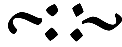
CHAPTER 8



Hubert Parry, Germany, and the "North"

THOMAS IRVINE

Teutons at the Gates

In the autumn of 1914 Sir C. Hubert H. Parry, director of the Royal College of Music (RCM), formerly Heather Professor of Music at Oxford University, and one of the British Empire's most distinguished composers, stood before the assembled students of the RCM to give one of his termly addresses. It was the first in wartime. "If, ultimately, the imperial bird of Prussia…," he proclaimed, "waves over our towers in the place of the Union Jack, all the people belonging to [the RCM] will prefer extermination to submission."[1]

It was a bitter moment for him. No British musician had done more than Parry to integrate Britain into a cosmopolitan, liberal, and most of all German world order of music. The "great" German composers—Bach, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann, Wagner, and Brahms—had been his lodestars across a career that traversed composition, the teaching and writing of history, and the creation of new institutions of music-making in Britain.

As the war settled into bloody stalemate, Parry admitted to his students, many of whom would soon be in uniform, "that he had been for a quarter of a century and more a pro-Teuton." He had not believed that Germany "could be imbued with the teaching of a few advocates of mere brutal violence and material aggression [and] with the extravagance of those who talked about super-morality."[2] Now the time had come to resist—not the Germans, but the "Prussians," who were dragging Germany though the mud with their aggressive behavior. The reference to popular interpretations of Nietzsche's philosophy ("super-morality") is hard to miss. Indeed, for Parry, war demanded the setting aside of "frivolous and purposeless amusement." The "great thoughts of real composers, to which we devote ourselves, are as valuable to the world as great victories." In times of war, music should be inspired by heroism. In a dig at Germany's leading modern composer, Richard Strauss, Parry explains

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that he means "not the fussy, aggressive, blatant heroism of the Prussian *Heldenleben*, but the heroism we hear of daily in stories from the front. Real heroism is chivalrous and frank, modest and unaggressive, cheerful in adversity and unboastful in success. True music can be inspired by such qualities."[3]

For many years Parry's legacy was eclipsed by the reputations of his younger contemporary Edward Elgar and composers in the generation of his protégé Ralph Vaughan Williams. Many of the latter were graduates of the RCM and leading lights of the "English Musical Renaissance," the efflorescence of English composition that gathered steam just before World War I. When this new generation claimed for itself the mantle of the first important group of "native" composers since Purcell, Parry's stock declined accordingly. Critics such as George Bernard Shaw—never a fan of Parry's when the composer was alive—made a habit of caricature when it came to a man who had been South Kensington's guiding musical force. They portrayed him as an eminent academic Victorian whose decades of serious but conservative composition—symphonies, oratorios, chamber music, songs—weighed little in a new age. Soon Parry's critical reputation rested on a few works: the ode *Blest Pair of Sirens* (1887), the coronation anthem "I was Glad" (1902), and, most of all, the hymn to a text by William Blake, "Jerusalem" (1916), now a mainstay of party conferences and the Last Night of the Proms.

Parry—an unbeliever who refused to attend his own daughter's christening—would spin in his grave in St. Paul's Cathedral at the thought of his music being sung by members of the Conservative Party, let alone its playing a central role in a globally televised orgy of flag waving. He was a lifelong liberal, internationalist, vigorous proponent of home rule for Ireland, and women's suffragist. He was what Stefan Collini has called a Victorian "public moralist."[4] Indeed, his allergy to jingoism and imperial fantasy led him to oppose the Boer War and withdraw the dedication of "Jerusalem" to the patriotic organization Fight for Right after he observed the nationalist frenzy the hymn provoked when it was first performed at a rally in the Albert Hall in 1917.

It took until 1998 for a serious scholarly biography to appear, in the form of Jeremy Dibble's authoritative *C. Hubert H. Parry: His Life and Music*.[5] Around the same time, historians Robert Stradling and Meirion Hughes put the cat among the musicological pigeons with a revisionist account of the English Musical Renaissance.[6] In their view this renaissance was primarily a symptom of British nervousness about German economic and military superiority, simultaneously aping German musical structures and "arming" the nation against them.[7] It coalesced around an exclusive club of musical opinion-makers—mostly male, musically conservative, and independently wealthy—focused in London institutions such as the RCM (which they called "the Goodly House") and later the BBC. This concentration of musical power allowed the renaissance, they claimed, to write its own history and to shape the

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paths on which future members of the British musical establishment would have to travel. In fact their attack on the "Goodly House" echoes an assault on Parry by Shaw less than two years after Parry's death. Parry, Shaw wrote in the inaugural issue of the journal *Music and Letters*, was the "centre" of "the London section of the Clara Schumann-Joachim-Brahms clique in Germany; and the relations between the two were almost sacred." One of the worst crimes of this "clique" was that they found the young Elgar—an interloper from the West Midlands—insufficiently polished. In end, Shaw wrote, Elgar was the winner: "his Enigma Variations took away your breath. The respiration induced by their [the clique's] compositions was perfectly regular, and occasionally perfectly audible."[8] Shaw's implication that "almost sacred" relations with Schumann, Joachim, and Brahms made Parry the leader of an anti-Wagner and anti-Elgar party in London is unfair: in his youth Parry had been an enthusiastic Wagnerian; later on he enjoyed cordial relations with Elgar. But history proved Shaw right about the music, even if in recent years Parry's critical reputation has improved slightly, helped by prominent public exposure at royal weddings and in BBC television documentaries. Some confusion about Parry's "national" style remains. In John Bridcut's 2010 film *The Prince and the Composer*, the prince in the title, Prince Charles, insists vehemently to a somewhat bemused conductor of the BBC Symphony Orchestra after a rehearsal of Parry's Brahmsian Fifth Symphony that Parry's music is quintessentially "English."[9]

This chapter returns to, and complicates, Hughes and Stradling's overdrawn statement of the "German problem" in British music history around 1900. Its aim is a better understanding of Parry's relationship with "German music," or, to put it more in the spirit of this volume, "Germanness" in music—one that takes account, however, of other intellectual networks in which Parry was enrolled. Focusing on his music history writings and the wartime *College Addresses*, I will argue here that Parry—at the time surely one of Britain's most influential musicians—acted as a mediator of ideas about music often taken to be "German." Consciously or unconsciously, however, he attached these to concerns with less of a connection to German national identity. In keeping with his optimistic brand of political liberalism, these included ideologies of progress, or, as Parry often put it, "evolution." But one of Parry's strongest music-historical principles, perhaps the strongest, was that race determines a person's or nation's musical possibilities. For all of his egalitarian instincts, Parry, like so many of his contemporaries, was a white supremacist in the spirit of "scientific" racism. His vision of music history, laid out in decades of widely read publications and countless hours of lecturing at the RCM and across the country, rested on the superiority of whiter "northern" races over darker "southern" ones. Indeed, Germany's special role in Parry's music history was to have assimilated the musical "instincts" of "southerners" and turned these into "self-reflective,"

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"northern" art. More than the extent of Parry's commitment to one or another brand of "Germanness" it is with his white supremacism, with which his commitment to Germany is inextricably linked, that we must come to terms.

Early Career

Hubert Parry was born in 1848 into a wealthy landowning family in rural Gloucestershire.[10] Like his father, who was an amateur painter, he attended Eton College and the University of Oxford. His musical talent was recognized at Eton, where he studied music as much as the curriculum allowed. Oxford had no formal course in the subject; nonetheless, Parry spent much of his time there following musical pursuits. His father sponsored a summer in Stuttgart after Parry's first year to enable him to study with Henry Hugo Pierson (originally Pearson), an English composer who lived as a freelance composer in Germany. Parry's main aim that summer was to study orchestration, but the most important consequence was that he learned very adequate German.

After he left Oxford in 1870 he worked in the City of London in the insurance industry. The necessity to earn a living stemmed from his courtship of Lady Maude Herbert, an aristocrat whose family objected to Parry's relative poverty—he was not then expected to inherit his father's fortune, although he eventually did. While still working as an underwriter, Parry continued composing. In 1873 Walter Stewart Broadwood, of the piano-making family, arranged for Parry's work to be shown to Joseph Joachim, who suggested lessons with Johannes Brahms (Brahms declined). Parry then sought tuition with the émigré pianist and composer Walter Dannreuther, who also directed London's Wagner Society; Dannreuther arranged for his new pupil to attend the inaugural cycle of the Ring in Bayreuth in 1876. Parry helped to host Wagner on the composer's visit to London in 1877.

The acquaintance that changed Parry's career, however, was with the writer and educator George Grove. Grove, an engineer by profession, became a central figure in British musical circles through his involvement in the move of the Crystal Palace from Hyde Park to South London and his subsequent role as secretary of the company that operated it there.[11] In 1875, Grove engaged Parry as a major contributor and subeditor on the first edition of his new *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Parry wrote dozens of articles for Grove, including most of the major ones on forms and concepts (he edited hundreds more). The *Dictionary* featured substantial contributions by German-speaking scholars, including Philipp Spitta and Ferdinand Pohl, and focused heavily on recent "progress" in British music.[12] Indeed, the *Dictionary*'s 1874 "Prospectus" reveals Grove's almost technoscientific ambitions for it. Grove assured the reader of information in language an "intelligent inquirer … can understand"

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about "what is meant by a Symphony or Sonata, a Fugue, a Stretto, a Coda, or any other technical terms." In addition he promised "a succinct account of the history of the various branches of the art [and] the use and progress of the pianoforte or other instruments."[13]

Parry's work for Grove allowed him to leave insurance and work full time as a musician. Soon he celebrated his first major commission, a setting of Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* for the Three Choirs Festival in 1880. The premier, in Gloucester Cathedral, in which the young Elgar played the violin in the orchestra, was only a mixed success. Yet twenty-five years later Elgar recalled the first performance as "a practical starting point for anything that may be usefully considered in relation to present day music."[14]

In 1883 Grove appointed Parry to the faculty of the newly formed Royal College of Music. The RCM was founded in the wake of the failure of the National Training School for Music (NTSM), which was established in South Kensington in the wake of the Great Exhibition of 1851. The organizers of the Exhibition wished for their legacy to include a conservatory to rival continental institutions. The NTSM took more than fifteen years to open, under the direction of Arthur Sullivan, and failed quickly. In 1881 a group of influential patrons including the Prince of Wales (the future Edward VII) brought in Grove to organize a replacement.[15] The RCM flourished from the start under Grove's direction.

Parry was the RCM's inaugural professor of music history, a position he retained after succeeding Grove as director in 1895. Parry's music history—much in the spirit of Grove's *Dictionary*—was a story of progress. In one of his earliest draft lectures for the RCM (1884–85) he discusses changes to piano design around 1800. Parry observes that "it is not merely the necessity of adapting the music to a given instrument which comes prominently before us, but the law that men can only build on what they know." In other words, technology is a determining factor in music history. Indeed, Parry continues, "all the music we have in the world is only the old story of one generation of men building upon and improving the results of the work of their predecessors, [which we see in every department of human life. Engineering, mechanics, chemistry, politics etc.]"[16] The added reference (a later insertion to the text) to "every department of human life" underscores Parry's suggestion that all musical practices (instrument building, performance, and composition) are subject to the rules of progress. The students to whom he spoke at the brand-new RCM were to be agents of such progress in exactly the same way as students at the Royal College of Science next door in South Kensington.

A final formative set of experiences in the early stages of Parry's career were occasioned by his growing commitment to liberal, even radical, politics. Victorian liberalism, or any liberalism for that matter, is notoriously difficult to define.[17] Parry's liberalism started with frustration at the limits of his immediate environ-

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ment. Once, after a difficult afternoon at his wife's family's estate, he wrote in his diary, "it is enough to make one a bitter democrat to belong in the company of people brought up in luxury … as uselessly ornamental and injuriously bigoted about their 'rights' and 'position' as it is possible to be."[18] A little later he vented his dislike for the way in which "the part of English country gentlemen grovelled in obeisance before this utterly fortuitous fetish—the Semitic Disraeli." There follows a shockingly anti-Semitic outburst couched in terms that could have been lifted directly from the pages of Wagner's *Das Judenthum in der Musik*. Disraeli, Parry writes, was "cunning, crafty, mean, unscrupulous, artificial, a poser. … He had the Semitic gift of mere technique in the fullest measure." This, Parry continues, Disraeli used "to hoodwink and cajole the unintelligent, the simpletons, the party folks who were glad of a man with such supreme facility … to express their shibboleths, their hatreds, and their interests."[19]

It is easy to be horrified by this passage, which Dibble includes in his book but does not discuss at length. Instead, Dibble sees Parry's aversion to Disraeli as "only one of several catalysts on the way to radicalism."[20] In his published writings Parry never returned to open anti-Semitism—although this was not uncommon in liberal circles, for instance, as embodied by the Oxford historian Goldwin Smith, who held the Regius Professorship just before Parry's studies at the university and later was instrumental in the foundation of Cornell University in the United States.[21] As an educator, however, Parry campaigned tirelessly against the artificiality he felt marked both his Tory in-laws and their "crafty" political hero. Of a piece with this attitude was his aversion to organized religion, which led eventually to a painful break with his father, Thomas Gambier Parry.[22] As he grew older Parry did not shy away from politically liberal positions. He vigorously supported home rule for Ireland and, later, the efforts of the suffragettes, even at their most radical.[23] Parry made his most frequently quoted political statement in a piece of compositional advice to the young Ralph Vaughan Williams, who studied at the RCM from 1890 to 1892 and again from 1895 to 1869: "write choral music as befits an Englishman and a democrat."[24] Parry's Wagnerian tirade against Disraeli may not have been reflected in the egalitarian habitus for which he was well known. Yet judging a person by their ethnic origin remained second nature: the next section of this chapter will show, indeed, that Parry's progressive approach to music history was inextricably entwined with ugly racism. His liberalism had a profoundly dark side.

Music Historian

Parry taught music history at the RCM from his original appointment in 1882 until his death in 1918. He was elected Heather Professor of Music at Oxford

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Table 8.1. Hubert Parry's Writings on Music History.

123 articles for Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1879–89). Articles in *Proceedings of the Musical Association, Musical Quarterly, Musical Times* and other contemporary journals.
Lectures at the Royal College of Music, Royal Institution, Oxford University, Musical Association and other institutions. Drafts in the RCM Archive and Bodleian Library.
Seven books: *Studies of the Great Composers* (1886), [*The Evolution of*] *The Art of Music* (1893/1896), *Summary of the Development of Medieval and Modern European Music* (1894), *The Music of the Seventeenth Century* (vol. 3 of *The Oxford History of Music*) (1902), *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Story of the Development of a Great Personality* (1909), *Style in Musical Art* (1912), *College Addresses* (1920).

University in 1899 and served in this position, concurrently with the directorship of the RCM, until he resigned from Oxford on health grounds in 1908. Taken together, the platform afforded by these two posts, and his voluminous writings on music-historical topics, made him one of the most prolific and influential writers on the subject in Britain around 1900 (Parry's output as a music historian is summarized in Table 8.1).

In the opening pages of his main contribution to music history, *The Evolution of the Art of Music*, Parry begins with the "primeval savage" who only begins to make anything like music "when a few definite notes were made to take the place of vague, irregular shouting." Speech, Parry claims, is "music in the rough." Progress toward "higher" expression begins when "the ear is trained to distinguish niceties which have distinct varieties of meaning; so the resources of music increased as the relations of more and more definite notes were established."[25] Crucially, some groups begin their evolution at a "higher" stage. "Harmony represents the higher standard of intellectuality in mankind," he writes, "and the Germans have always had more feeling for it than southern races." Their tendency towards harmonic construction is evident, for example, in the prominence of arpeggios in some German folk music. "The Tyrolese," he continues, "adopt arpeggios for their singular jodels, which are the most ornamental forms of vocal music in Teutonic countries. In their case, however, the excess of decoration does not so much imply low organization or superficial character" but the "exuberance and joy of life in the echoing mountains."[26] Two key elements of Parry's philosophy of music history stand out in these passages. The first is that music history flows like a river, in one direction: from chaos to order, from "irregular shouting" to "higher intellectuality." The second is that environment always makes a difference. German yodelling does not imply superficiality. It is a product of "life in the echoing mountains."

These are typical tenets of historicism; they have roots in late eighteenth-century German thought, particularly the writings of Johann Gottfried

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Herder.[27] But Parry drew equally on contemporary evolutionary thought, especially, as Bennet Zon has shown, on Herbert Spencer's models of organic development.[28] Spencer was one of the first to adapt Darwinian ideas about natural selection and evolution to what we today would describe as sociology and psychology. He proposed that societies evolved like organisms, from the simple to the complex (or from "homogenous" to "heterogenous"). As such, he is often credited as the father of "Social Darwinism," that is, of the idea that some people (or peoples) are superior to others on account of naturally occurring traits or qualities and that these traits and qualities can be passed onward through the generations. As Duncan Bell has written, "the popularity of [Spencer's] evolutionary thought stemmed, at least in part, from their ability to crystallise the hopes and anxieties of educated Victorians, as well as quenching their thirst for knowledge of self and society."[29] So would it have been for Parry, who found in Spencer's thinking an explanation for the superiority of the music he thought of as "true art."

The opening gesture of the *Evolution of the Art of Music* is a paradigmatic example of how Parry adapted Spencerian thought. The fact that Tyrolese Germans yodel in arpeggios—in melodies that also imply harmonies—demonstrates that Germans as a people are born with more "heterogeneous" musical natures. Thanks to this head start, they reach "higher" forms sooner. In his inaugural lecture as Heather Professor at Oxford, given in 1902, Parry suggests that "the style of an untutored savage in a very hot climate might be quite picturesque and appropriate in his own country, but if any ill-regulated being were to adopt it in the streets of a cool and civilized city he would probably have to be suppressed." The binary opposition cold/warm gives way to "broad distinctions between the tastes of the southern and the northern races."[30] Southerners "delight in what is voluptuous." They "enjoy their art with indifferent promiscuity," while northerners "look for qualities of virginal purity upon which they can dwell with constant loving contemplation." Northerners "love to make every part of their artistic work vital and interesting, so that nowhere shall commonness and the insincerity of indolence or convention be visible."[31] In the *Evolution of the Art of Music* Parry's assessment of music from the global "south" was similarly negative. Pentatonic Chinese music was both too simple and too florid (full of "excessive unmeaning decoration"). Indian music, which draws on richer melodic materials, was more interesting, if still too ornamental.[32] Only Western scales, Parry concludes, "sifted and tested" by a thousand years of "instinct," represent "a thing which is most subtly adapted to the purposes of artistic expression." This "thing" has "afforded Bach, Beethoven, Schubert, Wagner, and Brahms ample opportunities to produce works which in their respective lines are as wonderful as it is conceivable for any artistic works to be."[33]

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Parry transferred his racial thinking easily from large to small scales. He was particularly proud of the RCM's internationally celebrated Afro-British graduate Samuel Coleridge-Taylor. Coleridge-Taylor's early death moved Parry to lament the loss of a "life brimming with artistic activity." Yet even Parry's heartfelt obituary in the *Musical Times* focuses on race. "It is to the general credit," Parry writes, "that people accepted command and criticism from one whose appearance was so unoccidental."[34] In his student days at the RCM, Parry recalls, Coleridge-Taylor's work "poured out in a spontaneous flood, showing the influence of composers who appealed to him most at different periods," until he came under the influence of Dvořák, "between whom and himself there was some racial analogy." The first performance of his pupil's most famous work, "Hiawatha," at the RCM in 1898, "was one of the remarkable events in modern English musical history." The secret of this "universally beloved" work lay in the fact that Coleridge-Taylor was "particularly fitted by racial combination to produce an exception to the conventional tendency" of the narrative cantata. "Like his half-brothers of primitive race," Parry continues, "[Coleridge-Taylor] loved plenty of sound, plenty of colour, simple and definite rhythms, and above all plenty of tune." Even (or especially) when it came to celebrating one of the RCM's most successful alumni, Parry, the proud director, chose whiteness and blackness as critical categories with which to locate him in music history.

There is a German component to Parry's definition of the "north." It lies in the music history of the seventeenth century, when German instrumental music took the exuberance of the south and turned it into something "greater," thus inaugurating a specifically German music history. "Organ music," Parry writes, "may indeed be said to be the first branch of art in which Germany asserted herself as an independent musical nation."[35] It is only a short jump to Germany's greatest organist, Johann Sebastian Bach. Here again the "northernness" of German instrumental music brings order to "southern" vocal composition. In his discussion of the duet "Komm, mein Jesu" in the cantata "Ich hatte viel Bekümmernis," BWV 21 Parry observes the use of dialogue techniques that might have been at home in an Italian opera. "The transference of an Italian artistic device," he writes, "is seen to minister to the carrying out of an essentially Teutonic, or at least northern, conception; for the dialogue form had been just as popular with English composers of the latter part of the seventeenth century as with the Germans."[36] Parry's attention to Italian influences reflects a typical line of thinking in nineteenth-century German music historiography, summed up in what Carl Dahlhaus called the "two cultures" debate.[37] It also echoes British unease around 1800 about the substantial presence of Italians in London's musical life.[38] But it seems that, overall, Parry wished to transcend a European north/south divide with a more global one—one that also, willy nilly, invokes categories of race alongside those of nation.

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The first culmination of musical "evolution" arrives with Mozart and Beethoven, who create a "self-dependent" music that disciplines spontaneous inspiration and southern vocality. In secular song the high point was reached with Schubert, Schumann, and Brahms, who "fill up almost the whole range of the higher type of songwriting," uniting "direct utterances of musical feeling" with technical command and disciplined construction.[39] Their national triumph transcends national labeling. "Composers of different nations impart the flavours of Slav, English, Norwegian, and French to their songs," Parry writes, "but make them, if they have any sense, on the same general terms as the great Germans."[40] In Parry's liberal panorama, his use of the "north" as a guiding concept elides any differences between good music of German or other origin. Behind cosmopolitanism lurks whiteness.[41]

War Clouds

As war clouds gathered, Parry seemed at first not to take the danger seriously. In 1913 he accepted a commission from the Oxford University Dramatic Society (OUDS) to provide incidental music to its annual production of a Greek play, in this case Aristophanes's comedy *The Acharnians*. The comic plot involves maintenance of the peace between quarreling Athens and Sparta. Parry draws on current events in the music: in the overture alone, the score references "Rule Britannia," "The British Grenadiers," "We don't want to fight, but by jingo if we do," Schumann's "Merry Peasant," and a persiflage of Elgar's "Pomp and Circumstance" (in his program note Parry indicates he had included a "parody on patriotic effusions"), all crowned by a climactic mashup of "God Save the King" and "La Marseillaise."[42] Throughout it all, the tune of "Oh dear, what can the matter be" appears again and again like a comic leitmotiv (music example in Figure 8.1).

The performance was not entirely a success. Parry noted in his diary that the audience seemed restrained in their reaction to the overture's comic references, "as if they were afraid it wasn't quite proper."[43] Perhaps this signaled the breakdown of a certain liberal optimism. Parry seems to have thought the idea that Germany and Britain—brothers in musical northernness or whiteness—would go to war literally laughable. His faith in social, psychological, and cultural evolution, forged in decades of service to cosmopolitan ideals and a deep belief in rational solutions to almost any problem, was to be shaken profoundly. The OUDS gave *The Archarnians* in the winter and spring of 1914. By the end of the summer the laughs were over. Parry had a particularly close view of the political run-up to the war through his son-in-law Arthur Ponsonby, a liberal backbencher who was one of only five MPs to speak out in

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Figure 8.1. Incidental music to *The Acharnians of Aristophanes as Written for Performance by the Oxford University Dramatic Society* (1914). 1. Prelude: "War and Peace," mm. 54–59.

the Commons, in the war debate of 3 August 1914, against Britain's involvement in the war.[44]

Parry spent the war years mostly at his desk in South Kensington, holding the RCM together as its male students and younger staff departed one by one for the front. Many, including the phenomenally talented George Butterworth, never returned. Others, such as Ivor Gurney, who was gassed at Passchendaele, returned broken.[45] During the war the rhythms of British musical life that had shaped Parry's career, particularly the yearly choral festivals in the provinces, came to a halt. In the summers, Parry tended to his farm properties in Gloucestershire and tried to compose. Chronically ill with heart problems, he knew his strength was slipping. In 1915 he completed a set of choral motets, the *Songs of Farewell*, on which he had been working periodically since 1906. These richly harmonized works, some for double choir in eight voices, seem at first to speak an idiom familiar from the nineteenth-century English cathedral. But they likewise invoke the monuments of the German tradition that meant so much to Parry, from Bach to Brahms and Parry's younger contemporary Max Reger.[46] All of these composed exquisite choral motets, and it is their example against which Parry wished himself to be measured. In their wartime performances they must have sounded like a requiem for a lost world.

As the war dragged on Parry was approached from time to time with commissions for patriotic music. Even if he supported the war—at the cost of some tension with his pacifist son-in-law Ponsonby—jingoism made Parry nervous.[47] Nonetheless, the commission for his final major work, a patriotic hymn on a text by William Blake, came from the Fight for Right movement—a group

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founded by the explorer and religious eccentric Sir Francis Younghusband—which argued that the war needed to be prosecuted more vigorously.[48] The result was "Jerusalem," which was first performed at a rally in the Albert Hall in May 1916. Its immediate success led him to withdraw his dedication of the piece to Fight for Right. Parry was delighted when the work was taken up by the women's suffrage movement, who made it the Women Voters' Hymn.

Culture vs. Civilization

On the other side of the western front, Parry's younger contemporary Thomas Mann was fashioning his own views on music, national identity, and conflict into a sprawling series of interlocking essays, *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen (Reflections of an Unpolitical Man)*.[49] In the *Reflections* Mann formulates a specifically "musical" identity for Germany: in Hans Rudolf Vaget's words, Mann "grounded" his arguments for Germany's right to wage war "in the uniqueness of Germany's music-centered culture."[50] Mann believed the war "was being waged for Germany's right to be different from the Western democracies and to maintain a culture in which music, not politics, would rule."[51] To be German is to draw one's identity from the "musical," an irrational other to politics, literature, and civilization; it is this musicality that allows for drastic action such as war. Mann's polemical opponent is the *Zivilisationsliterat*, a figure who represents both a foreign enemy and the German Reich's liberal and cosmopolitan bourgeoisie, who are unable to surrender themselves to music's irrational power. People of music know better. "It is understandable," Mann writes, that any thinking German musician "is prepared to oppose the progressive plans of the *Zivilisationsliteraten* … to replace the national supremacy of music with the democratic regime of politics and literature."[52] Mann's musical ideal "is art as sounding ethics, fugue and counterpoint, as [both] lighthearted and serious piety, as a building not dedicated to the profane, where one thing reaches into another, intelligent and held together without mortar."[53] His polemical enemies, on the other hand, understand "music to be a political cantilena, tenor aria with brass accompaniment *unisono*, in the Italian taste, — and as national dumbing-down potion and tool of quietism." Note the north-south axis.

Parry's diagnosis of Germany's "musicality" and its relation to the war was not so different. As we saw earlier, Parry believed Germany's war aims were driven by a minority who advocated "mere brutal violence and material aggression" while talking of their "super-morality." The German attitude to the war, he writes, "is arrogance run mad." Its main driver "is the hideous militarism of the Prussians that has poisoned the wells of the spirit throughout Germany …, cynical manipulation of the Press, and all the channels through which enlightenment can flow to the millions."[54] War-mongering Prussians

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(throughout the war sections of the *College Addresses* Parry avoids the word "German") hold "up to general worship the fetish formula of 'Blood and Iron.'"[55] Parry's analysis betrays his socially progressive instincts: the "Prussian Junkers," he explains, "must be a great fount and source of stupidity, since they still batten upon the worn-out theory of class privilege; which tries still to induce men to believe that the world was made for the few, and that when the few think it for their advantage the many are to be driven to kill one another in hundreds of thousands and to suffer every kind of torment without any one except the few gaining any advantage."[56] Yet he soon clarifies that German "musicality" cannot be to blame. Although their music suggests that Germans too should possess great reserves of character, the war proved otherwise. "If the Germans had been content to devote themselves to metaphysics and music," Parry observes, "the world might have been spared the painful and offensive exhibition they have made of themselves." For the coming peace, after all the carnage, Parry holds out hope, "that the Germans may go back to their music too, and leave alone the business of dominating the world by any other means but peaceful art; which, in truth, until this evil day of their own miscontriving, they had nearly accomplished."[57]

The war inspired Parry to reflect on the mission of the RCM. "It is a time like this," he writes, "that tests the genuineness of our work."[58] Besides being a battle against an external enemy, the war, Parry believed, was a test of the RCM's campaign against those in Britain who did not appreciate the role that serious music should play in national life. Indeed, in the opening paragraphs of one address ("The College in Peace and War") Parry speculates that Germany might have thought it possible to defeat Britain because of coverage in the popular press of Britain's taste for "frivolous" music.

The establishment of the RCM, Parry explains, was key to systematic efforts to remedy this problem.[59] From its first years, the RCM offered training in every orchestral instrument; its orchestra toured the provinces. In time its graduates were numerous enough that cities and towns far from London were able to field their own orchestras. The RCM required chamber music, "thereby sustaining the appreciation of a lofty form of art which meets but scanty encouragement in modern times." Soon RCM graduates were performing this repertoire to audiences who had never heard it before, "diffus[ing] the taste for [it] far and wide through the country, and even in the slum districts of our overgrown cities." The RCM produced one opera a year, "afford[ing] us opportunities of … training a good many singers who have ultimately attained to very high positions among operatic artists in countries besides England." The college's obligatory training in music history and literature meant that organist graduates could "take the lead in any provincial town … encouraging people to take enlightened interest in music outside the limited range of their church services and choral societies." The same broad curriculum, finally,

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allowed composition students to hear "a vast amount of music of every period and style …, to experiment hard and wide, and to watch modern developments and learn and assimilate what is worthy in the name of art, and to dispense with such things as are made merely for vain show and popularity with the thoughtless herd." Parry's war aim, then, was first to defeat Germany and then to harness the national seriousness of purpose the war had engendered in order to win the musical peace. "There never was a time," he concludes, "when it was more needful to take our art seriously. … [A]s long as we aim steadfastly at the best we can concentrate ourselves on our College work in wartime as in peacetime with clear consciences."

Discounting Mann's attraction to the irrational sides of German "musicality" (Parry might have referred to these as symptoms of "arrogance" and "Prussian super-morality") both men—on opposite sides of a brutal conflict—shared congruent goals: first, a commitment to music as earnest process ("fugue and counterpoint," as Mann put it) and not entertainment; second, the idea that serious music made for a more serious country and that this seriousness could make the difference in the conflict; and third, the notion that the music they stood for, however much it could make a nation, was also universal. Finally, their respective enemies (the *Zivilisationsliterat* and the "frivolous" well-to-do classes) had more than a little in common.

Networks

One might even conclude that Mann and Parry belong to the same network of thinkers about Germanness in music and, since Parry himself was not German, that—for all of his bitter disappointment with Germany over the war—he acted as a "representative" or "ambassador" in Britain of German musical thought. In some ways he did have this function, as he himself admitted ("I have been for a quarter century and more a pro-Teuton") and as Shaw observed after his death. On a more granular level, however, the ideologies to which Parry and Mann claimed allegiance were profoundly different. Parry, his early Wagnerism notwithstanding, was not committed in any serious way to the mysteries of musical Germanness that his younger contemporary Mann was. Nor was he at all conflicted about his liberal belief in "progress," a notion Mann distrusted deeply. Mann, likewise, did not share Parry's capacious notions of "north" and "south," concentrating instead on Germany as the "north's" sole representative. Parry, on the other hand, argued again and again that "true musical art" was a function of a "northern" racial superiority that encompassed both countries.

Even so, the idea that there might be such an identifiable discourse, an idea around which such diverse actors as Parry and Mann could gather, is hard to

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shake. The notion that there is such a thing as Germanness in music underpins this book and any other like it—in particular, Applegate and Potter's seminal *Music and German National Identity*.[60] Another word for this notion would be a *Sonderweg*, a "special path" for German music. The essence of historians' rejection of the *Sonderweg* thesis more broadly is that it is next to impossible to demonstrate empirically.[61] At best, figures as disparate as Parry and Mann walked along a common *Sonderweg*, making it temporarily visible to posterity. I do not think, however, that this is where a critical analysis has to stop. What if, we might ask, the network made the concept instead of the concept the network? What I would like to propose here, using Parry as an example, is how one might employ a different view of networks as drivers of intellectual history in order to understand musical "Germanness" more fully.

There is help at hand from actor-network theory (ANT), a repertoire of approaches that emerged first in science and technology studies and is now enjoying currency in music history. In ANT, networks are not, to borrow Benjamin Piekut's description, "like a railroad system or gas pipeline."[62] The network of Germanness in music is not flat. Neither Parry nor Mann was a passive node in it. They were mediators, acting within the constraints of a seemingly endless tangle of contingencies (Parry's liberal scientific racism and spatial positioning of the "north" in music, Mann's suspicion in the *Reflections* about democracy and dislike of liberal critics). Some of these resolve contrapuntally into commonalities (e.g., their belief that great music was marked by process). Each of these contingencies and commonalities was itself the product of further entanglements. The price of admitting such complexity is parting with all-purpose generalizations such as "Germanness" in music. Just as for Bruno Latour and his followers there is no such thing as "the social," there is really no single fixed German national identity—in music or anywhere else.[63] Thus Parry and Mann can agree that serious music contributes to national strength while at the same time standing at opposite ends of a "conservative-liberal" political continuum.

Telling Parry's story in the mode of actor-network theory might also make more sense of the relationship between the English Musical Renaissance and Germany by disrupting the scale commonly used to view it. To the dismay of musicological critics such as Alain Frogley, Hughes and Stradling claimed that the renaissance, and especially the establishment of its flagship institution, the RCM, was best explained as a product of British anxiety about German economic and political hegemony. Frogley found this explanation unsatisfactory because it denied sufficient importance to the music that RCM composers such as Vaughan Williams actually wrote.[64] An ANT-inflected approach encompasses both Stradling and Hughes's thesis about Germany and Frogley's critique, but does not decide which one is primary. Instead of featuring either as a conspiratorial locale (Hughes and Stradling's "Goodly

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House") or the birthplace of great composers such as Vaughan Williams, the RCM becomes—in terms an ANT scholar might use—an "obligatory point of passage" through which students, teachers, performers, donors, politicians, royal patrons, evolutionary theorists, modern technology (including musical instruments), musical editions, texts about Germany, evolution, white or "northern" supremacy, and actual Germans or Germanophiles passed. Thus the RCM, Hubert Parry at its helm, was at once the product of a nearly endless series of networks and the origin of countless others. These networks featured all of the qualities John Law identifies as constitutive of the ANT approach: semiotic relationality (different actors define one another), heterogeneity (different kinds of actors), materiality (actors can be people, ideas, and objects), process (networks are always changing), and precariousness (networks can "break" in circumstances such as war).[65]

Positioning Parry as one actor in a series of networks can also draw attention to wider concerns than the bilateral relationship between the English Musical Renaissance and Germany. The clue is in ANT's accordance of agency to nonhuman actors. The actual building in which Parry worked for most of his career was not situated accidentally. The RCM occupied (and occupies) a key location in the ensemble of institutions that run along Exhibition Road in South Kensington. In Parry's era these included the Royal Albert Hall, the RCM, the Royal College of Science (later Imperial College), and the South Kensington, later Victoria and Albert, Museum (which included science and natural history divisions). The area was planned in the wake of the Great Exhibition of 1851 and bore for many years the name "Albertopolis" in honor of the Exhibition's patron Prince Albert. The Exhibition and Albertopolis were prime physical representations of Britain's links with its empire. Objects from the empire featured heavily at the Exhibition and later in the museums, arranged in such as way as to make, among other things, contemporary theories of evolution, and the ideologies of white supremacy they underpinned, visible to as many as possible. Around the museums, planners placed educational institutions such as the RCM and the Royal College of Science. In these, young Britons (and the occasional foreigner) learned the practical skills and theoretical knowledge that they would need as educated protagonists of national and imperial improvement.[66]

Parry's music history—forged of whiteness, Germanness, liberalism, and many other elements—started its journey here and traveled to the formal empire and the rest of the English-speaking world, including the United States. There his doctrines of the superiority of "northern" music were studied and understood. In Richard Taruskin's entry on nationalism in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, the transfer of Germanocentric narratives to imperial contexts earns the name "colonialist nationalism." His example is the American composer Amy Beach, who distinguished around 1900 between

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"we of the north" and such composers as Dvořák.[67] A few decades after Beach, the organist and music historian Warren Dwight Allen—who disagreed sharply with Parry about the natural superiority of "northern" music—noted the influence of Parry's *Evolution of the Art of Music* on American musical education, including the booming field of "music appreciation." In 1939, Allen wrote in a comprehensive survey of music histories that Parry's was "the only history of music still in general demand and widespread use."[68] Allen's observation suggests that in the 1930s, when Germanocentric (and less overtly racial) ideas came to North America (and of course also Britain) with the Nazi-era emigration they would have found a receptive audience and mixed with what was already there to create a new consensus about what constituted serious art music. The "German" view of music that until recently seemed normative and universal to Anglo-Americans might in fact rest on foundations provided by such British and American intellectual formations as liberalism, scientific racism, white settlement, and empire. These inform Taruskin's "colonialist nationalism." And they were spread throughout the English-speaking world via the reception of Parry's writings. They align musical progress along a north/south–white/black axis. A key tenet of his music history, after all, is the belief that the amount of control a composer has over their "instincts," and thus their ability to access great "northern" art, depends on their origin along this spectrum. Our sense of musical Germanness, could, in other words, rest on white supremacist foundations. This aspect of Parry's work may have been more influential than he ever dreamt.

This chapter has argued that Parry's music history, once widely influential in the English-speaking world, is a document of a liberal but racist vision of "northern" music. His vision elided national distinctions between "northern" countries such as Germany and Britain and brought both together under the umbrella of "northernness." I have suggested that Parry's history is best situated as a node in an asymmetrical network of competing imperatives: scientific progress, artistic profundity, imperial ambition, and crude "scientific" racism. A product of this network, Parry's history commits the classic sin of colonialist Eurocentrism: it brutally and casually robs vast swathes of the world's people, many then subjects of the empire at whose heart Parry worked, of their human musical agency. It does so in the name of a canon of "great works" by mostly German composers. Taruskin, responding recently to the arrival of ANT in musicology, objected that ANT-style explanations can provide human actors—such as, one presumes, Parry—with "alibis." He wants actors "to take responsibility."[69] Parry, and not his networks, should be held responsible for the view of music history that he preached. I do not believe that the account I offer here absolves Parry of his racism; in any case, it is not my role as historian to offer such absolution. Simply calling his racism by its name and moving on, however, is not a productive enough act if we are serious

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about understanding how Parry's views might still inform our own practices as historians, teachers, and musicians. The networks emerging from Parry's writings need to be made visible, as does our enrolment in them. If the aim is to "decolonize" musicology, then experience of musicology's "denazification" at the hands such scholars as Pamela Potter and Michael Kater—joined more recently by the controversy around the wartime activities of Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht—might be instructive.[70] To be sure, naming matters. But Tamara Levitz, in a review of Potter's seminal study of Nazi-era musicology, called for studies "that do fuller justice to the complexities of the period" and, crucially, for scholars to attempt more "sympathetic understanding" of those tangled up in its horrors.[71] I take such "understanding" to mean difficult work of interpretation and self-recognition, not platitudinous absolution along the lines of "Parry was a man of his time." For of course he was. But the horrors of British imperialism and the racism that went with it—not comparable to the Holocaust, but horrors all the same—will not go away. A more capacious view is necessary—one that takes in, and seeks to understand, the continuing entanglement of such beloved figures as Parry with ideas of white supremacy that haunt us now more than ever.

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Notes

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1. Hubert Parry, "1914," in *College Addresses: Delivered to the Pupils of the Royal College of Music*, ed. H. C. Colles (London, 1920), 226.
2. Ibid., 224.
3. Ibid., 227.

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4. Stefan Collini, *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain, 1850–1930* (Oxford, 1991).
5. Jeremy Dibble, *C. Hubert H. Parry: His Life and Music* (Oxford, 1998).
6. Meirion Hughes and R. A. Stradling, *The English Musical Renaissance, 1840–1940: Constructing a National Music*, 2nd ed. (Manchester, 2001). Anger about the book among many scholars of British music is summed up in the first half of Alain Frogley, "Rewriting the Renaissance: History, Imperialism, and British Music since 1840," *Music and Letters* 84, no. 2 (2003): 241–57.
7. One of their chapters is entitled "Being Beastly to the Hun."
8. G. Bernard Shaw, "Sir Edward Elgar," *Music and Letters* 1, no. 1 (1920): 10–11.
9. John Bridcut, *The Prince and the Composer: A Film about Hubert Parry by HRH The Prince of Wales* (London, 2011).
10. Information in this and the following paragraphs is drawn from Dibble, *C. Hubert H. Parry*, 3–177.
11. On Grove, see Hughes and Stradling, *English Musical Renaissance*, 23–51.
12. Ibid., 26.
13. Quoted in Charles Graves, *The Life and Letters of Sir George Grove, CB* (London, 1903), 205.
14. For further discussion, see Thomas Irvine, "'Behold That Twilight Realm as in a Glass, the Future': Charles Hubert Parrys Prometheus Unbound, eine musikalische Moderne für England?," in *Der Entfesselte Prometheus: Der Antike Mythos in der Musik um 1900*, ed. Laurenz Lütteken (Kassel, 2015), 37–52.
15. See David Wright, "The South Kensington Music Schools and the Development of the British Conservatoire in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 130, no. 2 (2005): 236–82; and Hughes and Stradling, *English Musical Renaissance*, 27–31.
16. "Lectures in the history of music given at the RCM 2nd course," MS 4306 f. 16v. Royal College of Music archive.
17. For a recent attempt, see Duncan Bell, *Reordering the World: Essays on Liberalism and Empire* (Princeton, 2016), esp. chap. 3, "What Is Liberalism?"
18. Hubert Parry, diary entry [?] December 1873, in Dibble, *C. Hubert H. Parry*, 108.
19. Ibid., 109.
20. Dibble, *C. Hubert H. Parry*, Ibid.
21. See Colin Holmes, "Goldwin Smith (1823–1910)," *Patterns of Prejudice* 6, no. 5 (1972): 25–30; and Bell, *Reordering the World*, 36–37.
22. Dibble, *C. Hubert H. Parry*, 112.
23. Ibid., 419–20 and passim.
24. Ursula Vaughan Williams, *RVW: A Biography of Ralph Vaughan Williams* (Oxford, 1993), 32.
25. Hubert Parry, *The Evolution of the Art of Music* (London, 1905), 6.
26. Ibid., 74.
27. For a recent introduction to Herder's musical thought, see Philip V. Bohlman, "Johann Gottfried Herder and the Global Moment of World-Music History," in *The Cambridge Companion to the History of World Music*, ed. Philip V. Bohlman (Cambridge, 2013), 255–76.
28. Bennett Zon, "C. Hubert H. Parry, *The Evolution of the Art of Music* (1893/96)," *Victorian Review* 35, no. 1 (2009): 68–72. See also Bennett Zon, *Evolution and Victorian*

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Musical Culture (Cambridge, 2017), 130–39; and *Representing Non-Western Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Rochester, 2007), 110–12, 146–50.

29. Bell, *Reordering the World*, 243.
30. Hubert Parry, *Style in Musical Art* (London, 1911), 9.
31. Ibid., 17.
32. Parry, *Evolution of the Art of Music*, 22–46. See also the discussion in Zon, *Representing Non-Western Music*, 111–12 and passim.
33. Parry, *Evolution of the Art of Music*, 46.
34. All of the quotations in this paragraph are from Hubert Parry, "[Samuel Coleridge-Taylor]: A Tribute from Sir Hubert Parry," *Musical Times* 53, no. 836 (1912): 638.
35. Hubert Parry, *The Music of the Seventeenth Century*, vol. 3 of *The Oxford History of Music* (Oxford, 1902), 99.
36. Hubert Parry, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Story of the Development of a Great Personality* (New York, 1909), 92. See also the chapter "The Beginning of German Music" in Parry's *The Music of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1902), 409–456.
37. Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley, 1992); Nicholas Mathew and Benjamin Walton, eds., *The Invention of Beethoven and Rossini: Historiography, Analysis, Criticism* (New York, 2013).
38. Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge, 1993).
39. Parry, *Evolution of the Art of Music*, 292.
40. Ibid. He follows a similar line of argument in his discussions of the music of George Frederic Handel (an example would be *The Evolution of the Art of Music*, 126–157). Handel's gift, Parry argues, was to bring a German sensibility and Italian training before an English audience, who brought forth from him a particularly English version of "northern" music.
41. Sarah Collins productively complicates the notion of musical cosmopolitanism. See Collins, "What Is Cosmopolitan? Busoni and Other Germans," *Musical Quarterly* 99, no. 2 (2016): 201–29.
42. Dibble, *C. Hubert H. Parry*, 467–68.
43. Ibid.
44. Duncan Marlor, *Fatal Fortnight: Arthur Ponsonby and the Fight for British Neutrality in 1914* (London, 2014).
45. Dibble, *C. Hubert H. Parry*, 482, 487 and passim.
46. Ibid., 478–81.
47. Marlor, *Fatal Fortnight*, 180–81.
48. Dibble, *C. Hubert H. Parry*, 483–85.
49. Thomas Mann, *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*, ed. Hermann Kurzke (Frankfurt, 2013).
50. Hans Rudolf Vaget, "National and Universal: Thomas Mann and the Paradox of 'German' Music," in *Music and German National Identity*, ed. Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter (Chicago, 2002), 159.
51. Ibid.
52. Mann, *Betrachtungen*, 264.
53. Ibid.
54. Parry, "The College in Peace and War," in *College Addresses*, 223.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid., 239.

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57. Ibid., 242.
58. Ibid., 226.
59. All quotes in this paragraph are from ibid., 260–63.
60. Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter, eds., *Music and German National Identity* (Chicago, 2002).
61. See the discussion in the introduction to this volume.
62. Benjamin Piekut, "Actor-Networks in Music History: Clarifications and Critiques," *Twentieth-Century Music* 11, no. 2 (2014): 192.
63. Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford, 2007).
64. Frogley, "Rewriting the Renaissance," 246–47.
65. John Law, "Actor-Network Theory and Material Semiotics," in *The New Blackwell Companion to Social Theory*, 3rd ed., ed. Bryan S. Turner (Oxford, 2008), 141–58.
66. Hermione Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and the Great Exhibition: Science, Art and Productive Industry: The History of the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851* (London, 2002). For a similar suggestion about the generation of musical knowledge in the British Empire, see James Q. Davies, "Instruments of Empire," in *Sound Knowledge: Music and Science in London, 1789–1851*, ed. Ellen Lockhart and James Q. Davies (Chicago, 2016), 145–74.
67. Grove Music Online, s.v. "Nationalism," by Richard Taruskin, retrieved 12 April 2018 from http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000050846. This use of the word "north" as racial shorthand differs from its appearance as an aesthetic category, for instance in the essays collected in the forthcoming volume *Music and Ideas of North* edited by Rachel Cowgill and Derek B. Scott (Abingdon, 2018), which I have been unable to consult.
68. Warren Dwight Allen, *Philosophies of Music History: A Study of General Histories of Music 1600–1960*, 2nd edition with a new preface (London, 1964), 113–16.
69. Richard Taruskin, "Agents and Causes and Ends, Oh My," *Journal of Musicology* 31, no. 2 (2014): 292.
70. Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts: Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler`s Reich* (New Haven, 1998); and Michael H. Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits* (Oxford and New York, 2000). On Eggebrecht, see Anne C. Shreffler, Boris von Haken, and Christopher Browning, "Musicology, Biography, and National Socialism: The Case of Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht," *German Studies Review* 35, no. 2 (2012): 289–318.
71. Tamara Levitz, review of *Most German of the Arts: Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler's Reich*, by Pamela Potter, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 55, no. 1 (2002): 186–87. I discuss the issues around "normalizing" Nazi-era histories in Thomas Irvine, "Normality and Emplotment: Walter Leigh's 'Midsummer Night's Dream' in the Third Reich and Britain," *Music and Letters* 94, no. 2 (2013): 321–23.

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