Eighth Biennial Conference for Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain

School of Music and Sonic Arts
Queen’s University Belfast, 21-24 July, 2011
Introduction

Welcome

On behalf of the Organizing Committee and Programme Committee, can I take this opportunity to offer you a warm welcome to Queen’s University, Belfast, for the Eighth Biennial Conference for Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain. This is the first time that this conference has taken place in Ireland – the first time, indeed, that it has taken place outside England – and to mark this fact, a particular theme this week is the idea of ‘Britain beyond England’. This can take many forms – the role played by music or musicians of the Celtic nations in nineteenth-century British musical culture, the dissemination and/or reception of British music in the southern hemisphere, or the role played by non-British musicians in nineteenth-century Britain – and many papers this week, including both keynotes, focus on one or more of these themes. But it is one of the strengths of the Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain conferences that they are always open to papers on subjects that aren’t directly related to the conference theme, and I’m pleased that there are many of these as well. Whatever your own research specialisms, I hope you will find plenty to interest you this week. I also hope that, besides attending the paper sessions and the conference concert, you will take the opportunity to peruse the book exhibitions, meet new friends and colleagues, and sample some of the local culture and hospitality of Belfast.

AIDAN THOMSON
Chair, Organizing Committee
Acknowledgements

There are many people and institutions whom my colleagues and I must thank for their part in making this conference a reality. Firstly, we are privileged to welcome two scholars as highly esteemed as Byron Adams and Jeremy Dibble to be our keynote speakers, and two instrumentalists as distinguished (and busy) as Robin Michael and Huw Watkins to perform at our concert. We are also grateful to the Royal Musical Association for providing a grant to help pay for the expenses of our two keynote speakers; to the Society for Musicology in Ireland in agreeing to sponsor the pre-dinner drinks reception on Saturday night; and to both Ashgate Publishing and Boydell & Brewer for exhibiting at this conference, and for providing further sponsorship (for the Friday night drinks reception and the Thursday night concert respectively). We would also like to thank the National Galleries for Scotland for permission to use part of John Knox’s *Landscape with Tourists at Loch Katrine* (c.1820) in the conference website.

As Chair of the Organizing Committee, I am grateful to a number of individuals for their help and advice: Angela Haley and Fionnuala Lavery from Queen’s Eventus, Alison Dunlop, Brian Horgan, Craig Jackson, Raymond McEvoy, Graham Norman, Eric Saylor, Kirk Shilliday, and Pam Smith. I am grateful to my colleagues and students in the School of Music and Sonic Arts at Queen’s for their support throughout the past few year, but, in particular, I must thank three people: Ryan Molloy, for his work in putting together and proofreading the conference booklet; Daniel Morse, for organizing the publishers’ inserts and the conference dinner; and, above all, Iris Mateer, for dealing unflappably with so much of the time-consuming conference administration during the past few months. Finally, can I thank all the speakers and session chairs for your participation; without you, there would be no conference.

—AT
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(The exhibitors will be based in the foyer on the ground floor of the School of Music building)

IN ASSOCIATION WITH
Ashgate Publishing
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Royal Musical Association
School of Music and Sonic Arts, Queen’s University, Belfast
Society for Musicology in Ireland
Keynote speakers

Byron Adams

Byron Adams’ scholarly work was recognized in 1985 when he was awarded the first Ralph Vaughan Williams Research Fellowship. He has published widely on the subject of English music of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, speaking on this topic over the BBC and at three National Meetings of the American Musicological Society. He is co-editor of *Vaughan Williams Essays*, and has contributed four entries to the revised edition of the New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians. In 2000, the American Musicological Society bestowed the Philip Brett Award on Adams for his scholarly work on nationalism in British music. Adams was scholar-in-residence for the 2007 Bard Music Festival, ‘Elgar and His World’, and a book connected to the festival, *Edward Elgar and His World* was published that year by Princeton University Press. He served as President of the North American British Music Studies Association and is an Associate Editor of *The Musical Quarterly*. Adams is a full professor, Step VII, in the Department of Music at the University of California, Riverside.
Jeremy Dibble

Jeremy Dibble is Professor of Music at the University of Durham. His specialist interests in the Victorian, Edwardian and Georgian eras are reflected in the major studies of C. Hubert H. Parry: His Life and Music (1992; rev. 1998) and Charles Villiers Stanford: Man and Musician (2002), both published by OUP, and in his recent volume of Parry’s violin sonatas for the Musica Britannica Trust (2003). He has written on a wide range of topics including historiography, opera and church music in Britain, notably a monograph John Stainer: A Life in Music (2007, Boydell & Brewer). His interests in Irish music are reflected by his monograph Michele Esposito (2010, Field Day Press) and an accompanying forthcoming volume on Esposito’s protégé, Hamilton Harty. He is also working on an edition of Parry’s piano trios for Musica Britannica, a dictionary of hymnology (with Professor Dick Watson), essays on aspects of the music of John Ireland and Herbert Howells, and his future plans are to write a study of the music of Frederick Delius. Professor Dibble has worked regularly with recording companies where he has been involved as advisor and editor. His most recent projects have been Hyperion’s recording of Stanford’s Cello Concerto, Naxos’s recording of Stanford’s unpublished Second Piano Quartet, op. 133, and Hyperion’s recording of Harty’s Piano Quintet and String Quartets. Next year there are plans to record CDs of songs by Parry and Harty, and choral works by Parry for the queen’s Diamond Jubilee.
Conference programme

THURSDAY 21 JULY

14:00 WELCOME
Harty Room

14:30 SESSION 1: ELGAR
Lecture Room

Chair: Byron Adams (University of California, Riverside)

• Martin Adams (Trinity College, Dublin)
  Elgar and the untheorisable skill
• Julian Rushton (University of Leeds)
  Elgar, Caractacus, and Herbert Thompson
• Róisín Blunnie (Trinity College, Dublin)
  Dignity in defeat: Elgar’s Caractacus in context

SESSION 2: MUSIC AND LITERATURE
McMordie Hall

Chair: Ruth Solie (Smith College)

• Sarah Clemmens Waltz (University of the Pacific)
  Ossianism and romanticism
• Michael Allis (University of Leeds)
  Bantock and Browning: reformulated dramatic monologue in Fifine at the Fair
16:00  Tea/Coffee
Foyer

16:30  SESSION 3: MENDELSSOHN
Lecture Room

Chair: Philip Olleson (University of Nottingham)

•  **Sinéad Dempsey-Garratt** (University of Manchester)
  *Antigone* and her audiences: staging Greek tragedy in the 1840s

•  **Emily C. Hoyler** (Northwestern University)
  Devotional music traditions and nationalist sentiments:
  Mendelssohn’s *Elijah* in England

•  **Paul Moulton** (The College of Idaho)
  Mendelssohn’s windows: listening to a view of Scotland

SESSION 4: PHILOSOPHY AND AESTHETICS
McMordie Hall

Chair: Gascia Ouzounian (Queen’s University, Belfast)

•  **Bennett Zon** (University of Durham)
  ‘Spiritual’ selection: Joseph Goddard and the musical theology of evolution

•  **Alan Davison** (University of New England, NSW)
  Woven songs and musical mirrors: symbolism in Dante Gabriel Rossetti’s paintings with string instruments

•  **Sarah Collins** (University of Queensland)
  Musical echoes of a literary ethos: metaphysical aesthetics and esotericism in pre-war English musical culture

18:00  Break
CONCERT

19:30-21:30
Harty Room

ROBIN MICHAEL (cello)
HUW WATKINS (piano)

Ireland
Cello Sonata in G minor (1923)

Berlioz, (transcribed Harty)
‘The Repose of the Holy Family’
(from L’Enfance du Christ)

Parry
Cello Sonata in A (1880)

~ Interval ~

Dvořák
Rondo in G minor, op. 94

Mendelssohn
Cello Sonata no. 2 in D, op. 58

IN ASSOCIATION WITH BOYDELL & BREWER
FRIDAY 22 JULY

09:30  SESSION 5: TRADITIONAL MUSIC
 Lecture Room

Chair: Martin Dowling (Queen’s University, Belfast)

• Jillian Twigger (Sydney Conservatorium)
  ‘The wild, passionate pulse of the people’: the role of Marie Narelle in re-branding Irishness

• Erin Walker (University of Kentucky)
  Under the kilt: the role of the pipe band in 19th-century Scottish identity construction

• Dorothy de Val (York University)
  Charlotte Milligan Fox and the collecting of Irish song

SESSION 6: STANFORD
 McMordie Hall

Chair: Paul Rodmell (University of Birmingham)

• Christopher Redwood (University of Bristol)
  Charles Villiers Stanford, conductor

• Adèle Commins (Dundalk Institute of Technology)
  Indulging in reflection and introspection for the creation of art: impressions of Schubert in Stanford’s late works

• Jonathan White (Lady Margaret Hall, University of Oxford)
  A melancholic (neo-)classicist? Stanford and the Seventh Symphony

11:00  Tea/Coffee
 Foyer
SESSION 7: CRITICISM AND RECEPTION
Lecture Room

Chair: Aidan J. Thomson (Queen’s University, Belfast)

- **Erin Johnson-Hill** (Yale University)
  Miscellany and collegiality in the British periodical press: The *Harmonicon* (1823-1833)

- **Majella Boland** (University College, Dublin)
  From concerto to nocturne: Field’s reception in nineteenth-century Britain

- **Chloe Valenti** (Murray Edwards College, University of Cambridge)
  Adulation and appropriation: Verdi’s political image in 1860s England

SESSION 8: NATIONAL IDENTITIES
McMordie Hall

Chair: Derek B. Scott (University of Leeds)

- **Christina Bashford** (University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign)
  Christmas carols and the construction of Cornish identity

- **Maria McHale** (DIT Conservatory of Music)
  Making opera Irish: Robert O’Dwyer’s *Eithne*

13:00 Break
14:15  PLENARY SESSION
Harty Room

Chair: Jan Smaczny (Queen’s University, Belfast)

Professor Jeremy Dibble (University of Durham)
‘British Teutons’: The Influence of Joachim, Dannreuther and Richter in late nineteenth-century Britain

Generously supported by the Royal Musical Association

15:30  SESSION 9: BRITISH MUSIC ABROAD
Lecture Room

Chair: Hilary Bracefield (University of Ulster)

• Rosemary Richards (University of Melbourne)
  The life of Georgiana McCrae as revealed through her Chaplin Music Book
• Alan Maddox (Sydney Conservatorium)
  Music and the machinery of moral improvement: drawing room ballads in the ‘moral economy’ of a colonial prison

SESSION 10: CHURCH MUSIC
McMordie Hall

Chair: Bennett Zon (University of Durham)

• Shelagh Noden (University of Aberdeen)
  Breaking the silence: the reintroduction of music into the Scottish Catholic church in the early nineteenth century
• **Kerry Houston** (DIT Conservatory of Music)
  Against the tide: an assessment of trends in cathedral music in nineteenth-century Dublin

16:30  Tea/Coffee
Foyer

17:00  **SESSION 11: THE EARLY MUSIC REVIVAL**
Lecture Room

Chair: Kerry Houston (DIT Conservatory of Music)

• **Samantha Bassler** (Open University)
  Antiquarianism and the manuscript copies of Byrd’s Sacred Music in the London Madrigal Society collection (British Library Mad. Soc. MSS)

• **Sue Cole** (University of Melbourne)
  ‘The herald of a musical renaissance’? John F. Runciman, R.R. Terry and the revival of early English polyphony

**SESSION 12: EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY ISSUES**
Harty Room

Chair: Aidan J. Thomson (Queen’s University, Belfast)

• **Laura Seddon** (City University)
  Free Play to their Imaginations: Women’s Responses to the Phantasy

• **Leanne Langley** (Independent scholar)
  Invitation to the Dance: Beecham and the Ballets Russes in London, 1911-14

18:00  **RECEPTION**
McMordie Hall

*(SPONSORED BY ASHGATE PUBLISHING)*
09:30  SESSION 13: GERMAN MUSICIANS IN BRITAIN
Lecture Room

Chair: Jeremy Dibble (University of Durham)

• Margaret Doris (National University of Ireland, Maynooth)
  From Darmstadt to Edinburgh: J.C. Schetky’s contribution to the development of the cello in Britain

• Therese Ellsworth (Independent scholar, Washington D.C.)
  Continental musicians in Britain: Louise Dulcken and the émigré experience

• Geoff Thomason (Royal Northern College of Music)
  Brodsky, Beethoven and the Brotherhood: cultural dilemmas in pre-First World War Manchester

SESSION 14: SULLIVAN
McMordie Hall

Chair: Julian Rushton (University of Leeds)

• James Brooks Kuykendall (Erskine College)
  Gilbert’s Italianate recitatives—Sullivan’s response

• Benedict Taylor (Humboldt Universität)
  Sullivan as instrumental composer: the ‘Irish’ Symphony and its German models

• Christopher Scheer (Utah State University)
  Irishness and authenticity in the reception of Sir Arthur Sullivan’s Symphony in E

11:00  Tea/Coffee
Foyer
SESSION 15: PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS IN SCOTTISH MUSICAL CULTURE
Lecture Room

Chair: Karen McAulay
(Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama)

- Jennifer Oates (Queens College, CUNY)
  ‘Thank God, it is British!: The Scots’ contribution to nineteenth-century British music
- Mark Summers (University of Sheffield)
  Professor Niecks’ Historical Concerts, 1893-1914
- Moira Ann Harris (University of Glasgow)
  A School of Music for Scotland: Allan Macbeth and the formation of the Glasgow Athenaeum (Limited) School of Music

SESSION 16: STEREOTYPES
McMordie Hall

Chair: Charles Edward McGuire (Oberlin College)

- Christine Kyprianides (Indiana University)
  The Emasculated Violoncellist: Victorian satire and Robert Lindley
- Mark Pinner (University of Sydney)
  Luscombe Searelle: racial stereotypes as comedic mechanism
- Derek B. Scott (University of Leeds)
  Bawdy Songbooks of the 1830s

13:00 Break
14:00  PLENARY SESSION  
Harty Room  

Chair: Aidan J. Thomson  
(Queen’s University, Belfast)  

PROFESSOR BYRON ADAMS  
(University of California, Riverside)  

A loveable mind? Stanford as teacher  

GENEROUSLY SUPPORTED BY THE ROYAL MUSICAL ASSOCIATION  

15:00  SESSION 17: KEYBOARD AND STRING PERFORMANCE ISSUES  
Lecture Room  

Chair: Jan Smaczny (Queen’s University, Belfast)  

• Iain Quinn (University of Durham)  
The Germanic influence on the English organ sonata in the nineteenth century  

• Sana’a Alsaif (University of Southampton)  
Saved by the page turn: an abandoned Lesson by William Sterndale Bennett  

• David Hurwitz (ClassicsToday.com)  
W.C. Honeyman: vibrato detective  

SESSION 18: MUSIC FESTIVALS  
McMordie Hall  

Chair: Christina Bashford  
(University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign)  

• Rachel Milestone-McAdorey (University of Leeds)  
‘The Whim of the Tenor’? Sims Reeves, the Birmingham Festival, and the case of the ‘extravagantly high organ’
• Charles Edward McGuire (Oberlin College)
  An unusual *Messiah*: Angelica Catalani, the York Musical Festival, and nineteenth-century Handelian traditions
• Rachel Cowgill (Liverpool Hope University)
  Borderland views of the British musical renaissance: the invention and re-invention of the *Workington Eisteddfod*

16:30  Tea/coffee
       Foyer

17:00  SESSION 19: THOMAS MOORE PLENARY SESSION
       Harty Room

  Chair: Sarah McCleave (Queen’s University, Belfast)

• Una Hunt (University College, Dublin)
  Sources of Moore’s *Irish Melodies*: a re-evaluation
• Harry White (University College, Dublin)
  The musical afterlives of Thomas Moore

18:45  RECEPTION
       Canada Room

  (Sponsored by the Society for Musicology in Ireland)

19:30  CONFERENCE DINNER
       Great Hall
**SUNDAY 24 JULY**

**EXCURSION TO THE NORTH COAST**

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<th>Time</th>
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<tr>
<td>10:30</td>
<td>Depart, Queen’s University Belfast</td>
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<td>11:00-11:20</td>
<td>Carrickfergus Castle (photostop)</td>
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<td>13:00-14:00</td>
<td>Bushmills Distillery (lunch)</td>
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<td>14:15-15:15</td>
<td>Giant’s Causeway</td>
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<td>15:30-16:30</td>
<td>Carrick-a-Rede Rope Bridge</td>
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<td>17:00-17:15</td>
<td>Dunluce Castle (photostop)</td>
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<td>17:30-18:30</td>
<td>Portstewart (tea)</td>
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<td>18:45-20:30</td>
<td>Return to Queen’s University Belfast</td>
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**CONFERENCE ENDS**
SESSION 1: ELGAR

Chair: Byron Adams (University of California, Riverside)

MARTIN ADAMS (Trinity College, Dublin)

Elgar and the untheorisable skill

Elgar’s skill in orchestration was well recognised in his lifetime. Fritz Steinbach, the conductor of the famous Meiningen Orchestra, praised him as ‘a real pioneer with a new technique in orchestration, combining entirely original effects with almost unique virtuosity’. Later discussions of his orchestration have tended to concentrate on the same qualities that Steinbach praised, and on his ability to write idiomatically. However, some aspects of his orchestration have received little attention, partly because they tend to be subsumed into admiring general comments on his abilities as a colourist, and partly because of the difficulties of discussing orchestration with a level of theoretical discipline comparable to that expected in parameters such as harmony, form, rhythm, etc.

Elgar played a distinctive role in a shift of compositional emphasis that, during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, saw orchestral colour become an increasingly important component of compositional thought. However, writings on orchestration have tended always to concentrate on the properties of instruments and on instrumental combination. Rarely do they discuss orchestration as part of musical process, beyond
demonstrating the extent to which a composer might use colour as a component within an idea.

This paper will show Elgar’s orchestration functioning as a direct extension of extremely subtle and up-to-date harmonic practice. It will examine his orchestral miniature *Dream Children* (1902), and via comparisons with the published piano score, will show how the orchestral version reveals aspects of the composer’s thought that the piano version does not. Brief comparison will also be made with a short piece by Tchaikovsky. Although Elgar is likely to have known the Tchaikovsky, the common practice in the two works offers a starting point for a more intellectually disciplined, yet still aurally driven, theoretical discourse on orchestration than has been common thus far.

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**JULIAN RUSHTON (University of Leeds)**

**Elgar, *Caractacus*, and Herbert Thompson**

One of the passages in Elgar’s major works that seems to justify the inextricable association of his name with British Imperialism is the closing chorus of his cantata *Caractacus*, premiered at the Leeds Festival in 1898. Up until that point – where the *Pax Romana* is explicitly replaced by the promise of an enduring *Pax Britannica* – the cantata can be read as anti-imperialist. The hero, an historical Celtic leader, was driven from his own capital but persistently rallied forces against the Roman legions until he was betrayed into captivity after his last defeat. Although the cantata is not accurate in historical detail, its essential message, culminating in Caractacus’s noble address to the Emperor Claudius, is that defending one’s homeland and culture is honourable and right, and implicitly that the conquerors were in the wrong.

Perhaps the first to question the message of the final chorus was the *Yorkshire Post* music critic Herbert Thompson. Thompson was closely associated with the final stages of the work’s genesis; as the author of the Festival programme notes, he consulted with Elgar on a number of occasions, and the labels he assigned to leitmotifs are essentially Elgar’s own. Thompson’s links
with Elgar during 1898 can be traced through his letters, diaries, and press reports of rehearsals, as well as his review of the performance. Towards the end of his analysis, Thompson neglected to reproduce some of Elgar’s interpretative suggestions. That this was not merely oversight is suggested by his review, which takes a somewhat equivocal attitude towards the work, and to its ending in particular.

RÓISÍN BLUNNIE (Trinity College, Dublin)

Dignity in Defeat: Elgar’s Caractacus in Context

The success of Elgar’s ‘Enigma’ Variations (1899) and The Dream of Gerontius (1900) effectively eclipsed his substantial compositions of the preceding decade. As reflectors of contemporary cultural forces, large-scale dramatic works such as The Black Knight (1893), The Light of Life and Scenes from the Saga of King Olaf (1896), and Caractacus (1898) have much to reveal about the ideological inclinations of the composer, his librettists, and their target audience, at a time when the relatively little-known Elgar sought desperately to satisfy his late-Victorian public in the context of high imperial excitement.

The cantata Caractacus, with a libretto by Elgar’s Worcestershire neighbour, retired imperial civil servant H. A. Acworth, received its premiere at the Leeds Musical Festival in 1898. While its jingoistic celebration of British military and moral strength sits uncomfortably in the modern age, the work embodies several popular fascinations of the world in which it was conceived, most notably a reverence for quasi-messianic heroes defeated in their patriotic duty, and a societal identification with the majesty of ancient Rome.

This paper examines Caractacus as an artwork of and for its time, raising comparisons with telling examples from theatre and poetry, as well as recent colonial adventures, in an effort to achieve a clearer understanding of this powerful and yet ambiguous treatment of the imperial theme. Such comparisons demonstrate that, in drawing an unlikely and problematic
conclusion from the story of a defeated British hero, Elgar and Acworth were by no means alone.

SESSION 2: MUSIC AND LITERATURE

Chair: Ruth Solie (Smith College)

SARAH CLEMMENS WALTZ (University of the Pacific)

Ossianism and Romanticism

The reception of Ossian took very different paths in England and Germany. In German-speaking lands, Ossian was the main conduit through which the idea of the Celtic passed. Along with Percy’s Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, Ossianism inspired folksong collection, belief in oral tradition, reverence for the products of natural genius, and a fantastic bent in drama and music – in short, much of what was important to German romanticism. Macpherson’s descriptions of metric shifts, striking affects, and wild or melancholy melodies inspired some of the earliest German through-composed ballads; in the absence of Scottish/Celtic musical examples, Germans imagined the music of untutored northern genius for themselves.

This Ossianic influence was fed back to Britain in the highly altered form of German romanticism, and in music did not take particular hold until the Celtic Revival of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Nevertheless Ossian did inspire some early nineteenth-century English settings independent of German influence; these were almost entirely glees (many by John Wall Calcott, others by Henry Rowley Bishop, John Clarke-Whitfield, and the like). Ossianic texts fit the through-composed and madrigalistic nature of the glee well, and – as in Germany – the male-only partsong often seemed an appropriate fit to the battle narratives of Ossian. At the same time such settings, employing an older musical form, did little to further musical romanticism in England the way that Ossian settings had in Germany.
This paper will compare German and English Ossianic settings in the light of each nation’s differing attitudes toward Ossian and the differing symbolic value that Scotland held for both. Insofar as the Celtic interest is related to musical romanticism (as I discuss), early nineteenth-century England’s comparative overfamiliarity with both the Ossianic debate and the Scottish folksong may have been a factor inhibiting the development of English musical romanticism.

MICHAEL ALLIS (University of Leeds)

Bantock and Browning: reformulated dramatic monologue in *Fifine at the Fair*

Bantock’s ‘orchestral drama’ *Fifine at the Fair*, based on a dramatic monologue by Robert Browning, has had a somewhat mixed reception since its premiere at the Birmingham Festival in 1912. At the heart of the debate over the work’s status is the relationship between the poetic text and its musical representation, with suggestions of only a general correlation between musical text and paratext. Even Sidney Grew’s relatively extended programme note for the Birmingham performance concluded that ‘The listener must visualise things to a certain extent, but by no means to the degree demanded in programme music’. This paper explores a closer reading of Bantock’s music that an awareness of Browning’s poem might generate, suggesting how the composer refigures the monologist’s relationship with his characters and auditors, approaches some of the complexities of poetic voicing, uses musical structure to highlight the speaker’s vacillations, and incorporates specific musical imagery from the poem. In appreciating Bantock’s *Fifine* as a closer mapping of music and poem, not only does this help to explain elements of the work that critics have found problematic, but *Fifine* can be viewed as a more representative example of Bantock’s status as a knowledgeable and strong reader of Browning’s poetry in general.
Antigone and her audiences: Staging Greek tragedy in the 1840s

Until the nineteenth century, Greek tragedy in anything resembling its original form was seldom performed in the modern world. A landmark in the era’s enthusiasm for the Greek drama was the production of Sophocles’s Antigone with incidental music by Felix Mendelssohn that took place in the new palace at Sanssouci in Potsdam on 28 October 1841. In the wake of this private premiere, the drama went on to enjoy tremendous success: in just a few years, it was performed publicly in several German cities including Berlin and Leipzig and, in translation, further afield in Paris, London, Dublin, Edinburgh and even New York. While classical scholars and musicologists have long stressed the importance of the Potsdam production, little attempt has been made to explore the subsequent performances or to examine their meaning and significance for contemporary audiences. Focussing on the early stagings of Antigone in its English translation in theatres in London, Edinburgh and Dublin, this paper has several aims. First it considers the productions in terms of presentation. Drawing on a wide range of contemporary reports from critics, audience members and even actors and producers it discusses issues of costume, staging, and the treatment of that distinguishing feature of Greek tragedy, the chorus. Crucial here is the extent to which these performances aimed to recreate what was known of ancient Greek practices. The second question to be addressed concerns the reception of these productions, more specifically the critical reaction to attempts to revive Greek drama on the modern stage. Given the historical distance that separated the nineteenth century from ancient Greece, the paper explores whether in the context of public and commercial theatre contemporaries thought it possible or even advisable to revive Greek drama in a historically objective
form; key here are issues of contemporaneity, comprehensibility and accessibility. Finally this paper considers the nature of Mendelssohn’s music and how it served to forge a link between ancient Greece and the modern world.

EMILY C. HOYLER (Northwestern University)

Devotional Music Traditions and Nationalist Sentiments: Mendelssohn’s Elijah in England

The 1846 premiere of Mendelssohn’s sacred oratorio, Elijah, at the Birmingham Festival firmly cemented Mendelssohn’s role as the adopted national composer of England. English audiences held special reverence for Elijah over St. Paul (1836), Mendelssohn’s only other completed oratorio. Jeffrey S. Sposato has explored how the subject matter, reflective tone, and presence of chorales in St. Paul appealed to German audiences but were partially misunderstood by English audiences. This paper will examine dramatic and musical constructions in Elijah that explicate the particular relevance of the oratorio for English audiences. This relevance is founded on English conventions of the musical treatment of Biblical subjects and the manifestations of nationalist sentiment that occur when these conventions are invoked. The Old Testament subject matter and dramatic presentation of Elijah resonated strongly with English audiences. While German audiences had long admired Biblical Passion music, English audiences found the musical treatment of the Passions lacking in propriety, as they did the musical representation of Jesus’s voice. Old Testament stories were well-suited to accommodate the English preference for oratorios with dramatic music and action, as opposed to oratorios with a devotional, reflective tone. The roots of this preference are related to the powerful legacy of Handel’s oratorios in England, but are also more broadly reflective of nationalist sentiment. Mendelssohn’s creation of Elijah as an individualistic hero appealed to English national confidence. Contemporary reports and musical examples suggest the successful balance Mendelssohn achieved between musical expressivity and religious piety in Elijah appealed to a sense of
English identity, both culturally and religiously. The dramatic tone, non-narrative structure, and bold lyricism of *Elijah* form the basis of its appeal to mid-nineteenth-century English audiences. The connection of direct musical evidence to conventions of devotional music and oratorio traditions helps illuminate the resonances of nationalist sentiment that provoked England’s exceptional affection for *Elijah.*

**Paul Moulton (The College of Idaho)**

*Mendelssohn’s Windows: Listening to a View of Scotland*

Mendelssohn’s tour of Scotland in 1829 was inspired by the literature of Walter Scott, which became a lens through which Mendelssohn perceived Scotland. Mendelssohn’s trip coincided with an outpouring of published tourist reports, and his *Hebrides* Overture and ‘Scottish’ Symphony function much like tourist books. This argument is bolstered by published reviews of their London premieres, and an understanding of the tourist-book function of the works helps explain issues that have troubled critics and scholars, particularly regarding the Symphony.

Many tour books of the time contained landscape sketches or drawings, with Mendelssohn creating his own sketches. Landscape paintings inherently obscure more than they reveal (as Edward Casey has explained); their images are framed, in the full sense of the word. Scott’s and Macpherson’s writings function similarly, creating narrative frames of Scotland.

The form and content of Mendelssohn’s *Hebrides* Overture and ‘Scottish’ Symphony also bear the imprint of a framed perspective. Both works are written in framed forms that reflect his literary inspiration and also his foreignness, while the content of each echoes Macpherson’s and Scott’s idealized Scotland. The meaning of the ‘Scottish’ Symphony has been much debated, with Thomas Schmidt-Beste doubting that the piece is even about Scotland, claiming Mendelssohn’s audiences seemed unaware of its Scottish connection. This paper shows contrary evidence as seen in reviews of the piece’s London premiere. Similarly, many have wrestled with the seemingly
problematic Allegro maestoso finale. But similar to the narrative technique found in the writings of Scott and Macpherson, this movement acts as a narrator commenting on preceding events. The reviews of the London premieres reveal a final layer of windows, with Mendelssohn’s frames becoming viewing glasses for foreign audiences. Like a reader, the audiences could venture on an imaginative trip to Scotland.

SESSION 4: PHILOSOPHY AND AESTHETICS

Chair: Gascia Ouzounian (Queen’s University, Belfast)

Bennett Zon (University of Durham)

‘Spiritual’ selection: Joseph Goddard and the music theology of evolution

The history of religion and science has often been caricatured as strewn with mortal conflict, but the battle was never as consistently divisive as it seems. Like twins separated at birth, religion and science occasionally rediscovered one another in the booming culture of post-Darwinian Britain to find abundant similarities and curiously engrossing differences. This paper examines their relationship, exploring the influence of evolution within the science and religion of Victorian Britain, and then tracing its impact on England’s leading music philosopher, Joseph Goddard (1833-1911).

Because Goddard published regularly throughout most of the Victorian period his work provides a helpful glimpse into the development of Britain’s musicological mind. That mind was deeply immersed in contemporary scientific, religious and philosophical debates, not least as they relate to changes in evolutionary theory. Indeed, as evolutionary theory evolved, so too did musicology. Goddard’s philosophy of music reflects those changes very clearly, from his early days as a flag-waving Spencerian to his later, more circumspect time as a devout Darwinian. Like many other intellectuals of the time, however, Goddard fell sway to the
Darwinian argument, abandoning neither his good Spencerian principles nor his fundamental belief in the spiritual nature of the universe. To the extent that Darwin failed to resolve his own religious conflict, Goddard was similarly compromised. Darwin calls it his ‘muddle’, and it is that same muddle one finds in Goddard’s philosophy of music. This paper charts the history of Darwin’s muddle as emblematic of Victorian debates about religion and science, looking closely at the relationship of natural theology and the emerging science of evolution. It examines the resolution of that relationship into a theology consonant with evolution yet true to its religious roots, and then situates that theology broadly within Goddard’s philosophy of music.

**ALAN DAVISON (University of New England, NSW)**

**Woven Songs and Musical Mirrors: Symbolism in Dante Gabriel Rossetti’s Paintings with Stringed Instruments**

The reasons for the frequently bizarre and unplayable musical instruments in Dante Gabriel Rossetti’s visual art are now less readily attributed to his oft-cited apparent lack of interest in music. Instead, recent scholarship has tended to focus upon his use of musical instruments from the perspective of music’s symbolic or metaphorical potential. Nonetheless, a convincing explanation for his often unrealistically complex or odd instruments within any given painting remains elusive, particularly so with his depiction of string instruments. Examples of Rossetti’s art discussed here include several versions of *Morning Music* and *A Sea Spell*, all of which use odd or exotic zither- or lute-like instruments. This paper proposes that Rossetti’s music symbolism is underscored by a ‘symbolic physiognomy’ – a belief that inner life is reflected in outer forms – and that the resulting instruments are wilfully distorted to become symbols for other physical objects with deeply symbolic meaning. Such objects might be a spider’s web, a mirror or a weaving loom, and consequently, we find stroking and weaving gestures in his paintings that seem more appropriate to the symbolized object than the ‘actual’ musical one. In each case, music’s ability to
heighten the reference to inner or unspoken emotions or actions is the key, but the instruments are more than merely metaphors; they function as embodiments of the depicted event or drama by relating the musical act of playing or sounding to an underlying emotion or action linked to the non-musical object. While Rossetti’s manipulation of musical objects is individualized within his own idiosyncratic scheme, it reflects a broader British nineteenth-century interest in music’s moralizing symbolism and expressive power, and how it can become a metaphor for other actions or objects.

**SARAH COLLINS (University of Queensland)**

**Musical Echoes of a Literary Ethos: Metaphysical Aesthetics and Esotericism in Pre-War English Music Culture**

The spectre of music as a transcendent artistic ideal figures prominently in the literary criticism of Victorian Aestheticism, though the extent to which the movement registered among English composers has received only circumspect scholarly treatment. Despite the elevated positioning of the artist and his work within the aesthetic outlook, composers at the turn of the twentieth century often sought distance from the preoccupations of the aesthete, an attitude bolstered by the movement’s disastrous decline in the literary sphere after the trials of Oscar Wilde in 1895. Despite their outward rejection of the self-consciousness and decadence with which Aestheticism had become associated, the prevalence among some composers of a certain kind of metaphysical conception of the creative act of the artist and corollary ideas may suggest an important remnant of aesthetic influence.

This paper aims to trace the aesthetic genealogy of such ideas in the writings of the English composer Cyril Scott (1879-1970) and thereby challenge his conventional ‘orientalist’ characterization. The close relationship between Scott and the German Symbolist poet Stefan George (1868-1933) in the late 1890s will be central to this interpretation. In addition to the direct
influence implied through this relationship between a musical and literary figure, the interaction between Scott and George also provides a snapshot of the transmission of a type of aesthetic comportment which Scott later transformed within his newly-acquired Theosophical and occult outlook. This interpretation will draw from new trends in literary studies and intellectual history, and will allow for an examination of the functional characteristics of the aesthetic outlook and its re-description as a set of practices of self-cultivation. Through this approach Scott’s ideas about musical agency, beauty and inspiration can be seen as direct expressions of his spiritual mandate – an intermingling of aesthetic and metaphysical notions which characterized Aestheticism and George’s Symbolism.

SESSION 5: TRADITIONAL MUSIC

Chair: Martin Dowling (Queen’s University, Belfast)

Jillian Tigger (Sydney Conservatorium)

‘The wild, passionate pulse of the people’: The role of Marie Narelle in re-branding Irishness

This paper will examine the artistic and cultural role played by the Irish-Australian soprano, Marie Narelle (1870-1941), in re-branding the ‘wild Irish’ through her career as an Irish balladist. In Australia, Narelle had taken her role as an ambassador for Ireland and Irish culture seriously. When she first visited Ireland in 1902, however, she was forced to acknowledge the differences between ‘authentic’ Irish culture and the version of Irish culture manufactured in the likes of Thomas Moore’s drawing-room ballads.

Whilst in Ireland and England, Narelle attempted to enhance her authenticity as an Irish artist by learning to speak the Irish language and collaborating with Dr Douglas Hyde, who was transcribing traditional Irish vocal music. However, the closer Narelle got to traditional Irish music, the less her background
and bel canto training equipped her to absorb it. Whilst admitting the difficulty of translating the florid vocal music into measured music notation, Narelle used the ineffable nature of the music to raise its artistic status rather than attribute its difficulty to the practitioners being primitive.

Using contemporary press cuttings and comments from Narelle’s unpublished autobiography, this paper will examine how powerful music and singers can be in raising the status of a socially marginalised community.

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**ERIN WALKER (University of Kentucky)**

**Under the kilt: the role of the pipe band in 19th-century Scottish identity construction**

For Scots and non-Scots alike, the sounds of the bagpipes and the pipe band serve as a cultural metaphor for Scottish ethnic identity, immediately conjuring up the material culture and romantic imagery of the clannish, kilted Highland Scot. This nearly global association appears to have been constructed on a series of transformations of cultural practices within Scotland itself, as well as throughout greater Britain and the lands of the Scottish diaspora, which began in the nineteenth century. During this period, the pipe band’s appeal was rendered greater by the ideas of ‘tartanization’ and ‘Celticism’ that flourished in the nineteenth century. As noted by Hugh Trevor-Roper and others, these concepts were fuelled by the romanticization of the Highlander in British literature, Queen Victoria’s affinity for summer holidays at Balmoral Castle, James Macpherson’s ‘translation’ of the ancient poetry of Ossian, and the formation of Scottish and Celtic heritage societies that embraced Highland dress, music, and sport.

The primary goal of this paper will be to study the role of the pipe band in the construction and transformation of Scottish and Celtic identity through an examination of the meanings, values, and musical practices that are built into ideas of ‘Scottishness’, or, more generally, ‘Celticness’, from the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. It will also raise far-reaching questions concerning the nature of both group and individual identity, as
well as the ways in which identity functions and is recognized within and outside a particular cultural group.

**Dorothy de Val (York University)**

**Charlotte Milligan Fox and the Collecting of Irish Song**

Founded in 1904, The Irish Folk Song Society set out ‘to collect and publish the Airs and Ballads of Ireland’, and began publishing their findings in a dedicated Journal. The founding of the Society coincided with a decline in the activity of its English counterpart, The Folk Song Society, which had been founded in 1898 with similar ideals. This paper will examine the collecting of one of the Irish Society’s co-founders, its Honorary Secretary and co-editor of its *Journal*, Charlotte Milligan Fox (1864-1916), who was born in Omagh and who collected extensively in Ireland. Known principally for her *Annals of the Irish Harpers* (1911), based on Bunting, Milligan Fox was also a keen collector of songs and dances of her own time. Particular reference will be made to her collecting in Co. Waterford, the results of which were published in the *Journal of the Irish Folk Song Society* (JIFSS) in 1912. A comparison will be made with an earlier collection of Co. Waterford songs published in 1907 in the *Journal of the Folk Song Society* by Lucy Broadwood (1858-1929) who, like Milligan Fox, was an active participant in her own Society. Both collections shed light on changing attitudes towards collecting in the age of the phonograph, the relationship with informants, and the presentation of songs at a time when awareness of the Irish language presented new challenges to those whose primary language was English. Earlier champions of Irish song, such as Alfred Graves, had approached their collection with an entirely different philosophy, and other contemporaries, such as Herbert Hughes, became known for their romanticized versions with altered texts and piano accompaniment. With the aid of specially recorded instrumental and vocal illustrations, these contrasting modes of selection and presentation will be examined in the context of the founding of the Gaelic League in 1893 and the turbulent politics of the period.
SESSION 6: STANFORD

Chair: Paul Rodmell (University of Birmingham)

CHRISTOPHER REDWOOD (University of Bristol)

Charles Villiers Stanford, conductor

Stanford’s dual careers as the leading British composer of his day and the country’s most outstanding teacher of composition are well documented, but less has been written about his conducting. That was not merely part of his employment at Cambridge and the Royal College of Music, but a third line that he pursued avidly. The conductor of London’s Bach Choir for some fifteen years, he also directed four Leeds Triennial Festivals, and in 1895 was honoured by being invited to conduct a concert of his own music in Berlin. At home another peak in this career came when he was engaged to direct several Hallé concerts after the death of the orchestra’s eponymous conductor, among which were five Manchester concerts in the 1899-1900 season, when he stood in for Hans Richter. He twice performed the St Matthew Passion with the Hallé, and also Glazunov’s Fifth Symphony, but more importantly performed a number of British works: his own Concert Variations on an English Theme for Piano and Orchestra, Parry’s Symphonic Variations and four of Elgar’s Sea Pictures, sung by Clara Butt and conducted by the composer. He also presented works by two of his best pupils: William Hurlstone’s Variations on an Hungarian Theme and Coleridge-Taylor’s Ballade in A minor (with the composer conducting).

While sketches exist of Stanford in action, we regrettably know little more about his technique. Dyson remembered that ‘Stanford was never a virtuoso conductor. Virtuosity of every kind was alien to his temperament’. To this, unsurprisingly, an orchestral player added, ‘I always felt he was happiest when interpreting Brahms. He had such a fine sense of the Brahms rhythms and a perfect understanding of the tempi.’ Beyond telling Vaughan Williams, ‘A conductor never need be nervous; he can’t make any
wrong notes’, we have a sole recollection that he took Mozart’s Symphony no. 39 faster than Richter.

This paper will therefore focus on the principal conducting engagements undertaken by Stanford, together with their reception by the critics. Its aim is to prove that besides being a hard-working composer and a hard-working teacher of composition, Stanford was equally industrious as a director of choirs and orchestras and, indeed, sought to carve a third career in that field.

ADÈLE COMMINS (Dundalk Institute of Technology)

Indulging in Reflection and Introspection for the Creation of Art: Impressions of Schubert in Stanford’s Late Works

Schubert’s music was not known in England until the late 1830s, and began to appear frequently in concerts there alongside works by the likes of Mozart, Beethoven, Schumann and Brahms only after the publication of George Grove’s article on the composer in the Dictionary of Music and Musicians in 1882. A key figure in writing this article, who had spent time working in the library of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in 1881 dealing with Grove’s queries about Schubert’s manuscripts, was Charles Villiers Stanford. Schubert’s music would play an important role in shaping Stanford’s musical experiences as composer, teacher, performer and conductor. His intimate knowledge of Schubert’s music is clearly evident in his account of the composer in A History of Music. Additionally, in his treatise on musical composition, he reveals that Schubert’s musical style made an important impression on him, as he noted that Schubert was ‘bubbling with invention’; he also used examples of Schubert’s compositions as exemplary studies in various compositional techniques, noting that ‘even when Schubert’s genius sacrifices design for wealth of idea, it had to be excused as his “heavenly lengths.”’ In this Stanford was atypical of his time, commending rather than complaining of Schubert’s handling of large-scale forms.
This paper aims to draw parallels between the reception histories of Schubert and Stanford, and also their compositional approach to late style. At the forefront of this paper will be an examination of Stanford’s compositions which recall Schubert’s compositional tendencies with explicit references to and direct quotations from Schubert’s music; there are numerous allusions to early works in Stanford’s output, most notably ‘Gretchen am Spinnrade’. An example that clearly highlights Schubert’s influence is the forty-eight piano preludes, op. 163 and op. 179. Recent scholarship has sought to examine those images of Schubert that have shaped perceptions of the composer and his music while also focusing attention on many of his unknown works. Similarly, much of Stanford’s piano music remains unknown, and these piano miniatures, characteristic of his late style and including numerous references to Schubert, are worthy of performance and study due to their importance in understanding Stanford’s approach to composition in the later years of his life.

JONATHAN WHITE
(Lady Margaret Hall, University of Oxford)

A Melancholic (Neo-)Classicist? Stanford and the Seventh Symphony

At the dawn of the twentieth century Stanford’s standing as a composer was in steady decline. Although still a doyen of the English musical establishment, his musical style was, by this point, very much out of fashion when compared with more contemporary developments. Increasingly isolated, Stanford’s later works are charged with a deep sense of emotional longing for the past, tinged with nostalgia. Add to this his devastation over political developments in Ireland, a nation that he held dear despite his notable absence from it throughout his entire adult life, and we begin to see emerging from his late works the image of a man tormented and saddened by the world around him.

Composed as a commission for the centenary celebrations of the Philharmonic Society, Stanford’s Seventh Symphony was an
experimental work: not in the sense of some of his continental contemporaries, notably Richard Strauss (whose music Stanford detested), but in seeing if it was still possible to write a symphony of (neo-)classical proportions and style in the aftermath of works such as Elgar’s enormously popular First Symphony (1908) and within the overall musical context of the time. The symphony also acts as a poignant reminder of the composer’s own musical and personal state of mind in the early twentieth century, and this paper will seek to explore the significance of the couched yet still emotionally charged musical language, and consider to what extent this late work might be seen as a dark, symphonic idyll. Furthermore, whilst there was no apparent place for the symphony in Stanford’s output beyond 1911, this paper will also assess the significance of the ‘symphonic’ works that followed it, notably the remaining Irish Rhapsodies, and how these might inform the nostalgic reading of his Seventh Symphony.

SESSION 7: CRITICISM AND RECEPTION

Chair: Aidan J. Thomson (Queen’s University, Belfast)

ERIN JOHNSON-HILL (Yale University)


The Harmonicon was, in its day, London’s premier music periodical, gaining a wide and loyal readership at home and abroad. Perhaps the most the distinctive feature of the journal was its deliberate imperative to raise what it considered to be the ‘lamentable’ level of musical knowledge within the British reading public. An ability to understand and critique music was something that was seen as sorely lacking by the journal’s editor, William Ayrton; by the same token, he was acutely aware that there was a palpable lack of a national style or school of music in his own country. Thus, I argue that the journal’s appeal was due to a didactic philosophy of
‘collegiality’ and ‘miscellany’ – to borrow terms recently used by William Weber – as a means of appealing and disseminating musical knowledge to the broadest readership possible. Through criticizing, advocating, and publishing a remarkably assorted array of national styles and genres of music, I argue that the Harmonicon attempted to foster a very general type of musical knowledge in Britain in the early nineteenth century, one which looked necessarily outside of national borders in an effort to build up a shared knowledge of music. I analyse summative data drawn from the musical examples spanning all eleven years of the journal’s print run, assessing in particular the high number of international composers to which the journal continually turned its ‘miscellaneous’ attention.

Majella Boland (University College, Dublin)

From concerto to nocturne: Field’s reception in nineteenth-century Britain

Today, John Field is commonly regarded as a minor nineteenth-century composer who is significant chiefly as a predecessor of Chopin, or as the mere instigator of the nocturne. For instance, The Birmingham Post introduced Field as having invented the nocturne, the ‘wordless song… for instrument alone, which was subsequently brought to such perfection by others’ (15 March 1877); a year later, in a review of Sir Robert Stewart’s ‘Balfe Memorial Lectures’, Freeman’s Journal described Field as the ‘creator of “Nocturnes”’ (6 June 1878). But while Field’s nocturnes were important, they hardly represented the entire musical output for which he was known in his lifetime, which notably includes seven piano concerti. In recognition of this, The Liverpool Mercury advertised a concerto by Field with the comment that it would ‘serve to emphasise the almost forgotten fact that Field did not confine his powers of composition to those charming Nocturnes by which his name is now chiefly remembered’ (29 October 1892). Field’s ‘imperfect grasp of form’ has often been attributed as the reason for the neglect of the concerti, but on closer inspection the question must be raised as to whether he and his contemporaries equally suffered from this imperfection: Nicholas Temperley has remarked that
today the music by Field, Dussek and Hummel, for example, is rarely heard, difficult to find and known in inferior editions.

Drawing on a study of views of Field in the nineteenth-century Irish and English press, this paper focuses on the reception of Field in nineteenth-century Britain. It broaches various related, salient issues for the appraisal of Field historiography, including the neglect of nineteenth-century piano concerti in general and the role of the pianist-composer in nineteenth-century musical life. I will explore the significance of these issues in the reception of Field’s music in Britain, and how they may have played a role in contributing to his relatively marginal place in the canon.

Cloe Valenti
(Murray Edwards College, University of Cambridge)

Adulation and Appropriation: Verdi’s Political Image in 1860s England

The popular portrayal of Verdi as a political composer has been much debated in Verdi scholarship, yet little work has been focused on the role of critics from outside Italy in the creation and dissemination of Verdi’s image as the ‘bard of the risorgimento’. This paper seeks to address this by exploring changing perceptions of Verdi in England in the late 1850s and 1860s, focusing on how a number of factors in this period came together to create a politicised understanding of Verdi in the minds of English critics, an image they then helped to propagate further.

While news of Verdi’s election to the Italian senate formed the foundations of his new, ‘political’ image, one factor unique to England notably affected the English understanding of Verdi: the visit of Garibaldi in 1864. Not only was this a climactic point in England’s longstanding fascination (and involvement) with Italian politics and culture, it was a moment when politics and theatre mixed on a level not previously seen in England, particularly during Garibaldi’s visits to the London opera houses.

These events created a shift in the minds of English critics who, just twenty years earlier, had been deeply sceptical of any association between politics and opera. The increasing
receptiveness of English critics to the association encouraged them further in their depiction of Verdi as a political composer. They referred to the ‘Viva V.E.R.D.I.’ acrostic repeatedly during the 1860s, augmenting its significance far beyond its original, short-lived appearance in late 1850s Italy. Furthermore, while Verdi was still a controversial figure in the English press, English critics responded to his position as the foremost Italian composer of his day by looking back on his early works and rewriting his career from their new political perspective, thus further encouraging the formation and dissemination of Verdi’s now-familiar political image.

SESSION 8: NATIONAL IDENTITIES

Chair: Derek B. Scott (University of Leeds)

CHRISTINA BASHFORD
(University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign)

Christmas Carols and the Construction of Cornish Identity

A distinctive aspect of Cornish culture in the nineteenth century was the seasonal singing of Christmas carols by local composers. This tradition was derived from the county’s strong Methodist traditions, which emphasized communal, heartfelt hymn singing – and it fed the idea of the Cornish as a ‘singing people’. Sometimes described as ‘carol hymns’ or ‘curls’, the Cornish carols were typically issued by local publishers. Examples include W.B. Williams’s ‘Lo! The Eastern Sages Rise’, Thomas Broad’s ‘Hark! What Music’, and several by Thomas Merritt, whose name is still synonymous in Cornwall with the idea of the indigenous carol hymn.

Most of these carol composers came from the Camborne-Redruth district, which, even by the early nineteenth century, was the centre of Cornish and national copper/tin mining, thanks to the extraordinary wealth of its mineral deposits and local investment in engineering technology. The working-class men and women from this area were among those who first sang the carols, learning them by ear and singing in four-part harmony. They were also responsible for the music’s dissemination in the Americas, South
Africa and Australia, when in later decades one third of the workforce emigrated to work in mines abroad.

My paper examines the distinctive musical characteristics of the Camborne-Redruth carol repertoire and explores how and why the carol functioned in Victorian Cornwall as both a means of forging community and a marker of cultural identity – the latter being born of pride in locality and ethnicity, as well as a desire for separatism from England. The paradox is that, while insularism seems to have kept the Camborne-Redruth repertoire apart from other regional Cornish carol-hymnody traditions, the transplantation of these carols overseas served to create an unambiguous marker of a generic Cornishness. Furthermore, this construction fed back to Cornwall and became embraced by subsequent generations.

MARIA MCHALE (DIT Conservatory of Music)

Making opera Irish: Robert O’Dwyer’s Eithne

Dublin’s operatic culture thrived at the turn of the century with touring companies making frequent visits to the capital. The market for opera was plentiful and profitable, and theatre-goers could enjoy productions of Italian opera from a number of companies including those of Augustus Harris, Cavaliere Castellano and J. H. Mapleson. While the D’Oyly Carte Company’s visits were perennially popular, performances of opera in English were dominated by the Carl Rosa Company, whose lengthy visits to Ireland began in 1875 and continued through to the Second World War. Others followed suit such as Arthur Rousbey, Moody Manners, Joseph O’ Mara and the Quinlan Company. In short, opera was available, affordable and, most importantly, popular.

Against this background, a number of Irish operas and, indeed, operas in Irish appeared in the early years of the twentieth century. In this paper, I will examine the surge in native opera with a particular focus on the reception of Robert O’Dwyer’s Eithne (1909). Set at a time ‘before the coming of the stranger’, Eithne abounds in Celtic mythology. With a libretto in
Irish, it stands at an intersection of fin-de-siècle cultural developments that unfolded against the backdrop of Home Rule: an issue that dominated British and Irish political life. The appearance of the opera reflects both a well-established opera scene in Dublin, and a fervour for all things Irish propelled by the founding of the Gaelic League in 1893. In this context, the creation and reception of the opera are revealing of cultural concerns and aspirations in Ireland that began in the late nineteenth century with the Gaelic revival and developed exponentially in the early years of the new century.

SESSION 9: BRITISH MUSIC ABROAD

Chair: Hilary Bracefield (University of Ulster)

ROSEMARY RICHARDS (University of Melbourne)

The life of Georgiana McCrae as revealed through her Chaplin Music Book

In this paper I consider how one of the four manuscript music collections for voice and piano belonging to the diarist, artist and musician, Georgiana McCrae (1804-90), reveals challenges and changes to her personal identity. McCrae, an illegitimate daughter of the future fifth Duke of Gordon, received most of her musical education from private tutors in London, and became reasonably proficient at singing and playing the piano. Her musical skills were important to her throughout her life, both before and after her marriage in 1830. When she moved to Melbourne in 1841, she brought her collections from London and Scotland, and continued to add to and annotate them after her arrival. I will examine McCrae’s fourth known collection, which was mainly transcribed in Australia, in relation to her biographical contexts in Britain and in the expanding British colony of Victoria.

Music collections such as McCrae’s provide valuable sources of social as well as musical history. British migrants in the nineteenth century used domestic music collections to help them
adapt to their new colonial home. Women who belonged or aspired to the middle and upper classes were especially keen to use their musical skills in the domestic sphere to maintain their social status, educate their children and retain their links with their former lives. In this paper I will focus on McCrae’s search for social status in her adopted country and demonstrate how her Chaplin Music Book can lead to an increased understanding of the role of music in the life of women immigrants.

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**Alan Maddox (Sydney Conservatorium)**

**Music and the machinery of moral improvement: Drawing room ballads in the ‘moral economy’ of a colonial prison.**

In 1840 a Scottish naval officer, Captain Alexander Maconochie, was appointed Superintendent of the British penal settlement on Norfolk Island, a tiny speck in the Pacific one thousand miles off the coast of Australia, designated by the Governor of New South Wales, Sir Ralph Darling, as ‘a place of the extremest punishment, short of death’. This became the setting for what is still regarded as one of the seminal experiments in the history of penal reform, based on an innovative system of rewards and penalties which aimed at the rehabilitation of prisoners, rather than merely their punishment and repression. Integral to Maconochie’s armoury of reforming influences on the convicts was music, conceived not as an abstract aesthetic experience, but as a means of ‘moral improvement’, facilitating the prisoners’ transition from selfish brutality to civilised social being. Here, at the margins of British society, both socially and physically, music including the ballads of Thomas Moore, Robert Burns and Charles Dibdin was harnessed to inculcate the moral qualities – love of country, longing for home, hope for the future – which Maconochie aimed to foster in the prisoners. Set out in a short bureaucratic memorandum, his remarkably clear and practical argument for the role of music as part of a ‘moral economy’ arguably represents some of the most cogent British theorising of the nineteenth century on the social and moral effects of music.
SESSION 10: CHURCH MUSIC

Chair: Bennett Zon (University of Durham)

SHELAGH NODEN (University of Aberdeen)

Breaking the silence: the reintroduction of music into the Scottish Catholic church in the early nineteenth century

Perhaps because of its poor reputation, Roman Catholic music in Britain during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been slow to attract serious research. The first major study of the repertoire in England was produced only in 2004, when Thomas Muir’s doctoral thesis, covering the period 1850-1962, was completed at Durham. This paper forms part of a similar study of Roman Catholic sacred music in Scotland. There is an urgent need for such a study because, since the second Vatican Council (1962-65), this music is no longer seen as relevant to contemporary worship, and is therefore very much under threat. Little of it has been catalogued or preserved in libraries; much of it has been discarded. Nevertheless this was the music regularly heard by a sizeable part of the population of Scotland, and for this reason, it deserves attention.

The Scottish Reformation, which took place in 1560, turned the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland into an illegal organisation, with stringent penalties attached to saying or attending Mass. The last thing Catholics wanted to do was draw attention to themselves by rousing singing, so a musical silence descended on the Church which lasted over two hundred years. In the early years of the nineteenth century, however, music was again introduced into Catholic churches in Scotland, and played an important part in the liturgy, often attracting great interest and admiration from local Protestants.

This paper investigates the revival of music in the Church, the role of priest-musicians, amateur instrument makers, local composers, school teachers, a recalcitrant Benedictine monk, and an overbearing bishop. Of particular interest is the leading part played by a priest from Dufftown, and his colleague in Aberdeen.
KERRY HOUSTON (DIT Conservatory of Music)

Against the tide – an assessment of trends in cathedral music in nineteenth-century Dublin

There is a general perception that art music in general, and cathedral music in particular, was in gradual decline in nineteenth-century Dublin following the Act of Union (1800) and the Irish Church Act (1869). However, there are many cross currents, and this perceived trend is a rather broad-brush interpretation. Although the two Dublin cathedrals faced important challenges by the passing of these two pieces of legislation the cathedral communities proved to be quite robust and inventive in their reaction, and in many ways the cathedrals in Dublin fared better than their counterparts in mainland Britain. This paper examines the rather uncertain future at these institutions and their reaction to loss of privilege in the context of the prevailing political and social circumstances in nineteenth-century Dublin.

SESSION 11: THE EARLY MUSIC REVIVAL

Chair: Kerry Houston (DIT Conservatory of Music)

SAMANTHA BASSLER (Open University)

Antiquarianism and the Manuscript Copies of Byrd’s Sacred Music in the London Madrigal Society Collection (British Library Mad.Soc. MSS)

It has been argued that there was a dearth of interest in Byrd’s music between 1623 and the English Musical Renaissance of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, the activities of the eighteenth-century London Madrigal Society reveal an important and intriguing instance of much earlier renewed interest in Byrd’s music. This paper will build on an earlier presentation by giving a detailed account of the nineteenth-century sources, providing examples of the Madrigal Society manuscript copies of
Byrd’s 1589 *Cantiones sacrae* and of his 1605 and 1607 *Gradualia*, explaining how the nineteenth-century editions of these works were constructed, and comparing these copies to the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century originals. The paper will also include examples of various manuscript copies of music by Byrd and his contemporaries, attendance records, and other historical data from the antiquarians of the Madrigal Society. I will situate the antiquarian societies within the larger framework of nineteenth-century concert life in London.

While it is true that there exist few examples of printed music and concert programmes of Byrd’s music during the three hundred years between his death and the larger-scale revival of his work during the English Musical Renaissance led by Sir Richard Terry, what remains is an impressive body of manuscript copies that demonstrates the appreciation of a select group of interested lay performers and historians. This group, although not representative of the tastes of the majority of nineteenth-century London concertgoers, is a microcosm of the greater phenomenon and peculiarities of antiquarianism. It is noteworthy that the three collections of Byrd’s music extant in the Madrigal Society library are of his controversial sacred music. This constitutes a reception – albeit small-scale – of Byrd’s music, and should be recognized as such.

**SUE COLE (University of Melbourne)**

‘The herald of a musical renaissance’? John F. Runciman, R.R. Terry and the revival of early English polyphony

Richard Runciman Terry, who was responsible for the revival of a vast amount of early English music that had lain silent for centuries, is often presented as a lone voice, crying in the late Victorian musical wilderness. Timothy Day, for example, rightly observes that upon Terry’s appointment as music master at Downside Abbey in 1896, ‘it was by no means obvious that he would immediately begin to direct performances of 16th-century polyphony.’ Yet Terry’s enthusiasm for sixteenth-century polyphony was not entirely
unprecedented: interest in all forms of early music had been steadily on the rise since at least the 1880s. In early 1895, Terry’s cousin, John F. Runciman, was introduced to Arnold Dolmetsch by George Bernard Shaw and became an enthusiastic advocate of early music; in December 1895, three years before Terry’s revival of the work at Downside, Runciman urged ‘any one who wishes to have a true notion of the music of this period’ to study Byrd’s Mass for five voices. In 1898, again before Terry’s work at Downside had achieved much prominence, the Irish novelist George Moore published Evelyn Innes, in which the heroine’s father, who was loosely based on Dolmetsch, was inspired by Byrd’s ‘beautiful vocal Mass’ to reform Catholic church music.

In this paper, I will show that in the late 1890s, rather than working in isolation, Terry enjoyed the support of a network of critics, writers and musicians, which was interested both in revitalising the music of the Catholic church and in reviving the music of a distant and idealised past.

SESSION 12: EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY ISSUES

Chair: Aidan J. Thomson (Queen’s University, Belfast)

LAURA SEDDON (City University)

Free Play to their Imaginations: Women’s Responses to the Phantasy

In the early years of the twentieth century it had practically become a rite of passage for a young British composer to write a phantasy for one of the chamber music competitions endowed by Walter Willson Cobbett. Delight was tinged with tragedy as William Hurlstone gained first prize in the first such competition in 1905, but died prematurely in 1906 before the first performances of his work. This paper, however, will focus on the role played by women in the development of the phantasy in the first few years of the competitions, when performances of these new works, and press commentary on them, were at their height. It will highlight women
performers and promoters such as those involved in the Langley-Muklé concert series. It will also examine the response of women composers who, as recent graduates from British conservatoires, were among the first generation of women for whom composition was their major study.

The phantasy presented a dilemma for the woman composer not only as to whether or not to engage with the genre at all, but also in how to develop a ‘successful’ approach to it. The paper will include an examination of the advocacy of instrumental chamber music for the development of women’s music by the newly formed Society of Women Musicians, and their relationship with the Cobbett competitions. It will then consider examples of how women chose to relate to the genre, especially phantasies written by Ethel Barns (1880-1948), Susan Spain-Dunk (1880-1962) and Alice Verne-Bredt (1868-1958), as well as discussing the possibilities for a female, or indeed male, composer to adhere to Cobbett’s instruction to apply ‘free play to their imaginations’. Thus the paper will assess how ‘free’ was the supposedly free-form phantasy, and consider the genre’s significance in the development of British women’s music.

LEANNE Langley (Independent Scholar)

Invitation to the Dance: Beecham and the Ballets Russes in London, 1911-14

Exactly a hundred years ago, in summer 1911, the Ballets Russes made its British début at Covent Garden as part of the festive celebrations for George V’s coronation. Although reams of print have been devoted to the company’s international history, colourful personalities, artistic achievement and modernist influence under Sergey Diaghilev from 1909 to 1929, little attention has been paid to how the early London seasons came about, or what they meant for wider aspects of British music-making, orchestral development and audience growth before World War One. Indeed, pre-war Britain as a teeming musical market has largely been misunderstood by dance historians, while the most
important local musicians affiliated with the Ballets Russes at this time, the virtuoso Beecham Symphony Orchestra, have been virtually ignored.

Drawing on new information in recent Beecham biography and in the papers of Gabriel Astruc in the New York Public Library, I will explore the relationships and conflicting ambitions that led Diaghilev to seek a London outlet in 1909 but which quickly fell through in ‘l’affaire Beecham’ of 1910. In an extraordinary turn of events, however, by 1912 Thomas Beecham was conducting for Diaghilev and by 1913-14 his father Joseph was bankrolling the company. The ramifications for both opera and ballet performance in England (not just Russian works), and the strategic moves that aligned the Beechams with Diaghilev, invite further questions. Whose ‘dance’ was at stake, after all, in this extended balletic adventure, and who ultimately benefited the most in aesthetic and reception terms?

SESSION 13: GERMAN MUSICIANS IN BRITAIN

Chair: Jeremy Dibble (University of Durham)

MARGARET DORIS
(National University of Ireland, Maynooth)

From Darmstadt to Edinburgh: J.C. Schetky’s Contribution to the Development of the Cello in Britain.

This paper focuses on the Darmstadt-born cellist J.C. Schetky (c.1737-1824), whose musical career in Scotland extended from 1772 to his death in 1824. Having gained the position of principal cellist with the Edinburgh Musical Society (EMS), under the recommendation of C.F. Abel and Robert Bremner, he settled in Scotland, and his integration into the Scottish musical scene was cemented via his marriage to Maria Theresa Reinagle (daughter of the EMS and state trumpeter Joseph Reinagle, senior). Despite disputes with the EMS, Schetky retained the position of principal cellist. His portfolio career combined performing, composing and
teaching. According to David Fraser Harris, Schetky was the ‘second best composer’ in Scotland after the Earl of Kelly. Schetky was one of the few foreign musicians to remain in Scotland after the disintegration of the EMS.

Schetky's legacy was primarily pedagogical. His *Practical and Progressive Lessons for the Violoncello* (c.1813) was one of a number of instructive publications for the cello. His family advertised teaching classes (*Caledonian Mercury*, 28 November, 1804) in which advanced students could have the honour of being accompanied by Mr Schetky.

Harris states that ‘any details of his life which exist are much scattered through out-of-the-way sources’. For the first time, this paper correlates these sources and reconsiders the trajectory of a foreign freelance cellist outside London. It evaluates Schetky's contribution to the cello throughout Britain through his published works and teaching, and how his business acumen resulted in his becoming one of the first cellists to establish a full-time career based in Edinburgh.

**Therese Ellsworth**
(Independent scholar, Washington D.C.)

**Continental Musicians in Britain: Louise Dulcken and the Émigré Experience**

Pianist Louise Dulcken (1811-49) became ‘one of the most prominent features’ in the musical life of London, according to George Grove. Born in Hamburg, her earliest performances featured appearances with her brother, the violinist and Mendelssohn colleague Ferdinand David. In 1828 Dulcken emigrated to London with her husband, T.A. Dulcken, a member of the family of instrument makers. Her London début took place the following year during Mendelssohn’s first visit to Britain. Moscheles described Dulcken at that time as ‘the most important newcomer pianist in London’. Her connections with a number of important musical families – Mendelssohn, Moscheles and others – helped her enter the network of established musicians in the capital.
Dulcken favoured repertoire by contemporary German composers. She was particularly renowned as an interpreter of Mendelssohn, who wrote a cadenza for her to play with his Concerto no. 2. Yet she also selected works that were new or little known to London audiences, most famously her introduction of a Chopin concerto at the Philharmonic Society in 1843. Her technical skills were universally acknowledged in the press when she performed in London and throughout the British Isles. In 1836 the *Times* reviewer proclaimed her ‘the first pianist of the day, Moscheles excepted’. Such critical response to her not as a ‘lady pianist’ but as a performer nearly equal to one of London’s most respected musicians was high praise indeed.

Dulcken achieved prominence as a teacher as well. Most renowned among her students were members of the royal family, including Princess Victoria. She received an appointment as a piano professor at the Royal Academy of Music and even opened her own music school in 1842. A study of her career furthers our knowledge of an important figure during the 1830s and ‘40s and increases our understanding of the émigré experience in London.

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**GEOFF THOMASON (Royal Northern College of Music)**

**Brodsky, Beethoven and the Brotherhood: cultural dilemmas in pre-First World War Manchester**

The Russian violinist Adolph Brodsky succeeded Charles Hallé as Principal of the Royal Manchester College of Music in 1895. He quickly established close links with other immigrant musicians in Manchester, not least in reforming his string quartet. Through this he was able not only to build on the emergent chamber concert tradition in the city, but also to expand its existing bias towards the Austro-German canon by introducing newer repertoire that he had championed during his professorship at the Leipzig Conservatoire in the 1880s, in several cases through his professional contacts with the composers themselves. This paper focuses on one facet of the challenges faced by Manchester’s predominantly German-facing musical profile, and to Brodsky’s own musical sympathies, by the encroaching First World War. The Ancoats Brotherhood, unlike the
city’s more socially exclusive cultural societies, aimed to improve the cultural life of one of the city’s poorest areas through lectures and concerts. The Brodsky Quartet’s long-standing concert series at the Brotherhood reveal an increasing desire to maintain the primacy of the Austro-German canon, dominated by Beethoven, in the face of growing anti-German sentiment articulated by its respected and influential speakers.

The Brotherhood’s programmes, held at the Henry Watson Music Library and the Royal Northern College of Music, display a growing tension between its desire to distance itself from German culture in a city with a substantial German émigré population and an allegiance to the supremacy of the Austro-German chamber music canon as manifest through Brodsky’s concerts. They also shed light on the war’s facilitating the appearance of women as chamber musicians, bringing with them a different and often more contemporary repertoire, which itself offered a substantial challenge to the Austro-German hegemony.

**SESSION 14: SULLIVAN**

Chair: Julian Rushton (University of Leeds)

**James Brooks Kuykendall (Erskine College)**

**Gilbert’s Italianate recitatives – Sullivan’s response**

Despite the plethora of published ‘authorised’ texts of Gilbert and Sullivan operas, in very few cases can we now see the version that acted as the catalyst for the composer’s settings. Gilbert conveyed his libretti to Sullivan in a variety of ways, including sending lyrics for individual numbers through the post. There remain in the finished versions, however, hints of Gilbert’s original intentions even when Sullivan has opted for very different musical strategies. This paper considers Gilbert’s recitatives (either so labelled, or suggested by a switch to Italianate *endecasillabi sciolti* or similar patterns) and the musical settings that they eventually received. The evidence affirms Sullivan’s role as a musical dramatist, reconfiguring the dramatic pacing on a large scale, and
demonstrating that his labours went far beyond what he decried as ‘word-setting, I might almost say syllable-setting.’ At the same time, Gilbert’s role as an operatic dramatist is shown to be more sophisticated than even he claimed.

**Benedict Taylor (Humboldt Universität)**

**Sullivan as instrumental composer: The ‘Irish’ Symphony and its German models**

The vast majority of Sullivan’s oeuvre consists of operatic, dramatic or texted music. Yet much of his training at Leipzig was in the classical instrumental forms, and the early works of his maturity (1860s) concentrated on this more abstract realm of orchestral and instrumental music. The Symphony in E, first performed in 1866 and unofficially known ever since as the ‘Irish’, is Sullivan’s most substantial contribution to instrumental music and his most ambitious undertaking prior to *The Golden Legend* (1886) and *Ivanhoe* (1891). Both the outer movements are especially revealing as to the nature of Sullivan’s relationship to established models of symphonic composition and an example of his handling of the generic demands of sonata form.

This paper will concentrate on the relationship between Sullivan’s symphony and his German precedents for symphonic composition, especially those of Schubert, Mendelssohn and Schumann. At a larger level, the symphony will be contextualised against the compositional backdrop of the 1860s, an era sometimes seen as an interim period between the generation of Mendelssohn and Schumann and the ‘second age of the symphony’. Sullivan’s position within the nineteenth-century symphonic tradition sheds valuable light on the influences that contribute to his style and how this affects how we place him, particularly with regard to the later rise of Stanford and Parry as symphonic composers in the 1880s. The reasons for Sullivan’s move away from orchestral music at the end of the decade are largely cultural and socio-economic, as has been suggested before. Nonetheless, as a brief final thought I will
When Arthur Sullivan published his Symphony in E in 1866, he resisted subtitling it ‘The Irish’. Though it was inspired by a trip to his ancestral homeland, he feared comparisons to Mendelssohn’s ‘Scottish’ Symphony. After this work, Sullivan did not write another substantial piece with an Irish connotation until the end of his life, the unfinished operetta *The Emerald Isle*. In the later nineteenth century, subsequent Irish composers complicate the reception of the symphony and Sullivan’s reputation. Charles Villiers Stanford and Hamilton Harty did not downplay their Irishness or evoke it only for exotic effect as Sullivan had done. Rather, they embraced their background, making it a key element of not only their compositional output, but also their public persona.

A consideration of Sullivan’s attempt to revive the Symphony in E as a distinctly Irish work in the wake of the success of Stanford’s Symphony no. 3 (‘Irish’) of 1887 provides a backdrop for evaluating the ambivalent nature of Sullivan’s Irishness. Specifically, he would find his Irish identity compromised owing to a lack of authenticity, which younger, more vociferously Irish, composers, especially Stanford, were understood to possess. Understanding the interconnections between these two composers and their Irish works also recontextualizes the Anglo-Irish viewpoint in music as one that reinforced the conception of Ireland as an essential part of a greater United Kingdom. This period perspective has been undervalued by both Irish and British scholarship.
JENNIFER OATES (Queens College, CUNY)

‘Thank God, it is British!’¹: The Scots’ Contribution to Nineteenth-Century British Music

With the exception of Sir Alexander Campbell Mackenzie, the role of Scottish composers within British music has been largely neglected. Yet the nineteenth century saw the rise of a group of Scottish composers who played significant roles in the history of music in Britain. They either made their name with ‘novel’ Scottish works, as Hamish MacCunn and Learmont Drysdale did; ensured their success by writing diverse works so as not to be labelled a ‘Scottish’ composer, as in the case of Sir Alexander Campbell Mackenzie; or infused their works with subtle Scottish sounds without calling attention to them, like the more modern Sir John Blackwood McEwen.

Much like Sir Hubert Parry and Sir Charles Villiers Stanford, all were integral to nineteenth-century British musical life as composers, conductors, and educators. Mackenzie and MacCunn graced many podiums throughout the British Isles and, in Mackenzie’s case, abroad. For almost a half a century, Scots dominated the Royal Academy of Music, then dubbed the ‘MacAdemy’, with Mackenzie and McEwen both serving as Principal, and MacCunn and William Wallace as teachers. Though their music, in most cases, has been eclipsed by later composers, their music and careers were necessary stepping stones in the growth of British music that eventually led to the international and enduring successes of Edward Elgar, Ralph Vaughan Williams, and Benjamin Britten. Looking at the careers and works of these Scots

will assess Scotland’s place within an integrated, rather than disparate, British music history.

MARK SUMMERS (University of Sheffield)

Professor Niecks’ Historical Concerts, 1893-1914

Frederick Niecks (1845-1924) arrived in Scotland from his native Düsseldorf in 1868 as an active musician, playing the viola in Alexander Mackenzie’s quartet and the organ in Dumfries. Niecks contributed regularly to the Monthly Musical Record and was the first biographer of Chopin. He later became a pioneering academic, holding the Reid Chair of Music at Edinburgh University between 1891 and 1914. During his tenure, the work of the Chair was transformed. The first modern BMus degree was instituted (Niecks gave all the lectures) and the university concert season was expanded from a single yearly gala event, the Reid Memorial, to incorporate a series of ‘Historical Concerts’.

This paper will concentrate on Niecks’ Historical Concerts, given between 1893 and 1914. There were ninety-four concerts in total, with performers ranging from local Scottish players to internationally esteemed musicians such as Frederick Lamond and Wanda Landowska. The concerts were well received, and covered a wide range of repertoire, with 762 pieces by 250 composers. Their programmes were generally designed to illustrate a particular period or genre of music, and notably the multiple performances by Landowska and Arnold Dolmetsch show some overlap with the early music revival.

The nature of and philosophy behind the Historical Concerts will be examined using the programmes, Niecks’ theoretical writings and correspondence, university accounts, and contemporary newspapers. In addition, the concerts will be placed in the context of concerts put on by previous Chairs of Music at the university, and of Edinburgh musical life more widely.
A School of Music for Scotland: Allan Macbeth and the formation of the Glasgow Athenaeum (Limited) School of Music

The Glasgow Athenaeum was established in 1847, drawing on the Glasgow Educational Association’s ideas of providing courses for young men engaged in commercial activities. As well as providing business training, the Athenaeum also ran classes in languages, fine arts, literature and music.

In 1890 the Athenaeum’s directors decided to expand their limited provision of music classes by establishing a separate institution, the Glasgow Athenaeum (Limited) School of Music, modelled on the lines of English and continental conservatories. The school’s first Principal was the Scottish composer, conductor and performer Allan Macbeth (1856-1910), who, after his initial training in Edinburgh, had completed his studies in Germany at the Leipzig Conservatoire and privately with E. F Richter and Jadassohn.

Initially, expectations of Glasgow’s new music school were modest – some fifty students were expected – but, mainly through Macbeth’s efforts, the school opened with nearly nine hundred students and forty teachers. Under his management from 1891 until 1902, it was to become a large and well-equipped institution offering both part-time courses of study as well as a complete musical education extending over a minimum period of three years for those intending to train as teachers and performers. No longer were Scottish musicians forced to leave their homeland to gain a thorough education in music. Today, the Glasgow Athenaeum School of Music continues as the internationally renowned Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama.

This paper will evaluate Macbeth’s role in the institution’s formation and will demonstrate the important contribution he made to the development of music education in Scotland.
The Emasculated Violoncellist: Victorian Satire and Robert Lindley

Although male musical characters rarely figure in early nineteenth-century English literature, a number of amateur gentlemen-cellists with strikingly similar traits appear in the novels of Charles Dickens, Anthony Trollope, and others in the mid-1800s. Given the general denigration of music as an unsuitable activity for gentlemen, such characters are unsurprisingly portrayed as ineffectual, hesitant, hen-pecked, and otherwise emasculated. Literary historians (Auerbach, Hawkins, et al.), have interpreted this fictional cello-playing, and indeed most male music-making, as emblematic of childishness, escapism, moral conflict, or subjection. However, I argue that there was a real-life model for the ‘emasculated violoncellist’ of Victorian fiction: Robert Lindley (1776-1855), one of the foremost musicians of his era.

Not only did Lindley strongly resemble his fictional counterparts, but nineteenth-century concert programmes and reviews, together with accounts of contemporaries and later historians, reveal a musician omnipresent in the cultural life of London and the provinces. Described at his retirement in 1850 as ‘beloved by English audiences’, Lindley was venerated for decades after his death as the quintessential British cellist. In contrast to foreign soloists such as Paganini and Liszt, whose virtuosity inspired demonic and dangerous musical characters, Lindley projected a humorous, genial, and harmless persona, whose performances occasionally bordered on the farcical. Although his status as a paid performer might have made him an unlikely model for a gentleman amateur, Lindley’s immense popularity took away much of the social stigma associated with the profession; and, in any case, this was a time when the definition of ‘gentleman’ was undergoing fundamental changes. While gender stereotypes were certainly an
important aspect in the treatment of music and musicians in Victorian fiction, the dynamic interface among performers, their audiences, and the press also played a vital role.

MARK PINNER (University of Sydney)

Luscombe Searelle: Racial Stereotypes as Comedic Mechanism

(William) Luscombe Searelle (1853-1907) was probably the first composer from the Australasian colonies to sample international success during the nineteenth century. A true south-sea-Pom, Searelle was born in England in 1853 and emigrated with his family to the newly founded New Zealand city of Christchurch when he was twelve years of age. Christchurch was somewhat unique in the antipodes as, according to Michael Blain, it was founded as ‘a special colony in New Zealand, an English society free of industrial slums and revolutionary spirit, an ideal English society sustained by an ideal church of England’. Searelle received what was then referred to as ‘a classical education’ at Christ’s College, Christchurch, which was modelled on the public schools of England. He settled in Australia for many years becoming a respected conductor of opera before moving on to South Africa and becoming one of the leading impresarios in the Cape Colonies.

Searelle began writing music for the stage at the age of sixteen, composing a total of nine musico-theatrical works. These works were published and performed across the world in centres such as Sydney, Melbourne, San Francisco, New York, Manchester and London. Despite living most of his life in the colonies Searelle remained an avowed Englishman, British to the boot-straps. His works are replete with what today would be considered offensive racial stereotypes and unauthentic, almost disrespectful, exoticism. While it is unsurprising that Searelle, and his occasional librettist, Walter Parke, would write material that is offensive in hindsight, they were merely reflecting the societal mores of their time. This paper seeks to examine the usage of racial stereotypes as a humour
mechanism, disparagement as a comedic tool and the lampooning of alterity as a means to preserving English cultural hegemony.

Derek B. Scott (University of Leeds)

Bawdy Songbooks of the 1830s

In 1975, George Speight published a selection of bawdy songs that he had stumbled across at the British Museum. These were taken from booklets published by William West (Wych Street, Strand) in the 1820s and 1830s, and they provided valuable insight into the musical entertainment of the London clubs, taverns, and song and supper rooms in the years before music hall. These songs had never been reprinted, and their existence was known to very few. Astonishingly, the British Library possesses many more bawdy songbooks of the same period, equally unknown to scholars. These are finally being gathered together in a four-volume collection Bawdy Songbooks of the Romantic Period, under the general editorship of Patrick Spedding and Paul Watt. My role in this project is that of editor of the final volume, which contains songbooks published by Duncombe (1833-35), Smith (1834) and Lovelace (1833), and it is about those songs that I propose to speak.

The songbooks are of interest for many reasons: the songs often name singers and the venues at which a particular song was well received (Offleys in King Street, for instance, or the Cider Cellars in Maiden Lane). They also show that the appeal of underworld slang and ‘flash language’ to those for whom it was not everyday usage occurred well over a century and a half before ‘gangsta rap’. The young bucks and university students buying these songbooks needed the help of slang dictionaries, which proliferated. Francis Grose’s A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue (1785) was in an enlarged third edition in 1796, and further expanded by Pierce Egan in 1823.

The range of reference of the songs is wide, from the topical and local to the global. There are allusions to sporting celebrities, criminal trials, ancient Greek mythology, and significant world events such as the Russo-Turkish Wars of the later eighteenth
century. The songs are richly topical, and comment frequently on contemporary social change, at the same time as enhancing our knowledge of attitudes of the period to sexual relations, gender (especially manliness), ethnic minority groups in London (especially Irish, Scottish and Jewish), religion, leisure activity, crime, social disorder, and the changes brought by industrialization and technology. In addition, the songbooks are interesting for the novel use they make of double entendres, puns, and innuendo, the tunes that they use, and the fondness for parody of existing songs.

SESSION 17: KEYBOARD AND STRING PERFORMANCE ISSUES

Chair: Jan Smaczny (Queen’s University, Belfast)

IAIN QUINN (University of Durham)

The Germanic influence on the English organ sonata in the Nineteenth Century

Beginning with the English enthusiasm towards Handel, and continuing with Mendelssohn’s visits to Britain, the English appetite for music of a Germanic background had a specific impact on the development of the organ sonatas written by British composers. Not only did the interest in Mendelssohn’s ‘Sonatas’ appear to spur an interest in the genre as a whole, but the impact of the ‘German system’ of a C-C compass on the pedal boards of English organs, and an adherence to traditional forms, such as fugue, suggest that the adoption of the sonata genre was not merely coincidental. Furthermore, composers who studied in Leipzig, including Battison Haynes and Basil Harwood, contributed works to the literature that unite their experiences of the advancing Germanic musical language with a recognisable English musical discourse that consequently moved the English organ sonata to a new level of development.

In this paper, particular attention is drawn to the interest in Rheinberger’s and Merkel’s organ music in England as well as the relationship between Carl Czerny and his English publisher, Robert
Cocks & Co. Czerny’s significant body of organ works – in the realm of the voluntary and the prelude and fugue – illuminate not only the value the English had for works by the pedagogical master of Vienna, but also the composer’s ability to see the developing interest in Germanically inspired compositions. In addition, they were pieces that utilized both the ‘old’ and ‘new’ organs found in nineteenth-century England and created another model for English composers with their pragmatic approach to the instrument. That these developments took place in an era that benefitted from the patronage of a musically enthusiastic sovereign and Prince Consort is also noted, not least in their support of individual musicians who visited Britain from continental Europe and further assisted in the Germanic connection.

SANA’A ALSAIF (University of Southampton)

Saved by the Page Turn: An Abandoned Lesson by William Sterndale Bennett

There is no doubt that William Sterndale Bennett played a notable role in British music history. He was a celebrated composer, a distinctive pianist, an active institutional leader, and a successful educator. Indeed, he spent a significant portion of his life teaching young pianists. In this paper, I will consider his Preludes and Lessons, op. 33, which are key examples among his pedagogical compositions, and were widely received across Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century. I will focus primarily on Lesson number 29. Sterndale Bennett’s manuscript of the Preludes and Lessons, currently in the Bodleian library, contains two consecutive versions of this piece. The first is crossed out, but fully legible. I consider, for the first time, the differences between the two versions, which present Sterndale Bennett’s compositional processes with unusual clarity. The second version resolves ambiguities of metre, and clarifies an awkward harmonic progression. The solution to these problems lies in his creative exploitation of a lucky error at a page turn, as his unconscious mind – or so it seems to me – asserted itself. The result is a more effective essay in pedagogy.
W.C. Honeyman: Vibrato Detective

Few topics on the subject of period performance practice arouse more controversy than the question of vibrato in nineteenth-century string playing. Much current thinking asserts that vibrato of the modern, ‘continuous’ sort, particularly in orchestral strings, did not exist prior to the 1930s, and support for this contention quite naturally lies in what can be gleaned from the evidence concerning the habits of the most famous solo artists.

William Crawford Honeyman (1845-1919) certainly did not fall into this latter category. Born in New Zealand, but raised in Edinburgh from the age of four, he divided his career between his love of music and the violin, and as a pioneering writer of crime fiction under the name of his alter ego, Edinburgh detective James McGovan. A born popularizer, Honeyman also authored several successful violin tutors in the period 1879-85. They address many issues that the more elite violin treatises of the nineteenth century do not: where to find good sheet music, the best type of chin rest, how to store and clean the instrument, and not least, what vibrato is, how to produce it correctly, and its relative importance.

Honeyman was a ‘character’. He named his house Cremona Villa. As detective McGovan, he penned a delightful story, ‘The Romance of a Real Cremona’, about a Stradivarius stolen from a famous violinist at an Edinburgh soirée. Advertisements for his violin tutors appear at the back of his collections of crime fiction, and vice versa. Honeyman’s views on the vibrato question cast an intriguing light on nineteenth-century musical culture in the United Kingdom outside of London at a time when most music making was, necessarily, of the domestic variety. They also go far towards explaining the popular taste against which self-styled serious artists often struggled to assert themselves.
The British provincial musical festival of the nineteenth century was an important event, both in the musical and social calendar. New works were commissioned, first-class conductors were appointed, and the virtuoso musicians of the day were engaged. Since the competition between festivals was fierce, each location strove to attract the most popular soloists and consequently the higher-class musician became a travelling virtuoso.

One of the most admired was the tenor John Sims Reeves (1818-1900), who was repeatedly engaged by all the major festivals. As a connoisseur of concert venues, Sims Reeves was aware of the problems associated with the various spaces in which he performed, not least the high musical pitch common in Britain at the time. Therefore, when the Birmingham Festival Committee approached him in 1876 to sing again at their festival, they found that Sims Reeves had already accepted engagements elsewhere because he considered the pitch of their organ ‘extravagantly high’.

This paper will explore the resultant series of heated communications between the tenor and the Birmingham committee, which offer a fascinating insight into the relationship between singer and festival organiser, the influence of the musical press, and the debate surrounding pitch that was raging in Britain at the time. In addition, this paper will attempt to determine whether, in the case of the ‘extravagantly high’ organ, fault really lay with ‘the whim of the tenor’.

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1 *Athenaeum*, 2552 (23 September 1876), 410.
2 Ibid., 17 February 1876.
By the 1820s, the English musical festival had a traditional infrastructure. While organizing one took a great deal of effort, festival committees, such as those at York, could count on a nearly fixed programme (Handel’s *Messiah* and selections from his other oratorios and works as presented at the Westminster Abbey Handel Commemorations of 1784), a split between oratorios and sacred music in a church or cathedral in the mornings and secular vocal and instrumental selections in a theatre or hall in the evenings, and which London musicians would conduct the band and lead its string players (Greatorex to direct, Cramer and Mori to lead the violins, Ashley the violas, the Lindleys the cellos, and Dragonetti the double basses). Even the assignment of solos within *Messiah* was dictated by tradition: the first solo pieces heard (‘Comfort Ye’ and ‘Every Valley’) were to be sung by a tenor. Thus when the star Italian soprano Angelica Catalani requested that she be allowed to sing both and to transpose them to suit her voice, the press condemned it as a ‘musical desecration’ and the festival committee nearly imploded in disagreement.

Using archival materials from festivals at York, Chester, Birmingham, and the Three Choirs, this paper will examine the early nineteenth-century traditions for performing *Messiah* at musical festivals, and the controversy the York Musical Festival committee faced when they eventually agreed to all of Catalani’s demands. Critics called Catalani’s performance ‘a breach of professional delicacy’ and consequently found other elements of her voice unsuitable for performance in cathedrals. The situation became so notorious that when Catalani offered to sing again at the 1825 York festival, the committee refused out of hand, and the Archbishop of York personally guaranteed that a tenor would begin that year’s *Messiah*, thus confirming Handelian traditions for several decades to come.
Borderland Views of the British Musical Renaissance: The Invention and Re-Invention of the Workington Eisteddfod

The Workington Eisteddfod was first held on Christmas Day 1873, hosted by the Welsh industrialist William ‘Ivander’ Griffiths. Griffiths’s original intention had been to provide holiday entertainment for the colony of Welsh-speaking workers he had brought with him from Glamorganshire to operate his tinplate works at the mouth of the river Derwent, near Workington, on the west Cumberland coast. The first meeting was held in Workington’s Good Templar’s Hall, for which Griffiths, as a staunch supporter of temperance, had laid the foundation stone just two years earlier. From these roots developed an extensive musical festival, which was renamed the Ivander Eisteddfod, then the Cumberland Musical Festival, largely in response to the establishment in 1885 of what would become the Mary Wakefield Music Festival (and later the Westmorland Musical Festival) in Kendal, to the south. Griffiths, the ‘Bardic Patriarch’, was to retain his association with the Cumberland festival until his death in 1910.

This paper examines the idea of the festival at Workington, firstly as it was shaped by Griffiths’s experiences with the Swansea Valley Choir in his native Wales in the 1860s – that is, before his departure from South Wales to the North-West of England – and then as it was transformed into a competitive music festival of the type his contemporaries regarded as the backbone of the British Musical Renaissance. What is fascinating about the history of this little-known festival is the extent to which it mediated a range of what we might regard as ‘borderland’ identities: initially acting as a platform for the construction of a diasporic Welsh identity; then forging links between the Welsh workers and their neighbouring communities (which also included migrant workers from Scotland, Cornwall, and Yorkshire); then expressing a unified Cumberland identity in opposition to that of the neighbouring county, Westmorland; and, most significantly, forming a fusionist alliance of Wales and Cumberland, seen as restoring ancient Celtic unities and offering an alternative rural
construction of British identity built on the shared experience of peripherality.

SESSION 19: THOMAS MOORE PLENARY SESSION

Chair: Sarah McCleave (Queen’s University, Belfast)

UNA HUNT (University College, Dublin)

Sources of Moore’s Irish Melodies: a re-evaluation

Thomas Moore is known to have used a number of sources for his Irish Melodies and a close examination of the songs reveals emerging patterns. Written over a period of twenty-six years, Moore often used particular collections as source material for each of the ten numbers of Irish Melodies as well as utilising manuscripts sent to him by friends and interested parties. The collections of Edward Bunting, made after the Belfast Harp Festival in 1792, were of particular significance although his usage of these was not universally welcomed. Others include several by Smollett Holden, O’Farrell’s Pocket Companion and Collection of National Irish Music for the Union Pipes, and S. A. and P. Thompson’s The Hibernian Muse – not to be confused with George Thomson’s collections of Scottish and Irish airs, which were also used.

In 1959, Veronica Ní Chinnéide published her paper on the sources of Moore’s Melodies in the Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquities of Ireland. Taken in the context of its time, this was a unique and singular achievement as Ní Chinnéide added greatly to the meagre research in existence. As she pointed out in that work, knowledge was scant and no collective musical view had been taken on the source material up to that point. She drew on Dr Donal O’Sullivan’s valuable work in editing Bunting’s tunes from the original manuscripts, where he identified Moore’s airs taken from Bunting. However, a more recent publication initiated by Aloys Fleischmann, Sources of Irish Traditional Music c.1600-1855, means that it is now possible to compare Moore’s tunes both singularly and collectively against an exhaustive list of sources. This work has
spawned some interesting conclusions and thrown up a number of new theories on the subject.

HARRY WHITE (University College, Dublin)

The Musical Afterlives of Thomas Moore

In recent years, the influence of Thomas Moore on the formation of musical thought in nineteenth-century Europe (notably in France, Germany, Poland and Russia) has been the subject of considerable research, even if his rehabilitation as a writer of significance in Ireland has been, as yet, more cautiously and modestly investigated. Nevertheless, the veritable renaissance of Moore studies in the past five years augurs well for a better assimilation of his decisive contribution to Irish literary discourse, and in the light of this renewal it is no less useful to consider his impact, both negative and positive, on the development of music in Ireland and Britain. The ways in which Moore, both as writer and musician, inheres in the work of Charles Villiers Stanford (partly through the agency of Robert Schumann) can help us to identify the fundamental problematic of Moore’s literary and musical paternity in respect of art music in Ireland and Britain in the late nineteenth century.
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