Canadian University Music Review

"Ridentum dicere verum": Reflexive Aspects of Haydn's Instrumental Style, c. 1768-72

Sylvia Imeson

Volume 11, numéro 1, 1991

URI : id.erudit.org/iderudit/1014830ar
https://doi.org/10.7202/1014830ar

Aller au sommaire du numéro

Éditeur(s)

Canadian University Music Society / Société de musique des universités canadiennes

ISSN 0710-0353 (imprimé)
2291-2436 (numérique)

Découvrir la revue

Citer cet article


All Rights Reserved © Canadian University Music Society / Société de musique des universités canadiennes, 1991

Ce document est protégé par la loi sur le droit d'auteur. L'utilisation des services d'Érudit (y compris la reproduction) est assujettie à sa politique d'utilisation que vous pouvez consulter en ligne. [https://apropos.erudit.org/fr/usagers/politique-dutilisation/]

Cet article est diffusé et préservé par Érudit.

Érudit est un consortium interuniversitaire sans but lucratif composé de l'Université de Montréal, l'Université Laval et l'Université du Québec à Montréal. Il a pour mission la promotion et la valorisation de la recherche. www.erudit.org
Recent Haydn scholarship has pointed out the necessity for challenging long-held misconceptions about the composer and his works, in the process calling for a reconsideration of our perceptions of many familiar compositions. One such groups of works worthy of revaluation is the music of Haydn’s period of expansion, c. 1768-72, which has over the years attracted a great deal of attention from musicologists. The comfortable and traditional view of Haydn as a Classical composer has tended to belie the fact of his manifold musical eccentricities, and has thus proven incapable of accounting for the subtleties and complexities of even those works from the 1780s and '90s that are considered paradigms of Viennese High Classicism. Such a limited approach is still less adequate to deal with the questions posed by the seemingly problematic compositions of the late 1760s and early '70s, with their more frequent use of the minor mode and unusually intense level of passionate expression. Consequently, this repertory has been regarded as something of an anomaly in the composer’s output, and representative of compositional and expressive roads deliberately not taken any further by Haydn. However, I believe the works of these years to be representative, in the words of Jens Peter Larsen, of “an impressive stylistic synthesis” and an “unparalleled development in musical skill,” and thus of central importance in the composer’s development (Larsen 1983: 90, 95). The two most significant and characteristic achievements in Haydn’s music of this period, and furthermore, those that had the farthest-reaching consequences for his future output, were the rediscovery of counterpoint as a means of adding new intellectual power and textural interest to the tunefulness and periodicity of mid-

* The Latin inscription is from Horace, *Satires* I, i, 24 (cited in Howes 1974: 105). A previous version of this paper was read at the 1990 meeting of the CUMS/SMUC in Victoria, and I am most grateful to Dr. David Schroeder for his helpful comments and suggestions at that time.

1 There has been a certain amount of controversy surrounding this intriguing time in Haydn’s career, often referred to as his “Sturm und Drang” period. Jens Peter Larsen has suggested the use of the term “period of expansion” as being less restrictive, less value-laden, and free of inappropriate associations with an entirely different art form (Larsen 1983: 28-9). A variety of points of view concerning this repertory and its proper appellation may be found in Wyzewa 1909; Larsen 1967 and 1972; Friedland 1968; Brook 1970; Landon 1978, especially pages 266-393; Todd 1980; Gresham 1981; Kolk 1981; and Grim 1985.
century galant style, and, the topic at hand, the creation of a self-conscious frame of musical reference by the incorporation of reflexive elements of musical language into his formal structures.

Briefly, a reflexive work of art is one that draws attention to its own form. As a critical concept, it has entered our theoretical vocabulary only in this century, but it is by no means a recent innovation in practice. Reflexivity in its more general sense of a form of self-awareness or a turning back upon oneself is inherent in the nature of philosophical inquiry and especially applicable to questions of language. Thus, as early as the sixth century B.C., we find a pithy and familiar reflexive paradox in the observation by the Cretan prophet Epimenides that “All Cretans are liars.” Obviously, such a phenomenon has many fascinating and problematic implications for various fields of study, and the arts have been no exception. Unlike illusionist artworks (such as Charles Willson Peale’s large-scale experiment in trompe l’oeil, the “Staircase Group” of 1795, a painting of two young men standing in a stairway that was originally mounted in a doorframe with an actual step constructed in front of the canvas to continue the staircase into the real space of the observer), reflexive creations make no attempt to divert audience attention from their formalistic qualities or from the fact that they are not “real.” Quite the contrary, their nature as works of art is brought into the foreground of the aesthetic experience in order to provide revitalization of perception. Films whose subject is film-making, such as Truffaut’s “Day for Night,” or films within films such as Woody Allen’s “Purple Rose of Cairo,” as well as artworks which show views of spatial relationships from different angles within one composition and visual representations of the animation of abstract structures (such as most of the works of M.C. Escher), all exult in, rather than disguise, their artificiality. In his essay “Art as Device” of 1917, the influential Russian formalist critic Victor Shklovsky argued that such patent artfulness was central to the nature and function of art itself, writing that “art exists that one may recover the sensation of life; it exists to make one feel things ... The purpose of art is to impart the sensation of things as they are perceived and not as they are known. The technique of art is to make objects ‘unfamiliar,’ to make forms difficult, to increase the difficulty and length of perception because the process of perception is an aesthetic end in itself and must be prolonged. Art is a way of experiencing the artfulness of an object; the object is not important” (cited in Fowler, 1987: 101).

Shklovsky’s notion of the primacy of artistic experience over artistic object takes on great importance in the theories of French structuralist critic Roland Barthes. In his S/Z of 1970, Barthes draws a distinction between “lisible” (“readerly”) and “scriptible” (“writerly”) texts; works of the former type are those which operate completely within the limits of a communal horizon of expectations, conventions, and social assumptions, which permit an audience to interpret experiences on the basis of past experiences. Pleasure is afforded in readerly texts by the reassuring recognition of the familiar. Writerly works, on the other hand, do not
confine their audience within specific parameters of meaning; texts are deliber­ately ambiguous, necessitating each reader’s individual interpretation and re­construction of meaning, providing pleasure in this liberation and forcing the reader to become a co-producer, as opposed to a mere consumer, of the artistic creation. This distinction between types of texts is not, of course, absolute in practice, but most works of literature tend toward one category or the other. Modernist writers such as Joyce, Woolf, and Eliot, have been inclined to emphasize the writerly aspects of their work over the readerly ones, by focussing audience attention on the process, rather than the substance, of writing. However, the idea of literature as process is not an exclusively twentieth-century one. For instance, the English novelists of the age of sensibility, influenced by Lockean inquiries into the nature of the mind and its reflection on itself, and by critical theory that focussed on reader response, were deeply concerned with such issues, and wrote books that called attention to their status as created works of art. As Northrop Frye has pointed out, “the sense of literature as process was brought to a peculiarly exquisite perfection by [Laurence] Sterne” (Frye 1971: 312).

Sterne’s books have long been considered “zanily eccentric,” but have in recent years begun to assume the centrality in critical circles that they deserve (Conrad 1985: 359). He typically explodes the conventions of the eighteenth-century novel in the process of writing one, and by so doing creates in the reader increased consciousness of the writer at work and of the norms and expectations of the form, capitalizing on the artistic dividends (which may include irony, surprise, wit, and humour) of deviating from those conventions. Authorial manipulations of this type demand a high level of reader participation, a fact that quickly becomes evident on examination of Sterne’s greatest and most famous novel, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, of 1759-67. Various aspects of *Tristram Shandy* are treated reflexively; some of the most important include those formal properties which call attention to the physicality of the book, the role of the reader, and the task of the writer, as well as to the author’s control over the passage of narrative time.

*Tristram Shandy* engages its reader in a creative, rather than a merely receptive role, by drawing the reader into the novel through the recurrent device of addressing the audience in “confidential” asides, and by inviting the reader’s participation in completing its creation, an intention which Sterne makes clear very early in the book: “The truest respect which you can pay to the reader’s understanding, is to halve this matter amicably, and leave him something to imagine, in his turn, as well as yourself. For my own part, I am eternally paying him compliments of this kind, and do all that lies in my power to keep his imagination as busy as my own” (Sterne 1980: 90).

One of the chief means by which Sterne keeps his reader’s imagination busy is
by simply leaving things out. There are numerous passages with interpolated blanks or asterisks where the reader is expected to supply mentally the words that the author has omitted; such devices both invite the reader’s participation and implicitly expand the means of communication to include more than the written word:

The chamber-maid had left no ******** *** under the bed:—Cannot you contrive, master, quoth Susannah, lifting up the sash with one hand, as she spoke, and helping me up into the window-seat with the other,—cannot you manage, my dear, for a single time, to **** *** ** *** ******?

—vol. 5, chap 17

... With a kick of both heels at once, but at the same time the most natural kick that could be kicked in her situation— for supposing *********** to be the sun in its meridian, it was a north-east kick—she kicked the pin out of her fingers— the etiquette which hung upon it, down—down it fell to the ground, and was shivered into a thousand atoms.

—vol. 8, chap. 9

—Lord have mercy upon me,—said my father to himself—

—vol. 6, chap. 39

Sterne further plays on the reader’s expectations by such means as his idiosyncratic use of typographical devices (especially punctuation), and by the pretense that he has physically removed sections of his novel. He also toys with notions and expectations of authorial originality, by blatantly parodying and plagiarizing the novels of other writers. Sterne occasionally treats his characters as if they have power over the progress of the story, or puts them “outside” of their own book by having them discuss specific previous passages or pages in the novel (as a physical artifact) itself:

—Here are two senses, cried Eugenius, as we walked along, pointing with the fore finger of his right hand to the word Crevice, in the fifty-second page of the second volume of this books of books,—here are two senses,—quoth he.—And here are two roads, replied I, turning short upon him, a dirty and a clean one,—which shall we take?—The clean,—by all means, replied Eugenius.

—vol. 3, chap. 31

Other manipulations occur, particularly in perceived passage of time. The book
opens with Tristram’s interrupted conception, and our hero does not manage to achieve birth until volume 3, at which point the author is also finally getting around to writing his preface. Numerous digressions cause the action of the novel actually to regress, rather than progress. The author ensures that the reader becomes more conscious of his own perceptions of time and about time’s role in this book by making frequent references to the time it takes both to write and read it:

It is about an hour and a half’s tolerable good reading since my uncle Toby rung the bell, when Obadiah was ordered to saddle a horse, and go for Dr. Slop, the man-midwife;—so that no one can say, with reason, that I have not allowed Obadiah time enough, poetically speaking, and considering the emergency too, both to go and come;

—vol. 2, chap. 8

—Now this is the most puzzled skein of all—for in this last chapter, as far at least as it has helped me through Auxerre, I have been getting forwards in two different journeys together, and with the same dash of the pen—for I have got entirely out of Auxerre in this journey which I am writing now, and I am got half way out of Auxerre in that which I shall write hereafter—There is but a certain degree of perfection in everything; and by pushing at something beyond that, I have brought myself into such a situation, as no traveller ever stood before me; for I am at this moment walking across the market-place of Auxerre with my father and my uncle Toby, in our way back to dinner—and I am this moment also entering Lyons with my post-chaise broke into a thousand pieces—and I am moreover this moment in a handsome pavilion built by Pringello, upon the banks of the Garonne...

—vol. 7, chap. 28

Tristram Shandy is, in many ways, an exercise in consciousness-raising. It is provocative and challenging in that it forces upon its audience greater awareness of the author’s presence, the norms and exceptions of novelistic form, and the responsibilities and pleasures involved when the reader is invited to increased participation in the creative process. Much of Haydn’s mature music is provocative and challenging in the same sorts of ways, and it can be shown that a reflexive approach to musical form first appears in works of his expansion period, subsequently becoming an increasingly essential element of his style.

Comparisons between Haydn and Sterne were also made by various commentators during the composer’s lifetime. The following, concerning Haydn’s place in music, form an article entitled “Remarks Concerning the Development of Music in Germany in the Eighteenth Century” in the Allgemeine Musikalisches Zeitung of 1800, is one of the more interesting and perceptive:

The quintessence of [Haydn’s greatness] seems to me to be in the exceptionally easy treatment of the rhythm, in which no one approaches him, and in that which the English call “humour” and for which the German word
“Laune” is not quite the same. From this latter characteristic may be explained his penchant for the comic turn and the fact that he is more successful therein than in a serious vein. If one would wish to draw a parallel with other famous men, J. Haydn, in the richness of his fantasy, might be compared to our Jean Paul—except for the latter’s chaotic order, of course, for clear presentation (lucidus ordo) is one of Haydn’s no small accomplishments—and as far as the humour is concerned, his original caprice (vis comica), with Lor. [Laurence] Sterne. If one wanted to describe the character of Haydn’s compositions with two words, they would be, I think, artful popularity or popular (meaning easily understood, penetrating) artistry (cited in Landon 1977: 590).

In the late 1760s, Haydn’s phenomenal popularity throughout Europe had yet to blossom, but his artistry was already in full flower. Similarly, at this time, his penchant for humour in music is not so readily observable as is the compositional expression of wit, in its eighteenth-century sense of “ingenium”—that is, talent, genius, creativity—often manifested as the unexpected discovery of, in Joseph Addison’s words, “a Resemblance and Congruity of Ideas [previously thought dissimilar] that gives Delight and Surprize to the Reader” (Addison/Ross 1982: 344-45), or seen in a willingness to “dispense with rule” and “transcend art” (Alexander Pope, Essay on Criticism, cited in Lewis 1967: 93). Haydn had a sense of form, first maturely realized in the works of this period of expansion, that called attention to itself, and to the ingenium of its composer. In his incorporation of reflexive aspects of structure, he wrote “composerly” music (to coin a rather inelegant, but I think serviceable, musical counterpart to Barthes’s “scriptible”). Many of Haydn’s compositions constantly draw attention to their own status and procedures as auditory artifacts, the primary means by which Haydn achieves such “composerly” attributes in his music being the defeat of expectations (both intra- and extra-musical ones), usually with witty or ironic results in the music of the expansion period, and frequently with humorous or high comic results in the music written after 1780 (the technique of reflexivity being adaptable to either artistic end). Both wit and humour depend in some degree on surprise and on the art of making the unpredictable seem inevitable. An examination of Haydn’s procedures in certain pieces will illustrate what types of dividends follow from compositionally “deviant” behavior.

In the works of his expansion period, Haydn challenges some of our very basic assumptions about musical experience; for instance, our assumption that the entire orchestra should remain on stage until the end of a symphony is overturned in the finale of Symphony no. 45 (the famous “Farewell” symphony of 1772), and our belief that music proceeds in one and only one temporal direction is negated in the Minuet al rovescio from Symphony no. 47 of 1772, in which the second sections of both minuet and trio are in fact exact retrogrades of their respective first sections. Similarly, any notion that an audience may have about the “correct” or “normal” character of a chamber music composition is exploded.
by the juxtaposition of a highly operatic style with a string quartet medium in the slow movement of opus 20, no. 2, also dating from 1772. Further curious happenings are afoot in this movement, including its failure to achieve closure—the expected C minor cadence is interrupted by the *subito* arrival of the C major minuet, creating tension that is then relieved by the ingenious integration of both the key of the Adagio and some of its thematic material into the trio of the third movement, thus at last granting an overall structural balance. Such transfer of idiom, and play with form, are only two of Haydn’s many experiments in this opus; among the most important of the others is a witty play on preconceived notions of regularity. For instance, the opening theme of the first movement of opus 20, no. 4 proceeds in a series of five six-measure phrases (in itself quite unusual, in that six-measure phrases were certainly less common than four-measure ones, and the asymmetry of a series of five of them is most irregular; yet the theme itself sound squarely regular and unremarkable), when it is suddenly punctuated by a two-measure interruption, demarcated by silences, sharp dynamic contrasts, pointed articulations, a new rhythmic figure, and a surprising harmonic shift from D major to B minor (see example 1a).

The theme tries to restart itself, is interrupted by another two-measure cascade, this time in A minor, with which Haydn plays for a while before finally granting the expected secondary key area of A major. The astonishing and really clever aspect of the surprise in mm. 31-32 is that for all the initial unusual phrase lengths and asymmetrical number of phrases of the principal theme, this startling little interpolation brings us abruptly to the end of the thirty-second measure—about where one would expect to be at the end of the first theme in a sonata-form movement, had the music proceeded “normally” in eight four-measure phrases. This balance of local irregularity confined within a larger framework characterized by order, clarity, and symmetry is found in the overall structure of this movement, and is a significant feature of many of Haydn’s compositions from the period of expansion, and indeed, of many Classic-period works.

Some of Haydn’s ingenious jests with artful intent arise from the collision of two different matrices of associations. For instance, some of his most compositionally deviant behavior occurs in minuet movements, where the norms of the courtly minuet intended for actual dancing are undermined by musical procedures, thus highlighting the incongruity of the inclusion of dance movements within larger formal plans (such as the symphony and string quartet) with different performance contexts and social functions. The courtly minuet was a formal, ceremonial activity of an elite group, and formed part of the essential training given to young men and women of the upper class in order that they could participate in the appropriate social rituals. The dance itself involved a set pattern of repetitions designed to cover an overall floor pattern and included subtle nuances of gesture; music for minuets proceeded at a stately pace, in an even quarter-note pulse in 3/4 time, with a symmetry of balanced phrases characterized by clear harmonic, rhythmic, and melodic patterning. Two-measure phrases

(or groups of two) were the rule, as four dance steps had to fit in two measures of music in 3/4 time (six beats equalled four steps). Haydn frequently uses fast tempi that undermine stately decorum, irregular patterns and accents that confuse metre, various types of asymmetry that disrupt balanced phrases, contrapuntal textures that obscure the articulations of regular phrasing, rusticitides that subvert refined courtly manners, and temporal discontinuities that interfere with rhythmic flow (such as silences, \textit{fermata}, and stubbornly repeating melodic fragments). Many of these procedures can be seen operating in the third movement of opus 20, no. 4 (see example 1b), especially irregular phrasing, an obscuring of the metre by rhythmic patterns and accents, and assumption of a rustic tone.

In this case, the results are not essentially comical. There is a certain quality of brutality in this movement that permits it to be ingenious, but not delightful; the surprises are intellectually pleasing but emotionally disturbing.

Haydn challenges the listener’s sense of perception and reality in many ways. For example, in the C minor keyboard sonata Hob. XVI:20 of 1771, the differences between real and apparent sonic events are manipulated, particularly in terms of formal structure. The opening movement, with its extraordinary profusion of melodic material, highly ornamental and wayward-sounding motives, wide tessitura and dynamic range, frequent use of cadenzas and cadenza-like passages, and virtuosic character, sounds like a free-form fantasia, akin to those of C.P.E. Bach, in which dramatic and rhetorical elements are the most important determinants of structure. In reality, however, this movement is an almost textbook example of sonata form, displaying predominantly regular phrase and period structures, and obeying the usual harmonic principles of such a movement type.

The finale of the same sonata at first sounds a great deal more regular than the opening movement, with its simpler, more straightforward themes. However, this apparent artlessness is belied by the patently artful structure of the recapitu-

...ation: after the return of the first half of the exposition in the tonic, there occurs an extended developmental passage, which eventually leads back to the first theme, followed by second theme and coda. The interpolated section sounds at the same time like a cadenza, a rondo episode, and a second development section,
raising queries about expectations of form and function. Here again Haydn can be seen to be employing wit not necessarily in the service of comedy, but to heighten the sensitivity of both performer and listener to musical norms and ingenious ways in which expectations arising from those norms can be subtly, or not so subtly, subverted.

The Symphony no. 44 in E minor ("Trauersymphonie," c. 1771) exhibits further instances of Haydn’s compositional wit within a definitely serious context. He sets up numerous startling juxtapositions in the first movement, particularly with dynamics, as in the aggressive opening period, an asymmetrical pairing of four plus eight measures (see example 2). Haydn ensures that the return of this phrase is equally effective, as the fade-away ending of the exposition prepares an atmosphere with the same dramatic potential that was present at its beginning. Further artful manipulations provide reinterpretations of the main thematic material. Rhythmic flow is impeded while tension increases with interpolated passages involving dramatic dynamic contrasts, while the final drive to the climax is halted by a fermata on a diminished seventh chord. This harmony is succeeded by a surprising and eerie insertion of the opening theme, treated contrapuntally and with new chromatic inflections, that forms a complete coloristic, textural, and dynamic contrast to the preceding material.

All of these incongruities have affective consequences in that they reinforce a sense of fierce urgency; as well, they are reflexive because they heighten audience awareness of formal procedures and of the composer at work.

Many more examples exist in compositions of this period, of Haydn’s use of a reflexive approach to his musical structures. In fact, these purely structural procedures remain important in his subsequent work; the processes do not change, but the products do, with the post-1780 music more frequently displaying humour than wit. For example, in the six quartets of Haydn’s opus 33 of 1781 can be seen the influence of the popular style and the overt presence of humour. A particularly familiar example of that humour is found in the finale of the “Joke” Quartet, opus 33, no. 2, in E flat major. In a manner akin to Sterne’s playfulness with punctuation and syntax, Haydn uses unpredictability as a compositional resource, sidestepping the implications of simplicity in his musical materials and inverting and manipulating basic conventional gestures. He turns conventional means to unconventional ends, with a jesting that has consequences both effective and affective. Haydn’s playfulness centers around our notions of, and expectations for, cadential closure, as he reinterprets opening gestures as closing material, and uses silent and audible interruptions to thwart our sense of logical temporal flow (see example 3).

While he sets up a regularity of context by frequent repetitions of the opening theme throughout the movement, he then, as the finish is nearing, begins to play games in lengthening the anticipatory gesture, first by fragmenting the theme into tiny motivic cells, then by introducing silences and fermata. We hear the
eight-measure principal theme again, it cadences, there is silence, and we think the music is finished. Then an adagio passage in a new metre and new texture makes its astonishing appearance, in a radical departure from the universe of musical expectations that the genial regularity of the movement had (at least so we supposed) established. The presto return consists of new disruptions and a very fragmented (but still recognizable) theme. A still longer silence precedes the pianissimo two-measure head motive of the principal theme, where the movement (and the quartet) reaches its surprise ending, which paradoxically is no ending at all, as the final silence can be interpreted as yet another rest, this one lasting indefinitely.

In this work, as in all of the quartets in this opus (most of them more subtly!), the surprises of discontinuity are absorbed into larger continuities of form and expression. This was also the case in opus 20, as the previous examples illustrated, but the artistic goals were different. In opus 33, there is a manifestly playful appeal to the listener. As the composer, Haydn has stacked the deck in his own favour, and the syntactically incongruous but artistically satisfying interruptions are the substance of a musical joke played by the composer first on the performers; then, through the performers, it becomes an in-joke to be played on an audience. In the new integration of learned and popular styles that is the hallmark of opus 33, Haydn draws attention to the relationship between composer and listener in a “new and special way,” and dramatizes humour as an artistic choice that liberates both the art form and its audience from the apparent limitations of musical conventions and from the customary responses to those conventions.²

² My ideas about opus 33 are indebted to discussion that occurred within the context of a Haydn seminar in 1987 at the Eastman School of Music, under the guidance of Dr. Gretchen Wheelock. Other class participants were Philip Carli, Paul deRousse, Laurie Phillips, and Brian Rozen.

Although Haydn is often regarded as standing somewhat apart from the larger world of thought and letters of his time, his marriage of serious artistic purpose and tongue-in-cheek procedure is an apt reflection of a more general trend of the Enlightenment; that is, the use of comedic strategies to explore truth and express intellectual freedom, as that humane and articulate defender of the utility of humour, the third Earl of Shaftesbury (1671-1713), probably expressed best:

A Freedom of Raillery, a Liberty in decent Language to question every thing, and an Allowance of unravelling or refuting any Argument, without offence to the Arguer, are the only terms which can render...speculative Conversations any way agreeable (Shaftesbury 1714: 69).

The humour present in Haydn’s music is a celebration, in this sense, of the liberty to question convention and custom, and of the freedom to explore in a very individual way the nature and function of musical discourse. That humour as an artistic choice became an essential component of Haydn’s personal style is evident in nearly everything he composed after the opus 33 quartets, particularly in such works as the Paris and London symphonies and the late keyboard trios; yet the process which made the eventual importance of compositional humour possible began with Haydn’s interest in reflexive aspects of musical structure in the instrumental works of his period of expansion. Stylistically diverse and perhaps bewildering in their range of emotional expression these so-called “Sturm und Drang” works may be; however, they exhibit remarkable consistency in their newly inventive and intellectual approach to musical structure, particularly in terms of formal procedure, where we see that Haydn indeed “speaks the truth while laughing,” and it is here that we find the key to much of what Haydn achieved in later years. Rather than representing an evolutionary dead-end, the compositions of c. 1768-72 are indeed the on-ramp to the mainstream of Haydn’s future development.

REFERENCES

ADDISON, J.

BROOK, B.S.

CONRAD, P.

ENGELL, J.
FOWLER, R.

FRIEDLAND, B.

FRYE, N.

GOLDBERG, M.A.

GRESHAM, C.D.

GRIM, W.E.

HOWES, A., ed.

LANDON, H.C.R.

LARSEN, J.P.
LEWIS, C.S.

LOVERIDGE, M.

KOLK, J.

MULLAN, J.

SAMBROOK, J.

SHAFTESBURY, ANTHONY, EARL OF.

STERNE, L.

SUTCLIFFE, W.D.

SWABEY, M.C.

SWEARINGEN, J.E.

TODD, R.L.

WYZEWA, T.