Durham University

Durham E-Theses

CHOPIN IN BRITAIN Chopin's visits to England and Scotland in 1837 and 1848 People, places, and activities

Peter Willis

How to cite:

Willis, Peter (2009) CHOPIN IN BRITAIN Chopin's visits to England and Scotland in 1837 and 1848 People, places, and activities. Doctoral thesis, Durham University.

Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a https://etheses.durham.ac.uk/id/eprint/179/ is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the full Durham E-Theses policy for further details.

Academic Support Office, The Palatine Centre, Durham University, Stockton Road, Durham, DH1 3LE
e-mail: e-theses.admin@durham.ac.uk Tel: +44 0191 334 6107
https://etheses.durham.ac.uk

CHOPIN IN BRITAIN

Chopin's visits to England and Scotland in 1837 and 1848

People, places, and activities

Volume 1: Text

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author or the university to which it was submitted. No quotation from it, or information derived from it may be published without the prior written consent of the author or university, and any information derived from it should be acknowledged.

Thesis submitted in three volumes by

PETER WILLIS

for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Music

University of Durham 2009



29 MAR 2010

Volume 1: Text
Volume 2: Appendices, Bibliography, Personalia
Volume 3: Plates

Volume 1

CONTENTS

Abstract / v
Declaration of originality / vi
Statement of copyright / vii
Preface / viii
Acknowledgements / xvii

CHAPTERS

Introduction	PARIS 1830s: Prologue	1
Chapter 1	LONDON: Summer 1837	27
Chapter 2	PARIS 1840s: Interlude	52
Chapter 3	LONDON 1848: Chopin in England	88
Chapter 4	LONDON 1848: Recitals	138
	Stafford House / 142	
	Mrs Sartoris's / 147	
	Earl of Falmouth's / 156	
	Countess of Blessington's / 161	
Chapter 5	EDINBURGH	189
Chapter 6	SCOTTISH COUNTRY SEATS	210
Chapter 7	MANCHESTER Concert in Gentlemen's Concert Hall 28 August 1848	244
Chapter 8	GLASGOW Concert in Merchants' Hall 27 September 1848	266
Chapter 9	EDINBURGH Concert in Hopetoun Rooms 4 October 1848	281
Chapter 10	LONDON: Autumn 1848 Concert in Guildhall 16 November 1848	293
Conclusion	PARIS 1849: Chopin and Jane Stirling	311
Epilogue		330

Volume 2

CONTENTS

APPENDICES 335

Appendix A Jane Stirling: Family context / 336
Appendix B Chopin: Table of letters sent from England and Scotland in 1837 and 1848 / 338
Appendix C Chopin: Two unpublished letters of [1840] and 1848 / 347
Appendix D Chopin: Pianos in Britain / 352
Appendix E Chopin: Sculptures in Britain / 356

BIBLIOGRAPHY 357

Section 1 Unpublished material cited / 359
Section 2 Books, articles and theses cited / 363
Section 3 British newspapers cited / 437
Section 4 Online sources cited / 441

PERSONALIA 444

Volume 3

CONTENTS

LIST OF PLATES 525

PLATES 586

ABSTRACT

CHOPIN IN BRITAIN. Chopin'a visits to England and Scotland in 1837 and 1848. People, places, and activities

Academically, Chopin's two visits to Britain in 1837 and 1848 remain unexplored. This thesis aims to rectify this, using extensive published and manuscript material in Edinburgh, London, Paris, Cracow and Warsaw, and topographical and other illustrations.

On the first of Chopin's visits, in July 1837, he travelled from Paris to London with Camille Pleyel, whose family firm of *Pleyel et Cie* manufactured Chopin's favourite pianos. In London for only eleven days, Chopin visited the Broadwoods at No 46 Bryanston Square, went to the opera, and signed contracts with Wessel.

On his second visit, in 1848, the year before he died, Chopin spent seven months in England and Scotland at the prompting of his aristocratic Scots pupil, Jane Stirling. In London, he gave recitals for the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland, Mrs Adelaide Sartoris, the Earl of Falmouth, and the Countess of Blessington. On 5 August, accompanied by John Muir Wood, Chopin took the train from Euston to Edinburgh, where he was met by the Stirlings' Polish physician, Dr Adam Lyschiński. Subsequently, Chopin was a guest at Scottish country seats - notably Calder, Johnstone, Strachur, Wishaw, Keir, and Hamilton Palace. Aside from playing privately for his hosts, Chopin gave public concerts in the Gentlemen's Concert Hall in Manchester, the Merchants' Hall in Glasgow, and the Hopetoun Rooms in Edinburgh.

Returning to London on 31 October, Chopin performed in Guildhall, the last concert of his life. On 23 November he left London for Paris, dying there on 17 October the next year. His funeral in the Madeleine was partly financed by Jane Stirling, who later published a seven-volume edition of his music, preserved Chopin memorabilia, studied with his former pupil Thomas Tellefsen, and cherished the composer's memory until her own death in 1859.

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

None of the material in this thesis has been submitted by the author for a degree in this or any other university.

STATEMENT OF COPYRIGHT

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without his prior consent, and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

PREFACE

Although Chopin's life and music have been written about extensively, little attention has been given to the composer's two periods in England and Scotland. These are the subject of CHOPIN IN BRITAIN. Chopin's first visit to London in 1837, with Camille Pleyel, lasted a mere eleven days and came shortly after he had met George Sand; the second, in 1848, to London, Edinburgh, Manchester and Glasgow, and country houses in Scotland, spanned some seven months and was sponsored by his aristocratic Scots pupil, Jane Stirling, whom he had taught in Paris. Dogged by debilitating illness, Chopin returned to Paris that October. The next autumn he was dead.

Most biographies of Chopin only refer briefly to Chopin's visits to Britain; there is no significant separate study of his visit in 1837, and none of his period in London in 1848, although his visit to Scotland is covered in Iwo and Pamela Zaluskis' *The Scottish autumn of Frederick Chopin* (1993). CHOPIN IN BRITAIN aims to fill this gap, and brings together a wide range of material, some of it for the first time, to illuminate the cultural context of Chopin's visits to England and Scotland. [1] No musician is an island, and a consideration of the social, architectural and personal background to Chopin's life is essential to our study of him.

Primary evidence of Chopin's visits to Britain comes from his letters, [2] and from Dr Édouard Ganche's collection, formerly at Lyons, now divided between the Biblioteka Jagiellońska and the Collegium Maius, Cracow, the Frederick Chopin Society (TiFC), Warsaw, and the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris (Département de la Musique); [3] remnants of Miss Stirling's own collection, partly scattered, lost or destroyed, are also in Cracow, Warsaw, and Paris. [4] The holdings of the Frederick Chopin Society in Warsaw are indispensable, too. Other unpublished sources are widely spread. [5] Newspapers (notably in the writings of Henry Fothergill Chorley in the *Athenaeum*, and

J W Davison in the *Musical World* and the *Times*) provide contemporary observations on Chopin's comings and goings. [6] Electronic sites continue to expand, and scholarly research on Chopin is virtually impossible without access to the web. Among invaluable online sources used are the *Dictionary of Scottish Architects (DSA)*, *Oxford DNB online*, *Grove music online*, *scotlandspeople.gov.uk*, the *Chicago Chopin online catalog* (maintained by the University of Chicago), and the online material of the Frederick Chopin Society in Warsaw. [7] On a practical level, the writing of CHOPIN IN BRITAIN has depended on work in libraries and archives in England, Scotland, France and Poland, and on the purchase of books, prints, and manuscript letters. Beyond these, there lies the invisible university of other scholars in a variety of fields, whose contribution has been indispensible. [8]

Volume 1 of the thesis contains the text, and is arranged chronologically, stretching from Chopin's arrival in Paris in 1831 until 1859, the year Jane Stirling died. The Introduction sets the scene in Paris, where Chopin established personal and musical connections which were significant for his time in Britain. Chapter I charts Chopin's first visit to Britain, in July 1837, when he travelled from Paris to London with Camille Pleyel, whose family firm of *Pleyel et Cie* manufactured Chopin's favourite pianos. In London for only eleven days, Chopin visited the Broadwoods at No 46 Bryanston Square, went to the opera, signed contracts with Wessel, and experienced his first introduction to London's musical and social life. Chapter 2 examines Chopin's activities in Paris in the 1840s, when he was active in concerts, both grand and intimate, went to the opera, and enjoyed the flowering of his friendship with musicians, singers, and the Polish Czartoryski family.

On his second visit, in 1848, the year before he died, Chopin spent seven months in England and Scotland at the prompting of his Scots pupil, Jane Stirling. Chapter 3 deals with his arrival in London, his social and musical life there, and his connections with Jane Stirling and her sister, Mrs Katherine Erskine. In London, as Chapter 4 shows, he gave recitals for the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland, Mrs Adelaide Sartoris,

the Earl of Falmouth, and the Countess of Blessington. On 5 August, accompanied by John Muir Wood, Chopin took the train from Euston to Edinburgh, where he was met by the Stirlings' Polish physician, Dr Adam Lyschiński. Chapters 5 and 6 cover Chopin's time in Edinburgh, and his visits to Scottish country seats - notably Calder House, Johnstone Castle, Strachur, Wishaw, Keir, and Hamilton Palace. Aside from playing privately for his hosts, Chopin gave three public concerts: in the Gentlemen's Concert Hall in Manchester (Chapter 7), the Merchants' Hall in Glasgow (Chapter 8), and the Hopetoun Rooms in Edinburgh (Chapter 9). Returning to London on 31 October, as Chapter 10 records, Chopin performed in Guildhall, the last concert of his life. On 23 November he left London for Paris. The Conclusion demonstrates how, once there, his health deteriorated yet further. Notable among those who attended him in the year leading up to his death on 17 October 1849 were his sister Ludwika Jedrzejewiczowa, Princess Marcelina Czartoryska, and Jane Stirling. Chopin's funeral at the Madeleine, at which Lablache and Viardot sang in Mozart's *Requiem*, may have been partly paid for by Miss Stirling, whose letters to Ludwika provide a fascinating glimpse of the Scot's last years. Jane Stirling became a pupil of Thomas Tellefsen, and later published a seven-volume edition of Chopin's music, assembled mementos of him, and cherished the composer's memory until her own death in 1859. The Epilogue touches again on Chopin's connections with the Stirlings, on the significance of his visits to Britain, and on the contribution of Frederick Niecks, of the University of Edinburgh, to Chopin studies.

Volume 2 of the thesis, consisting of the Appendices, Bibliography, and Personalia, provides major support for the text, mostly in tabular form. [9] Apart from material on the Stirling family, pianos, and Chopin sculpture, the Appendices include transcriptions two unpublished Chopin letters, of [1840] and 1848 from, respectively, the Royal Society of Musicians of Great Britain, London, and the National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh. [10] The Bibliography, which is limited to citations in the thesis, covers unpublished material as well as books, articles and theses, British newspapers, and online sources. As such it represents a singular contribution to Chopin scholarship.

Finally, the Personalia section brings together far-flung documentation of people which appear in the thesis, and describes their specific role in it.

Volume 3 of the thesis contains the plates. Although most Chopin biographies have few plates, books which demonstrate the visual context of his life are notably revealing: examples are Bory's *La vie de Frédéric Chopin par l'image* (1951), Burger's *Frédéric Chopin. Eine Lebenschronik in Bildern und Dokumenten* (1990), Mirska and Hordyński's *Chopin na obczyźnie. Dokumenty i pamiątki* (1965), and Tomaszewski and Weber's *Diary in images* (1990). [11] The rich and varied illustrations in these volumes provide a model for those contained in CHOPIN IN BRITAIN, which aim to convincingly illuminate Chopin's life in London and Scotland. [12] These plates provide us with visual evidence of Chopin's world, and demonstrate changes in it which have transpired since his lifetime. Much of this material is unique and unavailable elsewhere; it enables us to appreciate, for instance, the architectural character of the area in London where Chopin lived, the concert halls where he played, and the Scottish country houses in which he stayed. Portraits of his contemporaries -- friends, musicians, patrons, members of the aristocracy -- enliven our perception of Chopin's milieu. The plates, cross-referenced to the text, draw extensively on the author's private collection of prints and manuscripts, many of them unpublished. Major sources can be found, *inter alia*, in archives, museums, art galleries, and libraries, in London, Edinburgh, Paris, Warsaw, and Cracow .All things being equal, the unfamiliar rather than the familiar illustration has been chosen. As the last years of Chopin's life coincide with the early days of photography, it has been possible to include nineteenth-century photographs, occasionally in engraved versions. Some buildings associated with Chopin, such as Gore House, Kensington, have completely vanished; others, such as Johnstone Castle, near Glasgow, as photographs show, have been reduced to ruins. Recent photographs also demonstrate that some buildings are little altered, at least externally, since Chopin's day -- for instance, No 10 Warriston Crescent, Edinburgh, where Chopin stayed, and in London, No 99 Eaton Place, where he gave recitals. [13]

Clearly such evidence must be used with caution, but it does demonstrate that the links between the twenty-first century and Chopin's life and travels are not entirely broken.

Other unfamiliar, or unpublished, material in CHOPIN IN BRITAIN includes the coverage of Ary Scheffer and Samuel Hahnemann. Links between the Schwabes and enlightened patronage in Manchester, and at their house in Anglesey, bring together literary and political figures, as well as musicians such as Jenny Lind and Sigismund Neukomm. Busts or statues of Chopin can be seen in London, Manchester and Edinburgh, [14] and pianos apparently played by him, or connected with him, are on exhibition in the Cobbe Collection, Hatchlands, Surrey, and elsewhere. [15]

Throughout his spells in Britain the composer kept in touch with his family and friends in Paris and Poland through letter-writing: apart from his parents in Warsaw, he wrote to Mme de Rozières, Solange Clésinger, Grzymała, and his fellow-musicians Fontana and Franchomme. Chopin performed in Britain with musicians whom he had known in Paris, such as Luigi Lablache and Pauline Viardot, and his concert in Glasgow was attended by Prince Aleksander Czartoryski and his wife Princess Marcelina, both fellow-Poles who were prominent in the society centred around the Hôtel Lambert in Paris. In London, Chopin continued to give lessons, and established links with the Polish community through the Literary Association of Friends of Poland, for whom he played at Guildhall. At the opera, Chopin heard singers such as Giuditta Pasta, Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient, and Jenny Lind, whose Parisian performances he had admired, and who were given top billing at Her Majesty's Theatre, Covent Garden, and elsewhere.

Chopin's connections with Paris were further maintained through the portraiture of Ary Scheffer, and the homeopathy of Samuel Hahnemann and his followers Dr Malan in London, and Dr Lyschiński in Edinburgh. Similarly, Salis and Julie Schwabe of Manchester were patrons of the arts who visited Paris, where they knew the Léo banking family; Julie's portrait was painted by Scheffer, whose subjects, apart from

Chopin, included Dickens, Liszt, Viardot, and Jane Stirling, and her brother-in-law Lord Torphichen of Calder House. For their part, the Broadwoods not merely gave hospitality to Chopin when in London, and provided him with pianos, but they had commercial links with the firm *Pleyel et Cie* in Paris which manufactured Chopin's favourite instruments. A J Hipkins, the writer on music and musical instruments, and an employee of the Broadwood firm, gives us an unrivalled view of Chopin as a person and a pianist.

Further light is cast on Chopin's time in Britain by the observations of those who heard him play, such as Jane Welsh Carlyle, and the critics Chorley and Davison and, in Glasgow, James Hedderwick. In general, their verdicts were enthusiastic about his playing, but alarmed about his health. As in Warsaw, Paris and Nohant, Chopin was at his best when performing for small, intimate groups of the well-to-do. Invariably, in his public concerts, he played his own compositions, though his last-minute changes of programme often make it impossible for us to be certain exactly which these were.

Our only evidence that Chopin turned to composition when in Britain consists of an unpublished manuscript of a Waltz in B major, inscribed '*pour Madame Erskine*', dated 12 October 1848, and apparently written during a stay at Calder House. [16] Indeed Chopin composed little subsequently, although several pieces already written were still to be published before he died, and others, of course, posthumously. However, this did not prevent him from dealing with matters of publication when in England. On his 1837 visit, he went to see his London publishers, Wessel & Co, and signed three contracts for Op.25 (Twelve Studies), Opp.29-30 (Impromptu in A flat major, and Four Mazurkas), and Opp.31-32 (Scherzo in B flat minor, and Two Nocturnes), which he had already written in Paris or Nohant. In 1848, the popularity of his performances of his 'Deux valses pour piano', in D flat major and C sharp minor (Op.64), was not unrelated to their publication in London that year.

At the end of the day, the Chopin who emerges from CHOPIN IN BRITAIN is a tragic figure, as he struggled against his desperate illness. Yet, his persistence to pursue his musical life, in the face of innumerable difficulties and disappointments, gives him a fragile nobility. With hindsight, there is an inevitability about Chopin's last year in London, Scotland, and Paris, leading up to his death; his subsequent resurrection sees him as a figure of almost divine gifts. All told, it is a fascinating, revealing, and poignant story.

PREFACE

ENDNOTES

1 See the summary of sources given in the Bibliography to the thesis, p.357. The Bibliography: Section 2: Books, articles and theses cited, pp.363-435, is the result of an extensive literature search.

2 See Appendix B: Chopin: Table of letters sent from England and Scotland in 1837 and 1848, pp.337-45, with standard sources of Chopin's letters listed on pp.337-9.

3 Leading publications on Ganche, of course, are those by Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger and Jean-Michel Nectoux, notably Chopin, *Oeuvres pour piano* (Stirling), and Nectoux and Eigeldinger, 'Édouard Ganche et sa collection Chopin'.

4 Jane Stirling's connections with Chopin are detailed throughout the thesis. Genealogical information appears in Appendix A: Jane Stirling: Family context, pp. 335-6. Her attention to Chopin's effects after his death is considered in the Conclusion, pp.312-21.

5 See the Bibliography: Section 1: Unpublished material cited, pp.359-61.

6 See the Bibliography: Section 3: British newspapers cited, pp.437-8.

7 See the Bibliography: Section 4: Online sources cited, pp.441-2.

8 See the Acknowledgements, pp.xvii-xxv.

9 As can be seen, each of these is a substantial document in itself. They are not optional extras, but based on extensive research.

10 These are transcribed in Appendix C: Chopin: Two unpublished letters of [1840] and 1848, pp.347-51. Since the completion of the thesis, a further unpublished letter has been found.

11 Full details of these are given in the Bibliography, pp.363-435. It should be added that these books contain only limited illustrations of Chopin's visits to Britain.

12 The Plates, numbered by chapter, represent merely a selection of those assembled during research for CHOPIN IN BRITAIN. They are restricted in the thesis to those directly related to the text, and are precisely referenced and captioned. Both text and plates should be studied together.

13 Standard sources for the history of these buildings, needless to say, include such official bodies as those listed in the Bibliography, pp.359-61.

14 See Appendix E: Chopin: Sculptures in Britain, p.356.

15 See Appendix D: Chopin: Pianos in Britain, pp.352-4.

16 This waltz is considered further in the thesis on p.216, and in note 19 on pp.234-5.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My first debt of gratitude is to my wife, Jenny, and our son, Magnus, for their unstinting support over the years of research, travel, and writing, at all times and in all weathers.

My primary academic debt is to Jeremy Dibble, of the Department of Music at the University of Durham, for his enthusiasm and encouragement over several years. Many other people have have assisted in my investigations, and I am glad to have the chance of expressing my thanks to them here.

ENGLAND

DURHAM

DURHAM UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Sheila Hingley, Roger Norris, Elizabeth M Rainey, Judith Walton

LONDON

BRITISH LIBRARY

Nicolas Bell (Music), Janet Zmroczek (Slavonic and East European Studies)

CITY OF WESTMINSTER ARCHIVES CENTRE

Alison Kenney

ROYAL ACADEMY OF MUSIC

Janet Snowman
Bridget Palmer

ROYAL COLLEGE OF MUSIC

Paul Banks, Paul Collen, Oliver Davies, Peter Horton, Roy Howat, Elizabeth Wells

ROYAL PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY

Rosemary Johnson

ROYAL SOCIETY OF MUSICIANS OF GREAT BRITAIN

Maggie Gibb

SCHOOL OF SLAVONIC AND EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

Ursula Phillips

MANCHESTER

John H G Archer
Clare Hartwell

JOHN RYLANDS UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER LIBRARY

Anne Marie Clarkson
John Peters

MANCHESTER CENTRAL LIBRARY

David J Taylor (Local Studies Section)
Librarian, Henry Watson Music Library

MIDDLETON CIVIC ASSOCIATION

Morris Garratt

ROYAL NORTHERN COLLEGE OF MUSIC

Jacqui Dale
Rosemary Williamson
Anna Wright

NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE

JESMOND LIBRARY (Newcastle City Libraries)

NEWCASTLE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

SCOTLAND

EDINBURGH

CITY ART GALLERY, EDINBURGH

Ian O'Riordan
David Patterson

EDINBURGH CITY ARCHIVES

Richard Hunter

EDINBURGH CITY LIBRARIES (Edinburgh Room)

James Hogg

EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Sheila E Cannell
The late Ian Mowat
Richard Ovendon
Jeremy Upton
Morley Whitehead

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF SCOTLAND

Tristram Clarke
Alison Lindsay
George P MacKenzie (Keeper of the Records of Scotland)
Alison Rosie
John Smith

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND

Almut Boehme
Iain Gordon Brown
Kenneth Dunn
Murray Simpson

SCOTTISH NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY

Duncan Forbes
Imogen Gibbon
Susanna Kerr

USHER HALL

Craig Drummond

GLASGOW

GLASGOW CITY ARCHIVES

Alan Jackson
Lyn Morgan

MITCHELL LIBRARY (Glasgow Room)

Jamie Flett

POLAND

CRACOW

Renata Suchowiejko

COLLEGIUM MAIUS, CRACOW

Andrzej Laska
Stanisław Waltoś

INSTITUTE OF MUSICOLOGY, CRACOW

Wojciech M Marchwica

JAGIELLONIAN LIBRARY, CRACOW

Sylwia Heinrich
Agnieszka Mietelska-Ciepierska

POLISH ACADEMY, CRACOW

Joanna Gasiorowska

PRINCES CZARTORYSKI LIBRARY, CRACOW

Janusz Nowak

WARSAW

FREDERICK CHOPIN INSTITUTE, WARSAW (NiFC) and
FREDERICK CHOPIN SOCIETY, WARSAW (TiFC)

Marita Albán Juárez
Anna Łęgowska-Radosz (Director of the Fryderyk Chopin Museum)
Grażyna Michniewicz
Artur Szklener
Hanna Wróblewska-Straus

UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW

Zbigniew Skowron

FRANCE

PARIS

William G Atwood
Andrew Fairbairn
The late Professor Douglas Johnson

INSTITUT NATIONAL D'HISTOIRE DE L'ART

Jean-Michel Nectoux

BIBLIOTHÈQUE MAZARINE

BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE
(DÉPARTEMENT DE LA MUSIQUE)

Catherine Massip

FOR INFORMATION ABOUT PARTICULAR PERSONS

BROADWOOD FAMILY

Alec Cobbe (Cobbe Collection, Hatchlands)
Alastair Lawrence
David Robinson and Robert Simonson (Surrey History Centre, Woking)

CHOPIN, BERLIOZ and PAGANINI

Hugh Macdonald (Washington University, St Louis)

JENNY LIND

John Alban (Norfolk Record Office)
George Biddlecombe (Royal Academy of Music)
Emma Jarvis (Norfolk and Norwich National Health Service Trust)
Simon Maguire (Sotheby's, London)

ADAM LYSCHIŃSKI

R K Aspin (Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine Library)
Michael Barfoot and Alison M Gardiner
(Lothian Health Services Archive)
Cathy Fowler (Royal College of Physicians)
Thalia Knight and Glen F-Jones (Royal College of Surgeons of England)
Alastair H B Masson (Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh)
Iain Milne (Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh)

GEORGE OSBORNE

Una Hunt (National University of Ireland, Maynooth)

ARY SCHEFFER

Leo Ewals (University of Nijmegen)
Edward Morris
(formerly Keeper of Painting, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool)

SALIS AND JULIE SCHWABE

James C Albisetti (University of Kentucky)
Peter Weston (Roehampton University)

THOMAS TELLEFSEN

Sissel Guttormsen (Ringve Museum, Trondheim)
Vigdis Head
Keith G Orrell

JOHN MUIR WOOD

Paul Muir Wood (University of Bristol)

FOR INFORMATION ABOUT PARTICULAR TOPICS

CHOPIN AND PUBLISHING

Jeffrey Kallberg (University of Pennsylvania)
Richard Kitson (University of Maryland, and RIPM)
The late George W Platzman (University of Chicago)
John Rink (Royal Holloway, University of London)

HOMEOPATHY AND MEDICINE

Anne Crowther (University of Glasgow)
Rima Handley
Bernard Leary
Francis Treuherz

HOUSES AND COUNTRY SEATS

Earl of Falmouth (St James's Square, London)
Robert Ferguson (Pollak House)
Sir James Stirling, of Garden (Gargunnock House)
Patrick and Susan Stirling-Aird (Kippendavie and Kippenross)
Lord and Lady Torphichen (Calder House)

MISCELLANEOUS

Eleanor Bailie

The late Connie Byrom

John Byrom (University of Edinburgh)

Stuart Campbell (University of Glasgow)

Ian Chilvers

Lady Rose Cholmondeley

Aleksandra Czapiewska (Polish Cultural Institute, London)

Late Professor Cyril Ehrlich

Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger (University of Geneva)

Juliusz J Englert (Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum, London)

Halina Goldberg (University of Indiana at Bloomington)

Joyce Harasowska

Paul Harding

Yvonne Hillyard (*Dictionary of Scottish Architects*)

Susan Horner (Michael Laird Architects)

Zdzisław Jagodziński (Polish Library, London)

Jane Kellett

Michael Kennedy

Hilary Macartney

Mona Kedlsie McLeod

Roy Milne (Michael Laird Architects)

Eleanor Morris

J Philip Newell

Sir Francis Ogilvy, Bt

Jim Samson (Royal Holloway, University of London)

E Street (Staffordshire Record Office, Stafford)

J Rigbie Turner (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York)

David M Walker (*Dictionary of Scottish Architects*)

Peter Ward Jones (Bodleian Library, Oxford)

Susan Wood (Northumberland Record Office)

Tom Woolley

William Wright

Iwo and the late Pamela Załuski

Introduction

PARIS 1830s: Prologue

In 1831, following the Polish revolution the previous year, Chopin arrived in Paris from Poland. He had travelled via Vienna, and was never to return to the land of his birth. Paris was to be his home for the rest of his life. Politically, this meant living in the city between two revolutions: those of July 1830 (the July Monarchy) establishing Louis-Philippe as King of France, and of February 1848 leading to the Second Republic under Napoléon III. Indeed it was the second of these which, in part, precipitated his visit of some seven months to England and Scotland in 1848.

This visit, and to a lesser extent the two weeks he spent in London in 1837, have to be seen in the context of his Parisian life, both the years leading up to 1848 and the eleven months following his return to Paris in November 1848, which ended with his death the next October. His spells in Britain were directly related to, and dependent upon, specific features of his life in Paris: his connection with members of the Polish community-in-exile, notably at the Hôtel Lambert; his piano lessons given to pupils from the British aristocracy; his friendship with leading pianists, and other musicians, and his joint concerts with them; his love of opera, and familiarity with operatic composers and with celebrated singers such as Alboni, Mario, and Viardot, who performed at the Paris Opéra and the Théâtre-Italien; his preference for giving *matinées musicales* in domestic settings rather than public concerts; his closeness to Camille Pleyel and his firm of piano manufacturers; his links to the painter Ary Scheffer and patrons of the arts, some British; and his declining health and interest in homeopathy, shared with others in his circle. All these factors came into play when Chopin ventured across the English Channel.

That said, Chopin's visits to England and Scotland were significant in another way, in that so far as we know he composed little, if anything, when in Britain. By 1848, his

summers of composition at Nohant, the country estate of George Sand, were over, as was his close relationship with her. [1]

Culturally, the Paris which greeted Chopin was a 'centre of intellectual ferment', as Ralph P Locke puts it. 'The Paris of Louis-Philippe', he writes,

> was widely recognized as the musical capital of Europe. Instrumental virtuosos flocked there in ever greater numbers; now they played regularly in public halls and their triumphs were reported in the relatively inexpensive, widely read daily newspapers of the new bourgeois age. Foreign composers who were not primarily performers -- Gaetano Donizetti, the young Wagner -- also came hoping to make their fortune, as Paer and Rosssini had done under the Bourbons.

Paris enjoyed

> the splendour of the Opéra, the brilliance of the concerts -- from Beethoven's symphonies to appearances by the violinist Nicolò Paganini -- and rapid growth in music publishing, instrument manufacture and journalism made musical life in Paris as lively and striking a manifestation of Romanticism as Delacroix's paintings or Hugo's *Hernani* and *Les Misérables*. [2]

This cultural activity took place against the backdrop of great urban change, as can be seen, for instance, in the 1841 edition of Galignani's new Paris guide. [3]

Between 1815 and 1848 the population of Paris grew from 700,000 to nearly one million. In the 1820s onwards, led by architects, bankers, and financial speculators, new districts of the city were built: the quartier La Fayette, centred on the rue St Vincent-de-Paul, where the church of that name by Hittorff was later erected (1832-1844); the quartiers François 1er and St-Georges, surrounding the church of

Notre Dame de Lorette; the quartier Beaujon, close to the Champs-Élysées; and the quartier de l'Europe, on the site of the old Tivoli Gardens.

Building carried out under the July Monarchy was even more extensive. Led by the Comte de Rambuteau, Louis-Philippe's Prefect of the Seine from 1833 to 1848, a vast programme of major works was undertaken. A hundred new streets were completed, and the line of boulevards from the Bastille to the place de la Concorde (also designed by Hittorff) were levelled and widened (Plate Int 1). Pavements, gas lighting, and newly-planted trees were given prominence; so were fountains, which rose in the city from a mere 146 in 1830 to more than two thousand in 1848. Rambuteau continued the policy of erecting prestigious buildings, including the Arc de Triomphe (1836), the church of La Madeleine (1842), and the Palais du Quai d'Orsay. He also developed the place de la Concorde and the Champs-Élysées, and enlarged the Hôtel de Ville. Of major impact, too, was the building of the railways, which led to the construction of the Gare St-Lazare (1842), the first Gare du Nord (1845), followed by the Gare de l'Est and the Gare de Lyon; by 1848, all that remained to be done was to link all the stations. The scene was set for the *grands projects* of Baron Haussmann during the Second Empire.[4]

Throughout his time in Paris, Chopin lived within striking distance of the Comédie Française, the Opéra, the Opéra-Comique, and the Théâtre Italien. His first apartment, in 1831-1832, was at No 27 boulevard Poissonnière, a handsome tree-lined street stretching between the boulevard Montmartre to the west, and boulevard de Bonne Nouvelle to the east. Thereafter he moved to various other addresses, for a short time each: to No 4 cité Bergère (1832-1833), to No 5 (1833-1836) then No 38 (1836-1839) rue de la Chaussée d'Antin (Plate Int 2), to No 5 rue Tronchet (1839-1841), and to No 16 rue Pigalle (1841-1842). Eventually, for the nigh-on seven years from August 1842 to May 1849, he settled near George Sand at No 9 place d'Orléans (now square d'Orléans). The summer and autumn of 1849 found him, first, at No 74 rue de Chaillot, and then at No 12 place Vendôme, where he died.[5]

When he arrived in Paris, Chopin linked up with the Polish community in the city, led by the Czartroyski family. Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, Polish general and statesman, president of the Polish provisional government (1830) and the national government (1831), had been forced to take refuge in France with his family in 1831 after Russia crushed the Polish state (Plate Int 3). He became the figurehead of Poland in exile. Prince Adam, and his wife Princess Anna, then led an international campaign to restore Polish sovereignty. The Czartoryskis, explains Adam Zamoyski,

> managed to keep up appearances and entertain at a level befitting their social station. They also found the money necessary to keep the prince's political activities going. They quickly realised that the Paris of the 1830s, in the first exuberance of the 'bourgeois' July monarchy, held ample opportunities for enrichment via the Paris Bourse. [6]

By Easter 1832, the Czartoryskis 'had set up house in the rue de Roule just in time to give Chopin and his compatriots the traditional Polish Easter lunch'. [7] French and Polish musicians, Chopin included, joined up for convivial evenings (Plate Int 4). [8]

As Jim Samson points out, 'Chopin involved himself in the fund-raising activities of the Czartoryskis, attended many of their *soirées*, and played occasionally at the benefits they arranged for Poles in exile.' Other events

> involved the Polish musicians who arrived in trickles in Paris, and inevitably gravitated towards Chopin. Józef Brzowski was a case in point, and during the same season Karol Lipiński also turned up, Chopin found himself organizing *soirées* and concerts for such musicians. [9]

Among Chopin's other friends in Paris from Warsaw days were Julian Fontana, pianist and composer, fellow student at the Warsaw Lyceum and at the Conservatory, who moved to Paris in 1832; Wojciech Grzymała, critic and man of letters (Plate Int 5); and

Jan Matuszyński, physician and fellow student at the Warsaw Lyceum, known by the nickname of 'Johnny' (in Polish, *Jasia;* in French, *Jeannot)*, whose wedding Chopin attended as a witness on 21 December 1836. [10] Polish literary figures of a 'messianic' orientation whom Chopin knew included Julian Niemcewicz, Juliusz Słowacki, and the poet Adam Mickiewicz, who was prominent in the Polish Literary Society in Paris (Plate Int 6). [11] Although the paths of Chopin and Mickiewicz crossed from time to time, writes Jim Samson, they were 'never particularly close. Indeed Chopin's relations with Mickiewicz's Polish Literary Society, to which he had been elected as an associate member in 1833, remained somewhat ambivalent, and he was clearly something of a disappointment to the Society'. Put more firmly, 'Chopin was, in his own words, "no revolutionary", and he refused to use his talent in any directly political way'. [12]

However, as Halina Goldberg has emphasised, Chopin

> remained profoundly committed to his Polishness and to his country's pursuit of independence; he was intimately associated with Polish poets, political activists, historians, and heroes of the uprising in thePolish émigré circles; and the enthusiasts of messianic philosophy were among his closest friends. Many of his non-Polish friends (George Sand, Marie d'Agoult, Franz Liszt, among others) were also concerned with politics, often pursuing French branches of messianism, and were sympathetic to the Polish plight. [13]

Not surprisingly, therefore,

> asked to identify the most famous Pole in history, most people in the West would probably name Chopin. Chopin seems inextricably linked with his native origins; his Polishness constitutes one of the primary images through which modern listeners filter his music.

Mazurkas and polonaises in particular served such 'nationalist purposes'. It is a complex issue. But, some would say, 'to hear Chopin, it appears, is in some sense to "hear Poland"'.[14] Indeed, as the *Musical Times* expressed it, Chopin was to Poland, as Dvorák was to Bohemia, and Grieg to Norway: they were all 'patriots in music, embodiments of the musical instincts of their people'.[15]

Chopin's other Polish friends in Paris included the painters Leon Kapliński and Teofil Kwiatowski, and two writers whose poems were used in Chopin's seventeen songs published posthumously in 1857 as Opus 74 -- Count Zygmunt Krasiński and Stefan Witwicki.[16] Whereas Krasiński's words were employed only for song No 9 (*'Melodya'*), poems by Witwicki were used for no fewer than ten settings.[17] Chopin and Witwicki had known each other in Warsaw, and 'Witwicki was one of those who encouraged Chopin to write a Polish national opera'.[18] For his part, Mickiewicz provided settings for Chopin ballades, though not for his original songs.[19]

The Polish artistic community in Paris is brought together in the work of the Dutch-born painter Ary Scheffer (Plate Int 7). Yet, although the most admired portrait of Chopin is that based on one by Scheffer of *circa* 1847, now in the Dordrecht Museum (frontispiece),[20] the composer's relationship with him remains largely unremarked.[21] Scheffer spent virtually all his career in Paris, where he had many friends among musicians and Polish émigrés, and became a French citizen in 1850.[22] 'The high point of Scheffer's career', Leo Ewals writes,

> coincided with the period of the July Monarchy (1830-48). Since 1822 Scheffer had been giving drawing lessons to the children of Louis-Philippe, Duc d'Orléans. When the Duc came to power during the Revolution of 1830, the artist found himself in an influential position.[23]

He subequently painted portraits of the royal family, but his greatest successes during this period were his paintings of literary and religious themes, such as *Francesco da*

Rimini (1835) and *St Augustine and St Monica* (1845). This work, immensely popular in his lifetime, often strikes the contemporary eye as sentimental and mawkish.

In 1933 Léopold Wellisz published his book entitled *Les amis romantiques. Ary Scheffer et ses amis polonais*, which included twenty-five reproductions of works by Scheffer. The volume deals specifically with Chopin's friend Zygmunt Krasiński -- *Le poète anonyme de la Pologne*', as Gabriel Sarrazin entitles his essay in the book. Krasiński -- who, with Mickiewicz and Słowacki, formed Poland's triad of 'messianic' poets -- was known chiefly for the tragedies *Nieboska komedja* (1835) and *Irydion* (1836), and the poems *Przedświt* (1843) and *Psalmy przyszlości* (1845). Apart from portraits of Krasiński himself (1850) (Plate Int 8), his wife the Countess (1845), and his mistress, the Countess Delfina Potocka (Plate Int 9), Scheffer painted other Poles such as Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, and musicians such as Gounod, Rossini, and Pauline Viardot, Chopin's student Camille Dubois, and Franz Liszt (Plate Int 10).[24] His British subjects included Dickens, Mrs Julie Schwabe, and Lord Torphichen, brother-in-law of Jane Stirling, who was to be a driving force behind Chopin's visit to Britain in 1848. Miss Stirling herself was the subject of several portraits, and Scheffer used her as a model in religious paintings, notably his *Christus consolator* (1837).[25] One of his two if not three portraits of Chopin may have been commissioned by her, and conceivably hung after the composer's death at Calder House, Lord Torphichen's country seat near Edinburgh. In 1857, at the time of Manchester's 'Exhibition of Art Treasures', Scheffer stayed for three weeks with Mrs Julie Schwabe at Crumpsall House, and later in the year visited her Welsh house, Glyn Garth, Anglesey.[26]

Ary Scheffer and Ingres were among the painters whom Charles Hallé met when he arrived in Paris in 1836 from Darmstadt. Hallé records in his *Autobiography* that Ingres, with whom he played Mozart violin sonatas, was 'passionately fond of music -- a passion shared by nearly all the great painters with whom I have come into contact -- while among poets and literary men the devotees to music seem to form an exception'. Ary Scheffer, he remarks,

the noble painter whose fame was at its zenith in the forties, was never happier than when listening to music; hence his friendship with Chopin, Liszt, and a select number of musicians amongst whom I was happy to hold a place. To play to him in his studio, whilst he was engaged upon one of his great canvases, was one of my greatest delights. The well-known picture of 'Christ tempted by Satan' (Liszt sitting as a model for Satan) was commenced and finished with the accompaniment of my music. [27]

Scheffer's studio, or atelier, was part of his house in No 16 rue Chaptal, later known as L'Hôtel Scheffer-Renan, now La Musée de la Vie romantique, which contains fascinating souvenirs of George Sand, including a Scheffer portrait of her. To Hallé, his life in Paris was

> of uninterrupted intellectual enjoyment, which will be easily understood ... when I enumerate a few of the names of distinguished men, in the most various walks of life, whom I could call personal friends: Ary Scheffer, Lamartine, Salvandy, Ledru Rollin, Alexandre Dumas *père*, Ingres, Meyerbeer, Halévy, Delacroix, Louis Blanc, Guizot, 'Maître' Marie, not to forget Berlioz, Heller, Heine, Ernst, Jules Janin, Liszt, Chopin, and a host of others equally remarkable.

The effect was intoxicating. 'Paris was then in reality what Wagner wished to make Bayreuth, the centre of civilisation, Hallé wrote, and such a galaxy of celebrities as it contained has, I believe, never been assembled again'. [28]

Also a friend of Scheffer, and of Chopin, was Mrs Harriet Grote, wife of George Grote, the banker, historian, and radical politician, and author of a twelve-volume *History of Greece* (1846-1856). Chopin met Mrs Grote in Paris at the house of Carlotte Marliani, wife of the Spanish consul, and a friend of George Sand. [29] Evidence of Mrs Grote's close friendship with Scheffer can be seen from her biography of the painter, *Memoir of the life of Ary Scheffer* (1860). Lady Eastlake, in her book *Mrs Grote. A sketch*, quotes

Mrs Grote's verdict on Scheffer: 'His spotless integrity, his great gifts, his inflexible political principles, and withal his sadly sombre existence, combine to shed over the history of Ary Scheffer a mingled effect of admiration and pity'.[30] To this should be added the place of music in his life. Mrs Grote, in her *Memoir*, says that Scheffer 'was keenly sensible to the charm of good instrumental music, especially when given in the "atelier", as it was by some of the best musicians in Paris'. Mrs Grote had 'seen Scheffer yield himself up to the fascinations of sound with a sort of dreamy enjoyment, such as is rarely attained by persons who have not cultivated musical knowledge'. Pauline Viardot and her husband were among Scheffer's circle, 'and since, along with Madame Viardot's vocal power was united a talent for pianoforte playing of a superior kind, Scheffer had often the pleasure of listening to her tasteful execution of the best compositions for that instrument'.[31]

For Chopin, part of the intoxication felt by Hallé came from the opera. In Warsaw, in Vienna, and now in Paris he found himself in a city with a lively operatic life, centred around the Opéra (the Académie Royale de la Musique) (Plates Int 11, Int 12), and the Italian Opera House, otherwise the Salle Ventadour, home of the Théâtre-Italien (Plate Int 13).[32] In Paris, 'where Rossini and Auber reigned supreme, singers like Malibran, Pasta, Grisi, Cinti-Damoreau, Rubini, Lablache and Nourrit raised the standard of the performances to a level to which no other city could aspire'.[33] Vincenzo Bellini, too, was prominent, notably with his *Norma* and *I puritani*, and from 1833 to 1835 a warm friendship existed between him and Chopin. 'They had much in common, both as men and musicians, but to speak of Chopin's 'indebtedness' to Bellini is to ignore historical fact', writes Arthur Hedley. 'It is not difficult to show that the very elements in his style that Chopin is supposed to owe to the Italian -- the luscious thirds and sixths, the curve of his melody and the *fioriture* -- were already being expoited by Chopin long before he had heard a note of Bellini's music, or even his name.'[34]

I puritani was commissioned for the Théâtre-Italien in Paris, and here it was that Chopin became acquainted with Bellini, Rossini, and other musicians. Once in Paris,

Chopin was 'overwhelmed by the sheer splendour of the productions at the Théâtre-Italien, and even more at Le Péletier, where so-called 'Grand Opera' had already assumed its characteristic form. Chopin wrote eulogies about Meyerbeer's *Robert le diable*, and the resonance of this work seems to have remained with him for a time'; [35] the Italian tenor Giovanni Mario made his debut at the Opéra in 1838 in the title role. [36] Chopin

> attended the opera at every opportunity, and his letters to Warsaw from these early Paris months are replete with commentaries on productions and on individual singers. 'Only here can one learn what singing is', he commented. [37]

Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger has shown the range of singers at the Théâtre-Italien and the at the Opéra who most impressed Chopin on his arrival in Paris, and demonstrated his enthusiasm for opera and its influence. [38] Chopin's observations are enthusiastic and specific:

> Of Laure Cinti-Damoreau, 'she sings as perfectly as can be imagined ... and seems to caress the public'; of Giuditta Pasta, 'I have never before seen anything so sublime'; of Maria Felicia Malibran-Garcia, 'miracle! miracle!'; of Luigi Lablache, 'you cannot imagine what it is like'; of Adolphe Nourrit, 'his expression is astonishing'; and of Giovanni Battista Rubini, 'his mezza voice is incomparable'. [39]

To these singers should be added the Italian baritone Antonio Tamburini (Plate Int 14), who sang at the Théâtre-Italien in Bellini's *Il pirata*, *La straniera*, and *I puritani*, and in Donizetti's *Don Pasquale*. Understandably, as Jim Samson puts it, 'all this filtered through into the increasingly refined and sophisticated melodic style of [Chopin's] piano music. But it is possible, too, that at the back of his mind he had not yet totally abandoned the idea of composing an opera himself'. [40]

One of Chopin's immediate aims on reaching Paris was to give concerts, and in doing so a key role was played by Camille Pleyel (Plate Int 15). Chopin's connection with the Pleyel family was close. His friend Camille Pleyel was a pianist, publisher and piano manufacturer, business associate of his father, Ignace Pleyel, and husband of the pianist Marie Moke.[41] Chopin's first concert in Paris on 26 February 1832 took place in '*Les Salons de MM. Pleyel et Cie*' at No 9 rue Cadet (Plate Int 16). This '*Grand Concert*', writes Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger,

> played a decisive role in his career, establishing his reputation as a composer and performer, securing contacts with publishers, opening the doors of the most influential salons, and bringing work as a teacher, mainly among the aristocracy. Before his withdrawal from the concert platform in 1835, Chopin was already singled out in the Parisian press as the representative *par excellence* of the salon in its most noble sense'.[42]

When receiving lessons in his rooms in the place d'Orléans, Chopin's pupils 'invariably played a grand piano while the master taught or accompanied them on a small upright ('cottage piano').' Both instruments were made by Pleyel.[43] Chopin, wrote Lenz, 'would never give a lesson on any other instrument; one had to have a Pleyel!'[44] Eigeldinger explains that

> from the time of the début concert, a more or less exclusive verbal contract was drawn up between Pleyel and Chopin: the former would lend his instruments and salons to the latter, who would promote them to his pupils because of their distinctive qualities and his own strong preferences.[45]

Later, Pleyel moved to the rue de Rochechouart (Plates Int 17, Int 18), and here the *Salons Pleyel* held its inaugural concert in December 1839.[46]

Paris was a magnet for virtuoso pianists at a time when, as Eigeldinger puts it, Frédéric Kalkbrenner, who was closely involved with the Pleyel firm, 'reigned over the world of Parisian pianists and pedagogues'. [47] Chopin declined to have lessons with Kalkbrenner, though he dedicated his Piano Concerto in E minor (Op.11) to him, and Chopin was one of six pianists (Chopin, Hiller, Kalkbrenner, Osborne, Sowiński, Stamaty) who performed Kalkbrenner's *Grande polonaise* in 1832. [48] Other pianists in Paris, among many others, included George Osborne, who lived there from 1826 to 1843, and was one of the four pianists who accompanied Chopin on 26 February 1832 in a performance of his F minor piano concerto (Op.21). [49] Also in Paris were Hallé (from 1836 to 1848), Liszt (from 1823 to 1835), Moscheles (1839), Johann Peter Pixis (from 1823-1840), Tellefsen (from 1842 to 1874), Thalberg, and Charles-Valentin Alkan (Plate Int 18a). [50] Alkan, whose real name was Morhange, 'was one of the leading piano virtuosos of the 19th century and one of its most unusual composers, remarkable in both technique and imagination, yet largely ignored by his own and succeeding generations'. Alkan met Chopin in 1832 at the Pole's first Parisian concert. Soon, Alkan 'came under the spell of Chopin, whose close friendship he enjoyed and whose music he much admired. He was friendly too with George Sand and others of their circle'. [51]

Although Chopin's connections with the Czartoryskis, and other Polish families, played their part in his establishment in Paris, Jolanta Pekacz has stressed that

> it seems more likely that it was the salons of the cosmopolitan aristocracy, such as that of the Austrian ambassador, Count Antoine Apponyi, and those of the rich Parisian bourgeoisie, such as the bankers James de Rothschild and Auguste Léo, that decided Chopin's fate at the end of 1832. At that time, Baroness de Rothschild became one of Chopin's first pupils; we also see him in the presence of the banker Léo, as documented by his wife, and at the New Year's concert given in the Austrian Embassy by Count and Countess Apponyi, together with Rossini, Kalkbrenner, and Liszt.

It seems probable, too, that Prince Walenty Radziwiłł's connections with Parisian bankers and freemasons 'did mean more to Chopin at the time than did the influence of the Polish aristocracy'. [52]

Chopin, in his performances in Paris, was drawing on his experience elsewhere, notably in Poland. [53] As Halina Goldberg has demonstrated, before Chopin left Warsaw, he had played frequently in homes and salons in the city. [54] Goldberg identifies two stages in Chopin's 'participation in the world of aristocratic salons'. She explains:

> The first stage officially began with the charity concert organised by Countess Zamoyska in February 1818. It stands to reason, however, that the aristocracy had become acquainted with Fryderyk's pianistic skill beforehand. Once the young virtuoso grew to be known in the fashionable aristocratic world of Warsaw, featuring a performance by him in a musical soirée became chic. [55]

Chopin also maintained a relationship in Warsaw with the Russian imperial family. During the second stage, from 1827 to 1830, Chopin

> was no longer regarded as a *Wunderkind* but as a budding professional whose art embodied the newest aesthetic trends. He was welcomed not only for his musical gifts but also for his charm, wit, and intellect. Having been exposed to the salon atmosphere since his earliest years, he felt at ease in the company of aristocrats, political leaders, and the intellectual and artistic avant-garde of Warsaw.

His 'elegant presence and astounding performances were highly sought after', Goldberg continues. 'At times Chopin complained that he was so busy socially that he could not find time for composition'. [56] In 1829, Andrzej Edward Koźmian, reporting on his attendance at the famous Parisian salon of Countess Apponyi ('*la divine Thérèse*'), remarked that the salons of Warsaw and Paris did not differ much. [57] Small wonder, then, that Chopin fitted so easily into the musical life of the French capital.

Among Chopin's other friends in Paris was Jean-Jacques Herbault, who worked in the Pleyel factory in Paris, and was Chopin's piano tuner. [58] Writing from Paris to Fontana, then in New York, on 4 April 1848, Chopin commended Herbault to him:

> Welcome this dear friend Herbault as if he were my father or elder brother, and hence a better man than I. He was the first acquaintance I made in Paris when I arrived from Poland. I conjure you by the memory of our schooldays to be as cordial as possible towards him, for he deserves it. He is in every way a worthy, enlightened and good fellow, and he will love you in spite of your bald head. [59]

In Herbault, Chopin had a link with the Pleyel firm similar to that provided later by A J Hipkins with the Broadwoods in London. [60]

James Schudi Broadwood, then head of the piano manfacturers John Broadwood and Sons, may well have met Chopin in Paris during the 1830s, where Broadwood and Pleyel were at one in opposing the rival firm of Érard. [61] Other Englishmen whom Chopin encountered in Paris during the 1830s included Henry Fothergill Chorley, music critic of the *Athenaeum* from 1833 to 1868, and author of *Thirty years' musical recollections* (1862); [62] from Henry Hewlett's account, it seems likely that Chopin and Chorley first met on one of the writer's visits to France in 1836, 1837 or 1839 (the year Chorley met Mendelssohn, when the composer was conducting his 'St Paul' in Brunswick). [63] 'Although Chorley began working for the *Athenaeum* full time in January, 1836,' notes Robert Terrell Bledsoe, 'he was not its music critic at first: John Ella was'. Many reviews in the *Athenaeum* remain unattributed, but 'it is certain that Chorley wrote most reviews from 1835 on. And it was because of Chorley's reviews that by the end of the 1830s the *Athenaeum* earned a reputation as a musical authority unusual for a general-interest publication.' [64] In Chorley, Chopin had a critical ally and supporter.

Finally, Chopin's years in Paris have to be viewed in the context of his failing health.[65] As William Atwood has explained, 'during Chopin's first few weeks in Paris, the twenty-one-year-old youth enjoyed unusually good health and gadded about the city with frenetic energy. The only illness that afflicted him then was one he aptly diagnosed as "consumption of the wallet"'.[66] Despite his father's repeated warnings to look after his finances and health, 'his advice generally went unheeded. The temptations of the opera, concert hall, and theatre, not to mention the innumerable soirées to which the elegant newcomer was invited, kept him on an exhausting social treadmill that soon aggravated the consumption of that of his wallet and that of his lungs'.[67] Although 'the most commonly accepted interpretation of Chopin's illness is that it was caused by tuberculosis', there is considerable doubt about this, and Chopin's medical history is complex.[68] One of Chopin's most trusted physicians in Paris was Dr Jean Jacques Molin, a homeopath, who also treated George Sand. 'Although the doctor's cough medicine (gum water with sugar and opium) made him sleepy', Atwood writes, 'Chopin preferred it to the harsh laxatives, leeches, blood-letting, and blistering applications prescribed by most allopaths of the time. Dr Molin, Chopin claimed, had the "secret of getting me back on my feet again". During the severe winter of 1847, he even credited Molin with saving his life and refused to leave for England in 1848 without the doctor's consent'.[69]

The 'founding father of homeopathy' was Samuel Hahnemann (Plates Int 19, Int 20). Homeopathy (from the Greek words *homoin*, meaning similar, and *pathos*, meaning disease) claimed that the success of all medical therapy was based on 'the law of similars'. This means that

> any given illness could best be cured by those drugs that created symptoms similar to the disease itself. This was directly opposite to the ideas of most allopaths (physicians practising the conventional medicine of the day) who chose remedies designed to oppose rather than mimic the disease under treatment. Furthermore,

> Hahnemann emphasized that the therapeutic dose of the curative agent must be *very small*, in fact almost infinitesimal.[70]

After a varied early career, Hahnemann ended up in Paris in 1835, and he and his second wife, Melanie (*née* the Marquise d'Hervilly) established a clinic at No 1 rue de Milan, which became popular among an upper-class clientele. [71] Patients of the Hahnemanns included musicians and British aristocrats, such as Lady Belfast, Luigi Cherubini, Lindsay Coutts, Lord and Lady Elgin (he of the Elgin marbles), the Erskine family, the Countess of Hopetoun, Frederic Kalkbrenner and his family, Lady Kinnair, the Duchess of Melford, Nicolò Paganini, Baron de Rothschild, Marion Russell (a niece of Jane Stirling), Henri Scheffer, and Jane Stirling and the Stirling family. [72] Although committed to homeopathy, Chopin was never a patient of the Hahnemanns; however, Dr Henry V Malan, the British doctor who treated Chopin in London in 1848, spent some eighteen months with Samuel Hahnemann in Paris in 1841 and 1842.[73] Back in Paris, after his sojourn in Britain, it was to homeopaths that Chopin turned in his distress. He relied on their ministrations until the end of his life.[74]

ENDNOTES

1 For an analysis of biographies of Chopin, see Harasowski, *Skein of legends around Chopin, passim.* Niecks' *Chopin*, referred to often in this thesis, is considered by Harasowski in a chapter entitled 'An early destroyer of legends', pp.93-105. More recently, see Zbigniew Skowron, 'Creating a legend or reporting the facts? Chopin as a performer in the biographical accounts of F Liszt, M A Szulc, and F Niecks', in *Chopin in performance: history, theory, practice,* edited by Artur Szklener (Warsaw: NiFC, 2005), pp.9-22.

Broad biographical issues are considered in Pekacz, 'Chopin's biography as a cultural discourse', *passim,* and Samson, 'Myth and reality: a biographical introduction', *passim.*

2 Locke, 'Paris: centre of intellectual ferment', p.44. For further coverage of music, see Barzun, 'Paris in 1830', and other essays in Bloom, *Music in Paris in the eighteen thirties.*

3 For architectural background, see Atwood, *Parisian worlds*, especially 'Paris à la Galignani', pp.1-40. For monuments, see Mathieu and Bellenger, *Paris 1837, passim.*

4 This and the previous paragraph draw on the entry 'Paris, §II, 5(ii): Urban development: Restoration and the July Monarchy, 1815-1848', in *Grove art online.*

5 For Chopin's Paris apartments, see Atwood, *Parisian worlds*, pp. 1-40, and the list on p.415; Delapierre, *Chopin à Paris*, *passim*; and Simeone, *Paris. A musical gazetteer*, especially pp.46-8. A map of Paris, showing the situation of Chopin's

apartments, is in Pistone, *Sur les traces de Frédéric Chopin*, p.11. The locations of the theatres and concert halls, and the apartments of Berlioz, Marie d'Agoult, Delacroix, Liszt, Charlotte Marliani, and others, can be seen in the map of Paris reproduced in Burger, *Chopin*, pp.84-5.

George Sand lived at No 5 place d'Orléans from 1842. See Simeone, *Paris. A musical gazetteer*, p.47. Here, and elsewhere, Simeone valuably specifies the Parisian arrondissements.

6 Zamoyski, 'Paris', pp.91-2.

7 Zamoyski, *Chopin*, p.97.

8 For Poles in Paris, see Atwood, *Parisian worlds, passim*; Kramer, *Threshold of a new world,* pp.182-3; Pekacz, 'Chopin and Polish exiles in Paris, 1831-49', *passim*; and Zamoyski, *Chopin*, pp.87-114. See also the table, 'Prominent foreign intellectuals in France between 1830 and 1848', in Kramer, *Threshold of a new world*, Appendix I, p. 235. Portraits of Chopin's Parisian friends can be found, for example, in Burger, *Chopin*, pp.89-93.

9 Samson, *Chopin*, p.134. In this context, see Suchowiejko, 'Les pianistes Polonais', *passim*.

10 Samson, *Chopin*, p.134.

11 See the chapter 'Mickiewicz in Paris: exile and the new nationalism', in Kramer, *Threshold of a new world*, pp.176-228.

12 Samson, *Chopin*, p.134.

13 Goldberg, "Remembering that tale of grief", p.91.

14 Kallberg, 'Hearing Poland: Chopin and nationalism', pp.222, 223. This article concentrates on Chopin's mazurkas, as does Barbara Milewski's 'Chopin's mazurkas and the myth of the folk'. See also Trochimczyk, 'Chopin and the "Polish race"', *passim*, and, more generally, Jones, 'Nationalism', particularly pp.176-80, and the chapter 'The spirit of Poland', in Samson, *Music of Chopin*, pp.100-19.

15 From 'Edvard Grieg', *Musical Times*, February 1888, pp.73-6, quoted by Carley, *Edvard Grieg in England*, p.3. In 1998, the display in the entrance hall of the Polish American Cultural Center in Philadelphia featured three Poles: Chopin, Mme Marie Curie, and Pope John Paul II.

16 For Witwicki see Rambeau, 'Chopin et son poète, Stefan Witwicki', *passim*. Witwicki is also considered in Samson, *Music of Chopin*, pp.101-3.

17 See the tabulation of songs in Brown, *Index of Chopin's works*, p.203, and in the entry on Chopin by Kornel Michałowski and Jim Samson in *Grove music online*. Detailed descriptions are in Kobylańska, *T-BW*, pp.181-208.

18 Samson, *Chopin*, p.310.

19 For settings of Chopin ballades to words by Mickiewicz, see Witten, 'Ballads and ballades', *passim*. For Chopin's connections with Mickiewicz, Witwicki, Krasiński, and Słowacki, see the articles listed in Smialek, *Chopin*, pp.120-2. For a wider context, see Goldberg, 'Chopin in literary salons and Warsaw's romantic awakening', *passim*. A biographical context is provided by Koropeckyj, *Adam Mickiewicz*, *passim*.

20 For the Chopin portrait see Ewals, *Ary Scheffer: gevierd romanticus*, pp.267-9, and Ewals, *Ary Scheffer*, p.82. A second portrait of Chopin by Scheffer, formerly owned by Chopin's sister Justyna Izabela Barcińska, was lost in 1863 when the palace

of the Zamoyskis in Warsaw was destroyed by fire. See W-S, 'Jane Stirling's letters', p. 61n4.

21 Chopin biographers say little about Scheffer. Although referred to several times by Niecks, Scheffer does not appear in the indices of either Hedley, *Chopin*, or Samson, *Chopin*, and has only one entry in Zamoyski, *Chopin*. The index of names in Eigeldinger, *Chopin vu par ses élèves*, lists only a passing reference to Scheffer in a footnote (p.188n183). The index to Atwood, *Parisian worlds*, has just two entries under 'Scheffer'.

22 See Rigby, *Hallé*, pp.55-6.

23 Quoted from Leo Ewals' article on Scheffer in *Grove art online*.

24 For Scheffer's portraits of musicians, see Davison, 'The musician in iconography', *passim*, especially p.158, and plate 5. See also Ruhlmann, 'Chopin-Franchomme', pp.83-5. For comparison between portraits of Chopin and Liszt, including those by Scheffer, see Gétreau, 'Romantic pianists in Paris', *passim*. The popularity of engravings by Antoine Louis of paintings by Scheffer of Mignon and Marguerite, as they appear in operas by Ambroise Thomas, is considered in Lacombe, *Keys to French opera in the nineteenth century*, pp.276-9, and plates 32-4.

Ary Scheffer's younger brother, Henri Scheffer, was also a painter, and his portraits may have included Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, Samuel Hahnemann (Plate Int 20), and 'Jane Stirling and two other women' (Plate 5.3).

25 See Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.291, quoting Thomas Erskine, of Linlathen. For Jane Stirling and Scheffer's portraits of Chopin, see W-S, 'Jane Stirling's letters', p.61n4.

26 Grote, *Memoir of the life of Ary Scheffer*, pp.115-19. For the Manchester exhibition, see Hunt and Whitfield, *Art treasures in Manchester: 150 years on, passim*.

For Scheffer's portrait of Chopin, commissioned by Jane Stirling, see W-S, 'Jane Stirling's letters', p.61n4. It was later owned by Édouard Ganche, and is reproduced in Ganche, *Dans le souvenir de Frédéric Chopin*, facing p.54. On pp.101-49, Ganche has a section (dedicated to 'Mme Anne D. Houstoun') entitled 'Jane Stirling et sa correspondance'.

27 Hallé, *Autobiography*, pp.97-8. The quotation is from the chapter entitled 'Paris, 1838-48'. This is puzzling, as it seems that the Liszt painting was not completed until 1854. See Ewals, *Ary Scheffer: gevierd romanticus*, pp.296-300.

28 Hallé, *Autobiography*, pp.96-7, and Rigby, *Hallé*, pp.55-6. For Hallé's key statement of his impressions of Chopin, see Hallé, *Life and letters*, pp.31-3. Hallé's period in Paris from 1836-1848 is considered in Beale, *Hallé*, pp.26-38.

29 See Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.33. Chopin to his family in Warsaw [10/19 August 1848]. This letter is also quoted in Bone, *Jane Stirling*, pp.68-9.

30 Eastlake, *Mrs Grote. A sketch*, p.98.

31 Grote, *Memoir of the life of Ary Scheffer*, pp.91-2, and pp.119-20 in reprint of 2nd edition of 1860. For Mrs Gaskell's visits to Scheffer's studio, see Gérin, *Elizabeth Gaskell*, p.157.

32 For the context of the Théâtre-Italien and the Opéra, see Johnson, *Listening in Paris*, pp.182-96, 239-56. Details of the repertoire at the Théâtre-Italien appear in Gossett, 'Music at the Théâtre-Italien', pp.327-64.

33 Hedley, *Chopin*, p.44.

34 Hedley, *Chopin*, p.58. Bellini, a Sicilian, was honoured on 8 May 2007 with the opening to the public of Vincenzo Bellini Catania-Fontanarossa Airport.

35 Samson, *Chopin*, p.80.

36 For Mario's debut see Pistone, *Italian opera*, p.221.

37 Samson, *Chopin*, pp.80-1.

38 Eigeldinger, *Chopin vu par ses élèves*, pp.150-1.

39 Samson, *Chopin*, p.81.

40 Samson, *Chopin*, p.81.

41 For Camille Pleyel, see the Personalia section of the thesis.

42 Eigeldinger, 'Chopin and Pleyel', p.389.

43 Eigeldinger, 'Chopin and Pleyel', p.392.

44 Lenz, *Great piano virtuosos of our time* (Baker), p.56. For background to these remarks, see the commentary by Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger in Lenz, *Les grands virtuoses du piano* (Eigeldinger), *passim*. Lenz gives a valuable insight into Chopin's personality and teaching methods.

45 Eigeldinger, 'Chopin and Pleyel', p.91.

46 For the Parisian context of the *Salons Pleyel*, see the entry on 'salle de concert' in Fauquet, *Dictionnaire de la musique en France au XIXe siècle*, pp.1113-4.

47 Eigeldinger, *Chopin: pianist and teacher*, p.95.

48 Pistone, 'Pianistes et concerts parisiens au temps de Frédéric Chopin', p.48.

49 See the entry on Osborne by R H Legge, revised by Rosemary Firmin, in *Grove music online*. See Chapter 7 of the thesis for Osborne in Manchester in 1848.

50 See the pianists considered by Pistone, 'Pianistes et concerts parisiens au temps de Frédéric Chopin', *passim*, notably the tabulation on pp.48-50.

51 See the entry on Alkan by Hugh Macdonald in *Grove music online*. For Alkan's relationship with Chopin see, particularly, Eddie, *Alkan*, pp.6-11.

See also Fauquet, 'La musique de chambre à Paris', and the essays in Bloom, *Music in Paris in the eighteen-thirties*. For Chopin's concerts in Paris, see Jones, 'Piano music for concert hall and salon', especially pp.160-2, and Ritterman, 'Piano music and the public concert', *passim*.

52 Pekacz, 'Chopin and Polish exiles in Paris, 1831-1849), p.168. See also Pekacz, 'Chopin's biography as a cultural discourse', *passim*. Pekacz also touches on this issue in 'Musical biography and its discontents', pp.71-3. Pekacz's view that Chopin was apolitical is challenged by Goldberg, "Remembering that tale of grief", p.88n19. For Goldberg's own opinion, see p.61 of her essay.

53 For bibliographical guides to Polish music see, notably, Michałowski, *Chopin bibliography* (ongoing), and Michałowski, *Polish music literature*, *passim*.

54 See, particularly, Goldberg, *Music in Chopin's Warsaw*, notably pp.147-76, and Goldberg, 'Chopin in literary salons and Warsaw's romantic awakening', *passim*.

55 Goldberg, *Music in Chopin's Warsaw*, pp.156-7.

56 Goldberg, *Music in Chopin's Warsaw*, pp.159-60.

57 Quoted by Goldberg, *Music in Chopin's Warsaw*, p.153n12. Chopin later frequented Countess Apponyi's salon, and dedicated his Two Nocturnes (Op.27) to her.

58 For Herbault, see the Personalia section of the thesis.

59 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.311. This letter also appears in Opieński, *Chopin letters*, p.49, where Chopin's friend is called 'Herbaut'.

60 For Hipkins, see the Personalia section of the thesis.

61 See Wainwright, *Broadwood by appointment*, pp.135-6.

62 For Chorley, see Robert Bledsoe, *Chorley*, *passim*, and Bledsoe's articles on Chorley in *Grove music online*, and *Oxford DNB online*.

63 Hewlett, *Chorley*, volume 2, pp.303-4. For Chorley's meeting with Mendelssohn, see Bledsoe, 'Mendelssohn's canonical status in England', pp.143-4. Chorley presented Mendelssohn with a letter of introduction from Moscheles.

64 Bledsoe, *Chorley*, pp.45-6.

65 Speculation about Chopin's health is a veritable industry. Key sources are Neumayr, *Music and medicine*, volume 3, pp.11-137, and O'Shea, *Music and medicine*, pp.140-54. For a recent Polish study, see Sielużycki, *Chopin. Geniusz cierpiący*, *passim*.

66 Atwood, *Parisian worlds*, p.331. Atwood then considers the possibility that Chopin may have picked up venereal disease in Paris. William Atwood, formerly a

dermatologist in private practice in New York City, provides a wide conspectus of Parisian medicine and medical education in his book, *Parisian worlds*, notably on pp. 330-55.

67 Atwood, *Parisian worlds*, pp.331-2. For the context of Chopin and homeopathy in Paris, see Atwood, *Parisian worlds*, pp.348-55, and Handley, *A homeopathic love story*, *passim*, and *In search of the later Hahnemann, passim*. A study by Bernard Charton of Chopin's health from a homeopathic perspective is in Charton and Barbancey, *Personnes et personnages*, pp.74-93. A view of alternative medicine in the 19th century, including homeopathy, can be found in Cooter, *Studies in the history of alternative medicine, passim*. For a definition and critique of homeopathy, by Alan W Cuthbert, see Blakemore and Jennett, *Oxford companion to the body*, pp.361-2. For advice on homeopathy, I am grateful to Rima Handley and Francis Treuherz.

68 O'Shea, *Music and medicine*, p.149. O'Shea presents the 'diagnostic possibilities' on pp.149-51, and a table of evidence for and against tuberculosis on p. 152. Tuberculosis is also central to Long, *The case of Frederic Chopin*, pp.1-35. O'Shea makes no mention of Dr Molin, but see Neumeyr, *Music and medicine*, vol.3, pp.89-90, 105, 124-5. In medical terminology, 'tuberculosis' and 'consumption' are virtually synonymous.

Among recent articles on Chopin's health are Kuzemko, 'Chopin's illnesses', *passim;* and Kubba and Young, 'The long suffering of Frederic Chopin', *passim*, and 'Communications to the editor', *passim*.

69 Atwood, *Parisian worlds*, pp.348-9. Dr Molin treated Chopin from 1843 to 1848. His obituary (which I have not seen) is in the *British Journal of Homeopathy*, January 1849. See also the Personalia section of the thesis, p.492.

70 Atwood, *Parisian worlds*, pp.347-8.

71 For biographical background to the Hahnemanns, see Waugh, *Christian Samuel Hahnemann, passim,* and Haehl, *Hahnemann, passim.* The coloured frontispiece to volume 1 of this edition (reproduced as Plate Int 20 of the thesis) has the title 'SAMUEL HAHNEMANN, BY SCHEFFER', but no more details are given. Handley, *A homeopathic love story*, p.112, says that this portrait was by Henri Scheffer.

72 For details of patients of the Hahnemanns, see Handley, *A homeopathic love story*, especially pp.105-16, 246-7, and Handley, *In search of the later Hahnemann*, especially pp.20-3, 224-6.

Bone, *Jane Stirling*, p.49, draws attention to Jane Stirling 'bringing a young boy of 12 down from Paisley in 1838 to Paris to be treated by Hahnemann.... When Hahnemann moved to Paris in 1835, he lived at No 1 rue de Milan. This is particularly interesting remembering the undated letter from Lamennais to Jane, saying he would meet her and Chopin, at their request, at No 3 rue de Milan'. Could this be a mistake for No 1 rue de Milan?

73 Handley, *A homeopathic love story*, p.204. Malan's admiration for Hahnemann, is recorded here: '[Hahnemann] usually expounds his teaching with wonderful exactness and great erudition. He maintains throughout that pleasant modesty which was always characteristic of him'.

74 Atwood, *Parisian worlds*, p.351, astutely observes that had Chopin followed the recommendations of his allopathic physicians, instead of homeopaths, he would have been subject to 'debilitating measures'. See Atwood's further discussion on pp.351-5.

Chapter 1
LONDON: Summer 1837

The year 1837 marked a significant stage in Chopin's life. Professionally, he had established himself in Paris as both composer and performer; personally, his friendship with the teenage Maria Wodzińska, whose brothers had stayed with the Chopins in Warsaw, was coming to an end. Moreover, the previous autumn he had been introduced by Liszt to George Sand. Bovy's bronze portrait medallion of 1837, with its idealized profile and flowing locks, encapsulates Chopin's status in Parisian musical life at this moment (Plate 1.1). Yet all was not well with him.

In Dresden, in 1835, Chopin had taken further his friendship with Maria, and his hopes of hearing from the Wodźinski family that they agreed to his marriage to their daughter must have been a constant strain. By June 1837, he was, Jim Samson notes, 'in a state of some anguish'.[1] With the approach of summer, 'as Paris society evacuated to the country or abroad, Chopin turned down several invitations for the summer months, including one from Nohant'. He had been hoping to meet Maria once more and to extract a final response from her parents. Reluctant to leave Paris for any length of time until this matter had been resolved, Chopin must have regarded the opportunity to spend two weeks in London with Camille Pleyel as an acceptable compromise.[2]

Chopin's passport, issued on 7 July 1837 by the French police, describes his physical characteristics: he was 5ft 7 inches (1.70 cm) tall, with fair hair, clear skin, and blue-grey eyes (Plate 1.2).[3] On 10 July Chopin and Pleyel left Paris for London.[4] In the 1830s, travellers between the two cities still had to make their journies to and from the Channel ports of Dover and Calais by horse-drawn stage coach: you could travel within a day between Paris and Calais, or Dover and London, but the roads were poor, and there was always the danger of being robbed by highwaymen. Equally perilous was crossing the English Channel itself. Boats, such as the steam packet Ariel, in which

Prince Albert travelled to Dover in 1840, were small, and tossed about in the waves (Plate 1.3). Passengers, often seasick, travelled on deck with little shelter. Landing could be difficult, as harbours on both sides of the Channel were shallow and ill-protected against storms. Ships frequently had to wait offshore at Dover or Calais until the tide was high enough for them to enter the harbour; alternatively, rather than be delayed, some passengers preferred to pay local boatmen to ferry them to the nearest beach (Plate 1.4).[5] Chopin and Pleyel survived this hazardous journey, but not entirely happily. 'I will tell you later,' Chopin wrote to Fontana when he reached London, 'what agreeable thoughts and disagreeable sensations the sea gave me, and also the impression made on my nose by this sooty Italian sky'.[6] It is likely that Chopin and Pleyel stayed overnight in Dover, perhaps in Wright's Hotel, or in one of the coaching-inns which preceded the hotels in Dover, Folkestone, and Newhaven built later by railway companies for cross-Channel travellers (Plate 1.5).[7]

Camille Pleyel had separated from his wife, the pianist Marie Moke, two years previously. His friendship with Chopin was important on several counts. We have seen already that Chopin's first concert in Paris in 1832 had taken place at 'Les Salons de MM. Pleyel et Cie', and that his preferred piano was a Pleyel. For his part, Pleyel had already established connections with the Broadwood firm in Paris, and must have wished to take them further by visiting Broadwoods' in London.[8] London musical life was a draw in itself: Camille Pleyel had already experienced it in 1815, when he performed as a pianist before royalty and at the London Philharmonic Society, and in a two-piano recital with Kalkbrenner. 'In addition', writes Rita Benton, 'he gave piano lessons, examined pianos and reported to his father on their construction.'[9] And he linked up, among piano makers, with Thomas Tomkison, as well as the Broadwoods.[10]

Architecturally, London had just experienced the dramatic changes brought about by the great architects and speculators of the Georgian period: John Shury's *Plan of London* of 1833, and Shepherd's engraved views, in his *Metropolitan improvements* of 1829, demonstrate the character of recent building.[11] Whereas in the City of London, for

instance, St Paul's Cathedral still towered over Ludgate Hill and Fleet Street, to the north-west Nash's Regent Street cascaded south to Piccadilly Circus, Waterloo Place, and the Embankment (Plates 1.6, 1.7, 1.8). Here, and in the churches, civic buildings, squares and terraces which formed part of the great expansion of London, it was urban classicism which held sway, as it did in the centres of Bath and Edinburgh and, later, Newcastle. This was the area north of the Thames in which Chopin was to stay in 1837, safely away from the poverty of much London life elsewhere.

Chopin and Pleyel were in London from 11-22 July. Once they arrived, the composer was looked after by a friend from Warsaw, Stanisław Egbert Koźmian, poet and Polish patriot who, with his younger brother John Koźmian, had fled Poland after the insurrection of 1831 (Plates 1.9, 1.10). [12] John settled in France, Stanisław in England. Stanisław's translations from English into Polish included works by Shakespeare, and poems by Byron, Cowper, Shelley, Southey, and the Irish writer Thomas Moore. In addition, Stanisław translated passages on Poland written by the Scottish poet and journalist Thomas Campbell, and later, in 1862, published in Poznań a two-volume collection of his own essays about England and Poland, entitled *Anglia i Polska*. Koźmian was Secretary of the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland, founded in London by Campbell in March 1832, and described by a biographer of Campbell as 'one of the proudest monuments of British philanthropy'. [13] Later, the association was led by another acquaintance of Chopin, Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart, 'after Campbell, the most constant and devoted friend of the Poles in England' (Plate 1.11). [14]

The purpose of this association, according to its first prospectus, was the 'collecting and diffusing all such information as may tend to interest the public mind in respect to Poland, and also the collecting and distribution of funds for the relief of Polish refugees' forced into exile by the tyranny of Czar Nicholas I of Russia. [15] Through the influence of Coutts Stuart, a Parliamentary grant of £10,000 was twice obtained 'for the relief of Polish political exiles'. The most distinguished supporter of the association was Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, now exiled in Paris. The association's rooms in

London were in Sussex Chambers, No 10 Duke Street, St James's, and there were branches in Warwick, Birmingham, and Aberdeen. It published its own periodical. According to Teresa Ostrowska, most members of the association were Englishmen. 'Among them', she notes, 'were aristocrats, Members of Parliament, men of letters and arts, and industrialists. The Association provided relief to the refugees and furthered the Polish cause at the international forum'. As Koźmian observed, it promoted Polish interests among Englishmen, both 'in the most select drawing rooms and at popular gatherings.' [16] Among the 'popular gatherings', held to raise money, was the Annual Grand Dress and Fancy Ball at Guildhall in 1848 at which Chopin played.

Mariań Kukiel describes the association more fully:

> When [Czartoryski] left London in autumn 1832 for a few months' sojourn in Paris, he left behind many devoted and active British friends ready to raise their voice in defence of the freedom of his country even at the risk of displeasing the government. The Literary Association of Friends of Poland, founded by the exertions of Niemcewicz and presided over originally by the poet Thomas Campbell (then by Thomas Wentworth Beaumont, and later on for many years by Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart), became a valuable political instrument by organizing meetings, manifestations, and petitions and proved a real blessing for the Polish refugees in Britain. [17]

During his stay in Britain, then, Chopin maintained his connections with fellow-Poles through the good offices of Koźmian and Coutts Stuart, and through such Polish friends as the Czartoryskis.

On 3 July, a week before Chopin left Paris, his friend Julian Fontana (Plate 1.12), who was staying with the composer at No 38 rue de la Chaussée d'Antin, wrote to Koźmian in London:

Guess who is going to London on Saturday the 8th of this month? Before I tell you I must urge you to keep it a secret and not to divulge it to anyone. It is Chopin. He will stay in London for a week or ten days at most. He will be sightseeing and will want to see no one. He will be travelling in absolute secrecy and I ask you again to keep this news to yourself. You should have the will to keep a secret for two whole weeks if this letter reaches you early enough. I am writing to you about it only because I talked to him about you and assured him that he would find you an excellent guide, an advisor, and a pleasant companion.

Fontana is in no doubt about Chopin's virtues. 'I am sure you will find him a fine person', he tells Koźmian, 'a man of lofty ideals, equal to any of our own celebrities or of any other European ones. I can assure you that you will not get bored with him.' [18]

Fontana supplemented this recommendation by giving Chopin a letter to present to Koźmian when he arrived in London, addressed to him at No 28 Sherrard Street, Golden Square:

I am writing to you in behalf of Chopin who is about to leave. It's almost as if I were coming too, for we are both packing and getting ready to go -- I to the Île-de-France and he to your part of the world. Well, he will hand this letter to you. I am sure you will be glad of the opportunity of getting to know him better.... I have promised him that he will find in you an agreeable companion and an excellent adviser in everything concerned with London. I know you will render him every friendly service if you can help him in any way. You have long known how I feel about him -- I need say no more.

Chopin, adds Fontana,

is coming for a short stay -- a week or ten days -- to get a breath of English air. He does not wish to meet anyone, so I beg you to keep his visit secret,

> otherwise he will have all the artists after him, together with the leading male violinist or else that female Paganini.

Finally, Fontana asks Koźmian to give Chopin the address of a good hotel in his neighbourhood, should he know of one. 'I'm recommending the Sablonnière [*sic*] to him', Fontana adds, 'as I can't remember any other names'. [19] And it was there that Chopin and Pleyel may well have stayed.

The Sablonière Hotel had been in existence since 1788 at Nos 29-31 Leicester Square, not far from the King's Theatre in the Haymarket. In 1816 it was being described as a French establishment where 'a *table d'hôte* affords the lovers of French cookery and French conversation, an opportunity for gratification at a comparatively moderate charge'; [20] on his visit to London in 1848, Chopin reported that Marc Caussidière, a Parisian police-chief, had been thrown out of the hotel with the shouts: 'You are no Frenchman!'. [21] As can be seen from C J Smith's watercolour of about 1830, the Sablonière consisted of two four-storeyed houses, apparently rendered, each with a front three-windows wide (Plate 1.13). Although situated in a busy part of London, north of the Thames, at the south end of Regent Street, the Sablonière was by no means architecturally pretentious. To judge by its exterior, it was modest rather than luxurious. The hotel was demolished in 1869, and replaced shortly afterwards by new buildings for Archibishop Tenison's School.

Chopin thanked Fontana for recommending him to Stanisław Koźmian, without whom, he said, he would have been 'lost in London'. [22] In a letter to his brother, of July 1837, Koźmian explains how he set about entertaining the composer. [23] 'Chopin has been here for two weeks incognito', Koźmian writes. Chopin, he continues,

> knows no one and does not wish to know any one but me. I spend the whole day with him and sometimes even the whole night, as yesterday. He is here with Pleyel, famous for his pianos and for his wife's adventures. They

> have come to 'do' London. They are staying at one of the best hotels, they have a carriage, and in a word they are simply looking for the chance to spend money. [24]

Chopin and Koźmian did some sightseeing: one day they went to Windsor, another to Richmond, with view of the Thames from Richmond Hill, and another to see the fishquays at London's Blackwall (Plate 1.14). Arthur Hedley -- after observing that Chopin 'was by no means in England for the sake of his health and he was not afraid to spend money on seeing the sights' -- expands the list of places visited by the composer to include Hampton Court, Chichester, Brighton, and Arundel (Plates 1.15, 1.16). Apparently Chopin was at Arundel during a Parliamentary election campaign, when his friend, Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart, was a Liberal candidate. Sitting on top of a stage coach, Hedley writes, Chopin witnessed all the excitements of a Dickensian election -- not unlike the one at Eatanswill described in the *Pickwick Papers* -- joining in the fun 'with gestures and exclamations' (Plate 1.17). [25] Although Coutts Stuart, who had been Member of Parliament for Arundel since 1832, lost his seat on this occasion to Lord Fitz-Alan, he subsequently returned to the House of Commons, and was MP for Marylebone from 1847 until his death in 1854. [26]

Chopin's own impressions of London are forthright. He tells Fontana to explain to Jan Matuszyński that one can have a good time in London,

> if one stays only a short time and takes care. There are such tremendous things! Huge urinals, but all the same nowhere to have a proper p[ee]! As for the English women, the horses, the palaces, the carriages, the wealth, the splendour, the space, the trees -- everything from soap to razors -- it's all extraordinary, all uniform, all very proper, all well-washed BUT as black as a gentleman's bottom!

'Let me give you a kiss -- on the *face*', Chopin ends. [27]

Chopin's visit to London coincided with a period during which music flourished in the city. The 'professionalization of music' in London during the 1830s and 1840s was balanced by the social changes which saw the waxing and waning of such organisations as the Philharmonic Society and the Concerts of Ancient Music.[28] Music journals prospered.[29] Chamber music became increasingly popular. Music publishing thrived.. Louis Jullien and others promoted 'low-status' concerts.[30] And the Italian opera, at the King's Theatre, enjoyed what Sachs calls 'good times', notably under Pierre François Laporte, who was later joined there by Benjamin Lumley.[31]

Unsurprisingly, visits to the opera featured in Chopin's time in London.[32] 'I often go to the opera', Koźmian told his brother, and Chopin evidently went with him.[33] Koźmian specifically mentions performances by the Italian soprano Giuditta Pasta (Plate 1.18), one of the operatic stars whom Chopin would have heard in Paris, especially as she was closely associated with Bellini: her creation of the title role in Donizetti's *Anna Bolena* (1830) was followed by that of Amina in Bellini's *La sonnambula* (1831), and the title roles in his *Norma* (1831) and *Beatrice di Tenda* (1833). 'Pasta was marvellous in *Medea* and *Romeo*', Koźmian notes, referring to her London performances, 'but I did not see *Ildegonde* because Chopin refuses to go to hear boring music'.[34] These operas were staged in the King's Theatre in the Haymarket (renamed Her Majesty's later in 1837, on the accession of Queen Victoria) which had been remodelled and given an external arcade by John Nash and G S Repton in 1816-18 (Plates 1.19, 1.20). Laporte, the manager of the theatre from 1828-31, and 1833-42, employed Michael Costa as conductor, and 'introduced Sontag, Lablache, Rubini, Grisi, Persiani, Viardot and Mario to London audiences, and mounted the London premières of *Le comte Ory, Il pirata, I puritani, La sonnambula, Anna Bolena* and *Norma* (the last three with Pasta)'.[35]

Chopin's musical excursions elsewhere were less successful. In its issue of 8 July 1837 (no 506, p.509), the *Athenaeum* carried an advertisment for a concert to be given on Wednesday 19 July in the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, in aid of funds for the erection of a monument to Beethoven in his native city of Bonn. Chopin and Koźmian

of a monument to Beethoven in his native city of Bonn. Chopin and Koźmian attended, but Koźmian thought the concert a failure: 'There were very few people, but the performance of his last great symphony was very good.' [36] The German soprano Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient sang from *Fidelio* (Plate 1.21), and Moscheles (Plate 1.22) performed a Beethoven piano concerto, noted the *Athenaeum*, 'with more than his usual spirit and finish'. [37] But, according to Koźmian, Chopin found Moscheles' playing "frightfully baroque". [38]

Whereas Koźmian took Chopin to the opera, and ensured that he saw the tourist sights, Camille Pleyel played a different role in the composer's first visit to London. Camille had become increasingly involved in the piano-building side of '*Ignace Pleyel et fils ainé*', of which his friendship with James Shudi Broadwood was an indication. In Paris, the competition between the firms of Pleyel and Érard was intense; in London, where Érard also had a factory, Broadwood felt threatened by Érard's sales campaign. Thus Pleyel and Broadwood shared common ground in opposition to Érard, and they exchanged pianos for comparison. [39]

The Broadwood family possesses a long lineage in the manufacture of pianos. [40] John Broadwood, born in the Scottish Borders, was apprenticed in 1761 to Burkat Shudi, originally from Switzerland, who had his own harpsichord workshop in London from 1728, and whose royal customers included Frederick, Prince of Wales, and Frederick the Great of Prussia. [41] John Broadwood married Shudi's daughter Barbara in 1769, and took full control of the business on Shudi's death in 1773. In 1796, Manuel de Godoy commissioned a piano for the Queen of Spain, with a case designed by Thomas Sheraton, with Wedgwood medallions. John Broadwood's sons James Shudi Broadwood (Plate 1.23) and Thomas Broadwood, were made partners in 1795 and 1808, respectively, when the firm became John Broadwood and Sons. Following their father's death in 1812, the brothers expanded production vigorously to meet a burgeoning market. As Derek Adlam and Cyril Ehrlich explain: 'After the early decades of innovation the firm concentrated mainly on increasing the power, compass

and durability of its instruments without changing the approach to design in any fundamental way. The most important development was the introduction of iron bracing to grand pianos about 1820'. This was devised to improve the tuning stability of the treble, and was further developed by James Shudi Broadwood's elder son Henry Fowler Broadwood (who had joined the partnership in 1836) into the 'iron grand' of 1846. [42] By the 1840s around 2,300 pianos a year were being made at the factory in Horseferry Road, Westminster (Plate 1.24), and Broadwoods were among the largest employers in London. The firm's showrooms were at No 33 Great Pulteney Street, Golden Square.

In Paris, Chopin was committed to Pleyel pianos, but in Britain he sided with Broadwoods. Artists' endorsements were, of course, essential to piano manufacturers, and by the nineteenth century most were seeking acclaim by association. [43] For the Broadwoods, Beethoven was a notable supporter. The Broadwoods 'sent an instrument by ship from London to Trieste and then had it carried by horse and wagon 360 miles over the Alps to Vienna for Beethoven's approval'. The piano was a six-octave grand of 1817 and, even before it arrived, Beethoven had written in gratitude to Thomas Broadwood:

> I shall regard it as an altar upon which I will place the choicest offerings of my mind to the divine Apollo. As soon as I shall have received your excellent instrument, I will send you the fruits of the inspiration of the first moments I shall spend with it. [44]

After Beethoven's death in 1827, his Broadwood was presented to Liszt, who kept it in Weimar, 'adding to it the silver music-stand presented to him by the people of Vienna'. [45] It is now in the National Museum of Hungary, Budapest. [46] In 1859, Henry Steinway started soliciting testimonials in Europe, and he also sent a piano to Liszt in Weimar; indeed, says Lieberman, Liszt had so many unsolicited pianos in his homes that they 'looked like piano showrooms'. [47]

Among Chopin's contemporaries, Liszt endorsed Érard, although he later changed to Bösendorfer. Érard, as well as adopting an aggressive promotion campaign, made significant technical improvements in its instruments, and, after the sale of a piano to George IV, were granted a Royal Warrant. Broadwoods, meantime, took the eighteen-year-old William Sterndale Bennett under their wing, and in 1835 gave him a Broadwood grand; the next year, Henry Fowler Broadwood paid for him to go with J W Davison to Dusseldorf, where Mendelssohn was to conduct the first performance of his oratorio, *St Paul*.[48] The firms of Pleyel and Broadwood shared much, and Chopin's visit to London in 1837 provided an opportunity for them to establish closer contact.

James Shudi Broadwood's home at No 46 Bryanston Square was part of the Portman Estate in St Marylebone, designed by the architect James Thompson Parkinson and completed about 1811 (Plate 1.25).[49] It was an elegant house, on three floors, with a brick and stucco facade facing the square, and a doorway with columns and classical detail which survives today. 'Pleyel', Niecks writes,

> introduced [Chopin] under the name of M. Fritz to his friend James Broadwood, who invited them to dine at his house in Bryanston Square. The incognito, however, could only be preserved as long as Chopin kept his hands off the piano. When after dinner he sat down to play, the ladies of the family suspected, and, suspicion being aroused, soon extracted a confession of the truth.[50]

As David Wainwright comments: 'The story rings true; it is in character with James Shudi's humour to play such a practical joke'.[51] One assumes that the piano was a Broadwood, but we have no inkling of the pieces which Chopin played.

Clearly he made a deep impression on those who heard him. Mendelssohn, who arrived in London from Rotterdam in late August 1837, that is a month after Chopin's return to Paris, wrote to Ferdinand Hiller on 1 September:

> It seems that Chopin came over here quite suddenly a fortnight ago, paid no visits and saw nobody, played very beautifully at Broadwood's one evening, and then took himself off again. They say he is still very ill and miserable. [52]

Similarly, Moscheles refers in his diary to Chopin's visit, and his poor health. 'Chopin', he wrote, 'who passed a few days in London, was the only one of the foreign artists who did not go out, and wished no one to visit him, for the effort of talking told on his consumptive frame. He heard a few concerts and disappeared.' [53]

On 21 July 1837, the *Musical World* was referring to Chopin as 'the celebrated composer', which was, Victoria Cooper notes, 'a strikingly different perspective from the *Musical Times*'s obituary twelve years later,' which saw him as fundamentally a pianist. [54] The following year, the *Musical World* of 23 February 1838 carried an enthusiastic review of 'some of Chopin's nocturnes and a scherzo' which suggests that the author may have been present when Chopin played at the Broadwoods' house. [55] 'During his short visit to the metropolis last season', the commentator observes, 'but few had the high gratification of hearing his extemporaneous performance. Those who experienced this will not readily lose its remembrance.' Then follows a succinct description of Chopin's playing, suggesting that the ambience of the Broadwoods' home would have been ideal for him:

> He is, perhaps, *par éminence*, the most delightful of pianists in the drawing-room. The animation of his style is so subdued, its tenderness so refined, its melancholy so gentle, its niceties so studied and systematic, the *tout-ensemble* so perfect, and evidently the result of an accurate judgment and most finished taste, that when exhibited in the large concert-room, or the thronged saloon, it fails to impress itself on the mass.

Were Chopin 'not the most retiring and unambitious of all living musicians, he would before this time have been celebrated as the inventor of a new style, or school, of

pianoforte composition'.[56] Chopin established good relations with the Broadwoods, and played again for the family when he returned to London in 1848.

Chopin took the opportunity when in London in 1837 to call on his English publisher Christian Rudolph Wessel, who at that time had premises at No 6 Frith Street, Soho Square.[57] Wessel was of German origin, and he and the piano maker William Stodart had founded the firm of Wessel & Stodart in London in 1823. They began as importers of music from abroad, but from 1824 also brought out their own publications. 'Their main interest was piano music', write Alexis Chitty and Peter Ward Jones,

> often issued in the form of periodical albums, and besides the usual popular arrangements of operatic airs and dance music they published the sonatas of Beethoven and Mozart, and the works of piano virtuosos such as Heller, Henselt and Thalberg. They also helped at an early date to promote the music of Schubert, Schumann, Mendelssohn, Gade, Liszt and others in England.[58]

'By late 1833, if not sooner', Jeffrey Kallberg points out, 'Chopin was firmly entrenched with Wessel.'[59]

In 1837, as he planned his visit to London, writes Kallberg, 'Chopin must have counted on transacting business, for in his luggage he included manuscripts for five works, which he delivered into Wessel's hands when he called on his shop on 20 July'.[60] There were three contracts, all signed by Chopin and witnessed by Pleyel: the first was for Op.25 (Plate 1.26), the second for Opp.29 and 30, the third for Opp.31 and 32. All contracts are described as for compositions in 'M.S.' Later in 1837 these were published by Wessel: Op.25 as Twelve Études or Studies (Plate 1.27), Op.29 as Impromptu in Ab major, Op.30 as Four Mazurkas, Op.31 as Scherzo in Bb minor, and Op.32 as Two Nocturnes in B major and Ab major, respectively;[61] typically, Wessel gave these nocturnes the evocative titles of 'Il Lamento' and 'La Consolazione'. Earlier titlepages demonstrate the publisher's similar presentation of Chopin's work: in 1833,

for instance, the Three Nocturnes (Op.9, book 2), dedicated to Camille Pleyel's wife, Marie Moke, were entitled 'Les murmures de la Seine' (Plate 1.28), and in 1836 the Ballade in G minor (Op.23), directed to 'L'amateur pianiste', was called 'La favorite' (Plate 1.29).

Whereas Chopin may have opposed the use of such imaginative titles, Niecks, for one, in his book *Programme music*, rejects the claim that 'Chopin was a composer of the most absolute of absolute music, that he never thought of anything but the beauty and piquancy of the tonal combinations, and that there is nothing whatever behind these combinations'. [62] Rather, 'subjectivity is the beginning and end of Chopin'. He was, claims Niecks, 'a soul-painter, chiefly and almost solely'. Moreover, 'being a tone-poet, and as such having something to communicate, Chopin must be in one way or another a composer of programme music'. Not, however, in the manner of Liszt, Berlioz, or Schumann. 'Chopin's way was his own supremely individual and original way -- the way of the delicate, passionate *âme qui se rend sensible*'. [63]

Unhappy with the publisher's addition of flowery titles to his works, and his sluggishness in sending payment, explains Jeffrey Kallberg, Chopin in later years avoided dealing with Wessel personally, preferring to use a variety of intermediaries, or to sell the English rights to a French publisher, notably Maurice Schlesinger. [64] Stodart retired in 1838, and Wessel subsequently carried on the business until 1860, with Frederic Stapleton as a partner from 1839 to 1845. [65] In 1840, Wessel's *Complete collection of the compositions of Frederic Chopin*, the first to be issued, was launched; it was to be revised and expanded many times both within and after Chopin's lifetime, and concluded with Chopin's Three Waltzes (Op.64) of 1848. [66] The *Grand architectural panorama of London, Regent Street to Westminster Abbey*, published in 1849, shows Cramer, Beale & Co at No 201 Regent Street, at the corner of Conduit Street, and No 229 Regent Street, at the corner of Hanover Street, to which Wessel & Co had moved their premises by this time (Plates 3.29, 3.30). [67]

On 22 July Chopin and Pleyel set off to return to Paris, one imagines via Dover and Calais (Plate 1.30).[68] If anything, Chopin must have been more miserable when he left London than on his arrival some two weeks earlier. During his stay, a letter had been forwarded to him from Maria Wodzińska's mother, Teresa, which put paid to any hopes of marriage to her daughter; the text of the letter has not survived, but its effect on Chopin was dramatic. Chopin replied to Mme Wodzińska from Paris on 14 August, referring to his original plans to return to Paris from London via Germany and Holland, now abandoned. 'The season is far advanced and will doubtless end for me completely in my rooms here', Chopin wrote. 'I hope to receive from you a less gloomy letter than the last one'. Other letters from Mme Wodzińska did indeed follow, but they were not encouraging. Tying up the Wodzińska letters with ribbon, and adding the poignant inscription '*Moja bieda*' ('My sorrow'), along with a flower which Maria had given him in Dresden, Chopin accepted that his friendship with Maria was at an end. They never met again.[69]

Chopin must have found Paris deserted: the Czartoryskis were in Brittany, Liszt and the Countess d'Agoult in Italy.[70] After caring for her dying mother, George Sand had returned to her country estate at Nohant. And it was to be with Sand that Chopin was linked over the next decade -- first in their period in Mallorca in 1838-1839, and then in successive summers at Nohant. For the moment, in 1837, as Michałowski and Samson put it,

> alone and depressed, [Chopin] spent the rest of the summer in Paris immersed in work, preparing some of his existing pieces for publication (including the Études op.25 and the Impromptu op.29) and working on new compositions such as the second Scherzo, the Nocturnes op.32 and perhaps the *marche funèbre* which would be incorporated into the Bb minor Sonata.[71]

Yet, despite this gloom, Chopin's position as one of Paris's most distinguished artists was already unassailable. He was twenty-seven.

Chapter 1

LONDON: Summer 1837

ENDNOTES

1 Samson, *Chopin*, p.134.

2 Samson, *Chopin*, p.135. See the description in Azoury, *Chopin through his contemporaries*, pp.105-6.

3 The original passport is in TiFC (Warsaw), M/2642. The English translation here is from Tomaszewski and Weber, *Diary in images*, p.143.

4 Chopin's visit to London in 1837 is considered in, e.g., Atwood, *Pianist from Warsaw*, pp.114-15; Belotti, *Chopin, l'uomo*, vol.1, pp.591-3; Hadden, *Chopin*, pp. 95-6; Hedley, *Chopin*, pp.66-7; Hoesick, *Chopin*, vol.2, pp.144-9; Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.1, pp.311-13; Samson, *Chopin*, pp.134-5; and Zamoyski, *Chopin*, pp.144-5.
Unfortunately, no diary of Chopin for the year 1837 seems to have survived.

5 This paragraph draws on the entries on 'Railways' and 'Channel ferries and ferry ports' on the online sites *www.theotherside.co.uk/tm-heritage/background/railways.htm* and *www.theotherside.co.uk/tm-heritage/background/ferries.htm* (2008). See also Bucknall, *Boat trains and channel packets, passim*.

6 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.148. Chopin to Fontana [Mid-July 1837].

7 See Carter, *British railway hotels*, pp.28-9. The Lord Warden Hotel, Dover, for example, did not open until 1853.

8 See Wainwright, *Broadwood by Appointment*, pp.128, 135-6.

9 See the entry on Camille Pleyel in the Personalia section of the thesis.

10 For Tomkison see the entry by Margaret Cranmer in *Grove music online*.

11 See Summerson, *Georgian London*, *passim*.

12 For the brothers Stanisłaus and John Koźmian, see their joint entry in the *Catholic encyclopedia online* at *www.catholic.org/encyclopedia* (2008). Sydow and Chainaye, *Chopin correspondanc*e, vol.2, p.225n244, write of Stanislaus Koźmian: *'Ami d'enfance de Chopin, il avait publié en 1830 un poème en honneur de celui-ci'*.

Confusion has sometimes arisen between Chopin's friend, Stanisłaus Egbert Koźmian (1811-1885), and the Stanisłaus Koźmian (1836-1922), who was a Polish critic, theatre manager, stage director, and creator of the so-called 'Kraków school'.

13 See the article on Campbell by Geoffrey Carnall in *Oxford DNB online*.

14 See the article on Coutts Stuart by Krzysztof Marchłewicz in *Oxford DNB online*. For his Polish links see Jagodiński, *Anglia wobec sprawy polskiej*, *passim*.

15 See Biggs, *Literary Association of Friends of Poland*, *passim;* Kukiel, *Czartoryski and European unity*, p.203; and Ostrowska, 'Cultural relations between England and Poland', pp.293-4.

16 Quoted by Ostrowska, 'Cultural relations between England and Poland', p.293.

17 Kukiel, *Czartoryski and European unity*, p.203.

18 See Azoury, *Chopin through his contemporaries*, pp.187-8. Azoury's source is W-S, 'Nieznany list Juliana Fontany' ['An unknown letter of Julian Fontana'], pp.34-5.

19 The English translation of this letter is from Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p. 148, where it is headed '[London. Mid-July 1837]'. It is not in Sydow, *KFC*, nor in

Sydow and Chainaye, *Chopin correspondance*. And who is 'that female Paganini'? She is mentioned also in Fontana's letter to Koźmian of 3 July 1837, quoted in note 18 above.

It must be stressed that no direct evidence has been encountered to prove that Chopin stayed at the Sablonière Hotel.

20 *Survey of London*, vol.34 (1966), p.502. For the Sablonière Hotel see pp. 502-3, and plates 50a and 50c. The source of the quotation is given as John B Papworth, *Select views of London* (1816), p.54.

21 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.351. Chopin to Gryzmała, 17/18 [November 1848].

22 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.148. Chopin to Fontana [Mid-July 1837].

23 For the Polish text of the letter see Hoesick, *Chopin*, vol.2, pp.145-6. English translations, each slightly different, are in Hedley, *Chopin*, pp.66-7, and Zamoyski, *Chopin*, pp.145-6.

24 English translation in Hedley, *Chopin*, pp. 66-7. In TiFC (Warsaw), M/2634, there is a visiting card of Camille Pleyel, with a note in Polish in Chopin's handwriting, addressed to Stanisław Egbert Koźmian in London (Plate 1.10). This translates as 'We're expecting you at 5 o'clock / Chopin'. See W-S, *Fame resounding far and wide*, item 163.

25 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.49. Editorial commentary by Hedley.

26 Coutts Stuart, a Liberal, was returned unopposed in the elections of December 1832 and January 1835. Fitz-Alan was also a Liberal, and in 1837 the votes were split 176 for him and 105 for Coutts Stuart. Fitz-Alan remained MP until he accepted the

Chiltern Hundreds in 1851, having become the Earl of Arundel and Surrey on the death of his grandfather in 1842. Details of the Arundel and Marylebone elections are in Dod, *Electoral facts*, pp.8, 209. John Derry kindly alerted me to this source.

27 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, pp.148-9. Chopin to Fontana [Mid-July 1837]. The Polish text is in Sydow, *Chopin correspondence*, vol.1, p.306 (letter 217), and a French version in Sydow and Chainaye, *Chopin correspondance*, vol. 2, pp.224-6 (letter 245).

28 See Weber, *Music and the middle class, passim*; and Sachs, 'London: the professionalization of music', *passim*.

29 Sachs, 'London: the professionalization of music', p.218. See also Ehrlich, *First Philharmonic*, pp.58-9.

30 Sachs, 'London: the professionalization of music', pp.226-7.

31 Sachs, 'London: the professionalization of music', pp.220-3.

32 For background to the opera in London in the 1830s and 1840s see Hall-Witt, *Fashionable acts, passim*; Hall-Witt, 'Critics and the elite at the opera', *passim*; Langley, 'Italian opera and the English press, 1836-1856', *passim*; Nalbach, *The King's Theatre, passim*; Parker, *Oxford illustrated history of opera*, index entries under Covent Garden and the King's Theatre; Rosenthal, *Two centuries of opera at Covent Garden*, especially pp.65-84; and White, *History of English opera*, notably the listing of London theatres on pp.260-2. Comprehensive coverage is in *Grove music online*, under London (i), §VI, Musical life: 1800-1945.

33 English translation in Hedley, *Chopin*, p.67.

34 English translation in Hedley, *Chopin*, p.67. The first two operas referred to here seem to be Cherubini's *Médée* (1797), and Bellini's *I Capuleti e i Montecchi* (1830). Pasta was celebrated for singing in both. The third, *Ildegonda*, by Marliani, was first performed in Paris a few months before, in March 1837, with Grisi in the title role. See Forbes, *Mario and Grisi*, pp.35-6. See also the entry on Marliani by Francesco Bussi in *Grove music online*. Eigeldinger, *Chopin vu par ses élèves*, pp.150-1, provides a list of singers at the Théâtre-Italien in Paris during Chopin's time.

35 Quoted from the entry on Laporte by Leanne Langley in *Grove music online*.

36 English translation in Zamoyski, *Chopin*, p.144.

37 *Athenaeum*, 22 July 1837 (no 508), p.540. The reporter says here that Moscheles played 'the Concerto in F flat'. Presumably this is a misprint, and what is meant is the Piano Concerto, no 5, in E flat, the 'Emperor' (Op.73).

38 English translation in Hedley, *Chopin*, p.67.

39 Wainwright, *Broadwood by Appointment*, p.136.

40 See John Broadwood and Sons, Limited, Piano Manufacturers, London: Business Records, 1719-1981, Surrey History Centre (Woking), 2185/JB. They were deposited by The Broadwood Trust in 1977, 1984 and 1993, and their cataloguing was made possible by a grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund. My research in the Broadwood archives benefitted from the help of Alastair Lawrence, David Robinson, and Robert Simonson.

For a history of the firm, see especially Wainwright, *Broadwood by Appointment*, *passim*, and the entry on Broadwood by Derek Adlam and Cyril Ehrlich in *Grove music online*. Highly illustrated accounts are in Burdett, *Company of pianos*, pp.44-66, and Roudier and di Lenna, *Rifiorir d'Antichi Suoni*, pp.108-27.

41 See the entry on John Broadwood by Charles Mould in *Oxford DNB online*.

42 See the entry on Henry Fowler Broadwood by Charles Mould in *Oxford DNB online*; there is, incidentally, no entry for James Shudi Broadwood in *Oxford DNB online*. Observations on the wider context of Broadwood pianos appear in Flanders, *Consuming passions*, pp.343-78.

43 See Lieberman, *Steinway and sons*, p.29. It is, writes Richard Lieberman, 'a practice that goes back to Bach, who in the 1740s played and praised Silbermann's improved piano at Potsdam, thereby promoting a sale to Frederick the Great. In 1777 Mozart privately praised Johann Andreas Stein's piano, proclaiming in a letter that Stein's love of music had enabled him to produce the finest instrument going'.

44 Quoted by Lieberman, *Steinway and sons*, p.29.

45 Wainwright, *Broadwood by Appointment*, p.120.

46 See Wainwright, *Broadwood by Appointment*, plate opposite p.104.

47 Lieberman, *Steinway and sons*, p.30.

48 Wainwright, *Broadwood by Appointment*, pp.135-7.

49 For Bryanston Square, see Cherry and Pevsner, *London 3: North West*, p.634; Colvin, *Dictionary*, p.781; and Weinreb, Hibbert and Keay, *London Encyclopaedia*, p. 107.

Details of the Broadwoods' occupancy of No 46 Bryanston Square are given in the rate books, the 1841 census (HO 107/679/4/34), and the 1851 census (HO 107/1489/530), held in the City of Westminster Archives Centre. I am grateful to Alison Kenney, archivist, for her research there on my behalf.

50 Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.1, p.312. For diminutives of Chopin's Christian name see Harasowski, *Skein of legends around Chopin*, p.76. Chopin's family referred to him by the sobriquet 'Fritz', as can be seen in the letters in Karłowicz, *Souvenirs*, pp.52-120. Steen, *Enchantress of nations*, p.59, notes that Viardot referred to Chopin as 'Mr Fritz, or le bon Fritz, or Chip-chop, or even Chip-chip'.

51 Wainwright, *Broadwood by Appointment*, p.135.

52 Hiller, *Mendelssohn: Letters and recollections*, p.101. According to Todd, *Mendelssohn*, p.355, during the previous two days Mendelssohn and Klingemann, with whom the composer was staying, had begun 'to draft an outline of *Elijah*'.

53 Moscheles, *Recent music and musicians*, p.240; also quoted, slightly differently, in Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.1, p.312. For Moscheles in London see Hedley, *Chopin*, p.67, and Samson, *Chopin*, p.135. See also the entry on Moscheles by Jerome Roche and Henry Roche in *Grove music online*. Chopin's relationship with Moscheles is summarised in Eigeldinger, *Chopin vu par ses élèves*, pp.191-2.

54 Cooper, *House of Novello*, pp.139-40. The announcement of the death of 'Chopin the Pianist', in the *Musical Times* (November 1849), is cited by Cooper on p. 136.

55 Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.1, p.312n, says that this was probably J W Davison. He would then have been only twenty-four years old.

56 Quoted in Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.I, p.312, and Hipkins, *How Chopin played*, p.3. The text in the thesis follows Niecks, who gives the date as 23 February 1838, whereas Hipkins gives 28 February 1838.

As Hipkins was not born until 1826, he never met Chopin when the composer came to England in 1837, although a description of the visit appears in his daughter Edith J Hipkins' book, *How Chopin played*, p.4.

57 For Chopin's publication of his works in England see Kallberg, *Chopin at the boundaries*, pp.200-14. See also Brown, 'Chopin and his English publisher', *passim*. Wessel also features in 'Frédéric Chopin and his publishers', exhibition catalogue, Department of Special Collections, University of Chicago Library, 1998, case 11.

58 Quoted from the entry on Christian Rudolph Wessel, by Alexis Chitty and Peter Ward Jones, in Krummel and Sadie, *Music printing and publishing*, p.475, republished in *Grove music online*, with updated bibliography.

59 Kallberg, *Chopin at the boundaries*, p.202.

60 Kallberg, *Chopin at the boundaries*, p.206.

61 Jeffrey Kallberg considers these and related contracts in detail in *Chopin at the boundaries*, especially pp.206-10. The single-page contract with Wessel for the publication of the Twelve Études or Studies (Op.25), dated 20 July 1837, was sold by Sotheby's (London), 21 May 2004, lot 42. It is illustrated as Plate 1.26 in the thesis.

62 Niecks, *Programme music*, p.214. Chopin is considered here on pp.211-17.

63 Niecks, *Programme music*, pp.216, 217. Alfred Brendel makes a perceptive comment when he writes: 'As we know, Beethoven toyed with the idea of publishing a complete edition of his works with descriptive titles. It is hardly surprising that he did not do so after all. I recall a statement from an English newspaper, the *Daily Mail*: 'When I glimpse the backs of women's knees, I seem to hear the first movement of

Beethoven's "Pastoral" Symphony.' I am afraid that many comments on musical character are not much more illuminating, but less amusing'. Brendel, *On Music*, p.51.

64 See Kallberg, *Chopin at the boundaries*, notably pp.209-10.

65 See the entry on Wessel in the Personalia section of the thesis.

66 See Grabowski, 'Wessel's *Complete collection of the compositions of Frederic Chopin', passim.*

67 For Cramer, Beale & Co, see the entry in the Personalia section of the thesis. For their premises, see Foreman, *London. A musical gazetteer*, p.317, and the map on p.316. The name 'Wessel' does not appear in the index to this book.

68 Adam Zamoyski's suggests, in *Chopin*, p.145, that Koźmian accompanied Chopin and Pleyel as far as Brighton in 1837, but the regular cross-channel ferry from Dieppe to Newhaven (for which Brighton was the staging-post) did not start until the mid-1840s. See Bailey and Féron, *Story of the cross-channel ferry service, passim*, especially pp.9-10. See also Carter, *British railway hotels*, p.29. The London & Paris Hotel, Newhaven, which served Brighton, was not completed until 1847. A 'Jenny Lind' engine of 1847, No 65 of the London & Brighton Railway, is illustrated in Marshall, *History of the Southern Railway*, vol.1, opposite p.161.

69 The text of Chopin's letter to Teresa Wodzińska is in Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.149, with another version in Opieński, *Chopin letters*, pp.180-81 (letter 86). The episode appears in Samson, *Chopin*, p.135, and Zamoyski, *Chopin*, pp. 145-6.

70 See the description of Chopin during the summer of 1837 in Zamoyski, *Chopin*, pp.145-7.

71 See the entry on Chopin by Michałowski and Samson in *Grove music online*.

Chapter 2
PARIS 1840s: Interlude

The decade between Chopin's first visit to London in 1837 and his second in 1848 saw major changes in his circumstances: in the intervening years he gave a few recitals in the *Salons Pleyel* in the rue de Rochechouart (in 1841, 1842, and 1848), before withdrawing from the concert platform. [1] During the late 1830s and 1840s Chopin lived, successively, at No 38 rue de la Chaussée d'Antan, No 5 rue Tronchet, and No 6 rue Pigalle, before settling in 1842 at No 9 place d'Orléans. [2] His teaching continued, as did his opera-going, his salon life, and his involvement with the Polish community in Paris, now centred on the Hôtel Lambert; [3] he also made new friends, such as Jane Stirling and Mrs Katherine Erskine, with whom he was to share his adventure in England and Scotland. One change, in particular, had far-reaching consequences: Chopin had come under the spell of George Sand, and spent the winter of 1838-1839 with her in Mallorca, and subsequent summers at her estate at Nohant, in the Berry. [4] Here, he wrote some of his greatest music. As Arthur Hedley, writes, 'those who have been so quick to denounce George Sand as the evil genius of Chopin's life would do well ... to consider what he actually owed her'. And, indeed, his dedication to her (Plate 2.1). Chopin's debt, 'and consequently that of the world of music', was considerable:

> From 1839 to 1846 he enjoyed complete exemption from material worries. His daily life was organized for him, leaving him free to devote himself to his pleasures and his art. At Nohant he had the best and sunniest room and was waited on hand and foot; he was never pressed to do what did not appeal to him. Think of Wagner's titanic struggle to win his freedom from care! Yet Chopin had it without having to ask.

George Sand, in other words, created at Nohant 'the conditions in which his genius was free to blossom forth'. [5]

Chopin first met Sand during the autumn of 1836 (Plate 2.2). In October that year, Samson writes,

> Liszt and Marie d'Agoult installed themselves at the Hôtel de France, following a period in Switzerland. Shortly afterwards George Sand and her two children took a room at the hotel, and Sand became a regular at the Liszt salon, where the artistic élite of Paris frequently gathered. Chopin had grown apart from Liszt over the years, and he found the general atmosphere of the salon pretentious and oppressive. Nevertheless, he did spend several evenings there in November, and he in turn invited the Liszt circle, including George Sand, to the Chaussée d'Antin.

These evenings 'culminated in a *soirée* at Chopin's apartment on 13 December, attended by Heine, Sand, Marie d'Agoult, Liszt, Custine, Eugène Sue, Nourrit, Pixis, Grzymała, Matuszyński, and Delacroix, whom Chopin had first met at Liszt's the previous May'. Shortly after the *soirée*, Sand returned to Nohant for the winter. [6]

On Chopin's return from London in 1837, his relationship with Sand had intensified, notably through the winter of 1838 to 1839 spent with her in Mallorca, first in the house 'So'n Vent', and then in rooms at the Carthusian monastery in Valldemosa (Plate 2.3). [7] Eventually, in mid-January 1839, not without *angst*, Chopin's Pleyel upright piano was delivered from Palma, [8] and he completed his cycle of 24 Preludes (Op. 28) which, as Jim Samson notes, was 'a remarkably innovative conception quite unlike anything he had written before'. [9] 'I am sending you the Preludes', Chopin wrote to Camille Pleyel, on 22 January, from Valldemosa. 'I finished them on your cottage piano which arrived in perfect condition in spite of the sea-crossing, the bad weather and the Palma customs'. [10] Back in Paris, 'by mid March he had already decided to spend the summer months at Nohant', and on 1 June 'Chopin caught his first glimpse of the old manor house which would play such a prominent role in his life for the next eight years' (Plate 2.4). [11] Then, as now, Nohant consisted of an 18th-century building of two storeys,

with a hipped roof and shuttered windows, approached through an entrance court and set in a park and garden; nearby were farm buildings, a church and houses around a square. A few miles away is the village of La Châtre. [12]

Sand and Chopin had worked together in Mallorca, and 'they continued to do so at Nohant', and 'it was in the security of a new family that Chopin composed some of his finest works'. [13] Among Chopin's fellow-guests at Nohant were Sand's children Solange and Maurice, Pauline Viardot and her husband Louis, Gryzmała, Eugène Delacroix, and the Polish writer Stefan Witwicki. [14] There is now little at Nohant to mark Chopin's visits there: his piano was disposed of, and his first-floor room altered by Sand and incorporated into her own accommodation. Sand wrote many of her books at Nohant, and the furniture and objects among which she received numerous celebrated guests are preserved. The exhibition of puppets, made by George Sand and her son Maurice, together with the small theatre and marionette theatre, constructed at Nohant after Chopin's time, are clear testimonies to the family's dramatic interests. However, the reconstructed set-piece in Sand's dining room of guests-at-table has no place for him (Plate 2.5). Although his creativity flourished at Nohant, Chopin never seems to have settled into country life. Back in Paris, observes Jim Samson, 'Chopin and Sand found themselves moving a little uneasily in each other's circle of friends. Sand had little patience with the salons which were so congenial to Chopin; in particular she found the ambience of the Hôtel Lambert, with its distinct air of elitism, unpalatable'. [15]

Superficially, it was a dispute over the marriage of Sand's daughter Solange to the sculptor Auguste Clésinger which was the cause of the break between Sand and Chopin in the summer of 1847. 'Chopin spent the next half-year teaching and composing (completing the Op.64 Waltzes), but above all anxiously hoping to hear from her', Jim Samson writes. [16] 'He had spent a difficult, lonely winter, waiting for news, communicating regularly with Solange and working quietly for some reconciliation between mother and daughter. Chopin was broken emotionally by the separation from

Sand. He had nothing like her powers of recovery. Indeed he never recovered'. [17] The two were to meet again, briefly, on 4 March 1848, in the passageway outside Charlotte Marliani's apartment, after the birth of Solange's baby, who later died. Subsequently, Chopin continued his correspondence with Solange, wrote to her from London and Scotland, and when in Britain frequently enquired about her welfare. But direct communication with her mother was ended. [18]

Chopin continued to communicate with other friends from Nohant, such as Delacroix and Pauline Viardot -- the French mezzo-soprano of Spanish origin, daughter of Manuel García, the elder, and sister of the soprano Maria Malibran. [19] In addition to being a singer, Viardot was a pianist (a pupil of Liszt and Chopin), composer, and teacher, and ran a prominent salon in the Chaussée d'Antin, which became one of the intellectual and artistic centres of Paris (Plate 2.15). [20] She had a celebrated liaison with Turgenev, and her portrait was painted by Ary Scheffer (Plate 2.14). George Sand based her novel *Consuelo* on her, and Sand's son, Maurice Dudevant-Sand, has left us a striking drawing of Viardot being taught by Chopin at Nohant (Plate 2.14a). [21] Chopin and Viardot also performed together in Paris. The programme for Chopin's second public recital, a *Soirée de M. Chopin*, on 21 February 1842, held in the *Salons Pleyel*, indicates that he played a selection of his own nocturnes, preludes, studies, mazurkas, an impromptu, and the andante from a ballade (Plate 2.16). Franchomme offered a cello solo of his own composition, and Viardot sang the air 'Felice-Donzella' by Josef Dessauer, a selection from Handel, and her own song 'Le chêne et le roseau', based on words by La Fontaine. Chopin accompanied her at the piano. [22] This last song was among a group of eight which Viardot published in 1843, illustrated with lithographs by Ary Scheffer and Soltau. [23] In London, on Friday 7 July 1848, six years after her concert with Chopin in Paris, Viardot performed with him, and Antonia de Mendi, at the home of the Earl of Falmouth. [24]

Eugène Delacroix, another of Chopin's friends among painters, was also a frequent companion in Paris and at Nohant (Plate 2.17). [25] Delacroix has been described by

Lorenz Eitner as 'the last great European painter to use the repertory of humanistic art with conviction and originality. In his hands, antique myth and medieval history, Golgotha and the Barricade, Faust and Hamlet, Scott and Byron, tiger and Odalisque yielded images of equal power'.[26] Delacroix met Chopin at a reception on 21 May 1836, after Liszt's piano recital at the *Salons Érard* on 18 May, having already encountered Sand in 1834 during a series of portrait sittings.[27] Delacroix, whose double portrait of Chopin and Sand followed in 1838 (Plate 2.18), apparently kept a piano in his studio so that the composer could play it when he visited him.[28] Delacroix's *Journal*, covering the years from 1822 to 1863, contains many references to Chopin and his views on art and music.[29] As Beth Wright has observed, Delacroix's 'unerring recognition of genius led him to cultivate an acquaintance, if not a friendship, with virtually everyone of aesthetic and intellectual importance: Géricault, Stendhal, Baudelaire, George Sand'. As for music,

> he adored the music of Rossini, Mozart, and his friend Chopin. In literature, an early friendship with Romantics (Hugo, Dumas, Mérimée) and admiration for the moderns (Walter Scott, Thackeray, Pushkin) was balanced by a classical foundation from his days at the Lycée Louis-le-Grand that inspired a love of Racine and Homer.[30]

Life at Nohant, as described by Delacroix in 1842, seems idyllic:

> When you are not assembled for dinner or lunch or billiards or for walks, you can go and read in your room or sprawl on your sofa. Every now and then there blows in through your window, opening on to the garden, a breath of the music of Chopin, who is at work in his room, and it mingles with the song of the nightingales and the scent of the roses.... I have endless conversations with Chopin of whom I am really very fond and who is a man of rare distinction. He is the truest artist I have ever met, one of the very few whom one can admire and value.[31]

Delacroix's evocative painting of the garden at Nohant of 1842 is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Plate 2.19).

By the start of the 1840s, the Czartoryskis, after renting apartments, and later a *hôtel peculier* in central Paris, felt that they needed to buy a permanent home. In 1843, alerted by Delacroix, Chopin and his friend Wojciech Gryzmała, financial advisor to the family, the Czartoryskis acquired a house on the Île St-Louis which was about to be pulled down: this was the Hôtel Lambert, designed in the seventeenth century by the architect Louis Le Vau, with frescoes and interior decoration by Eustache Le Sueur and by Charles Le Brun -- painter, designer, art theorist, and the dominant artist of the reign of Louis XIV (Plates 2.6, 2.7). Le Vau himself also lived on the Île St-Louis, where he designed five mansions, including his own house, which was next door to the Hôtel Lambert.[32]

The Hôtel Lambert, situated at the junction of the Quai d'Anjou and the Rue Saint-Louis-en-Île, has had a varied history since it was built from 1640 onwards for Nicholas Lambert, Sieur de Thorigny. Now owned by the Rothschild family, the Hôtel Lambert was both practical and splendid: it offered the space needed by the Czartoryskis to organise their international campaign on behalf of the Polish cause, and it provided them with magnificent rooms for ceremony and entertainment (Plate 2.8). The building itself is arranged around a rectangular courtyard, entered through a porte cochère, with curved corners at one end and dominated by a grand staircase approached through two loggias. Le Vau here surprises the visitor with striking vistas, in particular from the top of the stairs through the oval vestibule into the Gallery of Hercules, a long, frescoed chamber with mirrors on one side and French windows on the other, overlooking a garden. 'Like the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, which it foreshadows', comments Adam Zamoyski, 'the gallery could be used as a throne-room, ball-room and conference chamber. Prince Adam could not but appear royal in it'.[33] Hardly surprisingly, with the Czartoryskis seen by many in French society as the royal family of Poland, the

Hôtel Lambert became a kind of court, frequented by Polish and French aristocrats alike.[34]

It also became a centre for cultural activities. Under its aegis were established 'a Polish Young Ladies' Institute, a school for young men, a Polish library, the Polish Literary and Historical Society, and even a newspaper, *Wiadomści Polskie'*.[35] Balls and other social events were a prominent feature of its life (Plate 2.9). Writers and artists who had fled from Poland gathered there: apart from Chopin, these included the poets Zygmunt Krasiński, Adam Mickiewicz and Stefan Witwicki, and the painters Leon Kapliński and Teofil Kwiatkowski. 'Some, like Krasiński and Chopin', Zamoyski writes, 'were close friends of the Czartoryski family from Warsaw days'.[36] Also prominent were Prince Aleksander Czartoryski, nephew of Prince Adam Czartoryski, and his wife Princess Marcelina Czartoryska (Plate 2.10), a gifted pianist and favourite pupil of Chopin, who promoted pianists and organised balls (Plates 2.11, 2.12). Non-Poles who frequented the social activities at the Hôtel Lambert included Balzac, Berlioz, Lamartine, Liszt, and George Sand. Chopin's involvement with the Hôtel Lambert was celebrated by imaginative paintings by Kwiatkowski depicting him performing there (Plate 2.13).[37] Alas! its future is now threatened.[38]

British aristocrats, responding to the current *anglomanie* in Paris, flocked to the city and joined the cultural milieu.[39] One of the English writers who reported in the London press on Parisian life was Henry Fothergill Chorley (Plate 2.20). We have seen that it was as music critic of the *Athenaeum* that Chorley probably met Chopin in Paris in 1836, 1837, or 1839; the editor of the *Athenaeum*, Charles Wentworth Dilke, first employed Chorley in 1833, and prided himself on the magazine's coverage of Continental painting, drama, opera, music festivals, exploration, and scientific developments. Chorley, Leslie Marchand points out, was both music critic and Dilke's right-hand man; he was 'an intimate friend of Mendelssohn and Moscheles, and knew personally most of the great composers and musicians in France and Germany, visited them abroad, and carried on a wide correspondence with them'.[40] Hewlett, writing in

1873, the year after Chorley's death, remarks that the critic's visits to France -- and to Germany in 1839, 1840 and 1841 -- 'were more memorable to him, perhaps, than any other, both as enlarging the sphere of his experience and reputation, and giving rise to the formation of one of his most cherished friendships'. Namely, that with Chopin. Chorley, in an interview with Chopin, described his appearance as 'pale, thin, and profoundly melancholy', but was 'gratified by hearing the composer perform a succession of characteristic *morceaux* on the piano'. 'His touch', wrote Chorley, 'has all the delicacy of a woman's, but is not so fine. *Voilà* a very impalpable distinction! but a distinction for all that. No want of fire and passion, no want of neatness, if you regard the whole thing as *veiled music*, and such it is'.[41] Later, in Paris, between 1847 and 1849, notes Hewlett, Chorley 'cultivated his acquaintance with Chopin, of whom, however, he has left no record, beyond merely general expressions of gratification at their intimacy', and a sonnet published after the composer's death.[42] To which may be added Chorley's obituary of Chopin in the *Athenaeum* in 1849, and an article in *Bentley's Miscellany* the following year.[43]

It was after Chopin's first concert at the *Salons Pleyel* -- at which he played with Alard, Alkan, Kalkbrenner, Liszt, and Moscheles -- that he met Louis Moreau Gottschalk, the composer and pianist, known as 'the American Chopin'. Born in New Orleans in 1829, Gottschalk was only thirteen when he started taking piano and composition lessons in Paris, where he heard Chopin play in a private salon. The composer made a lasting impression on the young pianist.[44] Gottschalk's debut concert in Paris took place in the *Salons Pleyel* on 2 April 1845. Among those attending were Hallé (Gottschalk's first Parisian piano teacher), Thalberg, and Chopin, whose Piano Concerto in E Minor (Op.11) started the programme; after the performance, Chopin offered Gottschalk his congratulations.[45] Gottschalk joined others in his belief that Pleyels were the most appropriate pianos for Chopin to play. In his *Notes of a pianist*, published posthumously, Gottschalk observed that just as the use of Érard's pianos by Liszt and Thalberg was suited to their 'different talents', so with Chopin and Pleyel's instruments:

> Érard's, whose tone is robust, strong, heroic, slightly metallic, is adapted exclusively to the powerful action of Liszt. Pleyel's, less sonorous but poetical and, so to speak, languishing and feminine, corresponds to the elegaic style and frail organization of Chopin. [46]

Gottschalk himself followed Chopin's lead, at least initially. In 1853, as Cyril Ehrlich points out, Gottschalk 'returned from Europe with two new Pleyel grands for his first tour of the United States', only to sell them in New Orleans two years later. Subsequently, Gottschalk was approached by the Chickering manufacturing company, and promoted their pianos thereafter. [47]

The roll-call of Chopin's students in Paris in the 1830s and 1840s is extensive, [48] and contains some of the finest professional pianists of the day, such as Alkan, von Lenz, Mikuli, Tellefsen, and Adolf Gutmann (Plate 2.21). [49] Aristocratic women predominated among Chopin's pupils, and often featured in his dedications, including Countess Marie d'Agoult (Twelve Studies, Op.25), Countess Apponyi (Two Nocturnes, Op.27), Catherine Maberly (Three Mazurkas, Op.56), Countess Delphine Potocka (Concerto, Op.21, and Waltz, Op.64, no 1), and Princess Marcelina Czartoryska ('Krakowiak' Rondo, Op.14). As Wilhelm von Lenz observed: 'I always went to him long before my hour, and waited. One lady after another came out, each more beautiful than the others'. [50]

Princess Marcelina was one of those Parisian pupils and friends whom Chopin was to meet on his visit to Britain. Apart from Pauline Viardot, Jane Stirling and her sister, Mrs Katherine Erskine, we may also single out Charles Hallé, the Schwabes, and Auguste and Hermann Léo, cousins of Moscheles, with their links to Manchester; the English pianist Lindsay Sloper (Plate 2.22), and the Irish pianist and composer, George Osborne, who reported on Chopin's Manchester concert in 1848. [51] Tellefsen was in Britain in 1848 and 1849. Catherine Maberly took lessons from Chopin in both Paris and London. Other former Parisian pupils of Chopin who appear fleetingly in London

or Scotland include the 'daughter of Lady Stanley', and Countess Émilie de Flahault (later Lady Shelburne). [52] There was also a 'lady now resident in Bedford' who was 'a member of a well-known Scottish family, who had the privilege of receiving some lessons from Chopin when she was in Paris in 1846', and who attended his Glasgow concert. She was, furthermore, a 'distant cousin' of Miss Stirling, to whom she was introduced by Chopin. [53]

One of the celebrated salons in Paris was that of the Rothschild family, at No 15 rue Lafitte, the home of James de Rothschild, Baron de Rothschild, and his wife Betty, the Baroness. This was a magnificent mansion, with luxurious decoration and a collection of paintings by Hals, Hobbema, Murillo, Rembrandt, Rubens, Van Dyck, and Velasquez. [54] That the Rothschilds patronised some of the most famous composers and performers of the nineteenth century is well known', writes Niall Ferguson, 'and the most obvious reason for this is that musicians were a prerequisite for a successful *soirée* or ball'. [55] Indeed, it has been suggested that Chopin's career in Paris was launched by a performance he gave at the Rothschild house in rue Lafitte in 1832. [56] 'He played there again in 1843 alongside his pupil Karl Filtsch', Ferguson continues, 'whose playing James [Rothschild] was reported to "adore"'. Other notable performers who played at Rothschild houses included Mendelssohn, Liszt, Hallé, and the violinist Joseph Joachim. More important than musicians' role as performers was that of teachers, notably for female Rothschilds, 'who were encouraged from an early age to excel at the keyboard'. [57] Chopin gave lessons to Lionel Nathan de Rothschild's wife, Charlotte (Plate 2.23), and, it seems, to one of their daughters, either Leonora or Evelina. Charlotte Rothschild's *livre d'or*, which contained musical mementoes from her teachers, includes Chopin among its contributors. Chopin dedicated two pieces to Charlotte Rothschild: the Ballade in F minor (Op.52), and the Waltz in C sharp minor (Op.64, no 2). [58] A symbol of Chopin's attachment to the Rothschilds is the presentation to him by one of the family of an embroidered cushion she had made. [59]

In the mid-1840s Chopin's Scottish aristocratic pupil Jane Wilhelmina Stirling, a member of a prominent Perthshire family, began to take an increasingly prominent role in the composer's life. Her dedication to Chopin was to last until her death in 1859.[60] Although Lindsay Sloper, who lived in Paris from 1841 to 1846, told Niecks that he gave her piano lessons and, at her request, introduced her to Chopin, this seems a questionable claim.[61] According to Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger, Jane evidently first took lessons from Chopin in 1843 or 1844, as 'the first mention of Jane Stirling's name from Chopin's pen is dated 3 January 1844, in the form of an autograph dedication on the score of the Nocturnes op.9'. Moreover, writes, Eigeldinger, 'August 1844 was the publication date in Paris of the Nocturnes op.55, dedicated to Jane Stirling, and the Mazurkas op.56, dedicated to her friend Catherine Maberly -- also Chopin's pupil. From these dates and facts we may reasonably infer that the composer probably met Miss Stirling around 1843 or, at least, on the 3rd of January 1844'.[62] It was about this time, furthermore, that Jane Stirling, assisted by Julius Benedict, apparently bought the Érard Grand Pianoforte No 713 (London, 1843), now at Hatchlands, though we cannot be sure that it was supplied to her in Paris, not London (Plate 5.11).[63]

A spinster, Jane Stirling's constant companion was her sister, Mrs Katherine Erskine, widow of James Erskine of Linlathen. According to Samson, they divided their time between Scotland and Paris, 'where they had a house at St Germaine-en-Laye'.[64] 'I have known them a long time in Paris' Chopin told his parents in 1848, 'and they take such care of me'.[65] Jane Stirling and Katherine Erskine were both among the Scots patients of the Hahnemanns in Paris. Mrs Erskine's family 'was related by marriage to the Pattersons and the Stirlings', writes Rima Handley. 'Members of both families,' she continues,

called on the Hahnemanns whenever they had problems with their health, and frequently recommended the couple to their friends. As they travelled throughout Europe they carried letters and messages about symptoms and remedies between themselves and the Hahnemanns.

After Samuel Hahnemann's death in 1843, 'they all continued to receive homeopathic treatment from Mélanie for many years'. [66] Hahnemann's casebooks show how he developed remedies 'to deal with conditions specific, or almost so, to the ailments characteristic of women'. [67] Jane and Katherine had different problems. Rima Handley reports that Hahnemann treated Jane with Sabadilla for her 'dark thoughts', and with Nitri Spiritus Dulci (alcoholised nitric ether), 'desperately seeking' to help her, as her condition 'had not been ameliorated by a whole host of soporific remedies including Moschus and Nux Moschata'. [68] For her part, Mrs Erskine, when she first visited to the Hahnemanns on 24 August 1836, was forty-five years old, and had suffered from 'female' complaints for fourteen years or so. By 29 September that year, after various prescriptions from Hahnemann, Mrs Erskine reported 'general improvement', and in due course her 'immediate gynaecological problems were cleared up. She continued to return to the Hahnemanns for chronic treatment over the next several years'. [69]

Apart from herself being a student of Chopin, Jane Stirling encouraged others to take lessons from him. J Cuthbert Hadden, in his biography of Chopin, first published in 1903, quotes from the descriptions of Jane Stirling in the two letters he received from the 'distant cousin' of hers, the 'lady now resident in Bedford'. Her letter of 27 March 1903 gives a valuable description of Chopin as a teacher. 'My first interview with Chopin took place at his rooms in Paris', the Scottish lady recalls:

> Miss Jane Stirling had kindly arranged that my sister and I should go with her. I remember the bright fire in his elegant and comfortable *salon*. It was in this very month of March, 1846. In the centre of the room stood two pianofortes -- one grand, the other upright. Both were Pleyel's, and the tone and touch most beautiful.

After a few moments, Chopin came in from another room and received the ladies 'with the courtesy and ease of a man accustomed to the best society. His personal

appearance, his extreme fragility and delicate health have been described again and again, and also the peculiar charm of his manner'. Next, 'Miss Stirling introduced me as her *petite cousine'*, the Scottish lady continued, 'who was desirous of the honour of studying with him'. The lessons which followed were a delight, and began with Beethoven's Sonata in A flat (Op.26) before moving on to Chopin's own compositions:

> These I found fascinating in the highest degree, but very difficult. He would sit patiently while I tried to thread my way through mazes of intricate and unaccustomed modulations.

'He spoke very little during the lessons', she continued. 'If I was at a loss to understand a passage, he played it slowly to me. I often wondered at his patience, for it must have been torture to listen to my bungling, but he never uttered an impatient word'. Once or twice, Chopin 'was obliged to withdraw to the other end of the room when a frightful fit of coughing came on, but he made signs to me to go on and take no notice'.[70]

Another telling anecdote featuring Jane Stirling is told by Anne Isabella Thackeray, known as 'Anny', and later Lady Ritchie (Plate 2.23a), elder of the two surviving daughters of William Makepeace Thackeray. It appears in her book *Chapters from some memoirs*, published in 1894. During the 1840s, due to the mental illness of their mother, Anny and her sister Minnie were sent to stay in Paris with their grandparents, Major and Mrs Henry Carmichael-Smyth. One winter, when she was still a young girl, Anny was taken to visit Chopin by Jane Stirling.[71]

In her memoirs, in a chapter entitled 'My musician', Anny remembered

> three Scotch ladies, for whom my grandmother had a great regard, who were not part of our community, but who used to pass through Paris, and always made a certain stay .... I was very much afraid of them, though interested at the same time

> as girls are in unknown quantities. They were well connected and had estates and grand relations in the distance, though they seemed to live as simply as we did.

When it was announced that the 'Scotch ladies' had 'taken an apartment for a few weeks', Anny was sent to see them, with a note of introduction from her grandmother, Mrs Carmichael-Smyth. 'They were tall, thin ladies, two were widows, one was a spinster; of the three the unmarried one [i.e., Jane Stirling] frightened me most'; one of the widows surely was Mrs Katherine Erskine, and the other possibly Jane and Katherine's friend, Mrs Mary Rich, aunt of Fanny Erskine. [72] After reading the note, one of the widows said to Jane Stirling, who was wearing a bonnet,

> "Why, you were just going to call on the child's grandmother, were you not? Why don't you take her back with you in the carriage?"
> "I must first go and see how [Chopin] is this morning", said Miss Stirling, somewhat anxiously, "and then I will take her home, of course."

And added: "Are the things packed?"

At this point, 'a servant came in carrying a large basket with a variety of bottles and viands and napkins'. Not having the 'presence of mind to run away', as she longed to do, Anny in a few minutes found herself

> sitting in a little open carriage with the Scotch lady, and the basket on the opposite seat. I thought her, if possible, more terrible than ever -- she seemed grave, preoccupied. She had a long nose, a thick brown complexion, grayish sandy hair, and was dressed in scanty cloth skirts, gray and sandy too. She spoke to me, I believe, but my heart was in my mouth; I hardly dared even listen to what she said.

At this time, Chopin was living at No 9 place d'Orléans. The ride from Jane Stirling's apartment took her and Anny along the Champs Elysées towards the Arc de Triomphe, into a side street, and presently to the door of Chopin's house. The carriage stopped, and Jane

> got out, carefully carrying her heavy basket, and told me to follow, and we began to climb the shiny stairs -- one, two flights I think; then we rang at a bell and the door was almost instantly opened. It was opened by a slight, delicate-looking man with long hair, bright eyes, and a thin, hooked nose.

When Jane Stirling saw him, reports Anny,

> she hastily put down her basket upon the floor, caught both his hands in hers, began to shake them gently, and to scold him in an affectionate reproving way for having come to the door. He laughed, said he had guessed who it was, and motioned her to enter, and I followed at her sign with the basket, -- followed into a narrow little room, with no furniture in it whatever but an upright piano against the wall and a few straw chairs standing on the wooden shiny floor.

Chopin beckoned his guests 'with some courtesy' to sit down, and indicated that he was 'pretty well':

> Had he slept? He shook his head. Had he eaten? He shrugged his shoulders and pointed to the piano. He had been composing something -- I remember that he spoke in an abrupt, light sort of way -- would Miss X. [i.e., Jane Stirling] like to hear it? 'She would like to hear it', she answered, 'of course, she would dearly like to hear it; but it would tire him to play; it could not be good for him'. He smiled again, shook back his long hair, and sat down immediately; and then the music began, and the room was filled with continuous sound, he looking over his shoulder now and then to see if we were liking it.

The effect on Jane Stirling, Anny reports, was immediate. Jane

> sat absorbed and listening, and as I looked at her I saw tears in her eyes -- great clear tears rolling down her cheeks, which the music poured on and on. I can't, alas, recall that music! I would give anything to remember it now; but the truth is, I was so interested in the people that I scarcely listened.

When Chopin at last stopped playing, and looked around, Jane 'started up':

> 'You mustn't play any more', she said; 'no more, no more, it's too beautiful,' -- and she praised him and thanked him in a tender, motherly, pitying sort of way, and then hurriedly said we must go; but as we took leave she added almost in a whisper with a humble apologising look, -- 'I have brought you some of that jelly, and my sister sent some of the wine you fancied the other day; pray, pray, try to take a little'.

Chopin 'again shook his head at her, seeming more vexed than grateful. "It is very wrong; you shouldn't bring me these things", he said in French. "I won't play to you if you do," -- but she put him back softly, and hurriedly closed the door upon him and the offending basket, and hastened away'.

As Anny and Jane Stirling left Chopin, and were going downstairs, Jane

> wiped her eyes again. By this time I had got to understand the plain, tall, grim, warm-hearted woman; all my silly terrors were gone. She looked hard at me as we drove away. 'Never forget that you have heard Chopin play', she said with emotion, 'for soon no one will ever hear him play any more'.

Looking back, Anny Ritchie 'remembered this little scene with comfort and pleasure,' in the knowledge that Chopin 'was not altogether alone in life, and that he had good friends who cared for his genius and tended him to the last'.

In Paris, Chopin had many other 'good friends who cared for his genius', some of whom he was later to encounter in Britain. Apart from Jane Stirling and Mrs Katherine Erskine, and his fellow-musicians, these included Mrs Grote, who met Chopin at Mme Marliani's, [73] and Salis and Julie Schwabe, who were to entertain the composer in Manchester. Evidence of their friendship in Paris is provided by the diary of Fanny Erskine -- a distant relative of the Stirlings, and niece of Mrs Mary Rich -- part of which covers her two-month stay in the city, from December 1847 to January 1848 (Plate 2.24). [74] Fanny, then living with her parents in Bonn, was a keen amateur singer, and one of her purposes in visiting Paris was to have lessons with the renowned teacher Manuel García, brother of Maria Malibran and Pauline Viardot. García taught at the Paris Conservatoire from 1847 to 1850, before moving to the Royal Academy of Music in London, where he was active from 1848 to 1895. Jeremy Barlow, who first published extracts from Fanny Erskine's diary in 1994, explains that

> interspersed between passages of religious introspection and accounts of sightseeing, shopping and social engagements, are descriptions not only of the thirteen lessons she received from García, but also of four meetings with Chopin. The names of Jane Stirling and her sister Mrs Katherine Erskine appear on almost every page, and there are references to concerts, operas and domestic music-making.

Fanny had arrived in Paris on Wednesday 1 December 1847, in the company of her widowed aunt, Mrs Mary Rich, and 'the two were received as guests of the Schwabe family, who had rented part of a house on the Champs-Elysées'. Later Chopin dedicated a single-stave transcription of the song 'Wiosna' to Fanny when staying with the Schwabes in 1848 at Crumpsall House, Manchester, where Mary Rich was also a

guest.[75] 'The Schwabes emerge from the diary as cultured and musical', writes Jeremy Barlow, 'and together with Mary Rich appear to have had many acquaintances in Parisian artistic and intellectual society'.[76]

At the Schwabes' house, Fanny Erskine also encountered Chopin's Norwegian pupil, Thomas Tellefsen, who had settled in Paris in 1842 (Plate 2.25).[77] Fanny's description of him is striking. She found him

> a wild looking genius, quite devoted to Chopin. I thought him like the pictures of Schiller and he evidently found a likeness to me, for I caught him scrutinizing me once or twice & at last he asked if he [had] not seen me somewhere before, bolting out of the room looking rather confused and awkward.[78]

When, the following day, Fanny met Jane Stirling and Katherine Erskine, they were, as expected, 'energetic and earnest'. That evening, Tellefsen again visited the Schwabes. He 'enchanted us all', Fanny writes. 'He played principally Chopin, so wild & touching & was delighted with my Jenny Lind songs.... His music was a great treat'.[79]

Three days after Tellefsen played at the Schwabes', on Monday 6 December 1847, Fanny Erskine met Chopin when she and her aunt, Mary Rich, dined at Katherine Erskine's house, presumably shared with Jane. The only other guest was Chopin, 'of whom Miss Jane Stirling made much'. His impression on Fanny was memorable:

> He is such an interesting looking man but Oh! so suffering, & so much younger than I had expected. He exerted himself to talk at dinner & seemed so interested in Mendelssohn & the honors paid to his memory in London but said there was something almost enviable in his fate dying in the midst of his family surrounded by love -- & with his wife beside him -- & having lived so purely happy a life -- & he looked so sad.

However, Chopin was 'so happy to see Aunt Mary again', and 'grew quite playful & seemed to forget his suffering'.[80]

After Fanny had sung for Chopin, and he had indicated that he would recommend her to García, he sat down to play Jane Stirling's 'new Erard'. 'Anything so pure & heavenly, & delicate I never heard -- & so mournful; his music is so like himself -- & so original in its sadness. The feeling awakened in my heart listening to him was like that inspired by Jenny Lind', Fanny continued,

> so soothing & with nothing to grate or jar on the feelings. His preludes & his nocturnes composed at the moment were so delicious I could have jumped up with joy! & he played us a Mazurka after. He is a Pole & seems very fond of his country. I was quite sorry to come away but had his exquisite harmonies in my heart for long.[81]

Four days later, on Friday 10 December, Jane Stirling and Katherine Erskine dined with Fanny and her aunt, Jane bringing a summons from García for Fanny to come for a singing lesson the next day. 'It was very kind of Chopin to manage it all so nicely & quickly for me', Fanny wrote. Fanny then began a course of lessons with García, held twice a week until 22 January, the last entry in the diary.[82]

On Thursday 16 December, six days afterwards, Fanny had her second encounter with Chopin, over an evening meal at Katherine Erskine's: 'He spoke so pleasantly all dinner & seems so simply true, with a keen sense of the good & beautiful & full of imagination. He told us his first remembrances of hearing Catalani in her glory & seeing her set up Tableaux which made a strong impression on his musical excitable soul'. When Salis and Julie Schwabe came, 'he talked more generally & pretty late played -- Oh! so exquisitely. Such bursts of feeling & passion. Such shakes!'[83] In the New Year 1848, on Wednesday 12 January, Fanny had her third meeting with the

composer, when she picked up 'Miss Stirling & Miss Hall' to take them to Chopin's for a lesson. 'Such a bijou of a room & such a lesson I envied it'.[84]

The next day, Thursday 13 January, Fanny 'pattered over through the mud to Mrs. E[rskine]'s to hear Franchomme accompany Miss S. [Stirling] on the violincello [*sic*] & was not disappointed. It comes quite up to what I had expected, & how richly & fully he made it sing out!' Later that evening, after dinner, Jeremy Barlow explains, Fanny, with Mary Rich, returned to Katherine Erskine's house for what proved to be Fanny's last meeting with Chopin during her stay in Paris. 'Chopin played for a long time so splendidly & was quite frisky after [,] making rabbits on the wall & shewing off his various accomplishments'.[85] The party also included Tellefsen and the portrait painter George Richmond (for whom Fanny sat at least three times), and 'Miss Trotter' -- who, Fanny's diary records, had commissioned a sketch of Chopin from Winterhalter 'as a New Year's Day present for Jane Stirling ('great will be her joy!') for whatever it might cost. This she had done for 800 francs -- Chopin helping her', although he 'was shocked at the price'. [86] On Saturday 22 January, Fanny received a letter from her mother, Maitland Erskine, summoning her home to Bonn. Her Paris sojourn was over. [87]

Another of the musical salons in Paris was that kept by Auguste and Sophie Léo. It was attended, Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger explains,

> notably by German musicians staying in or passing through Paris: Meyerbeer, Mendelssohn, Hiller, Hallé, Clara Wieck, Heller, and Moscheles who met Chopin there in October 1839. For his entire stay in Paris Chopin was close to Auguste Léo, his financial advisor and intermediary on various occasions with English and German editors.[88]

Auguste Léo, a Hamburg banker who was based in Paris from 1817 to 1848, was a cousin of Moscheles and brother of Hermann Léo, the Manchester industrialist and

patron of music who was instrumental in bringing Hallé to that city; Chopin's Polonaise in A flat major (Op.53), the *Grande polonaise brillante*, is dedicated to Auguste Léo. His wife, Sophie Augustine Léo (*née* Dellevie), was born in Hamburg in 1795, and first met Chopin in Paris in 1832. [89] Her memoirs, originally published anonymously in Berlin in 1851 as *Erinnerungen aus Paris (1817-1848)*, cast light on Chopin's life in Paris. Sophie was entranced by him:

> A delicate, graceful, most attractive figure, the man was a mere breath, a spiritual, rather than a corporeal being, and, like his music, harmony itself. His speech, in keeping with his art, was gentle, vibrant, ringing, a concordant blend of the Romance and Slavic inflections inherited from a French father and a Polish mother. He appeared hardly to touch the piano; one might have thought an instrument superfluous.

Yet, despite these gifts,

> Chopin was gracious, modest, and unassuming. He was not a pianist of the modern school, but, in his own way, had created a style of his own, a style that one cannot describe. Whether appearing in the private salon or in the concert hall he stepped quietly and modestly to the piano, was satisfied with whatever seat had been provided, showed at once by his simple dress and natural bearing that all forms of affectation and charlatanry were distasteful to him and, without any sort of introduction, at once began his soulful and heartfelt performance. [90]

Sophie's sister and her husband, M et Mme Valentin, were also supporters of music and the fine arts in Paris. 'It is at the Léos' that I most enjoy playing', Moscheles wrote in 1839, 'and it was there that I first met Chopin'. [91] For his part, Hallé remarks that Chopin, despite his 'growing weakness', still used to visit

> principally Count de Perthuis, the banker Auguste Léo, Mallet, and a few other houses. Fortunately for me I had been introduced by letters to the above three gentlemen, and enjoyed the privilege of being invited to their '*réunions intimes*', when Chopin, who avoided large parties, was to be present.[92]

In 1848, at the time of the Revolution, the Léos returned to Germany, but were back in France in 1852, living at Versailles.[93]

Although Auguste Léo was a devoted friend of Chopin, and his family was always kind to him,[94] the composer was not beyond referring to the banker scornfully as a 'scoundrel!'[95] Léo is mentioned frequently in the composer's letters; Chopin's own letters to Léo are sent to him at No 11 rue Louis-le-Grand. Writing to Léo from Nohant on 8 July 1845, Chopin remarks that he always thinks of him 'when [his] mind is on beautiful music, so you can imagine how often that is, now that we have Mme Viardot with us'.[96]

Private performances for the Schwabes, the Léos, and others, were part of Chopin's daily life in Paris.[97] However, as the year turned, Chopin was persuaded to give another public recital at the *Salons Pleyel*; the concert, held on 16 February 1848, included the last three movements of his Sonata in G minor for piano and 'cello (Op. 65), played with Franchomme, to whom it was dedicated, and Mozart's Piano Trio in E major (K542), played with Franchomme and Jean-Delphin Alard. Chopin himself played some of his études, preludes, mazurkas, and waltzes. The tenor Gustave-Hippolyte Roger performed the prayer from *Robert le Diable*, and Antonia de Mendi (cousin of Pauline Viardot and Maria Malibran) also sang. The *Revue et Gazette Musicale* reported the event enthusiastically:

> We won't attempt to describe the infinite nuances of an extraordinary genius who has such powers at his command. We will state only that his charm never

> ceased for an instant to hold his audience completely entranced and that its spell lingered after the concert itself was over. [98]

This was Chopin's last concert in Paris. For, although its success prompted him to plan a sequel, provisionally booked for March, before this could take place politics had intervened. [99]

The February Revolution has been termed the 'revolution of the intellectuals', involving as it did many leading writers and artists who 'identified with the liberal cause and reform movement' and 'played their part in preparing the climate for radical change'. [100] The events which led to George Sand's return Paris 'in a fever of excitement' were repellent to Chopin; moreover, members of Parisian society who employed musicians such as Chopin had largely fled the capital. [101] The Stirling sisters, 'devotees of the cultural and intellectual life' of Paris, [102] were returning to their family in Scotland, and Chopin was attracted by the proposal that he follow them there. Jane Stirling, born in 1804, the same year as George Sand, was clearly devoted to the composer, and 'hopeful that she might very soon step into the role recently vacated' by Sand. 'Unhappily the the feeling was anything but reciprocal'. [103] To a musician, the attractions of London, to be visited en route to and from Scotland, were considerable. Chopin decided to go. On Wednesday 19 April he left for England.

Chapter 2

PARIS 1840s: Interlude

ENDNOTES

1 See Eigeldinger, 'Chopin and Pleyel', p.389.

2 On his return to Paris in 1849, he was first at No 9 place d'Orléans, then No 74 rue de Chaillot, and finally at No 12 place Vendôme, where he died. See the Conclusion to the thesis.

3 For background, see Atwood, *Parisian worlds, passim*; Locke, 'Paris: Centre of intellectual ferment', *passim*; and Weber, *Music and the middle class*, pp.80-6.

4 Among the many writers who discuss Chopin and Sand at Nohant is Tad Szulc, in *Chopin in Paris*, notably pp.225-32, 250-3, 259-66, 279-82, 286-7, 294-7, 320-2.

5 Hedley, *Chopin*, pp.87, 88.

6 Samson, *Chopin*, p.133.

7 See Samson, *Chopin*, pp.141-7. For Chopin and Sand at Valldemosa see, for instance, Ripoll, *Chopin's winter in Majorca, passim*. The contents of the museum at Valldemosa are described in the writings of Bożena Adamczyk-Schmid, for example, in 'Katalog Zbiorów Muzeum Fryderyka Chopina', *passim*. Before his death, Arthur Hedley sold most of his extensive Chopin material to Valldemosa; for Adam Harasowski's comments on this collection, see his article 'Arthur Hedley', *passim*. See also the entry on Hedley in the Personalia section of the thesis.

8 The Pleyel, of *circa* 1835 (Serial No 6,668), is described in Clinkscale, *Makers of the piano*, vol.2, p.295. For illustrations of it, see Burger, *Chopin*, pp.201-2 (plates 438, 439). A similar instrument, described as a 'Pleyel upright pianino', of 1835, is described and illustrated in Colt and Miall, *The early piano*, pp.108-10.

9 Samson, *Chopin*, p.142.

10 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.168. The French and English editions of Chopin's Preludes (Op.28), first published in 1839, were dedicated to Camille Pleyel, and the German edition, of the same year, to J C Kessler. See Platzman, *Chicago catalogue II*, pp.121-6.

11 Samson, *Chopin*, pp.146, 147.

12 For a description of the architecture of Nohant, see Brem, *La maison de George Sand à Nohant*, *passim*.

13 Samson, *Chopin*, p.188.

14 For visitors to Nohant, see Delaigue-Moins, *Chopin chez George Sand*, *passim*, and Delaigue-Moins, *Les hôtes de George Sand à Nohant*, *passim*. For pictorial coverage of Sand and her milieu, see Reid and Tillier, *L'ABCdaire de George Sand*, *passim*. For Sand's views on music, see the entry on her by Louis Bilodeau in Fauquet, *Dictionnaire de la musique en France au XIXe siècle*, p.1118.

15 Samson, *Chopin*, p.191.

16 Samson, *Chopin*, p.250.

17 Samson, *Chopin*, p.251.

18 See Samson, *Chopin*, pp.253-4. Had Chopin not fallen out with George Sand, and spent the summer of 1848 being cossetted at Nohant rather than adrift in Scotland, one wonders at the compositions he might have written.

19 For Viardot, see particularly Eigeldinger, *Chopin vu par ses élèves*, pp.239-41, and the entry on Viardot by Beatrix Borchard in *Grove music online*. For Viardot and Chopin see, generally, Berger, 'Viardot-Chopin', *passim*. See also the entry on Viardot in the Personalia section of the thesis.

20 For Parisian salons, see Atwood, *Parisian worlds*, pp.101-36, and Tunley, *Salons, singers and songs*, especially pp.18-57, Appendix A, and Appendix E (which is an extract from Jules Janin's *The American in Paris* (London, 1843)). Tunley considers Viardot's salon on pp.47-9.

21 Viardot is here being taught at an upright piano. This drawing, and one of Chopin by Viardot (1844), are illustrated in Eigeldinger, *Chopin vu par ses élèves*, plates 8, 9.

22 See Waddington, *Musical works of Pauline Viardot-Garcia*, pp.9-10. This concert is discussed in Atwood, *Pianist from Warsaw*, pp.138-42, and FitzLyon, *Price of genius*, pp.129-30. The programme for it is reproduced in Tomaszweski and Weber, *Diary in images*, p.189, and as Plate 2.16 of the thesis.

Josef Dessauer, the Bohemian composer, was the dedicatee of Chopin's Polonaises in C sharp minor and E flat major (Op.26). He was a friend of George Sand, who nicknamed him '*Maître Favilla*'. For Dessauer, see the article by John Warrack and James Deauville in *Grove music online*.

23 For Viardot's settings, see Cook and Tsou, *Anthology of Songs*, pp.ix-x, 32-84. The words here are, variously, in French, German, Italian, and Russian. A selection of Viardot's settings of French and Spanish texts is in Chiti, *Songs and duets*, pp.50-92. Viardot's publications are considered further in Chapter 4 of the thesis.

24 For this recital, see Chapter 4 of the thesis, pp.156-60.

25 For a synopsis of Delacroix's career, see the entry on him in Chilvers, *Oxford dictionary of art and artists*, pp.171-2.

26 Quoted by Chilvers, *Oxford dictionary of art and artists*, p.171. Testimony of this can be found in such paintings as the *Barque of Dante* 1822), the *Massacre of Chios* (1824), and *Death at Sardnapolus* (1827), and his decorative schemes in Paris for the Salon du Roi (1833-1837), and the library there (1838-1847), the library of the Luxembourg Palace (1841-1846), the 'Galerie d'Apollon' in the Louvre (1850, and the 'Chapelle des Anges' of the church of St Sulpice (1853-1861).

27 See Azoury, *Chopin through his contemporaries*, pp.198-9, note 22, which contains a summary of Chopin's friendship with Delacroix.

28 According to Chilvers, *Oxford dictionary of art and artists*, p.172. Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger records that Delacroix bought a Pleyel in 1839, and Viardot purchased a Pleyel, on behalf on George Sand, in 1849. See Eigeldinger, 'Chopin et la manufacture Pleyel', p.106.

29 See Delacroix, *Journal, 1822-1863, passim*.

30 Wright, *Cambridge companion to Delacroix*, p.2. On p.191n10, Wright cites as her Chopin source Roger Delage's essay, 'Delacroix et la musique', pp.129-40. See also the essay on Delacroix by J-M Fauquet, in Fauquet, *Dictionnaire de la musique en France au XIXe siècle*, pp.367-8, and the chapter 'The music of a picture', in Lockspeiser, *Music and painting*, pp.37-48.

31 Letter from Delacroix of 1842, quoted by Hedley, *Chopin*, pp.86-7. Hedley does not name the recipient.

32 For the architecture of the Hôtel Lambert, see Bordier, *Louis Le Vau*, pp.133-68, and Feldmann, 'Maison Lambert', *passim*. More generally, see Feldman's entry on Louis Le Vau in *Grove art online*. The interiors are also described by Thierry Bajou and Pierre Chaleix in the entries on the Lambert family in *Grove art online*. Their opulence can be envisaged, for example, from the two-volume sale catalogue, *Collection du Baron De Redé provenant de l'Hôtel Lambert*, Sotheby's, Paris, 16-17 March 2005, and Servat, 'Guy de Rothschild. Le dernier départ', pp.84-7.

33 Zamoyski, 'Paris', p.93. For Prince Adam Czartoryski, including his period at the Hôtel Lambert, see Kukiel, *Czartoryski and European unity*, *passim*, with references on pp.227-8 to its purchase by Czartoryski in 1843. In view of this date, it is incorrect to imply, as some authorities do (e.g., Tomaszewski and Weber, *Diary in images*, pp. 129-31), that Chopin played at the Hôtel Lambert as early as the 1830s.

34 See Atwood, *Parisian worlds*, pp.52-6.

35 Zamoyski, 'Paris', pp.93-4.

36 Zamoyski, 'Paris', p.94.

37 See the entry on Kwiatkowski in the Personalia section of the thesis.

38 In 2009, a proposal to convert the building, 'subject to the demands of a modern luxury residence', are being opposed by the Mayor of Paris, and members of the *Association pour la Sauvegarde et Mise en Valeur du Paris Historique*.

39 Marchand, *Athenaeum*, p.48. For Chorley and Mendelssohn, see Bledsoe, 'Mendelssohn's canonical status in England', *passim*.

40 See Atwood, *Parisian worlds*, pp.146-50.

41 Quoted by Hewlett, *Chorley*, vol.1, pp.303-5. Chorley believed that, unlike Mendelssohn's, Chopin's sensibility was 'feminine'. See also the Chopin references in Bledsoe, *Chorley*, pp.141, 144, 145, 324.

42 Hewlett, *Chorley*, vol.2, pp.94-5. The poem 'Chopin' is on p.95. A transcript of it is given in Bledsoe, *Chorley*, p.179.

43 *Athenaeum*, 27 October 1849 (no 1148, p.1090), and *Bentley's miscellany*, February 1850 (pp.185-91), cited in Bledsoe, *Chorley*, pp.178-9.

44 See, e.g., the references to Gottschalk in Bellman, 'Chopin and his imitators'.

45 See Starr, *Bamboula!*, pp.52, 59-61. For the reception of the concert see Perone, *Louis Moreau Gottschalk*, pp.2, 265 (B1, B2), 281 (B142). See also the entry on Gottschalk by Irving Lowens and S Frederick Starr in *Grove music online*.

As Barrie Jones observes in 'Nationalism', p.191, Gottschalk's 'compositions were influenced by black American rhythms, and his numerous salon and concert pieces foreshadow both ragtime and jazz'.

46 Gottschalk, *Notes of a pianist*, p.244.

47 Ehrlich, *The piano*, p.49. Although acquainted with Chopin, Gottschalk seems not to have had lessons with him.

48 See the pupils documented in Eigeldinger, *Chopin vu par ses élèves*, *passim*, and Jeanne Holland's PhD dissertation, 'Chopin's teaching and his students', supplemented by her articles, 'Chopin the teacher', and 'Chopin's piano method'. See also Bronarski, 'Les élèves de Chopin', *passim*; Jaeger, 'Quelques nouveaux noms d'élèves de Chopin', *passim*; and Methuen-Campbell, *Chopin playing*, pp.40-4. Details of Chopin's lessons are in his pocket diary for 1848, TiFC (Warsaw), M/378.

49 For fellow-pianists in Paris, see Pistone, 'Pianistes et concerts parisien au temps de Frédéric Chopin', *passim*; and Lenz, *Great piano virtuosos of our time* (Baker), *passim*. We have two letters from Chopin to Gutmann, sent from London and Calder House, respectively, in 1848, but none to any other pianist. See Appendix B of the thesis.

50 Lenz, *Great piano virtuosos of our time* (Baker), p.50.

51 See Eigeldinger, *Chopin: pianist and teacher*, p.180, and Eigeldinger, *Chopin vu par ses élèves*, p.232.

52 Further consideration of Chopin's pupils appears in Chapter 3 of the thesis.

53 Hadden, *Chopin*, pp.144-8 [147-8]. Letter of 18 March 1903. See also the letter of 27 March 1903, on pp.185-8, describing a lesson with Chopin. See the references in the thesis on p.83n70 (Chapter 2), and pp. 276n5, 278n19 (Chapter 8). She is the 'Anonymous Scottish lady' quoted in Eigeldinger, *Chopin: pianist and teacher*, p.161, and Eigeldinger, *Chopin vu par ses élèves*, p.209.

54 See the descriptions in Atwood, *Parisian worlds*, pp.15, 121-3, and Heuberger, *The Rothschilds*, pp.67-8, 109-10.

55 Ferguson, *World's banker*, p.363. See, here, pp.363-5, and accompanying documentation, for Chopin's connections with the Rothschilds in Paris. See also Atwood, *Parisian worlds, passim*.

56 Ferguson, *World's banker*, p.363. Atwood, *Parisian worlds*, p.45, notes that Chopin had been introduced to the Rothschilds by his friend, Prince Walenty Radziwiłł. Steen, *The great composers*, p.373, also makes connections between Chopin and the Radziwiłłs and Rothschilds.

57 Ferguson, *World's banker*, p.363.

58 Ferguson, *World's bankers*, p.363. See also the references to the Rothschilds in Holland, 'Chopin's teaching and his students', p.130. Three letters from Mme Charlotte de Rothschild to Chopin appear in abridged form in Karłowicz, *Souvenirs*, p. 141. For biographical material on Charlotte, see Weintraub, *Charlotte and Lionel, passim.*

Atwood, *Parisian worlds*, pp.19, 45, 114, 121-3, maintains that Betty de Rothschild was also a pupil of Chopin. However, this seems uncertain. Ferguson states (p.364) that Chopin gave lessons 'not only to [Lionel] Nathan's daughter Charlotte, but also to her daughter Hannah Matthilde, and to Betty's daughter, another Charlotte'. There is some ambiguity here. The Rothschild Archive, London, has yet to yield its secrets on this and other matters connected with Chopin.

59 See Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.135n. See the entry on Charlotte de Rothschild in the Personalia section of the thesis.

60 Jane Stirling's background is considered below on pp.192-3 of the thesis. For the Stirlings generally, see Appendix A of the thesis, and the entries for the individual members of the family in the Personalia section. For a selection of sources of documentation for Jane Stirling and Chopin, see Eigeldinger, *Chopin vu par ses élèves*, pp.232-3. An invaluable guide to Eigeldinger's research on Chopin is 'Publications de Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger', in Eigeldinger, *La note bleue*, pp.367-75.

61 Niecks, *Chopin*. vol.2, p.291. Niecks cautions in a note that '[Sloper's] memory was not of the most trustworthy'.

62 Eigeldinger, *Chopin: pianist and teacher*, p.180. 'An opinion held by Harasowski', Eigeldinger adds. In French, see Eigeldinger, *Chopin vu par ses élèves*, pp.232-3.

63 See Cobbe, *Composer instruments*, pp.51-3, and Appendix D of the thesis.

64 Samson, *Chopin*, p.253.

65 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.336. Chopin to his family in Warsaw, [10/19 August 1848].

66 Handley, *A homeopathic love story*, p.119.

67 Handley, *In search of the later Hahnemann*, p.114.

68 Handley, *In search of the later Hahnemann*, pp.64, 86.

69 Handley, *A homeopathic love story*, p.121. The gruesome description of her medical history is on pp.119-21. See also the references to Mrs Erskine in Handley, *A homeopathic love story*, pp.10, 132, 162, and Handley, *In search of the later Hahnemann*, pp.20, 21, 24, 115, 125, 126, 127. Mrs Erskine, who had married in 1811, had been widowed in 1816, having given birth to four daughters, according to Audrey Bone, but 'each died within four days of birth'. See Bone, *Jane Stirling*, p.8.

70 Hadden, *Chopin*, pp.185-7. By '*petite cousine*', Jane Stirling presumably meant first cousin once removed, or second cousin.

71 The following text is taken from Ritchie, *Chapters from some memoirs*, pp.23-8. This volume was initially published in London in 1894 by Macmillan, who brought out a Macmillan's Colonial Library version in London and New York in 1895. It is this edition which is quoted here.

The anecdote is recorded in an abbreviated form by Edith Hipkins in *How Chopin played* (pp.14-15), but she gives no source. The 'Scotch lady' in the incident is

identified simply as 'Miss X.', but Edith Hipkins assumes, surely correctly, that this is Jane Stirling.

Gérin, *Anne Thackeray Ritchie*, pp.34-5, where the description of the visit also appears, suggests that it that it took place in 1847, when the Thackeray children were briefly in Paris. For Anny in Paris see Ritchie, *Journals and letters*, pp.1-10.

72 On 10/19 August 1848, Chopin observed in a letter to his family in Warsaw that Mrs Rich 'is a great friend of both myself and the Stirlings and Erskines'. See Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.339.

73 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.335. Chopin to his family in Warsaw [10-19 August 1848].

74 Barlow, 'Encounters with Chopin', p.245, for this and the following quotations. Fanny Erskine was Jeremy Barlow's great-great-grandmother. The diary entries are discussed in Samson, *Chopin*, pp.251-2.

75 For details of versions of 'Wiosna' (published posthumously as Op.74, no 2), see Kobylańska, *RUC*, vol.l, pp.434-40. These include a single-stave transcription by Chopin, without words, as a mark of his stay at No 10 Warriston Crescent, Edinburgh (Plate 5.29). A reference to a Chopin song, written by the composer in an album for Sophy Horsley, is in Gotch, *Mendelssohn and his friends in Kensington*, p.50, and note. For a fuller analysis, see the thesis pp.196, 207-8, note 43 (Chapter 5).

76 Barlow, 'Encounters with Chopin', p.246.

77 For Tellefsen see the Personalia section of the thesis.

78 Barlow, 'Encounters with Chopin', p.246.

79 Barlow, 'Encounters with Chopin', p.246.

80 Barlow, 'Encounters with Chopin', p.246. The underlining here and elsewhere is taken from the diary itself.

81 Barlow, 'Encounters with Chopin', pp.246-7.

82 Barlow, 'Encounters with Chopin', p.247.

83 Barlow, 'Encounters with Chopin', p.247. 'Catalani' here refers to Angelica Catalani, the Italian soprano who, on a visit to Warsaw in 1820, gave the ten-year-old Chopin a gold watch with an engraved inscription. The incident is recorded in Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.1, p.34, and the watch described in W-S, *Chopin, Fame resounding far and wide*, item 105.

84 Barlow, 'Encounters with Chopin', p.248. The identity of 'Miss Hall' has not been ascertained. Perhaps she, too, was a pupil of Chopin?

85 Barlow, 'Encounters with Chopin', p.248.

86 Barlow, 'Encounters with Chopin', p.247. 'Miss Trotter' may also have been a pupil of Chopin. This refers to one of two pencil portraits of Chopin by Winterhalter, both dated 1847. See W-S, *Chopin. Fame resounding far and wide*, item 175. In Tomaszewski and Weber, *Diary in images*, p.224, there is an illustration of the second portrait, commissioned by Jane Stirling, now in the Collegium Maius (Cracow). See the thesis pp.123-4, note 39, and Plate 5.12a, and Winterhalter in the Personalia section.

87 Barlow, 'Encounters with Chopin', p.248.

88 Eigeldinger, *Chopin: pianist and teacher*, p.279n16.

89 For Sophie Léo, see Eigeldinger, *Chopin vu par ses élèves*, pp.352-3, and the 'Translator's Note' by W Oliver Strunk, in Léo, 'Musical life in Paris (1817-1848)', p. 259.

90 Léo, 'Musical life in Paris (1817-1848)', p.402. Sophie Léo's personal assessment of Chopin appears on pp.401-3 here; it was, of course, not published until after the composer's death. See also p.401 for references to Liszt, Thalberg, and Hallé.

91 Quoted by Strunk, in Léo, 'Musical life in Paris (1817-1848)', p.259.

92 Hallé, *Life and letters*, p.32, continuing on p.33 with a description by Hallé of Chopin and their friendship. The reference to 'Mallet' is to the Parisian banking family of that name; in 1840, on Hallé's arrival in Paris, he and Chopin were both invited to dinner by 'Mallet', presumably Adolphe-Jacques Mallet, Régent de la Banque de France. See Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.171. Guizot's connections with the Mallets are touched on in Guizot, *Lettres à sa fille, Henriette*, pp.270, 271, 303, 667, 695, 756, 758, 809, 860, 862. For the Mallet family, see the Personalia section of the thesis.

93 Strunk, in Léo, 'Musical life in Paris (1817-1848)', p.259.

94 Azoury, *Chopin through his contemporaries*, p.177.

95 See Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.166. Chopin to Fontana, 28 December 1838. 'Leo is a Jew!' Chopin exclaims. This letter, written from Valldemosa, describes Chopin's trials as he tries to deal with his personal affairs from Mallorca, and awaits the release of his Pleyel piano from customs.

96 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.247.

97 For the following paragraph, see Samson, *Chopin*, p.252.

98 *Revue et Gazette Musicale*, 20 February 1848, in English translation from Atwood, *Pianist from Warsaw*, pp.244-5.

99 Samson, *Chopin*, p.252.

100 Samson, *Chopin*, p.252.

101 See Hallé, *Life and letters*, p.229.

102 Samson, *Chopin*, p.263.

103 Samson, *Chopin*, p.263.

Chapter 3

LONDON 1848: Chopin in England

Between Chopin's first visit to London in 1837, and his second in 1848, his reputation in Britain seems to have grown. Friends such as Liszt, whose correspondence is peppered with references to artists whose interests he was promoting, took up the cudgels on Chopin's behalf. Thus, when in London in 1840, Liszt remarked in a letter to Marie d'Agoult on 29 May:

> Talking of publishers, Wessel, who has published Chopin's collected works and is losing more than 200 louis on them, has come to ask me to play some of his pieces, in order to make them known here. As yet, no one has dared risk it. I shall do so at the first good opportunity, perhaps at the Philharmonic Concert or at one of mine (if, as is probable, I give several). You can tell him that when you see him. I am delighted to be able to do him this small service. I shall play his Études, his Mazurkas and his Nocturnes, all things virtually unknown in London. That will encourage Wessel to buy other manuscripts from him. The poor publisher is rather tired of publishing without selling.[1]

Hedley writes:

> Chopin's reputation had preceded him to London, although his music was not very well known, except in purely musical circles. For over ten years Wessel of Regent Street had published all his works; this they would not have done had there been no sale for them. We may therefore dismiss the suggestion that his music was 'totally unknown'.[2]

Niecks observes:

Were Chopin now to make his appearance in London, what a stir there would be in musical society! In 1848 Billet, Osborne, Kalkbrenner, Hallé, and especially Thalberg, who came about the same time across the channel, caused more curiosity... But although Chopin did not set the Thames on fire, his visit was not altogether ignored by the press. Especially the Athenaeum [H F Chorley] and the Musical World [J W Davison] honoured themselves by the notice they took of the artist.'[3]

Chopin's arrival in the capital on 20 April 1848 had been heralded by Chorley in the *Athenaeum*. In the issue of 8 April (no 1067, p.374) he comments that, 'among the most recent arrivals from Paris' are the violinist Friedrich Hermann, and the pianist George Osborne. However, he continues,

> the amateurs and professors of the pianoforte will hear with still greater interest that M. Chopin is expected, if not already here, -- it is even added, to remain in England.... M. Chopin's visit is an event for which we heartily thank the French Republic.

Three weeks later, in its issue of 29 April, the *Athenaeum* (no 1070, p.444) reported that Chopin, Jenny Lind and Kalkbrenner were all in London. According to Hedley, 'Chopin brought with him to London a large number of letters of introduction. Most of these were naturally delivered to their addressees, but one, to a Mr Hall, editor of the Art Union Monthly, was kept by him.' The 'Mr Hall' here was Samuel Carter Hall, journalist and writer, the prominent editor of the *Art-Union, Monthly journal of the fine arts, and the arts, decorative and ornamental* (from 1849 known as the *Art Journal*) (Plate 3.1). In his letter to Hall, Charles Gavard wrote:

> Chopin is very modest and is afraid that certain persons might try to exploit his name -- at least so it seems to me. I would ask you to take care of him in that

> respect -- no one can advise him better that you, and if it is felt that some newspapers should write about him, let it be a paper like yours.'[4]

Three other letters of introduction, dated 11 April 1848, were written in Paris on behalf of Chopin by Dimitri de Obrescoff, whose wife Natalia was a friend of Jane Stirling, and greatly admired by Chopin; her daughter, Princess Catherine de Souzzo, was one of his pupils, and the dedicatee of his Fantasia in F minor (Op.49). One letter was addressed to the wife of Baron Philip Graf von Brunnow, Russian diplomat, Ambassador in London of the Russian Imperial Court (Plate 3.2); the second, it seems, to Henry Bingham Baring, the politician; and the third, apparently, to Robert Henry Herbert, 12th Earl of Pembroke and 9th Earl of Montgomery.[5]

Opinions vary on the character and extent of Chopin's musical reputation in England in 1848. Niecks observes that

> in those days, and for a long time after, the appreciation and cultivation of Chopin's music was in England confined to a select few. Mr. Hipkins told me that he 'had to struggle for years to gain adherents to Chopin's music, while enduring the good-humoured banter of Sterndale Bennett and J W Davison'.[6]

The battle fought in the *Musical World* in 1841 illustrated the prevailing difference of opinion; hostilities began on 28 October with a criticism of the Four Mazurkas (Op.41), and describing Chopin (among many negative observations) as 'a dealer in the most absurd and hyperbolical extravagances'.[7] Chopin's publishers, Wessel & Stapleton, protested against this criticism, and adduced the opinions of numerous musicians in support of their own. A vigorous correspondence ensued.[8]

Two years later, in 1843, Wessel & Stapleton published J W Davison's *An essay on the works of Frederic Chopin*, in which he strongly endorsed the composer.[9] Indeed, his language is effusive, almost embarrassingly so:

Chopin does not carry off your feelings by storm, and leave you in a mingled maze of wonder and dismay; he lulls your senses in the most delicious repose, intoxicates them with bewitching and unceasing melody, clad in the richest and most exquisite harmony -- a harmony which abounds in striking and original features, in new and unexpected combinations (p.2).

Davison considers Chopin's concertos, studies, and mazurkas -- those 'charming bagatelles' which have been made widely known in England by the eminent pianists 'who enthusiastically admire, and universally recommend them to their pupils' (p.4). [10] As for the nocturnes, 'to hear one of these eloquent streams of pure loveliness delivered by such pianists as J Rosenhain, F Liszt, E Pirkhert, Wm Holmes, or H Field, a pleasure we have frequently enjoyed, is the very transcendency of musical delight' (p.5). Chopin's polonaises 'are remarkable for a boldness of phraseology, a decision of character, a masterly continuousness of purpose, and a sparkling brilliancy of passage' (p.5). Waltzes, ballades, scherzos, impromptus, preludes, rondos, and the Sonata in B flat minor (Op.35) are similarly praised. The 'strange delight' we experience from Chopin's music, 'may in part be traced to the melancholy which invests it as a garment -- and which is mystically sympathetic with our own peculiar temperaments. It makes us dream of a happy past -- mourn over a sad present -- and yearn for an undefined future' (p.12). Moreover,

> Chopin has the peculiar gift (so rarely granted to musicians) of attracting the attention and exciting the admiration of philosophers and poets, as well as the votaries of his own art; it would be difficult to name a writer of any note in Paris, who is not an intense worshipper of his genius; indeed, one can hardly turn to a romance of the present day, without finding some allusion to him (p. 13).

An instance of this can be found in Balzac's novel *Ursule Mirouët* (1841), in which Chopin is singled out for praise:

Il existe en toute musique, outre la pensée du compositeur, l'âme de l'exécutant, qui,par un privilège acquis seulement à cet art, peut donner du sens et de la poésie à desphrases sans grande valeur. Chopin prouve aujourd'hui, pour l'ingrat piano la vérité de ce fait déjà démontré par Paganini pour le violon. Ce beau génie est moins un musicien qu'une âme qui se rend sensible et qui se communiquerait par toute espèce de musique, même par de simples accords. [11]

But despite such accolades, says Davison, Chopin remains 'the most modest and retiring of beings ... [who] has won the suffrage of all his brother artists, who look upon him as a star for wise men to follow, as an idol for universal worship' (p.13).

But 'the philosophical and poetical tendency of the writings of Chopin' must not make us forget 'what, to the multitude, is of infinitely more importance', namely their value to the aspiring pianist. After tabulating Chopin's works by style and levels of difficulty, Davison points to the 'arrangements of every description [which] have been eagerly demanded by the public', and which amateur musicians play with eagerness and delight (p.17). On the Continent, Chopin's esteem may be gathered from 'the enormous demand for his works', notably in Germany, and 'by the unanimous and enthusiastic testimony in his favour of the most celebrated living musicians, literati, and men of general learning' (p.17). Among these, Davison numbers Berlioz, Meyerbeer, Liszt, John Cramer, Schumann, Moscheles, Czerny, and Mendelssohn (pp.17-18).

A key role in the dissemination of Chopin's music in England was taken by his publishers -- in London, initially, by Wessel, the predecessors of Ashdown and Parry -- though not without difficulty, as Liszt indicated. Writing in the *Musical Herald* in April 1903, Edwin Ashdown wrote that 'Frederick Stapleton, Wessel's partner, was not particularly musical, but he heard Chopin play in Paris, and the performance had an extraordinary effect upon him. He felt sure that there was a fortune in publishing such music, and he persuaded Wessel to buy everything that he could of Chopin's. Few people could play it at the time, and the firm had a long experience of the unpopularity

of Chopin. They decided to take no more of his music. Cramer published the next composition.' [12]

Chopin's reception in England was dependent on other factors, too. As Nicholas Temperley has observed, during the years 1800 to 1860 domestic music flourished there:

> Musical activity in the home in this period must have been very considerable, judging from the amount of music published, which increased rapidly throughout the nineteenth century. Enormous quantities of piano music, songs and ballads, and chamber music for small ensembles poured from the rapidly expanding publishing houses; and from about 1840 onwards, the publication of vocal part-music was on almost the same scale. Very little of this music was performed in concerts. [13]

Rather, the music was published in response to the popularity of the piano. 'The now commonplace presence in parlour or drawing room of the instrument', writes Victoria Cooper, 'led to an unprecedented expansion of the piano repertoire, including arrangements of recent operas, earlier oratorios, and classical works; accompaniments to vocal or instrumental music; and solos'. [14] As Mary Burgan has demonstrated, in Victorian literature the portrayal of the piano in the home was a sign of women's accomplishment, education, and social status. The piano appears as a symbol in novels such as *David Copperfield*, *Jane Eyre*, and *Pride and Prejudice*. Sometimes, a specific manufacturer was named: Jane Fairfax's piano in *Emma* is a Broadwood, as is Amelia Sedley's in *Vanity Fair*. [15] Depictions of domestic interiors show the piano, and the piano teacher, as an essential part of the 'polite' Victorian interior. A Scottish example of this is the drawings by John Harden of his family home in Queen Street, Edinburgh, not far from the Hopetoun Rooms in which Chopin played (Plate 5.31). [16]

Travel between Paris and London had become much easier since Chopin's visit to England in 1837. The ferries across the English Channel now plied between Dieppe and Newhaven, Calais and Dover, and Boulogne and Folkestone (Plate 3.3) [17] In order that travellers could stay or rest before or after taking the ferries, Newhaven saw the building of the London & Paris Hotel (finished 1847) (Plate 3.4), and Dover the Lord Warden Hotel, designed by Samuel Beazley and completed in 1854 (Plates 3.5, 3.6); a decade or so before, in 1843, the South Eastern Railway Company had opened the Pavilion Hotel in Folkestone, and Chopin may well have stopped there on his way to London in 1848, after crossing from Boulogne (Plate 3.7). [18] He had travelled to Boulogne by train from Paris. 'I crossed the Channel without being very sick', he told Gryzmała, in a letter written in London on Good Friday, 'but I did not travel by the fast boat, nor with the new acquaintances I made on the train, for one had to take a launch in order to board the vessel at sea. I preferred to come by the ordinary route, and I arrived here at six-o'clock, as I had to rest a few hours at Folkestone'. [19]

Architecturally, the London which greeted Chopin in 1848 displayed further evidence of the expansion in areas such as Mayfair, Piccadilly, and St James's, and including Regent Street and the Strand (Plates 3.8, 3.9). Here it was, north of the River Thames, that Chopin was to live and spend much of his time when in the city. Having reached London on Maunday Thursday, 20 April, he stayed first at No 10 Bentinck Street, north-west of Cavendish Square, where Jane Stirling and her sister had provided for him. (Plate 3.10). Bentinck Street, now much altered, was begun in 1765 and takes its name from William Bentinck, 2nd Duke of Portland, on whose estate it lies -- off Welbeck Street, and north of Oxford Street; [20] the domestic character of the area can be seen from *Tallis's London street views* of 1838-1840 (Plates 3.11a, 11b). The next day, Good Friday, Jane wrote excitedly to Franchomme, from No 44 Welbeck Street (Plate 3.11), telling him that Chopin had arrived safely the previous evening: 'votre Cher Voyageur est arrivé sans avoir de pas trop souffert du voyage -- la traversée n'a pas été tout à fait tranquille, et il y avait de la pluie -- il était sur le pont - mais grâce à Dieu it ne paraît pas enrhumé. Il nous arrivait hier soir -- vous pouvez juger ce que c'était de le voir!'

That day, Chopin had endured a long journey and, hardly surprisingly, 'il est rentré fatigué'.[21] 'My good Mrs Erskine and her sister have thought of everything', Chopin told Grzymała, ' -- even of my [special] drinking-chocolate, and not merely of rooms for me... You can't imagine how kind they are -- I have only just noticed that this paper I am writing on has my monogram [Three Cs interlinked], and I have met with many similar delicate attentions'. But better rooms than those in Bentinck Street had become available elsewhere, and Chopin planned to move there within 'a day or two'.[22]

Meanwhile, he was off for the week-end. 'I am leaving town today as it is Good Friday and there is nothing to do here', he wrote to Grzymała. 'I am going to see some people belonging to the former King's entourage, who live outside London'.[23] Louis-Philippe and his family were at this time settling into Claremont, the country house near Esher in Surrey which the king had visited with Queen Victoria when in England in 1844, and Hoesick has suggested that the friends with whom Chopin spent the week-end may have been the Count and Countess de Perthuis.[24] The Count de Perthuis was aide-de-camp to Louis-Philippe; Chopin dedicated his Four Mazurkas (Op.24) to the count, and his Sonata in B minor (Op.58) to his wife, Émilie. In Paris, on behalf of Louis-Philippe, Perthuis had helped to arrange Chopin's concerts at the Tuileries Palace.[25]

After his week-end away, Chopin moved on 23 April, Easter Sunday, to rooms in No 48 Dover Street, off Piccadilly, a street originally laid out about 1683 and named after one of the speculators, Henry Jermyn, Lord Dover (Plates 3.12, 3.13); although south of Oxford Street, it was only a stone's throw from Welbeck Street, to its north, where Jane Stirling and her sister lived. In Chopin's day, it consisted of Georgian residences, the finest of which was Ely House, No 37 Dover Street, built in 1772-6 by Sir Robert Taylor for Edmund Keene, Bishop of Ely. The house in which Chopin stayed is no more.[26] The composer was soon writing to his friends in Paris, telling them of his journey and his new life. 'Je suis aussi bien que possible, après la traversée, respirant cette fumée de charbon de terre', he informs Mlle de Rozières. 'Je tâche de me reposer. Mes lettres sont encore dans mon portefeuille; mon piano n'est pas encore

deballé. J'ai écrit deux mots aux miens; veuillez je vous prie les envoyer'. Chopin describes Easter Monday in London as tranquil, his apartment as expensive, and asks Mlle de Rozières to address letters to him there.[27]

Apparently, the accommodation in Dover Street had been recommended to Chopin by Karol Szulczewski, London agent of the Hôtel Lambert, and since 1845 the secretary of the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland (Plate 3.14).[28] Born in 1814, the Załuskis explain, Szulczewski had

> taken to the streets of Warsaw during the initially successful uprising of November 1830, and had joined General Bem's artillery units against the Russian forces. The following year he fought bravely but futilely at the disastrous Battle of Ostrolęka, north east of Warsaw, which led to the defeat of the Poles by the Russians. He was decorated by General Bem, under whom he continued to serve in the Hungarian campaign against the Austrians; he also ferociously defended the barricades of Vienna when that city erupted in riots and unrest'.[29]

After the failure of the Polish uprisings, Szulczewski fled to Paris, and in 1842 moved to London, where, as an ardent patriot, he counted Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart and the Earl of Harrowby among his friends. Both Szulczewski and Stanisław Koźmian, who had been Chopin's factotum during his first visit to London, were to assist the composer during his seven months' stay in Britain. 'Here I am just settling down', Chopin wrote to his 'dearest friend' Franchomme, from Dover Street, on 1 May. 'At last I have a room -- a nice large one -- in which I can breathe and play, and here comes the sun to see me today for the first time.'[30] Moreover, as Chopin later commented to Grzymała, there are other advantages. 'I have three pianos', he wrote:

> In addition to my Pleyel I have a Broadwood and an Érard, but I have so far only been able to play on my own. At last I have good lodgings; but no sooner have I

> settled down than my landlord now wants to make me pay twice as much, or else accept another room.

Chopin is 'already paying twenty-six guineas a month', but at least he has an attractive place in which to teach:

> It is true that I have a large splendid drawing-room, and can give my lessons here. So far I have only five pupils. I don't yet know what I shall do. I shall probably stay here because the other room is neither so large nor so suitable. And once you have announced your address it is better not to change. The landlord's pretext for the change is that we have nothing in writing and so he may raise the rent.[31]

Soon, more pupils were to seek Chopin out, although, at a guinea a lesson, they provided him with little enough income.[32]

In fact, Chopin's rent was later increased to ten guineas a week, as he told Mlle de Rozières, although he acknowledged that he was living in 'one of the finest districts in London', in an apartment with 'a large drawing-room with three pianos' and a 'fine staircase'. 'I give a few lessons at home', he wrote. 'I have a few engagements to play at fashionable drawing-rooms -- this brings in a few guineas which disappear in spite of all my economy'. 'I am aware of the expense', he confided, 'all the more since my Italian valet (the most typical Italian imaginable) sneers at my attempts at economy. He refuses to accompany me in the evening if I take a cab rather than a privately hired carriage. I have to put up with it all as I can't find anyone better'. Despite the fact that Chopin has been 'spitting blood these last few days', and had 'nothing but ices and lemonade', this has not prevented him from becoming 'acquainted somewhat with London society'. As he puts it: 'A host of *Ladies* whom I have been introduced to and whose names go in one ear and out the other as soon as they are mentioned.'[33]

What of the three pianos which Chopin had in his rooms in Dover Street? The Érard had been provided by Sebastien Érard who, on Chopin's arrival in London, had 'hastened to offer his services and ... placed one of his pianos at [Chopin's] disposal.' [34] The Broadwood was Grand Pianoforte No 17,093 (London, 1847); according to Hipkins's essay 'Chopin's pianoforte', in the catalogue of Broadwood exhibits at the International Inventions Exhibition of 1885, this was sent to No 48 Dover Street and retained by Chopin 'throughout the season', apart from its removal once,'on the occasion (May 10th) of his playing to Lady Blessington, at Gore House, Kensington.' [35] The Pleyel, referred to by Chopin as 'my Pleyel' (*sic*), seems to have been Grand Pianoforte No 13,819 (Paris, *circa* 1846) now in the Cobbe Collection, at Hatchlands (Plate 3.15), brought by the composer from Paris; [36] indeed Hipkins's widow reports that her husband indicated that it was this Pleyel, not the Broadwood, which Chopin played at Gore House. Chopin, she writes,

> came to Broadwood through the recommendation and courtesy of the Pleyel House in Paris; he brought one of the Pleyel pianos with him, but only used it once, at an evening at the Countess of Blessington's at Kensington Gore, directly after his arrival. He immediately took to the Broadwood pianos, and after that occasion used them exclusively in England and Scotland, until in effect, his return to Paris in November of that year, 1848. [37]

On 15 August 1848, by then in Scotland, Chopin wrote to Camille Pleyel from Calder House, and mentioned the sale of his Pleyel. 'Before I left for Scotland, where I look forward to spending, if I can, a few quiet weeks', he said, 'I sent you a short note from London, when forwarding the £80 I received from Lady Trotter for your piano'. [38] Research by Alec Cobbe and Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger has led them to believe that this is indeed the Pleyel now in the Cobbe Collection, at Hatchlands.[39]

Chopin's records of piano lessons he gave at No 48 Dover Street appear in his pocket diary for 1848. [40] Writing to Gryzmała on 13 May, Chopin notes that at that time he

has only five pupils, identified by Arthur Hedley as 'Miss C Maberly, Lady Christopher, Mrs Wilde, Lady Parke and the Duchess of Rutland's daughter' [41] -- this last a mistake for the Duchess of Sutherland's daughter, Lady Constance Leveson-Gower (Plate 3.16), who had seven lessons between 25 May and 6 July 1848. [42] Of the others listed by Hedley, Catherine Maberly -- a Parisian pupil, the dedicatee of Chopin's Three Mazurkas (Op.56), and a friend of Jane Stirling -- took five lessons between 10 May and 24 June. [43] Also referred to in the diary is Mrs Katherine Erskine, Jane Stirling's sister, whose six lessons from Chopin were spread between 12 June and 4 July 1848. [44]

Other names may be added to these, some speculative. [45] Notable among these is that of Lady Mary Cadogan, wife of the 4th Earl of Cadogan, whom Chopin met, with many other titled women, at a recital he gave at the London home of the Marquess of Douglas (son of the Duke and Duchess of Hamilton); Chopin refers to Lady Cadogan as 'my former pupil, now *dame de compagnie* to the duchess of Cambridge'. [46] There is little evidence to suggest that Chopin taught many of his Parisian pupils when he moved to London, [47] although he did maintain his connection with the Rothschilds: his Waltz in C sharp minor (Op.64, no 2), first published in 1847, and played to acclaim by Chopin in 1848, was dedicated to Charlotte de Rothschild. [48] Writing to Gryzmała on 2 June 1848, he describes meeting 'Old Mme Rothschild' -- presumably Hannah, then aged sixty-five, widow of Nathan Meyer Rothschild. Chopin writes that she

> asked me how much I *cost* ["Combien coûtez-vous?"], as some lady who had heard me was making enquiries. Since Sutherland gave me twenty guineas, the fee fixed for me by Broadwood on whose piano I play, I answered "Twenty guineas". She, so obviously trying to be kind and helpful, replied that of course I play very beautifully, but that she advised me to take less, as one had to show greater "moderayshon" this season.

Chopin deduced from this that 'they are not so open-handed and money is tight everywhere. To please the middle class you need something sensational, some technical display which is out of my sphere'. [49]

There was also Lady Murray. In 1826, Mary Rigby (as she then was), married Sir John Archibald Murray, who became Lord Advocate and Lord of Session in Scotland. Chopin observed that Lady Murray, 'an important, well-known lady who is very fond of music', and his first pupil in London, 'spends most of her time in Edinburgh and exercises command over musical affairs'. [50] No details of Chopin's lessons with Lady Murray have survived, but on 18 July 1848 we find him in London sending a note to her: 'J'aurai l'honneur d'attendre Lady Murray aujourd'hui à 4h, si cela lui est agréable. Son très humble serviteur Chopin'. [51] Writing from Calder House, Chopin tells Franchomme:

> There is a pupil of yours in Edinburgh, a Mr [Louis] Drechsler I think. He came to see me in London -- he seemed a good fellow and is very fond of you. He plays [the 'cello] with a local *grande dame*, Lady Murray, one of my sixty-year-old pupils.

Drechsler, who was born in Dessau, conducted the Gentlemen's Amateur Society concerts in Edinburgh, where he founded the Singverein, a male voice choir, in 1846. Chopin had promised to visit Lady Murray at her 'fine castle' -- namely Strachur, on Loch Fyne -- which he duly did. [52]

Teaching had its problems, however, as Chopin explained to Gryzmała on 8-17 July. Chopin acknowledges that he is 'already known in the right way in certain circles, but it takes time, and the season is already over'. What he lacks are guineas:

> They are awful liars here: as soon as they don't want anything they clear off to the country. One of my lady-pupils has already left for the country, leaving nine

> lessons unpaid. Others, who are down for two lessons a week, usually miss a week, thus pretending to have more lessons than they really do. It does not surprise me, for they try to do too much -- to do a little bit of everything.

Taking lessons from Chopin was nothing if not fashionable. 'One lady', the composer continued, 'came here from Liverpool to have lessons for a single week! I gave her five lessons -- they don't play on Sundays -- and sent her away happy!' As for Lady Peel, he continued, she

> would like me to give lessons to her daughter who is very talented, but since she already had a music-master who gave two lessons a week at half a guinea a time, she asked me to give only one lesson a week so that her purse should not suffer. And simply to be able to say that she has lessons from me. She will probably leave after two weeks. [53]

With such financial problems, let alone those related to publishing his work, it is hardly surprising that Chopin was attracted, despite his hesitations, to earning fees from the recital platform. [54]

The February Revolution of 1848 also brought François Guizot to England; both Guizot and Louis-Philippe -- under whom Guizot was foreign minister and later prime minister of France -- were among those whose portraits were painted by Ary Scheffer (Plates 3.17, 3.18). On 1 March, Douglas Johnson writes, Guizot 'disguised himself as the servant of the Wurtemburg ambassador, and took the train to Brussels. From there he went to Ostend and then on to London, where he arrived on the evening of 3 March. His daughters had got there one day earlier, his son arrived the next day and his mother a fortnight later'. Guizot then was in touch with Louis-Philippe at Claremont. [55] Henry Fowler Broadwood, who had, according to Chopin, 'splendid connections', thereupon 'received M Guizot and his whole family in his house'. [56] Hallé, who had himself also arrived in London that March, continued to teach former pupils who, like him, had fled

Paris. 'Amongst them', he wrote, 'there was the daughter of M Guizot, who, fallen from his high estate, was living in a modest house in Pelham Crescent, Brompton'. [57] Late that May, Chopin met Guizot at a dinner. 'It was pitiful to see him', Chopin told Gryzmała. 'Although he was decked out with his Order of the Golden Fleece it was obvious that he suffers morally, even if he still has hopes.' [58] Once in England, Guizot kept his connections with France: an instance of this is a letter from Brompton of 24 March 1849, offering help in organising public libraries there (Plate 3.19). [59] Guizot devoted the rest of his life to writing, and establishing his reputation as 'the first great modern historian of France'. [60]

Once settled in London, Chopin began the extensive correspondence with relatives in Poland and friends in Paris -- Solange Clésinger, Fontana, Franchomme, Grzymała, Gutmann, Pleyel, Krzyżanowski, and Mlle de Rozières -- which provides us with an invaluable commentary on his time in Britain. He was welcomed by both Poles and Britons alike. Moritz Karasowski -- regarded by Adam Harasowski, it must be said, as an untrustworthy source [61] -- writes that on Chopin's arrival the Polish emigrants in London arranged a dinner 'at which about forty of the most prominent members of the Polish colony were present'. [62] Karasowski indicates that 'after several toasts and speeches extolling Chopin as a musician and a patriot', the composer 'rose, and clinking his glass', spoke as follows:

> "My dear countrymen: -- The expressions I have just received of your attachment and devotion have touched me deeply. I should like to have been able to thank you in words, but, unfortunately, the gift of oratory has been denied me. I invite you to come with me to my house, and listen to the expression of my thanks on the piano."

This speech was received 'with a storm of applause', continues Karaskowski. 'Every one rose and followed the artist. Although exhausted by the day's excitement, Chopin

made a supreme effort, and, amid continuous applause, played till two in the morning'. [63]

Chopin played again for the Broadwoods at No 46 Bryanston Square at an 'at home' on Wednesday 21 June 1848, when he was the guest of Mrs H Fowler Broadwood at a 'small early party'. [64] By this time, James Shudi Broadwood had passed on the running of the firm to his elder son, Henry Fowler Broadwood, who divided his time between No 46 Bryanston Square and Lyne House, near Dorking, in Surrey (Plate 3.20). [65] 'Broadwood', Chopin told his family in Warsaw, 'who is a real London Pleyel, has been my best and truest friend', and is 'universally beloved'. 'He is, as you know, a very rich and well-educated man whose father transferred to him his property and factory and then retired to the country'. As well as taking Guizot and his family into his home, Broadwood introduced Chopin to Lord Falmouth. 'This will give you some idea of his English courtesy', comments Chopin:

> One morning he came to see me -- I was worn out and told him I had slept badly. In the evening when I came back from the Duchess of Somerset's what do I find but a new spring mattress and pillows on my bed! After a lot of questioning, my good Daniel (the name of my present servant) told me that Mr Broadwood had sent them, and had asked him to say nothing. [66]

Henry Fowler Broadwood had other interests than John Broadwood and Sons. An Old Harrovian, he was 'a man-about-town, courtier and politician', of whom it was said that he carried on 'two complementary existences, as pianoforte maker and as country squire and sportsman.' [67] But all was not well, as David Wainwright explains:

> In public, he continued to appear 'the prince of pianoforte makers', as Hallé described him: confident, masterful, the leader of the British piano trade. In private, however, he must have been extremely worried. For from 1845 the sales of Broadwoods dramatically declined'. [68]

For, in addition to the 'French challenge', notably from Érard, both the Broadwoods' best-selling square pianos and their grands (where other manufacturers were adopting cast-iron-frames) were going out of fashion. At the Great Exhibition of 1851, Broadwoods failed to obtain the Gold Medal for piano manufacture, which went to Érard. Subsequently, writes Charles Mould, 'under Henry Fowler Broadwood the firm did not move with the times. It is thought that he was sceptical of the abilities of British founders to make reliable castings and was therefore reluctant to use the single cast-iron frame and the technique of overstringing, both of which were adopted by his competitors and are still universally employed in piano design.' [69] Although Broadwoods went into decline, the firm did win awards at the International Exhibition in South Kensington of 1862, at the Paris Exhibition of 1867, and at the International Inventions Exhibition in London of 1885. [70]

This last exhibition had a catalogue of Broadwood exhibits which had been prepared under the care of A J Hipkins, including the section entitled 'Chopin's pianoforte' which describes the Broadwood pianos used by Chopin in 1848. [71] Alfred James Hipkins, writer on music and musical instruments (Plate 3.20a), was noted for his entries on the keyboard and related topics in the first edition of Grove's *Dictionary of music and musicians* (1879), and in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1875-89). [72] In 1896, he published *A description and history of the pianoforte.* Hipkins began his career at the age of fourteen, in 1840, as an apprentice piano tuner at Broadwoods', working for the firm for the rest of his life, and encountering Chopin and Jane Stirling there in 1848; indeed, he may have been the first English pianist to devote entire recitals to the Polish composer. Hipkins casts many sidelights on Chopin's period in Britain, many of which were brought together and published by his daughter, Edith J Hipkins, in the book *How Chopin played*, of 1937; in 1926, Edith, who was a painter, presented her portrait of her father, dated 1898, to the National Portrait Gallery, in London (Plate 3.20b). As he lived until 1903, A J Hipkins was able personally to give information both to Joseph Bennett, whose book *Frederic Chopin (sic)* came out

initially in 1884-5, [73] and to Frederick Niecks, for his biography of Chopin, first published in 1888. [74]

That said, as James Parakilas points out, Hipkins' position was problematical:

> As a historian he belonged to his age; he thought of the piano as a single instrument being improved steadily as generation after generation of builders solved its design problems. But as a musician he seems to have rejected some important new developments in the instrument he loved, and as a living institution within the Broadwood company late in the nineteenth century, he used his considerable influence to prevent the adoption of important new design features -- like cross-stringing -- that might have kept Broadwood pianos competitive with Steinways, Bechsteins, and the other leading concert grands of the day.

As for Chopin:

> Having heard Chopin play his music on Broadwoods that were among the best, most advanced pianos of their day, Hipkins evidently felt inclined to keep Broadwoods the way they had been, so that they could continue to provide the sound he remembered in Chopin's playing.

However, 'the world of piano design had marched on, producing instruments of louder, richer, more blended sound', better suited to the expanding concert repertory. [75]

According to Hipkins, the 'recollection of the Broadwood piano and its responsiveness to his sensitive touch remained with Chopin, so that when he returned to London in the April of 1848 one of the first visits he paid was to Broadwood's warehouse in Great Pulteney Street.' This was Hipkins' initial meeting with Chopin. 'He paid many

subsequent visits', he wrote, 'and it was on those occasions I heard him play. It was the first near experience I had of genius'.[76] Moreover,

> on one occasion Chopin came with his pupil Miss Stirling and the late Frederick Beale of Cramer and Co (the publishers) to play the new valses in A flat and C sharp minor, since so popular, which Beale had secured for publication. This was a great privilege for me; but of all he played when I heard him I best remember the *Andante spianato*.[77]

'To save Chopin fatigue he was carried upstairs', Hipkins continues. '... Physical weakness was not, however, the cause of his tenderly-subdued style of playing. This was his own, and inseparable from his conception of pianoforte touch'. Hipkins' admiration is boundless:

> His *fortissimo* was the full pure tone without noise, a harsh inelastic note being to him painful. His *nuances* were modifications of that tone, decreasing to the faintest yet always distinct *pianissimo*. His singing *legatissimo* touch was marvellous. The wide, extended arpeggios in the bass were transfused by touch and pedal into their corresponding sustained chords, and swelled or diminished like waves in an ocean of sound.

Hipkins observes that, despite the passage of fifty-one years -- he was writing in 1899 -- 'very strong impressions remain on the memory'. 'I remember Chopin, his look, his manner and his incomparable playing', he writes,' as vividly as if my meeting him had been last year'.[78]

Chopin was frequently at the Broadwood showrooms, and 'immediately took to the Broadwood pianos', but his 'weakened breathing power' meant he had to be carried upstairs. He was 'of middle height, with a pleasant face, a mass of fair curly hair like an angel, and agreeable manners. But he was something of a dandy, very particular

about the cut and colour of his clothes. He was painstaking in the choice of pianos he was to play upon anywhere, as he was in his dress, his hair, his gloves, his French'. In England, in 1848, Hipkins remarks, 'his compositions were almost unknown. Every time I heard him play, the pieces were strange to me, and I had to rush across Regent Street to Wessel, his English publisher, to discover what I had been hearing'.[79]

As for pianos, Chopin 'especially liked Broadwood's Boudoir cottage pianos of that date, two-stringed, but very sweet instruments, and he found pleasure in playing on them'. The Broadwood Grand Pianoforte which he chose for his London and Manchester concerts (No 17,047) is dated 1847 and the property of the Royal Academy of Music, London, on permanent loan to The Cobbe Collection Trust, Hatchlands, Surrey (Plates 4.12, 4.12a, 4.12b).[80] Its case is of rosewood, veneered on laminated oak, and a brass plaque on the lid indicates that Chopin used the piano for his London recitals in 1848.[81] A name label bears the words:

Patent
Repetition Grand Pianoforte
John Broadwood & Sons
Manufacturers to Her Majesty
33 Great Pulteney Street, Golden Square
London

The other Broadwood pianos used by Chopin are lost to view; according to Hipkins, he used Grand Pianoforte No 17,093 in his lodgings in No 48 Dover Street, and at Gore House, and Grand Pianoforte No 17,001 (*circa* 1847) for his concerts in Glasgow and Edinburgh. 'All these instruments were chosen by Chopin himself in our warehouse', Hipkins explains, 'and on such visits he was accompanied by his friends and pupils, Miss Stirling and M Tellefsen'.[82]

Among contemporary English music critics, two were notable for their observations on Chopin in Britain: Henry Fothergill Chorley (Plate 2.20) and James William Davison (Plate 3.21). Chorley, as we have seen, met Chopin in Paris and was music critic for the *Athenaeum* from 1833 to 1868, and author of *Thirty years' musical recollections*

(1862);[83] Davison was music critic for the *Times* from 1846 to 1879, and wrote for the *Musical World* (1843-85), of which he was editor.[84] Among those whom Chorley entertained at his London home, No 15 Victoria Square, was Sir Charles Hallé (Plate 3.22). Chorley, said Hallé, was 'a man of strong views, fearless in his criticism, perfectly honest' although 'often unconsciously swayed by personal antipathies or sympathies'.[85] Chorley may indeed have been 'unconsciously swayed' by his personal sympathy for Chopin. For example, the *Athenaeum*, 6 May 1848 (no 1071, p.467) includes an essay by Chorley entitled 'Deux Valses pour la Piano, par F Chopin', which promotes Chopin's recently-published waltzes, Op.64, in D flat major and C sharp minor (nos 1 and 2; no 3, in A flat major is not mentioned). These waltzes, Chorley writes, have 'more originality and style than many a heap of notes calling itself sonata or concerto by [a] contemporary composer, thinking to claim honours as a classical writer'. Chopin, Chorley concludes,

> is distinctly, gracefully, poetically natural; and, therefore, as we long ago said, when there was small idea of his ever coming to England, well worth studying in his writings. Those are fortunate who have means of gaining a further insight into the matter, by hearing the composer perform his own compositions.

Other London publications reporting on Chopin's stay in London include the *Daily News*, the *Examiner*, the *Illustrated London News*, *John Bull*, and the *Morning Post*, and *Musical Opinion)*.[86] Subsequently, the memoirs of Willert Beale, Wilhelm Kuhe, and others (such as Cox, Diehl, Kemble, Moscheles) provide observations on Chopin's recitals.[87]

Music critics and journalists avidly recorded the comings and goings of foreign musicians, who had long been attracted to London's cultural life. Among composers, for instance, there were Berlioz and Weber, and Felix Mendelssohn Bartholomew, who had visited London ten times between 1837 and 1847. In 1848, as Niecks puts it,

England was just then heroically enduring an artistic invasion such as had never been seen before; not only from France, but also from Germany and other musical countries arrived day after day musicians who had found that their occupation was gone on the Continent, where people could think of nothing but politics and revolutions. [88]

Hallé, after leaving Paris for England, wrote to his parents on 27 April 1848:

> I have been here in London for three weeks, striving hard to make a new position, and I hope I shall succeed; pupils I already have, although as yet they are not many. The competition is very keen, for, besides the native musicians, there are at present here -- Thalberg, Chopin, Kalkbrenner, Pixis, Osborne, Prudent, Pillet [i.e., Billet], and a lot of other pianists besides myself who have all, through necessity, been driven to England, and we shall probably end by devouring one another. [89]

That said, it could not be denied that London musical life was the richer for this 'artistic invasion'.

In addition to pianists, of course, opera singers migrated to London. Two opera houses were dominant in London at that time: Her Majesty's Theatre, Haymarket (until 1837 known as the King's Theatre) (Plates 1.19, 1.20), and the Royal Italian Opera House, Covent Garden (until 1847 known as the Theatre Royal) (Plates 3.23, 3.24). The connection between Chopin's music and opera has been often noted. According to Niecks, he told his pupil, Vera Rubio, "You must sing if you wish to play", and made .her take lessons in singing, and go to much Italian opera -- this last, Rubio maintained, 'Chopin regarded as positively necessary for a pianoforte-player'. [90] In the London of 1848, Chopin had ample opportunity to indulge his enthusiasm for opera.

Leanne Langley admirably summarises the changes in the operatic scene in London since Chopin's visit of 1837.[91] In the intervening years Her Majesty's Theatre, in the Haymarket, had presented such significant new works as 'Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor* (1838), *Linda di Chamounix* and *Don Pasquale* (both 1843), and Verdi's *Ernani* (1845), *Nabucco* (in a version set in ancient Egypt, and renamed *Nino*) and *I lombardi* (both 1846)'. But changes were afoot:

> Fanny Persiani, Grisi, Mario, Tamburini and Lablache dominated the stage at Her Majesty's, though at the end of 1846, under the influence of the conductor Michael Costa and of Persiani's huband, the composer Giuseppe Persiani, most of the company left Her Majesty's to set up on their own at a completely remodelled Covent Garden Theatre, there becoming known as the 'Royal Italian Opera'.

The architect for these improvements at the Covent Garden Theatre (1846-7) was Sir Robert Smirke, who had designed the original building (1808-09).[92]

Leanne Langley continues:

> In 1847 competition between Her Majesty's and Covent Garden gave rise to a flurry of activity, the likes of which had not been seen in London since Handel's day. The manager at Her Majesty's, Benjamin Lumley, secured Jenny Lind and mounted Verdi's only opera written for London, *I masnadieri*, besides giving Italian versions of Meyerbeer's *Robert le diable* and Donizetti's *La Fille du régimen*t and *La Favorite* (all 1847). Subsequent Verdi premières here were *I due Foscari* (1847), *Attila* (1848) and finally, after a forced three-year closure of the theatre, *La traviata* (1856).[93]

In the meantime,

Covent Garden capitalized on the Meyerbeer fever with his *Gli Ugonotti* (1848) and Italian versions of *Le Prophète* (1849) and *L'Étoile du Nord* 1855), also giving *Benevenuto Cellini* (1853; under Berlioz) and the London premières of *Rigoletto* (1853) and *Il trovatore* (1855), the latter with Pauline Viardot ... After only nine seasons of the Royal Italian Opera, Covent Garden Theatre burned to the ground, on 5 March 1856. [94]

Over the next two years, it was rebuilt by E M Barry. [95] Musically, Covent Garden was considered better than Her Majesty's, its orchestra under Costa being regarded as one of the most polished in Europe. [96]

In 1846, Her Majesty's 'was redecorated in a style surpassing anything attempted in the previous years', writes Nalbach. 'Until Covent Garden was remodelled for performance of opera in 1847, Her Majesty's Theatre was without a serious rival in London. Even during the following decade Her Majesty's remained the most beautiful opera house in London'. However, when Covent Garden reopened in 1858, after its reconstruction, 'Her Majesty's Theatre, which had been built to meet the requirements of musical drama 65 years previously, suffered by comparison. Indeed Her Majesty's Theatre never recovered its former position'. [97]

Comings-and-goings of singers between Parisian and London opera houses were frequent in 1848, and Chopin was alert to the rivalries between Covent Garden and Her Majesty's. 'Since fashionable custom is more important in London than any conceivable art', he had told his family in 1846, writing from Nohant, 'next season promises to be interesting'. [98] Once in London, Chopin was to benefit from the rich fare available at both Covent Garden and Her Majesty's. [99] One of the leading performers at Covent Garden was Pauline Viardot, whose appearances during the 1848 season included *I Capuleti e i Montecchi*, *Don Giovanni*, *Les Huguenots*, and *La Sonnambula*; [100] Chopin remarked, however, that Viardot had 'no great success here as she is with Grisi and Alboni who are very popular'. [101] At Her Majesty's, Jenny Lind also sang *La*

Sonnambula, as well as *Lucia di Lammermoor*, both of which Chopin heard (Plates 3.25, 3.26); after seeing *Lucia di Lammermoor,* Chopin commented that Lind was 'very good' and 'arouses the greatest enthusiasm'. [102] Clearly, Chopin admired both women: Viardot, he thought 'very charming', and added that 'she was so gracious as to sing [his] Mazurkas at a concert held in her theatre [Covent Garden] -- without [his] asking'. Chopin regarded Lind as 'charming' also, and 'a singer of genius'. [103]

Among friends from Paris whom Chopin met in London was Mrs Harriet Grote, the wife of George Grote, MP, and friend and biographer of Ary Scheffer, who lived at No 4 Eccleston Street, until she moved to No 12 Savile Row in May 1848 (Plates 3.27, 3.28). [104] Mrs Grote -- a supporter of John Ella and his institution for chamber music, the Musical Union -- had entertained Mendelssohn and Jenny Lind in London in 1847. [105] As M L Clarke, the biographer of George Grote, puts it:

> The social life of the Grotes during the eighteen-forties centred round the world of music. Mrs Grote was devoted to music, and was herself a good pianist and a fair performer on the 'cello; she liked to busy herself with the politics of the musical world and to take up musicians, entertain them to parties and invite them to her rural retreat in Buckinghamshire [i.e. Burnham Beeches]. [106]

The Grotes had met Mendelssohn in 1844, and they were to remain in close touch with him until his death three years later; he visited the Grotes at Burnham in 1844, and again in 1847. [107] Mrs Grote's interest in Jenny Lind rose partly out of her Swedish connections, Clarke writes, for 'one of Mrs Grote's sisters had married a Swede and had long been a friend of Jenny's in Stockholm'. Mrs Grote was 'instrumental in persuading Jenny Lind to come to England in 1847 to sing in the opera at Her Majesty's Theatre, and it was at the Grotes' house that she stayed when she first arrived'. [108] Lady Eastlake, in her book *Mrs Grote. A sketch*, reports that Mrs Grote 'formed the highest opinion of [Jenny Lind's] powers and told her she was "every inch a prima donna".' [109] On one occasion, 'the Grotes received her in their own residence in Eccleston Street, at

the door of which the benevolent hostess stood to welcome her, with no less a celebrity at her side than Felix Mendelssohn, then on his second visit to England, and about to bring out his 'Elijah' at Exeter Hall'. [110] Lady Eastlake continues: 'Those who personally knew the great and gifted Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy during his many visits to England -- how much there was to admire, love, and respect, independent of that in which he stood alone -- will readily believe it was that the warmest friendship should have been formed between him and the Grotes'. [111]

Chopin followed firmly in the footsteps of Mendelssohn and Lind in Mrs Grote's patronage. In 1848, Mrs Grote reported:

> Jenny Lind returning to England for the opera season of this year, our house was once more the scene of brilliant musical doings: Chopin, Thalberg, Dorus Gras, shining also among our "stars". But the lamented Mendelssohn was no longer amongst us; and we ourselves, in common with the whole artist world, felt the void caused by his loss with profound regret. [112]

Chopin and Jenny Lind had tea with Mrs Grote in London in 1848, [113] and in June that year Mrs Grote hosted a recital in Savile Row, 'where Dorus Gras sang and Chopin played'. [114] Chopin had affectionate recollections of his hostess, whom he had met in Paris at Mme Marliani's, and who had introduced him to Jenny Lind. He thought Mrs Grote 'highly educated', and

> a very kind person, although a great radical and quite a character. She receives a crowd of interesting people -- dukes, lords, scholars -- in short, all the fashionable celebrities. She speaks in a deep voice and does not wrap up the truth in cotton-wool. Someone was asked his opinion of her: 'How do you find Mrs Grote?' and replied: 'I find her *grotesque*'.

Nevertheless, she had proved her kind-heartedness by asking Chopin, Jenny Lind, and Mrs Sartoris to visit her country estate at Burnham Beeches, but the composer was unable to go.[115]

Chopin records that he and Jenny Lind were once invited to Mrs Grote's London home -- 'only the two of us, and we remained at the piano from nine o'clock until one in the morning'.[116] On another occasion, the attendance of Queen Victoria at Her Majesty's Theatre, when Jenny Lind had just reached London, led to a rush for tickets. 'Stalls were selling at three guineas the day before the performance', wrote Chopin.

> Having just arrived, I knew nothing of all this, but that same day someone told me that if I knew Mrs Grote she would be able to help me, for she not only has a box but knows everybody. I called on her and she at once invited me to her box. I was very glad, for I had seen neither the Queen nor Jenny Lind, nor the handsome theatre.[117]

But Chopin was to receive even more preferential treatment. 'Mrs Grote's box was on the first floor', he explained, 'and I cannot breathe if I have to climb stairs; so when I got home I found that Lumley, the manager, had sent a ticket for one of the best stalls, with the compliments of Mlle Lind and Mrs Grote'. As for the opera itself: 'The performance was most brilliant. The Queen was more loudly applauded than Jenny Lind. They sang 'God save the Queen', with Wellington and all the aristocratic society and everybody standing. It was most impressive to see this esteem and genuine respect for the throne and law and order'.[118]

As in 1837, whilst in London in 1848, Chopin took the opportunity of seeing his publishers. Leighton and Sanderson's *Grand panorama of London, Regent Street to Westminster Abbey* (1849) shows both the premises of Cramer, Beale & Co at No 201 Regent Street, at the corner of Conduit Street (Plate 3.29), and Wessel & Co, at No 229 Regent Street, at the corner of Hanover Street (Plate 3.30).[119] Most notably, that year,

Chopin published in London the three waltzes of Op.64, the first two of which, as we have seen, were highly praised by Chorley. [120] Hipkins, writes Niecks, 'heard Chopin play at Broadwood's to [Frederick] Beale the Waltzes in D flat major and C sharp minor (Nos 1 and 2 of Op.64), subsequently published by Cramer, Beale & Co'; [121] later in the year, Cramer, Beale & Co brought out the third of the waltzes, in A flat major. Wessel also published an edition of them in 1848. [122] It is a complex story, not excluding piracy, but it is clear that these waltzes were enthusiastically received when Chopin performed them on his visit to Britain, [123] and that they stand as one of the peaks of Chopin's compositions. [124]

Any wider conclusions to be drawn from Chopin's reception in England and Scotland in 1848 centre on his place within the community of extraordinary pianists in Paris and London. That he was accepted among them is incontrovertible. Like Liszt, Chopin's genius stretched from beyond the salon and the concert platform to the world of composition; unlike Liszt, Chopin rejected the life of the itinerant virtuoso. As James Methuen-Campbell has expressed it:

> The widespread appeal of Chopin's music reflects the different levels on which it is attractive to the listener. The Chopin of mass appeal is, on the one hand, a patriot -- on the other, a suffering poet (along with the mythic associations that this entails); on the one hand, the composer of the exuberant and stirring polonaise -- on the other, the dreamy nocturne. The Chopin of the more musically sophisticated concert-goer is the creator of the ballade, a free form held together by the exploitation of the thematic material that is developed towards an inexorable climax, but he is also the miniaturist of the mazurka, where, within a simple form, he is able to rise to some of his most creative writing. And it is perhaps in an appreciation of Chopin's melodic writing that these two levels of appeal are united. [125]

Both 'levels of appeal' were heard in Chopin's performances in England and Scotland. The diversity in Chopin's reception, notably between salon and public performances,

reflected, among other issues, the promotion of critics, changing tastes in British music at the time, and the rise of the solo piano recital under the leadership of Liszt and others. Overarching Chopin's period in Britain, of course, was his desperate health. On 18 April 1848, the day before he left Paris for London, Chopin had written anxiously to Dr Molin, his homeopathic doctor: 'I do not want to leave Paris without seeing you and taking your prescriptions with me. So I would ask you to spare me a minute on your rounds today.' [126] Hardly surprisingly, when in Britain, Chopin turned to homeopaths for his medical treatment.

In England, the first homeopathic physician was Frederick Hervey Foster Quin, who introduced homeopathy into the country in 1832. [127] In London, Chopin was treated by the homeopathic physician, Dr Henry V Malan. Malan held MD degrees from Tübingen (1839) and Aberdeen (1845), and practised in Geneva, Paris, and London, where he was physician to the Marylebone Homeopathic Dispensary. [128] In 1841-1842, he spent eighteen months at the Hahnemanns' clinic in Paris, where Jane Stirling and Katherine Erskine were patients. [129] It was Dr Malan who treated Chopin daily as he lay ill at No 4 St James's Place, prior to his concert in Guildhall on his return to London from Edinburgh. [130]

Chopin's correspondence is replete with references to his illness during his time in Britain, and his courage in struggling against it is manifest. His letters, moreover, demonstrate that he retained an active interest in Parisian life, both musical and personal. His concern for Solange, and her problems, is apparent. His long letters to his parents are those of a devoted son. There are frequent references to Poland and life in Warsaw, and to those who continue the fight against oppression. Although his composing seems to have virtually ceased, Chopin's social and musical activity was extensive, as he taught, gave recitals, and satisfied the social demands of his hosts. His emotional dependence upon friends in Paris and elsewhere, and his family in Poland, led to an almost obsessional letter-writing, for which posterity is the beneficiary. The best record of Chopin's life in London and Scotland comes from his own pen.

Chapter 3

LONDON 1848: Chopin in England

ENDNOTES

1 Williams, *Franz Liszt. Selected letters*, p.141 (letter no 109). In note 17 here, Williams writes: 'Liszt included several of the Polish composer's works in his recital of 29 June [1840] at Willis's Rooms, thereby becoming the first pianist to play Chopin, in public, in London'. The *Athenaeum* on 4 July 1840 reported that two of Chopin's mazurkas were 'exquisitely played' by Liszt on this occasion: 'Positive faëry-work upon the piano'. Quoted by Williams, *Portrait of Liszt*, p.136.

2 Hedley, *Chopin*, pp.103-4. Chopin never played either of his piano concertos in public during his visit to Britain. Ellsworth, 'The piano concerto in London concert life', pp.175-6, 223-5, 287, lists only eleven performances of Chopin concertos between 2 June 1838 and 9 May 1849.

3 See Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.278. See also the *Gazette musicale*, 2 April 1848, cited in Wierczyński, *Chopin*, p.371.

4 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.312; Hedley cites no source for his quotation. Wierczyński, *Chopin*, p.371, adds that 'Chopin was also welcomed by a notice in the Musical world', but gives no details. For Hall, see the articles by Peter Mandler on Samuel Carter Hall, and Anna Maria Hall (*née* Fielding), respectively, in *Oxford DNB online*.

5 For the Obrescoff family, see the Personalia section of the thesis. The letters are now in TiFC (Warsaw). See W-S, 'Jane Stirling's letters', p.73n2, where they are recorded as addressed, respectively, to 'Baroness Brunov, Henri Bering and Lord

Pembrocke'. For the letter to Baroness Brunnow, which is in French, see W-S, Chopin. *Fame resounding far and wide*, pp.115 (Polish) and 36 (English), item 236.

On the TiFC (Warsaw) website, there is a reproduction of a page from the letter from Dimitri de Obrescoff to 'H. Bering' (*sic*), and from another letter, of 15 April [1848], from Countess Maria Kalergis to Lord Ossulston -- i.e., Charles Augustus Bennet, 6th Earl of Tankerville (1810-1899), British peer and Conservative politician, known from 1822-1876 as Lord Ossulston.

6 Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, pp.278-80.

7 Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.279.

8 Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.280.

9 Wessel & Stapleton were also the publishers of the *Musical Examine*r, and a long quotation from this periodical concludes Davison's *Essay*. For ease of reference, pagination to the *Essay* is given in the text of the thesis. In later years, Davison changed his opinion of Chopin. Reasons for this are suggested by Niecks, *Chopin*, vol. 2, p.279n8, when he writes that 'it may have been due to the fear that the rising glory of Chopin might dim that of Mendelssohn; or Davison may have taken umbrage at Chopin's conduct in an affair related to Mendelssohn'.

10 Conversely, Hadden, *Chopin*, p.139, remarks: 'Certainly his compositions were seldom taught. Teachers in those days, when selecting pieces for their pupils, limited themselves to standard classical works. Amateurs of the better sort played Heller; while ordinary strummers and their instructors contented themselves for the most part with variations ("aggravations", as the wits used to call them) on favourite airs and ditties. Chopin's day was not yet.' Hadden's authority is questionable; after all, he was writing in 1903. Strangely, Hadden's biography of Chopin is not considered in Harasowski's book, *The skein of legends around Chopin*, of 1967.

11 Davison's quotation appears in Balzac, *Ursule Mirouët*, p.186. Davison's text has been adjusted for accuracy, following this edition. For an English version see Balzac, *Ursula* (Wormeley), pp.110-11.

12 Hadden, *Chopin*, p.139. Later, Cramer, Beale & Co were to publish Chopin extensively. For the context of Chopin's publishing in England, see Kallberg, *Chopin at the boundaries*, pp.200-14, and 'Frédéric Chopin and his publishers', exhibition catalogue, Department of Special Collections, University of Chicago Library, 1998.

13 Temperley, 'Domestic music in England, 1800-1860', p.32. See also the section 'Domestic music and performance', in Cooper, *House of Novello*, pp.21-7.

14 Cooper, *House of Novello*, p.22.

15 See Burgan, 'Heroines at the piano', p.45.

16 See Brown, *Harden drawings, passim.*

17 In France, most travellers still had to make their way from Paris to the channel ports by stage coach; in England, however, the South Eastern Railway Company had opened its line from Folkestone to London in 1843, and in 1844 the Company completed a six-mile rail link between Dover and Folkestone, so that passengers arriving in Dover from Calais could transfer to Folkestone to catch the train to London. Moreover, as C H Bishop writes, the Company

> invested capital in the building of the railway line from Boulogne to Amiens, thus ensuring a continuous rail journey to Paris. No such railway existed between Calais and Paris on the Dover route, and so Folkestone suddenly became within a space of a few months the most important link with the continent. It was now

possible to travel from London to Paris via Folkestone in a matter of 12 hours: any other route took days (Bishop, *Folkestone*, p.85).

Gray, *South Eastern Railway*, p.267, points out that the Amiens & Boulogne Railway opened as far as Boulogne on 17 April 1848 -- a few days before Chopin travelled on it. But Bucknall, *Boat trains and channel packets*, pp.46-7, indicates that although the railway line from Paris had arrived at Boulogne by 1848, it was not until 1851 that it reached the Ville station there (later renamed the Centrale).

18 See Simmons, *Victorian railway*, p.38, and Carter, *British railway hotels*, pp.28-9, 123. The line to Newhaven from London (Victoria) was established in 1847 by the Brighton & Continental Steam Packet Company, part of the London, Brighton & South Coast Railway. For the South Eastern Railway Company see Gray, *South Eastern Railway, passim*. Details of the steamers used by the Company are given in Duckworth and Langmuir, *Railway and other steamers*, pp.127-32.

19 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.313. Chopin to Gryzmała, Good Friday [21 April 2008]. A synopsis of Chopin's visit to Britain is in Tomaszewski, *Chopin*, pp. 116-20.

20 For Bentinck Street, see Cherry and Pevsner, *London 3: North West*, p.631, and Weinreb, Hibbert and Keay, *London encyclopaedia*, p.59.

21 Ruhlmann, 'Chopin-Franchomme', p.132, with a Polish translation on p.133. The French MS of the complete letter is reproduced here as plate 8. For Welbeck Street see Cherry and Pevsner, *London 3: North West*, pp.654-5, and Weinreb, Hibbert and Keay, *London encyclopaedia*, p.994. No 44 Welbeck Street is given as the address of Jane Stirling and Mrs Erskine on other occasions.

22 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.313. Chopin to Grzymała, Good Friday [21 April 1848].

23 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.313. Chopin to Gryzmała, Good Friday [21 April 1848].

24 See Hoesick, *Chopin*, vol.3, pp.158n, 160. Zamoyski, *Chopin*, p.255, accepts this. For Louis-Philippe's exile in England, and his life at Claremont, see Antoinetti, *Louis-Philippe*, pp.925-37.

25 Szulc, *Chopin in Paris*, pp.101, 302, 374-5. Szulc says Émilie was a pupil of Chopin, but there seems to be no confirmation of this.

26 See Bradley and Pevsner, *London 6: Westminster*, pp.522-4; 176 Colvin, *Dictionary*, pp.1026-7; and Weinreb, Hibbert and Keay, *London encyclopaedia*, pp. 245-6. In 1917, the British School of Osteopathy was founded at No 48 Dover Street; and in 2007, the commercial building at Nos 44-48 Dover Street, designed by the architects Richard Seifert and Partners (1970-71), was being replaced by Premier House, mostly offices and flats, at Nos 43-48 Dover Street.

27 See the letter from Mlle de Rozières to Chopin, 24-29 April 1848, in TiFC (Warsaw), M/3255. This was sold at Sotheby's, London, 5 December 2003, lot 56, purchased by Marek Keller, and presented to TiFC (Warsaw), 6 May 2005. See *Ruch Muzyczny* (2005), no 13, p.4. I owe this periodical reference to Zbigniew Skowron. The French quotation here is from the Sotheby's catalogue description.

28 According to Samson, *Chopin*, p.254. A note about the redirection of mail, from Chopin to Szulczewski, of 24 April 1848 [Easter Monday], is in Sydow, *KFC*, vol.2, p. 241 (letter 620), and Sydow and Chainaye, *Chopin correspondance*, vol.3, p.339 (letter 713).

29 Załuski, *Scottish autumn of Frederick Chopin*, p.94. For further biographical information on Szulczewki see Mirska and Hordyński, *Chopin documents*, p.346n185, and Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.303n35. More generally, see Zamoyski, *Chopin*, pp.255, 262, 269, 270, 334.

30 Hedley, *Chopin letters*, p.314, and Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.277.

31 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.17. Chopin to Grzymała, 13 [May 1848].

32 As Chopin writes: 'I give a few lessons at home', in a letter to Mlle de Rozières, 1 June 1848 (Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.318); and 'I give a few lessons at home at a guinea a time', in a letter to Gryzmała, 2 June [1848] (Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.319).

According to Lowell Mason's diary, in June 1837 Moscheles was charging a guinea a lesson, and taught from 8 o'clock in the morning until 7 o'clock in the evening. 'He takes no time for rest and takes no lunch except what he takes in his carriage in going from one pupil to another'. Mason, *A Yankee musician in Europe*, p.51.

33 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.318. Chopin to Mlle de Rozières, 1 June 1848.

34 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.315. Chopin to Gutmann, 6 May 1848. See Appendix D of the thesis.

35 Hipkins, *List of Broadwood exhibits*, p.12. The essay 'Chopin's pianoforte' is on pp.12-13. See Appendix D of the thesis.

36 See Appendix D of the thesis. See also Macintyre, 'Chopin's true sound", *passim*. Chopin's reference to '<u>my Pleyel</u>' is in Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.317. Chopin to Grzymała, 13 [May 1848]. According to Eigeldinger, 'Chopin and Pleyel', p.394, the underlining here appears in Chopin's original Polish. It does not do so either in

Sydow, *KFC*, vol.2, pp.244-6 (letter 625), or in Hedley's English translation of the letter.

In his letter of 24-29 April 1848 to Mlle de Rozières (TiFC (Warsaw), M/3255), Chopin specifically refers to his piano as not yet unpacked after his Channel crossing. See Note 27 above.

37 Hipkins, *How Chopin played*, p.6. Hipkins' volume was assembled after his death by his daughter, Edith, and is not entirely reliable. See the entry on Hipkins in Eigeldinger's *Chopin: pianist and teacher*, p.93n11, and *Chopin vu par ses élèves*, p. 130n11. Macintyre, 'Chopin's true sound', p.26, says that Chopin played this Pleyel, not a Broadwood, at Gore House, but quotes no source.

38 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.28. Chopin adds: "Mr Mankowski, who was kind enough to undertake to convey this sum to you, is a very agreeable young nobleman -- a friend of Koźmian -- who adores music. I hope he succeeded in meeting you. I should so much like to hear about you from him and to learn how you are'.

39 See Macintyre, 'Chopin's true sound', *passim*. Margaret Trotter, and 'the Trotters' appear in Fanny Erskine's diary. See Barlow, 'Encounters with Chopin', *passim*. As quoted by Macintyre (p.27), Alec Cobbe 'believes that Margaret Trotter, who died unmarried, bequeathed the instrument to her grand-niece, Margaret Lindsay, who married Sir Lewis Majendie of Castle Hedingham, near Saffron Walden'. Eventually, it was bought by Alec Cobbe in 1988, and is now in the Cobbe Collection. See also the anonymous article, 'Grand historic find. A Chopin discovery. Composer's own piano uncovered in Surrey collection', *BBC Music magazine* (May 2007), p.8.

The 'sale' of the piano to Lady Trotter is a puzzle. Had Chopin 'owned' the Pleyel, he surely would not have sent Camille Pleyel the £80 he received from selling it. He would have kept the money. The piano must have been loaned to Chopin by the Pleyel firm, whose pianos Chopin was promoting and selling, as an agent. Chopin's

sale of Pleyels, earning him commission, is commented on by Eigeldinger, 'Chopin and Pleyel', p.394.

Fanny Erskine's diary records that a 'Miss Trotter' had commissioned a sketch of Chopin from Winterhalter 'as a New Year's Day present for Jane Stirling ('great will be her joy') for whatever it might cost. This she had done for 800 francs -- Chopin helping her', although he 'was shocked at the price'. See Barlow, 'Encounters with Chopin', p.247. Was "Miss Trotter" a pupil of Chopin? See p.85n86, and Plate 5.12a, of the thesis.

A letter of 6 June 1910, from Anne D Houstoun, at Johnstone Castle, to 'J Maynard Saunders, Esq', tells him that she has a Pleyel piano, autographed by Chopin in 1848, and 'a pencil sketch of Chopin by Winterhalter'. See BnF (Paris), Vma.4334 (7). This letter is also referred to on p.238n34 of the thesis.

40 TiFC (Warsaw), M/378, Chopin's pocket diary for 1848. Deciphering Chopin's handwriting in his diary can be difficult. Students whose names appear in it between 10 May and 21 July 1848 include Lady Mary Kristofer, Cooper, Erskine, Maberly, Park/ Parke/Parker, Duchess of Sutherland, Wedgwood, and Lady Wild/Wylde. This list, as we shall see, is not comprehensive. No diary for 1837 belonging to Chopin seems to have survived.

41 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.317n. Chopin to Gryzmała, 13 [May 1848].

42 On 2 June [1848], Chopin tells Gryzmała: 'I give Sutherland's daughter one lesson a week' (Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.319). The Duke of Sutherland's payment to Chopin of seven guineas for lessons for his daughter, Lady Constance Leveson-Gower, is recorded in the Duke's account book, January 1845-June 1855, in Staffordshire Record Office, Stafford, D593/R/18/1. James Yorke kindly gave me this reference. See also, Yorke, *Lancaster House*, pp.98, 186n50 (Chapter 3).

Further details of Munro's reliefs of Lady Constance (see Plate 3.16) are in Read and Barnes, *Pre-Raphaelite sculpture*, pp.112-13.

43 For the publication of the Two Nocturnes (Op.55), dedicated to Jane Stirling, and the Three Mazurkas (Op.56), dedicated to Catherine Maberly, see Eigeldinger, *Chopin vu par ses élèves*, p.233. See also the relevant entries in *CFEO online*.

44 For Mrs Erskine see W-S, 'Jane Stirling's letters', p.62n2. Striking omissions from Chopin's diary are any references to lessons given to Jane Stirling or Tellefsen.

45 For Chopin's students generally see Eigeldinger, *Chopin vu par ses élèves*, *passim*, and the sources cited there. For lists of his pupils see, particularly, Bronarski, 'Les élèves de Chopin', *passim*; Holland, 'Chopin's teaching and his students', pp. 84-140; and Jaeger, 'Quelques nouveaux noms d'élèves de Chopin', *passim*.

46 Opieński, *Chopin's letters*, pp.370-1 (letter 261). Chopin to his family in Warsaw, 19 August 1848. In Hedley's translation of this letter (*Chopin correspondence*, pp. 331-40), the names of several ladies, including Lady Cadogan's, are omitted on p.333.

47 Although Chopin's Parisian pupil, Mlle la Comtesse Émilie de Flauhaut, had married Lord Shelburne in 1843, as his second wife, and now lived in England, there is no evidence that she had lessons from Chopin in London. However, she wrote to him from Lansdowne House asking for two tickets for his recital at Mrs Sartoris' house on Friday 23 June 1848. See the three letters in TiFC (Warsaw), M/432/1.k.II.p.2, M/432/2.k.II.p.2, and M/433/2.k.II.p.2.

48 Charlotte de Rothschild was also the dedicatee of Chopin's Ballade, no 4, in F minor (Op.52), first published in 1842. For the family, see the Rothschild entries in the Personalia section of the thesis.

49 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.320.

50 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.326. Chopin to Gryzmała, [End of July 1848], and Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.337. Chopin to his family in Warsaw, [10/19 August 1848]. For Lady Murray's meeting in Britain in 1858 with the Polish pianist Cecylia Działyńska, see Eigeldinger, *Chopin vu par ses élèves*, p.138n29.

51 Sonkei Kaku Library, Maeda Ikutoku Kai Foundation, Tokyo, cited in W-S, 'Jane Stirling's letters', p.63n4.

52 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.327. Chopin to Franchomme, 11 August [1848]. For Drechsler, see *Musical Scotland*, p.47.

53 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, pp.325-6. Chopin to Gryzmała, 8-17 July[1848]. 'Lady Peel' was surely Julia (*née* Floyd), wife of Sir Robert Peel, 2nd Bt, formerly prime minister (1834-5). The Peels had seven children, five sons and two daughters: the daughters were Julia (1821-93), and Eliza (1832-83). As in 1848 Julia was already the Countess of Jersey, Chopin's actual or prospective pupil was probably Eliza. See the Personalia section of the thesis. See also the entry by John Prest on Sir Robert Peel, 2nd Bt, in *Oxford DNB online*.

Chopin's pocket diary for 1848 in TiFC (Warsaw) contains no reference to any pupil who had five lessons in one week, and the student from Liverpool remains unidentified.

54 As, for instance, he wrote from Calder House: 'They want me to play at Edinburgh in the first days of October. If it means making some money, and if I have the strength, I shall certainly do it, for I don't know how I am going to manage this winter'. Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.339. Chopin to his family in Warsaw, [10/19 August 1848].

55 Johnson, *Guizot*, p.261. For a more recent comprehensive view of Guizot, see Theis, *François Guizot*, *passim*.

56 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, pp.335-6. Chopin to his family in Warsaw, [10/19 August 1848]. The arrival of Guizot's family in Bryanston Square on 3 March is recorded in Theis, *François Guizot*, p.469.

57 Hallé, *Autobiography*, pp.118-19. In April that year, according to William Atwood, Chopin visited Guizot at his London home. See Atwood, *Parisian worlds*, pp. 73, 93. No documentation is given.

58 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.321. Chopin to Gryzmała, 2 June, [1848].

59 Private collection.

60 Johnson, *Guizot*, p.320. For Scheffer's portrait of Guizot see Ewals, *Ary Scheffer: gevierd romanticus*, pp.170-2, and Ewals, *Ary Scheffer*, p.41.

In 1847 Guizot sent a portrait of himself by Delaroche to Lord Aberdeen, his friend, former British foreign secretary, and later prime minister. It now hangs at Haddo House, Aberdeenshire. 'In 1848', Johnson writes, 'Aberdeen invited Guizot to Scotland, but Guizot did not have the money to make the journey'. See Johnson, *Guizot*, p.9n1, and plate 6.

61 See *Skein of legends around Chopin*, pp.63-81, which is a chapter entitled 'A weaver of legends caught red-handed'.

62 Karasowski, *Chopin*, pp.345-6.

63 Niecks was unable to find verification of this episode, and is justly cautious about accepting Karasowski's authority. See Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.282.

64 The invitation to Chopin is in TiFC (Warsaw), M/436.k.II.p.2. A letter to Chopin in Paris from Henry Fowler Broadwood, No 33 Great Pulteney Street, dated 1 February 1849, is in TiFC (Warsaw), M/434.k.II.p.2.

65 See the entry on Henry Fowler Broadwood by Charles Mould in *Oxford DNB online*, and Wainwright, *Broadwood by Appointment, passim.* See also the chapter, 'John Broadwood and Sons', in Burnett, *Company of pianos*, pp. 44-66.

66 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, pp.335-6. Chopin to his family in Warsaw [10/19 August 1848]. This letter goes on to refer to Broadwood's arrangements for Chopin's rail travel to Edinburgh.

67 Wainwright, *Broadwood by Appointment*, pp.131, 139.

68 Wainwright, *Broadwood by Appointment*, p.165.

69 Entry on Henry Fowler Broadwood by Charles Mould in *Oxford DNB online.* For the context of the history of the Broadwood firm see, e.g., Ehrlich, *The piano*, especially pp.34-41.

70 For the exhibitions, see Wainwright, *Broadwood by Appointement*, pp.185, 187 (1862), 192 (1867), and 210, 222 (1885).

71 The authorship of the catalogue is not given, but Hipkins' daughter, Edith, ascribes it to her father in *How Chopin played*, p.36. A typescript of the essay 'Chopin's pianoforte' is in the Broadwood Archives, Surrey History Centre (Woking), 2185/JB/83/82.

72 For A J Hipkins, see the entry on him by Cyril Ehrlich in *Grove music online*, and by Anne Pimlott Baker in *Oxford DNB online*. Eigeldinger (*Chopin: pianist and*

teacher, p.93n11, and *Chopin vu par ses élèves*, p.130n11) discusses Hipkins' career, and the publication of Edith Hipkins' book, *How Chopin played*, and its sources.

73 For Bennett, see Arthur D Walker's entry on him in *Grove music online*.

74 Bennett, in his *Frederic Chopin*, p.51, writes: 'We are indebted to the great kindness of Mr A J Hipkins, of the firm of Broadwood and Sons, for a most interesting paper on Chopin in England. The communication needs neither preface nor comment. It is clear, full, and authoritative as to the matter of which it treats'. Similarly, in his *Chopin* (vol.I, p.vii), Niecks acknowledges Hipkins' contribution to the publications of Bennett and Hueffer, as well as his own; when he covers Chopin's visit to England and Scotland in chapter 31, vol.2 (pp.277-306), Niecks thanks Hipkins for 'reading the proof-sheets of this chapter' (p.277n).

On p.57, Bennett quotes John Muir Wood's personal comments on Jane Stirling, Mrs Houston, and Chopin's Glasgow concert. Muir Wood makes no mention of Tellefsen or any other musicians.

75 Parakilas, *Piano roles*, pp.403-4. Eventually, about the time of Hipkins' death in 1903, Parakilas explains, tradition and progress went their separate ways, and 'even the most conservative of piano makers, like Broadwood and Érard, came to accept changes that had been introduced to the design of grand pianos half a century earlier'.

76 Hipkins, *How Chopin played*, p.4. A footnote glosses the reference to 'the Broadwood piano' thus: 'The Boudoir cottage piano -- Pleyel bought one as a model for Paris'.

Broadwood's premises in Great Pulteney Street are referred to in Foreman, *London. A musical gazetteer*, p.332, and shown in the map on p.331.

77 Hipkins, *How Chopin played*, p.5.

78 Hipkins, *How Chopin played*, pp.5-6.

79 Hipkins, *How Chopin played*, pp.6-7.

80 See Cobbe, *Composer instruments*, pp.59-61. Richard Burnett identifies the 1846 trichord Broadwood grand at Finchcocks (No 16,582) as of the same specification as the model played by Chopin at his London concerts. He adds: 'The 'Chopin' Broadwood, however, was not Chopin's favourite instrument. He much preferred the Broadwood bichord cottage grands, because of the lovely una corda, and the delicate and intimate tone colour of the instruments'. See Burnett, *Company of pianos*, p.196n2, and the illustration on p.55. The CD accompanying this book features Richard Burnett playing 'Une bagatelle' by Rossini on the Broadwood (No 16,582), at Finchcocks. The recording is described on p.222, no 14.

81 Harding, *The piano-forte*, pp.399-400, shows a price list of pianos from John Broadwood and Sons, dated January 1840. The cases, in ascending price, were described as Mahogany, Elegant, and Rosewood. The cheapest piano was 38 guineas, the most expensive 155 guineas.

82 Hipkins, *List of Broadwood exhibits*, pp.12-13. See also Appendix D of the thesis. Broadwood pianos of Chopin's date are listed in Clinkscale, *Makers of the piano*, vol.2, pp.47-61, but the only one with possible Chopin connections here is the Broadwood grand at Gargunnock, p.55 (EP 278).

In his piece, 'Backstage notes', in *The New Yorker* of 23 November 1998 (p.32), Jay Fielden writes of a recent concert at Lincoln Center when Emanuel Ax played 'an Empire-style pianoforte, manufactured in London by John Broadwood & Sons in 1840'. As Ax 'stormed into Chopin's Second Piano Concerto, the vapors that often seem to surround the arch-Romantic vanished, and the audience heard what it might have been like when the composer himself was at the keyboard'. That said, writes Fielden, 'the vintage instrument could be described as sounding like a harpsichord on steroids'. It was being sold from a 'piano emporium across the street from Lincoln Center, called Klavierhaus'. The price: $100,000.

83 For Chorley, see Robert Bledsoe, *Chorley*, *passim*, and Bledsoe's articles on Chorley in *Grove music online*, and *Oxford DNB online*.

84 For Davison, see the entries on him by Leanne Langley in *Grove music online*, John Warrack in *Oxford DNB online*, and Richard Kitson, 'James William Davison,' *passim*. As Kitson points out on p.303n2, 'Davison was assisted in the work at the *Musical World* by the dramatic and musical writer and sometime poet Michael Desmond Ryan (1816-68). It is difficult to distinguish Ryan's contributions from those of Davison since the majority of articles are unsigned, and strict anonymity was enforced throughout the periodical's run'.

85 See Rigby, *Hallé*, pp.68-9.

86 For musical periodicals, see Leanne Langley's publications, notably 'Musical press in 19th-century England', 'Music', and 'The English musical journal in the early nineteenth century'.

87 See Chapter 4 of the thesis.

88 Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.278.

89 Hallé, *Life and letters*, p.229. For Hallé in London in 1848, see Beale, *Hallé*, pp. 38-43.

90 Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.187.

91 The following section is based largely on Langley, 'Italian opera and the English press', p.2.

92 Colvin, *Dictionary*, p.932.

93 Langley, 'Italian opera and the English press', p.2. For observations on George Hogarth's perception of Jenny Lind, Mario, and Grisi in 1847 and 1848, see Langley, 'Italian opera and the English press, 1836-1856', p.7. Plates illustrating this article include views of the 'Opening of the Italian Opera, Covent Garden, Rossini's Semiramide', in 1847 (p.8).

94 Langley, 'Italian opera and the English press', p.2.

95 Colvin, *Dictionary*, p.932.

96 For Sir Michael Costa, see the articles on him in *Grove music online*, by Nigel Burton and Keith Horner, and in *Oxford DNB online*, by J A F Maitland, revised by John Warrack.

97 Nalbach, *The King's Theatre*, pp.85, 92-3. The description of the King's Theatre (i.e., Her Majesty's Theatre) in Chopin's day is on pp.85-93. Chorley's comments on the London opera scene in 1848 are considered in Bledsoe, *Chorley*, pp.162-3.

98 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, pp.268-9. Chopin to his family in Warsaw, 11 October 1846. For tabulation of the repertoire of Covent Garden and Her Majesty's Theatre, see Hall-Witt, *Fashionable acts*, pp.298-9. See also Chorley, *Thirty years'musical recollections*, vol.2, pp.22, 29.

99 See the conspectus of London operatic life at this time in White, *History of English opera*, especially pp.260-301. For the 1848 season in Covent Garden, see Rosenthal, *Two centuries of opera at Covent Garden*, pp.65-84, and the analysis on pp. 679-81; and for Her Majesty's Theatre, see Lumley, *Reminiscences of the opera*, pp. 206-29. Lumley's book is dedicated to Mrs Grote.

100 Rosenthal, *Two centuries of opera at Covent Garden*, pp.679-80.

101 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.321. Chopin to Gryzmała, 2 June [1848]. But see Chorley's comments on Viardot in his *Thirty years' musical recollections*, volume 2, pp.45-60. Viardot's London season of 1848 is covered in Steen, *Enchantress of nations*, pp.153-67.

102 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.321. Chopin to Gryzmała, 2 June [1848]. For Chopin's enthusiasm for Lind's performance in *La Sonnambula* during his London stay, see Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, pp.314-15. Chopin to Gryzmała, 4 [May 1848]; Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.317. Chopin to Gryzmała, 13 [May 1848]; and Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, pp.334-5. Chopin to his family in Warsaw, [10/19 August 1848].

Lady Blessington told Hans Christian Andersen, when he visited Gore House, that she was 'captivated' by Jenny Lind, and the 'purity' of her performance in *La Sonnambula*. 'The tears stood in her eyes while she spoke of it', Andersen reported. See Sadleir, *Strange life of Lady Blessington*, p.320.

Thomas Carlyle, who heard a performance by Lind in *La Sonnambula*, in August 1848, described it as 'a chosen bit of nonsense from beginning to end'. Quoted in Ashton, *Thomas and Jane Carlyle*, p.288.

103 Both these accolades are in Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, pp.318-19. Chopin to Mlle de Rozières, 1 June 1848.

104 Grote, *George Grote*, p.185. See also Clarke, *George Grote*. pp.83-4. For the Grotes generally, see the articles by Joseph Hamburger on George Grote and Harriet Grote, respectively, in *Oxford DNB online*.

For No 12 Savile Row, part of a development (1732-1735) by the 3rd Earl of Burlington, see Bradley and Pevsner, *London 6: Westminster*, p.569; *Survey of London*, vol.31, *The Parish of St James Westminster*, part 2, North of Piccadilly (1963), p.524; and Weinreb, Hibbert and Keay, *London encyclopaedia*, p.823. For the blue plaque to George Grote, see Cole, *Lived in London*, p.425, and the map on p.424.

105 For Ella, see Bashford, *Pursuit of higher culture*, pp.150-1.

106 Clarke, *George Grote*, p.81.

107 Clarke, *George Grote*, p.81.

108 Clarke, *George Grote*, pp.81, 82. Presumably this was at No 4 Eccleston Street.

109 Eastlake, *Mrs Grote. A sketc*h, p. 89.

110 Eastlake, *Mrs Grote. A sketch*, p.90. Mendelssohn and Lind are considered on pp. 89-97. The words 'second visit' must be a slip here. The premiere was at Birmingham in 1846. Mrs Grote's projected biography of Jenny Lind was never completed. But see the chapter, 'Mrs Grote and Jenny Lind', in Lewin, *Lewin letters*, vol.1, pp.375-86. It is noted on p.375 here that Mrs Grote met Jenny Lind in Frankfort, in September 1845.

111 Eastlake, *Mrs Grote. A sketch*, p.94. During a provincial tour, accompanied by Mrs Grote, Jenny Lind visited Newcastle, where they stayed with Joseph Grote, brother of George Grote. Joseph's brother-in-law, a young captain in the Indian army, Claudius Harris, was also living at the house, and he was 'entirely, mastered by the charm and goodness of the wonderful singer'. Holland and Rockstro, *Jenny Lind the artist*, p.387. Their romance is considered here on pp.387-91.

112 Grote, *George Grote*, p.185. Lind's time with the Grotes in Paris and Amiens in 1849 is chronicled here on pp.192-4.

An autograph notebook recording Lind's performances, inscribed by her on the flyleaf "Annotations-Bok för Jenny Lind", in Swedish, containing her list of performances from 25 September 1846 in Frankfurt, to 19 December 1851 in Philadelphia, is described in the catalogue of Sotheby's sale of musical manuscripts in London, 19 May 2006 (L06402, lot 92). Included are her performances in London and

elsewhere in Britain in 1847, 1848 and 1849. It was sold for a hammer price, with buyer's premium, of £4,320.

Maja Trochimczyk draws attention to Chopin's comments on Jenny Lind's Swedish character in 'Chopin and the "Polish race"', p.306n8.

113 Holland and Rockstro, *Jenny Lind*, p.262.

114 Mrs Grote to Mrs Frances von Koch, 24 July 1848, in Lewin, *Lewin letters*, vol.2, p.62.

115 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, pp.334-5. Chopin to his family in Warsaw, [10/19 August 1848].

116 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.335. Chopin to his family in Warsaw, [10/19 August 1848]. An attempt to prove that Chopin and Jenny Lind had 'a secret romance of dramatic proportions' (*sic*) is the basis of Jorgensen, *Chopin and the Swedish nightingale* (2003).

117 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.334. Chopin to his family in Warsaw, [10/19 August 1848]. Jennifer Hall-Witt points out (*Fashionable acts*, p.182) that 'Queen Victoria attended Her Majesty's Theatre twenty-seven times [in 1847], including all sixteen of Jenny Lind's performances, but patronized Covent Garden only nine times'.

118 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.334. Chopin to his family in Warsaw, [10/19 August 1848].

Jennifer Hall-Witt indicates (*Fashionable acts*, pp.160, 302) that Benjamin Lumley's book *Reminiscences of the opera* (1864) 'was almost entirely written by Harriet Grote, with some assistance from John Palgrave Simpson and John Oxenford, both writers. Lumley wrote the preface and probably some of the footnotes' (p.302).

119 For Cramer, Beale & Co's premises, see Lewis Foreman, *London: a musical gazetteer*, p.317. Both Wessel and 'Verrey' are given the address of No 229 Regent Street in *Kelly's Directory, London 1848*. Details of the partnerships, and locations, of 'Cramer' and 'Wessel' appear, respectively, in Humphries and Smith, *Music publishing in the British Isles*, pp.120-1, 363, 328; and Parkinson, *Victorian music publishers*, pp. 62-3, 285-6.

120 See Grabowski, 'Publication des valses, Op.64', *passim*. See also Brown, 'Chopin and his English publisher', pp.368-9.

121 Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.287n15. Niecks adds: 'But why did the publisher not bring out the whole *opus* (three waltzes, not two), which had already been in print in France and Germany for nine or ten months? Was his attachment to the composer weaker than his attachment to the cash-box?'

122 See Grabowski, 'Publication des valses, Op.64', pp.56, 59. For Wessel, see 'Frédéric Chopin and his publishers', exhibition catalogue, Department of Special Collections, University of Chicago Library, 1998, case 11, and the entry on Christian Rudolf Wessel, by Alexis Chitty and Peter Ward Jones, in *Grove music online*.

123 See Chapter 4 of the thesis.

124 E.g., Jim Samson (*Music of Chopin*, p.126) describes them as 'the collective high point of Chopin's contribution to the waltz'.

125 Methuen-Campbell, 'Currents in the approach and interpretation of Chopin's music', p.27.

126 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.312. Chopin to Molin, 18 April 1848. For Molin, see the Introduction, the Conclusion, and the Personalia section of the thesis. For Chopin's treatment by Molin in Paris, see Atwood, *Parisian worlds*, pp.348-9.

127 See the article on Quin by G C Boase and Bernard Leary in *Oxford DNB online*. After taking his MD at Edinburgh in 1820, Quin built up a successful practice amongst the Euopean aristocracy in Naples before returning to London. Patronised in part for his social acceptability, Quin brought homeopathy to the attention of his patrons and it quickly became fashionable. He started the British Homeopathic Society (later the Faculty of Homeopathy) in 1844, and chiefly through his efforts the London Homeopathic Hospital (later the Royal London Homeopathic Hospital) was founded in 1849 in Golden Square, Soho; it moved to Great Ormond Street in 1859. In 1845, the English Homeopathic Association was founded, in opposition to Quin's British Homeopathic Society. As Glyn Rankin has demonstrated, the constitutions of these two bodies 'enshrined the political and social ideals of two separate groups of lay supporters, Whigs and middle-class radicals', and led to 'two different interpretations of homeopathy'. See Rankin, 'Professional organisation and the development of medical knowledge', pp.46-7, for material in this paragraph; the quotation is on p.47.

Anne Thackeray Ritchie refers to Quin in a letter to Mrs Anne Carmichael-Smyth, Friday 26 February 1846. See Shankman, Bloom and Maynard, *Anne Thackeray Ritchie: Journals and letters*, letter 6, pp.18, 299n4.

128 For Dr Malan see Chapter 10, and the Personalia section of the thesis.

129 Handley, *Homeopathic love story*, p.204.

130 See Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.350. Chopin to Gryzmała, 17/18 [November 1848].

Chapter 4

LONDON 1848: Recitals

Stafford House, Mrs Sartoris's, Earl of Falmouth's, Countess of Blessington's

---

'Chopin seems to have gone to a great many parties of various kinds', writes Niecks, 'but he could not always be prevailed upon to give the company a taste of his artistic quality'. As an instance of this, Niecks notes that Brinley Richards, the Welsh pianist and composer, saw Chopin 'at an evening party at the house of the politician Milner Gibson, where he did not play, although he was asked to do so.' [1] Similarly, when Chopin attended an evening event on 6 May at George Grote's home, he did not perform, although the next month, as we have seen, when Mrs Grote hosted a concert at No 12 Savile Row, Chopin played and the Belgian soprano Julie Dorus-Gras sang. [2] The actor William Macready was less successful: he arranged a dinner in Chopin's honour, at which he was to have met Thackeray, Berlioz, Adelaide Procter, Julius Benedict, and other notables, but the composer never turned up. [3]

In Warsaw and Paris, as we have seen, Chopin's reputation as a 'salon composer' was well-established. [4] As Jim Samson puts it:

> A substantial income from teaching in Paris enabled Chopin to avoid the public concert and to restrict his appearances as a performer mainly to small gatherings of initiates in society drawing-rooms. From his earliest days in Warsaw he had been at ease in such circles, and his playing, with its discriminating sensitivity of touch, was best suited to them.... Chopin never rejected the world of the salon, but he was in no sense confined by it. [5]

Significantly, 'the image of Chopin as a salon composer was disseminated above all in Germany and England in the later nineteenth century'. [6] Amateur pianists found his work accessible and appealing. 'For many', writes Samson, 'he became quite simply

the archetypal romantic composer -- a figure wounded by love and exile, the "hero of all sensitive souls"'. [7] Moreover, Chopin's ill-health resulted in him being regarded, notably in France, as a composer '*de chambre de malade*': [8] in England and Scotland, as his health deteriorated, Chopin increasingly displays 'the pallor of the grave', as through music he 'discloses his suffering'. [9] Nowhere, perhaps, could this be more poignantly seen than in the salon.

The flavour of such private performances is well captured by the Italian writer and critic, Pier Angelo Fiorentino, in the *supplémen*t to the *Dictionnaire de la conversation et de la lecture* (1868), where he describes meeting Chopin in 1848 in London 'chez un des écrivains les plus distingués de la presse anglaise '. He sets the scene:

> Nous étions dix ou douze tout au plus dans un petit salon discret, confortable, propice également à la causerie ou au recueillement. Chopin remplaça Mme Viardot au piano, et nous plongea dans un ravissement ineffable. Je ne sais ce qu'il nous joua; je ne sais combien de temps dura notre extase: nous n'étions plus sur la terre; il nous avait transportés dans des régions inconnues, dans un milieu de flamme d'azur, où l'âme dégagée des liens corporels vogue vers l'infini. Ce fut, hélas! le chant du cygne.[10]

The description here of Chopin and Pauline Viardot, performing at the home of a London writer, with Chopin seen as a 'dying swan', evokes a powerful image.

This '*écrivain*' referred to by Fiorentino may well have been H F Chorley, who had visited Paris, and apparently entertained Chopin at his London home; according to Robert Terrell Bledsoe, Chopin 'played at parties in Chorley's house'. [11] This was No 15 Victoria Square, Lower Grosvenor Place, described by Elizabeth Barrett Browning as 'enchanted'. [12] Victoria Square was built in 1838-42 as a speculation by Sir Matthew Wyatt, grandson of James Wyatt. The houses are stuccoed, with giant Corinthian

pilasters, and 'pepper-pot' corners. [13] Sir Charles Hallé, after writing about Mrs Sartoris's home at No 99 Eaton Place, continues:

> Another house, the tiniest in London perhaps, but a real gem, to which I repaired often with great pleasure, was that of Henry F Chorley, the musical critic and contributor to the 'Athenaeum'. I was always sure to find interesting men there, and met Cockburn and Coleridge, who both rose to be Lord Chief Justices of England, for the first time under his roof. [14]

Hallé also encountered Chopin at Chorley's house, and heard the composer play there on several occasions. [15]

Another house famous for its celebrated guests was No 24 Cheyne Row, Chelsea, the home of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle (Plates 4.28, 4.29, 4.30). A modest, four-storey brick house of three bays, it was Carlyle's home from 1834 until his death in 1881; it was established as a museum as early as 1895, restored by C R Ashbee, and passed to the National Trust in 1936. [16] Here, Jane Welsh Carlyle 'conducted a sparkling tea-table salon, attended by European refugees, American visitors, radicals, journalists, politicians, men about town, and their joint friends, rising women critics, and novelists'. [17] Chopin played for the Carlyles at Cheyne Row, in 1848. 'Even Carlyle', writes Rosemary Ashton, 'whose musical taste seems to have been restricted more or less to Scottish ballads, thought him "a wonderful Musician"'. [18] On 7 July Jane Carlyle seems to have attended the *matinée musicale* at Lord Falmouth's. [19] In mid-July, she told her cousin, Helen Welsh, 'that she had heard Chopin twice, and that he had visited Cheyne Row'. [20] The same month, Jane Carlyle wrote ecstatically to Jane Stirling: 'Oh, how I wish he understood English! How I wish I could open my heart to him!' [21] Others who heard Chopin at Cheyne Row included Ralph Waldo Emerson, [22] and perhaps Charles Dickens, whose portrait was painted by Ary Scheffer when the novelist was on an extended visit to Paris in 1855 (Plate 4.31). [23]

Lady Antrobus, wife of Sir Edmund Antrobus, 2nd Bt, was another of Chopin's hosts.[24] The Antrobuses' house was at No 146 Piccadilly; the banker Lionel de Rothschild lived at No 148 Piccadilly,[25] and Rothschild's wife, Charlotte, indicates in her diary that Chopin played at Lady Antrobus's home on 12 May 1848. 'Chopin came into the room with great effort', Mme de Rothschild writes:

> [He] looked ghostlike, could hardly speak, and with every word his eyes filled with tears, his frail body twitched convulsively; he is extraordinarily thin, and yet it seemed to me as if there was not a bone in his body ... I cannot tell how much I wondered at the unsurpassable delicacy of his playing, which no other fingers could match, and his glittering interpretation; one could truly have imagined one was hearing shimmering pearls falling gently onto the keys. Such soft, gentle, delicate, tender, sweet playing has surely never been perfected before.[26]

As a friend, patron and pupil of Chopin in Paris, Charlotte de Rothschild gave devoted support to the composer.[27]

Chopin's visits to the houses of Mrs Grote and the Broadwoods, Chorley, the Carlyles, and the Antrobuses, when he played informally, without advertisement or tickets, are typical of others he made during 1848.[28] We do not know if he was paid on such occasions, but surely he must have performed without recompense many times. When asked, as we have seen, Chopin told 'Old Mme Rothschild' that his standard fee for performing was 20 guineas, but she advised him 'to show greater "moderayshon"'. 'I gather from this that they are not so open-handed', Chopin continued, 'and money is tight everywhere. To please the middle class you need something sensational, some technical display which is out of my sphere'.[29]

Chopin had received 20 guineas for his performance at Stafford House, for the Sutherlands, and he makes clear that there were two other occasions on which he received the same payment: at the Marquess of Douglas's, No 13 Connaught Place, [30] and at the Countess of Gainsborough's. [31] On 2 June 1848, Chopin told Gryzmała that he was having dinner that night with Lady Gainsborough, a former Lady-of-the-Bedchamber to Queen Victoria, and that she was 'very charming to [him]'. 'She gave a *matinée* and introduced me to the leading society ladies'. [32] The Duchess of Somerset, who lived at Somerset House, Park Lane, was also 'very charming', [33] and invited Chopin 'to her evening parties where the son of Don Carlos [the Spanish pretender] spends most of his time.... But the Duke is close-fisted,' added Chopin, 'so they don't pay'. [34] The Duke and Duchess of Cambridge were other friends, and lived No 94 Piccadilly, originally designed by Matthew Brettingham (1756-63), later the Army and Navy Club (the 'In and Out') from 1876 to 1998, and today the only remaining aristocratic house in Piccadilly with a forecourt. [35] Other possibilities include Sir William Stirling Maxwell (as he became) at No 38 Clarges Street, [36] and 'Madam Bunsen', wife of the Prussian Minister at the Court of St James's, at No 4 Carlton House Terrace. [37]

STAFFORD HOUSE (now LANCASTER HOUSE), Monday 15 May 1848
Chopin, with Lablache, Mario, Tamburini, and Benedict

The Duchess of Sutherland, Mistress of the Robes to Queen Victoria, was wife of the 2nd Duke, and a Polish sympathiser. The subject of a celebrated portrait by Winterhalter (Plate 4.1), she was one of the beauties of her generation, a leader of London society, and a noted sympathiser with liberal and philanthropic causes. [38] The Sutherlands' Scottish seat was Dunrobin Castle, Sutherland, and Stafford House their London home (Plates 4.2, 4.3). [39] Stafford House was begun in 1825 as a royal residence for the Duke of York, and was first named York House. On the Duke's death in 1827, it was bought by the 2nd Marquess of Stafford (later the 1st Duke of Sutherland), and renamed Stafford House. The original architects were Benjamin Dean

Wyatt, and Philip Wyatt, and in 1833-6 the attic storey was added by Sir Robert Smirke for the 2nd Duke of Sutherland. In 1833, the 2nd Duke called back Benjamin Dean Wyatt for the decoration of state rooms, with Smirke completing minor ones, and then, in 1839-41, Sir Charles Barry, who altered or finished several state rooms. The style is French, and sumptuous. The ground floor is dominated by the stair hall, rich in detail, with its staircase rising up to first floor level, on which there are the music room, the gallery, and the state drawing room. Throughout, paintings and sculpture are integrated into the decorative scheme, though since Chopin's time Stafford House has lost its great Sutherland collection of pictures. In 1912, the house was bought by Sir William Lever for use by the London Museum, and renamed Lancaster House. It was restored in 1952-3 by the British Government as a location for conferences and hospitality. [40]

The Duke and Duchess of Sutherland were both supporters of the Polish refugees of the 1830 revolution, with the Duke serving as vice-president of the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland. For her part, the Duchess had already demonstrated her patronage of musicians at Stafford House several years before Chopin's performance there. On 5 June 1841, for example, she held a concert in aid of the Polish cause, at which the performers were Julius Benedict, Adelaide Kemble, and Liszt, his arm in a sling. Chorley wrote approvingly in the *Athenaeum* on 19 June 1841 (no 71, p.478):

> The Polish *matinée* will be long spoken of as the most brilliant entertainment of its kind within our memory ... there was M. Liszt placing another feather in his cap, as a man and as an artist, by playing, in his disabled state, a duet *with one hand*, with M. Benedict; and doing more, it may be added, than many a well-versed pianist with all his ten fingers ... Another new feature ... was the singing of Miss Adelaide Kemble ... there is every prospect of her justifying, whenever she appears on the stage, the highest hopes ... so remarkable is the advance she has made ... to the grandeur and brilliancy of a Pasta. [41]

This 'brilliant entertainment' was to be repeated when Chopin played at the house. The occasion for this was the baptism of the Sutherlands' daughter, Lady Alexandrina Leveson-Gower, in the private chapel at Buckingham Palace on 15 May 1848; Queen Victoria herself was one of the godparents, and the guest of honour that evening at a dinner for eighty people at Stafford House. [42] As William Atwood explains, Her Majesty was received by the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland:

> On the arm of the Duke she passed through the front door into the entrance hall where she was greeted by the assembled guests, including her mother, the Duchess of Kent. All the ladies that night were dressed in white which created a stunning contrast to the hall's red walls and brightly coloured murals.

At dinner, a toast to the Queen was followed by the national anthem, and a toast to Prince Albert by Scottish airs played on the bagpipes. Her Majesty, 'sparkling in her diamonds and decorations', duly 'saluted her new goddaughter and called on those present to drink the health of the "Noble Infant"'. Indeed, it may have been this event which was captured by Lami in his view of the Queen's reception (Plate 4.3a). As Queen Victoria remarked to the Duchess, on this or a similar occasion, 'I come from my house to your palace'. [43]

A concert followed. The *Morning Post*, on Thursday 18 May 1848 (p.6), describes the Stafford House concert, with the singers Lablache, Mario, and Tamburini (Plates 4.4, 4.15, 4.4a), and refers to Chopin and Benedict (Plate 10.8) playing Mozart at it:

> The celebrated pianist, M. Chopin, had the honour of performing for the first time in the presence of her Majesty, at Stafford House, at a very select musical party, on the evening of Monday [i.e., 15 May]. The soirée was heightened by the performance of Lablache, Mario, and Tamburini, who shone especially in the trio of William Tell. The charming mazurkas of M. Chopin

> created a great sensation. He was ably seconded in a duet of Mozart's by Judes (*sic*) Benedict. [44]

Similarly, the *Illustrated London News* on 20 May 1848 reported:

> Chopin's pianoforte playing before Her Majesty at Stafford House on Monday created a great sensation: Lablache, Mario and Tamburini sang the trio from Rossini's "Guillaume Tell" admirably: M. Benedict was the accompanist at this concert given by the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland to celebrate the christening of their infant daughter. [45]

Benedict, having played a duet with Liszt at Stafford House in 1841, now teamed up with Chopin. 'More than thirty years after', Niecks reports,'Sir Julius still had a clear recollection of "the great pains Chopin insisted should be taken in rehearsing it, to make the rendering of it at the concert as perfect as possible"'. [46]

Chopin alluded to this concert in several letters. Writing to Mlle de Rozières from Dover Street on 1 June 1848, he confided:

> I have played at the Duchess of Sutherland's in the presence of the Queen, Prince Albert, the Prince of Prussia, Wellington, and all the cream of the Garter, on the occasion of a christening (a select gathering of eighty persons). They also had that evening Lablache, Mario and Tamburini. Her Majesty spoke a few very gracious words to me. I doubt, however, whether I shall be playing at Court, as a period of Court-mourning, lasting until the 22nd or 24th, has just begun for one of Her Majesty's aunts. [47]

The aunt referred to here by Chopin was Princess Sophia, daughter of George III and Queen Charlotte, who had died on 27 May 1848 in Kensington, after being blind for over ten years.

The next August, writing to his family from Scotland, Chopin describes how the Duchess introduced him to the Queen, who 'was gracious and spoke with me twice. Prince Albert moved closer to the piano. Everyone said that these are rare favours'. In an infrequent excursion into architectural description, Chopin paints a colourful picture of the interior, as depicted by Joseph Nash (Plate 4.3) 'I should like to describe to you the Duchess's palace, but it is beyond me', he writes. 'All those who know', he continues, 'say that the Queen of England herself has not such a residence. All the royal palaces and castles are ancient and splendid, but have not the taste and elegance of Stafford House'. The staircases, for instance,

> are famous for their magnificent effect: they do not lead either from the vestibule of from an ante-room, but arise in the middle of the apartments as in some huge salon -- with splendid paintings, statues, galleries, carpets, all most beautifully laid out and with the most wonderful effects of perspective

Chopin waxes lyrical:

> And you should have seen the Queen standing on the stairs in the most dazzling light, covered with all her diamonds and orders -- and the noblemen, wearing the Garter, descending the stairs with the greatest elegance, conversing in groups, halting on the various landings from every point of which there is something fresh to be admired. It really makes one sorry that some Paolo Veronese could not have seen something like it -- he would have left us one more masterpiece.[48]

Unfortunately, although Chopin was told at the Duchess of Sutherland's that he would be invited to play at Buckingham Palace, no such opportunity ever came to him; the Queen, recording the concert in her diary, made only vague references to 'pretty music' and 'some pianists playing'.

Chopin told Gryzmała that he was paid 20 guineas for performing at Stafford House, and that 'this was the fee fixed for me by Broadwood on whose piano I play'.[49] The Broadwood at Stafford House may have been Grand Pianoforte No 17,047 (London, 1847), used by Chopin for his recitals at Mrs Sartoris's and the Earl of Falmouth's, and his concerts in Manchester and at Guildhall, and now in the Cobbe Collection, at Hatchlands (Plates 4,12, 4.12a, 4.12b). We cannot tell.[50] Chopin's connections with the Sutherlands continued. 'I give Sutherland's daughter one lesson a week', Chopin told Grzymała on 2 June [1848].[51] This would have been Lady Constance Leveson-Gower, later Duchess of Westminster (Plate 3.16). According to Chopin's pocket diary, Lady Constance had seven weekly piano lessons between 25 May and 6 July 1848,[52] and other manuscript sources indicate that he was paid seven guineas for them, and confirm that he received twenty guineas for the Stafford House concert itself.[53]

MRS SARTORIS'S, No 99 Eaton Place, Belgravia, Friday 23 June 1848
Chopin, with Mario and Alary

In 1842, the soprano Adelaide Kemble, daughter of Charles Kemble, and sister of Fanny Kemble (Plate 4.5), married Edward John Sartoris, and on 23 December that year, after a performance of *Norma* at Covent Garden, retired from the stage. The loss to British opera was considerable.[54] 'My sister perpetually reminded me of Pasta', Fanny Kemble wrote, 'and, had she remained a few years longer in her profession, would, I think, have equalled her'.[55] The previous year, on 29 June 1841, Adelaide Kemble and Liszt had performed together at the house of Mrs and Mrs George Grote at No 4 Eccleston Street, an event described by Moscheles as 'really thrilling'.[56] Later in 1841, Liszt invited Kemble to join him on a Rhineland tour which proved to be a great success and paved the way for her debut in *Norma* at Covent Garden that November. The conductor was Julius Benedict.[57] As Chorley wrote in the *Athenaeum*: 'Tuesday night was a great night for Opera in England ... Miss Kemble's entire triumph, has a value beyond that of the mere addition of a vocal actress of the highest order to the European company of distinguished artists ... Miss Kemble was as completely in her part,

musically and dramatically ... as any among the glorious line of her predecessors.' [58] Moscheles, too, was full of praise: Adelaide Kemble, he wrote, is 'gifted with a glorious voice, which she uses with equal success in Italian bravuras, German Leider, or old classical music. She is so thoroughly versed in languages that when she sings you can fancy you are listening to an Italian, French, or German.' [59] Adelaide Sartoris's later influence on British musical life 'is not negligible', Pauline Pocknell explains. 'She continued to sing at private gatherings. She became what Liszt had needed in 1841, a patroness and facilitator for musicians. For instance, until they left London in 1846, the Moscheles and Sartoris couples often met for musicmaking. At an evening at Adelaide's in 1843 Moscheles and Parry both performed'. [60] Invitations must have been highly prized (Plate 4.6). In July 1844, when Mendelssohn joined the Moscheles the day after giving his last Philharmonic concert, Mrs Moscheles reported: 'You may imagine how delighted 'nos intimes' were, and what glorious instrumental music we had; Mrs Sartoris, too, was in splendid voice. Our guests were so grateful and happy, not happier than the hostess herself, for those were golden hours indeed!' [61]

Eaton Place, Belgravia, built by Thomas Cubitt and completed in 1850, consists of a broad street of grand houses. [62] Mrs Sartoris's, No 99 Eaton Place, still stands, though it is now converted into apartments (Plate 4.7). It is stuccoed, classical in detail, with a projecting Doric porch in the centre, and a corbelled balustrade above which connects to the neighboring residence. The ground floor is rusticated, with a basement below. As the house turns the corner into West Eaton Place, there is a blue plaque commemorating Chopin's concert (Plate 4.8). It reads:

FRYDERYK

CHOPIN

1810-1849

GAVE HIS FIRST

LONDON CONCERT

IN THIS HOUSE

JUNE 23 1848

In fact, this was not Chopin's first London concert, as his performance in Stafford House had taken place earlier, on 15 May 1848; but it was his first 'public' concert, in the sense that it was a concert for which members of the public could purchase tickets.[63]

The *Athenaeum* once again drew its readers' attention to Chopin's presence in London in its issue of 10 June (no 1076, p.588), when it mentioned 'a pleasant rumour that possibly [Chopin] may be shortly heard in public -- a *matinée* or concert being "in projection", his health permitting'. The rumour was confirmed by an advertisement in the *Times* of Thursday 15 June which indicated that the *matinée musicale* would begin at 3 o'clock, and that a 'limited number of tickets, one guinea each, with full particulars', were obtainable from Cramer, Beale and Co at their premises at No 201 Regent Street (Plate 4.9). That Saturday, 17 June, the *Athenaeum* (no 1077, p.613) announced that 'M. Chopin's *Matinée* (another attraction of the choicest possible quality) will be held on Friday next'. [64] A flyer, confirming the details, indicated that Chopin 'will perform several of his latest compositions' (Plate 4.10).

Reporting to his family in Warsaw, once he reached Calder House, Chopin wrote:

> I spent three months in London and was in fairly good health. I gave two matinée-concerts, one at Mrs Sartoris's and the other at Lord Falmouth's -- both with great success and without noisy publicity. Mrs Sartoris ... is a well-known English singer, who was on the stage only two years before marrying Mr Sartoris, a wealthy man of fashion. She has been taken up by the whole of London society and is received everywhere, while everyone comes to her house .[65]

Chopin remarks that he already knew Mrs Sartoris in Paris, and it is clear that he viewed her with great affection:

She has known me for a long time now, and at her parties, where she receives all London society, she has never asked me to play if she saw that I was not in the mood. She sings very nicely herself and has a first-class brain. She has two children, as beautiful as angels. She was once pretty herself but has now grown stouter, and only her head has remained like a cameo. I feel quite at home with her; she is perfectly natural -- she knows of all my little private faults from our common friends -- Dessauer and Liszt, for example.

Indeed, the 'common friends' included the Thun-Hohenstein family, whom Chopin and his parents visited in 1835 at Tetschen, near the Polish frontier. Adelaide Sartoris had also stayed with them. 'I have often chatted with her', Chopin tells his parents,

> and it seemed as though I were talking to someone who knew you, although in fact she only knows the rooms we occupied at the Thuns' house in Tetschen. She too has spent some pleasant times there. She says they very frequently mention us.[66]

Mrs Sartoris's hospitality is also well-attested by Charles Hallé, who had been introduced to her in London by friends in Paris. To her, he wrote, 'I owe some of the greatest pleasures I have enjoyed in London'. Mrs Sartoris, he continues,

> was indeed a rare woman, and her somewhat taciturn husband a man of vast intelligence. Both were musicians to the core, intensely enthusiastic, and of sound judgment. Their house reminded me strongly of the 'salon' of Armand Bertin in Paris, for it was the rendezvous of most of the remarkable people in London: poets, painters, musicians, all feeling equally at home, and all finding something to interest them. It is to Mrs. Sartoris that I owe my first acquaintance with Browning, Thackeray, Dickens, Leighton, Watts, Wilkie Collins, and a host of other celebrities; and it will always be my pride to have enjoyed their affectionate and intimate friendship till death removed them both.

Here at Mrs Sartoris's and at Chorley's houses, Hallé wrote, he had the 'privilege and happiness' to hear Chopin play several times. [67]

Before the *soirées*, Chopin visited the Broadwood showroom in Great Pulteney Street to try out the pianos, and paid the cost of the hire with free tickets. [68] An ex-pupil from Paris, who wrote personally to Chopin asking for two tickets for the recital, was Lady Shelburne, formerly Mlle la Comtesse Émilie de Flahault, to whom Chopin dedicated his Bolero in C major (Op.19); [69] her father-in-law, Lord Lansdowne, Chopin wrote, 'is himself very fond of music and every season gives a grand vocal concert at his own house'. [70] Among the listeners at Mrs Sartoris's house, to whom Chopin 'gave much pleasure', notes the *Musical World*, Jenny Lind 'seems to be the most enthusiastic'. [71]

Chopin played his own compositions at Mrs Sartoris's. The printed programme for the recital, which apparently was not known to Niecks, shows the pieces scheduled to be played by Chopin (Plate 4.11), but there are indications that he may have changed his mind at the last minute, perhaps excluding the announced ballade and the 'Andante (Op. 22), precedé d'un Largo' (that is, the *Grande polonaise brillante précédée d'un andante spianato).* [72] Nonetheless, the *Andante spianato*, one of Chopin's favourite recital pieces, was probably included in his Glasgow concert, if not elsewhere during his visit to Britain.

An account of Chopin's performance at Mrs Sartoris's, written by Chorley, appeared in the *Athenaeum* of 1 July (no 1079, p.660). [73] Chorley was unrestrained in expressing his admiration for the composer, who gave 'an hour and a half of such musical enjoyment as only great beauty combined with great novelty can command'. Chopin's 'peculiar' treatment of the piano, his fingering, and other 'innovations', all 'charm by the ease and grace which, though superfine, are totally distinct from affectation'. As for Chopin's own compositions, Chorley continues, 'no musician, be he ever so straight-laced or severe ... can be indifferent to their exquisite and peculiar charm'. Another member of the audience, the musician Charles Salaman, later observed that he would

never forget Chopin's playing, especially of the Waltz in D flat (Op.64, no 1). 'I remember every bar, how he played it', he recalled, 'and the appearance of his long, attenuated fingers during the time he was playing. He seemed quite exhausted'.[74]

Neither Chorley nor Salaman make mention of the Italian tenor Giovanni Mario (Plate 4.15), who appears in the printed programme as singing 'Le Penitent', by Beethoven, 'Reine des Nuits', by Alary, and 'Ange si pure', from Donizetti's opera *La Favorite*. Chopin, however, refers to Mario in a letter to Mlle de Rozières, dated 30 June 1848, in which he describes the recital:

> I gave a matinée here (very elegant). Mrs Sartoris (Miss Kemble) lent me her house; and Mario sang three groups while I played four -- that was all. They found this arrangement both novel and charming. I had a select audience of 150 at one guinea, as I did not want to crowd the rooms. All the tickets were sold the day before ... It is difficult to do things well here -- there are so many rules to be observed

As for Mario, wrote Chopin, 'he is the fashionable society vocalist *par excellence* -- there is no lady in quite the same position'.[75] Chopin knew Mario in Paris, where he and Chopin had been a members of the Rothschilds' salon,[76] and Mario had sung the title role in *Robert le Diable* at the Opéra.

A striking, and comprehensive, description of the recital is given by the pianist, administrator and composer, Wilhelm Kuhe (Plate 4.13), in his book *My musical recollections* (1896). In June 1848, Kuhe writes,

> to my great and lasting delight, I had the privilege of hearing Chopin for the first and, alas! only time, at a recital which he gave at Madame Sartoris', in Eaton Place. Gladly I paid my guinea to listen to and admire that rare and completely original genius.

Kuhe continues by observing that compared with later in the century Chopin was little known in England in 1848:

> Were Chopin alive now, every seat would, I venture to affirm, sell for five guineas within two hours of the announcement of a recital by him. At that time, however, he was known to only a very limited number of music-lovers in this country.

On the Continent it was different:

> In Paris his annual concerts were anticipated with the keenest interest, and his compositions were already the delight of all the pianoforte-players in France and Germany; and Mendelssohn, Schumann, and Liszt led the van of his admirers.

Yet in England, where his works were published by Wessel, 'the sale was by no means large, and they were seldom taught'.[77]

The audience at Mrs Sartoris's, therefore, represented an enlightened minority. Kuhe describes the scene:

> High were our anticipations as, coming early, we secured our seats (mine, I remember, was next to that of Madame Roche, Moscheles' eldest daughter), and awaited the arrival of the most poetical of composers. The room was not large, but it was made to accommodate on that eventful afternoon an audience of 140 or 150 persons. At the end of the apartment, on a slightly raised platform, stood a splendid grand piano specially prepared by Messrs. Broadwood for Chopin's delicate touch.

The Broadwood played by Chopin at Mrs Sartoris's was Grand Pianoforte No 17,047 (London, 1847), at present in the Cobbe Collection, at Hatchlands (Plates 4.12, 4.12a, 4.12b).[78]

Kuhe would never forget the 'impression made upon [him] by the mere appearance of this great artist'. He continues:

> His figure was attenuated to such a degree that he looked almost transparent; indeed, so weak was he that at a party given about that time at Chorley's, when my wife was present, he had to be carried upstairs, being too feeble to walk.

'No sooner, however, did his supple fingers begin to sweep the keyboard', Kuhe writes,

> than it was evident that a revelation of refined and poetical playing awaited us. His wondrous touch, the perfect finish of his execution, I can only suggest. Let me merely say that the performance was to me the most perfect example of poetry in sound which ever greeted my ears.

Among the 'original compositions' which Chopin played were 'several studies and mazurkas', and the Berceuse. Kuhe, as Salaman, was particularly struck with the Waltz in D flat major (Op.64, no 1), the so-called 'Minute Waltz':

> This last was still in manuscript, but so many inquiries for it followed Chopin's recital, that Messrs Cramer, Beale and Co, who had purchased the copyright, were obliged to hurry on its publication, and it actually appeared two days after the manuscript left the composer's hands.[79]

Mario, singing in the intervals between the pianoforte pieces, 'looked extremely handsome in his velvet coat, presenting a strong contrast to the deathlike appearance of the great pianist, and singing as he alone could sing'. Nonetheless, Kuhe observes, 'the

occasion was not altogether without a certain gloom. Everyone felt that the genius who held us spellbound would not long be spared to the world'. [80]

Although Kuhe does not mention Giulio Alary, the *Examiner* (8 July 1848) notes that Mario was 'accompanied by that consummate musician, Signor Alary' (Plate 4.14). [81] Mario had sung one of Alary's songs, 'Reine des Nuits', and presumably been accompanied on the piano by the composer. Mario and Alary were friends in Paris, and the *No 13 of The Album Mario*, consisting of the 'most popular French songs', included the song 'Le secret', or 'Un secret', a setting by Alary of words by Alfred de Musset (Plates 4.16, 4.17). [82] On 1 May 1836, both Chopin and Alary had performed at the Parisian salon of the Duke and Duchess Decazes, and Alary was an accompanist at Chopin's concert in 1848 at the *Salons Pleyel*, just before he left for London, at which the singers were Antonia Molina Sitchès de Mendi and Edouard Robert. [83] In 1851, when Alary's opera *Sardanapale* was given its premiere in St Petersburg, the principal roles were taken by Mario, Grisi and Giorgio Ronconi. [84]

At the close of his review of Chopin's *matinée musicale* at Mrs Sartoris's house, in the *Athenaeum* of 1 July (no 1079, p.660), Chorley urged Chopin to give further concerts. 'It is to be hoped that M. Chopin will play again', he wrote, 'and the next time some of his more developed compositions, -- such as Ballads, *Scherzi*, &c., if not his *Sonatas* and *Concerti*. Few of his audience will be at all contented by a single hearing.' Mrs Sartoris may well have hoped to repeat her success; but her life, like Chopin's, was about to change. 'In October 1849, the year following Chopin's recital', writes Ann Blainey, Edward Sartoris 'moved his household out of London. He sublet Eaton Place and took a three-year lease on Knuston Hall, not far from Wellingborough, in Northamptonshire'; [85] his brother Frederick Urban Sartoris lived at Rushden Hall, nearby. Adelaide Sartoris's London salon was no more.

EARL OF FALMOUTH'S, No 2 St James's Square, Friday 7 July 1848
Chopin, with Pauline Viardot, and Antonia Molina Sitchès de Mendi

Chopin's second *matinée musicale* took place at the Earl of Falmouth's London house, No 2 St James's Square (Plates 4.18. 4.18a, 4.19, 4.20). [86] The junction of the square with Charles Street was the former site of Ossulston House, built in the 1670s, and owned by the Bennet family, later Lords Ossulston; this was demolished by 1753, and replaced by two houses, known as Nos 1 and 2 St James's Square. [87] No 1 was built by the 2nd Earl of Dartmouth, and No 2 by Hugh Boscawen, 2nd Viscount Falmouth with an entrance front of four bays, with three storeys below the main cornice, and an attic storey above. The house was owned, and mostly occupied, by the Boscawen family, until 1923, the year in which it was sold by Viscount Falmouth to the Canada Life Assurance Company. At the time substantially unaltered, it was destroyed by German bombing on the night of 14 October 1940 (Plate 4.20a). Subsequently, Nos 1 and 2 were replaced in 1954-6 by premises designed by Mewès and Davis for the Westminster Bank, which had bought the site in 1950. In 1995-9, Nos 1 and 2 were succeeded by a building by the architects Sheppard, Robson and Partners.

The 2nd Earl of Falmouth, who had succeeded to the title in 1841 on the death of his father, the 1st Earl, had an acknowledged musical pedigree. [88] 'In 1845, not long after the vogue for 'house concerts' had begun', Christina Bashford points out, 'two specialist chamber-music clubs, the Beethoven Quartett Society and the Musical Union, were established, giving concerts in Harley Street and Mortimer Street respectively'. [89] The Earl of Falmouth was involved in both these clubs. John Ella, who played in a quartet led by Falmouth, described him as 'a most excellent amateur violin player'. [90] A watercolour of 1848 by Jemima Blackburn shows Falmouth playing a violin or viola, at a rehearsal under John Ella's direction at the home of Sir George Clerk, of Penicuik, 6th Bt, in Park Street, London (Plate 4.20b). [91] Falmouth owned a fine collection of Italian instruments, as well as an extensive library of chamber music. [92]

Chopin had been introduced to Falmouth by Henry Fowler Broadwood, and was fond of him.[93] 'Lord Falmouth is a great music-lover', Chopin wrote,

> wealthy, a bachelor and nobleman, who offered me the use of his mansion in St James's Square for my concert. He was most amiable -- to see him in the street you wouldn't say he had threepence; and at home he has a crowd of lackeys better dressed than himself. I knew his niece in Paris, but I only saw her at a concert in London.[94]

This *matinée musicale* was advertised in the *Times* on Thursday 6 July 1848 (Plate 4.21), the recital itself taking place on Friday 7 July at half-past 3 o'clock -- the afternoon before the celebration of the Earl's 21st birthday, on the Saturday, at his country seat, Tregothnan House, Devon.[95] As with the concert at Mrs Sartoris's, tickets, 'limited in number', were sold by Cramer, Beale & Co, at No 201 Regent Street. But the recital itself differed from Mrs Sartoris's; as the programme makes clear, Chopin here shared the concert with Pauline Viardot, and her cousin, Mlle Antonia de Mendi, the mezzo-soprano who had performed with Chopin in his last concert in the *Salons Pleyel* in Paris.[96]

Chopin again played the Broadwood Grand Pianoforte No 17,047 (London, 1847), now at Hatchlands, which had been hired for his recital at Mrs Sartoris's.[97] The programme for the Falmouth concert (Plate 4.22) lists similar pieces to those Chopin performed for her (Plate 4.11) -- namely his Andante Sostenuto and Scherzo (Op.31), études, a nocturne and berceuse, preludes, mazurkas, a ballade, and waltzes. In the *Athenaeum* of 15 July (no 1081, p.708), Chorley reported that 'M. Chopin played better at his second than at his first *Matinée* -- not with more delicacy (that could hardly be), but with more force and *brio*'. Chorley especially welcomed 'two among what may be called M. Chopin's more serious compositions', namely his Scherzo in B flat minor (Op.31), and his Étude in C sharp minor (Op.25, no 7). 'M. Chopin could hardly be so intimately and exquisitely graceful as he is if he could not on occasion be grandiose',

Chorley writes. 'The remark is eminently illustrated by certain among his *Polonaises* (let us instance those in A and A flat major), and by several of his Studies'. Furthermore, 'the other attraction of Chopin's *Matinée* was the singing of Madame Viardot-García; who, besides her inimitable Spanish airs with Mdlle. de Mendi and her queerly piquant Mazurkas', performed the rondo from Rossini's opera *La Cenerentola*, and Beethoven's song, '*Ich denke dein*'. 'No singer of our acquaintance could have given to this fine composition so much vocal charm as Madame Viardot', wrote Chorley, 'whom increasing experience disposes us more and more to consider as the greatest artist of her time.'

The *Athenaeum* was not the only newspaper to describe the Earl of Falmouth's *matinée musicale*. All point to it as a fashionable event. [98] *John Bull* (8 July 1848) announces that Chopin 'played a variety of his own compositions in which he displayed not only wonderful powers of execution, but that exquisite finish and refinement of style which distinguishes him from all other performers on his instrument'. The *Illustrated London News* (15 July 1848) praises not only Chopin's 'original genius as a composer, but his novel and striking style as an executant'. The *London Daily News* (10 July 1848) observes that Chopin is lauded both as a composer and as a pianist: 'In these various pieces he showed very strikingly his original genius as a composer, and his transcendental powers as a performer'. Chopin 'seems to abandon himself to the impulses of his fancy and his feelings -- to indulge in a reverie, and to pour out unconsciously, as it were, the thoughts and emotions which pass through his mind'. His music 'is characterised by freedom of thought, varied expression, and a kind of romantic melancholy'.

Unlike Chorley, these writers pay scant attention to the contribution of Pauline Viardot or Antonia de Mendi to the success of the concert. Earlier in 1848, Chorley had already expressed his admiration for Viardot when, in the *Athenaeum* on 20 May (no 1073, p. 516), he reported on 'an excellent concert given yesterday week at Covent Garden' which featured Viardot and Hallé. Viardot he found 'in every respect original and

peculiar', both in her singing of Handel, and of 'a pair of Chopin's *Mazurkas* -- fitted not to Polish, but to Spanish, words -- adroitly and quaintly arranged by herself for voice and piano'. [99] Chorley adds that the 'gayer' mazurka, 'with its odd starts and piquant intervals, will be the favourite with the public'; indeed, the popularity of Viardot's settings of Chopin's mazurkas justified her publication of twelve of them, in two sets of six, in 1864 and *circa* 1888 (Plate 4.23). Both the Handel and the Chopin, 'and their execution', continues Chorley, indicate Viardot's 'originality of fancy, -- and the second, further, such a tinge of eccentricity as makes us look with curiosity for the further appearance of a singer so obviously resolute to break new ground'. As for Hallé, his 'performance of Beethoven's pianoforte Concerto in E flat was no less noticeable as an admirable rendering of that glorious composition'.

It may be that Jane Welsh Carlyle also attended Lord Falmouth's *matinée musicale*. In July 1848 she writes to Jane Stirling, observing that although 'Chopin cannot <u>speak</u> English, nor understand it <u>spoken</u>', she wonders if he can 'understand it <u>written</u>'? [100] She continues:

> Here are some verses to his honour and glory, by Capt Sterling the brother of John -- who attended me to the concert the other day -- and as it strikes me they come less under the category of <u>prose run mad</u> than the generality of <u>his</u> practical expressions it might be worth while to give them to Mr Chopin with <u>my inarticulate blessing</u>, provided only that he can make head or tail of them.

Or perhaps Jane Stirling can translate the poem into French? As for Chopin's music itself, Mrs Carlyle writes,

> I never liked any music so well -- because <u>it feels</u> to me not so much a sample of the man's <u>art</u> offered "on approbation" (the effect of most music for me) but a portion of his soul and life <u>given away</u> by him -- <u>spent</u> on those who have ears to

> hear and hearts to understand. I cannot fancy but that every piece he composes must leave him with many fewer days to live.

She wishes that Chopin could speak English, she ends, 'for I should be able to speak a little English to him-- with my heart in it -- for even in my capability to speak English I am as my Husband said the other night "intermittent"'.

The manuscript of the poem, entitled 'Chopin's playing', is dated 7 July 1848, the day of the composer's concert at Lord Falmouth's house; its author, Anthony Coningham Sterling, a retired army captain, had been a friend of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle since 1837.[101] The poem is of thirty-eight lines, but alas! is little more than doggerel. Chopin is the 'pale wizard':

> The soft cadence dying
> To heaven is flying
> Bears the soul of the hearer
> To paradise nearer.

Sterling ends with the immortal quattrain:

> So his magical fingers
> With exquisite skill
> Make a music that lingers
> In memory still.

Surely Jane Welsh Carlyle was correct in her opinion that the poem was 'prose run mad', and on reflection may well have regretted making the suggestion that it be translated into French for Chopin's benefit.

COUNTESS OF BLESSINGTON'S, Gore House, Kensington, 10 May 1848

Chopin

Gore House, Kensington, on the site of the present Royal Albert Hall, was the home of Marguerite Gardiner, Countess of Blessington, literary hostess, memoirist, novelist, and notable friend of Alfed, Count D'Orsay, one of the foremost dandies of the time (Plates 4.24, 4.25).[102] The Countess's second husband, the 1st Earl of Blessington, had died in 1829. Thereafter, distinguished men of arts, letters and fashion, were attracted to her *soirées*, first at Seamore Place, Park Lane, from 1830, and then for thirteeen years at Gore House, to which she moved in 1836. Here, she gathered around her a salon of prominent literary and political figures, including Edward Bulwer-Lytton, Benjamin Disraeli, Charles Dickens, and William Makepeace Thackeray (Plate 4.27). And here it was that Chopin played for her. Lady Blessington was the author of novels and of personal reminiscences, including *Conversations of Lord Byron with the Countess of Blessington* (1834), *The idler in Italy* (1839), and *The idler in France* (1841). However, her financial position worsened. Her income from writings earned her between £2,000 and £3,000 a year, but her annual expenditure at Gore House exceeded £4,000. In 1849, to escape her creditors, she and D'Orsay fled to Paris, where both died.

The Gore House estate consisted of some twenty-one and a half acres on the south side of Kensington Road. Gore House, although the largest and best known, was only one of several houses on the land, and its own grounds amounted to little more than three acres.[103] Built in the 1750s, Gore House was a compact three-storey mansion, with a central canted porch, facing Kensington Gore; unfortunately, this symmetry was later ruined by the addition of a wing of three bays (Plate 4.26). Gore House was occupied from 1808 to 1821 by William Wilberforce, when it was often visited by leading evangelicals. Fifteen years later, the Countess of Blessington's very different meetings were taking place there. D'Orsay, who was married to, but separated from, Lady Blessington's step-daughter, lived for a while in one of the smaller houses near Gore House until, in 1839, he moved in with the Countess. The library, created by Lady

Blessington to form the social centre of the house, extended through its full depth, and was lit by windows from both the garden and street fronts. It had green furnishings, with white and gilt bookshelves. When, after Lady Blessington's and D'Orsay's flight to France, the contents of Gore House were sold, over a period of twelve days, enormous crowds flocked there. Subsequently, Gore House was used for a few months as a restaurant, established by a former chef at the Reform Club, and it was then bought by the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851. It was demolished in 1857.[104]

Franz Liszt was one of the musicians welcomed at Gore House during his stays in London in 1840 and 1841. On Friday 29 May 1840, he was writing to Marie d'Agoult, from London: 'D'Orsay has done a portrait of me which he is going to publish. It's an aristocratic kindness for which I am grateful to him. Lady Blessington maintains that I resemble Bonaparte and Lord Byron!!!'.[105] When Charles Hallé met Count D'Orsay for the first time, in 1843, he found him a 'brilliant and eccentric *roi des modes*'. After making himself known to a porter, he 'was admitted and conducted through a long avenue to the luxurious house, in which the Count received me with the utmost politeness and grace'. Subsequently, Hallé wrote, he was 'invited to several small evening parties at Gore House, made delightful by Lady Blessington's grace and D'Orsay's wit'.[106]

Chopin's experience of first encountering D'Orsay was similarly genial. On 6 May 1848, soon after arriving in London, Chopin tells Adolf Gutmann that he has been to Gore House to meet Count D'Orsay, taking with him a letter of recommendation from Princess Marcelina Czartoryska. As Chopin puts it: 'I have called on Mr [Count Alfred] D'Orsay who received me very civilly in spite of the delay in delivering my letter. Please thank the Princess [Czartoryska] for me. I have not yet been able to call on all the people for whom I have letters as most of them have not yet arrived [for the season]'.[107] Four days later, on 10 May 1848, Chopin played at Gore House, though we have no description of the event.[108] According to Hipkins, as reported by his daughter, this performance at Gore House was the only occasion on which Chopin used

the Pleyel he brought with him from Paris; after this, Chopin used Broadwoods in his recitals in England and Scotland. [109]

Henry Chorley had fond memories of Lady Blessington at both Seamore Place and Gore House. [110] When he first met her, 'Lady Blessington was then gathering about her a circle of the younger literary men of London, in addition to the older and more distinguished friends made by her before her widowhood' [i.e., 1829]. On being introduced to her, according to Henry Hewlett, Chorley observed:

> She said a few kind words in that winning and gracious manner which no woman's welcome can have ever surpassed; and from that moment till the day of her death in Paris, I experienced only a long course of kind constructions and good offices. She was a steady friend, through good report and evil report, for those to whom she professed friendship. [111]

Chorley was smitten with her. As he put it in his *Thirty years' musical recollections*:

> Her society included distinguished men of all ranks and all classes, -- statesmen, ambassadors, foreign grandees, -- an exiled prince since he became an Emperor -- actors, musicians, painters, poets, historians, men of science, of renown, -- and the man of letters as yet without a name, to whom she opened her circle.

'For all', Chorley added, 'she had the same attentive natural courtesy'. [112] Chorley had reason to be grateful. 'The thoughtful kindness shown by Lady Blessington', writes Hewlett, 'as the presiding genius in an extensive sphere of literary and social notabilities, to a young and untried man of letters such as Chorley, at the outset of his career, was of the utmost value to him, and merited the grateful acknowledgement it received'. [113]

In a letter to Franchomme, from Calder House, Chopin looked back on his salon recitals in London with some misgivings. 'I gave two matinées', he wrote,

> which appear to have given pleasure but which were a nuisance, none the less. Without them, however, I don't know how I should have been able to spend three months in this *dear* London with a spacious lodging absolutely necessary, and a carriage and man -servant. [114]

Whereas his fee for informal performances was 20 guineas, his earnings at his matinées were more substantial: at Mrs Sartoris's, Chopin made 150 guineas ('a select audience of 150 at one guinea, as [he] did not want to crowd the rooms'), [115] whereas at Lord Falmouth's he hoped to clear 100 guineas. [116] In both cases, we may assume that Chopin's hosts would make no charge for the use of their salons: Lord Falmouth, Chopin wrote, 'offered me the use of his mansion in St James's Square for my concert'. [117] To Chopin, Niecks stresses,

> these semi-public performances had only the one redeeming point -- that they procured him much-needed money, otherwise he regarded them as a great annoyance. And this is not to be wondered at, if we consider the physical weakness under which he was then labouring. When Chopin went before these *matinées* to Broadwood's to try the pianoforte on which he was to play, he had each time to be carried up the flight of stairs which led to the piano-room. Chopin had also to be carried upstairs when he came to a concert which his pupil Lindsay Sloper gave in this year [1848] in the Hanover Square Rooms. [118]

Moreover, London was expensive. 'From the money I have made', Chopin wrote towards the end of his stay in the city', I may have only 200 guineas (5,000 francs) left after deducting the cost of my lodgings and carriages. In Italy one could live a year on that, but not six months here'. [119]

Chopin's stay in London was drawing to an end. It was the close of the social season, his aristocratic pupils were leaving the city for the country, and Chopin was coming under increasing pressure from Jane Stirling and Katherine Erskine (his 'kind Scots ladies') to visit Scotland. Lord Torphichen, one of their brothers-in-law, and laird of Calder House, had also urged him to go. 'In London I was always at [the Stirling sisters'] house and could not refuse their invitation to come here', he wrote later, from Calder, 'especially as there is nothing for me to do in London and I need a rest; and as Lord Torphichen gave me a cordial invitation'. [120] At this point, John Muir Wood enters the story.

According to his son, Herbert Kemlo Wood, John Muir Wood 'was in London at this period on some affairs of his own. Broadwood, who was most attentive to Chopin's comfort, finding that my father was returning to Scotland, asked him to travel with Chopin and look after him'. [121] Chopin and Muir Wood already knew each other. Born in Edinburgh in 1805, Muir Wood was a pianist, music seller, publisher, impresario, and pioneering photographer (Plate 4.32). [122] His father, Andrew Wood, an Edinburgh piano-maker and music publisher, entered into partnership with John Muir in 1797 and, on Muir's death in 1818, entered into a second partnership with George Small. [123] The firm of Muir, Wood & Co (later Wood & Co), established in Waterloo Place, Edinburgh, published sheet music, and manufactured square pianos, organs, harps and drums. In 1829, Muir Wood's father died, and he joined his brother George in the family business. In 1848, Muir Wood and George Wood set up a branch of the family firm in Buchanan Street, Glasgow, and Muir Wood moved to Glasgow, to manage it. Muir Wood continued to play a leading part in Scottish musical life, notably through his organisation of concerts and his research into the history of Scottish music. In 1849, in collaboration with George Farquhar Graham, he brought out the *Songs of Scotland*, in three volumes, published by Wood & Co in Edinburgh; it was reissued in 1884, with additional historical notes, as *The popular songs and melodies of Scotland*. Muir Wood was a contributor to the first edition of *Grove's dictionary of music and*

musicians (1879-1889), and from 1876 to 1878 edited and published the *Scottish Monthly Musical Times*.[124]

Muir Wood himself had been trained as a pianist, and took lessons from Kalkbrenner when he visited Edinburgh in 1814.[125] 'European sophistication was an asset in the music business', note Sara Stevenson and Julie Lawson, 'and John Muir Wood was sent abroad to acquire it'. In 1826, Muir Wood travelled to Paris, where he was taught by one of the most celebrated piano teachers of the day, Johann Peter Pixis:

> Evidently, he was an able student. Pixis esteemed him well enough to reduce his usual teaching rate in order that Wood's financial distress -- the family business was in some difficulty at the time and his funding was not always sufficient for his needs -- should not hinder his education. Pixis also introduced him to musical society, so that Wood not only developed considerable skill as a pianist, but also gained invaluable knowledge of contemporary music and performance.[126]

In 1827, with the support of the family firm in Edinburgh, it was decided that Muir Wood should take further lessons in Vienna. 'Except you appear as a Star of the first magnitude we will feel great disappointment', his father told his son, 'as high expectations is [*sic*] formed of you here... at all events we think you ought to studee [*sic*] under a Master of higher celebrity'. In place of Pixis, Andrew Wood had Johnann Nepomuk Hummel in mind. In the event, Muir Wood took lessons in Vienna from Carl Czerny, a former pupil of Beethoven, and a teacher of Liszt, and wrote reassuringly to his father: 'One cannot come to a better place than Germany, for the natives are famous for their perseverance and I can assure you that I have learned as much since I came here as all the time I was in Paris'. Muir Wood observed that his friendship in Vienna 'lies principally among the Poles who are in general very clever and know several languages ... They almost all play some instrument, and are well acquainted with the theory of music'. Furthermore, during his time in Paris and Vienna, Muir Wood

'achieved an excellent command of four languages', and was able to pursue an interest in science which was to later prove essential in his practice of photography. [127]

Returning to Edinburgh in 1828, Muir Wood taught the piano, and Farmer points out that he and George Wood 'gave series of concerts for many years'. [128] But Muir Wood retained his connections with the Continent. In 1836, while visiting Frankfurt am Main, Muir Wood stayed with the Polish violinist Karol Lipiński, and it was here that he first met Chopin. [129] Indeed it has been suggested that Muir Wood learnt to speak Polish, and that he and Chopin played piano duets together. [130] As Herbert Kemlo Wood explains:

> Chopin stopped [in Frankfurt] on his way from Carlsbad to Paris in 1835 (*sic*) and was met by Lipinski and was taken to his rooms, where there was naturally a great deal of music making. Chopin, finding a good piano, played away willingly, Lipinski and my father played together, and then Chopin suggested a piano duet and made my father join him in one by Mozart -- an event soon forgotten in his crowded career. [131]

Back in Scotland, Muir Wood acted as an impresario, arranging concerts by well-known performers, such as Liszt, and later a visit to Glasgow by Sir Charles Hallé and the Hallé Orchestra. [132]

Muir Wood's interest in photography stems from these years. 'His knowledge of photography', Sara Stevenson writes, 'may date from his friendship in the 1840s with the eye surgeon Dr Jasper MacAldin who shared his knowledge of optics and chemistry. Wood's subjects were portraits and landscapes of Scotland, England, Ireland, France, Belgium and Germany'. [133] In Edinburgh, Muir Wood was set within a group of pioneers of photography, who included David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson. Muir Wood never sold or exhibited his work, and seems to have abandoned photography in 1852 or so, after the introduction of glass plates. Alas, he seems not to

have taken portraits of Chopin, or other musicians he knew, though a photograph of about 1850 near Fingal's Cave, on the Island of Staffa, in which a seated figure may be Muir Wood himself, could be seen as a homage to Mendelssohn (Plate 4.33). [134]

Chopin's pocket diary shows that he left Euston Station, London, by the 9am train on Saturday 5 August 1848. [135] Designed by Robert Stephenson for the London & Birmingham Railway, Euston had been opened in 1837 (Plate 4.34). Philip Hardwick, the Elder, was architect for a screen in front of the station consisting of lodges and a central Doric portico, through which passengers entered and departed (Plate 4.35). Next, Hardwick added two hotels, one either side of the portico: the western one, called the Victoria (opened in September 1839), 'offered sleeping accommodation and an unlicensed coffee-house only'; the other, the Adelaide (opened early in 1840), was intended to serve 'more as a respectable club-house than as an ordinary hotel' (Plate 4.36). As Jack Simmons points out, these represented 'the first venture of a railway company into the hotel business'. [136] Yet, as a contemporary passenger noted: 'The booking offices are very fine specimens of architecture, but the waiting rooms are far from corresponding with them in magnificence.' [137] This was soon put to rights when in 1849 the great hall at Euston, designed by Philip Hardwick, the Younger, was completed; it was a splendid interior, a combined concourse and waiting-room, in Roman-Ionic style, with deeply coffered ceiling and, at its northern end, a curved double flight of steps leading to a gallery. However, as the great hall was not opened until 27 May 1849, Chopin would not have been able to use it, though he may well have patronised the Victoria or Adelaide Hotels when he passed through Euston in 1848. [138]

Chopin was not alone on his journey, as he explained in a letter to his family in Warsaw, written at Calder House:

> When I left London ten days ago, I found on the platform for Edinburgh a gentleman who introduced himself from Broadwood and gave me two tickets instead of one for seats in my compartment -- the second one for the seat opposite,

> so that no one might be in my way. Besides that he arranged for a certain Mr Wood (an acquaintance of Broadwood's) to be in the same carriage. He knew me (having seen me in 1836 at the Lipińskis' in Frankfort!). He has music shops in Edinburgh and Glasgow.

Furthermore, Broadwood had arranged for Chopin's servant Daniel -- 'who is better behaved than many gentlemen, and better looking than many Englishmen' -- to be seated in the same compartment. Thus cossetted, Chopin left London at the start of his Scottish adventure. [139]

Chapter 4

LONDON 1848: Recitals

Stafford House, Mrs Sartoris's, Earl of Falmouth's, Countess of Blessington's

---

ENDNOTES

1 Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.281. See TiFC (Warsaw), M/441.k.II.p.2, which is an 'At Home' card, addressed to Chopin, from Mrs Milner Gibson at No 50 Wilton Crescent, London, for Monday 10 July 1848. A letter to Chopin of 1 August 1848 from Mrs Milner Gibson invites him '*souper chez moi*' the following Sunday. See TiFC (Warsaw), M/442.k.II.p.2. Mrs [Susannah] Arethusa Gibson was a London hostess and political activist. Her husband, Thomas Milner Gibson, was an English politician and Member of Parliament.

2 Letter from Mrs Grote to Mrs Frances von Koch, 24 July 1848, in Lewin, *Lewin letters*, vol.2, p.62. The party of 6 May is recorded in Hueffer, *Musical studies*, p.59, and Hueffer, 'Chopin', p.391.

3 Hadden, *Chopin*, p.136, based on Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.281.

4 For background to Chopin's recitals in 1848, see Samson, 'The "salon composer"', in Samson, *Cambridge companion to Chopin*, pp.2-4; Janet Ritterman, 'Piano music and the public concert, 1800-1850', *passim*; and Ritterman and Weber, 'Origins of the piano recital in England, 1830-1870', *passim*. An international view is taken by Ballstaedt, 'Chopin as "salon composer" in nineteenth-century German criticism', *passim*. For 'soloists', 'chamber musicians', and 'private aristocratic and royal concerts', see Rohr, *Careers of British musicians, 1750-1850*, pp.113-19.

Individual Chopin recitals in London are considered in Atwood, *Pianist from Warsaw*, pp.160-70.

5 Samson, 'The "salon composer"', p.2.

6 Samson, 'The "salon composer"', p.3.

7 Samson, 'The "salon composer"', p.5.

8 Samson, 'The "salon composer"', p.5.

9 Samson, 'The "salon composer"', p.5.

10 Fiorentino, 'Chopin', p.427. This publication is rare: the copy quoted here is in the Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, where I was able to examine it thanks to the help of Andrew Fairbairn. An English translation of the text appears in Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.282. Fiorentino was precipitate, proceeding immediately to explain that Chopin returned to Paris to die, but making no reference to his intervening period in England and Scotland.

11 Bledsoe, Chorley, p.178.

12 Bledsoe, *Chorley*, p.144.

13 See Bradley and Pevsner, *London 6: Westminste*r, pp.757-8; Colvin, *Dictionary*, p. 1192; and Weinreb, Hibbert and Keay, *London encyclopaedia*, p.975.

14 Hallé, *Autobiography*, p.118. See also Rigby, *Hallé*, pp.68-9.

15 Hallé, *Autobiography*, p.56. In his consideration of Chopin, on pp.55-7, Hallé mentions listening to Chopin playing in London in 1848 at both Mrs Sartoris's and Chorley's, but nowhere else. In particular, Hallé mentions hearing for the first time 'the beautiful waltzes, Op.62, recently composed and published, which have since become

the most popular of his smaller pieces' (p.56). Surely, 'Op.62' here is a mistake for 'Op.64'?

16 See Cherry and Pevsner, *London 3: North West*, p.576, and *Carlyle's House, London*, The National Trust, revised edition (London, 1998). In the Carlyles' day, the house was known as No 5 Cheyne Row. According to *Carlyle's House, London* (p.20), the piano and stool in the sitting room or parlour were brought to London in 1842 from Templand, Dumfriesshire, the home of Mrs Carlyle's mother, who died that year. The piano, an upright, replaced an earlier one, and can be seen to the left of Tait's 'A Chelsea interior', of 1857 (Plate 4.29). *Carlyle's House Catalogue* (1895), reprinted by the Saltire Society in 1995, contains references to the pianos on pp.39 and 42, with an illustration on p.53.

17 The article on Jane Baillie Welsh Carlyle by Kenneth Fielding and David Sorensen in *Oxford DNB online*.

18 Ashton, *Thomas and Jane Carlyle*, p.288.

19 See Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.323.

20 Ashton, *Thomas and Jane Carlyle*, p.288.

21 See Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.323. For a version of this text, see National Library of Scotland (Edinburgh), MS Acc 9227, uncatalogued letter. There is some uncertainty here: was the letter addressed to Chopin's friend, Jane Stirling, or to Jane Sterling, sister of John Sterling, who was the subject of a biography by Carlyle? See later in this chapter, notes 100, 101.

On 4 August 1850, Jane Stirling called unexpectedly at Cheyne Row, her visit prompting firm reactions from both Carlyles. See Bone, *Jane Stirling*, p.100.

22 Richardson, *Emerson*, p.144. Emerson's visit to Scotland, to see Carlyle at Craigenputtock, is considered in Christiansen, *The visitors*, pp.86-90. Christiansen, on p.117, notes that Emerson's response to Chopin was 'cloth-eared'.

23 There seems to be no proof that Dickens heard Chopin play, although the composer listed the novelist among the 'distinguished personalities' he met. See Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.333. Chopin to his family in Warsaw, [10/19 August 1848].

24 There is no entry in the *Oxford DNB online* for Sir Edward Antrobus, Bt. The address No 146 Piccadilly is taken from *Kelly's Directory, London 1848*. Dasent, *Piccadilly*, pp.287-8, describes Antrobus as 'a partner in Coutts's, and the second of the great banking firm to settle in the neighbourhood'.

25 The interior of No 146 Piccadilly can be seen in a photograph of 1899 in the National Monuments Record, London (negative BL 15503). For No 148 Piccadilly, see Dasent, *Piccadilly*, pp.289-93, and Ferguson, *World's banker*, pp.556, 996.

26 Quoted by Jorgensen, *Chopin and the Swedish nightingale*, p.56.

27 See Ferguson, *World's banker*, pp.363-5.

28 See the discussion of Chopin's recitals in Atwood, *Pianist from Warsaw*, pp. 160-70.

29 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.320. Chopin to Grzymała, 2 June [1848]. 'Old Mme Rothschild' would have been Hannah Barent de Rothschild (*née* Cohen) (1783-1850), mother of Lionel Nathan de Rothschild.

30 The address given in *Kelly's Directory, London 1848*. Reference to Chopin's performance for Douglas is in Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.333. Chopin to his family in Warsaw, [10/19 August 1848]. The Marquess of Douglas was the courtesy title given to the elder son of the Duke and Duchess of Hamilton. His mother, the Duchess of Hamilton, the *châtelaine* of Hamilton Palace, had met Chopin in Paris.

31 Chopin notes that, of these three recitals, his performance for Lady Gainsborough was the 'first in order of date'. See Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.333. Chopin to his family in Warsaw, [10/19 August 1848].

32 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.319. Chopin to Gryzmała, 2 June [1848]. Lady Gainsborough was aunt of Dr Malan, the homeopath who attended Chopin in London in 1848. *Kelly's Directory, London 1848* gives Exton Park, Rutland, as the address of the Earl of Gainsborough, but no place in London.

33 Somerset House, which was demolished in 1915, is described and illustrated in *Survey of London*, vol.40, *The Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair*, part 2, The Buildings (1980), pp.285-7, and plate 45a, and plate 14b in vol.39. The Duchess of Somerset remained in the house until her death in 1880.

34 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.319. Chopin to Gryzmała, 2 June [1848].

35 See Bradley and Pevsner, *London 6: Westminster*, pp.562-3, and Colvin, *Dictionary*, p.157. Formerly known as Egremont House, and then Cambridge House, the original building has been greatly altered. In 1829, the house had assumed semi-royal status when it became the residence of the Duke of Cambridge, seventh son of George III. See Dasent, *Piccadilly*, pp.81, 85, 93-5. The sale of the 'In and Out' is recorded in the *Times*, 13 January 1999, p.30, with an asking price of £50 million. The club moved to No 4 St James's Square.

36 William Stirling's address is taken from *Kelly's Directory, London 1848*. 'I made his acquaintance in London', says Chopin. Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.319. Chopin to Gryzmała, 2 June [1848].

37 An invitation card addressed to Chopin from 'Madame Bunsen' to an 'at home' at 10 o'clock on Friday 16 June [1848] is in TiFC (Warsaw), M/435.k.II.p.2. The Bunsens' address at No 4 Carlton House Terrace is given in *Kelly's Directory, London 1848*.

A concert and exhibition was held at the Polish Embassy, London, on 20 April 1948, entitled 'Frederick Chopin in London', marking the centenary of Chopin's arrival on that day in 1848. The pianist Henryk Sztompka, from Warsaw, performed 'those works of Chopin which the composer played in London during the summer of 1848', at Stafford House, Mrs Sartoris's, and the Earl of Falmouth's. The piano, lent by Broadwood and Son, was that used by Chopin 'at all the above concerts', namely the Broadwood Grand Pianoforte No 17,047 (London, 1847), now at Hatchlands (Plate 4.12). The exhibition, accompanying the concert, consisted of material from the Instytut Fryderyka Chopina, Warsaw, and from Arthur Hedley's collection. See the copy of the programme in the Broadwood Archives, Surrey History Centre (Woking), 2185/JB/83/22.

38 For the Duchess of Sutherland, see the article on her by K D Reynolds in *Oxford DNB online*.

39 For Stafford House (under 'Lancaster House'), see Bradley and Pevsner, *London 6: Westminster*, pp. 589-91; Colvin, *Dictionary*, pp.101, 174, 937, 1173; Weinreb, Hibbert and Keay, *London encyclopaedia*, p.473; and Yorke, *Lancaster house*, *passim*.

40 The above paragraph is based on Bradley and Pevsner, *London 6: Westminster*, pp. 189-91. For the richness of the interiors at Stafford House, see the illustrations to Yorke, *Lancaster house*, *passim*.

41 See Pocknell, 'Franz Liszt's and Adelaide Kemble's symbiotic relations', p.67, using the late Pauline Pocknell's transcripts of quotations from the *Athenaeum*.

42 Atwood, *Pianist from Warsaw*, pp.162-4, gives a description of the concert, on which part of the following is based. See also Yorke, *Lancaster House*, p.109, and plate 83. Alas, Lady Alexandrina died in infancy.

43 Yorke, *Lancaster House*, p.11, citing Lord Ronald Gower, *My reminiscences*, vol. 1 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Co, 1883), p.6.

44 Oliver Davies kindly alerted me to this quotation. Apparently Adelaide Kemble, although she performed at Stafford House with Liszt in 1841, did not sing there on this occasion.

45 Quoted from Atwood, *Pianist from Warsaw*, p.245.

46 Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.281. On the same page, Niecks notes that 'John Ella heard Chopin play at Benedict's'. Julius Benedict was not knighted until 1871.

47 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.318.

48 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.332. Chopin to his family in Warsaw [10/19 August 1848]. On the north wall of the principal staircase at Stafford House (today, Lancaster House) hang copies of three paintings by Veronese, which Chopin may have had in mind. See Yorke, *Lancaster House*, plate 59.

The subsequent remarks by the Queen are taken from Yorke, *Lancaster House*, p. 109, citing Queen Victoria's journals, 15 May 1848, Royal Archives, Windsor Castle.

49 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.320. Chopin to Gryzmała, 2 June [1848].

50 See Appendix D of the thesis. Hipkins makes no mention of the use by Chopin of a Broadwood at Stafford House in his essay 'Chopin's pianoforte' in his *List of Broadwood exhibits*, pp.12-13. Details of Chopin's piano at Stafford House, therefore, remain speculative.

51 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.319.

52 TiFC (Warsaw), M/378, Chopin's MS pocket diary for 1848.

53 James Yorke kindly told me that in the Duke of Sutherland's account book, January 1845-June 1855, in Staffordshire Record Office, Stafford, there are records of payments to Chopin both for the piano lessons for Lady Constance Leveson-Gower (D593/R/18/1), and for the concert at Stafford House (D593/R/2/42/3). See also Yorke, *Lancaster House*, pp.98, 109, 186n50 (Chapter 3), 187nn94-96 (Chapter 3).

54 For Adelaide Kemble, see the articles on her by W H Husk, revised by George Biddlecombe, in *Grove music online*, and by L M Middleton, revised by K D Reynolds, in *Oxford DNB online*.

55 Quoted by Pocknell, 'Franz Liszt's and Adelaide Kemble's symbiotic relations', p. 77, from (Fanny) Kemble, *Records of later life*, vol.2, p.293. For the context of these remarks, see Rosenthal, *Two centuries of opera at Covent Garden*, p.59, and p.67 of the late Pauline Pocknell's article. In the following section I use her transcripts of quotations from the *Athenaeum*.

56 Moscheles, *Recent music and musicians*, p.282.

57 For this and subsequent performances by Kemble, see Rosenthal, *Two centuries of opera at Covent Garden*, pp.53-4.

58 *Athenaeum*, no 332, 6 November 1841, p.860, quoted by Pocknell, 'Franz Liszt's and Adelaide Kemball's symbiotic relations", pp.72-3.

59 Moscheles, *Recent music and musicians*, p.282.

60 Pocknell, 'Franz Liszt's and Adelaide Kemble's symbiotic relations', p.78. The 'Parry' here would have been the Welsh actor and singer, John Orlando Parry (1810-1879).

61 Quoted in Moscheles, *Recent music and musicians*, p.301.

62 See Bradley and Pevsner, *London 6: Westminster*, p.745, and plate 80; Colvin, *Dictionary*, p.290; and Weinreb, Hibbert and Keay, *London encyclopaedia*, p.263. For the architectural context, see Hobhouse, *Thomas Cubitt, passim*, and the article on Thomas Cubitt by Hermione Hobhouse in *Oxford DNB online*.

63 According to the caption to a photograph illustrating 'The President's letter', *The Chopin Society (London). Newsletter*, Spring 2008, pp.11-14 [13], the plaque at No 99 Eaton Place was unveiled on 23 June 1949. This photograph shows the pianist Natalia Karp, Colonel Evelyn Broadwood, and Arthur Hedley on that day.

For Chopin's blue plaques at No 99 Eaton Place, and No 4 St James's Place, see Rennison, *London blue plaque guide*, p.40, and Sumeray, *Discovering London plaques*, p.44. They are also referred to on p.147 of the Chopin entry in Sadie, *Calling on the composer*, pp.140-9. The blue plaque at No 4 St James's Place is described in Cole, *Lived in London*, pp.474-5, and its position shown in the map on p.466. The location of the plaques can be seen in Sumeray, *Track the plaque*, pp.33, 46.

64 Quoted from Bennett, *Chopin*, pp.53-4.

65 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.331. Chopin to his family in Warsaw, [10/19 August 1848]. In this letter Chopin mistakenly refers to 'Mme Fanny Sartoris, née Kemble', as given in Sydow and Chainaye, *Chopin correspondance*, vol.3, p.365.

66 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.335. Chopin to his family in Warsaw, [10/19 August 1848].

67 Hallé, *Autobiography*, pp.118, 56. Three letters written by Mrs Sartoris to Chopin in 1848, about his visits to No 99 Eaton Place, are in TiFC (Warsaw), M/437.k.II.p.2, M/438.k.II,p.2, and M/439.k.II.p.2.

68 Wainwright, *Broadwood by appointment*, p.161.

69 TiFC (Warsaw), M/432/1.k.II.p.2. Her letter, written on the day of the concert, was sent from Lansdowne House. Two other letters from Lady Shelburne to Chopin, also of 1848, are in TiFC (Warsaw), M/432/2.k.II.p.2, and M/433/2.k.II.p.2.

70 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.334. Chopin to his family in Warsaw, [10/19 August 1848].

71 Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.285, cites the *Musical World*, 8 July 1848. But, as Niecks says in note 11 on that page, the reporter of the *Musical World* was wrong to suggest that Chopin played twice at Mrs Sartoris's. Chopin's second *matinée musicale* was at Lord Falmouth's on 7 July -- the afternoon before the article in the *Musical World* appeared. It has to be said that the reporter admitted: 'We were not present at either, and, therefore, have nothing to say on the subject.'

For Jenny Lind's attendance at Chopin's recital at Mrs Sartoris's, see Holland and Rockstro, *Jenny Lind the artist*, pp.324-5.

72 See Brown, *Index of Chopin's works*, pp.62, 92-3.

73 The text is given in Atwood, *Pianist from Warsaw*, pp.245-7; on p.245, Atwood gives accounts of the concert from the *Illustrated London News* (1 July 1848), and on pp.247-8 from the *Examiner* (8 July 1848).

74 Report of a meeting of the London Musical Association, 5 April 1880, quoted in Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.286. See Salaman, 'Pianists of the past', pp.327-8, and the article on the two waltzes in the *Athenaeum*, no 1071, 6 May 1848, p.467. See also Grabowski, 'Publication des valses, Op.64', *passim*.

Lenz regarded the three waltzes in Op.64 as Chopin's best. See 'Panorama de l'oeuvre de Chopin', in Lenz, *Les grands virtuoses du piano* (Eigeldinger), p.174. They are Op.64, no 1, in D flat major (the so-called 'Minute Waltz'), Op.64, no 2, in C sharp minor, and Op.64, no 3, in A flat major. See Brown, *Index of Chopin's works*, pp.170-71 (no 164).

75 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.322. For Mario and Grisi, see Forbes, *Mario and Grisi*, pp.98-9.

76 See Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.227. Joseph Filtsch to his parents in Hungary. Paris, [20] January 1843.

77 Kuhe, *My musical recollections*, pp.111-12.

78 See Appendix D of the thesis.

79 Kuhe, *My musical recollections*, pp.113-14. Kuhe's recollection is incorrect. All three waltzes in Op.64 had already been published Leipzig and Paris.

80 Kuhe, *My musical recollections*, p.114.

81 Quoted in Atwood, *Pianist from Warsaw*, p.247.

82 For Alary in Paris see Atwood, *Pianist from Warsaw*, pp.108, 157, 228, 247, 279n35.

83 See Atwood, *Pianist from Warsaw*, pp.107, 108, 155-7. The programme of Chopin's last Parisian concert appears on p.157.

84 Forbes, *Mario and Grisi*, p.117.

85 Blainey, *Fanny and Adelaide*, p.238. Knuston Hall is now an Adult Residential College, run by Northamptonshire County Council.

86 For St James's Square, see Bradley and Pevsner, *London 6: Westminster*, pp. 624-5; Forrest, *St James's Square*, especially pp 99, 144, and plate 57; *Survey of London*, vol.29, *The Parish of St James, Westminster*, part 1 (1960), pp.77-83; and Weinreb, Hibbert and Keay, *London encyclopedia*, pp.770-1.

I am grateful for help to the present Earl of Falmouth, Angela Broome (Royal Institution of Cornwall, Truro), and Alison Campbell (Cornwall Record Office, Truro).

87 See Dasent, *St James's Square*, pp.84-9, 223, 224. On p.88 there is a pen-and-ink drawing of Falmouth's house (reproduced as Plate 4.18a in the thesis).

88 Lord Falmouth is not in *Oxford DNB online*. For his musical activities, see Bashford, *Pursuit of high culture*, pp.68, 108, 116, 150, 157, 184, 200, 280-1.

89 Bashford, 'Learning to listen', p.29.

90 Bashford, *Pursuit of high culture*, p.108.

91 Bashford, *Pursuit of high culture*, pp.150-1.

92 Bashford, *Pursuit of high culture*, p.108.

93 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.336. Chopin to his family in Warsaw, [10/19 August 1848].

94 Hedley, Chopin *correspondence*, p.331. Chopin to his family in Warsaw, [10/19 August 1848]. Who was Falmouth's niece whom Chopin knew in Paris?

95 Lord Falmouth could hardly have attended both events. As the *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 14 July 1848, p.2, columns 6-7, reports: 'Tregothnan: Saturday 8th July [1848] being the anniversary of the birth day of the Earl of Falmouth upwards of 100 persons employed upon his Lordship's domain were plentifully regaled with the good old English fare of roast beef, plum pudding and nut brown ale. The festivities were enlivened by music and the dining room was tastefully decorated with evergreens and banners. In the evening the children were treated with cake and tea and shared in the general hilarities of the day'. I owe this reference to Angela Broome, Librarian Archivist, Courtney Library, Royal Institution of Cornwall, Truro.

96 For Antonia Molina Sitchès de Mendi, see the Personalia section of the thesis, under Sitchès de Mendi.

97 Wainwright, *Broadwood by appointment*, p.161. See Appendix D of the thesis.

A 'commemoration recital', by Jan Ekier (from Warsaw), was given on Tuesday 15 November 1960 at 8 pm in the premises of the Arts Council of Great Britain, No 4 St James's Square. Entitled 'Chopin in London, 1848', it included works performed at Chopin's concert at Lord Falmouth's, and marked twenty years since the destruction by German bombing of No 2 St James's Square, two doors away, on the night of 14 October 1940 (see Plate 4.20a). The piano used was the same Broadwood Grand Pianoforte No 17,047 played by Chopin at the original matinée. See the programme, introduced by Arthur Hedley, in Surrey History Centre (Woking), 2185/JB/83/22.

98 The texts of the following reviews are taken from Atwood, *Pianist from Warsaw*, pp.248-51.

99 Chopin notes in letter to Gryzmała, 13 [May 1848], that Viardot sang his mazurkas at Covent Garden, 'without my asking her' (Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.316). At Covent Garden, as Chorley makes clear, Viardot was using a Spanish text. For Viardot's settings of Chopin mazurkas, see Guillot, 'Une interprétation des oeuvres de Chopin en France', *passim*; and Schuster, 'Six mazurkas de Frédéric Chopin', *passim*. For a recent edition, see Rose, *Chopin-Viardot. Twelve mazurkas for voice and piano* [1988]. According to Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.361n, 'the most popular and effective was her arrangement of the Mazurka in D, Op.33, no 2'. This appears as no II in Rose's edition, with the title 'Aime-moi'. For Viardot's settings of Chopin's music, see also Berger, 'Viardot-Chopin", pp.144-7.

For Chorley's relationship with Viardot, see Waddington, 'Henry Chorley, Pauline Viardot, and Turgenev', *passim*.

100 National Library of Scotland (Edinburgh), MS Acc.9227, uncatalogued letter. It is undated but headed 'Monday', which may well be 10 July 1848, i.e., the Monday following Chopin's concert 'the other day' at Lord Falmouth's, on Friday 7 July 1848. The underlining is in the original manuscript. See also earlier in this chapter, note 21.

A version of this letter appears in Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.323, where Hedley notes that 'the English text of this letter appears to be lost'. Hedley gives no indication of the contents of the poem which Jane Welsh Carlyle encloses. The letter ends, engagingly: 'I have sprained one of my great toes! and it is all black the poor toe and as large as two natural ones'.

101 Captain Sterling's brother, John Coningham Sterling, also mentioned in the letter, was another friend of the Carlyles. In 1851, following John's death in 1844, Thomas Carlyle published *The life of John Sterling*, containing a 'memorably vivid but hostile pen-portrait of Coleridge'. See the article on Thomas Carlyle by Fred Kaplan in

Oxford DNB online. The editing of this poem benefitted from the eagle eye of Tom Craik.

102 For the Countess of Blessington and the Count D'Orsay, see Sadleir, *Blessington-D'Orsay, passim*; Sadleir, *Strange life of Lady Blessington, passim*; and the article on 'Marguerite Gardiner' by William H Scheuerle in *Oxford DNB online*.

103 For Gore House, see Cherry and Pevsner, *London 3: North West*, p.488; *Survey of London*, vol.38, *The Museums Area of South Kensington and Westminster* (1975), pp. 11-13, and plate 78b; and Weinreb, Hibbert and Keay, *London encyclopaedia*, pp.332-3. Thanks are due to Alison Kenney, of the City of Westminster Archives Centre, and Amber Baylis, of the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea Libraries and Arts Service.

104 The richness of the interior is described in Connely, *Count D'Orsay*, pp.241-2. An eye-witness account of the sale is in Weinreb, Hibbert and Keay, *London encyclopaedia*, p.333.

105 Williams, *Franz Liszt. Selected letters*, p.141. See also Williams' comments on Liszt and Gore House on p.955, and Allsobrook's remarks in *Liszt. My travelling circus life*, pp.23-5.

106 Hallé, *Autobiography*, p.101.

107 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.315. Chopin to Gutmann, 6 May 1848.

108 The date of 10 May 1848 is given in Hipkins's essay 'Chopin's pianoforte', in the *List of Broadwood exhibits*, p.12.

109 Hipkins, *How Chopin played*, p.6. Or was it Broadwood Grand Pianoforte No 17,093 (London, *circa* 1847)? This is given in Hipkins's essay 'Chopin's pianoforte', in the *List of Broadwood exhibits*, p.12. See Appendix D of the thesis.

110 Hewlett, *Chorley*, vol.2, pp.173-90. Surprisingly, Chorley makes no mention of musicians here.

111 Hewlett, *Chorley*, vol.2, pp.173-4. An expanded version of this quotation appears in Sadleir, *Blessington-D'Orsay* (1933 edition), pp.382-3.

112 Chorley, *Thirty years' musical recollections*, vol.1, p.81.

113 Hewlett, *Chorley*, vol.2, p.183.

114 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.327. Chopin to Franchomme, 6-11 August [1848].

115 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.322. Chopin to Mlle de Rozières, 30 June 1848.

116 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.324. Chopin to Gryzmała, 8-17 July [1848]. The price of the tickets does not appear either in the *Times* announcement of Thursday 6 July 1848, or in the programme for the matinée. See Plates 4.21, 4.22 of the thesis.

117 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.331. Chopin to his family in Warsaw, [10/19 August 1848].

118 Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.86.

119 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.325. Chopin to Gryzmała, 8-17 July [1848].

120 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.336. Chopin to his family in Warsaw, [10/19 August 1848].

121 Wood, 'Chopin in Britain, I', p.12. Herbert Kemlo Wood (1866-1953), was the son of John Muir Wood and Helen Kemlo Stephen. See his obituary in the *Glasgow Herald*, 11 May 1953.

122 For generous advice and information on John Muir Wood I am grateful to Paul Muir Wood, and to Duncan Fraser, who showed me the Muir Wood photographs at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.

For John Muir Wood's life, see Stevenson, Lawson, and Gray, *Photography of John Muir Wood*, pp.7-31, which draws on research by Paul Muir Wood, and material in his archives, and the obituary of John Muir Wood in the *Musical Herald*, 1 August 1892, p.249. The entries on John Muir Wood by Peter Ward Jones in *Grove music online*, and by George Stronach, revised by Anne Pimlott Baker, in *Oxford DNB online*, make no mention of Muir Wood as a photographer. See also the Personalia section of the thesis.

123 Andrew Wood named his son John Muir Wood after his late partner, John Muir. For various partnerships of the Wood family, and the addresses of their business premises in Edinburgh and Glasgow, see Humphries and Smith, *Music publishing in the British Isles*, pp.339-40; and Parkinson, *Victorian music publishers*, pp.300-1.

124 For the context of Muir Wood's publications, see Farmer, *History of music in Scotland*, pp.357, 428. Recording his death in *Notes and Queries* (8th series, volume 2 (9 July 1892), p.40), the Rev J Woodfall Ebsworth writes that to Muir Wood 'all lovers of old ballads and songs owe a debt of gratitude in regard to Scotland.... Personally, J M Wood was beloved by all who knew him, as well as honoured for his distinguished abilities and learning. He has left no equal behind him'.

125 For John Muir Wood in Edinburgh, see notably Cranmer, 'Music retailing in late 18th- and early 19th-century Edinburgh', *passim*, and Cranmer, 'Concert life', *passim*.

126 Stevenson, Lawson, and Gray, *Photography of John Muir Wood*, p.7.

127 Stevenson, Lawson, and Gray, *Photography of John Muir Wood*, pp.7-8. Quotations here are from the archives of Paul Muir Wood, used with his permission.

128 Farmer, *History of music in Scotland*, p.472.

129 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.336. Chopin to his family in Warsaw, [10/19 August 1848].

130 Wood, 'Chopin in Britain, II', p.6. The obituarist in the *Musical Herald*, 1 August 1892, p.249, writes: 'Having resided at Frankfort (*sic*) with the celebrated violinist, Lipinski (*sic*), he acquired a knowledge of Polish which enabled him to converse with a frequent visitor, Chopin'.

131 Wood, 'When Chopin was in Glasgow'.

132 The obituarist notes Dickens and Thackeray, as well as 'musical celebrities from the time of Grisi'.

133 Stevenson, *Light from the dark room*, p.124. A portrait of Dr Aldrin by John Muir Wood, *circa* 1850, is in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.

For John Muir Wood as a photographer, see Stevenson, Lawson, and Gray, *Photography of John Muir Wood*, *passim*, and Lawson, 'Photographs by John Muir Wood', *passim*. Muir Wood's legacy consists of some 900 prints and negatives, taken mostly in the 1840s and 1850s, experimental years of photography.

134 Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh. This was included in the exhibition, 'John Muir Wood and the origins of landscape photography in Scotland', Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, 2008.

135 Editorial comment, Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.327, citing Chopin's MS pocket diary for 1848, TiFC (Warsaw), M/378. See also TiFC (Warsaw), M/378/4, folded card (in Chopin's hand?), 'London and Birmingham/Euston Square Station/ Convoie de 9 heures'. For visual background to British railways see Freeman, *Railways and the Victorian imagination, passim*, and the illustrations in Wolmar, *Fire and steam*.

136 Simmons, *The express train*, p.40. See the chapter here entitled 'Railways and hotels in Britain, 1839-1914', pp.37-55.

137 Quoted in Weinreb, Hibbert and Keay, *London encyclopaedia*, p.278.

138 See Cherry and Pevsner, *London 4: North*, pp.361-2, and Weinreb, Hibbert and Keay, *London encyclopaedia*, pp.277-8. For further details of Euston's hotels see Carter, *British railway hotels, passim*, especially pp. 8-9, 61, 81, 85, 116-17, 118, and Taylor and Bush, *Golden age of British hotels*, pp.18-19. See also the illustration in Hobhouse, *Lost London*, p.203.

Alas, none of these buildings now remains. Against strong opposition, most of Euston was demolished in the early 1960s to make way for a new station.

139 See Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.336. Chopin to his family in Warsaw, [10/19 August 1848].

Chapter 5
EDINBURGH

When Chopin stepped off the train in Edinburgh, he found a city of great contrasts, in which poverty and high culture existed side-by-side (Plates 5.1, 5.13).[1] Shepherd's engravings, notably in his book *Modern Athens* (1829-1831), show the rugged life of the Old Town (Plate 5.18) set against the classical splendours of the New Town (Plate 5.17). Between the two, overlooked by Edinburgh Castle, lay Princes Street and the Mound (Plate 5.19), on which Playfair's Royal Institution (now the Royal Scottish Academy) had been completed in 1835 (Plate 5.16).[2] Further east, on Princes Street, the Scott Monument, designed by George Meikle Kemp, had been finished in 1845, and recorded by such photographers as William Donaldson Clark, and David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson (Plates 5.14, 5.15).[3] Hill and Adamson were only two of the pioneer photographers who recorded the Edinburgh of the 1840s. As one writer expresses it:

> In the sunny months of the years 1843 to 1847, Edinburgh saw an extraordinary experiment in art The photographic partnership of D O Hill and Robert Adamson set precedents and standards, shaping the new art of calotype photography, invented by W H Fox Talbot, and experimenting with its difficulties and possibilities ... They looked at the landscape, principally of Edinburgh; they watched the Scott Monument being built and the railways enter the city. The remarkable success achieved by these two men came from a combination of technical and artistic excellence which has rarely been equalled.[4]

In addition, engraved maps of Edinburgh proliferated, and images of the notable men of Scottish cultural life were captured in print and photograph (Plate 5.25).[5]

Jane Wilhelmina Stirling, Chopin's hostess in Scotland, whom we have already met, was born on 15 July 1804 at Kippenross, near Dunblane, Perthshire (Plate 6.31), the seat of her father, John Stirling, 6th of Kippendavie.[6] Raeburn painted a striking portrait of father and daughter (Plate 5.2). The family were a branch of the Stirlings of Keir. Jane's mother, formerly Mary Graham, gave birth to thirteen children, seven sons and six daughters, of whom Jane was the youngest.[7] Jane's sister Katherine, her constant companion in later years, was born in 1891, and married James Erskine, of Linlathen, in 1811; apparently, she had four daughters, but 'each died within four days of birth', before she was widowed in 1816.[8] The Stirling family, then as now prominent in Perthshire, had acquired considerable wealth through trade in Jamaica.[9]

The two 'kind Scots ladies', who had taken great care of Chopin in Paris for many years, would now cosset him in Scotland.[10] The most familiar portrait of Jane Stirling is the lithograph by Achille Devéria which shows her with Lady Frances Anne [Fanny] Bruce, daughter of the 7th Earl of Elgin (Plate 5.4). But this fails to capture Jane's beauty. Ary Scheffer, however, succeeded in doing so. Thomas Erskine, of Linlathen, explains that Scheffer used Jane as a model in his painting *Christus consolator* (1837), now in Utrecht (Plate 5.6).[11] Here, Erskine notes, Scheffer presented 'in one of his figures [i.e., the Virgin Mary] his ideal of female beauty, and was struck on being introduced to Miss Stirling to find in her the almost exact embodiment of that ideal. She was introduced afterwards in many of his pictures'.[12] Another relative, Miss May Stirling, wrote:

> I had a great admiration for my great-aunt Jane. It was a great pleasure to watch her tall graceful figure as she moved about the room.... She was certainly a striking looking woman, and clever, and she had moreover a very winning way of speaking: my Aunt Jane took us more than once to the studio of Ary Scheffer in whose pictures her own features are so often to be traced, notably that of Christ and the Maries. I only remember distinctly in the crowd the Princess Czartoryska

who was fresh from Polish troubles that made her the central figure of the party.
13

Jane's beauty is apparent in Scheffer's portrait of her, with Mrs Katherine Erskine, and their niece, Mrs William Houston (*née* Marion Douglas Russell, of Woodside), of 1844, (Plate 5.3), which has the same wistful look we see in the lost drawing, seemingly of her, and attributed to Scheffer, perhaps of the same date (Plate 5.5). [14] A photograph of the two sisters, surely taken after Chopin's death, shows Jane as 'Chopin's widow' (Plate 5.3a). [15] For her part, Jane commissioned a portrait of Chopin from Scheffer, [16] and one or two portraits of the composer from Winterhalter, including one of 1847 which is now at the Collegium Maius, Cracow (Plate 5.12a). [17] The mid-1840s saw Jane's purchase of the Érard grand piano, now at Hatchlands (Plate 5.11), Chopin's dedication of the Two Nocturnes, in F minor and E flat major, respectively (Op.55), to 'Mademoiselle J W Stirling', first published in 1844 (Plates 5.8, 5.9, 5.10), and the start of her lessons with him. [18] Evidence of Chopin's teaching includes Jane Stirling's copy of his complete works, annotated by the composer, and subsequently edited by Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger and Jean-Michel Nectoux (Plate 5.7). [19] The devotion of Jane and Mrs Erskine to Chopin's welfare in Paris is amply recorded, notably by Anny Thackeray, Fanny Erskine, and others who shared his musical life there. [20]

The musical activity which greeted Chopin in Edinburgh and Glasgow was flourishing. Edinburgh concert life, Henry George Farmer explains, owed much of its success to the founding in 1819 of the Professional Society of Musicians which concentrated on the great orchestral works of the time. [21] 'It was this society', Farmer writes, 'that was the leavening body for more than half a century in all the concert ventures in the city'. In 1835, the Edinburgh Musical Association was formed, and 'in addition to these professional concerts there were dozens of others run by *entrepreneurs* or societies'. New halls were erected in Scottish cities -- the Assembly Rooms, Aberdeen (1820), the City Hall, Glasgow (1841), the Music Hall, Edinburgh (1843), and the Queen's Rooms, Glasgow (1850) -- which encouraged both choral and orchestral performances. In

February 1841, the first Reid concert of the University of Edinburgh was held in the Assembly Rooms. 'On this occasion', writes Farmer, 'a choir of over one hundred and thirty voices was engaged which performed works by Handel, Haydn, Graun, Beethoven and Mendelssohn, under the baton of Professor John Thomson'.[22] The Glasgow Musical Association was founded in 1843, and it and the Glasgow Harmonic Society (founded 1853) amalgamated in 1855 to form the Glasgow Choral Union. Edinburgh and Glasgow also benefited from the series of concerts arranged by (among others) George Wood and John Muir Wood.[23] Among the celebrity performers in Edinburgh were Moscheles (1828), and Paganini, who in 1831 gave ten concerts in the Assembly Rooms, and in 1833 one in the Adelphi Theatre, and another in the Hopetoun Rooms.[24] In 1841, Liszt's exhausting tour of Scotland also included the Hopetoun Rooms, where there was a capacity audience of four hundred, and 'all the ladies came out'.[25] Opera, too, was prominent. In Edinburgh, during the 1830s, the productions at the Caledonian Theatre and the Theatre Royal included Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro* and *Don Giovanni*, Rossini's *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, Weber's *Der Freischütz*, and Bellini's *La sonnambula*.[26]

Chopin reached Edinburgh at about 9 pm on the evening of Saturday 5 August 1848, having travelled the 407 miles from Euston via Birmingham and Carlisle in 12 hours.[27] He was accompanied by his servant Daniel and by John Muir Wood who, with Henry Broadwood, was responsible for arranging the composer's concerts in Scotland; the train tickets were provided by Broadwood.[28] Among those who met him at the station was Dr Adam Lyschiński who, his wife told Niecks, spoke to him in Polish.[29]

Lyschiński, a Polish homeopath, was educated at Edinburgh University, where he graduated MD in 1837, and in the same year became a Licentiate of the Royal College of Surgeons (LRCS) of Edinburgh. He was a medical officer in the Edinburgh Homeopathic Dispensary (together with Dr Dionysus Wielobycki) at No 5 St James's Square, which was instituted in 1841.[30] Indeed, Edinburgh was in the forefront of homeopathic medicine: Quin, who had founded the British Homeopathic Society (later

the Faculty of Homeopathy) in 1844, had taken his MD at Edinburgh in 1820, and Edinburgh medical graduates started the *British journal of homeopathy* (now known simply as *Homeopathy*) in 1843.[31]

Initially, Chopin stayed at the Douglas Hotel in St Andrew Square, one of a group of buildings marking the east end of George Street, the central axis in James Craig's eighteenth-century plan of the New Town of Edinburgh (Plates 5.19, 5.19a). The centrepiece, and for long the head office of the Royal Bank of Scotland, is the free-standing house designed by William Chambers in 1771 for Sir Laurence Dundas (Plates 5.20, 5.21, 5.22, 5.23, 5.24).[32] As can be seen in Thomas Hosmer Shepherd's engraving of 1829 (Plate 5.21), two similar houses, Nos 35 and 37 St Andrew Square, flanked the forecourt. First to be constructed was No 35, to the north, built in 1769 by Craig for Andrew Crosbie of Holm. The architect Andrew Elliot was engaged in 1819 by the Royal Bank of Scotland to convert the house into their head office, and in 1830 it became the Douglas Hotel. As we see the building today, it consists of a five-bay classical facade, in stone, facing St Andrew Square, with a giant Ionic order taking in the ground and first floors, and attached columns defining the three central, projecting bays. The entablature has a fluted frieze, and above it is a third floor, with sculpted urns set on projecting piers. Although the Douglas Hotel was later altered and extended, and is now again used by the Royal Bank of Scotland, the entrance hall designed by Elliot remains much as in Chopin's time. Elliot's imperial staircase, with Ionic columns on the ground floor, and Corinthian on the upper, is lit by a ribbed dome set on wreathed pendentives.

Chopin found the Douglas Hotel 'unbearable' (Niecks' word) and stayed there only a day and a half, after which Dr Lyschiński put him up in his own home. This was No 10 Warriston Crescent, a stone terrace house on the Warriston estate laid out in 1809-1820 by the architect James Gillespie Graham (Plates 5.25, 5.26).[33] The house, which still exists, is of two stories to the street but, as the land slopes steeply, there is a third (basement) storey on the garden side (Plate 5.27). The disposition of the rooms now

seems to be much as it was when Chopin's was there. The Lyschińskis' children were sent away to stay with a friend, and Chopin had to be satisfied with their nursery as his bedroom, with an adjoining room for his servant, Daniel; these would have been on the first floor. The room in which Chopin played the piano was probably the sitting room, facing the street. [34] No 10 Warriston Crescent became Chopin's *pied-à-terre* in Edinburgh during his visit to Scotland, and he stayed there several times, including the night of his Edinburgh concert on 4 October 1848. On the external wall, facing the street, is a bronze plaque which commemorates this occasion (Plate 5.28).[35] It reads:

FRYDERYK CHOPIN
1810-1849 POLISH COMPOSER

STAYED HERE ON THE OCCASION
OF HIS CONCERT IN EDINBURGH
ON THE 4TH OCTOBER 1848

TO COMMEMORATE THE HUNDREDTH
ANNIVERSARY OF THIS EVENT THIS PLAQUE
WAS PLACED BY THE POLISH COMMUNITY
AND THEIR SCOTTISH FRIENDS IN 1948

In addition, Chopin's visit to Edinburgh is commemorated by a bronze bust of Chopin by the Polish sculptor Józef Markiewicz in the Usher Hall. Originally given to the Chopin Circle in Edinburgh by the Chopin Society in Warsaw, this was presented to the City of Edinburgh at a concert by the Scottish National Orchestra at the Usher Hall on 28 February 1975 (Plate 9.9).[36]

The day after Chopin's arrrival, a neighbour of the Lyschińskis, Miss Mary Paterson, who lived next door at No 11 Warriston Crescent, placed a carriage at their disposal.[37] Mrs Lyschińska therefore took Chopin out for a drive, and showed him the sights of the city, including the Scott Monument and the music shop of John Muir Wood's father, Andrew Wood, at No 12 Waterloo Place. Chopin found Edinburgh a 'most handsome town', and was intrigued to hear, as he passed a music shop, a blind man playing one of his mazurkas.[38] Domestic music-making flourished in the city (Plate 5.34).

Niecks, on Mrs Lyschińska's authority, describes Chopin's life with the family. 'Chopin rose very late in the day', he says,

> and in the morning had soup in his room. His hair was curled daily by the servant, and his shirts, boots, and other things were of the neatest -- in fact, he was a *petit-maître*, more vain in dress than any woman. The maid-servants found themselves strictly excluded from his room, however indispensable their presence might seem to them in the interests of neatness and cleanliness.

So far as his health was concerned, it was a familiar story: 'Chopin was so weak that Dr. Lyschiński had always to carry him upstairs. After dinner he sat before the fire, often shivering with cold. Then all on a sudden he would cross the room, seat himself at the piano, and play himself warm'; [39] he would use 'the old square piano in preference to the new and modern grand, standing in the same room'. [40] Chopin 'could bear neither dictation nor contradiction: if you told him to go to the fire, he would go to the other end of the room where the piano stood. Indeed, he was imperious'.[41]

As evidence of this, Niecks explains that Chopin once asked Mrs Lyschińska to sing, but she declined:

> At this he was astonished and quite angry. 'Doctor, would you take it amiss if I were to force your wife to do it?' The idea of a woman refusing him anything seemed to him preposterous. Mrs. Lyschińska says that Chopin was gallant to all the ladies alike, but thinks that he had no heart. She used to tease him about women, saying, for instance, that Miss Stirling was a particular friend of his. He replied that he had no particular friends among the ladies, that he gave to all an equal share of his attention.

Mrs Lyschińska ventured further. '"Not even George Sand then", she asked, "is a particular friend?" " Not even George Sand", was the reply'.[42]

Additional evidence of Chopin's visit is provided by the autograph score of the song 'Wiosna' (apparently written in 1838, and published posthumously as Op.74, no 2), which is signed by Chopin and inscribed 'Warriston Crescent 1848' (Plate 5.29). [43] Chopin kept up his connections with the Lischiński family, even after he had left Scotland for London. Writing to Dr Lischiński at 10 Warriston Crescent, from No 4 St James's Place, on 3 November 1948, Chopin asked him to forward an enclosed letter to Jane Stirling at Barnton (Plate 5.30). [44] This referred to Barnton House, Midlothian, an estate on the northern outskirts of Edinburgh, set in extensive woodland, said by Small in his *Castles and mansions of the Lothians* (1893) to amount to nearly six hundred acres (Plate 5.32). In Chopin's day, Barnton was owned by William Ramsay of Barnton, a leading sportsman, and Master of the Linlithgow and Stirlingshire Hunt; Ramsay's wife, Mary, was daughter of Lord Torphichen, and thus Jane Stirling's niece (Plate 5.31). Robert Adam had made drawings for a new castle at Barnton, *circa* 1792, but these remained unexecuted. However, his proposals for remodelling the existing building in the castle style were implemented, with variations, after his death; construction may have been supervised by James Adam, possibly with the involvement of the Glaswegian architect, David Hamilton, who added a porch, *circa* 1810 (Plate 5.33). [45] Although it is not known if Chopin visited Barnton, Jane stayed there both before and after the composer's death. William Ramsay of Barnton died on 14 March 1850, and ten letters sent from Barnton by Jane Stirling to Chopin's sister, Ludwika Jędrzejewicz, are all dated between 10 October 1850 and 26 August 1854. [46] In the first of these, written as Jane prepares to leave for Paris to deal with the solemnities marking the first anniversary of the death of Chopin, it is clear that the health of Jane's recently-widowed niece, Mary Ramsay, still living at Barnton, was giving her great concern. [47] Barnton House was demolished *circa* 1920, but gate piers and remnants of the curtain wall remain, and part of the former parkland has become the Bruntsfield Links Golfing Society, and the Royal Burgess Golfing Society. [48]

Jane Stirling's letters to Ludwika Jędrzejewicz provide notable link between Scotland and Poland. In 1848, when Prince Aleksander and Princess Marcelina Czartoryska, and

their son Prince Marcel, journied to Scotland, met Chopin in Edinburgh, stayed at Johnstone Castle, and went to his concert in Glasgow, they were reaffirming the Czartoryski family's long-standing connections with the country. In the early eighteenth century, an ancestor of Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, the seigneur of the Hôtel Lambert in Paris, had married a Gordon of Huntly. Prince Adam Jerzy's father, Prince Adam Kazimierz, Mona Kedslie McLeod explains,

> had toured Scotland from the Borders to the Orkneys and studied British institutions under the guidance of Lord Mansfield, the distinguished Scottish judge who became Lord Chief Justice of England. Inspired by what they had seen, he and his wife Princess Izabela became pioneers in their attempts to modernise the economies of their estates and emancipate their peasants. [49]

Between September 1789 and January 1791, Princess Izabela travelled to England and Scotland in the company of her son, Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, then aged nineteen. 'For her it was above all an intellectual voyage', writes Ursula Phillips, 'inspired by the desire to see the cultural roots, the landscapes connected with her literary heroes, not least Ossian'. [50] Two years later, in 1793, Princess Izabela's tour of gardens in Scotland inspired the layout of her own estate at Puławy, designed with the collaboration of the Scots gardener, James Savage. The palace at Puławy, situated on the banks of the Vistula, ten miles south of Warsaw, was the main residence of the Czartoryski family and a centre of cultural life; Puławy itself became known as 'the Athens of Poland'.[51]

Prince Adam Jerzy had studied at Edinburgh University, and he employed Krystyn Lach-Szyrma, a Polish scholar, to act as a tutor in Edinburgh to Prince Adam and Konstanty Czartoryski, and their cousin Prince Sapieha, as part of their Grand tour; they had already been to Germany, Switzerland, and France. Lach-Szyrma provides us with a fascinating view of Scotland in 1820-1824. 'As a romantic, he loved a land of mountain and flood and, though a shrewd observer, he sometimes idealised the qualities of its people', Mona Kedslie McLeod writes. Published in Warsaw in 1828 and 1829,

Lach-Szyrma's reminiscences -- entitled *Anglia i Szkocya: przypomnienia z podróży roku 1823-1824 odbytey* -- contained the first description of Scotland published in Polish, at a time when, typified by the Waverley novels, everything Scottish was fashionable. At the end of his stay, after a short spell in England, Lach-Szyrma returned to Poland, but was forced to leave after the events of 1830-1831. He then settled in England, took British citizenship, and became an active member of the diplomatic and literary community of Poles living in London supported by Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart, acting as secretary of the Literary Association of Friends of Poland. [52]

There is little doubt that Lach-Szyrma admired, and felt indebted to, the Czartoryski family, as Chopin was to do. In 1823, as Mona Kedslie McLeod points out, he published in Edinburgh his *Letters, literary and political, on Poland*, where he remarked

> that activity in all fields of literature has been much fostered and rendered still more universal by the liberality of the house of the Princes Czartoryski, who might be called the Medici of Poland. At their hospitable hearth men of letters, poets and artists found a friendly reception. In short, there existed within the last period no literary character in Poland who had not, in one way or another, stood connected with that illustrious house by receiving encouragement, benefit and support from it. [53]

Small wonder that Chopin was delighted to meet the Czartoryskis in Edinburgh. 'I revived somewhat under the influence of their Polish spirit', he wrote, 'and it gave me strength to play at Glasgow.' [54]

Chapter 5
EDINBURGH

ENDNOTES

1 For overviews of Chopin's Scottish visit see Załuski, *Scottish autumn of Frederick Chopin*, *passim*, and Fiske, *Scotland in music*, pp.149-55.

T Ratcliffe Barnett's chapter, 'The broken butterfly. Chopin in Scotland', *Scottish pilgrimage*, pp.11-20, ends with verses from Alfred Noyes' poem, 'The death of Chopin'. Barnett notes (p.11) that the description of Chopin as a 'butterfly' emanates from Liszt. A discussion of this essay appears in a 1943 review of Barnett's book by Alan Dent, reprinted as the chapter 'Chopin -- and the lang Scots miles', *Nocturnes and rhapsodies*, pp.184-8.

See also Janice Galloway and Iwo Załuski, 'Chopin's Scottish swansong', BBC Radio 3, first broadcast on Saturday 26 May 2007, from 12.15 to 1 pm; Ross, 'My hallucinatory sojourn in Chopin's Caledonia', describes the 2003 Edinburgh Festival production at the Netherbow, in the Royal Mile.

Recently, see Nowaczyk, 'Chopin mknął do Szkocji', *passim*. I owe this reference to Zbigniew Skowron.

2 Colvin, *Dictionary*, p.815. Playfair's National Gallery of Scotland (1850-1857) was not yet started.

3 Colvin, *Dictionary*, pp.607-8.

4 *Year of photography at the National Galleries of Scotland* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 2002), n.p. This booklet describes the events in the Year of Photography 2002, sponsored by Lloyds TSB Scotland.

For photography in Edinburgh during the 1840s, see Macmillan, "Born like Minerva", *passim;* Stevenson, *David Octavius Hill, passim;* Stevenson, *David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson, passim;* Stevenson, *Facing the light, passim;* Stevenson, *Light from the dark room, passim;* and Stevenson, 'David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson', *passim.* More generally, see Stevenson and Forbes, *Photography in the National Galleries of Scotland*, especially pp.24-6, 28 (John Muir Wood), 15-23, 65 (Hill and Adamson).

Photographs of Edinburgh, and other Scottish subjects, *circa* 1845-*circa* 1858, can be found in 'Pencils of Light. The albums of the Edinburgh Calotype Club', vol.1 in the National Library of Scotland, and vol.2 in Edinburgh Central Library. See www.nls.pencils of light/browse.htm. Volume 2, p.50, includes a print, 'Station of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway and North British Railway (now Waverley Station)'.

5 John Muir Wood, for example, took many portrait photographs, including George Wood (his brother, and business partner), and Helen Kemlo Stephen (his wife). See Stevenson, Lawson, and Gray, *Photography of John Muir Wood*, pp.34-5. Attempts to find a portrait of Chopin among Muir Wood's unidentified photographs at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, have failed. Duncan Forbes kindly enabled me to see these.

Caricatures of Edinburgh notables by John Kay can be seen in Crombie's *Modern Athenians* (1882). See Plate 5.15 of the thesis.

6 Although John Stirling was 'of Kippendavie', and had inherited the estate in 1775, he moved from there to live at Kippenross, a few miles away. It is a complex story, but see the summary of it in McKerracher, *Street and place names of Dunblane and district*, pp.36-8. See also Bone, *Jane Stirling*, pp.5-14.

7 See below in the thesis, Appendix A: Jane Stirling: Family context, pp.335-6, with its tabulation of links to Scottish country seats. Further details of members of the Stirling family can be found in individual entries in the Personalia section of the thesis. See also Fraser, *Stirlings of Keir, passim.*

For a synopsis of Jane Stirling's connections with Chopin see, particularly, Eigeldinger, *Chopin vu par ses élèves*, pp.232-3, and 'Exemplaires Stirling', pp.245-56, in the same volume. See also the entry on Jane Stirling in the Personalia section of the thesis.

8 According to Bone, *Jane Stirling*, p.8. See Chapter 2 of the thesis, pp.64, 83n70.

9 For the Stirling family see the sources listed in the thesis in Appendix A: Jane Stirling: Family context, pp.335-6.

10 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.336. Chopin to his family in Warsaw, [10/19 August 1848]. See Chapter 2 of the thesis, pp.62, 83n65.

11 See Ewals, *Ary Scheffer: gevierd romanticus*, pp.200-3; Ewals, *Ary Scheffer*, p. 48; and Morris, 'Ary Scheffer and his English circle', pp.294-5.

12 Quoted in Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.191. The supposition that Jane is the model for the Virgin Mary is mine.

13 Quoted in Bone, *Jane Stirling*, p.104. The date of the letter was 22 November 1851, but Bone does not give the name of the addressee. Presumably, Mary Stirling was the granddaughter of one of Jane's brothers, but I have not identified which.

14 There is some debate as to whether the artists here were Ary or Henri Scheffer. For the lost drawing, see Morris, 'Ary Scheffer and his English circle', pp.296-8.

15 This, from the collection of Mme Ganche, is reproduced in Bone, *Jane Stirling*, opposite p.89.

16 For the Scheffer portrait, see W-S, 'Jane Stirling's letters', p.61n4. See also p. 21n26 of the thesis.

17 For the Winterhalter portraits of Chopin, see pp.85n86, 124n39 of the thesis.

18 See Chapter 2 of the thesis, p.70.

19 See Chopin, *Oeuvres pour piano* (Stirling), *passim*.

20 See, notably, Chapter 2 of the thesis.

21 See the coverage in Farmer, *History of music in Scotland*, *passim*, including opera in Edinburgh and Glasgow on pp.415-17, and concerts on pp.464-81. For a full list of Farmer's writings on Scottish music, see Farmer, *Bibliography*, *passim*.

22 John Thomson (1805-41) was first Reid Professor of Music at the University of Edinburgh. The Reid Professor when Chopin visited Edinburgh in 1848 was John Donaldson (?1789-1865), who occupied the chair from 1845 to 1865. See Field, 'John Donaldson', *passim*. For musical life in Edinburgh in the early 1800s, see Cranmer, 'Music retailing in late 18th- and early 19th-century Edinburgh', *passim*; Cranmer, 'Concert life', *passim*; and Eichner, 'Singing the songs of Scotland', *passim*.

23 Farmer, *History of music in Scotland*, pp.472, 473. The cellist Louis Dechsler, a friend of Lady Murray, was highly esteemed in Edinburgh, where he conducted the Gentlemen's Amateur Society concerts, and founded the Singverein, a male voice choir, in 1846. See the entry on Drechsler in the Personalia section of the thesis.

24 See Macdonald, 'Paganini, Mendelssohn and Turner in Scotland', pp.31-3, 35, 36-7.

25 Allsobrook, *Liszt, My travelling circus life*, p.164. Liszt's performances in Scotland in 1841 are documented by Allsobrook on pp.158-65.

26 Farmer, *History of music in Scotland*, p.415.

27 Chopin took the preferred west route from London to Edinburgh. To the east, from 1844, the North British Railway ran south from Edinburgh to Berwick, on the north bank of the River Tweed; and in 1847 the Newcastle & Berwick Railway reached Tweedmouth on the south bank of the river. Until the opening of the Royal Border Bridge in 1850, which was for trains, rail passengers crossing between England and Scotland had to travel between the North British and Newcastle & Berwick termini by omnibus, using the 17th-century road bridge over the Tweed. Newcastle Central Station, by John Dobson, with a later portico by Thomas Prosser, was opened in 1848.

A favoured journey from Edinburgh to London, at this time, was by ship, from Leith and Granton. See Thomas, *Scotland: the Lowlands and the Borders*, pp.90-2.

28 See Chopin's letters to Franchomme, 11 August [1848] (Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.327), and to his family in Warsaw, 10/19 August 1848 (Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.336). For details of contemporary trains see Lambert, *Illustrated London News, passim*, which is used by Nowaczyk, 'Chopin mknął do Szkocji', *passim*.

29 Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.292. This is probably correct, as when Chopin wrote to Dr Lyschiński from London on 3 November 1848, he did so in Polish. See Special Collections, Edinburgh University Library, Dc.2/82/1, and Plate 5.30 of the thesis. Edinburgh had several stations. See Gifford, McWilliam, and Walker, *Edinburgh*, pp. 289-90, 369. See also, e.g., the various entries under 'Edinburgh' in Simmons and Biddle, *Oxford companion to British railway history*. Among many sources of information on Scottish stations is Biddle, *Britain's historic railway buildings*, pp. 597-712.

30 For Lyschiński, see the Personalia section of the thesis. The title of Lyschiński's MD dissertation was 'On Smallpox'. See *List of the graduates in medicine of the University of Edinburgh*, p.112; alphabetical index of names, p.41. We know from medical directories, registers, and related sources, that Lyschiński acted as a medical officer on troopships in 1838-1840. He became a registered medical practitioner in Scotland on 31 December 1858, following the passing of the Medical Act of that year, which introduced Medical Registration; prior to that date, there was no national register. The Medical Registers record him at No 10 Warriston Crescent until 1877; at No 6 Dundas Street, Edinburgh, in 1878-1882; then at No 28 Blomfield Road, Shepherd's Bush, London, in 1883-1896.

Dr Dionysius Wielobycki, also Polish, took his MD at Edinburgh University in 1843, the title of his dissertation being 'On Plica Polonica'. See *List of the graduates in medicine of the University of Edinburgh*, p.133; alphabetical index of names, p.70.

The *Homeopathic medical directory* for 1853 gives details of Scottish homeopathic dispensaries, and notes that the Edinburgh dispensary had treated 19,055 patients to 1 August 1852. It was supported by private contribution, and admission was free. I owe this reference to Bernard Leary.

The degree of Doctor of Medicine (MD) from the four Scottish universities in the mid-nineteenth century had a mixed reputation; the University of St Andrews, for instance, was not alone in being criticised for granting MD degrees 'by post'. Between 1836 and 1862, the university awarded 1,885 such degrees. See Hamilton, *The healers*, p.157.

31 The editors of the first volume (1843) were J J Drysdale, MD, J R Russell, MD, and Francis Black, MD. Printed in Edinburgh by Neill and Company, the volume was published in London, Edinburgh, Liverpool, Manchester, Dublin, Hamburg, Paris, and New York. Drysdale and other contributors were Edinburgh MDs.

For the establishment of homeopathy in Britain, see the chapter 'The early years -- homeopathy and British medicine, 1830-1845', in Nicholls, *Homeopathy and the medical profession*, pp.106-32, and Glyn Rankin, 'Professional organisation and the

development of medical knowledge', *passim*. Nicholls, 'Class, status and gender', *passim*, concentrates on the homeopathic patient in Britain during the 19th-century.

In the mid-nineteenth century, as now, homeopathy was controversial. In Edinburgh, the cause of homeopathy was brought to public attention in 1845, when William Henderson, who held the chair in pathology at the University, announced his adherence to homeopathy by publishing *An enquiry into the homeopathic practice of medicine*. See the article on William Henderson by Gordon Goodwin, revised by Bernard Leary, in *Oxford DNB online*. The saga is described in Comrie, *History of Scottish medicine*, vol.2, p.623, with a portrait of Henderson on p.622. Further coverage of the ensuing controversy, which lasted until about 1853, is in Yule, *Matrons, medics and maladies*, p.122. Henderson resigned his appointment at Edinburgh Infirmary, but kept his chair, which he held until 1869.

32 For the following description of the Douglas Hotel, see Gifford, McWilliam and Walker, *Edinburgh*, pp.324-5. See also Gow, 'Fit for an empress', *passim*. Renovation of No 35 St Andrew Square by the Royal Bank of Scotland, as a conference centre, was completed in 2007 by Michael Laird Architects. I am grateful to Douglas Bell and Nicola McGowan, of the Royal Bank of Scotland, and the architect Susan Horner, for arranging a visit to the building. Also at Michael Laird Architects, Roy Milne kindly provided photographs of it.

33 See Gifford, McWilliam and Walker, *Edinburgh*, pp.580-1. In 1998, the occupant of No 10 Warriston Crescent, Jane Kellett, kindly gave me access to the house, and information about Chopin's stay there.

34 Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, pp.292-3.

35 For reports of the unveiling of the plaque, see the *Scotsman* and the *Evening News* (Edinburgh), *circa* 5, 6, 7 October 1948.

36 See Appendix E of the thesis. A report of the presentation of the bust appears in the *Evening News* (Edinburgh), Thursday 6 February 1975.

37 Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.292. We know that Miss Paterson lived at No 11 Warriston Crescent from the *Edinburgh and Leith 1848 Street and Trade Directory*.

38 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.336. Chopin to his family in Warsaw, [10/19 August 1848].

39 Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.293.

40 Hipkins, *How Chopin played*, p.8. This observation is based on information given to Edith Hipkins in 1906, when she met Mrs Lyschińska in London -- 'a small dark-eyed vivacious woman over eighty'.

Wainwright, *Broadwood by Apppointment*, p.164, notes that Mrs Lyschińska recalled that Chopin 'would of an evening retire into an adjoining room, where an old Broadwood square piano of her childhood stood, and play upon it with evident pleasure'. No source is given.

41 Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.293.

42 Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.293. Niecks adds: 'Had Mrs Lyschińska known the real state of matters between Chopin and George Sand, she certainly would not have asked that question'. Niecks' description is used as the basis of Hadden, *Chopin*, pp.142-3.

'Mrs Lyschińska at that time was young and a singer', Edith Hipkins writes, 'and although of Scottish race, her husband had taught her some Polish airs, so when Chopin finally left he bestowed several personal relics upon her, including his gold sleeve-links, which she, in 1895 and again in 1906, brought to London in the vain quest for purchasers'. Hipkins, *How Chopin played*, p.8.

43 His 'Wiosna' seems frequently to have been used by Chopin as a calling card. For reference to versions at Crumpsall House, and Warriston Crescent, see the thesis pp.68-9, 84n75 (Chapter 2), and pp.247, 258n14 (Chapter 7).

For an analysis of Chopin's nineteen songs, with complete Polish and English texts, and musical examples, see Jacobson, 'The songs', *passim*. 'Wiosna' ('Spring'), Op.74, no 2 (1838), with Polish words by Stefan Witwicki, and English translation, is considered on pp.205-6. For Witwicki, see Rambeau, 'Chopin et son poète, Stefan Witwicki', *passim*.

Jacobson notes that 'Chopin himself, as well as Liszt, made a piano transcription of this song, and there are five manuscripts of his transcription ranging in date from April 1838 to September 1848. But in spite of his obvious enthusiasm for it, it is one of the least interesting songs, with only one chromatic twist in the melody to save it from complete ordinariness'. One wonders why Chopin chose this for his 'autograph' when visiting England and Scotland in 1848. See also Brown, *Index of Chopin's works*, pp. 121-2 (no 17), describing Chopin's pianoforte setting of 'Wiosna', as Andantino in G minor.

For the published version of 'Wiosna' (Op.74, no 2), see Kobylańska, *RUC*, vol.1, pp.434-40 (nos 1101-1112), with no 1110, signed by Chopin at Warriston Crescent in 1848, illustrated in vol.2, p.200 (plate 77), and listed on p.274; Kobylańska, *T-BW*, pp. 186-9; and Chomiński and Turlo, *KDFC*, pp.152, 158, 442-4. The Chopin entry by Michełowski and Samson in *Grove music online*, under 'solo songs', gives the date of composition of 'Wiosna' as 1838.

Tomaszewski, *University of Edinburgh and Poland*, p.36, writes: 'We agree with W Hordyński that Chopin had written the song and dedicated it to the doctor's wife; and with Sophie Skorupska that the manuscript was acquired from the Łyszczyńskis by Cecily Działyńska when she visited Edinburgh in 1858'. For speculation about this, see the sources cited by Kobylańska, *RUC*, vol.1, pp.438-9 (no 1110), and Kobylańska, *T-BW*, p.188.

In 1833, Sophy Horsley wrote in a letter to Lucy Hutchins Callcott: 'Mendelssohn took my album with him the night of our glee-party, but you have no idea how many names he has got me'. According to Gotch, 'This truly amazing little book measures only 2 inches by 1 1/2 inches and is less that 1/2 inch thick -- yet it contains 137 names, most of them accompanied by bars of music, or tiny exquisite drawings. One page is covered by an entire song written by Chopin'. See Gotch, *Mendelssohn and his friends in Kensington*, p.50, and note. This album was sold at Sotheby's Printed and Manuscript Music Sale in London on Thursday 9 December 1999 (L09213, lot 1), when the hammer price with buyer's premium was £24,150. The contents of the album, listed in the Sotheby's sale catalogue, make clear that Chopin's entry was a MS of the song 'Wiosna', signed by him, and 'transcribed for piano, on one stave, eighteen bars, 29 June 1848'.

Manuscripts of three songs by Chopin are listed in a letter from Jane Stirling to Ludwika Jędrzejewicz in July 1852. See W-S, 'Jane Stirling's letters', pp.121, 123n15.

For a performer's view of the songs, see the essay by the bass, Doda Conrad, 'Chopin the song-writer', which followed a recital in New York in 1948. According to Conrad (pp.45-6), during Hitler's rule of Poland, from 1939 to 1945, Chopin's songs were banned.

44 See Special Collections, Edinburgh University Library, Dc.2/82/1, and Plate 5.30 of the thesis.

45 Colvin, *Dictionary*, pp.54, 59, 472. See also Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh*, vol.1, pp.58-9, and Gifford, McWilliam and Walker, *Edinburgh*, p.552. The extent of the woodland can be seen on the 1853 Ordnance Survey map.

For Robert Adam's designs for Barnton, see King, *Complete works of Robert and James Adam*, pp.220, 223, and plate 315, and King, *Unbuilt Adam*, pp.13, 23, 27, 138, 157, 158-9, 161, and plates 106, 165-9.

46 See W-S, 'Jane Stirling's letters', especially the table on pp.53-9. Of the ten letters Jane sent from Barnton, five are given here in full transcript.

47 This letter is summarised in Karłowicz, *Souvenirs*, p.192 (letter 15).

48 Cant, *Villages of Edinburgh*, vol.1, p.59.

49 McLeod, *Agents of change*, pp.93-4.

50 Wirtemberska, *Malvina, or the heart's intuition*, introduction, p.xxvii.

51 For Princess Izabela in Scotland, and her creation of the gardens at Puławy, see McLeod, *Agents of change*, pp.68-78.

52 For the Czartoryskis' connections with Scotland, see the Editor's introduction in McLeod, *From Charlotte Square to Fingal's Cave*, pp.xiv-xxv.

53 Quoted by McLeod, *From Charlotte Square to Fingal's Cave*, p.xix.

54 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.343. Chopin to Gryzmała, 1 October [1848].

Chapter 6
SCOTTISH COUNTRY SEATS

Chopin kept up an extensive correspondence with his friends and family in France and Poland as he travelled around Scotland; fortuitously, many of his letters have survived, and demonstrate that he remained in close touch with the Continent. He was cut off physically, but emotionally he remained attached to his family in Warsaw, and to Paris and his Parisian friends. George Sand and the problems of Solange frequently recur in his letters, and his wistfulness for Nohant is never far away. As he moves from country seat to country seat, Chopin provides a running commentary on his concerts in Manchester, Glasgow, and Edinburgh, and gives us lively impressions of his hosts and their visitors. The houses themselves were mostly connected with the Stirling family, and located in the Scottish Lowlands between Calder to the east, and Strachur to the west (Plate 6.2).

It was an exciting time to travel in Scotland, as the country was experiencing a surge in tourism (Plates 6.1, 6.3, 6.4). [1] Chopin, like Liszt and other musicians, travelled by both coach and rail, and he may have taken the steamer down Loch Long when he went to Strachur. [2] As James Wood points out, by the middle of the 19th century, the skeleton of the Scottish railway network was in place. 'In 1830', he writes, 'the first inter-city trunk railway in Britain was opened between Liverpool and Manchester and its success greatly influenced the planning of the next generation of railways'. Wood explains:

> Three major railways, opened in 1840-42, mark the real start of the age of the railways in Scotland. The engineering works, viaducts, embankments and cuttings needed to provide the easy gradients and gentle curves necessary for high-speed running, were on a much greater scale than anything previously seen on a Scottish railway. They were, of course, correspondingly more costly to build. The Glasgow, Paisley, Kilmarnock & Ayr Railway was opening in 1840

and the Glasgow, Paisley & Greenock in the following year. The third was the Edinburgh & Glasgow Railway, opened in 1842.[3]

By the end of the 1840s, the Anglo-Scottish trunk lines were laid down, and by 1850 Aberdeen could be reached by train from the south.[4] All told, the Scottish country seats visited by Chopin were becoming increasingly accessible.[5]

After his stay at the Douglas Hotel, and with Dr Lyschiński in Warriston Crescent, Chopin went to Calder House, at Mid Calder, twelve miles west of Edinburgh, near Livingston.[6] Calder House, which has been the seat of the Sandilands (later the Lords Torphichen) from 1350, was to be Chopin's principal residence among Scottish country seats. Here, in 1556, John Knox is reputed to have celebrated holy communion for the first time in Scotland according to Presbyterian rites. The original L-plan house at Calder had been extended and altered several times, including the addition circa 1820 of a stair tower and a two-storey bow containing a staircase rising to the earlier Georgian front door. These features can be seen in two early-19th-century paintings of Calder by William Wilson (Plates 6.6, 6.7), and along with later alterations *circa* 1880 in the views published by M'Call in *The history and antiquity of the parish of Mid Calder* of 1894. The former hall became a first-floor drawing room, retaining its large windows and handsome panelling, and it was here that Chopin may have entertained his hosts with informal recitals. The room still exists, its high windows offering fine views over the distant countryside (Plate 6.8).[7]

The owner of Calder, James Sandilands, 10th Baron Torphichen, had married Margaret Douglas Stirling, daughter of John Stirling of Kippendavie, and a sister of Jane Stirling and Mrs Katherine Erskine, in 1806, but by the time of Chopin's visit Torphichen was a widower. His wife had died in 1836, leaving four children -- a son Robert (later the 11th Baron), John (who was in Holy Orders), James (captain in the 8th Hussars), and a daughter Mary, who in 1828 had married William Ramsay of Barnton; in the 1850s, Jane Stirling corresponded extensively from Barnton. In early life, Torphichen had

been Captain of an East Indiaman, and he lived until the age of ninety-two. His portrait, by Ary Scheffer, was painted in Paris, and is dated 1849 (Plate 6.5).[8]

On 14 July 1848, Lord Torphichen wrote to Chopin from Calder welcoming the composer, Jane Stirling, and Mrs Erskine to the house; [9] later in July, Chopin told Grzymała that he had been invited to Scotland both by Torphichen and by Lady Murray, 'an important, well-known lady who is very fond of music'. [10] After his stay at the Douglas Hotel, and Warriston Crescent, Chopin left for Calder. 'When I had rested in Edinburgh and had heard, as I walked past a music-shop, some blind man playing one of my Mazurkas', he wrote, 'I got into the carriage which Lord Torphichen had sent for me. The carriage was driven in the English style with the driver mounted on the horse [i.e., a postilion], and it brought me the twelve miles from Edinburgh'. Torphichen, he continued,

> is an old, seventy-year-old Scot, and brother-in-law to Mrs Erskine and Miss Stirling, my kind Scots ladies. I have known them a long time in Paris and they take such care of me. In London I was always at their house and I could not refuse their invitation to come here, especially as there is nothing for me to do in London and I need a rest; and as Lord Torphichen gave me a cordial invitation. [11]

Calder, Chopin writes,

> is an old manor-house surrounded by a vast park with hundred-year-old trees. One sees nothing but lawns, trees, mountains and sky. The walls are eight feet thick; galleries everywhere and dark corridors with countless old portraits of ancestors, of all different colours and with various costumes -- some in kilts, some in armour, and ladies in farthingales -- everything to feed the imagination. The room I occupy has the most splendid view imaginable -- although this part of Scotland is not the most beautiful.

The finest beauty-spots are towards Stirling, and north beyond Glasgow, and Chopin hopes to see these when he visits the Murrays at Strachur, and the Stirlings at Keir.

Jane Stirling and Mrs Erskine are nothing if not attentive. 'How kind my Scots ladies are to me here!', Chopin continues:

> I no sooner have time to wish for something than it is ready to hand -- they even bring me the Paris newspapers every day. I have quiet, peace and comfort -- but I shall have to be leaving in a week. The lord has invited me for the whole of next summer: I would not mind staying here all my life, but what would be the use? My room is well away from the others so that I can play and do as I please. I am completely free; for as Barciński will tell you, the chief consideration with these people is that a guest should not be restricted in any way. [12]

Among the facilities offered to Chopin were two pianos: 'In my room I found a Broadwood; in the drawing-room is a Pleyel, which Miss Stirling brought with her'.

Chopin's description of his stay with Lord Torphichen indicates that he enjoyed it immensely. 'Country-house life in England [*sic*] is most pleasant', he told his family.

> People are arriving all the time for a few days. The houses are most elegantly fitted up: libraries, horses, carriages to order, plenty of servants, etc. They usually come down for lunch ... at two o'clock (each guest breakfasts in his room, as and when he pleases) -- and for dinner at seven. In the evenings they sit at table for as long or as little as they choose.

As for Torphichen:

> Some evenings I play Scotch songs to the old lord -- the good man hums the tunes to me and expresses his feelings in French as best he can. Although

> everyone in high society, especially the ladies, speaks French, the general conversation is usually in English and then I regret that I can't follow it; but I have neither the time nor the desire to learn the language. Anyhow, I understand everyday conversation.

Moreover, as Chopin tells Pleyel, 'there is even a certain "red cap" phantom' at Calder, though 'he has not been seen for some time'.[13]

Chopin's day-to-day life in Scotland was radically different from his hectic musical and social life in Paris and London, with its teaching and composing. Not that his students were forgotten. Some of his Scottish hosts (notably Lady Murray) had been taught by him. And in a recently-discovered letter of 12 August, we find Chopin writing from Calder House to an unnamed female pupil, sending a list of her lessons, apologising for not meeting her at Eaton Square before leaving London, and thanking her for the excellent datura plant which she had sent him (Plate 6.9).[14]

When Chopin travelled to Scotland he apparently left No 48 Dover Street for good; on returning to London at the end of October he stayed elsewhere. As an indication of this, he sold the Pleyel grand piano (No 13,819) which he had in Dover Street, and which he had brought with him from Paris. On 15 August, ten days after leaving the capital, he is writing to Camille Pleyel from Calder about the sale:

> Before I left for Scotland, where I look forward to spending a few quiet weeks, I sent you a short note from London, when forwarding the £80 I received from Lady Trotter for your piano.[15]

Lady Trotter was the mother of Margaret Trotter who, as 'Miss Trotter', appears as a student of Chopin. This piano, now in the Cobbe Collection at Hatchlands, Surrey (Plate 3.15), has recently been identified by Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger and Alec Cobbe as the one which Chopin sold.[16] But as Chopin sent the payment to Pleyel, it suggests

that Chopin never owned the piano; the sale to Lady Trotter was a business transaction, on which presumably Chopin received a commission, as he did when providing a piano for Jane Stirling from Pleyel. [17]

Luckily for us, Chopin wrote a steady stream of letters from Calder -- to Fontana, Franchomme, Gryzmała, Gutmann, Pleyel, and his family in Warsaw (Plate 6.10). To such friends he confessed his inability to compose. Writing to Franchomme from Edinburgh and Calder, earlier that August, Chopin remarked that he 'should like to be paid an annuity for having composed nothing'. The park at Calder was 'very fine', his host 'excellent', and he himself 'as well as [he] may be'. However, he had not had 'a decent musical idea', was 'out of [his] rut', and like

> a donkey at a fancy-dress ball -- a violin E-string on a double-bass ... I have perfect quiet here (as regards material things), and pretty Scotch airs -- I would like to compose just a little, if only to please the good ladies, Mrs Erskine and Miss Stirling.' I have a Broadwood in my room and Miss Stirling's Pleyel in the drawing-rooom; plenty of paper and pens. I hope you will compose something too -- and may God grant that I may once more hear it again soon'. [18]

Despite Chopin's gloom, he was apparently able to complete one piece at Calder -- a Waltz in B major, discovered in manuscript by Arthur Hedley, dated 12 October 1848 (when Chopin would have been at the house) and inscribed '*pour Madame Erskine*' (Plates 6.11, 6.11a). It is Chopin's only known composition during his visit to England and Scotland, and no details of it have emerged; it is now lost, and remains unpublished. [19]

Our last letter from Chopin at Calder House -- where everything 'speaks to the imagination' -- was written on 16 October to the pianist Adolph Gutmann, in Heidelberg. Chopin's concerts in Manchester, Glasgow, and Edinburgh were now

behind him, and he could look forward to returning to Paris. But, whereas 'London is full of fogs and spleen', Paris has 'no president'. [20]

At Keir House, near Dunblane, Chopin's host William Stirling (Plate 6.12) -- known as Sir William Stirling Maxwell after he succeeded to the baronetcy in 1865 -- had inherited the estate in 1847 on the death of his father, Archibald Stirling, and was unmarried when the composer stayed with him in 1848; earlier that year, he had entertained Chopin at his London home at 38 Clarges Street.[21] William Stirling -- art historian, historian and book collector -- was born in 1818 at Kenmure House, Kirkintilloch, near Glasgow. A man of culture and literary distinction, he published his *Annals of the artists of Spain* in three volumes in 1848. At mid-century, the German art historian Dr Gustav Friedrich Waagen, Director of the Royal Gallery of Pictures in Berlin, toured British country houses, gathering material for his *Treasures of art in Great Britain* (1854), of which the supplementary volume, *Galleries and cabinets of art in Great Britain* (1857), included a description of 'Objects of art at Keir'. [22]

The original house inherited by William Stirling had been erected in the 18th century, though between 1829 and 1835 David Hamilton had been the architect for alterations and extensions. [23] Apart from the remodelling of the dining room, these included adding a long gallery and a magnificent bow-windowed drawing room, as shown in Hamilton's scheme of 1829, now in the possession of the Keir Estates (Plates 6.14, 6.15); both the drawing room and the library would have made fine settings for a Chopin recital. The exterior effect of these changes can be seen in the view from the west in Fraser's *Stirlings of Keir* (Plate 6.13), though by the time this was published in 1858 Stirling had moved the entrance from the east to the north, added a semi-elliptical bow to the east front, and expanded the library into the former entrance hall (Plate 6.16b). [24] The exterior of the drawing room, however, remained unchanged, as is evident from a photograph of 1975 (Plate 6.16). Keir House is now in Arab ownership, and the resiting of Hamilton's lodge and entrance gates in 1969, close to a major road, does nothing to encourage visitors ((Plate 6.16a).

Chopin's letters give us a lively picture of his visit to Keir in October 1848. On the lst of the month he writes to Wojciech Grzymała from the house, where his window overlooks 'a most lovely view of Stirling Castle ... and of mountains and lakes and splendid parks -- in short, one of the finest views in Scotland'. As for his host,

> he is the uncle, on the father's side, of our Scots ladies, and is the head of the family. I made his acquaintance in London. He is a rich bachelor and has here numerous fine pictures -- many Murillos and paintings of the Spanish school. He has lately published an expensive volume (you know how well they do that sort of thing here) on the Spanish School. He has travelled widely and has been in the East; he is an intelligent man. Whenever members of English society are visiting Scotland they come to see him. He keeps open house and there are usually about thirty people to lunch.[25]

The appeal to Chopin of aristocratic women persists:

> Various celebrated beauties are also here just now (Mrs Norton left a few days ago) and dukes and lords. They are more numerous than usual this year as the Queen was in Scotland and passed this way unexpectedly yesterday by train. She has to be in London by a certain date, but the fog was so bad that she did not sail back, as she had come; and while the sailors and the usual possessions were awaiting her she took the night-train at Aberdeen in the most prosaic manner. They say Prince Albert must have been very glad: he is always seasick, whereas the Queen, like a true Ruler of the Sea, is not afraid of it.[26]

Chopin bemoans the weakness of his health. 'I cannot compose anything', he tells Gryzmała, 'not because I have no desire to, but because of material obstacles, since I have to hop along another branch every week. But what else can I do? Besides, it allows me to save up something for the winter.' He has a 'host of invitations', but his

illness means that he cannot accept those to such houses as Inveraray and Wishaw. Life at Keir is a drudge:

> Nowadays, for instance, I am not fit for anything during the whole morning, until two o'clock [lunch] -- and after that, when I have dressed, everything irritates me and I go on gasping until dinner-time. Dinner over, I have to remain at table with the menfolk, watching them talk and listening to them drinking. Bored to death (thinking of quite different things from them, in spite of all their politeness and explanatory remarks in French around the table), I must call up all my strength of mind, for they are by that time curious to hear me.

Afterwards, Daniel carries Chopin upstairs to his bedroom. Then, writes Chopin, he 'helps me to undress, puts me to bed, leaves a candle, and then I am free to gasp and dream until morning, when it starts all over again'. Hardly is he used to being in one place than he has to go somewhere else. 'My Scots ladies give me no peace', he moans. Apparently, they were not staying at Keir. 'They either turn up to fetch me or cart me around to their families; but note that I always insist on a pressing personal invitation. They will suffocate me out of kindness and I, out of politeness, will not refuse to let them do it'.

Before returning to Edinburgh on 3 October, Chopin writes again to Mlle de Rozières (Plates 6.17, 6.17a).[27] After touching on Solange's prospective visit to Russia, and enquiring about her own holiday plans, Chopin comments again on his own health. 'I am choking worse than I was a month ago in this beautiful homeland of Walter Scott. The Queen left Aberdeenshire only yesterday -- all England came to Scotland this year, as much to be in attendance on Her Majesty as for the reason that there is no peaceful spot on the Continent.' Among 'about thirty other people' at Keir, Chopin reports, there are

some very beautiful, some very witty, some very eccentric, some very deaf ... There are fine dresses, diamonds, pimply noses, lovely heads of hair, marvellous figures, the beauty of the devil himself and the devil minus the beauty! This last category is the commonest to be found wherever one goes. They are all going to Edinburgh today for the Caledonian Rout. All this week there will be race-meetings, entertainments, balls, etc. The local fashionable set, the Hunt Committee, arrange these fêtes every year. All the local aristocracy puts in an appearance.

The next day, Chopin himself left for Edinburgh, where he performed in the Hopetoun Rooms the following evening, Wednesday 4 October.

At Keir, Chopin writes to Mlle de Rozières: 'I find here many people who seem to like music and plague me to play. Out of politeness I do so, but every time with fresh regrets, swearing I will not be caught again'.[28] Chopin has left us no clues about the piano or pianos at Keir. Ganche, on his visit in 1930, records seeing an Érard with a copper plaque which read: 'Erard Grand, no 713, made in 1841. -- This instrument was bought by Archibald Stirling, Esquire of Keir, in 1841, and played upon by Frédéric Chopin when he stayed at Keir, in October 1848.'[29] This piano, by Érard of London, is of mahogany veneer on oak, and is now in the Cobbe Collection, at Hatchlands; yet it does not entirely fit Ganche's description, as it is dated 1843, not 1841, and its nameboard titling makes no reference to Chopin. Alec Cobbe believes that it was supplied by the makers to Jane Stirling in 1843 -- the year she apparently met Chopin, and in which he dedicated his Nocturnes (Op.55) to her -- and chosen for her, in London, by Julius Benedict. Subsequently, the piano has had a colourful history, and Alec Cobbe bought it from the present Archibald Stirling, of Keir, in 1997 (Plate 5.11).[30]

After Calder and Keir, Johnstone Castle was for Ganche 'la troisième et dernière station importante de Chopin en Écosse'.[31] Chopin stayed at Johnstone, situated to the west

of Glasgow, in September 1848, before and after his Glasgow concert. His hosts were Ludovic Houston, 6th of Johnstone, and his wife Ann, eldest sister of Jane Stirling. The original part of the house dated from the 16th century, but it had been extended in about 1812 by his father George Houston.[32] Its castle style, suggesting that the architect may have been James Gillespie Graham (Plate 5.25), can be seen in the prospect from Ramsay's *Views in Renfrewshire* (1839) (Plate 6.18), and in Thomas Annan's photograph in Millar's *Castles and manors of Renfrewshire and Buteshire* (1889) (Plate 6.19). During World War II, Johnstone was used as a prisoner-of-war camp, and as a billet for Polish servicemen. It was demolished in 1956, and little more than a tower now remains (Plate 6.19a). A plaque affixed to nearby railings records Chopin's visit.

Chopin writes to Gryzmała and tells him that Johnstone is 'very fine and luxurious, and is kept up on a grand scale'. As usual, his fellow-guests both fascinate and appal him:

> They are all cousins here, male and female, belonging to great families with great names which no one on the Continent has ever heard of. The whole conversation is conducted on genealogical lines: it's just like the Gospel -- such a one begat so-and-so, and he begat another, who begat still another -- and so on for two pages, up to Jesus Christ.

Nonetheless, Chopin continues, 'they are very good and kind and I receive every possible attention. There is a varied crowd of old ladies and seventy to eighty-year-old lords, but no young people -- they are away shooting.' Chopin asks Gryzmała his forgiveness for 'writing all this rubbish; you know what a torture it is sometimes for me to write -- the pen burns my fingers, my hair falls over my eyes, and I can't write what I would like to -- and so I scribble a lot of useless nonsense'. The letter, completed on 9 September 1848, ends: 'I haven't written to Solange or to de Rozières. I shall do so when I feel my nerves less on edge.'[33] Indeed, according to Gavoty, Chopin wrote to

Solange that day, telling her of his weird experience when playing his Sonata in B flat minor (Op.35) for some British friends.[34]

It may well be that Thomas Tellefsen was also staying at Johnstone Castle at this time, as Chopin wrote thence to Camille Pleyel on 11 September:

> Instead of a letter I am sending you M. Telefsen [*sic*] who is going to spend a few days in Paris; M. Ed. Rodrigues spoke to you about him before the '48 revolution. He is my pupil; he has been most helpful to me and will be still more so by sending me news of you. He will tell you also all that I am doing -- I wish he could tell you what I shall do, but I don't know that myself -- all I know is that I shall always love you, always.

After which Chopin added, 'Do be kind to him.'[35]

Although we have no inkling of Chopin's playing at Johnstone, he has left us with a description of 'a strange accident which fortunately did no real harm, but which might have cost [him] his life'. As the composer told Gryzmała:

> We were driving to see some neighbours on the coast. The carriage I was in was a coupé, with a very handsome pair of young thoroughbred English horses. One horse began to rear; he caught his foot and then started to bolt, taking the other horse with him. As they were tearing down a slope in the park, the reins snapped and the coachman was thrown from his seat (he received a very nasty bruising). The carriage was smashed to bits as it was flung against tree after tree: we should have gone over a precipice if the vehicle had not been stopped at length by a tree. One of the horses tore itself free and bolted madly, but the other fell with the carriage on top of it. The windows were smashed by branches.

Miraculously, Chopin survived. 'Luckily I was unhurt', he continues,

> apart from having my legs bruised from the jolting I had received. My manservant had jumped out smartly, and only the carriage was demolished and the horses wounded. People who saw it all from a distance cried out that two men were killed, when they saw one thrown out and the other lying on the ground. Before the horse could move I was able to crawl out of the carriage unhurt, but none of those who saw what happened, or we ourselves, could understand how we had escaped being smashed to pieces.

Death seemed to beckon. 'I confess that I was calm as I saw my last hour approaching, but the thought of broken legs and hands appals me,' adds Chopin. 'To be a cripple would put the finishing touch to me'.[36]

Chopin told Gryzmała that he would stay a week at Johnstone Castle, 'and then go to Lady Murray's, in a still more beautiful district, where I shall spend another week'.[37] This was Strachur House. He returned to Johnstone Castle in time for his concert in Glasgow on the afternoon of Wednesday 27 September. That evening there was a dinner at Johnstone, which must have been the highlight of Chopin's time there, as the guests included Lord and Lady Murray, Lord Torphichen, Prince Aleksander Czartoryski, and his wife Princess Marcelina; their son, Prince Marcel, was also staying. The next day, Chopin reports, Lord and Lady Murray, and Lord Torphichen, 'could not find praise enough for Princess Marcelina'.[38]

Not far from Johnstone Castle are two other houses with Stirling family connections, for which James Gillespie Graham also acted as architect: Milliken, Renfrewshire (Plates 6.21, 6.22), and Wishaw, Lanarkshire (Plate 6.20). Gillespie Graham's client at Milliken, Sir William Milliken Napier, Bt, was a relative of the Houstons of Johnstone, and it is not impossible that Chopin visited Milliken when staying at Johnstone Castle, nearby. But there is no evidence of this.[39] We are on firmer ground with Wishaw,

Motherwell, which was the seat of Lord and Lady Belhaven and Stenton. In 1825 the earlier house was enlarged and remodelled in the castle style by Gillespie Graham, and as such appears in Neale's *Views of noblemen's and gentlemen's seats in Scotland*, of *circa* 1830. [40] It was demolished in 1953. On 1 October 1848 Chopin writes from Keir to Gryzmała: 'I have a host of invitations, and I can't even go to the houses I should prefer -- the Duchess of Argyll's [Inveraray], for example, or Lady Belhaven's [Wishaw], as the season is too advanced for my health'. [41] Lady Belhaven was with Chopin at Keir, and the next day he tells Mlle de Rozières that 'if it is fine I shall go to the Duchess of Argyll's at Inveraray on Loch Fyne, and to Lady Belhaven's, one of the largest places in the country'. [42] Chopin never seems to have gone to Inveraray, but a fortnight later, on 16 October, he was writing to Lady Belhaven from Calder: 'Madam, if I may still take advantage of your invitation, on which day may I have the honour of presenting my respects at Wishaw? I am leaving Calder House today for Edinburgh ... I shall stay three days at Warriston Crescent.' [43] He then must have gone to Wishaw, for at the end of the month Chopin comments to Gryzmała: 'I wrote to you while I was at Wishaw, at Lady Belhaven's, but my letter was so despairing, so awful, that it was just as well I did not send it'. [44]

Hamilton Palace was the grandest of the Scottish country seats visited by Chopin, and one where, as at Strachur, he was independent of his 'good Scots ladies'. Hamilton had been enlarged by Alexander, 10th Duke of Hamilton, who extended the north front between 1822 and 1828 to the designs of the David Hamilton, the Glasgow architect who had altered and extended Keir. These interpreted proposals by the Neapolitan architect Francesco Saponieri (Plate 6.23). [45] Internally, opulence reigned. In 1854, Gustav Waagen described the interior of the palace as Chopin must have found it six years previously. The Duke of Hamilton, Waagen noted, combined 'in equal measure a love of art with a love of splendour and was an especial lover of beautiful and rare marbles'. Furthermore, 'as a full crimson predominated in the carpets, a deep brown in the woods of the furniture, and a black Irish marble, as deep in colour as the *nero antico*, in the specimens of marble, the general effect was that of the most massive and

truly princely splendour'. Yet, the effect was 'somewhat gloomy, [one] might almost say Spanish, in character'.[46] Hamilton Palace was demolished in 1919.

Chopin went to Hamilton for a few days towards the end of October 1848, following his Edinburgh concert and a visit to Wishaw. His hosts were the 10th Duke and his wife, the Duchess, formerly Susan Euphemia, second daughter of William Beckford of Fonthill.[47] Beckford was a keen musician, and his daughter shared his enthusiasm, playing both the piano and the cello. In 1828 Beckford gave her a Pleyel, which was formerly at Hamilton Palace and is now at Lennoxlove (Plate 6.25); Chopin was one of the musicians visiting Hamilton who must have played it. Significantly, the Duchess's portraits by Willes Maddox, at Lennoxlove and Brodick Castle, show her seated at a grand piano (Plate 6.24). Although Chopin told his family that he 'used to know' the Duchess of Hamilton in Paris, she was not, apparently, one of his pupils.[48] However, she was a patroness of the arts, and 'her musical interests were well known. Probably during a visit to Italy in 1821, she was made an honorary member of the Philharmonic Academy', and a Latin diploma she received is also at Lennoxlove. Among the Duchess's collection of musical scores are manuscripts of eleven 'cello sonatas by Boccherini, five of which exist only at Lennoxlove.[49]

Despite the Duchess's enthusiasm, Chopin found the lack of appreciation of music at Hamilton somewhat galling:

> By 'art' they mean here painting, sculpture and architecture. Music is not an art, and is not called by that name; and it you say 'artist' these English [*sic*] think you mean a painter, sculptor or architect. But music is a profession, not an art, and no one ever calls any musician an artist or uses the word in such a sense in print. In their language and customs music is something different from an art -- it is a profession. Ask any Englishman you like and he will tell you the same; and Neukomm has assured me of it.

The ladies' habits exasperate him -- whether the lady be playing 'dreadful tunes' on an accordion, or accompanying herself 'standing at a piano while she sings a French romance with an English accent'. The Princess of Parma told Chopin that 'one of them whistled for her, with guitar accompaniment!' Every comment, he says, 'ends with the words: "Leik water", meaning that the music flows like water. I have never yet played to an Englishwoman without her saying "Leik WATER!!". They all look at their hands and play wrong notes most soulfully'.[50]

Back in Edinburgh, Chopin reported to Gryzmała on 30 October that, apart from 'many local aristocrats and members of the family', he had encountered, at Hamilton,

> the Prince and Princess of Parma and the Prince of Lucca. The Princess is the sister of the Duc de Bordeaux; she and her husband are a very gay couple, and they have invited me to their house at Kingston on my return to London. Since they have been forced to leave Italy they will now be living in England.[51]

Chopin surely is referring here to Charles III, Duke of Parma, whose wife, the Duchess, Louise Marie Thérèse, was sister of Henry V, Duke of Bordeaux. Charles III -- who had succeeded to the Duchy on the abdication of his father, Charles II, earlier in 1848 -- proved to be a dissolute tyrant, and was assassinated in 1854.[52]

Chopin explains that he would be returning to London the next day as Lord Dudley Stuart had written and asked him to play on 16 November at 'a benefit-concert for the Poles, to be given before the ball begins'. He goes on:

> Coming back from Hamilton Palace (60 miles from here), where I spent a few days with the Duke and Duchess of Hamilton, I caught cold and I haven't been out for five days. I am staying with Dr Lyszczyński [*sic*] who is giving me homeopathic treatment. I decline all invitations to stay with people, for the

> cholera is on our doorstep. Besides, if I collapse anywhere it will be for the whole winter, the way I am now.

Should the weather improve, he will return to Hamilton and 'go from there to the Isle of Arran (the whole of which belongs to them) and stay with the Baden princess who has married their son, the Marquis of Douglas'. Chopin had already played at his London home for the Marquess, who lived also at Brodick Castle on Arran. 'But I already know that nothing will come of this', Chopin adds. [53]

Although Chopin's visit to Brodick Castle never materialised, he did go to Strachur House, situated in the far reaches of Argyll, on the east side of Loch Fyne. Writing to his family on 10/19 August 1848, Chopin referred to the invitation to visit Scotland which he had received from Lady Murray, 'the first pupil [he] had in London', whom he had promised to visit 'in a few weeks' time'. Lady Murray, Chopin commented, 'spends most of her time in Edinburgh and exercises command over musical affairs. Lord Murray lives in a most beautiful district on the sea-coast. In fact one has to cross the sea to get there'. [54] 'One has to sail across Loch Long (one of the prettiest Lochs here) and go along the west coast of Scotland', Chopin wrote, but the journey from Johnstone Castle, he observed, takes only four hours. [55] One could either go by steamer down Loch Long, the Firth of Clyde, round Bute, and up to Loch Fyne; or else cross Loch Long, and travel by coach to Strachur.

Chopin seems to have visited Strachur between his Manchester concert on 28 August, and his Glasgow recital on 27 September: after his Manchester visit, Chopin writes, 'I am to return to the Glasgow district to visit Lord Torphichen's sister-in-law [Mrs Houston at Johnstone], then on to Lady Murray's [Strachur] and back to Stirling [Keir]. [56] Apparently, Chopin spent a week at Johnstone, followed by a week at Strachur: on 1 October, writing from Keir, he remarks that he returned, 'a week ago', from the north of Scotland. Presumably this was Strachur, the most northerly point on his Scottish travels. [57]

Chopin's host at Strachur, Sir John Archibald Murray, was called to the Scottish bar in 1800, became a Member of Parliament in 1826, and in 1839 left parliament for the Court of Session.[58] He was knighted and took his seat on the bench as Lord Murray (Plate 6.26). However, his career as Lord Advocate was lacking in substantial achievement, Gordon Millar writes, although 'it was compensated for in the eyes of some of his contemporaries by a generous patronage of the arts and various charities and by his famously profuse hospitality. As a result he enjoyed a special position in Edinburgh and London society'. Sir Walter Scott records enjoyable evenings spent at Murray's house in Edinburgh, and Harriet Martineau praised his and Lady Murray's tea parties at Westminster when he was Lord Advocate.[59] The Scottish judge, Lord Cockburn, was among those entertained in Edinburgh. 'Murray's musical evenings continue', he told his friend Aeneas Macbean, 'but my poor contemptible ears have been unworthy of them all'.[60]

On his visit to Strachur, Chopin would have found a classically-inspired house built by General John Campbell of Strachur, and originally called Strachur Park, set in extensive gardens.[61] Following the death of Campbell's widow, the house was let to a series of tenants, including Lord Murray, from *circa* 1838 to *circa* 1862. Strachur, begun before 1780s, is three stories high and five bays wide, with lower wings added to the gables (Plate 6.27. On the main front, a rectilinear central porch, pilastered and balustraded, has been replaced by an early twentieth-century version, with rounded ends. The garden front is dominated by a three-storey central bow, with a crenellated parapet. The drawing room (now the study), with its classical detailing and semi-circular bow, and overlooking the garden, would have provided a fine setting for Chopin's informal recitals. As in Edinburgh, so in Strachur, the Murrays were renowned hosts, but we can only speculate about Chopin's time there.[62]

Speculation, too, must remain about several other Scottish country houses which Chopin may or may not have visited. Chopin tells Mlle de Rozières that he finds in Scotland 'many people who seem to like music and plague me to play. Out of

politeness I do so, but every time with fresh regrets, swearing I will not be caught again'. That said, he admits: 'I have invitations which I have not been able to reply to, and country-house life in high society is really very interesting. They have nothing like it on the Continent'. [63] Kippenross, Jane Stirling's birthplace, just a few miles away from Keir, to the south of Dunblane, seems a likely destination for him (Plate 6.31), [64] but our only evidence is a letter from Jane explaining that, when at Keir, Chopin failed on one occasion to go to Kippenross because of the rain. [65] Today, the classical character of the original house of *circa* 1770, enlarged by the architect William Stirling in 1809, remains, although it has been altered by a variety of architects, including Robert Rowand Anderson. Kippendavie, whence Jane Stirling's family came, is another possibility. Reconstructed from 1816 by William Stirling, this, too, has been subject to change; now called Ryland Lodge, it is divided into apartments and hidden in suburban Dunblane (Plate 6.32). [66] Then there is Gargunnock House, the seat of John Stirling, 2nd of Gargunnock, son of Jane Stirling's brother Charles; here we have a three-storey classical entrance front of 1794, with central pediment, behind which lies an aggregation of buildings, including a 16th-century tower house (Plates 6.28, 6.29, 6.30). [67] Gargunnock suggests itself because of the Broadwood grand piano there, which rumour has it may have been played by Chopin (Plate 6.30a), [68] and because of a letter from Gargunnock written by Tellefsen to his parents on 15 July 1849; [69] the previous year, in August 1848, Tellefsen had written to them from Glenbervie House, Kincardineshire, [70] and on 17 August 1850 from Eglinton House, Ayrshire. [71] All these houses have Stirling family connections. [72]

Writing to Adolphe Gutmann in Heidelberg on 16 October 1848, as he approached the end of his visits to Scottish country seats, Chopin reflected on the experience. 'Ever since you last wrote to me, I have been in Scotland, Walter Scott's beautiful country, among all the memories and reminders of Mary Stuart, of the Charleses, etc'. And he had visited 'one lord after another':

Everywhere I meet, together with the heartiest goodwill and boundless hospitality, superb pianofortes, magnificent paintings, famous collections of books; there are also hunting, dogs, dinners without end, cellars, for which I have less use. It is difficult to conceive of the refinement of luxury and comfort that one meets in [Scottish] castles. As the Queen has been spending several weeks in Scotland, all England has followed after her.

Everything in Scotland, says Chopin, is 'doubly brilliant, except the sun, which is the same now as always'. Winter is approaching, and he is apprehensive. 'What will happen to me', he writes, 'I don't yet know'. [73]

Chapter 6

SCOTTISH COUNTRY SEATS

ENDNOTES

1 See the chapter 'Transport and tourism, 1800-1850', in Durie, *Scotland for the holidays*, pp.44-64.

2 See the coverage of coaches, steamers, and trains, in Grenier, *Tourism and identity in Scotland, passim.*

3 Wood, *Building railways*, pp.13-14. See pp.14-16 for subsequent development of the railways in Scotland at this time. A fuller treatment is in Thomas, *Scotland: the Lowlands and the Borders, passim.* For a broader picture, see Durie, 'Tourism and the railways in Scotland', *passim.*

Graphic illustrations of the routes of the railways in Britain appear in Freeman and Aldcroft, *Atlas of British railway history, passim.*

4 See Chapter 5 of the thesis.

5 For country seats visited by Chopin, see Załuski, *Scottish autumn of Frederick Chopin, passim;* and Fiske, *Scotland in music*, pp.116-55, for Chopin and Mendelssohn.

The appendix to Gow, *Scotland's lost houses* (2006), pp.188-90, consists of 'The NMRS demolition file', described as 'the only official attempt to record all Scotland's lost country houses'. Among these are the following, with either actual or possible Chopin connections: Barnton House, Edinburgh (demolished *circa* 1920); Eglinton House, Ayrshire (gutted 1930s, blown up); Hamilton Palace, Lanarkshire (demolished *circa* 1929); Johnstone Castle, Renfrewshire (demolished *circa* 1950); Kenmure House, Lanarkshire (demolished 1950s); Linlathen House, Angus (mostly demolished);

Milliken House, Renfrewshire (demolished *circa* 1935); and Wishaw House, Lanarkshire (demolished 1953). Some of these dates need adjustment.

6 See the architectural descriptions of Calder House in Jaques and McKean, *West Lothian*, pp.98-9; McWilliam, *Lothian*, pp.324-5; and Small, *Castles and mansions of the Lothians*, vol.1 (1883). Mid Calder moved from the old county of Midlothian to West Lothian following local government reorganisation in 1974.

Chopin's links with Calder House inspired the play 'Chopin in Midcalder', by Raymond Raszkowski Ross, at the Edinburgh Festival Fringe in 2003, when it was performed by 'theatre objektiv' at the Netherbow Theatre. See Raymond Ross, 'My hallucinatory sojourn in Chopin's Caledonia', *Sunday Times*, 24 August 2003, Edinburgh Festival section, p.6. Ross writes: 'The play isn't a narrative account ... but rather a hallucinatory evocation of Chopin's short, troubled life'. Eleanor Morris kindly drew this reference to my attention.

7 I am grateful to the present (15th) Lord Torphichen and Lady Torphichen for their hospitality at Calder House, and for their help and advice on Chopin's visit there, and his relationship with Jane Stirling and Mrs Katherine Erskine.

For Calder and the Torphichens, see M'Call, *History and antiquities of the parish of Mid-Calder, passim.* 'A pedigree of the family of Sandilands of Calder, Lords Torphichen', appears on pp.42-3. A copy of this book, inscribed on 10 August 1930 to Édouard Ganche by the 13th Lord Torphichen, and Lady Torphichen, is in BJ (Cracow), 584094.III. Correspondence between Lord Torphichen and Ganche of 1931-1934 is in BnF (Paris), Dossiers Ganche (Édouard), Vma.4334 (7).

In 1930 Ganche and his wife had made a tour of Scottish country houses with Chopin connections. See the chapter 'Chopin en Écosse', in Ganche, *Voyages avec Frédéric Chopin*, pp.91-115. However, Ganche describes only three houses in detail, with a single photograph of each: these are Calder on pp.96-101, Keir on pp.106-9, and Johnstone on pp.109-15. This tour is considered in the Conclusion of the thesis.

8 A letter of Jane Stirling, apparently of 1848, summarised in Karłowicz, *Souvenirs*, p.142, notes that Lord Torphichen is having his portrait painted in Scheffer's studio. Ewals, 'Ary Scheffer. Sa vie et son oeuvre', p.439, states that this was exhibited (no.62) in the Scheffer exhibition held in Paris in 1859. Here, and in Kolb, *Ary Scheffer*, p. 493, the date of the portrait is given incorrectly as 1847. To my knowledge, this portrait has never been reproduced until it appears as Plate 6.5 in this thesis.

9 Karłowicz, *Souvenirs*, p.182, the first of two summaries of letters sent to Chopin from Calder House by Lord Torphichen about the composer's arrival and stay there. In the second, dated 25 August 1848, Torphichen expresses regret that he had missed seeing Chopin in Edinburgh. 'Il languit après lui, ainsi qu'après sa marveilleuse musique', as Karłowicz puts it. Torphichen hopes that Chopin will return to Calder House the next summer. See *Chopin studies* (Warsaw), vol.1 (1985), p.61n3, and Harasowski's coverage of Karłowicz in *Skein of legends around Chopin*, pp.114-17, and plates 46-8.

10 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.326. Chopin to Grzymała, [End of July 1848].

11 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.336. Chopin to his family in Warsaw, [10/19 August 1848]. Subsequent quotations are from this letter. Chopin underestimates Lord Torphichen's age here. Born on 21 July 1770, he would have celebrated his seventy-eighth birthday the month before Chopin's first visit to Calder House, in August 1848.

12 Antoni Barciński (1803-78) was married to Chopin's sister Justyna Izabela (1811-81). Chopin gained 10% commission on his sale of a Pleyel to Jane Stirling, as recorded by Eigeldinger, 'Chopin and Pleyel', p.394. See also Eigeldinger's later article, 'Chopin et la manufacture Pleyel', pp.105-6.

13 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.329. Chopin to Camille Pleyel, 15 August 1848. De Pourtales, *Polonaise*, p.301, translates this as: 'There is even a little Red Riding Hood in the form of a ghost. But I have not yet seen her'.

This calls to mind the 'terrors and phantoms' which Chopin saw in the cloisters at Valldemossa, described by George Sand in her *Histoire de ma Vie*. See Sand, *Story of my life*, p.1091. See also the draft memoir on Chopin sent from Paris by Solange Clésinger to Princess Marcelina Czartoryska, 18 September [?*circa* 1850], in which she describes this event. It was sold at Sotheby's Printed and Manuscript Music Sale in London on Thursday 9 December 1999 (L09213, lot 63), when the hammer price, with buyer's premium, was £2,875.

14 NAS (Edinburgh), Ogilvy of Inverquharity Papers, GD 205/47/11/1. See Appendix C, Letter 2, of the thesis.

15 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.328. Chopin to Pleyel, 15 August 1848.

16 See Macintyre, 'Chopin's true sound', *passim*.

17 Eigeldinger, 'Chopin and Pleyel', p.334.

18 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, pp.327-8. Chopin to Franchomme, 6/11 August [1848]. Opieński, *Chopin's letters*, pp.365-6, has a more convincing translation of the last phrase: 'and may I soon be able to hear the new-born work'.

19 Its discovery in 1952 by Arthur Hedley is noted in Brown, *Index of Chopin's works*, p.172 (no 166). Photocopies of the first page of the MS, and of the leather cover for it, are catalogued in Kobylańska, *RUC*, vol.1, p.516 (no 1245), and Kobylańska, *T-BW*, p.241 (no 3). See Plates 6.11, 6.11a of the thesis. The original MS is now lost, but (according to a note on the back of the photocopy of the first page) Hedley offered it to the Fryderyck Chopin Museum, Warsaw, on 10 March 1960. Grażyna Michniewicz,

of the Fryderyk Chopin Museum, tells me that, in the 1960s, when Hedley's collection was divided between the Collection of A M Ferrà at Valldemosa, Mallorca, and the Frederyk Chopin Museum (partly sold, partly given by Hedley), this waltz was not included. The MS title page is now lost, its most recent recorded location being in the collection of W Westley Mannings, in London. See the 'Works' section in the entry on Chopin by Kornel Michałowski and Jim Samson in *Grove music online*.

I am grateful to Grażyna Michniewicz and John Rink for information about this waltz, and to Zbigniew Skowron for translating Kobylańska's catalogue entry in *RUC*, vol.1, p.516 (no 1245).

Of related Scottish interest, in 1827 Chopin had written an Écossaise in B flat major, now lost, and Three Écossaises by him were published posthumously as part of Op.72 (nos 3-5). See Brown, *Index of Chopin's works*, pp.19 (note to no 17), and 10-11 (no 12); Kobylańska, *RUC*, vol.l, pp.420-4; Kobylańska, *T-BW*, pp.178-9; and Chomiński and Turło, *KDFC*, pp.80-1, with the illustration of a title-page for 'Três Escocesas' (Op.72, no 3), published in Brazil in 1957, as plate 69. The Chopin entry by Michełowski and Samson in *Grove music online* gives the date of composition of the Three Écossaises as *circa* 1829.

20 Opieński, *Chopin's letters*, pp.388-9 (letter 266). Chopin to Gutmann, 16 Oct[ober], 1848. This letter does not appear in Hedley's *Chopin correspondence*.

21 See the entry on Sir William Stirling Maxwell by Hilary Macartney in *Oxford DNB online*. William's father, Archibald Stirling (1769-1847), was 14th of Keir and 11th of Cawder. William Stirling's London address is taken from *Kelly's Directory, London 1848*.

22 On pp.443-58. Waagen's visits took place in 1854, 1856 and 1857, For the context of Stirling Maxwell's art historical writings, see Howarth, *Invention of Spain*, particularly p.131.

23 For architectural descriptions of Keir see Rowan, 'Keir, Perthshire', *passim*; Gifford and Walker, *Stirling and Central Scotland*, pp.542-4; McKean, *Stirling and the Trossachs*, p.78; and McKerracher, *Street and place names of Dunblane and district*, pp.34-5. See also Colvin, *Dictionary*, p.473.

24 The architect was Alfred Jenoure (*fl. circa* 1847-65). See the entries under 'Jenoure' and 'Keir House' in *Dictionary of Scottish architects online*. The descriptions and illustrations in Fraser's *Stirlings of Keir* (1858) show Jenoure's work at Keir after Chopin's visit, not as the composer would have experienced it. The richness of the interior can be seen in Christie's sale catalogue, *The property of Archibald Stirling of Keir*, 22-24 May 1995, when its contents were sold.

25 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, pp.342-5. Chopin to Gryzmała, 1 October 1848. Subsequent quotations are from this letter.

26 The 'Mrs Norton' here is the poet Caroline Norton (*née* Sheridan) (1808-77), the Hon Mrs George Norton, who married Sir William Stirling Maxwell in 1877, after the death of his first wife in 1875.

27 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, pp.345-6. Chopin to Mlle de Rozières, 2 October 1848.

28 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.345. Chopin to Mlle de Rozières, 2 October 1848.

29 Ganche, *Voyages avec Frédéric Chopin*, p.107. Ganche's visit to Keir (pp.106-9) took place after his pilgrimage to Dunblane Cathedral, to see Jane Stirling's supposed grave (pp.102-5), and a brief stop near Kippenross to pay homage to her there (p.105). This is considered in the Conclusion to the thesis. Ganche, *Dans le souvenir de Frédéric Chopin*, contains a chapter, 'Jane Stirling et sa correspondance', pp.101-49.

For the relationship between the Stirling family and Keir, Kippendavie (now Ryland Lodge), and Kippenross, see McKerracher, *Street and place names of Dunblane and district*, pp.34-8.

30 See Cobbe, *Composer instruments*, pp.51-3. Inside the piano is the inscription: 'Benedict for Miss Stirling. Pearson.' Alec Cobbe here discusses the provenance of the piano, and suggests that, having been purchased in London, it was 'presumably despatched' to Jane Stirling in Paris. 'In December 1847', he writes, 'the instrument was probably back in Britain, for Chopin is recorded as arriving for dinner in Paris to try out a further new Érard instrument of Jane Stirling's'.

However, rather than this to-ing and fro-ing, is it not more likely that Jane Stirling bought two Érards, one in Paris and another in London? If she wanted the use of an Érard in Paris, surely she would have purchased one there. See Appendix D of the thesis.

31 Ganche, *Voyages avec Frédéric Chopin*, p.109. Ganche then quotes a letter of Jane Stirling, of 23 July 1851, indicating that, in 1848, Chopin spent several weeks with her elder sister, Mrs Houston, at Johnstone Castle. This letter, sent from No 12 rue du Château-Neuf, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, to Chopin's sister Ludwika, appears in Ganche, *Dans le souvenir de Frédéric Chopin*, pp.130-1.

32 For descriptions see 'Johnston Castle' in Ramsay, *Views of Renfrewshire* (1839), and 'Johnstone Castle' in Millar, *Castles and mansions of Renfrewshire and Buteshire* (1889). Online, see 'The story of Johnstone Castle', by Catherine Lamont, at www.johnstonetown.org.uk/history/history/johnstone_castle_001.htm For Gillespie Graham at Wishaw and Milliken, see Colvin, *Dictionary*, p.443.

Ludovic Houston died in 1862, when he was succeeded by his nephew George Ludovic Houston, 7th of Johnstone, who passed away in 1931, having retired to Cyprus; his wife, Anne Douglas Houston, was great-niece of Jane Stirling, the dedicatee of

Ganche's *Voyages avec Frédéric Chopin*, and the source of many Chopin-related items in Ganche's Chopin collection in Lyons.

33 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, pp. 340-1. Chopin to Gryzmała, [4/9 September 1848].

34 See Gavoty, *Chopin* (French edition), pp.299-300, and Gavoty, *Chopin* (English edition), p.233. See also in the thesis Chapter 7: Manchester.

The only reference encountered to a piano at Johnstone Castle is to the Pleyel Grand Pianoforte No 13,716 (Paris, 1847), of 1847, signed by Chopin in 1848, which was obtained by Ganche from Mrs Anne D Houston. This apparently belonged to Jane Stirling, and is now in the Collegium Maius (Cracow), MUJ 6887-30/VIII. See Appendix D of the thesis, and Plate 10.4.

In a letter of 6 June 1910, Mrs Houston wrote from Johnstone to 'J Maynard Saunders, Esq', who had published a letter about Jane Stirling and Chopin in the *Glasgow Herald*, and noted: 'You may be interested to know that I have in my possession a grand piano chosen for Miss Stirling by Chopin, and bearing his autograph and the date 1848. It is a Pleyel, and still in very good condition'. See BnF (Paris), Vma.4334 (7). This letter is also referred to on p.124n39 of the thesis.

35 Hedley, *Chopin*, p.110. For the original French text, see Sydow and Chainaye, *Chopin correspondance*, vol.3, p.386 (letter 736), and for a Polish translation, see Sydow, *KFC*, vol.2, p.442 (letter 640). The Édouard Rodrigues referred to in the letter, a French banker and philanthropist, was a friend of Chopin and George Sand.

36 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, pp.341-2. Chopin to Gryzmała, [4/9 September 1848]. Jourdan, *Nocturne*, p.246, says that the Stirling sisters were in a second coupé, but gives no source.

37 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.340. Chopin to Gryzmała, [4/9 September, 1848].

38 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.343. Chopin to Gryzmała, 1 October [1848]. See the thesis pp.274, 279n31 (Chapter 8).

39 Colvin, *Dictionary*, p.443, notes that Milliken was built in 1825, and demolished *circa* 1935. However, the entry on Milliken in Millar, *Castles and mansions in Renfrewshire and Buteshire* (1889), notes that 'the existing mansion was built by the late Sir William John Napier, grandfather of the present baronet, in 1836, and took the place of the first Milliken House, which was built in 1733, and destroyed by fire in 1801'.

40 For Wishaw see Colvin, *Dictionary*, pp.194, 443. Additions were made by William Burn in 1858.

41 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.344. Chopin to Gryzmała, 1 October [1848].

42 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.345. Chopin to Mlle de Rozières, 2 October 1848.

43 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.347. Chopin to Lady Belhaven, 16 October 1848.

44 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.349. Chopin to Gryzmała, 30 October [1848].

45 The architectural splendour of Hamilton can be seen in Gow, *Scotland's lost houses*, pp.26-41, and Gow, *Scottish houses and gardens*, pp.128-47. See also Tait, 'Hamilton Palace', *passim*, and Colvin, *Dictionary*, pp.194, 435, 473, 952. After the demolition of Hamilton Palace in 1919, archives and some contents of the palace were

transferred to the Hamilton family seat of Lennoxlove. Many of the art treasures from Hamilton had been dispersed in 1882.

46 Waagen, *Galleries and cabinets of art in Great Britain*, quoted by Gow, *Scotland's lost houses*, p.32, and Gow, *Scottish houses and gardens*, p.141.

47 For the Duchess of Hamilton's musical interests, see the Lennoxlove site on *SCRAN online*.

48 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.333. Chopin to his family in Warsaw, [10/19 August 1848]. The Duchess does not appear as a student either in Eigeldinger, *Chopin: vu par ses élèves*, or Holland, 'Chopin's teaching and his students'.

49 See 'Lennoxlove. Treasures of Lennoxlove', exhibit 111. Boccherini spent the latter part of his life in Spain. During a visit to Portugal in 1787, Boccherini met William Beckford, whose daughter Susan, later Duchess of Hamilton, had been born in France the previous year.

50 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, pp.347-8. Chopin to Grzymała, 21 October [1848].

Jane Stirling's guitar is in the Collegium Maius (Cracow), MUJ 6888-31/VIII. It was made in Naples by Gennaro Fabricatore in 1823, and was acquired by Ganche from Mrs Ann D Houston; the wooden guitar case still has labels affixed to it for its transport by the London & North Eastern Railway from Johnstone Castle to Lyons.

As an instrument, of course, the guitar has emotional appeal for the heroine. A Polish example of this from the pen of Maria Wirtemberska, a contemporary of Chopin and Jane Stirling, is found in Wirtemberska, *Malvina, or the heart's intuition*, page 35: 'Having uttered this short prayer Malvina felt stronger. She opened her window and wishing to divert herself picked up her guitar and went out onto the terrace that encircled the house'. This novel was first published, in Polish, in 1816. Wirtemberska

was daughter of Prince Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski, and his wife Princess Isabela Czartoryska. Ursula Phillips kindly alerted me to her English translation of this book.

51 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, pp.348-9. Chopin to Gryzmała, 30 October [1848].

52 Chopin's reference to the Prince of Lucca is puzzling. Charles II, Duke of Parma, was Duke of Lucca from 1824 until he succeeded as Duke of Parma in 1847. In this year the Duchy of Lucca was annexed to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. But who was 'Prince of Lucca' in 1848?

53 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.348. Chopin to Gryzmała, 30 October [1848]. The 'Baden princess' was Princess Marie of Baden (1817-1888), who had married the Marquess of Douglas (later 11th Duke of Hamilton) in 1843. She was a cousin of Napoleon.

54 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.337. Chopin to his family in Warsaw, [10/19 August 1848]. For Lady Murray, see Chapter 3 and the Personalia section of the thesis. The *Edinburgh and Leith Street and Trade Directory, 1848-1849*, p.93, gives Lord Murray's Edinburgh address as No 11 Great Stuart Street.

55 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.341. Chopin to Gryzmała, [4/9 September 1848].

56 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.339. Chopin to his family in Warsaw, [10/19 August 1848].

57 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.342. Chopin to Gryzmała, 1 October [1848].

58 The following paragraph is largely derived from the entry on Sir John Archibald Murray by Gordon F Millar in *Oxford DNB online*.

59 The Murrays' London address is given in *Kelly's Directory, London 1848* as No 36 St James's Street, but no evidence has been found that Chopin played there.

60 Bell, *Lord Cockburn: selected letter*s, p.233. Cockburn to Aeneas Macbean, 14 January 1849.

61 For architectural descriptions of Strachur House see RCAHMS, *Mid Argyll and Cowal* (1992), pp.358-65; Walker, *Argyll and Bute*, pp.466-70; and Walker, *Argyll and the Islands*, pp.13-14.

62 The coverage of Strachur, in RCAHMS, *Mid Argyll and Cowal* (1992), pp.358-65, contains extensive photographs of the interior of the house.

63 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.345. Chopin to Mlle de Rozières, 2 October 1848.

64 For Kippenross, see Colvin, *Dictionary*, pp.813, 987; Gifford and Walker, *Stirling and Central Scotland*, pp.564-5; McKean, *Stirling and the Trossachs*, p.79; and McKerracher, *Street and place names of Dunblane and district*, pp.37-8. See also *Dictionary of Scottish Architects online*, under 'Kippenross'.

65 Ganche, *Voyages avec Frédéric Chopin*, p.105, and Ganche, *Dans le souvenir de Frédéric Chopin*, pp.120-1. See the Conclusion of the thesis.

66 For Kippendavie, see McKerracher, *Street and place names of Dunblane and district*, pp.36-7. See also *Dictionary of Scottish Architects online*, under

'Kippendavie'. For the architect William Stirling, see Walker, 'Stirlings of Dunblane and Falkirk', *passim*, and the Personalia section of the thesis.

67 Jane Stirling's brother, Charles Stirling, 1st of Gargunnock, had died in 1839, and was succeeded by his son, John. For the architecture of Gargunnock, see Gifford and Walker, *Stirling and Central Scotland,* pp.515-16, and McKean, *Stirling and the Trossachs*, p.127. Gargunnock was repaired and harled by the architect Ian G Lindsay, between 1956 and 1971, and further work was undertaken by the architects Simpson and Brown in 1995-1996. Gargunnock House is now let, on behalf of trustees, by the Landmark Trust.

68 The piano at Gargunnock, by John Broadwood and Sons, London, is described inside as 'Short / Drawing Room / Grand / No.725'. The number 'WT 7521' occurs on the frame inside the piano. The lid of the keyboard bears the words: 'Manufactured for / PATERSON & SONS, / EDINBURGH & GLASGOW'. According to Baptie, *Musical Scotland*, pp.145-6, this was 'an old and important firm of Scottish pianoforte-makers and music-sellers, established in Edinburgh about 1827 as Paterson & Roy'. Around 1854, the firm became Paterson & Sons, and in 1855 a new shop was opened in Glasgow; these details suggest that the Broadwood piano at Gargunnock may be dated no earlier than the mid-1850s. But see Taylor, *Musician's piano atlas*, p.39, where the tabulation seems to indicate the mid-1840s. The close commercial ties between London piano manufacturers, such as Broadwoods, and Edinburgh music firms are considered in Cranmer, 'Music retailing in late 18th- and early 19th-century Edinburgh', *passim*.

69 Tellefsen, *Thomas Tellefsens familiebreve*, pp.114-15.

70 Tellefsen, *Thomas Tellefsen familiebreve*, pp.107-8.

71 Tellefsen, *Thomas Tellefsen familiebreve*, pp.122-3. The letter is headed 'Eagleton Slot', which may well refer to Eglinton. A letter from Tellefsen to his parents from Hamilton Palace, 27 July 1851, appears here on pp.128-9, and another from Stirling, 24 September 1857, on p.151.

72 See Appendix A of the thesis for further links.

73 Opieński, *Chopin's letters*, pp.388-9 (no 266). Chopin to Gutmann, 16 Oct[ober], 1848. Hedley does not publish this letter, but he comments on it in an editorial note in *Chopin correspondence*, p.34.

Chapter 7

MANCHESTER: Concert in Gentlemen's Concert Hall, 28 August 1848

The identity of the pieces played by Chopin in his concerts in Britain in 1848 has long been a matter of debate. Invitations and advertisements give no more than a general impression of intent. This is hardly surprising, considering the composer's well-known reluctance to perform in public, and his difficulties in deciding what to play. Often as not, the final decision was left until the last minute.

Chopin's three public concerts outside London -- in Manchester, Glasgow, and Edinburgh -- were all affected in this way. In Manchester, Chopin's changes necessitated the printing of a supplementary programme by the Directors of the Gentlemen's Concert Society; in Glasgow, John Muir Wood similarly suffered in his efforts to make Chopin commit himself. On this last occasion, as we have seen, he was staying with Ludovic and Anne Houston (sister of Jane Stirling) at Johnstone Castle, where he dined with Prince Aleksander Czartoryski and his wife Princess Marcelina, Lord and Lady Murray, and Lord Torphichen. One of Muir Wood's sons, Herbert Kemlo Wood, writing in *The voice of Poland* in 1943, quotes a letter to his father from Mrs Houston in which she writes: 'M. Chopin insists that you must lunch with us and we shall expect you without fail'. [1] Presumably, this invitation to Johnstone was arranged in part so that the final details of the concert could be agreed. Herbert Wood continues:

> Chopin could not make up his mind about the programme, he preferred to play as the spirit moved him and often changed his mind. This accounts for the lack of Opus numbers on the printed programme. The pieces played are identified only from the manuscript jottings in my father's handwriting on the programme in my possession.[2]

This problem, Herbert Wood explains, applied to Chopin's concerts in both Edinburgh and Glasgow:

> Chopin's habit by this time seemed to have been to put down 'Etudes, Nocturnes, Mazurkas', and so on, and on the day he would play of these what he felt inclined to.[3]

Thus, the day before he was due to perform in Edinburgh, he wrote to Grzymała in Paris that he still had not 'seen the hall or settled the programme'.[4] At both the Glasgow and Edinburgh concerts, Herbert Wood adds, the audiences 'were almost entirely made up of Chopin's aristocratic friends, principally ladies of whom he always had a devoted following'.[5]

In Manchester, however, Chopin was supported by a quite different section of the public. The composer, writing from Calder House on 19 August 1848, told his family in Warsaw of his forthcoming concert there 'at which Italians from London will sing', and for which he was to be paid £60, 'which is not to be turned down'. He was to travel the 200 miles from Edinburgh by train, a journey of eight hours. Manchester, a bustling, industrial city, and centre of commerce (Plates 7.1, 7.2), had a lively musical life.[6] In Manchester, Chopin explained,

> some kind friends are awaiting me, wealthy manufacturers who have Neukomm staying with them. (He was Haydn's best pupil and used to be court conductor to the Emperor of Brazil -- you must have heard his name.) They have also Mrs Rich, daughter of Mr Mackintosh, a highly esteemed man who was a Member of Parliament -- he is a speaker and writer. She is a great friend of both myself and the Stirlings and Erskines.[7]

The 'kind friends' were Salis Schwabe and his wife Julie Schwabe, who had recently moved to Crumpsall House, on the outskirts on Manchester, from Rusholme House, not

far away (Plates 7.5, 7.6).[8] Jenny Lind was also a friend of the Schwabes, and the previous year had made her first appearance in Manchester on 28 August 1847 as Amina in *La Sonnambula*, and on 2 September as Marian in *La Figlia*. Between these performances, on 31 August, reports William Axon, 'she was serenaded by the Liedertafel at Rusholme House, the residence of Mrs. Salis Schwabe, whose guest she was'. Engagingly, during her stay Lind 'was often seen riding on horseback in the direction of Didsbury.'[9] She again visited Manchester in 1848, and appeared as Lucia in *Lucia di Lammermoor* on 9 September, and again as Amina two days later, on the eleventh. In this, and in her preceding visit in 1847, she was supported by the Italian bass, Luigi Lablache.[10]

Salis Schwabe's likeness can be seen in a bust by William Bally (Plate 7.3), his wife's in a fine portrait by Ary Scheffer (Plate 7.4).[11] Salis Schwabe, and his brother Adolf, ran a calico factory at Rhodes, Middleton, near Rochdale. Chopin knew the Schwabes from cultural life in Paris, where they consorted with Auguste and Sophie Léo, Fanny Erskine, Hallé, Jane Stirling, Mrs Katherine Erskine, Mrs Mary Rich, and musicians such as Tellefsen.[12] Chopin has given us a thumbnail sketch of the Schwabes. Writing to Wojciech Gryzmała, he explained that when in Manchester he

> lived in the suburbs as there is too much smoke in the town: all the rich people have their houses outside the town. I was staying with my good friend Schwabe -- you may have seen him at Léo's. He is a leading manufacturer and owns the tallest chimney in Manchester -- it cost him £5,000. He is a friend of Cobden's and a great free-trader himself. He is a Jew -- or rather a Protestant convert like Léo. His wife is particularly kind. They insisted on my staying longer, as Jenny Lind is arriving there this week and will also be staying with them.

Chopin added that the Schwabes and Jenny Lind 'are great friends'. 'While I was there', Chopin continued, 'we also had that dear Mrs Rich whom you saw ate my place with Miss Stirling'. He also saw Hermann Léo's brother, Auguste Léo, who was in

Manchester 'on business'. Sigismund Neukomm (Plate 7.9) also visited Crumpsall House at this time, but it is uncertain if he and Chopin were there together. [13] Among those whom Chopin met in Manchester, presumably at the Schwabes, was Fanny Erskine, to whom he gave a manuscript of the song 'Wiosna', inscribed 'souvenir de Crumpsal House / à Mademoiselle Fanny Erskine / F Chopin / 1, Sept. 1848' (Plate.7.7). The date here indicates that Chopin did not leave Manchester until early in September. [14] A few days later, on 4th September, Chopin was writing to Grzymała from Johnstone Castle. [15]

Such a description by Chopin of the Schwabes does not do justice to the remarkable Julie Schwabe who, following her husband's death in 1853, carried on her cultural and philanthropic activities before moving to Naples, where she launched a one-woman campaign to raise funds to establish schools. Widowed at the age of thirty-four, Julie was left with seven children and a huge fortune. She was called 'a prophetess of liberal education', with a strong sense of social justice, and was involved in the Froebel movement. 'The Schwabe household was Unitarian', writes Peter Weston, 'and became a centre of enlightened Liberalism.... They were advocates of democracy, or at least of encouraging working men, by hard work, thrift and education, to achieve the franchise' [16] The Schwabes entertained either at Crumpsall, or at Glyn Garth, Anglesey, their house overlooking the Menai Straits (Plate 7.8). Friends and visitors, in Manchester and at Glyn Garth, included not only the radicals Richard Cobden and John Bright, but also the prison reformer Thomas Wright, and Mrs Gaskell. [17] As Edward Morris points out, 'Geraldine Jewsbury was also a guest of the Schwabes, visiting them frequently in 1848-1849 to hear her friend Sigismond Neukomm play the organ'. [18] Additionally the 'Schwabes provided the link between the Manchester cotton manufacturers as patrons and collectors of Scheffer and Scheffer's English political and literary admirers'. [19] As such, they were part of a wide community of supporters of French art. [20]

The Gentlemen's Concert Society was founded in Manchester in 1777. [21] It was, as Douglas Jackson notes, 'a remarkable musical tradition that lasted for 150 years ...

There were 600 subscribers and a four-year waiting list to join'.[22] In 1831, the society opened the Gentlemen's Concert Hall in Lower Mosley Street, in the centre of Manchester, on the site now occupied by the Midland Hotel, and opposite St Peter's Church, by James Wyatt (1788-94; demolished 1907) (Plates 7.11, 7.12, 7.13). [23] Nearby was Barry's Royal Institution, now part of Manchester Art Gallery (Plate 7.10). [24] The Gentlemen's Concert Hall was designed by the architect Richard Lane, and consisted of a rectangular block with a classical entrance portico, leading into a square entrance hall with stairs giving access to the auditorium on the first floor. As the building was demolished in 1897-8, we can do no more than imagine its interior. In 1839, in *Manchester as it is*, Love and Barton remark that 'the internal arrangements are fitted up with a splendour which is in accordance with the musical spirit for which Manchester is celebrated'. [25] There is some ambiguity about the date of changes subsequently made internally. A leaflet of 1852, describing the hall, notes that 'on the advice of the architect Mr J. White, the decoration was changed from severe Greek into chaste Italian' (Plate 7.14). [26] Was this before or after Chopin's concert? We cannot tell. Either way, 'it was a magnificent building', writes Douglas Jackson, 'decorated in white and gold and panelled in rich mahogany, with a 60ft high elliptical dome soaring above an auditorium where audiences attended concerts in full evening dress'. [27]

Other pianists who had performed in Manchester included John Field, who gave two concerts in Manchester in July 1832, for which he received 50 guineas, 'certainly the largest fee he received during the whole of his visit to England'.[28] Franz Liszt, played in the Theatre Royal as a boy prodigy in 1824 and 1825, visiting the city with his father. He returned in 1840, and gave two concerts, the second on a Broadwood in the Athenaeum; his own Érard, which travelled with him, was already on its way to Ireland. [29] By this time, the Athenaeum, a club promoting adult education, was the occupant of Manchester's first 'palazzo' building, designed by Sir Charles Barry (1836-7), not dissimilar in its Italian derivation to Barry's Reform Club in London (1838-41).[30]

News of Chopin's forthcoming performance in Manchester appears in an advertisement in the *Manchester Guardian* on 19 August 1848, in which the Directors of the Concert Hall

> beg to announce to the Subscribers that a Dress Concert has been fixed for Monday, the 28th of August next, for which the following performers have already been engaged: Signora Alboni, Signora Corbari, Signor Salvi, and Mons. Chopin (Plate 7.15).[31]

The concert was held at 7 pm and, as can be seen, the three singers were all Italian -- Amalia Corbari, '*seconda donna*', the tenor Lorenzo Salvi, and the contralto Marietta Alboni (Plates 7.16, 7.17). The leader of the orchestra was the Edinburgh-born violinist Charles A Seymour, who was active in Manchester musical circles at that time.[32] Alboni, regarded as the most celebrated of the artists at the Manchester concert (Plate 7.18), had made her debut at Bologna in 1842 as Clymene in Pacini's *Saffo*, appeared at La Scala the same year, and in Vienna in 1843, and spent the winter of 1844-1845 in St Petersburg with Tamburini and Pauline Viardot.[33] During the next two years she toured Germany and eastern Europe, and made a triumphant London debut on 6 April 1847, as Arsace in the performance of Rossini's *Semiramide* that opened the first season of the Royal Italian Opera in Covent Garden, where Corbari and Salvi also sang that year. Later in 1847, Alboni made her Parisian debut at the Théâtre Italien, again singing Arsace, and also the title role in *La Cenerentola*. In 1848, she returned to Covent Garden to sing Urbain in *Les Huguenots*.[34] Alboni's performance in Manchester was part of a concert tour arranged by the impresario and composer, Willert Beale;[35] the three singers performed items from operas by Verdi, Puccini, Rossini, Bellini, and Donizetti, and the orchestra played the overtures to Weber's *Der Freischütz* ('Ruler of Spirits'), Beethoven's *Prometheus*, and Rossini's *Il Barbiere di Siviglia*.[36]

The concert was divided into two parts, and Chopin performed once in the first, and once in the second. Chopin's advertised programme of his own compositions was later altered, as follows:

Chopin: Part First: Nocturne et Berceuse
Part Second: Mazourka, Ballade, et Valse
which was changed to
Part First: Andante and Scherzo
Part Second: Nocturne, Études, et Berceuse

As part of Willert Beale's 'troupe', George Osborne regularly provided piano accompaniment for the singers, and he did so on this occasion, the *Manchester Guardian* reporting on 30 August that 'Several of the vocal pieces were accompanied by Mr Osborne, an able composer and pianist' (Plate 7.19).[37]

What of the reception of the event?[38] The *Manchester Guardian* (30 August) notes that the concert

> was the most brilliant and interesting which the directors have given during the season; and there was a larger audience than we remember to have seen here since the celebrated Grisi and Alboni concert in September last. Of course, the lustrous-eyed and liquid-voiced Alboni was the chief attraction of the concert.

To some members of the audience, Chopin was of as much, if not more, interest as Marietta Alboni, 'as he was preceded by a high musical reputation'. His physical appearance was striking:

> He is very spare in frame, and there is an almost painful air of feebleness in his appearance and gait. This vanishes when he seats himself at the instrument, in

> which he seems for the time perfectly absorbed. Chopin's music and his style of performance partake of the same leading characteristics refinement rather than vigour -- subtle elaboration rather than simple comprehensiveness in composition -- an elegant, rapid touch, rather than a firm nervous grasp of the instrument.

The salon rather than the concert hall is his appropriate milieu:

> Both his compositions and his playing appear to be the perfection of chamber music -- fit to be associated with the most refined instrumental quartets and quartet-playing -- but wanting breadth and obviousness of design and executive power to be effective in a large concert hall.

Nonetheless, the *Manchester Guardian* continued, Chopin 'was warmly applauded by many of the most accomplished amateurs in the town, and he received an encore in his last piece, a compliment thus accorded to each of the four London artists who appeared at the concert'.[39]

The *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* on 30 August praised Chopin's 'chasteness and purity of style', and his 'delicate sensibility of expression', and observed that the concert hall 'was filled to overflowing by a most brilliant audience'.[40] The *Musical World* (presumably J W Davison) was not as completely won over. Chopin, it averred,

> certainly played with great finish -- too much so, perhaps, and might have deserved the name of finesse rather -- and his delicacy and expression are unmistakeable; but I missed the astonishing power of Leopold de Meyer, the vigour of Thalberg, the dash of Herz, or the grace of Sterndale Bennett.

Nonetheless, he concluded, Chopin 'is assuredly a great pianist, and no one can hear him without receiving some amount of delectation'.[41]

The critic in the *Manchester Examiner* was only able to obtain a ticket for the concert 'with the greatest difficulty ... so great was the desire to hear Alboni'. His impressions of Chopin were mixed: he 'does not quite come up to our idea of a first-rate pianist; it is true he plays very difficult music (provoking one almost to say with Dr Johnson, "would that it were impossible!") with beautiful delicacy and precision of finger but there is no melody or meaning in it'. Chopin's habit of playing only his own work did not always endear him to his audiences, and the *Manchester Examiner*'s critic was not alone in finding Chopin's compositions unappealing. Rather than play one of Beethoven's sonatas, he observed,

> it is a pity that performers of his ability think it incumbent on them to astonish rather than please their audiences with *concertos* written by themselves, apparently for the express purpose of cramming into them elaborate passages, chromatiques and next-to-impossible cadenzas, all of which have no beauty in themselves, but should only be sparingly used to relieve what would be otherwise, perhaps, too monotonous a concord of sweet sounds.

One wonders what this critic would have thought of Liszt![42]

George Osborne, the Irish pianist and composer (Plate 7.19), met Chopin when the Pole was performing in Manchester. They were, of course, already friends from Paris, where Osborne had lived from 1831 to 1843, and had been a pupil of Fétis, Pixis, and Kalkbrenner, and a teacher of Hallé.[43] A friend of Berlioz as well as Chopin, Osborne had drawn fashionable audiences to his Parisian concerts, had accompanied Chopin in a performance of his F minor piano concerto in 1832, and in the same year been one of six pianists (including Chopin) who performed together in the *Salons Pleyel*.[44] In 1843 he returned to England, where he played, taught pupils, and composed chamber and violin music, overtures, and two operas. He made frequent trips back to Paris, where his patrons were drawn from the aristocracy and intellectual society, and included in particular wealthy Irishmen and Englishmen living in France.[45]

In 1880 , Osborne presented a lecture to the Musical Association in London, entitled 'Reminiscences of Fredrick (*sic*) Chopin', which provides us with a fascinating glimpse of Chopin's life in Paris in the 1830s and 1840s; the previous year, Osborne had given the Association a paper on Berlioz. Now, he offered his views on Chopin as musician and as personal friend. He explains that, on tour with Alboni in 1848, he

> met Chopin at Manchester, where he was announced to play at a grand concert without orchestra. He begged I should not be present. "You, my dear Osborne", said he, "who have heard me so often in Paris, remain with those impressions. My playing will be lost in such a large room, and my compositions will be ineffective. Your presence at the concert will be painful both to you and me".

Despite Chopin's entreaty, Osborne -- apart from accompanying Alboni, Corbari and Salvi, at the piano -- made a point of listening to Chopin play:

> I was present, unknown to him, in a remote corner of the room, where I helped to cheer and applaud him. I heard him then for the last time, when his prediction was fulfilled in part, for his playing was too delicate to create enthusiasm, and I felt truly sorry for him.

That said, Osborne added, Chopin's 'performance at that concert, however, has not effaced those pleasurable and vivid emotions which I hope ever to retain of his playing and of himself'.[46]

On 4 August 1848, Hermann Léo -- brother of Auguste Léo, whose salon Chopin attended in Paris -- wrote to Charles Hallé inviting him to come to Manchester,[47] and it is probable, but not certain, that Hallé was present at Chopin's Manchester concert later that month. In his *Autobiography*, Hallé records that in the summer, not long after his arrival, he attended a concert of the Gentlemen's Concert Society, at which

> Grisi, Mario, and Lablache sang; but the orchestra! oh, the orchestra! I was fresh from the 'Concerts du Conservatoire', from Hector Berlioz' orchestra, and I seriously thought of packing up and leaving Manchester, so that I might not have to endure a second of these wretched performances. [48]

On the other hand, elsewhere in his *Autobiography*, Hallé writes: 'I had the pleasure ... to welcome [Chopin] to Manchester, where he played at one of the concerts of the society called the Gentlemen's Concerts in the month of August. It was then painfully evident that his end was drawing near; a year later he was no more'. What did Hallé mean by 'welcoming' Chopin? Did they meet when Chopin was staying with the Schwabes? If Hallé attended Chopin's Manchester concert, he would surely have specifically said so. [49]

One puzzle remains about Chopin's visit to Manchester: Did he perform twice? In 1974, in his book *Frédéric Chopin*, Bernard Gavoty noted that on 29 August, the day after his concert in the Gentlemen's concert hall, Chopin performed his Sonata in B flat minor (Op.35) in a salon in Manchester. Having played the allegro and scherzo, Chopin 'left the room, coming back to the audience a few minutes later to play the march and finale, without pause. The next day, the critic of the *Manchester Guardian*, who had been invited as a friend, wrote in astonishment at this brief interruption'. [50] Was he ill? Chopin was asked on the spot. The answer, Gavoty claimed, lay in a letter which he owned from Chopin to Solange Clésinger of 9 September 1848. In it, Chopin wrote:

> A strange thing happened to me while I was playing my Sonata in B-flat Minor for some British friends. I had played the allegro and the scherzo successfully, and I was going to attack the march when, suddenly, I saw the cursed creatures that one lugubrious night appeared to me at the monastery rising from the case of the piano. I had to go out for a moment to collect myself, after which I resumed playing without saying a word to anyone.

Gavoty commented: 'Chopin did not talk about his music; after he created it, he lived it'.[51] Is it significant that the third of the four movements of this sonata is known as the Funeral March? [52]

After Chopin's return to Scotland, those who provide us with further links to Manchester include Salis and Julie Schwabe, and 'Sandy' Scott (Plate 7.20). From 185 1 to 1857, Alexander James Scott was the first Principal of Owens College, later the University of Manchester. [53] The Schwabes were also friends of both Scott and Thomas Erskine, of Linlathen; in 1847, before he moved to Manchester, Scott had given lectures to Salis Schwabe's employees at his factory at Rhodes, near Manchester. [54] Scott was born in 1805, the son of a minister of the Church of Scotland. He graduated MA at the University of Glasgow in 1824, and was licensed by the presbytery of Paisley. As J Philip Newell explains, 'within months of his licensing Scott began to express doubt concerning the traditional Calvinism of the Scottish church, specifically its doctrine of the love of God being limited to the elect'. He became tutor to the family of Thomas Erskine, of Linlathen, who had recently published two books, *Remarks on the internal evidence for the truth of revealed religion* (1820), and *An essay on faith* (1822). Scott was in sympathy with both works, and subsequently he and Erskine became lifelong friends. They met often, and, with the Rev J McLeod Campbell, of Row (Rhu), near Helensburgh, formed a triumvirate which caused not a little trouble to the established Church of Scotland. In 1828, Scott joined Edward Irving in London, and 'developed a theology that appealed to the authority of the spiritual conscience, an inner faculty capable of discerning spiritual truth'. In 1831, Scott was deposed from the ministry, but for the next fifteen years used the tiny Woolwich Chapel as his base for teaching and preaching. [55]

When working at Woolwich, from 1831 to 1846, Scott travelled to the Continent, notably to Switzerland and France, and it was during these years that he seems to have met both Ary Scheffer and Chopin; indeed, it has been suggested that Scott may have been assembling material for a biography of the composer. Clearly, Jane Stirling, a

cousin and close friend of Thomas Erskine, of Linlathen, would have been able to offer him significant help. In 1910, Scott's daughter, Miss Susan Fisher Scott, presented plaster casts of Chopin's death mask, and of his left hand, to the Royal Manchester College of Music (now the Royal Northern College of Music), and it is not unlikely that this was given to Scott by Jane Stirling (Plates 7.21, 7.22). [56] In 1973, the Frederick Chopin Society of Poland presented the college with a full-length bronze statue of Chopin, by Ludwika Nitschowa, to mark the 125th anniversary of Chopin's concert in Manchester in 1848 (Plate 7.23). [57]

Salis Schwabe died at Glyn Garth on 23 July 1853, at the age of fifty-three. [58] After her husband's death, Mrs Julie Schwabe continued to entertain at her Welsh home. In 1857, the year of the Manchester Exhibition of Art Treasures, visitors included Ary Scheffer, who stayed first at Crumpsall House, for three weeks, and then at Glyn Garth. Here, wrote Mrs Grote, 'were present, in ample store, all those elements in which an imaginative, sentimental, and affectionate soul, like that of Scheffer, might find delectation and refreshment,' including 'the picturesque mountain scenery of Carnarvonshire, the sight of the shipping gliding about in the "Menai"; [and] the novel spectacle of the Welsh people, busy, yet not toil-worn'. [59]

Chapter 7

MANCHESTER: Concert in Gentlemen's Concert Hall, 28 August 1848

ENDNOTES

1 Wood, 'Chopin in Britain, II', p.6. Wood says that this letter is in his possession.

2 Wood, 'Chopin in Britain, II', p.6.

3 Wood, 'Chopin in Britain, II', p.6.

4 Quoted by Wood, 'Chopin in Britain, II', p.6. See Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.346. Chopin to Grzymała, 3 October [1848].

5 Wood, 'Chopin in Britain, II', p.6.

6 For Manchester's vigorous intellectual and social life at this period see, for instance, Howard Wach's two articles, 'Culture and the middle classes', and 'A "still, small voice" from the pulpit', drawn from his PhD dissertation, 'Culture and society in Manchester, 1815-1850'.

7 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.339. For Mrs Rich, see the Personalia section of the thesis. Another letter written by Chopin at Calder House, on 10 August 1848, is included in my article 'Three unpublished Chopin letters' (forthcoming).

8 For the Schwabes, see the entries in the Personalia section, and the references to the their life in Paris in Chapter 2 of the thesis.

9 Axon, *Annals of Manchester*, p.241.

10 Axon, *Annals of Manchester*, p.247. These last visits to Manchester by Jenny Lind, therefore, were after Chopin's concert there.

11 To my knowledge, neither the bust nor the Scheffer painting have ever been reproduced before. Nor, incidentally, has the Scheffer portrait of Lord Torphichen (Plate 6.5).

12 For the Schwabes and Scheffer, see Albisetti, 'Inevitable Schwabes', *passim*, and Morris, 'Ary Scheffer and his English circle', *passim*. Scheffer and the Schwabes are touched on in Morris, *French art in nineteenth-century Britain*, and Morris, 'Provincial internationalism'.

13 Compare Neukomm references in Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, pp.326, 339.

14 For 'Wiosna', see the thesis pp.68-9, 84n75 (Chapter 2), and pp.196, 207n43 (Chapter 5).

15 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, pp.340-2. Chopin to Gryzmala, [4/9 September 1848]. Could Chopin have gone straight by train from Manchester to Glasgow, via Edinburgh, and thence to Johnstone? Or did he spend a night or two in between at Calder House, or with the Lyschińskis in Warriston Crescent?

16 See Peter Weston, *The Froebel Educational Institute: the origins and history of the college* (Roehampton: University of Surrey, 2002), pp.4-5.

17 Gérin, *Elizabeth Gaskell*, p.145. For Mrs Gaskell's correspondence with the Schwabes, see Chapple and Pollard, *Letters of Mrs Gaskell*, nos 113, 121, 122, 128, 162. Letters to Ann Scott, wife of A J Scott, appear as nos 437, 628.

18 Morris, 'Ary Scheffer and his English circle', p.306.

19 Morris, 'Ary Scheffer and his English circle', p.307.

20 See Morris, *French art in nineeteenth-century Britain, passim.*

21 For the Gentlemen's Concert Society, see the material in the Henry Watson Music Library, Manchester Central Library, including R.780.68.Me.68.MIC, containing minutes, 1830-1920; and R.780.69.Me.68.MIC, containing the programmes of the Gentlemen's concerts, 1840-1849.

For wider consideration of the Gentlemen's concerts, see Allis, 'Gentlemen's concerts, Manchester, 1777-1920'; Gick, 'Chamber music concerts in Manchester, 1838-1844'; Gick, 'Concert life in Manchester, 1800-1848; and Wach, 'Culture and society in Manchester, 1815-1850.' The early years of the society are considered in Burchell, *Polite or commercial concerts?*, pp.255-60. Beale, *Hallé*, contains many references to the Gentlemen's concerts, and an invaluable bibliography on pp.261-8.

22 Jackson, 'New music festival', p.XII.

23 For architectural descriptions of the Gentlemen's Concert Hall, see Hartwell and Wyke, *Making Manchester*, pp.14, 18, 20, 23-4. For Lane, see Clare Hartwell, 'Manchester and the golden age of Pericles: Richard Lane, architect', in Hartwell and Wyke, *Making Manchester*, pp.18-35.

24 For the St Peter's Square area, see Hartwell, Hyde and Pevsner, *Lancashire: Manchester and the South-East*, pp.322-4, 332-3.

25 Love and Barton, *Manchester as it is*, p.139.

26 Allis, 'Gentlemen's concerts, Manchester, 1777-1920', p.51.

27 Jackson, 'New music festival', p.XII. Jackson gives no source for this.

28 Piggott, *John Field*, p.51.

29 See two articles by William Wright, 'Master Liszt in England', and 'Liszt in Manchester', and Allsobrook, *Liszt. My travelling circus life*, pp.8, 114-16, 124-5. On p.38, Allsobrook notes that Liszt journied 'sometimes by rail, but mainly by coach and horses, with a separate van to carry Liszt's precious Érard piano, which could be mounted on a railway wagon whenever necessary'. Generally, see Gut, 'Chopin et Liszt', *passim*.

30 See Hartwell, Hyde, and Pevsner, *Lancashire: Manchester and the South East*, pp. 289-90. See also Hartwell, *Manchester*, pp.90-1, with an illustration on p.90. The Athenaeum has now been integrated into Manchester City Art Gallery, the architects of the scheme being Michael Hopkins and Partners (2000-2002). A model of the existing buildings and extensions is shown in Hartwell, *Manchester*, p.89.

31 Text taken from Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.294. The pioneering publications here are Susan Brookshaw's *Concerning Chopin in Manchester, passim*, and the article in which she summarises her findings, 'Concerning Chopin in Manchester', *passim*. Brookshaw also deals with Chopin in her article 'Chopin's Jane Stirling', *Musical Opinion* (April 1948), pp.254-5.

32 For Seymour see Brown and Stratton, *British musical biography*, p.366.

33 This paragraph draws on the entry on Alboni by Elizabeth Forbes in *Grove music online*. For Chorley's views on Alboni, see his *Thirty years' musical recollections*, vol. 2, pp.8-13.

34 For Alboni, Corbari and Salvi at Covent Garden in 1847-1849, see Rosenthal, *Two centuries of opera at Covent Garden*, pp.72-84.

35 See the entry on Beale by Michael Musgrave in *Oxford DNB online*.

36 See the programme reproduced as Plate 7.16 of the thesis.

37 *Manchester Guardian*, 30 August 1848, quoted in Atwood, *Pianist from Warsaw*, p.253. For Chopin's substitutions, see Plate 7.17 of the thesis.

38 Reviews of the concert in the *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* (30 August), the *Manchester Guardian* (30 August), the *Manchester Examiner* (5 September), and the *Musical World* (9 September), are given (with some elisions) in Atwood, *Pianist from Warsaw*, pp.251-3. Not all later commentators on Chopin's Manchester concert take account of the changes Chopin made to his original programme.

39 Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.295, and Atwood, *Pianist from Warsaw*, p.253. The suggestion is made in a review of the Manchester concert in the *Manchester Times* (5 September 1848, p.5d), that the Athenaeum in Manchester might have provided a better performance space for Chopin (cited by Gick, 'Concert life in Manchester, 1800-1848', p.327n39).

40 Quoted in part in Niecks, *Chopin*, p.295, with an extended text in Atwood, *Pianist from Warsaw*, p.251.

41 Quoted in Atwood, *Pianist from Warsaw*, p.252.

42 Quoted in Atwood, *Pianist from Warsaw*, pp.251-2.

43 For Osborne, see Hunt, 'George Osborne', *passim*. Osborne's relationship with Chopin's works is considered frequently in this thesis. For Chopin, see especially volume 1, pp.12-19. Osborne's 'Le castillan, bolero' (1841) was dedicated to Chopin.

I am grateful to Una Hunt for advice on Osborne; she has issued a piano CD entitled 'Shower of pearls. The music of George Alexander Osborne' (RTÉ lyric fm, 2004). For the influence of Osborne on the career of the Irish singer Catherine Hayes (1818-1861), see Walsh, *Catherine Hayes*, especially pp.6-8.

44 See Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.1, p.241.

45 See the entry by R H Legge, revised by Rosemary Firmin, in *Oxford DNB online*, and Jean Mongrédien's article on Osborne in *Grove music online*.

46 Osborne, 'Reminiscences of Fredrick Chopin', p.101, partly reprinted in Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.295. Osborne was speaking and writing over thirty years after the Manchester concert, so his memory may have played him false.

47 Hallé, *Life and letters*, p.230. Allis, 'Gentlemen's concerts, Manchester, 1777-1920', p.55, refers to Hermann Léo and 'Liedertafel' -- a singing party with guest musicians.

48 Hallé, *Autobiography*, pp.122-3.

49 See Hallé, *Autobiography*, pp.56-7. Hallé was urged to stay by his friends, who 'gave [him] to understand that [he] was expected to change all this -- to accomplish a revolution, in fact' (Hallé, *Autobiography*, p.123). Which, of course, he duly did.

50 Gavoty, *Chopin* (French edition), pp.298-300, and Gavoty, *Chopin* (English edition), pp.232-3. On p.418n3 of the French edition, and in a note on p.330 of the English edition, Gavoty reiterates his view that the day after his concert Chopin played, in private, his Sonata in B flat minor (Op.35).

51 Gavoty, *Chopin* (English edition), p.233. The French text of the letter is on p. 299 of the French edition, and the English translation (by Martin Sokolinsky) on p.233 of the English edition.

Gavoty indicates that he bought the letter in London, but its present whereabouts are unknown. The date of 9 September 1848 suggests that the letter, if authentic, was written at Johnstone Castle, where Chopin was then staying with the Houstons.

If there were, indeed, a second recital by Chopin during his Manchester visit, could it perhaps have been at Crumpsall House, for the Schwabes? None of Chopin's known letters refers to it.

52 I am grateful to Jeffrey Kallberg for alerting me to this incident. For fuller details see Kallberg, 'La *Marche* de Chopin', *passim*; and Kallberg, 'Chopin's march, Chopin's death', pp.22-3. The authenticity of the letter is considered here in note 59, and in note 58 references are given to George Sand's description in her *Oeuvres autobiographiques* of the 'cursed creatures' which Chopin saw in the Carthusian monastery at Valldemosa. See also 'Translating the Raindrop', in Dayan, *Music writing literature*, pp.1-10.

Other references to ghostly apparitions are given in Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, editorial note on p.347.

53 For material in the following paragraph, see the article by J Philip Newell on Alexander John Scott in *Oxford DNB online*, and Newell's PhD thesis, 'A J Scott and his circle'. See also Newell, *Listening for the heartbeat of God*, pp.62-73, and Wilkinson, *Christian socialism*, pp.21-2, leading into a consideration of Mrs Gaskell.

Scott's appointment at Manchester is recorded in Fiddes, *Chapters in the history of Owens College and of Manchester University*, p.29.

54 On 8 October and 20 October 1847, respectively, A J Scott gave two lectures at the Mechanics' Institute, Rhodes, 'to the workpeople of Mr. Salis Schwabe', with the

titles 'On education', and 'The foundations of society, moral and economical'. See Thompson, *Owens College*, p.653.

55 The quotations in this paragraph, and below, are taken from Newell's entry on Scott in *Oxford DNB online*. See also, e.g., Ashton, *Little Germany*, notably pp.178-9, 207.

In 1846, the Scott family moved to No 40 Gloucester Crescent, Regent's Park, 'which became a regular meeting place for many of his literary friends, now including Thackeray, Ruskin, Francis Newman, and the controversial actress Fanny Kemble'. From 1848 to 1851, Scott was Professor of English Language and Literature at University College London, and one of the founders of Bedford College, 'the first centre of higher education for women in Britain based on the principles of religious freedom'; the fledgling Owens College, Manchester, to which Scott moved in 1851, was also free of religious tests. Here, Scott continued 'to pursue the development of education for the working classes, and in 1858, along with others, he founded the Manchester Working Men's College', and established connections with the wider artistic, intellectual, political, and socially-committed community in Manchester.

56 For the gift of the casts, see the archives at RNCM (Manchester), RMCM/C/2/1. For a list of masks, and Chopin's hands, see Burger, *Chopin*, p.339. For Clésinger's masks of Chopin, see W-S, 'Jane Stirling's letters', pp.74-5.

Three plates of the Manchester death mask, taken by the Manchester photographer, F W Schmidt (not 'Schmitt', as Ganche has it), are in Ganche, *Souffrances de Frédéric Chopin*, 6th edition (1935), frontispiece, and opposite pp.128, 192. See the discussion of this mask, and Jane Stirling's connection with it, in R J Forbes, 'The death-mask of Chopin', *Manchester Guardian*, Wednesday 22 February 1933.

In 1881, Princess Marcelina Czartoryska presented a death mask of Chopin by Clésinger to The Princes Czartoryski Museum, Cracow. It is illustrated in *The Princes Czartoryski museum. A history of the collections* (Cracow, 2001), plate 288 (p.174).

57 It set on a marble base, and is described and illustrated in Wyke, *Public sculpture of Greater Manchester*, pp.49-50. Another cast of this, unveiled in 1985, is in the park at Sanniki Palace, and illustrated in Juàrez and Sławińska-Dahlig, *Chopin's Poland*, p. 210. See Appendix E of the thesis.

58 As Axon, *Annals of Manchester*, p.264, records: 'Mr. Salis Schwabe died at Glyn Garth, on the Menai Straits, July 23 [1853], in his 54th year. He was buried at Harpurhey Cemetery July 30, and was followed to the grave by the Bishop of Manchester and many of the leading persons of the city'.

59 Grote, *Memoir of the life of Ary Scheffer*, p.117. Scheffer's visit to Crumpsall House and Glyn Garth is considered on pp.115-19.

Chapter 8

GLASGOW: Concert in Merchants' Hall, 27 September 1848

Musical life in Glasgow in the 1840s was becoming increasingly lively (Plate 8.1). In opera, although *Don Giovanni* had been produced there in 1818, it was, Farmer writes, 'evergreens like *Guy Mannering*, and works of a similar genre, that more invariably attracted audiences'. [1] Then, in 1845, with the production of Balfe's *The Bohemian Girl* at the City Theatre, Glasgow awoke to opera; three years later, in 1848, the pace was set with the presentation of *La Figlia del Reggimento* and *La Sonnambula*, featuring Jenny Lind, Lablache, and Gustave Roger. [2] The demand for venues for concerts and other musical events had led to the erection in Glasgow of the City Hall, designed by George Murray (1841), to be followed by the Queen's Rooms, by Charles Wilson (1856). Choral and orchestral societies prospered, and in 1844 the alleged first complete performance of *Messiah* in Scotland was given in the City Hall. George Wood, of Edinburgh, and his brother John Muir Wood, of Glasgow, both gave series of concerts. Opera singers often were engaged to perform in the concert hall as well as the theatre; among celebrated instrumentalists, Moscheles (1828), Paganini (1831), and Liszt (1841) paved the way for Chopin.[3]

Immediately before his Glasgow concert, Chopin stayed with the Houstons at Johnstone Castle. Whilst there, he received a letter from Grzymała in Paris, telling him of his visit to the *Gymnase musicale* with Solange, and another from Edinburgh, announcing that Prince Alexander Czartoryski and Princess Marcelina had arrived and would be glad to see him. 'Although tired', Chopin told Grzymała,

> I jumped into the train and caught them still in Edinburgh. Princess Marcelina is kindness itself, just as she was last year. I revived somewhat under the influence of their Polish spirit, and it gave me strength to play at Glasgow where a few score of the nobility drove in to hear me.

The weather was good, and the Prince and Princess travelled from Edinburgh to Glasgow by train, bringing with them their son Marcel, then seven years old or so, and 'growing into a fine boy'. 'He can sing my compositions', Chopin wrote, 'and if anyone doesn't play them quite correctly he sings to show them how'.[4]

A visitor to Johnstone Castle, the night before he was due to perform, seems to have been the 'lady now resident in Bedford' who was 'a member of a well-known Scottish family, who had the privilege of receiving some lessons from Chopin when she was in Paris in 1846'. As we have seen, she had been introduced to Chopin by Jane Stirling. On 18 March 1903 she wrote to J Cuthbert Hadden, the Scottish organist and writer on music, describing her experience of staying with Mrs Houston:

> I was invited, with one of my sisters, to meet him. He was then in a most suffering state, but nevertheless he was so kind as to play to us that evening in his own matchless style. We four were his only auditors. It was at such times, and not in a concert-room, that he poured himself out.

The next morning, on 'a cold ungenial day, we accompanied him to Glasgow' and heard 'that memorable recital'.[5]

Recent years had seen the centre of Glasgow undergo an architectural transformation. In 1798, the Town Clerk of the city, James Denholm, had boasted of 'the new-built streets to the north of the Trongate called the New Town'. However, Glasgow's New Town (or Merchant City, as it became known) differed from Edinburgh's New Town in significant ways: Edinburgh's New Town was predominantly residential, Glasgow's commercial. Furthermore, Edinburgh's was a civic project carried through to a competition-winning master plan, whereas Glasgow's was undertaken piecemeal, by private entrepreneurs. Despite this, Glasgow's Merchant city was laid out in a beaux-arts manner, with straight streets terminating in major classical buildings. [6] The Merchants' Hall, where Chopin played, was set in the City and County Buildings in

Wilson Street, an entire block which originally incorporated the county offices and sheriff court; the architects, chosen in 1841 after a competition, were William Clarke and George Bell (Plate 8.2). The façade of the Merchants' Hall, on Hutcheson Street, has a colonnade of six giant fluted Corinthian columns, set *in antis* between two pairs of corresponding piers, topped by a classical frieze (Plates 8.3, 8.4, 8.5). It looks down Garth Street to the Trades' Hall, by Robert Adam.[7]

Chopin's concert took place in the Merchants' Hall on Wednesday 27 September 1848, at 2.30 pm; as the building is now partly demolished, it is possible only to speculate on the character of its interior in Chopin's day (Plate 8.6). The other artists were the singer Giulietta Adelasio de Margueritte, and John Muir Wood, who accompanied her on the piano. Tickets were half-a-guinea (10/6d) each. As later in Edinburgh, Broadwoods provided their Grand Pianoforte No 17,001 (London, *circa* 1847) for the concert.[8]

The concert was organised by John Muir Wood (Plate 8.7), and an advertisement for it makes clear that he was appealing to Glasgow society (Plate 8.8). Not without success. Reporting the concert the next day, the *Glasgow Courier* of 28 September noted that the concert was 'numerously attended by the beauty and fashion, indeed the very élite of our west end'. [9] Chopin's *matinée musicale*, the *Glasgow Herald* observed on 29 September, was given 'under the patronage of the most distinguished ladies of the nobility and gentry of the West of Scotland'; among those listed by Muir Wood are the Duchess of Argyll, chatelaine of Inveraray, and her sister Lady Blantyre, and Lady Belhaven, Chopin's hostess at Wishaw. At half-past two, when the concert was due to start, 'a large concourse of carriages began to draw up in Hutcheson Street and the streets adjoining. The audience which was not large, was exceedingly distinguished'. [10]

A further advertisement, issued by Muir Wood from No 42 Buchanan Street, Glasgow (Plate 8.9), specifies the programme for the concert, and lists four contributions by Chopin, interspersed with three songs from Madame Giuletta Adelasio de Margueritte:

'La camelia' and 'La notte e bella' by Pietro Guglielmi, and 'Le Lac' by Lamartine, set to music by Louis Niedermeyer. [11] The *Glasgow Herald*, on 29 September, indicated that although Madame Adelasio 'showed much vocal ability', she 'evinced a certain lack of enthusiasm with which we were not at all charmed'. [12] The *Glasgow Courier* of 28 September was more positive, observing that she 'has a beautiful voice which she manages with great ease and occasional brilliancy. She sang several airs with much taste and great acceptance'. As for Chopin, his 'treatment of the piano-forte is peculiar to himself, and his style blends in beautiful harmony and perfection the elegant, the picturesque and the humorous... [Chopin] produces without extraordinary effort, not only pleasing but new musical delights'. All the pieces were 'rapturously applauded, and the audience separated with expressions of the highest gratification'. [13]

What pieces did Chopin play in Glasgow?

When John Muir Wood went to Johnstone Castle to discuss Chopin's forthcoming concert with him he found the composer indecisive. Julius Seligmann, onetime President of the Glasgow Society of Musicians, gave his impressions of Chopin's visit. 'Mr Muir Wood managed the special arrangements of the concert, and I distinctly remember him telling me that he never had so much difficulty in arranging a concert as on this occasion. Chopin constantly changed his mind'. Muir Wood had to go out to see him several times at Johnstone, 'but scarcely had he returned to Glasgow when he was summoned back to alter something'. [14]

A copy of the programme, which may have been annotated by John Muir Wood (Plate 8.9), enables us to suggest opus numbers from which Chopin chose to play:

1	Andante [?], and Impromptu in F sharp major (Op.36)
3	Etudes (Op.25)
5	Nocturnes in C sharp minor and D flat major (Op.27)
	Nocturnes in F minor and E flat minor (Op.55)

Berceuse in D flat major (Op.57)

Mazurkas in A minor, A flat major, and F sharp minor (Op.59)

Polonaise-fantaisie in A flat major (Op.61)

7 Preludes (Op.28)

Ballade in F major (Op.38)

Mazurkas in B flat major, A minor, F minor, A flat major, and C major (Op.7)

Waltzes in D flat major, C sharp minor, and A flat major (Op.64) [15]

It is impossible to say which of these Chopin performed, as accounts of the concert are not specific about the programme. But we may hazard guesses. [16] The most problematic identification is that of the first piece, the *Andante* (puzzlingly identified in ink as 'No 8' on the surviving programme), which may have been the *Andante spianato* in G major, which forms an introduction to the Polonaise in E flat major (Op.22); Hipkins told Niecks that Chopin frequently played this *Andante* in his recitals, and indeed he may have done so later in Edinburgh. [17] However, Jeffrey Kallberg has proposed that the ink inscription 'No 8' suggests that the first piece is the 8th Prelude of Op.28, in F sharp minor, partly because 'the parallel tonalities of the Prelude and the Impromptu ... make a more logical join ... than would follow from the linking of the *Andante spianato* and the Impromptu'. [18] As to mazurkas, the 'lady now resident in Bedford' told Hadden that she could not 'recall distinctly anything but the marvellous brilliancy of the well-known Mazurka (Op.7), and the equally familiar Valses (Op.64), the second of which is so pathetic. I never saw Chopin again, but his tones still ring in my ears'. [19] Seligmann recalls Chopin playing his Mazurka in B flat major (Op.7, no 1), which he encored 'with quite different nuances' from those of the first time around.[20]

Two of the nocturnes listed on the annotated published programme (Op.55) were those dedicated to Jane Stirling, and one imagines that they would have been included for her, and that she and her sister were at the concert.[21]

Chopin's choice of programme must have been influenced by his failing health; the most demanding of his compositions would have been beyond him. 'It goes to my heart to think of Chopin in his miserable state handed about among those kind and well-meaning, but tormenting, friends, and forced to appear in public', wrote the 'lady now resident in Bedford'.[22] Seligmann, acknowledging Chopin's illness, stressed its effects upon his playing:

> His touch was very feeble, and while the finish, grace, elegance, and delicacy of his performances were greatly admired by the audience, the want of power made his playing somewhat monotonous.[23]

Another 'enthusiastic member of that Glasgow audience' was George Russell Alexander, whose father was proprietor of the Theatre Royal in Glasgow, and he was struck by Chopin's 'pale, cadaverous appearance'. 'My emotion', Alexander comments,

> was so great that two or three times I was compelled to retire from the room to recover myself. I have heard all the best and most celebrated stars of the musical firmament, but never one has left such an impression on my mind.[24]

All told, observes Hadden, the general effect produced by Chopin upon his listeners is of a *virtuoso* 'who seemed to them all to be dying on his feet'.[25]

Hadden, taking his cue from Niecks, notes that the profits from Chopin's concert were 'said to have been exactly £60, a ridiculously low sum when we compare it with the earnings of later-day *virtuosi*; nay, still more ridiculously low when we recall the fact that for two concerts in Glasgow sixteen years before this Paganini had £1400'.[26] To Muir Wood, the attendance had been disappointing. As he related afterwards:

I was then a comparative stranger in Glasgow, but I was told that so many private carriages had never been seen at any concert in the town. In fact, it was the country people who turned out, with a few of the *élite* of Glasgow society. Being a morning (*sic*) concert, the citizens were busy otherwise, and half-a-guinea was considered too high a sum for their wives and daughters. [27]

To this, Niecks wryly observed that 'no doubt Chopin's playing and compositions must have been to the good Glasgow citizens of that day what caviare is to the general. In fact, Scotland, as regards music, had at that period not yet emerged from its state of primitive savagery'. [28]

Another one of those who attended Chopin's Glasgow concert was the journalist and poet James Hedderwick (Plate 8.10), who established the *Glasgow Citizen*, a weekly, in 1842, and in 1864 the *Glasgow Evening Citizen*, a successful daily which claimed at one point to have the largest circulation of any newspaper in the west of Scotland. [29] Four years before Chopin's visit to Glasgow, Hedderwick had published his first volume of poems. In recognition of his literary and editorial work, Hedderwick was awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws by the University of Glasgow in 1878, and in 1891, as 'James Hedderwick, LLD', he published a volume of memoirs with the title *Backward glances, or some personal recollections*.

Here, under the heading 'An accidental treat', Hedderwick describes Chopin's Glasgow recital. [30] 'What' up?', he begins. 'A carriage-and-four at the entrance to the Merchants' Hall in Hutcheson Street!' A policeman tells him that it is "a Mr Chopin giving a concert". Hedderwick continues:

> On entering the hall, I found it about one-third full. The audience was aristocratic. Prince Czartoryski, a man whose name was patriotically associated with the Polish struggle for independence, was present; so likewise were some representatives of the ducal house of Hamilton; while

sitting near were Lord and Lady Blantyre, the latter a perfectly beautiful woman, and worthy of her lineage as one of the daughters of the Queen's favourite Duchess of Sutherland. Others of the neighbouring nobility and gentry were observable; and I fancied that many of the ladies might have had finishing lessons in music from the great and fashionable pianist in Paris.

'It was obvious, indeed', Hedderwick remarks, 'that a number of the audience were personal friends of M. Chopin'.

Soon, Hedderwick's attention was 'attracted to a little fragile-looking man, in pale-grey suit, including frock-coat of identical tint and texture, moving about among the company, conversing with different groups, and occasionally consulting his watch, which seemed to be

> In shape no bigger than an agate stone
> On the forefinger of an alderman.'

Here was 'the musical genius' they had all come to hear:

> Whiskerless, beardless, fair of hair, and pale and thin of face, his appearance was interesting and conspicuous; and when, after a final glance at his miniature horologe (*sic*), he ascended the platform and placed himself at the instrument of which he was so renowned a master, he at once commanded attention.

Hedderwick compares Chopin to other pianists he had seen and heard: Thalberg, 'sitting with serene countenance while banging out some air with clear articulation and power, in the midst of perpetual coruscations of the most magnificent *fioriture*'; Liszt, 'tossing his fair hair excitedly, and tearing the wild soul of music from the ecstatic

keys'; and Döhler, 'with his hammer-strokes, and a rapidity which took away one's breath'. But, says Hedderwick, 'the manner of Chopin was different.'

His description of Chopin is poetic, not to say mawkish:

> No man has composed pianoforte music of more technical difficulty. Yet with what consummate sweetness and ease did he unravel the wonderful varieties and complexities of sound! It was a drawing-room entertainment, more *piano* than *forte*, though not without occasional episodes of both strength and grandeur. Chopin took the audience, as it were, into his confidence, and whispered to them of zephyrs and moonlight rather than of cataracts and thunder. Of the whirl of liquid notes he wove garlands of pearls. The movements and combinations were calculated to excite and bewilder. They were strange, fantastic, wandering, incomprehensible, but less fitted, on the whole, for the popular concert hall than for the *salon* of a private mansion.

It was clear to Hedderwick -- writing, it must be said, over forty years later -- that Chopin 'was early marked for doom'. Thus, 'his compositions live and will live; but he himself, with all his fine inspirations, was in a little while to be laid where neither applause nor criticism, neither glory nor trouble of any kind, could come'.

After Chopin's concert during the afternoon, as we have seen, came the dinner at Johnstone Castle, with Prince Aleksander Czartoryski and Princess Marcelina; the next day, Lord and Lady Murray, and Lord Torphichen, who were also there, were full of praise for Princess Marcelina. She, her husband and son returned to London via Glasgow, looking at Loch Lomond en route, before returning to the Continent. Chopin felt uplifted by meeting the Czartoryskis once more. 'You can't imagine how that day brought new life to me', he told Grzymała, from Keir. 'But I am already depressed again -- this fog!' [31]

Visiting Johnstone in 1930, Édouard Ganche waxes lyrical as he imagines Chopin at dinner there in 1848, and in so doing provides us with an impression of the interior of the castle before its demolition in 1956:

> Au rez-de-chaussée se trouve une admirable salle à manger rectangulaire, lambrisseé de bois cirés, d'une patine rutilante, et ornée dans ses panneaux des portraits peints des maîtres successifs.

Dining, in his imagination, were Prince and Princess Czartoryski, Lord and Lady Murray, Lord Torphichen, and Jane Stirling and Mrs Katherine Erskine. As Ganche pictures the scene:

> Sous les lumières abondantes des lustres, dans la décoration de fête de cette belle salle pas trop spacieuse pour rester agréable et familiale, Frédéric Chopin se vit entouré par une assemblée choisie où pour son plus grand contentement secret l'élément polonais était hautement représenté.

Here, in the country of Walter Scott, Ganche writes, took place 'le banquet idéal de la musique et de l'amour, car toutes les personnes présentes aimaient Chopin, admiraient et honoraient la toute-puissance de son double génie de créateur et d'interprète'.[32]

Chopin planned to go back to see the Murrays at Strachur after his Glasgow concert;[33] however, his next stop was a visit to William Stirling at Keir, whence he reported to Grzymała that he had left Strachur 'a week a go' (that is, before the concert), and he seems never to have returned.[34] On 3 October, Chopin was back in Edinburgh.[35]

Chapter 8

GLASGOW: Concert in Merchants' Hall, 27 September 1848

ENDNOTES

1 Farmer, *History of music in Scotland*, p.416.

2 Farmer, *History of music in Scotland*, pp.416-17.

3 Farmer, *History of music in Scotland*, pp.471-2.

4 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.343. Chopin to Gryzmała, 1 October [1848]. See also Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, pp.299-301.

5 Hadden, *Chopin*, p.147. 'We four', in all likelihood, were Ludovic and Ann Houston, and the two sisters.

On p.148n1, Hadden quotes another, undated, letter from the same lady. Her recollections of a lesson with Chopin in Paris are in a letter she wrote to Hadden on 27 March 1903, quoted in his *Chopin*, pp.185-8. See also the thesis pp.81n53, 83n70 (Chapter 2), and p.279n19 (Chapter 8). Harasowski, in his *Skein of legends around Chopin*, does not include Hadden's *Chopin* among the forty-two books he analyses.

6 For the Merchant City, see McKean, Walker and Walker, *Central Glasgow*, pp. 70-7, and Williamson, Riches and Higgs, *Glasgow*, pp.154-191.

7 For the Merchants' Hall, see McKean, Walker and Walker, *Central Glasgow*, pp. 75-6; Williamson, Riches and Higgs, *Glasgow*, pp.165, 181, and map on p.155; and *Dictionary of Scottish Architects online*, under 'Clarke & Bell', and 'City and County Buildings and second Merchants' House', respectively.

8 See Appendix D of the thesis.

9 Quoted by Atwood, *Pianist from Warsaw*, pp.254-5.

10 Quoted by Atwood, *Pianist from Warsaw*, pp.253-4. For John Muir Wood's comments on this concert, and on Chopin's visit to Britain generally, see Bennett, *Chopin*, p.57.

11 Reviews of the concert are listed in the thesis in the Bibliography: Section 3: British newspapers cited, pp.437-8. See also Herbert Kemlo Wood, 'When Chopin was in Glasgow. To-day's centenary of recital', *Glasgow Herald*, 27 September 1948. Herbert Kemlo Wood's obituary is in the *Glasgow Herald*, 11 May 1953.

12 Quoted by Atwood, *Pianist from Warsaw*, p.254.

13 Quoted by Atwood, *Pianist from Warsaw*, p.255. See also Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, pp.296-7. Niecks adds on p.297: 'Clearly this critic was not without judgment, although his literary taste and skill leave much to be desired. That there were real Chopin enthusiasts in Glasgow is proved by an effusion, full of praise and admiration, which the editor received from a correspondent and inserted on September 30, two days after the above criticism'.

14 Quoted by Hadden, *Chopin*, p.146. Seligmann here mistakenly refers to Milliken Park, but Hadden corrects him in a note. Hadden, whose *Chopin* was first published in 1903, had been given Seligmann's written impressions 'ten years ago' -- that is 45 years since Chopin's Glasgow concert.

15 Opus numbers are taken from Brown, *Index of Chopin's works, passim*. Clearly, Chopin did not necessarily play all the pieces in each opus listed in the programme.

Item 5 in the programme lists six pieces: 'Nos 27, 59, & 61' (which is the *Polonaise-fantaisie* in A flat major), and 'Op. 27 & 55', and 'Op 57'. I am assume that the 'Nos' listed here refer to the opus numbers.

Herbert Kemlo Wood, 'Chopin in Britain, II', p.6, writes: 'Chopin could not make up his mind about his programme, he preferred to play as the spirit moved him and often changed his mind. This accounts for the absence of Opus numbers on the printed programme. The pieces played are identified only from manuscript jottings in my father's handwriting on the programme in my possession. Chopin's habit by this time seemed to have been to put down "Etudes, Nocturnes, Mazurkas", and so on, and on the day he would play of these what he felt inclined to'.

16 For the interpretation of the programme see, e.g., Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, pp.296-7. See also Hedley's speculations in *Chopin*, p.106, and comments on pp.110-11.

17 Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, pp.298-9.

18 Kallberg, *Chopin at the boundaries*, pp.150-2. Would Chopin have been so concerned about the 'parallel tonalities'? In any case, he played preludes from Op.28 later in the concert. See also Kallberg, *Chopin at the boundaries*, p.278nn37-9 (about Edinburgh).

19 Hadden, *Chopin*, pp.147-8.

20 Hadden, *Chopin*, p.146.

21 No firm evidence has been encountered to confirm that the Stirling sisters were at the Glasgow concert or at Johnstone Castle the previous evening. But surely they must have been.

22 Hadden, *Chopin*, p.148n.

23 Hadden, *Chopin*, p.146.

24 Hadden, *Chopin*, p.147.

25 Hadden, *Chopin*, p.147.

26 Hadden, *Chopin*, p.144, reflecting Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.296. Hedley, in an editorial note in *Chopin correspondence*, p.342, says that 'Chopin cleared £90 by it', a statement he reiterates in his *Chopin*, p.111.

The reference to Paganini should be seen in the light of Hugh Macdonald's article, 'Paganini in Scotland', pp.201-18, to which he kindly alerted me.

27 Quoted by Bennett, *Chopin*, p.57. Niecks gives this quotation (unsourced) in *Chopin*, vol.2, p.296, but changes 'country' to 'county'. On p.57, Bennett quotes John Muir Wood's personal comments on Jane Stirling, Mrs Houston, and Chopin's Glasgow concert. Muir Wood makes no mention of Tellefsen or any other musicians. See also the thesis p.129n74 (Chapter 3).

28 Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.296.

29 See the entry on James Hedderwick by Daniel Finkelstein in *Oxford DNB online*.

30 The following quotations are taken from Hedderwick, *Backward glances*, pp. 199-202.

31 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.343. Chopin to Grzymała, 1 October [1848]. See the thesis pp.222, 238n38 (Chapter 6).

32 Ganche, *Voyages avec Frédéric Chopin*, pp.110-11.

33 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.339. Chopin to his family in Warsaw, [10/19 August 1848]

34 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.342. Chopin to Grzymała, 1 October [1848]

35 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.346. Chopin to Grzymała, 3 October [1848].

Chapter 9

EDINBURGH: Concert in Hopetoun Rooms, 4 October 1848

On 1 October 1848, the Sunday after his Glasgow concert the preceding Wednesday, Chopin reported to Grzymała from Keir on his Glasgow experiences. [1] The next day, on 2 October, he wrote from Keir to Mme de Rozières:

> Tomorrow I go to Edinburgh for a few days; I may even play there. Don't imagine, however, that, apart from the fact that it is an engagement, it causes me anything but impatience and depression. But I find here many people who seem to like music and plague me to play. Out of politeness I do so, but every time with fresh regrets, swearing I will not be caught again. If the weather were fine I should spend October here too, for I have invitations which I have not been able to reply to, and country-house life in high society is really very interesting. They have nothing like it on the Continent.

He continues:

> If it is fine I shall go to the Duchess of Argyll's at Inveraray on Loch Fyne, and to Lady Belhaven's [at Wishaw], one of largest places in the country. She is here at this moment, and there are about thirty other people -- some very beautiful, some very witty, some very eccentric, some very deaf, and even a famous name (Sir Walpole) who is blind.

That day, Chopin explains, they are all going to Edinburgh for the Caledonian Rout: 'All this week there will be race-meetings, entertainments, balls, etc. The local fashionable set, the Hunt Committee, arrange these fêtes every year. All the local aristocracy puts in an appearance'. [2]

The next day, Tuesday 3 October, finds Chopin staying with Dr and Mrs Lyschiński at 10 Warriston Crescent, and writing to Gryzmała again:

> Today the weather is fine, even warm, and I feel better. I am to play here tomorrow evening, but I have not seen the hall or settled on the programme. Jenny Lind and Mrs Grote (I met the latter at the station) have been here and have gone off to give a performance in Glasgow. Grisi, Mario and Alboni and all the others have been here. After Glasgow Jenny Lind will be going to Dublin. They did not have quite the same success this year as last: the novelty had worn off.[3]

Chopin's *soirée musicale* in the Hopetoun Rooms took place the following day, Wednesday 4 October, at 8.30 pm. The Hopetoun Rooms were often used by celebrated musicians visiting Edinburgh, such as Paganini in 1833[4] and Liszt in 1841.[5] As the *Scotsman* noted: 'M. Liszt is considered the greatest master of the pianoforte who has ever visited this city, and is, we believe, unequalled by any performer now living.... What Paganini was on the violin, Liszt is on the pianoforte -- possessing perfect execution, directed by the highest genius'.[6]

The Hopetoun Rooms were at the west end of Queen Street and Queen Street Gardens, next to the British Hotel, and entered directly from the street (Plates 9.1, 9.2).[7] They were designed by Thomas Hamilton in the early 1820s,[8] and subsequently became part of the Mary Erskine School.[9] An office building, Erskine House, now occupies the site, and, at the pavement level entrance, a bronze plaque commemorates Chopin's concert there (Plate 9.8).[10] Although demolished in 1967, the Hopetoun Rooms' character can be grasped from photographs taken at the time of their destruction (Plates 9.5, 9.6), and from an undated sectional drawing (Plate 9.3).[11] A sketch from C R Cockerell's diary shows a lozenge-shaped hall, with a domed ante-room at each end (Plate 9.4).[12] The central hall was lit by a rectangular lantern, with twelve female caryatids. The *Scotsman*, marking the opening of the building in 1826, described it

enthusiastically. Its three elegant saloons, which could be used independently, had a vaulted ceiling, 'tastefully divided into compartments in plaster embellished with pateras'. Above, there was 'the most striking novelty' in the lighting, by glazed lanterns. All told, it was a fine setting for a concert, providing excellent facilities for the performer, and a congenial space for the audience. [13]

Mrs Lyschińska told Frederick Niecks that 'Miss Stirling, who was afraid the hall might not be filled, bought fifty pounds' worth of tickets'. As these were 10s.6d each, her apprehension was surely justified, although this was same price as had been charged in Glasgow. As Niecks put it: 'Half-a-guinea had never been charged for admission to a concert (which is probably over-stating the case), and Chopin was little known'. [14] As in his Glasgow concert, Chopin played a Broadwood, Grand Pianoforte No 17,001 (London, *circa* 1847). [15] The programme, advertised in the *Scotsman* on Wednesday, 4 October 1848 (Plate 9.7), seems to have been similar to that for Chopin's Glasgow concert. In Edinburgh it was:

Andante et Impromptu

Études

Nocturnes et Berceuse

Grand[e] Valse Brillante

Andante precédé d'un Lango (*sic*)

Prelude, Ballade, Mazourkas et Valses

Tickets were available from Wood and Co, at No 12 Waterloo Place, Edinburgh.

However, there was a significant difference from the recital in Glasgow: this was a solo concert. Although, of course, while in Britain Chopin had given many performances on his own in private houses, he had never previously done so in public, at a time when to do so was still rare. It was a musical tradition not yet established. [16] 'Revolutionary changes came about during the first half of the nineteenth century', writes William

Weber, 'with the abandonment of vocal music in some programs and the focusing of a repertory on classics in others. A few pianists made a drastic break from the collegial tradition of the benefit concert by performing entirely alone at some concerts'. Liszt was one of those who took this 'new path'.[17] And, one might add, so did Chopin.

In London, in the mid- to late 1830s, Moscheles had pioneered 'classical' *soirées*, and in the 1840s Sterndale Bennett established his 'classical subscription concerts' which sowed seeds of the 'recital', so-called.[18] This term owed its introduction within musical vocabulary to two solo concerts given by Liszt in London's Hanover Rooms in June 1840. These established the key features which were to define the recital -- 'performance from memory, a predominance of works for solo piano and few, or no, associate artists'.[19] In subsequent seasons, two women pianists, Louise Dulcken and Marie Pleyel, made significant contributions to the evolution of the recital, as did the Russian-born pianist Alexandre Billet, resident in London between 1848 and 1858. 'In May and June 1855 Charles Hallé gave his first series of concerts in London, which he described as 'recitals', and in the following spring he, Clara Schumann and Arabella Goddard each offered series of solo concerts'.[20] Here, and in the future, Clara's London programmes 'were based on the six composers whose music formed the core of her concert repertoire -- Bach, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Chopin, Schumann and Brahms'.[21]

This was not Chopin's way. In Edinburgh, he was progressive enough to give a solo performance, and independent enough to limit himself to his own compositions. Not for the first time, however, we cannot be sure of the exact pieces he played. Niecks writes:

> An Edinburgh correspondent of the *Musical World*, who signs himself "M.," confirms (October 14, 1848) the statements of the critic of the *[Edinburgh] Courant*. From this communication we learn that one of the *études* played was in F minor (probably No 2 of Op.25, although there are two others in the same key --

No 9 of Op.10 and No 1 of *Trois Études* without *opus* number). The problematical *Andante précédé d'un Largo* was, no doubt, a juxtaposition of two of his shorter compositions, this title being chosen to vary the programme. From Mr. Hipkins I learned that at this time Chopin played frequently the slow movement from his Op.22, *Grande Polonaise précédée d'un Andante Spianato.* [22]

Speculation continues to this day. A century after the concert, in 1947-8, for example, Susanna Bookshaw took up the challenge in *Hinrichsen's musical year book,* with an article entitled 'What did Chopin play in Edinburgh?' It is inconclusive, as all such speculations must be. [23]

There are signs that, although the recital was well received, the attendance was disappointing. Because the tickets were so expensive, Hadden writes, 'the concert, as a natural result, was attended almost solely by the nobility and the profession. [24] Hadden was not surprised by this:

> Even if the charge for admission had been less than it was there would probably have been only a small audience. Chopin was practically unknown in England; he was, we may say, wholly unknown in Scotland. Miss Stirling's fears were well-founded; and, however much Chopin may have deplored her irksome attachment, she clearly proved a good friend to him while in the North. [25]

Some of Jane Stirling's friends and relatives, having heard Chopin play in Glasgow, may have decided not to go to his Edinburgh recital. And the Czartoryskis had already returned south. [26]

All told, however, the concert was well received. The *Scotsman* (7 October) observed that 'any pianist who undertakes to play alone to an audience for two hours, must, now-

a-days, be a very remarkable one to succeed in sustaining attention and satisfying expectation. M. Chopin succeeded perfectly in both. He played his own music, which is that of a musician of genius. His playing of it was quite masterly in every respect'. The *Edinburgh Evening Courant* (7 October) indicated that there were Poles in the audience, who recognised 'two Polish melodies':

> That they went home to the hearts of such of the performer's compatriots as were present was evident from the delight with which they hailed each forgotten melody with all its early associations, as it rang in their ears.

The *Caledonian Mercury* (12 October) regarded it as a 'high compliment to the taste of the inhabitants of the Scottish metropolis' that he was induced to perform in the Hopetoun Rooms. 'This distinguished individual', it noted,

> has for some weeks been resident in Scotland, and we trust that he has found amidst the magnificent scenery of the north, and the hospitality of the nobility and gentry, that repose for the exercise for his genius which the disturbed state of the Continent denies to men of the most peaceful habits and pursuits.

The *Edinburgh Advertiser* (6 October) endorsed the 'display of rank and beauty' to be seen in the Hopetoun Rooms on 'one of the most delightful musical evenings we have ever spent'.[27]

After his Edinburgh concert, Hedley writes,

> Chopin returned for a few days to Calder House. He had decided to accept the invitation to Wishaw and wrote to Lady Belhaven on 16 October: 'Madam, if I may still take advantage of your invitation, on which day may I have the honour of presenting my respects at Wishaw? I am leaving Calder House today for Edinburgh ... I shall stay three days at Warriston Crescent'. At the same time he

wrote to Adolf Gutmann in Heidelberg, but his letter contains nothing that has not already appeared elsewhere, apart from a few sentences referring to his Edinburgh concert: 'I played in Edinburgh. All the local gentry had gathered to hear me. They say it went well -- a little success and a little money.' And he again speaks of the "red cap" ghost: 'It haunts the corridors at midnight with its red cap -- I haunt them with my doubts and hesitations'. After Wishaw he went to Hamilton Palace to stay with the Duke and Duchess of Hamilton.[28]

Here, at Hamilton, as Jim Samson takes up the story,

> he took pleasure in the lively company of the exiled Prince and Princess of Parma. When he took ill there he retreated to his compatriot Dr Lyschiński, not least because he was begining to discover something of Jane Stirling's larger plan. Having introduced him to just about all her relatives, she clearly hoped that marriage would be the next step. But anything less amenable to Chopin would have been hard to find. The critical point is that whereas Sand had facilitated his creative work, Stirling suffocated it.[29]

As he wrote to Gryzmała: 'I cannot compose anything'. And again: 'What has become of my art? and where have I squandered my heart? I can scarcely remember what songs they sing at home. This world seems to slip from me, I forget things, I have no strength. I no sooner recover a little than I sink back lower still.'[30]

On 30 October, after his visit to Hamilton Palace, Chopin told Gryzmała that in Edinburgh 'cholera is on [their] doorstep'. The composer's spell at Hamilton has given him respite from the attentions of Jane Stirling and Mrs Erskine, but once he is back in Edinburgh they are seeking him out at No 10 Warriston Crescent:

> My good Scots ladies, whom I have not seen for a week or two, will be coming here today. They would like me to stay longer and go trotting from one

> Scottish palace to another, here, there and everywhere that I am invited. They are kind-hearted but so tiresome!! -- may God be with them! I get letters from them every day but I never answer a single one; and as soon as I go anywhere they come running after me if they possibly can.

Small wonder that some people believed that he and Jane were to be married. 'But there must be some sort of physical attraction', Chopin writes, 'and the unmarried one is far too much like me. How can one kiss oneself?'. It is not a prospective wife, but his mother and sisters in Poland who occupy his mind: 'God fill their hearts always with happy thoughts !' As far as Jane is concerned, Chopin considers himself 'nearer to a coffin than a bridal bed'. The next day, Chopin tells Gryzmała, he is returning to London, as Lord Dudley Stuart has asked him to play on 16 November 'at a benefit-concert for the Poles, to be given before the ball begins'.[31] On 31 October, Chopin took the train from Edinburgh to London, perhaps by the Scottish Central Railway, which had started to run express trains between Perth and London (via Edinburgh) on the 2nd of that month.[32] Chopin's Scottish adventure was at an end.

Chapter 9

EDINBURGH: Concert in Hopetoun Rooms, 4 October 1848

ENDNOTES

1 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, pp.342-5.

2 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, pp.345-6.

3 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.346.

4 See Macdonald, 'Paganini, Mendelssohn and Turner in Scotland', pp.31-3, 35, 36-7.

5 Allsobrook, *Liszt. My travelling circus life*, p.164.

6 *Scotsman*, 23 January 1841, quoted by Williams, *Portrait of Liszt*, p.159.

7 See Byrom, *Edinburgh New Town gardens, passim*, particularly p.167.

8 For Thomas Hamilton see Colvin, *Dictionary*, pp.474-7, and *Dictionary of Scottish Architects online*, under Thomas Hamilton.

9 For the Mary Erskine School, see Skinner, *A family unbroken*, pp.60, 149. According to Mrs Skinner (p.149), in the hall where Chopin performed, 'Cortot had played the same pieces again one hundred and one years later'. On p.34, Mrs Skinner shows an illustration entitled 'The Edinburgh Institution, Queen Street', formerly the Hopetoun Rooms and the British Hotel. This is described in Gifford, McWilliam and Walker, *Edinburgh*, p.321.

10 For a full description of the Hopetoun Rooms, see Rock, *Thomas Hamilton*, pp. 11-14. See also Colvin, *Dictionary*, p.475, and *Dictionary of Scottish Architects online*, under 'British Hotel and Hopetoun Rooms'. A new top floor was added in 1873 by David MacGibbon. For the Hopetoun Rooms and the St Cecilia Orchestral Society, see Harris, *Saint Cecilia's Hall*, pp.282-3.

11 Reproduced in Rock, *Thomas Hamilton*, p.13 (plate 5).

12 British Architectural Library, RIBA, London, Diary of C R Cockerell, February 1828-June 1829 [Monday 17 March 1828], Series 7.9.Coc/10/3.

13 The *Scotsman*, quoted by Rock, *Thomas Hamilton*, pp.11-12. Joe Rock gives no date for this description, but on p.12 he cites the *Scotsman* of 7 July 1824, 4 January 1826, 25 February 1826, 7 May 1831, and 23 August 1834. An undated, anonymous watercolour of the interior of the Hopetoun Rooms is reproduced in Rock, *Thomas Hamilton*, p.14.

14 Niecks, *Chopin*, volume 2, p.298.

15 See Appendix D of the thesis. After the concert, writes Niecks, it was 'sold for £30 above the price. Thus, at any rate, runs the legend.' Its sale, in 1849, to 'Wood', is recorded in the Broadwood Archives, Surrey History Centre (Woking), 2185/JB. According to Wainwright, *Broadwood by Appointment*, p.164, 'a Broadwood grand in rosewood then cost 155 guineas'.

16 See Weber, *The great transformation of musical taste*, pp.245-51.

17 Weber, *The great transformation of musical taste*, p.6.

18 The following paragraph is based on Ritterman and Weber, 'Origins of the piano recital in England, 1830-1870', pp.175-82. See also the sources given on p.170n4 of the thesis.

19 Ritterman and Weber, 'Origins of the piano recital in England, 1830-1870', p.179.

20 Ritterman and Weber, 'Origins of the piano recital in England, 1830-1870', p.181. Weber, *The great transformation of musical taste*, p.248, points out that 'Charles Hallé performed more solo recitals than anyone else between 1855 and 1870'.

21 Ritterman and Weber, 'Origins of the piano recital in England, 1830-1870', p.182.

22 Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, pp.298-9. This last piece retains its popularity. On Tuesday 3 March 2009, Martin Kasik included Chopin's Andante Spianato and Grande Polonaise in E flat major (Op.22) in his recital to the Sunderland Pianoforte Society, Sunderland Pottery Room, Museum and Winter Gardens, Sunderland. The other two items in the concert were by Jańacek and Mussorgsky.

The text of the critique from the *Musical World*, quoted by Niecks, is given in Atwood, *Pianist from Warsaw*, p.259.

23 For discussion of Chopin's concert programme, see Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, pp. 297-302; Kallberg, *Chopin at the boundaries*, pp.150-2, 278nn37-9; and Brookshaw, 'What did Chopin play in Edinburgh', *Hinrichsen's musical yearbook*, vols.4-5 (1947-1948), pp.192-3. Hedley, *Chopin*, p.106, also speculates, and discusses the Hopetoun Rooms concert on pp.111-12.

24 Hadden, *Chopin*, pp.149-50.

25 Hadden, *Chopin*, pp.149-50.

26 Chopin's letter to Grzymała of 1 October from Keir indicates that they were then going back to the Continent. See Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, pp.299-300, and Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.343.

No evidence has been encountered to link Chopin to the academic community in Edinburgh. John Thomson (1805-41) was first Reid Professor of Music at the University of Edinburgh. At the time of Chopin's visit, the Reid Professor was John Donaldson, who occupied the chair from 1845-1865. Before him, since the establishment of the chair in 1838, there had been four Reid Professors. See the entries on Donaldson by Christopher D S Field in *Grove music online*, and by W B Squire, revised by John Purser, in *Oxford DNB online*.

27 For the texts of these reviews, see Atwood, *Pianist from Warsaw*, pp.255-9.

28 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, editorial note on p.347.

29 Samson, *Chopin*, p.257.

30 For this second quotation, see Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.349. Chopin to Gryzmała, 30 October [1848].

31 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, pp.348-50. Chopin to Gryzmała, 30 October [1848].

32 See Nowaczyk, 'Chopin mknął Szkocji', in which he cites and illustrates an advertisement for the Scottish Central Railway from the *Scotsman*, no 2999 (4 October 1848).

Chapter 10

LONDON: Autumn 1848

Concert in Guildhall, 16 November 1848

Once back in London, Chopin stayed first with Henry Broadwood at No 46 Bryanston Square and, as his diary shows, moved on 3 November to No 4 St James's Place, off St James's Street, Piccadilly (Plates 10.1, 10.2).[1] He remained there until leaving for Paris on 23 November. Chopin's rooms in No 4 St James's Place were found for him by Karol Szulczewski, while Princess Marcelina Czartoryska lived at his former address, No 48 Dover Street, nearby (Plate 3.12).[2] Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart resided at No 34 St James's Place from 1847 to 1850.[3] No 4 St James's Place was one of a terrace of brick-faced houses built in 1685-6, each of three storeys, with 'barrel-vaulted cellars beneath the street pavement, three storeys and a garret in front, and five storeys at the back'. Since its original construction, an extra storey has been added, and the street front stuccoed. Internally, as late as 1960, the *Survey of London* recorded that No 4 St James's Place 'has the best-preserved interior with a staircase compartment panelled for three storeys and the staircase itself complete from the ground to the third floor.' Though altered, there was also panelling in the rooms on the first and second floors. However, in the 1970s, a further restoration of the house included refacing.[4] Today, a blue plaque erected by the Greater London Council in 1981 (Plate 10.3) bears the inscription:

From this
house in 1848
FREDERIC
CHOPIN
1810-1849
went to Guildhall to
give his last public
performance

The plaque marks the final stage of Chopin's visit to Britain.[5]

At No 4 St James's Place, Broadwood provided Chopin with Grand Pianoforte No 17,047 (London, 1847), now at Hatchlands, which the composer had used for his London recitals at Mrs Sartoris's and Lord Falmouth's, and at the Gentlemen's Concert Hall in Manchester (Plate 4.12).[6] On 13 November, Henry Fowler Broadwood took this piano away to deliver it to Guildhall for Chopin's performance there, and replaced it at No 4 St James's Place with Grand Pianoforte No.17,284 (London, *circa* 1847).[7] It was during his stay in St James's Place that Chopin must have signed the Pleyel Grand Pianoforte No 13,716 (of rosewood, with inlaid veins of copper) with the inscription 'Fr. Chopin, / 15 novembre 1848'. This is now in the Museum of the Collegium Maius, Cracow, and may have been owned by Jane Stirling (Plate 10.4).[8]

Before Chopin left Scotland, he had told Gutmann of his reservations about returning to the metropolis: 'The cholera approaches', he groaned. 'London is full of fogs and spleen'.[9] Back in London, his health remained poor. On 3 November, Chopin wrote to Dr Lyschiński, in Edinburgh:

> Yesterday I received your kind letter, with a letter from Heidelberg. Here I am as incapable as I was with you, and also have the same affection for you as I had. My compliments to your Wife and your Neighbours. God bless you! I embrace you heartily.[10]

Chopin told Lyschiński that he had seen Princess Marcelina Czartoryska, who enquired after him 'most affectionately'; living at No 48 Dover Street, Chopin's former address, the Princess had only to cross Piccadilly, and into St James's Street, to find herself virtually at Chopin's door (Plate 3.12).[11]

In London, Chopin again turned for medical help to Dr Henry V Malan, physician to the Marylebone Homeopathic Dispensary, and a friend of Jane Stirling and Mrs Erskine.[12] Letters from Chopin to Gryzmała, Mlle de Rozières, and Solange Clésinger describe his last weeks in Britain.[13] 'I have been ill for eighteen days, since the day I reached

London', Chopin told Gryzmała, later in the month. I have not been out at all, having had such a cold, with headaches, suffocation and all my bad symptoms'. Dr Malan 'comes every day.... I have an awful headache in addition to my cough and choking spasms. The really thick fogs have not yet begun, but in the mornings I already have the windows opened to get a breath of fresh air'. Luckily, Chopin has friends who give him every attention; 'I regularly see Szulczewski, good fellow, Broadwood and Mrs Erskine (who is here with Miss Stirling). They followed me here, just as I told you they would.... But I see most of all Prince Alexander [Czartoryski] and his wife. Princess Marcelina is to kind that she visits me practically every day, just as if I were in hospital'. [14] His neighbour, Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart, also calls. As Chopin told Mlle de Rozières later, he had remained in his bedroom, in his dressing gown, since 1 November [*sic*], and had been out only once, on 16 November, 'to play for our Polish compatriots'. [15]

GUILDHALL, Thursday 16 November 1848

Chopin, with Benedict and Sloper

Chopin's concert in Guildhall in London on Thursday 16 November was part of the Annual Grand Dress and Fancy Ball and Concert in aid of the funds of the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland. The ball was a regular occurrence on London's social scene, with Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart playing a significant part in it; in this instance, according to Adam Zamoyski, Princess Marcelina, 'acting as an agent for the Hôtel Lambert', also helped in the organisation. [16] The *Daily News* of 1 November 1848 carried this advertisement:

Grand Polish Ball and Concert at Guildhall, under Royal and distinguished patronage, and on a scale of more than usual magnificence, will take place on Thursday, the 16th of November, by permission of the Mayor and Corporation of the City of London; particulars of which will be shortly announced to the public.

The 15 November issue of the *Daily News* provided this extra information:

> The magnificent decorations used on the Lord Mayor's day are, by permission, preserved. The concert will comprise the most eminent vocalists. Tickets (refreshments included), for a lady and gentleman, 21/-; for a gentleman, 15/-; for a lady, 10/6; to be had of, & c.

No mention here, it will be seen, of Chopin, or the names of any other performers. [17]

It must be said that the ball was greeted with some opposition, notably from the *Times*, which felt that, in the tumultous year of 1848, Polish aspirations seriously threatened peace in Europe. [18] Parliament that year had cut its subsidy to the Polish refugees, which, William Atwood explains, 'was the reflection of a wave of anti-Polish sentiment that pervaded the country then'. To many Englishmen, he writes,

> it seemed that the Poles were deliberately fomenting strife throughout Europe in the hope that a disruption of the current balance of power might allow Poland to reemerge as an independent nation once more. This sort of attitude soon brought Lord Dudley the derisive title of "King of the Poles" for trying to help the exiles.

That autumn, London papers lambasted the Polish refugees, with the forthcoming ball at Guildhall 'singled out for special attack': the "lazy Pole, who eschews employment", is treated to "the substantial crumbs that fall from the well-decked tables of a civic ball", whereas 'an Englishman gets packed off to the workhouse whenever he is down on his luck'. Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart, who had been warned that there might be violence at the ball, took the precaution of stationing police both within and outside Guildhall. [19]

The Guildhall building was begun in the 15th century, one of a group erected for the government of the City of London. [20] Internally, it consists of a single-span roof, the second largest structure in the medieval city after St Paul's, and the largest civic hall in

England (Plate 10.6). Surrounding it were other structures, including a chapel and the mayor's court, which (with the hall itself) were refitted after the Great Fire. In 1788-9, George Dance, Junior, completed his entrance porch, with its eclectic mixture of gothic, classical, and oriental motifs. [21] Although much altered later, this striking feature was still in its early form in Chopin's time, and can be seen in Thomas Hosmer Shepherd's view of 1828 (Plate 10.5). It remains in existence today. [22]

Amongst other 18th-century additions to Guildhall, though demolished in 1908, was the Common Council Chamber (1777-8), also designed by George Dance, Junior, with its spare, top-lit central dome which so influenced Sir John Soane. [23] Here, it seems, Chopin played. An engraving of 1842 or so, from a study by Shepherd, illustrates its character (Plate 10.7); the view was published in the part-work *London interiors. A grand national exhibition* (London, 1841-1844). As befits a centre of civic government, Guildhall's Common Council Chamber has portraits lining the walls, and a gallery of spectators in attendance, with people waiting to present petitions at the bar. A commentary, published in *London interiors*, explains that 'it is not an infrequent occurrence for individuals to be admitted to the Bar of the Court, in order to address the members in support of petitions presented ... or, perhaps, Lord Dudley Stuart approaches the Bar, to ask for the use of the Guildhall for a ball in favour of the distressed Poles, and to entreat the patronage of the Corporation of London in favour of the object'. [24]

To Frederick Niecks, echoing Fiorentino, Chopin's concert at Guildhall 'may be truly called the swan's song'. [25] The *Illustrated London News* of 18 November observed that 'the elegant decorations with which the hall was fitted up for Lord Mayor's Day were retained for the present occasion: and the vast apartment when brilliantly lighted, presented a "coup d'oeil" of singular beauty.' [26] The day after it took place, on 17 November, the *Times'* report on the event referred to the dancing, 'Mr Adams' excellent band', the refreshment rooms, 'the gay costumes of some Highlanders and Spaniards', and to Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart, 'the great lion of the evening'. But, as Niecks

comments, 'there is not a word about Chopin'. The concert itself, the *Times* noted, 'was much the same as on former anniversaries'. As Niecks remarks:

> The concert for which Chopin, prompted by his patriotism and persuaded by his friends, lent his assistance, was evidently a subordinate part of the proceedings in which few took any interest. The newspapers either do not notice it at all or but very briefly; in any case, the great pianist-composer is ignored.[27]

Chopin's 'intense patriotism and strong sense of duty roused him to make this effort on behalf of his fellow countrymen,' observes Hedley, 'but it went unnoticed: there is scarcely any mention of his playing in the accounts of the event which appeared in the press'.[28]

Niecks quotes Hueffer's essay on Chopin in his book *Musical Studies*, in which he quotes 'one present on the occasion':

> The people hot from dancing, who went into the room where he played, were but little in the humour to pay attention, and anxious to return to their amusement. He was in the last stage of exhaustion, and the affair resulted in disappointment. His playing at such a place was a well-intentioned mistake.[29]

This was a view taken by Chorley, in his obituary of Chopin. The pianist's performance at Guildhall, he wrote, was 'at the instance of ill-judged solicitation.... At such a miscellaneous gathering the name of so select an artist was hardly an attraction: and the gossip of the indifferent guests drowned his beautiful playing at his last public performance'.[30] 'What a sad conclusion to a noble artistic career!', Niecks adds.[31]

What of the concert itself? The *Illustrated London News* of 18 November records that it was conducted by Julius Benedict (Plates 10.8, 10.9) and Lindsay Sloper (Plate 2.22),

and that they and the other musicians took no fee. Chopin 'performed some of his beautiful compositions with much applause. The dancing commenced soon after 9 o'clock, and was continued with unabated vigour till an advanced hour in the morning'. [32] Regrettably, we do not know the identity of Chopin's 'beautiful compositions', although Niecks, who was a friend of Lindsay Sloper, remarks that Sloper 'remembered that Chopin played among other things the Études in A flat and F minor (Op.25, Nos 1 & 2)'. [33] Chopin used the Broadwood Grand Pianoforte No 17,047 (London, 1847), now at Hatchlands (Plate 4.12). [34] Poles present included Princess Marcelina Czartoryska who, the next day, told her uncle, Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski about the event. 'The concert went very well', she wrote, 'Chopin played like an angel, much too well for the inhabitants of the City, whose artistic education is a little problematic'. [35]

As a commemoration of it, and of the memorial concert held on 20 November 1978, the Byron Society, the Anglo-Polish Society, and the Chopin Society presented a plaster bust of Chopin by Jarosław Giercarz Alfer; this is now in the Guildhall Art Gallery (Plate 10.11). [36] On 26 February 1975, a full-length bronze statue of Chopin was unveiled outside the Royal Festival Hall in London; it is by the Polish sculptor Mariań Kubica, who won the commission after a competition in Poland (Plate 10.11a). It supplements the casket in the Royal Festival Hall, containing earth from Chopin's birth place at Żelowa Wola, which was presented by the Polish government in 1974, on the 125th anniversary of the composer's death. [37]

It was due to Dr Malan's ministrations that Chopin was able to perform at Guildhall. 'But as soon as I had played I came home', he writes, 'and could not sleep all night. I have an awful headache in addition to my cough and choking-spasms' (Plate 10.10). Lord Coutts Stuart, living nearby at No 34 St James's Place, was one of the friends who came to see him the day after his concert. [38] In his misery, Chopin's hopes of going back to Paris intensified. At times, in his gloomier moments, it seemed pointless to do so. 'What's the use of my returning!', he asked Gryzmała. 'Why doesn't God finish

me off straightaway, instead of killing me by inches with this fever of indecision? Besides', he continued,

> my Scots ladies are getting on my nerves again. Mrs Erskine, who is a very devout Protestant, bless her, would perhaps like to make a Protestant out of me. She brings me her Bible, speaks of my soul and marks psalms for me to read. She is devout and kind, but she is very much concerned about my soul -- she's always going on about the next world being better than this one -- I know it all by heart, and I answer by quoting from Holy Scripture. I explain that I know and understand it all.

If he had his health, and two lessons a day, he would have enough to live decently in London. As it is, Chopin longs to return to Paris.[39] 'One more day here and I shall not die but GO MAD -- my Scots ladies are so tiresome! May the hand of God protect them! They have got their grip on me and I cannot tear them off!' The only people who keep him alive are Princess Marcelina, her family, and 'good Szulczewski'.[40]

Chopin never ceases to be sorry for Solange, in her alienation from George Sand, and writes to her sympathetically about the possibility of her husband, Auguste Clésinger, finding work in England and Russia.[41] But the strongest theme of Chopin's letters is his return to Paris. Luckily, he was able again to rent one of the apartments at No 9 place d'Orléans, looked after by Mme Étienne.[42] He gives precise instructions to Gryzmała about its preparation:

> Please get them to air the bedclothes and pillows. See that they buy plenty of fir-cones -- Mme Étienne must not try to economise -- so that I can get warmed right through as soon as I arrive.... Have the carpets laid and the curtains hung. I will pay Perricher, the furnisher, at once. You might even tell Pleyel to send me any kind of piano on Thursday evening -- see that he is paid for the transport. On Friday, get them to buy a bunch of violets to scent my

> drawing-room -- let me find a little poetry when I come home, just for a moment as I go through on my way to the bedroom where I know I am going to lie a long, long time. [43]

'I can't wait for the time when I shall be able to breathe more easily, understand what people are saying and see a few friendly faces', he told Mlle de Rozières. [44] The day before he left London, Chopin admitted to Solange that he was going back to Paris, 'scarcely able to crawl, and weaker than you have ever seen me. The London doctors urge me to go. My face is swollen with neuralgia; I can neither breathe nor sleep'. Despite suffering a relapse since his Guildhall concert, Chopin promised to return to London the next year. 'Sir James Clark, the Queen's physician, has just been to see me and give me his blessing', Chopin told Solange. 'And so I am going back to lie whimpering at the Place d'Orléans while hoping for better times'. [45]

Accompanied by Leonard Niedźwiedzki, Chopin left London on Thursday 23 November, one imagines by one of the South Eastern Railway Company trains to Folkestone from London Bridge Station. [46] Princess Marcelina Czartoryska, who had comforted Chopin during the previous few weeks in London, saw him off, accompanied by her husband, Prince Aleksander, and their son Marcel. [47] 'Broadwood had made the same arrangements as for his journey to Scotland', Hedley explains. 'The seat opposite Chopin was reserved, so that he could put his feet up. Niedźwiedzki describes in his diary how Chopin had a kind of nervous seizure just as the train moved out. His friend feared he was going to die, but he came round.' [48] When they reached Folkestone (Plate 10.12), they had a meal of soup, roast beef and wine at an inn -- perhaps the Pavilion Hotel, which the South Eastern Railway Company had opened in 1843 'for passengers using the New Commercial Steam Packet Company's service to Boulogne' (Plate 3.5). [49] Chopin, who was sea-sick on the crossing, was only too delighted when they reached the French port, and they spent the night there. [50] The next day they travelled to Paris, on a journey subsequently celebrated by the photographer Edouard Baldus in his album *Chemin de fer du Nord*, published to mark the visit to

France by Queen Victoria in 1855. [51] An anecdote, related by Niecks, illustrates Chopin's poor opinion of England and the English. When they had left Boulogne, and Chopin had been for some time looking at the French landscape through which they were passing, he said to Niedźwiedzki: 'Do you see the cattle in this meadow? *Ça a plus d'intelligence que les Anglais*'. [52]

Chopin and Niedźwiedzki reached Paris about mid-day on Friday 24 November. [53]

Chapter 10

LONDON: Autumn 1848

Concert in Guildhall, 16 November 1848

ENDNOTES

1 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, editorial note on p.350. The street index in the *Post Office Directory, London 1851,* lists four occupants of No 4 St James's Place, one of whom, Miss Margaret Owen, has a 'lodging house'.

For St James's Place, see Bradley and Pevsner, *London 6: Westminster,* pp.620-4; *Survey of London,* vol.30, *The Parish of St James Westminster*, part 1, *South of Piccadilly* (1960), pp.511-13; and Weinreb, Hibbert and Keay, *London encyclopaedia*, pp.769-70.

2 Zamoyski, *Chopin*, pp.269-70. Princess Marcelina Czartoryska's descriptions of Chopin's time in London in 1848, in French, are contained in letters in BCz (Cracow), 6328 (Ew.841), ff.529-50, dated 18 September, 10 November, 17 November, 18 December 1848, sent from No 48 Dover Street, Piccadilly, to her uncle, Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski. Two letters of 1849, from No 130 Marine Parade, Brighton (one in French, the other in Polish), are on ff.551-7. I thank Janusz Nowak, at the Biblioteka XX Czartoryskich, Cracow, for showing me these letters, and copying them for me.

3 *Kelly's Directory, London 1848*, and *Survey of London,* vol.30 (1960), p.512.

4 Quotations in this paragraph are from *Survey of London*, vol.30 (1960), p. 512.

5 For Chopin's blue plaque at No 4 St James's Place, see Cole, *Lived in London*, pp. 474-5, and map 12. For both No 4 St James's Place, and No 99 Eaton Place, see Rennison, *London blue plaque guide*, p.40, and Sumeray, *Discovering London plaques*,

p.44. They are also referred to on p.147 of the Chopin entry in Sadie, *Calling on the composer*, pp.140-9. The location of the plaques can be seen in Sumeray, *Track the plaque*, pp.33, 46.

6 Broadwood Archives, Surrey History Centre (Woking), 2185/JB. See also Appendix D of the thesis.

7 Broadwood Archives, Surrey History Centre (Woking), 2185/JB. Documentation of the movements of Broadwood pianos contained in the Porters' Books. Probably *circa* 23 November, Broadwoods took back their Grand Pianoforte No 17,284.

Apparently Broadwood reserved Grand Pianoforte No 17,047 for Chopin, in the hope that he would return to London the next year. It was ultimately sold, and Hipkins had to borrow it for the International Inventions Exhibition of 1885. The subsequent history of the piano, by Alec Cobbe, is given in Macintyre, 'Chopin's true sound', *passim*.

8 Collegium Maius (Cracow), MUJ 6887-30/VIII. See Appendix D of the thesis. The piano is described and illustrated in Ludmiła Bularz-Różycka and Barbara Lewińska, *Krakowskie Chopiniana* (Cracow: Muzeum Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1999), pp.36-7.

Could this piano have been in Jane Stirling's London home, in Bentinck Street, and signed by Chopin there? It was bought by Ganche from Mrs Houston at Johnstone Castle, but no evidence has been encountered to indicate that Chopin ever played it in Scotland.

9 Opieński, *Chopin's letters*, p.389 (no 266). Chopin to Gutmann, 16 Oct[ober] 1848.

10 Opieński, *Chopin's letters*, p.398 (no 272). Chopin enclosed a letter to Jane Stirling, 'who doubtless is still at Barnton', asking Lyschiński to forward it to her. An

alternative translation appears in Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.302. The original letter is in Edinburgh University Library, Dc2/82/1, and is accompanied by a transcript of the Polish text by Mrs Frederick Niecks. Mrs Niecks adds an explanatory note about Chopin's monogram on his seal, which consists of three Cs in the form of horns (with mouthpieces and bells) intertwined. The seal itself is in the Collegium Maius (Cracow).

Sydow, *KFC*, vol.2, p.285, gives a transcript of the Polish text of the letter, and Sydow and Chainaye, *Chopin correspondance*, vol.3, p.398, offers a French translation of it. See also the discussion of the letter in Krystyna Kobylańska, 'Odnaleziony list Chopina', *Ruch muzyczny*, vol.34, no 26 (30 December 1990), pp.1,7, which contains a different version of it.

11 As this letter implies, Princess Marcelina must surely have met Dr Lyschiński in Edinburgh.

12 For Dr Malan see the Personalia section of the thesis. A synopsis of Malan's career appears in the *Homeopathic medical directory* for 1853, including a list of his publications. Bernard Leary kindly alerted me to this reference.

13 See the table of letters in Appendix B of the thesis. In addition, Chopin wrote two letters to Dr Malan, in French, during this period -- one inscribed 'Londres, novembre 1848', the other of a similar date. See Sydow and Chainaye, *Chopin correspondance*, vol.3, pp.402 (no 746), 403 (no 748). From these, one might deduce that Dr Malan declined to charge Chopin any fee for his services.

14 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.350. According to the index, this is the only reference to Dr Malan (spelt 'Mallan') in Hedley's volume.

15 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.352. Chopin to Mlle de Rozières, 19 [really 20] November [1848].

16 Zamoyski, *Chopin*, p.270.

17 These quotations from the *Daily News* are taken from Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p. 304.

18 Zamoyski, Chopin, p.270.

19 Atwood, Pianist from Warsaw, pp.185-7.

20 For Guildhall, see Bradley and Pevsner, *London 1: City of London*, pp.298-306, especially p.298; Colvin, *Dictionary* pp.297-8, 711; and Stroud, *George Dance*, pp. 113-23, and plates 35-39b.

21 For George Dance, Junior, see Colvin, *Dictionary*, pp.295-9, and Stroud, *George Dance*, *passim*.

22 See Bradley and Pevsner, *London 1: City of London*, pp.299-300.

23 See the coverage of Dance and the Common Council Chamber in Stroud, *George Dance*, pp.113-16, and plates 35, 36; Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, p.418, and plate 361 (from Pugin and Rowlandson, *Microcosm of London*, 1808); and Summerson, *Georgian London*, pp.155-6, and plates 74, 75.

24 *London interiors*, vol.1 (1841), p.40 (under 'Guildhall').

25 Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.304. Niecks describes the Guildhall concert on pp. 304-5.

A 'documentary and philatelic exhibition' marking the 150th anniversary of the death of Chopin was held in the Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum, London, in 1999. It was organised by the Chopin Society and the Polish Philatelic Society in Great

Britain, and included a display of the description of the concert and ball at Guildhall, taken from the *Annual Report of the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland* (1849).

26 Quoted by Atwood, *Pianist from Warsaw*, p.259. See also Bone, *Jane Stirling*, p. 86.

27 Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.305.

28 Hedley, *Chopin*, p.112.

29 Hueffer, *Musical Studies*, p.64. This quotation originally appeared on p.393 in Hueffer's essay, 'Chopin', in the *Fortnightly Review*, vol.22, new series (1877), pp. 377-94.

30 *Athenaeum*, 27 October 1849 (no 1148), p.1090.

31 Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.305.

32 Quoted in Atwood, *Pianist from Warsaw*, pp.259-60. A list of ten female and seven male singers is then given.

33 Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.305. Did Chopin and Benedict play a Mozart duet, perhaps?

34 Hipkins, *List of Broadwood exhibits*, p.12. See Appendix D of the thesis. See also Broadwood Archives, Surrey History Centre (Woking), 2185/JB.

35 Letter, in French, of 17 November 1848, the day after the concert in Guildhall, from 48 Dover Street, Piccadilly, in BCz (Cracow), 6328 (Ew.841), ff.541-4. This letter is almost indecipherable, and the text here is taken from the translation given by Adam Zamoyski in *Chopin*, p.270.

36 Catalogue entry in Knight, *Works of art of the Corporation of London*, p.329.

37 See Mullaly, 'Memorial to Chopin at Festival Hall', *passim*. The statue has recently been moved.

38 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, pp. 350-1. Chopin to Gryzmała, 17 and 18 [November 1848]. According to the index, this is the only reference to Malan (here spelt Mallan) in Hedley's volume. Coutts Stuart's address is in *Kelly's Directory, London 1848*.

39 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, pp.351-2. Chopin to Gryzmała, 17 and 18 [November 1848].

40 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.353. Chopin to Gryzmała, [21 November 1848].

41 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, pp.353-5. Chopin to Solange Clésinger, 22 [November 1848]. 'Not a day has passed when I have not tried to write to you', says Chopin [p.353].

42 For Chopin's instructions to Gryzmała about an apartment in Paris see Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.351. Chopin to Gryzmała, 17 and 18 [November 1848].

43 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.353. Chopin to Gryzmała, [21 November 1848].

44 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence* p.352. Chopin to Mlle de Rozières, 19 [really 20] November [1848].

45 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.354. Chopin to Solange Clésinger, 22 [November 1848]. For Sir James Clark, see the Personalia section of the thesis.

46 For the South Eastern Railway Company, see Simmons and Biddle, *Oxford companion to British railway history*, pp.461-2.

47 For details of Chopin's departure, see Zamoyski, *Chopin*, p.271. On p.318n65, Zamoyski quotes his source as Leonard Niedźwiedzki, Private Diary, Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Kórnik, MS 2416, p.278.

48 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, editorial comment on p.355, citing Niedźwiedski's diary. Hedley does not mention a servant, but Niedźwiedzki told Niecks that Chopin was accompanied by one, and that 'during the journey the invalid suffered greatly from frequent attacks of breathlessness.' See Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p. 306. In his letters, Chopin makes allusions to needing accommodation for a servant on his return to Paris, but nothing has been found to confirm Niecks' report. Perhaps Niedźwiedzki's diary holds the answer?

49 See Carter, *British railway hotels*, pp.28-9, 123. For the steamers sailing from Folkestone and Dover, see Duckworth and Langmuir, *Railway and other steamers*, pp. 127-32.

50 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, editorial comment on p.355.

51 This consisted of a map of the route, illustrated with large photographs of the towns, monuments, and sites she would see. See Rice, *Parisian views*, pp.194-207,

particularly plate 6.4. More generally, see Daniels, *The photographs of Edouard Baldus, passim.*

Writing from London on 2 June [1848], Chopin tells Gryzmała: 'When I have been jolted up and down in a carriage for three or four hours I feel as though I had travelled from Paris to Boulogne'. Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.320.

52 Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.306n39.

53 'By midday on Friday I shall be in Paris', Chopin told Gryzmała, [21 November 1848]. Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.353.

Conclusion

PARIS 1849: Chopin and Jane Stirling

Chopin's last year saw him living at three addresses in Paris. On returning to the city, he was initially at No 9 place d'Orléans; at the end of May 1849, he moved for the summer to No 74 rue de Chaillot, in the country; and finally, in mid-September, he transferred to No 12 place Vendôme, designed by Jules Hardouin-Mansart, where he died on 17 October (Plate Conc 1).[1]

On his return to Paris, Jim Samson writes,

> Chopin was greeted at the Square d'Orléans by Franchomme, Gryzmała, and Mme de Rozières, who, after a shaky start, had come to be counted among his closer friends. The Square d'Orléans must have seemed a less congenial place, now that all the old circle, including the Marlianis, had left. Only Alkan remained. But friends rallied round, taking care of him and keeping him company.[2]

Maria Kalergis and Delphina Potocka appeared, as did Albrecht and Gutmann. Attentive, as always, Princess Marcelina Czartoryska also came, as well as Delacroix, who recorded his impressions of Chopin in his *Journal*. Chopin enjoyed some musical evenings at his home, and even went to see Meyerbeer's newest opera, *Le Prophète*.[3]

The oft-told accounts of Chopin's last days need not concern us here, except in so far as they relate to his period in Britain.[4] 'Even if we confine ourselves to those given by eye-witnesses' Niecks writes, they are 'a mesh of contradictions which it is impossible to wholly disentangle'.[5] Once back in Paris, Chopin's health was, of course, a major concern. Chopin continued his consultations with homeopaths, but found that his trusted Dr Molin had died.[6] It was a severe blow to him.[7] 'Molin had the art of

pulling me together', he told Solange Clésinger. 'Since he died I have had Mr Louis, Dr Roth -- for two months -- and now Mr Simon, who has a great reputation as a homeopathic doctor. But they try their different methods without bringing me relief'. [8] Chopin was plagued with ill-health for the rest of his life, [9] and hardly surprisingly he composed little. [10]

During Chopin's illness, many of his friends and acquaintances came to see him, not to mention his sister Ludwika Jędrzejewicz, with whom Jane Stirling corresponded (Plates Conc 2, Conc 3). Visitors who had known him in England and Scotland included Jenny Lind, [11] Jane Stirling and Mrs Erskine, and Princess Marcelina Czartoryska; Henry Fowler Broadwood was invited to Paris by the composer, but did nothing came of it. [12] Niecks singled out a report by Charles Gavard, in which he relates

> that on the 16th October [1849] Chopin twice called his friends that were gathered in his apartments around him. 'For everyone he had a touching word; I, for my part, shall never forget the tender words he spoke to me'. Calling to his side the Princess Czartoryska and Mdlle. Gavard, he said to them: 'You will play together, you will think of me, and I shall listen to you'. And calling to his side Franchomme, he said to the Princess: 'I recommend Franchomme to you, you will play Mozart together, and I shall listen to you'. 'And', added Franchomme when he told me this, 'the Princess has always been a good friend to me'. [13]

Niecks felt that

> M. Gavard probably exaggerates the services of the Princess Czartoryska, but certainly forgets those of the composer's sister. Liszt, no doubt, comes nearer the truth when he says that among those who assembled in the *salon* adjoining Chopin's bedroom, and in turn came to him and watched his gestures and looks when he lost his speech, the Princess Marcelline Czartoryska was the most assiduous. [14]

Princess Marcelina, Gavard maintained, 'passed every day a couple of hours with the dying man. She left him at the last only after having prayed for a long time beside him who had just then fled from this world of illusions and sorrows'. [15]

Jane Stirling and Mrs Katherine Erskine seem to have been among Chopin's devoted friends during his last year. Anne Thackeray Ritchie notes that Jane Stirling visited Paris for periods, rather than having a permanent home there there; [16] at one stage, both she and her friend, Natalia Obrescoff, were living in St Germain-en-Laye, on the Seine. [17] Jane's sister, Katherine, wrote Thomas Erskine, of Linlathen, 'was an admirable woman, faithful and diligent in all duties, and unwearied in her efforts to help those who needed her help'. [18] In Chopin's case, this involved a campaign to 'make a Protestant' out of him. [19] The Stirlings expressed their devotion in a strange episode, as Arthur Hedley explains:

> Chopin's diary for 1849 shows that his lessons were few in number and could not possibly cover his living expenses. On 8 March (as he noted later) Jane Stirling and her sister decided to make him an anonymous gift of 25,000 francs. Mrs Erskine sent the banknotes in a parcel, which was handed to Mme Étienne, the concierge [at No 9 place d'Orléans]; but Chopin heard nothing of the money until July. His letters give details of this strange affair. In the meantime, on 21 May, he received 1,000 francs from the Rothschilds and also loans from his friends Franchomme and Herbault. [20]

Chopin recounts this unusual story, involving a medium, to Gryzmała, and concluded: 'Thank God the money was found, There are many other details which I can't write -- the pen is burning my fingers'. [21]

In 1849, Teofil Kwiatkowski painted several versions of Chopin's death-bed scene; featured in them are Aleksander Jelowicki (the priest), Chopin's sister Ludwika, the Princess Marcelina Czartoryska, Wojciech Gryzmała, and the painter himself; one of

the paintings, which shows Ludwika sitting alone with her brother, apparently was commissioned by Jane Stirling (Plate Conc 4). But Jane Stirling herself appears in none of the paintings. [22] Considering her relationship with the composer, and her financial and personal generosity to him, this suggests a wilful exclusion of her by Chopin's Parisian friends. [23] Following his death on 17 October, M. Gavard *père* made the arrangements for the funeral in the Madeleine, which, owing to the extensiveness of the preparations, did not take place until 30 October (Plates Conc 5, Conc 6). [24] The funeral, perhaps paid for by Jane Stirling and Mrs Erskine, included Mozart's *Requiem*, and special permission was required for women to take part in it. Pauline Viardot and Luigi Lablache were among the singers, and thus able to make their last gesture of devotion to Chopin -- though not without some unseemly problems about payment. [25] Kwiatkowski completed his sketches, and Auguste Clésinger made death masks, and set to work on his sculpture to be incorporated in the Chopin monument in the Père La Chaise cemetery the next year (Plates Conc 7, Conc 8). Plans were afoot to take Chopin's heart to Wąrsaw, where it was placed in the Church of the Holy Cross. Writing from the United States, after Chopin's death, Jenny Lind enquired in a letter to her of Mrs Grote's latest visit to Paris, and observed mournfully: 'Poor dear Chopin, he was not there'. [26]

As expected, the British press reported Chopin's death and funeral. Chorley's obituary of Chopin in the *Athenaeum* on 27 October 1849 (no 1148, p.1090) was long and effusive. 'On Chopin's pianoforte playing, exquisite and unparagoned after its kind as it was, no school could be founded', Chorley wrote. 'With great elegance of mind, refinement of taste, and nobility of feeling was combined a quiet, quaint, child-like humour, the play of which was as spontaneous as it was original. One of more tender and affectionate nature we have never known'. [27] For his part, Davison published a detailed description of Chopin's funeral in his preface to his edition of Chopin's *Mazurkas* (1860). [28] Other reports in the British press of Chopin's funeral appeared in the *Daily News* of 2 November 1849, and the *Musical World* of 10 November 1849. [29] The unveiling of Chopin's monument in the cemetery of Le Père La Chaise in October

1850, on the anniversary of Chopin's death, was recorded in an account in *John Bull* of 26 October 1850.[30]

Jane Stirling's commitment to Chopin continued after his death, as she bought up and distributed Chopin's possessions; her activity in preserving Chopin's memory and his artefacts was extensive and complex.[31] Suffice to say that she continued her dedication until her own death. Arthur Hedley expresses it succinctly:

> There can be no doubt that Jane Stirling was in love with him. During the remaining months of his life she was never far from him, and after his death she devoted herself to the cult of his memory. Jane Welsh Carlyle describes how she saw her in London -- 'like Chopin's widow', pale and dressed in deepest mourning'.[32]

Included in her activities were liaising with Fontana over the publication of Chopin's works, and collaborating with Gryzmała on a biography of Chopin.[33] As she assembled and dispersed Chopin's possessions to Warsaw, Scotland, and elsewhere, she set in train the assembly and documentation of material which involved (among many others) Édouard Ganche, in Lyons and Paris, and Mrs Anne Douglas Houston, at Johnstone Castle (Plates Conc 13, Conc 14).[34]

It was Liszt, however, who published first. Liszt's biography, *Frédéric Chopin*, brought out in Paris in 1852, by Escudier, was the first monograph devoted to the life and work of the composer. Based on a series of articles published in *La France musicale* (5 February-17 August 1851), and partly the work of Princess Carolyne von Sayn-Wittgenstein, it had a controversial reception.[35] Before publication, Liszt had written to Ludwika Jędrzejewicz with twelve questions about Chopin; Ludwika, apparently, did not respond, but passed on the questionnaire to Jane Stirling,[36] Her replies, with the questions, were later published by Mieczyław Karłowicz, in French and Polish, in his *Nie wydane dotąd pamiatki po Chopinie* (1904),[37] and in English by Edward N Waters

in his *Frederic Chopin, by Franz Liszt* (1963). [38] All told, Jane Stirling was unhappy with the book, and felt that Wojciech Gryzmała should be the person to write Chopin's biography.

Jane Stirling took lessons in Paris in 1849 from Vera Rubio, a Russian pianist and former pupil of Chopin, [39] and from Thomas Tellefsen, to whom many of Chopin's students transferred their allegiance. [40] A pupil of Chopin from 1844 to 1847, Tellefsen, as we have seen, was a friend in Paris of Fanny Erskine, Jane Stirling, Katherine Erskine, the Schwabes, and the Léos. [41] He was in Britain in 1848, perhaps visiting Calder House. and again in 1849, though his activities are obscure. [42] Tellefsen's visits to Scotland are recorded in his letters from Glenbervie (1848), Gargunnock (1849), Hamilton Palace (1851), and Stirling (1857). [43] According to Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger, Chopin entrusted Tellefsen with the completion of his pianoforte method, but it was never published nor even finished. 'Tellefsen remained on close terms with Marcelina Czartoryska, Franchomme, and Jane Stirling, Having become a highly regarded teacher in Paris, he performed there as a concert pianist in the decade 1850-1860, and was also involved in the activities of the Hôtel Lambert. [44] And he composed. [45] In 1860, with the publisher Richault, Tellefsen brought out a twelve-volume *Collection des oeuvres pour le piano par Frédéric Chopin*, which, perhaps due to Tellefsen's ill-health, proved to be unsatisfactory. [46] According to Tellefsen's family papers, Jane Stirling travelled several times to Norway, where she owned an estate at Natland, near Bergen; [47] it is, however, not mentioned in her will of 1859. [48]

When Jane Stirling died that year, she left behind her admiring as well as grieving friends and relatives. According to Niecks, the Scottish divine William Hanna regarded her as not merely a cousin but a 'particular friend' of Thomas Erskine, of Linlathen (Plate Conc 9), who 'used in later life to regard her and the Duchess[e] de Broglie as the most remarkable women he had ever met'. [49] In 1837, the year before Mme de Broglie died, Ary Scheffer painted her portrait, in Paris. [50] On 7 October 1838, after her death, Thomas Erskine wrote to Jane Stirling, from Geneva: 'To many it is a desolating

blow.... You knew her, and you loved her, and she loved you; and you will feel that there is not another creature in creation that could fill her place for you'. Erskine describes his last visit to Mme de Broglie. 'As I was going out of the room, she said, "Am I ever to see you again in this world?" I hope to pass eternity with her....We are strangers and pilgrims on the earth; the only right thing is to pray without ceasing, and to love without ceasing'.[51]

Jane Stirling died on 6 February 1859, at Calder House, at the age of fifty-four, of a 'Disease of the Ovary'; her death was certified by Dr Adam Lyschiński, who had attended her the previous day, and she was interred in the 'Burial Ground of Dunblane Cathedral'.[52] The following day, Thomas Erskine wrote from No 16 Charlotte Square, Edinburgh, to the Rev. J McLeod Campbell:

> I cannot express what a loss I feel this to be to myself and to many, above all to Mrs Erskine, who has been a mother as well as a sister to her during the greater part of her life. She clung to life till the very end, feeling that she had things to do which required her life, besides having a particular repugnance to the idea of death both for herself and for others... She had two months of great suffering. Her repugnance to death was not connected with any fear of what might follow death, for she had a perfect trust in her Father's love, but she regarded death as an enemy and usurper. She desired to be prayed for, and that her life should be prayed for.[53]

A week later, on 14 February 1859, Thomas Erskine wrote similarly to Mrs Julie Schwabe:

> How shall I tell you of the affliction it has pleased God to lay upon us? Jane Stirling has been taken from this world, doubtless to her own great gain, and doubtless for our good, could we understand it aright. In the meantime, however, it is a deep sorrow, a removal of what was the light and joy of many

hearts. She was ill for eight weeks, and suffered a great deal... I know you will feel this deeply, for your could appreciate the purity and beauty of that stream of love which flowed through her whole life. I don't think that I ever knew any one who seemed more entirely to have given up self, and devoted her whole being to the good of others. I remember her birth [at Kippenross] like yesterday, and I never saw anything in her but what was lovable from the beginning to the end of her course... It is a voice to us out of the invisible eternity, which we ought to seek to understand.[54]

We can do no more than speculate on the location of Jane Stirling's burial at Dunblane as, at the time of her death, the cathedral was virtually open to the skies.

Dunblane Cathedral, otherwise known as the Cathedral Church of St Blane and St Laurence, Dunblane, has a twelfth-century tower of red sandstone, and a striking west end, which rises above the town and river (Plate Conc 10).[55] By the later 13th century, writes Richard Fawcett, the cathedral had an aisled nave incorporating the tower on the south, and an aisleless choir with an adjoining north range incorporating a sacristy and chapter house. By 1622, the nave had apparently lost its roof, though not the tower and the east bays of the south aisle (Plate Conc 11). The cathedral remained roofless until restorations were undertaken in the 19th century, notably by James Gillespie Graham (1816-19) and, in particular, by Robert Rowand Anderson (1889-93). These brought the ruined nave back into use, and made many significant changes.[56] Today, the north aisle of the nave -- variously known as the 'Keir' aisle or the 'Stirling' aisle -- contains memorials and plaques to the Stirling family (Plate Conc 12).[57] Among the memorials are that to John and Patrick Stirling of Kippendavie (died 1816), by Peter Turnerelli, 1819 (a grieving woman placing a garland on an urn), and another to William Stirling of Keir (died 1793), by Rowand Anderson, 1909 (an opulent Jacobean marble aedicule, capped by a cartouche and obelisks); notable among the plaques is a brass plate to the Stirlings of Kippendavie (Plate Conc 13). It bears the following inscription:

TO THE GLORY OF GOD
AND IN MEMORY OF
THOSE MEMBERS OF THE
HOUSE OF STIRLING
OF KIPPENDAVIE
INTERRED IN THIS AISLE
FROM 1595 TO 1859.
THIS BRASS IS PLACED
BY PATRICK STIRLING
NOW OF KIPPENDAVIE
1892.

Colonel Patrick Stirling of Kippendavie, who erected the plaque, was a leading figure in the restoration of the cathedral by Rowand Anderson, and it is notable that the last of the Stirlings referred to on the plaque was interred in 1859 -- the year of the death of Jane Stirling. During the restoration of 1889-1893, care was taken not to disturb the remains of persons buried within the cathedral walls, and this suggests that Jane Stirling, and others members of the house of Stirlings of Kippendavie, may well lie beneath the floor in the north aisle. [58]

On 8 August 1930, on his tour of Scotland, recorded in his book, *Voyages avec Frédéric Chopin,* Édouard Ganche made a pilgrimage to Dunblane, on his way from Calder House, *en route* for Keir. [59] As the organist played music by Chopin, Ganche and his 'petit cortège' of eight people, among them Mrs Anne D Houston, of Johnstone Castle, located 'une plaque de bronze, entourée d'un bas-relief, rappelle quelques noms de la famille des Stirling'. Nearby, they laid a floral bouquet which Ganche had brought from Glasgow. The irony was not lost on him: Jane Stirling, who had been involved in the erection of Chopin's tomb in Père La Chaise, and placed flowers within it, was buried in an unnamed grave. 'Déjà', Ganche wrote,

son corps avait disparu dans l'inconnu de l'immense univers de notre amour et éprouvait une blessure. Toutes nos pensées essayaient de se rapprocher de Jane Stirling comme si elle pouvait comprendre l'hymne de notre affection et que nous lui apportions avec notre coeur ému l'attestation du sentiment de milliers d'autres coeurs qu'elle a touchés.

Ganche continued to meditate on Jane Stirling's life as he listened to 'une musique lointaine, aux sonorités affaiblies, qui paraissait venir des hautes voûtes'. Chopin's Funeral March, a nocturne, and preludes, played on the cathedral organ, 'disaient pour Frédéric Chopin un langage pathétique et répandaient leurs harmonies avec une enveloppante douceur autour de l'âme, que nous imaginions existante et heureuse, de Jane Stirling'. [60]

Next call, for Ganche and his party, was the Stirling family seat of Kippenross, less than two miles from Dunblane, where Jane Stirling was born; as Jane explained in a letter, Chopin, when staying at Keir in 1848, had been prevented by rain from going there, so she went alone. Ganche remembers Kippenross as the place where Jane Stirling had prepared 'le contenu de la boîte qu'elle plaça derrière le médaillon du tombeau de Chopin'. As she herself put it: 'J'ai mis une petite feuille de rosier que j'avais cueillie pour lui à Kippenross où je suis née et que j'avais fait sécher dans ma bible. Etant à Keir, il voulut aller à Kippenross, mais il plut ce jour-là, et je m'y rendis seule'. [61] Ganche records his impressions of Kippenross when seen from a distance: a two-storey rectangular building set amidst trees, with lawns descending to a river. 'C'est le lieu', Ganche concludes, 'où Jane Stirling revenait méditer sur son premier acheminement vers sa destinée.' [62]

Conclusion

PARIS 1849: Jane Stirling

ENDNOTES

1 See Samson, *Chopin*, pp.259-60.

2 Samson, *Chopin*, p.258.

3 See Samson, *Chopin*, pp.258-9.

4 Notable descriptions are in Atwood, *Pianist from Warsaw*, pp.190-2.

5 Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.316.

6 For Chopin's medical treatment on his return to Paris, see Atwood, *Parisian worlds*, pp.349-55.

7 Liszt, *Chopin* (Waters), p.172. See also Atwood, *Parisian Worlds*, p.349.

8 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.355. Chopin to Solange Clésinger, Tuesday, 30 January 1849.

9 See the medical descriptions of Chopins's last months and death in Neumayr, *Music and medicine*, vol.3, pp.105-31, and O'Shea, *Music and medicine*, pp.146-51. There is no evidence that Chopin corresponded from Paris with his British doctors.

10 Brown, *Index of Chopin's works*, pp.173-4 (nos 167, 168), documents Chopin's Mazurkas in G minor (Op. 67, no 2) and F minor (Op.68, no 4), as both perhaps written in the summer of 1849, though Chopin's sister Ludwika dates them '1848'.

11 At No 4 rue de Chaillot. Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, p.359. Chopin to Gryzmała, 18 June [1849]. In this letter, apart from Lind, Chopin mentions visits from Delphine Potocka, Mme de Beauvau, and Mme Rothschild, as well as referring to the Czartoryskis, Delacroix, Franchomme, Gutmann, and Pleyel.

12 Wainwright, *Broadwood by Appointment*, p.64, writes: '(Henry Fowler) Broadwood received a present in gratitude from Chopin the following February [1849], accompanied by an invitation to visit the composer in Paris. In a cheerfully good-humoured reply, Henry Fowler pleaded that he was too busy making pianos. He sent the good wishes of the Broadwood family "for the restoration of your health". In fact he was arranging for a special grand piano to be made for Chopin as a present -- the first of his full iron frame grands. Tragically, Chopin never saw it'.

13 Niecks, Chopin, vol.2, p.317.

14 Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p. 319.

15 Niecks, Chopin, vol.2, p.319, quotes Gavard again.

16 Ritchie, *Chapters from some memoirs*, pp.23-4. See the thesis pp.63-8, 83-4, notes 71,72 (Chapter 2).

17 W-S, 'Jane Stirlings' letters', p.62n5. See here the tabulation of Jane's letters from Paris and Barnton House, on pp.53-9. Bone, *Jane Stirling*, p.56, says that, in 1842, Jane was at No 3 rue de Noailles.

18 Quoted by Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.292.

19 See Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, pp.351-2, Chopin to Gryzmała, 17/18 [November 1848].

20 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, editorial comment on p.356.

21 Hedley, *Chopin correspondence*, pp.366-8. Chopin to Gryzmała, Saturday 28 July [1849].

22 For Kwiatkowski, see the Personalia section of the thesis, and W-S, 'Jane Stirling's letters', pp.73-74n10.

23 The death of Chopin is reported by Samson, *Chopin*, p.260. A poem by Alfred Noyes (1880-1958) entitled 'The death of Chopin', is quoted in Barnett, *Scottish pilgrimage*, pp.19-20. Note the letter of 20 October 1849 from George Onslow, the French musician, to Paul-Antoine Cap, referring to Chopin's death, in Ruhlmann, 'Chopin-Franchomme', p.129, with Polish translation on pp.130-1.

24 Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.323.

25 Descriptions of Chopin's funeral are numerous and varied. See, e.g., Atwood, *Lioness and little one*, pp. 286-91; Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, pp.323-7; and Samson, *Chopin*, p.282. Bone, *Jane Stirling*, p.90, claims that Chopin's funeral was 'paid for by Jane and Mrs. Erskine'. For Viardot's demand for payment, see Steen, *Enchantress of nations*, pp.179-80.

26 Letter quoted in the catalogue of the Sotheby's sale of Continental Manuscripts and Music, London, 26 May 1994, p.19 (Lot 274 (iv)). Lots 274-81 consisted of a Jenny Lind Archive.

Note the imaginative references to Chopin's funeral in Ganche, *Voyages avec Frédéric Chopin*, pp.112-15, when the Frenchman meets Mrs Anne D Houstoun in the garden at Johnstone Castle, and reads the description in the *Daily News* of 2 November 1849. See Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.324, for part of the English text from the *Daily News*.

27 See Bledsoe, *Chorley*, pp.178-9. On p.178 Bledsoe quotes a sympathetic letter to Chorley about Chopin from Turgenev, and on p.179 gives the text of Chorley's 'memorial sonnet' to Chopin. To these Chorley added an article on Chopin in *Bentley's Miscellany*, in 1850, and proposed to write others.

Note the reference in Cooper, *House of Novello*, p.140, to the description of Chopin in the *Musical World* on 21 July 1837 as 'the celebrated composer', and the 'different perspective' of the obituary in the *Musical Times* of November 1849, in which Chopin is referred to simply as "Chopin the Pianist" (see Cooper, *House of Novello*, p. 136). See also the obituary of Chopin in the *Musical World* of 10 November 1849.

28 Reprinted in Hipkins, *How Chopin played*, pp.29-33.

29 Both are quoted *in extenso* in Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, pp.324-5.

30 See Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, pp.326-7. The *Athenaeum* does not seem to have carried a description of the funeral, but brief reference is made to it in the *Athenaeum*, 3 November 1849 (no 1149, p.1114), in a note announcing that 'a monument is about to be erected in Paris to the memory of Chopin, by his friends and admirers; subscriptions for which will be received by MM. Pleyel, Rue Rochechouart'.

Sophie Léo's comments on Chopin, made after his death, appear on pp.401-3 of her 'Musical life in Paris (1817-1848)'.

31 See the chapter 'Jane Stirling after Chopin's death', in Bone, *Jane Stirling*, pp. 93-107.

Key published sources for a study of the dispersal of Chopin's effects include Chopin, *Oeuvres pour piano* (Stirling), pp.VII-XIV, and the documentation in W-S, 'Jane Stirling's letters'. The bibliographies to recent catalogues (e.g., W-S, *Chopin. Fame resounding far and wide*, pp.13-19) provide essential leads.

32 Hedley, *Chopin*, p.112.

33 See, for instance, Samson, *Chopin*, pp.283-4.

34 Key sources include Chopin, *Oeuvres pour piano* (Stirling), pp.VII-XLVI. Correspondence between Ganche and Mrs Houston is in the Ganche Papers, BnF (Paris), as are details of the Ganche sale, and the purchases by (notably) the Frederick Chopin Society (TiFC), Warsaw, and the Collegium Maius and the Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Cracow. These last two locations house many Jane Stirling items.

35 See the discussion in Poniatowska, 'The Polish reception of Chopin's biography by Franz Liszt', pp.262-4.

36 See Poniatowska, 'The Polish reception of Chopin's biography by Franz Liszt', pp.263-5. See the coverage in Walker, *Liszt. The virtuoso years*, p.186 (for the questionnaire), and Walker, *Liszt. The Weimar years*, pp.146, 379-80 (for Liszt's writing of the biography, with Carolyne von Wittgenstein, and its publication). Walker notes on p.379 here that Ludwika 'refused to cooperate'.

37 Pp.351-67 (given by Poniatowska, p.276n14). For the French text, see Karłowicz, *Souvenirs*, pp.200-4.

38 Liszt, *Chopin* (Waters), pp.18-25.

39 See Eigeldinger, *Chopin vu par ses élèves*, pp.229-31, and Eigeldinger's entry on Tellefsen in Fauquet, *Dictionnaire de la musique en France au XIXe siècle*, p.1203. See also Tellefsen in the Personalia section of the thesis, and the article by Kari Michelsen in *Grove music online*. There is a thesis on Tellefsen by Ingrid Loe Dalaker, Department of Music, University of Trondheim (NTNU), which I have not seen. I am grateful to Sissel Guttormsen, of the Ringve Museum, Trondheim, for telling me of this, and for other assistance.

40 Huldt-Nystrom, 'Tellefsen', p.198.

41 See the description of Tellefsen in Barlow, 'Encounters with Chopin', p.246.

42 For instance, see the letter from Chopin to Camille Pleyel of 11 September 1848, sent from Johnstone Castle, in which he recommends Tellefsen to him. An English text is in Hedley, *Chopin*, p.110. For the original French text, see Sydow and Chainaye, *Chopin correspondance*, vol.3, p.386 (letter 736), and for a Polish translation, see Sydow, *KFC*, vol.2, p.442 (letter 640). See also Appendix B of the thesis.

43 Tellefsen, *Thomas Tellefsens familiebreve*, pp.107-8, 114-15, 128-9, 151.

44 For Tellefsen in Paris, see 'Thomas Tellefsen: "Paris est mon idole"', in Herresthal and Reznicek, *Rhapsodie norvégienne*, pp.57-81, and 'Thomas Tellefsen: Paris est mon idole', by Harald Herresthal, in Herresthal et Pistone, *Grieg et Paris*, pp. 18-20. Tellefsen and Princess Marcelina Czartroyska are considered in Diehl, *Musical memories*, pp.23-9. For Tellefsen in a national context, see Kjeldsberg, *Piano i Norge*, pp.54, 56-9, 61, 62, 64.

45 'As a composer', Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger remarks, 'Tellefsen left 44 opus numbers, consisting of piano pieces, chamber music and two concertos; about ten of

these works are dedicated to students and friends of Chopin'. See Eigeldinger, *Chopin: pianist and teacher*, p.185.

46 See Eigeldinger, *Chopin vu par ses élèves*, pp.236-8.

47 Tellefsen, *Thomas Tellefsens familiebreve*, p.175. See also Bone, *Jane Stirling*, pp.95-6. Tellefsen's letters to his parents, published in 1923 as *Thomas Tellefsens familiebreve*, give details of his life in Paris, and his time in Britain. See Jaeger, 'Quelques nouveaux noms d'élèves de Chopin', p.88, for a description in French. See also Eigeldinger, 'Présence de Thomas D A Tellefsen', *passim*.

48 See the entry for Jane Stirling in the Personalia section of the thesis. For Tellefsen's connection with England, see the two articles by Keith G Orrell cited in the Bibliography of the thesis, p.412.

49 Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.291. See the entry on Thomas Erskine of Linlathen in the Personalia section of the thesis, and by Trevor A Hart in *Oxford DNB online*. Linlathen House, Angus, was enlarged for Erskine, *circa* 1820-1826, by the builder-architect William Stirling (no relation), and demolished in 1958, and later. See Colvin, *Dictionary*, p.987, and *Dictionary of Scottish Architects online*, under Linlathen House.

A letter from Louise de Broglie, Comtesse d'Haussonville, to Chopin about a piano lesson is noted in Karłowicz, *Souvenirs*, p.137. Her portrait by Ingres (1845) is in the Frick Collection, New York. Holland, 'Chopin's teaching and his students', p. 113, gives no other reference to her.

50 See Ewals, 'Ary Scheffer. Sa vie et son oeuvre', p.377. The painting is now in the Château de Coppet.

51 Hanna, *Letters of Thomas Erskine of Linlathen (1800-1840)*, pp.328-9.

52 Details taken from '1859. Deaths in the Parish of Mid Calder in the County of Mid Lothian', p.2. Lady Torphichen kindly provided me with a copy of this register, which she had been sent by Margaret Kirby, of Edinburgh, in 2003.

53 Hanna, *Letters of Thomas Erskine of Linlathen (1840-1870)*, p.129.

54 Hanna, *Letters of Thomas Erskine of Linlathen (1840-1870)*, pp.129-30. On pp. 130-2 there is a transcript of a letter in French of 15 February 1859, from the Swiss Reformed theologian, Louis Gaussen, in Les Grottes, Geneva, in response to a letter from Erskine giving him the news. Part of Julie Schwabe's letter is quoted in Niecks, *Chopin*, vol.2, p.291.

55 For an architectural description of Dunblane Cathedral, by Richard Fawcett, see Gifford and Walker, *Stirling and Central Scotland*, pp.425-40. See also McKean, *Stirling and the Trossachs*, pp.81-3.

56 For Rowand Anderson's work, see 'The restoration of Dunblane Cathedral, 1889-1893', in Barty, *History of Dunblane*, pp.286-92.

57 For descriptions of these memorials and plaques, see Mitchell, *Monumental inscriptions: South Perthshire*, p.115, and the plan of Dunblane Cathedral on p.97. See also Gifford and Walker, *Stirling and Central Scotland*, pp.439, 440 (graveyard).

58 The proper treatment of the existing graves in the cathedral is examined in Barty, *History of Dunblane*, p.288.

59 The visits to Dunblane Cathedral and Kippenross are described in Ganche, *Voyages avec Frédéric Chopin*, pp.102-5.

60 An article on Ganche's visit to Dunblane Cathedral, entitled 'Lady who befriended Chopin', appeared in the *Scotsman,* 9 August 1930. It describes Ganche as 'president of the Société Frédéric Chopin, of France', and 'a man of wide culture and aesthetic tastes'. The writer adds that the Rev Neil T M'Culloch, assistant minister at the Cathedral, 'offered prayer, and Mr Herd, the Cathedral organist, played several Chopin selections on the organ'. Another newspaper report (its origins untraced) says that 'the wreath was of lilies, gladioli, sweet peas, asters, and red carnations'.

Bone, *Jane Stirling*, pp.106-7, may have been referring to Ganche when she describes 'the visit made by the Chopin Society several years ago' to Dunblane Cathedral. On this occasion, 'Minnie Stirling, an old lady, almost 80 years of age, was asked to lead the way to Jane Stirling's grave'. This she duly did, wryly commenting later that the flagstone she pointed to "was as good a spot as any". Bone, *Jane Stirling*, p.107, expresses her belief that Jane was buried 'at Calder Church'.

61 Jane Stirling's letter is quoted in Ganche, *Voyages avec Frédéric Chopin*, p.105, and is the source of her other comments in this paragraph. However, Ganche's text here differs from the one he published in *Dans le souvenir de Frédéric Chopin*, pp. 120-1, in which Jane Stirling describes the contents of the box which she placed behind the Chopin medallion on his monument in Le Père Lachaise cemetery. The box included '*un médallion donné par Tellefsen*'.

On Tuesday 14 January 2003, BBC Radio 4 FM broadcast the imaginative play 'A rose for Chopin'. by Lorraine McCann, in which Jane Stirling presents Chopin with a rose from Kippenross when he leaves Edinburgh for London after his concert in the Hopetoun Rooms.

62 Ganche, *Voyages avec Frédéric Chopin*, p.105. Ganche next moved on to Keir, and then to Johnstone Castle.

Epilogue

The death in 1868 of Jane Stirling's sister, Katherine Erskine, marked a significant break in the links between Chopin, and England and Scotland. [1] Lord Torphichen had died in 1862, and other siblings of the Stirling sisters had passed on. [2] The memoirists and memorialists were recording their impressions of the composer. Then, in 1888, there appeared Frederick Niecks' biography, *Frederick Chopin as man and musician*, which benefitted substantially from Niecks' friendship and acquaintance with musicians and others who knew Chopin personally.[3] Appropriately, Niecks was Reid Professor of Music at the University of Edinburgh, and recipient of the gift from Kwiatkowski of a drawing of the composer (Plates Conc 16, Conc 17).[4]

As CHOPIN IN BRITAIN has demonstrated, the composer's visits to England and Scotland drew sustenance from his life in Poland and France: they were all of-a-piece, so that friends and fellow-musicians who were prominent in Chopin's earlier life also crossed the Channel with him. The Czartoryskis, from the Hôtel Lambert, for instance, were in frequent touch. The Schwabes appear in both Paris and Manchester. Pauline Viardot and Chopin shared recitals in London and Paris. Chopin's extensive correspondence shows the frequency with which he wrote those he loved, and who loved him, and it is impossible in reading his letters not to be aware of the fragility of his health and the desperation of his emotions. He mentions death frequently. Chopin's relationship with Jane Stirling and Mrs Erskine, at once both sustaining and problematic, ensured the success of his spells in London, and his visits to Scottish country seats Money troubles were always to hand, and Chopin's public performances were always tinged with financial considerations; indeed, Chopin's lifestyle was little better than hand-to-mouth. As in Paris and Leipzig, so in Britain, Chopin remained vulnerable to publishers such as Wessel, and to the demands of the marketplace; even his students, on whom he relied for income, were not averse to holding back payment to him. Yet, among his well-to-do patrons, Chopin seems to have been treated generously,

and to have enjoyed a sophisticated lifeststyle. Here, in the luxurious ambience of Stafford House, in elegant London town houses, or in handsome Scottish seats, he found the equivalent settings to those in Paris, Warsaw, and elsewhere which he knew so well.

Throughout his life, Chopin sought and enjoyed the patronage of the aristocracy, and his letters from England and Scotland reinforce this clearly. But, as Heinrich Heine points out, his aspirations were more than social. In his struggle against the misfortunes of life, Chopin is seen by history as a tragic hero, Heine's encomium on the composer is unequivocal. 'Chopin's satisfaction surely does not come from having the dexterity of his hands applauded by other hands', he wrote:

> He aspires to a higher type of success; his fingers are but the servants of his soul, and his soul is applauded by those who listen not only with their ears but also with their own souls. Hence, he is the favorite of that elite who seek the most elevated intellectual pleasures in music. His success is of an aristocratic sort. His fame, one might say, is perfumed by the praises of polite society; it is elegant, as he himself is.[5]

That said, in more recent times, the Brazilian composer, singer, guitarist and pianist Antonio Carlos Jobin, has added a more specific claim. 'When a good history of popular twentieth-century music is written', he observed, 'Chopin may appear as a central influence'.[6] It is a challenging idea.

Epilogue

ENDNOTES

1 See Appendix A: Jane Stirling: Family context, and the entries under the Stirlings in the Personalia section of the thesis.

2 See the entry on Katherine Erskine (*neé* Stirling) in the Personalia section of the thesis. For Jane Stirling and Katherine Erskine letters, see Karłowicz, *Souvenirs*, pp. 189-99.

3 An analysis of Niecks' biography appears in Harasowski, *Skein of legends around Chopin*, pp.93-105. This chapter is entitled 'An early destroyer of legends'. It is, of course, not Niecks' fault that after his death additional Chopin material appeared in Poland and elsewhere which has influenced subsequent scholarship.

4 See the Niecks entry in the Personalia section of the thesis. Niecks' final appraisal of Chopin appears in the Epilogue to his *Chopin*, vol.2, pp.328-33.

5 Taken from the translation of an article from the *Gazette musicale*, in Liszt, *An artist's journey*, pp.223-4.

6 Quoted by Brown, 'Chopin came from Ipanema',