
[177] Parry. *The music of the seventeenth century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), p. 198.

generally defeat themselves."[178] In his notebook, he further explained that "it seems almost a matter of chance whether a man who has great gifts uses them for good or evil purposes."[179]

Paradoxically, Parry's egalitarian consciousness violated socio-cultural evolutionary ideas, historically associated with Spencer. What Parry's evolutionary conception lacked, notwithstanding his debt to Darwin or Spencer, was any real sense of the vastness of geological time[180] (Lyell is conspicuously absent from his reading lists, although he studied William Mullinger Higgins and Archibald Geikie on geology). Spencer's contribution was to bring the Lamarckian hypothesis of use-inheritance into contact with the law of association, as Stocking notes, giving "associationism a cumulative depth in time."[181] Since acquired characteristics were passed onto the off-spring, Spencer could posit a biological divide between the savage and the civilised man. On this note, Graves observed of *Instinct and Character* that Parry "does not enter into any of the recent controversies on the transmission of characteristics."[182] Nevertheless, he was clearly aware that such a debate was ongoing through his meticulous studies of Weismann and Mendel, and by seeing its effects on such works as *The Threshold of Music* (whose author was a qualified surgeon). Arguably, Parry never attended to the controversy because the Lamarckian hypothesis simply had no place in his thought. Unlike Lamarck, Spencer and also Darwin (in his work on pangenesis), who thought that learnt behaviour could become hereditary, Parry always chose to emphasise habit obtained from social conditioning. He thought of habit as man's bulwark against heredity—rather than as needing to *become* heredity—in order to attain to any degree of permanence:

> Habit is indeed the most hopeful check to hereditary influences, and is quite as likely to be responsible for excellences and vices as heredity. No doubt characteristic habits are formed under the influence of hereditary predispositions, but there must be copious instances

[178] Parry. *College addresses delivered to the pupils of the Royal College of Music,* ed. Henry Cope Colles (London: Macmillan, 1920), pp. 149-50.
[179] Notebook.
[180] Indeed for Parry, music is a comparatively recent development in the evolutionary history of mankind: "it really justifies our being proud of our species to see such an enormous lot of work achieved in such a shortness of time. For indeed the whole story of development from the most primitive fumblings has taken less than a thousand years, and though that seems a long time when judged by the standard of our short lives, it is not much when judged by wider standards." Lecture, GB-Lcm MS. 4329, 6r.
[181] Stocking, *op. cit.*, p. 134.
[182] Graves, *op. cit., vol. 2*, p. 295.

> where habits formed under strong surrounding influences quite counterbalance the peculiarities of life and conduct which come from heredity.[183]

Parry's evolutionary narrative lacked the mechanism of inheritance which assured the temporal dimension of Spencer's Social Darwinism. In his *Musical Studies*, Newman interpreted Parry's arguments as showing—against Spencer's theory—the closeness of primitive and civilised musical cultures. According to Newman, Parry had demonstrated conclusively that "in the rudest savage we have, in embryo, every element that goes to make the most complicated music of modern times."[184] While he disagreed with Spencer, Parry would have been in better accord with Weismann, who argued that "music is an invention, and one which could reach its present height only very slowly in the course of centuries… Man possesses a tradition; he improves and perfects his performances by passing on the gains of each generation to those which follow."[185] Parry imbibed, in his formative years, the gospel of human development from earlier thinkers such as Buckle and Maine. Writing before the Darwinian revolution, Buckle's idea of progress had its roots in Enlightenment thought – firstly in its non-hereditarian idea of 'race', and secondly in its limited purview of time "which remained essentially that of the biblical chronology".[186] Undisturbed by Lamarckian considerations, Buckle followed Mill in denouncing the racialisation of ethology as a 'most vulgar' enterprise.[187] His views, while not degenerationist, were clearly informed by the Christian doctrine of creation; morality was more or less stationary and common to all of God's children. In the *History of Civilisation in England*, Buckle professed that "there is not a single principle now known to the most cultivated Europeans which was not likewise known to the ancients."[188]

Stocking explains that although Maine exhibited a stronger feeling than Buckle for the mental and moral separation between different races of man, which later became a prominent feature of social Darwinian thought, he still operated within very limited confines of a biblically-informed time-scale. Educated in this tradition of Buckle, Maine and Hume, Parry demonstrated the same difficulties

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[183] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 153.
[184] Newman. *Musical studies,* 3rd ed. (London: John Lane, 1914/1905), p. 218.
[185] August Weismann. *Essays upon heredity and kindred biological problems, vol. 2* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892/1889), p. 49.
[186] Stocking, *op. cit.*, p. 140.
[187] *Ibid.*, p. 139.
[188] Henry Thomas Buckle. *History of civilization in England, vol. 1* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1884/1857), p. 47.

when contemplating the vastness of pre-historic time. The cultural bifurcation which emancipated Western civilisation from its primitive existence occurred "some thousands of years ago"[189] (i.e. with the secularisation of Western society). Parry had no trouble equating the aristocracy *en masse* with uneducated savages. He also viewed certain aspects of commercialist music as much more degenerate than primitive music, excusing the latter as genuine artistic expressions hampered only by a scarcity of technical resources. For all his evolutionary commitments, *Instinct and Character* was much more concerned with the question of demoralisation through the activation of man's injurious instincts than it was with how morality evolved in the first place.[190]

By the time of Maine's *Ancient Law* (1861), the biblical time-frame was already facing heavy intellectual opposition from the discoveries at Brixham Cave and from Darwin's hopeful projection that new "light will be thrown on the origin of man".[191] Parry was likely positively influenced by Tylor's view of mental development as the "increasing utilisation of a brain whose structure… [throughout evolution] might just as well have remained the same,"[192] since it offered protection against the polygenistic worldview. At the same time, there are (much rarer) moments in Parry's writings where he entertained ideas that would undermine his faith in man's racial singularity. In particular, he was intrigued by Darwin's opinion, in the *Descent of Man*, that "the civilised races of man will almost certainly exterminate and replace the savage races throughout the world."[193] Almost paraphrasing Darwin, *Instinct and Character* conceded that "it has to be regretfully admitted that races which are hopelessly inefficient and incapable of keeping pace with the rest of the world either die out or cease to count…"[194] If the primitive races were to come into contact with their more socially adept adversaries, they would be exterminated as per the rules regarding the "non-survival of the unfit".[195] Parry was similarly drawn to Darwin's descriptions of the brains of 'microcephalous idiots' (taken from Vogt), which were thought to resemble those of "the lower types of mankind".[196] As Graves pointed out, there is one outstanding phrenological admission in his last book, that "if his [a

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[189] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 406.
[190] For example, see Parry. *Instinct and character*, pp. 38, 46, 80-1, 305.
[191] Charles Darwin. *On the origin of species by means of natural selection* (London: John Murray, 1859), p. 488.
[192] See Stocking. *Race, culture and evolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), p. 115
[193] Darwin. *The descent of man, and selection in relation to sex, vol. 1* (London: John Murray, 1871), p. 201.
[194] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 395.
[195] *Ibid.*, p. 371.
[196] Darwin, *op. cit.*, p. 121. See Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

man's] skull is made in the right shape he develops enough mind to make the instinctive energies work with less resultant unpleasantness as time goes on." In another curious passage from *Style in Musical Art*, the author alluded to the "deficiencies of brain formation" in relation to the Oriental races and to conservative-minded people, questioning, inconclusively, whether unequal social conditions might damage the brain in the long run.[197] Indeed Parry would only accept the Lamarckian hypothesis if it could be used to further his own egalitarian vision. Nevertheless, such assumptions significantly curbed his optimism for education to reach out in time to man's backward races. They added a tardy biological edge to his quasi-positivistic idea of progress as won through the dissemination of knowledge and science.

Like Kingsley, however, Parry was ultimately much more interested in the question of synthesis than that of biological separation and racial struggle. When he described nations as 'geographical' entities (specifically in both *Style in Musical Art* and *Instinct and Character*), he showed no interest in getting at the 'racial sources' of the nations in question, or to define 'national characteristics' in terms of its racial composition. The real issue was how the variegated races of men, given their innate differences, could still work together in peace and harmony. While Kingsley, influenced by theories of degeneration and the permanence of racial types, chose to stress the "congenital differences and hereditary tendencies which defy all education from circumstances"[198], Parry stayed true to his democratic ideals and followed Mill and Tocqueville in proclaiming that education was *everything*. Kingsley opposed Mill's idea of man as a "creature of circumstance"[199], while Parry, as an educator, embraced it completely as part of his justification of universal suffrage. There was not a defective human trait, in the whole compass of his writings, that he did not think could be fixed or alleviated by education. Against the idea that criminality was inheritable, Parry regarded crime as the result of ignorance – the ignorance not of the lower classes but, more inexcusably, the "wilful" ignorance prevalent among the "eminently respectable classes with regard to

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[197] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 416: "The ancient conventions of classes may be just as obstructive as the deficiencies of brain formation. Perhaps in time they induce them!" Parry, however, recoils from the position immediately afterwards: "But in any case the full valuation of really great works of art is like most other things, a matter of co-operation. The great works of art are ultimately found out by many people who have many different kinds of receptivity."

[198] Charles Kingsley. *Charles Kingsley, his letters and memories of his life, vol. 2* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1894/1890) p. 200.

[199] *Ibid.*, p. 199.

their poorer brothers and sisters".[200] Crime was rampant in sections of society where "education is denied them; every virtue that appertains to enlightenment is denied them".[201] Society, as a whole, must answer for the problems that were too readily blamed on the hereditary make-up of the offending class. No stratum of society was spared criticism in his holistic insight that "if society takes no thought of getting rid of ignorance and stupidity it cannot expect to get rid of crime."[202]

Parry looked to education as the most effective solution to social ills. Education for him meant the constant widening of human experiences, and since mind was the product of experiences, "men learn from experiences and experiences only."[203] As part of his general dismissal of heredity, Parry also refused to accept the theory that human natures were evil by nature. In his book, *Race Relations*, Banton explores how Rousseau's noble savage was made 'ignoble', and later 'child-like', through the experiences of nineteenth-century missionary service and the paradigmatic shifts in scientific thought.[204] Parry, balancing the Romantic belief in the natural goodness of man on the one hand and Tylor's comparative anthropology on the other, inclined towards the view that man was born neither good nor evil. Rather, his upbringing, education, social conditioning and personal initiative mould him into the person that society labelled as good or evil.[205]

Like many other Victorian thinkers, Parry often took the idea of race for granted. He assumed too quickly a connection between music and race, and indulged in a level of discrimination that is uncomfortable by modern standards against cultures which did not measure up to his Teutonic model of culture. He undoubtedly viewed certain 'races' (more accurately, cultures) as intellectually superior to others, and thought that less prosperous communities represented mankind in its more juvenile phases. Yet he was by no means a 'scientific racist'. He would have been fundamentally opposed to Knox, who argued that "race, or hereditary descent is everything; it stamps the man."[206] Scientific

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[200] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 358.
[201] *Ibid.*, p. 369.
[202] *Ibid.*, p. 358. Compare his liberal views on unemployment, discussed in Graves, *op. cit., vol. 2*, p. 337.
[203] Notebook.
[204] Banton. *Race relations* (London: Tavistock Publications Ltd., 1967), p. 22.
[205] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 386: "It implies the strange assumption that man is naturally bad and injurious and is only good with great and uncongenial effort. No doubt it requires more apparent effort to climb a steep hill than to walk along a flat. But circumstances easily arise which make men prefer to climb. The flat might be up to the knees in mud; it might be miasmatic; it might be ugly, uncongenial, all manner of things, and the steep hill might offer escape from them."
[206] Robert Knox, quoted in Banton, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

racialists in the nineteenth century theorised profusely about the effects of racial mixing. John Crawfurd wondered if breeding the Negro with the Arab might improve the Negro, and suggested that the Negro could not breed with the Anglo-Saxon at all.[207] James Hunt believed that the Negro should be considered a distinct species altogether, basking in the sort of "pugnacious" racism which would have offended Tylor's Quaker sensibilities.[208] Graves thus found it remarkable that in *Instinct and Character*, for all its eclecticism and breadth, "Hubert Parry says nothing on the extremely thorny question of miscegenation."[209] In retrospect, such racially-charged ideas had no bearing on his thought one way or another. Parry did not believe in keeping the races separate; he would have been perplexed by Kipling's instruction that "a man should, whatever happens, keep to his own caste, race and breed."[210] While others, such as Robert Dunn, argued that only the inferior races would benefit from racial mixture, Parry promoted *cultural* mixing because it would widen society's collective experience. On a loose leaf in his notebook, Parry had jotted down: "when the knowledge of the race was very limited men naturally formed criterion of beneficial energies which were only adapted to their narrow surroundings."[211] Travel and accessibility promoted cultural contact and open-mindedness, while geographical confinement bred ignorance.[212] Autocracies tried to "keep their subjects separate from other peoples, and to prevent liberal ideas from penetrating among them"[213]; they created false goals and ideals which hindered the real progress of "comforts, conveniences, elegancies, refinements, means of enlightenment, equality of justice, sanitary arrangements"[214] – provisions essential to more civilised life. He did not think the Europeans incapable of learning from more primitive cultures. The exchange being reciprocal, he only counselled stylistic caution for those looking to assimilate primitive methods into modern practices. As a composer, he found excessively 'colourful' orchestration to jeopardise the intellectual integrity of music. In a letter to the *Musical Times*, Vaughan Williams

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[207] Bolt, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
[208] Stocking. *Victorian anthropology* (New York: The Free Press, 1987), p. 159.
[209] Graves, *op. cit., vol. 2*, p. 355.
[210] Kipling, quoted in Bolt, *op. cit.*, p. 196.
[211] Notebook. Compare the following passage from his notebook: "It is the characteristic of primitive peoples of the most diverse qualities in all parts of the globe that their surroundings are saturated with supernaturalism"; and *Instinct and character*, p. 102: "people are not incapable of being persuaded of truths to which the narrow circuit of personal experiences makes them adverse."
[212] Parry. *Instinct and character,* p. 380.
[213] *Ibid.*
[214] Notebook.

mentioned that Parry "had a moral repugnance to what he called 'mere colour'"[215]; this was the aesthetic objection underlying Parry's dislike of Czech and Slavic music:

> The more reticent and self-controlled races can only safely adopt the style and material of semi-developed and partially Oriental races with critical circumspection. The temperamental qualities of such races may be wonderfully interesting in their own sphere, but out of gear with those whom long processes of intellectual development have brought to a more practical control and adjustment of the vagaries of primitive instinct.[216]

While many Social Darwinists envisaged that natural selection "would create pure races out of the prevailing diversity"[217] (Banton), Parry would embrace racial diversity as an essential feature of modern civilisation: "When races intermingle the characteristic qualities of different types are brought together. One type supplements another and the defects which are inherent in the one are diminished by the new qualities which are brought in."[218] He imbibed elements of anthropocentric optimism of those like Kingsley, who had given a hopeful view of Darwinism in the *Water Babies* (1863), turning the story of evolution into a "moral fable of self-seeking and redemption"[219]—or John Fiske in the *Destiny of Man* (1884, read 1888), who, catering to an American public anxious to reconcile Christianity with Darwinism, believed that the harsh effects of natural selection could be curbed by social factors. Spencer's vision of a non-militant utopia, in which the normal tendencies of evolution would be subverted by the imposition of an 'ethical check' derived from rational utilitarianism, always persisted in the character of his imagination. Although he saw humans as part of the animal kingdom, Parry emphasised, as did Weismann, the degree to which man could transcend his animalistic existence by utilising his capacity for inheriting and possessing tradition. This admission perhaps led him to value tradition more so than would be expected of a committed Radical.[220] For Parry, man's

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[215] Letter from Vaughan Williams to the *Musical Times*, 27 February 1948. His letters are collected in Vaughan Williams. *Letters of Ralph Vaughan Williams 1895-1958*, ed. Hugh Cobbe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

[216] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 172.

[217] Banton. *Idea of race* (London: Tavistock Publications Limited, 1977), p. 89.

[218] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 398.

[219] See Rebecca Scott. 'Darwin in the literary world' in *Darwin*, ed. William Brown (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 62.

[220] As a general rule, Parry believed that violent attempts at reform, even if they were justified, would often be met with antagonism by the unconverted majority: "If every individual who feels himself at variance with the opinions of the majority of any society thinks it incumbent on him to protest and openly sever himself, the opportunities of progress towards understanding are reduced to a minimum," Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 324.

intellectual capacity distinguished him from the other animals, whom evolution had equipped with different adaptations for survival. It gave him a distinctive advantage in the Malthusian struggle against nature red in tooth and claw:

> All animals have some intelligence over and above the definitive instinctive actions which strike man's attention so much. Darwin thought he found signs of intelligence in earthworms. But the part which intelligence plays in preserving the species is very small compared with the specialised instincts [of man]…[221]

On the contrary, the dearth of intellectual stimulation left man helpless against the dictates of nature. The thrust of his final monograph, *Instinct and Character*, was to establish the various instincts that mankind collectively had at its disposal. Although despondent about the fate of certain primitive races, Parry, in his manuscript, followed Darwin in ultimately affirming the oneness of *Homo sapiens*. The work was replete with references to the "reassuring facts about the human race".[222] Man's basic set of instincts was developed "in proportion to the variety and scope of condition which they have to meet"[223], in other words, through the auspices of acculturation and education. In his notebook, he affirmed that "the more one thinks of it the more conviction comes that the difference between the greater mind and the less is simply & solely the difference of scope."[224] Parry could delight in humanity's universal possession of the instinct of enquiry – in his view the most crucial of all instincts:

> The responsibility lies with the instinct of enquiry. It is the constant widening of the scope of understanding which is the only possible cure for incompatibilities arising from heredity or climate or attitude of mind.[225]

His enthusiasm for Zola cooled after 1902 and was superseded by an interest in Kidd and Nietzsche. As the next chapter argues, Kidd's *Social Evolution* was enormously influential on his later writings. Kidd's dismissal of the biological superiority of the white race and his emphasis on social efficiency supplied an ideological countermeasure against Galton's hereditary conception of society.

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[221] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 16. See also, p. 12: "Some of the hugest kinds of animals in the world has ever seen have died out because the limitation of their instinctive activities has prevented them from providing for new contingencies, such as complete change of climate and vegetation in the part of the world which they inhabited; or even from adapting themselves to change in their own physiological structure."
[222] *Ibid*., p. 202.
[223] *Ibid.*, p. 11.
[224] Notebook.
[225] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 102.

For Parry, the differences between low and high civilisation could more accurately be attributed to the slowness with which public opinions moved, and the staying power of cultural conventions in the face of new knowledge:

> The customs which men practise are like a huge pile of accumulations which can only be moved away by degrees. People in general do not drop their social or other habits by universal consent, decisively and at once. They drop them piecemeal.[226]

In the end, Parry's casual disregard of Lamarckism, phrenology and racial typology, his belief in the psychic unity of mankind, his idea of man's common instinct of enquiry, his emphasis on environmentalism and the flexibility of human nature, are all attributes not easily squared with the ongoing caricature of him as a Victorian racist. His writings show no morbid inclination towards colour prejudice. Furthermore, if he had been largely ignorant about the primitive societies, whose musical traditions he explored in the 1880s, he could retrospect later in life that "the progress which has taken place in general education makes it look rather ridiculous for people to base their attitude to their fellow creatures on mere ignorance nowadays."[227]

It remains to be wondered how modern scholarship has invented such an imaginary picture of Parry that has absolutely no basis in historical reality. George Revill, hoping to demonstrate how Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, in his short life, struggled to earn the respect of his white peers, interprets Parry's eulogy for the late collegian as attempting to put *Hiawatha* on par with the commercial shams of the music hall, "depicting Coleridge-Taylor as the dapper suburban gent, whose sphere of influence is that of female domestic leisure time[228] and as a writer of 'tuneful' music that provides 'unanalytic straightforward pleasure'."[229] In other words, the racist and elitist Parry tried to dismiss Coleridge-

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[226] *Ibid.*, p. 234. On a more optimistic note, Parry reflects on the progress of society that "It is not so long ago that the same races which have now developed such capacities of active sympathy not only tortured but burnt human beings alive for their theological or antitheological opinions." see Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 126.
[227] *Ibid.*, p. 44.
[228] Compare Parry's views on the fitness of Chopin's music for drawing-rooms; see Parry. *The evolution of the art of music* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1905/1893), p. 299.
[229] George Revill. 'Coleridge-Taylor's geography of disappointment' in *The place of music*, ed. Andrew Leyshon, David Matless and George Revill (New York: The Guilford Press, 1998), pp. 213-4. A similar position is maintained by Hughes and Stradling, in *The English musical renaissance 1840-1940: constructing a national music* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001/1993), p. 248.

Taylor's music as the product of a "juvenile, unsophisticated mind".[230] Drawing from gender theory, Revill also situates his comments within the context of male hegemony:

> His [Coleridge-Taylor's] ability to handle 'feminine cadences' is attributed to a particular empathy unavailable to the sophisticated, white, Anglo-Saxon male. Thus arguments couched in terms of race, class, and gender excludes Coleridge-Taylor's music from the 'official' canon of English music.[231]

Revill's assessment, little better than fiction, curiously omits Parry's high praise for *Hiawatha* as "one of the most remarkable events in modern English musical history." Nor does the author make any biographical reference to Parry's actual positions on race, class or gender. Such a reference would indeed dispel any notion that he considered Coleridge-Taylor's music to be too 'feminine' or not 'English' enough. In reality, Parry said nothing of feminine cadences (irrelevant as it was) or Anglo-Saxonism. He commended Coleridge-Taylor for his "exceptional and interesting combination of influences", his openness of mind to imbibe the traditions of both Brahms and Dvořák, and his readiness to "attack the highest and most concentrated forms of art." He also eulogised the music for its embrace of "individuality" and "frankness", memorialising *Hiawatha* as one of the "most universally beloved works of modern English music". [232]

According to Coleridge-Taylor's biographer, William Tortolano, the same eulogy attests to Parry's recognition of the Afro-English composer's genius. Indeed Tortolano gives an altogether more positive account of the Royal College of Music in its role in fostering Coleridge-Taylor's musical gifts.[233] Similarly, in Catherine Carr's view, "it is evident that Coleridge-Taylor was hugely admired

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[230] In reality, Parry's wording seems even to discredit the 'pure occidental' composer more than it does Coleridge-Taylor: "Tune pours out in passage after passage, genial and kindly and apt to the subject, and, in an emotional way, often warmly and touchingly expressive. The pure occidental composer would have gone wrong trying to do something subtle and uncanny to show the fineness of his insight—and details would have gone out of gear. But Coleridge-Taylor had no such temptations." See Parry. 'Samuel Coleridge-Taylor. Born August 15, 1875. Died September 1, 1912', *The Musical Times* 53/836 (1 Oct. 1912), p. 638.

[231] Revill, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

[232] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 638.

[233] William Tortolano. *Samuel Coleridge-Taylor: Anglo-black composer, 1875-1912*, 2nd ed. (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2002), p. 159. Stanford allegedly handled a student who called Coleridge-Taylor a 'nigger' by retorting that Coleridge-Taylor had "more music in his little finger than [the offending student] had in his whole body." See Avril Coleridge-Taylor. *The heritage of Samuel Coleridge-Taylor* (London: Dennis Dobson, 1979), p. 24. Coleridge-Taylor became a pupil of Stanford in 1892; his productive relationship with the professor is also treated in Geoffrey Self. *The Hiawatha man: the life and work of Samuel Coleridge-Taylor* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995), p. 21.

not only by his contemporaries but also by his seniors, particularly Parry and Stanford, who always 'believed' in him… in a world largely unaccustomed to black people writing music."[234] Needless to say, these observations are more consistent than Revill's with Parry's own comments in the obituary:

> It is to the general credit that people accepted command and criticism from one whose appearance was so strikingly unoccidental. The racial combination could not leave people quite indifferent any more than it could be indifferent in the artistic product. But when Coleridge-Taylor came to the Royal College of Music he was accepted on terms of full equality, and soon won the affection of every one with whom he came into contact.[235]

Undoubtedly, Parry's readiness to think in racial or cultural terms (discussed throughout this section) caused him to significantly overlook the more personal and political motives underlying Coleridge-Taylor's music. His casual distinction between the 'occidental' and the 'oriental' would not be much relished by readers today. However, while Revill believes that Parry was trying to keep the national canon pure by weeding out racially-suspicious contributions, Parry had profoundly different ideas about the future of music in his country.

6.3 His Ambivalent Attitude Towards Nationalism

> The Prince walked away suddenly; then came back and said to me, "There is something I should like to say. Do you remember what that poor Miss Edith Cavell said to the priest the night before she was executed? She said 'Patriotism is not enough!'" He paused, leaned forward, put a hand on my arm, and added, "That is a saying which makes one stop, which makes one think. Patriotism is not enough. It may be—even a danger!"
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> – Snippet from a newspaper article, 'Religion and Religiousness', collected in Parry's notebook

[234] Catherine Carr. *The music of Samuel Coleridge-Taylor: a critical and analytical study*, doctoral dissertation (Durham University, 2005), pp. 14, 16.

[235] It is also worth remembering that by the time Parry was making these comments in 1912, the so-called primitive societies were no longer as under-represented as they were during the Great Exhibition of 1851. Their musical worlds would no longer command the same sense of impenetrable exoticism as they did when the Victorian travellers first encountered and thought it propitious to document them.

During his long life, Parry witnessed a major transformation in the character of British musical nationalism: it developed under the aegis of foreign music but culminated in Cecil Forsyth's dictum that "where the foreign musician is there is the enemy".[236] Parry himself rode the changing tide. As music education grew more widespread,[237] *Grove's Dictionary* became an important vehicle for stimulating interest in English music. Parry (as well as key figures such as Rockstro) was active through his own writings (especially on Dunstable's age) in documenting England's musical heritage, convincing the nation that a home-grown music was possible. Consulting first-hand material at the British Museum, with the help of Barclay Squire, Parry became especially devoted to the study of English choral music. While no Englishman (except the naturalised Handel) figured in his *Studies of Great Composers* of 1887, his *Summary of Musical History* in 1893 brought much more exposure to English musicians including Tallis, Byrd, Dowland and Weelkes in the early period, and Purcell in the seventeenth century.

By this time, the search for a national music had become enmeshed in the ideologies of the new imperialism. The Royal College of Music, soon-to-be powerhouse of the Musical Renaissance, possessed an imperialist vision from the start; the Prince of Wales hoped that the institution would foster colonial unity "by inspiring among our fellow-subjects in every part of the Empire those emotions of patriotism which national music is calculated so powerfully to evoke."[238] Parry's involvement in the success of the college, his literary emphasis on the music of bygone England, and his growing reputation as the first English composer to measure up to the genius of Purcell[239], all contributed to the impression that he was a keen nationalist, who facilitated the transition into Forsyth's exclusive chauvinism. This musical nationalism would actively weed out foreign elements while preserving the home-grown canon; as Banton remarks, "those who preached nationalism in the nineteenth century were anxious to bring together into single political units people whom they

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[236] Quoted in Dibble. 'Grove's musical dictionary: a national document' in *Musical constructions of nationalism: essays on the history and ideology of European musical culture 1800-1945*, ed. Harry White and Michael Murphey (Cork: Cork University Press, 2001), p. 33.

[237] See Gordon Cox. 'Britain: towards "a long overdue renaissance"?' in *The origins and foundations of music education: cross-cultural historical studies of music in compulsory schooling*, ed. Gordon Cox and Robin Stevens (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2010), p. 17.

[238] Hughes and Stradling, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[239] Robin Legge, 'Charles Hubert Hastings Parry. Born: February 27, 1848. Died: October 7, 1918.', *The Musical Times* 59/909 (1 Nov. 1918), p. 489.

thought belonged together".[240] Indeed in his works, Parry often attempted a delineation of true 'English' character. By observing the Elizabethan and Jacobean traditions of Tallis, Byrd, Morley, Dowland and Bull, he could identify characteristic features in music such as "simplicity" and "unaffected tunefulness" which could be used as a benchmark for measuring Englishness in music.[241] This provided a temperamental criterion by which those who did not conform (such as Coleridge-Taylor) could be kept outside the national perimeter (just as Parry was reluctant to consider Mozart a 'Teuton'). As Jeffrey Richard points out, *Style in Musical Art*, emphasising the racial aspects of music, lent support to the idea (later adopted by Vaughan Williams and others) that music must necessarily be national. For Frank Howes, Parry was the rightful instigator of the English Musical Renaissance.[242] His interest in folksong and his disillusionment with German culture leading up to the war could be situated within the context of Forsyth's 'de-Teutonisation' of English music[243], which looked forward to a type of art that was perfectly insular and closed to any influence or inspiration from without.

In reality, however, Parry was extremely hostile towards nationalism of this sort. This became exceedingly clear by the time he wrote *Instinct and Character* under the strain of the war, although his aversion to jingoistic fervour was by no means a late development in his thinking. As a composer who began his career when German music was glorified in England, who was reared in the musical tradition of Mendelssohn or Beethoven and trained by Pierson (who left England for Germany) and Dannreuther (of Alsatian-German extraction), Parry had always looked to foreign music for inspiration. In his own experience, then, Englishness in music was not a canon of acceptable conventions specific to the English people, but a temperamental attitude towards assimilating external art. The distinction is clearly reflected in his writings, where Englishness of character—marked by "self-control, self-containment, [and] self-mastery"[244] and exemplified by Purcell's genius—is shown to navigate its way through music history by successfully internalising foreign methods and practices.[245]

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[240] Banton, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
[241] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 156.
[242] Frank Howes. *The English musical renaissance* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1966), p. 129.
[243] See Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
[244] Parry. *College addresses delivered to the pupils of the Royal College of Music,* ed. Henry Cope Colles (London: Macmillan, 1920), p. 189.
[245] See Parry. *The music of the seventeenth century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), p. 265.

In other words, Parry's idea of musical Englishness had none of the aversion towards external provisions which would become synonymous with nationalism at the close of the century. The notion that he was trying to preserve Anglo-Saxon purity in music is therefore a serious misreading of his position. Politically, Parry was absolutely opposed to social insularity of this or any other kind.[246] Disturbed by the biological theories of heredity which stressed the racial distinction of man, he ultimately saw nations as a means of harmoniously bringing people of different ethnic roots together, furnishing them with a sense of belonging under a common flag, without segregating along racial lines. Liberal nations would foster a positive environment for cultural and intellectual exchange, in which everyone was treated equally "without distinction of race".[247] Like Mill, who endorsed a tolerant form of imperialism[248], Parry did not think that liberty only applied to civilised people, or that uncivilised people should be subjected to despotism. He believed in the value of bringing diverse humans into geographical confinement, so they would be impelled to work together. Racial qualities would ultimately give way to national qualities. Culturally informed habits, being more malleable to intellectual and social criticism, would triumph over the forces of heredity.[249] He held that racial antipathy would gradually disappear in societies where the instinct of enquiry was given free play. Men would become more open-minded as they were exposed to qualities which, at the outset, might seem contradictory to their own:

> And this honourable impulse serves as a means of bringing people of diverse racial stocks to reverence those who are endowed with fine qualities, even when associated with habits and characteristics which seem, on the outside, to be uncongenial and antipathetic.[250]

He regarded patriotism, too, as more often a vice than a virtue.[251] The love for one's country had to be followed up with the realisation of man's common struggle, regardless of race or nationality. His

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[246] See Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 376: "It shows what a long journey there is ahead that people should still speak of separate communities as the biggest aggregate they contemplate… As if all communities were not concerned!"
[247] *Ibid.*, p. 142.
[248] Mark Tunick. 'Tolerant imperialism: John Stuart Mill's defense of British rule in India', *The Review of Politics* 68/4 (Fall 2006), p. 587. See also Eileen P. Sullivan. 'Liberalism and imperialism: J. S. Mill's defense of the British Empire', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 44/4 (Oct. - Dec. 1983), pp. 599-617.
[249] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 397: "Though the racial stock of Bretons and Normans and Auvergnat and Provencals and Flemings may be different, and decisive racial qualities may mark their differences of character, the sum total of French mental characteristics appear to the rest of the world as identifiable."
[250] *Ibid.*, p. 405.
[251] See *ibid.*, p. 143.

optimistic vision naturally reflected his faith in the fundamental unity of man, as discussed earlier on in this chapter:

> The discrimination between right and wrong is ultimately the same for all the diverse types of organisms, and the greater part of the interest in life consists in trying to fit diverse types into a scheme which embraces them all.[252]

What are the implications of this egalitarian worldview for art and, more specifically, for music? On the one hand, there is a feeling that artists should work with their compatriots to present something to the world which would encapsulate the wisdom of their surroundings.[253] On the other, it implies a state of toleration and amity, in which the artistic scene amalgamates the diverse qualities of all its contributing members[254], rather than forcing individuals to conform to national mannerisms. In Parry's opinion, then, Englishness in art does not connote a specific region of aesthetic experience available only to the Anglo-Saxons. Rather, it is an attitude towards art that represents the spirit of the nation in its *present* state, or projects towards its *ideal* state – an attitude that is always changing through the continual exercise of man's instinct of enquiry. Ultimately, Parry views the English as a people shaped throughout their cultural history by egalitarian ideals and principles. Englishness in art represents such democratic values as stability of opinion, self-criticism and mental accommodation, translated into the creative experience. If musical nationalism flourishes on the tyranny of the racial majority[255], denying others the right to less conventional expression, it is simply patriotism gone awry. What Parry considers to be the 'English attitude towards art' is instead a cautious policy of conducting intellectual and artistic exchange. It does not discriminate against foreign influences, but looks for qualities worth imitating, regardless of their source. This eclecticism and critical circumspection acts as man's defence against the instinct of mindless imitation, preventing people from making social decisions based on whim or fashion alone.[256]

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[252] *Ibid*., p. 407.
[253] *Ibid*., p. 344: "The spirit of a nation may be unified by the ardour of the feeling of patriotism."
[254] Parry. *College addresses delivered to the pupils of the Royal College of Music,* ed. Henry Cope Colles (London: Macmillan, 1920), p. 186: "People with undeveloped minds fail to see that the interests of a community include the interests of the individuals which constitute it."
[255] See discussion in Philip Vilas Bohlman. *Music of European nationalism* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO Inc., 2004), p. 20.
[256] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 52: "Fashion therefore is a province of a low type of intelligence; and it follows that those who are influenced by it are most easily excited by a crude form of the primitive instinct of imitation."

Faced with the formidable prospect of global warfare, 'English' art would also have to triumph over the exclusivism, militarism, imperialism, the material aggression and the "arrogance run mad" of the Prussian nobility.[257] In other words, it would have to transcend 'unenlightened' patriotism. A composer's sympathetic exchange with his compatriots (whether he agreed with them or not[258]) helped him understand his own country *for all its faults and inadequacies*.[259] The artist entered the national stage not with a readiness to conform to society's expectations, but with a healthy "desire for independence"[260] – a few degrees removed from the 'self-against-everything-else' instinct. No avenue of music was closed to him by virtue of his race or nationality (for instance, it was not wrong or unpatriotic for Monteverdi to be more German than Italian). Foreign music inspired and informed music at home, and the exchange of wisdom went inexorably forward.

In his plea for a national opera, Forsyth urged England to free herself from the trammels of Teutonicism. Indeed nationalism, in Willi Apel's now outdated view, was thought to have been non-existent in Germany since nationalism was defined as a deviation from the hegemonic mainstream.[261] For Parry, who encountered Forsyth's *Music and Nationalism* in 1912, the English response to Germany would not be adverse ethnocentrism but cosmopolitanism.[262] Addressing his pupils in May 1913, he made it clear that no singular habit of mind was adequate: "every attitude of mind has its drawbacks… the right estimate is only found when many minds of different calibres address themselves keenly to the questions… It is not to be pretended that this [the English attitude] is the only way of doing things."[263] Parry had no pathological aversion to accepting the "services of

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[257] Parry. *College addresses delivered to the pupils of the Royal College of Music,* ed. Henry Cope Colles (London: Macmillan, 1920), p. 226: "I hope we shall show none of that same arrogance which has caused it to be the most poisonous emblem in the whole universe, but display our victorious joy with modesty, and even with chivalrous courtesy to our enemies."

[258] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 20: "The proof of a highly organised mind is in its capacity to consider without heat or animus a view of a situation which appears to be diametrically opposed to its own."

[259] Parry. *College addresses delivered to the pupils of the Royal College of Music,* ed. Henry Cope Colles (London: Macmillan, 1920), p. 195.

[260] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 17.

[261] Willi Apel. *Harvard dictionary of music*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1970), p. 565.

[262] As Michael Banton notes, theoretical racism began to decline in Britain as Germany rose to become its opponent in war: "liberal writers attacked imperialist racism vehemently and effectively." See Banton. *Race relations* (London: Tavistock Publications Ltd., 1967), p. 48.

[263] Parry. *College addresses delivered to the pupils of the Royal College of Music,* ed. Henry Cope Colles (London: Macmillan, 1920), pp. 194-5.

foreigners".[264] At around the same time, Vaughan Williams could look into history and lament the "blackest" period of English music which "began with the tyranny of Handel and ended with the tyranny of Mendelssohn."[265] However, there was no room in Parry's zeal for universal toleration for a call to arms against the 'German domination' of the musical world. He only hoped that one day:

> …the Germans may go back to their music too, and leave alone the business of dominating the world by any other means but peaceful art; which, in truth, until this evil day of their own miscontriving, they had nearly accomplished.[266]

Just as nations would solve the problem of disharmony between races, it was Parry's vision that art would solve the problem of disharmony between nations. To achieve this goal, however, art could not be limited by narrow political borders. Vaughan Williams, by no means a staunch "jingoistic patriot in political terms"[267], wrote in *National Music* (1934) that "the composer who tries to be cosmopolitan from the outset will fail".[268] Here, nationalism was presented as an artistic obligation rather than a choice. Vaughan Williams cited Parry as saying in his inaugural address to the Folk-Song Society that "style is ultimately national".[269] Parry, however, consistently endorsed the opposite view – that 'the composer who tried to be national from the outset will fail'. He considered "energetic cosmopolitanism"[270] to be the essential, redeeming quality of English character – the same praise he also extended to German composers: "the music of the earlier Germans is what we call cosmopolitan".[271] On the other hand, he disliked Chopin's patriotic conscience, bought at the hard price of artistic independence and intellectuality (he thought that the *Polonaises* "symbolised the exaggerated glories of the Polish chivalric aristocracy"[272]). Perhaps, in reality, Parry mediated between

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[264] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 159.
[265] Vaughan Williams, from *The Music Student* 7/1-4 (1914), reproduced in David Manning, ed. *Vaughan Williams on music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 54.
[266] Parry. *College addresses delivered to the pupils of the Royal College of Music,* ed. Henry Cope Colles (London: Macmillan, 1920), p. 242.
[267] Alain Frogley. 'Constructing Englishness in music: national character and the reception of Ralph Vaughan Williams' in *Vaughan Williams Studies*, ed. Alain Frogley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 17-8.
[268] Vaughan Williams. *National music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934), p. 4.
[269] *Ibid.*
[270] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 156.
[271] Lecture, GB-Lcm MS. 4307, p. 11.
[272] Parry. *The evolution of the art of music* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1905/1893), p. 298.

the two extremes: the French composers suffered from their excessive insularity[273], while the voracity for foreign works had led music to be neglected as a serious profession in England.[274]

Vaughan Williams undoubtedly relied heavily on Parry's writings to arrive at his own nationalistic standpoint. He shared, in his own philosophy of music, his mentor's breadth of sympathy, his ethical imperative (in James Day's words) that "an artist's foremost loyalty was to his conscience as an artist"[275], as well as his Romantic yearning and a deep appreciation of Bach. At a theoretical level, he drew extensively from Parry's *Evolution of the Art of Music*, although his contention that music evolved out of impassioned speech was not shared by Parry. Rhetorical differences aside, the reader might be able to imagine the following words as flowing from Parry's own pen: "Artistic nationalism goes hand in hand with international unity and brotherhood between the nations, where every nation and every community will bring to the common fund that which they, and only they, can create."[276] Yet Vaughan Williams' bold emphasis on finding the characteristically 'English' style in music, and his constant delineation of homegrown and foreign elements[277], are not aspects to be met with anywhere in Parry's writings (in fact, the word 'nationalism' was never a conspicuous feature of his vocabulary). As a composer, Parry might also have been too close to the end of his creative life to appreciate the stylistic offerings of musical nationalism. In 1912, the year of the Balkan War, his final symphony was still being modelled on Schumann's Fourth; by then, Vaughan Williams had already produced such characteristic pieces as the *Norfolk Rhapsody* and *In the Fen Country* (1905). In a rather drastic simplification, Day argues that Parry's music "spoke in German with an English… accent"[278], while Vaughan Williams (resisting Parry's 'religious' admiration of Beethoven) and Holst made a mission of writing music independent of German influences. Whatever the truth of this surmise, there is reason to think that Parry was separated from the ultra-nationalistic movement in music not simply chronologically, but also by a personal disinclination to walk the slippery slope of patriotism. For Alexander Brent-Smith, writing in 1924, Parry's *Songs of Farewell* "speak to all men independent of creed, time, or race":

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[273] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 162.
[274] *Ibid.*, p. 156.
[275] James Day. *Vaughan Williams* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1961), p. 35.
[276] Quoted in Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
[277] *Ibid.*, p. 44.
[278] Day, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

> They are born of English thoughts, they drew their beauty from our English streams and fields, but the thoughtful listener can hear in these large utterances the voice of Bach, of Beethoven, of Palestrina, and of all great ones who have pondered on the ways of God to man.[279]

Not unexpectedly, Parry pronounced near the end of his final monograph that:

> Art is of no nationality, though it expresses with subtlest veracity the spiritual and temperamental qualities of the people who produce it. Art is of no sect, even though it interpret, as nothing else can, the mysteries and the traditions and the symbols of each sect… All forms of art help to bring nations into touch with one another. From all parts of the world...[280]

6.4 Folksong as a Democratic Agency

Are the opinions above contradicted by Parry's towering position as vice-president of the Folk-Song Society? In John Butt's highly unfounded view, "for Hubert Parry, a High Tory, folksong provided a refuge from the commercialised present but also provided the authentic ground for national and racial identity."[281] A little background and context is necessary to gauge the true nature of Parry's interests in folk music. Nationalistic fervour swept vigorously through Europe after the American and French revolutions. Rousseau's idea of a social contract envisaged the nation-state as the bearer of individual rights, assured by the 'General Will' of the people. However, with Johann Gottfried Herder, a pioneer of the *Sturm and Drang* movement, the universalism of the Enlightenment gave way to an ideology of cultural nationalism.[282] Musical nationalism became conspicuous in countries like Russia, Poland, Hungary and Bohemia. When advocates of musical nationalism in England, positively encouraged by the potential of *Prometheus Unbound* and *Blest Pair of Sirens*, began to dwell over the possibility of

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[279] Alexander Brent-Smith. 'The Englishness of Parry', *The Musical Times* 65/981 (1 Nov. 1924), p. 979.
[280] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 407.
[281] John Butt. *Playing with history: the historical approach to musical performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 209.
[282] See discussion in Royal Schmidt. 'Cultural nationalism in Herder', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 17/3 (Jun. 1956), pp. 407-17. Like Herder, Parry saw cultural diversity as an answer to despotism; see Dominic Eggel, Andre Liebich and Deborah Mancini-Griffoli. 'Was Herder a nationalist?', *The Review of Politics* 69/1 (Winter 2007), p. 48.

constructing a truly 'national music', it was from these other nations that they received the cue to look for answers in the nation's folk repertoire.[283]

In England, folksong collecting had to wait until the century was almost over for its formal endorsement, while countries like Hungary enjoyed a head start.[284] One of the earliest collections of folksong appears to have been by John Broadwood in 1843, reissued by his niece, Lucy Broadwood, in 1890.[285] The publication attracted the attention of Fuller Maitland and Andrew Tuer, prompting Lucy to the co-editorship of *English Country Songs* in 1893.[286] She became an important member of the Folk-Song Society after moving to London in 1894. E. David Gregory lists other collectors such as John Stokoe, Charlotte Burne, Sabine Baring-Gould, Kate Lee and Frank Kidson, who were active during the time that Parry was writing the *Art of Music*.[287] Naturally, Parry was made aware of some of their advances in the course of his own research. The Folk-Song Society was eventually formed in 1898.[288] Reminiscent of the work of the Aborigines' Protection Society, urgency was placed on saving "something primitive and genuine from extinction".[289] Lord Herschel was the president of the Society for a short time before he was succeeded after his death by Viscount Cobham; the four vice-presidents were Stainer, Mackenzie, Parry and Stanford.[290]

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[283] Composers like Dvořák and Janáček found musical inspiration in Moravian, Czech and Slavic folk traditions, while Smetana was more cosmopolitan in his usage of folk material. In later times, Bartók continued to show the artistic merits of folksong research; he was famously assisted by Zoltán Kodály in their joint endeavour to document Hungarian folk music. See also Richards, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[284] Stephen Erdely. 'Bartók and folk music' in *The Cambridge companion to Bartók* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 24. In his inaugural address, Parry regretted the late start, pointing out that "other nations have been far more keen about the matter."

[285] See Vic Gammon. 'Folk song collecting in Sussex and Surrey, 1843-1914', *History Workshop* 10 (Autumn 1980), p. 62. See also Margaret Dean-Smith. 'The preservation of English folk-song and popular music', *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 6/2 (Dec. 1950), pp. 38-9. For details of her work prior to the founding of the Folk-Song Society, See E. David Gregory. 'Before the Folk-Song Society: Lucy Broadwood and English folk song, 1884–97', *Folk Music Journal* 9/3 (2008), pp. 372-414.

[286] Dorothy De Val. *In search of song: the life and times of Lucy Broadwood* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), p. 50.

[287] E. David Gregory. *The late Victorian folksong revival: the persistence of English melody, 1878-1903* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2010), p. 285.

[288] C. J. Bearman identifies Kate Lee, rather than A. P. Graves, as the true driving force behind the project. Bearman. 'Kate Lee and the foundation of the Folk-Song Society', *Folk Music Journal* 7/5 (1999), p. 628.

[289] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

[290] The beginnings of the Folk-Song Society have been surveyed in Frederick Keel. 'The Folk Song Society 1898-1948', *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 5/3 (Dec. 1948), pp. 111-26; and John Alexander Fuller Maitland. 'The beginnings of the Folk-Song Society', *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* 8/31 (Sep. 1927), pp. 46-7.

Parry's inaugural address to the Folk-Song Society has since become a landmark document in the history of English musical nationalism. Ironically, his support for folksong research had little to do with the construction of a national music. Instead, it was almost solely precipitated by his anxiety over England's internal crisis of industrialism: "there is an enemy at the doors of folk-music which is driving it out, namely, the common popular songs of the day; and this enemy is one of the most repulsive and most insidious."[291] A serious handicap in Parry's historical writings was his contempt for popular music, provoked by a distrust of commercialism in all its aspects. He was especially given to dismiss commercial music in a singular stroke of disapproval. The dichotomy of folk music as 'rural' ("the quiet reticence of our country folk") and popular songs as 'urban' ("the sordid vulgarity of our great city-populations"[292]) was at the heart of his critique of modern music, although recent scholarship has shown folk music to be heavily influenced by urban culture and *vice versa*.[293] For practical purposes, this dualistic notion helped to highlight the speedy demise of folk traditions in an industrial age and to press the urgency of preserving them.

During the nineteenth century, Britain witnessed massive demographic shifts from the countryside to urban centres. The historian Geoffrey Best points out that in 1851, for the first time, "more people were living in 'urban' than in 'rural' situations."[294] New musical styles and venues catered to this demographic change, and as Richard Middleton observes, 'mass-entertainment' culture was becoming a reality.[295] According to Middleton, Parry's alarm for the replacement of folksong by popular genres coincided neatly with the "golden age of the music hall".[296] Ruskin's warnings that art would be treated as a commodity was ringing true now more than ever; music was being mass-produced by the "herd-drivers"[297] of society, who wished to make easy profit from sham products

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[291] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
[292] *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[293] See Richard Middleton. 'Music of the lower classes' in Temperley, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 64.
[294] Geoffrey Best. *Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-1875* (London: Fontana Press, 1971), p. 24.
[295] Middleton, *op. cit.*, pp. 70, 80. For studies of Victorian popular music see, for example, Ronald Pearsall. *Victorian popular music* (Newton Abbot: David & Carle, 1973); Raymond Mander and Joe Mitchenson. *British music hall* (London: Gentry Books, 1974); and Barry Faulk. *Music hall and modernism: the late-Victorian discovery of popular culture* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2004).
[296] *Ibid.*, p. 66.
[297] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 67.

devoid of any artistic value and to keep the lower (and upper) classes unenlightened via methods of "misrepresentation and suppression".[298] As adumbrated in *Instinct and Character*:

> The herd is made mischievous by the cleverness of interested people who know how to appeal to and excite primitive instincts… This danger is accentuated by the development of commercialism, which fully appreciates the immense opportunities for making fortunes which lie in the readiness of humanity to be herded by artificially contrived fashions or by ingenious application of the beguilements of advertising.[299]

Parry's recourse to folksong was nothing if not a counter-tactic against commercialism and, more importantly, an apologia for democracy as well as a defence of the underprivileged sections of society. Speaking in 1898, he was responding directly to the challenges posed by Zola's hereditarian naturalism and the infectious idea of biological inferiority of the lower classes. His address to the Society thus opened tellingly with a reference to that pessimistic science which "impels people to think it is hopeless to contend against their bad impulses because they are bound to inherit the bad qualities from countless shoals of ancestors".[300] For Parry, the artistic qualities found in folk music reassured him of a fundamental humanity, expressed through historical and living art; they provided much-needed evidence of man's nature (as he described elsewhere) as "not being either perfect or 'desperately wicked'".[301] Folk music proved that the common folk had always been capable of genuine art, before they were unfairly subjected to "struggling for existence" in "unhealthy [urban] regions".[302] In his address, Parry placed the primitive simplicity of folk music on a par with the complexities of modern music, in order to demonstrate the common fund of humanity pervading all genuine art alike: "the purest product of such efforts… outlasts the greatest works of art".[303] He had already argued in the *Evolution of the Art of Music* that folksong supplied the seeds out of which modern music grew. The study of folk music could bring modern musicians back in touch with pre-commercial humanity. In all his arguments, as shown in many instances previously, Parry was far from attacking the intellectual capacity of the urban masses. He always targeted the commercialists who used their positions of privilege to manipulate the masses for their own monetary gain. The performer-oriented

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[298] *Ibid.*
[299] *Ibid.*, p. 65.
[300] Parry. 'Inaugural address', *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* 1/1 (1899), p. 1.
[301] Parry. *College addresses delivered to the pupils of the Royal College of Music,* ed. Henry Cope Colles (London: Macmillan, 1920), p. 195.
[302] Parry. 'Inaugural address', *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* 1/1 (1899), p. 1.
[303] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

music hall invited the same criticism which he had once levelled against opera. Parry perceived the threat which mass culture posed to cultural diversity and democracy, and saw conformity as enabling the tyranny of the 'herding' majority.[304] Nevertheless, his defence of folk culture was not simply a nostalgic longing to return to England's agrarian past (although there are definite qualities of yearning in the patriarchic family structure of the *Shulbrede Tunes*[305]). Like the realism of Hardy's Wessex in *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* (1891, read 1893)[306], Parry did not seek to disparage the democratic present by glorifying a feudal past; he rather desired to restore faith in the common man and:

> … to comfort ourselves by the hope that at bottom, our puzzling friend, Democracy, has permanent qualities hidden away somewhere, which may yet bring it out of the slough which the scramble after false ideals, the strife between the heads that organise and the workmen who execute, and the sordid vulgarity of our great city-populations, seem in our pessimistic moments to indicate as its inevitable destiny.[307]

Folk music reminded 'pessimistic' critics of democracy of how the national spirit could triumph over the alleged, *permanent* forces of heredity. Paradoxically, the *permanence* of national characteristics assumed the place of heredity in Parry's refutation of biological predestinarianism: "All the things that mark the folk-music of the race also betoken the qualities of the race, and, as a faithful reflection of ourselves, we needs must cherish it."[308] This led him to a rather problematic position, since as a Radical he clearly took national characteristics to be mutable and unfixed, but as a believer in tradition he hoped to regard folksong as a national heritage—a historical and 'racial' fact—proof

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[304] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 117: "[In a commercialist world] those who are bent on serving their fellow men must brace themselves to do without public recognition; and also to resist the inclination to feel that public recognition is a degradation."

[305] Written late in his life, the *Shulbrede Tunes* (1914) are a collection of characteristic piano pieces set to the domestic scene of that late-twelfth-century priory, the "romantic place among the hills and oakwoods near the Sussex border", which Arthur Ponsonby (his son-in-law) acquired in 1902. From since his Eton days, Parry had been fond of writing miniatures for the piano, taking after Mendelssohn in the *Sonnets and Songs without Words* (1868-9) and Schumann in his *Charakterbilder* (1872). Although Parry's piano works have largely become neglected, these highly personal tunes give evidence of his feeling for pianistic effect as well as his adeptness at handling small forms (for example – the delicate modified rondo form of 'Children Pranks', the solemn middle section of 'Matthew', or the palindromic construction of the whole set). The final piece in the collection, 'Father Playmate' (arguably a biographical portrait of Arthur Ponsonby), presenting a passacaglia theme and up to 45 variations, is a testament to the patriarchal structure in question; it responds to the Victorian image of the ideal husband—a man upon whom the success of the entire set hangs. For a discussion of the music, see Ernest Walker. 'Parry's Shulbrede Tunes', *The Monthly Musical Record* 65 (Sep. 1935), pp. 151-2.

[306] See Scott McEathron. *Thomas Hardy's Tess of the d'Urbervilles: a sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 2005), p. 51.

[307] Parry. 'Inaugural address', *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* 1/1 (1899), p. 3.

[308] *Ibid.*

positive of the qualities of the race that may yet bring democracy "out of the slough" into which it had floundered. The paradox at least had a practical justification. Parry recognised that the permanence of (favourable) national qualities promoted the consideration of the English as a united people, unseparated by sect or class. Crucially, it ensured that members of the urban lower classes could not be condemned by those 'pessimists' eager to assert the unsoundness of democratic institutions.

More patriotic musicians have latched specifically onto these 'racial' elements of Parry's thinking, accentuating his passing remark that "in that heritage may lie the ultimate solution of the problem of characteristic national art."[309] The gentility and elegance of works like Parry's *'Lady Radnor' Suite* convinced patriots that England, too, had her own musical idiom beyond her German borrowings. For Vaughan Williams, already disposed to look for English qualities in Parry's music, the vice-president's empowering of folksong became the siren call for change. Yet it would be an error to consider Parry as the legitimate flag-bearer of this nationalistic school of thought. As Simon Heffer notes, the Folk-Song Society was "more the result of the rising musical consciousness in England due to any great desire to reintroduce these fine old tunes to the English people – that would come later, in an almost militant way."[310] Cecil Sharp led the attack against the society's passive character five years later. According to his biographer, Sharp accused the academic "professors of music" involved in the project as having "hitherto shown the least interest in the subject".[311] The society parried his allegations and resolved to put him on the Committee. In 1906, Sharp worked with Baring-Gould to bring out a collection of *English Folk-Songs for Schools*; his militant promotion of folk-music brought him into conflict even with Stanford. Sharp became a passionate—if not often confrontational—advocate of bringing folk music to the classroom. He envisaged a new generation of musicians reared in the tradition of folksong, ready to carry the torch of national music, and promulgated the notion that folksong was "communal and racial" rather than "individual".[312]

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[309] *Ibid.*

[310] Simon Heffer. *Vaughan Williams* (London: Orion Books Ltd., 2000), p. 23.

[311] Maud Karpeles. *Cecil Sharp: his life and work* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), p. 48. Sharp's views are summarised in his book, *English folk-song: some conclusions* (1907).

[312] *Ibid.*, pp 58-60, 64.

Parry's vision for the Folk-Song Society was formed under vastly different—decidedly more democratic than nationalistic—impulses. While those like Stanford campaigned "vigorously"[313] (according to Dibble) for national music to be taught at schools, Parry always held that education should be cosmopolitan, not parochial. Vaughan Williams went onto develop a pastoral idiom[314] which Parry did not always find remarkable; he was followed by E. J. Moeran, George Butterworth and many others in the venture. David Manning writes that "it is hard to avoid concluding that Vaughan Williams's genuine belief in, and enthusiasm for, folksong has led him into an unnecessary dogmatic position on its role in contemporary composition."[315] Parry would have felt such a dogmatic recourse to folk music constricting rather than liberating (a view shared by Constant Lambert and Elgar[316]). As vice-president of the Folk-Song Society, Parry clearly recognised the potential of folksong research from both a scholarly and a compositional point of view. Whether he encouraged his pupils to write music with England solely in mind is, however, a different question entirely.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter began by looking at Victorian ideas of race and Britain's imperial context. It then discussed Parry's personal attitude towards imperialism and race from a more biographical standpoint, dispelling popular representations of the composer as a 'scientific racist' in current literature. It is argued that Parry saw nationalism as a remedy to—rather than as an expression of—man's assumed biological separation. His writings consistently aimed at reducing man's racial differences, rather than at exaggerating them. This historiographical agenda led him to assume what was quite assuredly an anti-racist position, in an age rampant with hereditarian ideas. Finally, it was

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[313] For discussion of Stanford's advocacy for folk music, see Dibble. *Charles Villiers Stanford: man and musician* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 210.

[314] Not always dogmatically – Daniel Grimley has pointed to tensions between provincialism and cosmopolitanism in Vaughan Williams' *Pastoral Symphony*, for example. See Daniel Grimley. 'Landscape and distance: Vaughan Williams, modernism and the symphonic pastoral' in *British music and modernism*, ed. Matthew Riley (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), p. 148.

[315] David Manning. 'The public figure: Vaughan Williams as writer and activist' in *The Cambridge companion to Vaughan Williams*, ed. Alain Frogley and Aidan J. Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 244.

[316] See Stephen Lloyd. *Constant Lambert: beyond the Rio Grande* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014), p. 34; and Jerrold Northrop Moore. *Spirit of England: Edward Elgar in his world* (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1984), pp. 99-112.

suggested that Parry's advocacy of folk music could be better understood as an extension of his democratic, rather than nationalistic, worldview.

7. DECADENCE, NIETZSCHEAN INTERLUDE AND *INSTINCT AND CHARACTER*

> These men treated him not as if he were a person, an individual soul, but as an atom of a mass to be swept out anywhere, into the gutter—into the river. He was staggered for a time. Hundreds and thousands of human beings swarmed past him, and he could not help saying to himself as he looked up at the grey sky, 'Is it true then? Does God really know anything about me? Are we not born by the million every week, like spawn, and crushed out of existence like spawn?'
>
> – William Hale White, *Revolution in Tanner's Lane* (1887)[1]

Warren Dwight Allen, in his *Philosophies of Music History*, claims that Parry "makes no complaints… concerning the decadent tendencies of his own day." He argues: "To have done so, in fact, would have been contrary to his belief in progress."[2] Allen's caricature of Parry as an anti-revolutionary and an expounder of upwards evolution, who, unlike Wagner or Marx, believed that nothing needed to be done "for fear of interference with natural progress"[3], is as persistent as it is false. Firstly, the contention that he "makes no complaints" about decadence is demonstrably untrue. Parry once wrote in his notebook that "it is likely that humanity has never attained such a condition of positive degradation as is to be found in the dregs sections of modern life,"[4] deploring that "its art under commercial influences has attained a degree of vulgarity which no period of art whatever can approach. After vulgarity what!!"[5] Contrary to Allen's position, this chapter argues that it is within the context of his anxiety about decadence that Parry's music and writings on music must be assessed.

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[1] William Hale White. *The revolution in Tanner's Lane* (London: London, Trübner & Co., 1887), p. 135.
[2] Allen. *Philosophies of music history: a study of general histories of music 1600-1960* (New York: Dover Publications, 1962/1939), p. 116.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Notebook.
[5] In his notebook, Parry also takes notice of Ruskin's dilemma of art, as explained in *Ariadne Florentia*: "Modern aristocratic life is too vulgar, and modern peasant life too unhappy, to furnish subjects of noble study."

Secondly, Allen's readiness to link Parry with Spencer has been largely unfair to his eclectic mind. For instance, far from adopting wholesale the policy of *laissez-faire*, Parry endorsed the revolt of the many against the wealthy few.[6] Earlier chapters have shown that he was not inclined, except in moments of extreme optimism, to see progress towards an ideal society as a given; it was only something to be won with great individual and social effort. For him, Darwinian evolution harboured a wellspring of possibilities but not the promise of a better world. A different picture of the historian and composer emerges in the course of previous discussions; Parry was critical of the past, anxious about the present and wholly ambivalent about the future. Like Ruskin, he sensed a crisis within modern culture that could not be alleviated by the material profits of capitalism. The present chapter is an extension and a confirmation of this thesis; it witnesses the culmination of Parry's thought in the final two decades of his life, taking the *fin de siècle* obsession with cultural decadence as its starting point, and the impasse of war which buried the optimism of post-decadent Edwardians as its end point. The second section unravels the significance of the composer's Nietzschean year (1911) by corroborating evidence from his notes, diaries, reading lists and manuscripts. The section benefits from a glance at Nietzsche's reception in England, as Parry's views on the philosopher were ultimately clouded by serious misrepresentations, which were not uncommon amongst his countrymen at the time. While Parry was fundamentally opposed to Nietzsche's thinking (or at least his misinterpretation of it), this chapter also explores the less obvious similarities in their worldviews and the influence of other thinkers (in the third section). It is suggested below that Parry's final treatise, *Instinct and Character*, written over the course of the Great War, was likely a direct product of his prolonged philosophical confrontation with Nietzschean ideas. The purpose and ultimate fate of the treatise is the topic of the fourth section.

[6] *Ibid.*: "The world at large cannot go on putting up with the senseless fooling of the over rich… if they merely insist on the futile fallacy of the 'rights of property', & their right to play the fool with their money as they please, the majority must in the end take strong measures." Graves, in the biography, also noted Parry's distance from Spencer, pointing out that although Parry was "for a while… a reverent disciple and student" of Spencer, he "never shared Spencer's extreme Individualism in the domain of politics." See Graves. *Hubert Parry: his life and works, vol. 2* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1926), p. 295.

7.1 The Threat of Decadence in *Fin-de-Siècle* Britain

To understand the character of Parry's later thought, is important to first account for his growing anxieties over the degeneration of society through his extremely close relationship with decadent literature, prior to his exposure to Nietzsche. According to his diary, Parry encountered Walter Pater's *Renaissance* in 1897. This seminal work, which first appeared in 1873, offered a conception of artistic rebirth that emancipated artists from the traditional demands of utility. Dissatisfied with the constraints of realism (associated with Ruskin and the Pre-Raphaelites), Pater urged his readers to be "for ever curiously testing new opinions and courting new impressions, never acquiescing in a facile orthodoxy of Comte, or of Hegel, or of our own."[7]

The alienation of art from social orthodoxy created a practical distance from which artists could assert themselves more freely and more independently. Pater's aesthetic manifesto provided Parry with an answer to the problem he was personally facing as a composer: how could music be raised from its current position of insignificance? Parry's own career, constellated with public appointments and the production of oratorios and cantatas, had been the rescue of the musical profession from social reprobation. He paid a high price, as Bernard Benoliel perceives, by toiling to give music its aura of acceptability: "he almost destroyed his own creativity."[8] There was also another compromise. As the rest of the artistic world moved on towards autonomy and hyper-individualism, Parry's musical world was still courting the respect of an 'average humanity' – and was only beginning to win it. Pater's revolutionary notion of 'art for art's sake', which threatened a breach between society and art, was a risky measure at a time when music could least afford it. In the *Evolution of the Art of Music*, Parry dismissed the doctrine of an estimable love of "mere beauty"[9]; the counterbalance of an art more human and more connected with democratic life was needed to maintain the health of society. Parry's conception of a bourgeois composer[10] (i.e. a social visionary) was at once a liberating and a stifling invention; the challenge was to build a congenial home for a new generation of composers without sacrificing their rights to free expression. Benoliel hints that Parry might have

[7] Walter Pater. *The Renaissance: studies in art and poetry* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1925/1873), p. 237.
[8] Bernard Benoliel. *Parry before Jerusalem: studies of his life and music with excerpts from his published writings* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), p. 34.
[9] Parry. *The evolution of the art of music* (London: Kegan Paul, 1905/1896), p. 274.
[10] See Benoliel, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

looked to the model of Bach, the dutiful *Kappellmeister*, as a way of juggling his own public and private allegiances.[11] However, did Parry walk the middle path between bourgeois respectability and adventurous idealism to the detriment of his own art?[12]

Beyond the question of over-activity, Parry's extra-musical undertakings did not necessarily undermine his artistic venture without just compensation and rewards. They supplied and fortified a sense of purpose and historical connectedness (which ultimately fed back into his own creative process), at a time when traditionally-held values were everywhere being eroded. Parry saw with the author of the *Renaissance* that art was the surest expression of individual personality. According to Murray Pittock, "Pater looks to the past not for comfort in the shape of a historically privileged artistic elite, but to see how those who went before, Marius, Winckelmann, Michelangelo, Leonardo, dealt with enduring problems faced by us all."[13] Pater also believed that although "ideas are perpetually changing… in its essence (the 'hard, gem like flame') the artistic life never changes."[14] This was the bedrock of Parry's historiographical thinking and his vision of a reconciled humanity; in more Parryesque language, art was the perpetual gratification of man's instinct of activity, the ceaseless unfolding of human potential. As he was fond of telling his pupils, the study of the past was essentially an exercise in sympathetic understanding, as it revealed the commonness of human pursuits expressed through constantly changing modes of articulation.

The challenge on the Victorian establishment intensified during the decadent 1880s and 90s. It also coincided with the high point of Parry's career, after which began the slow decline of his health and reputation. The naturalism and realism of Zola and Flaubert, both of whom Parry read extensively during these years (he encountered *Madame Bovary* in 1890 and *Salammbô* in 1891), lurked in the same shadows as the decadence of Huysman's *À rebours* and Wilde's *Salomé*. Naturalism and decadence both embraced a deep pessimism about the viability of progress[15]; they shared the same macabre preoccupation with "illness and degeneration", as David Weir illustrates in his study of the

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[11] *Ibid.*

[12] Benoliel ultimately suggests that the "sharp deterioration in quality apparent from 1898 to 1905… was due primarily to overwork outside the creative realm," *ibid.,* p. 39.

[13] Murray Pittock. *Spectrum of decadence: the literature of the 1890s* (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 27.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[15] On the differences and similarities between decadence and naturalism, see David Weir. *Decadence and the making of modernism* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), pp. 45-6.

Goncourt brothers.[16] The short-lived *Yellow Book*, the bible of English aestheticism, began publishing from 1894, flaunting Aubrey Beardsley's stamp on its yellow cover. The following year, 1895, was the year of Wilde's indecency trials. As R. K. R. Thornton explains, not only was Wilde and his behaviour being tried; "a whole body of ideas, moral, literary, and aesthetic, and the relationship between them" was under fire along with him.[17]

Parry benefited from his familiarity with French writers and his proficiency with the language; decadent thought had been inaugurated in France since Désiré Nisard's *Études de mœurs et de critique sur les poëtes latins de la décadence* (1834).[18] Beyond Zola's naturalism, however, there was an emerging literature closer to home. As Kirsten MacLeod points out in her *Fictions of British Decadence*, late-Victorian novels played an important but often neglected role in the dissemination of decadent values.[19] Parry's concurrent acquaintance with such novels as Robert Hichens' scandalous *The Green Carnation*, George du Maurier's *Trilby* and Arthur Machen's *The Great God Pan* buttressed his awareness of the aesthetic tendencies of the time. The naturalistic novel focused on the forlornness of human struggle, monopolising on a defeatist reading of heredity and man's animal nature. Darwinism no longer could command the optimism which it had done so for the positivists. The debasement of city life, in particular the chaotic scenes of a rapidly expanding London, came under the spotlight of many English literary observers. Parry read the novels of Edwin Pugh, shedding light on the difficulties of life in Cockney London in the late 1890s; the decadent city was subject to satire in Hichens' *The Londoners: An Absurdity* (1898, read the same year). Booth's *In Darkest England, and the Way Out* (1890) compared the scene of London to 'darkest Africa', and was studied in 1891. In Arthur Morrison's *A Child of the Jago* (1894, read 1898), readers were transported into a (perhaps exaggerated) world of street violence, moral sickness and disease.[20] The young, likeable protagonist and inhabitant of the slums behind Shoreditch High Street, Dicky Perrott, is powerless against the circumstances of his upbringing. He cannot escape the fate inflicted by his social disadvantage, nor

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[16] *Ibid.*, p. 46.
[17] R. K. R. Thornton. ' "Decadence" in later nineteenth-century England' in *Decadence and the 1890s*, ed. Ian Fetcher (London: Edward Arnold, 1979), p. 15.
[18] See Michael J. Puri. *Ravel the decadent: memory, sublimation, and desire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 7.
[19] Kirsten MacLeod. *Fictions of British decadence: high art, popular writing, and the fin de siècle* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 18.
[20] John Lucas. 'From naturalism to symbolism' in *Decadence and the 1890s*, ed. Ian Fletcher (London: Edward Arnold, 1979), p. 145.

can he be saved in the end by the likes of Dickens' Mr. Brownlow. The futile attempts of the characters in William Hale White's autobiographical *Mark Rutherford's Deliverance* (1885, read 1904) to help those around them, similarly presented an unmistakable formula of the failure of meliorism.[21] His *Revolution in Tanner's Lane* (1887), which Parry also read in 1904, employed the language of spawn and chaos to underscore the dismal scene of decadent Manchester.[22] Here, the timeworn statement that 'God may not exist' was replaced by a much more pessimistic formulation, that 'God may not know anything about me' or that 'He may not care to know anything about me' – after all, why should God keep tabs on the undistinguished swarms of His children? Likewise, George Moore's *Esther Waters* (1894, read the same year), written after the decadent *Mike Fletcher*, combined the Zolaesque intrigue in animal instinct with social commentary on the working class.[23] Parry's pseudoscientific view of the human species as poised in a perilous equilibrium, borrowed from Spencer and articulated in the first chapter of *Instinct and Character*, vexed over the impermanence of energetic associations and the threat of dissolution that not only lurked in all corners, but was ultimately inevitable. Chaos and incoherence were the natural state to which all living things returned. His admission that the world might not be reserved for humanity or even for other animals[24] was not a far cry from the naturalistic view that posited a universal arena of the conflict of senseless atoms.

Although Parry was not unmoved by the abject sentiment unearthed by naturalism, he had his own reservations about its excessively negative outlook on life. The literary naturalists preached an art of cold and precise observation; they perceived a world of fixed types, like in Moore's *A Mummer's Wife*, in which only the fittest individuals with the best genetic endowment would emerge as triumphant. Writers like Joseph Conrad, whom Parry read avidly during his last decade, went even further than this. According to John Lucas, the Polish-born author extended his pessimism to all men alike; the conclusion he reached was that "the heart of man is dark".[25] As shown in the previous chapter, Parry refused to accept the premise that man was evil by nature – but he might still have taken from Conrad the vivid sight of struggle of the "self against the emptiness of the universe"[26] (in

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 136.
[22] *Ibid.,* p. 132.
[23] MacLeod, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
[24] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 7.
[25] Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 146.
[26] Richard Lehan. *Realism and naturalism: the novel in an age of transition* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press: 2005), p. 151.

the words of Richard Lehan). Thus for Parry the universe was equated with a "colossal machine", wherein life arose by assimilating "ingredients in the atmosphere".[27] In E. M. Forster's *Howards End* (1910, read 1911), the sense of individual insignificance was exacerbated by the urban expansion of London.[28] Historical processes appeared to show no concern for individual life, personality and well-being. Against the reading that Parry saw great men as mere pawns in a larger contest of evolution, he was fast joining the Edwardian revolt against naturalism and the tendencies which entailed, in his own words, "the surrender of individual experience."[29]

Frustrated by the banalities of existence, English writers turned to a new source of artistic gratification. According to MacLeod, the social and cultural criticism of Matthew Arnold and John Ruskin anticipated the more cynical attitudes of late-Victorian intellectuals – only they conveyed their discontent in radically different ways.[30] Wilde's biographer, Richard Ellmann, explains that the appeal of Ruskin's concept of beauty was being challenged by Pater's provisions, which emphasised mysticism over faith, imagination over conscience, and spontaneity over restraint.[31] In Arnoldian terms, Pater turned the spotlight on receptive Hellenism and left unassertive Hebraism behind – in the dark.[32] 'Decadent' aesthetes such as James McNeill Whistler defined themselves by opposition to the commonplace; their art was divorced from its social and ethical ties by becoming amoral, or even immoral.[33] During the 'naughty-nineties', the typical middle-class expression of this dissatisfaction with the populous sections of society was aristocratic dandyism. As Parry himself once noted in his notebook: "A very curious situation has consequently arisen in recent times. It has been discerned that the vast majority of mankind are afflicted with mental indolence – and that marked indolence entails ignorance, & that ignorance entails liability of being hoaxed."[34] He met Wilde in person at Wilton in 1891. His unflattering opinions of the illustrious dandy can be found in Dibble's biography: "Sometimes I thought him amusing, once or twice brilliant, often fatuous. His great gift is personal

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[27] Parry, *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 5.
[28] Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 147.
[29] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
[30] MacLeod, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
[31] Richard Ellman. *Oscar Wilde* (London: Hamish Hamilton Ltd., 1987), p. 47.
[32] Iain Fletcher. *Walter Pater* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1959), p. 17.
[33] For Wilde's aversion to Ruskin's ethical view of art, see, for instance, Christopher S. Nassaar. 'The darkening lens' in *Oscar Wilde*, ed. Harold Bloom (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1985), pp.124-7.
[34] Notebook.

assurance—truly brazen when he is talking nonsense."[35] There is little doubt that Parry's dislike of Wilde's behaviour stemmed from his profound distrust of the aristocratic way of life. The fact that Wilde was a student of Spencer and Comte, who saw himself as a flag-bearer of progress rather than of degeneration, was of little assurance to Parry.[36] By forsaking the world of the mundane for a pretentious aesthetic of the privileged few, he and his fellow decadents had abandoned their democratic prerogative and made virtue out of aristocratic vice. For Parry, Wilde's methods of mockery and wasteful extravagance betrayed a lack of insight, which had been the mark of Ruskin's (or even Pater's) more sensible approach to art. His 'deliberate' display of self-assurance was countered with the following caustic remarks in Parry's notebook:

> I think I have hit upon an explanation of what has puzzled me about the essentially vulgar-coarse type which can never be depended upon… They are under sensuous influence & not having will enough to resist become more and more under their domination. Then after a time they get shifty—making excuse. Vulgarity comes when they give virtuous reasons for their indulging their vices.[37]

Parry found echoes of Wilde's superficialities—the grasping for artistic effects at the expense of actual human content—in the musical world of Bizet, Berlioz, Massanet, Verdi and others.[38] By the end of the century, after the Queensbury case, his aversion to the decadent movement and his doubts about naturalism were no longer an outsider's perspective but a sentiment shared among decadent and naturalist thinkers themselves. The champions of decadence, namely Arthur Symons, had defected from the cause and dissociated themselves from the endangered aestheticism of Wilde.[39] Yeats battled the naturalism of the day and invited a new and more visionary phase of art: "this age of criticism is about to pass, and an age of imagination, of emotion, of moods, of revelation, is about to come in its place."[40] George Gissing, whose works Parry followed intently, continued to withdraw from the pessimism of his earlier writings; as Lucas explains, he was now creating "his heroes out of those who are determined to save themselves,"[41] such as Reardon in *New Grub Street* (1891, read

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[35] Jeremy Dibble. *C. Hubert H. Parry: his life and music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 292.
[36] Wilde's mature perspective that positivism could not guarantee affirmative results was not alien to Parry. For discussion of the Irish playwright's positivist background, see Bruce Haley, 'Wilde's decadence and the positivist tradition', *Victorian Studies* 28/2 (Winter 1985), p. 215.
[37] Loose leaf from Parry's notebook.
[38] See Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 243.
[39] See John M. Munro. *Arthur Symons* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1969), p. 72.
[40] W. B. Yeats, quoted in Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 143.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 137.

1891). In the humanitarian crisis during which Comte's teachings on altruism could no longer be sustained by the experience of society, Gissing would complement his pessimism about the poor with a degree of sympathy for the few deserving individuals of destitute birth – those who had no choice but to live ignoble lives, yet struggled to better themselves. Like Gissing, Parry hoped to put things in better perspective for his readers:

> It is probable that burglars are a good deal overrated. Most of them must be of a very low type of humanity; stupid, mean, pinched, starvelings. But there must be some outstanding individuals. People worthy of their calling – courageous, resourceful, delighting in danger, self-controlled, enterprising… there is really as much claim for them to have places in the rank of the privileged as the crafty ones who have elbowed themselves into the front, or the descendants of people who contrived to annex, at other people's expense, a disproportionate amount of the world's good.[42]

Booth's *In Darkest England* deplored the horrific conditions suffered by the people, but it also presented a hope for remediation (in the form of the Salvation Army): "For Darkest England, as for Darkest Africa, there is a light beyond. I think I see my way out, a way by which these wretched ones may escape from the gloom of their miserable existence into a higher and happier life."[43] The wealth gap and class impediments in Gissing's *Born in Exile* (1892, read 1913) and Hardy's *Jude the Obscure* (1895, read 1895) were being seriously examined in later years by Edwardians, such as Seebohm Rowntree and Parry's own son-in-law, Arthur Ponsonby.[44] Ponsonby's *Camel and the Needle's Eyes* (1909, read the same year) criticised Roman Catholic hypocrisy in the accrual of its wealth, likening the habits of the rich to unwitting crime against the poor, and set forth a more dynamic view of class relations while (as Donald Read points out) exposing the limits of philanthropy as a solution to real-world problems.[45] Parry studied John and Barbara Hammond's *The Village Labourer* (1911) in 1912, a work which investigated, among other things, "the insensibility of the upper classes, due to the isolation of the poor",[46] and, in 1914, he also read Hartley Withers' *Poverty and Waste* (1914). Withers stressed that workers seldom get enough remuneration for their hard labour to have a chance of life, and that the system was stacked against the poor. In Parry's own understanding of effects of

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[42] Notebook.
[43] William Booth. *In darkest England and the way out* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1890), p. 15.
[44] Donald Read. *Edwardian England 1901-15: society and politics* (London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., 1972), p. 154.
[45] *Ibid.*
[46] John Lawrence Hammond and Barbara Hammond. *The village labourer, 1760-1832: a study in the government of England before the reform bill* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1920/1911), p. 201.

philanthropy on poverty, "people give to be rid of persistent importunities… They give to save themselves the trouble of enquiry… it leaves most of those who are in real distress unrelieved."[47] Charity thus created an illusion of effective action. It is worth mentioning that, for all his crusading for an egalitarian society and his tirades against the aristocracy, Parry did not trust mob wisdom or condone the violent strategies of its trade unions. However, reflecting his deep sympathy with the poor, he would dismiss the simplistic view of class membership (embraced by the proponents of naturalism) as not only inadequate but also socially irresponsible.

The novels of the day chronicled the transition away from aestheticism into symbolism and other *-isms*. During this time Parry was contributing to the cause with his own *Style in Musical Art* – which could be read as a manual against the aesthetic cult of style, harking back to the model of Ruskin's Oxford lecture series. To take an aphorism from his notebook: "if you want people to be susceptible to colour effects you must not say anything new or different."[48] His argument was that the emphasis on effects detracted from the actual content of the art work. Parry sometimes spoke of the 'Walt Whitmanising' of art[49], by which he presumably meant the democratising of poetry, a tried-and-tested American curative to the tendencies of 'art for art's sake'. Whitman's distaste for the "disciples of finesse—advocates of taste, laces, bindings, ornamentation—protagonists of filigree"[50] was echoed in Parry's attack on artistic professionalism. (Curiously, despite his pre-occupation with Whitman's poetry, he never set it to music unlike several of his contemporaries.) Here, Parry—himself often accused of a certain degree of amateurism—sought to bring art down from the 'lofty' region of aristocrats into the hands of amateurs, and to put it within the reach of democracy:

> Artists are disposed to lay too much stress on technique and skills – with them a high standard in such things is a sort of point of honour. It marks the difference between the professional mind and the amateur & occasionally gives the amateur an advantage – for he is less hampered with conventions…[51]

Symbolism turned the *fin-de-siècle* fixation on outward appearances inwards; Wilde's idiosyncrasies were now considered disingenuous and lacking in sober judgment. Parry inculcated

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[47] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 132.
[48] Notebook.
[49] Notebook.
[50] Horace Traubel, ed. *With Walt Whitman in Camden, vol. 2: July 16, 1888 - October 31, 1888* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 1961), p. 528.
[51] Notebook.

some of the central tenets of the symbolists in his later writings. For example, he continued to stress the value of looking at the world through different lenses and from a multiplicity of 'windows'.[52] *Instinct and Character* employed the impressionistic example of how a person's face changed under the influence of different lighting.[53] Like Pater, Parry was consistently facilitating the divorce of art from realism: "art is essentially free from bondage to the responsibilities of facts."[54] Against a positivistic world of certainties, he endorsed the importance of mystery and the imagination; in his own words, "art without mystery is self-destructive."[55] Music was similar to (and had an advantage over) painting because "the appeal is made to the imagination… reference is not made, in most cases, to external facts at all."[56] The work of the composer became more subjective, more introspective and more profound: "its [music's] subjectivity protects it from any possible collision with tenets and opinions or statements of fact or differences of theology."[57] Art, by utilising symbols and metaphors, gained access to inner truths otherwise inaccessible by scientific modes of observation. Parry frequently looked to the examples of J. M. W. Turner, John Constable, Claude Lorrain, Titian and Albert Durer for symbolic wisdom.[58] Religion was ultimately connected to art in being more symbolic in its enlightened forms. By declaring art a form of devotion towards impossible ideals, Parry was making 'religion' relevant to society again amidst the nihilistic darkness of materialism and atheism.

In his book, Murray Pittock lists some artistic legacies of the transitional decadence of the 1890s, among them "subjectivism, alienation, the apotheosis of the artist, a sense of fragmentation at the heart of Western culture, and the recrudescence of myth in an age of science."[59] As shown above, many of these elements could be found in the wider dimension of Parry's thinking. Where he differed from some symbolists like Moore was his utilitarian refusal to consider art as an elitist pursuit – art was for everyone, or it was for no one at all. The substance of his philosophy could be grossly summarised by the question: how could art be democratic while retaining its idealistic qualities and

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[52] Parry. *College addresses delivered to the pupils of the Royal College of Music,* ed. Henry Cope Colles (London: Macmillan, 1920), p. 169. Also see Notebook: "You must not be surprised at my seeming to contradict myself about such things, as the roads that lead from anything we do or undergo lead various different ways – & everything may be wholesome in one aspect & injurious in another."
[53] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 221.
[54] *Ibid.*
[55] *Ibid.*, p. 220.
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 221.
[57] *Ibid.*, p. 222.
[58] *Ibid.*, p. 221.
[59] Pittock, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

vision? His answer touched on a wide range of issues, from stylistic criticism to education and to socialism. The following section discusses the post-decadent aspects of Parry's later writings by looking at his important confrontation with Nietzschean philosophy in the years leading up to the First World War.

7.2 Confrontation with Nietzsche's Philosophy

Like many other intellectuals of the day, Parry was quick to get his hands on Max Nordau's *Degeneration* when its English version appeared in 1895. As a timely repudiation of modernism, the work enjoyed a wide but not uncritical readership in England. Nordau was a committed liberal, a positivist and a physician who brought his own medical expertise to bear on his social observations. He viewed the erosion of moral values in society as a sign of physiological fatigue and a plague-like sickness that could be diagnosed in clinical and Lombrosian terms.[60] More importantly, cultural degeneracy was a reality that needed to be resisted by every sane thinker:

> The 'freedom' and 'modernity', the 'progress' and 'truth' of these fellows are not ours. We have nothing in common with them. They wish for self-indulgence; we wish for work. They wish to drown consciousness in the unconscious; we wish to strengthen and enrich consciousness. They wish for evasive ideation and babble; we wish for attention, observation and knowledge.[61]

Nordau's sweeping attack on the prophets of modernity and their "contempt for traditional views of custom and morality"[62] sounded a siren for the decline of social health in Europe. He stood for classical developmentalist thinking while it was being besieged by immoral 'degenerates'. Parry shared with the author of *Degeneration* the same dislike of the exaggerated tendencies of a Zarathustra or a Dorian Gray; the physician expressed in persuasive medical terms what the music historian often tried to convey through a basic metaphor of fatigue.[63] Despite their mutual concern for cultural

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[60] See Steven Aschheim. 'Max Nordau, Friedrich Nietzsche and degeneration', *Journal of Contemporary History* 28/4 (Oct. 1993), p. 645.

[61] Max Nordau. *Degeneration,* trans. from 2nd ed. (London: William Heinemann, 1898/1892), p. 560.

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[63] For example, Parry describes nihilism as "active powers being exhausted relapse[-ing] to the néant." Marginal notes in his copy of *The will to power*. In his notebook, he writes on the topic of exhaustion: "When a man is exhausted he hits out at random because he can no longer poise the various impulses, & one or more of these

degeneracy, however, it cannot be assumed that Parry found Nordau's arguments altogether convincing. In his work, Nordau painted numerous thinkers with the same brush of degeneracy, among them Maeterlinck, Nietzsche, Ibsen, Tolstoy, Wagner, Whitman, Wilde and Zola. Parry read many of Maeterlinck's symbolist works in French, for instance *L'intruse*, *Les aveugles*, *La vie des abeilles*, not to mention *Pelléas et Mélisande*. Maude and he both admired Ibsen's plays from *An Enemy of the People* to *Hedda Gabler*. Perhaps for its feminist liberties, he thought *A Doll's House* to be "the most interesting modern play I ever saw, and supremely true to human nature whatever it may be in the truth of the special application of its social and moral principles."[64] Parry appreciated Ibsen's readiness to confront social norms,[65] just as he was positively struck by Spencer's unorthodox behaviour, and for the same reason that he admired the Shaw's stage works. He was also an avid reader of Tolstoy's novellas in the late 1880s and 90s, imbibing *Sevastopol* more than once (he returned to it as it became relevant again during the war years), but also the sexually controversial *Kreutzer Sonata*, *The Cossacks* and his last novel, *Resurrection*, which was banned by the tsarist authorities for its protest against the persecution of the Doukhobors. Wagner's artistic attainments far outweighed his human faults[66], Whitman was the archetypical artist-democrat, and Zola captured his intrigue for more than a decade. Further highlighting their differences, Ruskin was for Nordau "one of the most turbid and fallacious minds"[67], whose theory of typical beauty and emphasis on mysticism gave undue credence to the Pre-Raphaelite artists. Nordau's broad-brush condemnation of all unconventional thinkers could only seem facile to a reader whose allegiances rested, for the most part, with the accused.

Indeed while Nordau argued that physiological fatigue arose from 'acquired' and 'hereditary' hysteria[68], Parry perceived that it was indulgence which led to exhaustion, not necessarily the other way round.[69] Furthermore, the Zionist thinker's later appeal to nationalism was entirely foreign to

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rushes into predominance. And the general direction of forces is disorganized. One force predominates at the expense of others."

[64] Benoliel, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

[65] See Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 360.

[66] Parry might have been prompted by Nietzsche to question "whether Wagner wanted more fame… or whether his aims were simpler & purer." See Notebook.

[67] Nordau, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

[68] See discussion in Daniel Pick. *Faces of degeneration: a European disorder* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 24.

[69] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 280.

Parry's liberal philosophy.[70] Where the physician succeeded was in putting his finger on the problem of degeneration, making it a tangible phenomenon before the public and a thing to be resisted by clear-headed individuals. David Thatcher argues that Nordau's influence "effectively short-circuited any chance the English reading public might have had of looking at Nietzsche with unprejudiced eyes."[71] With Wilde's trials only a few months down the line, Nordau's work became so popular that it went through seven impressions in its first year.[72] It prepared English minds for the Nietzschean onslaught by telling them what to look out for in the man and his philosophy: his "intellectual sadism… mania of contradiction and doubt… misanthropy, or anthropophobia, megalomania, and mysticism".[73] As it happened, Nietzsche's psychotic breakdown and confinement in Jena only heaped credibility on Nordau's quasi-medical diagnosis of his 'degenerate' condition.

Parry was on the receiving end of Nordau's intellectual conditioning. The lack of exposure to Nietzsche's philosophy in England in the 1890s meant that second-hand opinions were allowed to reign uncontested. Towards the end of that decade, however, the situation was beginning to change, with Thomas Common, W. A. Haussmann and Alexander Tille bringing out the first English translations of Nietzsche.[74] As Stefen Manz demonstrates, the latter of these men played an extremely important part in promulgating pro-Teutonic sentiment before the war.[75] Tille, Common and Haussmann stressed the Darwinian content of Nietzsche's works, since it would appeal to Anglo-Saxon readers already accustomed to evolutionary thought. As evinced by Parry's own experience many years later, such an evolutionary reading of Nietzsche's philosophy had the unfavourable effect of inviting controversy where it was not due (it elbowed him closer into a reactionary alliance with Kidd's *Social Evolution*). Another point of contact with Nietzschean philosophy was the English premiere of Strauss' *Also Sprach Zarathustra*, taking place in 1897 at the Crystal Palace. Grove was not so receptive of the work, disapproving Strauss' "absurd farrago… [of] noise and effect"[76], but Parry

[70] For discussion on the split between Nordau's Zionism and his liberalism, see P. M. Baldwin. 'Liberalism, nationalism, and degeneration: the case of Max Nordau', *Central European History* 13/2 (Jun. 1980), pp. 99-120.
[71] David Thatcher. *Nietzsche in England, 1890-1914: the growth of a reputation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 5.
[72] *Ibid.*, p. 28.
[73] Nordau, *op. cit.*, p. 465.
[74] Thatcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-4.
[75] Stefen Manz. 'Translating Nietzsche, mediating literature: Alexander Tille and the limits of Anglo-German intercultural transfer', *Neophilologus* 91 (2007), pp. 117-34.
[76] George Grove, quoted in Ernest Newman. *Musical studies,* 3rd ed. (London: John Lane, 1914/1905), p. 249.

evidently found much to like in Strauss' musical enterprise (despite his reservations about the underlying philosophy, which he found too cynical for his taste). It is known that Strauss took an interest in Schopenhauer while he was working on his opera, *Guntram*; on some accounts, he was soon moving away from Schopenhauerian aesthetics and metaphysics into his new Nietzschean habitat.[77] Reflecting some years later on "such ebulliencies as Salome & Elektra", Parry did not fail to detect the Nietzschean strain in Strauss' later works: "if intelligence was more diffused they [the public] would realize that the excesses which give the appearance of Dionysiac impulse were mere superfluities."[78]

According to Thatcher, the years between 1899 and 1907 (essentially Parry's 'ethical cantata' years) brought no promising advance, apart from the publication of the *Dawn of Day* and the appearance of the Nietzschean journal, *Eagle and the Serpent*, in the promotion of Nietzsche's works in England.[79] Thatcher attributes this failure to impress to the hindering influence of Nordau, to Tille's particular reading of the philosophy which kindled the cool or hostile reception by the press, to the expensiveness and the subpar quality of the volumes translated, and finally to the lack of preparatory groundwork provided for the choice of works published.[80] In Parry's case, this interval of nonchalance was only interrupted by his acquaintance with Shaw's *Man and Superman* (read in 1905). Shaw had been drawn to Nietzsche's works since 1901 through a personal association with Common, and Parry's admiration for the playwright supplied him with a more approving account of Nietzsche's philosophy, as tempered through the eyes of a disenchanted democrat and a Fabian socialist. Shaw defused Nietzsche's offensive novelty by placing Superman in the more familiar context of hero-worship[81], making it relevant and applicable—rather than antagonistic—to democratic wisdom.

It was not until 1909 that Parry approached Tille's translation of *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* for himself. This was recorded in his diary on 10 August: "Finished 'Zarathustra' before I went to bed. Leaves a queer uncanny sensation. But it's worth going at again."[82] Dibble suggests that this reading

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[77] See John Williamson. *Strauss: Also sprach Zarathustra* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 22-3.
[78] Notebook.
[79] Thatcher, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
[80] *Ibid.*, p. 38.
[81] *Ibid.*, p. 193.
[82] Diary, 10 August 1909.

might have been prompted by the occasion of Delius' *Mass of Life*, performed in London on 7 June that same year (although there is no mention of it in the diary).[83] This seems not at all far-fetched, however, since the reading was a one-off incident, and Parry apparently picked up no other volume of Nietzsche over the course of the next two years. During this time, the German philosopher was acquiring a more enthusiastic posthumous fellowship in England. A. R. Orage's magazine, *The New Age*, began publishing and circulating his ideas from 1907 onwards, and the translation venture was being pursued by Oscar Levy and Anthony Ludovici.[84] When Parry revisited Nietzsche in 1911, it was to these more sympathetic editions that he turned. His Nietzschean interlude began with a reading of *The Birth of Tragedy*, followed closely by the *Dawn of Day*. Symons believed that these two volumes made for a favourable access point to Nietzsche's philosophy, as they were far less startling than works such as *The Antichrist*[85] (for example, Parry might have been able to relate to Nietzsche's idea of 'finding the balance' between Dionysiac and Apollonian impulses, his opinions of the Greeks, or his championship of Wagner). Without missing a beat, he launched into a study of *On the Genealogy of Morality*, *Beyond Good and Evil*, *On the Future of our Educational Institutions*, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* (again), *The Will to Power* (14th volume of Levy's edition, translated by Ludovici, 1910), *Twilight of the Idols* and *The Gay Science*.

The surprising extent to which Parry became occupied with Nietzsche's philosophy is evident from his diaries in the latter months of 1911. *Dawn of Day* was apparently read in September:

> *11 September:* Rehearsal of Te Deum at 2:40. Went quite well. Stayed for Vaughan Williams' little pieces [the *Five Mystical Songs*] & did not like them at all; all the new conventional dodges of consecutives et. cet. & very little more… Read Nietzsche's Dawn of Day & did not like it much better than Vaughan Williams.

By the next month, Nietzsche had become something of a private obsession. A pattern emerged:

> *3 October:* Home about 6:30. Lonely dinner – read Nietzsche.
>
> *4 October:* Wild weather… Home about 6:40. Lonely dinner & reading Nietzsche after.
>
> *7 October:* Read Nietzsche on education [*On the Future of our Educational Institutions*] & think him singularly futile.

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[83] Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 433.
[84] Thatcher, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
[85] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

> *8 October:* Read 'Also Sprach' – Strangely fascinating and exasperating…
>
> *11 October:* Home to lonely dinner about 6:45. Read Nietzsche & did some work afterwards.
>
> *17 October:* Home to loneliness about 6:30. Read Nietzsche & did some work afterwards.
>
> *20 October:* Home about 6:30. Loneliness. After dinner went on with Nietzsche & tried to do some work – without much success.

And so forth. It is difficult to say what propelled Parry into his Nietzschean episode in 1911. As a point of reference, he began taking Nietzsche seriously at about the same time he was imbibing Flaubert, Balzac and most noticeably H. G. Wells. After Bismarck's dismissal in 1890, Wilhelmine Germany was asserting itself as a restless industrial and imperial power to be heeded. German steel production had surpassed Britain's towards the end of Victoria's century, and its naval powers were growing at an alarming rate, prompting both nations into an expensive arms race in the years leading up to the war. When Parry met the Kaiser in 1907 at Windsor Castle, he thought his 'frank' personality rather charming.[86] However, as Dibble notes, Parry had reason to be concerned about the Kaiser's imperialist ambitions and Germany's insatiable bid for power.[87] As a proponent of German culture for the greater part of his life, Parry followed the developing international tension closely and anxiously. In 1909 he encountered the foreboding pamphlet, *German ambitions as they affect Britain and the United States*, and a year later he studied Norman Angell's popular *Europe Optical Illusion* (1909). The significance of Angell's work (in its essence a Cobdenite defence of free trade) was to dissuade the war effort from an economical (rather than a moral) standpoint; Europe's 'great illusion' was the belief that war could be beneficial or profitable. The work verified much of Parry's angst that a naval arms race would ultimately culminate in worldwide catastrophe.[88]

Parry entered his Nietzschean episode with the preconceived idea of finding there the belligerent ambitions of a debauched German people. Thus, when the war broke out in 1914, he was quick to assign to Nietzsche part of the blame before an audience at the Royal College of Music:

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[86] Diary, 15 November 1907.
[87] Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 418.
[88] See J. D. B. Miller. *Norman Angell and the futility of war: peace and the public mind* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986).

> We used to laugh at their much-vaunted philosopher Nietzsche for the concentrated essence of bitter spite which he expressed. We stared in bewildered incredulity at the text-books of their War-lords, and thought it impossible that such things could really be meant by any human being, however grossly perverted.[89]

These morally 'perverted' texts included General Friedrich von Bernhardi's *Germany and the Next War* (1914, read that same year), which evoked Darwinian biology to defend the prospects of warfare. Perhaps on J. A. Cramb's recommendation (his 1913 pamphlet on *England and Germany* counselled closer acquaintance with German philosophy), Parry was soon reading up on Treitschke, whose racist theories and advocacy of war only added to the ongoing narrative of Germany's moral perversion.[90] Works like Roland Usher's *Pan-Germanism* (1913, read 1914) gave a distressing outsider's insight into the German appetite for European domination. Through such experiences, Parry was gradually distancing himself from the German aspect of his intellectual (but not musical) heritage. His suspicion was that Germany was being corrupted by the immoderate impulses of her 'bitter' and cynical philosophers; in this sense, Nietzsche was only one among the many responsible culprits.

In a literary sea of jingoism and warmongering, Parry sought refuge in Shaw's *Common Sense about the War* (1914) and Bertrand Russell's *Principles of Social Reconstruction* (1916). Shaw's uncompromising anti-war sentiment and his antagonism towards those who supported militaristic behaviour reflected Parry's own disgust at the sheer scale of the violence. He knew too well the toll that war was taking on the artistic life of the country. The Three Choirs and many other significant provincial festivals were suspended for the duration of the conflict.[91] To his dismay, students at the Royal College of Music were fast enlisting in the army, while the shortage of male singers in choirs signalled the ruination of music as Britain knew it. Faced with the carnage, the incomprehensible waste of human potential, and the loss of those like George Butterworth, Parry clung to his conviction that composers should be exempt from military service.[92] Writing to Vaughan Williams (who enlisted in 1914), he told him that artists "are not on the same footing as ordinary folks" – and made known his protest: "You have already served your country in many notable and exceptional ways… We may

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[89] Parry. *College addresses delivered to the pupils of the Royal College of Music,* ed. Henry Cope Colles (London: Macmillan, 1920), p. 221.
[90] He read selections from *Politik* and Adolf Hausrath's biography of Treitschke in 1914.
[91] Pippa Drummond. *The provincial music festival in England, 1784-1914* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), p. 12.
[92] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 246: "I am not sure indeed that there is not some risk of their being too rash and needlessly exposing lives which really have rather an exceptional value."

admit the generosity of the impulse, and feel – I will not say what."[93] His argument, though compromising his egalitarian Weltanschauung, was meant to protect the lives of his pupils and those close to him. It stemmed from his view that artists are peaceful custodians of noble human qualities – a standard that, in his opinion, those who spoke in the embattled language of Nietzsche undermined.

As the war dragged on, bad news from abroad compounded his pessimism about the future of Europe. Parry consulted the infamous Bryce report into German atrocities on several occasions, once in 1915 and again in 1916; he complemented it with a reading of Ford Madox Hueffer's *When Blood Is Their Argument: An Analysis of Prussian Culture* and John Hartman Morgan's 1915 translation of *Kriegsbrauch im Landkriege* – a centrepiece of anti-German propaganda in Britain. He became convinced that Germany needed to be stopped, even if by means of brute force. Like Bertrand Russell, Parry disapproved of violence but grew impatient with certain pacifists on grounds that their 'peace-at-any-price' policies would do nothing to prevent the enemy's advance.[94] In 1915, when anti-German sentiment intensified with events culminating in the sinking of the *Lusitania*, this became cause for a domestic disagreement between Parry, Dorothea, and his son-in-law. As Arthur Ponsonby recorded in his diary of April 1915, "There is a note of contempt in some people's attitude towards me. [Sir William] Robertson has it. And it is not entirely absent from CHHP who was over here on Sunday for luncheon."[95] Ponsonby, who saw eye to eye with the composer on such issues as poverty, democracy, liberty and perhaps even socialism, was a staunch pacifist, an advocate of government transparency[96], an outspoken critic of foreign policy and wartime spending, and an early supporter of the anti-war Union of Democratic Control. Parry, however, wondered if Germany had not been hopelessly poisoned by a creed of imperialistic militarism, a view articulated in his support for Sir Francis Younghusband's 'Fight for Right' movement and the composition of 'Jerusalem' in 1916.[97] His defence

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[93] Benoliel, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

[94] See Laura Slot. *Consistency and change in Bertrand Russell's attitude towards war*, Masters dissertation (Utrecht University, 2007), p. 28.

[95] Arthur Ponsonby, from his diary, 5 April 1915, ShP, quoted in Raymond A. Jones. *Arthur Ponsonby: the politics of life* (London: Christopher Helm Ltd., 1989), p. 96.

[96] See his 1915 book *Democracy and Diplomacy*, which Parry read in the same year. In it, Ponsonby argues that only through the people and through democracy can the "mutual sympathies of a common humanity be so elevated and strengthened as to form an inviolable tie of unity between the citizens of the world". The government should not withhold information from the people; diplomatic secrets are aristocratic and therefore undesirable. See Ponsonby. *Democracy and diplomacy* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1915), pp. 27, 117.

[97] He confessed to Dorothea: "I hate and loathe war as much as you do, but to try to break off now when militarism is absolutely in possession of Germany is merely to leave those who advocate it in the position to

of Britain's involvement in the war never exceeded the function of putting an end to the German 'war-lords'; it did not become—and indeed he was vocally opposed to—the chauvinism or the authoritarianism that Ponsonby detested. At the same time, the Teutonic sympathies which were instilled in him since youth (in addition to his own relations with Dannreuther, Joachim, Jaeger, Manns, Richter and others) were never depleted. His attempt to seek naturalisation for his German servant, George Schlichenmeyer, and his protest against post-war recriminations have been discussed by other writers on Parry.[98] A reader of Hobson's *Towards International Government* (1915) and Angell's *Foundations of International Polity* (1914, read 1917), he also pondered the possibilities of international reconciliation in *Instinct and Character* (discussed in the previous chapter), though he apparently lacked the political training to carry his vague suggestions forward into an actual framework for practice.

Central to Parry's chastisement of German militarism was his pre-war acquaintance with—and his interpretation of—Nietzsche's texts. It is likely that *Instinct and Character*, a work intended as a statement of optimism in the midst of war, was in fact conceived as a direct response to the notorious German philosopher. The rest of this section explores his disagreement with some of the central aspects of Nietzsche's outlook. Parry's addresses and personal notes show how he came to regard the maker of *Zarathustra* as a spokesperson for cruelty and violence, and ultimately (in retrospect unfoundedly) linked his combative language with the experience of the war. He firmly opposed Nietzsche's method (articulated in the *Twilight of the Idols*) of 'philosophising with a hammer', and saw him as an undiscerning breaker of values but a creator of none. In *Daybreak*, Nietzsche launched his personal "campaign against morality".[99] His philosophy of perpetual questioning, of the repudiation of traditional and absolute values, and of brutal intellectual honesty was ironically interpreted, in light of Nordau's *Degeneration*, as a philosophy of overbearing arrogance. Nietzsche's attack on Socrates—for Parry, the rational thinker *par excellence*—and his growing commitment to Dionysiac violence, indicated his lack of an adequately sceptical mind. As the composer testified in his notebook, "The Socratic attitude of questioning, which he [Nietzsche] thought ruinous, is an

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make it override justice and truth and honest living throughout the world. The absolutely needful thing is to get done with it…" Letter to Dorothea Ponsonby, 26 July 1917, ShP, quoted in Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 488.

[98] See, for example, Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 469; Benoliel, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

[99] Nietzsche, *EH D 1*. The conventional way of citing Nietzsche's works is adopted here for ease of cross-reference.

indispensable check to the perversion of indiscriminate instincts."[100] In Parry's opinion, Nietzsche was a man adrift in a sea of 'indiscriminate instincts'. The anti-Nietzschean measure of 'finding the balance', also the title of the final chapter of *Instinct and Character*, between instinctual extremes permeated the work from the first page to the very last.

The suspicion that Nietzschean philosophy was personally responsible for the escalation of armed conflict in Europe gained currency as the German government handed out 150,000 copies of *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* to conscripts at the front, along with the New Testament. There was a temptation, especially for Parry—a dedicated Germanophile, to blame the country's fall from grace on the perverse thinking of a handful of philosophers, rather than to admit to a fault within 'Teutonic' culture or to address the problem from a more political or socioeconomic standpoint. A bookseller in Piccadilly went as far as to dub the war the 'The Euro-Nietzschean War', encouraging readers to acquaint themselves with the 'Devil', "in order to fight him better."[101] Similarly, Thomas Hardy, an outspoken opponent of Nietzschean values, claimed that no country had ever been "so demoralised by a single writer".[102] Nietzsche, the philosopher-warrior, became mistakenly identified with the Germano-centrism which was being sung in his motherland. Insofar as Parry considered Nietzsche a German oddity to be "laughed at"[103], he was even less discriminate (to recall the limits of his racial argument) when he declared, in his notes on the *Will to Power*, that "from the general tone of N's style one must infer that the Germans have had exceptional difficulty in purging out the primitive beast in man."[104]

Given his considerable familiarity with the texts, it is certainly odd that Parry could misinterpret Nietzsche's intentions to such an extent. In reality, as Carol Diethe explains, Nietzsche believed that the crucial step in becoming a good German was effectively to 'de-Germanise' oneself –

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[100] Notebook.
[101] See Aschheim. *The Nietzsche legacy in Germany, 1890-1990* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), p. 128.
[102] For Hardy's reaction to Nietzsche, see Eugene Williamson. 'Thomas Hardy and Friedrich Nietzsche: the reasons', *Comparative Literature Studies* 15/44, Special Student Number (Dec. 1978), pp. 403-13.
[103] Parry. *College addresses delivered to the pupils of the Royal College of Music,* ed. Henry Cope Colles (London: Macmillan, 1920), p. 221.
[104] Notes in Parry's personal copy of *The will to power*, ed. Oscar Levy, trans. Anthony Ludovici (Edinburgh & London: T. N. Foulis, 1910), ShP.

to instead become a good European.[105] Accordingly, Nietzsche had but few sympathisers in Germany throughout his life; he was also decidedly hostile to anti-Semitism due to his broken relations with Bernhard Förster. There is the consideration that the Nietzsche Parry knew better was the Nietzsche of *Zarathustra* (see, for instance, the chapter on 'Wars and Warriors') and the *Genealogy of Morals* (with its constant references to the Germanic 'blond beast'), and not the Nietzsche of *Human, All Too Human* (which he might not have read at all). Furthermore, the influence of Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche, who was distorting her brother's philosophy by means of erasures and forgeries to suit her own preferences, left an authoritative version of the philosophy far removed from actuality (Parry encountered her biographical account of Nietzsche, *The Young Nietzsche*, in 1913). The composer found the belligerent tone of Nietzsche's prose disturbing, but he did not grasp that, in the words of R. J. Hollingdale, "usually his [Nietzsche's] war vocabulary is associated with that most unwarlike pursuit, philosophy."[106] His warriors were but "warriors of knowledge", waging a "war for… opinions".[107] Nietzsche intended to take up arms against the established order in Germany, just as Parry was making a stand with the likes of Samuel Butler against Victorian complacency – but what was, for the philosopher, a merciless battlefield of opinions was, for the composer, a passive and grounded exchange between consenting intellectual parties. The difference was not simply a matter of phraseology; Parry was never quite able to come to terms with the urgency of Nietzsche's iconoclastic 'transvaluation of values'.

One of the major obstacles in the dissemination of Nietzsche's ideas in England, as Levy pointed out, was the contempt the philosopher himself directed at English minds.[108] For Nietzsche, the infectious empiricism of Hume and Locke, so endearing to Parry, represented the "mechanical

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[105] Carol Diethe. 'Nietzsche and nationalism', *History of European Ideas* 14/2 (1992), p. 231. In *Ecce Homo*, which Parry read in 1912, Nietzsche referred to nationalism as "this névrose nationale with which Europe is sick, this perpetuation of European particularism, of petty politics" (*EH CW 2*). Nietzsche also proclaims in in the same book (*EH II 5*): "Constituted as I am, a stranger in my deepest instincts to everything German, so that the mere presence of a German hinders my digestion, my first contact with Wagner was also the first time in my life I ever drew a deep breath: I felt, I reverenced him… [as] the incarnate protest against all 'German virtues'…" Stephan Elbe argues that, for Nietzsche, nationalism was an ill-formed response to the nihilism induced by the death of God. See Elbe. *Europe: a Nietzschean perspective* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 58.

[106] R. J. Hollingdale. *Nietzsche: the man and his philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999/1965), p. 145.

[107] Nietzsche, quoted in *ibid.*

[108] See Thatcher, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

stultification of the world."[109] He disliked Mill's utilitarianism, because it emphasised herd-happiness and glorified mediocrity at the expense of finer (super-)human qualities, and saw Spencer's synthetic philosophy as perpetuating a false optimism in science.[110] His derisive remark in the *Will to Power* that "the victory of the good and the annihilation of the evil is regarded as a duty (this is English, and is typical of that blockhead, John Stuart Mill)" was met in the margin by Parry's witty, albeit Nordauian, retort: "The remark is typical of the spiteful lunatic Frederic Nietzsche."[111] By Thatcher's account, Nietzsche despised the hypocrisy he found in the puritanical behaviour of the English race. He was intolerant of their "scientific tinkering with morals" and their lack of genuine "profundity of insight" – but "what offends Nietzsche most, however, is the Englishman's lack of the prime quality in life and art – music."[112] Parry had been resisting utilitarian mediocrity since the *Evolution of the Art of Music*; his arguments naturally converged on certain points (especially on the topic of Wagner) with the author of the *Birth of Tragedy*. Furthermore, Parry, in later life, warned his pupils of similar faults of 'English' character as those Nietzsche had discerned.[113] If the composer had been more willing to see through the foliage of Nietzsche's scurrilous verbal assault on the English race[114], or if he had not been too quick to respond on behalf of his intellectual heroes such as Mill, one suspects he might have found an uneasy ally, rather than an uneasy enemy, amidst a vast sea of ideological differences.

Parry's hostility towards Nietzsche rested on the misconception that he was a representative of the metaphysical tradition in philosophy, of which Parry and other English thinkers, reared in the tradition of Locke and Hume, was highly suspicious: "Metaphysics do not bring men into touch with actualities, not even with the notorious camel which the great German philosopher is reported to

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[109] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[110] See Lewis Call. 'Anti-Darwin, anti-Spencer: Friedrich Nietzsche's critique of Darwin and "Darwinism" ', *History of Science* 36 (1998), p. 4. According to Safranski, Nietzsche's philosophy accentuated the "the grand disenchantment of nature by means of scientific knowledge [which] does anyway with the intentionality of a world that has a meaningful genesis and culmination and a goal-oriented process. See Rüdiger Safranski. *Nietzsche: a philosophical biography*, trans. Shelly Frisch (London; Granta Books, 2003/2002), p. 175.

[111] Parry's copy of *The will to power*.

[112] Thatcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-1.

[113] Parry. *College addresses delivered to the pupils of the Royal College of Music,* ed. Henry Cope Colles (London: Macmillan, 1920), pp. 190-1.

[114] Nietzsche was a strong candidate to be categorised among the German philosophers who, in Parry's words, "had been writing books for years describing their malignant purposes against us, and reeking with hate from every pore." *Ibid.*, p. 236.

have; it was unnecessary for him to see as he could develop it out of his own inner consciousness."[115] If for Nietzsche, John Stuart Mill was an impossibility, for Parry, Nietzsche was an even greater impossibility still. German metaphysics cajoled men "into believing impossibilities, such as the obvious impossibility of dominating the world by force."[116]

At the helm of impracticality sat Nietzsche's self-referential hero, Zarathustra, an ascetic being so detached from reality as to be a threat to society. Parry likely learnt about Nietzsche's asceticism from the third essay in the *Genealogy of Morals*, and he disapproved of its high priest in *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*. Alexander Tille wrote in his introduction to the volume that *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* was set "outside of this age, and outside of the main condition of all that lives"; Parry took Tille's remarks to heart: "Certainly outside! That is the objection to all his so-called philosophy."[117] In the opening paragraph of the work, where Zarathustra was presented as having "rejoiced in his spirit and his loneliness… for ten years", the composer responded wryly: "And for ten years got more and more out of touch with realities."[118] He questioned Zarathustra's claim to 'loving mankind'[119], and when the common man was accused by the saint in the forest in *Zarathustra* as being "suspicious of hermits" – Parry's response was sternly "rightly so."[120] Nor did Parry understand why the saint instructed Zarathustra to "go not to men, but tarry in the forest."[121] While Nietzsche seemed to crave unconscionably for isolation, Parry saw solidarity as a necessary condition forced upon artists, whose expressive intents were found to be at odds with social norms (compare the more refined hermitage of

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[115] See Parry. *College addresses delivered to the pupils of the Royal College of Music,* ed. Henry Cope Colles (London: Macmillan, 1920), p. 236. This was a common jibe at German metaphysics; for example, George Henry Lewes' remarks, in the *Life of Goethe* (1855)—read 1874, that "the German, despising the frivolity of the Frenchman, and the unphilosophic matter-of-the-fact-ness of the Englishman, retires to his study, there to construct the idea of a Camel from out of the depths of his Moral Consciousness. And he is still at it." See also Henry Lewes. *The life of Goethe* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1864/1855), p. 392. While Parry does not, to the present author's knowledge, *explicitly* identify Nietzsche as a propounder of metaphysics, there is no evidence either to suggest that he read him as an opponent of that philosophical tradition. He charged Nietzsche with a certain theoretical disconnect from reality (from his copy of the *Will to Power*: "[arguing from theory rather than practice] is the whole basis of Nietzsche's protests against everything which is centrally accepted."), i.e. the same criticism he levelled against metaphysics and indeed German philosophy as a whole.

[116] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

[117] Parry's copy of *Thus spoke Zarathustra*, trans. Alexander Tille (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1908), ShP.

[118] *Ibid.*

[119] Parry did not agree that solidarity was a prerequisite for enlightenment; whereas for Nietzsche society existed for the cultivation of great men, individualism for Parry was always calculated with the benefit of society in mind.

[120] *Ibid.*

[121] *Ibid.*

Emerson's *Society and Solitude*, read 1880). Inasmuch as Parry personally struggled with loneliness[122], he looked for a philosophy that suited but did not exacerbate his solitary condition, whereas Nietzsche sought to maintain a distance between the artist and society—what he termed 'transfigured physis'—and to turn this discontent inwards to aid the aggrandisement of his personal will. For Parry, Nietzsche's way of thinking encroached too dangerously into the doctrine of the ego (John Davidson, whose *Ballads and Poems* he read in 1894, was one such individualist): "A lonely isolated life is sometimes said to produce independence & strength of character. As a fact it develops the mischievous disease of self-worship… The great drawback of living lonesomely in limited surroundings is that it limits the outlook."[123]

Nietzsche's estrangement from society resulted in the wide disconnect of his philosophy from the realm of practicality. In other words, since Nietzsche elected to stand apart from communal life, he could not know enough about social illnesses to provide the cure for them. Like the author of *Degeneration*, Parry sometimes employed the language of 'disease' to diagnose Nietzsche's condition, emphasising the seeming incoherence of his texts, his love of puns and aphorisms,[124] his propensity for exaggerations[125], all the way to passages of downright vainglory in his later works, were understood as signs of mental instability caused by an over-indulgence in the ego. Parry thought the philosopher's explanation of the human condition to be "utterly ambiguous"[126], finding no rewards in the abstruseness of his quasi-dialectic language: "a characteristic illustration of Nietzsche's trap. Part of

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[122] Benoliel explains that "Parry constantly equated 'solitary' with 'lonely', a negative rather than a positive experience… For a man then at the height of his fame, this highly charged need for company and sympathy could only spring from a strong psychological root, never properly understood at the time and now problematic to isolate." See Benoliel, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[123] Notebook: "People only see things from their own points of view. The universe is confined to their one little plot of ground. Their minds only works in one small circuit. They do not adapt themselves to the different conditions of other minds. The wealthy classes affording ample illustrations. They pride themselves on their own special corners of the universe…"

[124] Notebook: "Aphorisms are the vapid platitudes of ordinary conversation as disguised in the bombastical language of egotistical complacency."

[125] For instance, Parry took him to task for his strawman of a meliorist, who believed that "every man should be the preoccupation of his fellows / one should be everyone's equal": "Not at all, an over statement / overstated." See Parry's copy of *The will to power.* Similarly, when Nietzsche argued that "all abundant growth involves a concomitant process of crumbling to bits and decay", Parry responded: "Why not say… simply 'involves exhaustion'?"

[126] *Ibid.*

this page [227] the author speaks in propia persona, part is what he puts in the mouth of someone else in order to tilt at it."[127]

While Parry believed in a courageous pursuit after truth, even at the cost of leaving behind comfortable delusions[128], he did not penetrate the motives behind Nietzsche's rebellion against "everything which is centrally accepted".[129] Nietzsche fought a battle to instill a new standard of scientific precision and to brave a meaningless universe with the redemptive power of music. By 1875 the philosopher had decided that even practical and beneficial delusions had to be dispensed with[130]; some decades later, Parry would still relax his condemnation of superstitious beliefs to allow religion to persist in its symbolic form, for the sake of the common man.[131] He also believed in the human instinct for truth which made men naturally despise falsehoods. Nietzsche provided no such assurances.[132] Truths were in a state of constant flux, and they existed for a select few as a tool for the affirmation of life and as a "means to go beyond man".[133] Parry's optimistic and anthropocentric worldview deprived him of access to philosophical courage in its superlative form. He never fully grasped the polarity of the Apollonian versus the Dionysian, but comprehended it in the very basic sense: "What Nietzsche divided into the Apollonian and the Dionysian is represented really by the exaltation which is steadfast and prolonged on the one hand, and the excitement which is vivid and explosive on the other"[134] (i.e. the categories by which he contrasted Beethoven and Mozart – 'expression' vs. 'style'). For the philosopher, as Safranski explains, "Dionysian wisdom is the power to endure Dionysian reality"[135]; Parry's version of reality simply did not demand the same spirit of endurance, and for that reason he struggled to tolerate and to justify Nietzsche's effrontery. His

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[127] *Ibid.*

[128] According to Parry, tolerant minds "can bear to have [their truths] deferred… better than those who have fastened all imagination can bear to have them disproved." See *Instinct and character*, p. 228.

[129] Parry's copy of *The will to power*.

[130] See Safranski, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

[131] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 188: "It is no more necessary that they [parables] should be actually true in detail than that "Humpty-Dumpty" or "Jack and the Beanstalk" should be true. The essence of them is that they should be capable of inspiring the multitude with an ecstasy of admiration for the noblest things which can happen in the relations of human beings to one another."

[132] "We still do not know where the urge for truth comes from; for as yet we have heard only of the obligation imposed by society that it should exist." Nietzsche. 'On truth and lie in an extra-moral sense' in *The portable Nietzsche*, trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York: Viking Press, 1968), pp. 46-7.

[133] Parry's copy of *Thus spoke Zarathustra*.

[134] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 292.

[135] Safranski, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

fundamental difficulty with the philosopher can furthermore be located in the wider context of the death of melioristic humanism and positivism. As Steven Aschheim has put it, "in the confrontation between Nordau and Nietzsche, middle-class sobriety, discipline and realism encountered its Dionysian opposite."[136]

Nietzsche's philosophical daring also undermined Parry's beliefs about the importance of historical scholarship. For Nietzsche, his era suffered from being overwhelmed by too much historical interpretation and knowledge.[137] The world was being observed through mirrors on top of mirrors, at the expense of individual personality and direct experience. He disqualified the Hegelian and Marxian assurance—that historical processes unfolded favourably for the observer—as wishful thinking. The reverent attitude towards history, which Parry uncompromisingly adopted, was mercilessly swept by Nietzsche from the picture: "He [man] must bring the past to the bar of judgment, interrogate it remorselessly, and finally condemn it. Every past is worth condemning."[138] To break free from the chains of the past became the mission of any person who aspired to greatness. The 'supra-historical' man must dare to "swim against the tide of history" (Hollingdale) to get where he wanted to go[139]; he was unburdened by what had gone before and did not expect in vain to find his salvation in the past. Harry Ausmus explains that for Nietzsche, "the profane was in the past and present which deserve condemnation, while the sacred would only be found in the future."[140] While Parry would have agreed with the philosopher that historical interpretation tended to downplay the significance of individual personality, *Instinct and Character* ultimately faltered under the weight of the past – and arguably suffered because of it; against Nietzsche's counsel, it presumed a fixity of human nature throughout history in order to present a tolerable picture of the democratic present.[141]

On the topic of morality, Nietzsche advocated the cultivation of evil passions, since good could not exist without evil. The creation of virtues depended on man's ability to go 'beyond good and evil', and ultimately to surpass manhood.[142] In this regard, the composer found Nietzsche's ideal of an

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[136] Aschheim. 'Max Nordau, Friedrich Nietzsche and degeneration', *Journal of Contemporary History* 28/4 (Oct. 1993), p. 648.
[137] Safranski, *op. cit.*, p. 120.
[138] Nietzsche, *UM II 1.3*.
[139] Hollingdale, *op. cit.*, p. 101.
[140] Harry J. Ausmus. 'Nietzsche and eschatology', *The Journal of Religion* 58/4 (Oct. 1978), p. 349.
[141] See Hollingdale, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
[142] Nietzsche criticised David Strauss, with whom Parry was aligned intellectually, for not pursuing courageously the moral implications of Darwinism and the 'death of God'. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

aristocracy of supermen unpalatable. The superman exhibited all the qualities of a committed egomaniac: he neglected the wisdom of the past, distrusted the virtue of compassion, believed in cruelty and strife, and thought himself superior to the rest of mankind. Nietzsche overruled Rousseau's belief in the inherent goodness of mankind as foolish and misguided; in turn, Parry interpreted Nietzsche's 'master race' as a product of purblind pessimism, and a racist ideology that culminated in social engineering. During this time, those like G. K. Chesterton and Arthur Balfour tended to resist eugenics from a Lamarckian perspective.[143] In addition to his earlier views on race, Parry was now taking the cue from Harry Johnston's *Views and Reviews*, which he studied in 1912. Johnston, while accepting the present superiority of the white race, finally broke his silence on the topic of miscegenation and the dehumanisation of the Negroes: "We should indeed be living in a fool's paradise if we continued to assume that a Negro could never attain to the high mentality of a White man, or equal him as an inventor, an artist, a strategist, a writer."[144] Citing examples of such esteemed men as Samuel Coleridge-Taylor—the "mulatto of Sierra Leone origin"—he argued that

> The arrogant, imperfectly educated, unobservant White man… who would continue to assert that the coloured races have made no progress towards the White standard and point of view during the last fifty years, that they can never vie in any direction with the White race, that it is justifiable or necessary to treat them with injustice and contumely, is a serious enemy to the peace of the world.[145]

Nietzsche, in Parry's opinion, was one such "serious enemy to the peace of the world." Walter Kaufmann argues that Nietzsche believed in racial juxtaposition precisely because he embraced conflict as an essential element of culture.[146] For Parry, however, conflict was the outcome of racial separation, not of racial mixture.[147] Whilst Nietzsche saw that master morality was the morality of the strong and slave morality was that of the weak, and that concepts of good and evil were expressions of the slave revolt (*ressentiment*) against the strong, Parry emphasised that society's standards of morality changed as the alleged 'strong' and the 'weak' were brought into closer alignment, and realised their

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[143] See especially Dan Stone. *Breeding superman: Nietzsche, race and eugenics in Edwardian and interwar Britain* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002), p. 116.
[144] Harry Johnston. *Views and reviews: from the outlook of an anthropologist* (London: William & Norgate, 1912), p. 232.
[145] *Ibid.*, p. 234.
[146] Walter Kaufmann. *Nietzsche: philosopher, psychologist, antichrist* (New York: Vintage Books, 1968/1950), p. 293.
[147] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 401: "Unity expands and includes more and more diversity in its range, and as it includes it, it necessarily modifies its standards."

interdependency. In this vein, he could declare in his notebook that "from one standpoint morality is the recognition of the mutual dependence of mankind. Its standards change with the progress of thinking."[148] Parry discredited the superman theory as a celebration of the erroneous belief in a world "made for the few".[149] Nietzsche's revaluation of values would lead to a collapse of virtue and usher in a dark age of aristocratic rule. Nietzsche disparaged mass participation in the political process; he also "considered the ancient Greek slaveholder society the paragon of culture"[150], since it accepted the need for an exploitable slave class. The democratic state, with its delusions of equality and its systems of welfare designed to safeguard the weak, failed to acknowledge that cruelty was necessary in order for culture to exist. For Parry, to whom democracy meant "merely an extension of priviledge [sic]" and the "opening up of equal chances for all"[151], Nietzsche was mistaken to characterise democracy as the rule of the mob.[152] Furthermore, as E. Y. Melekian maintained in 1932, Nietzsche's social philosophy was an "impossible dream" lacking the "basic elements of justice" discoverable in realistic societies.[153] If the will to power was a dormant potential shared by all humans, then nobody should be denied the right to express their will simply because they were born to an inferior caste.[154] The notion that the masses must be kept in their place was unhesitatingly rejected by Parry:

> Conservatives persuade themselves & try to persuade the masses that it is for the good of the nation that they should be hampered & kept in a strait waistcoat. But how can that which hinder the activities of millions be for the good of the nation.[155]

Most importantly, Parry approached Nietzsche as an Edwardian whose idea of *laissez-faireism*, in the words of Donald Read, "was now becoming a rule with as many exceptions as applications".[156] Philosophers and political thinkers now argued that more government need not entail the restriction of personal liberty; rather, it could enforce the right and the principles of freedom for all. A social

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[148] Notebook.
[149] Parry. *College addresses delivered to the pupils of the Royal College of Music,* ed. Henry Cope Colles (London: Macmillan, 1920), p. 239. In his notebook, Parry also explains: "Superman. Misconception. What men want is a sort of guarantee that they are doing something serviceable. Something really worth doing."
[150] Safranski, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
[151] Notebook.
[152] As established in previous chapters, Parry did not much care for a natural order of genius. Well-rounded minds required a congenial environment in which to grow, and genius could not exist in a vacuum.
[153] E. Y. Melekian. 'Nietzsche and the problem of democracy', *The Monist* 42/3 (Jul. 1932), pp. 441-2.
[154] *Ibid.*, p. 438.
[155] Notebook.
[156] Read, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

service state, emphasising a minimum standard of living, was starting to emerge.[157] Thus, when Nietzsche declared that "the state is the coldest of all monsters", the composer answered in support of the state that "the state is merely the bulwark against the mischief of personal irresponsibility… People associate themselves into a state to prevent being trampled upon… Yet the throne is what the Superman would ultimately sit on if 'the State' did not stop him; anarchy is the opportunity of the individual."[158] A reader of Adam Smith, Herbert Spencer, Pëtr Kropotkin and Benjamin Kidd, Parry emphasised the role of altruism in the preservation of the human race. Nietzsche's individualist reading of Darwin's doctrine of the 'survival of the fittest' was found to be grossly inaccurate – and with it went his justification of cruelty and his endorsement of slavery. To counter "the old poisonous excrescence of the theory of slavery which hypnotized Nietzsche"[159], Parry typically scrutinised elitist behaviour in defence of the "overdriven slaves":

> No doubt poor helpless overdriven slaves, who had not one moment of liberty or choice of activity in their lives, have always gazed upon their masters… as infinitely blest! But as understanding grows the masters who have annexed all the material advantages of life, and power to force millions to serve them, are seen not to be one whit happier than the man with a bare subsistence-wage and no paraphernalia.[160]

In old age, Parry was assisted in his attack on the aristocracy by his son-in-law, whose *Decline of the Aristocracy*, exposing the falsity of the upper-class claim to privileged lineage and the moral lassitude of present-day aristocrats, came out and was read in 1912. Together, they defended the weak (against the likes of Nietzsche) in the spirit of Voltaire, whom the composer extolled as an eighteenth-century torch-bearer of tolerance[161], and whom Ponsonby would also describe in his book *Rebels and Reformers* (1917, read 1918) as a "champion of the persecuted… [and] upholder of justice".[162] When Nietzsche, in *The Will to Power*, alluded to "the hatred of the herd for all truthful men", Parry thus

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[157] *Ibid.*, p. 189.
[158] Parry's copy of *Thus spoke Zarathustra*.
[159] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 80.
[160] *Ibid.*, p. 85.
[161] On Voltaire, see *ibid*, pp. 126-7.
[162] "The oppressed and needy may get sympathy from others who are in like condition, but it is much more rare for one who is neither poor nor downtrodden to give them not only sympathy, but practical and useful support." Arthur and Dorothea Ponsonby. *Rebels and reformers: biographies for young people* (New York: H. Holt and Co., 1919/1917), p. 165. As Donald Read points out, in the Edwardian period, 'equality of educational opportunity' was now being advocated, not by the working classes themselves, but on their behalf. Read, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

responded: "Yet the herd made Christ a God!"[163] The extensive section in *Instinct and Character* on the herding instinct was likely a direct response to Nietzsche's contemptuous attitude towards the 'herd animal'. Tellingly, Parry claimed the herding instinct to be common in all men *regardless of class*, using the term "class herding"[164] to describe the inevitable banding together of members of the same stratum (the 'aristocratic creature' being not exempt from it). He continued: "if the herd could learn wisdom, they would cease to herd; they could become individuals with minds."[165]

Parry's views on education[166], contrasted with Nietzsche's "singularly futile" position[167], are best discussed here at the close of this section, as they help clarify the nature of their fundamental differences. For Nietzsche, slave morality was artificial and destructive; it was virtue created from without, not within. In the words of Elliot Jurist, Nietzsche differed from Hegel in being more "concerned with protecting Bildung from being infected by bourgeois-Christian values."[168] Taking the opposite position, Parry painstakingly distinguished man's herding tendencies and his higher potentials.[169] (Ponsonby similarly argued in *Democracy and Diplomacy* that " 'the mob' must be distinguished from the people now, though in Victorian days it was customary to speak of the people in general as 'the mob' ".)[170] The true object of education was not, as Nietzsche believed, to prevent the "embourgeoisement of culture"[171]; rather, it was to create an equal opportunity for all, and to extirpate this conventionally-transmitted spirit of class antagonism and create free-thinking, *non-herding* "individuals with minds"[172]—individuals who grew up to see beyond local customs and the interests of

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[163] Parry's copy of *The will to power*.
[164] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 61.
[165] *Ibid.*, p. 62.
[166] Through the Edwardian years, Parry keenly followed the progress of popular education, reading Henry Craik's *The State in its Relation to Education* (1884) in 1903 and keeping up to date with the developments of modern education (for example, he read the 1904 Code for schools as well as the 1903 reports of the Mosely Educational Commission to the United States, while revisiting Spencer's *Education: Intellectual, Moral and Physical* in 1905).
[167] Diary, 7 October 1911.
[168] Elliot Jurist. *Beyond Hegel and Nietzsche: philosophy, culture, and agency* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000), p. 62.
[169] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 70.
[170] Ponsonby. *Democracy and diplomacy* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1915), p. 27. In his notebook Parry further contemplates: "Why does a person of the acuteness of N talk so much about the passions when he so obviously means the 'instincts'?"
[171] Nietzsche also spoke of modern perversions in education defying "the most sacred hierarchy in the kingdom of intellect." Jurist, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
[172] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 62. See also, Notebook: "The object of education is not so much to get knowledge as understanding. A man passes through knowledge to understanding. The knowledge passes away,

their own classes. His own paper on the *Meaning of Ugliness in Art*, which was an attempt to promote liberal attitudes towards modernism in art (by expanding the relative scope of beauty), culminated in a vision of education that broadened rather than closed minds.[173] Education, Parry wrote in his notebook, must "supply data (the substantial pabulum of education) without discouraging the development of personal independence & initiative."[174] It should be enjoyable,[175] and should encourage critical thinking in students rather than simply imparting facts and figures.[176] Graves likened Parry's pedagogical approach to the Montessori system in Italy,[177] which placed a heavy emphasis on self-expression, independence and the creative freedom of the child. Parry identified the childhood and adolescent years as the phase during which a person's first nature (to use Nietzsche's differentiation between a person's first and second nature[178]) was "almost entirely" developed; thus making the creation of classless, unprejudiced 'first natures' the most pressing concern of modern education:

> The young people who are growing into the life of their time are much like those coming from the outside. They are almost entirely moulded, and their life's course decided, by the tone of any section of society in which they spend their most impressionable years.[179]

Finally, believing art to be "the direct antithesis to democracy",[180] many symbolists like George Moore turned away from the morbid present and looked to the aristocratic past for their inspiration. Parry did not concur with this glorification of the undemocratic past. For all his emphasis on historical training[181], he decisively called for the decontamination of the curriculum of the "special reserve for

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but the mind through which it has passed attains the power to understand. Understanding helps to the assimilation of fresh knowledge, and that in turn fits the mind to assimilate yet more."

[173] See Matthew Riley. 'Liberal critics and modern music in the post-Victorian age' in *British music and modernism*, ed. Matthew Riley (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 23-4.

[174] Notebook.

[175] Parry. *College addresses delivered to the pupils of the Royal College of Music,* ed. Henry Cope Colles (London: Macmillan, 1920), pp. 94-5.

[176] *Ibid.*, p. 96: "Getting to be able to think is much more important than piling up huge slag-heaps of disconnected facts."

[177] Charles Larcom Graves. *Hubert Parry: his life and works, vol. 1* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1926), p. 370.

[178] For Nietzsche on first, second natures and the doctrine of eternal return, see Tracy Strong. *Friedrich Nietzsche and the politics of transfiguration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), pp. 260-93.

[179] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 357.

[180] See Pittock, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

[181] "The knowledge and interpretation of history is one of the most important of all the subjects comprised in education" because "human experiences are summed up in history"; see Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 67. See also, Notebook:

well-to-do classes"[182], such as the teaching of Latin.[183] Little, of course, did Parry know he was challenging the same 'historical sickness' which also troubled so undemocratic a mind as Nietzsche's.[184]

Besides education, there was much in Nietzsche's philosophy that Parry found distasteful or that he wholeheartedly disagreed with. Nietzsche's objections to theories of human equality, which the philosopher deemed "opposed to common sense", for example, was for Parry "not only not opposed to common sense, but is the only simplest sense."[185] He also disparaged Nietzsche's views on women (that they were deceptive and incapable of friendship: "women are still cats, and birds. Or, at best, cows"), as "all mere gnashing of teeth".[186] At other times, however, Parry seemed to be more receptive of the philosopher's ideas than he generally admitted. He understood, perhaps more so than Nordau, that Nietzsche's radical philosophy was intended as a cultural intervention amid the cross-currents of decadence. He recognised the philosopher's extreme discontent with the world of the present, originating in "postsirenian melancholy" (Safranski)[187], as well as his courageous ambition to 'go beyond man', and tried to work out the ultimate implications of his superman theory.[188] In this regard, Parry could find *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* "strangely fascinating" (but "exasperating")[189], even though he recanted most of its central tenets. Nietzsche and Nordau represented two different attempts at achieving culture – but by actively engaging with the former's philosophy, as the next section shows, Parry was ultimately much more influenced by Nietzsche than Nordau in staking out his own path.

"The most obvious object of education is to provide human beings with the knowledge of experiences of other human beings past and present."

[182] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 98.

[183] Parry, *op. cit*., p. 97: "Latin was the universal language of those who belonged to the governing and wealthy classes in various countries; and the organization of education had been so stubborn that in the course of several centuries men had not been able to discover how to introduce languages and information which were more in touch with the changed aspect of the world, and still lay stress on teaching the things which would be serviceable at courts and conclaves in the middle ages."

[184] See discussion in Thomas E. Hart. *Nietzsche, culture and education* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), p. 116.

[185] Parry's copy of *The will to power.*

[186] Parry's copy of *Thus spoke Zarathustra.*

[187] Safranski, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[188] Notebook: "From Nietzsche's own standpoint the standards of Prometheus & Agamemnon would seem to show the shallowness of the up-to-date phenomena."

[189] Diary, 8 October 1911.

7.3 Rapprochement with Nietzsche: The Catalysts of H. G. Wells, Élie Metchnikoff and Others

So far this chapter has treated the areas where Parry had been in bitter disagreement with Nietzsche. However, to understand the biographical significance of *Instinct and Character*, it is also imperative to see the similarities of their thought and how he was able to take on a more positive view of Nietzsche, especially with the help of other contemporary writers such as H. G. Wells, Élie Metchnikoff and others. Indeed the author whom Parry was greatly influenced by during this period was Wells. He read *The Plattner Story and Others* in 1897, followed by *The First Men in the Moon*, in 1903 (the latter of these works confronted the imperialistic ideology of the time, advising—as did Parry—the broadening of perspectives and man's spirit of enquiry[190]). From 1907 onwards, the composer read many of Wells' popular novels, including *The Future in America, New Worlds for Old, First and Last Things, Ann Veronica, The History of Mr. Polly, The New Machiavelli, Love and Mr. Lewisham, The Passionate Friends, Beally, Mr. Britling Sees It Through, God the Invisible King* and *In the Fourth Year.* The reasons for his being attracted to Wells' writings were unmistakable: like Parry, Wells was a vocal advocate of Darwin's theory of evolution, a student of Huxley's works, and like Parry, he was troubled by the realities of class relations as well as answering to the cultural despair of the decadent 1890s. Both Parry and Wells read Thomas More's *Utopia* at an early age, and became later acquainted with William Morris' *News from Nowhere*[191]; both responded to this utopian tradition pessimistically, attacking Victorian platitudes and casting doubt on the cheerful portrayal of a consumeristic or a communistic future.[192] The composer distrusted all social models and speculations that laid claim to a finality (he asked in his notes to a Nietzschean volume: "what is the definition of that perfection to which the perfectionist seeks to attain?"[193]). He held, however, that we might catch a vague glimpse of the future by finding out more about the past.[194]

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[190] For discussion see Gareth Davis-Morris. 'The alien eye: imperialism and otherness in H. G. Wells's *The First Men in the Moon*' in *Science fiction and the two cultures: essays on bridging the gap between the sciences and the humanities*, ed. Gary Westfahl and George Slusser (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2009), pp. 170-84.
[191] See John Batchelor. *H. G. Wells* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 7-8.
[192] See especially Gregory Claeys. *Late Victorian utopias: a prospectus* (London: Pickering & Chatto Publishers, 2008), pp. xxi-xxiii.
[193] Notes on a flyleaf of parry's copy of *Thus spoke Zarathustra*.
[194] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 246: "As the past is completely known the future becomes more knowable. The highest optimism is the belief that as man has succeeded in controlling his destiny and the resources of the

In this regard he went one step further than the socialistic Wells. Similar to the naturalists and symbolists like Gissing or Yeats, Parry felt that a socialist reading of history robbed art of its visionary element and deprived man of an essential aspiration towards spiritual truth.[195] Much like Yeats, whose socialist sympathies arguably began and ended with Morris, he could not square his spiritual disposition—his undogmatic fondness for religious imagery and mythology—with a socialistic worldview wherein mystery had been replaced with mechanistic familiarity, and individual redemption had become a sheer impossibility:

> The most fatal drawback of all schemes to regulate humanity decisively on mechanical principles is that they obstruct free interchange of ideas. They assume a finality which is non-existent. They assume a state of society which is all-sufficient for human needs. They assume a state of society which require no further development. It is the absence of inducement to higher spiritual aspirations which make mechanical Socialistic speculations unprofitable.[196]

Much like Wells, the composer carefully distinguished between 'race' and 'nationality' and scorned the social-Darwinian ideal of racial purity that had fallaciously spawned a "sort of delirium about race and race struggle" (Wells' own words).[197] He did not appear to subscribe to the author's mechanistic, eugenic views, which were propounded for a period after *Anticipations*—a work Parry might not have read. But if, after his dystopian episode, Wells was now departing from his gloomy forecast of the future to intimate a possible utopian remedy that was a hybrid of his predestinarian, Marxist and radical views[198], he was also showing his readers how these drastic measures were relevant to the social problems addressed in his earlier novels. Thus, barring Nietzsche's egomaniacal persona, Edwardian eugenics was part of a wider "obsession with building a better future"[199] and the rationalistic drive to effect a permanent, scientifically grounded solution, to the problems the Victorians had previously shrugged off, or had tried to justify in the name of *laissez-faire*. Social engineering—and Wells' idea that there should be an aristocratic caste of "beautiful and strong bodies,

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little corner of the universe with which he is concerned by slow degrees better and better, so he will go on doing it in the future."

[195] Notebook: "All really effectual improvement comes from within not from without."

[196] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 346.

[197] H. G. Wells, quoted in Claeys, *op. cit.*, p. xxii.

[198] See Michael Coren's rather scathing biography of the author: Coren. *The invisible man: the life and liberties of H. G. Wells* (New York: Athenaeum, 1993), p. 63.

[199] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

clear and powerful minds"[200]—became a legitimate Edwardian response that ultimately stood for social optimism, rather than for pessimism.

As mentioned earlier, those like Bernard Shaw, and indeed Wells, often blunted the offensive edge of Nietzsche's ideal of the *Übermensch*; they were more open to the possibility that such a caste of leaders might come about through the conduit of democracy.[201] For Nietzsche, the superman must be his own justification for existence, but for Shaw and Wells, the superman existed on account of his value to society; he became superfluous through the continuous application of eugenics, science and education.[202] As David Thatcher argues, the superman for Nietzsche was essentially a tragic man, for Shaw an economic man; for Nietzsche it was Dionysus, who manifested the infinite energy and possibilities of life, for Shaw—and indeed for Parry—Prometheus, who defied the gods and brought fire from heaven to mankind.[203] Parry responded sympathetically to Shaw's superman, declaring that "the man who defies conventions and wakes up the slumberers is a valuable asset."[204] Even here, however, he was noticeably restrained in his advocacy of the *Übermensch* (perhaps for fear of being interpreted as siding with Nietzsche).[205] Education, agreeably reformed, would teach people not to think of supermen as infallible deities; ideally, the people would attain to a level of altruistic individuality and learn to think for themselves. Indeed *Instinct and Character* looked forward to a time when supermen would no longer have any rationale for their existence: "the supposed necessity for supermen to devise and enforce laws are all recognized as temporary makeshifts in conditions which are transitory."[206]

From an aesthetic point of view, the philosophy of Nietzsche was more useful to Parry the artist than to 'Dr. Parry' the academic-historian. If Parry found the social implications of Nietzsche's worldview unenviable and daunting, Nietzsche could still be an alluring *aesthetic* prospect—a bridge to a foreign world of the imagination—not the imagination which played an important role in Mill's

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[200] Wells, quoted in *ibid.*
[201] See Thatcher, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
[202] *Ibid.*, p. 170.
[203] *Ibid.*, p. 213.
[204] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 360.
[205] *Ibid.* Parry describes the Dionysian hero in the same discourse as "a peculiar development of the instinct of reverence… those who lay such stress on the individual seem to forget that the individual is nothing except in his relation to other beings."
[206] *Ibid.*, p. 374.

utilitarian rationalism, but imagination without prescriptions and borders. His philosophical daring, his attack on conventional morality, his sheer will to power and will to combat degeneration, and his ideal of an over-man, who learnt to survive in a condition of perpetual scepticism and endure the agony of a Dionysian reality, all indicated an optimistic vision for man's redemption in a godless universe. Whereas Nordau's penchant for science, discipline and order had coalesced to form a worldview in which the imagination and Dionysian ecstasy had no assured habitation[207], or whereas for David Strauss—the common enemy of Nietzsche and Wagner—art was seen as a useful 'soothing oil' and a 'pleasant trifle', to be enjoyed only in small doses (Safranski)[208], Nietzsche was to defend art, and especially music, from this curse of mediocrity visited by the positivists, the utilitarians, and the commercialists. The author of the *Birth of Tragedy* envisaged a form of public art, namely Wagner's music drama, reinvigorated in the spirit of Greek tragedy. Nietzsche's life-affirming philosophy stood for the "inducement to higher spiritual aspirations"[209] which Parry found lacking in socialist systems, and the widening of artistic enquiry beyond the formulation of 'art for art's sake' – as Parry once wrote: "your musical art is in itself but a detail in the vast infinity of possible forms of mental and spiritual activity."[210] By extolling the value of art in civilisation, Nietzsche was continuing in the endangered tradition of Arnold and Ruskin (indeed many of Nietzsche's supporters in England, including Ludovici and Orage, were themselves indebted to the author of *Culture and Anarchy*[211]), providing a radical basis for action against the aestheticism of Pater or Wilde. Nietzsche's condemnation of imitative art, his definition of decadence as the abandonment of stylistic coherence (in Wagner's case, for the sake of drama), and his view that art was the chief stimulus to life, were aspects echoed—although independently reached—in Parry's own *Style in Musical Art*.

The task of *Instinct and Character* was to facilitate this modern cultivation of artistic freedom, of which Parry recognised Nietzsche as the prophet, without succumbing to the effects of the death of positivistic altruism or allowing for the birth of the ego. Whereas Nietzsche opted to struggle head-on against untempered nihilism, Parry tried to retain a more positive outlook about the world and man's place in it. On the inside back cover of his copy of *Zarathustra*, he stressed:

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[207] Aschheim, *op. cit.*, p. 649.
[208] Safranski, *op. cit.*, p. 112.
[209] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 346.
[210] Parry, quoted in Graves, *op. cit., vol. 1*, p. 370.
[211] See Thatcher, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

> What is the use of complaining that the world has not been made better than it is. It's as it is & we have got to make the best of it. In so far as it does not seem the best of all possible worlds, it is because we don't understand it & have a sense of it.[212]

For Parry, this optimism was not as unreasonable as Nietzsche, who had credited Schopenhauer with removing the "blindfold of optimism from our eyes"[213], might have led his readers to believe. Even Nietzsche believed that man tended to consider himself "blacker and more evil than is actually the case."[214] In his notebook, Parry could write that:

> The real difference between optimism and pessimism is that the optimist thinks it worthwhile to keep struggling to get things better, in spite of appearances. The pessimist has given up… What has the pessimists got to show for it. The optimists may admit that humanity has horrible aspects. That for all one is told about it is perfectly repulsive. But the optimist maintains that it is not incurable. The pessimist thinks humanity is bound to go to the devil, so he may as well fend for himself.[215]

The work that helped Parry see the way was Elie Metchnikoff's *The Nature of Man: Studies in Optimistic Philosophy* (1916), which he closely studied in 1917. For Metchnikoff, man was burdened by birth with a plethora of natural 'disharmonies' (the mortifying evolutionary atavisms which had captured the imagination of Wells). However, Metchnikoff believed that human suffering could be greatly alleviated through science. Confronting the riddle of longevity, he held that although science might not be able to cure aging completely, it could abolish the causes of premature illnesses and consequently prolong human life. Thomas Cole argues that "for those without religious consolation, who despaired over the irrationality and conflict of human life, Metchnikoff's work offered new hope."[216] Here was a realistic basis for the optimism that a "healthy humanity"—a catchphrase of Parry's—could be attained through patient enquiry and science. Metchnikoff's ideas sat particularly well with the composer's anti-eugenic anthropocentrism, wherein man, unlike other animals, was able to detach himself from the vicious cycle of nature and suffering, and to use the time and physical health, bought by science, to strike out a spiritual path for himself in an apathetic universe. Man

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[212] Pencil inscription on the inside back cover of Parry's copy of *Thus spoke Zarathustra*. Indeed, Parry's was a preventive optimism designed to halt the *Übermensch* in his tracks.
[213] Nietzsche, quoted in Stephen Houlgate. *Hegel, Nietzsche and the criticisms of metaphysics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 25.
[214] Nietzsche, *HH 124*.
[215] Notebook.
[216] Thomas Cole. *The journey of life: a cultural history of aging in America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p.187.

enhanced his spiritual existence by "embracing the scope of life", and by trying to 'organise' the "forces of the universe".[217] (For similar reasons, perhaps, Parry was particularly drawn to Nietzsche's comments about his dietary habits.) For the composer, writing in the Stoic tradition of looking at death with equanimity and indifference, and seeing it as the natural outcome of life, "life consists in activity. The more activity the more life there is. Life is limited in duration but not in content."[218]

Parry once observed in his notebook that "people are fond of saying mankind are just the same as they were hundreds of generations back. They always say it with some cynical or spiteful purpose."[219] While he was trying, in his own philosophy, to affirm the common essence of man—minus the cynicism and the spitefulness, which he attributed to Nietzsche—his faith in mankind was not cast in opposition to realistic observation, nor was he immune to occasional, uncheerful sentiment about the human race and the "universal insincerity of mankind"[220]:

> The great mass of human beings are incapable of the prolonged effort necessary for making an ideal standard of living [and] adopt conventionalism as their guide; & look upon the discussion of such matters… as likely to discredit the only lights they have to steer by.[221]

> The majority do not want to know the truth. They want to hear plausible things which excuse their indulging their animal propensities.[222]

> Man suffers from injustice because man is unjust. If he could bring himself up to the point of being constantly just the injustice would cease. But he never will – he will only go on getting by slow degrees a little juster.[223]

Progress was ultimately dependent on the capacity of man to uphold this positive, but realistic, outlook on life. From his personal copy of the *Will to Power*:

> The essence of progress is to be able to see the good through the building mass of refuse & poison which always encumbers it. To see the good impulses which have bad aspects. To see possibilities [of] health… and possibilities of fruitfulness when all seems withered and decayed. To turn the seeming poison into health-giving mixture.[224]

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[217] Notebook.
[218] Notebook.
[219] Notebook.
[220] From a letter to Stuart Wortley on the value of frankness, 21 March 1876, GB-Lcm MS. 4764.
[221] Notebook.
[222] Notebook.
[223] Notebook.
[224] Parry's copy of *The will to power*.

By transferring the point of optimism to art, Parry was caught in a difficult conundrum, wherein the pessimistic admittance that modern music might never surpass the aristocractic glories of the past, voiced in his earlier *Grove* articles, clouded every positive assessment of democracy's artistic prospects. By the time of *Style in Musical Art*, however, he had found a way to address this internal contradiction:

> The primitive and uncultured idea is that classical music requires to be explained a great deal before ordinary people can be induced to like it… A certain class of highly cultured musicians have in the past been misled through the familiar drawback of having too restricted an outlook. Those who thought the sonata type the final and most perfect product of human endeavour in music naturally concluded that a thing which had no place in it was superfluous altogether. They possibly overlooked the reasons why it had no place in it…[225]

As the complex, heterogeneous sonata no longer constituted the apex of musical development, and was no longer out of the reach of the average man by virtue of its complexity, the nature of 'progress' itself became greatly complicated. Nietzsche and Shaw both rejected the idea that progress was automatic and inevitable. According to Safranski, Nietzsche argued for a 'bicameral' system of culture whereby, on the one extreme, "illusions, partialities and passions must provide the heat", and on the other, "science functions as a force of equilibrium".[226] Similarly, Parry saw history in terms of what he aptly termed a "big seesaw of progress".[227] At first glance, he appeared to be advocating strenuous moderation, seeking out an Aristotelian golden mean between inertia and excess: 'hoarding – greed', 'independence – insolence', 'self-respect – arrogance', etc.[228] Upon closer inspection, however, it was not Nordauian stability, discipline and order that moved the seesaw of progress. Progress was dependent on the unpredictability and the free-play—rather than the curtailment—of human passions: "Human nature is most interesting when it is incalculable… That is the reason why well-organised social conditions offer less favourable opportunities than ill-regulated ones."[229] Ultimately, he adopted a position—not far removed from Nietzsche's—that:

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[225] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 321.
[226] Safranski, *op. cit.*, p. 200.
[227] Notebook.
[228] Notebook.
[229] Parry. *Instinct and character,* p. 315.

> Human feeling has the tendency to upset the equilibrium… All art that has life in it must be in unstable equilibrium… When the equilibrium is too near stability the human element is reduced to the lowest (grade).[230]

Despite their differences, Parry often found himself speaking in the language of his intellectual enemy, Nietzsche. Following the example of other writers who made Nietzsche's philosophy more acceptable in England, Parry soon attempted his own *Lebensphilosophie* which 'reaffirmed' life for the new century in the form of his ambitious treatise, *Instinct and Character*.

7.4 Parry's *Lebensphilosophie*: The Purpose and Fate of *Instinct and Character*

Instinct and Character was Parry's heartfelt response to the growing decadence of mankind, the belligerent attitudes of Nietzsche's writings, and the war which had placed Europe at the brink of destruction. The work begins with a survey of man's various instincts, loosely ordered from the baser instincts to the more serviceable ones. An entire chapter is devoted to the instinct of religion, a topic especially dear to Parry. *Instinct and Character* promotes religious tolerance, but looks forward to a time when art would supplant dogma as the carrier for devotional feelings. In the chapter on 'Excitement', Parry criticises conservatism, which he regards as the stronghold of those obsessed with order, in favour of a more spontaneous, more liberal outlook on life. Through excitement—rather than the suppression—of instincts, a person is able to widen his perception of his environment. This culminates in a defence of art, especially music: "One of the strangest things about music is that it differs from the other arts in this respect, and is directly capable of rousing excitement."[231] The next chapter on 'Welfare and Illfare' adds the ingredient of 'experience' to the picture. The collective experience of mankind, not to mention the personal experiences of each individual, teaches the human species to discriminate between things that conduce to welfare and those that lead to illfare. Experience is therefore the best guide in the mental controlling of instinct. The final chapter on 'Finding the Balance' is a synthesis of the earlier chapters, discussing the effects of experience on instincts, and providing a theoretical basis for mutual understanding and respect. Parry writes that

[230] Notebook.
[231] Parry, *Instinct and character*, p. 287.

"The threads which draw human beings together are the thoughts in which they are in enthusiastic agreement."[232] Ultimately, the work represents his passionate attempt to repair man's moral fabric in a world increasingly disposed to intolerance, dogmatism and violence.

The clearest indicitation that *Instinct and Character* was by and large a product of the author's confrontation with Nietzsche, exacerbated by his experiences of the war, is its constant reference to the 'herding instinct' and its relentless attack on the superman theory. In particular, the work recapitulates and defends many of his positions on race, nationalism and democracy, as frequently encountered in his earlier writings, against his newfound opposition. On the subject of nationalism, for instance, the author is keen to remind his readers that the division of the world into geographical units, as one is constantly reminded of during times of social upheaval and war, is only a means to an end. The end is increasing globalism and world unity. In an ideal world, laws might be perfected to apply to all humans universally, regardless of class or nationality.[233] *Instinct and Character* argues that borders between states might erode, allowing people to intermix more freely to the benefit of everyone.[234] Pointing to the "absurd" artificiality of what it means to *belong* to a state or nation, Parry asks whether a person whose house lies half in the United States and half in Canada might be considered an American or Canadian; he "certainly cannot be both… He may be neither."[235] The author explains:

> The division of the ground and its artificial demarcation are therefore purely artificial contrivances. They might be described as imaginary subterfuges to facilitate administration… But experience shows that imaginary subterfuges are always proof of inadequately solved problems. They are temporary expedients to tide over periods of transition. But such conveniences entail contiguous states getting rid of pointless differences.[236]

Observing the patriotism which would undoubtedly have been rampant at the time he penned his treatise, Parry longs for a time when this patriotic energy would be extended beyond nations to a

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[232] *Ibid.*, p. 413.
[233] *Ibid.*, p. 382: "The more the world in general progresses towards mutual understanding the less differences there are likely to be between their laws and ordinances."
[234] For example, see *ibid.*, p. 381: "As long as the boundaries of states are emphasised and the peoples inside them do not freely intermix with one another, the general progress of humanity is hindered."
[235] *Ibid.*, p. 382.
[236] *Ibid.*

global scale.[237] The love of one's country—being at its core a devotion to an "imaginary" geographical construct—is only justifiable if it does not confuse the means (love for one's own country) with the end (concern for the human race in its totality). In its ideal form, patriotism would be self-defeating; it would supply the patriot with more "understanding which would minister to the well-being of a wider range of humanity than is comprised in the one country which the ardour of antagonistic patriotism desires to glorify,"[238] enabling him to see beyond the imaginary borders of his own existence (the type of "enlightened" patriotism after which he personally seeks in the *Chivalry of the Sea*[239]). Indeed Ruskin's idea of England's imperial duty to provide "for all the world a source of light"[240] becomes for Parry a duty primarily introspective, unaggressive, humble and self-perfecting: "The highest form of patriotism is that which is concerned that the nation or people in question shall shine out like a beacon light in the world for all those qualities which are genuinely reverable."[241]

To this end of promoting mutual tolerance, Parry collides head-on with Nietzsche's idea of the 'superman'—or the aristocracy of the few. A firm believer in unconditional inclusivity ("all the social instincts impel to inclusion, all the mischievous instincts… to exclusion"[242]), he fights tooth and nail against the idea that great art can only be the product of unalloyed racial qualities:

> Pure races may at one time have produced supermen, but they cannot go on doing it, and they are not wanted. As human well-being and understanding are more diffused they become superfluous. They belonged to a state of society in which the grossest inequalities were inevitable because experiences had not been sufficiently gathered...[243]

In Bulwer-Lytton's novella, *The Coming Race* (1871, read 1871), an underground race superior to humans, called the Vril-ya, exploits its evolutionary (essentially Lamarkian) advantage and harnesses the power of a mysterious energy called 'vril' to conquer inferior species.[244] As argued in previous chapters, Parry found such ideas of racial superiority thoroughly repulsive. In *Instinct and*

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[237] Contrast the nationalistic positions of other liberals in Paul Readman. 'The Liberal Party and patriotism in early twentieth century Britain', *Twentieth Century British History* 12/3 (2001), pp. 273, 280
[238] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 143.
[239] See Dibble. *C. Hubert H. Parry: his life and music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 486.
[240] John Ruskin. *Lectures on art* (London: George Allen: 1903/1887), p. 36.
[241] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 143.
[242] *Ibid.*, p. 404.
[243] *Ibid.*, p. 399.
[244] See discussion in Cannon Schmitt. 'Evolution and Victorian fiction' in *Evolution and Victorian culture*, ed. Bernard Lightman and Bennett Zon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 30.

Character, he thus reaffirms his position, declaring wholeheartedly that "as far as man is concerned the essential necessity in respect of racial predispositions is mental accommodation."[245] The superman is appointed to a lower grade of society where prejudices and injustices roamed free, before people learnt to put their racial differences aside for the benefit of humanity. Through arguments like the above, *Instinct and Character* builds on his previous convictions by seeking to bridge racial divides and to promote egalitarian values, in society as well as in art.

However, the work was more than just a timely warning against anti-democratic and militaristic tendencies at home and abroad. It was an optimistic celebration of existence from the point of view of a committed liberal, and oddly in this regard it has more in common with Nietzsche than one would suspect. Parry, in *Instinct and Character*, wondered how life itself could be reinvigorated, and its liberties recognised, in regulated societies where human nature was being constantly trammelled due to the rapid advances of knowledge. In this 'bicameral' system of culture (as encountered previously, Safrinsky's term for the mutual interaction of science and non-science in Nietzsche's ideal society), a counterbalance of strong human feeling was required to achieve the 'unstable equilibrium' that would sustain the seesaw of progress. In developing his own *Lebensphilosophie*, Parry naturally took interest in vitalism and especially in Henri Bergson's *Creative Evolution* (read in 1913, alongside his *Matter and Memory*, a study in mind/body dualism). Bergson's work, as Mary Ann Gillies explains, appealed to readers because it "accentuated the process of becoming at the expense of the finished product."[246] The mystery of the *élan vital*, or the vital force, and Bergson's view of a creative universe in which time itself became an actor in cosmic evolution, contested a mechanistic, deterministic and excessively empirical reading of the cosmos (in the older tradition of Spencer or Darwin). Bergson emphasised the immediacy of experience and thus gave life a broader meaning, as well as a new and a more dynamic sense of adventure, than was typically permitted by the rationalists. Parry's own life-affirming philosophy began with the celebration of youth (not unlike Nietzsche's) against the backdrop of the indiscriminate carnage of war.[247]

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[245] Parry, *op. cit.,* p. 395.

[246] Mary Ann Gillies. *Henri Bergson and British modernism* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), p. 31.

[247] Parry. *College addresses delivered to the pupils of the Royal College of Music,* ed. Henry Cope Colles (London: Macmillan, 1920), p. 295: "The blessed young are supple and fresh. Their minds are not too much burdened by experiences. They love the stir and bustle of life which is still inviting and unexplored."

Youthfulness became an even more valuable asset to society than maturity; it injected the positively disruptive 'vital force' into an otherwise inert environment.[248]

Defending youthful exuberance and play, *Instinct and Character* questioned "the conventional apposition of work and play".[249] Parry rejected the notion that the masses, due to some defecit of character, preferred to be idle.[250] Instead, people did not enjoy work because their work, forced upon them by social necessity, was not suited to them; they consequently shirked their duties as an "infringement of [their] instinct of independence."[251] On the other hand, the human energy expended on 'play' was proof of diverted vitality.[252] *Instinct and Character* dispatched the conventional wisdom that play should be curbed, since it led to indulgence.[253] At the same time, the author connected work with the instinct for order and organisation, the excess of which led to conservatism.[254] Man's imagination was limitless. Societies became orderly in the interest of their members, but the artists—who were custodians of real culture and orators of the imagination—were not hindered by the "obstructions" imposed by this "love of order".[255] As Parry gradually withdrew his Teutonic sympathies in the light of the war, he also entertained the possibility that Germany's true progress had in fact been "induced by men who belong to races that have much less appreciation of order and organization."[256] Play was an assertion of man's independence of thought in a communitarian world (or even an autocratic one, ruled from "an unquestioned centre"[257]), and a precursor to democratic open-mindedness. In other words, play echoed Nietzsche's 'yea-saying' attitude towards life, albeit with a decidedly democratic bent. In Parry's quasi-programmatic *Symphonic Fantasia '1912'*, 'Play'

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[248] Notebook: "Elderly people have an unfortunate opportunity to develop habits. Most habits are the result of disinclination for activity."
[249] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 73.
[250] *Ibid.*, p. 72: "The view of the majority is that man is naturally an idle animal, and likes to do nothing, and to make an ideal of resting. Yet nothing could surely be more obviously contrary to everyday experience."
[251] *Ibid.*
[252] See Notebook: "Spontaneous desire is vindicated by the many things to which men address themselves all by themselves, manifesting a passionate desire to accomplish things merely for the sake of accomplishment. This is an endorsement of the spontaneity of the instinct [of activity] – as a great many of the ways with which men occupy themselves, by themselves, have no outcome whatsoever. Many merely obey the impulse to do something and to do it well, without any concern for whether it is serviceable either to themselves or anyone else."
[253] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 77.
[254] *Ibid.*, pp. 87-90.
[255] *Ibid.*, p. 91.
[256] *Ibid.*, p. 93.
[257] *Ibid.*, p. 94.

was represented by a bright G major Scherzo, drawing rounded inspiration from the musical ebulliences of Strauss, Mahler and Tchaikovsky. It was his heartfelt challenge to the Nietzscheans who took the Dionysian aesthetic to mean mere instinctual gratification and pleasure-seeking.[258]

Although Parry was understandably reluctant to follow Nietzsche down his Dionysian path, like William James, whose *Pragmatism* he also studied in his Nietzschean year (1911), he still desired for philosophy to, as it were, return to life.[259] In *Instinct and Character*, Parry confronted Pontius Pilate's famous question, "What is truth?"[260] There was a hint of Nietzsche's epistemological perspectivism in his declaration that "no man ever will attain to any explanation of things which is absolutely true."[261] In the absence of empirical affirmation, William James' pragmatism, presented as a mediating philosophy in the universal confrontation between 'tough'- and 'tender'-mindedness (i.e. between science and religion), held a well-rounded 'bicameral' appeal; James' ideal pragmatist demonstrated "a certain willingness to live without assurances or guarantees."[262] In the same vein, Parry exalted not "truth" in itself but man's "common aspiration to truth", even if it led to occasional falsehoods. He considered religious devotion to be an important catalyst for the enigmatic, quasi-Shavian 'life-force'. Thus, he quoted from Bishop William Temple's *Foundation*: "What we all instinctively believe to-day is not perhaps, God, but only a world principle, the Logos of the Stoics."[263] Much like James, Parry saw that religion could be more useful pragmatically than metaphysically. Boasting links with John Stuart Mill[264], American pragmatism was particularly inviting in the first two decades of the century because it promised to clear the metaphysical ambiguities associated with German thought. Whereas for Nietzsche, Christian morality pandered to the weak and was essentially anti-life, for Parry, Christianity provided the much-needed defence against Nietzsche's justification of cruelty and slavery. Genuine religious wisdom could survive the death of a monotheistic God and the

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[258] *Ibid.*, p. 82.
[259] In the same way that Nietzsche's theories could be called 'true' because they could serve life. See William Gavin. 'Pragmatism and death: method vs. metaphor, tragedy vs. the will to power' in *100 years of pragmatism*, ed. John Stuhr (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2010), p. 92. See also Colin Koopman. *Pragmatism as transition: historicity and hope in James, Dewey, and Rorty* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).
[260] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 106.
[261] *Ibid.*, p. 165.
[262] William James. *The meaning of truth* (New York: Longman, 1911), p. 229.
[263] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 165.
[264] "…from whom I first learned the pragmatic openness of mind and whom my fancy likes to picture as our leader were he alive to-day." See James. *Pragmatism: a new name for some old ways of thinking* (New York: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1907), dedication.

collapse of organised religion. Indeed for Parry, man's religious instinct was ultimately carried forward into the realm of art.

When Parry wrote to Macmillan in 1918, confessing that he had been at work on *Instinct and Character* (he had turned down an invitation from Macmillan to write another history book in 1913), he claimed that his manuscript "works out to something like the same conclusion as Kidd's *Social Evolution*, but by a very different road—and the matter of the road seems to me to affect the conclusions and what will follow from them."[265] What was the nature of Parry's "different road", how did it differ from Kidd's, and where else beyond *Social Evolution* did it lead? Having considered both his differences and similarities with Nietzsche, the student can understand better Parry's work in relation to Kidd's. According to his biographer, D. P. Crook, Kidd's anti-rationalism appealed to a generation of readers which had witnessed "the rise of doctrines of will, power and irrationality".[266] For Parry, Kidd provided access to these ultra-rational possibilities while, at the same time, condemning Nietzsche's advocacy of slavery and his individualistic reading of Darwinism. Kidd, like Bergson and James, aspired to "harness the creative energies within man, to liberate the forces of the inner life to make a better, more rewarding existence for mankind."[267] He proposed that only religion provided this sanction for altruism, ensuring the evolutionary survival of the species. The author of *Social Evolution* had constructed a framework for cultural progress which promoted humanitarian values, dismissed eugenics and also expelled the Nietszschean aristocracy of *Übermenschen*; he had achieved, as it were, a scientific—or rather ultra-rational—basis for democracy.[268] Against Nietzsche, Parry could now see democracy as an agency of the "transmutation of values".[269] It was from Kidd that he obtained confirmation for his hopeful view of man shedding his egotistic skin through history, his Metchnikovian, anthropocentric view of the world, and the notion that culture was more important than heredity. In 1918, he read Kidd's *Science of Power* with the same spirit of disillusionment from the war that Kidd was also facing; Darwinism and its Malthusian principles were seen to have ushered in worldwide calamity by encouraging capitalism, militarism and imperialism.[270] In his last year, Parry

[265] Parry, quoted in Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 493.
[266] David Paul Crook. *Benjamin Kidd: portrait of a social Darwinist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 56.
[267] *Ibid.*, p. 375.
[268] *Ibid.*, p. 69.
[269] Parry. *Instinct and character,* p. 246.
[270] Crook, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

also encountered the rationale for his optimism that underdeveloped societies could be transformed in a matter of generations, through the auspices of education.

Parry's departure from Kidd was never made explicitly clear in the convoluted prose of *Instinct and Character*, partly because he did not make specific references to Kidd in his work. The differences in their thinking were nevertheless palpable. Parry was on the whole much more receptive of socialism than Kidd, and the reason was that Kidd placed a much greater emphasis on competition whereas competition played a rather silent role in Parry's view of genuine cultural growth.[271] For the composer, the essential conflict that moved the seesaw of progress was much more individual, more internal and more psychological than it was external. Like Kidd, Nietzsche and Bergson, Parry hoped to show that there was more to life beyond the intellect, but he was never anti-intellectual or decidedly anti-rational in the manner of Kidd, and he did not formulate his view of culture in such adverse terms. Furthermore, he did not follow Kidd in supposing that religion and reason were antagonistic forces, precisely because he defined religion in a much broader and more secular sense. As Parry had transferred Ruskin's plea for morality in art to the realm of music, he was now transferring Kidd's sanction for religion to the sphere of art. He believed that man's religious instinct could survive and thrive rationally and pragmatically in art, whereas it would be eviscerated in dogma.[272] This view was ultimately linked up with his ideal of play: "The rest of the matter is that art is an expression of religion and games are not."[273]

When Bernard Benoliel addresses Parry's *Instinct and Character* in his book, he dismisses it in a few sentences as a product of the "unself-reflecting arrogance which led him to compose *Job* and *The Pied Piper*" leading him "astray again in old age".[274] In Benoliel's account, Parry had "deluded himself"

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[271] While he once wrote (in his notebook) that "when a man withdraws from conflict he loses one of the incentives to strenuous action"[271], Parry ultimately believed in the value of *friendly* artistic rivalry (supporting competitive music festivals such as that of Berks, Bucks and Oxon).

[272] Parry made no sanctions for the persistence of organised religions; for him, the religious instinct behaved like an amplifier for noble feelings, and art was the 'universal religion' which appealed to all kinds of minds and removed active barriers between peoples and communities. See Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 220: "Art is the great ministrant of that half of the religious instinct which is concerned with reverence."

[273] Notebook: "Moreover that part of art which is merely concerned with organization or manipulation is not religion but the vehicle in which or by which art is expressed… [The] religious impulse does enable the human being to attain skill in manipulation that would be impossible except in abnormal states. But it is not the mechanical objects that illustrate the religion but the spirit which impels."

[274] Benoliel, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

into thinking that he was more than just an amateur historian-philosopher. Viewing the work through a specific ideological lens, Benoliel points specifically to Parry's puritanical views on sex ("full of attitudes and devoid of insights") and his "uninspired" discussion of religion and arts as singularly unpleasant to read and too "morally didactic" in tone.[275] His thoroughly negative response follows the familiar Shavian narrative, which sees Parry's extra-musical activities and his academic responsibilities as a burden to his artistic development – " 'Parrystophanes' could be clever and amusing, 'Parrystotle' and 'Parrymedes' are not"[276]. Thus, Benoliel could delight in the fact that the composer was able to continue his Indian Summer despite his 'delusional' episode. While his observations are critical objections to some of the problems inherent in Parry's writings, they lack an impartial commitment to really penetrate the motives and the argumentation behind them. By glossing over *Instinct and Character* in the dismissive manner that he does, Benoliel forfeits an important opportunity to synthesise Parry's literary ideas across the full spectrum of his works.

The actual causes of the work's failure can be ascertained by revisiting the correspondence between Arthur Ponsonby and various publishers after Parry's death. Humphrey Milford of Oxford University Press wrote to Ponsonby on 20 October 1920, relaying to him four initial impressions obtained from the readers: 1. that it should definitely be published; 2. that it was "too incoherent, and in many places completely out of date" and should not be published; 3. showed reluctance in the matter; and 4. that "there were perverse musical judgments in the book which would damage Parry's reputation."[277] It was settled in the correspondence that Oxford University Press, rather than the more prestigious Clarendon Press, might take up the endeavour if "a contribution could be made towards the cost… we none of us (and I felt and feel this strongly) liked the idea of leaving the book to which Parry devoted so much time and thought wholly unpublished" (although this never came to fruition). Many believed that the work would damage Parry's reputation had it been published. W. A. Raleigh thought it "quite possible that professional philosophers would treat it scornfully."[278] Ponsonby also sustained a long "battle"[279] with Claude Aveling, the registrar of the Royal College of Music, who zealously resisted the prospect of publication:

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[275] *Ibid.*
[276] *Ibid.*
[277] Letter from Humphrey Milford to Arthur Ponsonby, 20 October 1920, ShP.
[278] Letter from Walter Raleigh to Arthur Ponsonby, 20 November 1920, ShP.
[279] As described by Humphrey Milford in the letter cited above.

> With regard to your idea of publishing Sir Hubert's book, I must confess that I see little hope of the expense being justified, but a more cogent reason is, I feel convinced, that the risk of doing Sir Hubert's great name an injustice by publishing a work which he did not live to revise in the light of new experiences, would be too great, and as far as I have been able to ascertain this view is shared by many who are actually competent to judge in the matter.[280]

In a different letter, Aveling warned that "we ought to be quite certain, before considering such an expensive undertaking, that the book is going to do full justice to the memory of Sir Hubert and his ideals."[281] Although Raleigh added more optimistically:

> Of course it can't compare, for an instant, as a work of letters, with his music. His admirers and lovers are afraid of it because of that. I like it because it's sincere, and an expression of himself. Very subtle too, in parts… I think, especially, as Sir Hubert was keen about it, that it should be published, and I thought Oxford should publish it. I didn't think it would help his reputation – though with the understanding few, I cannot think it would do his reputation harm.[282]

Instinct and Character suffers in isolation, but—as Raleigh, Ponsonby and Graves[283] ultimately recognised—makes more sense within a biographical context, i.e. when it is read as a culmination of Parry's oeuvre. The work's incoherence stems from its lack of a central thesis, its over-ambitious scope and the author's insatiable embrace of eclecticism. Before he died in 1918, Parry was still making serious revisions to the format of the work. The arguments in *Instinct and Character* are not always closely argued; they are often digressive in nature, filled with anecdotes but lacking adequate recourse to empirical data. Its most dated features are apparent in the preliminary chapter, which borrows the superannuated language of matter and energy from Spencer's *First Principles*. It also suffers for the same reasons that Kidd's *Social Evolution* was falling out of fashion. Crook hypothesises that Kidd's post-war reputation sagged because his appeal to irrationality and Social Darwinism, along with his utopian vision, had been deprecated by four years of traumatic experience. One of the biggest issues with *Instinct and Character* was highlighted by its most ardent advocate; according to Ponsonby, Parry had put together what was ultimately an exhaustive volume of his personal reflections on life, but at the same time, his interest in philosophy was steering the work in a more specialised direction.

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[280] Letter from Claude Aveling to Arthur Ponsonby, 15 October 1920, ShP.
[281] Letter from Claude Aveling to Arthur Ponsonby, 8 August 1920, ShP.
[282] Letter from Walter Raleigh to Arthur Ponsonby, 20 November 1920, ShP.
[283] See also letter from Charles Larcom Graves to Arthur Ponsonby, 10 October 1919, ShP: "Though I haven't seen the MS, I can imagine that your estimate is a very sound one."

This resulted in an uneven treatise that "falls between two stools. It is not a philosophical treatise and yet is in parts rather too abstruse for his reader as merely personal impressions."[284] On the one hand, the author identifies all the instincts through personal anecdotes and impressions, providing no methodological explanation as to how the classification is arrived at, or how the instincts cohere hierarichically.[285] On the other, he upholds a theoretical façade which prevents him from engaging with the subjects at a more personal level. Thus, his discourse on art is neither as intimate or insightful as when he discusses it in connection with music (in *Style in Musical Art*); it is constantly stifled by a systematic framework that aims to salvage the essence of religion by bringing it into alignment with art, with the result that neither art nor religion is allowed to shine (autonomously) in its full brilliance.

Ponsonby realised that, for the purposes of procuring publication, *Instinct and Character* was much more favourably advertised as a record of the author's personal reflections and experiences written at the conclusion of his life. In his personal copy of *The Nature of Man*, Parry heeded Metchnikoff's remark that "life becomes dearer to us as its joys pass away. The old cling to it more closely than the young."[286] *Instinct and Character* was his own attempt to, as it were, 'cling to life' – in the way which he knew best, which was to subject to careful documentation life's numerous joys and intricacies (for all its faults, the work exuded keen observational powers that can be attributed to Lecky in his *Map of Life*). To this end, the work was a genuine expression of Parry's own "will to live"[287], rather than a product of senile arrogance. Against the charge of excessive didacticism, Ponsonby maintained that *Instinct and Character* was not written with any real attempt "to dogmatize to preach or to teach".[288] Writing under the auspices of Mill's plea for a science of human character, Parry had hoped instead to explicate his own experiences scientifically and philosophically – to make them more relevant, especially in response to Nietzsche and the war.

For the student of Parry's life and works, the chief interest of *Instinct and Character* lies in the author's attempt to sustain a cogent narrative between this untoward polarity between intuition and

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[284] Draft of a letter from Arthur Ponsonby to an unknown recipient, dated 30 X (October?) 2019, ShP.
[285] He envisaged an unclear-but-intricate web of instincts, in which some instincts fortify others, while some cancel each other out.
[286] Élie Metchnikoff. *The nature of man: studies in optimistic philosophy* (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905), p. 117.
[287] *Ibid.*, p. 131.
[288] Ponsonby's preface to *Instinct and character,* p. ii.

theory. Unfortunately, because of its impenetrability, as well as inaccessibility, the work's true nature has been all but eclipsed by inaccurate second-hand impressions. Far from trying to bring all the aspects of life under the control of man's intellect, *Instinct and Character* was an affirmation of life in all its unmanageable aspects. At the risk of simplifying a highly complex work, it was at its core an effort to reconnect man with the spontaneity of his instincts, to demonstrate that instinctual excitement led "more to well-being than the reverse"[289], and to propose art as the means by which man could feel this "access of vitality".[290] The work guarded against puritanism by reinvigorating 'play' at the expense of 'work'. It promoted daring enquiry and experimentalism against "imperilling organization", by emphasising perpetual change and the process of becoming (Nietzsche's manner of combatting the distress of eternal recurrence). Like Mill in his essay on *Liberty*, Parry viewed 'character' as proof of independence of mind and eccentricity as a protection against conformity. Parry also joined Nietzsche in the repudiation of Carlyle's attack on scepticism. Knowledge should be embraced even at the cost of happiness ("The blind are often happier than those who see too much.")[291]; scepticism did not remove wonders from the world but created tangible ones. Ultimately, *Instinct and Character* was a secular celebration of existence, life's perishability as well as its infinite wealth of possibilities, and a liberal plea for the recognition of the diversity of human experience:

> … Man lives not by mind alone, but by all the impulses, and qualities and feelings and conviction and hope and efforts and aspirations which have been developed in him by his unquenchable ardour in the interests of the great fellowship of human kind. The multifold experiences of his long pilgrimage inspire him. The search for the right interpretation of them makes the pilgrimage worthwhile.[292]

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter attempted a delineation of the characteristics of Parry's thought over the final two decades of his life. It began by examining the context of British decadence at the *fin de siècle* and proceeded to determine Parry's closeness to some of these important literary trends. The second section treated the reception of Nietzsche in England and Parry's own quarrels with Nietzschean ideas.

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[289] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 291.
[290] *Ibid.*, p. 290.
[291] Notebook.
[292] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 415.

The third section discussed his rapprochement with Nietzsche's philosophy, despite his enormous reservations. Finally, in the fourth section, the influences were traced to their culmination in *Instinct and Character*. An understanding of Parry's attitude towards Nietzsche has proved useful in tracing out the changing, or rather crystallising, patterns of his thought; it has enabled the scholar to better account for Parry's attraction to such writers as Wells, Metchnikoff, Bergson, James, Kidd and so forth. Lastly, a diachronic perspective on Parry's literary works can bring new light to the study of his musical works. The final chapter concludes with the task of assessing Parry's music in the light of a new understanding of his philosophical positions.

8. 'Choral Music as Befits an Englishman and a Democrat': Parry's Ethical Mission in Music

> To many, and apparently to most, religious worship yields a species of pleasure. To me it never did so; unless, indeed, I count as such the emotion produced by sacred music. A sense of combined grandeur and sweetness excited by an anthem, with organ and cathedral architecture to suggest the idea of power, was then, and always has been, strong in me—as strong, probably, as in most—stronger than in many.
>
> – Herbert Spencer, *An Autobiography* (1904)[1]

> Goethe in a fine simile compares poems to the stained-glass windows of a Cathedral: if you stand outside, they are dark and unmeaning: if you enter the portal the master's design is made manifest by the light of heaven shining through it. This truth lies at the heart and centre of Parry's later Cantatas. We shall wholly misunderstand them unless we realise that their essential purpose is to lead us within the gates, to show us the true meaning of the words which they interpret.
>
> – W. H. Hadow, *Proceedings of the Musical Association* (1919)[2]

In the same commemorative address, Henry Hadow divided Parry's musical life into three stages: pupilage, adventure and discovery.[3] The six 'ethical cantatas'[4] of 1903-8, arguably a model of 'non-discovery' in music (R. O. Morris aptly called them a "noble failure"[5]), reveal the problem with Hadow's tripartite division of Parry's oeuvre. For Gerald Finzi, an admirer of these later cantatas,

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[1] Herbert Spencer. *An autobiography, vol. 1* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1904), p. 171.
[2] W. H. Hadow. 'Sir Hubert Parry', *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 45th Sess. (1918-1919), p. 141.
[3] Hadow, *op. cit.*, p. 139.
[4] Anthony Boden infers that Parry was himself the originator of the term 'ethical cantata', although I have not been able to find any evidence to this effect (they have also been referred to loosely as 'moral oratorios' by the press; the term 'ethical cantata' appears to be a relatively modern concoction). The problem with the label is that it suggests a disparity between these cantatas and Parry's earlier works. In truth, Parry had already treated many of the philosophical themes in his earlier music, before the ethical cantatas. See Boden. *Parrys of the Golden Vale: background to genius* (Thames Publishing: London, 1998), p. 213.
[5] R. O. Morris. 'Hubert Parry', *Music & Letters* 1/2 (Apr. 1920), p. 102.

especially *Beyond These Voices*[6], the works signalled a coming together of two perceptible strands of Parry's artistic personality: the emotional/radical (*Prometheus Unbound*) and puritanical (*Grosses Duo*) sides of his character.[7] Indeed the stark conceptual shift after *King Saul* (1894) signified the composer's discontent with the British oratorio tradition, and more importantly, his venture to find a more elastic musical form in which to frame his philosophical ideas. Although some of the choral settings appealed to Vaughan Williams, Herbert Howells, Walford Davies and W. G. Whittaker, modern scholars generally concur that they do not amount to a personal success story, barring their historical significance. The works were cooly received at their respective premieres; at Hereford for the first performance of *Voces Clamantium* (1903), Parry recounted in his diary that "everybody was bewildered and bored."[8] Thus, what writers (following Dibble) now refer to as Parry's 'Indian summer' could perhaps be described as a recalibration of his musical and philosophical priorities, a 'rediscovery' of a less didactic (or at least less personal) style of composition, such as the Fourth and Fifth Symphonies (1909 and 1912), the *Ode on the Nativity* (Dunbar, 1912) or the *Chivalry of the Sea* (Bridges, 1916). During this time, Parry's literary energies were more suitably, albeit not that much more profitably, channelled into his unpublished treatise, *Instinct and Character.*

The six ethical cantatas, being the focus of this chapter, represent a curious intersection at which, for nearly a decade, Parry's philosophical ideals and his musical experimentation coalesced. They include *War and Peace* (3 April 1903, Albert Hall), *Voces Clamantium* (10 September 1903, Hereford Festival), *The Love that Casteth out Fear* (7 September 1904, Gloucester Festival), *The Soul's Ransom* (12 September 1906, Hereford Festival), *The Vision of Life* (26 September 1907, Cardiff Festival) and *Beyond These Voices There Is Peace* (9 September 1908, Worcester Festival).[9] To the list

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[6] Finzi wrote in a letter to Tony Scott on 7 March 1948: "I can't help feeling how dreadfully inferior Tippett's work [*A Child of our Time*] is to, say, *Beyond these voices there is peace*." Quoted in Diana McVeagh. *Gerald Finzi: his life and music* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2005), p. 165.

[7] For Finzi's opinions on Parry, see Finzi. 'Hubert Parry: a revaluation', *Making Music* 10 (1949), pp. 4-8.

[8] Diary, 10 September 1903, quoted in Jeremy Dibble. *C. Hubert H. Parry: his life and music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 394.

[9] Drafts and manuscripts of the works consulted for the purposes of this research are housed at the Royal College of Music and the Bodleian (Weston Library): *War and Peace*, full score, Bod. MS. Mus. c.113, vocal score, Bod. MS. Mus. c.114; *Voces Clamantium*, full score, GB-Lcm MS. 4214, vocal score, Bod. MS. Mus. c.119; *The Love that Casteth out Fear*, full score, GB-Lcm MS. 4210, vocal score, Bod. MS. Mus. c.115; *The Soul's Ransom*, full score, Bod. MS. Mus. c.116, vocal score, Bod. MS. Mus. c.120; *The Vision of Life*, full score, GB-Lcm MS. 4213, vocal score, Bod. MS. Mus. C.117 (including revision of the finale); and *Beyond These Voices There Is Peace*, full score, GB-Lcm. MS. 4202.

may be added an earlier work, *A Song of Darkness and Light* (15 September 1898, Gloucester Festival), which differs from the other choral works in boasting a libretto by Robert Bridges (with whom Parry had previously collaborated on the *Invocation to Music*). For the later cantatas, Parry either constructed his own texts or compiled verses from the Bible for use with his own provisions. The literary liberties which he claimed for the ethical cantatas make them the ideal place to study the application of his personal philosophy to music.

Parry's desire to inject personality and literary content into music was fuelled by his aversion to the bohemian creed of 'art for art's sake'. He concurrently sought to elevate the status of programme music through the procession of his later symphonies[10] and the symphonic poem *From Death to Life* (1914). Written during the heyday of the Anglo-German arms race, the didactic cantatas have at their fringes the conclusion of the Second Boer War and the beginnings of the Bosnian crisis; yet they were conceived prior to Parry's acquaintance with Nietzsche's belligerent philosophy. They capture some of his fervent advocacy for democracy, the Edwardian consciousness of the plight of the poor, and the early optimism that was calculated in response to *fin-de-siècle* decadence (rather than as a prophylactic measure, such as *Instinct and Character* was, against European militarism). They reveal the unique trajectory of his own musical ambitions at a time when a new generation of musicians was being initiated by the example of continental composers into a unified national consciousness.

This chapter first looks at the ethical cantatas in the wider context of his other compositions, as well as that of the late-Victorian and Edwardian construction of an English choral-orchestral idiom. Afterwards, each individual cantata is examined from a literary and a musical perspective, although a thorough musical analysis of each work is not attempted (the reader should refer to Stephen Town's more analytical examination of *The Vision of Life* and his comparative studies of *Voces Clamantium* and *Beyond These Voices*, as well as Benoliel's appraisal of the *Soul's Ransom*). Rather, equipped with an understanding of Parry's literary background, the discussion attends to Hadow's invitation to "enter the portal" of Parry's artistic world to understand the philosophical inspiration behind his works. Lastly, the 'neo-Baroque' elements of the music are discussed vis-à-vis his historiographical ideas, especially against the backdrop of his seventeenth-century volume (1902), his work on Bach,

[10] In his 1910 revision of the *Fourth Symphony*, Parry gave the movements the following titles: 'Looking for it', 'Thinking about it', 'Playing on it' and 'Girt for it'; the whole work, reflecting man's search for the meaning of life, was aptly called 'Finding the way'. The *Fifth Symphony* also included similar quasi-programmatic movements, namely 'Stress', 'Love', 'Play' and 'Now!'.

and *Style in Musical Art*. The examination yields insight into the internal logic of Parry's attempt simultaneously to strike an ethical note in his own musical works.

8.1 The Context of the Ethical Cantatas

In addition to the above-mentioned *Song of Darkness and Light*, the road to the ethical cantatas was punctuated by a long line of choral predecessors, both secular and sacred. The early dramatic cantata, *Prometheus Unbound* (1880), matches Shelley's radical poetry with quasi-Wagnerian resonance. Although Hughes and Stradling find Parry's style too 'sanitised'[11] to effect a successful Shelley-esque revolution in music, the work was not unfaithful to Shelley's vision of an individualistic rebellion against tyranny (importantly, the *idée fixe* of Parry's later cantatas). Through its political message, its idealism and anarchism against the literary backdrop of the French Revolution, *Prometheus Unbound* gave fire to the English Musical Renaissance's ideological commitment to liberal reform; as Hughes and Stradling explain, "by adopting him [Parry] as its first 'Great Composer', the Renaissance affected to place itself on the side of the common man and his 'long march' to political fulfilment."[12]

Parry read Shelley's verse again in 1881, alongside Aeschylus' play, *Prometheus Bound*. John Morley's studies of Rousseau, Cobden and Diderot, as well as Ivan Turgenev's novels, occupied his attention in the years leading up to the ode from Shirley's *The Contention of Ajax and Ulysses*. The work, based on the text by James Shirley and performed in 1883 at the Three Choirs, upholds the same spirit of protest against social conformity as previously brought to the fore in *Prometheus Unbound* (as Parry would declare in old age: "nothing could be more unprofitable than general respectable conformity to a local standard"[13]). Shirley's verse speaks to the artificiality of rank and social status; those who "reap the field" of worldly substance are not protected from mortality by their material wealth (reminiscent of "to Death must all come" and "all pace the same path, all face the same death" in *The Vision of Life*). There is also a hint of emancipation from patriotic and imperial sentiment in

[11] Meirion Hughes and Robert Stradling. *The English musical renaissance 1840-1940: constructing a national music* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001/1993), pp. 221-2.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 221.
[13] Parry. *College addresses delivered to the pupils of the Royal College of Music,* ed. Henry Cope Colles (London: Macmillan, 1920), p. 296.

Shirley's text: the "sceptre and crown" that "tumble down" are emblems of a decaying empire, made equal "in the dust" with "the poor crooked scythe and spade". The point of man's commonness (before God – as in the Isaiah quotations in *Voces Clamantium*) is reinforced and hammered home in the course of the work's clear-cut ternary design.

After the success of *Blest Pair*, Parry's opportunity to fortify his title as the nation's unofficial composer laureate presented itself in the form of *Judith*, a work in four acts, which was given at the Birmingham Festival in 1888. The commission called for a traditional Old Testament oratorio, but the composer achieved a compromise with text drawn from the Apocrypha (he found Judith's personality and the account of her heroism in Prideaux's *The Connection of the Old and New Testament* both "admirable" and humanly interesting[14]). As Parry wrote to Dannreuther: "I don't like the Oratorio notion – though of course one can make a work on Oratorio lines which shall be perfectly independent of ecclesiastical or so-called religious conventions."[15] The relegation of Holofernes' beheading to narrative in the second act is arguably telling of the circumstances surrounding the commission (or of Parry's own sensibilities), and, as Dibble points out, Parry actively sought to incorporate a more personal Passion design into a musical structure that would also satisfy the choral demands of the festival oratorio.[16] The work scored a success with the public, but, as a *via media* between philosophical extremes, it highlighted the growing sense of disconnect between the composer and his audience that was to reach breaking point with the ethical cantatas.

The subject-matter of Parry's next cantata, *L'Allegro ed Il Penseroso* (1890), provided more congenial prospects than the apocryphal Judith for the development of his personal style. Milton's exploration of character polarities in the twin poems, subjected to Handel's treatment in 1740, was in line with Parry's own dualistic view of artistic personality, subsequently explicated in the *Evolution of the Art of Music* (1896). Indeed, the iambic declaration of the contemplative man ("Hence, vain, deluding Joys", bass solo) in *L'Allegro* anticipates quite unmistakably the disenchanted Dreamer in *The Vision of Life* ("And all the world should be enslaved, to minister to measureless desire", bass solo). Parry's preference for the melancholic persona echoed Milton's own, but, like the poet, he

[14] Parry's foreword to the score, *Judith* (London: Novello, Ewer & Co.).
[15] "I hope you won't swear! … I caved in, but with a mental reservation that there shouldn't be much of religious or biblical oratorio beyond the name." (Oxf. Bod. EL e.117/153:201087) quoted in Hughes and Stradling, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
[16] Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

sought to affirm a conciliatory affinity between Mirth and Melancholy in his rendition of the text, through the use of a balanced musical structure.[17] The work's strengths lie in its overall sense of harmonic pace and direction (such as the subjection of a mirthful B flat tonality to musical memory; see Dibble's analysis) and the integrity of its parts and tonal structure, which, in certain respects, makes it the ideal mediator between *Prometheus Unbound* and the later 'symphonic' cantatas.

If *De Profundis* (from Psalm 130), composed for the Three Choirs at Hereford in 1891, ranks among Parry's works of a more sombre character, his next choral endeavour, *The Lotos-Eaters* (1892), interestingly skews back towards the side of Mirth. In Tennyson's escapist poem, a group of mariners consume the lotos and fall into a state of trance (a curious reversal of the Genesis story, in which Adam is punished with hardship and labour for tasting the forbidden fruit); they find peace and resolve to live their lives in isolation, because "slumber is more sweet than toil". The work, a manifestation of the author's proclivity to aestheticism (the first recorded English usage of the word 'aestheticism', in fact, appears in relation to Tennyson's poem[18]), is the diametric opposite of such moments in Parry's music as Solomon's disillusionment with hedonism in *Beyond These Voices* (Ecclesiastes 2:1-11). However, it is still pertinent when understood in terms of his ample concessions to Mirth in *L'Allegro*, his cautious revolt against utilitarianism in the *Evolution of the Art of Music* (published in the following year), his attraction to Flaubert's and (later) Pater's writings, and especially in the light of *Instinct and Character*, where the indulgence of 'art for art's sake' passes in maturity into the wholeness of 'play'.[19]

The tepid reception among his friends to *The Lotos-Eaters* prompted the following reaction in his diary: "I suppose they [Fuller Maitland and Graves] have made up their minds what sort of music I ought to write and object to my trying to widen my field."[20] For his next oratorio, *Job* (1892), Parry conceded less than he did with *Judith*. As Dibble notes, Dannreuther had referred him to "Sanskrit poetry, Simrock's *Mythologie* and even the *Edda*" for the Birmingham event, while the prospect of the

[17] See *ibid.*, p. 289.
[18] In an 1855 essay by George Brimley; see Angela Leighton. *On form: poetry, aestheticism, and the legacy of the word* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 58.
[19] Compare Dibble's remarks: "Yet in one sense *The Lotos-Eaters* gives us a rare glimpse of Parry the aesthete and hedonist who loved fine architecture, the countryside, travel, wine, cigars, good food, yachts, and (later) cars," Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 297.
[20] Diary, 13 June 1892, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 298.

Book of Job was intimated by William Richmond.[21] Parry was referring as early as 1887 to *Parsifal*, a work he had recently experienced in 1882 both at Orme Square and Bayreuth.[22] His quest to find a suitable libretto upon which to hang his own philosophical cloak was once again drawing him into Wagner's orbit. Benoliel explains that in *Job*, Parry had attempted to "create a terser more symphonic concept of oratorio by eschewing separation between the recitatives, arias and choruses; *Parsifal* is an obvious influence here."[23] Wagner is, however, equally a source for the baritone monologue ('The Lamentations of Job') which looks to the contemplative sections of Wotan in *The Ring* and Hans Sachs's 'Wahn, Wahn!' monologue in *Die Meistersinger*. It is significant that he felt the imperative to supply his own text for parts of the work, especially in the idyllic-turned-turbulent second scene (the Shepherd Boy and Satan), to satisfy his sense of dramatic contrast and direction. The choice of text offered him a better outlet for philosophical introspection than had been the case with *Judith*. The undeserved suffering of Job through divine wager carried for the unbelieving composer a humanistic, rather than a religious, significance. Job's frustration and God's subsequent indictment signify the limits of man's knowledge in the face of the unknown, while Job's enduring faith exemplifies his perseverance in the pursuit of wisdom, ultimately teaching that living ethically must be its own humbling reward. Conceived in an unorthodox fashion, the music is more in keeping with the severity of the text than, for example, William Russell's orthodox treatment of the same subject in 1813.[24] The lamentation in Parry's setting is both heartfelt and personal. Unlike the schemes of *Judith* and later *King Saul*, the tonal plan of *Job* is laconic and homogeneous, with the characteristic diatonicism of the C major introduction returning towards the end, giving the work a sense of well-roundedness.

Diana McVeagh says of Elgar's *Caractacus* that it was a retrogression ("a more complex work, but less imaginative"), coming after *King Olaf*.[25] A similar charge could be levelled against Parry's *King Saul* (1894), coming after *Job*. According to Howard Smither, "Parry's contemporaries noted in *Job* a striking departure from the Victorian oratorio."[26] *King Saul*, however, was ultimately a retreat to safer

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[21] Dibble. Parry. *Job*, CD-ROM liner notes (Hyperion Records, Guildford Choral Society, 1998).
[22] See Dibble. *C. Hubert H. Parry: his life and music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 200.
[23] Bernard Benoliel. *Parry before Jerusalem: studies of his life and music with excerpts from his published writings* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), p. 88.
[24] Samuel Wesley dubbed the work a "poor Oratorio"; see Philip Olleson. *Samuel Wesley: the man and his music* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2003), p. 142.
[25] Diana McVeagh. Edward Elgar: his life and music (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1955), p. 113.
[26] Howard Smither. *A history of the oratorio: the oratorio in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries* (London: Chapel Hill and London, 2000), p. 362.

ground; written for Birmingham, it was a traditional, large-scale oratorio in four acts like *Judith*, albeit dressed in new attire (*Hazell's Annual* perceptively reported the former work as "altogether unconventional" and the latter as a "legitimate oratorio"[27]). The tragic story of Saul was a more conservative choice, lacking an immediate philosophical relevance so conspicuous in the theodicy of Job (compare 1 Samuel 16:14). On the whole, the oratorio was much more in line with the Handelian tradition than *Job*, while Parry's musical realisation of the text was typically wanting in dramatic effect – a more fatal drawback for a work of its scale than for *Job*. It was also the oratorio by the composer to be cast in the truly conventional mould.

Not insignificantly, in the years between *King Saul* and the first ethical cantata, Parry engaged in two collaborations with Robert Bridges, the *Invocation to Music* (1895) and *A Song of Darkness and Light* (1898). The former ode, commemorating Purcell's achievements[28], opens aptly with "an invitation to Music to return to England". Similarly, the subject of the latter choral work, a contemplation of man's relationship with Nature, was one that was close to the composer's heart. Bridges' own experimentation in classical metrical forms provided an interesting complement to Parry's music, while their philosophical sympathies, hinged upon a critical and non-literal reading of the Bible and a shared commitment to Darwinian evolution, were also closely aligned.[29] Furthermore, Bridges' emotional restraint (his *Prometheus the Firegiver*, read in 1892, is notably more inhibited than Shelley's) was better suited to Parry's temperamental style than the unconscionable extravagances of the 'naughty nineties'. Together, these more personal ventures can be considered as forming a critical bridge between his earlier 'emotional' works (to use Finzi's description) and the later ethical cantatas. As Bridges' biographer, Catherine Phillips, writes of the *Invocation of Music*, "The ode marks a fresh departure in Parry's musical development—a turning away from the style of oratorio towards forms that have been compared with Bach's cantatas".[30]

In the manner that Parry was producing choral works in a seemingly alternating sequence, it was becoming apparent that he could not pursue both his public and private interests in the same

[27] See Lewis Foreman, ed. *Music in England: 1885-1920 as recounted in Hazell's Annual* (London: Thames Publishing, 1994), pp. 48, 52.
[28] The year 1895 being the bicentenary of Purcell's death; Parry also published an article on Purcell in the November of that year.
[29] See Michael Allis. *British music and literary context* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2012), pp. 13-62.
[30] Catherine Phillips. *Robert Bridges: a biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 164.

breath. Art, he remarked in *Style in Musical Art*, "never has any virtue whatever till it exerts some modifying effect upon the receptive nature."[31] This artistic essence could not be achieved where the personality of the artist was curbed: "No composer who is stirred by the genuine impulse of the poetic artist wants to retail other people's sayings."[32] Parry used Wagner's example to show that a certain degree of friction between the composer and the audience was necessary, since conflict incited personal artistic development. Understandably, then, he was striving to recreate a similar condition of beneficial opposition to mass taste in his own creative process. Assured by the security of his knighthood and his Heather Professorship at Oxford, Parry soon embarked upon a long procession of personal cantatas in an attempt to supersede the Victorian 'ecclesiastical' oratorio.

The coronation of King Edward VII, for which Parry supplied the choreographically experimental 'I was glad', added to the aura of change that was fast sweeping across all other aspects of English music. Indeed the ethical cantatas, the progeny of *L'Allegro*, *Job* and *A Song of Darkness and Light*, were above all things an Edwardian 'activist' construction; they were steeped in the early twentieth-century yearning for social justice, for humanitarian action and especially for the erosion of the aristocracy in society. A number of important considerations underpinned Parry's desire for a radical departure from the Victorian oratorio tradition. The most obvious was his profound distaste for organised religion. Historically, oratorios had long emphasised dogmatic aspects of the Bible, and the non-liturgical 'secular oratorio' was a controversial proposition at least until the close of the nineteenth century.[33] Nigel Burton explains that the oratorio developed as an "ideal compromise for a nation whose Established Church sought to combine and resolve both Catholic and Calvanist traditions in its worship and theology".[34] The Handelian oratorio, to which Victorian music owed a large debt[35], explored the themes of God's unquestioned omnipotence, His protection over His own people, and the victory of the faithful over the gentiles. In addition to the religious component, jingoism was the order of the day and the emphasis on the unity of Christendom made oratorios the ideal vehicle for patriotic feelings. With the fast growth of concert halls and the effects of rapid

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[31] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 125.
[32] *Ibid*., p. 127.
[33] Dave Russell. *Popular music in England 1840-1914: a social history* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997/1987), p. 216.
[34] Nigel Burton. 'Oratorios and cantatas' in *Music in Britain: the Romantic age, 1800-1914*, ed. Nicholas Temperley (London: Athlone Press, 1981), p. 214.
[35] Handel's *Messiah* was the most-performed oratorio of the period. See Smither. 'Messiah and progress in Victorian England', *Early Music* 13/3 (1985), p. 346.

urbanisation over the course of the nineteenth century, the oratorio developed into nothing short of a national obsession.

Parry was also deviating from another modern current, which was the excessive reliance on folk material to invoke nationalistic qualities in music. According to Hadow, the composer was striking out a middle path between those who felt that nationalism had no place in music whatsoever, and those who believed that music could only be genuine to the extent that it drew inspiration from folk-song.[36] The ethical cantatas are best understood as a personal reaction to the ultra-religious and the hyper-nationalistic tendencies in music. The Ruskinian conviction that art should be the honest expression of the artist's feelings supplied the incentive for a breakaway from the oratorio tradition. One major stimulus, as Dibble points out, might have been his hearing of *Gerontius* in 1903.[37] Although Parry welcomed Elgar's musical innovations, he found the subject of Newman's poem "revolting… debased and craven religion, hysteric and morbid"[38] and deplored its "morbid priestcraft."[39] In his notebook, Roman Catholicism emerged as "the most gigantic imposture ever devised by the mind of man—and it is an imposture which has been maintained by all the most horrible means which man could use."[40] Although *Gerontius*, like Parry's own *Job*, transcended the oratorio in its closeness to *Parsifal* and Liszt's 'tone-poem' methods[41], its underlying philosophy still left much to be desired.[42] Deeply opposed to Newman's worldview, Parry realised his 'ethical cantatas' conterminously with Elgar's proposed trilogy of oratorios on the foundations of Christianity[43]; one wonders if they were not even intended as Elgar's spiritual contender. It is a curious happenstance in the history of English music that both these major choral forays, representing two very different worldviews, would culminate in almost equal disappointment.

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[36] Hadow, *op. cit.*, p. 144.
[37] Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 391.
[38] Diary, 10 September 1903, quoted in *ibid.*
[39] Discussed in D. Kern Holoman. 'Works with secular and non-liturgical texts' in *Nineteenth-century choral music*, ed. Donna M. Di Grazia (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 102.
[40] Notebook, full excerpt in Dibble, *op. cit.*, pp. 391-2.
[41] As Elgar wrote to Jaeger, who was preparing a catalogue of his works: "Put *Gerontius* in the Oratorio list: there's no word invented yet to describe it," quoted in Holoman, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
[42] Both the hyper-religious and the patriotic sentiment which he detested found a congenial habitat in Elgar's music. Indeed Nigel Burton considers *Caractacus* to be the "natural sequel" to Sullivan's *Festival Te Deum*, see Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 230.
[43] Dibble notes similarities between *The Vision of Life* and Elgar's *Kingdom*. Parry was no stranger to Elgar's oratorios during this period. See Dibble, *op. cit.*, pp. 421-2.

The seeming ebullition of Parry's six cantatas was not the result of some philosophical or radical epiphany. Many earlier as well as later works bore the same, unmistakable imprint of his philosophical disposition (for instance, his incidental music for Pearl Craigie's *A Repentance*, the cyclic ninth set of *English Lyrics* and the *Songs of Farewell*). Parry never shunned the opportunity to bring his own ethical ideals to music. On the other hand, the first ethical cantata, *War and Peace*, was neither a particularly personal work nor a very effective precedent to the later cantatas. This 'symphonic ode' bore closer kinship to the later *Chivalry of the Sea* than to the other cantatas with which it was grouped. Much like the *Thanksgiving Te Deum* (1900), *War and Peace* was written with the conflict in South Africa in mind. The other five works, however, seem more thematically aligned, although they are not well-matched in quality. Hence, the ethical cantatas appear to encapsulate a broad stylistic category, rather than a cohesive series of works adding up to any overarching personal statement (as in Elgar's trilogy). For all their philosophical underpinnings, their *raison d'être* was more musical and technical than literary. This was largely due to the fact that between 1898 and 1902, Parry was working almost religiously on his volume on seventeenth-century music. In German Baroque music, he found a congenial stylistic model for the expression of his own ethical idealism, and ventured to make these 'Teutonic' qualities in music relevant again for a modern audience. Thus, in conceiving the ethical cantatas, Parry was drawing inspiration directly—not secondarily—from his period-awareness and his personal expertise within the historical field.

Parry's attraction to Baroque methods and forms was not confined to choral music. His youthful interest in fugues, suites, fantasias, variations and Bachian contrapuntal techniques, manifested in the *Grove* articles and the early piano works, had led to numerous experiments prior to the more notable *Symphonic Variations* (1897), *'Lady Radnor' Suite* (1902), *The Clouds* (1905) and the posthumous *'English' Suite* (1921). The symphonic *Suite Moderne* (1886) is an obvious precursor (one thinks of Grieg's *Holberg Suite* 'in the olden style'), as well being as an interesting example in stylistic integration.[44] His desire to emulate Baroque practices, admired by Finzi, was also sustained after the conclusion of the ethical cantatas, particularly in the form of the *Chorale Preludes* and *Fantasias* for organ solo (1912-1916), and the lesser-known piano suite *Hands across the Centuries* (1918). Yet,

[44] Indeed Parry once referred to Bach's contrapuntal techniques as the "combination of old methods and new principles." See Parry. *The evolution of the art of music* (London: Kegan Paul, 1905/1896), pp. 157-74.

despite his wide interests, it was in the field of choral music that Parry decided to make his biggest ethical mark.

What motivated him to choose the medium of the oratorio and cantata to effect his stylistic reform? Part of the reason lies in the prominent place that choral music, and in particular the oratorio, occupied in his own musical background. The path was blazed by the works of his teachers, such as Elvey's *The Resurrection and Ascension* (1837), Pierson's *Jerusalem* (1852), Sterndale Bennett's *The May Queen* (1858) and the *Woman of Samaria* (1867), and Macfarren's *St. John the Baptist* (1873). The extraordinary vogue for the oratorio in England dictated the supply and demand for music which strove to match the established fixtures of Handel, Mendelssohn, Gounod and Spohr; almost all the century's most accomplished English composers, including Sullivan, Cowen, Stanford and Mackenzie, partook in the burgeoning choral tradition. After his initial symphonic forays in the early and mid-1880s, Parry, like many other composers of the day, won his reputation by purveying large-scale choral music for festival occasions (he succeeded C. W. Corfe as Ouseley's Choragus at Oxford from 1883). At the cusp of his decisive turn away towards more dramatic music was *Guenever*, an operatic venture turned down by Carl Rosa in 1886, the year before he made his success with *Blest Pair of Sirens*. Although Parry confessed to his librettist, Una Taylor, that "I am so accustomed to disappointment that I shall probably soon shake it off after a bad night or two,"[45] his letter to Maude reveals the fuller extent of his operatic disillusionment and the distress of having to put two years of hard work "into a drawer for good".[46] This was a significant, if not somewhat irrational, incentive for the composer to swing towards the side of making the oratorio his prime vehicle for dramatic expression.[47]

The reverberations of the event can be seen in the way that Parry, a regular opera-goer and a longstanding admirer of Wagner's music dramas, sought to justify his disenchantment with the genre in writing.[48] In the opening pages of *Style in Musical Art*, Parry invoked racial distinctions between

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[45] Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 237.
[46] *Ibid.*
[47] For a study of Parry's *Guenever*, see Dibble. 'Parry's Guenever: trauma and catharsis' in *King Arthur* in music, ed. Richard Barber (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2002), pp. 35-50.
[48] "Opera is the shallowest fraud man ever achieved in the name of art. Its invariable associates are dirt and tinsel. Its history is falseness, intrigue, shallowness, levity and pretension. It is the appendage of the wastrels, the home of the humbugs. No composer who is worthy of any reverence at all ever wrote an Opera." Notebook, quoted in Dibble. *C. Hubert H. Parry: his life and music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 243.

northerners and southerners to differentiate operatic and absolute music. While careful not to admonish all things operatic[49], the purpose of the argument was to highlight the opera's proneness to the influence of audiences. Parry's warnings against audience-centric culture were elaborated in three (the seventh, eighth and ninth) central chapters of *Style in Musical Art*. Citing the dangers of extra-musical allure, he looked to the oratorio tradition for a more level-headed alternative to dramatic music; his advocacy of the oratorio was calculated in terms of a direct opposition to Italian (and, to a lesser degree, French) opera.[50]

The perceived unsuitability of opera in the country was corroborated by the fact that, despite the activities at Drury Lane and Covent Garden, the success of Balfe and later the savoy operas of Gilbert and Sullivan, it was not until the early twentieth century that a national opera was attempted under Beecham's initiative, or until after the war that Sadler's Wells Opera flourished. As Wagner noted upon his visit to England in 1855, "It was here that I came to understand the true spirit of English musical culture, which is bound up with the spirit of English Protestantism. This accounts for the fact that an oratorio attracts the public far more than an opera."[51] Until Victorian society held the musical profession in higher esteem, England had been content with importing foreign operas and singers to meet upper-class demands for theatrical entertainment. Parry's musical career was an active protest against such prejudices; yet, almost counterproductively, the conventional spirit of apathy towards national opera bolstered his own belief in the unfitness of the entire genre to be cultivated on English soil.

To the extent that Parry saw that "the histrionic and the absolute seem to represent distinct territories in the musical art"[52], he believed the oratorio—unburdened by the distractions of theatrical spectre—to be in a healthier position to develop in conjunction with absolute music. Throughout his life, Parry harboured a strong resentment towards voluptuous displays in music, epitomised in the

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[49] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), pp. 16-7: "There is plenty of flabby and conventional instrumental music… The difference of style… is more a question of disposition than a necessary basis of contrast between operatic art and instrumental art."

[50] Parry often treats the subjects of the oratorio and opera in the same breath. See, for example, the small section on 'The beginnings of opera and oratorio' in Parry. *Summary of the history and development of medieval and modern European music* (London: Novello, 1893), pp. 16-20.

[51] Wagner, quoted in Wilfrid Blunt. *On wings of song: a biography of Felix Mendelssohn* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1974), p. 249.

[52] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 14.

coloratura of Italian recitatives and arias. Fortunately, he found the "most nauseous vulgarities of the opera"[53] to be less in evidence within the oratorio tradition, where the focus was on the massing powers of the chorus, and where the sacred subject-matter elicited a less indulgent musical treatment.[54] Parry's preference for the oratorio was undoubtedly consolidated by his life-long admiration for Bach (a fascination enkindled by his early preoccupation with Mendelssohn's works, his relations with the Bach Choir[55] and general trajectory of the English Bach revival), whose Passion music, sacred cantatas, and polyphonic deftness he sought to emulate in his own works. Above all, for Parry, the oratorio through Georgian times emphasised England's close temperamental and intellectual affinity with Germany:

> The influence of the English character is possibly to be found in the style of Handel's finest oratorio choruses, especially the descriptive ones and the vast array of choral works of later times which have followed the Handelian models. And it is conceivable that Handel himself was directly influenced in developing his highly composite style, by the choral music of true English model which he may have heard in his long stay in this country.[56]

In constructing his own ethical works, Parry set out to do for the oratorio what Wagner had done for opera. This was the 'Teutonic' initiative behind what Benoliel aptly terms (for the *Soul's Ransom*) a "dramatic structure… born out of immediate necessity", which he attributes to the influence of Liszt's *Psalm 13* (1858) and Brahms's *Ein Deutsches Requiem* (1868).[57] The view must be contrasted with that of Jürgen Schaarwächter, who surmises, somewhat inaccurately, that "Parry did not internalize Wagner due to the latter's tendency to detract from music as an abstract art form by emphasizing theatrical leitmotivic aspects… Parry did not embrace Wagner or Liszt but rather Schumann and Brahms."[58] Rather, Parry's aspiration was to evolve a symphonic-choral style contrary to the *formal* operatic tradition, which would be more deliberate in its usage of florid ornamentation,

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[53] *Ibid.*, p. 5

[54] As he once wrote in support of Wagner's music dramas: "I think Wagner is right in his idea of what an opera should be. Nothing can be more ridiculous than stereotyping human nature as it must be portrayed on the stage into a system of arias, recitatives, trios, etc." See Dibble. *C. Hubert H. Parry: his life and music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 125.

[55] The Bach Society was founded by Sterndale Bennett in 1849, the year after Parry's birth.

[56] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

[57] Benoliel, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

[58] Jürgen Schaarwächter. *Two centuries of British symphonism: from the beginnings to 1945, vol. 1* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2015), p. 228.

more economical in its handling of orchestral textures, more emancipated from the constraints of absolute 'aristocratic' form, and ultimately better suited for the expression of his own personal ideals.

Another important disparity between opera and oratorio was the former's associations with the upper echelons of society, fuelling Parry's egalitarian indignation at a time when the dandies were pushing their anti-bourgeois, aristocratic values in fashion as in art. Percy Scholes, in the *Mirror of Music*, alludes to the "tyranny of both Italian opera and the Italian language", sanctioned by no less than Charles Burney, which hampered the free propagation of opera in England and kept audiences segregated along their ability to construe the foreign language.[59] Parry's vision for a 'democratic' art began, first and foremost, with the repudiation of class privilege. The ethical cantatas were an attempt at a more sympathetic form of music, more capable of transcending social cleavages, more commiserative and understanding of the hardships of underrepresented people, and more communal than its performer-oriented, patrician counterpart. The appeal of an anglicised choral tradition, built on German principles, was its capacity to reach out to a wider domestic audience while still retaining the noble standards which he considered to be the mark of Lutheran music. Congruous with his conception of a sacred-versus-secular split in seventeenth-century music, Parry hoped to by-pass the more 'aristocratic' developments of the eighteenth century (as Benoliel accurately notes in regard to the *Soul's Ransom*, "the eighteenth-century forms such as sonata and rondo, are only tangentially alluded to"[60]) and to reconnect modern secular music with a more spiritually-refined period of the past. The emphasis on the oratorio's appeal *ad populum* became, as it were, a selling point for the genre, especially since Parry wanted to assure the nation of the viability of democracy. Undoubtedly, this had much to do with the oratorio's affiliation with the sight-singing 'mania' of the mid-nineteenth century and the old Platonic belief that vocal music (or in Hogarth's words, music "combined with the inspired poetry of the Scriptures"[61]) could be applied as a means of pacifying the masses. Ronald Pearsall notes that John Hullah and John Curwen were both deeply "preoccupied with the ethical values of music," and that the Curwen Tonic Sol-fa system was "as much a moral discipline as a musical."[62] (Hullah in fact, like Mainzer, was a failed opera composer, whose venture with James Kay-Shuttleworth to popularise Wilhem's method did much to encourage the proliferation of amateur

[59] Percy Scholes. *Mirror of music, 1844-1944, vol. 1* (London: Novello and Company, Ltd., 1947), p. 243.
[60] Benoliel, *op. cit.*, p. 92.
[61] George Hogarth. 'State of music in the provinces', *The Harmonicon* 11 (1933), p. 72.
[62] Ronald Pearsall. *Victorian popular music* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1973), p. 118.

choral societies in England.)[63] Towards the end of the Victorian period, oratorios were being published both in Tonic-Solfa and in standard notation to cater to the wider audience.[64] The sight-singing and choral movement, despite their inbuilt limitations, improved music literacy and education across the nation and brought music closer within reach of 'the million'.[65]

For Parry, the mass appeal of choral music signalled the changing tides of political momentum and the transfer of power from the ruling class to the common people.[66] He welcomed the enfranchisement of the masses, yet he was painfully aware of their musical shortcomings. The oratorio supplanted the symphony as the supreme musical genre in England but, in doing so, conceded its higher artistic ties in favour of music that was more readily accessible to inexperienced performers and listeners. More technically advanced works (such as symphony and chamber music) were subordinated since they could not be executed or published with favourable financial returns, while professional performers looked upon the oratorio merely as "bread and butter music"[67] or *Gebrauchsmusik*. As Parry lamented in *Style in Musical Art*:

> It cannot be denied that the influence of the emancipated democracy, which takes its pleasure mainly in music halls and such types of entertainment as musical comedies, has brought about a phase of music (if it can be so called) which has no parallel for hollowness, blatancy, and reckless levity in any previous period of art's history… But it is not fair to put all the blame on the masses.[68]

By consistently vindicating the masses, Parry was affirming that his reparation of the genre would not disqualify, but rather endorse, the "confused energies of people awakening to their liberties and their rights to recognition as individual beings."[69] Shaw lashed out at the oratorio and its

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[63] According to Bernard Shaw, "no man did more than Hullah to convince a Philistine nation that it [music education] really was a point worth gaining". From his article published on 3 March 1886, see Brian Tyson, ed. *Bernard Shaw's book reviews: originally published in the Pall Mall Gazette from 1885-1888* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991), p. 127. For music education in Victorian England, see Bernarr Rainbow. *The land without music: musical education in England 1800-1860 and its continental antecedents* (London: Novello & Co., 1967).

[64] See Charles Edward McGuire. 'Music and morality' in *Chorus and community, vol. 2*, ed. Karen Ahlquist (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), p. 116.

[65] To recall the title of Joseph Mainzer's book, *Singing for the Million*, which was published in 1841.

[66] Parry. *Summary of the history and development of medieval and modern European music* (London: Novello, 1893), p. 115.

[67] See Pearsall, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

[68] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 131.

[69] Ibid., p. 263.

advocates from his station as music critic of *The Star*, but he did not recognise his closeness to the primary target of his contempt. While Parry often kept his reservations about the music of his contemporaries private, he expressly loathed "mutual admiration societies"[70] (an insincere compliment raised in him "a desire in one's mind to kick the person who pays it"[71]) and was neither content to follow in the socially accepted path of the oratorio, nor uncritical of the choral contributions of his contemporaries (he found Stanford too conventional, and was even more suspicious of the Irishman's recalcitrant conservative personality). Nevertheless, rejecting hereditarian pessimism, Parry believed in the reformability of the masses and, refusing to abandon them, felt a public obligation to seek reform on oratorio lines – a musical tradition that had already won a deep affection among the people: "the value of sympathetic response in helping a man to the best he can get out of himself is undeniable."[72] Shaw thought Parry better off writing instrumental than dramatic music[73]; his contagious questioning of the composer's dramatic facility was reiterated by Peter Pirie and, even many decades later, by Nigel Burton, who regarded him as a more accomplished miniaturist.[74] Although Shaw foresaw the futility of Parry's dramatic enterprise in the 1890s, he was too engrossed in his caricature of 'Dr. Parry' to recognise the true artistic motives behind the composer's ethical mission in music. Shaw readily dismissed *Judith* and *Job* but failed to acknowledge that Parry was trying to ground his oratorios in a more personally congenial symphonic framework, or that *Job* marked a departure from the chorus-oriented, large-scale oratorio—the unthinking and plebeian craze that the anti-establishment Shaw himself despised—towards a smaller, more exacting and more manageable cantata format.[75]

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[70] See Parry. *College addresses delivered to the pupils of the Royal College of Music,* ed. Henry Cope Colles (London: Macmillan, 1920), p. 29.

[71] In the same letter to his friend and pupil, Stuart Wortley, Parry confessed: "We should get on much easier in the world and be much truer friends to one another if we said exactly what we felt about things instead of beating around the bush to pay empty compliments… I confess your song was a considerable disappointment." Letter to Stuart Wortley, 21 March 1876, GB-Lcm MS. 4764.

[72] Parry. *College addresses delivered to the pupils of the Royal College of Music,* ed. Henry Cope Colles (London: Macmillan, 1920), p. 130.

[73] For Shaw's opinions on Parry, see Dibble, *op. cit.*, pp. 269-70.

[74] Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 234, compare A. E. F. Dickinson: "Parry's gift was primarily lyrical, not that of a master-builder." Dickinson. 'The neglected Parry', *The Musical Times* 90/1274 (Apr. 1949), p. 111.

[75] Which also had the advantage of being better suited to his own creative "flair for miniature forms" See Dibble. 'Parry, Sir Hubert' in *Grove Music Online.*

The question of the mass enfranchisement of musical taste was at the heart of Parry's problematisation of *fin-de-siècle* art. The ethical cantatas, or as they might more aptly be called the 'democratic cantatas' (indeed in the manuscript of *The Vision of Life*, Parry clarified his democratic intent by writing the word 'suffrage' over the line: 'Seeking to make it of worth to each other'[76]), were a blueprint for a choral music of the egalitarian future. Through these works, Parry approached his apotheosis of an artist who answered to the plight of the people, while not being "passionately eager for [their] sympathetic response" nor conceding his ideals to appease them.[77] Since Parry refused to adopt familiar oratorio models, he gambled his success on the belief that the public would be able to recognise the universal appeal of his humanistic interpretations of the Bible.[78] The message was one of the spiritual brotherhood of mankind, developed from his early anthropological speculations, and combined with the Edwardian yearning for the deliverance of the poor and the oppressed. Parry's cantatas also joined the ranks of other secular choral ambitions, including Bennett's *The May Queen*, Bantock's *Omar Khayyám* and Coleridge-Taylor's *Hiawatha*. His contributions to the development of the genre lay in the unique agnostic tension that purported to repudiate and endorse religion in the same breath. They reflected his positivist vision of a 'religion of humanity': a secular religion achieved through a persuasive alteration of Christian objectives.[79] Deploring the moral indifference of mainstream secular music[80], he aspired towards a more serious and devotional style "built up on the spacious foundations of music that was called into existence by the religious instinct."[81]

To this end, Parry charged his most renowned pupil, Vaughan Williams, with the task of writing "choral music as befits an Englishman and a democrat."[82] The instruction spoke to his conviction that it was the duty of every artist to help prepare the stage for democracy. Renouncing

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[76] Bod. MS. Mus. c.117.
[77] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 133; compare *College addresses delivered to the pupils of the Royal College of Music,* ed. Henry Cope Colles (London: Macmillan, 1920), p. 132: "A man who forgoes the use of his best powers and only uses lower ones for a reward, defeats his own life and the lives of others."
[78] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 137: "The success of any man's work depends on the extent to which the individuality which is expressed in it is such as the great mass of the people who listen to music can comfortably accept as sympathetic whether it is such as they can abandon themselves to and assimilate and feel glad."
[79] Parry believed that the artist's "only chance of getting them [the public] to understand is to deal with them gently and persuasively." See Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 235.
[80] See Dibble. *C. Hubert H. Parry: his life and music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 243.
[81] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 218.
[82] Vaughan Williams. 'A musical biography' in *National music and other essays* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), p. 182.

utopian optimism, he envisaged a plausible future in which composers worked to facilitate the empowerment of the people and transform their receptive natures by embracing diversity through the musical rendering of spontaneous, literary ideas. In other words, Parry called for a classless music, designed to promote mutual understanding and provide a common ground for listeners to invest their "responsive sympathies".[83] Vaughan Williams apparently took his mentor's advice to heart. Between 1903 and 1909, concurrently with the ethical cantatas, he worked on a series of choral movements which became his famous *Sea Symphony*. Bearing Whitman's poetic sentiment[84] (close in vision to the *Democratic Vistas*), the broad-minded inclusiveness of his liberal, rather than imperial[85], celebration of "all seas, all ships" suggests that Vaughan Williams had internalised Parry's ethical lessons. Michael Kennedy and James Garratt have similarly compared his first major choral work, *Toward the Unknown Region* (1907) with Parry's *Blest Pair of Sirens*.[86] In his music, Vaughan Williams infused into Parry's characteristic diatonicism a new modal lease of life. The verse—also of Whitman's authorship—deals with the mysteries and uncertainties of nature (much like Robert Bridges' "power eternal, power unknown, uncreate"), man's unlocking of his potentials, and the progress of the soul from darkness to light.

Toward the Unknown Region came after the composer's discovery of folksong and a year before his studies with Ravel. Vaughan Williams did not find this new world of sonorities, opened to him by the French master, incompatible with Parry's teachings. In a sense, therefore, Parry's choral music did not so much set a stylistic, but a fundamentally moral, example (indeed there is still trace of his moral teachings in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, premiered in 1951). In an age disposed to turn its back on its own predecessors, Parry showed a new generation of non-believing composers, including Vaughan Williams, Howells, Finzi, Bliss, Walton, Britten and Tippett[87], that oratorio, even when

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[83] Parry. *College addresses delivered to the pupils of the Royal College of Music,* ed. Henry Cope Colles (London: Macmillan, 1920), p. 130.

[84] For Walt Whitman's influence and popularity on English music, see Jurgen Schaarwachter, *op. cit.*, p. 622. Stanford also set his *Elegaic Ode* to Whitman's text; see Dibble. *Charles Villiers Stanford: man and musician* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 159.

[85] See Christopher Harvie. *A floating commonwealth: politics, culture and technology on Britain's Atlantic coast, 1860-1930* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 1.

[86] Michael Kennedy. *The works of Ralph Vaughan Williams* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 112; and James Garratt in *Nineteenth-century choral music*, ed. Donna M. Di Grazia (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 365.

[87] See Christopher Mark. 'Tippett and English traditions' in *The Cambridge companion to Michael Tippett*, ed. Kenneth Gloag and Nicholas Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 30. Tippett's *A Child of Our Time*, written during the early years of the Second World War, departs from Christian orthodoxy while

divorced from orthodox religion, was still a field ripe with opportunities and teeming with social relevance. The ethical cantatas were Parry's personal attempts to answer the wider humanist challenge, which he strenuously posed to his students at the Royal College of Music:

> We are banded together here at the College to try to help the public to understand a few things in connection with music; and to enable it to bestow some of its encouraging appreciation serviceably. Our efforts have not always met with sympathetic interpretation. But we pull together and try to take what comes with equanimity and understanding.[88]

8.2 The Works Re-Examined

Parry's first ethical cantata, *War and Peace*, reflected his melancholic attitude towards the conflict in South Africa. Between 1899 and 1903, his awareness of the two wars was being expanded through a personal acquaintance with works such as Rider Haggard's *The Last Boer War*, J. A. Hobson's *Transvaal War*, Percy Fitzpatrick's *The Transvaal from Within*, George Warrington Steeven's *From Capetown to Ladysmith* and Arthur Conan Doyle's *The War in Africa*. Written specifically for the Royal Choral Society[89], the cantata was premiered on 30 April 1903 at the Albert Hall under the composer's own baton (the programme also suggestively included Mendelssohn's 'symphonic cantata' in ten choral movements, *Hymn of Praise*). Agnes Nicholls, Kirkby Lunn, William Green and Andrew Black sang the solo parts.[90]

Parry's choice of venue and choir offers some insight into his possible motives. The South Kensington institutions were an afterglow of the Great Exhibition and the product of the late Prince Consort's initiatives to develop educational venues for the people (to which the Royal College of Music owed its conception). Formed in 1871 as resident choir of the Royal Albert Hall, the Royal Choral Society in 1899 reportedly boasted a force of more than 842 amateur singers, embodying the

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touching upon humanistic themes of conflict and oppression; his unpublished *A Song of Liberty* is also said to have taken after *Blest Pair.* See Ian Kemp. *Tippett: the composer and his music* (London: Eulenburg Books, 1984), p. 129.

[88] Parry. *College addresses delivered to the pupils of the Royal College of Music,* ed. Henry Cope Colles (London: Macmillan, 1920), p. 133.

[89] 'The Royal Choral Society', *The Musical Times* 44/724 (1 Jun. 1903), p. 406.

[90] Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

triumph of English choralism at the turn of the nineteenth century.[91] Parry had already achieved a triumphant premiere of his oratorio, *King Saul*, with the Royal Choral Society in 1894, two years before the directorship of the choir passed from Joseph Barnby to Frederick Bridge. (Both men were active composers and able purveyors of choral music, although the society attained greater eminence under Bridge's direction.) The composer's return to the Albert Hall in 1903 placed him at the heart of the popular choral life of London, the ideal place to inaugurate his people-oriented reform; it was also fitting that he should make his first strenuous ethical statement of the new century where the more traditional *King Saul* had disenchantingly left off.

Written after the end of the Second Boer War, *War and Peace* carried a vision of the future that was at the same time cautionary and optimistic. The work was a 'symphonic ode' comprising ten continuous episodes, in which the listener was transported from the "dark abyss" of war towards a "pure united hearth" of an imagined future. For the music, Parry toyed with the idea of a coherent structural plan, employing a singular-but-pervasive clue-theme, which was defined by its leaning chromatic slide into a punctuated rising fifth (***figure 1***). The recurrence of this theme would, theoretically, facilitate a cohesive development of the music from the dissonant region of 'war' to its harmonious resting place of 'peace'. The plan, however ambitious and logical in theory, failed to yield good results in practice. A periodical reviewing the work adumbrated that "Sir Hubert Parry seems to have wished to go beyond the musical form which he has hitherto cultivated," adding that the cantata "suffers from a want of concentration and practically resolves itself into a series of slightly connected numbers."[92] The plodding rhythm of war which he tried to emulate in the introductory section was stretched to the point of tedium, a risky venture made worse, as Dibble notes, by the almost unrelieved succession of diminished and half-diminished harmonies underlying it.[93] The theme did not appear sufficiently modified to sustain the symphonic interest for the entire duration of the work. There was a lack of memorable secondary material, while the hypothetical contrast between 'war' and 'peace' was lost amidst the direction of an ambiguous libretto and the dearth of a clear tonal scheme.

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[91] 'A Royal Choral Society's rehearsal', *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 40/671 (1 Jan. 1899), pp. 22-3.

[92] Review of the *War and Peace* in *The Pilot: A Weekly Review of Politics, Literature, and Learning* 7 (1903), p. 455.

[93] Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 393.
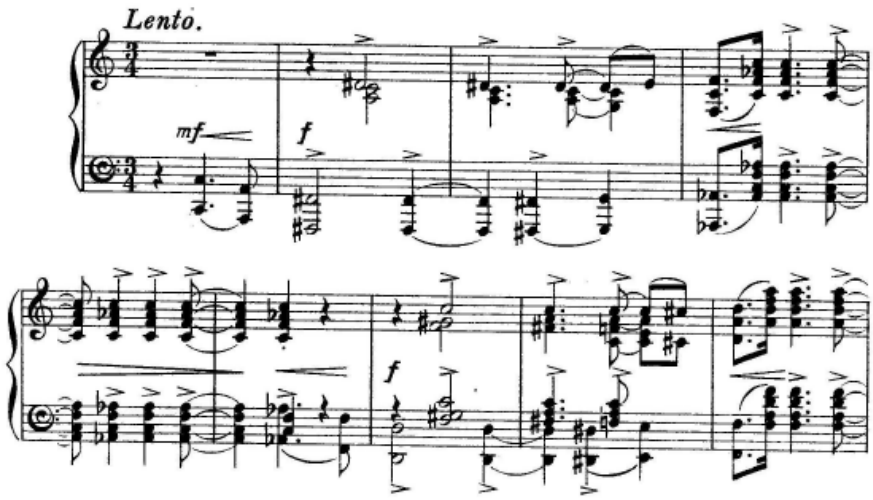
Figure 1: *War and Peace*, introduction

For the text, the composer enlisted the help of Arthur Benson, the successful poet responsible for Elgar's 'Land of Hope and Glory' (with whom he had recently collaborated on the *Ode to Music* in 1901[94]). However, apart from some initial guidance from Benson, Parry was ultimately left to his own resources. The result was an uneven poem, albeit more personal and far-removed in sentiment from the Elgar-Benson collaboration. Following a tonally-tentative introduction inclining towards C major, the bass solo gives out a repudiation of militaristic pride, exposing the desire for combat of those "drunk with the lust of blood, and heedless of their own and others' fate." Parry brings the listener down to the depths of 'hate' via an orchestral cascade (from F major to A minor; rehearsal mark 11 on the vocal score). War's "distorted fury" is presented in contrary motion against a contracting orchestral rhythm, over familiar diminished-seventh harmonies. An unabashed march tune (in F major) separates the 'Prologue' from the 'War Song'; this section enlists the entire male chorus on a delirious outburst ("Strike now! Slay now! Roar cannon, scream shell!"). The tongue-in-cheek inclusion of an antagonistic vocal force, to be eventually suppressed by another righteous force, is a characteristic feature of Parry's ethical cantatas (for instance, the indiscriminate 'Dream Voices' in *The Vision of Life*).

Similarly, the 'Recompense' section parodies the false promises and the delusional chimera of war. While patriotic songs hymned the glories and glamour of Empire, Parry agreeably avers that

[94] See *ibid.*, p. 380.

"there is a crown for the patient brow" and cozens us with echoes of the previous triumphant marching tune, only to then superimpose the gloomy Shirley-esque message that "death is the end of all", and that to strive "for truth and right" must be the only true "crown of life". After this disillusioning utterance by the contralto, the female chorus enters into the new 'Comradeship' stanzas over a dominant pedal of A. The striking gender contrast and Parry's unorthodox use of a contralto role arguably attest to his belief in political recourse to women (a view not as extreme as Benjamin Kidd's) as a way to placate an overbearingly biased electoral system. *The (Gloucester) Citizen*, on 6 December 1909, recounted his address to the NUWSS at Council House, Highnam as follows: "He [Parry] did not think it would be denied that the times when this country had shone most brilliantly, and when it had been most worthy of honour in the grandest form that could be imagined, was when its destinies had been controlled by women." Parry had already made a gesture towards women's rights and freedoms in *A 'Lady Radnor' Suite*; *War and Peace* shows the idea that the world can only be ruled by force—and therefore only by men—to be a modern folly.[95]

The principal motif returns to represent the spiritual strength of the homebound soldiers (rehearsal mark 37). After an affectionate orchestral lament, the 'Dirge' is rejoined by the full chorus in trumpet-like configuration, but the chief interest within this section lies in the embedded soprano solo strains. The symphonic aspect of the work is more generously expanded in the sixth episode, 'Homecoming', which is developed from the original rising fifth motif and evolves into the characteristic imitative moment "Raise the song of joy". The final episodes, 'Peace', 'Home', 'Marching Song of Peace' and 'Aspiration', continue to reflect man's physical and spiritual distancing from the battlefield (compare the anti-war ethos of Aristophanes' plays). In particular, 'Home' functions as the climactic end-point of this wearisome journey; its remoteness from the turmoil is portrayed by marked tonal and textural changes: the *a cappella* opportunities of the homeward quartet, strung together by modest thematic gestures from the orchestra. Finally, an important dominant pedal before 'Aspiration' fortifies the music's symphonic format and prepares its placid return to the home key of C major.

[95] 'Women's suffrage: Mrs. H. Fawcett at Highnam, Sir Hubert Parry and the suffragettes', *The Citizen*, 6 December 1909. Parry made a humorous point that if the world was truly governed by force, "elephants and rhinoceroses would occupy… the House of Commons."
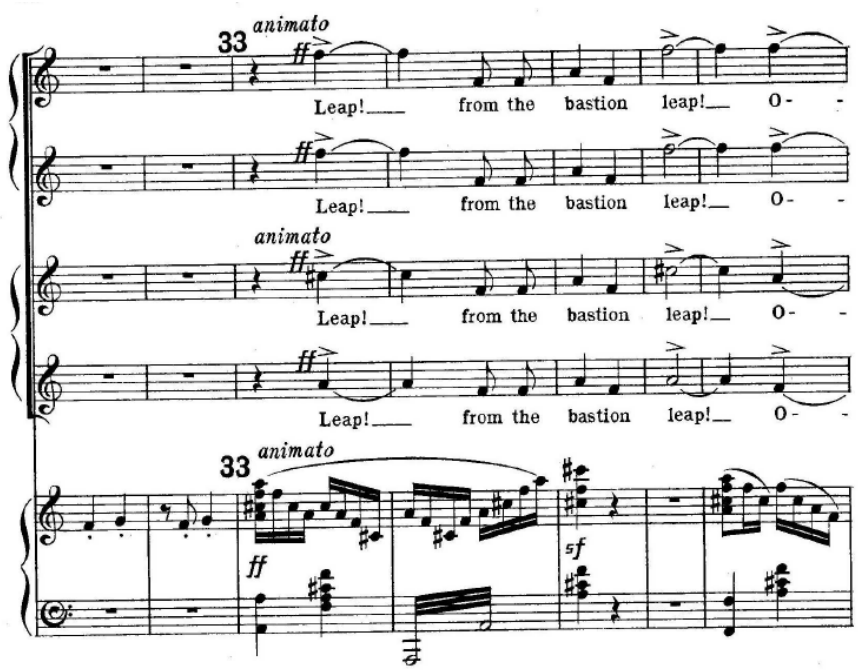
Figure 2: "Leap! From the bastion leap!"

Although Benoliel dubs *War and Peace* "the weakest score Parry ever composed for chorus and orchestra"[96], the work is not without some meritorious moments, such as the striking augmented-fifth effusion and chromatic shift at "Leap! From the bastion leap!" in the fourth episode (***figure 2***), or the more adventurous vocal writing in the 'Home' segment, with the parts crossing in the contralto-tenor duet. A writer for *The Citizen* commended the 'Marching Song of Peace' for its dignified simplicity, while Dibble detects a "real glimmer of inspiration" in the closing episode, 'Aspiration', which "recalls the epode of *Blest Pair of Sirens*" but does not make up for the cantata's "final lapses into bland triumphal rhetoric".[97] Despite the work's shortcomings, Parry's message of caution against the dangers of warmongering is at least clear. There is no call to arms for the good of the nation or Empire; war is a retrospective—not a prospective—evil, and the soldiers return home with the intent of staying there. Ultimately, *War and Peace* calls for a rational pursuit of knowledge in opportune times of peace. Parry believed that man's reason protected him against inadvertent lapses into militarism. The dedication of the work to Edward VII is as important as it is deliberate. The composer esteemed the Prince of Wales' work as founder of the Royal College of Music, his liberality of mind as

[96] Benoliel, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
[97] Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 394.

the Queen's successor, the freedom and independence he afforded for collegians to "work out [their] own salvation"[98], and last but not least, his recognition of music as a democratising agent in still stratified society:

> The time has come when class can no longer stand aloof from class; and that man does his duty best who works most earnestly in bridging over the gulf between different classes which it is the tendency of increased wealth and increased civilisation to widen.[99]

War and Peace not only heralds a possible Edwardian future where "nations shall strive no more", but a quiet time for spiritual rejuvenation through the arts, during which music can bring "all sorts and conditions of men and women together upon equal terms" and finally obliterate "the tiresome barriers of class" (and gender) inequity.[100] Parry's message, however, did not always resound in the manner intended. In 1913, the *Musical Times* recorded a colossal performance by the Imperial Choir at the Albert Hall in April (prior to its visit to Ghent), where the excerpt "Forward brothers through the golden ages, to the land of our desire" was given alongside Elgar's 'Land of Hope and Glory' and Sullivan's 'O Gladsome Light'.[101] Parry's *War and Peace* is more of a spiritual precursor to Vaughan Williams' *Dona Nobis Pacem* (1936), although Parry's plea for tolerance and peace was written with the optimism at the end of an old war, while Vaughan Williams' was written with the pessimism in anticipation of a new one.

The second work in the series, *Voces Clamantium*, was featured at the Three Choirs in Hereford, on 10 September of the same year, alongside Bantock's *The Wilderness*, Coleridge-Taylor's *The Atonement* and Cowen's *Indian Rhapsody* (Elgar's *The Apostles* was given only one month later at Birmingham).[102] In 1903, Parry had been deeply concerned with the question of poverty, wealth inequality and social improvement, reading works such as George Henry's *Progress and Poverty* and various treatises and reports on education. While *War and Peace* maintains a closer link with the past, with one foot still in the mire of war, its choral idiom aspiring to the grandness of *King Saul* and an episodic design that recalls *A Song of Darkness and Light*, Parry's next cantata is a much more concentrated and polished product. *Voces Clamantium*, being a much smaller work (conceived as a

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[98] Parry. *College addresses delivered to the pupils of the Royal College of Music,* ed. Henry Cope Colles (London: Macmillan, 1920), p. 59.
[99] The Prince of Wales' inaugural speech at the Royal College of Music, 7 May 1883.
[100] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
[101] 'The Imperial Choir. Ghent (May 30-June 2)', *The Musical Times* 54/844 (1 Jun. 1913), pp. 382-3.
[102] Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 69. Part of the work also featured at the premiere of 'Jerusalem' on 28 March 1916.

'motet'), is more forward-looking in its compact design and also more direct in its moral message. The text is largely drawn from the book of Isaiah. However, Parry still felt it necessary to append some of his own words to clarify his personal—essentially democratic—interpretation of the text.

Scored for SATB and orchestra (with soprano and bass solos), *Voces Clamantium*, or 'The voices of them that cry', is a humanitarian cantata, in which Parry explores the individual's relation to society and reaches out to alleviate the suffering of the vulnerable and the socially marginalised. He attempts this by way of a loose narrative, forged through a liberal and dramatic assembling of Isaiah's verses. In *Voces Clamantium*, the voice of a person crying 'in deserto' rallies the great masses (the instruments of the Lord's anger) into unification – to stand against the tyranny of their oppressors (***figure 3***). The prophet, Isaiah, promises divine retribution, while the people are consoled and promised an end to their suffering. The first segment, 'Vox Clamatis in deserto', is introduced by a ritornello 'trumpet' theme comprising a rising and falling fifth (similar to the Vivats in 'I was glad'; according to A. E. F. Dickinson, "fatal mannerisms of Parry's melodic style"[103]) and its successive tonal appearances. The impassioned soprano entry, based on the same motif (Jehovah's words, originally directed at the prophet in Isaiah 58, is used here to command the protest of the multitudes), is in bar 17 in F♯ – distant from the tonally ambiguous introduction, and more distant still from the G major home key later (briefly) established.
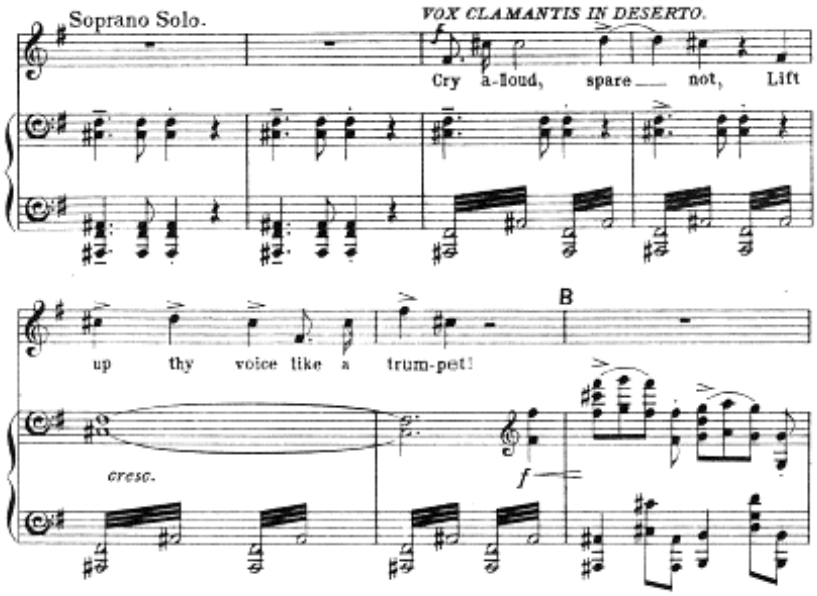
Figure 3: 'Vox Clamantis in deserto', soprano solo entry

[103] Dickinson, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

The arrival of the people ('Adventus populi') is sung by the chorus, however not *en masse*. Instead, the voices take their turn 'arriving' in a fugal fashion at perfect fifths apart. Important auxiliary notes on 'multitude', especially the chromatic A-B♭-A sung by the alto, recall the original 'trumpet' motif, while the underlying orchestral texture emulates their distant-but-growing rumble in the mountains. The people journey independently from key to key (E, A and F) until they are gathered homophonically, one by one, in the parallel minor of G (rehearsal mark D). But the real pivotal moment in this section occurs at "They come from the uttermost parts", which is sounded in a brighter B♭ (the mediant major), and is arrived at via a secondary dominant-seventh chord. Lastly, the uproar of the multitudes "roaring like the seas" is inaugurated by diminished-seventh cascades; Parry maintains their distress by figurative fluctuations in the orchestra and his highly deliberate use of melismatic vocalism (on "the rushing of mighty waters").

Isaiah's prophetic indictment against Babylon, attributing its downfall to the contest of the Medes and other foreign nations (the aforementioned 'multitudes'), is applied to music to prognosticate social justice for the hitherto oppressed. Parry naturally employs a bass solo for the admonitory 'Vox Prophetæ'; the singer delivers short thematic fragments ("God looked for judgment…") in alternation with changeful secondary dominants (rehearsal mark K). Arguably the most important utterance in the motet is the central Isaiah 30:18 quotation by the 'Vox populi', which is prepared by an orchestral bridge that exploits chromatic appoggiaturas, and whose chief purpose is to transport the listener from D minor into Parry's chosen key of 'the people', F major. Only 14 bars in breadth, the *a cappella* passage is short but not brusque. More crucially, the unanimous voice of the people is quiet, peaceful and never violent. As Parry once said, "You know the saying that 'the voice of the people is the voice of God.' It wants expansion… When it is produced in a hurry it is too often the voice from down below."[104] The people do not rise against their oppressors in cacophonic protest as one might expect. Instead, Parry portrays them ideally as calm and reasonable folk, justified in their quiet indignation, but ultimately united under a common faith in the eventual administration of democracy and justice: "The Lord is a God of judgement; blessed are all they that wait for him."

'Vox consolatoris', the consolation of the oppressed, is delivered by the soprano; it is crucially attuned to the same key as the people whose suffering it is meant to alleviate, and maintains their familiar diatonicism going forward. The key utterance, "The Lord is a strong-hold to the poor", is

[104] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

heard over a quotation from Bach's *Ein feste Burg*, reflecting Parry's desire to commune spiritually with the people by utilising the so-called 'religious folksongs'. The final section, 'Vox Dei', as it is sung by the chorus, verifies his equation of the voice of the people with that of God (not unlike the last chorus of *Job*). Here, he aptly applies a momentary manoeuvre into B♭ (once used to depict the "uttermost parts of the heaven") to represent God's promise of a "new earth", but the dominant harmony ensures that the listener—likewise the people—cannot yet rest there. Parry demonstrates greater aptitude for imitative writing in the build-up to a fugal climax in E♭ major ("And everlasting joy shall be upon their heads"). Lastly, the concluding stanza, introduced by the ritornello theme, restores the unfrequented home tonality of G major. The optimism of Parry's own text, "look upward… where thy hope lies", is not meant to justify worldly suffering, but rather to provide humanitarian relief by giving the people an internal anchor ("the inner voice that sings of truth and love and strong endeavour") against a world of outward rank and appearance. A final notable moment in *Voces Clamantium* is the use of flatted submediant harmony on "The soul's aspiring faith" prior to the G pedal point, prefiguring the cantata's plagal ending.

Reflecting Parry's goal of achieving maximum sympathetic stimulation, *Voces Clamantium* not only brings the message of salvation to the people, but attempts to speak for those who cannot represent themselves. Like *War and Peace*, he incorporates the principal motif into the symphonic fabric of the work (especially in 'Vox Dei'); by virtue of its more compact design, its concise tonal structure, and the guidance of a stronger (biblical) text, *Voces Clamantium* is decidedly more accessible than its predecessor. However, as Dibble remarks, the cantata suffers from a "lack of really striking material", and although it professes to speak on behalf of the masses, the choice of Latin subtitles, perhaps to evoke the mystic quality of old sacred music, appears "incongruous with the vernacular text"[105] (aspiring to the ideal balance of esotericism and exotericism in his 'democratic' works). Although *Voces Clamantium* did not resonate as well as Parry had hoped with the audience, his exemplary idealism still appealed to at least some composers. One advocate of the work, Walford Davies, would go on to produce his own successful cantata on a similar ethical theme in the following year.

While Davies conceived *Everyman* for the more secular environment at Leeds and found his literary niche in a fifteenth-century morality play, Parry continued to make the Three Choirs his

[105] Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 395.

prime vehicle for expression and to look to the Bible as his main source of inspiration. As discussed earlier, the question that motivated him was how a humanistic refashioning of society could be effected without dissevering the nation's crucial historical ties with Christianity. Parry began work on his next short oratorio, *The Love that Casteth out Fear*, in the spring of 1904. Its first performance took place on 7 September at Gloucester, with Plunket Greene (now Parry's son-in-law) and Muriel Foster as the two soloists. The festival also featured new works by Ivor Atkins, Herbert Brewer and others. Much like *Voces Clamantium*, Parry's new cantata addresses the themes of faith in the corrigibility of society and God's promise of salvation for the poor (i.e. the Lord's mercy; Parry originally intended to use the title 'Misericordia Domini' for this 'sinfonia sacra').[106] Once again, the composer incorporates his own words to guide the interpretation of the biblical text. The main source of novelty comes from his dualistic interest in man's pessimism and optimism in the face of hardship. In *The Love that Casteth out Fear*, Parry draws specific moral lessons from the lives of Moses, David and Peter to teach us how we could overcome faithlessness in humanity. The work's binary design calls for the Old Testament stories of Moses and David to be given in Part I, and the New Testament story of Peter in Part II. The former part poses the question "What is man?" (Moses and David represent man's mortality and fallibility), while the latter asks "What is love?" (Peter's denial of Jesus introduces the central thesis: "There is no fear in love").

As with many of his other ethical works, Parry refrains from establishing the home key (D major) outright. Instead, the brooding 'pessimistic' opening is tonally nomadic and comprises overworked diminished-seventh harmonies resolving into different, unrelated tonalities at each reiteration of the theme. Parry contrasts the indecisiveness of man's pessimism with a secondary idea (bar 15; step-wise melodic descent and diatonic parallel-sixth movements) in assertive D major, representing 'the love that casteth out fear' (***figure 4***). Bar 22 witnesses the first choral entry by a hidden semi-chorus (characteristically sung *a cappella* with overlapping orchestral responses), continuing in the optimistic key of D major. Parry's use of a semi-chorus invites comparison with Elgar's *Gerontius* and *The Apostles*, the latter of which he heard in October 1903 and greatly admired[107] (Robert Anderson has suggested that Elgar might have originally received the idea from *Parsifal.*[108]) It also points to the influence of the concertato principle, which Parry learnt through his

[106] Bod. MS. Mus. c.115.
[107] Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 391.
[108] Robert Anderson. *Elgar* (London: J. M. Dent, 1993), p. 227.

studies of Gabrieli and Schütz, and his attempt to incorporate antiphonal elements of Venetian polychoralism in his own works (discussed later on in this chapter). The semi-chorus serves a purpose similar to the hope-giving 'Vox consolatoris' from *Voces Clamantium* or the 'Spirit of the Vision' from *The Vision of Life*. In *The Love that Casteth out Fear*, this new timbral resource is reserved primarily for the merciful voice of God. The first words sung by the semi-chorus are from Micah 6:3: "O My people, what have I done to thee? Wherein have I wearied thee? Testify against Me!" Here, God pleads with the people of Israel and asks them why they are weary of His worship. In the hopes of restoring the faith of the people, Parry proceeds to impart three important moral lessons, beginning with the story of Moses.
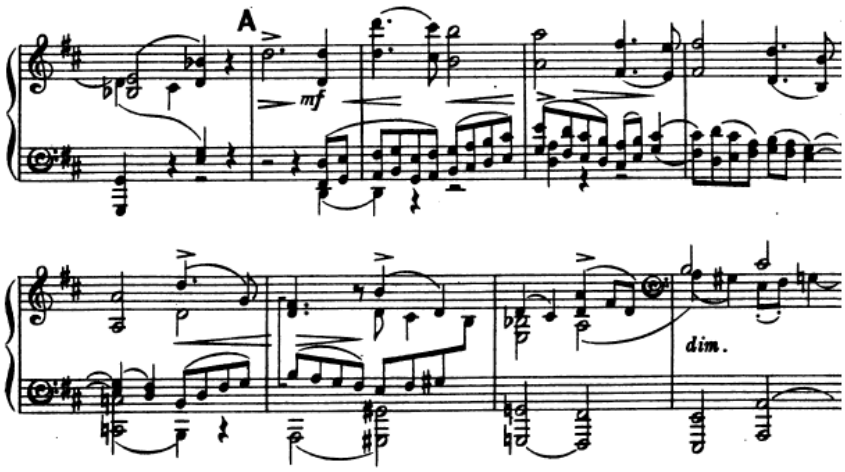
Figure 4: 'The Love that casteth out fear' theme in D major

The composer's own narration for the Moses section (delivered by the bass soloist in G major), which exploits an alliterative pattern, tells the story of how the Lord's servant fulfils his divine mission and yet goes to die an unremarkable death on Mount Nebo, according to God's will (this Deuteronomy passage is announced by the semi-chorus in the parallel B♭ major). In a crucial *lento* segment sung by the full chorus, the choir metes out the pertinent questions as well as their answers: "What is man? / What is our life? / What is the wisdom of the wise? / What is the strength of them that strive?" Here, once again, the choir represents the common people soliciting answers to their predicaments – the characteristic aspect of Parry's ethical cantatas. Much like Davies in *Everyman*, Parry invites his listeners to confront the ephemeral brevity of human life. Death meets us all without exception, even those who do great works such as Moses: "their faltering breath must fail… chieftain, churl, and king…" It matters less that Moses' death was unsung, since he died in the knowledge of

God's love and mercy. God (i.e. the embodiment of man's highest ideal) is the only eternal thing that persists while all else has perished (Hebrews 1:10-12), and to have lived life in the observation of God's ideal is the highest goal to which man could attain.

The next lesson, prompted by a contralto soloist, teaches that even as great a being as David was not immune to temptation. Evident from the identical return of the Micah passage in D major (by the semi-chorus), David's adultery is meant to show man's proneness to veer from the path of right, as well as the dire consequences of his lapse of judgment. However, if Parry's intent is to accentuate God's mercy, then the choice of 2 Samuel 12:7-11 ("…I will raise up evil against thee, and the child that is born to thee shall surely die"), showing God's hatred of sin, seems to send a conflicting message as it possibly invalidates the adjacent Psalm 86 quotation: "He is full of compassion and gracious, slow to anger, plenteous in mercy." Hence, Dickinson finds the composer's allusions to David's liaison with Bathsheba to be "ludicrously mysterious".[109] Parry also takes certain liberties in the replication of the biblical text to suit his own tastes. For instance, the clause "and thy master's wives into thy arms" is conspicuously missing from the 2 Samuel passage. The conclusion of the Psalms is sounded in quiet B♭ major and, following a traditional binary plan, Part II restores the two opening themes in the dominant key (A major).

The final lesson is introduced by the bass soloist in a plain manner, telling the story of a "simple fisher by the Galilean sea." During his discipleship, Simon Peter learns the lessons of 'patience, purity, pity, wisdom, meekness and lowliness'. Following an effective hiatus in the music (Jesus silently awaiting his trial with Caiaphas), an ominous return of the diminished-seventh 'pessimistic' theme presages Peter's forgetfulness of Christ's example ("lost in helpless dread", rehearsal mark E), while the melodic contour of "Vain was the memory of the Master's words…" recalls the second subject. Peter's fear and his threefold denial of Christ is recounted in a dramatic exchange between soloists in the semi-chorus (perhaps as a way to differentiate Peter from the narrator), and the disciple's dishonest responses recur over an insistent B♭ major harmony. Parry then contrasts an imitative section sung by the full chorus, declaring the ubiquity of sin (Romans 3:10), with a unanimous utterance from the semi-chorus. This passage from Luke 14:11 authenticates the dualistic rationale behind the work, with the 'pessimistic' motif surreptitiously returning on the cue: "Whoever exalteth himself shall be abased", and the contrasting phrase: "And he that humbleth

[109] Dickinson, p. 111.

himself shall be exalted" leading back to the staccato orchestral ostinato (i.e. Parry associates the original "Whither shall we go" with Moses going into the unknown; Part I, rehearsal mark E). The Psalm 139 quotation asserts God's omnipresence and the persistence of His love in the face of darkness and fear. Although Dickinson remarks that too little is made of the crucial passage, "There is no fear in love" (1 John 4:18), this is more likely owing to the composer's intent to retain the passive character of the semi-chorus rather than to indifference in the choral writing. Parry evidently conceives the passage as transitional material, dispelling man's pessimism and fear (by reinvigorating D major) and inaugurating the dialogue between man and God (the full chorus and the semi-chorus; recall that in Part I, the questions and answers are both delivered by the full chorus).

A crucial question asked by the full choir is: "What is the wisdom of the simple / To trust in love that never waneth" – an affirmation and continuation of Parry's ethical desire to offer music as solace for the poor. Accompanying man's conversation with God is a return of the 'pessimistic' theme, only this time, it is full-fledged rather than bottled up in the original obscurity of the introduction. The healing transformation of 'pessimism' becomes complete in the duet between the contralto and bass—i.e. the two narrator voices reinforcing each other in imitation (Micah 6:8 and Exodus 34:6-7)—where the theme resolves into a major rather than a minor chord (rehearsal mark AA). With the help of the 'love' theme and a cadential 6/4 approach, the ending (Isaiah 32:3 and Hosea 14:9) brings the voice of man and God into harmonious synchroneity in D major. The sum of the points show *The Love that Casteth out Fear* to be a more nuanced work than its precursors, yet it suffers all the more from the intricacy of its subject and a text that favours slow transformation over strong and memorable dramatic moments. Especially towards the end of the cantata, there is a clear lack of dramatic opportunities necessary to sustain interest and momentum in extended pieces of music. Furthermore, Dickinson explains that there is no section "substantial enough to make the impression of a symphonic movement", despite Parry's attempts to develop the music synthetically from two principal subjects.[110] A more coherent form, incorporating greater dramatic and dynamic range, is arguably a feature of the next cantata in the series, *The Soul's Ransom*.

In 1905, Parry's attention was mainly focused on preparing the *Pied Piper of Hamelin* for the Norwich Festival. *The Soul's Ransom* was a faithful return one year later to the ethical genre and a close successor of *The Love that Casteth out Fear*, occupying the same creative space as its forerunner.

[110] Dickinson, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

The work draws from similar scriptural sources for its inspiration; subtitled 'A Psalm of the Poor', it is devoted to the same task of alleviating the condition of the poor as the previous cantatas; and it is once again conceived in the neo-Baroque terms of a 'sinfonia sacra'. *The Soul's Ransom* was given at Hereford on 12 September, 1906, with Marie Albani and Plunkett Greene as the soloists and Parry as conductor.[111] The title of the work is most likely a reference to a proverb of Solomon: "The ransom of a man's life are his riches: but the poor heareth not rebuke" (Proverbs 13:8), or to the "dearly-ransomed soul" in Elgar's *Gerontius*. This passage teaches that the lure of material wealth can be beguiling, and that the poor are often in a better position to grow spiritually than the rich. Musically, *The Soul's Ransom* is framed in a clear-cut four-movement design. Unlike *War and Peace* or *The Love that Casteth out Fear*, it does not burden itself with musically recondite, dualistic visions. Furthermore, the text is not extraneously narrated; like *Voces Clamantium*, the words are taken from the Bible (notably from the apocryphal Ecclesiasticus) with the composer's own text only appearing at the end. Benoliel also praises the subtlety of Parry's orchestration: "there are many passages where a true twentieth-century starkness is displayed".[112] These may be some of the reasons why *The Soul's Ransom* appears to have aged marginally better than the other ethical cantatas.

The work's greater coherence is partly ensured by the strength of its clue-theme, representing 'comfort and compassion'. The first movement purports to establish God and His commandments as the authoritative source of man's wisdom. After a characteristically tentative introduction (discussed further in Benoliel's *Parry before Jerusalem*), the theme is presented in resolute D♭ major, followed by an imitative quotation of Ecclesiasticus 1:2-3. The chorus converges to sing Ecclesiasticus 1:4, before bursting out into fugal exuberance in one of the work's memorable sections: "The word of the Lord most High" (Ecclesiasticus 1:5). Parry designed the tonal plan of the first movement such that F major is firmly achieved at the end (Ecclesiasticus 26) despite a digression in the fugue to such keys as D, B♭ and E♭ major.

In the second movement, the bass soloist brings an important message to all of mankind in D♭ major ("ye inhabitants of the world"), reciting the Lord's promise to the people and declaring His condemnation of pomp and wealth (Psalm 49). The bass entry is marked *ad lib*, and there is great rhythmic variety and freedom of tempo in what is essentially the cantata's slow movement.

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[111] Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
[112] Benoliel, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

Throughout the work, Parry returns to this key of D♭ major to represent God's spirit and the people with the same harmonic brush. Benoliel questionably points out that in *The Soul's Ransom*, Parry's dualistic thinking was giving way "to a more Eastern concept of all things coalescing into a 'limited oneness' which 'binds us together', as he describes it in *The Vision of Life*, – nirvana – cessation of the play of opposites, inducing a blissful state".[113] The contrast of pessimism and optimism that intrigued Parry in the former cantatas is not entirely absent from *The Soul's Ransom*, though it is not as tenaciously built into the design of the work. As regards the later *Vision of Life*, Parry's dualistic ideas have not been sacrificed for the sake of a new philosophical outlook (it is arguably the most dualistic of all of his ethical cantatas); they are merely carried to their humanistic conclusion under the auspices of a more secular and personal text. To return to an example in *The Soul's Ransom*, the chorus sings a pessimistic passage from Isaiah 59 in the relative minor, only to be starkly disputed by an optimistic voice, again in uplifting D♭ ("Why are ye so fearful, O ye of little faith?" – ***Figure 5***):
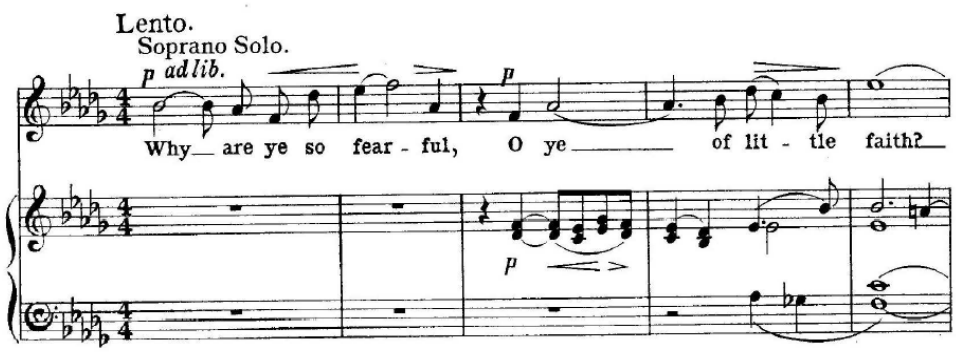
Figure 5: "Why are ye so fearful, O ye of little faith," soprano solo.

Parry selects three of the eight beatitudes of Christ from the Gospel of Matthew according to their relevance to the poor, to be sung affectionately by the soprano soloist. The composer is arguably strongest in these lyrical parts where there are ample opportunities for the soloist to shine. The shift to E major on "for yours is the kingdom of heaven" is more remarkable. In alternating passages sung by the chorus, Parry continues his attack on the doctrine of material acquisition: "it is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing" (John 6:63; he contrasts a lively imitative section for the former part with stagnant writing for the latter). The second of the choral declamations comes from Matthew 4:4: "Man liveth not by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of

[113] *Ibid.*, p. 91.

God." Parry would revisit this verse in the closing pages of *Instinct and Character*: "The saying still holds good though the vast accumulation of experiences would suggest a change in the actual words to the more homely equivalent."[114] What he means here by 'spirit' is not supernatural or specifically Christian.[115] Rather, it refers to man's capacity to widen his mind and to look at the various aspects of life with optimism rather than with dejection. It is this 'spirit' that ultimately allows us to transcend class and wealth boundaries and to meet others on a basis of equality; it is also what separates man from the other animals.[116] Parry's view of the artist's responsibility to affirm the spiritual side of humanity is closely tied to his liberal politics and the effort to form an intelligent electorate in a turbulent society undergoing democratisation.[117]

Therefore, the final choral utterance after the third beatitude, sung in 'optimistic' D♭ major: "God is a spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth" (John 4:24) is extremely crucial, as it shows how Parry had pragmatically adapted Christianity and the Pauline antithesis of flesh and spirit to suit his own—ultimately secular—worldview. For Parry, the correct form of worship is that which converts humility before God into spiritual and actual empowerment. E. A. Baughan has written in the *Monthly Musical Record* that, in Parry's music (as opposed to Elgar's), "man acknowledges the greatness of God without abasing himself."[118] In *The Soul's Ransom*, the composer sets out to show us that even the poorest person may be full of wisdom, and that the immaterial essence of man may yet transgress all divisive notions of class and hereditary separation.

The third movement has been debatably described by Benoliel as a scherzo, for its active middle section in triple time. It consists of God's promise of justice, much like when the 'Vox Prophetæ' enters in *Voces Clamantium*. God's power to restore human bones to life (Ezekiel 37:1-14) speaks to the possibility of all otherwise impossible things in the presence the 'spirit'. It also works to the same conclusion as *The Love that Casteth out Fear*: God has mercy and compassion for those afflicted (Isaiah 4:9,13). The final movement of this 'sacred symphony' returns the listener to the home

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[114] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 415.
[115] Indeed he did not believe that the spirit and the body are separate; see *ibid.*, p. 389.
[116] *Ibid.*, p. 390.
[117] *Ibid.*, p. 353: "The tendency of things is inevitably in the direction of materialism. So it comes about that materialism and spiritual influences must take new definitions. The former is the expression of the specialiser, the latter of the generaliser. The material men and the spiritual man look opposite ways. The former concentrates on his individual circuit, the latter tries to see the utmost range of things which concerns the race."
[118] E. A. Baughan, article reproduced in Aidan J. Thomson. 'Early reviews of *The Apostles* in British periodicals' in *Edward Elgar*, ed. Byron Adams (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), p. 162.

key of F, but through a series of modulations Parry brings back the important tonality of 'God is a spirit', D♭, on "to rate the tempting world aright and to esteem it light". His own text affirms man's collective goal to work "toward the ransomed soul from stain". Parry would make the question of man's effort to achieve his spiritual purpose the *idée fixe* of his next major ethical work, *The Vision of Life*.

According to Dibble, *The Soul's Ransom* earned a lukewarm reception at its first and only performance at Hereford.[119] In 1907, the Three Choirs at Gloucester repeated *The Love that Casteth out Fear*, along with their first performance of Elgar's *The Kingdom* (1906). However, Parry was still ambivalent whether the ethical cantatas were hitting their mark. His attention was now fixed on the prospect of a more free-spoken secular work, which presented a more accurate summation of his philosophical ideals than if they were tempered to the religious requirements of the Three Choirs setting. As recounted in *Hazell's Annual*, the Cardiff Festival of 1907 included many other secular items such as Harty's *Ode to a Nightingale*, Cowen's *He Giveth His Beloved Sleep*, Brewer's *Sir Patrick Spens*, Vaughan Williams' *Norfolk Rhapsodies* and the second part of Bantock's *Omar Khayyám*.[120] *The Vision of Life* joined the list on 26 September; the work, intended as an 'ethical apologia'[121], is the most personal of all Parry's cantatas (the music being set entirely to his own poem). The theme is humanity's progress through the ages and the value of human life in an apparently indifferent universe. As Town has already produced an insightful analysis of the work[122], the discussion below attends mainly to the philosophical motivations which underpin the words and the music.

The Vision of Life is scored for orchestra with soprano and bass soli. Parry's poem (prior to the 1914 revision) consists of six sections for the 'Dreamer', five for the 'Spirit of the Vision' and eight for the 'Dream Voices'. The main protagonist is the 'Dreamer' (bass solo), who begins as a pessimist but undergoes spiritual transformation via a dialogue with the 'Spirit of the Vision' (soprano solo), the guiding voice that helps to "rate the tempting world aright" (from *The Soul's Ransom*). Commentators of the work agree that the 'Dreamer' represents man's pessimistic side, and the 'Spirit of the Vision' his optimistic side, yet Parry's portrayal of the opposing outlooks is by no means black and white.

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[119] Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 415.
[120] Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
[121] Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 420.
[122] See Stephen Town. *An imperishable heritage: British choral music from Parry to Dyson: a study of selected works* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

Benoliel notes Parry's scathing attack on false optimism of the "Empire of proud ones", and his bleak vision of man, "stumbling through wrecks of ancient learning" without clarity of purpose.[123] The 'Dreamer' is a pessimist, but he is also a sensible realist and not a defeatist. Parry's 'Dreamer' is a 'wanderer' who stops amid the busy hive of human activity to ask the question: 'Why?' He searches for and demands answers for his own suffering in the manner of Job. Like William Hale White's character in the *Revolution in Tanner's Lane*, the 'Dreamer' is struck by the seeming pointlessness of human endeavour and the loss of individuality in the chaotic traverse of "millions on millions". The 'Dreamer' is contrasted in his preoccupation with thinking with the less discerning 'Dream Voices', representing the fetters of tradition and commercialist conformity. In *The Vision of Life*, Parry uses the choir to the opposite effect of the 'Vox populi' in *Voces Clamantium*, indulging in a level of tongue-in-cheek irony as seen in the 'War Song' of *War and Peace*. Luckily, the reasonable 'Dreamer' sees through the vainness of the pride of the 'Dream Voices' in their wealth, possession and the "dominant dower of Empire". Moreover, at a time when the scientific imagination stressed the survival of the fittest, Parry's 'Dreamer' would characteristically emphasise the survival of none: "To Death must all come!" The 'Dream Voices' ultimately learn the same lesson of man's equality in death:

> Wise ones or worthless,
> helpful or hindering,
> martyrs or cowards,
> heroes or cravens,
> all pace the same path,
> all face the same death.

Both the 'Dreamer' and 'Dream Voices' are caught in an Arnoldian dilemma of the modern times: "the old life is over / the new is yet dawning". Yet the 'Dreamer', putting his intellect to good use through his dialogue with the 'Spirit of the Vision', learns to see life from a more positive perspective. The 'Spirit' informs him that humans are blessed with an intellectual capacity to appreciate the beauty of the universe: "To us is the glory of beauty revealed". While the 'Voices' react indolently to their fortune, which they view as a gift from the gods, the 'Dreamer' warns that man cannot bask in the privilege of his biological fitness or see himself as the centre of everything: "Time will not wait… to let life wander in the gardens of delight." The composer makes no concession to monotheistic religion here; as Elgar has pointed out, *The Vision of Life* is "too strong for the church". Parry writes in *Instinct and Character* that the idea of a supernatural being controlling our lives "was

[123] Benoliel, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

imaginary from top to bottom and its effect was as purely capricious as such things always are." Man's destiny rests in the physical world for the good of future generations, rather than in the afterlife.[124] Therefore, man cannot dismiss his tribulations as sin to be absolved or pardoned from above. He must work out his own salvation and confront the problems of society using reason. By appreciating the lessons of history, the 'Dreamer' derives the common spiritual essence of humanity in spite of the madness of which man is also capable. Once again, Parry does not indulge in a positivist hope for a utopian future affirmed by scientific theory. As he told his students in 1912, "We try to mould history as it passes in accordance with our own ideas and wishes; but we are not masters of it, however much true education may help us to anticipate it."[125] Although the future is dim and uncertain, the 'Dreamer' is taught to assure himself of the certainty of the present: "Yet shines the life-sustaining Sun! … Certain and sure are the stars in their courses…"

Like the "dreamers of dreams" in Elgar's *Music-Makers* (1912), who wander by "lone sea-breakers", or Prometheus, the bringer of fire to mankind, Parry's 'Dreamer' is ultimately autobiographical and mirrors his personal mission as a composer. The 'Dreamer' is the solitary artist, forced by his sceptical nature and his philosophical questioning into spiritual exile, and yet, he is also the obligated mediator between the 'Spirit' and the 'Dream Voices' (i.e. he is a democrat, whose mission is "to claim it [new truths] for all as the right of their birth"). Most importantly, he is an individual enlisted into the cause of social improvement *on his own terms*, through a critical and rational process of self-discovery. This is a reflection of his belief that a democratic art begins with "the recognition of the right of the individual in art."[126] In other words, true democracy does not destroy individual personality but embraces it, reinforces it, and directs it to social ends.[127] An open-minded society does not 'destroy the prophet', but learns to protect itself against individual aberrations by raising the intellectual bar and the educational standards of the populace.

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[124] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 415: "The constancy of man's endeavour to improve the conditions of life in the past is a guarantee for the future… he strives as he has always striven to make life worth living."
[125] Parry. *College addresses delivered to the pupils of the Royal College of Music,* ed. Henry Cope Colles (London: Macmillan, 1920), p. 131.
[126] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 263.
[127] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 363: "Society needs the special capacities of the individual, and sets those capacities against the disadvantages of his evil qualities… The social tendency is generally favourable to strong definition of personality, unless the personality happens to humiliate society, by 'telling it truths it has no mind for'."

Parry conceived *The Vision of Life* as a 'symphonic poem'. As Dibble explains, the symphonic concept of the cantata is "far more amplified than any of his other ethical works."[128] Like *The Love that Casteth out Fear*, the music extends from two contrasting themes, one ominous and the other more uplifting, but Parry's treatment of the dualism is less artificial than in the earlier instance. The first clue-theme representing 'Destiny' (***Figure 6***), defined by its downward staccato punctuations, is used to the same mysterious and open-ended effect as the 'Questioning' theme in *A Song of Darkness and Light*, in that it invites complementary substantiation. The second theme, introduced by muted violas, proceeds for the most part in stepwise motion and provides *legato* contrast to the previous material. Parry capitalises on the theme's upward inclination to prepare the musical build-up to his ebullient rhetoric ("We sing the joy of winning the way"). For instance, the theme is very subtly incorporated into the vocal parts in the melismatic moment at "To us is the glory of beauty reveal" (rehearsal mark 12). As pointed out by a *Musical Times* critic[129], the 'Dream Voices' eventually derive joy from the pursuit of destiny, when the first theme follows the latter's example and becomes inverted to point upwards, as they sing "We praise the men of days long gone" (rehearsal mark 58). In another instance, when the choir sings "and hearts… beat high" (rehearsal mark 62), Parry stretches the vocal tessitura piecemeal as the choir leaps up in fourths to significant syllables. After four such abortive leaps, we hear the successful major sixth leap, completing the motivic contour on the signal of "beat high".
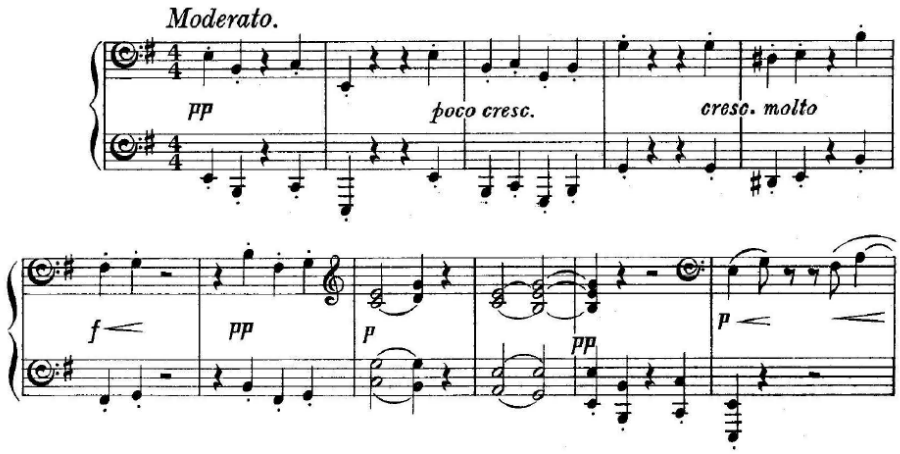
Figure 6: 'Destiny' clue theme from *The Vision of Life*

[128] Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 421.
[129] 'Sir Hubert Parry's new work for the Cardiff Musical Festival', *The Musical Times* 48/775 (1 Sep. 1907), p. 600.

Parry's symphonic innovation, however, could not rescue the work from the disaster visited by his inadequacies as a poet. Like *War and Peace*, *The Vision of Life* is saturated with feeble and ineffective lines that, according to Benoliel, "reads like rejected lines from Goethe's *Faust*, Nietzsche's *Zarathustra* and Hardy's *The Dynasts*."[130] Moreover, like other ethical cantatas which boast his own life-affirming text as their conclusions, Parry's characteristically 'optimistic' ending tends to recycled predictability and triteness. Another curiosity is that the 'Dreamer' seems to fall off the chart before the music ends and does not get a final say in the whole matter. Parry tries to rectify this ending, not with remarkable success, in his 1914 revision of the work for the proposed Norwich Festival (an endeavour cut short by the outbreak of war). The new version replaces the final two stanzas with one for the 'Voices' and two extra stanzas for the 'Spirit of the Vision' and 'The Voices' combined; the moment is reminiscent of the semi-chorus and the full chorus finally coalescing in *The Love that Casteth out Fear*. Stephen Town has compared and cross-examined both versions of the work in greater detail in his book.

The final ethical cantata, *Beyond These Voices There is Peace*, was the composer's personal favourite score. Given at Worcester Festival on 9 September 1908, it was a return to more condensed 'motet' form of *Voces Clamantium* and also the diametric opposite of *The Vision of Life*, being the only work that does not bear his own text. It is likely that the previous cantata alerted him to the shortcomings of an overly expansive scheme and his own libretto, and made him decide against replicating the same mistakes in his new work (and in any other work going forward). Thus, *Beyond These Voices* can be considered a crucial rite of passage, marking the transition from Parry's obscure ethical style to the more prosperous certitude of his Indian summer. Much like *Voces Clamantium*, the music is scored for chorus, bass solo, soprano solo and orchestra. The subject of the work is degeneration and regeneration, as evidenced by the chosen passages from Ecclesiastes and Isaiah. *Beyond These Voices* combines a concern over the decay of civilisation with confidence in the promise of humanity. The first portion of the work from Ecclesiastes deals with degeneration and the dissolution of faith, while the music progressively moves towards regeneration through Isaiah's lessons and prophecies (again, in the manner of *Voces Clamantium*).

Beyond These Voices bears many of the characteristics of Parry's other ethical cantatas, such as the lack of florid writing, an independent orchestral part, an emphasis on the dramatic relations of

[130] Benoliel, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

parts, a tonally noncommittal introduction, the pervasiveness of principal motivic ideas, the transfer of the themes to vocal parts at crucial moments (for instance, see rehearsal mark 45), and the spontaneous use of 'realistic suggestions'. There are also telltale occurrences of seamless sections connected by orchestral ritornellos, the use of suspensions and appoggiaturas to sustain forward momentum (Parry's concept of music as tension and release), his characteristic rising sequences, the contrast of harmony and dissonance to depict the intended dualism of optimism and pessimism (most conspicuous in *The Love that Casteth out Fear*), and so forth. The work presents two contrasting subjects in three iterations over changing pedals. *Beyond These Voices* launches into its pessimistic segment with the pertinent question "What profit hath man of all his labour…?" (Ecclesiastes 1:3,5-9). Underscored by the pessimistic theme, the choir gives an abject reading of the seeming pointlessness of man's existence in F minor. The people complain that man has always been the same since the beginning of time, as if it were a bad thing. The next segment involves the bass solo and is an attack on decadent values and *fin-de-siècle* aestheticism; Solomon finds himself disillusioned and tries to alleviate his dissatisfaction with wine and worldly pleasures (Ecclesiastes 2:1,3,4,7,11; represented by shifting tonalities, i.e. E, B, A and C major), albeit to no avail; "All was vanity, vanity and vexation of spirit, and there was no profit under the sun."

The following chorus (rehearsal mark 20), which Dibble singles out as the work's only saving grace[131], begins the slow process of conversion towards understanding and optimism. The passages drawn from Ecclesiastes 3:1-8 is a testament to Parry's interest in Stoicism and the concept of eternal return, even prior to his Nietzschean year. In 1950, Harold L. Brooke refused publication of the excerpt by itself since it represented "a philosophy of life which cannot be accepted."[132] However, there is nothing of the cynicism which Brooke detected in Parry's invitation for us to face the godless realities of nature. The universe is a perpetually spinning machine (shown by the persistence of the orchestral accompaniment in G major) and man must seize his opportunities as they come around the circle. The cyclic repetition of nature is not tedious but, as a matter of fact, fortuitous; its permanence is a cause for optimism rather than pessimism (Ecclesiastes 3:14,15). This leads Solomon to realise that life can be pleasant and worthwhile to all men, given the correct perspective and attitude towards

[131] Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 425.
[132] Bod. MS. Mus. c.328.

'darkness' (Ecclesiastes 11:7,8,10, 12:3,5,6). The verse is aptly heralded by an orchestral ritornello which utilises the optimistic (second) theme.

Emphasising the work's binary scheme, the Isaiah passages are, on the contrary, guided by the soprano soloist in the parallel F major. The first 'regeneration' verse is a selection of lines from Isaiah 55, beginning with the democratic exhortation, "Ho! Everyone that thirsteth, come ye to the waters", welcoming all to the gift of salvation. After a series of minor modulations, the chorus picks up in the original key from the cadence in F, this time opening in unity (Isaiah 40:12-17, 40:18,21,22,28). The verse (which peaks at rehearsal marks 37 and 38) speaks to the incomparable greatness of God. Notably, Parry employs a sudden dynamic drop from *fortissimo* to *piano* as a means of contrasting God's powers to the smallness of human affairs: "All the nations are as nothing before Him". The purpose, however, is not to emphasise man's helplessness but rather to qualify his strength in the covenant of God, empowering him to triumph over the forces of decadence. As the next verse from Isaiah 40:29-31, sung by both the choir and the soprano soloist, assures us: "But they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength… they shall walk and not faint." In this assuasive segment, the ambivalence of diminished harmonies and roaming secondary dominants resolves into the home tonality upon the cue of "shall walk and not faint."

Parry concludes *Beyond These Voices* and his long line of cantatas with 'the clue', a single line (Isaiah 26:3 – ***figure 7***) for the soprano soloist, which recapitulates the lesson of man's perseverance: "Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on Thee." The optimistic motif returns at the very end to displace the pessimism begun at rehearsal mark 45. In the light of *Instinct and Character*, Parry's intended message is clear: we should always keep our minds fixed on the ideal of the 'spirit' in the pursuit of our happiness. Mental perseverance protects the individual against the corrupting effects of democracy. Man, in his universal quest for mutual happiness, rises to the challenge posed by mass emancipation; as Parry conscientiously heeds in his treatise, "So the force of conviction and steadfastness of mind required to maintain the independence of genius becomes daily more nearly superhuman. And the result is that the progress towards democracy makes conditions more and more unfavourable to its appearance."[133]

[133] Parry. *Instinct and character*, p. 70.

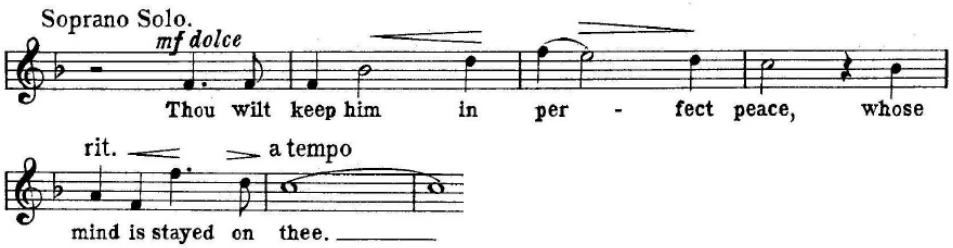

Figure 7: 'The clue', soprano solo, from *Beyond These Voices*

8.3 The Historical Inspiration Behind the Works

As suggested earlier, Parry's ethical cantatas were the result of his sustained enquiry in the 1890s and early 1900s into music of the seventeenth century. Through his studies of German choralism and Bach's artistic heritage, he discovered a 'democratic' style of music worthy of imitation which would also pose a challenge to the oratorio and music drama tradition. If the hypothesis were correct, then one should expect to find the characteristics of the ethical cantatas, discussed above, prefigured by his writings. As a matter of fact, the seeds of Parry's neoclassical ambitions (if the term may be applied with qualifications) are extremely well-documented in his works after *The Evolution of the Art of Music*; much of the rationalisation for his own music can be found in *Style in Musical Art*, a work conceived conterminously with the ethical cantatas. This final section explores the link between Parry's music and his work as a historian of seventeenth-century music, and, in so doing, forms a more complete view of the composer, who perceived his own musical mission as inseparable from his identity as a historiographer.

Parry's special interest in the seventeenth century undoubtedly owed something to the fact that, in the late 1880s and early 1890s, his work on music and evolution was leading him, on Spencerian lines, to examine the gradual process of stylistic change from the indefinite to the definite. It was in the Baroque period that he found the most compelling cases for the growth of formal definition and stylistic awareness among early composers; as Manfred Bukofzer explains, "the baroque era is the era of style-consciousness."[134] Parry was, of course, intrigued by the notion of an

[134] Manfred Bukofzer. *Music in the Baroque era: from Monteverdi to Bach* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1947), p. 4.

emancipated (secular) art as the groundwork for Millite liberalism and democracy. During the seventeenth century, the more aristocratic and refined style of the *musica reservata* and the old madrigalism was lending itself to the expressive freedom of the *stile moderno*. Baroque composers took greater liberties in matters of rhythm and pulse, as Parry would emphasise on numerous occasions in his writings. Moreover, the period in question saw a change in the attitude in which music and poetry were related. Music was no longer the autonomous art that it had been under Renaissance theorists like Zarlino.[135] The Florentine Camerata turned to Greek models and reinvented a declamatory style in which music was made subservient to the elucidation of speech and poetry (just as Parry's ethical cantatas would aspire to be). Parry also associated the formalism of the eighteenth century with pedanticism, emotional puritanism, and an aristocratic disconnect with the progress of the common folk (culminating in the ideal of 'art for art's sake').[136] His antiquarian idiom attempted to bypass the formalities of the classical period, returning to a time when form and harmony were used primarily as means for poetic expression. This idea of a revolt against classicism was at the heart of his championship of Monteverdi, Purcell, Schütz and others.[137] Parry's dissatisfaction with modern secular music led him to side with a more devotional type of music, which he discerned in the lineage through Bach.

How were the early German composers able to retain a foothold in the religious past without dismissing modern secular principles? At the turn of the century, Parry turned to consider the significance of the musical 'byway', which won its stylistic distinction from the universal developments of the *galant* style in the following century. He found the strongest evidence of Germany's spiritual connection with the past in organ music (Pachelbel, Bohm, Buxtehude and Bach), and experimented with the quasi-polyphonic style—where the sacred and the secular intersected—in his own organ works. Foremost among his other antiquarian fascinations was the suite, which continued to interest him long after his involvement with *Grove's Dictionary* in the 1870s. Contrary to

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[135] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[136] This is most obvious in *Style in musical art*. In his early RCM lectures, Parry rails against the "empty and conventional life of courts and palaces" and the music associated with the aristocracy; see RCM MS. 4307, p. 10.

[137] Parry. *Style in musical art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 101: "Monteverde certainly showed a remarkable insight into the possibilities of harmony and of progressions of chords as a means of expression; a type of procedure which remained latent after his time for centuries, except sometimes in Purcell and Schütz and a few others of their time and people, and has only reasserted itself in its full power since the romantic phase came into being in the last century."

the more arcane style of organ music, the dance suite was arguably the Baroque period's closest attainment to a secular form of public entertainment, in that it appealed to man's universal experience of dancing. Parry viewed the Baroque and the Romantic periods as closely aligned in their mutual emphasis on expression, and the Classical period as placing too great an emphasis on harmony "as the basis of formal organization in the sonata range of art that it was not realized as a factor in expression".[138] Since the sonata had eclipsed the suite in the Romantic age, he sought to bring back a more communal form of music for a modern audience and to contest the aristocratic sonata of the intervening century. The most obvious example is the piano suite *Hands across the Centuries* (the title is reminiscent of 'hands across the ages' in the 1914 revision of *The Vision of Life*), marking Parry's return to miniature forms after the failure of his cantatas and his attempt to romanticise the suite (i.e. the 'Passionate Allemande', 'Wistful Courante', etc.) rather than merely to emulate the styles of Froberger, Buxtehude or Bach.

Indeed Parry's concern was not simply stylistic; it had more to do with embracing a liberal mindset towards art and with Ruskin's notion of art as a social responsibility. It was also predicated on his monogenist notion that past music was still highly pertinent to modern composers, despite their vast chronological and cultural distance. Parry's neoclassicism (better referred to, perhaps, as his 'neo-Baroquism', or even his anti-classicism) was paradoxically more invested in the uncertain future than in the orderly past. Unlike the neoclassicism which became prominent in continental Europe in the 1910s, it was an extension of nineteenth-century Romanticism rather than a repudiation of it. His works lacked the formal stringency or the parodistical element found in neoclassical music, yet his Spartan doctrine of stylistic moderation still reminds one of Hans Keller's notion of Stravinsky's music (his *Symphony of the Psalms*) as expression "through the very suppression of expressionism".[139] However, Parry neither opposed programme music nor sought a return to formal clarity in his works. If *Hands across the Centuries* fell foul of what, in a Nietzschean vein, one might term an excess of historical awareness (for example, his adoption of a unified tonal centre or restrictive dance forms), the ethical cantatas aimed at a much more spontaneous kind of dramatic expression, emphasising tonal freedom, the interdependence of music and words, and sustained emotional involvement through the dynamic of tension and release and the "unity of the single idea in various disguises"[140]

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[138] *Ibid.*

[139] See Hans Keller and Milein Cosman. *Stravinsky Seen and Heard* (London: Toccata Press, 1982), p. 12.

[140] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

(i.e. his fascination with variations), in which the Baroque elements were more allusions than just imitations after the fact.

Although Parry was receptive to the music of Bull, Gibbons, Morley, and Purcell, it was in the German and *early*-Venetian schools that he discerned the frankness of expression and the economy of artistic resources which he later sought to replicate in his own works. The champions of this serious style prior to Bach included Monteverdi, Gabrieli, his esteemed student Schütz, Hammerschmidt, Tunder and Ahle. Making his stance against Italian opera and eager to repair the oratorio in England, Parry found his inspiration in the German antecedents of the oratorio, namely the Lutheran historia, Passions and dialogues. In this respect, his adoption of the term 'sinfonia sacra' for *The Love that Casteth out Fear* and *The Soul's Ransom* was more than just a casual reference to Schütz's famous sacred pieces. The 'symphoniae sacrae' encapsulated the important historical trend from Gabrieli (1597, 1615) through to Schütz (1629, 1647, 1650), leading up to the development of the German 'oratorium' in the eighteenth century.

The ethical cantatas bear many of the characteristic features of Schütz's works – an indication of Parry's keen awareness of the music through his own scholarly endeavours. The composer here finds Schütz's keen sensitivity to the sacred text exemplary, emulating his expressive use of realistic suggestion (e.g. in the *Cantiones sacrae*, the *Resurrection* and the *Christmas Oratorio*) in the ascent to heaven in *Beyond These Voices* (rehearsal mark 40), or the cessation of dynamics when God instructs the islands to "keep silence before me" in *Voces Clamantium*. Parry espouses Schütz's manner of using "strange chords for the purposes of immediate expression",[141] for example, when contrasting darkness and light in *War and Peace* or when shifting to B♭ major (with ninth harmonies) at the "gardens of delight" in *The Vision of Life*. Another technique borrowed from the German composer is the deliberate and sparing use of the choir *en masse*, with the full chorus being typically reserved for ending sections. In the crucial moment in *Voces Clamantium*, where the people are "gathered together" in G minor, Parry achieves emotional intensity by the same means as Schütz does in 'Saul, Saul, was verfolgst du mich?' (SWV 415) from the third *Symphoniae sacrae* (i.e. by the layering upwards of voices).

[141] Parry. *The evolution of the art of music* (London: Kegan Paul, 1905/1896), p. 144.

Parry's treatment of different groups of voices in the ethical cantatas, assigning them specialised functions in the music, reflects not only his admiration for works such as Schütz's *Historia der Auferstehung Jesu Christ*, but also his intimate knowledge of Hammerschmidt's sacred dialogues. According to Emil Naumann in his *History of Music*, Hammerschmidt's dialogues "invited musicians to lose themselves in religious mysticism and allegory."[142] In the fifth dialogue, Hammerschmidt aptly retains the personality of each of the reciprocating voices, "the one pleading and the other encouraging and consoling."[143] Parry establishes similar reciprocal relationships between the singers in all his ethical cantatas, whether it be the different groups of voices in *Voces Clamantium*, the deified semi-chorus or the dialogue between Peter and the servant girl in the *Love that Casteth out Fear*, or the brooding 'Dreamer' in *The Vision of Life*. Indeed in some of the later cantatas, the actors not only assume characteristic roles but also actively interact with each other and become positively transformed over the course of the music.

In Hammerschmidt's works, especially the *Geistlich Symphonien*, Parry discerns the ideal blending of old and new techniques, prefiguring the genius of Bach. The choice of 'motet' as a label for some of Parry's ethical works can be understood in this respect.[144] He sees the motet as a transitional genre, a converging point of the sacred polyphonic and the secular rhythmic/homophonic. As a form undergoing thorough secularisation, the motet historically faced a tremendous artistic challenge:

> The motets which were written in such profusion in the latter part of this [seventeenth] century were extremely florid, especially in the solo portions, which were undoubtedly meant to give famous singers full opportunities for the display of their powers of vocalization.[145]

Revealingly, Parry distinguishes the motet, even in its most offensive manifestations, from operatic arias.[146] Deeming the genre worthy of rescue, he sets himself to the task of repairing the motet as a hybrid form in *Voces Clamantium* and *Beyond These Voices*. Bach's motets assures him of the form's

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[142] Emil Naumann, trans. Ferdinand Praeger, ed. Frederick Ouseley. *The history of music, vol. 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013/1888), p. 636.
[143] Parry. *The music of the seventeenth century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), p. 430.
[144] It is worth mentioning that other composers, including Brahms, Stanford, Vaughan Williams and Elgar, also makes use of the same antiquated term in some way or another.
[145] *Ibid.*, p. 404.
[146] *Ibid.*, p. 405: "Composers [of motets] seem comparatively rarely to aim at definite melodies… the movements indeed approach more frequently to the continuous manner of fugues…"

expressive capabilities; Parry, who has already won Jaeger's acclaim as being the 'English Bach'[147], now seeks to emulate a healthy synthesis of the sacred and the secular as found in *Jesu meine Freude*.[148] A Bachian penchant for contrastive alteration between polyphonic and homophonic sections is apparent in *Voces Clamantium* (i.e. the succession of solo parts, imitative sections and the chorale), resulting in a style which balances free-flowing contrapuntal treatment and makes words "the guiding principle in developing [the] scheme of design",[149] without at the same time neglecting the (secular) resources of rhythm or harmony. His opinions on Bach's motets inexplicably reflect Spitta's view that they had more in common with the organ and cantata tradition than the Baroque motet itself.[150] In Parry's opinion, however, Bach did not merely supersede the seventeenth-century secular motet; he also made it more accessible and pertinent to an enlightened, modern-day musical democracy.

Despite their theoretical backing, the ethical cantatas suffer from a spate of more fundamental deficiencies. Parry's dualistic model and his fixation on the dynamic of tension and relief proved inadequate in making such extended pieces of music cohere. In the ethical cantatas, there is a lack of striking material or memorable motivic associations that return with any real dramatic, rather than hypothetical, significance. Furthermore, Parry's emphasis on the immediateness of expression is somewhat contradicted by the non-immediateness of a recondite libretto, requiring advance speculation and erudition (as well as an extraneous understanding of his personal interpretation of the Bible, which, in some cases, is only rendered at the very end of the music). The most accessible of the six cantatas is arguably *Voces Clamantium*, due to its comparative simplicity and brevity, the composer's clear message to the poor, as well as his characteristic treatment of the different *voces*.[151] With the exception of some moments in *The Love that Casteth out Fear*, Parry's choice of text and the equable nature of his ethical idealism engender a more cerebral listening experience than they provide strong dramatic opportunities in the music. One fatal drawback of Parry's post-*Guenever* aversion to opera—and his framing of the cantatas as being opposed to opera—was that it deterred him from engaging sufficiently with the histrionic tradition, leaving him bereft of an important artistic resource.

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[147] See Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 371.
[148] Parry. *Johann Sebastian Bach: the story of the development of a great personality* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909), p. 293.
[149] *Ibid.*, p. 292.
[150] Daniel Melamed, in his study on Bach's motets, has put a question mark over this notion. See Melamed. *J. S. Bach and the German motet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 1, 35.
[151] Indeed Parry had more success conveying philosophical ideas through the medium of smaller forms, such as in the ninth set of the *English Lyrics*.

As Dibble's appraisal of the music also indicates, there is an absence in all the cantatas of any moment of true and heartfelt anagnorisis or peripeteia. Parry's scheme of incremental revelations, adapted from Hammerschmidt's dialogues, ensures that in no moment during all the ethical cantatas does the listener feel like he has attained any striking new truth or philosophical insight. His Wagnerian sympathies notwithstanding, there is no epiphanic moment in the music to match King Marke's discovery of the *tête-à-tête* in the second act of *Tristan und Isolde*. The listener cannot pinpoint when—or if ever—the 'Dreamer' in *The Vision of Life* internalises the teachings of the 'Spirit of the Vision'. Parry's neo-Baroque ambitions seem to backfire in several other instances. For all his emphasis on emotional crudeness and raw feelings, there is arguably no psychological exploration of the ego undergoing catharsis in the modified binary design of *Beyond These Voices*. In the *Love that Casteth out Fear*, the composer sacrifices an opportunity to capitalise on the crucial utterance ("There is no fear in love") to retain the temperate personality of the semi-chorus. Dickinson writes more severely that "the puzzle is how the composer of *Prometheus* and disciple of Bach could be satisfied with so much perfunctory music."[152] The examples above may be cited as instances where Parry's historical impulse and the actual dramatic requirements of the music do not always sit agreeably in practice.

8.4 Conclusion

His dislike of oratorio notwithstanding, Parry recognised the value of choral music in a society saturated with the democratic spirit, and offered the ethical cantatas as his personal contribution to the English choral tradition. The six cantatas, written between 1903 and 1908, were collectively the result of his research into seventeenth-century music in the same decade. This chapter discussed the works in relation to Parry's oeuvre, as well as in the context of nineteenth-century English choral music. It next examined the ethical cantatas with the intent of getting at the underlying philosophical motives behind the works. The cantatas were by and large the product of Parry's humanist worldview and his literary involvement with naturalism and *fin-de-siècle* decadence; they touched on the common themes of man's equality in death and the balance of optimism and pessimism. The final

[152] Dickinson, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

section looked at the convergence of his work as a historian and a composer, showing how an understanding of his historical and philosophical views can also enhance the understanding of his music. They are ultimately flawed works, but they also reveal the consistency of his thoughts, and his sympathies not only as a composer, but as 'an Englishman and a democrat'. The cantatas show the composer at his most personal, revealing his values as a humanist who sought for ways to defend the principles of liberal democracy in music.

Parry might have been compelled to see the failure of the ethical cantatas as being the result of the unpopularity of his worldview and his unorthodox reading of the Bible: "A man who has a genuine impulse to say something beyond common thought has generally to enlarge the phraseology of the art or the language in which he speaks. . . or [those who cannot wait] must inevitably remain at least partially unintelligible to their fellow creatures."[153] The problems with the cantatas, as discussed above, were more fundamental in nature, however much they were induced by an obscure philosophy that was too reflective and too individual to strike a rapport with a modern audience. After *Beyond These Voices*, Parry was prepared to set the concept aside for good, to repair his reputation by returning to a more familiar style of composition, and to restrict his deep philosophical introspection to the realm of writing. Yet, even his later symphonic works still bore the programmatic marks and the unmistakable overtones of his personal philosophy, not to mention the six *Songs of Farewell*. This was symptomatic of a composer who not only sought to maintain the integrity of the 'motet' as an art form in his neo-Baroque experiments, but who saw the 'motet'—and music in general—as a test of the artist's integrity and courage to pursue his own personal ideals in the face of overwhelming social opposition.

[153] Parry. *The evolution of the art of music* (London: Kegan Paul, 1905/1896), p. 250.

Closing Remarks

In Trollope's *The Warden*, the robust and atheistic, albeit well-meaning, John Bold and the caricatural Dr. Pessimist Anticant stand sharply in contrast to the conservative-minded Archdeacon Grantly and the unexpressive Bishop of Barchester, who represent the ecclesiastical opposition to radicalism. Like the novel's music-loving protagonist, Mr. Harding, Parry is torn between two troubling extremes – the recognition of a cruel and chaotic world on the one hand, and a retreat to the comforting assurances of tradition on the other. Indeed a survey of England in the nineteenth century reveals an age of intellectual strife and spiritual doubt amid illusions of national stability. Parry's intellectual career is deeply interesting not only because it spans two profoundly different reigns, but also because it captures so much of the paradoxical phenomenon of Victorian and Edwardian society.

The early chapter on the composer's formative years attempted to understand the significance of his Oxford education, revealing his ties with positivism and Stubbs' school of modern history. This preliminary chapter traced Parry's intellectual progress from his association with *Grove's Dictionary* to 1884, when he first made his historiographical stance before the Musical Association. The next chapter examined his interests in Darwinian and Spencerian evolution, an obsession which culminated in his first major publication, *The Evolution of the Art of Music*. It also questioned prevalent interpretations of the text, opting for a more biographically accurate reading of his evolutionary position. While the composer was undoubtedly a staunch advocate of scientific methods, evolution was far from being the central doctrine of his mature thought. His connection of art and morality, born out of his studies of Ruskin, Mill and others, formed the subject of the next chapter. A discussion of *Style in Musical Art* highlighted the dangers of overemphasising the *Evolution of the Art of Music*, at the expense of misconstruing his overall philosophy. The themes of secularism and democracy were next examined in relation to his writings on the seventeenth century, fortifying our understanding of his humanistic and sympathetic interpretation of history. This section also revised current scholarly assessment of his religious views and showed how his historical narrative highlighted the role of secularism in achieving democracy. The chapter that followed dealt with his sympathetic views on race and his dislike of nationalism, demonstrating how these influenced his advocacy of folk-

song. The assessment provided contradicted popular assertions of his racism and imperialistic agenda. Parry's response to *fin-de-siècle* decadence, his pre-war repulsion towards Nietzschean philosophy and *Instinct and Character* concluded the examination of his written works. Equipped with a clearer understanding of Parry's literary career, the final chapter offered a new way of looking at Parry's music, emphasising the close link between his philosophy and music, with the hopes of promoting future research in this area.

Most importantly, this study revealed Parry as a highly eclectic and critical thinker, for whom the worlds of art and the intellect were ultimately inseparable. As Vaughan Williams once reflected: "Parry was a thinker on music, which he connected, not only with life, but with other aspects of philosophy and science."[1] The significance of Parry's literary accomplishments to—and its centrality in—the development of both music and musicology in Britain, although not much previously explored, can hardly be overstated. Vaughan Williams, who did much to proselytise for Parry's moral vision, admired his mentor not only as a composer but a thinker, as evident from numerous mentions of him in his various essays and in his correspondence with Holst in *Heirs and Rebels.* Elgar, despite his semi-detached position as an outsider from the academic establishment (a contestable proposition), was similarly assisted in his own formative development by an intimate acquaintance with Parry's articles in *Grove's Dictionary*.[2]

The staying power of Parry's works attests to the extent of his influence beyond his own age. A number of his *Grove* entries, which would have been standard reading material for many English-speaking students, survived even through the Colles' and Blom's editions. The articles retained from previous editions were mostly of a technical nature, such as 'Arrangement', 'Composition' and 'Melody'. Understandably, those of a more historical inclination had to be updated to remain current, often by Colles and Blom themselves. Yet, one cannot easily overlook the traces of Parry's original authorship and the persistence of his initials in more substantial articles such as 'Form', 'Variations' and 'Sonata'. His clear-headed examinations of Bach, Beethoven (especially the sonatas) and various other composers likely played an integral part in the development and popularisation of formal musical analysis, which is often associated with the names of Tovey, Dent and others. It is also noteworthy that when H. K. Andrews took on the task of rewriting 'Harmony' for the later editions,

[1] Quoted in David Manning, ed. *Vaughan Williams on music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 317.
[2] See Jeremy Dibble. 'Elgar and his British contemporaries' in *The Cambridge companion to Elgar*, ed. Daniel Grimley and Julian Rushton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 20.

he could finally bury the controversy which plagued Parry and his contemporaries concerning the natural basis of harmony: "The theory of the generation of chords and harmony from the harmonic series… must be discarded once and for all."[3] On this note, Parry's entry on Alfred Day in the fifth edition of the *Dictionary*, improved by Ll. S. Lloyd (but not replaced), testifies—posthumously—to a hard-fought victory, whose repercussions were still being felt in recent times.[4]

Parry's books, too, went through many editions and enjoyed a wide circulation and readership both at home and abroad. *Style in Musical Art* was reprinted in 1914 and 1924 by Macmillan; its significance to British musicology has been compared by Egon Wellesz to that of Adler's *Der Stile in der Musik* in Germany.[5] *The Evolution of the Art of Music* reached its tenth edition in 1931, being printed by both Kegan Paul in London and D. Appleton in New York. The work was widely recommended to students of musical history and form, not least in the United States[6], where the evolutionary mode of thinking held long-standing appeal well into the twentieth century. The American composer and critic, Daniel Gregory Mason, who co-authored *The Appreciation of Music* in 1907 (which went through numerous editions), was reportedly influenced by Parry's historical outlook in the *Evolution of the Art of Music*.[7] Furthermore, the pedagogical influence directly exerted by Parry on his pupils, crucially in his appointment as Professor of Musical History, would have been immense. Cecil Forsyth was a pupil of Parry before he went on to write his *History of Music* with Stanford in 1916.[8] Much like Forsyth, H. C. Colles studied music history under Parry at the Royal College of Music. His own publication, *The Growth of Music* (1912), which attained considerable popularity, was in certain respects a reimagining of Parry's evolutionary thesis, adapted however for

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[3] Andrews, H. K. 'Harmony' in *Grove's dictionary of music and musicians, vol. 4*, ed. Eric Blom (London: Macmillan and Co., 1954), p. 77.
[4] Lloyd, Ll. S. 'Day (Alfred)' in *ibid.*, *vol. 2*, p. 617.
[5] Wellesz, Egon. 'Musicology' in *ibid.*, *vol. 5*, p. 1027.
[6] The "indispensable" *Evolution of the Art of Music* regularly featured in recommended reading lists for high school, college and university students in the United States. See, for instance, 'Books for the supervisors: a symposium', *Music supervisors' journal* 5/3 (1 Jan. 1919), p. 10; 'The supervisors' book-shelf', *Music supervisors' journal* 8/5 (1 Apr. 1922), p. 24; 'High school credit courses in music: report of the National Research Council of Music Education', *Music supervisors' journal* 15/5 (1 May 1929), p. 31.
[7] James A. Keene. *A history of music education in the United States, 2nd ed.* (Centennial, CO: Glenbridge Publishing Ltd., 2009), p. 255.
[8] Interestingly, the chapter in this work on seventeenth-century music, written by Stanford, was aptly titled the 'Secular Century'; it recapitulated many of the observations of the 'secularising' tendencies of art made by Parry in the previous decade.

school use.[9] Colles undoubtedly played a seminal role in keeping Parry's writings alive through his own editorial enterprise; it was indeed through his efforts that Parry's college addresses were made available in book form, and that *The Evolution of the Art of Music* was renewed for a modern readership in 1930. There are obvious traces of the same developmental outlook as present in Colles' *Growth of Music*, albeit to a lesser degree, in George Dyson's similarly-titled *Progress of Music* (1932). Dyson, of course, came from the same Royal College of Music background as Colles. Parry did much to help advance his pupil's musical career and was also given the early proofs of his much celebrated book, *The New Music*, to read in 1917, prior to its eventual publication in 1924.

The survival of Parry's ideas in England (especially in the early decades of the twentieth century), through such reissues of his own works and the recurrence of his opinions in the works of others, arguably owed something to their essentially empirical character, which harked faithfully back to the British traditions of Locke, Hume, Darwin and Spencer. By contrast, the notion that music was a form of pure thought, promulgated by Ernest Walker (who hailed from Balliol where Hegel and Kant had disciples in the young Benjamin Jowett, T. H. Green and Edward Caird), seemed never to have kindled the same level of enthusiastic following in a de-Teutonised England as enjoyed by Parry's writings. It is worth observing that, their philosophical differences notwithstanding, Walker was still able to rely heavily on Parry's discretion (especially his research on the seventeenth century) when working on his own authoritative *History of Music in England*.[10] Later investigations into this area will perhaps confirm that Parry's motivations to create an exoteric, practical and useful musical scholarship in England, widely accessible to the general populace and free from metaphysical confusion, were met in the end with considerable success, and that the style of scholarly commentary which he championed is still very much alive even to this day.

The study of the reception of Parry's written works and his influence on British musicology, which invite much deeper exploration by future authors, is only one of many avenues now open to us through a more intimate understanding of the composer's intellectual preoccupations. With the current surge of interest in Parry's music and the upcoming centenary of his death, there is undoubtedly much potential for further studies of his life and work. Another topic which invites

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[9] In particular, Colles revisits Parry's comparison of Mozart's G minor *Symphony* and Beethoven's *Piano Sonata Op. 2 No. 1.* See Henry Cope Colles. *The growth of music: a study in musical history for schools, part 2* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933/1913), p. 160.

[10] Ernest Walker. *A history of music in England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), p. vi.

expansion is the logistical aspect of Parry's scholarly work – i.e. to what extent he was limited in his historical research by the available resources at his disposal, and how novel his ideas and findings were for his time. It is hoped that cross-disciplinary scholars might benefit from a more biographically-accurate understanding of his views on evolution, race, and so forth. As far as source materials go, work remains to be done in numbering and cataloguing his undated notebooks. The significance of Parry's philosophical vision, as exemplified in the ethical cantatas, on later composers is also a fertile ground for future inquiry, especially considering the abundance of secular choral works (and the growing ethos of a 'disappointed theist') in twentieth-century English music. Besides the cantatas, his other compositions, such as *Job*, can profit from the insight offered by a better acquaintance with his intellectual aspirations. Ultimately, Parry's passionate defence of democracy, his liberal embrace of modernism, his constant remonstrances against a myopic view of history, and his egalitarian vision, all contribute to our current understanding of the 'spirit of music' in England at its threshold to the productive twentieth century.

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APPENDIX: PARRY'S READING LISTS

The following list has been transcribed and compiled from many years' worth of Parry's diaries. The entries are given with publication dates as obtained from online databases and numerous other sources. While care has been taken to ensure the accuracy of the information provided, some errors may persist in the data. Illegible entries have been included in the table to denote gaps in the list. Revisitations of particular works are marked with †. The book lists are absent in several of his diaries and his 1887 diary is missing; these gaps in the data are naturally reflected in the table below.

Author	**Title**	**Published**	**Read**
De Quincey, Thomas	Confessions of an Opium Eater	1821	1869 (Jan)
Sterne, Laurence	Tristram Shandy	1759	1869
Fouqué, Friedrich de la Motte	Sintram and His Companions	1845	1869
Shelley, Percy Bysshe	Queen Mab	1813	1869 (Feb)
Wordsworth, William	Ode: Intimations of Immortality	1807	1869
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor	Christabel	1816	1869
Hallam, Henry	View of the State of Europe During the Middle Ages (vol. 1)	1818	1869
Aristotle	Politics (book 1)		1869
Shelley, Percy Bysshe	The Revolt of Islam	1818	1869 (Mar)
Bulwer-Lytton, Edward	My Novel	1853	1869
Aristotle	Politics		1869
Buckle, Henry Thomas	History of Civilization in England	1857	1869 (Apr)
Kingsley, Charles	Hypatia	1853	1869
Maine, Henry Sumner	Ancient Law	1861	1869
Milman, Henry Hart	History of Latin Christianity (vol. 1)	1854	1869
Milman, Henry Hart	History of Latin Christianity (vol. 2)	1854	1869 (May)
Scott, Walter	Marmion	1808	1869
Milman, Henry Hart	History of Latin Christianity (vol. 3)	1854	1869
Mill, John Stuart	Essay on Civilization	1836	1869
Milman, Henry Hart	History of Latin Christianity (vol. 4)	1854	1869
Milman, Henry Hart	History of Latin Christianity (vol. 5)	1854	1869 (Jun)
Smollett, Tobias	The Adventures of Roderick Random	1748	1869

Beckford, William	Vathek	1786	1869
Collins, Wilkie	The Moonstone	1868	1869
More, Thomas	Utopia	1516	1869
Brontë, Charlotte	Villette	1853	1869 (Jul)
?	F. Heine (a memoir) [sic]	?	1869
Racine, Jean	Phèdre; Iphigénie	1674	1869
Hugo, Victor	Les Misérables	1862	1869
Jonson, Ben	Every Man in His Humour	1598	1869 (Aug)
Vigny, Alfred de	Cinq-Mars	1826	1869
Töpffer, Rodolphe	La bibliothèque de mon oncle	1832	1869
Ponsard, François	Le Lion amoureux	1866	1869
Hugo, Victor	Les Travailleurs de la Mer	1866	1869
Delavigne, Casimir	L'école des vieillards	1823	1869
Bungener, Félix	Trois sermons sous Louis XV	1854?	1869
Édouard, Laboulaye	Abdallah, ou le trifle a quatre feuilles		1869
Musset, Alfred de	*multiple poems*		1869
Bungener, Félix	Un sermon sous Louis XIV	1853	1869
Dickens, Charles	A Christmas Carol	1843	1869
Corneille, Pierre	Cinna	1639	1869
Corneille, Pierre	Le Cid	1636	1869 (Sep)
Molière (Poquelin)	Tartuffe	1664	1869
Molière (Poquelin)	Amphitryon	1668	1869
Locke, John	Essay on the Human Understanding	1689	1869
De Quincey, Thomas	On Murder Considered as one of the Fine Arts	1827	1869 (Oct)
De Quincey, Thomas	The English Mail-Coach	1849	1869
Dickens, Charles	Great Expectations	1861	1869
Milman, Henry Hart	History of Latin Christianity (vol. 6)	1854	1869
Maine, Henry Sumner	Ancient Law †	1861	1869 (Nov)
Hume, David	History of England (vol. 1)	1761	1869
Mill, John Stuart	On Liberty	1859	1869
Lingard, John	History of England (vol. 2)	1819	1869
Mill, John Stuart	Representative Government	1861	1869 (Dec)
Milton, John	Paradise Lost	1667	1869
Gibbon, Edward	Roman Empire (vols. 1-5)	1776–88	1869
Joinville, Jean	St. Louis [sic]	c.1310	1870 (Jan)
Gibbon, Edward	Roman Empire (vols. 6-8)	1776–88	1870
Bryce, James	Holy Roman Empire	1864	1870

Tennyson, Alfred	*multiple poems*		1870 (Feb)
Lingard, John	History of England (vols. 3-4)	1819	1870
Hallam, Henry	*illegible*		1870
Mill, John Stuart	Principles of Political Economy	1848	1870
Milman, Henry Hart	History of Latin Christianity (vol. 9)	1854	1870 (Mar-Sep)
Maine, Henry Sumner	Ancient Law †	1861	1870
Sandars, Thomas Collett	Justinian's Institutes	1853	1870
Stephen, Henry John	Commentaries on the Laws of England (vol. 1)	1858	1870
Finlay, George	Byzantine and Greek Empire (2 vols.)	1854	1870
Comines, Philippe de	Memoirs (2 vols.)	c.1490	1870
Joinville, Jean	Vie de Saint Louis	c.1310	1870
Lecky, W. E. H.	Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe (2 vols.)	1865	1870
Kingsley, Charles	Westward Ho!	1855	1870
Morris, William	Earthly Paradise (vols. 1-2)	1868	1870
Carlyle, Thomas	Chartism	1839	1870
Baring-Gould, Sabine	In exitu Israel	1870	1870
Morris, William	Earthly Paradise (vol. 3)	1868	1870 (Sep)
Jobert, Antoine	La Philosophie de la géologie	1846	1870
Higgins, William Mullinger	The Book of Geology	1842	1870
Eliot, George	Adam Bede	1859	1870
Dryden, John	Absalom and Achitophel	1681	1870
Seeley, John Robert*	Ecce Homo	1866	1870 (Oct)
Gaskell, Elizabeth	Cranford	1851	1870
Shelley, Percy Bysshe	Adonaïs	1821	1870
Ruskin, John	Queen of the Air	1869	1870
Morier, James	Hajji Baba in England	1827	1870
Seneca	Hippolytus		1870
Virgiler?	*illegible*		1870
Smith, Goldwin	On the Study of Modern History	1865?	1870 (Nov)
?	A Resume of Ancient Philosophy up to the Age of Pericles [sic]		1870
	illegible		1870
Emerson, Ralph Waldo	Society and Solitude	1870	1870
Milton, John	Areopagitica	1644	1870 (Dec)
Seneca	Octavia		1870
Shakespeare, William	As You Like It	1623	1870

Lecky, W. E. H.	Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe (2 vols.)†	1865	1870
Disraeli, Benjamin	Coningsby	1844	1870
Arnold, Thomas	History of Rome (3 vols.)	1838-42	1869-1875
Eliot, George	Spanish Gypsy	1868	1869-1875
Carlyle, Thomas	Frederick the Great	1858	1869-1875
Carlyle, Thomas	Revolution	1837	1869-1875
Southey, Robert	*poems*		1869-1875
Grote, George	History of Greece	1846	1869-1875
Newman, John Henry	Apologia pro Vita sua	1864	1869-1875
Eliot, George	Romola	1863	1869-1875
Smith, Adam	Wealth of Nations	1776	1869-1875
Smith, Adam	Theory of Moral Sentiments	1759	1869-1875
Reed, Henry	Lectures on Tragic Poetry as Illustrated by Shakespeare	1856	1871 (Jan)
Prescott, William	Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella	1837	1871
Pope, Alexander	An Essay on Man (with preface and notes by Pattison)	1734	1871
Byron, George Gordon	Don Juan	1819	1871
Cicero	De finibus bonorum et malorum		1871 (Feb)
Morris, William	Earthly Paradise (vol. 4)	1868	1871
Shairp, John Cambell	Culture and Religion	1870	1871
Whitman, Walt	Leaves of Grass	1855	1871
Erckmann-Chatrian	*illegible*		1871 (Mar)
Byron, George Gordon	Manfred	1817	1871
Kingsley, Charles	The Saint's Tragedy	1851	1871
Horace	Carminum Libri IV		1871
Montgomery, Florence	Misunderstood	1869	1871 (Apr)
Spencer, Herbert	First Principles of Philosophy	1862	1871
Byron, George Gordon	The Vision of Judgment	1822	1871
Horace	Satyrarum libri duo [?]		1871
Thackeray, William	The History of Henry Esmond	1852	1871 (May)
Reed, Henry	Lectures on History … Shakespeare [sic] †	1856	1871
Byron, George Gordon	English Bards and Scotch Reviewers	1809	1871
Byron, George Gordon	The Curse of Minerva	1811	1871
Byron, George Gordon	The Waltz	1821	1871
Rogers, Samuel	Pleasures of Memory	1792	1871
Kingsley, Charles	Limits of Exact Science applied to History	1860	1871 (Jun-Aug)
Horace	Ars Poetica		1871

Spencer, Herbert	Social Statics	1851	1871
Eliot, George	Armgart	1871	1871
Blackmore, Richard	Lorna Doone	1869	1871
Lamartine, Alphonse de	Nelson	1843	1871
Maitland, Edward	The Pilgrim and the Shrine	1868	1871
Swinburne, Algernon	Atalanta in Calydon	1865	1871
Manning, Frederick	Old New Zealand (Heke's War in the North)	1862	1871
Taylor, Henry	Philip van Artevelde	1834	1871
Scott, Walter	Wandering Willie	1824	1871
Ferner, J. F.	Lectures on Greek Philosophy	1866	1871
Scott, Walter	Waverley	1814	1871 (Sep)
Descartes, René	Discours de la méthode	1637	1871
Browning, Robert	Balaustion's Adventure	1871	1871
illegible	Essays of Hume; Epicurean & cet. [sic]		1871
Browning, Robert	Men and Women	1855	1871
	illegible		1871 (Oct)
Calderón, Pedro	The Constant Prince	1636	1871
Browning, Robert	Romances	1845?	1871
?	The Book [sic]		1871
Bulwer-Lytton, Edward	The Power of the Coming Race	1871	1871
Morris, William	Life and Death of Jason	1867	1871 (Nov)
Cicero	Cato Maior de Senectute		1871
Calderón, Pedro	Physician of His Own Honour	1637	1871
Kingsley, Henry	Ravenshoe	1862	1871
Norton, Caroline	The lady of La Garaye	1862	1871
Plato	Symposium (with Jowett's introduction)		1871 (Dec)
Carroll, Lewis	Through the Looking-Glass	1871	1871
Molière (Poquelin)	George Dandin ou le Mari confondu	1668	1871
Macaulay, Thomas	Burleigh and His Times; Bacon; Hamden	c.1830	1872 (Jan)
Rosetti, Dante	Blessed Damozel and various other poems	1847	1872
Stainer, John	Theory of Harmony	1871	1872
Massinger, Philip	A New Way to Pay Old Debts	1633	1872 (?)
Somerset, Edward	Christian Theology and Modern Scepticism	1872	1872
Calverley, Charles Stuart	Fly Leaves	1872	1872
Thackeray, William	The Newcomes	1855	1872
Macaulay, Thomas	Essay on Sir Mackintosh's *History of the Revolution*	1688	1872
MacDonald, George	Robert Falconer	1868	1872

Macaulay, Thomas	History of England	1848	1872
Farrar, Frederic William	Seneca's life and writings (Seekers After God)	1863	1872
Dryden, John	Annus Mirabilis	1667	1872
Pope, Alexander	Rape of the Lock	1712	1872
Thackeray, William	Vanity Fair	1848	1872
Fouqué, Friedrich de la Motte	Minstrel Love	1845	1872
Molière (Poquelin)	Le malade imaginaire	1673	1872
Kingsley, George Henry	South Sea Bubbles	1872?	1872
Seneca	Epistulae morales ad Lucilium		1872
Plato; tr. Jowett	Phaedo	1871	1872
Akenside, Mark	Pleasures of the Imagination	1744	1872
Mendelssohn, Karl	Goethe und Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, tr. from German	1871	1872
Dickens, Charles	Barnaby Rudge	1841	1872
Hallam, Henry	Constitutional History of England	1827	1872
Browning, Robert	Balaustion's Adventure	1871	1872
Goldsmith, Oliver	Deserted Village	1770	1872
Spencer, Herbert	Education: Intellectual, Moral and Physical	1862	1872
Epicteti	?		1872
Bolingbroke, Henry St. John	Reflections on Solitude		1872
Chaucer, Geoffrey	House of Fame		1872
Lecky, W. E. H.	History of European Morals	1869	1872
Chaucer, Geoffrey	An ABC		1872
Holmes, Oliver Wendell	Aristocrat of the Breakfast Table	1857	1872
Chaucer, Geoffrey [attributed]	The Cuckoo and the Nightingale		1872
Shelley, Percy Bysshe	Alastor, or The Spirit of Solitude	1815	1872
Mill, John Stuart	Utilitarianism	1863	1872
Seneca	Consolatio ad Helviam		1872
Shairp, John Cambell	The Moral Dynamic	1868	1872
Plato	Protagoras		1872
Froude, James Anthony	History of England	1856	1872
Reade, Winwood	The Martyrdom of Man	1872	1873
Melville, Herman	Moby-Dick (The Whale)	1851	1873
Tyndall, John	On Sound	1867?	1873
Browning, Elizabeth Barrett	Aurora Leigh	1856	1873
About, Edmond	Le nez d'un Notaire	1862	1873
Huxley, Thomas	Lay Sermons, Addresses and Reviews	1870	1873

?	*illegible*		1873
Morris, William	Love is Enough	1872	1873
Sterne, Laurence	Sentimental Journey	1768	1873
Motley, John Lothrop	Dutch Republic	1856	1873
Massinger, Philip	The City Madam	1632	1873
George [?]	Roots		1873
Huxley, Thomas	Lessons in Elementary Physiology	1866	1873
Seneca	De Brevitate Vitae		1873
Greg, William Rathbone	Enigmas of Life	1872	1873
Burke, Edmund	On the Sublime and Beautiful	1757	1873
Aurelius, Marcus	Meditations		1873
Lytton, Edward	Kenelm Chillingly	1873	1873
Plato; tr. Jowett	Euthydemus	1871	1873
Eliot, George	Mill on the Floss	1860	1873
Addison, Joseph	Cato	1712	1873
Butler, Samuel	Erewhon	1872	1873
Butler, Samuel	Fair Haven	1873	1873
Arnold, Matthew	Literature and Dogma	1873	1873
Arnold, Matthew	Culture and Anarchy	1869	1873
Holmes, Oliver Wendell	Poet at the Breakfast-Table	1872	1873
Greg, William Rathbone	The Creed of Christendom	1851	1873
Browne, Thomas	Religio Medici	1643	1873
Motley, John Lothrop	The United Netherlands	1860	1873
Huxley, Thomas	Critiques and Addresses	1873	1873
Mill, John Stuart	Autobiography	1873	1873
Lewes, George Henry	History of Philosophy	1846	1874
Halifax, George Savile	A Character of King Charles II	1750	1874
Herbert, Edward (of Cherbury)	Life, Written by Himself	1764	1874
Mendelssohn, Karl	Goethe und Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, tr. from German	1871	1874
Epiteti	Manuale		1874
Newman, Francis William	Phases of Faith	1850	1874
Mill, John Stuart	The Subjection of Women	1869	1874
Taylor, Sedley	Sound and Music	1873	1874
Lewes, George Henry	Life of Goethe	1855	1874
Casaubon, Meric	On Credulity and Incredulity	1668	1874
Bayle, Pierre	Miscellaneous Reflections Occasioned by the Comet	1708	1874

Froude, James Anthony	Times of Erasmus and Luther	1867	1874
Stewart, Balfour	Elementary Physics	1871	1874
Green, Thomas Hill	Estimate of the Value of Works of Fiction in Modern Times	1862	1874
Carlyle, Thomas	Past and Present	1843	1874
Darwin, Charles	A Naturalist's Voyage Round the World	1839	1874
Bellasis, Edward?	Memorials of Cherubini [sic]	1874?	1874
Seneca	De Ira		1874
Seneca	De Vita Beata		1874
Seneca	De Brevitate Vitae †		1874
Coad, John	Narratives (1688)		1874
Cassels, Walter*	Supernatural Religion	1874	1874
Motley, John Lothrop	The Life and Death of John of Barneveld (30 Years' War)	1874	1874
Mill, John Stuart	Three Essays on Religion	1969/1874	1874
Hiller, Ferdinand	Mendelssohn: Letters and Recollections	1874	1874
Lankester, Edwin	Half-Hours with the Microscope	1857	1874
Greville, Charles	Journals of the Reigns of George IV and William IV	1873	1874
Dupanloup, Félix Antoine	Letter of the Bishop of Orleans to Minghetti on the Spoliation…	1874	1874
Fielding, Henry	Tom Jones	1749	1875
Eliot, George	Middlemarch	1874	1875
Mill, John Stuart	Utilitarianism †	1863	1875
Mill, John Stuart	A System of Logic	1843	1875
Lewes, George Henry	Problems of Life and Mind (first series)	1875	1875
Dickens, Charles	Our Mutual Friend	1865	1875
Hardy, Thomas	Far from the Madding Crowd	1874	1875
Dickens, Charles	Tale of Two Cities	1859	1875
Dickens, Charles	Bleak House	1853	1875
Macfarren, George	Rudiments of Harmony	1860	1875
Dasent, George Webbe	The Vikings of the Baltic	1875	1875
Spencer, Herbert	First Principles of Philosophy †	1862	1875
Reade, Compton	Rose and Rue	1874	1875
Fielding, Henry	Amelia	1751	1875
Reade, Charles	Clouds and Sunshine	1855	1875
Somerville, Mary	Physical Geography	1848	1875
Oliphant, Lawrence	Piccadilly	1870	1875
Eliot, George	Silas Marner	1861	1875
Tennyson, Alfred	Queen Mary	1875	1875

Bulwer-Lytton, Edward	Paul Clifford	1830	1875
Trollope, Anthony	The Way We Live Now	1875	1875
Draper, John William	History of the Development of Europe	1875	1875
Bulwer-Lytton, Edward	Last of the Barons	1843	1875
Boethius	Consolatio Philosophiae		1875
Broughton, Rhoda	Cometh Up as a Flower	1867	1875
Baring-Gould, Sabine	Some Modern Difficulties	1875	1875
Oliver, Daniel	Lessons in Elementary Botany	1864	1875
Eliot, George	Felix Holt	1866	1875
Montaigne, Michel de	Essays by Montaigne (selected James Hain Friswell)		1875
Broughton, Rhoda	Nancy	1873	1875
Edwards, Annie	Leah: A Woman of Fashion	1875	1875
W. B. Davison [sic]	Pianoforte Sonatas of Beethoven		1875
Ouseley, Frederick	Musical Forms and Composition	1875	1875
Paine, Thomas	Rights of Man	1791	1875
Von Hellborn, Kreissle	Life of Franz Schubert, tr. from the German	1869	1875
Schoelcher, Victor	Life of Handel	1857	1875
{1876-1878}			
Collins, Wilkie	Haunted Hotel	1878	1879
Swinburne, Algernon	Erechtheus	1876	1879
Trollope, Anthony	Phineas Finn	1869	1879
Trollope, Anthony	Phineas Redux	1874	1879
Smollett, Tobias	The Expedition of Humphry Clinker	1771	1879
Trevelyan, George Otto	The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay	1876	1879
Macaulay, Thomas	Warren Hastings	1841	1879
Macaulay, Thomas	Lord Clive	1851	1879
Lesage, Alain-René	Gil Blas	c.1735	1879
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques	Confessions	1782	1879
Sturgis, Julian	John-a-Dreams	1878	1879
Macaulay, Thomas	Essay on Ranke's History of the Popes	1851?	1879
Prout, Ebenezer	Instrumentation (primer)	1877	1879
Molière (Poquelin)	Le malade imaginaire	1673	1879
Huxley, Thomas	Hume	1878	1879
Cellini, Benvenuto; tr. Roscoe	Memoirs of Benvenuto Cellini	1822	1879
Eliot, George	Theophrastus Such	1879	1879
Sturgis, Julian	An Accomplished Gentleman	1879	1879
À Kempis, Thomas	De Imitatione Christi		1879

Twain, Mark	Tom Sawyer	1876	1879
Lockyer, Norman	Elementary Lessons in Astrology	1868	1879
Turgenev, Ivan	Virgin Soil	1877	1879
Fawcett, Millicent	Janet Doncaster	1875	1879
Spencer, Herbert	Data of Ethics	1879	1879
Braddon, Mary Elizabeth	Joshua Haggard's Daughter	1876	1879
Symonds, John Addington	Shelley	1878	1879
Brontë, Emily	Wuthering Heights	1847	1879
Stephen, Leslie	Hours in a Library	1874-9	1879
Fawcett, Henry	Free Trade and Protection	1878	1879
Dannreuther, Edward	Translation of Wagner, Beethoven, etc. [sic]		1879
Boswell, James	Life of Samuel Johnson	1791	1880
Kingsley, Charles	Hereward the Wake	1866	1880
Dey, Lal Behari	Govinda Samonta, or the History of a Bengal Rayat	1874	1880
Meredith, George	The Egoist	1879	1880
Johnson, Samuel	Rasselas	1759	1880
Brontë, Charlotte	Villette	1853	1880
Richardson, Samuel	Clarissa	1748	1880
Hawthorne, Nathaniel	Transformation (The Marble Faun)	1860	1880
Ramé, Maria Louise (Ouida)	Puck	1870	1880
Dixon, William Hepworth	New America	1867?	1880
Dixon, William Hepworth	Spiritual Wives	1868	1880
Swinburne, Algernon	Study of Shakespeare	c.1880	1880
Shakespeare, William	Love's Labours Lost; Cymbeline		1880
Marlowe, Christopher	Faustus; Edward II; Hero and Leander		1880
Webster, John	Westward Ho!	1607	1880
Ford, John	Tis Pity She's a Whore	1633	1880
Webster, John	The Duchess of Malfi	1623	1880
Lynton, Eliza Lynn	The True History of Joshua Davidson	1872	1880
Lonsdale, Margaret	Sister Dora	1881	1880
?	A Yorkshire Tragedy	1608	1880
Cory, William Johnson	Guide to English History	1880	1880
Browning, Robert	Paracelsus	1835	1880
Froude, James Anthony	Bunyan	1880	1880
Browning, Robert	Christmas Eve and Easter Day	1850	1880
Stephen, Leslie	Alexander Pope	1880	1880
Arrian	Discourses of Epictetus		1880

McCarthy, Justin	Dear Lady Disdain	1876?	1880
Fothergill, Jessie*	The First Violin: A Novel	1878	1880
Shairp, John Cambell	Robert Burns	1879	1880
Emerson, Ralph Waldo	Society and Solitude	1870	1880
Burns, Robert	Cotter's Saturday Night; Tam O' Shanter; Holy Fair		1880
Pollock, Walter	Lectures on French Poets	1879	1880
Ramé, Maria Louise (Ouida)	Moths	1880	1880
Eliot, George	Janet's Repentance	1858	1880
Stephen, Leslie	Samuel Johnson	1878?	1880
Eliot, George	Mr. Gilfil's Love-Story	1858	1880
James, Henry	Hawthorne	1879	1880
Black, William	Goldsmith	1879	1880
Eliot, George	Amos Barton	1858	1880
Gray, Asa	Structural Botany	1879	1880
Grimthorpe, Edmund Beckett	Astronomy Without Mathematics	1869	1880
Trevelyan, George Otto	The Early Years of C. J. Fox	?	1880
Morley, John	Burke	1879?	1880
Pattison, Mark	Milton	1879?	1880
Proctor, Richard	Other Worlds Than Ours	1870	1880
Trollope, Anthony	Duke's Children	1879	1880
Proctor, Richard	The Spectroscope and Its Work	1877	1880
Swinburne, Algernon	Atalanta in Calydon	1865	1880
Hugo, Victor	Religions et religion	1880	1881
Aeschylus	Prometheus Bound (Προμηθέας "with a crib")		1881
Gurney, Edmund	The Power of Sound	1880	1881
Swinburne, Algernon	Studies in Song	1880	1881
Ward, Adolphus William	Chaucer	1880	1881
Church, R. W.	Spenser	1879	1881
Chaucer, Geoffrey	Assembly of Fowles		1881
Shelley, Percy Bysshe	Prometheus Unbound	1820	1881
Defoe, Daniel	History of the Plague in London	1840?	1881
Swinburne, Algernon	Chastelard	1866	1881
McCarthy, Justin	Donna Quixote	1879	1881
Tennyson, Alfred	New Volume of Ballads and Songs [sic]		1881
Hugo, Victor	Marion Delorme; Hernani	c.1830	1881
McCarthy, Justin	History of Our Own Times (4 vols.)	1880	1881
Carlyle, Thomas	Reminiscences	1881	1881

Sidney, Philip	Astrophel and Stella		1881
Walpole, Horace	Castle of Otranto	1764	1881
Black, William	Macleod of Dare	1878	1881
Chaucer, Geoffrey	The Flower and the Leap		1881
Gibbon, Edward	Memoirs	1877?	1881
Khayyám, Omar; tr. FitzGerald	Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyam, tr. from Persian		1881
Jami	Salaman and Absal, tr. from Persian		1881
Lang, Andrew	The Library	1881	1881
Swinburne, Algernon	The Heptalogia	1880	1881
Edwards, Henry Sutherland	The Lyrical Drama	1881	1881
Benedict, Julius	Weber	1881	1881
Frost, Henry Frederic	Schubert	1881	1881
Colvin, Sidney	Landor	1881	1881
Hart, George	The Violin and Its Music	1881	1881
Cornish, Blanche Warre	Alcestis	1873	1881
Darwin, Charles	Vegetable Mould and Earthworms	1881	1881
Walshe, Walter Hayle	Dramatic Singing Physiologically Estimated	1881	1881
Tourgueniev, Ivan	Une Niche de Gentilshommes	1861?	1881
Tourgueniev, Ivan	Dimitri Roudine	?	1881
Morley, John	Rousseau	1873	1881
Morley, John	Diderot and the Encyclopaedists	1878	1881
Morley, John	The Life of Richard Cobden	1881	1882
Shorthouse, Joseph Henry	John Inglesant	1881	1882
Turgenev, Ivan	Fumée	1868	1882
McCarthy, Justin	The Comet of a Season	1881	1882
?	Private Secretary	?	1882
Turgenev, Ivan	Pères et enfants	1863	1882
Swinburne, Algernon	Bothwell: A Tragedy	1874	1882
Swinburne, Algernon	Mary Stuart: A Tragedy	1881	1882
Rossetti, Dante Gabriel	The House of Life, and Other Poems	1881	1882
anon.	Five Years of Penal Servitude	1878	1882
Ainger, Alfred	Charles Lamb	1879	1882
Bradley ?	"Kitty"	?	1882
Adams, Henry Brooks*	Democracy: An American Novel	1880	1882
?	Memoirs of Caroline…	?	1882
Daudet, Alphonse	Numa Roumestan: mœurs parisiennes	1881	1882

Lecky, W. E. H.	History of England (vols. 3 & 4)	1878	1882
May, Thomas Erskine	The Constitutional History of England	1856	1882
Barrett, William Alexander	Balfe, His Life and Works	1882	1882
?	Liszt	?	1882
{1883}			
Leland, Charles Godfrey	English Gypsies and Their Language	1873	1884
Head, Edmund	Viga-Glum's Saga: The Story of Viga-Glum	1866	1884
Maccarthy ?	History of Ireland	?	1884
anon.	Civil and Uncivil Life: A 16th Century Tract		1884
Seeley, Leonard Benton	Horace Walpole and His World	1884	1884
Dasent, George Webbe	The Story of Gisla the Outlaw	1866	1884
Turgenev, Ivan	*illegible*		1884
Scharling, Carl Henrik	NoÏDdebo Parsonage: A Story of Country Life in Denmark, Trans.	1867	1884
Tylor, Edward Burnett	Anthropology	1881	1884
Linton, Eliza Lynn	Ione	1883	1884
Turgenev, Ivan	Le gentilhomme de la steppe	1873	1884
Seeley, John Robert	The Expansion of England	1883	1884
Balzac, Honoré de	Le Père Goriot	1835	1884
Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim	Laocoon	1766	1884
Fleming, James	Old Violins and Their Makers	1883	1884
Sismondi, Jean Charles Léonard de	Italian Republic (small version in 1 vol.)	1807?	1884
Arnold, Edwin	Translation of Nala and Damayanti	1883?	1884
Malory, Thomas	Le Morte d'Arthur		1884
Guest, Charlotte Elizabeth	Translation of the Mabinogion	1849	1884
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Treasure Island	1883	1884
Conway, Hugh	Called Back	1884	1884
Warden, Florence	The House on the Marsh: A Romance	1884	1884
Sensier, Alfred	Jean-François Millet: Peasant and Painter	1880	1884
{1885}			
Taylor, Julia [?]	Venus's Doom [?]		1886
Lang, Andrew	Custom and Myth	1884	1886
Tennyson, Alfred	Becket	1884	1886
Sand, George	La Petite Fadette	1849	1886
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Dynamiter	1885	1886
Spohr, Louis	Autobiography	1885	1886

Cervantes, Miguel de*	Don Quixote	1615	1886
Daudet, Alphonse	Fromont jeune et risler ainé	1874	1886
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Virginibus Puerisque	1881	1886
?	*illegible*		1886
Gaboriau, Émile	L'Affaire Lerouge	1866	1886
Brontë, Charlotte	Shirley	1849	1886
Tylor, Edward Burnett	Primitive Culture	1871	1886
Prescott, William	History of the Conquest of Mexico	1843	1886
Daudet, Alphonse	Sapho	1884	1886
Sullivan, Alexander Martin	New Ireland	1877	1886
Thackeray, William	The Virginians	1859	1886
Hyndman, Henry Mayers	The Historical Basis of Socialism in England	1883	1886
Dobson, Austin	Fielding	1883	1886
Lussy, Mathis	Musical Expression	1885	1886
Stevenson, Robert Louis	New Arabian Nights	1882	1886
Carlyle, Thomas	The Life of John Sterling	1851	1886
Fielding, Henry	Joseph Andrews	1742	1886
Thackeray, William	The Four Georges	1861	1886
Burney, Frances	Evelina	1778	1886
Clifford, Lucy	Mrs Keith's Crime	1885	1886
Fielding, Henry	Jonathan Wild	1743	1886
Loftie, William John	London	1884?	1886
Langland, William	The Vision of William Concerning Piers the Plowman		1886
Haggard, Henry Rider	King Solomon's Mines	1885	1886
{1887}			
Froude, James Anthony	History of England (last 6 volumes)	1870	1888
Huxley, Thomas	Science and Culture Lecture	1880	1888
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Prince Otto	1885	1888
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde	1886	1888
Green, John Richard	A Short History of the English People	1874	1888
Fielding, Henry	Journey from This World to the Next	1749	1888
Browning, Robert	Blot in the Scutcheon: A Soul's Tragedy	c.1843	1888
Schreiner, Olive*	The Story of an African Farm	1883	1888
Boswell, James	Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson	1785	1888
Fiske, John	The Destiny of Man	1884	1888
MacDonald, George	Phantastes	1858	1888
Coventry, Francis	Pompey the Little	1751	1888

Rockstro, William Smith	History of Music	1886	1888
Molloy, Fitzgerald	Royalty Restored	1885?	1888
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Travels with a Donkey in the Cévennes	1879	1888
Defoe, Daniel	Moll Flanders	1722	1888
Alma-Tadema, Laurence	Love's Martyr	1886	1888
Howells, William Dean	A Foregone Conclusion	1874	1888
Ruskin, John	Ariadne Florentina	1876	1888
Scott, Walter	The Antiquary	1816	1888
Reade, Charles	The Cloister and the Hearth	1861	1888
Ruskin, John	Sesame and Lilies	1865	1888
Taylor, Una Ashworth	Wayfarers	1886	1888
Elton, Charles Isaac	Origins of English History	1882	1888
Buchanan, Robert	God and the Man	1881	1888
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Kidnapped	1886	1888
Maine, Henry Sumner	Popular Government	1886	1888
Prescott, William	History of the Conquest of Peru	1847	1888
Engel, Carl	The Music of the Most Ancient Nations	1864	1889
Machiavelli, Niccolò	The Prince, and Other Pieces		1889
Baring-Gould, Sabine	Legends of Old Testament Characters	1871	1889
Daudet, Alphonse	Lettres de mon moulin	1869	1889
Coussemaker, Edmond de	L'art harmonique aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles	1865	1889
Prothero, George Walter	A Memoir of Henry Bradshaw	1888	1889
Loti, Pierre	Mon frère Yves	1883	1889
Green, Alice Stopford	Henry II	1888	1889
James, Henry	Daisy Miller	1878	1889
Helmholtz, Hermann von	Popular Scientific Lectures	1881	1889
Gairdner, James	Early Chroniclers of Europe: England	1879	1889
Archer, Thomas Andrew	The Crusades of Richard I, 1189-92	1888	1889
Tolstoy, Leo	Les Cosaques	1863	1889
Meredith, George	The Ordeal of Richard Fevere	1859	1889
Tolstoy, Leo	Sebastopol	1855	1889
Freeman, Edward Augustus	William the Conqueror	1883	1889
Meredith, George	Sandra Belloni	1864	1889
Meredith, George	Beauchamp's Career	1875	1889
Gambier-Parry, Ernest	Sketches of a Yachting Cruise	1889	1889
Browning, Robert	Sordello	1840	1889
Meredith, George	Vittoria	1867	1889

Morris, William	The House of the Wolfings	1889	1889
Meredith, George	Evan Harrington	1861	1889
Udall, Nicholas	Ralph Roister Doister		1889
Borrow, George	Lavengro	1851	1889
Borrow, George	Romany Rye	1857	1889
Zola, Émile	La Fortune des Rougon	1871	1889
Rives, Amélie	The Witness of the Sun	1889	1889
Burnett, Frances Hodgson	That Lass o' Lowries	1874	1889
Hodgkin, Thomas	Dynasty of Theodosius	1899	1889
Stevenson, Robert Louis	The Master of Ballantrae	1889	1889
Zola, Émile	La Curée	1872	1889
Loti, Pierre	Pêcheur d'Islande	1886	1890
Vignoles, Olinthus John	Life of C. B. Vignoles, soldier and civil engineer	1889	1890
Jusserand, Jean Jules	English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages (XIVth Century)	1889	1890
Hutton, William Holden	St. Thomas of Canterbury	1889	1890
Seebohm, Frederic	The Era of the Protestant Revolution	1874	1890
Tennyson, Alfred	Demeter, and Other Poems	1889	1890
Browning, Robert	Asolando	1889	1890
Maupassant, Guy de	Fort comme la mort	1889	1890
Morley, John	Walpole	1889	1890
Carmarthen, Katherine	A Lover of the Beautiful	1890	1890
Knight, Edward Frederick	The Cruise of the "Falcon"	1884	1890
Gairdner, James	The Houses of Lancaster and York	1874	1890
Bourget, Paul	Le Disciple	1889	1890
Geikie, Archibald	Geology (class manual)	1886?	1890
Traill, Henry Duff	William the Third	1888	1890
Smith, Gregory	The days of James IV, 1488-1513	1890	1890
Taylor, William	England under Charles II	1887	1890
Seebohm, Frederic	The Oxford Reformers	1867	1890
Tolstoy, Leo	The Kreutzer Sonata	1889	1890
Warburton, William Parsons	Edward III	1875	1890
Guillemin, Amédée	The Forces of Nature	1872	1890
Balzac, Honoré de	La Recherche de l'absolu	1834	1890
Russell, William Clark	The Wreck of the Grosvenor	1877	1890
Dennis, Robert	Industrial Ireland	1887	1890
Balzac, Honoré de	Eugénie Grandet	1833	1890
Flaubert, Gustave	Madame Bovary	1856	1890

Balzac, Honoré de	La Peau de chagrin	1831	1890
Bourget, Paul	A Cruel Enigma	1887	1890
Kipling, Rudyard	Plain Tales from the Hills	1888	1890
Daudet, Alphonse	Jack	1876	1890
Scott, Walter	The Bride of Lammermoor	1819	1890
Pole, William	Philosophy of Music	1879	1890
Knight, Edward Frederick	The Cruise of the Alerte	1890	1890
Caine, Hall	The Deemster	1887	1891
Flaubert, Gustave	Salammbô	1862	1891
Lecky, W. E. H.	A History of England in the Eighteenth Century	1890	1891
Cummings, William Hayman	Purcell	1881	1891
Bourget, Paul	Mensonges	1887	1891
James, Henry	The Tragic Muse	1890	1891
Marcello, Benedetto	Opera à la mode		1891
Booth, William	In Darkest England, and the Way Out	1890	1891
Taylor, Sedley	System of Sight-Singing from Established Notations	1890	1891
Kipling, Rudyard	Book of Short Stories		1891
Tourgueniev, Ivan	Mémoires d'un chasseur	1847	1891
Feuillet, Octave	Monsieur de Camors	1867	1891
Gissing, George	New Grub Street	1891	1891
Braddon, Mary Elizabeth	The Story of Barbara	1880	1891
Morris, William	News from Nowhere	1890	1891
Green, Anna Katherine*	Mill Mystery	1886	1891
Boisgobey, Fortuné du	Thieving Fingers	1887	1891
Gunter, Archibald Clavering*	Mr Potter of Texas	1888	1891
Maxwell, Gray*	In the Heart of the Storm	1891	1891
Maxwell, Gray*	The Silence of Dean Maitland	1886	1891
Norris, William Edward	The Baffled Conspirators	1890	1891
Boldrewood, Rolf	Robbery Under Arms		1891
Beasley, Marian Dora Malet*	Violet, or, the danseuse		1891
Kingsley, Mary St Leger	The Wages of Sin	1890	1891
Broughton, Rhoda	Alas!	1890	1891
Wilde, Oscar	Lord Arthur Savile's Crime	1891	1891
?	The Buccaneers		1891
Meredith, George	One of Our Conquerors	1891	1891
Norris, William Edward	Misadventure	1890	1891
Borrow, George	The Bible in Spain	1843	1891

Browning, Robert	The Ring and the Book	1869	1891
Browning, Robert	The Inn Album	1875	1891
Thackeray, William	Vanity Fair	1848	1891
Kipling, Rudyard	The Light that Failed	1890	1891
Norris, William Edward	Marcia	1890	
Browning, Robert	Red Cotton Night-Cap Country	1873	
Walford, Lucy Bethia	Mr. Smith, a Part of His Life	1874	1891
Walford, Lucy Bethia	The Mischief of Monica	1891	1891
Gambier-Parry, Ernest	The Combat with Suffering	1891	1891
Roye, Jean de	Chronique scandaleuse		
Savage, Richard*	My Official Wife	1891	1892
Rosebery, Archibald	Pitt	1892	1892
Sturgis, Howard	Tim: A Story of School Life	1891	1892
Pradez, Eugénie	D'après nature	1892	1892
Levy, Amy	Reuben Sachs	1888	1892
Maurier, George du	Peter Ibbetson	1891	1892
Gissing, George	Denzil Quarrier	1892	1892
Thackeray, William	Pendennis	1850	1892
Bridges, Robert	Prometheus the Firegiver	1883	1892
anon.	Eyrbyggja saga		1892
Ward, Mary Augusta	The History of David Grieve	1892	1892
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Across the Plains	1892	1892
Hauptmann	Letters		1892
Hannay, David	Rodney	1891	1892
Barrie, James Matthew	The Little Minister	1891	1892
"S. Taylor"	War of the Roses	?	1892
Longman, Frederick William	Frederick the Great and the Seven Years' War	1883	1892
Gray, Edward McQueen*	My Stewardship	1892	1892
Walford, Lucy Bethia	A Pinch of Experience	1891	1892
Leslie, Robert Charles	Old Sea Wings, Ways, and Words	1890	1892
Stevenson & Osbourne	The Wrecker	1892	1892
Baring-Gould, Sabine	"By the Salt Sea"	?	1892
Mandeville, Jehan de	Travels		1892
Hentzner, Paul	Travels in England		1892
Tourgueniev, Ivan	Scènes de la vie russe (2 vols.)	1858	1892
Lawless, Emily	Grania, the Story of an Island	1892	1892
Woods, Margaret Louisa	Esther Vanhomrigh	1891	1892

Barrie, James Matthew	A Window in Thrums	1890	1892
Russell, William Clark	William Dampier	1889	1892
Mahan, Alfred Thayer	The Influence of Sea Power upon History	1890	1893
Pollock, Frederick	History of the Science of Politics	1883	1893
"by a German" [sic]	Journey in England	?	1893
Stevenson, Robert Louis	South Sea Tales	1893	1893
Lyell, Alfred Comyn	The Rise and Expansion of the British Dominion in India	1893	1893
?	English in Egypt		1893
Tennyson, Alfred	Maud	1855	1893
Meynell, Alice	The Rhythm of Life	1893	1893
Southey [?]	*illegible*		1893
James, Henry	The Real Thing, and Other Tales	1893	1893
Froude, James Anthony	English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century	1872	1893
Acland & Ransome	Handbook of English Political History	1882	1893
Benson, Edward Frederic	Dodo	1893	1893
Kipling, Rudyard	*illegible*		1893
	illegible		1893
Zeller, Berthold	Charles VIII	1889	1893
Zeller, Berthold	Louis XI et la maison de Bourgogne	1887	1893
Zola, Émile	Le Docteur Pascal	1893	1893
Zola, Émile	La Faute de l'Abbé Mouret	1875	1893
Hobbes, John Oliver	A Study in Temptations	1893	1893
Harraden, Beatrice*	Ships That Pass in the Night	?	1893
Zeller, Berthold	La très sainte Ligue	1889	1893
Caron, Henri Le	Twenty-Five Years in the Secret Service	1892	1893
Hodgson ?	*illegible* (Naturalist)		1893
?	Green tea		1893
Hobbes, John Oliver	Some Emotions and a Moral		1893
Symonds, John Addington	The life of Michelangelo Buonarroti	1893	1893
	illegible		1893
Hobbes, John Oliver	The Sinner's Comedy	1892	1893
Carlyle, Thomas	Frederick the Great	1865	1893
Zola, Émile	Son Excellence Eugène Rougon	1876	1893
Petrie, Flinders	Ten Years' Digging in Egypt	1892	1893
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Katharine	1887	1893
Hardy, Thomas	Tess of the d'Urbervilles	1891	1893
Zola, Émile	La Terre	1887	1893

Moore, George	Esther Waters	1894	1894
Jacobs, Joseph	The Jews of Angevin England	1893	1894
Voltaire	Histoire de Charles XII	1731	1894
Brooke, Emma	A Superfluous Woman	1894	1894
White, Percy	Mr. Bailey-Martin: A Novel	1894	1894
Zola, Émile	Lourdes	1894	1894
Meredith, George	Lord Ormont and His Aminta	1894	1894
Voltaire	Histoire de l'empire de Russie sous Pierre le Grand	1763	1894
Monro, David Binning	The Modes of Ancient Greek Music	1894	1894
Taine [?]	*illegible*		1894
Weyman, Stanley	The House of the Wolf	1890	1894
Hichens, Robert	The Green Carnation	1894	1894
Maurier, George du	Trilby	1894	1894
Kipling, Rudyard	Jungle Book	1894	1894
Niecks, Frederick	Frederick Chopin as Man and Musician	1890	1894
Becke, Louis	By Reef and Palm	1894	1894
Hadow, William Henry	Studies in Modern Music	1892	1894
Machen, Arthur	The Great God Pan	1890	1894
Valentine, Oswald	Helen	1894	1894
Davidson, John	Ballads and Poems		1894
Doyle, Arthur Conan	Sherlock Holmes	c.1887	1894
Baring-Gould, Sabine	Tragedy of the Caesars	1892	1894
Hobbes, John Oliver	A Bundle of Life	1894	1894
Mahan, Alfred Thayer	The Influence of Sea Power upon History	1890	1894
Fawcett, Edward Douglas	Hartmann, the Anarchist	1892	1894
Gambier-Parry, Ernest	The Story of Dick	1892	1894
Hardy, Thomas	a Pair of Blue Eyes	1873	1894
Le Fanu, William Richard	Seventy Years of Irish life	1893	1894
Benson, Edward Frederic	Six Common Things	1893	1894
Pothier, Joseph	Les Mélodies grégoriennes	1881	1894
Huxley, Thomas	Essays upon Some Controverted Questions	1892	1894
Boyle, Eleanor Vere	Days and Hours in a Garden	1884	1894
Davis, Richard Harding	Van Bibber, and Others	1892	1894
Fuller Maitland, John	Masters of German Music	1894	1894
Irving, Washington	A History of New York	1809	1894
Froude, James Anthony	The Spanish Story of the Armada, and Other Essays	1892	1894
Hicks, William Robert	Tales and Sayings	?	1894

Meredith, George	The Shaving of Shagpat	1856	1894
Hope, Anthony	The Prisoner of Zenda	1894	1895
Russell, William Clark	Collingwood	1891	1895
Maeterlinck, Maurice	L'Intruse; and Les Aveugles	c.1890	1895
Froude, James Anthony	Life and Letters of Erasmus	1894	1895
Froude, James Anthony	The Divorce of Catherine of Aragon	1891	1895
Hope, Anthony	Mr. Witt's Widow	1892	1895
Kidd, Benjamin	Social Evolution	1894	1895
Kitchin, George William	Winchester	1890	1895
Ward, Mary Augusta	Marcella	1894	1895
Dickens, Charles	Hard Times	1854	1895
Freeman, Edward Augustus	Exeter	1887	1895
Walker, Francis	Letters of a Baritone	1895	1895
?	The Defeat of the Spanish Armada	?	1895
Creighton, Mandell	Age of Elizabeth	1876	1895
Nordau, Max	Degeneration	1892	1895
Ward, Mary Augusta	The Story of Bessie Costrell	1895	1895
Markham, Clements	Life of Captain Stephen Martin, 1666-1740	1895	1895
Laughton, John Knox	Nelson	1895	1895
Wells (H. G. ?)	A Strange Visitant	?	1895
Gambier-Parry, Ernest	Day Dreams	1895	1895
Stepnyak-Kravchinsky, Sergey	Russia Under the Tzars	1885	1895
Prout, Ebenezer	Musical Form	1893	1895
?	Yachting (2 vols.)		1895
Jensen, David	Runic Rocks: North-Sea idyl	1895	1895
Broughton, Rhoda	Scylla or Charybdis?	1895	1895
Kipling, Rudyard	Barrack-Room Ballads, and Other Verses	1892	1895
Hood, Samuel	Letters of Lord Hood (Navy Records Society)	1895	1895
Dannreuther, Edward	Musical Ornamentation	1895	1895
Hardy, Thomas	Jude the Obscure	1895	1895
Ruskin, John	The harbours of England	1856	1895
Watson, William	Father of the Forest, and Other Poems	1895	1895
?	Life of Peterborough	?	1896
Meredith, George	The Amazing Marriage	1895	1896
Hadow, William Henry	Sonata Form	1896	1896
Kipling, Rudyard	The Second Jungle Book	1895	1896

Norman, Henry	The Peoples and Politics of the Far East	1895	1896
Grove, George	Beethoven and His Nine Symphonies	1896	1896
Lecky, W. E. H.	Democracy and Liberty	1896	1896
Zola, Émile	Rome (novel)	1896	1896
James, Bartholomew	Journal of Admiral James	1896?	1896
Dumas, Alexandre	The Count of Monte Cristo	1845	1896
Swinburne, Algernon	The Tale of Balen	1896	1896
?	Phosphorescence	?	1896
	Collection of Essays by Oxford and Cambridge Dons	?	1896
Romanes, George John	Thoughts on Religion	1895	1896
Froude, James Anthony	Lectures on the Council of Trent	1896	1896
Iliffe, Frederick	Analysis of Bach's preludes and fugues	?	1896
Froude, James Anthony	English Seamen in the Sixteenth Century	1895	1896
Defoe, Daniel	Memoirs of Captain Carleton	1854	1896
Naylor, Edward Woodall	Shakespeare and Music	1896	1896
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Songs of Travel, and Other Verses	1896	1896
Leland, Charles Godfrey	The Gypsies	1882	1896
Browning, Robert	Fifine at the Fair	1872	1896
Ward, Mary Augusta	Sir George Tressady	1896	1896
Hipkins, Alfred James	The History of the Pianoforte	1883	1896
Barrie, James Matthew	Sentimental Tommy	1896	1896
Bridges, Robert	Volume of Shorter Poems	1891?	1896
Coleridge	*illegible*	?	1896
Benson, Edward Frederic	Limitations: A Novel	1896	1896
Kipling, Rudyard	Seven Seas & Barrack Room Ballads	1896	1896
Conrad, Joseph*	An Outcast of the Islands	1896	1896
Weismann, August	Heredity, etc.		1897
Morris, William	Poems by the Way	1891	1897
Frederic, Harold	Illumination	1896	1897
Cory, William Johnson	A Guide to Modern English History	1882	1897
Roberts, Frederick Sleigh	Forty-One Years in India	1897	1897
Sidgwick, Cecily Ullmann*	Lesser's Daughter	?	1897
Younghusband, G. J.	The Relief of Chitral	1897	1897
?	The Golden Age	?	1897
Pater, Walter	The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry	1873	1897
Mahan, Alfred Thayer	The Life of Nelson	1897	1897
Gissing, George	The Whirlpool	1897	1897

?	*illegible*	?	1897
Taylor, Franklin	Primer of Pianoforte Playing	1878	1897
Garrett, Edmund	The Story of an African Crisis	1897	1897
Steel, Flora Annie Webster	On the Face of the Waters: A Tale of the Mutiny	1897	1897
Brown, John Croumbie	Forests and Moisture	1877	1897
Pater, Walter	Marius the Epicurean: His Sensations and Ideas	1885	1897
Tiersot, Julien	Musiques pittoresques	1889	1897
Broughton, Rhoda	Dear Faustina	1897	1897
Flaubert, Gustave	Trois contes	1877	1897
Crawford, Marion	A Rose of Yesterday	1897	1897
Lavignac, Albert	La musique et les musiciens	1895	1897
Cory, William Johnson	Letters and Journals of W. Cory	1897	1897
Kipling, Rudyard	Captain Courageous	1897	1897
Tennyson, Hallam	Tennyson	1897?	1897
Kipling, Rudyard	Departmental Ditties; etc.	1897	1897
Wells, Herbert George	The Plattner Story and Others	1897	1897
Jacobs, William Wymark	The Skipper's Wooing	1897	1897
Scott, Walter	Old Mortality	1816	1897
Montrésor, F. F.	At the Crossroads	1897	1897
Jacobs, William Wymark	Many Cargoes	1896	1897
Mahan, Alfred Thayer	Admiral Farragut	1892	1898
Hadow, William Henry	A Croatian Composer	1897	1898
Coleridge, Mary Elizabeth	The King with Two Faces	1898	1898
Meredith, George	Selected Poems	1897	1898
Steevens, George Warrington	With the Conquering Turk	1897	1898
Phillips, Stephen	Poems	1897	1898
?	*illegible*	?	1898
Zola, Émile	Paris	1897	1898
Davey, Henry	History of English Music	1895	1898
Coleridge, Mary Elizabeth	The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus	1893	1898
Zola, Émile	L'assommoir	1877	1898
Scott, Michael	Tom Cringle's Log	1829	1898
Scott, Michael	The Cruise of the Midge	1835	1898
Drinkwater, John	A History of the Siege of Gibraltar, 1779-1783	1785	1898
Thackeray, William	Men's Wives	1852	1898
Shaw, George Bernard	Plays Pleasant and Unpleasant	1898	1898
Corbett, Julian Stafford	The Navy During the Spanish War, 1585-1587	1897	1898

Graham, Arthur Harington	A Practical Guide to the Parish Councils Act, 1894	1894	1898
Skeat, Walter	A Student's Pastime	1896	1898
Hichens, Robert	The Londoners: An Absurdity	1898	1898
Ward, Mary Augusta	Helbeck of Bannisdale	1898	1898
Bourget, Paul	Complications sentimentales	1898	1898
Morrison, Arthur	A Child of the Jago	1894	1898
Bierce, Ambrose	In the Midst of Life: Tales of Soldiers and Civilians	1898	1898
Feuillet, Octave	La morte	1886	1898
Feuillet, Octave	Julia de Trécœur	1872	1898
Corbett, Julian Stafford	Drake and the Tudor Navy	1898	1898
Gissing, George	Human Odds and Ends	1898	1898
Steevens, George Warrington	With Kitchener to Khartum	1898	1898
Hamilton, Edward Walter	Mr Gladstone: A Monograph	1898	1898
Corbet, John	History of the Military Government of Gloucester		1899
Kipling, Rudyard	The Day's Work	1898	1899
James, Henry	In the Cage	1898	1899
Crane, Stephen	The Red Badge of Courage	1895	1899
Bodley, J. E. C.	France	1898	1899
Conybeare, Frederick Cornwallis	The Dreyfus Case	1899	1899
Lanier, Sidney	Music and Poetry	1898	1899
Fuller Maitland, John	The Musician's Pilgrimage	1899	1899
Poynter, Edward John	Lectures on Art	1897	1899
Crane, Stephen	George's Mother	1896	1899
Bjørnson, Bjørnstjerne	The Heritage of the Kurts	1892	1899
Duchess of Leeds	Capriccios	1898	1899
Robins, Elizabeth (Raimond)	The Open Question: A Tale of Two Temperaments	1898	1899
Trotter, Lionel James	The Life of John Nicholson	1897	1899
Pugh, Edwin	Tony Drum: A Cockney Boy	1898	1899
Atherton, Gertrude	A Daughter of the Vine	1899	1899
Sladen, Douglas	The Admiral: A Romance of Nelson	1898	1899
James, Henry	Roderick Hudson	1875	1899
Malot, Hector	Conscience	1893	1899
Dunne, Finley Peter	Mr Dooley in Peace and in War	1898	1899
Whiteing, Richard	No. 5 John Street	1899	1899
Fielding-Hall, Harold	The Soul of a People	1898	1899
Harraden, Beatrice	The Fowler	1899	1899

Fitzpatrick, Percy	The Transvaal from Within	1899	1899
Kipling, Rudyard	Stalky & Co.	1899	1899
Lecky, W. E. H.	Map of Life	1899	1899
Norris (William Edward?)	"A book by Norris"	?	1899
Mackail, John William	Latin Literature	1895	1899
Cholmondeley, Mary	Red Pottage	1899	1899
C.H.H.P.	Critical Hist. Of Music of 17th Century [sic]		1899
Ollivant, Alfred	Owd Bob: The Grey Dog of Kenmuir	1898	1900
Bryce, James	Impressions of South Africa	1897	1900
Malot, Hector	Justice	1889	1900
Hichens, Robert	The Slave: A Romance	1889	1900
Duchess of Sutherland	One Hour and the Next	1900	1900
Haggard, Rider	The Last Boer War	1899	1900
Barlow, Jane	Irish Idylls	1892	1900
Lubbock, Alfred	Memories of Eton and Etonians	1899	1900
Gissing, George	The Crown of Life	1899	1900
Egerton, John Coker	Sussex Folk and Sussex Ways	1892	1900
Linton, Lynn	Grasp Your Nettle	1865	1900
Brown, T. E.*	Fo'c's'le Yarns	1881	1900
Lyte, Maxwell	A History of Eton College	1875?	1900
Exquemelin, Alexandre	Buccaneers of America		1900
Raleigh, Walter	Style	1897	1900
Pearce, Joseph Henry	Ezekiel's Sin: A Cornish Romance	1898	1900
Hobson, John Atkinson	Transvaal War	?	1900
Dudeney, Henry (Mrs.)*	Folly Corner	1900	1900
Tolstoy, Leo	Resurrection	1899	1900
Pemberton, Max	Garden of Swords	1899	1900
Spitta, Philipp; tr. F-Maitland	Johann Sebastian Bach	1899	1900
Burnett, Frances Hodgson	In Connection with the De Willoughby Claim	1899	1900
?	*illegible*	?	1900
Cholmondeley, Mary	Diana Tempest: A Novel	1893	1900
Whitby, Beatrice	Mary Fenwick's Daughter: A Novel	1894	1900
Barrie, James Matthew	Tommy and Grizel	1900	1900
Guthrie, Thomas Anstey	The Brass Bottle	1900	1900
Corbett, Julian Stafford	The Successors of Drake	1900	1900
Cust, Lionel	A History of Eton College	1899	1900
Statham, Francis Reginald*	Mr. Magnus	1896	1900

Twain, Mark	The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg	1900	1900
Pugh, Edwin	Mother-Sister	1900	1900
Phillips, Stephen	Paolo & Francesca: A Tragedy in Four Acts	1900	1900
Dix, Gertrude	The Girl from the Farm	1895	1900
Huxley, Leonard	Life and Letters of Thomas Huxley	1900	1901
Guthrie, Thomas Anstey	Lyre and Lancet	1895	1901
Rosebery, Archibald	Napoleon, the Last Phase	1900	1901
Hope, Anthony	Quisanté: A Novel	1900	1901
Huxley, Thomas	The Crayfish	1880	1901
Conrad, Joseph	Lord Jim	1900	1901
Street, George Slythe	The Trials of the Bantocks	1900	1901
Huxley, Thomas	Man's Place in Nature	1863	1901
Luck, Mary Churchill	The Dishonour of Frank Scott	1900	1901
Treves, Frederick	The Tale of a Field Hospital	1900	1901
Barrow, John	Voyages into the Arctic Regions	1818	1901
Burnett, Frances Hodgson	Through One Administration	1883	1901
Steevens, George Warrington	From Capetown to Ladysmith	1900	1901
Tuckwell, William	Reminiscences of Oxford	1900	1901
Zangwill, Israel	The Mantle of Elijah: A Novel	1900	1901
Ruskin, John	Seven Lamps of Architecture	1849	1902
Corelli, Marie	The Master Christian	1900	1902
Stanley, Arthur Penrhyn	The Athanasian Creed	1871	1902
Hope, Anthony	Mr. Witt's Widow	1892	1902
Glyn, Elinor	The Visits of Elizabeth	1901	1902
Bagot, Richard	Casting of Nets	1901	1902
Prichard, Hesketh	Where Black Rules White	1900	1902
Zola, Émile	Travail	1901	1902
Zola, Émile	Nana	1880	1902
Paul, Herbert	Men and Letters	1901	1902
Zola, Émile	La bête humaine	1890	1902
Housman, Laurence*	An Englishwoman's Love-Letters	1900	1902
Grand, Sarah (pseud.)	Babs the Impossible	1901	1902
Bullen, Frank Thomas	Men of the Merchant Service	1900	1902
Bullen, Frank Thomas	The Cruise of the Cachalot	1897	1902
D'Annunzio, Gabriele	The Flame of Life	1900	1902
Merriman, Henry Seton	The Grey Lady	1895	1902
Grant, Maurice (Linesman)	Words by an Eyewitness: The Struggle in Natal	1901	1903

Atkinson, Charles Milner	The Magistrate's Annual Practice	?	1903
Malet, Lucas	The History of Sir Richard Calmady: A Romance	1901	1903
Doyle, Arthur Conan	The War in Africa, Its Causes and Conduct	1902	1903
Haeckel, Ernst	The Riddle of the Universe	1900	1903
Serao, Matilde	The Ballet Dancer and On Guard	1901	1903
Mahan, Alfred Thayer	Types of Naval Officers	1902	1903
Serao, Matilde	Farewell Love!: A Novel	1892	1903
Smith, Harry	Autobiography	1901	1903
Rolland, Romain	Histoire de l'opéra en Europe avant Lully et Scarlatti	1895	1903
Gissing, George	Our Friend the Charlatan: A Novel	1901	1903
Doyle, Arthur Conan	The Hound of the Baskervilles	1902	1903
Clouston, Storer	The Lunatic at Large	1899	1903
Napier, W. F. P.	History of the War in the Peninsula	1828	1903
Spencer, Herbert	Facts and Comments	1902	1903
Bagot, Richard	The Just and the Unjust	1902	1903
Brown, George Douglas	The House with Green Shutters	1900	1903
Smith, Constance	Corban: A Novel	1901	1903
George, Henry	Progress and Poverty: An Inquiry into the Cause of Industrial…	1879	1903
Wells, Herbert George	The First Men in the Moon	1901	1903
Pratt, Ambrose	The Great "Push" Experiment	1902	1903
Broughton, Rhoda	Foes in Law	1900	1903
Hewlett, Maurice	The Forest Lovers: A Romance	1898	1903
Balzac, Honoré de	Le cousin Pons	1847	1903
Scott	*illegible*	?	1903
Crofts, Cecil	Britain on and Beyond the Sea (Navy League Map)	1900	1903
Henderson, William James	Richard Wagner: His Life and Dramas	1901	1903
Clifford, Lucy	A Woman Alone; etc.	1898	1903
Haldane, Richard	Education and Empire	1902	1903
O'Connor, Thomas Power	Parnell [sic]	?	1903
Norris, Frank	The Octopus: A Story of California	1900	1903
Craik, Henry	The State in Its Relation to Education	1884	1903
Williams, Abdy	Bach	1900	1903
Broughton, Rhoda	A Beginner	1894	1903
Lewes, George Henry	The Study of Psychology	1879	1903
Merriman, Henry Seton	From One Generation to Another	1892	1903
Fuller Maitland, John	The Age of Bach & Handel	1902	1903

Ann [?]	*illegible*	?	1903
Ridge, Pett	A Breaker of Laws	1900	1904
Gambier-Parry, Ernest	Highnam Memoranda	1902	1904
Tinayre, Marcelle	La maison, du péché	1900	1904
Wister, Owen	The Virginian	1902	1904
Ady, Julia Mary Cartwright	Isabella d'Este	1903	1904
Ridge, Pett	A Son of the State	1899	1904
Ridge, Pett	Mord Em'ly	1898	1904
Wharton, Edith	The Valley of Decision: a novel	1902	1904
Plunkett, Horace	Ireland in the New Century	1904	1904
Frankau, Julia (Danby)	Pigs in Clover	1903	1904
Crawford, Marion	The Heart of Rome: A Tale of The "Lost Water"	1903	1904
Maurice, John Frederick	The Diary of John Moore	1904	1904
Marriott, Charles	The House on the Sands	1903	1904
Marriott, Charles	The Column: A Novel	1901	1904
Bilse, Fritz Oswald	Life in a Garrison Town	1904	1904
Ady, Julia Mary Cartwright	Beatrice d'Este, duchess of Milan, 1475-1497	1899	1904
?	Memorials of Charles von Hügel	?	1904
?	*illegible*	?	1904
Merriman, Henry Seton	Barlasch of the Guard	1903	1904
McNulty, Edward	Maureen	1904	1904
Hichens, Robert	The Woman with the Fan	1904	1904
Graves, Charles Larcom	The Diversions of a Music-Lover	1904	1904
Daudet, Alphonse	Les rois en exil	1880	1904
White, William Hale	The Revolution in Tanner's Lane	1887	1904
	Education Code 1904 [sic]		1904
Spencer, Herbert	Autobiography	1904	1904
White, William Hale	The Autobiography of Mark Rutherford	1881	1904
Harland, Henry	The Cardinal's Snuff Box	1900	1904
White, William Hale	Mark Rutherford's Deliverance	1885	1904
Childers, Erskine	The Riddle of the Sands	1903	1904
Sturgis, Howard	Belchamber	1904	1904
Craigie, Pearl Mary-Teresa	The Vineyard: A Novel	1903	1904
Crawford, Marion	A Rose of Yesterday	1897	1904
Crawford, Marion	Marion Darche: A Story Without Comment	1893	1904
Hope, Anthony	Double Harness	1904	1904
Cunningham	*illegible*	?	1904

Cross, Victoria	To-morrow?	1904	1904
Caine, Hall	The Prodigal Son	1904	1904
Hadow, William Henry	The Viennese Period of Music	1904	1904
Aveling, Frederick Wilkins	Free Trade	1887	1905
Crawford, Marion	Whosoever Shall Offend	1904	1905
Cross, Victoria	Six Chapters of a Man's Life	1903	1905
Cross, Victoria	Paula: A Sketch from Life	1896	1905
Dudeney, Henry (Mrs.)	Spindle and Plough	1901	1905
Wilde, Oscar	De Profundis	1905	1905
Hichens, Robert	The Garden of Allah	1904	1905
Dent, Edward	Alessandro Scarlatti: His Life and Works	1905	1905
Belloc, Hilaire	Emmanuel Burden, merchant, of Thames St.	1904	1905
Caine, Hall	The Bondman	1890	1905
Maxwell, William Babington	The Ragged Messenger	1904	1905
Oldershaw, Lucian	England, a Nation (Patriot's Club)	1904	1905
Ward, Mary Augusta	The Marriage of William Ashe	1905	1905
Pasture, Henry de la (Mrs.)	Peter's Mother	1905	1905
Mackail, John William	The Life of William Morris	1901	1905
Birmingham, George	The Seething Pot	1905	1905
Butler, Samuel	Essays on Life, Art, and Science	1904	1905
Sinclair, May (pseud.)	Mr. and Mrs. Nevill Tyson	1898	1905
Mrs. Sidgwick [sic]	Mrs. ? [sic]	?	1905
Swinburne, Algernon	Love's Cross-currents: a year's letters	1905	1905
Burne-Jones, Georgiana	Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones	1905	1905
Benson, Arthur Christopher	The Upton Letters	1905	1905
Shaw, George Bernard	Man and Superman	1903	1905
Lee, Markham	Tchaikovsky	1905	1905
Fremantle, Edmund Robert	The Navy as I Have Known It	1904	1905
Burghclere, Winifred	George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham, 1628-1687	1903	1905
Crockett, Samuel Rutherford	Cleg Kelly	1896	1905
Reade, Charles	The Cloister and the Hearth †	1861	1905
Spencer, Herbert	Education: Intellectual, Moral and Physical †	1862	1905
Robins, Elizabeth (Raimond)	A Dark Lantern	1905	1905
Dudeney, Henry (Mrs.)	The Wise Woods	1905	1905
Phillpotts, Eden	The River	1902	1905
Dudeney, Henry (Mrs.)	The Third Floor	1901	1905
Robins, Elizabeth (Raimond)	The New Moon	1895	1905

Robins, Elizabeth (Raimond)	George Mandeville's Husband	1894	1905
Arnim, Elizabeth von	Elizabeth and Her German Garden	1898	1905
Allen, James Lane	The Mettle of the Pasture	1903	1905
Kelly, Michael	Reminiscences	1826?	1905
Pasture, Henry de la (Mrs.)	Cornelius	1903	1905
Dannreuther, Edward	Oxford History of Music, vol. 6: The Romantic Period	1905	1906
May, Florence	The Life of Johannes Brahms	1900	1906
Baring, Maurice	With the Russians in Manchuria	1905	1906
Maxwell, William Babington	Vivien	1905	1906
Forster, E. M.	Where Angels Fear to Tread	1905	1906
Tuckwell, William	Reminiscences of a Radical Parson	1905	1906
Wharton, Edith	The House of Mirth	1905	1906
Hichens, Robert	Black Spaniel, and Other Stories	1905	1906
Hamilton, Ian Standish Monteith	A Staff Officer's Scrapbook During the Russo-Japanese War	1905	1906
Wells, Herbert George	Kipps: The Story of a Simple Soul	1905	1906
Woodroffe, Daniel	The Beauty-Shop	1905	1906
Capes, Bernard Edward Joseph	The Extraordinary Confessions of Diana Please	1904	1906
Slocum, Joshua	Sailing Around the World	1899	1906
Orczy, Emma	The Scarlet Pimpernel	1905	1906
Phillpotts, Eden	The Secret Woman	1905	1906
Dickinson, Goldsworthy Lowes	A Modern Symposium	1905	1906
Woods, Margaret Louisa	The King's Revoke	1906	1906
Synge, Hamilton	A Supreme Moment	1905	1906
Churchill, Winston	Randolph Churchill	1906	1906
Morley, John	The Life of William Ewart Gladstone	1903	1906
Nevinson, Henry Woodd	The Dawn in Russia	1906	1906
Hobbes, John Oliver	The Herb-Moon: A Fantasia	1896	1906
Fitzmaurice, Edmond George	The Life of Granville George Leveson Gower	1905	1906
Glasgow, Ellen Anderson Gholson	The Wheel of Life	1906	1906
Wooldridge, Harry Ellis	The Polyphonic Period: Method of Musical Art	1905	1906
Kipling, Rudyard	Puck of Pook's Hill	1906	1906
Rosebery, Archibald	Lord Randolph Churchill	1906	1906
Snaith, John Collis	Henry Northcote	1906	1906

Barnett, John Francis	Musical Reminiscences and Impressions	1906	1906
Glasgow, Ellen Anderson Gholson	The Deliverance: A Romance of the Virginia Tobacco Fields	1904	1906
Glyn, Margaret Henrietta	Function of Rhythm (manuscript)		1906
Snaith, John Collis	Broke of Covenden	1904	1906
Stanmore, Arthur Hamilton-Gordon	Sidney Herbert: Lord Herbert of Lea	1906	1906
Taylor, Sedley	The Indebtedness of Handel to Works by Other Composers	1906	1906
?	The Saint	?	1906
Ward, Mary Augusta	Fenwick's Career	1906	1907
Dickinson, Goldsworthy Lowes	Letters from John Chinaman	1901	1907
Gardner, Edmund	Story of Florence	1900	1907
Bennett, Arnold	Whom God Hath Joined	1906	1907
Toynbee, Arnold	The Industrial Revolution	1884	1907
Hichens, Robert	Call of the Blood	1906	1907
Orczy, Emma	I Will Repay	1906	1907
Lützow, Francis	The Story of Prague	1902	1907
Canton, William	The Invisible Playmate, etc.	1894	1907
Phillpotts, Eden	Knock at a Venture	1905	1907
Gray, Maxwell	Richard Rosny	1903	1907
Hutchinson, Horace	Two Moods of a Man	1905	1907
Mann, Mary	Mrs. Peter Howard	1886	1907
Mackirdy, Olive Christian Malvery	The Soul Market	1907	1907
Hobbes, John Oliver	The Dream and the Business	1906	1907
Locke, William John	The Morals of Marcus Ordeyne	1905	1907
Locke, William John	The Beloved Vagabond	1906	1907
Wells, Herbert George	The Future in America	1906	1907
Galsworthy, John	The Country House	1907	1907
Locke, William John	At the Gate of Samaria	1907	1907
James, Henry	The American Scene	1907	1907
Marryat, Frederick	Mr. Midshipman Easy	1906	1907
Merriman, Henry Seton	The Sowers	1895	1907
Hobbes, John Oliver	The Vineyard	1904	1907
Niecks, Frederick	Programme Music in the Last Four Centuries	1907	1907
Locke, William John	Idols	1905	1907

Boughton, Rutland	Bach	1907	1907
Bagot, Richard	Temptations	1907	1907
Bennett, Arnold	The Grand Babylon Hotel	1902	1907
Galsworthy, John	The Man of Property	1906	1907
Schweitzer, Albert	J. S. Bach	1905	1907
Burgess, Francis	A Textbook of Plainsong and Gregorian Music	1906	1907
Galsworthy, John	The Island Pharisees	1904	1907
Robins, Elizabeth (Raimond)	The Convert	1907	1907
Barrie, James Matthew	Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens	1906	1907
Gambier-Parry, Ernest	Annals of an Eton House, with Some Notes on the Evans Family	1907	1907
Saleeby, Caleb Williams	Worry: The Disease of the Age	1907	1907
Dudeney, Henry (Mrs.)	Gossips Green	1906	1908
Dudeney, Henry (Mrs.)	The Orchard Thief	1907	1908
Patterson, John Henry	The Man-Eaters of Tsavo, and Other African Adventures	1907	1908
Crawford, Marion	Arethusa	1907	1908
Morgan, William de	Alice-For-Short: A Dichronism	1907	1908
Frankau, Julia (Danby)	The Sphinx's Lawyer	1906	1908
Galton, Francis	Inquiries into Human Faculty and Its Development	1883	1908
Mason, Alfred Edward Woodley	The Four Feathers	1902	1908
Acton, John (ed.)	The Cambridge Modern History: 1, The Renaissance	1902/7	1908
Sedgwick, Anne Douglas*	Valerie Upton	1907	1908
Bennett, Arnold	Sacred and Profane Love	1905	1908
Bennett, Arnold	Tales of the Five Towns; etc.	1905	1908
Wharton, Edith	The Fruit of the Tree	1907	1908
Wharton, Edith	Sanctuary	1903	1908
Sedgwick, Anne Douglas	The Confounding of Camelia	1899	1908
Wharton, Edith	Madame de Treymes	1907	1908
Sedgwick, Anne Douglas	The Rescue	1902	1908
Cleeve, Lucas	What a Woman Will Do: A Society Drama	1900	1908
Freeman, Edward Augustus	The Historical Geography of Europe	1881	1908
Sedgwick, Anne Douglas	? *[blank]*	?	1908
Dante Alighieri	La Divina Commedia		1908
Rossetti, Maria Francesca	A Shadow of Dante	1871	1908
Arnim, Mary Annette (Beauchamp)	Fräulein Schmidt and Mr. Anstruther	1907	1908

	illegible		1908
Acton, John (ed.)	The Cambridge Modern History: 2, The Reformation	1903	1908
Pasture, Henry de la (Mrs.)	The Grey Knight	1908	1908
Glasgow, Ellen Anderson	The Ancient Law	1908	1908
Frankau, Julia (Danby)	The Heart of a Child		1908
Thurston, Katherine Cecil	The Fly on the Wheel	1908	1908
Fletcher, C. R. L.	Introductory History of England (Henry VII to Restoration)	1907	1908
Johnston, Harry Hamilton	George Grenfell and the Congo	1908	1908
Wells, Herbert George	New Worlds for Old	1907	1908
Corbett, Julian Stafford	England in the Mediterranean		1908
	illegible		1908
Sinclair, Upton	The Metropolis	1908	1908
Albanesi, Effie Adelaide	The Strongest of All Things: a novel	1907	1908
Snaith, John Collis	William Jordan, Junior	1908	1908
Ward, Mary Augusta	Diana Mallory	1908	1908
Sinclair, May (pseud.)	Audrey Craven	1897	1908
Sedgwick, Anne Douglas	The Shadow of Life	1906	1908
Wells, Herbert George	First and Last Things	1908	1909
Butler, Samuel	The Way of All Flesh	1903	1909
Paget, Stephen*	Confessio medici	1908	1909
Lodge, Oliver	Man and the Universe	1908	1909
Hichens, Robert	A Sprit in Prison	1908	1909
Broughton, Rhoda	Mamma	1908	1909
Crawford, Marion	The Diva's Ruby: Sequel to "Primadonna" and "Fair Margaret"	1908	1909
Bagot, Richard	Anthony Cuthbert	1908	1909
Tyrrell, George	Medievalism, a Reply to Cardinal Mercier	1908	1909
Zangwill, Louis	An Engagement of Convenience: A Novel	1908	1909
Macpherson, Stewart	Form in Music	1908	1909
Vigilans sed Aequus (pseud.)	German Ambitions as They Affect Britain and America	1903	1909
Corbett, Julian Stafford	England in the Seven Years' War	1907	1909
Hewlett, Maurice	Halfway House: A Comedy of Degrees	1908	1909
Sedgwick, Anne Douglas	Amabel Channice	1908	1909
	illegible		1909
Chesterton, Gilbert Keith	The Man Who Was Thursday: A Nightmare	1908	1909
Méline, Jules	The Return to the Land	1907	1909

Atherton, Gertrude	The Gorgeous Isle	1908	1909
Locke, William John	Septimus	1909	1909
Davies, William Henry	The Autobiography of a Super-Tramp	1908	1909
Nisbet, John Ferguson	The Insanity of Genius	1891	1909
Pain, Barry	The Gifted Family	1909	1909
Galsworthy, John	Fraternity	1909	1909
Gerard, Dorothea	Pomp and Circumstance	1908	1909
Acton, John (ed.)	The Cambridge Modern History: 4, Thirty Years War	1906	1909
Dudeney, Henry (Mrs.)	Rachel Lorian	1909	1909
Semenov, Vladimir	Rasplata	1907	1909
	Reports of the Mosely Educational Commission to the U.S.A.	1903	1909
Nietzsche, Friedrich	Thus Spoke Zarathustra	1885	1909
Melville, Herman	Moby-Dick †	1851	1909
Murger, Henri	Scènes de la vie de bohème	1851	1909
Semenov, Vladimir	The Battle of Tsu-shima	1906	1909
Gerard, Dorothea	The Red-Hot Crown: A Semi-Historical Romance	1909	1909
Sinclair, Upton	The Moneychangers	1908	1909
Thurston, Ernest Temple	The Apple of Eden	1905	1909
Acton, John (ed.)	The Cambridge Modern History: 5, The Age of Louis XIV	1908	1909
Thurston, Ernest Temple	Traffic, the Story of a Faithful Woman	1906	1909
Thurston, Ernest Temple	Evolution of Katherine	1907	1909
Ward, Mary Augusta	Daphne: or, "Marriage à la mode"	1909	1909
Ponsonby, Arthur	The Camel and the Needle's Eye	1909	1909
Locke, William John	Where Love Is: A Novel	1903	1909
Acton, John (ed.)	The Cambridge Modern History: 7, The United States	1903	1909
Locke, William John	Idols †	1905	1910
Pirro, André	L'esthétique de Jean-Sébastien Bach	1907	1910
Margoliouth, David Samuel	Mohammed and the Rise of Islam	1905	1910
Wells, Herbert George	Ann Veronica	1909	1910
Sedgwick, Anne Douglas	*illegible*		1910
Sinclair, Upton	The Jungle	1906	1910
Hewlett, Maurice	Open Country	1909	1910
Birch, Una (pseud.)	Anna Van Schurman	1909	1910
Beauchamp, Mary	The Caravaners	1909	1910
Ward, Dudley	Jenny Peters	1909	1910
Angell, Norman	Europe's Optical Illusion	1909	1910

Trevelyan, George Macaulay	Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic, 1848-9	1907	1910
Begbie, Harold	Broken Earthware	1909	1910
Cannan, Gilbert	Peter Homunculus: A Novel	1909	1910
Acton, John (ed.)	The Cambridge Modern History: 6, Eighteenth Century	1909	1910
	illegible		1910
Barr, Robert	The Tempestuous Petticoat	1905	1910
Rowlands, Effie Maria*	The Marriage of Margaret	1909	1910
Gray, Maxwell	Sweethearts and Friends	1897	1910
Trevelyan, George Macaulay	Garibaldi: And the Thousand	1909	1910
?	Ways of the Righteous		1910
Dudeney, Henry (Mrs.)	The Shoulder Knot	1909	1910
Birrell, Augustine	Obiter Dicta (1st and 2nd series)	1884	1910
Gorst, Nina Kennedy	The Light	1906	1910
Sedgwick, Anne Douglas	Franklin Kane	1910	1910
Clifford, Lucy	Sir George's Objection	1910	1910
Grahame, Kenneth	The Golden Age	1895	1910
Norris, Frank	The Pit: A Story of Chicago	1901	1910
Acton, John (ed.)	The Cambridge Modern History: 9, The Growth of Nationalities	1909	1910
Bennett, Arnold	The Old Wives' Tale	1908	1910
Quiller-Couch, Arthur	I Saw Three Ships	1907	1910
Kropotkin, Pëtr	The Terror in Russia	1909	1910
Montague, Charles Edward	A Hind Let Loose	1904	1910
Wells, Herbert George	The History of Mr. Polly	1910	1910
Shackleton, Ernest Henry	The Heart of the Antarctic	1909	1910
Ward, Humphrey (Mrs.)	Canadian Born	1910	1910
Stevenson, Robert Louis	Letters		1910
Voynich, Ethel Lillian	An Interrupted Friendship	1910	1910
Benson	*illegible*		1910
Angell, Norman	The Great Illusion	1910	1910
Hope, Anthony	Second String	1910	1910
Gambier-Parry, Ernest	The Pageant of my Day	1910	1910
Mellersh, William Lock	A Treatise on the Birds of Gloucestershire	1902	1910
Schreiner, Olive	Woman and Labour	1911	1911?
Trevelyan, George Macaulay	England in the Age of Wycliffe	1904	1911?
Raleigh, Walter	Shakespeare	1907	1911?

Pankhurst, Sylvia	The Suffragette: History of the Women's Suffrage Movement	1911	1911?
Acton, John (ed.)	The Cambridge Modern History: 12, The Latest Age	1910	1911
Young, Emily Hilda	A Corn of Wheat	1910	1911
Butler, William Francis	Sir William Butler: An Autobiography	1911	1911
Forster, Edward Morgan	Howards End	1910	1911
Galsworthy, John	The Patrician	1911	1911
Bennett, Arnold	Buried Alive: A Tale of These Days	1908	1911
Wells, Herbert George	The New Machiavelli	1911	1911
Shaw, George Bernard	The Doctor's Dilemma, etc.	1906	1911
James, William	Pragmatism	1907	1911
Sienkiewicz, Henryk	Whirlpools: A Novel of Modern Poland	1910	1911
Cobbett, William	Rural Rides	1830	1911
Clark, Arthur Hamilton	The Clipper Ship Era	1910	1911
Bennett, Arnold	Helen with the High Hand	1910	1911
Cohen, Arthur	Declaration of London	1911	1911
Bennett, Arnold	The Glimpse	1909	1911
Maxwell, William Babington	The Rest Cure	1910	1911
Cockerell, Charles Robert	Travels in the East [sic]	1903?	1911
Richardson, C. J.	English Mansions [sic]		1911
Balzac, Honoré de	Le curé de village	1839	1911
Curtis (Lionel?)	Unnamed book on Imperial Unity [sic]		1911
Liddell, Adolphus George Charles	Notes From the Life of an Ordinary Mortal	1911	1911
Flaubert, Gustave	Trois contes	1877	1911
Nietzsche, Friedrich	The Birth of Tragedy	1872	1911
Wells, Herbert George	Love and Mr. Lewisham	1899	1911
Trevelyan, George Macaulay	England under the Stuarts	1904	1911
Bullen, Frank Thomas	Idylls of the Sea		1911
Bligh, Stanley	The Direction of Desire	1910	1911
Nietzsche, Friedrich	The Dawn of Day	1881	1911
Maud, Constance Elizabeth	My French Friends	1904	1911
Nietzsche, Friedrich	On the Genealogy of Morality	1887	1911
Nietzsche, Friedrich	Beyond Good and Evil	1886	1911
Nietzsche, Friedrich	On the Future of our Educational Institutions	1872	1911
Nietzsche, Friedrich	Also sprach Zaratustra †	1872	1911
Savage, Richard	My Official Wife	1891	1911

Michaëlis, Karin	The Dangerous Age	1911	1911
Nietzsche, Friedrich	The Will to Power		1911
Trevelyan, George Macaulay	Garibaldi and the Making of Italy	1911	1911
Nietzsche, Friedrich	Twilight of the Idols	1889	1911
Stanford, Charles Villiers	Musical Composition	1911	1911
Holland, Bernard	The life of Spencer Compton, 8th Duke of Devonshire	1911	1912
Forsyth, Cecil	Music and Nationalism	1911	1912
Hammond, John Lawrence	The Village Labourer	1912	1912
Hichens, Robert	The Fruitful Vine	1911	1912
Miller, George John	The Military Band	1912	1912
Bennett, Arnold	The Card	1911	1912
Ward, Humphrey (Mrs.)	The Case of Richard Meynell	1911	1912
Colmore, Gertrude	Suffragette Sally	1911	1912
Leacock, Stephen	Nonsense Novels	1911	1912
Rumbold, Horace	The Austrian Court in the Nineteenth Century	1909	1912
Rud?	*illegible*		1912
Gambier-Parry, Ernest	"Murphy", a Message to Dog-Lovers	1912	1912
Sedgwick, Anne Douglas	Tante	1911	1912
Boyd, Mary Stuart	The Fortunate Isles	1911	1912
Morley, John	Critical Misc. 3: Vauvenargues, Turgot, Condorcet, de Maistre	1908	1912
Bennett, Arnold	Leonora: A Novel	1903	1912
Nietzsche, Friedrich	The Gay Science	1882	1912
Maxwell, William Babington	In Cotton Wool	1912	1912
Bennett, Arnold	Hilda Lessways	1911	1912
Johnston, Harry Hamilton	Views and Reviews: From the Outlook of an Anthropologist	1912	1912
Atherton, Gertrude	Julia France and Her Times: A Novel	1912	1912
Money, L. G. Chiozza	Insurance Versus Poverty	1912	1912
Nietzsche, Friedrich	Ecce Homo	1888	1912
France, Anatole	Les dieux ont soif	1912	1912
Smith, Logan Pearsall	History of the English Language	1912	1912
Hudson, William Henry	Green Mansions: A Romance of the Tropical Forest	1904	1912
Trotter, Lionel James	The Life of John Nicholson	1897	1912
Boyes, John	John Boyes, King of the Wa-Kikuyu	1911	1912
Maxwell, William Babington	Mrs. Thompson	1911	1912
Phillpotts, Eden	The Beacon	1911	1912
Greene, Harry Plunket	Interpretation in Song	1912	1912

Phillpotts, Eden	The Virgin in Judgment	1908	1912
Ponsonby, Arthur	The Decline of Aristocracy	1912	1912
Butler, Josephine	Recollections of a Great Crusade	1909	1912
Phillpotts, Eden	The Haven	1909	1912
Vachell, Horace Annesley	Blinds Down	1912	1912
Monypenny, William Flavelle	The life of Benjamin Disraeli, vol. 2	1912?	1912
Beesley, Lawrence	The Loss of the Titanic	1912	1912
Sedgwick, Anne Douglas	Amabel Channice †	1908	1912
Noel-Buxton, Noel	Europe and the Turks	1907	1912
Schweitzer, Albert; tr. Newman	J. S. Bach (enlarged English edition)	1911	1913
Kauffman, Reginald Wright	Daughters of Ishmael	1912	1913
Vazov, Ivan Minchov	Under the Yoke	1888	1913
Mackenzie, Compton	Carnival	1912	1913
Masefield, John	The Everlasting Mercy	1911	1913
Vachell, Horace Annesley	The Paladin, as Beheld by a Woman of Temperament	1909	1913
Johnston, Harry Hamilton	Common Sense in Foreign Policy	1913	1913
Snaith, John Collis	Mrs. Fitz	1910	1913
Price, Morgan Philips	Siberia	1912	1913
Snaith, John Collis	Araminta	1909	1913
Conrad, Joseph	Nostromo	1904	1913
White, Gilbert	The Natural History of Selborne	1789	1913
Burghclere, Winifred	The Life of James First Duke of Ormonde 1610-1688	1912	1913
Robins, Elizabeth	Where Are You Going To…?	1913	1913
Benson	*illegible*		1913
Bentley, Edmund Clerihew	Trent's Last Case	1913	1913
Lamborn, E. A. Greening	The Story of Architecture in Oxford Stone	1912	1913
Peel, George (Hon.)	The Tariff Reformers	1913	1913
Hichens, Robert	The Dweller on the Threshold	1911	1913
anon.	He Who Passed	1912	1913
Mordaunt, Elinor*	The Cost of It	1912	1913
Borren, Charles Van den	Les origines de la musique de clavier en Angleterre	1912	1913
Birmingham, George	The Red Hand of Ulster	1912	1913
Wingate & Ohrwalder	Ten Years' Captivity in the Mahdi's Camp 1882-1892	1893	1913
Sinclair, May (pseud.)	The Combined Maze	1913	1913
Sutcliffe, Halliwell	Priscilla of the Good Intent	1909	1913
Ludovici, Anthony	Nietzsche, His Life and Works	1910	1913

Förster-Nietzsche, Elisabeth	The Young Nietzsche	1912	1913
Milmine, Georgine (credited)	The Life of Mary Eddy & the History of Christian Science	1909	1913
Stone, Christopher	Letters to an Eton Boy	1913	1913
Dostoyevsky, Fyodor	The Idiot	1869	1913
Oliphant, Margaret	Miss Marjoribanks	1866	1913
Gissing, George	Born in Exile	1892	1913
Dunhill, Thomas	Chamber Music	1913	1913
Stephens, James	The Crock of Gold	1912	1913
Dehan, Richard	The Dop Doctor	1910	1913
Stephens, James	The Charwoman's Daughter	1912	1913
Dostoyevsky, Fyodor	Les frères Karamazov	1888	1913
	Report of Land Commission [sic]		1913
Bergson, Henri	L'évolution créatrice/Creative Evolution	1907/1911	1913
Sinclair, May (pseud.)	The Creators		1913
Graham, Harry	The Perfect Gentleman: A Guide to Social Aspirants	1912	1913
Maxwell, William Babington	Seymour Charlton	1909	1913
Meakin, Annette	Woman in Transition	1907	1914
Gambier-Parry, Mark	Madame Necker, Her Family and Friends	1913	1914
Cook, Edward Tyas	The life of Florence Nightingale	1913	1914
Bergson, Henri	Matière et mémoire	1896	1914
Wharton, Edith	Ethan Frome	1911	1914
Wells, Herbert George	The Passionate Friends: A Novel	1913	1914
Broughton, Rhoda	Between Two Stools	1912	1914
O'Donovan, Gerald	Father Ralph	1913	1914
Maxwell, William Babington	Mary in the Market	1912	1914
Peel, George (Hon.)	The Reign of Sir Edward Carson	1914	1914
Maxwell, William Babington	General Mallock's Shadow	1912	1914
Gambier-Parry, Ernest	The Spirit of the Old Folk	1913	1914
Hichens, Robert	The Way of Ambition	1913	1914
illegible	Court of George II [sic]		1914
Wagner, Richard	My Life (autobiography)	1870	1914
Kitchin, Darcy Butterworth	Bergson for Beginners	1914	1914
Thorne, Guy	The Great Acceptance	1912	1914
Withers, Hartley	Poverty and Waste	1914	1914
	Principles of Architecture [sic]		1914
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer	The Ownership, Tenure and Taxation of Land	1914	1914
Roberts, Morley	Time and Thomas Waring: a study of a man	1914	1914

Dent, Edward	Mozart's Operas: A Critical Study	1913	1914
Atkins, John Black	The Life of Sir William Howard Russell	1911	1914
Bernhardi, Friedrich von	Germany and the Next War	1914	1914
Usher, Roland	Pan-Germanism	1913	1914
Bulwer-Lytton, Constance	Prisons and Prisoners: Some Personal Experiences	1914	1914
Trevelyan, George Otto	George the Third and Charles Fox	1914	1914
Wharton, Edith	The Custom of the Country	1913	1914
Cramb, John Adam	Germany and England	1913	1914
Maxwell, William Babington	The Devil's Garden	1913	1914
Treitschke, Heinrich von	Selections from *Politik*	1899	1914
Shaw, George Bernard	Common Sense about the War	1914	1914
	Great Britain and the European Crisis	1914	1914
Stanford, Charles Villiers	Pages from an Unwritten Diary	1914	1914
Wharton, Edith	The Fruit of the Tree †	1907	1914
Monypenny, William Flavelle	The life of Benjamin Disraeli, vol. 3	1914	1914
Glasgow, Ellen Anderson	The Romance of a Plain Man	1909	1914
Hausrath, Adolf	Treitschke: His Life and Works	1914	1915
Maxwell, William Babington	The Guarded Flame	1906	1915
Snaith, John Collis	The Principal Girl	1912	1915
Morgan, John Hartman (tr.)	The German War Book	1915	1915
	Land Commission Urban Report [sic]		1915
Webb, Beatrice (and Sidney)	The Co-Operative Movement in Great-Britain	1891	1915
Higgs, Mary	Glimpses into the Abyss	1906	1915
Graham, Stephen	Russia and the World	1915	1915
Pownall, Helen	At Home and on the Battlefield	1915	1915
Inge, William	The Church and the Age	1912	1915
Graham, Stephen	With the Russian Pilgrims to Jerusalem	1913	1915
Hueffer, Ford Madox	When Blood Is Their Argument: An Analysis of Prussian Culture	1915	1915
Reeves, Maud Pember	Round About a Pound a Week	1913	1915
Stratz, Rudolph	His English Wife	1915	1915
Wallace, William	The Threshold of Music	1908	1915
	Report of Commission on German Atrocities and Appendix [sic]		1915
Chesser, Elizabeth Sloan	From Childhood to Womanhood	1914	1915
Morel, Edmund Dene	Ten Years of Secret Diplomacy	1915	1915
Tolstoy, Leo	Sebastopol †	1855	1915

Oliver, Frederick Scott	Ordeal by Battle	1915	1915
Anon. (Zola?)	J'accuse	1898?	1915
Aubry, Pierre	Trouvères and Troubadours: A Popular Treatise	1914	1915
Fisher, H. A. L.	The Republican Tradition in Europe	1911	1915
Hobson, John Atkinson	Towards International Government	1915	1915
Conrad, Joseph	Chance: A Tale in Two Parts	1913	1915
Kipling, Rudyard	Captains Courageous	1897	1915
Hull, Arthur Eaglefield	Modern Harmony: Its Explanation and Application	1915	1915
Myres, John Linton	Dawn of History	1911	1915
Gibbs, Philip	The Soul of the War	1915	1915
Galsworthy, John	The Freelands	1915	1915
Seton-Watson, et. al. ?	The War and Democracy	1915	1915
Davids, T. W. Rhys	Buddhism: Being a Sketch of the Life and Teachings of Gautama	1877	1915
Gorky, Maksim	My Childhood	1915	1915
	illegible		1915
Knox, Gordon	The Spirit of the Soil: Or, an Account of Nitrogen Fixation...	1915	1915
Ponsonby, Arthur	Democracy and Diplomacy	1915	1915
Ward, Humphrey (Mrs.)	Delia Blanchflower	1914	1915
Hay, Ian	The First Hundred Thousand	1915	1915
Murray, Gilbert	The Foreign Policy of Sir Edward Grey, 1906-1915	1915	1915
Bennett, Arnold	The Price of Love	1914	1915
Watson, William Henry Lowe	Adventures of a Despatch Rider	1915	1915
Washburn, Stanley	The Russian Campaign, April to August, 1915	1915	1916
Bartimeus (pseud.)	A Tall Ship on Other Naval Occasions	1915	1916
Wells, Herbert George	Beally: A Holiday	?	1916
Herbert, Muriel Katherine	Serbia and the Serbians	1915	1916
Firth, Andrew	The Furnace of Iron	1915	1916
Thurston, Ernest Temple	Traffic, the Story of a Faithful Woman †	1906	1916
Graham, Stephen	The Way of Martha and the Way of Mary	1915	1916
Vinogradoff, Paul	Self-government in Russia	1915	1916
Redesdale, Algernon Bertram	Memories	1915	1916
Toynbee, Arnold	Lectures and Addresses on Industrial Questions [sic]		1916
Smith, Adam	Wealth of Nations †	1776	1916
Oxford dons [sic]	Foundations		1916
illegible	Official Report on German Atrocities [sic]		1916
Moore, George	A Drama in Muslin	1886	1916

Münch, Paul	Hindenburg's March Into London: Translated From German	1916	1916
Aikin, William Arthur	The Voice	1910	1916
Cox, John Charles	The English Parish Church	1914	1916
Home, Ethel	Music as a Language: Lectures to Music Students	1916	1916
Dickinson, Goldsworthy Lowes	The European Anarchy	1916	1916
Skertchly, Sydney	Physical Geography	1873?	1916
Elliot, G. F. Scott	Prehistoric Man and His Story	1914	1916
Younghusband, Francis	Mutual Influence: A Re-View of Religion	1915	1916
Collison, William Henry	In the Wake of the War Canoe	1915	1916
Punnett, Reginald	Mendelism	1911	1916
Bennett, Arnold	These Twain	1915	1916
Bateson, William	Mendel's Principles of Heredity	1902	1916
Ward, Humphrey (Mrs.)	England's Effort: Letters to an American Friend	1916	1916
Osborn, Henry Fairfield	Men of the Old Stone Age	1916	1916
MacGill, Patrick	The Great Push: An Episode of the Great War	1916	1916
White, Andrew Dickson	Seven Great Statesmen in the Warfare of Humanity With Unreason	1910	1916
Rosher, Harold	In the Royal Naval Air Service	1916	1916
Snaith, John Collis	The Sailor	1916	1916
Conrad, Joseph?	The Mirror (Mystery [sic]) of the Sea	1906	1916
Benson, Edward Frederic	The Weaker Vessel	1912	1916
Roland (pseud.)	The Future of Militarism	1916	1916
Rolland, Romain	Above the Battle	1916	1916
Keith, Arthur	The Antiquity of Man	1915	1916
Wells, Herbert George	Mr. Britling Sees It Through	1916	1916
Johnston, Harry Hamilton	The Truth About the War, Lest We Forget	1917?	1916
Angell, Norman	The Foundations of International Polity	1914	1917
Grant, Madison	The Passing of the Great Race	1916	1917
Wister, Owen	The Pentecost of Calamity	1915	1917
Maeterlinck, Maurice	The Buried Temple	1902	1917
Newland, Bingham	What is Instinct?	1916	1917
Russell, Bertrand	Principles of Social Reconstruction	1916	1917
Richmond, William Blake	The Silver Chain: A Satire on Convention	1916	1917
Naumann, Friedrich	Mitteleuropa (Middle Europe)	1915	1917
Batchelor, H. Crouch	Francis Bacon wrote Shakespeare	1912	1917

Graham, Stephen	Russia [sic] (Russia in 1916?)	1917?	1917
Bailey, Cyril	Translation of Lucretius	1910	1917
Greenwood, Granville George	Is There a Shakespeare Problem?	1916	1917
Churchill, Winston (novelist)	A Far Country	1915	1917
McDougall, William	An Introduction to Social Psychology	1908	1917
Greene, Harry Plunket	Pilot, and Other Stories	1916	1917
Maeterlinck, Maurice	La vie des abeilles	1901	1917
Romanes, George John	Animal Intelligence	1882	1917
Lubbock, John	On the Senses, Instincts, and Intelligence of Animals	1889	1917
Hamilton, Ernest	The First Seven Divisions	1916	1917
Leacock, Stephen	Essays [sic]	1916	1917
Dostoyevsky, Fyodor	The Possessed	1872	1917
Carpenter, Estlin	Comparative Religion	1910	1917
Carpenter, George H.	The Life Story of Insects	1913	1917
Munro, Robert	Prehistoric Britain	1917	1917
Kirkaldy, Adam	Economics and Syndicalism	1914	1917
Lindsay, Alexander Dunlop	The Philosophy of Immanuel Kant	1913	1917
Pushkin, A. Sergeevich	Prose Tales	1894	1917
Mosso, Angelo	The Dawn of Mediterranean Civilisation	1910	1917
Graves, Alfred Perceval	Songs of Irish Wit and Humour	1884	1917
Gibbs, Philip	The Custody of the Child: A Novel	1914	1917
Ralston, William	The Songs of the Russian People	1872	1917
Meldola, Raphael	Chemistry	1914	1917
Davidson, William	Political Thought in England: The Utilitarians	1915	1917
Wells, Herbert George	God the Invisible King	1917	1917
Dyson, George	The New Music (M.S.)	1924	1917
Thurston, Ernest Temple	The Open Window	1913	1917
Chapman, Hugh Boswell	Home Truths About the War	1917	1917
Lockhart, John Gibson	Life of Sir Walter Scott	1838	1917
Metchnikoff, Élie	The Nature of Man: Studies in Optimistic Philosophy	1916	1917
McKenna, Stephen	Sonia, Between Two Worlds	1917	1917
Ponsonby, Arthur (and Dorothea)	Rebels and Reformers: Biographies for Young People	1917	1918
Gibson, Hugh	A Diplomatic Diary	1917	1918
Morley, John	Recollections	1917	1918
Sidgwick, Cecily	Home Life in Germany	1908	1918
Church, Richard William	Bacon	1884	1918

Soddy, Frederick	Matter and Energy	1912	1918
Gerard, James Watson	My Four Years in Germany	1917	1918
Rivet, Charles	The Last of the Romanofs	1918	1918
Kidd, Benjamin	The Science of Power	1918	1918
Scott, Walter	St. Ronan's Will	1885	1918
Gorky, Maksim	Fomá Gordyéef	1917	1918
Butler, Nicholas Murray	A World in Ferment	1917	1918
Kidd, Benjamin	Social Evolution †	1894	1918
Green, Alive Stopford	The Making of Ireland and Its Undoing, 1200-1600	1908	1918
Dillon, Emile Joseph	The Eclipse of Russia	1918	1918
Gorky, Maksim	The Outcasts	1905	1918
Courtney, Leonard Henry	The Diary of a Church-goer	1918	1918
Wilton, Robert	Russia's Agony	1918	1918
Ponsonby, Arthur	Democracy and Diplomacy †	1915	1918
James, William	Talks to Teachers on Psychology, etc.	1899	1918
Wells, Herbert George	In the Fourth Year	1918	1918
Strachey, Lytton	Eminent Victorians	1918	1918
Brailsford, Henry Noel	A League of Nations	1917	1918
Chekhov, Anton Pavlovich	The Black Monk, and Other Short Stories	1894	1918
Sidgwick, Cecily	Salt and Savour	1916	1918
Cecil, Hugh	Conservatism	1912	1918
Bennett, Arnold	The Pretty Lady	1918	1918
Tressell, Robert	The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists	1914	1918
Watt, Henry Jackson	Psychology of Sound	1917	1918
Chekhov, Anton Pavlovich	More Short Stories [sic]		1918
Sidgwick, Cecily	*left blank*		