

Primers and Pedagogy: Franklin Peterson's Textbooks

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As is well known, every girl in England must learn the pianoforte whether she has any aptitude for the study or not. If the parents grudge the expense or are unable to afford the fee to a trained teacher, or think that as their daughter is so young or so stupid a cheap teacher will do quite well to begin with, then comes the chance of the untrained, incompetent, so-called music teacher. These two evils feed each other, and injudicious parent and incompetent teacher will flourish side by side until the present wholesale system of teaching has given place to one more rational.¹

In scholarly reflection on the early decades of the Ormond Chair of Music in the University of Melbourne, we are accustomed to thinking about Franklin Sievwright Peterson (1861–1914) as a somewhat clumsy, pedagogically reactionary and ultimately tragic figure who was thrown into the breach of the scandal surrounding his predecessor, George W.L. Marshall-Hall.² If we see Peterson through this lens, it is easy to forget that his appointment to the Ormond Chair rested on his high reputation as a music teacher in Edinburgh. The London-based committee that elected him to the Chair saw him in this light, and had limited knowledge of the imbroglia in Melbourne. Clearly, Peterson is a much underestimated figure, and, as his remarks above illustrate, held powerful views on the status of music teachers in a culture where music was

¹ Franklin Peterson, 'On some Fictitious Values,' *The Monthly Musical Record* 28 (1898): 197.

² Thérèse Radic, *Some Historical Aspects of Musical Associations in Melbourne, 1888–1915*, PhD thesis, University of Melbourne, 1977, 297–98, 719; Richard Selleck, *The Shop: The University of Melbourne 1850–1939* (Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 2003) 473–75; Peter Tregear, *The Conservatorium of Music, University of Melbourne: An Historical Essay to Mark its Centenary 1895–1995* (Parkville: Centre for Studies in Australian Music, 1997) 39–43.

sought in equal parts as a social accomplishment, and as a form of rational recreation, providing a form of entertainment that was unsullied by morally dubious alternatives, such as drinking and gambling. His opinions on music culture in general were given prominent expression through the columns of the *Monthly Musical Record*, for which he produced regular articles between 1892 and 1901, and in a series of textbooks published in the second half of the 1890s. Peterson's textbooks form an important body of work that offers insights into his views on key pedagogical issues, especially the presentation of basic concepts to young students. Peterson's textbooks raise wider questions about the relationship of textbooks and pedagogy, which are reflected in aspects of his method and his interest in rational recreation with its connection to teaching standards; they represent his pedagogy, and provide a model for what he considered to be effective methods that other teachers might emulate.

Peterson was born in Edinburgh into a merchant family. He attended the Edinburgh merchant company school, George Watson's College. His academic performance was highly promising; when he completed his schooling in 1877, Peterson took prizes in English and Latin, and was the second prizeman in his year. There was a family tradition of continuing to university education. His elder brothers attended George Watson's before going on to prominent academic careers. Peter Peterson made his career as a Sanskrit scholar after taking degrees from Edinburgh and Oxford—in the latter he was mentored by Benjamin Jowett at Balliol College—and, at the time of his death in 1899, was Professor of Oriental Languages at Elphinstone College in Bombay University. William Peterson also took degrees from Edinburgh and Oxford—where he won a scholarship to Corpus Christi College—and pursued postgraduate studies at Göttingen University. He became a prominent classicist and was founding principal of Dundee University College in 1882, becoming President of McGill University in 1892.³ Instead of following his brothers' path, Franklin went from his schooling directly into music teaching and performing to support his continuing studies. On at least three occasions during the 1880s, Peterson travelled to Germany for further studies; on one of these trips he took organ lessons with Carl August Fischer in Dresden.⁴ From 1884 until his departure to Melbourne, Peterson was organist at Palmerston Place Church, a congregation of the United Presbyterian Church located opposite St Mary's Episcopal Cathedral in the fashionable west end of Edinburgh.⁵ His appointment at Palmerston Place was brought about by the decision of

³ 'The Late Dr Peterson,' *The Scotsman* (20 Sep. 1899): 7; 'The Late Sir William Peterson,' *The Scotsman* (7 Jan. 1921): 4. Sir William Peterson's annotated translation of Cicero's *Pro A. Cluentio oratio* (1899) was the standard edition of this work for English-speaking scholars for much of the twentieth century, and continues to be a standard reference for this text.

⁴ Fischer was music director to the Saxon Court and organist at the *Dreikönigskirche* as well as teaching at the Dresden Conservatorium. In 1884 he provided a testimonial stating his impression of Peterson as 'a young man of unusual talent, who brings great diligence and intelligence to his study of music. Even now he is a virtuoso in organ playing, and I can confidently affirm that in time he will be accounted one of the best organists in his own country.' See Franklin S. Peterson, *Letter of Application and Testimonials in Favour of Mr Franklin Peterson Mus. Bac., Oxon (1892) Candidate for the Post of Ormond Professor of Music in the University of Melbourne*, University of Melbourne Archives, Registrar's Correspondence Series 1901/36 1900/39, part 1.

⁵ The United Presbyterian Church was the product of the union of the United Secession Church (1820) and the Relief Church (1761) in 1847. This in turn merged with the Free Church of Scotland (the result of the Great Schism of 1843) in 1900, whereupon it became the United Free Church of Scotland; this body was reconciled to the Church of Scotland in 1929 before subsequent schism resulted in the 'revival' of another denomination called the Free Church of Scotland (the 'Wee Frees'), which was the result of earlier schism in 1893.

the church authorities to improve the musical offering during worship by employing a trained organist. His entry into the music profession was entirely conventional from the practical point of view: organists were generally associated with educational activities through choir training or by being school masters. This educational element in Peterson's work was extended in 1888 when he was appointed to lecture in the ill-fated Scottish Universities Extension Scheme. This probably led him to study for the music degree at Oxford University, from which he graduated in 1892. That year is an important turning point, as Peterson's activities turned towards private and institutional teaching. He actively sought academic preferment, which finally came to fruition with his appointment to the Ormond Chair in 1900.⁶

The production of music primers and textbooks in the late nineteenth century was driven by a variety of factors. Peterson's motivations were aided by a publisher that saw its role as part of the great project of elevating British musical culture. His alliance with Augener came about through the recommendation of Frederick Niecks (1845–1924), and led to an association with Ebenezer Prout (1839–1909), one of the most influential authors of textbooks during the 1890s.⁷ Prout was very closely identified with Augener from 1875, when he became the founding editor of the *Monthly Musical Record*, in which Peterson published many articles through the 1890s.⁸ Through the *Monthly Musical Record*, Augener expressed a strong sense of mission to improve the tone of musical education, in accordance with the culture surrounding music in Victorian Britain: from the efforts of Curwen and Hullah in promoting sight singing and *sol fah* to Peterson's textbooks, the emphasis is on 'rational recreation' and, through this, the idea of music as a moral force in education.

In a statement resonating with implications that move well beyond music to address the moral nature of the British nation, Peterson exhorted his readers:

If you do your best to surround yourself with musical influences, to gather together the musical spirits in your own little circle, and among your friends try to provoke each other to good works, you will do more towards making a musical nation than if you are able to go round from town to town giving recitals and letting people show by their criticisms and conversation how much more they know about the matter than you do.

The truly musical nation is not that which spends untold money to attract the best artistes in the world to play before its population; nor is it that which has most recitals and concerts in one season. It is the nation at whose firesides Beethoven and Schumann and Mozart are familiar and honoured guests; where family gatherings are brightened by prepared and appreciated performances of sound music; where a song does not mean

⁶ Franklin Peterson, letter to Principal Donaldson, 24 Feb. 1893, St Andrews University Archives, Donaldson Papers, MS 7954.

⁷ Niecks was Reid Professor of Music at Edinburgh University, 1891–1914. Peterson served as assistant examiner to Niecks before 1901. Prout was well known through his edition of *Messiah* for Novello, in addition to his series of nine textbooks, published by Augener. His last appointment was Professor of Music at Trinity College, Dublin.

⁸ The *Monthly Musical Record* was the Augener house journal; it served a similar function to that of the *Musical Times* for Novello in providing space to promote the list of items in print, along with articles that contributed to a scholarly discussion of musical topics. Where the *MT* generally focused on choral music and coverage of matters of more general interest, the *MMR* was much more concerned with opera and symphonic music, a focus that was asserted through the masthead, which had a medallion portrait of Beethoven set against a classically inspired frieze of musicians in procession. The *MMR* also published translated versions of articles by German luminaries such as Hugo Riemann; this was not a common feature of the *MT*.

rubbish; where gaiety finds an outlet in a Haydn symphony—played as a pianoforte duet only, it may be; where serious feeling turns to Beethoven and Bach.

This is no Utopian idea, but sober, earnest, and most practical truth. If our country is ever really to be the home of music, music must be brought from the concert-hall to the home.⁹

The foundation of a strong public musical culture was laid firmly on the musical education available in the home, and Peterson's argument for this is expressed in moral and political language, as the above quotation illustrates. Where phrases such as 'provoke each other to good works' had a clear religious resonance, Peterson's invocation of Utopianism—a strand of socialism that was particularly associated with John Ruskin and William Morris—is surely made to give strength in the reader's view to his conviction that a high musical culture in the home is not only desirable, but reasonable and attainable. This ideological strand to Peterson's views points to the reasons behind his interest in rational recreation; music had become a social leveller. The rational recreation movement was driven by the increase in leisure time made possible through changes in working conditions such as technological change in factories and legislation such as the *Ten Hour Act* of 1847.¹⁰ There was a radical increase of leisure time among the middle and working class, traditionally the preserve of the upper classes. The decisive role of textbooks in the dispersal of music education was therefore driven by the growth of a strong domestic musical culture that was informed by self improvement through rational recreation, which sought to use leisure time in the pursuit of edifying ends. This coincided with the growth of mass-produced musical instruments—especially pianos—which supported consolidation in the music teaching profession; as Cyril Ehrlich has shown, through the second half of the nineteenth century the number and spread of music teachers in the British provinces was substantial, and tapped into an expanding market in Britain.¹¹

Not all texts published for the domestic music market were equal: the various examination schemes published texts providing the material essential to enable the student to meet the requirements of their theory and practical certificates. The relationship between examinations and rational recreation was a symbiotic one, which Stephen Banfield has characterised as a 'passion for validated personal betterment.'¹² The *Musical Times* referred to the popularity and growth of examinations in terms of a deluge: 'candidates came pouring in, and those who had dug to open a small spring found that they had let loose the waters of a great river.'¹³

The growth of the music teaching profession that Ehrlich describes was the catalyst for debates about pedagogy, and textbooks intended for the market formed the basis of debates about the relationship of textbooks and practical music instruction in the [Royal] Musical Association. Such debates were clearly an influence on Peterson's writings, where he referred to a sense of 'divine discontent' among 'thoughtful teachers.'¹⁴ These discussions were frequently

⁹ Franklin Peterson, *The Pianist's Handbook, Part I* (London: Augener, 1898) 36–37.

¹⁰ Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985) 65–66.

¹¹ Ehrlich, *Music Profession in Britain* 104–7, 236.

¹² Stephen Banfield, 'Towards a History of Music in the British Empire: Three Export Studies,' *Britishness Abroad: Transnational Movements and Imperial Cultures*, ed. Kate Darian-Smith, Patricia Grimshaw and Stuart Macintyre (Melbourne: MUP, 2007) 77.

¹³ 'Musical Examinations,' *The Musical Times and Singing-class Circular* 30 (1889): 585–86.

¹⁴ Franklin Peterson, *An Introduction to the Study of Theory* (London: Augener, 1897) iii.

refracted through the prism of textbooks, which provided models for various approaches to pedagogy. At the bottom of these discussions one can perceive a dilemma: whose needs must textbooks serve—those of teachers or those of students? What is the best balance between theoretical and practical knowledge? One speaker, Frank Sawyer, spoke about this problem in a paper titled *Why do we Teach Harmony so Badly?* Sawyer stated that ‘the end to be attained by the study of harmony is ... a practical power in the manipulation of ... chords,’ in which the methods represented by current textbooks failed.¹⁵ Peterson made a similar observation: ‘much of the time devoted by the average pupil to so-called “Theory” is absolutely thrown away.’ He described a situation familiar to teachers where students had:

Spent one or two years or more at ‘Theory’ and Harmony, but who do not know the diminished seventh chord when they see it, nay, who do not know with any certainty in what key they are playing; and yet they have been ... working at figured basses on the common chord, perhaps even on the dominant seventh, and probably they are under the impression that the science of Harmony is the art of avoiding consecutive fifths.¹⁶

Sawyer criticised textbooks by Goss, Crotch, Bannister and Prout, arguing that none of them gave the student freedom in manipulating chords, and decried the use of figured bass exercises as a pedagogical dead end. This critique was particularly pointed towards Prout:

Just as the infant opens its mouth and swallows the spoonful of pap held to its lips without any further consideration, so the musical student complacently swallows the fraction of musical truth, and ... puts above the figured bass the chord that its harmony-mother has given it ... there is no consideration of harmonic pabulum—what its master gives it, that it takes ... Professor Prout, the artist and composer, would have liked to show the student how to *use* his chords; but Professor Prout, the pedagogue, tied him down to figured basses and used them for him.¹⁷

Sawyer advocated teaching harmony by progressing from filling middle voices to making melodies over given basses and harmonizing melodies, leading to free composition. The discussion at the end of the paper saw a remarkable exchange between Sawyer and Henry Bannister, whose reply to Sawyer was that textbooks were ‘the thesis upon which a discourse is based and elaborated’:

One chapter contains that which has to be said on one subject: one chord, &c ... I regard a text-book as a magazine of material—I will not say ammunition—to be adapted to the various requirements of pupils, and used in just such order as the teacher judges to be necessary ... If the teacher is incompetent to select and expound the material in the text-book, undoubtedly his teaching will be inadequate ... It should not be supposed that we are to teach and use only that which is in the book. However good the book, such teaching would be bad.¹⁸

Almost in disbelief, Sawyer replied:

¹⁵ Frank J. Sawyer, ‘Why do we Teach Harmony so Badly?’ *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 23rd Session (1896–97) 3.

¹⁶ Peterson, *Introduction to the Study of Theory* iii.

¹⁷ Sawyer, ‘Why do we Teach Harmony so Badly?’ 4, 6.

¹⁸ Sawyer, ‘Why do we Teach Harmony so Badly?’ 11.

I was not prepared to see so excellent an authority as Mr Banister rise and tell us that he never taught according to his book, but always on the lines here laid down. What a pity he did not make his text-book in accordance with his practice. Mr Banister answered my question 'Why do we teach harmony badly?' by saying 'Because we have bad teachers'; but surely it is our bad text-books which primarily make our bad teachers.¹⁹

Peterson's textbooks therefore addressed an identifiable group of problems that were well known among teachers working in both private and institutional situations.

Peterson published five textbooks that together give us an impression of what he regarded as forming the necessary basis for the first few years of music study, and the ways in which he wanted to promote a different style of pedagogy to the music teaching profession at large. A number of general features are striking. It is clear that Peterson was writing principally for keyboard students, which reflects his main activities: throughout his time in Edinburgh Peterson advertised his services in *The Scotsman* as a teacher of the piano, organ, harmony and counterpoint. At every stage Peterson sought to connect theoretical concepts with their practical application. Most strikingly of all, as the series progressed, the pages of Peterson's textbooks began to resemble those of Ebenezer Prout, with numbered paragraphs and frequent quotations of musical examples. Indeed, Peterson's textbooks have a strong connection with Prout's seminal series of treatises; both were published by Augener, and advertisements for Peterson's books can be found in the fly leaves of 1890s imprints of Prout's books, and vice versa.

The first, *Elements of Music* (1896), defined a clear system for introducing the basic concepts of music to students who had no previous study behind them, and whose main purposes were to sing or play, but not necessarily 'to study the Mezzo-Soprano and the Baritone Clefs, the key of seven sharps, the complete table of Time Signatures (half of which they will never see), or the various Italian and shorthand signs which make many an "Element" book a terror.' The extension of this was to enable students who wanted to pursue further study, either alone or with a teacher, or to have enough of the assumed knowledge to be able to get the best out of 'some thorough and scientific text book.'²⁰ This was followed by *An Introduction to the Study of Theory* (1897), which built on the principles covered in *Elements*, and introduced a wider range of terminology and introduced the student to the basic concepts of modulation. Peterson's aim in this book was to awaken the student's interest in music theory by connecting it with their practical music making, including the use of examples from piano music they were likely to have learned, hymn tunes they would encounter in church, and occasionally by reference to orchestral and choral music that they would be able to hear in performance.

These two textbooks provide a demonstration of one of Peterson's major concerns, the presentation of a basic understanding of tonality. Many textbooks written for the domestic market attempted to take an academic approach, and began by defining what a musical sound is. William Cummings did this in his *Rudiments of Music* (1877) for the popular *Novello's Music Primers*.²¹ In contrast, Peterson focussed on practical matters, introducing and explaining terms the student would see in a score, linking the study of theory to their experience of music from

¹⁹ Sawyer, 'Why do we Teach Harmony so Badly?' 16.

²⁰ Franklin Peterson, *Elements of Music*, 3rd ed. (London: Augener, 1912) iii.

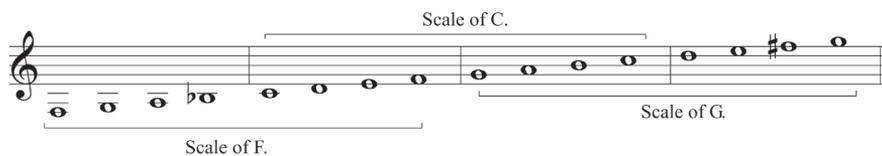
²¹ William H. Cummings, *The Rudiments of Music*, Novello's Music Primers and Educational Series (London: Novello & Company, 1877) 5.

the beginning. The theoretical first principle for Peterson was the scale, which he discussed at length in *Elements* and the *Introduction*.

It is important to remember that in these two books, Peterson was addressing young students. His description of scales was couched in terms the student could visualise: 'the word **scale** means literally a ladder. Thus we read of soldiers *scaling* the walls of a town. In music a scale is a regular succession or **ladder of sounds** (Ger. *Ton-leiter*), of which the steps are called **degrees**.' To make the construction of major scales apparent to the piano student—who would be introduced to scales as a technical exercise very early in their lessons—Peterson defined C major as the 'normal scale,' as it could be constructed on the white keys of a piano. This provided the student with a visual reference to the notated example of the same scale, clarifying the positions of half- and whole-steps.²² With this knowledge consolidated, Peterson introduced key signatures by showing how to find the most closely related scales, and starting to develop an awareness of key relationships.

The importance of Peterson's lengthy discussions of scales, an issue to which he returned in each of his textbooks, becomes apparent when we examine his presentation of principles that involve the understanding of harmonic relationships. Peterson introduced the dominant-tonic relationship and modulation as primarily melodic functions deriving from the scale. In contrast, Stainer's discussions of modulation were grounded firmly in triadic chord progression and cadence, by comparison, a more abstract approach.²³ Peterson introduced the idea of key relationships by showing how scales can be broken into two identically structured tetrachords, which form part of other related scales.²⁴ Thus, the scale of C major can be extended upwards or downwards by a fourth through the addition of accidentals to effect modulation to G major and F major respectively (see Fig. 1), keys that bear a close relationship to C major and could be used to reinforce it.

Figure 1. *Introduction to the Study of Theory* 13



Scales were therefore the foundation of a thorough understanding of tonality, which Peterson defined as being 'expressed in melody and harmony.'²⁵ His definition of key was grounded in the scale:

All the notes in the scale are also related more or less closely to the keynote or tonic, out of which they proceed and to which they return. On account of its properties as keynote, the tonic is much the most important of all the notes in the scale. A large proportion of melodies or 'subjects' either begin immediately with it, or at least introduce it on the first important accent.²⁶

²² Peterson, *Elements of Music* 10–12.

²³ John Stainer, *Harmony* (London: Novello, 1891) 94.

²⁴ Peterson, *Introduction to the Study of Theory* 12–13.

²⁵ Peterson, *Introduction to the Study of Theory* 58.

²⁶ Peterson, *Introduction to the Study of Theory* 4.

This accords with Prout's definition of key:

In its modern sense Key may be thus defined:--*A collection of twelve notes within the compass of an octave, of which the first is called the TONIC, or KEY-NOTE, to which note the other eleven bear a fixed and definite relationship.*²⁷

Peterson described chords as the result of striking 'more than one note ... at one time,' a definition that reinforced the primacy of scales as the principal manifestation of tonality.²⁸ Only once this understanding was well established did Peterson introduce material with which other textbook authors placed at the beginning, such as the basic concepts of acoustics and the harmonic series. The reason for this was to explain the:

good and unalterable reason why certain notes should supplement each other in a way which results in one complete sound, while other notes introduce such a foreign element that the stability is overthrown, and a move must be made to a more complete chord before the ear rests satisfied.²⁹

If the scale illustrated the tension between discord and resolution in a melodic context, the harmonic series illustrated how this tension could be extended to understand how chords work. One of the products of Peterson's use of the harmonic series is that he introduces the basic assumption of harmonic dualism: that the chord of nature is the major triad.³⁰ The dominant seventh and minor chords are an alteration of 'nature's chord.'³¹

The Pianist's Handbook and *The Pianist's Handbook, Vol II: A Handbook of Musical Form* (both 1898) are unique in this author's experience, and clearly represented something new to the English textbook market. *The Pianist's Handbook* was written to 'convey information which every competent teacher imparts by word of mouth to his pupils.' Peterson noted that 'the memories of young people are so very short' that he made his students keep a notebook for later reference, and that *The Pianist's Handbook* was intended to be of assistance to 'the ordinary Pianoforte student at the stage before the systematic study of Theory has been brought to bear upon practice.' Like his earlier textbooks, Peterson regarded this as 'somewhat of an experiment.'³² The book attracted considerable praise from a number of reviewers; in subsequent advertising, Augener included extracts from reviews published in the *University Correspondent*, *Musical Opinion*, the *Scotsman* and the *Manchester Guardian*.³³

²⁷ Ebenezer Prout, *Harmony: Its Theory and Practice* (London: Augener, 1889) 32. Italics original.

²⁸ Peterson, *Introduction to the Study of Theory* 14.

²⁹ Peterson, *Introduction to the Study of Theory* 15. By contrast, William Cummings's elementary primer for the Novello series dealt with pitch as represented in notation, rhythm, accent, time signatures, complex rhythm *before* discussion of scales, arguably a highly confusing and counter-intuitive arrangement of material. See Cummings, *Rudiments of Music*.

³⁰ Harmonic dualism is the name applied to a series of arguments put forward during the nineteenth century to explain the nature of major and minor tonality. One of the most notable figures in this discourse is Hugo Riemann (1849–1919), who posited that minor chords were upside-down major chords and that the harmonic series becomes a series of subtones in minor tonality, while remaining a series of overtones in major tonality. This came to underpin Riemann's theory of harmonic function, which was propagated among English readers by the publication of translations of many of his treatises by Augener, who also published textbooks by Peterson and Ebenezer Prout, and the *Monthly Musical Record*. On Riemann's definition of harmonic dualism, see Alexander Rehdig, *Hugo Riemann and the Birth of Modern Musical Thought* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003) 15–19.

³¹ Peterson, *Introduction to the Study of Theory* 20.

³² Peterson, *Pianist's Handbook, Part I*, Preface.

³³ Prout, *Harmony*, back flyleaves of the 12th edition.

The Pianists' Handbook is an important document and must be regarded as an unusually complete record of a teacher's practice during the period. Peterson discussed a range of technical matters, starting with the history of the construction of the piano and moving on to practical concerns such as the best way to practise technical exercises and his method for learning new pieces. In approaching technical work, Peterson observed that many piano students fell into a rut:

Many pupils play a five-finger exercise several scores of times; but because they pay no attention to what they are doing—some indeed read a book all the time!—the hundredth repetition shows no advance on the tenth.³⁴

Peterson recommended that technical exercises be approached with a variety of touches, dynamic shadings, phrasings and transpositions and memorisation to promote the cultivation of memory and the:

appreciation of *groups of notes* at a time. The book should only be used to see what the form of the exercise is. After you have played the exercise once or twice ... the printed page is worse than useless.

The achievement of a good *cantabile* touch is a clear objective of the practice methods and technical tips offered in the *Handbook*.

A further feature of this book is that it illustrates why Peterson's scale-based approach to teaching harmonic principles is important. In the *Pianists' Handbook*, Peterson provided an analysis of the exposition and development of the first movement of Mozart's *Sonata in C* (KV 545) that rested on analysing the melody in order to account for the harmonic relationships in the piece (see Fig. 2). This was a highly unconventional approach that reflected the absence of figured-bass exercises in Peterson's textbooks; other authors published their analysis of the piece based on the chord progressions outlined by the Alberti bass accompaniment. To accompany the reduced texture, Peterson gave a prose commentary locating where melodic features performed a harmonic function:

Bar 1, with the three notes of the chord settles at once that the key is C ... Bars 11 and 12 prepare our ears for the key of G, which is established in bar 14 ... From bars 18 to 28 the key of G reigns supreme—the chromatic embellishments ... do not disturb it in the least.³⁵

The same work was analysed by another writer for piano students, Ridley Prentice, in a self-consciously academic way. Prentice directs the student to mark certain bars in the score, and gives the following explanation of the movement:

Div. I.	1—8. First subject, in C. 8—12. Introduction to
Div. II.	13—26. Second subject, in G (dominant). 26—28. Coda, in G.
Div. III.	29—41. Working-out, leading to
Div. IV.	49—57. Introduction to

³⁴ Peterson, *Pianist's Handbook, Part I*, 7.

³⁵ Peterson, *Pianist's Handbook, Part I*, 48–49.

Figure 2. Peterson, *Pianist's Handbook* showing Peterson's reduction for analysis of bb. 1–34 of Mozart's *Sonata in C* (KV 545)

MOZART : Sonata in C.

1. 5. 9. 13. 18. 22. 26. 29. 31. 32. 33. 34.

Div. V. 58—71. Return of second subject, in C.
 71—73. Coda.³⁶

Prentice gave a short commentary on this analysis that contrasts very strongly with Peterson's. Noting that the recapitulation occurs in F major, Prentice sternly admonishes the reader that:

it is curious you should first meet with so flagrant a violation of rule in a work of MOZART, whose compositions are distinguished ... by clearness, definiteness, and perfection of form ... The genius which can create something that shall by its beauty stand superior to rule, is a very different thing from the blind ignorance which tramples all laws under its clumsy hoof.³⁷

Peterson's analysis stops at bar 34 with the direction that 'the remainder of the movement should be analysed in the same way: it presents no difficulty,' a very rare admission in a textbook on musical form.³⁸ By presenting this analysis, Peterson is encouraging the student to look beyond localised features—technical difficulties of execution, and small-scale harmonic progressions—to see the whole as an integrated structure. This differs markedly from Prentice, and lays less emphasis on absolute rules, such as the 'correct' key for a recapitulation. In the face of such dogmatism, Peterson might echo Prout's injunction that 'Truth is many sided; and no writer ... is justified in saying that his views are the only correct ones, and that all others are wrong.'³⁹

The presentation of complete movements for analysis is highly unusual for an English textbook written for elementary or intermediate students, such as formed the audience for Peterson's *Introduction* or the *Pianist's Handbook*: the more common method in English pedagogy for presenting and reinforcing harmony concepts was figured bass, which Peterson scrupulously avoided, although it was the basis of the exercises in Prout's *Harmony: Its Theory and Practice* (1889). The only analytical notation Peterson introduced in his texts was a system that labelled chords in terms of function, with modifiers for augmentation or diminution. Analytical commentaries based on this approach belonged very strongly to the German tradition during the 1890s, and were particularly associated with Hugo Riemann. On the largest scale, analytical commentaries taking a variety of approaches were published for the complete *Das Wohltemperierte Klavier*, and the sonatas of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven, cementing these works at the intellectual pinnacle of the canon of works that a student could aspire to play. By contrast, Prentice's analysis is concerned with providing a commentary on the predictable elements of form—exposition, bridge passage, free fantasia and recapitulation—where any disruption to these elements constitutes a grave contravention of the rules. The development of this style of analysis in English reached its apogee with Donald Tovey (1875–1940), especially his writings on Beethoven's sonatas and the *Essays in Musical Analysis*.⁴⁰ Peterson's habit of

³⁶ Ridley Prentice, *The Musician: Guide for Pianoforte Students: Helps towards the Better Understanding and Enjoyment of Beautiful Music*, 6 vols (London: W. Swan-Sonnenschein and Co., 1885), vol. 2, 45–46.

³⁷ Prentice, *Musician*, vol. 2, 46.

³⁸ Peterson, *Pianist's Handbook, Part I*, 49.

³⁹ Prout, *Harmony* iv.

⁴⁰ Catherine Dale, *Music Analysis in Britain in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003) 178–81. Tovey was Niecks's successor as professor at Edinburgh University.

referring his reader to other sources for a deeper study of specific areas—the history of form and fugue, for example—almost invariably includes a citation of Prout. The approach he adopted in the *Handbook of Musical Form* is deeply indebted to Prout and replicates much of Prout's information and argument. This is not to suggest that Peterson's work is simply derivative. It is clear that he saw himself as addressing an audience that would move on to more advanced books, such as those by Prout.

Peterson's final textbook before his departure for Melbourne was *Catechism of Music* (1900). This book reflected his concern with the needs of students, and it is striking in one very important respect. The form of a catechism—based on the question-and-answer dialogue in the *Book of Common Prayer* that provided simple teaching about the articles of belief held by the Church of England—was clearly well adapted to a culture where music teaching was increasingly dominated by examinations, while referring to music's broader moral implications in Victorian culture. However, Peterson intended his *Catechism* to differ from others where the author sought to:

put into the mouth of pupils answers to questions asked by the teacher. My aim has been to give such answers as a teacher might give to questions which an ideal student, or rather an incorporation of many ideal students, might ask.⁴¹

This was the direct opposite to Stainer's *Harmony*, which provided a combination of direct instruction with catechetical questions at the end of each chapter. Stainer clearly expected that his book would form the basis for teaching harmony:

As the art of Harmony cannot be learnt without a master, the author trusts he may be allowed to suggest that teachers will lessen their own labour and advance their pupils' progress by dividing each lesson into three portions; in the first, the master should read a chapter or part of a chapter *with* his pupil, explaining away difficulties ... in the second, the pupil should be *assisted* in preparing an exercise; in the third, he should be catechised in the manner shown at the close of every chapter.⁴²

Where Stainer's question-and-answer sections assume the form of a set dialogue between master and student, Peterson inverts the roles: the student questions the teacher. It is easy to see how this provided a pedagogical model that offered significant insights to teachers, showing how methods could be adapted in sympathy with the needs of students. An example of how Peterson's approach differed can be found in contrasting the dialogue given in answer to the same question:

- Q. What is a scale?
 A. A succession of sounds proceeding by single degrees.
 Q. How is a scale made?
 A. By sub-dividing the interval of an octave into parts.
 Q. Into how many parts?
 A. In the ordinary (though not most perfect scale) into twelve parts called semitones.⁴³

⁴¹ Franklin Peterson, *Catechism of Music* (London: Augener, 1900), Preface.

⁴² Stainer, *Harmony*, Preface.

⁴³ Stainer, *Harmony* 9.

Stainer's approach created a simple dialogue that was easy for the student to commit to memory, which recreated the underlying method of the *Book of Common Prayer* catechism. Nevertheless, one cannot resist the feeling that the ghost of Stainer's commercially unsuccessful treatise on harmony from 1871—which also used a question-and-answer format to reinforce the student's knowledge—haunted his unquestionably popular Novello textbook.⁴⁴ Peterson's approach to the same question is a marked contrast, because it is the *teacher* answering the question:

What is a Scale?

Literally a ladder (Italian, *scala*), it means in music a succession of notes in a certain accepted order. (Compare its German name *Ton-leiter*, a ladder of sounds.)

What name is given to the steps in this musical ladder?

Degrees.

How many steps are there in an ordinary scale?

Eight: seven of these have different names, the eighth or octave being merely a repetition of the first at a higher pitch—at the interval of an 8ve.

Are the steps or degrees all at equal distances, as in a real ladder?

No; some are at the distance of a tone, some of a semitone.

What is a semitone?

The smallest interval in actual use. The semitone among intervals may be compared to the inch in lineal measure, or the minute in division of time. It is most readily described as the distance between any note on a keyed instrument, and that immediately next to it—whether above or below, whether white or black

Note.—It is necessary to say 'on a keyed instrument,' because on a stringed instrument it is possible to get intervals smaller than a semitone, by 'stopping' the string, for example, half-way between the point which gives E and that which gives F.⁴⁵

The *Scotsman* regarded the *Catechism* as 'essentially a practical book,' noting that it was clearly written by a teacher who had 'learned by experience the needs and difficulties of students.' The critic noted that 'in formulating the questions and answers, Mr Peterson has not forgotten the needs of students preparing for examinations.'⁴⁶ This book offers some other, more interesting, possibilities. It could provide ready reference for information covered in greater depth in other textbooks, like a 'crammer.' Being cast as the types of questions a *pupil* would ask makes it easier to give succinct model answers to teachers beginning their careers. As a model for pedagogy, this book is liberally salted with quotations from the canon, terminology given in German, English and Italian, and explanations of archaic signs and terms. It is probably in this book that we have the strongest impression of Peterson in his teaching studio.

Peterson's broader agenda was to promote the study of good music, and in this he displayed an exclusive bias towards German music. Hymn tunes are the only music of British provenance Peterson quotes, and these are used mostly to illustrate concepts of form or chord progression

⁴⁴ John Stainer, *A Theory of Harmony Founded on the Tempered Scale: With Questions and Exercises for the Use of Students* (London: Rivingtons, 1871).

⁴⁵ Peterson, *Catechism of Music* 64–65.

⁴⁶ 'New Books,' *The Scotsman* (22 Oct. 1900): 2.

where other writers might be more inclined to give a 'textbook' example. The language used to promote German composers was universally positive, and the musical forms to which Peterson devoted the most space were those particularly identified with the German tradition, especially fugue and the sonata.

Peterson's sought to liberate the music student so that 'the pupil may now with more certainty approach a new piece of music. He will not be so utterly dependent on the help of others in finding out "how it goes".'⁴⁷ Peterson insisted on the study of the sonata and fugue as the guiding star for the student's further studies. He constantly quoted works from the canon in his textbooks, speaking approvingly of such works in terms of their quality and classical status. In making the judgement of quality, Peterson leaps into the pulpit in a statement rich with evangelical resonance:

Surely no earnest student will be tempted by the fading blossoms on the way to choose this path which leads farther and farther away from the good and the beautiful. In music, as in other matters, young people have to choose between a broad, easy way and a narrow, difficult path. The one leads downwards; the other upwards—and to a rich reward.⁴⁸

The 'great masters'—composers who had achieved classical status—therefore stand as heroes of the musical faith, showing the way to those who follow them. Although much good music was written that might not become classical, 'even slight sketches command little attention in the market to-day unless they are well written,' reflecting the influence of a widespread appreciation of classical music. Peterson gave the strongest indications of his view of what repertoire is worthy of study by linking musical education with general education:

Just as the student of English literature tries to form his taste and his critical judgement by a systematic and comprehensive course of classical works, so the musical student should patiently make himself familiar with works by Bach, Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Schumann, Chopin, and their great contemporaries. Relaxation is good; acquaintance with work of the day is excellent; but an exclusive or even comprehensive study of *Tit-bits*, magazine articles, three-volume novels, or 'problem plays,' will never make an English scholar.⁴⁹

Peterson's textbooks fit into a literature that was driven by rising standards in musical performance, and as David Golby remarks, 'more amateurs across a greater range of instruments ... were equipped to attempt "professional" repertoire and develop their overall musicianship to a degree previously expected only of and tolerated among professionals.'⁵⁰ That he was advocating the domestic performance of music by Bach, Beethoven, Haydn and others illustrates that this repertoire was increasingly seen as accessible to domestic performance. The terms in which Peterson saw the appreciation of this music—that 'music must be brought from the concert-hall to the home'—paralleled developments in concert culture that made

⁴⁷ Peterson, *Introduction to the Study of Theory* 75.

⁴⁸ Peterson, *Introduction to the Study of Theory* 77.

⁴⁹ Peterson, *Introduction to the Study of Theory* 77–78.

⁵⁰ David J. Golby, *Instrumental Teaching in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004) 141.

music increasingly the object of reverence, manifested in the cultivation of silence in concert audiences.⁵¹

The importance of Peterson's concern with developing his readers' taste towards challenging music derives from his identity as a professional musician. At Palmerston Place Church there were frequent complaints about Peterson's work with the choir, focussing on the introduction of anthems that excluded the congregation, the quality of the hymn book and the question of organ voluntaries. Presbyterian attitudes to music remained acrimonious, as the tone of the many complaints about Peterson's work recorded in the minute books of the Church Session illustrate.⁵² Despite this, a substantial part of Peterson's reputation in Edinburgh was built on his work as a church musician. His minister at Palmerston Place Church, J.B. Hastings, pointed to Peterson's high place in Edinburgh's musical scene, fostered in part through his work at the church, and wrote that his 'annual lectures on musical themes were invariably attended by crowded audiences,' and that they were considered 'among the leading "treats" of our literary season.'⁵³ Peterson's textbooks therefore served as a counterpoint to his wider activities, which were part of the process of defining public taste that extended from the public manifestations of music culture in the programming of orchestral concert seasons to the music that formed the aural culture of the home.

Peterson's textbooks established him as a candidate worthy of serious consideration for a position in higher education in two ways. Through the ordering and presentation of material, his method embodied the critical perspectives prevalent in academic music circles. The innovative aspects of Peterson's textbooks lay in his willingness to respond to contemporary debates about connections between textbooks and pedagogy. However, Peterson's concerns extended well beyond academic considerations that encouraged debate over the connections between textbooks and the ways teachers used them; his conviction that the music of the concert hall needed to be experienced in the home points to deeper concerns about how to model better ways of teaching music. This forms the broader agenda of the textbooks, which contain firm directions towards the music that Peterson considered most worthy of study, combined with a style of presentation that could well be imitated by teachers. The full working out of this agenda, and the debates that informed it, only came with his appointment to the Ormond Chair.

⁵¹ Peterson, *Pianist's Handbook, Part I* 37. Christina Bashford, *The Pursuit of High Culture: John Ella and Chamber Music in Victorian London* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007) 139–41.

⁵² See especially PPC Session MB, National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh, CH3 950/5, 130-32, 159, 275–76.

⁵³ Franklin Peterson, *Letter of Application and Testimonials*, University of Melbourne Archives, Registrar's Correspondence Series 1901/36 1900/39, part 1.