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Victorian Respectability, 'anti-social behaviour' and the Music Hall, 1880-1900

John Mullen

'Anti-social behaviour' is often a label used for social regulation (Brown, 2004). Among other things, it participates in the construction of a 'denigrated Other,' whom we can reject, but its specific content is determined by the society and the political forces which invented the term. There is no shortage of concepts which have been used to define who is valuable and who is less valuable in human society: chivalry, decorum, godliness, good taste and anti-social behaviour have all played this role in different periods and different social milieux. In nineteenth century Britain, respectability was no doubt the most powerful of these ideas. But what did it mean for the Victorians?

Firstly, respectability was a very flexible and complex concept. Indeed its vagueness constituted part of its function. A working-class person had never definitively gained the label of 'respectable': it could always be lost again by reprehensible behaviour of some kind. In this it can be compared to other labels of social and moral regulation such as 'godliness' in some Christian contexts or the 'integration' demanded of Third World migrants to Western industrialized countries today.

Secondly, its presence was felt everywhere in Victorian Britain: it seems that 'respectability talk' was a constant pastime for many sections of the population. Robert Roberts, writing about life in a poor part of Manchester at the turn of the twentieth century, portrays the incessant commentary and analysis concerning the level of respectability of different neighbours (Roberts, 1990: 32-7). In the newspapers which discussed the entertainment industry (*The Era*, or *The Encore*, for example), the subject was an inexhaustible source of analysis and redefinition.

Peter Bailey, the leading historian of the music hall, summarizes respectability as:

a highly specific value system of considerable normative power, whose most important consequence was to incorporate a minor but significant sector of the working class into the social consensus that assured mid-Victorian society in particular its overall cohesion and stability (Bailey, 1998: 30).

Historian Elizabeth Roberts, author of an oral history of working class life, underlines the tremendous influence of the idea:

Social historians studying the working class in the recent past, are almost overwhelmed at times by the total devotion and dedication shown towards the concept of respectability (Roberts, 1984: 14).

This chapter will deal with the role of 'respectability' in Victorian society, and particularly in late Victorian music-hall, and will seek to compare the concept with that of 'anti-social behaviour' today.

The power of an idea

It seems that the 'minor but significant sector' of the working class which Bailey says was wedded to this ideology became far larger as the decades of the nineteenth century went by. The rise of new white-collar shop and office workers gave this ideology more purchase among the lower classes, while successful trade union struggles and increasing democratic rights obliged elite thinkers to hesitate before dismissing the idea that lower-class people could be worthy of respect. Historian Geoffrey Best says that respectability exerted 'a socially soothing tendency, by assimilating the most widely separated groups (separated socially or geographically) to a common cult' (quoted in Bailey, 1998: 31).

It was extremely rare for late Victorian commentators to openly oppose respectability ideology; only the most radical might do this. Friedrich Engels, for example, complained about British trade union leaders:

The most repulsive thing here [in England] is the bourgeois 'respectability,' which has grown deep into the bones of the workers [...]. Even Tom Mann,¹ whom I regard as the best of the lot, is fond of mentioning that he will be lunching with the Lord Mayor (Engels, 1889: 1).

Another radical, Bertrand Russell, brought up in an elite family in Victorian England deplored that, for the sake of respectability:

men and women make great moral efforts, [...] but all their efforts and all their self-control, being not used for any creative end, serve merely to dry up the well-spring of life within them, to make them feeble, listless, and trivial (Russell, 1916: 122).

These were rare voices indeed, and both recognize the massive influence of the concept of respectability.

The view of this ideology as necessarily an effective force for social stability has been queried by some writers, who have emphasized that the acceptance of 'respectability' did not stop working people from having radical ideas. They would often, on the contrary,

redefine respectability to move it closer to their own interests. For example, when music hall artistes went on a long strike and organized picketing in 1907, their newspaper presented this as a move towards being respectable workers who would fight injustice, and a move away from being 'common' casualized workers (*The Performer*, 31 January 1907).

Peter Bailey suggests, further, that 'respectability' could be a matter of playing a role, rather than a set of ideas with deep psychological roots. He says we must remember that working-class institutions such as friendly societies or working men's clubs were obliged to parrot the ideology of respectability in order to get middle-class support or to be safe from bourgeois attacks. 'Mouthing a few passwords about respectability,' he suggests, 'might secure immunity from the badgering of middle-class charity workers or district visitors' (Bailey, 1998: 38). In general, he underlines what he sees as 'the tenuous hold of the normative sanctions of respectability' (Bailey, 1998: 41).

Despite these various caveats, respectability ideology certainly was successful as a scapegoat identification mechanism. To believe in respectability was to believe in the dangers, at all levels of society, of its necessary opposite: the 'indecent,' the 'vulgar,' the 'common.'

Respectability in different social classes

Respectability looked somewhat different, however, in diverse social milieux. In the elite groups, its commandments could merge into questions of etiquette. As social mobility became a little easier, established groups developed ever more complicated rules to ensure the maintenance of class image barriers. Books gave detailed advice about behaviour at dinner:

Never allow a servant to fill your glass with wine that you do not wish to drink. You can check him by touching the rim of your glass. Bread is broken at dinner. Never use a napkin in place of a handkerchief for wiping the forehead, face or nose [...] (Young, 1881: 26).

New rituals, such as the calling card, became ever more complex (Bailey, 1998: 17). One was expected, in bourgeois circles, to know that a calling card with the left-hand lower corner turned down signified a condolence visit, whereas if it was the upper right-hand corner, this meant the lady or gentleman had called personally rather than sending a

servant. These rituals served to reassure the elite about the relative impermeability of social barriers.

In lower classes, respectability looked quite different. Avoiding the appearance of destitution was an important part of it. Robert Roberts writes about how using newspaper, instead of lace curtains, to cover windows was considered, in the slum he lived in, a sign of having abandoned hopes of respectability. The concept was a contradictory one for working class people. It included elements of respecting oneself: no excessive indulgence in alcohol, no excessive violence within the family and a certain level of cleanliness. It would include limiting swearing, not fighting in the streets, paying rent on time and not talking of sexuality to your children, or allowing them to see naked bodies. Being seen as respectable counted as social capital, even amid poverty. As Elizabeth Roberts explains: 'To be respectable was to be respected, and in closely knit communities it was very difficult to live comfortably without the respect of one's family and neighbours' (Roberts, 1984: 14).

Yet it also included strong elements of respecting existing social hierarchies, and accepting one's own 'inferiority' to elite groups. In the world of entertainment, there was the not untypical case of the orchestra in Cheltenham in the 1910s. The musicians earned only one pound five shillings a week – less than a skilled manual worker, and only just enough for a family to eat. However, to ensure respectability, they were banned by their employers from wearing caps on the way to and from work (Ehrlich, 1985: 188), since caps would mean that they belonged to the working-class and were therefore assumed to be suspect in their respectability. Similarly, working-class corps de ballet dancers at the central London music halls were under pressure to wear very 'respectable' clothes when leaving the theatre (Carter, 2005: 115).

An earlier commentator clearly suggested that if the music hall entertainers were recruited among higher social classes, they would tend to favour more respectable material:

the high salaries which good singers who can act are able to earn just now on the stage has had the effect of materially increasing the supply. Some well-educated girls train for the stage as a matter of course. [...] It is from this quarter we must look for an improvement of the music hall stage. [...] If they are educated, trained and refined they will give no support to the vulgar and the suggestive (*Western Times*, 5 July 1900).

Being respectable, finally, included having (or faking) a taste for 'improving activities' – high culture and reading – elements which could be profitable to ordinary people, but were

wedded to the idea that only leisure which corresponds to elite tastes is of any value. Indeed, there was a powerful campaign during the whole of the late Victorian period to ensure that the newly found leisure time of the industrial workers be used in an 'improving' manner. This is the period of the rise of local museums, parks and libraries, brass bands and bandstands, choral societies, penny classical concerts, and so on. These elements constituted both an improvement in working-class lives, instituted partly as a result of the fear of class revolt after the Chartist movement,² and also an attempt by the elites to make sure that the newly found leisure was used in ways which could not become threatening.

The campaign for respectability in the music hall

We shall now see specifically how the idea of respectability was imposed and negotiated around the mass entertainment industry of the music hall. At the end of the nineteenth century, music hall was the most popular cheap entertainment form, with millions of tickets sold every week. At its origins in the 1850s and 1860s, the genre had been far from respectable. In the following decades, the gradual acceptance that working-class people needed or deserved or had to be given leisure time was accompanied by no shortage of advice from different sections of the elite as to how this leisure time should be spent. This Victorian campaign for 'rational leisure' aimed at opposing 'frivolity or unmeaning mirth' (Waters, 1990: 22).

As the decades went by, the 'rational leisure' idea was obliged to become a little more flexible, and the wholesale condemnation of music hall became much rarer. At the same time, the genre was being transformed. The concentration of capital led to bigger theatres and increasing domination of the industry by theatre chains such as Moss Empires. Music hall entrepreneurs and managers now wanted to join local elites, whereas previously the non-respectable image of their business would have prevented this. In the audience too, new white-collar groups wanted music hall to fit with their modest but real social pretensions, whereas the threat of magistrates refusing licences to non-respectable music halls ensured that pressure was maintained.

For all these reasons, from the 1880s on, music hall proprietors threw themselves heart and soul into the 'cleaning up' of the genre. Maloney comments:

It seems likely that [managers were attempting] to install middle-class values or notions of respectability

[...] in the music hall, so that upwardly mobile sections of the lower classes would feel they could attend music hall without compromising their social aspirations (Maloney, 2003: 86).

What methods did music hall owners use to ensure and police respectability? Firstly, there were changes in the architecture of the new variety theatres being built after 1880. The circle and the stalls had separate entrances and separate corridors, and one could not pass from one part of the theatre to another. Everything was done to ensure that the more privileged classes did not meet the working classes in the theatre itself. In particular, there was a fear that middle-class women would meet working-class men, with supposedly unfortunate consequences. The number of private boxes in the theatres also increased. Chasing after respectability meant accepting the social hierarchies which were in place.

Secondly, where possible, premises were moved to more respectable parts of town. Thirdly, the promenades of some of the music halls, (lounge areas for walking sitting and relaxing), were often closed down, as they were suspected of being places where prostitutes solicited clients. Fourthly, the drinking of alcohol was very much curbed. It was no longer permitted in the auditorium; and in a large number of halls there was no drinking at all. Fifthly, the new music halls tried to trumpet their respectability by including in their night's entertainment ever more elements of high culture. Extracts from Shakespeare, or short ballets, or extracts from Wagner's or Verdi's operas were introduced.

Sixthly, there were increasing efforts to attract married women and their families to the variety theatres; their presence would be brandished as proof of respectability. Finally, there was a consistent attempt to control strictly what comics and singers said during their act. It became standard to ban all ad-libbing. The Britannia music hall programmes of the 1890s included a request to inform the manager of 'any suggestive or offensive word or action upon the stage that may have escaped his notice.' This was not unusual (Maloney, 2003: 62). The standard contract in use by 1907 included a clause specifying that 'Any artiste giving any expression to any vulgarity, or words having a double meaning [...] will be instantly dismissed' (*The Performer*, 31 January 1907). The emphasis on respectability was underlined in advertising: a typical Manchester advert for a pantomime promised 'No dull moments, no vulgarity, honest healthy fun throughout' (*Manchester Courier*, 4 January 1900).

Government and moral authorities

How were the Government and other institutions involved in the campaign for respectability? Unlike the case of the twenty first century campaigns against anti-social behaviour, politicians were not at the origin of the campaign for respectability. Moralistic organizations were the most active. There is the well-known case of Mrs Ormiston Chant, who ran a crusade against vulgarity and immorality at the music halls in the 1890s. A complex figure, involved in the campaign for women's suffrage and in voluntary work aiming at getting women out of prostitution, as well as in the campaign for cleaning up the music-halls, she was criticized both by those who found her attitude prudish, and by those who considered that as a woman she did not have the right to speak out on such questions (Faulk, 2004: 78).

In 1894, she alleged, concerning the Empire theatre, that 'the place at night is the habitual resort of prostitutes in pursuit of their traffic,' and that 'portions of the entertainment are most objectionable' (Faulk, 2004: 79). She attacked the richer class of men, who, she said, went to the Empire to pick up working-class prostitutes. Chant also criticized the short ballets which were produced in the halls: 'Ballet dancers cannot see that the absence of clothing is an offense against their own self-respect. They do not realize that they are exhibited well-nigh undressed for the men in the lounge [...]' (Faulk, 2004: 84). Chant's campaign dominated the letters page of papers such as the *Daily Telegraph* for a whole month. As a result, the promenade at the Empire was closed for some time.

Although the moralistic crusaders were a small minority, and were frequently mocked even in respectable newspapers,³ they had real power. When the licence of a music hall came up for renewal they could and frequently did lobby magistrates to have licences refused because of the low moral tone of an establishment. A hearing to decide whether to grant a licence for the opening of a large music hall in Manchester was opposed by a large number of clergymen and charity workers in 1904, who firmly believed that it would 'lead young people astray' and make work harder for churches and educational institutions (*The Guardian*, 10 June 1904).

If elected authorities did not launch the campaign for respectability, they did sometimes intervene strongly in its favour, and members of moralistic organizations included many local politicians who sat on the committees dealing with entertainment licensing. So, from 1890, the London County Council decided to employ inspectors to go to music hall shows in order to report back on problems of public morality. At the beginning of its new

responsibilities, the London County Council proposed a radical system of individual licensing for music hall and other artistes. Singers would be compulsorily certified once a year, and fined or suspended if they sang 'indecent songs' (*Sheffield Evening Telegraph*, 25 February 1890). The music hall milieu responded vigorously. A mass meeting was held in March 1890, denouncing the project as 'vexatious and unnecessary.' Protest was powerful enough to force the London County Council to backtrack: the licensing of artistes was abandoned, although fines for indecent singing were increased (*The Era*, 8 March 1890).

The artistes

We shall now see how music hall singers dealt with the question. All of them claimed to be respectable – it seems it was socially and professionally impossible to do otherwise – but the public obsession with the issue encouraged a significant number of artistes to explore the subject in song, and several specialized in moderate transgression of the boundaries of respectability.

The songs are particularly useful as sources because of the nature of music hall performance. The singer normally had to succeed in getting the entire audience to sing the chorus. Sentiments which half the audience did not wish to sing would constitute a real professional danger to most artistes who worked in a precarious profession where reputation is everything. For this reason, there was strong pressure in favour of consensual songs (Mullen, 2012: 188).

Music hall audiences were far more masculine before 1870 than afterwards, (King 1993: 24) and we have some evidence that the content could be very much more vulgar in the early period. George Speaight has collected, from the very early music hall, booklets of very explicit songs which can in no way be described as suggestive (Speaight, 1975). It is very difficult to know how common this bawdy content was, but certainly by the end of the Victorian period, the moralists were campaigning against suggestive material in general, and not against bawdy material as such.

We find out details about artistes' attitudes when cases came before magistrates. This was not a frequent occurrence: normally informal pressures were sufficient to keep artistes in line. Nevertheless, every year there were two or three court cases. In 1890, a licensee, conductor and manager were charged with 'conspiring together to procure the singing of an alleged indecent song.' The summonses in the case were taken out by the Society for the

Prevention of the Degradation of Women and Children (*Manchester Evening News*, 7 February 1890). The fact that the case was reported in a series of local newspapers across the country shows both that it was not a common occurrence and that the question deeply interested contemporaries.

Singing star G. H. McDermott had his contract cancelled in 1892 for singing an indecent song (*Manchester Evening News*, 2 June 1892), whereas in 1897 (*Manchester Evening News*, 6 February 1897) another singer was sacked because of a song entitled 'Oh, Sir, you'll have to marry me now!' The theatre director claimed the song was vulgar, but the singer successfully claimed unfair dismissal since, she maintained, the manager had heard the song in rehearsal and not objected. The singer's words show how much of a battle over interpretation was going on 'It might perhaps have a double meaning,' she said, 'but there was nothing offensive or suggestive about it unless it were taken "the other way".' We feel here the tensions and confusions involved in public debates about respectable intentions, debates which could have real material consequences for artistes. Another music-hall artiste was sacked without pay in 1900 because of a 'vulgar' sketch; the magistrates found the sacking justified (*Nottingham Evening Post*, 22 November 1900).

Most singers proclaimed loudly their opposition to 'vulgar' or even 'suggestive' songs. Miss Harriet Verbon, a singer interviewed by *The Era* made a typical declaration, saying 'I never sing a song that the most prudish dame could take exception to. Managers should exercise a censorship over improper songs. The British public do not want tainted songs' (*The Era*, 25 August 1900). Nevertheless, several top stars in the period from 1880 on specialized in the suggestive. The most famous among them are Marie Lloyd (whose songs included 'I asked Johnny Jones so Now I Know'), Whit Cunliffe ('Tight Skirts have Got to Go!') and Harry Champion ('The End of my Old Cigar'). Their suggestiveness did not stop them being among the best-paid artistes at the turn of the century.

Lloyd portrayed on stage a working-class woman who knew about life, love and men, and knew how to have a good time: not a paragon of respectability. In 1897, complaints were made about a song she sang which suggested that the father of the narrator frequented prostitutes (Baker, 1990: 98). Another of her songs 'Wink the Other Eye' encouraged her reputation as daring, though the daringness only seems to go as far as to suggest that a woman might kiss a cabbie instead of paying the fare. After the relief of Mafeking (a British victory in the Boer war in 1900), Lloyd performed a new song 'The Girls in

the Khaki Dress' suggesting that British soldiers were having illegitimate children (Baker, 1990: 117). For many years, Moss Empires, the most powerful of the variety theatre chains, refused to hire Lloyd despite her stature as an international star.

Lloyd retaliated by singing a song directed against the puritans, inviting her working – class audience to join her in indignant protest. Entitled 'They can't stop a girl from thinking,' it included the following lines:

I mustn't tell you what I mean
Mustn't tell you what I've seen
Everything that's risqué must be dropped!
While I've been stopped from winking
Mustn't tell you what I've heard
Mustn't say a naughty word
So help my Bob, it's a jolly good job
They can't stop a girl from thinking!

From the safety of her star status, Lloyd was one of the rare public personalities to defend suggestiveness:

They don't pay their sixpences and shillings at a music hall to hear the Salvation Army. If I was to try to sing highly moral songs, they would fire ginger beer bottles and beer mugs at me. I can't help it if people want to turn and twist my meanings (Farson, 1972: 57).

We can see here she is treading a difficult path – on the one hand rejecting a perceived 'high morality' of bourgeois society, on the other maintaining that the vulgar meanings are produced not by her, but by those who wish to distort her meanings. This contradictory discourse shows the tension between accepting social norms and celebrating dissenting voices.

Who could be blamed for vulgarity?

There was always, indeed, a tension in the campaigns against vulgarity and in favour of respectable entertainment. Sometimes working-class audiences were presented as innocent victims of vulgar entertainment they did not want, whereas at other times it was claimed that the vulgarity was what the degenerate public demanded. So a 1900 news article emphasized that the vulgarity on stage 'was hissed and booed' by the audience (*Nottingham Evening Post*, 22 November 1900), whereas a commentator in *The Era* the same year insisted 'you have to satisfy, to play to your audience. A manager must not stage what he likes, but

what his audience likes' (*The Era*, 15 December 1900).

Similarly, there was, towards the end of the period, no general agreement as to whether the stage content of music hall had effectively become more respectable as the years went by. An interview with a comic singer, J H Milburn in 1891 claimed it had:

Many things have changed over twenty years I've been working [...] Why, now, the more refined a thing is the better the audience like it. Take my word for it, it's only with a very small few that double entendres go down now. [...] I wouldn't sing a vulgar song anywhere for anything or anybody (*The Era*, 18 July 1891).

The *Western Mail* claimed the introduction of elements of high culture as proof of the vanquishing of vulgarity:

the metamorphosis of the English music hall from mere places of vulgarity to palaces of artistic creation has been of striking growth during the Victorian era. Many excellent ballad and operatic vocalists have long presented genuine music to enthusiastic music hall audiences (24 October 1900).

Here, normal music hall singing is presented as 'not genuine music,' and the introduction of elite tastes is presented as allowing the betterment of the audiences.

One Member of Parliament claimed that the main improvement had come at the very end of the century due to new forms of regulation: 'since the London music halls were placed under the county council they have wonderfully improved' he insisted (*Pall Mall Gazette*, 16 May 1900).

In other quarters, however, there was no shortage of commentators to claim nothing had changed. An 1896 invited speaker at the quarterly meeting of the mid-Essex teachers' association 'denied that these halls had produced anything either in novelty of form or merit of substance [...]. All had been vulgarising and lowering' (*Chelmsford Chronicle*, 1 May 1896). In 1900, many still thought vulgarity very frequent. A critic wrote in the Edinburgh news 'I have listened to scores of songs sung, some of them, by men earning huge salaries [...] which as regards their character could not be sung before any respectable and decent household' (*Edinburgh Evening News*, 3 July 1900), whereas the *Pall Mall Gazette* complained 'vulgarity, at least, is as rampant as ever' (16 May 1900).

We can see, then, that contemporary debate about the nature and presence of vulgarity seems to produce more heat than light, in the absence of an objective definition of

what vulgarity actually is. One might see parallels in debates today about anti-social behaviour and its prevalence in Britain.

Conclusion: Respectability and anti-social behaviour

Having explored, then, the question of respectability in Victorian England and the campaign within music hall, how can we compare its content and power to that of the campaign against anti-social behaviour in Britain in recent years?

There are some similarities. They are both ways used by elites to try to control the behaviour of individuals belonging to subordinate classes. Both concentrate on individual behaviour rather than on social justice. Both try very hard to recruit the dominated classes into the same world view, by setting up a denigrated Other, a type of person to be rejected: the hoodie, perhaps, or the vulgar performer. They both involve a central concept which is open to some negotiation and redefinition. Both are highly selective as constructions of objects of moral reprobation: respectability did not involve being opposed to racism, for example (Blackface minstrelsy was considered more respectable than music hall, for example), while 'anti-social behaviour' is not defined to include exploitation or workplace injustices in general.

But there are very important differences. Firstly, anti-social behaviour as an ideology is very recent. The Labour Party manifestos of 1997 and 2001 are the only ones, since the birth of the Labour Party, to mention the term. The Conservatives mention it in the same years. 'Respectability' ideology, on the other hand, dominated an entire historical period. The agents, too, are different: the campaign against anti-social behaviour originated from a political elite, whereas the campaign for respectability came more from a social elite. Only one of the two was a popular obsession. In addition, today's adjective 'anti-social' is explicitly attached to 'behaviour,' and not to the essence of groups of people as such, whereas in Victorian times, one would often hear of 'respectable classes' or 'respectable parts of town': people rather than simply behaviour were praised or reviled.

'Respectability' grew up and was imposed at a time when democratic ideas were very slowly affirming themselves in Britain, but where egalitarian ideas remained weak, especially among the elites. Its meritocratic and moralistic aspects made it an appropriate ideology for this period. The ideology of 'anti-social behaviour' on the other hand comes in a period where democracy is taken for granted, as is the idea that all social classes deserve to be

respected and integrated into society. The denigrated Other is no longer, in this ideology, the majority of the 'lower' classes, but smaller groups from among them who are presented as threatening the serenity of 'normal' social existence.

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Periodicals

Specialized and trade press

The Era, a weekly theatre newspaper

The Encore, a weekly trade paper concentrating on the music hall

The Performer, the weekly newspaper of the Variety Artistes' trade union

British national newspapers

Daily Telegraph

The Guardian

British regional newspapers

Chelmsford Chronicle

Edinburgh Evening News

Manchester Courier

Manchester Evening News

Nottingham Evening Post

Pall Mall Gazette (London)

Sheffield Evening Telegraph

Western Mail

Western Times

Key words

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Contributor

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Abstract

In the late Victorian era, 'respectability' was a major concern of citizens. The concept had a powerful influence, although its implications were different for the elite and for the working class. This contribution analyzes its social effect and the different debates about how to ensure respectability triumphed over its opposite – the 'vulgar' and the 'common.' The mass entertainment industry between 1880 and 1900 is taken as a case study, since immense efforts were made to render it respectable. Its principal place of business, the music hall, had become a place where millions of working-class people met a minority of elite customers, and where ambitious entrepreneurs had to juggle the demands of popular audiences, the need for profitability and the pressures of moralist licensing authorities. Debates, court cases and songs are analyzed. Finally, an attempt is made to compare 'respectability' to the twenty-first century concept of 'anti-social behaviour.'

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¹ Tom Mann was a left-wing trade unionist and leading figure in the 1889 dockers' strike.

² From 1838 to 1848, chartism constituted a mass working-class movement. It had many currents within it, but, particularly in the context of the European revolutions of 1848, seemed to the elite to threaten their very existence.

³ *The Era*, 1 December 1900 mocked the moralists as a 'tribe of culchawed persons' who would never have any significant effect on the music hall.