

# VICTORIAN BRASS BANDS: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A 'WORKING CLASS MUSICAL TRADITION'

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By the end of Queen Victoria's reign, brass bands were one of the principal focuses of community music making in the United Kingdom. There were, if we are to believe the optimistic forecasts in one publication, 40,000 of them.<sup>1</sup> Such a statistic would indicate that the number of people playing in brass bands by the end of the century was something in the region of 800,000. At about the same time, audience attendance at open air brass band contests was, according to the highest estimate, 160,000 at a single event. This figure was quoted in the popular press following the 1900 National Brass Band Contest at the Crystal Palace. It should not, of course, be taken literally, but it is probably a good indicator of popular impression.

When Queen Victoria ascended to the throne in 1837, the term "brass band" meant nothing more than an ensemble of miscellaneous wind instruments in which brass instruments were prominent. At the end of the century the term was more closely defined. Brass bands had become the *raison d'être* for a discrete but significant segment of the British music industry and for a widespread and intricate organizational structure that was largely controlled by working-class people.

Since the end of the nineteenth century, the British brass band has had a standard line up of instruments - cornets in Bb (4 'solo', 2 seconds, 2 thirds plus one 'repiano'), 1 soprano cornet in Eb, 1 flugel horn in Bb, 3 tenor saxhorns in Eb, 2 baritone saxhorns in Bb, 2 euphoniums in Bb, 2 Eb basses, 2 BBb basses, 2 tenor trombones, 1 bass trombone, and percussion. Because this is the combination of instruments permissible for contests it has been used by all publishers of brass band music. For a long period in the middle of the twentieth century, percussion instruments were not allowed in brass band contests, but they were reintroduced in the 1960s. Percussion parts were usually included in scores so that they could be used in concerts.

Historians have often cited the brass band movement as one of the finest musical achievements of the British working classes, and it is certainly true that it is one of the elements which has characterised Victorian working-class culture. But it is entirely wrong to attribute its genesis and early development exclusively to the working classes. It was the middle classes who provided the instruments, the repertory, the moral encouragement, and other facilities that gave the brass band movement its momentum.

Bands of wind and string instruments were common in Britain in the early years of the century. They seldom contained brass instruments, but serpents were often used on bass lines. Such bands were mainly used to support choirs in rural Anglican parish churches, but they seem to have also served a broader role in their communities. For a

number of reasons, these church bands began to decline in the 1830s.<sup>2</sup> The first all-brass band, so it is claimed, was formed in Blaina, Gwent in the 1820s.<sup>3</sup> There is no reliable evidence to support this and other similar claims concerning the 'first' brass band, but sources show that in the 1830s private and professional bands were established which went to some lengths to point out that they were brass bands. In Lancashire by 1838 a group calling itself the Preston United Harmonic Brass Band was soliciting engagements at a cost of "£4.5.0 and Meat and Drink as soon as we get their [sic] and all the time we stay their[sic]." <sup>4</sup> During the same year, Robert Thompson Crawshay of Cyfarthfa Castle, Merthyr Tydfil, owner of one of the world's most profitable iron works, formed a brass band of 20 players by enlisting established professionals and leading amateurs. The Cyfarthfa Band was probably the first virtuoso British brass band and was far from typical in the late 1830s.<sup>5</sup> Most brass or mixed brass/wind bands of that time were less able and organised. Such bands provide evidence of an important pre-history to the brass band *movement*, but they must not be confused with it.

The brass band movement can trace its origins almost precisely to 1844. It was in that year that the Distin family, a group of touring virtuoso brass players, gained the franchise to import Adolphe Sax's design of valve instruments.<sup>6</sup> From that time, amateur playing increased dramatically and the mass production of brass instruments rose sharply. It is no accident that the best documented early brass band contest came shortly after that, at Burton Constable in 1845.<sup>7</sup> It is equally no accident that many of the brass bands formed in the 1840s called themselves saxhorn bands. The acquisition of the franchise by the Distins had an acute and decisive influence; it is, however, worth noting some of the background conditions that allowed the promotion of this one industrial patent to give momentum to such a phenomenon.

The economic growth of Britain in the mid-Victorian period was the most rapid and spectacular it has known. This growth created an entirely new demographic and social structure which in turn caused profound changes in the consciousness of all strata of society and to their cultural and material circumstances. For the working classes it established new communities, new values; for most it meant a change within a single generation from living in essentially rural, agrarian environments to urban, industrial communities.<sup>8</sup> This brought urban squalor for some, but for others, indeed probably for the majority, the opportunity for small amounts of leisure time and modest disposable incomes.<sup>9</sup> It was the first time that a mass working-class population had such a facility and, though largely groundless, there was sustained worry among sections of the higher classes that insurrection would be produced by the judicious enticements of drink and lasciviousness.

A concern for social order developed and, among the more enlightened, that social order was seen as best achieved through the encouragement of activities which were intellectually and spiritually nourishing and, as such, represented 'rational recreations'. The rational recreationists are often seen as empty paternalists. In fact, their motives were usually genuine and aimed to create a middle ground between classes in which common values could be shared. Several organizations, most with religious associa-

tions, promoted activities that were 'respectable' and 'improving'. Music making seemed to have held a special charm for them, and was thus one obvious activity to promote. It was perceived as a harmless and unambiguously 'good' example of self improvement, perhaps due to the spirit of co-operation which is promoted by collective music making.<sup>10</sup> Thus the social and physical environment in which working-class people found themselves met absolute accord with the aspirations that the middle classes had for them. These aspirations developed at exactly the time that manufacturers were mass producing musical instruments which could be bought cheaply, learnt quickly and, when the note production technique was mastered, played with just the three most dexterous fingers of the right hand.

It is easy today to underestimate the attractions and practical advantages that valve instruments had when they encountered the mass market in the mid nineteenth century: the ease with which they could be taught and played, and the facility they offered for players to cover the complete chromatic spectrum with comparative ease relative to earlier valveless instruments. The fact that the same basic design applied to different sizes of instruments provided a wide overall tessitura that matched the reasonable aspirations of composers and arrangers. This was a major breakthrough for instrument technology. The first people to realise the full potential of this phenomenon were, of course, the manufacturers. They also realised that mass production and deft marketing would facilitate relatively cheap unit costs.

At first, many valve instruments were imported into Britain and often stamped with the name of the British importer. From the middle of the century, however, a significant home industry developed. Besson employed a hundred workers at its London factory by 1894, and between 1862 and 1895 produced 52,000 instruments. Joseph Higham's firm, which started in Manchester but eventually had a London base, produced 60,000 instruments between 1842 and 1893.<sup>11</sup> Brass instruments were widely promoted. Valve systems were exhibited for awards at the expositions which were the prime focus for industrial and technological eminence. By 1888 Besson was claiming that they had won 42 of the highest honours at such events and that their 'prototype band instruments' had won 39 medals of honour, including one awarded for 'TONE quality [sic].' Such achievements, and the endorsements of leading army bandsmen, were conspicuous in advertisements which were placed in music trade journals, and it was common for the cover pages of piano, woodwind and string journals - publications mainly aimed at the domestic middle-class market - to carry brass instrument promotions.<sup>12</sup>

Many bands formed from about 1850 were sponsored by, or received some other form of benevolence or support from, industrial entrepreneurs. Perhaps the most famous was the band founded in 1855 by the textile manufacturer, John Foster, for the workers at his mill in the Yorkshire village of Queenshead (which later changed its name to Queensbury). Witnessing the collapse of the ramshackle local band, Foster resolved to form a new one. He provided instruments, uniforms, a room in which to practice, and the fees for a bandmaster on condition that the band took the name of his mill as their name. Thus was inaugurated the John Foster and Son Black Dyke Mills Band (or Black Dike,

a common spelling in the nineteenth century), which has probably had the most sustained level of success of any British brass band.

This type of benefaction was not uncommon. But, though it is widely believed that the brass band movement started and was sustained because middle class industrialists provided unhindered resources for them, it is almost certainly untrue. For a variety of reasons, the middle classes encouraged brass bands and were anxious to associate themselves with them. But most bands raised all or part of their money through subscriptions, fund-raising events and profits from contests and concerts. Working-class ambitions were aided by two vital and novel factors: first, hire purchase schemes, the advent of which the writer Algernon Rose cited as the single most important factor to which 'many bands owe their very existence'<sup>13</sup>; and second, the economic climate which produced a significant decrease in the real cost of the instruments.<sup>14</sup> Economic and social historians argue long and hard about the factors which contributed to economic growth in mid-Victorian Britain and what the ramifications of that growth were. For the music business the position seems relatively simple. In a period when the value of the pound was more or less stable, the costs of brass instruments fell dramatically. Cornopeans, for example, were advertised at prices between £5 and £10 around 1840; by the 1850s it was common for new cornets to be available for £3.<sup>15</sup> The fall in the cost of valve instruments such as cornets can be explained, in part at least, by their easier availability, but in the same period tenor trombones, which were the subject of no new technology, became cheaper by factors of up to 50%. The Distin company was, in the 1870s, advertising their 'ordinary cornets' at £1.5.0, and the superior model cost just 10/- more.<sup>16</sup> Discounts were available, as was a flourishing market of second-hand instruments.

While valve instruments (and trombones) were the mainstay of brass bands from the mid 1840s, it would be wrong to assume that valve technology immediately swept away the old keyed systems. Keyed instruments continued to be used until late in the nineteenth century. Players who had acquired a good technique on them probably saw no advantage in abandoning their skills to learn new fingering systems. Such perceptions were accurate, because the evidence is abundant in handwritten music sources to show that cornet and euphonium players held no sway over the best keyed bugle and ophicleide players. Photographs of brass bands, even quite late in the nineteenth century, show that valved and keyed instruments were being used side by side. The ophicleide was particularly reluctant to die. Samuel Hughes, probably the best British ophicleide player (he played with the Cyfarthfa Band, and went on to become Professor of Ophicleide at the Guildhall School of Music and the Army School of Music, later called the Royal Military School of Music),<sup>17</sup> was never seduced to the euphonium, although many of his contemporaries were. It should also be remembered that even slide trumpets were persevered with by London professionals until the very end of the century; Thomas Harper continued to provide slide trumpet lessons at the Royal Academy of Music, and W. Wyatt was persevering with the 'double slide trumpet' at the Royal Opera House in the 1890s.

The most interesting sources concerning Victorian brass bands are those pertaining to the music they played. Concert programmes, which survive in abundance, show that by far the greatest part of the repertory, even into the twentieth century, was made up of transcriptions. The music that was transcribed can be broadly categorised into three types. First, art/classical music; in this category Italian operatic overtures and selections are highly prevalent. Second, arrangements of popular dances such as quadrilles, schottisches and polkas; these were often used as vehicles for virtuoso solo pieces. Third, miscellaneous collections of functional pieces such as anthems, carols, folk tunes and other music of local interest. The primary sources for the art/classical music transcriptions were often the cheap Novello editions which were published in short score. The most easily available printed music was 'journal music'. Journals were published from the late 1830s.<sup>18</sup> They gave bands a monthly supply of music, in parts, for a modest subscription. The annual cost of journal subscriptions ranged from about 10/- to £1. The parts varied according to the publisher's policy, but typically there were about ten separate parts for the most popular instruments in appropriate transpositions. Bandmasters, who were usually trained musicians but not brass players, then had to adapt these parts for the actual forces they had available.

Distins' Brass Band Journal (later to become Boosey's Journal) was fairly typical. It commenced publication in January 1869. The annual subscription was 10/-; for this subscribers received ten parts for:

- 1st Cornet in Bb
- 2nd Cornet in Bb
- Soprano Cornet in Eb
- 1st & 2nd Tenor Horns in Eb
- 1st Baritone in Bb
- Euphonion [sic] in Bb in treble
- Bombardon in Eb in treble
- Drums [side and bass drums]

This combination could be expanded by purchasing additional parts:

"Extra parts may be had for the following instruments price Two Pence each Part, or One Shilling and Sixpence per Annum for each instrument. Duplicate parts on the same terms. Repiano Cornet in Bb; Cornets 3rd and 4th in Bb; 2nd Baritone in Bb; 1st and 2nd Trombones in Bb (either in treble or Bass clef); Bass Trombone; Solo Tenor in Eb; and Contra Bass in Bb."<sup>19</sup>

The Baritone, Euphonium and Bombardon parts were available in treble and bass clef. It was common in the nineteenth century - as it is standard today - for lower parts to be read from treble clef. In modern brass bands, only the bass trombone is written in bass clef. All other parts are in treble clef except for tenor trombone parts, which are

sometimes in tenor clef. Trombonists playing from tenor clef usually make a mental adjustment by subtracting two flats from the key signature and regarding the music as being in treble clef. The origin of what may seem a curious system is assumed to lie in the didactic value of having all parts in the same clef. The anomaly of always putting the bass trombone in bass clef can be credibly, if not altogether convincingly, explained by the fact that the bass trombone part in bass clef would seem similar to the Eb bass part that often doubled it and was next to it in the full score. A less fashionable and simpler explanation, but one which I favour, is that there was a tradition for bass clef to be read in brass bands - plenty of ophicleide and bass trombone parts in manuscript sources show this - and, for reasons which are difficult to reach a conclusion on, the tradition did not die at the lower end of the trombone section. The fact that bass clef parts were available in journal music for baritones and euphoniums gives some support to this argument.

The manuscript music occupies a much more important place in the hierarchy of sources for early bands. Whereas printed music - which shows a fairly consistent pattern anyway - gives proof of the ownership of such material, handwritten manuscript parts provide fairly incontestable evidence of the music that bands were actually playing and consequently of the ability of their players. It is hardly likely that a bandmaster, intimately familiar with the competence of the musicians he directed, would write parts that were significantly below or above their technical capacity. The journal music is undemanding, but some of the surviving manuscript sources, particularly those at the Besses O'th'Barn library<sup>20</sup> and the much earlier collection at the Cyfarthfa Castle Museum,<sup>21</sup> which contain the manuscripts of two of the best Victorian bands, show that the technical ability of the better players was as good as it has been at any time in the history of the brass band movement. In whatever way one judges brass virtuosity, the evidence is strikingly apparent.

While the broad categories of transcriptions that I have already mentioned provided the bulk of the repertory through the second half of the nineteenth century, local idiosyncrasies which developed because of differences in playing ability, instrumentation, the tastes of bandmasters, and the special functional requirements on individual bands gave way to a greater level of commonality of style, if not standard, as the century progressed. This can, in part be attributed to the central influence of published music, particularly journals, but a greater influence was the massive importance of the growth of contesting.

Several secondary sources quote evidence suggesting that brass band contests were being held early in the century. The most commonly, if imprecisely, cited early contest is the one held in 1832 when a Yorkshire band won first prize for an inspired performance of the national anthem, *God Save the King*. While it may be true that the competitive spirit prevailed at rural fetes from early in the century, the brass band contests which were held from the mid 1840s were of an entirely different order. They were a part of the mass entertainment industry, carefully organised by entrepreneurs who saw them as a potentially addictive attraction for the masses. Balloon ascents, side shows, and other enticements supported these open air events. The growing rail network and the provision

of cheap excursion fares meant that contests became forums for bandmen from wide geographical areas. The numbers of people attending these events are given in contemporary newspaper reports with happy disregard for accuracy, but it is reasonable to assume that even a moderately elaborate provincial contest would have attracted audiences of tens of thousands. One can only gain impressions of the actual attendances. The contest held at Hull in 1858, according to contemporary newspapers, attracted 14,000; the first Belle Vue Contest at Manchester, 24,000. It might be possible, if anyone were to judge it sufficiently important, to extrapolate some approximate figures from the numbers of special excursion trains that were laid on.

The significance of contests is not just that they provided momentum and conspicuous exposure for brass bands, but also that they created what Dave Russell has described as the 'nationalisation' and 'standardisation' of the movement.<sup>22</sup> This led to a rise in standards of playing and to the establishment of a widely acknowledged musical orthodoxy. The style of the best bands and, perhaps more important, the stylistic tastes of the people who directed them, took on a striking similarity, and this galvanised musical attitudes to the extent that a brass band idiom was established. From the 1880s, three band conductors working in the north of England, Edwin Swift, James Gladney and Alexander Owen, who monopolised the directorships of a clutch of the very best bands, (including Black Dyke, Meltham Mills and Besses O'th' Barn) dominated the prizes at all major contests for the best part of twenty years. The instrumentation that they formulated for their bands became the standard line-up. In the 1880s, with these bands in mind, the first publications appeared for what is, more or less, the modern brass band.

Original band compositions were not new—several pieces appeared from the late 1840s—but later publications, such as H. Round's 1884 work *Joan of Arc* and others of the Liverpool publishers Wright and Round, were more substantial. These larger scale 'original works' demonstrated little originality and were directly imitative of the style and format of the operatic selections that still dominated the repertory. It was not until 1921, when Cyril Jenkins composed *Life Divine* for the National contest, that brass bands had a work that modestly broke away from this tradition and matched coherent compositional technique with sensitivity to the idiom.

The musical development of brass bands went hand in hand with an awareness on the part of the players of their own musical and economic worth. What had started as an activity led by commerce and middle-class paternalism was eventually usurped by the working classes themselves. Winning contests became a matter of local pride and importance, and also, to the bands, something of an economic necessity. The prestige of a band was measured by the list of its contesting honours; this in turn provided engagements which brought enough money to fund its activities and to supplement the wages of its players.

The leading bands operated a thinly veiled form of professionalism. It was common for outstanding players to be in receipt of retainers for their services. Any moderately successful band that carried the name of an industrial concern such as a textile mill or coal mine secured for its members some type of advantage. There is no evidence to

support claims that the jobs given to the members of bands like Black Dyke were no more than sinecures, but membership of such bands gave improved job security, and factory owners did not complain too loudly if contest or concert trips interfered with the players' work. It is doubtful that employers paid bandmen if they missed work, but they offered some flexibility in the shifts they worked and so on. It stands to reason that the loss of wages incurred by the players who undertook distant engagements had to be made up from fees collected from admission charges to concerts.

Most subscription bands drew up regulations providing unambiguous rules for behaviour, department, and particularly financial affairs. Such rules and regulations were sometimes drafted by solicitors commissioned by the bands; they show evidence of careful protection of democratic procedures. Other working-class organisations, such as mechanics' institutes and friendly societies, provided models for such regulations; some brass bands had strong links with mechanics' or workers' institutes. Such sentiments were, of course, resonant with the embryonic trade unions and labour movements, but it would be wrong to simply associate such aspirations for self-control to the wider development of the labour movement. Other writers have argued that there was an ambivalence on the part of the majority of the working class towards left wing politics. This seems to have been the case with many of the best bands. The Besses O'th' Barn Band, for example, organised itself to the extent that it was a pristine exemplar of the virtues of capitalism. In 1887 the members formally, legally, and successfully registered themselves as a limited company, sold shares and debentures, and over the next few decades had world-wide success as concert artists.<sup>23</sup>

There was a brief period in the nineteenth century when the best brass bands matched professional players in quality of performance and popular appeal. Towards the end of the century the signs of change appeared. Even as brass bands were at their zenith, the cultural and social categories that were to be highly effective in British society in the twentieth century began to form. For most of the second half of the century, brass bands had played the major role in disseminating classical instrumental music to mass audiences. Towards the end of this period, subscription/orchestral concert series became more widely available in the provinces as well as in London.<sup>24</sup> Also, the general growth of musical education in Britain provided for a wide range of tastes in 'serious' music. By this time, the brass band idiom and the organisational infrastructure that ran it—mostly based on contesting—was galvanised. The association of brass bands with certain types of working-class activities, many linked to the labour movement, placed them in a category of traditions that made them distinct from the mainstream of British music making. There is a well argued case for regarding the cultural categorisation of brass bands at the end of the nineteenth century as being part of the wider phenomenon of classification which Marxist historians, such as Eric Hobsbawm, have termed 'the invention of tradition.'<sup>25</sup> The orthodoxy that had established brass bands as a coherent musical force became the cause of its subsequent existence in what I have called elsewhere a 'cultural ghetto.'<sup>26</sup>

Though brass bands must be regarded as a sub-culture of British music making, it

would be recklessly inaccurate to disregard their relationship to and influence on mainstream British art music. Several major composers—Elgar, Vaughan-Williams, Tippett, and Harrison Birtwhistle among them—have written for brass band. But the musical canon of the brass band contains no series of works by a major composer who has attempted to develop the idiom. The major influence is almost certainly that of the players. The majority of the greatest twentieth century British orchestral players had their origins in the brass band movement. The playing style of brass band players, characterised by almost constant vibrato and crisp articulations, is characteristically different from that of today's British orchestral players. This difference highlights the development of a distinct performance style in British orchestral brass playing in the second half of the twentieth century. Early recordings of brass bands and orchestral performances, to the extent that the recording qualities allow such conclusions to be reached, show signs of a greater (but not total) similarity.<sup>27</sup> It is a matter of conjecture as to how national styles of brass playing are formed, but few would deny that they exist. Fashions change, and playing styles are undoubtedly susceptible to fashions, but there are influences that lie deep in the heart of national musical traditions. There is a good case to regard the British brass band movement as a virile source of influence on its orchestral players. The origins of this phenomenon should offer more than a passing curiosity to scholars of historic brass instruments.

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#### NOTES

1. Wright and Round's *Amateur Brass Band Teachers' Guide*, 1889.
2. Nicholas Temperley. *The Music of the English Parish Church*. Cambridge, 1979; gives an outline history of Anglican church bands.
3. Several secondary sources, including *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London, 1981, s.v. "Brass Band," mention this band. None provide any impressive evidence that proves its existence. A brief but realistic outline of the claims for 'the first brass band' is given in Arthur Taylor. *Brass Bands....* St. Albans, 1979: Chapter 1. See also Trevor Herbert, ed. *Bands*. Milton Keynes, 1991; pp. 7-15.
4. Lancashire County Records Office. DDC1 1187/18 (Clifton of Lytham Muniments).
5. Trevor Herbert. "The Virtuosi of Merthyr." *Llafur: The Journal of Welsh Labour History*. 5, no. 1 (1988).
6. W. Harwood. *Adolf Sax 1814-1894....* Baldock, 1980: Chapter IV, *Passim*.
7. See Clifford Bevan. "Brass Band Contests: Art or Sport?" in Herbert, *op. cit.* 1991, pp. 102-104.

8. C. Cooke and B. Keith, *British Historical Facts*. London, 1975; Rev. 1984. Between 1831 and 1901 the population of England and Wales increased from just under 14 million to 32.5 million. Urban growth was particularly striking in this period; for example, Liverpool grew from 202,000 to 704,000 in that period, and Birmingham from 144,000 to 523,000. There was equally impressive growth at smaller urban centres, such as Hull (52,000 to 240,000) and Blackburn (22,000 to 129,000).
9. The extent to which general economic growth in Britain brought a better standard of living for most people is hotly debated by economic historians.
10. E.D. Mackerness. *A Social History of Music*. London, 1964: p. 164.
11. J.L. Scott. "The Evolution of the Brass Band and its Repertoire in Northern England." unpublished PhD thesis, University of Sheffield, 1970: p. 441.
12. Herbert, *op. cit.* 1991, Chapter 1.
13. Algernon Rose. *Talks with Bandsmen*. London, 1895.
14. An excellent outline of the economic factors that contributed to the easier availability of musical instruments in the second half of the nineteenth century is given in C. Ehrlich. *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century*. London, 1988, Chapter V.
15. A comparison of manufacturers' price lists is given in Arnold Myers. "Instruments and Instrumentation in British Brass Bands," in Herbert, 1991, pp. 169-195.
16. Cover pages of Distin's *Brass Band Journal*, 1870.
17. Trevor Herbert. "A Lament for Sam Hughes: the 'last' ophicleidist." *Planet: The Welsh Internationalist* 87 (Aberystwyth 1991): 66-73.
18. Scott, 1975, suggests that "Wessels Brass Band Journal" was published from 1837. He may be right, but I have not found one that was published before the 1840s. It is certain, however, that less regular publications, such as McFarlane's "Eight Popular Airs for Brass Band," were available in the late 1830s.
19. Distin's, *op. cit.*
20. There is no published catalogue of the Besses O'th'Barn repertory. I am grateful to the band for giving me unhindered access to their library.
21. Trevor Herbert. "The Repertory of a Victorian Provincial Brass Band." *Popular Music*. 9, no.1 (Cambridge, 1990): 117-132.
22. Dave Russell. *Popular Music in England*. Manchester, 1987.

23. J.N. Hampson. *The Besses O' th' Barn Band*.... Northampton, (c. 1893).
24. Dave Russell. "Provincial Concerts in England: A Case study of Bradford." *Journal of Royal Music Association*. 14 (Spring 1989). One of the factors that contributed to the division of brass bands ( and other forms of working-class music) from mainstream art music was, so it is argued, the requirement for subscribers to pay in advance for a series. The audiences at classical music subscription series, therefore, were those able to pay for the whole series in advance.
25. See, for example, E. Hobsbawm "Mass Producing Traditions: Europe 1870-1914," in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds.). *The Invention of Tradition*. London, 1983.
26. Herbert, *op. cit.*, 1991.
27. Little research has been done on early twentieth century brass performance practice based on gramophone recordings. I have seen the draft data for a forthcoming book by Frank Andrews which lists all brass band and solo brass music released on 78 rpm records in Britain. This will provide an invaluable starting point for future researchers.

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