CHAPTER

32   Medievalist Music and Dance 🔓

John Haines

Abstract

Central to Victorians' medievalism was the notion, prevalent since the sixteenth century, that English medieval song and dance had been preserved in kernel form by modern folk traditions. This assumption of a hidden medieval-folklore link played out in the main musical medievalisms of the nineteenth century: in antiquarian research on dance and song, both liturgical chant and vernacular music; in the more creative medievalisms of opera and music hall; and in their inheritor, the ultimate song-and-dance entertainment of the machine age, cinema. One exception to the idea of medieval art as preserved by the folk is the curious case of the motet, a quintessentially antiquarian object of study emerging in the late 1900s in connection with the burgeoning industry of academia.

Keywords: early music, folksong, Morris dance, motet, music hall, opera, romancero, vaudeville, cinema

Subject: Literary Studies (Early and Medieval), Literary Studies (19th Century), Literature

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THE Victorians, like us, were afflicted with 'presentism'.[1] Their view, subsequently repeated in histories, was that they had rescued the music and dance of the Middle Ages from oblivion.[2] They had not. Indeed, the two principal ideas about medieval music and dance as dear to them as to us their heirs, the Victorians had ultimately taken from the Elizabethans: (1) that medieval music needed reviving, and (2) that a kernel of it had been preserved in the rustic music of the people, the folk music of their day. From the 1500s to the 1800s, this supposed folk remnant of medieval 'Antiquity' was assumed to be ever on the cusp of disappearing and in urgent need of codification.[3] Still, the Victorian adaptation of these two long-lived ideas was unique, given the sudden acceleration of industrialism in their times that affected all areas of society, including music and dance. For working musicians, the crisis was nearly as drastic as the one a century later when sound film put tens of thousands out of work.[4] The class ↳ revolution of the nineteenth century created a 'new and tyrannical public'[5] to whom performers of all kinds now had to cater. The accompanying shift, in the thin space of the Victorian century, from the old aristocratic patrons to late capitalism's state-supported corporations, yielded in the twentieth century the ultimate song-and-dance entertainment of the machine age, custom-made to mollify the working masses: film.

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The Middle Ages preserved by the folk

When but a few decades ago Bertrand Bronson wrote in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* concerning the English ballad's 'long and unbroken ... heritage of tradition', that 'ballad tunes are a part of the general body of folk music, only hypothetically separable from the mass of lyric folksong [that] have travelled down from at least the later Middle Ages', he was repeating an idea that went back to early modern times.[6] Already in the sixteenth century, medieval 'Antiquity' was being defined as the primary locus of modern nostalgia over Ancient Greece and Rome.[7] All the more so in the nineteenth century. As Thackeray put it, there were two ages; now—'the age of steam'—and then: 'stage-coaches ... knights in armour ... Ancient Britons' all blending together to form 'the old world'.[8] Already a fully formed historical complex by the late 1500s, the Middle Ages (although not yet so named) was at once chivalric and brutal, both distant and close.[9] Such was medieval music and dance from the early modern era onward.

Victorians believed that medieval music and dance was maintained by the common people of their day because the idea had held sway since the sixteenth century.[10] The earliest transatlantic explorers even saw an affinity between the Middle Ages and the Edenic peoples of the New World, a connection made explicit by
p. 541   Thomas Harriot in ↳ his report on the Algonquians of North Carolina.[11] Medieval song and dance was seen as being paradoxically kept in remote and unlikely places. Thomas Percy, author of the influential *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765), stated his belief that 'ancient English' lyric had been preserved, not in the poetry of men of letters but in the songs of bards. It was in the corners of the British Empire, at the great hall of Alnwick Castle in Northumberland, rather than in the crowded streets of London, that this song could be found.[12] Nineteenth-century writers favoured finding English medieval song outside of England, as in Walter Scott's Scotland or Thomas Moore's Ireland. The frontispiece of Moore's *Irish Melodies* (Figure 32.1.) paid homage to the bard's supposed fundamental role in the conservation of English musical heritage, ever on the verge of disappearing. In his preface, Moore railed against 'the utter extinction of Ireland's Minstrelsy', the 'itinerant harpers' thanks to whom 'our ancient music had been kept alive'; he nostalgically recalled at one point 'a great music-meeting held at Belfast in the year 1792'.[13] The
p. 542   chronological ambiguity of the medieval Golden Age evident here—and ↳ generally typical of Victorians and Elizabethans alike—was neatly expressed in the full title of Percy's *Reliques*, a collection of 'ancient' and 'old' songs, 'together with some few of later date'.[14]

Figure 32.1.

Frontispiece from Thomas Moore, *Irish Melodies* (1854).

This quintessentially early modern idea that medieval song and dance had been unwittingly preserved by the common folk was given renewed impetus during the Victorian era, thanks to the following societal changes that would have major consequences for future medievalisms. Urbanization and the rise of the factory resulted in the mass entertainment of the music halls ruled by the above-mentioned 'tyrannical public'. Industrialization and the mushrooming middle class produced public musical events: edifying concerts on the one hand and, on the other, social dance events featuring the newly fashionable quadrille

and waltz.[15] Secularization in the wake of the French and American Revolutions led to the reform of chant over the course of the nineteenth century.[16] The growth of universities across Europe in tandem with the related academic publishing boom made possible important institutions such as the Folk-Lore Society (1878) and the Royal College of Music (1883).[17] And the increased mechanization of music, having yielded sound recording at the end of the Victorian century, eventually gave way to the template-changing cinematic art.

All of the changes summarized in the previous paragraph did indeed translate into unprecedented expressions of nostalgia for a pre-industrial medieval Golden Age during the Victorian era, as is often maintained. Nevertheless, Victorians, along with the historians that subsequently codified them, would exaggerate the novelty both of their role in the longer history of medievalism and of their unprecedented 'desire to preserve vanishing forms in the face of modernized urbanization', in the words of one recent writer.[18] It cannot be stressed enough at present that the Victorian 'medieval craze',[19] despite the above-mentioned innovations specific to the time, was not a new thing. Rather, it owed to a centuries-old tradition of medievalist nostalgia going back to early modern times. If architect Augustus Welby Pugin could write in 1836 of 'the present decay of taste' compared to that of the late Middle Ages, it was because ↳ antiquarians like Michael Drayton centuries earlier had shunned their own 'lunatique Age' in favour of medieval 'Antiquity'.[20]

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Musical antiquarianism

When speaking of Victorian medievalism, and in particular of antiquarianism and its nineteenth-century successor archaeology, the word 'revival' is frequently used.[21] Here again, it is important to stress that the concept of reviving medieval music goes back to the earliest shaping of the Middle Ages, that sixteenth-century historiographic construct of a younger 'Antiquity' post-dating the Fall of Rome. Chant (also called plainchant or Gregorian chant) can boast to being the earliest antiquarian project related to medieval music. The revival concept was crucial here, evident in the language of early modern chant antiquarians. Following the Council of Trent, the mandate came from Rome to purge (*purgare*) corrupted liturgical chant (*correptio cantus*), to restore (*restituere*), emend (*emendare*), and reform (*reformare*) it back to a pristine state.[22] English Reformers used the same language. In the fifth book of *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1597), Richard Hooker advocated a return to the 'simple and plaine' music of the early Church. The 'later invention' introduced in the Middle Ages of responsorial and antiphonal psalmody, Hooker argued, should be abandoned in favour of 'the people all jointly' praising 'God in singinge of psalmes', which was the 'ancient custome' of 'the fathers of the Church'.[23]

From this early modern antiquarianism of chant flowed the now famous nineteenth-century chant reform, spearheaded in England by Thomas Helmore in the 1840s and resulting in the founding of the Plainsong and Mediæval Music Society (1889).[24] For Victorians as for their predecessors, the presumed revival of chant lay somewhere between an actual revival and a continuation of existing performance traditions. ↳ The key question remained the following: how could one mine medieval gold from the ore of modern practice? The idea of a medieval chant latent in the popular liturgy, a notion implicit in chant reform from the sixteenth century onwards, is heard repeatedly throughout the nineteenth century. Representative is one writer's advocacy in 1822 of 'the old Ecclesiastical Chant', which he describes as 'music of the simplest description ... rarely now heard', ending with the exhortation to let 'the good old custom be restored'.[25] Just as Pope Gregory XIII in 1577 had railed against the 'barbarisms, obscurities, contrarieties and superfluities' in chant surviving from the Middle Ages,[26] both Anglicans and Nonconformists of the Victorian era believed that Gregorian chant could be returned to its 'antique simplicity' by being purged of 'mongrel Gothic' elements.[27]

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Closest to an actual revival of medieval music in the nineteenth century, and a true product of the antiquarianism of the age of steam, is the case of the motet. Very few had heard medieval polyphony prior to the late nineteenth century, and even fewer liked the sound of it.[28] Admittedly coming at the very end of the Victorian period and originating on the Continent, research on the motet by Latin scholar Wilhelm Meyer in 1898 nevertheless did allow H. E. Wooldridge three years later in *The Oxford History of Music* to highlight the special role of England in the transmission of polyphony.[29] That same year (1901) there appeared posthumously a seminal musicological work featuring facsimiles of English polyphonic works: *Early Bodleian Music* by John Stainer, professor of music at Oxford since 1889.[30] The academic nature of medieval

polyphony was signalled by Germany's two earliest musicological professorial appointments around this same time, both specialists of the medieval motet: Gustav Jacobsthal (1875) and Friedrich Ludwig (1905).[31]

Appearing even closer to the end of the Victorian period, and only slightly less provincially academic, was the antiquarianism of medieval dance. Here we are provided with an even clearer example of the resurrection myth.[32] As the story goes, Cecil Sharp, then principal of the Hampstead Conservatoire of Music, London, first witnessed the performance of a Morris team on Boxing Day 1899 in the village ↳ of Headington, near Oxford. Over the next few years, he documented these dances' choreographies and their accompanying melodies, eventually producing his landmark study, *The Morris Book* (1907–14).[33] The Morris Dance would go on to become in twentieth-century historiography the canonical representative of English medieval dance.[34]

A more significant—i.e. mainstream—project of Victorian antiquarianism, and one illustrative of the broader trends already mentioned in this chapter, is that of vernacular medieval monophonic song. The archeological reception of this corpus can be traced back to the 1500s. As with chant, the central dilemma of this reception was how to extract a precious medieval kernel from a heap of folk noise.

To be fair, the archaeology of popular song in early modern times was a bigger movement on the Continent than in England, as seen in the *romancero*. Originating in Spain in the fifteenth century, the *romancero* spread to other Romance countries where it became a type of nationalistic song collection.[35] Throughout the age of print, the ever popular *romancero* was assumed to possess high medieval content. The English counterpart of the continental *romancero* was the broadside, and the mystical ancient songs of the people here came to be subsumed under the word 'ballad'. As early as the 1500s, broadside ballads were sung and avidly collected. In the late sixteenth-century Captain Cox was said to have owned 'a bunch of ballets and songs, all auncient … fair wrapt up in parchment'; one of the most important pre-Victorian collectors, Samuel Pepys, had a compilation fully five volumes strong.[36] Of the well-known ballads on the Middle Ages, some of the most famous were those on Robin Hood.[37] When in the late 1700s, Thomas Percy, the English counterpart of Johann Gottfried von Herder, set to systematize the ballad, he could claim that ballads about Robin Hood were 'on every stall'.[38] Following Percy's *Reliques*, the main ballad collections of the nineteenth century—James Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum* (1787–1803), Walter Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802–3), W. Chappell's *Popular Music of the Olden Time* (1844–61), and Francis J. Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (1882–98)—began to place a relatively new emphasis on a broad-based oral tradition, in contrast to Percy's solitary bard figure.[39] Still, the stereotype of the singing minstrel remained the ↳ most enduring icon of the Middle Ages in Victorian times. One example among many in the pages of *Punch* is a cartoon parody of the controversy between actor William Charles Macready and stage manager Alfred Bunn, the latter depicted at left in Figure 32.2 as a harping minstrel with a lyre 'whereto he sings his ravishing strands'.[40]

Figure 32.2.

'Parody of the Singing Minstrel', *Punch,* 9 (1845): 87.
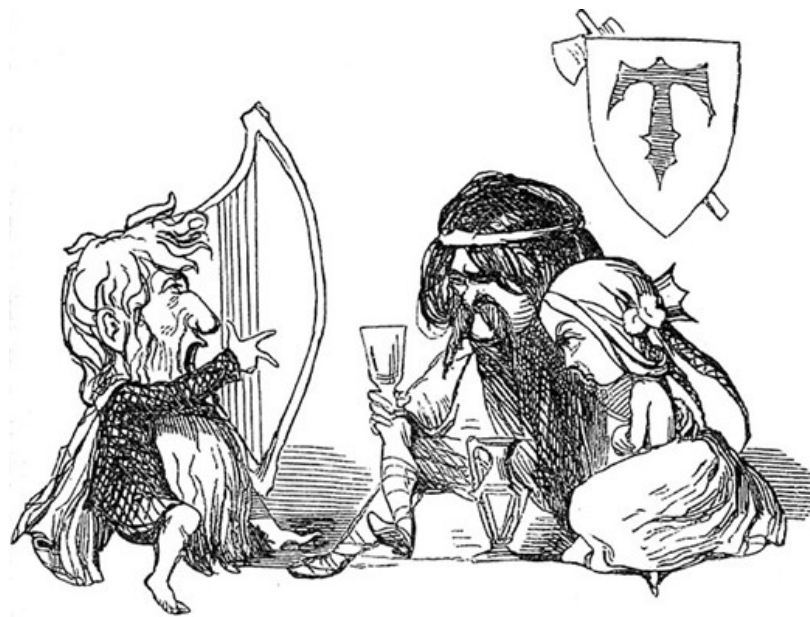
Rounding off this section on musical antiquarianism, I should briefly mention the Early Music movement and the individual generally recognized as having pushed the boundaries of performance back from Bach and Handel to the Middle Ages, the iconoclastic Arnold Dolmetsch. Dolmetsch emigrated in 1883 from Belgium to England, where he specialized in Elizabethan repertoires while occasionally venturing into late medieval repertoires, thus laying the foundation for the Early Music movement that would flourish in the following century.[41]

Medieval operas

Although antiquarianism on medieval song and dance was often distinct from looser medievalisms such as the ballad, the two strands of medievalism—antiquarian and popular—frequently overlapped. For example, the first volume of Chappell's *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, written for a lay audience, opened with a facsimile of 'Sumer is icumen in' and featured an historical 'Essay on English Minstrelsy'.[42] Chappell's work contained folk melodies that were harmonized by composer G. Alexander Macfarren, partly on account of the latter's interest in Elizabethan music but also thanks to a family connection.[43] Several of the folksongs in Chappell's collection for which the original words were lost had been supplied with verses by the composer's father George Macfarren.[44] As the son would later recall, Chappell and the two Macfarrens shared a deep patriotism that imbued *Popular Music of the Olden Time*.[45] Some two decades after this work's publication, Macfarren published an article strikingly similar to Chappel's introductory 'Essay', in which he attacked 'the almost proverbial saying among English people, "The English are not a musical people"' (later expressed in the famous phrase about England as 'das Land ohne Musik'), maintaining that it was the English rather than mainland Europeans who had pioneered modern harmony in the Middle Ages, as evidenced by 'Sumer is icumen in'.[46]

This same blend of medievalism and patriotism can be heard in Alexander Macfarren's opera from around the same time, *Robin Hood* (1860), with its famous aria 'Englishmen by birth are free'. *Robin Hood* was one of three important medievalist operas in the nineteenth century by composers native to the British Isles. All three were thoroughly Victorian in musical style despite the occasional modal touch for an authentic flair.[47] *Robin Hood* became one of the best-loved English operas of the day following its enthusiastic premiere: 'the crowd was immense, the excitement unusual, and expectation on tiptoe', reported the *Musical World*.[48] Its impact would be felt decades later; across the Atlantic in Reginald De Koven's *Robin Hood* (1890) and into ↳

the age of cinema, beginning with one of the most successful films of the silent era, *Robin Hood* (1922, with a score by Victor Schertzinger).[49] A few decades after Macfarren's *Robin Hood* appeared Alexander Mackenzie's *The Troubadour* (1886) whose 'blood-curdling libretto' by troubadour scholar Francis Hueffer 'hindered its success', in the words of music historian Ernest Walker.[50] Despite a lacklustre reception, this opera presaged the popularity of the troubadour idea in the twentieth century.[51] The third indigenously British medievalist opera was Arthur Sullivan's *Ivanhoe* (1891), the most successful of the three; Edward Dent once called MacFarren's *Robin Hood* 'very full of good fun and on the way to Sullivan'.[52] Based on Walter Scott's popular novel of the same name, Sullivan's *Ivanhoe* became the benchmark for future medieval stage productions. It was, as Percy Sholes once pointed out, the only English opera ever produced that had a continuous run of 160 performances.[53] Echoes of its success could still be heard over a half century later in Miklós Rózsa's compelling score for the lavish MGM production *Ivanhoe* (1952).[54]

These medievalist operas all belong to a category of music Victorians considered popular. As literary scholar Dennis Denisoff has pointed out, the Victorians' definition of 'popular' differed from ours: not 'the practices, values and entertainments favoured by a considerable portion of the general population' but rather 'those that the middle classes advocated as tools for giving those people whom they saw as beneath them civilizing and moral inspiration'.[55] The music halls discussed shortly did not fit this definition, but public events such as the performances of Schumann and Handel at the Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts did. Popular by Victorian standards, *Robin Hood* and *Ivanhoe* were nevertheless not considered 'serious' (i.e. high art) music; this tended to be foreign rather than English. Indeed, many prominent musicians in English life, including the Royal Academy of Music's own instructors, were continental Europeans.[56] Featured prominently on the Victorian stage were works by three foreigners who were not only the most famous musical medievalists of the era but also the most significant pre-cursors to the music of medievalist cinema: Hector Berlioz, Charles Gounod, and Richard Wagner.[57]

The medievalism of the music hall

As illustrated off and on throughout this chapter, the main methodological predicament for historians of music and dance is that of recovering live performance traditions from written and printed sources, a problem especially acute when it comes to popular art.[58] The poor are poorly represented. Although we can neither prove nor disclaim, for example, Frances Rust's statement in *Dance in Society* (1969) that in Victorian England 'dancing was unlikely to have played much part in the lives of the underprivileged, except, possibly, those who were attached to the households of the rich', the assumption behind it is not only problematic but potentially disastrous historiographically speaking.[59] With such rash statements as these are wiped out of history the experiences of tens of thousands. Histories of Victorian music, especially afflicted with 'Great Man' syndrome, have stubbornly clung to what is still called by some 'serious' music.[60] In Percy Sholes's journalistic survey of late Victorian music, the topic of music halls receives a fleeting four pages as part of an afterthought entitled 'Lighter Musical Manifestations'.[61] Despite headway made in the last decade under the aegis of Bennett Zon's 'Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain' series,[62] it will take some time yet to completely shake off the cherished assumption that Nicholas Temperley in his introduction to *The Lost Chord* (1989) so neatly formulated: 'popular and functional music, almost by definition, do not invite critical evaluation'.[63]

In the long history of musical medievalism running from the sixteenth century to the present day, of all the episodes mentioned so far in this chapter—the antiquarianism of chant, polyphony, monophonic song and dance, Early Music, and operas based on medieval stories—none of these weighed as heavily in Victorian life as what I am calling in this section the medievalism of the music hall. All throughout the Victorian period the music hall fostered an impressive variety of medievalisms involving both dance and music, and to the widest of audiences. Add to this host the throngs across the Atlantic in the parallel phenomenon of American vaudeville.[64] The music-hall or vaudevillian approach to the Middle Ages would become even more prominent in the following century. In particular, nineteenth-century music hall and vaudeville fostered what I have called a satirical Middle Ages, one made popular thanks to Mark Twain's *A Connecticut*

Yankee in King Arthur's Court (1889). Twain's successful publication ↳ launched a prolific medievalism that found its perfect home in the cinematic medium, and whose most recognizable product is *Monty Python and the Holy Grail* (1975) but which in fact spans over a century's worth of movies, from George Mélies's *Le chevalier mystère* (1899) to *Shrek Forever After* (2010), and beyond.[65]

The expression 'music hall' refers to a wide range of Victorian venues and entertainments. Conventional historiography often side-steps this diversity by conforming to a Darwinian narrative, as satirized by Laurence Senelick: beginning with the Palæozoic era of all-male song and supper rooms and taverns in the 1830s, moving through the Mesozoic era kicked off by the 1843 Theatre Act emancipating theatre from drink, then crawling 'on to the shores of theatre history' to arrive at the 'first real music hall' (Charles Morton's Canterbury Hall in 1866) and the lavish palaces at the end of the century.[66] This idealized history partly owes to paltry documentation. Writes Senelick, 'the theatre historian, unlike the palæontologist, is faced with a very sparse fossil record'.[67] This is all the more unfortunate since music halls accounted for more entertainment than any other type of venue, with audiences ranging from wealthy male clients to female factory workers—i.e. Rust's 'underprivileged' cited earlier.[68] The historiographic dilemma for this sea of song-and-dance entertainment is similar to that for silent film in the period immediately following the Victorians.[69]

If the historical anthropology of medievalism in the music hall is ever written, it will equally be a history of music employment in the Victorian era. From a primarily aristocratic patronage system at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the market for music gradually expanded to the urban middle and lower classes, emerging in capitalism now run amok.[70] Still in 1850, music halls had employed less than 1 per cent of working musicians.[71] But by 1870 the flood, as Cyril Ehrlich has called it, had come: unrelenting urban growth and a boom of mass entertainment, with music halls overrunning theatres as the venue of choice.[72] What made the music hall so popular was its eccentricity and diversity. A given evening's entertainment could range from a simple song-and-dance number to a 'troupe of highly trained elephants'.[73] ↳

Accordingly its performers had to be versatile. As one American observer put it in 1855, 'an actress…must be willing to play any part…sing a song, dance a jig, swallow a sword, ride a bare-backed horse…upon occasion play male parts…and drink raw-whiskey without making faces'.[74] The music-hall industry, operated over the course of the century by fewer and fewer professionals, acted as a model for the film industry with its small number of powerful corporations.[75] The shift from music hall to picture theatre occurred seamlessly,

with musicians migrating from the former to the latter; already by 1911 some 10 per cent of working musicians were finding jobs in movie theatres.[76]

The medievalisms of the music hall ranged from solo songs to group dance numbers. Here the ballad found its rightful home, with the bawdy comic ballad taking the lead; Robin Hood remained a popular theme.[77] The loose medievalism of many a ballad also showed up in sung melodramas such as 'Rosina Meadows, the Village Maid' and chorus-girl revues such as 'Robin Hood'. What characterized these performances was their narrative incoherence and rambunctious character.[78] Music hall also featured performers specializing in the Middle Ages, most famously Yvette Guilbert; but other lesser known ones, too, such as Cecilia (Cissie) Loftus.[79] Even so banal a music-hall medievalism as the trumpet flourish regularly punctuating exits and entrances was significant, since this tradition would blossom into one of medieval cinema's most recognizable musical icons, the trumpet fanfare.[80]

Conclusion

The impressively varied species of Victorian medievalisms for dance and music endured well into the twentieth century, beginning with the antiquarian project of chant. Few present at the first meeting of the Plainsong and Mediæval Music Society in 1889 could have envisioned the transmogrification of chant exactly a century later as dance club music in Enigma's hit single 'Principles of Lust' (1990).[81] As for the study of medieval polyphony, it remained one of the most prestigious areas of musicology in academia for most of the 1900s. Within the medieval university sub-culture arose ↳ performance groups in areas ranging from dance to Early Music, the latter one of academia's elite institutions for most of the twentieth century. These post-Victorian medievalist recreations regularly drew on contemporary folklore of all kinds, from Bulgarian choral song to Maghrebi classical traditions, thus perpetuating the centuries-old assumption that something ineffable from the Middle Ages survives in music and dance of the present. The most prolific Victorian medievalism in post-Victorian times, however, has been that of the hybridizing and carnivalesque music hall. Its spirit has lived on in cinema, the leading capitalist *Gesamtkunstwerk* that inherited from the Victorians their anxieties, their technologies, and most important of all, their cherished Middle Ages.

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Suggested reading

Carter, Alexandra, *Dance and Dancers in the Victorian and Edwardian Music Hall Ballet* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).
Google Scholar   Google Preview   WorldCat   COPAC

Haines, John, 'Antiquarian Nostalgia and the Institutionalization of Early Music', in Caroline Bithell and Juniper Hill (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Music Revivals* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 71–91.
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Notes

1   On the scholarly-philosophical use of this word rather than the more general sense taken here, see, *inter alia*, Ernâni Magalhães and Nathan Oaklander, *Presentism: Essential Readings* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010) and Craig Bourne, *A Future for Presentism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), esp. 13–18.

2   John Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères: The Changing Identity of Medieval Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 49 and 79 n. 2. For representative statements of the said view, see Leon Plantinga, *Romantic Music: A History of Musical Style in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984), 16, and Theresa Buckland, 'Traditional Dance: English Ceremonial and Social Forms', in Janet Adshead-Landsdale and June Layson (eds), *Dance History: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 1983), 46–7.

3   Ruth Solie, 'Music', in Francis O'Gorman (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 112, where the author maintains that folklorists of the present see Victorian times as the 'moment of transition in which the presumably authentic folk music of an earlier and more rural time becomes enmeshed in developing capitalist modes of marketing music to a mass audience, blurring the line between folk and popular song'.

4   At the height of the silent film period there were some 20,000 musicians working in England alone; Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 199.

5   Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750–1850: A Profession of Artisans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 56.

6   Bertrand Bronson, 'Ballad, §I, 6: Folk and Popular Balladry, Melodies', in Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), ii. 74.

7   Pace the much cited dictum by Lord Acton concerning Antiquity and the Middle Ages, the 'two great principles' dividing the modern world; Acton as cited in Joanne Parker, Review of Michael Alexander's *Medievalism: The Middle Ages in Modern England* (2007), *English Historical Review*, 125 (2010): 464.

8   Thackeray cited in Walter Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830–1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), 3.

9   On the six 'moods' of the Middle Ages, see John Haines, *Music in Films on the Middle Ages: Authenticity vs. Fantasy* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 3–10.

10   For some examples substantiating this statement, see John Haines, *Eight Centuries*, 51, 128, and 185–7; Haines, 'Antiquarian Nostalgia and the Institutionalization of Early Music', in Caroline Bithell and Juniper Hill (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Music Revivals* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 71–91.

11   Haines, 'Antiquarian Nostalgia'.

12   Nick Groom, *The Making of Percy's* Reliques (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 42; on the third volume of Percy's *Reliques* with medieval content, see 42 and 55–60.

13   Thomas Moore, *Irish Melodies* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1854), viii. Generally on this work, see Terence Allan Hoagwood, *From Song to Print: Romantic Pseudo-Songs* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 71–103.

14   The full title of the 1765 1st edn is *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry: consisting of Old Heroic Ballads, Songs, and other Pieces of our earlier Poets, (Chiefly of the Lyric kind.) Together with some few of later Date*.

15   On early nineteenth-century middle-class patronage, see Rohr, *Careers of British Musicians*, 51–6; on the quadrille and waltz, see Frances Rust, *Dance in Society* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), 66–79.

16   On which, see Bennett Zon, *The English Plainchant Revival* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), and the discussion below.

17   Regarding the RCM, for the contrasting situation in the first half of the century see Rohr, *Careers of British Musicians*, 79–85.

18   Kate Flint, 'Literature, Music, and the Theatre', in Colin Matthew (ed.), *The Nineteenth Century: The British Isles: 1815–1901* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 247.

19   Richard Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973), 103.

20   Pugin cited in Altick, *Victorian People*, 105; Drayton cited in Joan Evans, *A History of the Society of Antiquaries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1956), 15. I have elaborated on this point in 'The Many Medievalisms of Disney', in Kristen Yri and Stephen Meyer (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Music and Medievalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

21   E.g. Thomas Helmore writing in 1850 that 'revival implies decay, restoration follows upon dilapidation' (Zon, *English Plainchant Revival*, 337). Generally on the 'revival' concept, see John Haines, 'The Revival of Medieval Music', in Mark Everist and Thomas F. Kelly (eds), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).

22   Jean-Yves Hameline, 'Le plain-chant aux lendemains du Concile de Trente', in Jean Duron (ed.), *Plain-chant et liturgie en France au XVIIe siècle* (Versailles: Royaumont, 1997), 14 and 20.

23   Richard Hooker, *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, Book Five* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), p. 153, line 8, p. 157, line 25, p. 158, line 1, and p. 159, lines 4 and 10–13; from chs 38–9.

24   Zon, *English Plainchant Revival*, 280–91; Percy Scholes, *The Mirror of Music, 1844–1944* (Oxford: Novello, 1947), ii. 771. Generally on the subject, see also John Harper, 'Gothic Revivals: Issues of Influence, Ethos and Idiom in Late Nineteenth-Century English Monasteries', *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies*, 2 (2002): 15–31.

25   Zon, *English Plainchant Revival*, 312–13.

26   Tr. from the Latin in Robert Hayburn, *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music, 95 A.D. to 1977 A.D.* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1979), 37.

27   Here conflating two different writers from 1846 and 1844, quoted in Zon, *English Plainchant Revival*, 330 and 323, respectively.

28   Haines, *Eight Centuries*, 168–9.

29   Haines, *Eight Centuries*, 178; H. E. Wooldridge, *The Oxford History of Music*, i. *The Polyphonic Period*, part 1, *Method of Musical Art, 330–1400* (London: Oxford University Press, 1901), esp. 109 on 'the Anonymous of the British Museum' (i.e. Anonymous IV).

30   J. F. R. and E. C. Stainer, *Early Bodleian Music*, 3 vols (London: Novello, 1901); see Peter Charlton, *John Stainer and the Musical Life of Victorian Britain* (Newton Abbott: David & Charles, 1984), 160–63.

31   John Haines, 'Friedrich Ludwig's "Medieval Musicology of the Future": A Commentary and Translation', *Journal of Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 12 (2003): 129–64.

32   For another example related to chant in this same period, see Haines, *Eight Centuries*, 166.

33   Buckland, 'Traditional Dance', 46–7 and 58; Scholes, *Mirror of Music*, ii. 783.

34   E.g. Ethel Urlin, *Dancing: Ancient and Modern* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., 1900), 130–5 and A. H. Franks, *Social Dance: A Short History* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963), 46–7.

35   On the *romancero* as a musical medievalism, see Haines, 'Antiquarian Nostalgia'.

36   Gordon Hall Gerould, *The Ballad of Tradition* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1932), 248–50.

37   Gerould, *Ballad of Tradition*, 240–1, and J. S. Bratton, *The Victorian Popular Ballad* (London: Macmillan, 1975), 158.

38   Gerould, *Ballad of Tradition*, 251–2; Albert Friedman, *The Ballad Revival: Studies in the Influence of Popular on Sophisticated Poetry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 221. On Herder and his predecessors, see Haines, *Eight Centuries*, 157–8.

39   Paula McDowell, '"The Art of Printing was Fatal"': Print Commerce and the Idea of Oral Tradition in Long Eighteenth-Century Ballad Discourse', in Patricia Fumerton, Anita Guerrini, and Kris McAbee (eds), *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain,*

1500–1800 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), 35–56.

40   'The Last Farce at Drury Lane', *Punch*, 9 (1845): 87. See George Biddlecombe, 'Bunn, Alfred', in *ODNB* and the bibliography cited there.

41   Harry Haskell, *The Early Music Revival: A History* (Mineola, NY: Dover, 1996), 26–43.

42   W. Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time* (London: Cramer, Beale & Chappell, 1844), i, frontispiece and 1–47.

43   Whereas in the original 1838 edn Macfarren was one of several musical editors, in subsequent editions he was solely responsible for harmonizations; see Henry Banister, *George Alexander Macfarren: His Life, Works, and Influence* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1891), 135–6.

44   Nicholas Temperley, 'Musical Nationalism in English Romantic Opera', in Nicholas Temperley (ed.), *The Lost Chord: Essays on Victorian Music* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1989), 147–8.

45   Banister, *George Alexander Macfarren*, 136, cited in Temperley, 'Musical Nationalism', 147.

46   Banister, *George Alexander Macfarren*, 137–40. Macfarren's essay was published in 1868; Oscar Schmitz's famous saying dates from 1914 (see Solie, 'Music', 101 and n. 1).

47   Here paraphrasing Temperley, 'Musical Nationalism', 149–50.

48   Cited in Banister, *George Alexander Macfarren*, 201; see also Temperley, 'Musical Nationalism', 151.

49   On which, see Kevin Harty, *The Reel Middle Ages: American, Western and Eastern European, Middle Eastern and Asian Films about Medieval Europe* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1999), 228–30.

50   Ernest Walker, *A History of Music in England*. 3rd edn, ed. J. A. Westrup (Oxford: Clarendon, 1952), 328.

51   John Haines, 'Living Troubadours and Other Uses for Medieval Music', *Popular Music*, 23 (2004): 133–53.

52   Temperley, 'Musical Nationalism', 151.

53   Scholes, *Mirror of Music*, i. 237.

54   On which, see Haines, *Music in Films*, 96–104.

55   Dennis Denisoff, 'Popular Culture', in Francis O'Gorman (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 137.

56   Rohr, *Careers of British Musicians*, 79–85.

57   Solie, 'Music', 116–17; Scholes, *Mirror of Music*, i. 246–8 and 251–6.

58   'Popular', of course, in our sense of the word and not that of the Victorians mentioned earlier.

59   Rust, *Dance in Society*, 79.

60   E.g. Rohr (*Careers of British Musicians*, 144) writes of 'the composer who wrote serious works for large ensembles'.

61   Scholes, *Mirror of Music*, i. 505–9.

62   Notably Alexandra Carter's *Dance and Dancers in the Victorian and Edwardian Music Hall Ballet* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).

63   Temperley, 'Introduction', in *The Lost Chord*, 5 (1–16).

64   On which generally see Robert Lewis, *From Traveling Show to Vaudeville: Theatrical Spectacle in America, 1830–1910* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).

65   On Twain and the satirical Middle Ages, see Haines, *Music in Films*, 8–10.

66   Laurence Selenick, *Tavern Singing in Early Victorian London: The Diaries of Charles Rice for 1840 and 1850* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1997), pp. xi-xii, as well as Carter, *Dance and Dancers*, 8–9 and 14–24; on the 1843 Act, see Bratton, *Victorian Popular Ballad*, 29. A representative history is Archibald Haddon, *The Story of the Music Hall: From Cave of Harmony to Cabaret* (London: Fleetway, 1935), 12–21, that begins with the heading 'evolution from underground haunts' (the 'first real music hall' rubric is found at p. 19).

67   Senelick, *Tavern Singing*, p. xii.

68   Carter, *Dance and Dancers*, 10; Solie, 'Music', 110.

69   Rick Altman, 'The Silence of the Silents', *Musical Quarterly*, 80 (1996): 648–718.

70   Rohr, *Careers of British Musicians*, 28–39 and 51–6.

71   Rohr, *Careers of British Musicians*, 101.

72   Ehrlich, *Music Profession*, 51–9 and 100–20; between 1870 and 1930 the number of working English musicians increased sevenfold (p. 51). Of the five musical benefit societies listed by Charles Booth (1904), two were devoted to the music hall (Rohr, *Careers of British Musicians*, 183).

73   Haddon, *Story of the Music Hall*, figure facing p. 72.

74   Lewis, *From Travelling Show*, 184.

75   Ehrlich, *Music Profession*, 58, and Lewis, *From Travelling Show*, 332–40.

76   Ehrlich, *Music Profession in Britain*, 59, 194–200, and 209–28.

77   Bratton, *Victorian Popular Ballad*, 155–70.

78   Lewis, *From Traveling Show*, 11, 173–80, and 197.

79   On Gilbert, see Haddon, *Story of the Music Hall*, 85–6. On Cecilia (Cissie) Loftus, see Frank Cullen, *Vaudeville Old and New: An Encyclopedia of Variety Performers in America* (New York: Routledge, 2007), ii. 698–9. Loftus appeared among others in a play on the life of François Villon titled *If I were King* (1901), which play was the basis for the first sound-era musical film on the Middle Ages, *The Vagabond King* (1930), on which see Harty, *Reel Middle Ages*, 269–70.

80   Haines, *Music in Films*, 58–66.

81   From Enigma, *MCMXC a.D.* (Virgin Records, 1990).