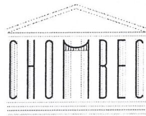

Centre for the History of Music in Britain, the Empire and the Commonwealth

Bristol Institute for Research in the Humanities and Arts

Seventh Biennial Conference on Music in 19th-Century Britain

23rd-26th July 2009, Department of Music

University of Bristol

– Conference Programme –

Farmer Giles & his Wife Shewing Off their Daughter Betty to their Neighbours, on her Return from School (engr. James Gillray after an anonymous drawing, London: H. Humphrey, 1809)

With thanks to:

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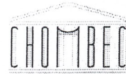

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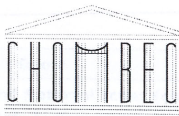
7th Biennial Music in 19th-Century Britain Conference

23-26 July 2009

Department of Music, University of Bristol



Centre for the History of Music in Britain, the Empire and the Commonwealth

Bristol Institute for Research in the Humanities and Arts

– Timetable –

Thursday, 23rd July 2009

Registration for the conference starts at 13:00 in the foyer of the Victoria Rooms.

Time	Recital Room	Auditorium	Victoria's Room	Room G12
16:00-16:30		Welcome and introduction to the conference		
16:30-18:00		**Keynote lecture** Prof. Peter Holman (University of Leeds): The Shock of the Old. English Music and the Discovery of the Past		
18:00-20:00	Wine Reception (Sponsor: Ashgate Publishing)			

Friday, 24th July 2009

Time	Recital Room	Auditorium	Victoria's Room	Room G12
9:30-11:00			**Regions I: Bristol and Bath (chair: Nick Nourse)** • Stephen Banfield: American Music in and around 19th-Century Bristol • Andrew Clarke: The Role of Networking in the Musical Community of Late-Georgian Bath	**Regions II: Scotland (chair: Rosemary Golding)** • Moira Ann Harris: Striking a Blow for Scottish Culture: The Work of the Dunedin Association from 1911 to 1917 • Jane Mallinson: Andrew Black (1859–1920): Scotland's Best but Least-Known Singer?
11:00-11:30	**Tea/coffee**			
11:30-13:30			**Music in Higher Education (chair: Susan Wollenberg)** • Rosemary Golding: The 'University Object': Degrees, Diplomas and the Idea of the Music Qualification in Late 19th-Century Britain • Kieran Crichton: 'One of those thick-pated English organist-scholar creations'? Franklin Peterson, Ormond Professor, 1901-14 • Luke Berryman: C. Hubert H. Parry and the Birth of Music as a University Subject, or 'A Plea Made on Music's Behalf'	**(No) National Opera (chair: Christopher Scheer)** • Alison Mero: *The Musical World*'s Promotion of a National English Opera • Paul Rodmell: Mapelson's London Opera Project of 1875 • Steven Martin: The British Operatic Machine in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries: The Quest for a National Opera
13:30-15:00	**Lunch**			
15:00-16:30		Janet Snowman (paper), Thomas Barnard (baritone), Christopher Gould (piano): John Orlando Parry and the Theatre of London		
16:30-17:00	**Tea/coffee**			
17:00-19:00			**Practicalities of Musical Life (chair: Phyllis Weliver)** • Peter Horton: 'They earn money from morning till night': Issues of Finance and Status among Professional Musicians in Mid-19th-century England • Rachel Milestone: 'A Melodious Phenomenon': The Life and Times of a Town Hall Organist • Jana Sims: Mechanics' Institutes and Music in the 19th Century	**Operatic Impulses (chair: Steven Martin)** • Joseph Sargent: Operatic Impulses in Stanford's Early Evening Canticles • Christopher Scheer: A Perfect Wagnerite? *Fin-de-siècle* British Wagnerism and the Creation of Gustav Holst's *Sita*
19:00-20:00		Piano recital – David Owen Norris: *Schiller and Shakespeare Musicked* ▪ Edward Elgar (tr. S. Karl-Elert): *Falstaff* ▪ William Sterndale Bennett: Piano sonata *The Maid of Orleans*		

Saturday, 25th July 2009

Time	Recital Room	Auditorium	Victoria's Room	Room G12
9:30-11:00			**Music and National Icons (chair: Michael Allis)** • Benedict Taylor: Sullivan, Scott, and *Ivanhoe*: Constructing Historical Time and National Identity in the Victorian Era • Phyllis Weliver: *Prometheus Unbound* and the English Musical Renaissance	**Music and Women's Lives (chair: Guido Heldt)** • Judy Barger: Musical 'Accomplishments' of Victorian Young Ladies • Michelle Meinhart: Music, Marginalia, and Memory: Female Life Writing in the 19-Century English Music Copy Book
11:00-11:30	**Tea/coffee**			
11:30-13:30			**Professional Problems (chair: Ruth Solie)** • Leanne Langley: 'Women in the Band': Music, Modernity and the Politics of Engagement, London 1913 • Jennifer O'Connor: The Influence of London in the Musical Careers of Irish Women • Fiona M. Palmer: Finding Direction: Hierarchies in the Early Years of the Liverpool Philharmonic Society	**Music Criticism (chair: Trevor Herbert)** • Duncan Boutwood: And Still They Called for More: Observations of Audience Behaviour in the Newspaper Criticism of Herbert Thompson • Donna S. Parsons: 'Pythonesses Upon Their Tripods:' Music Criticism in Michael Field's *Works and Days* • Paul Watt: French Influences on English Musical Criticism in the Late Victorian Period: The Case of Ernest Newman and the *Weekly Critical Review*, 1903/04
13:30-15:00	**Lunch**			
15:00-16:30			**Musical Periodicals (chair: Paul Watt)** • Michael Kassler: England's First Musicological Journal: *The Quarterly Musical Register* (1812) • Meirion Hughes: 'A Unique Position in Musical Literature': *The Strand Musical Magazine*	**Folk Song Questions (chair: Fabian Huss)** • Damien Sagrillo: Interactions between Scottish Folksong and the Music of the Viennese Classical Period • Bennett Zon: Cecil Sharp and the Evolution of Folk Song: Some Conclusions on *Some Conclusions* (1907)
16:30-17:00	**Tea/coffee**			
17:00-19:00			**Music, the Empire and the Military (chair: Nick Nourse)** • Trevor Herbert: The British Military Music Establishment and its Influence in the Later 19th and Early 20th Centuries • Simon Purtell: A Pitch for Empire: Performing Pitch in Late 19th- and Early 20th-Century Melbourne	**Festivals and Concerts (chair: Paul Rodmell)** • Christine Andrews: The Great Handel Commemoration of 1859: Costa's Monumental Scores and the Crystal Palace Festivals • Rachel Cowgill: Out of a Silence? Mary Wakefield, the Westmorland Festival, and the Musicalisation of Lakeland • Christopher Redwood: William Hurlstone and the Century Concerts
20:00	**Conference Dinner @ Zero Degrees**			

Sunday, 26th July 2009

Time	Recital Room	Auditorium	Victoria's Room	Room G12
9:30-11:00			**Performance Issues (chair: Guido Heldt)** • Bonnie Smart: Recitative and Variation in the 19-Century English Context	**Seascapes and Soundscapes (chair: John Pickard)** • Alf. C. Carrington: Sea Songs and Songs of the Sea • Kristina Guiguet: Music as a Discourse of Power: A Conservative Musical Soundscape in Britain, 1835-1841
11:00-11:30	Tea/coffee			
11:30-13:30			**Symphonic Topographies (chair: Peter Horton)** • Michael Allis: Elgar Abroad; *In the South*, Travel Literature and 'Imaginative Topography' • Lewis Foreman: The Eclipsed Tradition. The Long Evolution of the Symphony in 19th-Century England through Publication and Performance	**Mendelssohn (chair: Guido Heldt)** • Sterling Lambert: Mendelssohn's 'Marian' Symphony • Nicholas Phillips: Lecture-recital: Mendelssohn's *Songs without Words* in Victorian England

Abstracts

(in alphabetical order of speakers)

Michael Allis (University of Leeds): Elgar Abroad: *In the South*, Travel Literature and 'Imaginative Topography'

Several recent interdisciplinary studies have explored significant parallels between literature and music in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, principally by contextualising musical references in Victorian and Edwardian literature. However, the fact that the majority of literary figures in this period seem not to refer specifically to British musical compositions in their works suggests that an alternative approach might be fruitful where British music is concerned. This paper therefore offers a different perspective by using a literary concept as a 'way in' to appreciating aspects of musical narrative. With reference to Chloe Chard's recent study of Victorian travel writing, it explores her concept of 'imaginative topography' as applied to Edward Elgar's concert overture *In the South* (1904). Given that this overture has traditionally been seen as somewhat 'problematic' in the Elgar literature, this literary context offers the opportunity to reconsider several features of Elgar's work. The paper suggests that some of the literary strategies that Chard identifies (particularly in relation to communicating a sense of 'other') are mirrored in Elgar's score, allowing us to appreciate more fully Elgar's role as traveller-narrator.

Christine Andrews (University of Oxford): The Great Handel Commemoration of 1859: Costa's Monumental Scores and the Crystal Palace Festivals

The Great Handel Commemoration of 1859 held at the Crystal Palace was a monumental event, in every sense, to celebrate the centenary of the death of the 'mighty Handel'. Over 460 orchestral players, 2, 765 choristers and 81,260 ticket holders attended this three day festival at which was performed Handel's *Messiah* and *Israel in Egypt*.

The conductor, Sir Michael Costa was one of the driving forces behind the Commemoration festival, organizing the auditioning and transporting of musicians from far and wide, including Bristol. The focus of this paper is on Costa's massive manuscript scores, held in the Royal College of Music. Costa's arrangements of Handel's oratorios included many instruments of the day, such as ophicleides, serpents, valved trumpets and horns, and a giant seven-foot drum.

Using Stephen Little's definition of monumental art as a framework, a brief comparisons between Costa's manuscripts, Handel's Dublin conducting score and the Mozart edition will be made. It will be seen how these adapted scores made a bold statement, like the thousands in the massed choir and audience, showing reverence to Handel in this ex-

panded way. These remarkable manuscripts illustrate vividly a past commemoration of Handel and are not only a musical monument but one reflecting the society of the day.

Stephen Banfield (University of Bristol): American Music in and around 19th-Century Bristol

England enjoyed and encouraged American musical imports for most of the 19th century. Yet it is easy to overlook what arrived when, and how, and to make assumptions about popular song in particular based on 20th-century patterns of exchange. The newly digitised pages of the *Bristol Mercury* document phases of often forgotten influence in a representative city. First, blackface minstrelsy rapidly increased the awareness of and market for American songs, performance tropes and cultural images, though later British minstrelsy was hardly a showcase for American popular music (a designation never used). Then the Civil War flagged popular songs as political metonyms. Arguably, though, the most precipitate musical influence of the century, vehicle for a revolution in taste pregnant for the 20th century, came with Sankey and Moody's gospel hymns, rarely out of the Bristol news after 1873. Finally, preceded by Gilmore's band in 1878, the first 'sound of America' sensation arrived in the 1890s with the two-step (the Washington Post) because this decade reflected new economic and political strategies. Since American art music remained below the horizon throughout the century except at its aesthetic margins, another 'second story' of the 19th century here emerges.

Judy Barger (Little Rock/Arkansas): Musical 'Accomplishments' of Victorian Young Ladies

What did it mean for a young lady to be musically accomplished in Victorian England? The term 'accomplishment' appeared frequently in literature of the time aimed at young upper- and middle-class females, their parents, and teachers but with little consensus of exact meaning. Often preceded by the qualifier 'so-called', accomplishments were supposedly thought to need no definition for those to whom they applied. In the case of musical accomplishments, two questions must be answered. First, what did it mean to be *accomplished*, and second, what did it mean to be *musical*? Not all of the feminine accomplishments pursued at the time were musical ones. And a female who considered herself musical was not necessarily accomplished according to contemporary societal and musical standards. Far more than a mere exercise in semantics, these distinctions draw attention to an important but not fully understood constellation of activities central to the daily routine of young ladies in Victorian England.

After tracing the historical context within which the accomplishments made their way to Victorian England, this paper uses the first year's issues of *The Girl's Own Paper*, a popular weekly magazine published in London by the Religious Tract Society beginning in 1880, to examine how this publication initially treated the musical accomplishments in which readers might engage. The extensive inclusion of musical topics within a more generalized content oriented to young female readers, as well as answers printed to readers' questions about music, makes *The Girl's Own Paper* a rich source of information about an important aspect of musical life in Victorian England.

Luke Berryman (Brighton, Boston/Mass.): C. Hubert H. Parry and the Birth of Music as a University Subject, or 'A Plea Made on Music's Behalf' → See panel *Musical Scholarship* (under the name of Rosemary Golding)

Duncan Boutwood (University of Leeds): And Still They Called for More: Observations of Audience Behaviour in the Newspaper Criticism of Herbert Thompson

The lengthy journalistic career of Herbert Thompson, the Music and Art Critic of the *Yorkshire Post* from 1886 until 1936, makes his writing valuable as a 'barometer of change' in a period of intense social and cultural upheaval in Britain. This paper uses Thompson's published criticism to investigate the behaviour of Yorkshire concert and opera audiences in the years before the First World War, including matters such as late arrival and early departure, conversation, applause between (and during) movements, and demands for encores. Significant differences emerge between audiences in Leeds, Bradford, and Huddersfield, together with possible links between social class and musical taste. The widening gulf between 'art' music and popular culture is discussed, with the rise in popularity of 'celebrity' concerts occurring in tandem with an increasing appetite for chamber music.

Closely connected with Thompson's observations of audience behaviour are his own opinions about the musical taste of the masses, and his constant calls for the public subsidy of musical performance, shedding light upon the delicate balance between entrepreneurship and philanthropy which supported the musical life of the provinces in this period.

Alf C. Carrington (East Dereham/Norfolk): Sea-Songs and Songs of the Sea

From the time of Shakespeare's John of Gaunt, and even before, the British seaman has been held in particular affection by his countrymen, and has given rise to a plethora of musical representations from Purcell's sailor in *Dido and Aeneas* to Britten's *Billy Budd,* via folk-song such as *Life on a 98* and popular songs such as Charles Dibdin's *Tom Bowling.*

Throughout the nineteenth century, composers found their countrymen's fascination with Jack Tar a rich source of musical inspiration. In this paper I intend to explore the relationship between the genuine music of the sea and the commercial ventures that arose from the impetus of the country's fascination with the sea. During the eighteenth century the rise of British trade, and therefore wealth, was significantly due to her increasing command of the ocean through the development of the Royal Navy. A particular curiosity is the strange ambivalence that surrounds the seaman. On one hand he is a hero, savour of the nation, as epitomised by popular and commercial songs in praise of Nelson. On the other, there is a fascination with cruel punishments and impressment, commonly expressed in forebitters, like *The Cruel Ship's Captain* and *Andrew Rose* and eventually in *Billy Budd*.

As well as looking at popular musical entertainments with a nautical theme, such as John Moorehead's *Naval Pillar* and *HMS Pinafore,* the art music of musicians such as Thomas Attwood and Charles Villiers Stanford will be explored to understand their relationship with the real music of the sea as would be found on Their Majesties' ships and the merchant, whaling and fishing fleets. Special reference will be given to the songs recorded by James Gardner early in the century, as well as an examination of Sir Henry Wood's centenary celebration of Trafalgar.

Andrew Clarke (University of Bristol): The Role of Networking within the Musician Community in Late Georgian Bath

The perceived wisdom is that the musical heyday of Bath was over by the end of the 18th century. Indeed Ehrlich suggests that by 1826 there were 'no distinguished names and far more teachers than performers.' But in many respects the late Georgian period in Bath showed different channels of musical dissemination rather than decline. To what extent can this change be attributed to the role of networking? The author will present the state of musical activity in the city during this era, identify the various threads of connectivity which existed between musicians and argue a case for further examination.

Rachel Cowgill (University of Leeds): Out of a Silence? Mary Wakefield, the Westmorland Festival, and the Musicalisation of Lakeland

Mary Wakefield (1853-1910), the Kendal-born daughter of a wealthy banker, is widely credited with having 'initiated' the competition-festival movement when she established the Westmorland Festival in the 1880s (often referred to as the Mary Wakefield Festival). Yet little is known about Wakefield or the early festivals beyond what is recorded in the memoir published by her friend Rosa Newmarch in 1912. In addition, a certain mythology

has enjoyed currency – that music in Westmorland was virtually non-existent before the advent of the festival – and this is reflected in the commemorative prelude *Out of a Silence* (for chorus, semichorus, drums, and trombones) written in 1912 by George Rathbone and Gordon Bottomley for the first festival held after Wakefield's death. This paper interrogates both of these 'facts' about Wakefield and the Westmorland festival, bringing her background, opportunities, and activities into sharper focus.

Wakefield was deeply influenced by two prominent literary men: John Ruskin, to whom she was close for much of her life, and Canon Hardwicke Rawnsley, often referred to as 'The Bard of the North'. As is well known, for example, she published a volume of Ruskin's writings on music in 1894, which offers insight into the beliefs about music, education, and community that motivated her work on the festivals. In their lifetimes Ruskin, Rawnsley, and Wakefield witnessed the transformation of the Lake District into a Victorian tourist resort and playground for rich industrialists; and, as prominent residents, all three were caught up in tensions between the railway and leisure magnates seeking to open up access to the area on the one hand, and the Lake District Defence Society and its precursors dedicated to preserving it as an idyllic northern romantic retreat on the other. The politics of rural conservation and development that inspired Ruskin's utopian Guild of St George, Rawnley's establishment of the Keswick School of Industrial Art, and the founding of the National Trust by Rawnsley and his associates in 1894, offer a key to understanding the ideological context of the early festivals.

This paper explores interactions in the festivals themselves between what were considered 'indigenous' music-making traditions and the 'imported' repertoires of oratorio, part-song, and 'art' music; it examines ideas of community, landscape, authenticity, romanticism, class, recreation, and folk culture that were expressed in rhetoric surrounding the festivals and their development; and it investigates the reception of the festivals both by those directly involved (for example, singers from local villages and those who regularly travelled north to attend, participate, and/or adjudicate, such as Cecil Sharp and Frank Kidson) and by the press (commentary from local journalists in the *Westmorland Gazette* for example, and critics such as Herbert Thompson writing for the *Yorkshire Post*). Preliminary conclusions are drawn about the role of the Westmorland Festival in shaping perceptions of the Lake District and its northern rural communities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the extent to which its very peripherality allowed – at least for a while – new spaces and opportunities for amateur musical creativity to flourish under the radar of the main protagonists of the 'British musical renaissance'.

Kieran Crichton (University of Melbourne): 'One of those thick-pated English organist-scholar creations'? Franklin Peterson, Ormond Professor, 1901-14 → See panel *Musical Scholarship* (under the name of Rosemary Golding)

Lewis Foreman (Rickmansworth): The Eclipsed Tradition. The Long Evolution of the Symphony in Nineteenth-Century England through Publication and Performance

Our understanding of the pre-Elgar British symphony is growing as previously forgotten works are performed and recorded. More symphonies than previously realised were published then when new, and during the second half of the nineteenth century the status of symphonies by British composers (both UK-born and immigrants) was increasingly recognised by their contemporaries as reflected by publication in piano reduction and full score, and by performance.

In this paper the published symphonies of composers as varied as Eduard Silas, Oliver A. King, Thomas Wingham, Frederick Lamond, Frederick Cliffe, Frederic Hymen Cowen and Edward German will be surveyed in the context of their published programme notes and their critical reception. Novello's initiative in publishing a number of British late nineteenth century symphonies in full score in the years immediately before the success of Elgar's First Symphony in 1908 will be explored. The tension between these composers' student allegiance to German education, publishers and a European audience and the emerging nationalist assumptions of the next generation of British composers at the turn of the century will be considered.

Rosemary Golding, Kieran Crichton, Luke Berryman: *Music in Higher Education*:

The success of efforts to improve music education in Victorian Britain was such that, by the end of the long nineteenth century, multiple options were available to would-be professional musicians to gain accreditation in order to proceed to a career in performance, composition or teaching. The creation of a distinctive structure of professional qualification is an important development in the musical culture of the Empire, and this session will focus on some aspects of the institutional framework that came to support the professionalization of musicians during the period from the commencement of Sir Frederick Ouseley's period as professor of music at Oxford and the Great War. The ancient universities undertook major reforms of their musical degrees, a process shaped by the particular culture of these institutions, while new institutions, notably the Royal College of Music, were set up with a mission to improve musical culture through the provision of practical training. Aspects of these developments were manifested in institutions at the furthest edges of the Empire, often in response to issues raised in debates in Britain. This session will focus on the development of structures for higher music education, with a particular focus on the relationships between public examinations and professional qualifications such as diplomas and degrees.

- **Rosemary Golding (Royal Holloway, University of London): The 'University Object': Degrees, Diplomas and the Idea of the Music Qualification in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain:** Late nineteenth-century London boasted a wealth of institutions for aspiring professional musicians to gain musical training and employment. The disparate nature of accreditation and education opportunities parallels the fragmentary nature of the music profession. Part of the Royal College's remit on its opening in 1883 was to function as an affiliating body, aiming to regulate and standardise music education and certification across the country in the same way as other professional organisations. The rhetoric employed by the RCM's founders, however, confused the hitherto distinct institutional structures and functions of university and professional body. To the concern of the universities, the RCM included degree-awarding powers in its 1883 Charter, thus further threatening traditional distinctions and privileges. Taking this debate as a starting point, this paper will consider the problems of musical accreditation within the context of theories of professional identity, education and society, considering the aesthetics and practicalities of examining in music within a changing cultural context.

- **Kieran Crichton (University of Melbourne): 'One of those thick-pated English organist-scholar creations'? Franklin Peterson, Ormond Professor, 1901-14:** When Franklin Peterson (1861-1914) began his term as Ormond Professor of Music, Melbourne University was faced with serious challenges in articulating a role for the qualifications it offered in a setting where the music profession had established independent sources of professional qualification. By the time of his death Peterson had addressed this issue in two ways that reflected his engagement with British debates over the place of higher education in the musical profession. By 1906 he had established a conservatorium-based music degree, where candidates had a choice of graduating schools. This became the normative model for music degrees in Australian universities. He also initiated and oversaw the development of a system of music examinations, modelled partly on the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, intended to provide the basis for a nation-wide music education. This provided the means for students to enter the University to study for the diploma, which paralleled the highest grades of the public examinations, and ultimately the degree. The implications of these developments continue to resonate in Australia. This paper will explore the progress of these reforms during Peterson's term as Ormond Professor.

- **Luke Berryman (Brighton, Boston/Mass.): C. Hubert H. Parry and the Birth of Music as a University Subject, or 'A Plea Made on Music's Behalf':** The writings of Sir Hubert Parry (1848–1918) bear witness to the dawn of musicology as a university subject in the English-speaking world. But nowadays rarely, if ever, are they approached as tools with the potential to be applied practically. This is a state of affairs that I hope to convince is worth reconsidering. In this presentation I will argue, focusing principally on *The Evolution of the Art of Music* (1896), *Johann Sebastian Bach: the*

Story of the Development of a Great Personality (1909) and *Style in Musical Art* (1911), that certain aspects of Parry's historiography could beneficially be absorbed into our own methodologies. This may at first seem an infeasible task, given that contemplations of the comparative 'Teutonicism' of various composers, discussions of the music of 'savages', social Darwinism and so on, all of which characterize Parry's texts to some degree, can obviously take no place in modern scholarship. At the core of his endeavours though, beneath the surface of the differences in societal sensibilities that separate his day from ours, I believe that there exists a firm and indeed timeless foundation for musical scholarship. With key elements of Parry's theories as my foundation, I will call into question some of the methods of teaching and studying music that have become standard in many Anglo-American universities. I will give special attention to the merits of dividing music into several different specialisms (musicology, ethnomusicology, music theory and so on), and on the current state of music criticism. In casting a spotlight on Parry's work, I will suggest that further examinations of what was written about our subject at its birth may yield indispensable guidance as we seek to further our musical knowledge in the 21st century.

Kristina Guiguet (Carleton University, Ottawa): Music as a Discourse of Power: a Conservative Musical Soundscape in Britain, 1835-1841

British political conservatives mounted cultural opposition to political reform with music that naturalized social hierarchies based on class and gender. As a contribution to the history of the political uses of music as a form of reception, this paper looks at the use of music in the British Conservative Party "Festivals" between 1835 and 1841. These massive, grass-roots dinners were designed to build cross-class electoral support in the wake of the 1832 Reform Act. They used a wild mix of music from vernacular, operatic, and part-song repertoires to punctuate speeches explaining the theory that social hierarchies were a manifestation of natural law. The present study connects the Festivals' participants with their other forms of musical activity to reveal a conservative musical "soundscape." Music was a discourse of power that created a powerful sense of nation-wide community.

This paper is not about aesthetics, but, like Jackson and Pelkey's recent publication, aims to "bridge the disciplines" of music and history. Political and social history, like some musicology, tend to see music as external to the important constituent features of society. Perhaps not coincidentally, serious music is now pressed to the margins (Jeffrey H. Jackson/Stanley Pelkey, eds., *Music and history: bridging the disciplines*, Jackson/Miss. 2005, viii-xi; John Beckwith, "The present state of unpopular music," *CAML Review* 35 (2007): 13-15). One way to reconstitute music as an integral part of society is to show how it has been relevant to politics and power. The problem is methodology, but, as Stanley Pelkey notes, music is "part of a matrix of mutually-informing sociocultural systems." (Stanley Pelkey, "Music, Memory, and the People in Selected British Periodicals of

the Late 18th and Early 19th Centuries," in *Music and history*, eds. Jackson/Pelkey, p. 61).

This paper draws on several theorists to interpret the fragmentary traces of performance history to show how a conservative musical soundscape was harnessed to political power. R. Murray Schafer's term "soundscape" sees music as indivisible from the world of sound created by the conditions of its historic moment (R. Murray Schafer, *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World*, Rochester, 1994, 178 and *passim*). John Shepherd explains that music is an abstract form that acquires unstable layers of meaning through the imaginations of audiences, composers, and performers (John Shepherd, *Music as Social Text*, Cambridge, 1991, 13, 176). William Weber notes that the malleability of concert programmes makes them finely-tuned records of incremental social change (William Weber, *Music and the Middle Class: The Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris and Vienna*, New York 1975, 17). Judith Butler's cognate theory of performativity posits that repeating a skilled behaviour creates the subject to which the repeated behaviour appears to refer, making variations in repetition important to the cultural process of social change (Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: on the Discursive Limits of 'Sex"*, New York & London 1993, 95). Drawing on such scholarship, the theoretical premise of this paper is that programmers and performers do not simply reproduce a changeless, preexisting musical text but, with their audiences, reshape both musical and social meanings with each performance. The problem is how to ask the long-dead what the music they experienced meant to them.

This study builds on my case study of an 1844 Toronto private programme, which identifies audience reception by looking at the structure of private concert programmes featuring amateurs and professionals in a heterogeneous mix of musical genres. Patterns of repertoire and performance conventions reveal that Victorian programming aesthetics used musical genres as tropes of social identity. The heterogeneous result presented a performative ideal of human society as a harmonious hierarchy of human types: different kinds people ought to perform different kinds music (See author M.A.).

Similarly, the present study of a British conservative musical soundscape uses programmes, personal diaries and papers, records from music clubs, architectural drawings, and newspaper reports to flesh out the context of the 48 Conservative Festivals held between 1835 and 1841. Over 80% of the Conservative Festivals music was collected and their lyrics compared with the political ideas expounded in toast speeches. A network of discrete, overlapping circles of musical leisure was traced, showing individual Festival participants engaged in men's singing clubs, domestic and semi-public amateur musical activities, and attending a wide range of professional musical performances from opera to chamber music. By literally naming the ideological content of music, the Conservative Festivals supplement the method of pattern-identification, and provide empirical evidence of the cultural codings of music. This methodology may apply beyond its narrow scope, particularly for understanding nineteenth-century musical life as a transnational system of cultural meaning. Musical performance history is a critical lens through which to see formal, political power as continuous with cultural negotiations of daily life.

Moira Ann Harris (University of Glasgow): Striking a Blow for Scottish Culture: the Work of the Dunedin Association from 1911 to 1917

In October of 1911, an association was formed as a protest against the indifference shown to Scottish music and literature. The Dunedin Association's rationale was to spread knowledge and promote growth of native music and poetry. Based in Edinburgh, it strove to raise awareness of Scottish culture through concerts, lectures and the publication of its journal, *The Dunedin Magazine*.

The Dunedin Association had a worldwide membership. At its zenith, there were more than one thousand members from many walks of life. Notable members included the musical figures Sir Frederick Bridge and Sir Frederick Cowen, the men of letters Andrew Lang and Neil Munro as well as the high-profile academics Professor Saintsbury and Sir James Donaldson, Principal of St Andrew's University. There was also a cross section of local worthies, pillars of the Edinburgh Establishment.

For a number of years the Dunedin Association worked steadfastly to further its aims. Its monthly meetings were well attended while its philosophies were disseminated through political channels, newspaper articles and public concerts, the most prestigious of which was a performance of large-scale choral/orchestral works by Learmont Drysdale, Hamish MacCunn and Sir Alexander C. Mackenzie. However, by 1917 the number of members had declined on account of the First World War and it ceased to operate.

This paper investigates the background to the Dunedin Association and explores the breadth of its activities. It includes an overview of works performed under its auspices and provides a survey of articles published in *The Dunedin Magazine*.

Trevor Herbert (Open University): The British military music establishment and its influence in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

The Military Music Class opened at Twickenham in 1857 in the midst of controversy. It marked an important step in the development of military music education in Britain, but it also initiated a process that shifted control of military music from a network of commanding officers and their (mainly civilian) music directors to central and direct military control. By this time, the British military had one of the largest and most sophisticated networks of musicians in the world. Its existence underpinned the infrastructure of large sectors of the UK music business and it was responsible for the dissemination of repertoires throughout Britain and its colonies. After 1857 the role of music in large-scale imperial ceremonies was increasingly important and the leaders of British military music enjoyed enormous prestige.

For these and other reasons, the influence of the military on civilian musical endeavour was decisive. Not only was the military responsible for the recruitment of many players who were destined to become professionals, but the tastes, standards and hierarchies of military musicians had an important influence at home and in the colonies.

In modern times, when the military is so clearly segmented from civilian music, it is difficult to appreciate quite how integrated and powerful the military influence was, especially on the very highest echelons of the British establishment. This paper examines these themes and the people who were prominent in their enactment. By way of example, it considers evidence concerning the importance of military music in debates about the standardisation of pitch in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and wider issues about the legacy of military musicianship to the British music profession.

Peter Horton (Royal College of Music, London): 'They earn money from morning till night': Issues of Finance and Status among Professional Musicians in Mid-19th-Century England

When the pianist Clara Schumann first visited London in 1856 she was appalled by the commercial nature of English music making. Her host, the composer and pianist William Sterndale Bennett (1816-75), endured a punishing schedule of teaching and everywhere she went she found a similar compunction to make money. This paper will look at how considerations of finance and status affected the careers of two leading mid 19th-century musicians, Sterndale Bennett and the composer and organist Samuel Sebastian Wesley (1810-76). Wesley, who had experienced considerable poverty during his childhood, was plagued by worries about money throughout his adult years and fought a long campaign to raise the financial and professional status of cathedral organists – who at least enjoyed salaried appointments – so as to reflect their position as 'the *bishops* of their calling'. Bennett, in contrast (but like most performers and teachers), was paid per engagement and, to ensure an appropriate income, built up an extensive teaching practice that came to dominate his life. It was, in its own way, as burdensome as the continual composition of 'pot boilers' undertaken by some of his fellow composers. The paper will draw on contemporary documentary evidence, including Wesley's correspondence and published writings and Bennett's surviving account books, to demonstrate how the struggle to establish and maintain professional and financial respectability in Victorian England could so easily stifle creativity.

Meirion Hughes (London): 'A Unique Position in Musical Literature': *The Strand Musical Magazine*

In November 1893, Sherlock Holmes plunged to his death in the pages of *The Strand Magazine*. Such was the popularity of Conan Doyle's mythic detective that his sudden demise at the Reichenbach Falls was akin to a national bereavement: the magazine's editor, mindful of his circulation figures, described it as a 'dreadful event', while young City men wore mourning crepe on their silk hats. The *Strand* however soon shrugged off Holmes's demise, with a monthly circulation of 500,000 it was already the most successful periodical of the age, a national institution, a mirror held up to the tastes, prejudices and intellectual limitations of the British middle-classes.

Just over a year later, in January 1895, the *Strand*'s publishers, George Newnes, launched the *Strand Musical Magazine*, a monthly family publication with a content bias towards teenage girls. Priced at six pence and consisting of eighty pages (20pp text, 60pp printed music), the new magazine, adopting the *Strand*'s ground-breaking production values and following its tried and tested format, was an attempt to emulate the parent publication's success in a niche market segment.

With its easy-going prose, cheerful emphasis on celebrity, quality fiction and easy-to-perform music by modern composers, the *Strand Musical Magazine* aimed to be a serious-minded and respectable, yet entertaining, inexpensive, and up-to-the-minute publication in tune with its middle-class readership. Having, as its editor claimed, 'a unique position in musical literature', it boasted of many distinguished contributors including George Grove, Charles Hallé, Ignaz Paderewski and Arthur Sullivan.

This paper will explore how the *Strand Musical Magazine* aimed at commercially exploiting its own assertion that the British were a 'music-loving people' while supporting the efforts and publicising the achievements of the national 'musical renaissance'. It will also suggest some reasons why, after three years and thirty-six issues, it failed. Hitherto neglected by historians of nineteenth century publishing, the richly pedigreed *Strand Musical Magazine* surely deserves closer scholarly attention.

Michael Kassler (Northbridge/NSW): England's First Musicological Journal: *The Quarterly Musical Register* (1812)

The Quarterly Musical Register, published in London in 1812, may be regarded as England's first musicological journal. Earlier English periodicals that described musical discoveries or reviewed new books about music also covered a variety of other subjects.

The Quarterly Musical Register was directed towards readers who were interested in knowledge that theorists and historians of music had acquired but were not necessarily learned in that field. It was 'written and collected' by the music theorist A. F. C. Kollmann (1756–1829), who was born in the electorate of Hannover and came to London in 1782, when Hannover and Great Britain were in 'personal union', to serve as organist and schoolmaster in the Royal German Chapel in St James's Palace. Kollmann's links with German culture enabled him to be first in the world to publish (in 1799) any of J. S. Bach's

'48', and to extend Johann Phillipp Kirnberger's theory of tonality so that, as he wrote in his 1806 *A New Theory of Musical Harmony*, 'every note that is useful in music might have as positive rule as it denotes a positive sound'. He corresponded with leading people in the German musical world such as Johann Anton André and Johann Nicolaus Forkel and read, and later contributed to, the Leipzig *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, whose range of coverage influenced Kollmann's own journal.

The Quarterly Musical Register included the first substantial English-language biography of Bach, identified anonymous music reviewers in English literary periodicals, gave a retrospect of the state of music in England and Germany, described efforts to improve pianos and organs, critically compared and reviewed two editions of John Wall Callcott's *A Musical Grammar*, and provided accounts of Kollmann's own theory and much more, including articles about music in Bath, Bristol and Edinburgh contributed by correspondents.

Sterling Lambert (St. Mary's College of Maryland, St. Mary's City/ML): Mendelssohn's 'Marian' Symphony

The Maestoso conclusion of the finale of Mendelssohn's 'Scottish' Symphony has been viewed by many as problematic since its first performance. Related in no obvious way to the main body of the movement, it has drawn explanations for its existence that range from a tenuous connection to the opening theme of the first movement to a veiled quotation of one of his male-voice partsongs that is more familiar to us today as "Hark the Herald Angels sing". Yet its meaning may lie somewhere in the famous circumstances of Mendelssohn's apparent conception of the opening theme of the Symphony on a visit to Holyrood House in Edinburgh, during his celebrated tour of Scotland in the summer of 1829. His letters documenting the event suggest a particular fascination with one of Holyrood's most famous residents, Mary Queen of Scots. Mary's devout catholicism in the face of extreme adversity may have prompted this quintessentially protestant composer to compose his own veiled homage to Mary with his setting of the quintessential catholic text, the Ave Maria (Op. 23, no. 2), the following year. The close similarity of the opening of the motet to that of the Symphony's Maestoso coda (including even its A major tonality), suggests that Mendelssohn, in completing this symphony over a decade after its inception at Holyrood, may deliberately have alluded to his earlier choral work in an act of acknowledging the role that Queen Mary, as an icon of catholic faith and martyrdom, played in originally inspiring the symphony. Mendelssohn's dedication of the symphony to the current Queen (Victoria) therefore seems particularly appropriate.

Leanne Langley (Goldsmiths, University of London): 'Women in the Band': Music, Modernity and the Politics of Engagement, London 1913

In October 1913 the employment of six women string players in the Queen's Hall Orchestra made history as well as headlines. No other fulltime professional British symphony orchestra allowed women members except as harpists, despite the rising number of excellent female musicians emerging from the nation's conservatories. One version of the story – explaining why the six were selected, who they were and how they fared – has been on the record for more than seventy years, in Henry Wood's autobiography *My Life of Music*. Echoing Wood, other writers agree that his bold action, indebted to Continental precedent, created a breakthrough for British women orchestral musicians. In reinscribing the episode as essentially a women's performing landmark, however, commentators have missed its wider significance in important period debates, from those around modern labour practices and a woman's right to vote, to cutting-edge music provision for ordinary Londoners.

My paper will offer a new interpretation of the 1913 women's hire and its outcomes. Using memoirs, photographs, press reports and the managerial strategies behind 'Queen's Hall Orchestra Ltd', I argue that the employment of these women fulfilled clear objectives in maintaining the orchestra's progressive profile by its Liberal owner, Sir Edgar Speyer. Particularly relevant in 1912-13 were a Liberal Prime Minister opposed to woman suffrage and the consequent suffragette militancy that made Labour Party ascendancy increasingly likely; restive male orchestral players seeking to combine against challenging new music, including Schoenberg's, on QHO programmes; and the stunning rise of Thomas Beecham as Wood's rival in modern European music from Strauss to Stravinsky. At a stroke, on the highly visible platform of London's premier concert hall, six women players were seen, and heard, to make a difference in these battles by engaging both public and professional attention.

Jane Mallinson (University of Glasgow): Andrew Black (1859–1920): Scotland's Best but Least-Known singer?

In the 1890s and the early years of the twentieth century, Andrew Black, the Glasgow-born baritone, was highly regarded as an oratorio and concert singer. In his home city Black achieved a notable success when, on New Year's Day 1887, he replaced at short notice the indisposed Signor Foli in *Messiah*. Shortly thereafter he left for London to further his career, making his Crystal Palace debut in June 1887.

Black gave the first performance of a number of works including Hamish MacCunn's cantata *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (Cranston), Elgar's *The Apostles* (Judas), and the title roles in *Caractacus* and Coleridge-Taylor's *Hiawatha's Departure*. A frequent performer at music festivals in England, Black toured in the United States, Australia and New Zealand and taught at the Manchester College of Music. He emigrated to Australia in 1913,

where he continued to perform and to teach. He left behind a legacy of over forty recordings, some of which are still available and allow assessment of his vocal abilities.

Since Black was considered by the critic Hermann Klein to be "one of the best male singers that Scotland has ever produced" (Hermann Klein, *Thirty Years of Musical Life in London 1870–1900*, London: Heinemann, 1903, p. 468), it is surprising that today Black is less well-known than his compatriot Mary Garden and his contemporaries such as Harry Plunkett Greene, David Bispham and George Henschel. This paper amplifies Black's biography and considers his career as a performer, teacher and recording artist.

Steven Martin (University of Bristol): *The British Operatic Machine in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries: The Quest for a National Opera*

At various times during the nineteenth century British artists and politicians called for the establishment of a national opera house. The last years of the century witnessed a significant resurgence of interest in creating a national opera house when, for example, a petition to the London County Council was organised by a group of musicians and submitted in 1898. Although this petition was ultimately unsuccessful, it is significant; it marks the beginning of an important period of transition: away from the idea of building an institution in bricks and mortar to one of reforming existing ones. This paper takes as its focus the nature of the operatic machine in Britain towards the end of the nineteenth century. To what extent was the creation of a 'tradition of native opera' a part of this machine?

I shall then go on to discuss the ideas behind the 1898 Petition (and its predecessors). How did these ideas change and evolve as the debate moved into the early twentieth century? I will examine the evidence given to the LCC in 1898, which reveals the vision of people such as Charles Villiers Stanford and Richard D'Oyly Carte had for a national opera—considered with the benefit of hindsight, did they have the right idea?

Michelle Meinhart (University of Cincinnati): Music, Marginalia, and Memory: Female Life Writing in the Nineteenth-Century English Music Copy Book

Like diaries, commonplace books, and sketchbooks, music copy books were compiled and kept by most English middle and upper class young women as a show of one's genteel education and accomplishments. Although printed music was plentiful and easy to obtain in the nineteenth century, young women nevertheless frequently copied songs and piano music onto manuscript paper, binding these sheets together into volumes to create their own anthologies of repertoire for practice and performance. These under-studied manuscripts can offer glimpses into the musical life and education of Victorian young women, while also providing a new avenue for understanding ways of collecting and remembering. This paper

will examine five music copy books kept by Julia Lucy Hoare, Julia Elizabeth Buller, Elizabeth Popham, and Helen and Anna Fuller Maitland, placing these sources within the larger contexts of life writing and the keeping of scrapbooks and commonplace books. I will discuss what these manuscripts' contents reveal about young women's musical tastes of the period, drawing special attention to how the music they chose to include differs significantly from the canon of nineteenth-century music that has come down to the present age.

The musical notation in these books, though, is not the only conveyer of historical information. Often these manuscripts include short hand-written notes in the margins alongside the musical staves and notes. Such script commonly documents the where, when, and from whom the music was copied. The compilers of these books also often indicated who and where they had first heard the music performed, such as at a ball or the opera. Such information reveals specific music being remembered and how music was intertwined with the memory of life events, thus recording the past in subtle, yet poignant, ways.

Alison Mero (Indiana University): *The Musical World*'s Promotion of a National English Opera

Despite the sparse scholarship on the genre, English-language opera was a popular form of entertainment in Victorian England, coexisting and competing with adaptations of continental opera, spoken drama, and hybrid theatrical genres. Approximately one hundred English-language operas were performed from the 1830s to the 1870s; some were even remounted, pointing to their financial success. And yet, nineteenth-century critics and composers lamented that English opera had not achieved the status of continental opera. One journal in particular, *The Musical World*, returned to this problem repeatedly throughout its fifty-five year existence, publishing editorials, preview articles, reviews, and letters to the editor all designed to encourage the formulation of a national opera. However, none of these attempts was successful. This paper will explore two of *The Musical World*'s early attempts to create a school of English opera, in which two different editors took different approaches to the same problem.

The Musical World began its crusade for English opera in 1840. This first push for a national opera managed to identify the main stumbling blocks: poor performance and production quality as well as a lack of support from English opera-goers. Nevertheless, no immediate solution was discovered. Later in the same decade, a new editor, J. W. Davison, took up the crusade for English opera, by actively promoting individual operas and composers. Within the substantial body of Victorian music criticism, the active encouragement of a national genre of opera by *The Musical World* is unique, not only because of its identification of the problem—that is, the lack of high-quality native opera—but also the efforts that went into changing this.

Rachel Milestone (University of Leeds): 'A Melodious Phenomenon'. The Life and Times of a Town Hall Organist

Due in part to the increase in and growing demand for public concerts in the nineteenth century, town halls emerged as a new type of performance space for music and many became integral to the musical life of the town. By the mid-century it had become imperative for such halls to house a "grand" organ that was not only as much a symbol of progress and status as the building itself, but that could be used to provide music that was designed to educate and "improve" the masses. In many provincial centres the municipality employed an organist to act as instrumental guardian and musical educator. The influence of such an indiviual on the musical life of the hall and the town in which it was placed depended on many varying factors, but principally those of municipal support and personal endeavour.

In December 1862, Leeds Town Council wrote to various provincial centres requesting information on how their governing bodies managed the organs and organists within their public halls. What followed was a series of communications from a number of regional councils, giving precise details of the work and remuneration of the musician in their employ and the usage of the instrument itself. This paper will explore the contents of the existing documents, comparing the diverse strategies used by the various local councils, and how this translated in actual musical terms. It will consider why, in an age of utmost economy in local government, the expenditure for the employment of an organist was in many places thought to be a necessity. Ultimately this paper will discuss how and why town hall organists came to hold such influence over nineteenth-century organ playing and music-making, in many places creating a distinct and elite 'melodious phenomenon' (*Leeds Mercury*, 3 March 1866).

Jennifer O'Connor (National University of Ireland, Maynooth): The Influence of London on the Musical Careers of Irish Women

In the nineteenth century there was a growth in female musicians active in Ireland, particularly in Dublin. With the establishment of the Royal Irish Academy of Music and the increase in musical activities across the city, women began to become involved in music as teachers, performers, composers and writers. For the majority of these women, the musical activities of London and its female musicians were major influences.

Southampton-born Fanny Arthur Robinson, although making Dublin her home, regularly returned to London to perform and to attend concerts. In 1856 she became the first person to give a solo recital in Ireland, an idea that was popular in London in the 1850s. In her work as a teacher she encouraged many of her students to travel to London

to experience 'as much good music as possible'. In the case of one student in particular, Margaret O' Hea, this advice and her experiences had a lasting impact on her own work as a teacher and promoter of music.

London provided many other women with training that made them much sought-after for their qualifications in Dublin. A prime example of this was the infamous Edith Oldham, who became remembered more for her misunderstood relationship with George Grove than for her contribution to music in Dublin. Her time at the Royal College of Music resulted in her returning to Dublin and taking a position on the piano faculty of the Royal Irish Academy of Music. She was the first- and until 1918 only- teacher with a diploma in music and she earned more than many of her female peers in London.

This paper will examine the influence of London musical scene on the careers of Dublin's female musicians in the second half of the nineteenth century. It will evaluate how their experiences in London influenced their work as performers, pedagogues and promoters of music in Dublin.

Fiona M. Palmer (National University of Ireland, Maynooth): Finding Direction: Hierarchies in the Early Years of the Liverpool Philharmonic Society

Founded in 1840 by a stockbroker, the Liverpool Philharmonic Society lies fifth in line among the oldest concert-giving organisations in Europe. This paper, tapping the riches of the Society's newly-catalogued archive, examines the fundamental internal and external hierarchies which governed and shaped the Society's early development. To what extent were core values dictated by external supply and demand and to what extent by the personal interests of the leading figures in the Society? What parallels can be usefully drawn with the operation of the Philharmonic Society of London and, by understanding this better, what conclusions can be reached about the elements of Liverpool's activities that were independently governed by local expectations and demands?

Probing the social expectations and financial structures that underpinned the Liverpool Philharmonic's regulations, committees, income, expenditure, venues, audience, performers, repertoire and programming is revealing. It allows us to contextualise the issues facing those who wished to promote 'the Science and Practice of Music' in this prosperous commercial port. The colourful experience of the Society's pioneering musical director (1844-65), Zeugheer Herrmann reveals much about his battle to establish 'conductorial control'. His attempt to exert control extended over not only his musical forces but also those who financed his appointment. The story of his progress tells us much about perceptions and hierarchies at the heart of the Society. The operational models established in these early years laid the foundation for a Society whose orchestra continues to the present day. Through a clearer understanding of the evolving marketplace within which the Society developed its profile it is possible to situate its work more authoritatively on Britain's nineteenth-century musical map.

Donna S. Parsons (University of Iowa): 'Pythonesses Upon Their Tripods': Music Criticism in Michael Field's *Works and Days*

Michael Field, the pseudonym for Katharine Bradley and Edith Cooper, are known for the extensive research they conducted in the United Kingdom and Europe before writing their poetry and dramas. A reading of *Works and Days*, their unpublished diaries, reveals the impact music had on their creativity. Diary entries note a wide array of private and public musical consumption. The Fields detail their attendance at domestic performances where they listened to friends sing Schubert and Schumann lieder or play solo piano works of Beethoven, Chopin and Schumann. Although they attended Dolmetsch's concerts of early music, their critiques reveal that their ear was tuned to the future and not the past. Indeed, devoted attention was reserved for Richard Wagner's operas. While they were conducting research for their poetry and dramas in various German cities or in London, the Fields attended performances of *Lohengrin*, *Tannhäuser*, *Tristan*, and *Der Ring des Nibelungen*. In *Works and Days* they wrote detailed critiques and summaries of the plots and performances they heard, their opinion on Wagner's libretti, and even lessons they learned from Wagner in dramatic construction.

Critical assessments of their works have focused on the creative and personal relationship between the two women and with their male friends, the complexity of the dual authorship and how that duality affects our interpretation of *Callirrhoë* and *Fair Rosamund*, and their re-writing of the Sapphic verses found in *Long Ago*. However, little critical attention has been paid to the influence music had on their daily lives and the construction of their diaries. In this talk I examine the importance of music to the Fields' literary endeavors, compare their critiques of London music concerts and performances of Wagner's operas to those of their professional counterparts, and analyze the ways in which their criticism expands our understanding of fin-de-siècle concert life.

Nicholas Phillips (University of Wisconsin – Eau Claire): Mendelssohn's *Songs without Words* in Victorian England

As the world celebrates the 200th anniversary of the birth of Felix Mendelssohn in 2009, this lecture-recital will address the connections of nineteenth-century Britain and Mendelssohn's most famous genre for piano, the Songs without Words. These character pieces were incredibly popular in the nineteenth century and standard fare for amateur pianists in homes all over Europe, especially in Victorian England, where Mendelssohn and the *Songs without Words* were extremely well-received. The influence that the people, places, and general cultural climate of Victorian England had on the *Songs without Words*, and the way

in which these pieces contributed to and exemplified Mendelssohn's place in that society, will be explored.

Broad focus will be given on the *Songs without Words* in Victorian England from a social perspective regarding class and gender, along with a discussion and performance of five Songs without Words that are representative of Mendelssohn's connection with Victorian England. *Songs without Words* that will be played include: Op. 19, no. 4 (written in London during his first visit), Op. 19, no. 3 (a "Hunting Song" completed in England for publication of the first set), Op. 53, no. 5 (the "Volkslied," featuring an imitation of Scottish Folksong), Op. 62, no. 6 (the "Spring Song," written while Mendelssohn was in London), and Op. 67, no. 1 (Queen Victoria's favourite, and arranged by Mendelssohn as a duet for her and Prince Albert).

Simon Purtell (University of Melbourne): A Pitch for Empire: Performing Pitch in Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Melbourne

On 20 September 1907, the *Argus*, a Melbourne daily newspaper, called upon local musicians to do their part in the campaign to lower and standardise performing pitch throughout the British Empire. In contrast to the uniformity of pitch enjoyed on the Continent, the newspaper reported a 'sort of musical chaos' in Britain and all its colonies. Whilst the *Argus* realised that the State of Victoria itself would not be 'musically strong enough' to lead a reform in pitch practice across the Empire, it urged Melbourne's orchestral players to purchase new instruments at the low French diapason normal, a^1=435, from English manufacturers. It was up to the citizens of Melbourne, as Nellie Melba would later say, to help 'get things put right.'

This paper investigates debate on performing pitch in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Melbourne, tracing the campaign to lower the pitch of the Grand Organ in the Melbourne Town Hall. In the wider context of the movement to standardise pitch in Britain and Europe, the paper draws on articles and reviews in the daily press, as well as musical magazines and journals, to highlight the very public nature of the issue of pitch. It raises ideas of national identity and considers the role high profile singers, such as Nellie Melba, played in the movement to standardise pitch.

Christopher Redwood(University of Bristol): William Hurlstone and the 'Century Concerts'

William Hurlstone (1876-1906) was Stanford's most talented pupil and expected to become one of Britain's outstanding composers, but poor health led to his death at the age of just thirty. He found chamber music his preferred compositional medium, writing a first-

rate Piano Trio and Piano Quartet, but he was particularly inspired when wind instruments were involved.

In 1900 he collaborated in mounting a series of chamber concerts aimed at showing off the less common instruments of the woodwind family, such as the bass flute, the oboe d'amore and corno di basetto. Most of the works played were by living composers and he obtained the services of some of the best pupils who had studied with him at the Royal College of Music. Although the concerts were unremunerative, they continued for five years, numbering twenty-five in all: a very British achievement.

Paul Rodmell (University of Birmingham): James Mapleson's London Opera Project of 1875

In 1875 London society was enthused by the possibility of a brand new opera house being constructed on the Thames, immediately adjacent to the new Palace of Westminster. The opera impresario James Mapleson planned to build and manage the new theatre which, it was soon thought, would house not only Mapleson's Italian opera company, but also an English opera troupe, a corps de ballet, and the Royal Academy of Music, and include not only a theatre but a concert hall. By the end of the year, construction had started and prospects appeared good, but the project soon came off the rails and, by the end of 1876, there was a partially built theatre, work on which had come to a halt. Despite attempts by Mapleson to restart the project, nothing was achieved and the building was eventually demolished and replaced with the headquarters of the Metropolitan Police.

This paper examines the history of the project, asking how and why it originated and failed – and speculates briefly as to what might have happened to opera in Britain had the creation of the 'National Opera House' been accomplished.

Damien Sagrillo (Université du Luxembourg): Interactions between Scottish Folksong and the Music of the Viennese Classical Period

From the beginning of the 1790ies to 1804 Haydn arranged 429 Scottish folksongs for various music editors. During his two stays in London from 1791-92 and 1794-95 he became acquainted with culture and folk music of the British Isles. He became very popular to the London society, and he was asked for composing for diverse people and occasions. In addition to his greater works he wrote instrumentations to hundreds of famous Scottish and partially also Welsh airs.

During the last decade of the 18th and the beginning few decades of the 19th century the music Scottish music editor George Thomson asked several famous and less

famous Viennese composers to arrange (mainly) Scottish folksongs which he published in numerous edition.

In addition to Haydn Thomson also asked Beethoven to make arrangements. Other less known composers were Kozeluch, Pleyel but also, after Beethoven, Hummel and Weber. All of them represented the classical and the beginning of the romantic era in music. The common standard of the arrangement for Thomson is the instrumentation (with some exceptions): the vocal part is accompanied by a piano trio, i.e. a typical Viennese genre. The fact of integrating folklore of the British Isles with classical music of the Second Viennese School is unique in the history of music and underlines the social affiliation of the arrangements for the music appreciating 'upper class' which aims to unify chamber music with their one tradition. Even the British Embassy in Vienna points out this interrelationship on its webpage.

Before making arrangements for Thomson, Haydn made an acquaintance with the bankrupt editor William Napier during his first London trip. To help him out of his misery, he harmonized a first set of one hundred folksongs without any remuneration. The edition was a great success, due to the reputation of Haydn in the British society. Napier's pecuniary situation improved, so that a second set of fifty songs was published and this Haydn could be remunerated. The instrumentation of these first 150 songs arranged by Haydn was different to Thomson's editions: it was written for voice violin and basso continuo.

The edition of the folksong arrangements of Haydn has been achieved recently by the publication of the fifths volume containing 65 arrangements for William Whyte, another Scottish publisher. Beethoven, the more illustrious exponent of the classical period, also has arranged more than hundred folksongs of the British Isles. This numerical less important corpus has yet been largely discussed by Petra Bockholdt and Barry Cooper in their monographs of Beethoven's arrangements of British songs.

In my paper I will first illustrate some characteristic traits of Scottish songs and provide information about their sources. In the second part I will describe the style of Haydn in his arrangements.

Joseph Sargent (Stanford University): Operatic Impulses in Stanford's Early Evening Canticles

Charles Villiers Stanford's achievements in rehabilitating Anglican service music are often framed in terms of imbuing into this genre a "symphonic" sense of structure. Beginning with the B flat Service, Op. 10 of 1879, Stanford composed a series of canticles and services which are habitually described as symphonic, replacing a predominantly "choral" aesthetic of successive, musically independent sections with large-scale melodic, harmonic, and formal links. In contrast, Stanford's earliest set of Evening Canticles from 1872-73—the Magnificat and Nunc dimittis in F (the "Queens' Service") and the Magnificat and Nunc

dimittis in E flat—are portrayed as incubatory, moving toward but not achieving this symphonic ideal.

Instead of viewing this early service music as "pre-symphonic," this paper considers their style from a different genre perspective—that of opera. While not lacking in formal integrity, Stanford's music aims decisively toward capturing an overt sense of drama characteristic of opera. Theatrical treatment of vocal lines against static accompaniment, conspicuous use of motivic repetitions, and highly colorful sectional contrasts all suggest that Stanford drew on operatic rather than symphonic practice as his primary means of vivifying this music. Historical circumstances of Stanford's early years—his noted devotion to opera, his father's amateur opera career—further bolster a sense of these canticles as drawing heavily upon this genre. Composed during a period that also witnessed Stanford's burgeoning devotion to the classical aesthetics of Schumann and Brahms, these canticles suggest that Stanford adopted a symphonic conception of Anglican service music only after experimenting with an opera-based model. This should lead us to consider applying a different set of analytical criteria to these early works, focusing on their dramatic effectiveness rather than their "symphonic" shortcomings.

Christopher Scheer (Utah State University): A Perfect Wagnerite? *Fin-de-siècle* British Wagnerism and the Creation of Gustav Holst's *Sita*

The influence of Richard Wagner and his works were still felt in London at the end of the nineteenth century. The 1890s gave rise to works by Oscar Wilde, George Bernard Shaw, William Butler Yeats, and Aubrey Beardsley, all of whom embraced Wagnerian culture to affect or advance their artistic endeavors. Continental composers of opera such as Richard Strauss, Claude Debussy, and Giacomo Puccini felt compelled to confront the legacy of Richard Wagner, and it was no different in England, where a young composer from Cheltenham named Gustav Holst wrote to his friend Ralph Vaughan Williams that he felt he had to "follow Wagner until he leads you to fresh things." Shortly after, Holst embarked on an audacious compositional project: the creation of a three-act opera, *Sita*, that was Wagnerian in proportion and conception, but based on the ancient Hindu epic, *The Ramayana*. A detailed study of *Sita* reveals a fascinating composition that embraces elements of *findesiècle* British Wagnerism. Written between 1899 and 1906, Holst's opera was conceived at the same time as the publication of Shaw's *The Perfect Wagnerite*, a socialist interpretation of Wagner's *Der Ring des Nibelungen*. Shaw's work, I argue, had a profound impact on *Sita*, transforming the original story into a Wagnerian celebration of the glories of socialism. Considering this connection in light of the period's understanding of Wagner's participation in the 1848 Dresden uprising, as well as Holst's involvement in both Theosophy and the Hammersmith Socialist Club, reveals a complex and fascinating artifact of British Wagnerism. Moreover, close analysis of the final act demonstrates that *Sita* is not a slavish imitation of Wagner, as his daughter and others have suggested. Instead, Holst's interests

and beliefs led him to a distinctive understanding of Wagner's art, the result of which was a truly unique opera full of the promise of future compositional distinction.

Jana Sims (Institute of Education, University of London): Mechanics' Institutes and Music in the 19th Century

The foundation of the London Mechanics' Institute in 1823 precipitated a nationwide movement to provide scientific education for the skilled working classes. The institutes soon attracted members of the lower middle class too, whose tastes and leisure hours dictated a much broader curriculum to include music, literature and the humanities. Music was to assume a vital role in the history of these institutions.

Nearly all mechanics' institutes developed some form of musical class or society which not only enhanced their cultural provision, but helped raise vital funds through concerts and entertainments, while fostering positive public relationships in their localities. This could lead to mutual support between existing local music groups and those of a neighbourhood mechanics' institute: performances of such works as the "Messiah" might thus be made viable in a small town. Tonic solfa classes were run at some institutes and it was the choral activities in particular which attracted new members. They also helped to challenge the original male-only character of the mechanics' institutes with the necessity for women's voices in choirs. Musical evenings of both a professional and amateur nature became very popular in an institute's lecture programme. In harmony with the moralising spirit of the age, music of 'a superior kind' was seen to afford rational amusement and an antidote to entertainments of a less desirable nature.

While music brought benefits to the institutes themselves, there were considerable advantages for the profession. Institutes provided performance venues and audiences for both artists and lecturers. By inspiring local amateur music-making they could stimulate sales of sheet music and instruments as well as encourage prospective pupils to seek teachers. Above all, the volume and success of music within the mechanics' institute movement must be a reassurance that England was a land with vibrant music-making in the nineteenth century.

Bonnie Smart (University of Melbourne): Recitative and Variation in the Nineteenth-Century English Context

The prevalence of instrumental improvisation within the context of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century recitative performance is well documented; the art of accompanying recitative was a noted speciality of selected cellists in this era. Whilst the practice is described in a number of treatises questions regarding localised, individual variations, particularly within the London scene, remain to be answered.

Based on primary sources and secondary investigations, this paper considers various reports of recitative accompaniment styles as practised by players in London during

the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. A sense of cross-fertilization and inter-relationship between various genres and instrumental conventions becomes evident: the importance and prevalence of embellishment and ornamentation in vocal music (with variations from composer to composer) is invoked. Recitative accompaniment practices on the cello will be placed within the context of singing styles popular at the King's Italian Opera during the period.

Particular reference will be made to the cellist Robert Lindley (1776-1855) and his colleague Domenico Dragonetti (1763-1846) whose improvisations in effect defined the pinnacle of this art.

Janet Snowman (Royal Academy of Music, London): John Orlando Parry and the Theatre of London

Baritone, composer, pianist and harpist John Orlando Parry (1810-1879) could have been discouraged by early reviews of his performance as a young actor at the newly-built St James's Theatre in King Street, London, owned and managed by the tenor John Braham. A reviewer in *The Times* (30 September 1836) recorded that 'he did not appear to advantage on the stage ... his figure, manner, bearing and utterance are all against him', while *The Athenaeum* (November 26th) noted that 'Mr Parry had to enact a fop, and he made him such an animal as is never seen except on the stage, and there only in a pantomime'. By 1844 all had changed. 'There is not a greater public favourite, and we may add none more deservedly so, than John Parry; go where he will, from Hanover-square to the obscurent provincial scientific institution, he is hailed with delight' (*The Times*, 8 January). Parry was also artist. In his painting, *A London Street Scene* (1835/7), as well as recording autobiographical information, he provides the viewer with an unequalled painted pictorial snapshot depicting the musical, theatrical, social and cultural events in London through playbills and posters, echoing the growth of advertising, and new typography. Watched over by the ever-present spiritual dome of St Paul's Cathedral, these temporary items of fleeting events, glued onto a giant hoarding, itself like a theatre curtain, will soon be rubbed out by over-pasting, by rain, by rot - or perhaps even perish with the wall itself. Parry's graphic work also extended to the design of decorative sheet music covers which, along with those of one or two other composers of the period, offer similar typographic examples as seen on the hoardings, as well as references to attractive and often-humorous literary columns in popular journals and newspapers. In this lecture-recital, Janet Snowman will discuss Parry's paintings and prints, with particular reference to the developing area around Trafalgar Square and The Strand, interspersed with music from singer Thomas Barnard and pianist Christopher Gould, who will perform what are now little-known works, once hugely popular, written or performed by Parry, with some surprises relating to musical items which appear on or refer to the hoardings in the *Street Scene* and his other graphic work.

Benedict Taylor (Princeton University and Humboldt University, Berlin): Sullivan, Scott, and Ivanhoe: Constructing Historical Time and National Identity in the Victorian Era

Arthur Sullivan's Walter Scott-based opera Ivanhoe, despite attaining great success at its 1891 première, has since quickly fallen from musicological grace. Criticism of this work in the twentieth century has concentrated on the static, tableau-like dramaturgy of the opera, a lack of dramatic coherence, and its undeniably conservative musical language. Taking its bearings from such criticisms this paper explores Sullivan's problematic magnum opus from the perspective of its relationship with time, understood from multiple levels – his opera's musical-dramaturgical, historical, and music-historical temporalities. Starting from Michael Beckerman's insightful analysis of what he terms the 'iconic mode' in Sullivan's music, Ivanhoe can be viewed as an attempt at creating a different type of dramaturgical paradigm that emphasises stasis and stability located in the past, highly apt for a work seeking both to crystallise past history and found a new tradition for future English opera. Moreover, investigating this work and the composer's stated aesthetic concerns more closely reveal a conscious desire to opt out of the modern temporal sense of continental European narratives of musical progress and build a composite, pageant-like vision of English history, therefore inevitably partaking in a process of constructing national identity. Finally, the political implications of this work resulting from the intersection of its (dynamic) historical plot and (static) dramaturgical means are explored and contrasted with those of Wagner.

Paul Watt (Monash University): French influences on English musical criticism in the late Victorian period: the case of Ernest Newman and the *Weekly Critical Review*, 1903–04

In *Punch* on 4 October 1890 a cartoon was printed depicting two schools of contemporary journalism: French and English. The French critics were represented by a pair of slim and elegantly poised gentleman-fencers crossing swords in a polite duel. In contrast, the English critics were illustrated as obese street-fighters who appear to have been ejected from a boxing hall. This cartoon sums up a strong and prevalent perception of 1890s English literary criticism: that in France, criticism was more sophisticated and intellectual than in England. Indeed, many French literary critics, such as Ferdinand Brunetière, Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve and Emile Hennequin were held in particularly high regard in England, in both literary and musical circles, for their critical talent and sophistication. This paper focuses on Ernest Newman's engagement with French literary critics and the ways in

which he championed his French connections as role models for his musical colleagues, especially through his columns for the *Weekly Critical Review*. This presentation explains the background to Newman's mission, the editorial aims of this bilingual journal, and the contributors and range of their topics, illustrating that through one periodical at least, a determined effort was made in the late Victorian period to make English musical criticism much more 'French'.

Phyllis Weliver (St. Louis University): *Prometheus Unbound* and the English Musical Renaissance

Hubert Parry's *Scenes from Shelley's Prometheus Unbound* has generally been understood to initiate the so-called English Musical Renaissance. Given the piece's iconic stature, it is strange that this 1880 choral cantata was rarely performed then or now. The reason for the choral cantata's undeniable importance thus seems to be because of the poem and the poet, suggesting that Parry's personal and musical radicalism, along with Shelley's revolutionary associations, led to the piece being seen as initiating the Musical Renaissance. Such investigations have certainly been correct and useful in studies of Parry, but identifying why Parry's composition was associated with the EMR also elucidates a cluster of associated ideas regarding verse, music, and morals. Certainly the desire for a good balance between music and words wasn't new in British composition, nor was their connection to notions of ethical improvement. In the 1870s and 80s, however, the trio were linked in fresh ways to ideas of national Renaissance.

This paper shows that Parry was part of a wider context that newly conceived the idea of national "Renaissance" as reliant on music and poetry, paired. The English poem was thus not interchangeable for the ideal idea of English music. Rather, in vocal music, meaning was seen to exist concretely, but ineffably, somewhere between the text and the setting. Earlier nineteenth-century notions about the hierarchy of the sister arts are thus challenged in the early 'eighties. Equally importantly, Shelley's poetry and ideas are reclaimed and repositioned during the '70s and '80s ? decades when the Romantic poet finally achieved a place within the literary canon. In essence, the radical music and poetry helped to put each other into circulation.

Focusing on Parry's Prometheus Unbound, and informed by Ruskin, Swinburne, W.M. Rossetti, the Shelley Society, Punch, and Maude Valérie White's "My Soul is an Enchanted Boat" (another setting of Prometheus Unbound), this paper probes the relationship of poetry, music, and Renaissance during the early 'eighties.

Bennett Zon (Durham University): Cecil Sharp and the Evolution of Folk Song: Some Conclusions on *Some Conclusions* (1907)

There are, arguably, few areas of musicology more ideologically riven than the English folksong revival, and few figures within it more contentious than the renowned folksong 'missionary' Cecil Sharp (1859-1924). Immensely popular in his own day, by the 1960s a second folk song revival began reinterpreting Sharp in light of Marxist philosophical critique, portraying him as an upper-middle class cultural interloper with unreconstructed class values at odds with his project's principal musical informants, the folksong singers themselves.

While Sharp saw folksong as 'created by the common people . . . [who] have escaped the infection of modern ideas' A. L. Lloyd describes this attitude as 'an ideology of primitive romanticism with a vengeance', and David Harker as 'de-humanizing and de-individualizing'. Georgina Boyes claims that Sharp took the 'cultural products of the rural working class' and for financial gain 'daintily and selectively re-worked [them] for school and drawing room performance'.

Despite its resonance today, Marxist criticism systematically reinterprets the anthropological culture of Sharp's time, distorting it as broadly racist and classist when, in its own terms, it was incontrovertibly progressive. Sharp's seminal treatise, *Some Conclusions on English Folk Song* (1907), embodies this progressive anthropological culture, situating English folk song within a clearly Darwinian structure based on concepts of continuity, variation and selection.

This paper explores that structure, setting it against those competing and more retrograde developmental models which Sharp eventually excluded from his research, such as developmentalism and recapitulationism. An account of these reveals the confusion at root amongst ideologically-driven Marxist critics, and attempts to demystify the nature of Sharp's anthropological values and beliefs.

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