

“Catholic” Programme Music? Franz Liszt’s Religiosity in the Focus of the Viennese Press (1857–1900)

Bianca Schumann
Univerza na Dunaju
University of Vienna

Hardly any debates polarised the Viennese concert-going public in the 19th century more than the one concerning the aesthetic value of symphonic programme music. The Viennese press provided the arena for this great battle: across a variety of newspapers, numerous critics crossed swords in frequently polemical tones over this musical genre, which became established in the 1850s. As I discovered while writing my dissertation¹ – which critically examined about 1000 specially compiled music reviews published by about 150 authors in 35 Viennese periodicals covering 116 performances of 45 different symphonic programme music compositions between 1855 and 1900 – composition and performance reviews were rarely limited in their argumentation solely to the evaluation of the musical texture. Reviewers also questioned both the aesthetic value of the main musical genres as well as the composers’ individual artistic ability. In such author-focused discussions, aspects such as national identity² or religious convictions also often came to the fore.

1 Bianca Schumann, “*Umstrittene Tongemälde. Die Rezeption symphonischer Programmmusik in Wien (1855–1900)*” (Dissertation, University of Vienna, 2022).

2 Bianca Schumann, “Ein ‘deutscher’ Franzose? Die Rezeption von Camille Saint-Saëns’ symphonischer Programmmusik im Wiener Pressediskurs (1876–1889),” *Ad Parnassum: A Journal of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Instrumental Music* 17, no. 34 (2019): 103–27; Bianca Schumann, “Zwischen Ost und West: Franz Liszts nationale Identität in der Wiener Musikkritik (1857–1900),” *Studia Musicologica* 61, no. 3–4 (2020): 367–79; Bianca Schumann, “‘Slawische’ Programmmusik? Bedřich Smetanas und Antonín Dvořáks Nationalität im Fokus der Wiener Presse (1887–1918),” *Journal of Music Criticism* 6 (2022): 39–75.

This paper treats excerpts of this journalistic dispute from the perspective of reception history and thereby focuses on one of “non-musical” since biographically oriented evaluation criteria. The aim is to understand the role that perceptions of Franz Liszt’s religious convictions played in the debate about his symphonic programme music; i. e. in what way the selected reviewers’ music criticism deployed this non-musical evaluative criterion – for what purposes and with what intentions.

No composer other than Liszt has had their religious beliefs subject to such public scrutiny in the reception of their symphonic programme music.³ This is due on the one hand to Liszt’s personal attitude towards the Christian religion⁴ and on the other to the specific themes treated in some of his symphonic programmes. In some compositions, the reference to religious themes is obvious from their title or the programme, as with *The Battle of the Huns* (Symphonic Poem No. 11), which was written in response to the painting of the same name by the painter Wilhelm Kaulbach, known

- 3 The reception of Goldmark’s *Ländliche Hochzeit*, for example, proves to be only marginally influenced by his Jewish faith. Accordingly, in the reviews of the Viennese premiere of this work in 1876, allusions to Goldmark’s religious references can only be found in Ludwig Speidel’s review, discussed in detail by David Brodbeck. See: Anon., “(Musikalische Aufführungen.),” *Fremden-Blatt. Morgen-Blatt* 68 (9 March 1876): 6. The reviews written for the second and, for the century, last performance of this work in 1891 are free of such references. Goldmark was nevertheless repeatedly subjected to anti-Semitic criticism, especially in the later decades of the century, but in particular reference to his two operas *Die Königin von Saba* and *Merlin*, as is also discussed by Brodbeck. The Viennese discourse on Goldmark’s symphonic programme music is only negligibly influenced by his religion. David Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschum. Political Ideology, German Identity, and MusicCritical Discourse in Liberal Vienna* (= The New Cultural History of Music Series) (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 101–5, 199–248, 290–308.
- 4 The complex area of Liszt’s religious faith cannot be dealt with in depth in this publication due to the reception-aesthetic perspective on which it is based. For an introduction to the subject see, among others, Paul Merrick, *Revolution and Religion in the Music of Franz Liszt* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978), esp. 3–87; Ralph P. Locke, “Liszt on the Artist in Society,” in *Franz Liszt and His World* (= The Bard Music Festival Princeton), ed. Christopher H. Gibbs and Dana Gooley (Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006), 295–6; Rena Char-nin Mueller, “From the Biographer’s Workshop: Lina Ramann’s Questionnaires to Liszt,” trans. Susan Hohl, in *Franz Liszt and His World* (= The Bard Music Festival Princeton), ed. Christopher H. Gibbs and Dana Gooley (Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006), 362; Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt*, 3 vols., vol. 2: *The Weimar Years 1848–1861* (= Great Composer Series) (New York: Cornell University Press, 1993), 11–2, 406–7 and 544; Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt*, 3 vols., vol. 3: *The Final Years. 1861–1886* (= Great Composer Series) (New York: Cornell University Press, 1996), 10–1, 55, 69–70 and 85–91.

for his literary illustrations and paintings with historical content. Another example of this type of direct reference is the *Dante Symphony*. It is based on Dante Alighieri's *Divine Comedy* and the Christian titles of its three movements – Inferno, Purgatorio, Magnificat – refer to that literary work. In other compositions – such as the third symphonic poem *Les Préludes*, which was named after a poem from Alphonse de Lamartine's collection *Nouvelles méditations poétiques* – the religious colouring of the extramusical programme is more subtle.⁵ The thematic orientation of these three programmatic symphonies in particular encouraged some in the musical press to present Liszt's work as expressions of his personal religious convictions and theological mission, thereby non-aesthetically legitimising them as music which is "close to God". Critics who shared the conviction that Liszt had become a man of God after receiving the minor orders in 1865, that he had successfully satisfied his lifelong search for God, that his "*spirit [...] had overcome matter*,"⁶ could in principle draw on such an argument. In reasoning of this kind, the figure of the composer himself plays a decisive role, since an audience's perception of his nature and character traits, his "*attitude and outlook*,"⁷ as Kulke describes it, becomes the essential component in assessing his musical works. At the same time, the specific musical textures lose significance for the composer's reception, since the author's own status as a "*loving, mild, godly musician*"⁸ formally confers upon his "*sacred music*"⁹ a priori value, as the pseudonymous reviewer de Joux puts it. Conversely, the positive perception of the composer as a Christian becomes indispensable for affirming the validity of his works. For without the recognition of the "divine aura" of the composer, they lose their dogmatic claim to legitimacy, which secures them public approval, regardless of their actual form.¹⁰ This interdependency between work and composer, established over

5 Cf. Sandra J. Fallon-Ludwig, "Religious, Philosophical and Social Significance in the Symphonic Poems of Franz Liszt" (Dissertation, Brandeis University, 2010).

6 Ed. K., "Operntheater und Concerte. (Niemann's Gastspiel. – 'Iphigenie'. – Franz Liszt. – 'Les préludes'. – Gesellschaftsconcert. – Eine neue Symphonie von Mendelssohn. – Fräulein Menter. – Orchesterverein. – Ein dankbarer Impresario.)," *Das Vaterland* 60 (1 March 1869): 1.

7 Ed. K., "Concerte," *Das Vaterland* 21 (21 January 1874): 1.

8 Ibid.

9 de Joux, "Concerte," *Wiener Salonblatt* 13 (30 March 1890): 9.

10 The critic writing as –h., for example, considers the influence of Liszt's religious beliefs on the *Faust Symphony* more objectively. Unlike the other reviewers cited in this paper, he does not regard Liszt's Catholicism as an authority that legitimises the work per se, but remains able to dispense negative judgement through his ideological distance from the aesthetic object, without having to evaluate Liszt's religious in-

a number of reviews, is especially prominent in a report by one of Liszt's students, August Göllerich. Göllerich explains that in the "Pastorale" of *Les préludes*, the qualities of "intimacy and tenderness" that comprise Liszt's "genuinely German sensibility" are "combined with religious elements to produce the most genuine consecration" and that due to the interplay of these two natural character traits, he allows us "to find refreshment in the sunlit divine peace of nature."¹¹ The critic Eduard Kulke also draws a close connection between Liszt's artistry and his nature, between his music and his religiosity. He interprets the "clarifying musical process," which he observes through the successive genesis of Liszt's symphonic oeuvre, as the effect of Liszt's progressive "cleansing and refinement of [his] inner emotional life," which finally manifests itself audibly in the "outer expression," that is, in his art. In *Les préludes*, an early symphonic work, Kulke perceives Liszt as a "fighter and wrestler against the traditional form," whereas in his later works, such as the two symphonies, Kulke hears him as a "hero [...] who has emerged victorious from his struggle."¹² This insight leads Kulke to conclude that in his first compositions, "worldliness [...] had yet to be overcome" as Liszt was still working his way through "a transitional moment of his artistic activity and creativity, as well as of his being as a whole."¹³ Liszt's decision to be ordained as an Abbé was considered by Kulke to be the inevitable consequence of this inner spiritual development – "an outcome to which he was driven by the pull of his innermost being."¹⁴ For Kulke, the development

tentions: "At the passage: 'das Ewig Weibliche – zieht uns hinan', a single tenor intones the Gretchen melody, and since it does not fit at all with the words of the text, it virtually has to be chanted, although Liszt may have intended the result, which is to let the work end on a priestly, sublime note. We find this entire ending on the whole more operative than ecclesiastical, but immensely effective nonetheless." –h., "Das Wagner-Konzert," *Neues Fremden-Blatt. Morgenausgabe* 26 (26 January 1875): 11.

11 August Göllerich, "Siebentes philharmonisches Concert. (3. Symphonie von Brahms. – Hans Richter. – 'Les Préludes' von Liszt)," *Deutsches Volksblatt. Morgenausgabe* 83 (28 March 1889): 2.

12 Ed. K., "Operntheater und Concerte," 1.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid. Daniel Spitzer, on the other hand, describes a different connotation of the "clarifying process": "Formerly a Tannhäuser, Liszt broke free from the white arms of Frau Venus and turned his back on the Hörselberg, in whose depths such arduous love blazes." That Liszt's decision to be ordained as an Abbé was not, in Spitzer's view, free of a sense of guilt becomes clear in the following sentence: "His kiss-weary lips yearned for the cross and he sank repentantly at the pope's feet and kissed his consoling slipper." The cynical undertone, which is hard not to miss in Spitzer's provocative choice of words, conveys his feeling that Liszt's change of life was hypocritical, subliminally hinting in the following sentence that the change might have been less sincere than

of Liszt's innermost nature can be read from his musical output as clearly as it can from his innermost being, which was ultimately responsible for – and hence reflected in – the compositions' form. Kulke presents Liszt – attesting him a “*religiously inclined nature*”¹⁵ – as an “*earthly arm of God*,” and thus as a composer who felt his mission in life was to spread the values of Christianity to the world through art. There was no doubt for Kulke that this calling felt by Liszt would have also guided his choice of the themes he developed in his programmatic music. Accordingly, he states with regard to *Les Préludes*:

His earlier works are also meant to demonstrate that this was the composer's intention; for what else could he be wanting to say when he warns us that this whole earthly life is only a prelude, only an overture, what else does he want to awaken in us other than the deep religious feeling that fills his own breast.¹⁶

The critic who went by the abbreviation –i. shares Kulke's view that the essence of Liszt's symphonic creations can only be truly understood on the basis that “*Liszt [...] has always faithfully grasped [the world] according to the teachings of the Catholic Church.*” He cites as evidence his conviction that the *Dante Symphony* demands “*to be taken as the musical artistic expression of a man who – according to his nature – was truly devoted to his art and had deeply felt its spirituality during the most sacred hours of his life.*”¹⁷ With this statement –i. communicates that he shares his fellow critic Kulke's assumption that Liszt needed to propagate his Catholic religiosity out into society through his music.

In order to gain a deeper understanding of what Kulke and –i. meant to achieve through their criticism, it is necessary to consider the profile of the newspaper in which their reviews appeared. *Das Vaterland*, subtitled *Zeitung für die Österreichische Monarchie*, was a daily newspaper published between 1860 and 1911. It had a Catholic-aristocraticorientation and, despite

perhaps assumed: “*But he was not so world-weary as to seek the tranquillity of a monastery and tonsure the beautiful head that had so often rested upon the bosoms of tender women. He desired only the ordinances of an Abbé, who can pray when he pleases, and live as he pleases, and drink what he pleases.*” Sp-r, “*Wiener Spaziergänge*,” *Neue Freie Presse* 3376 (18 January 1874): 5.

15 –i., “*Feuilleton. Symphonie zu Dante's 'Divina commedia'.* (Zur zweiten Aufführung im philharmonischen Concerte vom 23. März 1890.)” *Das Vaterland* 81 (23 March 1890): 1.

16 Ed. K., “*Operntheater und Concerte*,” 1.

17 –i., “*Feuilleton. Symphonie zu Dante's 'Divina commedia'.*” 4.

its small circulation of around 8,000 copies, was regarded as the leading organ of the “*Catholic movement within the Monarchy*.”¹⁸ In this context, it is unsurprising that in their reviews –i. and, to a lesser extent, Kulke were unrestrained in their aim of characterising Liszt as a Catholic artist, and both sought to foreground the religious dimension of the works under review. Indeed, in one commentary –i. openly reveals his belief in this goal when he writes: “*The Catholic spirit surges forth from the Dante Symphony in a refreshing and invigorating way. This, above all, is what we should emphasise in our paper.*”¹⁹ Another *Das Vaterland* critic, von Gemmingen, involved in this religiously accentuated line of discourse within the reception of Liszt’s symphonic programme music and thereby especially aimed at putting a friendly face on the Catholic faith. To this end, he portrays Liszt as an exemplary Christian, as someone whose gracious and benevolent conception of the Christian faith is the “right” one. One can certainly accuse von Gemmingen of missionary zeal here. Thus even in Liszt’s “*hell music*” from the *Dante Symphony*, he claims “*the cross of faith, forgiveness and hope [shimmers and shines]*”.²⁰ Kulke also emphasises how the care so important in the Christian faith is exemplified by Liszt’s “*love of man*”, which can be heard in “*the outflow of his heart, his ineffable goodness, his whole character.*” On this he adds with regard to Liszt, “*many [...] do not feel the God who was standing so close to them, until they have moved away from him.*”²¹

It is significant for the ongoing research that seeks to reappraise the aesthetic reception of Liszt’s symphonic programme music in Vienna plus the debates over its value and legitimacy that little is known about the professional or cultural background of the critics involved. In many cases – such as that of –i. – not even their identity is known. In some others at least basic biographical information can be ascertained with some certainty – origin, birth and death dates, educational background, for example. More detailed information, however, which would contextualise the criticism and thus afford deeper understanding, is rare. Such information only exists for a few critics who have already been extensively considered by musicologists. Chief among these is Eduard Hanslick, who back then, and still today, is fondly referred to as the “Pope of critics”, but attention has also al-

18 Kurt Paupié, *Handbuch der Österreichischen Pressegeschichte 1848–1959*, 2 vols., vol. 1: *Wien* (Vienna, Stuttgart: Braumüller, 1960), 95.

19 –i., “Feuilleton. Symphonie zu Dante’s ‘Divina commedia’,” 4.

20 de Joux, “Concerte,” 9.

21 Ed. K., “Concerte,” 1.

ready been given to Wilhelm Ambros²². As for Eduard Kulke, little is yet known beyond some key biographical facts. In the context here, however, one thing is rather surprising given his aim, as just discussed, to focus on the religious aspects of Liszt's work. Kulke's father was a rabbi, and thus it is likely that he felt closer to Judaism and the Jewish culture than he did to Christian-Catholicism – in stark contradiction to what the passages quoted above would lead one to believe. After his studies, which included mathematics, physics, and German language and literature, he worked as a teacher at an Israeli school in the Hungarian city of Pecs in the late 1850s. He then settled in Vienna, where he was active for many years writing for Jewish publications such as *Die Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* and the *Wiener Jahrbuch für Israeliten*. He also wrote literary stories, humoresques and sketches throughout his life, most of which revolved around themes related to rural Jewish life. Considering the full range of his criticism of programmatic works – not just by Liszt but also his contemporaries who were also the subject of a lively debate – it is clear that Kulke felt he belonged to the progressive camp of *Inhaltsästhetiker* (content aesthetes), which explains why he would have defended or justified Liszt's programmatic repertoire. Given his background, however, it is puzzling why he sought to exploit Liszt's religious convictions, of all things, for this purpose. Unfortunately, the information about his acculturation, which is seemingly in conflict with his stated views on Liszt's Catholicism, has only been cursorily investigated and only exists in lexical, keyword-like form.²³ Future cultural studies researchers will need to address such gaps in the biographical knowledge if they are to make any headway in gaining a deeper understanding of the nature of important historical debates, like the one concerning symphonic programme music.

Concluding this brief excursion into the field of biographical research, it is worth recalling Eva Dietrich's insight in her study of the reception of Liszt's church music compositions that the Liszt oratorios and masses reviewed in the *Wiener Kirchenzeitung* were not primarily treated as "works of art" – the newspaper did not review any of Liszt's symphonic programmatic works as such – but rather "*examined individual details to uncover*

22 Markéta Štědranská, ed., *August Wilhelm Ambros: Musikaufsätze und Rezensionen 1872–1876. Historischkritische Ausgabe* (= Wiener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikwissenschaft 45), 2 vols. (Vienna: Hollitzer, 2017 and 2019).

23 Alexander Rausch, "Kulke, Eduard," *Österreichisches Musiklexikon online*, <https://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml?frames=no>.

*their quasi-dogmatic relevance to the views within the Catholic Church.*²⁴ As has become apparent in the preceding discussion, a similar situation, albeit in a weakened form, pertains to selected moments of the Viennese reception of Liszt's symphonic programme music.

Concluding the reflection on 43 years of reception history, it can be stated that the cited critics' purpose was section is twofold. First, they wished to legitimise selected symphonic works by Liszt, primarily by using his religiosity as a non-aesthetic criterion. And second, the critics' characterisation of Liszt as a Christian artist indicates a strategy to promote the Catholic faith as a "religion of grace" by using a famous composer who was also praised as an exemplary Christian – a missionary agenda that is consistent with statements made by Liszt himself. Thus Liszt is reputed to have said – if one is to trust an unsubstantiated claim made by Friedrich W. Riedel – that "*the arts are not a religion in themselves, but rather the formal embodiment of the true, Catholic, apostolic, Roman religion.*"²⁵

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25 Friedrich W. Riedel, "Die Neudeutsche Schule – ein Phänomen der deutschen Kulturgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Franz Liszt und Richard Wagner. Musikalische und geistesgeschichtliche Grundlagen der neudeutschen Schule. Referate des 3. Europäischen Liszt-Symposiums Eisenstadt 1983* (= Liszt-Studien 3), ed. Serge Gut (Munich, Salzburg: Katznbichler, 1986), 18.

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