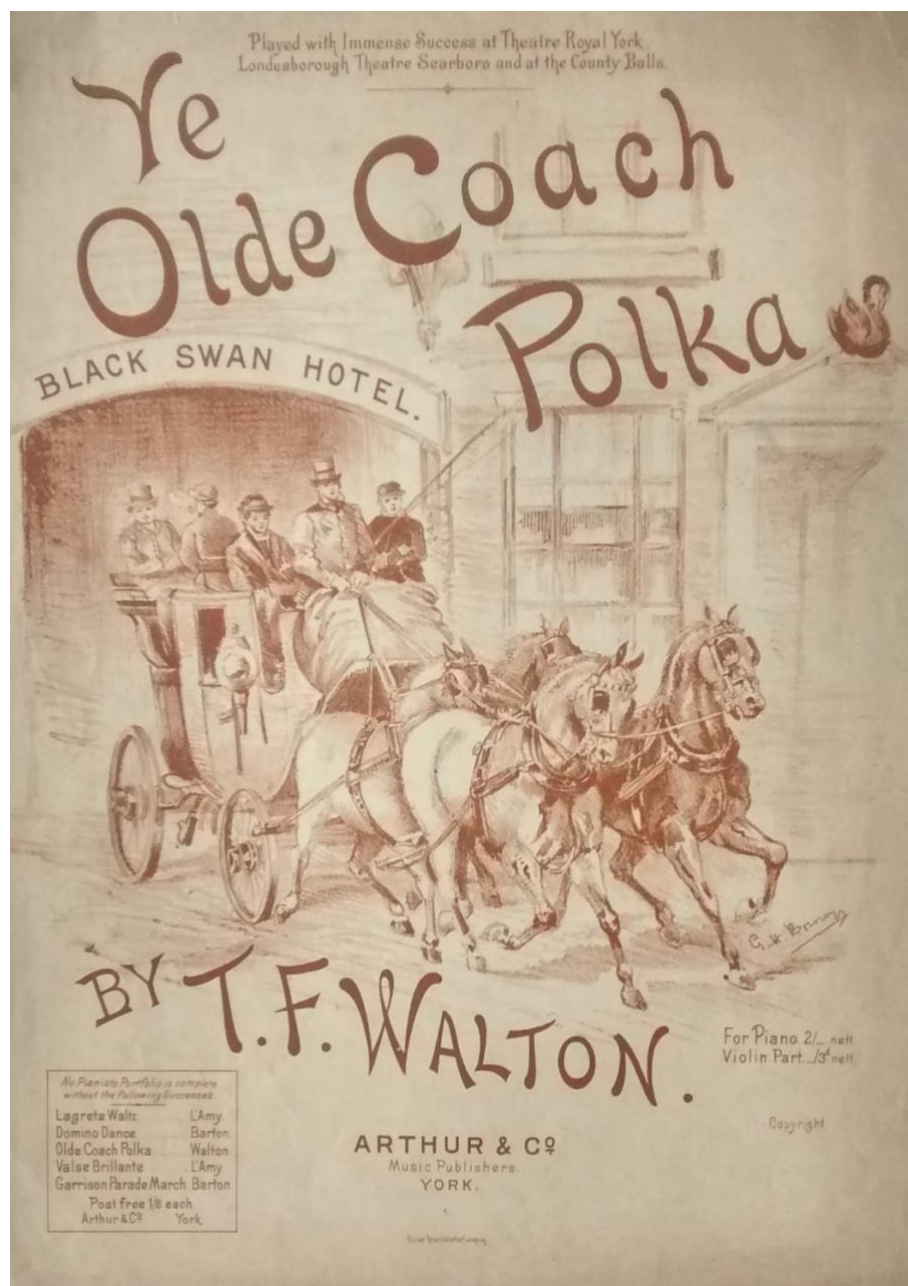


14th International Biennial Conference on Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain

28–31 July 2025
University of York



14th Biennial International Conference on Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain, York, 28–31 July 2025

Conference Schedule

See [Campus Map](https://www.york.ac.uk/media/abouttheuniversity/Campus%20Map.pdf): <https://www.york.ac.uk/media/abouttheuniversity/Campus%20Map.pdf>

Monday 28 July Berrick Saul Building	Sessions marked 'A' will be in the Treehouse (BS/104) and those marked 'B' will be in the Bowland Auditorium (BS/005), Berrick Saul Building, University of York, Campus West (Campus Map : D3 31)	
09.30–10.30am	REGISTRATION – Jane Moody Board Room, Berrick Saul Building (BS/007)	
10.30–10.45am	WELCOME – Bowland Auditorium, Berrick Saul Building (BS/005)	
10.45am–12.30pm	<p>Session 1A: Case Studies in Late Victorian Music Education – Panel¹ Chair: Alisa Clapp-Itnyre</p> <p>Christina Bashford – Silenced Voices and History from Below: Working-Class Violin Culture in Britain in the Late Victorian Era and Beyond</p> <p>Alisa Clapp-Itnyre – The Legacy of Victorian Hymnody in Children's British and American Music Education, 1840–1940</p> <p>Phyllis Weliver – Liberal Ideas about Music Education, from London to Melbourne</p>	<p>Session 1B: Opera and Theatre Chair: Gillian Dooley</p> <p>Paul Rodmell – The Curious Case of Isidore De Lara (1858–1935)</p> <p>Michael Burden – Opera (and other things) in the London Season of 1813</p> <p>Lauren Ganger – Elizabeth Craven's Brandenburg Theatre: Women and Creative Agency at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century</p>
12.30–1.30pm	LUNCH – Foyer (BS/003B)	

¹ In this session, papers will follow each other and Q&A will be gathered together at the end; session B will finish slightly earlier than session A

1.30–2.30pm	<p>Session 2A: Miscellany 1 Chair: Rachel Becker</p> <p>Anastasia Zaponidou – The ‘greatest lady ‘cellist’ or a ‘rabid feminist’? Envisaging the Influences of the Suffrage Movement in the Early Career of May Henrietta Mukle</p> <p>Oliver Puckey – ‘A Drama With Songs’: <i>Oberon</i> between the British and German Stage</p>	<p>Session 2B: Music and Shows Chair: Martin Clarke</p> <p>Elizabeth Kertesz and Michael Christoforidis (ONLINE) – Pierrots, Pantomime, and Plectral Instruments in Late Victorian Entertainment</p> <p>Amélie Addison – Music on the Move: A Circus Bandsman on Tour in 1890s Britain and Ireland</p>
2.30–3.00pm	BREAK – Foyer (BS/003B)	
3.00–4.30pm	<p>Session 3A: Music, Memorials and Memorialisation Chair: Paul Watt</p> <p>Alison Gilbert – ‘I hear a wizard music roll’: Musical Encounters with the Dead in Liza Lehmann’s <i>In Memoriam</i></p> <p>Michael Allis – Memorialising William Sterndale Bennett: Two Musical Models</p> <p>Kirsten Barker – ‘[T]heir deeds have risen monument’: Ideas of Britishness in Musical Memorialisation of the Terra Nova Expedition</p>	<p>Session 3B: Concerts in Transition Chair: Christina Bashford</p> <p>Steven Jeon – Redefining Chamber Music: Listening Practices at the Monday and Saturday Popular Concerts at the St James’s Hall in London in the Nineteenth Century</p> <p>Rachel Watson – ‘A complete orchestra of Lady Amateurs’: Class, Charity and Professionalism in the English Ladies’ Orchestral Concerts</p> <p>Claire Holden – Playing Together? Exploring Changing Artistic Priorities in English Orchestras at the End of the Nineteenth Century</p>
4.30–4.45pm	BREAK – Foyer (BS/003B)	

4.45–6.15pm	<p>Session 4A: Music Through Other Media Chair: Leanne Langley</p> <p>John Ling – 'As others saw them': The Musical World of the 1880s and 1890s as portrayed in <i>Punch</i></p> <p>David Lewis – 'Selected from the best productions of the great masters': Choosing and Translating Music for <i>The Harmonicon</i> (1823–37) and <i>The Musical Library</i> (1833–37)</p> <p>Victoria Roskams (ONLINE) – Frédéric Chopin in Decadent Fiction</p>	<p>Session 4B: Global Networks Chair: David Wright</p> <p>Vinzent Wesselmann – From Rebels to Rivals: Colonial Music Infrastructure and the ABRSM Exams, 1889–1948</p> <p>LECTURE RECITAL: Jesse Bannister – Empire and Global Musical Networks: An Insight into the Cultural Impact of Indian Music in Nineteenth-century Britain</p>
6.15–6.30pm	TRANSFER on foot to JACK LYONS CONCERT HALL (Campus Map : C2 13)	
6.30–7.30pm Rymer Auditorium, Sir Jack Lyons Concert Hall	<p>KEYNOTE 1:</p> <p>Thozama April-Maduma (Senior Curator, National Heritage & Cultural Studies Centre, University of Fort Hare, South Africa): Revisiting the Archive of the Tour of the African Choir, London, 1891 Chair: Philip Burnett (Sponsored by the Humanities Research Centre, University of York)</p>	
7.30–9.00pm Foyer, Sir Jack Lyons Concert Hall	<p>DRINKS RECEPTION with BUFFET:</p> <p>Sponsored by the School of Arts & Creative Technologies, University of York</p>	

Tuesday 29 July Berrick Saul Building	Registration desk: Jane Moody Board Room, Berrick Saul Building (BS/007) Sessions marked 'A' will be in the Treehouse (BS/104) and those marked 'B' will be in the Bowland Auditorium (BS/005), Berrick Saul Building, University of York, Campus West (Campus Map : D3 31)	
9.00–10.30am Bowland Auditorium, Berrick Saul Building	Session 5: Miscellany 2 Chair: Roger Hansford Gillian Russell (ONLINE) – Trash or Treasure? Sheet Music in Debates about the Meaning of the Book vs Ephemera in early Nineteenth-century Britain Rachel Becker – In Search of the Nineteenth-century [British] Female Oboist Candace Bailey – Exposing Fallacy behind the Myth: Mary Jane Ouseley's Influence on Little Freddie	
10.30–11.00am	BREAK – Foyer (BS/003B)	
11.00am–12.30pm	Session 6A: Music and Life-Writing Chair: Rosemary Golding Rachel Cowgill – Musical Parties Public and Private: Observing Music in the Journal of Miss Jane Ewbank of York, 1803–1805 Alison P. Deadman – The Lesbian and the Prima Donna: Anne Lister's Social and Musical Engagement with Angelica Catalani Matthew Head – What Autobiography Does: Reading Harriet Wainewright Stewart's 'My Musical Career' (1836)	Session 6B: Music and Institutions 1 Chair: Christina Bashford Anna Wright – Gustav Behrens: The Man Behind the Music Emma Arthur – 'List to the Convent Belles': Music and the Convent Schoolgirl in Nineteenth-century Ireland Leanne Langley – Against the Odds: The early Musical Association, 1874–1914
12.30–1.30pm	LUNCH – Foyer (BS/003B)	

1.30–2.30pm	<p>Session 7A: Female Singers Chair: Emma Arthur</p> <p>Jamison Hankins – Animate Instruments: The Metaphysical Power of the Prima Donna’s Voice in Nineteenth-century London</p> <p>Rose Cameron – Mendelssohn’s ‘Hear ye, Israel’ in the British Marketplace: The Profile of Clara Novello (1818–1908)</p>	<p>Session 7B: Music and Institutions 2 Chair: Derek Scott</p> <p>Charles McGuire – Building a Better Subject: Tonic Sol-fa and the British Competition Festival</p> <p>Rachel Johnson – The Song of Then and Now: Music in English Prisons</p>
2.30–3.00pm	BREAK – Foyer (BS/003B). Book launch: Phyllis Weliver & Katharine Ellis, eds., <i>Reading Texts in Music & Literature during the Long Nineteenth Century</i> (Boydell & Brewer, 2025). Boydell & Brewer stall – all welcome!	
3.00–4.15pm	<p>Session 8: SINGING WORKSHOP: Led by Vivien Ellis (University of York) ‘Flashy songs, a penny a yard’ – Nineteenth-century Broadside Ballads, including songs from York collections Chair: Rachel Cowgill</p>	
4.15–7.30pm	FREE TIME – dinner by own arrangements	
7.30–8.30pm Sir Jack Lyons Concert Hall (Campus Map: C2 13)	<p>KEYNOTE 2:</p> <p>Gillian Dooley (Honorary Associate Professor, Flinders University, Australia): ‘A broken lute’: Music as Silence and Absence in Jane Austen’s <i>Northanger Abbey</i> (1817) Chair: Jennie Batchelor (Sponsored by Manchester University Press)</p>	
8.30–8.45pm	BREAK (bar open)	

8.45–9.45pm Sir Jack Lyons Concert Hall (Campus Map: C2 13)	MUSICAL SALON: The World of Wilkie Collins, with Allan Atlas and Friends Dorothy de Val (piano), Susanna McCleary (soprano and violin), Narrator (Allan Atlas, online) and Ben Staniforth (Tenor)
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Wednesday 30 July Berrick Saul Building	Registration desk: Jane Moody Board Room, Berrick Saul Building (BS/007) Sessions marked 'A' will be in the Treehouse (BS/104) and those marked 'B' will be in the Bowland Auditorium (BS/005), Berrick Saul Building, University of York, Campus West (Campus Map : D3 31)	
9.30–10.30am	Session 9A: Britain and Russia Chair: Geoff Thomason Vasilisa Aleksandrova (ONLINE) – Michel-Dimitri Calvocoressi as a Guide to Russian Music in Britain and British Music in Russia before the First World War Stacy Jarvis – Alexander Alyabyev: A Conduit of British Musical Ideas in Early Nineteenth-century Russia	Session 9B: Violinists and Celebrity Chair: Simon McVeigh Bella Powell – [Her]storical Forgetting?: Biographising Wilma Norman-Neruda Jonathan Brockbank – John Clare, English Fiddling and Gypsies
10.30–11.00am	BREAK – Foyer (BS/003B)	
11.00am–12.30pm	Session 10A: Pianists, Professional and Amateur Chair: Michael Allis Andrew Ward (ONLINE) – European Influences on Amateur Pianism in early Nineteenth-century Britain Giovanna Carugno – Keyboard Pedagogy in Bourgeois London through a Book of Instructions by James Hook (1746–1827)	Session 10B: Church Choirs Chair: Philip Burnett Rosemary Richards – 'Hearken': Methodist Church Choir Music from Australia Esther Hu – Christina Rossetti, John Mason Neale, and the Sounds of Medieval Music

	Ann Grindley – Cécile Chaminade’s Reception in Britain: A Special Mutual Affection	Eliza Le Roy-Lewis – ‘That which thy mouth sings, let thy heart believe’: A Study of Literature and Instruction for Young Church Choristers and their Masters 1845–1885
12.30–6.00pm	<p>Free time. Options available ...</p> <p>Option A</p> <p>TRIP by coach to Harewood House to view the <i>Austen and Turner: A Country House Encounter</i> exhibition (optional extra – must be booked via the conference booking site in advance). Cafés will be open for lunch (not included). Return coach drop-off: Ron Cooke Hub and James College (B4 4).</p>	<p>Option B</p> <p>VISIT York Minster Library to learn about the music collections and view a selection of items: 2.30–3.15pm, Reading Room, Upper Hall, Old Palace, Dean’s Park, behind the Minster (NB: venue has no step-free access). Only 15 places available, due to limited space – no charge, but please sign up at the conference registration desk and consider making a donation to YML.</p>
<p>6.00–9.30pm Atrium (RCH/001) and lakeside, Ron Cooke Hub, School of Arts & Creative Technologies, Campus East (Campus map: J12 74)</p>	<p>DRINKS RECEPTION and CONCERT, followed by CONFERENCE DINNER (optional extra – must be booked in advance)</p> <p>6.00pm: Drinks reception with canapés</p> <p>6.30pm: Concert, Chu-Yu Yang, violin; Eric McElroy, piano. Duration: 75mins</p> <p>Arthur Bliss: Sonata for Violin and Piano, F. 192 (1914) Ivor Gurney: <i>Humoreske</i> (1908); <i>A Folk Tale</i> (1908); <i>In September</i> (1910) (all premieres) Herbert Howells: Violin Sonata No. 3, Op. 38 (1923)</p> <p>(Concert sponsored by Boydell & Brewer)</p> <p>8.00pm: Conference Dinner with ‘open mic’ for informal music-making</p>	

Thursday 31 July Berrick Saul Building	Registration desk: Jane Moody Board Room, Berrick Saul Building (BS/007) Sessions marked 'A' will be in the Treehouse (BS/104) and those marked 'B' will be in the Bowland Auditorium (BS/005), Berrick Saul Building, University of York, Campus West (Campus Map : D3 31)	
9.00–10.30am	<p>Session 11A: Music and Poetry Chair: George Kennaway</p> <p>Peter Tregear and Anne-Marie Forbes (ONLINE) – ‘Exquisite remoteness’: Fritz Hart’s Australian settings of the Poetry of William Sharp/Fiona Macleod</p> <p>Adèle Commins (ONLINE) – ‘There is sweet music here that softer falls’: The Influence of Poetry on the Piano Music of Charles Villiers Stanford</p> <p>Jurgen Schaarwächter – Joseph Holbrooke’s Dramatic Poem <i>The Bells</i> and the Aesthetics of Musical Symbolism</p>	<p>Session 11B: Responses to Wagner Chair: Aidan Thomson</p> <p>Benang Xuan (ONLINE) – Amoral Mythmaking: Reconsidering Wagner’s Influence on George Eliot</p> <p>Charlotte Purkis – ‘Flimsy feminities’ and Female Experience of Wagner in Britain at the End of the Long Nineteenth Century</p> <p>Suzanne Robinson – The Perfect Wagnerite: Rebellion and Radicalism in the London Works of G.W.L. Marshall-Hall</p>
10.30–11.00am	BREAK – Foyer (BS/003B)	
11.00am –12.30pm	<p>Session 12A: Collectors and Collections Chair: Simon McVeigh</p> <p>Chloe Valenti – Music and Musicians at Chastleton House in the Long Nineteenth Century: Preservation, Documentation and Research</p> <p>Maia Williams Perez (ONLINE) – Alfred Hipkins at Broadwood & Sons: Finding an English Musical Tradition through Instruments Past and Present</p>	<p>Session 12B: Britain and Germany Chair: Julian Rushton</p> <p>Noriko Kamiyama – From Britain to Germany: Handel’s Festival Tradition and Liszt’s Reform in the 1850s</p> <p>Simon Kannenberg – Composer of Popular Symphonies: Joachim Raff and his Outstanding Success in Great Britain</p>

	Rachel Rentz (ONLINE) – A Nineteenth-Century Mixtape: An Exploration of a Georgian Binder’s Volume and the Society Which Created It	Karl Traugott Goldbach – The <i>Dream of Gerontius</i> at the Düsseldorf Performances in 1901 and 1902
12.30–12.45pm	BREAK (pack-up lunch provided) – Foyer (BS/003B)	
12.45 –1.45pm Bowland Auditorium	KEYNOTE 3: Susan C. Cook (Hilldale Professor of Musicology, Emerit; Director (2013–23), Mead Witter School of Music, University of Wisconsin-Madison): Hearing the Triangular Trade: Dvořák in Glasgow Chair: Christina Bashford (Sponsored by the Humanities Research Centre, University of York)	
1.45–2.00pm	THANKS and FAREWELLS	
2.00pm	CONFERENCE CLOSES	

Notes:

Welcome to the 14th Biennial International Conference on Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain – we are delighted you are joining us for what promises to be an exciting four days here at the University of York!

It is hard to believe the MNCB conference has been running for almost thirty years, now, and will be celebrating its 15th edition in 2027 – quite a landmark for nineteenth-century British music studies! We have built up a dedicated community over the decades, and this year's conference could not have happened without your ongoing enthusiasm. At present the venue for 2027 remains undecided, so if you think you might be in a position to help and would like to explore that possibility, then please do talk to us at any point during the conference.

Once again we are benefiting from the support of Boydell & Brewer and Routledge, whose remarkable commitment to this field continues to open up opportunities for ground-breaking and high-quality publications, and we are also supported this year by Manchester University Press. We are particularly grateful, however, to be guests of the Humanities Research Centre and School of Arts & Creative Technologies here at the University of York, whose generosity in providing staff time and facilities has helped to keep our costs and registration fees manageable. The Humanities Research Centre provides a hub for interdisciplinary research and postgraduate life in the Arts & Humanities at York. If you would like to explore possible collaborations or partnerships with your own institution, then please talk to Rachel, who became Director of the HRC in September 2024.

The City of York has been a major settlement since the Roman and Viking invasions, with a history of over 2000 years documented in its remarkable buildings and rich archaeology. York did not undergo the heavy industrialisation experienced by other northern cities as the nineteenth century unfolded, but it is hard to over-estimate the significance of the coming of the railways and the social aspirations of its quaker entrepreneurs in its emergence as a major centre of the confectionary trade and for tourism. The first trains to depart from York left from a temporary wooden platform in 1839, and the city was soon a thriving hub on the East coast line linking London and Edinburgh. York's importance as a 'railway town' would ultimately be recognised in the establishment of the National Railway Museum, now subject to a programme of expansion as part of the redevelopment of the former carriage and wagon works – one of the largest current regeneration sites in the UK.

The Minster and many churches and chapels that pepper the city have been spaces for music-making in York down through the centuries, and York Minster Library at the Old Deanery in the grounds of the Minster contains many treasures, some of which will be on display, so it is worth taking the opportunity to visit if you can. Likewise our own Borthwick Institute for Archives will be open, and is part of the University Library on Campus West, just over Library Bridge.

The secular musical institutions of nineteenth-century York were similarly often developments of pre-existing entities, including York Musical Society, and the Festival Concert Room, which extended the city's remarkable neoclassical Assembly Rooms in Blake Street. The Room was completed in 1825 and designed to accommodate the concerts of the York Music Festivals with space for up to 2000 attendees and 144 performers. It went on to host, among others, Franz Liszt and Louis Jullien and his band, whose annual visits to York provided rare opportunities in the north (before the Hallé) to hear a large orchestra. The People's Entertainment Society, which gave concerts for working-class people at a penny a ticket, drew audiences of around 1380 to the hall at its peak in the 1880s. But the room struggled to be viable for much of its existence and was ultimately demolished in its 150th year. (The grand doors to the concert room survive at the back of the Assembly Room, which is now an ASK Italian restaurant.)

Delegates may already have encountered another long-standing York institution – Banks’s music shop and publishing house. Banks’s was the oldest music shop still trading, having been founded near the Assembly Rooms by Thomas Haxby in 1756, but it closed its doors in 2023 after 276 years. For those who enjoy spotting Georgian drainpipes (!) look up and you can see a fine ‘TH’ monogram for Thomas Haxby on the water hopper of his original shop opposite the Assembly Rooms.

We hope you enjoy your time in York. If there’s anything we can do to assist you during the conference, then please let us know.

With warm wishes from the Programme and Organising Committees:

Rachel Cowgill (host)

Christina Bashford

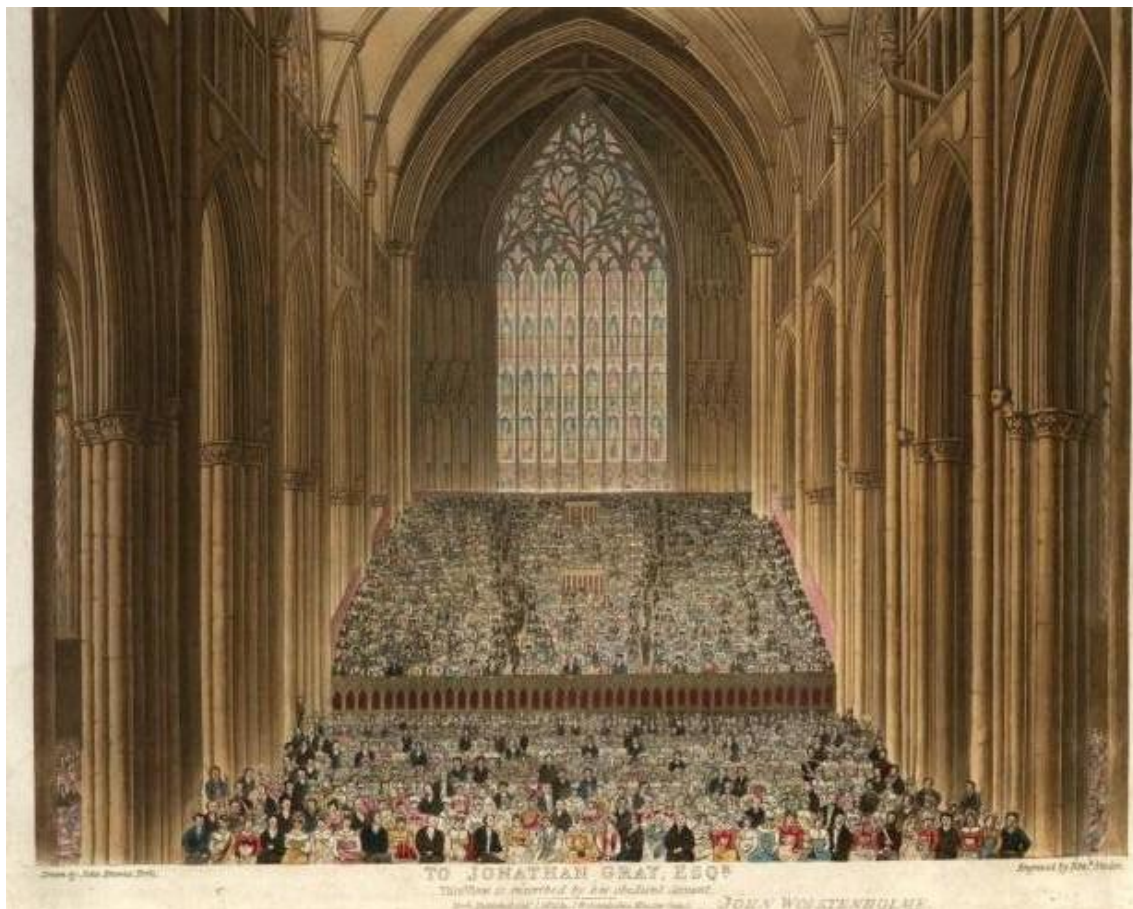
Phil Burnett

Martin Clarke

Rosemary Golding

Paul Watt

Megan Russell (Support Officer, Humanities Research Centre)



Edward Francis Finden, ‘Grand Musical Festival of 1823, York Minster’, engraving in John Crosse, *An Account of the Grand Musical Festival held in September 1823 in the Cathedral Church of York* (York: John Wolstenholme, 1823)

For more on music in York, see David Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality: A History of Institutional Music-Making in York, c. 1550-1900* (York: York Settlement Trust, [1994]), which remains the most authoritative record of York's institutional musical life.

A self-guided walking trail for some of York's Historic Music Venues is available online and can be downloaded onto a mobile phone – see <https://ourplace.whereweare.org/examples/> (go to Example 3). The trail was produced as a pilot by the Our Place project, as part of a digital-archiving toolkit for music venues.

York Minster Library can be contacted via <https://yorkminster.org/visiting-york-minster-library-and-archives/> Borthwick Institute for Archives is part of the University of York's Library and Archive service: see <https://www.york.ac.uk/borthwick/>

Key contacts: Rachel Cowgill on rachel.cowgill@york.ac.uk (begin subject line with 'MNCB') and Megan Russell on megan.russell@york.ac.uk

Taxi firm: Streamline Taxis <https://www.streamlinetaxisyork.co.uk/> 01904 656565

Transport, maps and parking: <https://www.york.ac.uk/about/transport-maps-parking/>



Archibald Ramsden's piano and organ shop, Coney Street, York.
'Valentine Series' postcard, c.1905 (private ownership)

Keynotes

Dr Thozama April-Maduma (University of Fort Hare, South Africa)

‘Revisiting the Archive of the Tour of the African Choir, London, 1891’

6.30–7.30pm, Monday 28 July, Rymer Auditorium, Sir Jack Lyons Concert Hall

Chair: Philip Burnett (University of York)



Dr Thozama April-Maduma is Historian and Senior Curator at the National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre (NAHECS) at the University of Fort Hare, Alice, South Africa. She holds a PhD in History from the University of Western Cape, Cape Town. Her work bridges the gap between formal academic instruction and more popular forms of production in film and in works of theatre. She is co-author of the chapter on ‘The Turn to Armed Struggle’, in *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Vol. 1 (1960–70)* (South African Democracy Education Trust, 2004), and her chapter ‘Charlotte Maxeke: A Celebrated and a Neglected Figure in History’ appeared in *One Hundred Years of the ANC: Debating Liberation Histories Today*, eds Arianna Lissoni et al. (Wits University Press, 2012). Her research covers Contemporary themes in African History, Women and Gender Studies, Public and Visual History, Black Aesthetical Productions as well as themes in Liberation Struggles. In 2017 she held a residency at (ICGC) Interdisciplinary Centre for Study of Global Change, at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. Her research focuses attention on the musical production of early African composers and musical performers in South Africa in the late nineteenth century. In her research, Dr Maduma examines the musical influences that shaped the transnational links between South Africa, United Kingdom and the US. Her research has produced two artistic productions, a theatrical play and a documentary film. She has served as one of the team of experts advising the National Heritage Council of South Africa (NHC) on research. She now serves in an advisory capacity in the Eastern Cape Geographical Names Commission, a body responsible for the Standardisation of Geographical Names in the Department of Arts and Culture of the Province of the Eastern Cape, South Africa.

Professor Gillian Dooley (Flinders University, Australia)

‘A broken lute’: Music as Silence and Absence in Jane Austen’s *Northanger Abbey* (1817)

7.30–8.30pm, Tuesday 29 July, Sir Jack Lyons Concert Hall

Chair: Jennie Batchelor (University of York)



Northanger Abbey (1817) is unique among Austen’s six completed novels in having no major character who is a musician. The protagonist, Catherine Morland, learns music for a year as a child but is permitted to stop when she dislikes her lessons. In the rest of the novel, the subject of music – as performance, as practice, or as material culture – appears half a dozen times, seemingly in passing. Henry Tilney uses musical allusions twice; John Thorpe refers to an old song; at the beginning of their friendship, Catherine and Eleanor Tilney exchange information about their respective accomplishments.

Austen herself was a musician but she had no prejudice against those who were not. In her letters she praises one young woman for admitting she had no taste for music, and recounts arguing in favour of the unmusical when a musical friend criticized them. On the other hand, she enjoyed many musical performances and took a lively interest in her own musical practice and that of her young relatives. This measured approach appears to carry over into her novels, where musical taste and ability are not associated with any generalizable social or moral qualities.

There is, however, one passage in *Northanger Abbey* which is unique among the references to music in Austen’s fiction. Catherine, it is said, is unlikely to throw ‘a whole party into raptures by a prelude on the pianoforte, of her own composition’. The implied desirability of a woman composing music is not a common concept in Austen’s era and is not referred to elsewhere in her novels. As far as the creative arts are concerned, although there were some female composers at the time, it was more respectable for a woman to write, or to draw.

In this paper I will examine the implications of the fugitive references to music in *Northanger Abbey* within the novel for character development and for the overall tenor of the novel’s satirical and dramatic effect, and compare the musical allusions in this novel with those in other fiction of the time. I also will look more broadly at the musical culture of late Georgian England, especially as it relates to gender and class, and to the novel’s implied musical world.

Gillian Dooley is an Honorary Associate Professor in English Literature at Flinders University, South Australia. She has published widely on several authors including Jane Austen, often with an emphasis on music. From 2017 to 2021 she created a detailed index of all the playable items in the Austen Family Music Books collection online. Her most recent book is *She Played and Sang: Jane Austen and Music* (Manchester University Press, 2024).

Professor Susan C. Cook (University of Wisconsin–Madison)

‘Hearing the Triangular Trade: Dvořák in Glasgow’

12.45–1.45pm, Thursday 31 July, Bowland Auditorium, Berrick Saul Building

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



I argue that Glasgow’s longstanding engagement with the racialized entertainments of blackface minstrelsy created a sonic framework through which its foremost music critic, Robert Turnbull, ‘heard’ and thus de-valued Dvořák’s *New World Symphony*. This case study of music criticism provides new evidence of the sonic legacy of blackface and its transoceanic presence, as theorized by Matthew D. Morrison and Kellen Hoxworth, respectively. It reveals how racial discourses shaped the reception of music beyond minstrelsy’s popular sphere and demonstrates further the porous boundaries between categories of ‘serious’ and ‘popular’ musics, perspectives with ramifications for additional study.

Susan C. Cook, the Hildale Professor of Musicology, retired from the UW-Madison in 2024 where she had taught as professor of musicology since 1991 and served in multiple leadership roles including a decade-long term as director of the University’s Mead Witter School of Music. Her research continues to focus on American social dance and its musics, particularly in transatlantic contexts, and demonstrates her commitment to feminist methodologies and interdisciplinary studies. She is the co-editor of the award-winning *Cecilia Reclaimed: Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Music* (Illinois, 1994) and of *Bodies of Sound: Studies Across Popular Music and Dance* (Ashgate, 2013). She has published essays in *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music*, the *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, and *The Arts of the Prima Donna in the Long Nineteenth Century*, co-edited by Rachel Cowgill. Her essay ‘Watching Our Step: Embodying Research, Telling Stories,’ on the gendered and racialized meanings of ragtime social dance, won the Lippincott Prize from the Society for Dance History Scholars. Her keynote presentation is drawn from her current book project on the transatlantic reception of American music in Glasgow, Scotland c. 1890-1910.

Workshops and Events

Singing Workshop, led by Vivien Ellis (University of York):

“Flashy songs, a penny a yard”; Nineteenth-century Broadside Ballads, including songs from York Collections’

3.00–4.15pm, Tuesday 29 June, The Treehouse, Berrick Saul Building, Campus West

In this workshop, Vivien shares some nineteenth-century broadside ballads she has unearthed in archives, including the Hailstone Collection in York and the William Miller Collection of printed music at the Dickens Museum, as part of her MA research for ballad walks she has led for the Festival of Ideas in York (June 2024) and The Bloomsbury Festival in London (October 2025). Vivien is interested in how the embodied practice of ballad walks can enrich our sense of place, deepen our sense of connection with people in the past, and unlock the potential of broadside ballads to reveal hidden aspects of our shared history. Songs will include: ‘Pop Goes the Weasel’ – a popular dance favoured by Queen Victoria; ‘Peace and Plenty, Love and Liberty’ – a Chartist anthem; ‘Farewell to Alcohol’ – a temperance song; ‘My Poor Black Bess’, about highwayman Dick Turpin’s fictional journey from London to York on his faithful horse; and ‘Sayers & Heenan’s Great Fight for the Championship’. This ballad recounts the first ever world-title boxing match, held on 17 April 1860. The illegal fight attracted a crowd of nearly 12,000, including the 19-year-old Prince of Wales, Charles Dickens, William Thackeray and Lord Palmerston.

For more, see <https://bloomsburyfestival.org.uk/heritage-project-strange-doings/>

Biography

Singer **Vivien Ellis** draws on her work as an early-music specialist and community-music leader, to create social, historically informed, and inclusive singing events with people of all ages and experiences. She is undertaking an MA (by Research) in Music, supervised by Rachel Cowgill and Stef Conner at the University of York. Vivien has worked with early-music groups including The Dufay Collective, The Broadside Band, The Mellstock Band, Sinfonye, The Carnival Band, and the duo Alva. She has made numerous recordings as a soloist, including tracks on *Cancionero*, a programme of early Spanish court music with The Dufay Collective, which was nominated for a Grammy Award.

Vivien’s website is at <https://www.vivienellis.co.uk/>



Musical Salon: *The World of Wilkie Collins*, with Allan Atlas and Friends

8.45–9.45pm, Tuesday 29 July, Sir Jack Lyons Concert Hall, Campus West

Five Songs from *A Wilkie Collins Songbook*

Benjamin Staniforth, tenor
Susanna McCleary, soprano and violin
Dorothy de Val, piano
Allan Atlas, narrator

PROGRAMME

‘Alice Gray’
Virtue Millard (1786–1854), music
William Mee (1788–1862), lyrics

‘Bobbin’ Around’
William J. Florence (1831–1891), music and lyrics

‘The Woman in White’
Walter Burnot (d.1905), music and lyrics

‘Begone, Dull Care’, Traditional English

‘The Nervous Man’
Jonathan Blewitt (1782–1853), music
John Francis (fl.1830s), lyrics

Notes from Allan Atlas

I. ON THE MUSIC

What follows draws shamelessly upon *A Wilkie Collins Songbook. Recent Researches in the Music of the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, 88, ed. Allan W. Atlas (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2023).

‘ALICE GRAY’: William Mee’s broadside ballad ‘Alice Gray’ likely dates from c. 1815. By the late 1820s it had been set by three composers: George William Reeve, George Alexander Hodson, and, most famously, Virtue Millard, whose setting was premiered on 21 April 1828 (sung from ‘MS’), some two weeks before the first announcement of its publication (on 4 May). Millard’s ‘Alice’ generated a family of spin-offs on both sides of the ocean and well into the 1860s: there are sets of variations for piano, a fantasia for solo harp, arrangements for voice and guitar, choral settings, a version for two flutes, and even a Scottish/Northumbrian fiddle tune that turned it into a march.

Millard (née Elwin) seems to have spent her entire life in the area around Norwich. Her twenty-four songs, made up almost exclusively of ballads written during the decade 1828–1837 (there is one song for a local church from 1847), were generally well received. As *The Harmonicon* put it in its issue for April 1829: ‘as a melodist ... [she] not only rivals, but bids fair to surpass our professional composers.’

Collins cites Alice Gray in *My Lady's Money* (1877), a short novella that blends comedy and mystery. Briefly, Lady Lydiard's adopted daughter/companion is unjustly accused of having stolen £500 (from Lady Lydiard, no less). In order to clear the young girl's name, Lady Lydiard sends her lawyer to consult Old Sharon, a dishevelled, disbarred attorney-turned detective. After some banter, Old Sharon states that he's going for a walk:

With that announcement, he began to sing ... a song of sentiment popular in England in the early part of the present century – ‘She's all my fancy painted her; she's lovely, she's divine, but her heart it is another's; and it never can be mine! Too-ral-loo-ral-loo’ [added by Collins]. I like a love song.

Thus Old Sharon sings the first two lines of ‘Alice Gray’; and there can be no doubt whose ‘Alice’ he sang – by 1877, Millard's was the only one around. Old Sharon had good reason to sing ‘Alice Gray’. Like the song's broken-hearted protagonist, he suffers from unrequited love:

Early in the present century I had my young affections blighted; and I've neglected myself ever since ... I don't think I have had heart enough to brush my hair for the last fifty years. She was a magnificent woman ... and she dropped me like a hot potato. Dreadful! Dreadful!

Finally, three of Collins's well-known contemporaries also drew upon ‘Alice’: (1) in Charles Dickens's *The Old Curiosity Shop* (1841), Dick Swiveller recites lines from the ballad on two occasions; (2) on 8 September 1855, *The Comic Times* published a poem by Lewis Carroll that parodied Mee's opening line (substituting ‘him’ for ‘her’); and (3) over the course of 4–5 May 1862, Mark Twain – still known as Samuel Langhorne Clemens and prospecting for gold in the Nevada Territory – wrote to his brother with the hope that a particular mineral vein would be ‘all my fancy painted her.’ And though no one sings in any of these, I suspect it was Millard's catchy melody (as opposed to Mee's lyrics) that had wormed its way into these writers' ears.

Lyrics:

1. She's all my fancy painted her
She's lovely, she's divine,
But her heart it is another's,
She never can be mine;
Yet loved I as man never loved,
A love without decay,
Oh! my heart, my heart is breaking,
For the love of Alice Gray.

2. Her dark brown hair is braided,
O'er a brow of spotless white,
Her soft blue eye now languishes,
Now flashes with delight;
The hair is braided not for me,
The eye is turned away,
Yet my heart, my heart is breaking,
For the love of Alice Gray.

3. I've sunk beneath the summer's sun,
And trembled in the blast;
But my pilgrimage is nearly done,
The weary conflict's past;
And when the green sod wraps my grave,
May pity haply say,

'Oh! his heart, his heart is broken,
For the love of Alice Gray,
Oh! his heart, his heart is broken,
For the love of Alice Gray!'

My Lady's Money: An Episode in the Life of a Young Girl; originally in the Christmas number of *The Illustrated London News* (1877); first edition in book form (London: Tauchnitz, 1877); modern edition, in the series Pocket Classics (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1990).

'BOBBIN' AROUND': Born William Jermyn Conlin of Irish parents in New York, Florence (he changed his name in honour of the Italian city in which he maintained a residence) was a songwriter, playwright, actor, and, in 1872, one of the co-founders of The Shriners. That same year he starred in the New York production of *No Thoroughfare*, a work on which Collins and Dickens had collaborated in 1867 with the intent that it do double duty as both novel and stage work.

Published in New York in 1855 with the subtitle 'Yankee Song', 'Bobbin' Around' became a vehicle for both Florence's wife, Malvina, and her sister, Maria (herself married to a well-known songwriter/actor, Barney Williams); and when Maria wrote a closely related, alternate set of lyrics for the song, it became 'The Most Fashionable Song of the Season ... Sung Nightly at the Broadway Theatre by Mrs. Barney Williams.'

Collins mentions 'Bobbin' Around' in a short story titled 'Who is the Thief?', which appeared in New York's *Atlantic Monthly* in April 1858. The main character is a dim-witted, 'wannabe' detective named Matthew Sharpin. While tailing one Mr Jay, who is mistakenly suspected of having stolen £200, Sharpin follows him to a hotel, takes an adjoining room, and drills a hole in the flimsy wall so that he can observe him. He files this report with his superiors:

After writing a few lines ... [Mr Jay] bent back in his chair, and amused himself by humming the tunes of popular songs. I recognized 'My Mary Anne' [recte Ann], 'Bobbin Around,' and 'Old Dog Tray' ...

Collins also published the story in England, where it appeared in an 1859 collection titled *The Queen of Hearts*, but now with the title 'Brother Griffith's Story of the Biter Bit.' Here, though, Collins deleted the specific references to the three American songs and replaced them simply with 'tunes of certain popular songs.' Why? All three songs were seemingly well known in London: (1) the Williamses (Barney and Maria) introduced 'My Mary Ann' at the Adelphi Theatre in June 1856; (2) Malvina Florence performed 'Bobbin' Around' in April 1858, and took London by storm in the process; and (3) the Christy Minstrels sang Stephen Foster's 'Old Dog Tray' at the St James's Theatre in August 1857. In the end, I have no answer, other than to wonder if the three songs were just a tad less well known to Collins's British readers than I imagine.

Lyrics:

1. In August last on one fine day,
A bobbing around, around, around,
When Josh and I went to make hay,
We went a bobbing around.*

2. Says Josh to me, 'let's take a walk,'
A bobbing around, around, around,
'Then we can have a private talk,
As we go bobbing around.'

3. We walked along to the mountain ridge,
A bobbing around, around, around,
Till we got near Squire Slipshod's bridge,
As we went bobbing around.

4. Then Josh and I went on a spree,
A bobbing around, around, around,
And I kissed Josh, and Josh kissed me,
As we went bobbing around.

5. Then Josh's pluck no longer tarried,
A bobbing around, around, around,
Says he, 'Dear Patience let's get married,
Then we'll go bobbing around.'

7. So after we got into church,
A bobbing around, around, around,
I cut and left Josh in the lurch,
Then he went bobbing around.

6. Now I knew he loved another gal,
A bobbing around, around, around,
They called her long-legged crooked-shin
curly-toothed Sal,
When he went bobbing around.

8. Now all you chaps what's got a gal,
A bobbing around, around, around,
Do think of long-legged crooked-shin
curly-toothed Sal,
When you go bobbing around.

* Only the final line of stanza 1 has 'a' before 'bobbing.'

American version: *The Atlantic Monthly* (April 1858); modern edition, in *Mad Monkton and Other Stories*, ed. Norman Prager and Kamal Al-Solaylee (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); British version: *The Queen of Hearts* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1859); modern edition, in *Tales of Terror and the Supernatural*, ed. Herbert van Thal (New York: Dover, 1972).

'THE WOMAN IN WHITE': It would be hard to exaggerate the success of *The Woman in White*, which appeared in its first integral, three-volume edition on 15(?) August 1860, just days prior to the final instalment of its serial run in Dickens's *All the Year Round* (26 November 1859 – 25 August 1860). *The Woman* was 'the talk of London'; 'everyone was raving about it'; Prince Albert enjoyed it; Gladstone became so engrossed in it one evening that he forgot to keep a theatre appointment; there were Woman bonnets, Woman shawls, Woman perfumes and other toiletries, Woman waltzes, polkas, and galops – including one titled 'The Fosco Galop', after the devious Count of that name – and two very funny Woman songs.

One of these is Walter Burnot's setting, which is particularly interesting since it refers not only to *The Woman*, but also to Collins himself and his 1872 novel *Poor Miss Finch*. What's the connection? The colourful title page of Burnot's song (Plate 2 in the handout) depicts a 'Woman in White' whose face and hands have turned a deep shade of blue; opposite her there stands a well-clad gentleman with a bottle of silver nitrate (he had, as the song tells us, mistaken it for a bottle of cognac), while a copy of *Poor Miss Finch* lies open on the floor. To make a long, 982-page story short: the blind Lucilla Finch is in love with Oscar Dubourg; Oscar is struck on the head and develops epilepsy; treated with silver nitrate, he turns blue.

Two points about the lyrics: (1) the 'horrible guy' in stanza 3/line 7 has nothing to do with gender; rather, as the *OED* explains, one of the meanings of 'guy' in Victorian literature was 'a person of grotesque appearance ... a fright,' which the blue-faced woman certainly was; (2) stanza 1/lines 1–2 mention 'Polly Ann Mary Ann Sarah Ann Wright;' could this young lady with the triple-barrel name (introduced by the singular 'was' and followed by 'she'd' and 'her') be a reference to the 'Mr Wright' (as in the 'right' guy) who plays a central role in an earlier (1859–1860) comic *Woman in White* song by Charles Glover (music) and Joseph Carpenter (lyrics — see Appendix 1)? Could she even be his daughter, and could Burnot's song stand as a veiled sequel to the earlier one?

Finally, Burnot was a multi-talented composer, lyricist, and playwright who was active in the music halls, where he was well known for his 'plantation' songs. His business card read: 'Walter Burnot, Parlour Laureate. Songs Written While You Wait.'

Lyrics:

1. We met at a ball, oh! Graceful and tall,
Was Polly Ann Mary Ann Sarah Ann Wright,
She'd white satin shoes, her eyes they were

2. I treated her twice to strawberry ice,
And nine oyster patties she put out of sight,
She ate jelly and jam, and chicken and ham,

blues,
 And the whole of her costume of muslin was white;
 But when I think of her terrible fate,
 It's awful, it's awful!
 Don't laugh, for a tragedy 'tis I relate
 Of the fate of the Woman in White.

Till her face like her dress was decidedly white;
 Her mouth was so small and her appetite large,
 'Twas awful, 'twas awful!
 Some, two, ten and six was the moderate charge,
 For feeding the Woman in White.
 The Woman in White, etc.

CHORUS: The Woman in White, The Woman in White,
 Was the sight, the delight, the belle of the night,
 Her eyes they were bright, And her footfall was light,
 And the Woman in White, was the Woman in White.

3. Her style was so nice, I laughed at the price,
 I expended on Polly Ann Sarah Ann Wright,[NB: 'Mary Ann'?]
 I quickly proposed, and the bargain was closed,
 That I should soon marry the Woman in White.
 But to think of her now brings the tear to mine eye,
 It's awful, it's awful!
 She's a fright, and a sight, and a horrible guy,
 No longer the Woman in White.
 The Woman in White, etc.

SPOKEN: After our marriage, she looked as white as a ghost that had been through the court
 and been whitewashed, as white as a marble Venus with its clothes on; fluttered by excitement, I
 gave her the first thing to drink I could lay my hand on, or she would have fainted; I thought I gave
 her cognac; alas it was hair dye, nitrate of silver, she drank, with what effect Wilkie Collins and the
 next verse alone can tell.
 The Woman in White, etc.

4. The notion is new, but it also is true,
 She swallowed her hair dye that horrible night,
 Her skin changed its hue, to an indigo blue,
 Which made her at once a most terrible fright;
 There's a moral to come, in a present I think,
 It's awful, it's awful!
 But hair dye's a lotion that no one should drink,
 As did the fair Woman in White.
 The Woman in White, etc.

The Woman in White first appeared in Dickens's weekly literary magazine *All the Year Round* (26 November 1859 – 25 August 1860); first integral edition, 3 vols (London: Sampson Low, 1860); first authorized stage production, Olympic Theatre (9 October 1871–24 February 1872); modern edition, ed. Julian Symons (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1974).

'BEGONE, DULL CARE': We offer two versions of 'Begone, dull Care': (1) a Northumbrian or Scottish fiddle tune from a 1794 Glasgow collection titled *Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs. Adapted for the Fife, Violin or German Flute*, and (2) a version for two voices and piano (the right hand does little more than double the voices) that appeared in Philadelphia, c. 1810. London audiences would have known the tune no later than 1793, when it was incorporated into a Sadler's Wells production of a ballet titled *William Tell*. Finally, a few of Collins's readers might even have heard Francesco Berger's adaptation of the song in the music that he wrote for the 1856 production of Collins's *The Frozen Deep*, which was staged at Dickens's Tavistock House and featured the two friends in the starring

roles. The versatility of 'Begone' did not stop there, for with the addition of winds, brass, and drums, and with the tempo picked up a bit, the tune serves as the official 'quick march' of the Royal Corps of Signals. Yet despite its popularity, Benjamin Britten did not use the melody when he set the lyrics in his *Friday Afternoons* for children's chorus (1933–1935); nor did Oscar Peterson (and trio) refer to it in the soundtrack for the eponymous, 1949 animated film.

Collins refers to 'Begone, dull Care' in his 1852 Christmas story, *Mr Wray's Cashbox*, in which Ruben Wray, a one-time, bit-part actor, and Squire Matthew Colebatch have been reunited after many years apart and decide to get together for their Christmas dinner.

It was ... noised abroad over the whole town, that Matthew Colebatch, Esquire, Lord of the Manor of Tidbury-on-the-Marsh, was going to dine on Christmas with an old player in a lodging-house. The genteel population were universally scandalized and indignant. The Squire had exhibited his leveling tendencies pretty often before ... He had ... been seen cutting jokes in the High-Street with a travelling tinker ... he had been detected coolly eating bacon and greens in one of his tenant farmer's cottages; he had been singing, 'Begone, dull care,' in a cracked tenor, to amuse another tenant-farmer's child. These actions were disreputable enough, but to go publicly, and dine with an obscure stage-player, put the climax on everything.

Did Collins pick 'Begone' out of a hat, or does it have some contextual significance that escapes me? (Be assured that the Squire was not a paedophile!) Likewise, Dickens provided no clues in his reference to the tune at the beginning of Chapter 7 of *The Old Curiosity Shop*, where Dick Swiveller says to Fred Trent: 'Fred ... remember the once popular melody of "Begone dull Care"' (Note: this is the second time that Collins and Dickens have overlapped in just our short, five-piece programme – see Appendix 2.)

Lyrics:

1. Begone, dull Care,	2. Too much Care,
I prithee begone from me;	Will make a young man grey;
Begone, dull Care,	And too much Care,
You and I shall never agree.	Will turn an old man to clay.
Long time hast thou been tarrying here,	My wife shall dance and I will sing,
And fain thou wouldst me kill:	So merrily pass the day,
But i' faith dull Care,	For I hold it one of the wisest things,
Thou never shall have thy will.	To drive dull Care away.

Mr Wray's Cashbox; or the Mask and the Mystery: A Christmas Sketch (London: Richard Bentley, 1852); modern edition, in *The Frozen Deep* and *Mr Wray's Cash Box*, in Pocket Classics (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1996).

'THE NERVOUS MAN': Jonathan Blewitt and John Francis collaborated on a number of occasions, with comic songs being something of a specialty. Born in London, where he is said to have studied with Haydn (his primary teacher was his father, the organist Jonas Blewitt), Blewitt moved to Dublin and, in 1811, began his tenure as organist at St Andrew's Church and later as music director of the Royal Theatre. In 1821, he coordinated the reception with which Dublin's musical community paid tribute to Henry Rowley Bishop. Back in London in 1825, Blewitt enjoyed a long association as a conductor and composer with many of the city's leading theatres, including a stint as music director at Sadler's Wells in 1828–1829.

'The Nervous Man' appears in one of Collins's last novels, *The Guilty River* (1886). Cristel Toller (daughter of a tenant miller) and Gerard Roylake (her well-travelled, sophisticated landlord) find

themselves at tea in the company of the deaf misanthrope called simply, throughout the novel, 'The Lodger' (he had been a surgeon and a pianist before deafness struck him). Cristel is onto The Lodger's jealousy-driven plan to poison Gerard and says to him (Gerard): 'What nonsense he [The Lodger] talks ... He reminds me of the old song called "The Nervous Man." Do you know it, Mr Roylake?' Gerard, who is the narrator, says: 'In spite of my efforts to prevent her, she burst out with the first verse of a stupid comic song'; The Lodger, though, was 'spared by his deafness from this infliction of vulgarity.' No doubt, it is the very funny, stutter-like demisemiquavers with which Blewitt repeatedly sets the words 'I'm such a nervous man' that calls forth Gerard's criticism.

Clearly, Cristel and Gerard have different takes on the song, something that underscores their different socio-economic backgrounds. Yet *The Guilty River* ends on a happy note, as Cristel and Gerard put aside their musical differences, defy social custom, and join hands in matrimony. Finally, the song met with the approval of the critic of the *Metropolitan Magazine*: 'a light and pleasant comic song, well calculated to beguile the passing hour; the humour of the music is admirably adapted to the words' (vol. 11, September 1834).

Lyrics:

1. I really am a nervous man,
And don't know what to do;
I tremble so wher'er I go,
At plays or in my pew.
I'm always sad,
I'm never glad,
But do the best I can,
I shiver, shake, all o'er me quake,
I'm such a nervous man,
I'm such a nervous man.

2. I fought a duel with Mister Fuel,*
But never having reckoned,
On trembling so, from top to toe,
Alas I shot my second.
And if to try,
To smile or sigh,
Or hand a lady's fan,
At rout or ball it's sure to fall,**
I'm such a nervous man,
I'm such a nervous man.

3. It's quite a shock to hear a knock,
Upon the door run riot,
I tremble so, at ev'ry blow
That breaks my peaceful quiet.
I will not stay, Over the way,
There's such a precious clan,
That I will go, where none will know,
That I'm a nervous man,
That I'm a nervous man.

* Stanza 2/line 1: is 'Mister Fuel' so named simply for the sake of the rhyme, or is there more to it than that?

** Stanza 2/line 8: 'at rout or ball' – the *OED* defines 'rout' as 'a fashionable gathering, a large evening party or soiree of a type fashionable in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.'

The Guilty River (Bristol: J.W. Arrowsmith, 1886); modern edition, in *Pocket Classics* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1991).

II. WILKIE COLLINS: A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

1. *From childhood to the 1840s*: (William) Wilkie Collins (he dropped William upon reaching adulthood) was born in London on 8 January 1824. His early education was interrupted in 1836–1838, as the family enjoyed an extended, culturally rich sojourn in France and Italy, with lengthy stays in Naples and Rome. Upon returning to England, Collins attended a private boarding school until 1841, when, at the age of seventeen, he was apprenticed to a local tea seller; and it was while stuck in that 'prison on the Strand' (as he called it) that he published his earliest short stories. The apprenticeship was followed by law school (he passed the bar in 1851), and though he never

practised, the subject, always meticulously researched, figures prominently in a number of his works. Finally, in 1848 he published his first full-length work, *The Memoirs of the Life of William Collins, Esq, R.A.*, which commemorated the death of his father the previous year.

(*Postscript to the '40s*: Collins's first novel, *Ioláni: Or, Tahiti as it was; A Romance*, completed in 1844, went unpublished in his lifetime and fell from sight; it resurfaced in New York in 1991 and was published for the first time by Princeton University Press. *Subjective opinion*: both *Ioláni* and *Antonina, or the Fall of Rome. A Romance of the Fifth Century* [1850], once thought to be his first novel, resisted my attempts to read them to the end.

2. *1850s*: The new decade brought both success and recognition, sometimes critical, sometimes popular, sometimes both. Moreover, 12 March 1851 marked the beginning of a career-altering relationship with Charles Dickens, one that lasted until Dickens's death in June 1870. First, it afforded Collins entrée to the pages of Dickens's two weekly journals: *Household Words* (1850–1859) and its successor, *All the Year Round* (1859–1868), where he published some of his short stories and the serial versions of some of his major novels. Second, the friends collaborated in mounting amateur productions of two of Collins's stage works at Dickens's Tavistock House theatre, taking the starring roles on both occasions.

(*Postscript to the '50s*: the Collins–Dickens relationship has another layer to it; Wilkie had a younger brother, Charles Allston [1828–1873], who, like their father, was a painter/illustrator who enjoyed something of a relationship with the Pre-Raphaelites; in 1860, he married Dickens's daughter Kate [1839–1929]; after Charles Allston's death, she married another artist, the Italian-born Charles Edward Perugini 1839–1918].)

3. *1860s*: Collins the 'superstar!' The decade began with his most famous work: *The Woman in White* (1860), often called the first 'sensation' novel; the decade ended with *The Moonstone* (1868), which T.S. Eliot called the 'embryo' of British detective fiction. In between came *No Name* (1862), which, following the success of *The Woman*, sold almost four thousand copies on the day it was published (helped by a large pre-publication order from Mudie's Circulating Library), and *Armada* (1866), which features the most complex of Collins's plots and stands as the novel in which Collins takes his most public pot-shots at Beethoven, to whom he traces the origins of the 'modern German school,' which, as he repeatedly made clear both in other works and in his correspondence, he disliked intensely. (Note that *Armada* has the only Collins character who appreciates Beethoven: Miss Gwilt, who happens to be a murderess, so that Beethoven is found guilty by association.) Whose music did Collins like? He idolized Mozart (described as 'Divine'), enjoyed Chopin, Mendelssohn, and Schubert, and had nothing but praise for both Rossini and Bellini.

(*Postscript to the '60s*: Though Collins was not blind to social conventions, he thought nothing of breaking with them when it suited him. Thus by the time the decade was over, he had two 'wives,' to neither of whom was he married: 1858 – set up house with the widow Caroline Graves and her daughter; 1868 – began the same arrangement with Martha Rudd, with whom he would have three children; angry at that new relationship, Graves married another man (Collins attended the ceremony); 1871 – Graves was back with Collins (the other fellow had died), who, however, continued to live with Rudd; in all: two separate households, one practically around the corner from the other; Graves pretended to be a housekeeper, while Collins/Rudd played the role of Mr/Mrs Dawson; the arrangement continued until the end of Collins's life (with everyone being provided for in his will).

4. *1870s–1880s*: The last two decades of Collins's life saw what many in his day considered a decline in both his creative power and his reputation (if the former is arguable, the latter is not); in short, he

had run out of masterpieces and bestsellers, as his talent for mystery and ‘sensation’ was out of sync with the ‘social issues’ to which he more and more turned. As Algernon Swinburne famously put it: ‘What brought good Wilkie’s genius nigh perdition?/Some demons whispered – “Wilkie! have a mission”’ (in the *Fortnightly Review*, November 1889, just a few weeks after Collins’s death). Yet if Collins lacked the razor-sharp social/political insights of, say, Dickens or Gaskell, and if he failed to paint the panoramic picture of Victorian life that pervades Trollope, he nevertheless recognized the social ills of his time and did his best to confront them, often calling attention to the plight of women (and their mistreatment at the hands of the law), the disabled, and others who were victims of social injustice. He was also one of the co-founders, in 1884, of the Society for Authors, through which he fought for copyright protection for British writers, especially against the piracy of American publishers. Plagued by poor health, Collins became addicted to opium in order to deal with the pain of his ‘rheumatic gout.’ On 30 June 1889, he suffered a stroke; he died some three months later, on 23 September, and was buried in Kensal Green Cemetery. The inscription on the base of his tombstone reads: ‘Author of *The Woman in White* and other works of fiction.’

III. FURTHER READING

A. Collins in General: Of the nine biographies that have appeared just since 1990, three stand out in my mind: (1) Melisa Klimasewski, *Wilkie Collins* (London: Hesperus, 2011), packs a powerful punch in its concise 150 pages; (2) Andrew Lycett, *Wilkie Collins: A Life of Sensation* (London: Hutchinson, 2013), is the most detailed of the three; and (3) Catherine Peters, *The King of Inventors: A Life of Wilkie Collins* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), was my own excellent introduction to Collins (‘King of Inventors’: Collins was so dubbed by the publisher Richard Bentley). Note: the only biography that dates from Collins’s lifetime – *Wilkie Collins: Ein biographisch-kritischer Versuch* (Leipzig, 1855) – is by Ernst von Wolzogen, also the librettist for Strauss’ *Feuersnot* (1901).

What is now the ‘definitive’ edition of Collins’s letters took shape in five stages over a period of twenty-five years:

- (1) *The Letters of Wilkie Collins*, 2 vols, ed. William Baker and William M. Clarke (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), which offers a selection of some 600 items;
- (2) *The Public Face of Wilkie Collins: The Collected Letters*, 4 vols, ed. William Baker, Andrew Gasson, Graham Law, and Paul Lewis (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2005), which, though it cites and summarizes the letters of (1), does not reproduce them;
- (3) Starting in 2005 and continuing in on-and-off fashion to 2023, The Wilkie Collins Society posted fourteen instalments of *Addenda and Corrigenda*; online at: <https://wilkiecollinssociety.org/collected-letters?/>;
- (4) *The Letters of Wilkie Collins*, including the material in instalments 1–11, was issued online (subscription only) by the IntelLex Corporation (Charlottesville, VA): <https://pm.nlx.com/>;
- (5) *The Letters of Wilkie Collins*, ed. William Baker, Andrew Gasson, Graham Law, and Paul Lewis; this incorporates all fourteen instalments of revisions and includes 3,398 letters; online at <https://wilkiecollinssociety.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/2024/10/Collected-Letters-of-Wilkie-Collins-2004-bookmarked-final.pdf>.

The Wilkie Collins Journal (formerly the *Wilkie Collins Society Journal*), ed. Graham Law, is now in its ‘4th series’ and appears online only: <https://wilkiecollinssociety.org/journal>.

Finally, there is Andrew Gasson’s indispensable *Wilkie Collins: An Illustrated Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), of which everyone should have as many copies as one expects guests.

B. Collins and Music

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- _____. 'Music,' in *Wilkie Collins in Context*, ed. William Baker and Richard Nemesvari (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023), 241–51
- _____. *A Wilkie Collins Songbook*. Recent Researches in the Music of the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries, 88 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2023)
- _____. 'Wilkie Collins, Mr. Vanstone, and the Case of the "No-Name" Symphony,' *Dickens Studies Annual* 33 (2003): 215–38
- _____. 'Wilkie Collins on Music and Musicians,' *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 124, no. 2 (1999): 255–70
- Losseff, Nicky. 'Absent Melody and "The Woman in White",' *Music & Letters* 81, no. 4 (2000): 532–50 (which corrects an error in my 1999 *JRMA* article)
- Vorachek, Laura. 'Female Performances: Melodramatic Music Conventions and *The Woman in White*,' in *The Idea of Music in Victorian Fiction*, ed. Sophie Fuller and Nicky Losseff (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 105–28
- Weliver, Phyllis. 'The Prima Donna, Opera Chorus and Amateur Violinist: Music as "Event" in Wilkie Collins's *Man and Wife*,' *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 48, no. 2 (2012): 178–94

IV. THE PERFORMERS/NARRATOR



A native of Nottingham, **Benjamin Staniforth** holds a BA in Music from the University of York. In 2021, he was the winner of the Nottingham Young Musician competition and also won a bursary from The Southwell Choral Society, which led to a recital at Southwell Minster's State Chamber. As a choral singer, he has appeared with The 24, National Youth Voices, and Ex Cathedra. Aiming high, he hopes that the future holds Covent Garden, La Scala, and The Met.

Born in England and blind from birth, **Susanna McCleary** specializes in traditional fiddling and is also a trained 'classical' singer. She holds a Bachelor of Music degree from McMaster University, and is currently enrolled in the Music for Healing and Transition Program with the goal of becoming a therapeutic musician. With her mother, Dorothy de Val, she performs regularly in various fiddle traditions and sings in Scots Gaelic.

Having recently retired from York University (Toronto), **Dorothy de Val**, author of the seminal study on the folklorist Lucy Broadwood, has turned increasingly to composition while also performing as a pianist in both social dance venues and chamber ensembles. Her most recent works are *Windblown Group of Seven* for chorus and string quintet to lyrics by the Métis poet Jessica Outram and the specially commissioned *Estonian Dances* for Organ and Cello, both of which were premiered in 2024, the latter in Tallinn.

Allan Atlas is Distinguished Professor Emeritus at The Graduate Center of The City University of New York. His edition, *'Alice Gray': The Biography of a Nineteenth-Century Ballad*, will appear under the

banner of A-R Editions later this year. As a performer, he was the concertinist with the New York Victorian Consort, whose programs focused on the music of the English salon.

(Neither these programme notes nor the *Songbook* on which they are based would have been possible without the generous help of two scholars: Andrew Gasson, who answered a never-ending stream of questions about Collins, and Derek B. Scott, who read through a draft of the entire Introduction and piece-by-piece Commentary of the *Songbook* and instructed me in the pronunciation of 'Burnot[e]' and 'Bl[u]ewitt' — a heartfelt thanks to both of you.)

APPENDIX 1

The Woman in White (1859–1860)

Lyrics by Joseph E. Carpenter (1813–1885)

Music by Charles W. Glover (1806–1863)

1. I am really a very susceptible man,
So I vowed that no woman my heart should trepan, [to perforate surgically]
I have set at side tables and played at short whist,
The charms of the polka resolved to resist;
I have said to myself 'It's a folly that's clear,
For a man to get "spliced" on three hundred a year';
But in spite of all this, since one unlucky night,
I've been haunted each day by a Woman in White—
A Woman in White— A Woman in White—
A dear, darling, charming young Woman in White

2. The candles burnt blue, it was morning almost,
The dancers grew weary, and sleepy the host,
I had played and revoked, for our glances had met,
And they wanted but one to make up the first set;
I was taking my leave, it was getting so late,
But it wasn't to be, and I bowed to my fate,
I offered my arm, and she smiled in delight,
For I actually danced with the Woman in White.
The Woman in White, The Woman in White,
The dear, darling duck of a Woman in White!

[N.B.: stanzas 3–6, which appear together at the end of the song, do not provide the equivalent of lines 9–10 (musical refrain) of stanzas 1–2.]

3. I went down to Brighton the very next day,
For I thought it was best to get out of the way.
Resolved to live single, I thought to retreat
Was the way to shun danger; we there shouldn't meet;
The morning was fresh and the sea bright and clear,
All the world and his wife were upon the Chain pier,
I followed of course, when imagine my fright,
There close to my side stood the Woman in White.

4. The nights that we strolled, and the mornings we met,
Were something to talk of, I wasn't caught yet,
'In a little flirtation,' I said there's no harm,

And a sail is so nice when the sea is so calm;
 Just then her mamma took her back, up to town,
 She had found out my income since there she'd come down,
 But she never left me at least day and night,
 The image I saw of The Woman in White.

5. When I got back to town, up and down ev'ry street,
 Ev'ry woman in white that I happened to meet,
 I followed to get but a glimpse of her face,
 My 'Woman in White' I strive vainly to trace;
 Was I madly in love or thro' love going mad?
 When I saw on each wall, it was really too bad,
 In black and red letters that dazzled my sight:
 See 'All the Year Round' for 'The Woman in White!'

6. I had my misgivings, it really would seem,
 This Woman in White, then, was only a dream;
 I went to a party, again in despair;
 'The Woman in White!' I exclaimed, she was there;
 I led her aside ere the dancing had closed,
 She blushed, I explained, she looked down, I proposed,
 Her fortune her own, I was her Mr. Wright,
 So I married the dear little Woman in White.

(A Wilkie Collins Songbook, No. 3)

APPENDIX 2

The following 'concordance' accounts for the four songs that appear in both Collins and Dickens.

Song	Composer	Collins	Dickens
'Alice Gray'	Virtue Millard (1786–1854)	'My Lady's Money' (1877)	<i>The Old Curiosity Shop</i> (1840)
'Bay of Biscay, The'	John Davy (1763–1824)	No Name (1862)	<i>Pickwick Papers</i> (1836) <i>Dombey and Son</i> (1848) <i>The Uncommercial Traveler</i> (1860–1861)
'Begone, dull Care'	Traditional(?)	<i>Mr. Wray's Cashbox</i> (1852)	<i>The Old Curiosity Shop</i> <i>The Mystery of Edward Drood</i> (1870 – incomplete)
'Death of Nelson, The.'	John Braham (c. 1774–1856)	Armada (1866)	<i>Dombey and Son</i> <i>David Copperfield</i> (1850) <i>Our Mutual Friend</i> (1865)

Concert: Chu-Yu Yang, violin, and Eric McElroy, piano

6.30–7.45pm, Wednesday 30 June, Atrium, Ron Cooke Hub, Campus East

This concert celebrates a selection of British music for violin piano that is of direct relevance to our conference, not only in terms of its chronology but also in the many aspects of British musical style and identity that it variously addresses. The programme features repertoire from Joe's and Eric's forthcoming CD from SOMM Recordings (released April 2025), which will be the first instalment in a series of CDs of British music for violin and piano.

The concert begins with a posthumously published, single-movement sonata by Arthur Bliss, the 50th anniversary of whose death is being widely commemorated in 2025. This is followed by the première of three unpublished works by Ivor Gurney, performed by exclusive permission of the Ivor Gurney Trust. It is expected that these fascinating miniatures would be of particular interest to conference attendees, revealing a side of Gurney's musical personality that is seldom heard and encouraging a reassessment of his achievement as a composer. The programme concludes with the third violin sonata of Gurney's Gloucestershire comrade, Herbert Howells. Though seldom performed, this extraordinary sonata is one of the great British chamber-works of the early-twentieth century. This is a rare opportunity to hear it in concert. Throughout, this programme is designed to musically reflect and enhance aspects of British music and culture in discussion across the conference.

Programme

Sonata for Violin and Piano, F. 192 (1914)	Arthur Bliss
<i>Humoreske</i> (1908)	Ivor Gurney
<i>A Folk Tale</i> (1908)	Ivor Gurney
<i>In September</i> (1910)	Ivor Gurney
Violin Sonata No. 3, Op. 38 (1923)	Herbert Howells
I. Poco allegro, semplice	
II. Allegro moderato, assai ritmico	
III. Vivace, assai ritmico	



Chu-Yu Yang:

Taiwanese violinist Chu-Yu Yang ('Joe') is fast becoming one of his generation's premier interpreters of British chamber music from the early twentieth century. A seasoned orchestral musician, Joe is a proud member of the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic. He also freelances regularly with the London Philharmonic Orchestra, BBC National Orchestra of Wales, Royal Philharmonic Orchestra, City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra, Royal Northern Sinfonia, Royal Scottish National Orchestra, Bournemouth Symphony Orchestra, and Opera North. Offstage, Joe is a PhD candidate at the Royal Academy of Music, where he previously obtained his Master's degree and Professional Diploma. He is also a guest lecturer for the RAM's elective course on *British Music and Culture*. Joe's PhD research explores the interpretation of violin works pertaining to the English Pastoral School in the early- to mid-20th century, under the supervision of Dr Jonathan Clinch and legendary violinist/concertmaster Rodney Friend.

Joe earned his Bachelor's Degree at Royal Birmingham Conservatoire with Simon Smith and has participated in masterclasses with Tasmin Little, Tamsin Waley-Cohen, Bin Huang, Jan Repko, John Gilbert, Jennifer Pike, and Simon James. Joe is the winner of the Birmingham Philharmonic Orchestra Concerto Prize and the Sylvia Cleaver Chamber Music Prize scholarship. He was awarded a full scholarship, Leverhulme scholarship, and Meher Rohi Gazder scholarship at the Royal Academy of Music. In 2022, Joe was appointed representative of the Far East of the Arthur Bliss Society. In 2023, he was made the Taiwan Correspondent of the Gustav Holst Society. Joe plays on a 1741 Carlo Antonion Testore Violin on loan from the Royal Academy of Music Museum.

Eric McElroy:

Described as 'one of the leading composer-pianists of his generation' (*Musical Opinion*), Eric McElroy has concertized throughout North America and Europe and been praised for both his 'stunning virtuosity' (*Seen and Heard International*) and 'intellect with flair' (*BBC Music Magazine*). A prolific composer, his works have been performed in Germany, Austria, Spain, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Eric's 2023 debut-CD, *Tongues of Fire* (SOMM Recordings), features his own song-cycles as performed by himself and the distinguished tenor James Gilchrist and was released to critical acclaim on both sides of the Atlantic. His CD of unpublished songs by Ivor Gurney with baritone Marcus Farnworth was released by Naxos in October 2024, and further CDs are forthcoming from SOMM in 2025. Eric holds degrees in piano performance from Washington State University, Musik und Kunst Privatuniversität der Stadt Wien, and the Royal Birmingham Conservatoire. In 2023, he completed his doctorate in musicology under the supervision of Daniel Grimley at the University of Oxford.

Abstracts

Session 1A: Case Studies in Late Victorian Music Education – Panel*

10.45am–12.30pm, Monday 28 July, The Treehouse

Chair: Alisa Clapp-Itnyre

How much impact did Victorian music education have, both in the nineteenth century and beyond? While studies of music in institutions of higher education exist (e.g., monographs by Rosemary Golding, David Wright and Susan Wollenberg) and also of elementary instrumental and vocal teaching (e.g., books by David Golby and Jane Southcott), the extraordinary reach of nineteenth-century British music education across boundaries of class, country, and century has received relatively little attention. This panel begins to redress that imbalance by examining disparate aspects of Victorian music education, including in terms of many of the conference themes (music and literature, global musical networks, colonialism, religion and spirituality, and ideas about British music from abroad). In the first paper, Christina Bashford explores working-class violin-playing in the late nineteenth century and argues for a substantial impact on British music education and cultural life that continued into the mid-twentieth century. Intrigued by an instrument often thought to be beyond their class, the amateur working class eagerly sought violins and musical training, especially for their children. Alisa Clapp-Itnyre next looks at Victorian hymnody, one of the genres with greatest impact on the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as seen in those hymns used in the religious education of children, in England and America. Finally, Phyllis Weliver examines the impact of Victorian music education in Australia when practices used to musically educate those living in London slums were exported to Melbourne, both in higher education and the community more broadly. Together, these papers address instrumental and vocal music, solo and ensemble instruction, transatlantic and colonial networks, and cross-class influences.

Christina Bashford (University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign, US):

Silenced Voices and History from Below: Working-Class Violin Culture in Britain in the Late Victorian Era and Beyond

Among the hordes of people taking up the violin in late-Victorian Britain were thousands of newcomer violinists from the lower tranches of society. Their experiences, activities, and contributions to musical life have remained largely unknown and unprocessed. Using E.P. Thompson's still-relevant frame of 'history from below' (1963) to investigate the experiences of working-class violinists, this paper pieces together evidence from unconventional sources, un-silencing the voices of participants and evaluating the social structures and cultural impetuses that drove activity. My focus is inexpensive group teaching for adults, along with the 'Maidstone' project, which took violin-playing to children in elementary schools. While these initiatives were inevitably underpinned by paternalistic views about the improving value of 'good music,' cross-cutting evidence reveals learners who actively sought an energizing inner life through violin-playing, similar to how working-class people, in Jonathan Rose's analysis (2001), found intellectual freedoms through reading.

Besides their contribution to the dynamic growth of string-playing in early twentieth-century Britain, this proletarian base of players and the systems behind their learning had far-reaching

* Papers of 25 minutes' duration will follow each other and Q&A will be gathered together at the end.

impacts on British musical culture into the mid-twentieth century – both on the growth of a listening audience for middlebrow classical music, and the implementation of free instrumental instruction in state schools.

Alisa Clapp-Itnyre (Indiana University East, US):

The Legacy of Victorian Hymnody in Children's British and American Music Education, 1840–1940

In this paper I explore an understudied way that hymnody flourished in the Victorian era: among children. From Sunday schools for working class children, in middle-class homes, to public schools for upper-class boys, hymns provided moral, theological, and musical education to the young. But what I will secondarily argue and extend in this essay are ways that these same Victorian hymns infiltrated American hymnbooks for children of the same period, and then, not only survived but proliferated into the early 20th century in both countries. Though the Modern period supposedly rejected Victorian ideologies of sentiment and faith, indexes of dozens of early 20th-century, pre-WWII hymnbooks that I explore for children show Victorian hymns in the highest numbers. As these hymns continued in religious education into the next century (1900–1940) and in both countries, British and American tastes were yet diverging, as each tradition found something different of the Victorian hymn tradition worthy to keep, and what its 'modern child' needed. But children on both sides of the ocean decidedly needed Victorian hymns' profound poetry and engaging tunes. I will refer to my website of contemporary children's choirs formed to record hymn favourites of the Victorian era (www.soundingchildhood.org), part of Phyllis Weliver's online collaboration, *Sounding Victorian*.

Phyllis Weliver (St Louis University, US):

Liberal Ideas about Music Education, from London to Melbourne

George W.L. Marshall-Hall, who studied at the Royal College of Music in its inaugural year, went on to become the first Ormond Professor of Music at University of Melbourne (1891), to establish the Marshall-Hall Orchestra (1892) and, with William Laver, the Melbourne University Conservatorium (1895). While the connection between Marshall-Hall and the RCM is known, my paper reveals how Marshall-Hall's development of musical life in Melbourne emerged from a liberal intellectual history within Victorian Britain. Green's cousin, T.H. Green, was not only Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy at Oxford, founder of the British Idealist school of philosophy, and a political liberal, but also a significant inspiration for Mrs Humphry Ward's best-selling novel *Robert Elsmere* (1888), which led to social work through music in London slum settlements. The latter was also associated with the RCM. My paper traces this history, draws from additional sources such as Marshall-Hall's lectures and the *RCM Magazine*, and ultimately argues that we should understand the RCM as not only establishing a national school of composition and music conservatory, but also as influencing musical life in Australia through a specifically liberal brand of music education, which was motivated by ideas about music as a social corrective.

Biographies

Christina Bashford is Professor of Musicology at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, and works on the social and cultural history of music in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Britain. Her research has explored a range of themes, including the development and promotion of new ways of listening at Victorian classical-music concerts, the tensions between the sacralization of music and its commodification, and uses of music during World War I and the Irish War of Independence. Publications include her book *The Pursuit of High Culture: John Ella and Chamber*

Music in Victorian London (Boydell, 2007), three co-edited collections, and several articles and book chapters. Her new book, *Violin Culture in Britain, 1870–1930: Music-making, Society, and the Popularity of Stringed Instruments* from Cambridge University Press, is scheduled for publication next month.

Alisa Clapp-Itnyre is Professor of English at Indiana University East, Richmond, Indiana. She is the author of *Hymn Books for Children, 1800–1900: Re-Tuning the History of Childhood* (Ashgate/Routledge, 2016), *Angelic Airs, Subversive Songs: Music as Social Discourse in the Victorian Novel* (Ohio UP, 2002), and is co-editor, with Julie Melnyk of *‘Perplex in Faith:’ Essays on Victorian Beliefs and Doubts* (Cambridge Scholars, 2015). She has articles published in *Victorian Literature and Culture*, *Victorian Poetry*, *Victorians*, *Brontë Studies*, *The Hymn*, and the newly published *Reading Texts in Music and Literature of the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Weliver and Ellis (2025). She runs the academic website of children’s hymn-singing at www.soundingchildhood.org. Her latest book-project is tentatively titled *Child Self-Actualizing: Diaries of English-Speaking Children and Youth, 1820–1920*, an examination of over 100 diaries examined with two chapters written so far.

Phyllis Weliver is Professor of English at Saint Louis University and the author of three monographs: *Mary Gladstone and the Victorian Salon: Music, Literature, Liberalism*; *The Musical Crowd in English Fiction, 1840–1910: Class, Culture and Nation*; and *Women Musicians in Victorian Fiction, 1860–1900: Representations of Music, Science and Gender in the Leisured Home*. Among her edited books is *Reading Texts in Music and Literature of the Long Nineteenth Century* – a newly published collaboration with Katharine Ellis, and the first coursebook to introduce students to the interdisciplinary subject of music and literature. Today’s talk is drawn from Phyllis’s current monograph, tentatively titled *Liberalism, Music and Literature in the British Long Nineteenth Century*.

Session 1B: Opera and Theatre

10.45am–12.15pm, Monday 28 July, Bowland Auditorium

Chair: Gillian Dooley

Paul Rodmell (University of Birmingham):

The Curious Case of Isidore De Lara (1858–1935)

Who was Isidore De Lara? Even amongst scholars of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century British music, his name is largely unfamiliar. And yet he was the most prolific and, in some respects, most successful British composer of opera of his time: he wrote at least thirteen full-length works, of which eleven received professional premieres, including at Covent Garden, Monte Carlo, Marseille, Nice, Paris and Cologne. In addition to this, he was one of the most successful salon singers in London in the 1880s and, in the early stages of his career, a quite prolific writer of songs; he also managed one of the longest-running concert series of the First World War. Despite this, he has been almost entirely forgotten and, it would seem, actively airbrushed out of accounts of British music history of the period. Why is this the case? This paper briefly explores aspects of De Lara's life and career and proposes some tentative reasons as to why he has been forgotten – and why his story is worth re-examining.

Michael Burden (University of Oxford):

Opera (and other things) in the London Season of 1813

At the beginning of the 1812–1813 season, London's Italian Opera House, the King's Theatre, was – as it had often been in the past – in disarray. As he had been for many years, William Taylor was impresario, a bad organiser, a bad payer, and seemingly with little charm to recommend him. He also lacked the diplomatic skills required to run an opera company or manage a theatre.

The season got underway with an opera repertory of Fioravanti, Paisiello, and Pucitta, with some Mozart thrown in, but with very few new works included. The ballet was better served, with the ballet master Charles-Louis Didelot in post staging new and old choreographies throughout the season.

There was, however, a simmering discontent between the cast, the audience and the management, which finally boiled over into a full-scale riot on 1 May 1813 and which destroyed the expensive 'new grand heroic ballet' *La Chaumiere Hongroise; ou, Les Illustres Fugitifs*, and damaged (and temporarily closed) the opera house.

The violence and spectacle were captured in a wild and fantastical print by William Henry Brooke, 'The Uproar House', which appeared in *The Satirist* for 1 June 1813. Brooke's picture does not have one central image or interpretation, and the orchestra pit, the stage, the wings, and the top of the scene all have their own space and activities.

Revisiting the 1813 season and using both Brooke's print and newly located administrative papers, this paper will reconstruct this chaotic period, one that ended with William Taylor barred by the courts from the theatre.

Lauren Ganger (Eastman School of Music, US):

Elizabeth Craven's Brandenburg Theatre: Women and Creative Agency at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century

In 1798, the aristocratic British writer, composer, and amateur actress Elizabeth Craven (1750–1828) produced an original pastiche opera entitled *The Princess of Georgia* at Brandenburg Theatre. Her

second husband, the Margrave of Anspach, constructed this 300-seat theater as an addition to Brandenburg House for her personal use, but it can hardly be considered a domestic space. While most studies of female music-making at the turn of the nineteenth century highlight accomplishment culture and assume that middle- and upper-class women almost exclusively performed music in the domestic sphere, musical women such as Craven are overlooked because they eschew this standard, binary model of feminine music-making. Craven's musical activities at Brandenburg Theatre demonstrate that women did participate in public performance while maintaining respectability.

I argue that Craven strategically deployed pastiche within the respectable confines of the feminine-coded 'private theatrical' genre as a subtle yet defiant assertion of women's creative value. By setting her libretto to her own music alongside music by Italian masters, Craven ranked her compositions as equal to that of composers such as Paisiello and Guglielmi. Furthermore, in staging and performing her works in what I term a 'demi-domestic' space, Craven avoided negative connotations of public musical performance and professionalism. Strategically making unconventional creative choices within the confines of conventional genres, Craven maintained the veneer of propriety while pushing the boundaries of her gender and class. Her musical activities in Brandenburg Theatre demonstrate that Regency Era women could and did assert creative agency while maintaining their reputations.

Biographies

Paul Rodmell is a Senior Lecturer in Music at the University of Birmingham. He is the author of monographs on *Charles Stanford* (2002), *Opera in the British Isles 1875–1918* (2013) and *French Music in Britain 1830–1914* (2020) and has also published on other aspects of British and Irish musical culture in the long nineteenth century. He is currently working on a life-and-works study of Isidore De Lara.

Michael Burden, FAHA, is Professor in Opera Studies at Oxford University; he is also Fellow in Music and Dean at New College. His published research is on aspects of London dance and theatre and includes jointly edited volumes on *Le Ballet de la Nuit* (2010), *The Works of Monsieur Noverre* (2014), and *With a Grace not to be Captured; Representing the Georgian Theatrical Dancer, 1760–1830* (2020), which was Joint winner of the 2021 Claire Brook Award. He is Co-Investigator with Jonathan Hicks on the electronic calendar, 'The London Stage 1800-1844', and is currently Chair of the Society for Theatre Research.

Lauren Ganger is a PhD candidate in musicology at the Eastman School of Music. Her dissertation, entitled 'The Harmony of the Separate Spheres: British Nationalism and Gender Formation in Nineteenth-Century Domestic Music Traditions,' focuses on evolving conceptions of gender and the flexible boundaries between the public and private spheres in early to mid-nineteenth-century British musical traditions. She has presented at the North American British Music Studies Association conference and will present at conferences hosted by the Midwest Victorian Studies Association and the Research Society for Victorian Periodicals later this year. She belongs to the music honor society Pi Kappa Lambda.

Session 2A: Miscellany 1

1.30–2.30pm, Monday 28 July, The Treehouse

Chair: Rachel Becker

Anastasia Zaponidou (Bangor University):

The ‘greatest lady ‘cellist’ or a ‘rabid feminist? Envisaging the Influences of the Suffrage Movement in the early career of May Henrietta Mukle

On 25 February 1892 the ladies’ string band Les Cigales, conducted by the pianist Anne Victoria Mukle, performed at a meeting of the Central National Society for Women’s Suffrage (NSWS), featuring talks by NSWS leaders, as well as suffrage-supporting politicians. Among its members, Les Cigales featured Anne Mukle’s younger sisters, namely Florence, Lilian, Louise, and May who was eleven years old at the time. This paper will examine the early career of the youngest Mukle sister, the cellist May Henrietta Mukle (1880–1963), from the 1890s until 1914, tracing how women’s fight for emancipation and enfranchisement may have impacted her early work. Though Mukle’s activities in women’s organisations like the London-based Society of Women Musicians have briefly been discussed in current scholarship (Seddon, 2016; Broad, 2023), little research has been published examining the intersection of feminist action with music-making in Mukle’s early career more broadly.

This paper will cover this underrepresented scope of Mukle’s output, by examining her positionality on the subject of women in the musical profession, as depicted in contemporary sources. Particular attention will also be drawn toward influential contacts whose work intersected feminist action with music-making, including, among others, her older sisters, and the conductor and multi-instrumentalist Rosabell Watson. Finally, the paper will examine the intersection of cello-playing related commentary with emancipation discourse in some of Mukle’s concert reviews, examining how Mukle’s stage presence and even her choice of instrument were occasionally presented as a sign of a new age of emancipation for professional women musicians.

Oliver Puckey (University of Cambridge):

‘A Drama With Songs’: *Oberon* between the British and German Stage

The premiere of Carl Maria von Weber’s romantic opera *Oberon* at Covent Garden in April 1826 was a significant inflection point in the history of nineteenth-century British musical culture. It was the first time that an esteemed composer from the German opera scene had written what contemporaries understood as an ‘English opera’. Tragedy marked Weber’s visit to London to oversee the first productions. His death at the home of George Smart has indelibly shaped our understanding of the opera and its reception.

These circumstances mean that we know much about *Oberon*’s English premiere. But we know less about the early German productions, which took place at Leipzig (1826), Vienna (1827), Berlin (1827), and Prague (1828). This paper considers how the German productions of *Oberon* pointed to the curiously liminal position occupied by romantic opera between British and German performance cultures. Adaptors across the German theatre network considered it necessary to re-adapt the opera back into their own performance culture – in the process re-capturing Weber’s supposedly ‘true’ intentions for the work. This raises further questions about how contemporaries perceived ‘English’ and ‘German’ opera as distinct yet overlapping stylistic categories.

We also know little about how musical representatives in Britain and Germany cooperated with one another – especially in the wake of the composer’s death. This was a moment of unprecedented cosmopolitan sympathy between musical publics on both sides of the North Sea,

who mourned a lost star, but also of sharpening national rivalries. Who, the question went, were Weber's rightful heirs?

Biographies

Anastasia Zaponidou is a PhD researcher at Bangor University in North Wales, conducting a compensatory study on the career of British cellist May Henrietta Mukle (1880–1963). Anastasia has shared her research at conferences and research seminars across the UK, as well as in Austria and the United States, including the IAML Congress in Salzburg held earlier in July, the RMA Annual Conference, and the 2024 NABMSA Conference in Oberlin, Ohio. Aside from her academic work, Anastasia is also an active cellist and conductor, performing regularly across North and Mid Wales.

Oliver Puckey is a cultural historian of nineteenth-century Europe, whose research situates music in the context of emerging networks of ties between Britain and continental Europe. He submitted his PhD dissertation, which drew on archival sources to reappraise the Anglo-German musical relationship, for examination in May 2025. This research was funded by the University of Cambridge Harding Distinguished Postgraduate Scholars Programme. Last year, his paper on migrant musical networks in Manchester was awarded the Nicholas Temperley Student Paper Prize at the North American British Music Studies Association conference.

Session 2B: Music and Shows

1.30–2.30pm, Monday 28 July, Bowland Auditorium

Chair: Martin Clarke

Elizabeth Kertesz and Michael Christoforidis (Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, University of Melbourne, Australia):

Pierrots, Pantomime, and Plectral Instruments in Late Victorian Entertainment

Pierrots found new life in late Victorian England, from fashion to popular entertainment, and engendered a unique type of plectral (plucked-string) instrument ensemble. This new movement was inspired by the huge success of an engaging three-act pantomime: *L'enfant prodigue*, written by Michel Carré *fils* with a groundbreaking integrated score by André Wormser (Paris 1890, London 1891). Its musical novelty lay in Wormser's close mimesis of both stage gestures and emotions which brought to life a fresh, even realist, narrative about the Pierrot family. *L'enfant prodigue* consolidated the link between Pierrot figures and music in contemporary entertainment, as well as their association with plectral instruments.

In this paper we explore the reception of this French pantomime and how it served as a catalyst for the emergence of British Pierrot ensembles instigated by Clifford Essex, whose Pierrot Banjo Team launched the movement in the early 1890s. This created a localised manifestation of the burgeoning international plucked-string music scene. Essex drew on both the comic popular style of the established minstrel tradition, and the exoticism of the Spanish student ensembles (or *estudiantinas*), which had found popularity in English theatres and pleasure gardens during the 1880s. These Pierrot troupes formed a launching pad for the incipient British BMG (banjo, mandolin and guitar) movement that, which was influenced by continental European and US American trends, and became a mass amateur social and commercial phenomenon in the early twentieth century.

Amélie Addison (Northumbria University):

Music on the Move: A Circus Bandsman on Tour in 1890s Britain and Ireland

Who were the thousands of itinerant musicians performing the soundtrack to popular entertainment throughout Victorian Britain? Where did they learn to play? How did they access the instruments, training and networks required to embark on and sustain a musical career? What was daily life like for these 'roadsters', who played for menageries, circuses and sideshows all over the British Isles? What evidence of their skills and repertoire can be recovered or reconstructed, and how did they influence future popular media, such as silent cinema? This paper will attempt to answer these questions by exploring and contextualizing a unique family archive of personal papers and performance memorabilia from the career of drummer, Teddy King (1867-1942).

Teddy's personal log takes us behind the scenes of a touring musician's life, providing a new perspective on entertainments and incidents represented in historical newspapers, postcards, and ephemera. Street maps, trade directories, census, parish and military records illuminate his social background and help explain how the industrialisation, globalisation and imperialism of nineteenth-century Britain enabled urban working-class boys to pursue careers as skilful and versatile professional musicians. Teddy's archive illustrates the unprecedented mobility and extraordinary hardships musicians experienced on the road, through exposure to unimagined landscapes, the dangers of ice, wind, fire and exotic wild beasts, and membership of a transient international community, shaped by conflict and colonialism. Its richness argues that further study of nineteenth-century itinerant instrumentalists could prove rewarding and revelatory.

Biographies

Elizabeth Kertesz is an Honorary Senior Fellow at the Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, University of Melbourne. She has written extensively on the English composer Ethel Smyth, focusing on the critical reception of her operas in Germany and England. In 2018 she published a monograph with Michael Christoforidis, entitled *Carmen and the Staging of Spain* (Oxford University Press,). Her current research interests include Ethel Smyth, and Spanish-themed music, entertainment and film from the Belle Epoque into the first half of the twentieth century.

Michael Christoforidis is a Professor in Musicology at the Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, University of Melbourne. He has published extensively on nineteenth- and twentieth-century Spanish music and dance, and its impact on Western culture. Other research interests include the impact of the visual arts upon musical modernism, issues of national identity and exoticism in music, and the history of the acoustic guitar. He has published two monographs: *Manuel de Falla and Visions of Spanish Music* (Routledge, 2017) and *Carmen and the Staging of Spain* (with Elizabeth Kertesz, Oxford University Press, 2018).

Amélie Addison trained as a professional cellist, specialising in historical performance practice and music education, at the Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama (now Royal Conservatoire Scotland) and TrinityLaban Conservatoire of Music and Dance. After completing her PhD on national airs in the theatre music of William Shield (1748-1829) at the University of Leeds, Amélie was awarded a Leeds Arts & Humanities Research Institute Postdoctoral Fellowship to study circus musicians in 1890s Britain, and a BSECS/Northumbria Fellowship to research transmission between oral tradition and popular theatre. Amélie was appointed Lecturer in Music at Northumbria University in September 2024.

Session 3A: Music, Memorials and Memorialisation

3.00–4.30pm, Monday 28 July, The Treehouse

Chair: Paul Watt

Alison Gilbert (Wofford College, US):

‘I hear a wizard music roll’: Musical Encounters with the Dead in Liza Lehmann’s *In Memoriam*

In Memoriam by Alfred, Lord Tennyson is one of the most significant and oft-quoted poetic works of the Victorian era, portraying a non-linear journey from doubt to belief through subjective experience. Relatively few composers have chosen to engage with its text, and of those few, only one, Liza Lehmann, has taken on the challenge of writing a large-scale work that reflects the personal and spiritual journey of Tennyson’s text, embracing the work’s complexities and contradictions. Her text selection and music-compositional choices create a similar, but not identical, narrative, even as she uses only a small sampling of the text.

In Memoriam has attracted a broad and eclectic array of literary criticism, but most critics agree that the poem has a key turning point: a lyric in which the poet figure has a direct encounter with the dead friend whom he elegizes. This encounter allows the poet to move forward in faith that there is life after death. Notably, this encounter occurs through the medium of language, as ‘word by word, and line by line, / The dead man touched me from the past.’ Despite its literary centrality, Lehmann does not use this key moment from Tennyson’s text. Instead she repurposes other sections of the text and accomplishes a similar feat through musical imagery. This paper analyses songs 5 and 6 from Lehmann’s cycle, showing how she achieves her own turning point in no. 6, brought about through the power of not language but music.

Michael Allis (University of Leeds):

Memorialising William Sterndale Bennett: Two Musical Models

The death of William Sterndale Bennett in 1875 prompted a wave of national mourning. In addition to detailed newspaper coverage of the funeral and a range of obituaries and commemorative concerts, there were several discussions of how to mark his passing in the most suitable manner; whilst the *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* favoured a biography ‘by some competent hand’ (eventually resulting in the 1907 volume *The Life of William Sterndale Bennett*, written by Bennett’s son, James Robert Sterndale Bennett), others urged the creation of sculptural memorials in the form of busts, tablets or statues. Particularly striking, however, were attempts to commemorate Bennett through elegiac poetry and music. This paper focuses on two musical tributes to Bennett, inspired by different types of literary model – Thomas Wingham’s *Elegy on the Death of Sir Sterndale Bennett* and George Macfarren’s *Idyll in Memory of Sterndale Bennett* (both written in 1875) – highlighting parallels and differences in their compositional strategies. If Wingham’s work can be understood as a refiguring of several of the features of the poetic elegy into musical form, Macfarren’s more ambitious composition aimed to represent not only Bennett’s ‘inborn genius’, but a range of biographical events – from his ‘early orphanhood’ to his ‘gently falling into the everlasting sleep’. Not only is a reappraisal of these relatively neglected works welcome, but such compositions contribute to our understanding of public bereavement, legacy and memorial in Victorian Britain.

Kirsten Barker (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, US):

'[T]heir deeds have risen monument': Ideas of Britishness in Musical Memorialization of the Terra Nova Expedition

The fatal expedition of English explorer Robert F. Scott (1868–1912) has been etched in the British psyche since his death. His doomed race to the South Pole with four other men inspired music, visual art, and stories as soon as news of their deaths reached London, and commemoration of the Terra Nova expedition continues to play an important role in perceptions of Antarctic heritage and Britishness. Paul Pelham and Lawrence Wright's song 'Tis a Story that Shall Live For Ever' (1913) is one such example. Though it has not been considered in scholarship, its text and music are particularly illuminating of how Scott's story was instantly memorialized in ways that drew on his own writings and inextricably linked him to pre-1914 ideas of Britishness. The song was first recorded just two weeks after Scott's death was reported at home, and it was initially paired on a record with the Titanic memorial song 'Be British', which likewise emphasizes sacrifice, courage, and Britishness.

This paper highlights similarities between the two songs and shows that the musical commemoration of Scott's expedition in 'Tis a Story' captures the sentiments of the moment. The song's framing of the Terra Nova deaths as British heroism both conflates Britishness and Englishness and is representative of attitudes toward Antarctic exploration, which enabled it to glorify the lost men as well as the achievements of Britain's South Atlantic conquests. This framing is something that has continued into the present with commemorations of Scott that are haunted by nationalistic sentiments.

Biographies

Alison Gilbert is Assistant Professor of Music at Wofford College. She has previously taught at Southeastern Oklahoma State University and University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire, and she holds degrees in musicology and piano from the University of Cincinnati College-Conservatory of Music, Miami University, University of Denver, and University of Georgia. Alison is an active member of the North American British Studies Association and a proud recipient of the organization's Linda Shaver-Gleason Award. Her research focuses on intersections of music and literature, and her recent work addresses song analysis through the lens of literary close reading.

Michael Allis is Professor of Musicology at the University of Leeds. As well as his recent books on the music critic Herbert Thompson (2024) and the symphonic poem in Britain (2020), co-edited with Paul Watt, his research has included studies of connections between music and literature (whether Holbrooke and Poe, William Wallace and Rossetti, music-related travel writing, or the representation of Peter Warlock in Robertson Davies' novels), Granville Bantock's letters, Aldous Huxley's music criticism, Wagner and tempo, Liszt reception, and editions of Parry's chamber music. His book on Granville Bantock's literature-inspired orchestral music is under contract with The Boydell Press.

Kirsten Barker is a PhD student at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. She holds a Master of Music in musicology from the University of Illinois and a Bachelor of Music in violin performance with a minor in environmental studies from Utah State University. Kirsten's research centres on musical depictions of landscape and nature, particularly Western art music that evokes connotations of the idea of 'wilderness'. She is primarily interested in music and culture related to the Antarctic region and to the Heroic Age of Antarctic Exploration, as well as to British perceptions of and expectations for landscape and environment.

Session 3B: Concerts in Transition

3.00–4.30pm, Monday 28 July, Bowland Auditorium

Chair: Christina Bashford

Steven Jeon (London)

Redefining Chamber Music: Listening Practices at the Monday and Saturday Popular Concerts at the St James's Hall in London in the Nineteenth Century

The late nineteenth century witnessed a pivotal transformation in chamber-music performance, as this intimate genre transitioned from private salons into the public sphere. Central to this evolution were the Monday and Saturday Popular Concerts, or 'The Pops', held at St James's Hall, London. Established in 1861, these concerts bridged the gap between private and public musical life, attracting a diverse audience and redefining chamber music's cultural role within Victorian society.

This presentation explores how 'The Pops' made chamber music accessible to a broader public while preserving its artistic integrity. Featuring works by composers such as Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven, alongside emerging repertoire, the series balanced popular appeal with artistic innovation. Drawing on archival materials, including concert programmes, critical reviews, and audience accounts, the presentation examines the strategies used to adapt this traditionally intimate genre for public consumption, including repertoire selection, performer-audience interaction, and the influence of St James's Hall's distinctive acoustics.

By focusing on the cultural and social implications of these concerts, this presentation explores how 'The Pops' redefined the experience of chamber music for Victorian audiences. It argues that these concerts did more than popularise the genre; they also fostered a unique listening culture that bridged tradition and modernity. In doing so, the Popular Concerts at St James's Hall played a key role in shaping London's vibrant musical life, solidifying chamber music's place in public culture and creating new opportunities for communal musical engagement.

Rachel Watson (King's College, London):

'A complete orchestra of Lady Amateurs': Class, Charity and Professionalism in the English Ladies' Orchestral Society

The English Ladies' Orchestral Society (known as Elos) was founded in 1893 by composer and violist Marian Arkwright. From 1893 to 1912 the orchestra performed symphonic repertoire for charitable causes throughout England and Wales. While it was neither the first nor only 'ladies' orchestra' to perform philanthropic concerts, it was the first full symphony orchestra to do so. Elos was an organisation that paid close attention to its image. Rather than exploiting the novelty and radicalism of women as wind and brass players, it presented itself as a continuation of accepted aristocratic predecessors such as Lady Radnor's String Band. A press campaign in the mid-1890s emphasised the amateur status of its female players in contrast to the professional male conductor. However, biographies of individual players show that many had studied in England and Germany and several self-described as professional musicians. While they were denied paid employment in professional symphony orchestras, organisations such as Elos allowed them to perform the music they had trained for. Several female wind and brass players were also employed for the concerts.

In this paper, I will examine how Elos's upper-class amateur reputation created an environment that allowed women to perform 'serious' orchestral music in public. Fundraising for suitable causes, alongside care over details such as dress and illustrations in printed programmes fostered an image of non-threatening respectability. Finally, I will examine how the women of Elos

highlight the porosity of the boundaries between ‘amateurism’ and ‘professionalism’ at the turn of the twentieth century.

Claire Holden (University of York):

Playing Together? Exploring Changing Artistic Priorities in English Orchestras at the End of the Nineteenth Century

What can we discover about the performance characteristics of late-nineteenth century British orchestras? Was there a distinctive British orchestral style and sound? How and why did the principles and practices of nineteenth-century orchestras differ from those of both modern and ‘period-instrument’ orchestras today? What can be discovered of the artistic priorities and decision-making of nineteenth-century orchestral players? Modern and period-instrument performances of Romantic repertoire bear little resemblance to sounds evidenced in historical recordings and described in written accounts. This is partly because historical approaches towards (a)synchrony, expressive timing, and individual agency are no longer understood or employed. Ensemble precision and ‘togetherness’ became primary aspirations only in the mid-twentieth century – earlier musicians would have regarded constant exact alignment as strangely inexpressive. Whilst many Romantic orchestral works have now been recorded on period instruments, to produce truly historically informed performances of this repertoire would necessitate a seismic shift in modern-day artistic priorities and sound worlds – a major frontier still unexplored by the Period Performance movement. One particular challenge for twenty-first-century performers experimenting with nineteenth-century orchestral practices is expressive asynchrony – the deliberate misaligning of instrumental lines for expressive purposes. This paper examines historical evidence of asynchrony and considers how common characteristics of timing, expression, and timbre in nineteenth-century ensembles might be realized by instrumentalists today.

Biographies

Steven Jeon holds a PhD in Musicology from the University of Birmingham, which was supervised by Matthew Riley and Paul Rodmell. He has presented at various locations including Australia, Canada, Czech Republic, Austria, Sweden, Switzerland and the UK. He has also presented his research at the IAML international congresses in 2022, 2023 and 2025. His recent article in *Brio* (IAML UK-Ireland branch periodical) explores under-explored manuscripts of string quartets by William Alwyn. Steven is working on articles on Benjamin Britten and on Popular Music Concerts at St James’s Hall.

Rachel Watson is a PhD candidate at King’s College London, researching female orchestral musicians in London at the turn of the twentieth century. She previously studied at Christ Church, Oxford and the Royal Welsh College of Music and Drama before spending several years working as a cellist and working in music education. Her PhD project is supported by the London Arts and Humanities Partnership.

Claire Holden was awarded an AHRC Fellowship in the Creative and Performing Arts in 2010 (researching early nineteenth-century violin playing) and joined the University of Oxford as Research Fellow in 2014, becoming Principal Investigator on the AHRC-funded *Transforming Nineteenth-Century Historically Informed Practice* project in 2016. Her co-edited volume, *Practice in Context*, is due out this month from OUP. As a violinist Claire performs with many period-instrument ensembles and has been a member of the Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment since 2000. She gives lectures, workshops and masterclasses in many UK and European universities and conservatoires, and is currently a Research Affiliate and teacher of historical violin at the University of York.

Session 4A: Music Through Other Media

4.45–6.15pm, Monday 28 July, The Treehouse

Chair: Leanne Langley

John Ling (Independent):

'As others saw them': The Musical World of the 1880s and 1890s as Portrayed in *Punch*

Over the many years that these conferences have been held, very many papers have presented research and commented on organisations, events, persons, publications and activities as seen from within the 'musical world'. This paper will give a view – or, I should say, a glimpse (as time is limited) – of the 19th-century musical world as seen from outside, in the pages of the leading humorous and satirical magazine *Punch*. I examine a sample of articles and cartoons from the 1880s and 1890s. The articles were mainly reports on performances, especially opera, and were replete with puns. The humour in both articles and cartoons ranged from poking fun, via varying shades of mockery, to outright ridicule. I categorise the cartoons, distinguishing between those targeting professional and amateur music-making, and identify common features, of which stereotyping is the most obvious. I also consider what the overall content of the magazine reveals about the readership and its attitude towards music.

David Lewis (University of Oxford and Goldsmiths College):

'Selected from the best productions of the great masters': Choosing and Translating Music for *The Harmonicon* (1823–33) and *The Musical Library* (1833–37)

For their 14-year combined publication span, *The Harmonicon* (1823–33) and *The Musical Library* (1833–37) presented one of the most cost-effective and diverse ways to build a domestic music library at home, whilst at the same time they provided readers with broad textual material, drawing from music history and ethnomusicology, cultural gossip and reviews. Although these journals were explicitly founded with an educative intent, William Ayrton, the editor of both, notes that 'the music alone contained in this work could not be purchased, in the ordinary way, for less than three times the sum that is paid for the two parts forming the First Volume of the HARMONICON'. Thus, the contents of the publications – both music and text – are affected by practical and commercial concerns as well as by a mission to establish good taste and wide musical awareness in the amateur public. This tension is made more pronounced by the very real financial peril involved in publishing periodicals such as these.

The musical content, and the decisions made in selecting and adapting it for practical, domestic use, shows us something of how the domestic market was perceived by the editors and so, perhaps, can give us a glimpse of the tastes and abilities of an amateur public that is often otherwise invisible to musicologists.

Victoria Roskams (Independent):

Frédéric Chopin in Decadent Fiction

When Oscar Wilde's Gilbert, in 'The Critic as Artist', muses, 'After playing Chopin, I feel as if I had been weeping over sins that I had never committed, and mourning over tragedies that were not my own', he hints at decadent fiction's revisionary engagement with the music and mythology of Frédéric Chopin. While contemporary non-fictional writing about the composer associated him with the female pianist, and thereby with drawing-room sentimentality (deriving from the perception that women were better suited to playing apparently small-scale piano music), in decadent fiction,

Chopin connotes anything but a domestic, harmonious atmosphere. In texts such as Wilde's essay and his *Picture of Dorian Gray*, stories by Arthur Symonds and Count Eric Stenbock, Stanley Makower's little-known tale of a female composer's descent into illness, *The Mirror of Music*, and the short stories of the American music critic James Huneker, Chopin's music signifies – simultaneously – illness, love, melancholy, and the uncanny. His music was a decadent symbol par excellence, with writers hearing in it the embodiment of their fascination with decay, death, and isolation, in all their subversive allure. Biographical reception played a part, too, with writers inspired by his untimely death from tuberculosis and the proto-queer potentialities of his relationship with George Sand. This paper will argue that decadent writers in English understood and shaped the late-nineteenth-century reception of Chopin's music as meaningfully and pervasively as they participated (as much criticism has already recognised) in the reception of Richard Wagner's music.

Biographies

John Ling was a late entrant into musicology, his previous allegiance having been to mathematics. He studied for his MMus at Royal Holloway in 2004–06 and followed up with a PhD thesis entitled 'The Debate in England on the Progress and Regress of music, 1888–1907'. His book, *Debating English Music in the Long Nineteenth Century*, was published by Boydell in 2021.

David Lewis is a researcher at the University of Oxford e-Research Centre in Oxford and Lecturer in Computer Science at Goldsmiths, University of London, where he teaches Digital Humanities. He studied historical musicology at Kings College London and has since worked on a wide range of digital musicology and digital humanities projects, including early instrumental music and music treatises. He is particularly interested in musical arrangements and adaptations.

Victoria C. Roskams graduated with a DPhil from the University of Oxford in 2023, with a thesis titled 'The Composer and Musical Identities in Nineteenth-Century Fiction'. Her research interests span the long nineteenth century and its various interactions between the worlds of music and literature, with particular interests in Romanticism, decadence, and aestheticism. Roskams has published on topics including the eclecticism of the musical repertoire in George du Maurier's novel *Trilby*, and the musical genesis of Oscar Wilde's novel *The Picture of Dorian Gray*.

Session 4B: Global Networks

4.45–6.15pm, Monday 28 July, Bowland Auditorium

Chair: David Wright

Vincent Wesselmann (University of Oxford):

From Rebels to Rivals: Colonial Music Infrastructure and the ABRSM Exams in the Long Nineteenth Century

In 1893, the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music (ABRSM) began exporting its music exams from London to the furthest corners of the British Empire. Through its Royal backing and institutional affiliation with the Royal Academy of Music (RAM) and Royal College of Music (RCM), the ABRSM quickly gained a level of prestige unknown by its predecessor, the Trinity College of Music (TCL) exams, partially due to the fact that professors from the RAM and RCM were sent along with the exams to conduct these ABRSM ‘tours’. Given the lack of a developed classical music education infrastructure in many British colonies, most music teachers gratefully received the examiner in the hope that he could bring the musical standards of the metropole overseas. However, three exceptions complicate this narrative. At the start of the twentieth century, musicians in Australia, South Africa, and Canada resisted the imposition of British standards by developing local examining boards which quickly became legitimate rivals to the ABRSM. Previous research has shown early resistance to the ABRSM in Canada and Australia during the 1890s, yet the causes behind the exponential growth of the Australian Music Education Board (AMEB), University of South Africa (UNISA), and Royal Conservatory of Music (RCM Canada) exams over the course of the long nineteenth century have yet to be investigated. My paper argues that changing conceptions of the imperial ‘imagined community’ as well as specific local factors led to the growth of these rival exams, even if their repertoire remained similar to their British predecessor.

Jesse Bannister (University of York):

Empire and Global Musical Networks: An Insight into the Cultural Impact of Indian Music in Nineteenth-century Britain

This lecture-recital maps musical transnational migrations through a study of the bi-musical expert Maud McCarthy (1882–1967), an internationally recognised Western violinist and Rabindranath Tagore commended, Indian Classical music vocalist.

The British colonial period in India afforded major financial contributions to lay the foundations for British music education from 1882, with the formation of The Royal College of Music. Simultaneously Indian Classical music, through MacCarthy’s work, influenced several British composers of the nineteenth century, including Holst, Grainger, Foulds and Elgar.

To highlight this influence on British music and British musical education, I will present evidence of MacCarthy’s Indian music activity in Britain, as archived in the Borthwick Institute for Archives, University of York. The archive documents MacCarthy teaching the 72 Melakarta (parent scales), 22 shrutis (microtones; a term coined by MacCarthy in 1910) and talas (rhythmic cycles) in British Universities. Following this, and by continuing MacCarthy’s Indian music epistemological style, I will recite a brief and relevant selection of ragas and shrutis on Western instruments. I seek to support her argument that this knowledge needs to find its place in musical institutions still damned by racism, tokenism and appropriation. In presenting this work I would hope to discuss with the panel and participants:

- How dual epistemological approaches of Western and Indian music education can be used in a joined-up way, a vision that MacCarthy was keen to promote.

- How this can make a much overdue contribution towards a de-colonised University research culture.

Biographies

Vinzent Wesselmann is a first-year Music DPhil candidate at the University of Oxford. His research focuses upon ideas of prestige in cultural education, using the ABRSM's colonial involvement in the early twentieth century as a case study. Coming from a background of history and sociology, Vinzent is interested in investigating how cultural institutions were used to create an imperial 'imagined community' in the years leading up to the foundation of The Commonwealth. Vinzent received his BA in History from Columbia University, MPhil in Modern European History from the University of Cambridge, and MA in Sociology from Sciences Po Paris.

Jesse Bannister is a bi-racial and bi-musical British Indian performer and composer, with a direct lineage to Hindu Brahmin priests, who converted to Christian missionaries during the Empire's rule. Jesse is among the world's leading Indian Classical saxophonists, and a leading UK cross-cultural composer, with compositions appearing in Chambers Fine Arts; NY, ICA; Miami, Vila Arconati; Milan and as a regular contributor at Queen Elizabeth Hall and The Royal Festival Hall. In Higher Education Jesse has contributed to multi-cultural pedagogies and research, specialising in aural traditions of Indian Classical Music on Western Instruments for 30 years, and recently completed a PhD in composition at the University of York.

Session 5: Miscellany 2

9.00–10.30am, Tuesday 29 July, Bowland Auditorium

Chair: Roger Hansford

Gillian Russell (University of York):

Trash or Treasure? Sheet Music in Debates about the Meaning of the Book vs Ephemera in early Nineteenth-century Britain

The 1790s in Britain is the decade when the term ‘ephemera’ begins to be used widely in relation to printed matter, largely due to political controversies in the wake of the French Revolution. Both radicals and loyalists deployed single-sheet publication – handbills, songs, toasts, mock playbills, cheap repository tracts – in an unprecedented paper war. The writing, printing and distribution of anti-government or ‘seditious’ publications became a focus of concern for the authorities, who increasingly sought to stigmatize such literature as ‘ephemeral’ i.e. of no lasting value and as peddling a ‘trashy’, disposable, politics. The inflection of ‘ephemera’ in these terms around 1800 forms a context for two legal cases concerning copyright in sheet music – *Hime v. Dale* (1803) and *Clementi v. Golding* (1809). The proximity of sheet music to the format of other non-book publications deemed as ‘ephemeral’, such as the handbill or the newspaper, makes these two cases important episodes in the history of copyright in sheet music as well as illuminating evolving concepts of the book.

Rachel Becker (University of Northern Colorado, US):

In Search of the Nineteenth-century [British] Female Oboist

Twentieth-century female oboists in England were trailblazers in the fields of solo and orchestral playing, still well known today internationally among oboists: Joy Boughton, Natalie Caine, Janet Craxton, Margaret Eliot, Ruth Gipps, Evelyn Rothwell (Barbirolli). But each of these women was born in the twentieth century. Who were their predecessors, the oboists of the 1899 *Englishwoman's Year Book*, which reported that among professional musicians in England, ‘There are now many women flautists and clarionettists, about eight oboeists [sic], two bassoonists, three French horn players, a number of cornet players, and several drummers. But no woman has as yet become a proficient trombonist...’. One of these ‘about eight’ must surely be Leila Bull, after whom a prize at the Royal Academy of Music is now named. The rest seem to have been lost to history.

In this paper, I will contextualize these lost nineteenth-century oboists, both setting them between the Venetian Pelegrina, an oboist for Vivaldi, and the American Ethel Averill, active in the 1920s, and among more well-known nineteenth-century female flutists and clarinetists, including Caroline Przyrembel, Cora Cardigan, Frances Thomas, and Cordula Metzger in and beyond Britain. How shall we read these smaller numbers of players, and this lost reception? Expensive reeds, contorted faces, intensifying restrictions, the ‘too Manlike’ oboe, the ‘feminine Softness’ of the same? A fluke of history, a reflection of double-reed familial traditions, or information about the oboe’s relative place in society and its relative gendering as an instrument? In truth, all these aspects shed light.

Candace Bailey (North Carolina Central University, US):

Exposing Fallacy behind the Myth: Mary Jane Ouseley's Influence on Little Freddy

From the 1830s to the 2000s, every account of music collector and church-music reformer Frederick A.G. Ouseley describes him as a child prodigy without formal music training. My recent investigation into musicking among his family, however, reveals that although he may not have studied with a recognized male instructor, his sister Mary Jane – 'Janie' – provided him with a solid foundation in harmony and composition during his youth. Her role has been minimized or even ignored over the past two centuries, yet the evidence supporting her own musical education and interaction with her brother's childish melodies undeniably points to her having a direct influence on his development. This finding raises an important question: how many women in similar positions have been forgotten by history?

In the 1820s, many young women were taught how to read figured bass and elemental harmony, but Janie Ouseley's investment in harmony stretched further. She studied composition with Logier and left two manuscripts of exercises in advanced harmonic and contrapuntal procedures. She arranged Rossini's overture to *Semiramide*, Beethoven serenades, and other works for performance in the home, and her hand is evident in manuscripts of Frederick's music. Nevertheless, despite the key role she played in his musical development, her authority and accomplishments have been Disregarded – Evanven Fellowes's famous catalogue of the Tenbury manuscripts fails to include her (and her mother) in the index. This presentation will elucidate Janie as student, composer, and teacher and then contextualize implications for women's composition during the Regency and tyrannical historiography.

Biographies

Gillian Russell is Professor Emerita of Eighteenth-Century Literature in the Department of English and Related Literature at the University of York. She was formerly Director of the Centre for Eighteenth Century Studies. Her most recent book is *The Ephemeral Eighteenth Century: Print, Sociability and the Cultures of Collecting* (Cambridge University Press, 2020).

Rachel Becker is Assistant Professor of Music History at the University of Northern Colorado. Her research focuses on issues of genre, virtuosity, gender, popularity, and woodwind development. She explores social and cultural influences on virtuosic woodwind music, including reception history and the (positive and negative) emotional responses genres and compositions have evoked contemporaneously and today. A Howarth Artist, she currently performs in the US and in Europe, both in chamber and solo recitals and with ensembles such as the Boise Philharmonic. Her first book, *Valuing Nineteenth-Century Italian Opera Fantasias for Woodwind Instruments*, was published by Routledge in March 2024.

Session 6A: Music and Life-Writing

11.00am–12.30pm, Tuesday 29 July, The Treehouse

Chair: Rosemary Golding

Rachel Cowgill (University of York):

Musical Parties Public and Private: Observing Music in the Journal of Miss Jane Ewbank of York, 1803–1805

The 34,000-word journal kept between 1803 and 1805 by Jane Ewbank (1778–1824) is an extraordinarily rich and multi-faceted account of elite society in late Georgian York. The Ewbanks were wealthy druggists and bankers with a handsome property and warehouse on fashionable Castlegate, and Jane was well provided for at her father's death in 1795. Her engagement with music – one of the many themes running through this remarkable document – proves to be entirely in keeping with eighteenth-century ideas about women's 'accomplishments', polite social relations and sensibility. Although we look in vain for excitement over the publication of new work by favoured composers, or the trials and tribulations of getting new repertoire under her fingers, it is clear she was a competent pianist and acquaintances were keen to involve her in private music-making. Where Jane is most revealing, as this paper shows, is as a proficient observer of others' performances, from the domestic settings of the drawing-room music party to the public arena of the Assembly Room subscription concerts. Her journal has much to tell us about the variety of spaces and milieux in which musical entertainment could be found in late eighteenth-century York, and their connectedness within the broader circuits and entrepreneurial activities of musicians across the north of England, including the oboist John Erskine (1753–1847) and violinist John White (1779–1831). When brought into dialogue with other 'accomplished' Georgian women, however – including lesbian diarist Anne Lister (1791–1840), whose York circles overlapped with Jane's acquaintances, portraitists Ellen and Rolinda Sharples (1769–1849; 1793–1838), novelist Jane Austen (1775–1817), and the aristocratic female musical consumers whose tastes are enshrined in collections of binders books surveyed by Jeanice Brooks and others at the University of Southampton – Ewbank emerges as a significant new voice contributing greatly to our understanding of women's experiences of music-making in Georgian Britain.

Alison P. Deadman (East Tennessee State University, US):

Gentleman Jack and the Prima Donna: Anne Lister's Social and Musical Engagement with Angelica Catalani

Anne Lister (1791–1840), Halifax, Yorkshire diarist who was posthumously known as "Gentleman Jack", today might be termed a gender-nonconforming Lesbian. Deeply engaged in chronicling multiple aspects of her daily life and thoughts in her extensive journals, she performed as an amateur pianist, flautist and singer and was a shrewd (and sometimes brutal) critic of others. Between 1822 and 1830 one recurring figure in Lister's writings was Angelica Catalani (1780–1849), the bravura soprano who, as Rachel Cowgill and Charles McGuire have demonstrated, was not only the most celebrated prima donna of her time but also a frequent target of societal 'othering.' This paper explores Lister's social and musical interactions with Catalani, comparing her reactions to the singer with those of other women in her social circle. I will argue that Lister's very act of engaging critically with Catalani places her firmly in the realm of the educated upper classes, and even that of the gentleman. I will also suggest that part of Lister's fascination with Catalani may have stemmed from a recognition of a shared defiance against societal pressures and prejudices. By situating Lister's engagement with Catalani within the broader context of musical and social identity, this paper aims to shed light on the ways in which music can serve as a lens for understanding personal and

collective experiences of identity as framed by Raymond McDonald et al's concept of musical identity and their assertion that music is integral to our self-definitions along lines of gender, age, ability and personality.

Matthew Head (King's College, London):

What Autobiography Does: Reading Harriet Wainewright Stewart's 'My Musical Career' (1836)

As Christopher Wiley observes, biography, autobiography, and related forms of life writing have proved central to musical culture and its scholarship since the beginning of the nineteenth century, but their interpretation remains relatively under-theorised. Harriet Wainewright Stewart's account of her musical career, published in London in 1836, serves as a case study through which to pose fundamental questions: the possibility of discerning authorial intention; the work of narrative in creating (not just representing) the human subject, and the interweaving of truth-telling and imaginative self-construction. Inspired by recent recovery work on the composer (James Porter; Ashley Taylor Orsorio) I nonetheless avoid paraphrasing Stewart's notably documentary text in the guise of original research. In theoretical terms, I broker a deal between two mutually antagonistic assumptions: the poststructuralist axiom that autobiography necessarily fails, because of the gap between language and experience, and an insistence in some academic feminism that women's life writing acts as a privileged site of truth telling. Exhaustive documentary research of Stewart's account of her musical career confirms that her tale of frustrated success deploys facts to imaginary ends: Stewart lends exorbitant significance to fleeting encounters with eminent musicians, patrons, and politicians. Even letters of rejection, and unreciprocated advances, are summoned as ambivalent evidence of her significance. Her merits, and misfortunes, notwithstanding, her narrative projects an illusion: that she had a musical career at all. As autobiography, 'My musical career' afforded an identity of a composer-performer of national and historical import that was all but unimaginable in her context. More than a consolation or corrective to personal disappointment, Stewart's text – at once documentary and phantasmatic – illustrates a broader process by which historical chronicle morphs into cultural mythology.

Biographies

Rachel Cowgill is Associate Dean for Research (Arts & Humanities) and Director of the Humanities Research Centre here at the University of York, where she has been a Professor of Music since 2019. Her research interests range widely from Mozart reception in Georgian Britain, through opera studies, music, gender and sexuality, British music and musical cultures, music, diplomacy and commemoration, and digital musicologies. She is a founding co-editor of the book series 'Music in Britain, 1600–2000' (Boydell & Brewer), and she is currently completing a volume of essays on *Music and Ideas of North*, co-edited for Routledge with Derek B. Scott.

Alison P. Deadman has been teaching at East Tennessee State University since 1998. Her current research interests focus on music in the journals of nineteenth-century Yorkshire diarist, Anne Lister. Deadman has published on Lister in the *Journal of the International Alliance for Women in Music*, as well as collaborating with colleagues on lecture-recitals based on music Lister performed (most recently for the College Music Society's 2024 National Conference). In April 2025 she was one of two keynote speakers for the Anne Lister Society's annual conference speaking on 'Music and Identity: Anne Lister as Amateur and Connoisseur.'

Matthew Head is a Professor of Music at King's College London. He works on the cultural history of music in the long eighteenth century. His most recent book is the co-edited *Cambridge Companion to Women Composers* (2024). He is currently working on a metabiography of the composer and singer Harriet Wainewright Stewart.

Session 6B: Music and Institutions 1

11.00am–12.30pm, Tuesday 29 July, Bowland Auditorium

Chair: Christina Bashford

Anna Wright (Royal Northern College of Music)

Gustav Behrens: The Man Behind the Music

‘To Behrens more than to any man Manchester owes those occasions which have done so much to dignify both the social and artistic life of the city and have associated the name of Manchester with music of the highest class wherever people care for it.’ (*Manchester Guardian*, 30 March, 1936, 14). The name of Gustav Behrens (1846–1936), cotton merchant and businessman, is probably unfamiliar to many members of Manchester classical-music audiences today, but from the 1880s onwards it was synonymous with music in the city, as the quotation above attests. Were it not for him, it is possible that neither the Hallé Orchestra nor the RNCM would be in existence today. Behrens was friends with Charles Hallé and other musicians; his involvement with the main musical organisations – the Gentlemen’s Concerts, the Royal Manchester College of Music (RMCM), the Hallé Concerts’ Society and, later, the Tuesday Mid-day Concerts – to which he offered his business acumen, network of contacts and financial support, was crucial. Behrens also contributed to amateur music-making through the organisation of concerts for working people and as part of the Ancoats Recreation Committee events. Although he is mentioned, fairly briefly, in published histories of the RMCM and the Hallé Orchestra, and his significance was acknowledged at the time of his death, I suggest that Behrens deserves more recognition. In this paper I will explore in detail the vital role he played in the musical life of Manchester for more than fifty years.

Emma Arthur (University of Oxford)

‘List to the Convent Belles’: Music and the Convent Schoolgirl in Nineteenth-century Ireland

Over the course of the nineteenth century, significant changes in the wider infrastructure of female education in Ireland expanded the contexts in which women were gaining musical instruction and the backgrounds of female musicians. Among them was a newly emerging demographic of ‘young ladies’: the daughters of the growing ‘Catholic Elite’ who, through enrolment in ‘superior’ convent schools, engaged in a rich musical culture which emphasised formal instrumental instruction. While convent education was in principle starkly opposed to the kinds of ‘ornamental’ educations offered to women of the gentry, in practice, instruction in music along with several other ‘decorative’ subjects, reflected a kind of ‘trickle-down’ of ideals connected to the Ascendency. This paper will centre on several bound volumes of printed sheet music that belonged to nuns during their years as convent school students in the second half of the nineteenth century (c. 1860–1890). Despite their attendance at different schools, common trends can be drawn from popular genres, composers and pieces found across their music books. Performance markings and inscriptions meanwhile spotlight more personal insights including learning processes, musical skill and even familial relationships. The typical musical experience of the convent schoolgirl provides insights into the wider role of music within the mission of nineteenth-century convent education. In particular, it shines light on how engagement with music reflected changing class structures among Irish Catholics during this century. This paper thus unveils a musical culture unique to the female amateurs of the Catholic upper and middle classes.

Leanne Langley (Royal Philharmonic Society):

Against the Odds: The early Musical Association, 1874–1914

The Royal Musical Association reached its 150th birthday in 2024 – a venerable age for the nation’s foremost learned society in music. Yet when it began in 1874 as the Musical Association (‘Royal’ from 1944), no one could be sure it would last: four previous 19th-century attempts at something similar had failed. My paper outlines the challenges and new promise behind the body’s founding and first forty years, explaining how original members succeeded in building a viable organization devoted to ‘investigating and discussing’ music rather than performing it. As events would show, the rich contexts of London performance culture and British academia alike proved uncongenial. Coherence in developing and sustaining musical research came instead, paradoxically, from wider disciplinary models in science and history, and a more heterogeneous set of member backgrounds and interests than might be expected – diverse in gender, origin, age, ability, occupation and status. In effect, it was the Association’s rules, paper-reading and publishing functions, based on those of senior scientific societies, above all the Royal Society, which trained members in the ways of research. Those members in turn created a strong body of work distinct from European *Musikwissenschaft* but parallel to it – not subsidiary – so that English research in music soon gained sufficient public credibility and international respect to justify a place in the academy. Long before that placing finally occurred, in the late 1940s, work in source-collecting, exchanges with colleagues abroad, and cooperation with both commercial and state partners added to the Association’s growing repute.

Biographies

Anna Wright has recently completed a PhD at the RNCM on ‘The Supporters and Benefactors of the RNCM, 1891–1920’. Prior to retiring she was the RNCM’s College Librarian (2001–2018), having worked as member of its library staff since 1980. She has been involved with IAML (UK & Ireland) in several capacities, serving as President from 2016 to 2019 and was awarded Honorary Fellowship in 2023. A graduate in music from the University of Bristol, Anna is a keen choral singer and particularly enjoys Renaissance and a cappella repertoire.

Emma Arthur is a DPhil Student and Postgraduate Choral Scholar at Merton College, University of Oxford. She completed her BMus and MMus degrees at University College Dublin in 2022 and 2023 respectively. Her master’s thesis, ‘Art Music and Music Education in Irish Convent Schools, 1830–1900’ was awarded the 2024 Alison Dunlop Graduate Prize by the Society for Musicology in Ireland. Emma’s DPhil research, supervised by Professor Laura Tunbridge, is focused on the amateur music-making practices of women in nineteenth-century Ireland. Her doctoral project is funded by the AHRC Open-Oxford-Cambridge DTP, the Clarendon Fund, and Merton College, Oxford.

Leanne Langley is a historian of British musical culture. Formerly a lecturer for Notre Dame University, a research associate at Goldsmiths, a senior editor at Macmillan and a vice-president of the Royal Musical Association, she is now Hon. Librarian of the Royal Philharmonic Society. She has published on 19th-century music criticism and lexicography, and on the development of London orchestral concerts and audiences, including studies of George Grove’s Dictionary, the Queen’s Hall Proms, the Philharmonic Society, and music in John Singer Sargent’s career. Her recent book, *The Royal Musical Association: Creating Scholars, Advancing Research*, was published by Boydell in 2024.

Session 7A: Female Singers

1.30–2.30pm, Tuesday 29 July, The Treehouse

Chair: Emma Arthur

Jamison Hankins (University of Durham):

Animate Instruments: The Metaphysical Power of the Prima Donna's Voice in Nineteenth-Century London

Over the course of the nineteenth-century, London faced unprecedented spiritual changes. Bolstered by the industrial revolution, scientific innovation and understanding expanded rapidly. Scientific progress, coupled with increasing globalization and knowledge of previously foreign religions, led to cracks in the Christian faith of the Victorians. Doubt allowed for a booming expansion of protestant denominations and a newfound willingness of the public to accept revolutionary spiritual and scientific ideas. Fractured faith and the desire to combine science and religion led to new age fad known as the Spiritualist or Metaphysical movement. Spiritualist demonstrations often staged the female singing body due to women's perceived gifts as metaphysical conduits. These bodies served as vessels for voices whose spiritual powers lifted the veil between the physical and metaphysical for the entertainment of audiences. In turn, metaphysical subjects in opera provided a public platform for Spiritualist ideas and phenomena to be staged and expressed musically. Prima donnas who utilized their voices to animate these phantasmagoric characters were consequently denied ownership of their abilities to cultivate a voice so beautiful that its effects feel metaphysical. In this paper, through the examination of reception, pedagogy, and scientific treatises, I explore the relationship between opera, the metaphysical, and the female voice through three lenses: the animated voice, the voice as an electric or metaphysical force, and ownership of the voice.

I argue that nineteenth-century scientific, pedagogical, spiritual, and operatic culture in London objectified female performers and disembodied their voices in favour of viewing the voice as a metaphysical power.

Rose Cameron (Independent)

Mendelssohn's 'Hear ye, Israel' in the British Marketplace: The Profile of Clara Novello (1818–1908)

Premiered at the 1846 Birmingham Festival, Mendelssohn's oratorio *Elijah* is just one example of a work that enabled singers to become known in oratorio rather than opera. One of these singers was the British soprano Clara Novello (1818–1908), who rose to the forefront of oratorio throughout the 1850s and became associated with the esteemed aria 'Hear ye Israel' (HYI). The initial performances of 'HYI' by sopranos Maria Caradori-Allan (1800–1865) and Jenny Lind (1820–1887) not only increased the aria's popularity to audiences and press but also established expectations in both the aria's delivery and the soprano's oratorio profile, making it an ideal work with which to be associated.

This paper sheds light on the promotion, reception and overall function of 'HYI' in Novello's profile from 1851 to 1860 by examining the press coverage of her performances, as well as assessing the role and agenda of her societal networks. The paper focuses on two key aspects of Novello's engagement with 'HYI'— 1) the language of promotion and reception that was used in her press coverage, particularly in relation to the expectations established by Lind and Caradori-Allan, and 2) the role and agenda of her networks that were crucial to her profile, particularly those through the Novello Family, their publishing press and journal, *The Musical Times*.

Through this examination, much is discovered on the expectations of the soprano's oratorio engagement in the marketplace as well as the importance of networks in navigating what was a challenging environment for performers.

Biographies

Jamison Hankins is a PhD candidate at the University of Durham specializing in nineteenth-century British opera culture and voice studies. She received a Master of Arts in Musicology from Durham in 2023 and a Bachelor of Music Education from the University of Kansas in 2021. While at the University of Kansas, she travelled to Austria and the Czech Republic to complete research on music and empires. Her MA research investigated the impact of marriage on the careers of female composers in the nineteenth-century. Her ongoing research focuses on the relationship between the body and voice of female opera performers in nineteenth-century London.

Rosie Cameron is a soprano and historical musicologist from County Down in Northern Ireland. She graduated from Maynooth University (Ireland) with a First-Class BMus degree in September 2023, and she continued her studies there as a Taught Masters Scholar, achieving a mark of distinction in the MA in Performance and Musicology. Her current research focuses on the careers of female singer soloists in the British provincial festival (1846–1900). As a performer, she has a keen interest in oratorio repertoire as well as 20th-century art song by British and Irish composers. In April 2025, she received an M4C/AHRC studentship and will be beginning her PhD in Musicology at the University of Birmingham in September.

Session 7B: Music and Institutions 2

1.30–2.30pm, Tuesday 29 July, Bowland Auditorium

Chair: Derek B. Scott

Charles McGuire (Oberlin Conservatory of Music, US):

Building a Better Subject: Tonic Sol-fa and the British Competition Festival

By 1914, Tonic Sol-fa notation was used by millions of people throughout the British Empire and beyond. Invented by schoolteacher Sarah Anne Glover in 1827, and subsequently popularized first by the father/son team of Congregationalist minister John Curwen and John Spencer Curwen, Tonic Sol-fa was always meant to be in aid of something else, whether it be congregational psalmody, the temperance movement, or British missionaries at home or abroad. Tonic Sol-fa became prominent during the rise of the competition festival in Great Britain, and was an integral part of it. Spencer Curwen founded one of the earliest competition festivals at Stratford (East London) in 1882. Yet like so much of the notation's history, the place of Tonic Sol-fa at the founding of competition festivals has been systematically erased from the historical record. In this paper, we will explore Tonic Sol-fa's unique and integral role in creating the competition festival movement, to reinscribe its importance and impact. Instead of seeing competition festivals as a way of raising the amateur singer's or audience member's musical taste, Spencer Curwen hitched his vision of the competition festival to that of rational recreation. Consequently, in the pages of the *Tonic Sol-fa Reporter* and its successor, the *Musical Herald*, Spencer Curwen promoted Tonic Sol-fa in tandem with the competition festival as a way of creating a better British subject: one who would be more moderate, more temperate, and above all, patriotic and able to serve the needs of their country and empire.

Rachel Johnson (Royal Northern College of Music, University of Sheffield, Open University):

The Song of Then and Now: Music in English Prisons

My research circles around recurring fundamental questions: What does music mean? How does music mean? This story – how music from prisons 200 years ago came to be sung again by the men of Stafford Prison in 2024 – does not answer these questions, but it gives them a new and unexpectedly powerful slant. In October 2023 I was approached by the charity Rideout (Creative Arts for Rehabilitation) with an intriguing question – what did Victorian prisons sound like? A short period of research seeking answers to this question culminated in the creation, performance and recording of a collection of ballads in June 2024 by inmates at Stafford Prison. This paper is an attempt to document and reflect on my work for this project. My archives and sources ranged from execution ballads to suffragette marches, via paintings, sketches, autobiographies, prison records, newspaper articles and poems. Locations of interest stretched from Stafford all the way to penal colonies in the South Pacific. From scattered evidence, a number of important narratives began to emerge. Victorian notions about 'desirable' and 'undesirable' music became embedded within the creation of the silent and separate prison systems, directly impacting upon officially sanctioned uses of music. Inmates were kept silent, and separate, but they came together in chapel where they were permitted to sing. However, as is so often the case, these musical activities were slippery, evading intended purposes and becoming something rather subversive. Enough traces remain that a rich history of music in prisons can be constructed, one which holds important contemporary resonances.

Biography

Rachel Johnson is currently lecturing for the Royal Northern College of Music, the University of Sheffield (as Humanities tutor on the Foundation programme) and the Open University. She is undertaking parallel research into the RNCM's recording archive (Share our Sounds Residency: British Library / RNCM / Manchester Archives+), the history of music in English prisons, and music in the British military. Rachel's PhD (completed at the RNCM in 2021) is in the process of becoming a book, under contract with Routledge, titled *Music and the Creation of Social Identity during the Industrial Revolution: Manchester, 1819–1857*.

Session 9A: Britain and Russia

9.30–10.30pm, Wednesday 30 July, The Treehouse

Chair: Geoff Thomason (Royal Northern College of Music)

Vasilisa Aleksandrova (State Institute for Art Studies, Russia):

Michel-Dimitri Calvocoressi as a Guide to Russian Music in Britain and British Music in Russia Before the First World War

M.-D. Calvocoressi (1877–1944) was a distinguished scholar who significantly contributed to the study and promotion of Russian music in France and Great Britain, focusing on both his contemporaries and 19th-century composers. His seminal book, *Modest Mussorgsky, His Life and Works*, remains influential today.

Calvocoressi's career is often divided into two phases: his pre-World War I years in France and his post-war years in Britain. However, he engaged with London's cultural scene while still based in France, not only promoting Russian music in London but also trying to advocate for English music in Russia. This cross-cultural exchange was facilitated by his friendship with Nikolai Findeisen (1868–1928), a prominent Russian musicologist and editor of the *Russian Musical Gazette*.

An analysis of Calvocoressi's correspondence with Findeisen, alongside contemporary British and Russian periodicals such as *The Musical Times* and the *Russian Musical Gazette*, reveals that Calvocoressi played an active role in London's musical life from the early stages of his career. His contributions to English-language periodicals, participation in professional events, and the impact of his French-language publications on British audiences are well-documented. However, these aspects of his biography remain underappreciated by music historians as a significant factor in fostering intercultural dialogue between British and Russian musical traditions.

Stacy Jarvis (University of Birmingham):

Alexander Alyabyev: A Conduit of British Musical Ideas in early Nineteenth-Century Russia

This paper reevaluates the contributions of Alexander Alyabyev (1787–1851) in the broader context of British influence on Russian musical life, specifically through his interaction with John Field, during a period marked by significant cultural exchanges between Russia and Europe. As a member of the Russian aristocracy, Alyabyev was uniquely positioned to facilitate the cross-cultural integration of European musical traditions, particularly those from Britain, into the Russian aristocratic milieu. His extensive body of work highlights a vital interaction with British musical ideas that were being disseminated abroad, particularly through his possible tutelage under the composer John Field, who resided in Russia from 1803 until 1837.

Field, renowned for his development of the nocturne, arguably influenced Alyabyev not only stylistically but also in fostering a nuanced understanding of the Romantic piano genre. This paper argues that Alyabyev's engagement with Field's innovations was a critical factor in the evolution of Russian instrumental music and the Russian romance. Such interactions underscore the complexity of Alyabyev's role; not merely as an epigone of Field but as an apologist, actively interpreting and integrating British musical innovations into the Russian cultural fabric.

The integration of these British elements into Alyabyev's work helped shape the cultural persona of Russia during this era, an identity heavily influenced by its aristocracy. By examining Alyabyev's contributions within this framework, this paper addresses broader questions about the reception and adaptation of British musical ideas in Russia, providing insights into the transnational dynamics of music in the early nineteenth century.

Biographies

Vasilisa Aleksandrova is a musicologist based in Moscow, Russia. She earned her specialist degree in musicology from the St Petersburg N.A. Rimsky-Korsakov State Conservatory and completed her postgraduate studies at the State Institute for Art Studies (SIAS). In early 2022, she participated in a Professional Development Course on Scientific Writing and Publishing Skills at the University of York, as part of the UK-Russia University Alliance programme. In 2022, V. Aleksandrova defended her PhD thesis titled 'The History of Studying the Authorial Versions of Modest Mussorgsky's Œuvre.' Since 2018, she has been working as a senior researcher at SIAS.

Stacy Jarvis, a highly accomplished violinist based in Manchester, has received international recognition for her performances. She authored a monograph entitled *Quietness as a Reflection of an Aesthetic Concept in Contemporary Music* (2023). Subsequently, last year, Stacy curated and published an edited collection of nocturnes by composers from the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Stacy is currently pursuing her doctoral studies at the University of Birmingham.

In the last two years Stacy has become a frequent conference speaker, and her scholarly contributions have been featured in esteemed journals. Her primary focus centres on early nineteenth-century European music, with a particular emphasis on piano miniatures from that period.

Session 9B: Violinists and Celebrity

9.30–10.30am, Wednesday 30 July, Bowland Auditorium

Chair: Simon McVeigh

Bella Powell (University of York):

[Her]storical Forgetting?: Biographising Wilma Norman-Neruda

The historical forgetting and subsequent ‘rediscovery’ of nineteenth-century female musicians (including Clara Schumann and Fanny Hensel) is well documented. However, while researching the Moravian violinist Wilma Norman-Neruda (1838–1911), I was struck by the contrast between the numerous biographies published on her male contemporaries, and the relative scarcity of dedicated published material on Norman-Neruda. This is surprising, considering her status in the nineteenth-century musical world; Norman-Neruda was one of the first women violinists to sustain a career into and throughout adulthood, making a successful transition from child prodigy. The inclusion of regular chamber-music making as a core component of her career also indicates a deeper level of acceptance by her peers than appears to have been the case for earlier female players. Parallels were often drawn with her frequent collaborator, Joseph Joachim, and she was frequently credited with inspiring the adoption of the violin by women in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

While numerous biographies exist of contemporaneous male violinists, relatively little appears to exist on Norman-Neruda; most biographical information I have found stems from contemporary interviews and modern biographies of her second husband, Charles Hallé. This paper considers a range of contributing factors to the lack of scholarship on Norman-Neruda and the implications for other female artists of the nineteenth century. In particular, the focus of her career on performing (in contrast to the portfolio careers forged by many of her male contemporaries) is examined in relation to her modern-day status, with particular focus on the implications of leaving no tangible legacy of compositions, pedagogical material or inheritance.

Jonathan Brockbank (University of York):

John Clare, English Fiddling and Gypsies

One of the autobiographical fragments John Clare left behind tells us of his close social and cultural contact with the people he calls ‘gypsies’: ‘I used to spend my Sundays and summer evenings with them learning to play the fiddle in their manner by the ear, joining in their pastimes’. Jonathan Bate’s biography quotes another fragment where Clare talks of ‘joining the Smiths crew’. According to Deacon he did not join but kept up his socialising and ‘pricked’ out some of their tunes. He left behind ‘two oblong music books’ full of tunes he had written down, not including ‘Highland Mary’ that Deacon records he learned from Wisdom Smith.

This sounds simple enough but several points worth investigation arise.

- 1] Clare did not see the Gypsies or their culture as being esoteric or exotic; he saw them as migratory workers who shared an oral culture with the villagers they passed amongst.
- 2] Most literary critics concentrate on Clare’s struggle to resolve the contradictions between the dialect English he spoke and official grammar. Not many have asked how rural labourers acquired the ability to write and play music recorded by conventional stave notation.
- 3] Where did the tunes Clare copied down come from? Some were collected from oral sources from the 1950s onward but most of the tunes are found printed in commercial publications of the time like Thomas Wilson’s *A Companion to The Ball Room* (c. 1820). Does Clare’s selection indicate an attempt escape the restrictions of oral culture in the same way his writing did?

Biographies

Bella Powell is an Associate Lecturer in the School of Arts & Creative Technologies (Music) at the University of York, where she teaches in the areas of music and gender, as well as music education. Her research mainly focuses on issues around gender and music in the Nineteenth Century and she has recently completed a PhD at the University of York (supported by a Sir Jack Lyons Research Scholarship), investigating the informal social prohibition on women violinists in England during the eighteenth and early-mid-nineteenth centuries.

Jonathan Brockbank has been teaching at the Department of English, University of York, since 1985, in the early days working simultaneously as a free-lance music journalist for *Black Echoes*. I have run folk clubs and currently play for York's two Morris sides, run a traditional dance band and often work as a musician and musical director for local actors and productions. The material for this paper has been suggested by an article on 'The Stony Steps of Revival: John Clare and Plough Monday' (*Festshrift* publication pending). I have also published an article on the revival of Molly Dancing and Plough Monday customs near Cambridge, in the *Cambridge Review* (1980).

Session 10A: Pianists, Professional and Amateur

11.00am–12.30pm, Wednesday 30 July, The Treehouse

Chair: Michael Allis

Andrew Ward (University of Auckland, NZ):

European Influences on Amateur Pianism in early Nineteenth-century Britain

Today, it is widely accepted that during the early nineteenth century, London was one of the most important commercial centres in Europe regarding the growth of amateur pianism. As a consequence, many European composer-pianists left the continent in order to ply their trade and seek greater financial reward in the British capital, by writing works intended expressly for the amateur market. This paper examines various features of the piano sonatas of Adalbert Gyrowetz and Joseph Woelfl, both of whom moved to London from Vienna, along with a discussion of how the influence of this music permeated that of home-grown composers such as Joseph Mazzinghi. Although many of these works are now little-known or performed, they can nevertheless reveal much about the styles of music which were being employed by composers at this early, and crucial stage of development for the piano in Britain. Finally, I will also consider the influence exerted upon British musical culture by early nineteenth-century mercantilism and whether, paradoxically, London's commercial pre-eminence eventually hindered the development of British piano music as a more serious and 'learned' art form.

Giovanna Carugno (Conservatory of Music 'Agostino Steffani', Castelfranco Veneto, and University of Urbino, Italy):

Keyboard Pedagogy in Bourgeois London through a Book of Instructions by James Hook (1746–1827)

This paper aims at providing an overview on *Guida di musica* by the English composer and organist James Hook (1746–1827), within the broader context of musical life in late 18th- and early 19th-century London. Designed for keyboard beginners and their masters, *Guida di musica* blends theoretical instruction with practical advice. The guide navigates through the fundamentals of musical notation, while also addressing performance issues, such as fingering, articulation and musical expression.

Drawing from his own extensive experience as a composer and music teacher, Hook's approach is methodical and accessible. As underlined in the subheading of the *Guida di musica*, the book is 'calculated to save a great deal of time and trouble both to master and scholar'.

Hook's guide can be seen as a response to the increasing demand for music knowledge in the British society that was becoming more musically literate. The guide exemplifies a transitional 'grey zone' in music education within bourgeois families, during which harpsichord remained present in the domestic spaces, even as the pianoforte was gaining popularity and cultural significance.

The guide circulated within the London musical environment through different editions. It was first published by J. Preston, as Opus 37, around 1785, and had subsequent editions. A second part of the guide appeared as Opus 75 during the 1790s and it includes 'several hundred examples of fingering' and exercises for thorough-bass accompaniment. Some years later, a third version of *Guida di musica* was published as Opus 81, with the goal of combining the first and second parts of the book.

Ann Grindley (Open University):

Cécile Chaminade's Reception in Britain: A Special Mutual Affection

References in the musicological literature to Cécile Chaminade's reception in Britain are unanimous in suggesting that she found great success there, toured annually, and was a favourite of Queen Victoria. However, the significance of her activities in Britain – including the extent of her touring, her influence within the Anglophone World, and her critical reception – have remained poorly understood. For example, Chaminade's musical debut in Britain on 23 June 1892 at St James's Hall marked a pivotal moment in her career in Britain and became an annual event for the next decade. This springboard moment also led to two separate visits to the UK in 1894/5, one of which was London-based and included a comprehensive mix of both public and private salon performances, and the other was her first tour in Britain and included concert performances from Brighton and Oxford to Edinburgh and Glasgow. This conference paper, therefore, will explore Chaminade's performances in the UK, arguing that the significance of these for her career has been overlooked in the existing literature, and will reappraise both her reception and her legacy in Britain.

Biographies

Andrew Ward is currently studying for a PhD in Creative Practice at the University of Auckland, under the supervision of Associate Professors Allan Badley and Nancy November. His thesis examines aspects of the growth of amateur pianism in Britain during the late eighteenth century, along with elements of its resulting influence upon wider British piano culture, leading up to the 'English Musical Renaissance'. In August 2024, he gave a recital with the eminent fortepianist Michael Tsalka at the University of Auckland, performing Hummel's *Armide Variations* as a soloist and Ferdinand Ries' First Symphony in an arrangement for four hands. He lives in Nelson, New Zealand, where he gives regular solo and chamber recitals, as both pianist and fortepianist.

Giovanna Carugno is an Italian musicologist, harpsichordist, and music educator. After graduating in Piano and Harpsichord Performance, she earned MA degrees in Early Music, Fortepiano, and Chamber Music from the Conservatories of Frosinone and Latina. She further specialized in Music Education (University of Padua) and in Methodology of Research in Music (Accademia Filarmonica, Bologna). She holds a PhD from the University of Campania. She currently serves as a Professor of Music History at the Conservatory of music "Agostino Steffani" in Castelfranco Veneto and as Adjunct Professor of Musicology and Music History at the University of Urbino, Department of Educational Studies.

Ann Grindley is a PhD student at the Open University working on a thesis entitled '*Fin-de-siècle* Salon Culture: A Reappraisal of Cécile Chaminade'. She currently works within Wellbeing Services at Arden University and as a Research Assistant for the Open Societal Challenges Project: Women Leaders Transforming Classic Music. She previously worked as a Research Assistant for DONNE, Women in Music and WMLON (Women's Musical Leadership Online Network). Her chapter entitled 'Sites of Empowerment: *Fin-de-Siècle* Salon Culture and the Music of Cécile Chaminade', exploring historical perspectives of women's musical leadership, was published in *The Routledge Companion to Women and Musical Leadership: The Nineteenth Century and Beyond*, edited by Laura Hamer and Helen Julia Minors (Routledge, 2024).

Session 10B: Church Choirs

11.00am–12.30pm, Wednesday 30 July, Bowland Auditorium

Chair: Philip Burnett

Rosemary Richards (Independent):

‘Hearken’: Methodist Church Choir Music from Australia

Evidence for investigations into the use and dissemination of music from Britain in Australian Methodist churches during the long nineteenth century includes a folder of music relating to music-making by my great-grandfather John Robins Richards (1850–1913), a miner who immigrated in 1870 from Cornwall to Eaglehawk, now part of Greater Bendigo in country Victoria. The folder contains a printed score of two British secular glees (c. 1865) with a handwritten inscription ‘Eaglehawk West Methodist Choir 1903’, as well as manuscript copies of vocal and instrumental parts for religious music such as ‘Mass N 12’ attributed to Mozart and unattributed compositions including ‘Hearken’ and Christmas music. The *Eaglehawk West Methodist Sabbath School Jubilee Souvenir 1854–1904* describes Richards as the conductor of anniversary celebrations for twenty-five years. The *Souvenir* contains words for twenty-six hymns, of which five were derived from British Methodist sources.

Church buildings from the Australian colonial period often contain pipe organs and choir stalls. Evidence can also be drawn from sources such as an unpublished journal by my great-great-grandfather George Armstrong (1840–99) from County Durham, a stalwart of Bendigo’s Golden Square Wesleyan Methodist Church. British Methodist publications such as *Wesley’s Hymns* (1877) and *Methodist Hymn Book* (1904) can be considered along with other religious music such as *White Robes* (USA, 1879; UK, 1880) and *Austral Gems* (Australia, 1906). This study shows how British Australians responded to a range of influences as they adapted and reworked their British musical heritage in Australian Methodist churches.

Esther Hu (Boston University/Harvard University, US):

Christina Rossetti, John Mason Neale, and the Sounds of Medieval Music

In the first volume of *The Music of the English Parish Church* (1979), Nicholas Temperley observes that ‘[T]he Romantic movement may have produced a few antiquarian scholars, but it was the Tractarians’ belief in the unique authority of the traditions of the early church that brought plainsong out of the libraries into the churches’ (266). Temperley also credits the Tractarians for contributing to public worship the liturgical hymn, thus completing the transformation of ‘psalmody’ into ‘hymnody’ in the Church of England. In translating Latin hymns from the Roman Breviary and reviving the tunes that accompanied them, the Tractarians ‘not only enriched the store of English hymns, but changed the status of the hymn itself from an [unauthorized] addition to an integral part of the service of public worship,’ paving the way for a ‘fruitful synthesis of Evangelical and Tractarian ideals in the Victorian hymn tune’ and cultivating a taste for ‘religious music that was restrained, archaic, and holy’ (262, 267).

Aside from the definitive contributions of Reginald Heber (1783–1826) and John Keble (1792–1866) to Anglican hymnody, perhaps the most influential figure to Tractarian hymnody is John Mason Neale (1818–1866), the founder of the Cambridge Camden Society, later known as the Ecclesiological Society. Using Neale as a case study, I explore how his work relating to hymn writing, translation of Greek and Latin hymns, and ecclesiology connects with the aural and aesthetic context of Victorian poet Christina Rossetti (1830–1894)’s devotional art. Research questions include: According to the theory and praxis of the Cambridge Camden Society, what was the connection between church architecture and church music? How did the musical models of the Society (such as Gregorian chant) influence the worship of the English parish church? Lastly, since Rossetti’s regular and frequent church rituals included both chanting and congregational singing, how might the

musical sounds of medieval traditions have played an important (if understudied) role in her devotional aesthetics?

Eliza Le Roy-Lewis (Independent)

‘That which thy mouth sings, let thy heart believe’: A Study of Literature and Instruction for Young Church Choristers and their Masters 1845–1885

This paper explores the under-acknowledged genre of nineteenth-century chorister fiction and/or instruction which was written, commissioned, or distributed within the High Church faction of the Church of England 1845–85.

Demonstration of the engagement of Aristotelian notions of affect (*affectus*) in these books will help build an argument against assertions that Victorian moral or religious literature for children was strictly un-imaginative. Examples of where this conscious employment of affect is most effective are found in the interest in Gothic revivalist architecture by the High Church Oxford and Cambridge movements. This revival, and its evocation in the books under consideration, will be related to underlying medieval theories of affect and the transcendental, paying attention to the multi-modal aspects of the musical chorister experience.

As a sensual activity, singing as a chorister in newly built Gothic spaces or renovated ecclesiastical ruins (in tune with High Church liturgy and music) was not a passive exercise – nor was it meant to be. Rather, it required the engagement of affect and the (controlled) imagination, and the language used in these chorister texts reveals this: readers are being emboldened to practice a precise, rhetorical and emotive religious imagination.

A chorister’s song had the power to reach beyond the rafters of a church and these books offer evidence of ways in which High-Churchmen encouraged their young singers – potentially in tension with the ‘prim and proper’ expectations of Victorian childhood – to use their voices, spirituality, and imagination to open the doors to transcendence and seek closer communion with the divine.

Biographies

Rosemary Richards is an Australian musicologist who completed her PhD at the University of Melbourne, Australia. She has investigated the biographical, historical, and musical significance of memorabilia that belonged to individual musicians and their communities. With Julja Szuster, she co-edited *Memories of Musical Lives: Music and Dance in Personal Music Collections from Australia and New Zealand* (Lyrebird Press Australia, 2022). For more information, please see <https://rosemaryrichards.com/>.

Esther Hu (PhD Cornell) is a longtime faculty member of Boston University currently affiliated with the International History Institute and the Center for the Study of Asia, Pardee School of Global Studies. In the Greater Boston area, she is an associate in research at Harvard University’s Fairbank Center. Her recent publications have appeared in *Religion and the Arts*, *The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Victorian Women’s Writing* (Springer Nature 2022), *Ordinary Oralities: Everyday Voices in History* (De Gruyter Oldenbourg 2023). She has work forthcoming in *The Routledge Companion to Global Victorian Literature and Culture* (Routledge 2025).

Eliza Le Roy-Lewis holds BA and MPhil degrees from Magdalene College, University of Cambridge, in History of Art and Children’s Literature respectively. She currently works as a secondary-school teacher of History, Religious Studies and History of Art. Her time at Cambridge was greatly enlivened by her experience of being a chorister in the college choir and in 2019 she was awarded the Macfarlane Grieve prize for outstanding contribution to music in the college.

Session 11A: Music and Poetry

9.00–10.30am, Thursday 31 July, The Treehouse

Chair: George Kennaway

Peter Tregear and Anne-Marie Forbes (Melbourne Conservatorium of Music / University of Adelaide, Australia; University of Tasmania):

‘Exquisite remoteness’: Fritz Hart’s Australian Settings of the Poetry of William Sharp/Fiona Macleod

Scottish poet and novelist William Sharp (1855–1905) is best remembered today for having led a successful double creative life under the pseudonym Fiona Macleod, a literary identity who came to have her own distinctive personality, and indeed fame. This divided literary identity reflected a broader interest, especially among poets of the so-called ‘Celtic Revival’ in exploring the supposed masculine and feminine characteristics of nature, emotion and creativity. Sharp also, however, spent time in Australia in the early 1870s where he had visited the Aboriginal settlement at Lake Condah, as well as the Murray River and parts of Gippsland in rural Victoria and just under half a century later, English born – but Melbourne-based – composer Fritz Hart (1874–1949) began a series of what would eventually be 60 Sharp/Macleod song settings, a compositional focus on the work of a single author second only to Robert Herrick in Hart’s substantial compositional output.

Those settings include five of Sharp’s Australian poems (op. 69) and also include some of his most harmonically adventurous music. This paper will suggest what those settings might have to tell us today not just about the aesthetic concerns of this largely forgotten figure of the English Musical Renaissance, but also about some of the cultural and racial aspects informing such manifestations of Celticism outside of Ireland itself.

Adèle Commins (Dundalk Institute of Technology, Ireland):

‘There is sweet music here that softer falls’: The Influence of Poetry on the Piano Music of Charles Villiers Stanford

A prolific composer of vocal works, Charles Villiers Stanford set a broad range of poetry. He was drawn to texts from a variety of poets from Ireland and abroad including Shakespeare, Alfred Tennyson, Robert Browning, Walt Whitman, Robert Bridges, George Jonson, Edmond Holmes and Irish poets Moira O’Neill, Charles Graves, John Stevenson and Winifred Letts. Some of his earliest compositions from his teenage years were songs and had a keen interest in literary works, informed in part by his study of Classics at Cambridge University. Evidence from extant correspondence with, for example, the lyricist Alfred Perceval Graves, highlights Stanford’s attention to detail in relation to the rhythms of a text and the relationship between music and lyrics.

Poems chosen by Stanford for his compositions covered every mood and style and culminated in a wide range of forms from large-scale ballads to short miniatures. Stanford’s vocal output covered comic songs, heroic songs, songs on religious themes and serious songs. However, it was not only in Stanford’s vocal works that bears the influence of literary works and his solo piano music also bears the influence of literary works on his compositional practices. Two examples of this include three rhapsodies inspired by Dante’s *Divine Comedy* and ‘Fare Well-In Memoriam K of K’. These provide contrasting aspects of Stanford’s composition output for the piano. This paper will broadly consider the influence of literature on Stanford’s compositional output with specific focus on his piano music demonstrating how the composer communicates the essence of the literary works without the use of words. The investigation of literary influences on Stanford’s compositional output demonstrates his awareness of the contemporary poetic movement and his efforts to evoke the artistry and meaning of poetry in his piano works.

Jurgen Schaarwächter (Max-Reger-Institut/Elsa-Reger-Stiftung Karlsruhe, Germany):
Joseph Holbrooke's Dramatic Poem *The Bells* and the Aesthetics of Musical Symbolism

What made Edgar Allan Poe so interesting for composers the end of the 19th century? Was it the aspect of the decadent, the enigmatic, the blurred? And how were his concepts and texts realised musically? The look at Joseph Holbrooke's last choral orchestral work before his two great choral symphonies is combined with a look back at the original concepts of symbolism, with the question of whether Jean Moréas's manifesto of 1886 can perhaps contribute more to the aesthetics of late 19th- and early 20th-century music history than we think. The reverence to the past (including Historicism), Art Nouveau, Impressionism, early Expressionism – all of this can be discovered in a variety of forms, not only in Europe, when looking at artistic developments. Music historians, partly caught up in the topoi of musical historicism, impressionism or expressionism, or musical modernism, might start rethinking discussing a musical period which is frequently rather clumsily is called late or post-romantic, placing greater emphasis on interdisciplinary and international cross-connections. Considerations of these interrelationships are still in their infancy and require further interdisciplinary research.

Biographies

Peter Tregear is a Principal Fellow of the Melbourne Conservatorium of Music and an Adjunct Professor of the University of Adelaide. A graduate of the Universities of Melbourne and Cambridge, he was subsequently a Fellow and Director of Music at Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge and from 2012 to 2015 was Professor and Head of the School of Music at the Australian National University. Active also as a performer and arts critic, Tregear's scholarly work centres on early twentieth-century Australian and European musical culture. He is the author of *Ernst Krenek and the Politics of Musical Style* (Scarecrow, 2013), *Enlightenment or Entitlement: Rethinking Tertiary Music Education* (Currency House, 2014), and, with Anne-Marie Forbes, *Fritz Hart: An English Musical Romantic at the Ends of Empire* (Lyrebird, 2024).

Anne-Marie Forbes is a singer and researcher in music history, and music and health, at the University of Tasmania. She has published widely on Australian and British Music, including editions of Fritz Hart's songs and choral works, and, with Peter Tregear, *Fritz Hart: An English Musical Romantic at the Ends of Empire* (Lyrebird, 2024). She also co-edited *Joseph Holbrooke: Composer, Critic and Musical Patriot* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2014) with Paul Watt, and *Heart's Ease: Spirituality in the Music of John Tavener* (Peter Lang, 2020) with June Boyce-Tillman.

Adèle Commins is Head of Department of Creative Arts, Media and Music at Dundalk Institute of Technology. Her main research interests lie in nineteenth and twentieth-century English and Irish music, with a specific focus on the music of Charles Villiers Stanford. She is a trustee of the Stanford Society. She is also a composer and an Irish traditional musician and a musical director of the Oriel Traditional Orchestra. Her recent publications include contributions to *Musicology Australia* (2023), *Ethnomusicology Forum* (2023), *An Píobaire* (2022), and *Journal of Music, Health & Wellbeing* (2021).

Jürgen Schaarwächter completed his award-winning PhD thesis in 1995 on 'Die britische Sinfonie 1914–1945'; an extended English version was published in 2015 as 'Two Centuries of British Symphonism: From the Beginnings to 1945'. He held an Honorary Research Fellowship at the University of Birmingham in 1997/98. Since 1999 he is Senior Archivist and Research Associate at the Max-Reger-Institut/Elsa-Reger-Stiftung Karlsruhe. Since 2001 he is German Representative of the British Music Society. Extensive publication activity on music of the 18th to 20th centuries, including books on Havergal Brian and Robert Simpson. <https://schaarwaechter.info/JUS-Profil.html>

Session 11B: Responses to Wagner

9.00–10.30am, Thursday 31 July, Bowland Auditorium

Chair: Aidan Thomson

Benang Xuan (Zhejiang University, China):

Amoral Mythmaking: Reconsidering Wagner's Influence on George Eliot

While recent critics have viewed Eliot's reaction to Wagner negatively from an evolutionary perspective, this paper aims to address the points of contention concerning Eliot's views on Wagnerian music drama as well as her conception of opera in general and flesh out the complexities of Wagner's organicist impact on Eliot via the writings of Franz Liszt, a major champion of the composer's early works. Drawing on the nuanced differences between Liszt's essays on Wagner and nineteenth-century opera and Eliot's half translation, half rewriting of Liszt's critiques in her nonfiction prose, I argue that Eliot perceives in Wagner's myth-based work an authentic quest for the truth of feeling as well as an effective contrastive mode of human drama, while generally maintaining a conflicted attitude toward Wagner the composer and Wagner the dramatist rather than remaining implicitly critical of his music as a whole out of moral-aesthetic concerns. In all, for Eliot, Wagnerian opera exemplifies amoral mythmaking with sympathetic passion at its heart and represents a postliberal affirmation of conflictual modern humanity.

Charlotte Purkis (Independent):

'Flimsy feminities' and Female Experience of Wagner in Britain at the End of the Long Nineteenth Century

This paper discusses why it matters what women thought of Wagner between the late 1890s and 1914 and considers what female involvement with Wagnerian operatic culture contributes to an expanded understanding of context. What does the recovery and exploration of women's critical voices add to understanding Wagnerism's significance to the industrial production of meaning surrounding music?

Critical manifestations of female fandom are largely absent in recent historical assessment of Wagnerism, whereas literary responses seem to have secured an acknowledged place in standard reference works. A wide variety of critical and creative commentary encompassing both populist and scholarly perspectives by women, including Florence Gamon, Gertrude Hudson, Annie Keeton, Rose Koenig, Constance Maud, Violet Paget and Virginia Woolf, which existed alongside a prolific quantity of fiction, story-telling, translation and editorial work by women, has effectively been sidelined and silenced. This collective non-fiction work is evidence of publicly-available listening, theatrical and social experience. It can provide vital new contextual information about consumption. But women's work also exploited enthusiasm for Wagner. Perhaps it was the modes of popularisation of Wagner that women specialised in that raised questions about the merits of different forms of appreciation? The adaptability of women's work on Wagnerian opera which constructed it as a commodity unsettled the marketplace of Wagneriana and exposes ways that contestation between and about responses to Wagner was gendered. Selected key moments from cultural debate will be shared in order to show first what women expressed in and through their Wagnerian enthusiasm, and secondly to prompt wider reflection about how to characterise this neglected ephemera of female fandom to promote its historical value in conjunction with more established Wagner critique.

Suzanne Robinson (University of Melbourne, Australia):

The Perfect Wagnerite: Rebellion and Radicalism in the London Works of G.W.L. Marshall-Hall

To label oneself a Wagnerite in *fin-de-siècle* London was, as Emma Sutton argues in a study of Aubrey Beardsley, 'an act replete with political ... resonance'. The young composer G.W.L. Marshall-Hall (1862–1915) was one such Wagnerite, described by George Bernard Shaw in 1889 as 'a representative of young genius, denouncing the stalls, trusting to the gallery, waving the democratic flag, and tearing round generally'. When a scene from Marshall-Hall's opera *Harold* was performed at George Henschel's London Symphony Concerts, reviews noted the influence of Wagner, not simply because of the opera's medieval subject, self-made libretto and luxurious orchestration, but in response to harmonies that represented 'the most advanced methods of the Bayreuth revolutionist'. At the same time Marshall-Hall was publishing articles in music periodicals that mingled Wagnerism and socialism, railing against a society that honoured wealth rather than artistic creativity and propounding a more robustly masculine English music to counteract the prevailing cult of the sentimental. 'Shall we Englishmen', he wrote in the *Magazine of Music*, 'who pride ourselves on manliness and self-control, who affect to despise all that is maudlin and unheroic, and are ashamed that a truth-speaking tear should stain our cheeks, shall we for ever whine forth love-sick, mock-sentimental ballads which ridicule our heart and shame our self-respect?' This paper offers critical readings of Marshall-Hall's music, poetry and essays from 1888–90, contending that Wagnerism and a spirit of rebellion drove the political and sexual radicalism that after his emigration to Melbourne in 1891 was to spark a very public storm of opposition.

Biographies

Benang Xuan is a Hundred Talents Program Young Professor in the School of International Studies at Zhejiang University, whose research spans literature, music, theatre, and translation. His recent publications include 'Romanza and Requiem: James Joyce's Polyphonic Narrativity and Its (De-)Musicalization', in *Concentric*; 'Polyphony and Politics: Representing and Translating Culture, Race and Gender in Puccini's *Turandot*', in *Journal of Specialised Translation*; and 'Doubly Displaced: Migration and Trauma in Kaija Saariaho's *Innocence*, a Multilingual Opera', in *Nordic Theatre Studies*. He received his PhD from Peking University with a prize-winning dissertation on Richard Wagner and 19th- and 20th-century English literature.

Charlotte Purkis is an independent scholar of the performing arts and Modernisms based in Oxford. She is currently developing a monograph on women critics whilst working part-time for the Office for Students and the Quality Assurance Agency supporting the future of Higher Education in the creative arts.

Suzanne Robinson's publications on music in the British empire in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries include studies of Grainger, Smyth, Britten and Tippett. Among her books are *Double Stopping: How Migration Shaped the Careers of Australia's Celebrity Violinists* (Bloomsbury, forthcoming), *Grainger the Modernist* (Ashgate, 2015) and *Marshall-Hall's Melbourne: Music, Art and Controversy, 1891–1915* (ASP, 2012). She is the recipient of the Kurt Weill Prize (2017) and the H. Earle Johnson Award from the Society for American Music (2020), and has been shortlisted several times for biography prizes. At present she is Series Editor at Lyrebird Press (University of Melbourne).

Session 12A: Collectors and Collections

11.00am–12.30pm, Thursday 31 July, The Treehouse

Chair: Simon McVeigh

Chloe Valenti (National Trust, UK):

Music and Musicians at Chastleton House in the Long Nineteenth Century: Preservation, Documentation and Research

This paper will explore the printed music, manuscripts and related objects at Chastleton House, a country house on the border between Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Warwickshire and – prior to 1931 – Worcestershire. Owned by the same family from the Jacobean era until it was acquired by the National Trust in 1991, objects in the music collection date from approximately 1770s to 1930s, though most relate to the activities of a succession of particularly musically active family members in the long nineteenth century.

As a family collection, the performance, handling and storage history of much of the music requires a considered conservation approach in the present day, as the house itself is preserved in an unrestored state. The process of documentation is crucial for recording each object's condition, and identifying the music and its provenance. The music collection, in tandem with other property records, and letters and photographs held in local archives and museums, starts to build a picture of a rural household's musical life at the intersection of multiple counties. These include the composing activities of Dorothy Whitmore-Jones and her friendship with Clara Novello, and music teacher Charles H. Harris. By the end of the nineteenth century, a group of remarkable musical women, Irene Whitmore-Jones and her sisters Margaret and Barbara Dickins were members of Worcester Ladies' Orchestral Class, and their cousins Eleanora and Ruth Dickins founded Stour Choral Union to promote part-singing in the country districts. They leave a rich resource for engaging visitors, staff and the wider community today with the history of music-making at Chastleton.

Maia Williams Perez (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, US):

Alfred Hipkins at Broadwood & Sons: Finding an English Musical Tradition through Instruments Past and Present

As piano manufacture took off in nineteenth-century Britain, with new technologies and methods competing at international exhibitions and elaborately advertised in catalogues, the John Broadwood & Sons piano company became an unlikely source of interest in the musical past. Lucy Broadwood, of course, the daughter of the third-generation company head, became a well-known folklorist and influence on the nineteenth-century folk revival. But Alfred J. Hipkins, a piano technician who worked for Broadwood and formed close links with the Broadwood family, has received less attention in this context. Perhaps this is because, unlike Lucy Broadwood, his interests were more 'antiquarian' – they did not clearly suggest a living musical practice that could be restored through published sheet music, performances, and new compositions. Instead, Hipkins was a collector of musical instruments.

This focus on instruments, however, encourages us to explore the development of British musical identity during the nineteenth century from a new perspective. Hipkins' instrument displays at exhibitions, exhibition catalogues, and his production of keyboard-history texts for Broadwood & Sons reveal a tension between the past and new technologies, between preservation and innovation, and between craftsmanship and industry. Exploring these tensions through Hipkins' extensive illustrations of musical instruments, contemporary piano advertisements, and correspondence between Lucy Broadwood and Edith Hipkins will deepen our understanding of this moment in English musical culture, situating the folk revival and the beginnings of the Early music revival in the context of nineteenth-century instrument manufacture.

Rachel Rentz (University College Cork, Ireland):

A Nineteenth-Century Mixtape: An Exploration of a Georgian Binder's Volume and the Society Which Created It

This project explores a nineteenth-century binder's volume of songs housed in the Special Collections and Archives of University College Cork, Ireland. The volume serves as a sort of nineteenth-century 'mixtape', offering a unique glimpse into the musical tastes and cultural identity of its compilers. The book, labelled as Cork Harmonic Society, volume 4, is intriguingly enigmatic; no evidence of the other volumes exists, the UCC Archives have no records of the book's provenance, and little is known about the society itself. This lack of information fuels this research, which aims to unravel the mysteries surrounding the book's origins and the people who brought it together.

The study takes a multidisciplinary approach towards analysing the book as a physical artifact, including examining its binding and contents in order to trace its provenance, exploring the cultural context of its nineteenth-century Irish origins, and surveying the musical repertoire contained within – primarily English glees. The findings suggest that binder's volumes can serve as valuable repositories of social history, and that the specific musical choices made by their compilers can reveal insights into their identities and aspirations. The final goal of this research is to bring this forgotten music back to life by highlighting the engaging spirit and energy still present after two centuries of dormancy.

Biographies

A member of the National Trust's Specialist Advice Network, **Chloe Valenti** is a music researcher for the Bath Assembly Rooms project, and undertakes book and music documentation and cataloguing projects at National Trust properties. She supervises papers in music history of the eighteenth and long nineteenth centuries at the University of Cambridge. She has published articles on the reception of Verdi in nineteenth-century London, Victorian popular song, singers and health in nineteenth-century Britain and Victorian women composers. She is currently writing a chapter on 'Music Criticism and the Press' for *Verdi in Context*, forthcoming as part of the Cambridge University Press Composers in Context series.

Maia Williams Perez is a PhD candidate in Musicology at the University of Illinois (U-C), where she studies how the early music revivals of nineteenth-century England address issues of nationalism and domestic culture. Her master's thesis at Boston University focused on period instruments and material culture's role in Arnold Dolmetsch's performances, and her dissertation explores Victorian instrument collectors and their influence on later revivals and organology. In her research, she enjoys engaging with interdisciplinary scholarship to contextualize musical performance within broader socio-political and cultural issues.

Rachel Rentz is a recent graduate of the MA in Ethnomusicology programme at University College Cork. Her primary focus lies in choral music, but her research interests extend to areas such as ludomusicology, as well as the influence of modern social media on global music collaborations. Originally from Houston, Texas, she moved to Ireland in the fall of 2021 to pursue her MA and hopes to continue her studies in a PhD focused on the English glee song form.

Session 12B: Britain and Germany

11.00am–12.30pm, Thursday 31 July, Bowland Auditorium

Chair: Julian Rushton

Noriko Kamiyama (Shizuoka University of Art and Culture, Japan):

From Britain to Germany: Handel's Festival Tradition and Liszt's Reform in the 1850s

Music festivals, in the modern sense, emerged in late eighteenth-century Britain, notably with the Handel Commemoration in 1784. Featuring several hundred instrumentalists and members of choral societies, this event set a precedent for large-scale music festivals in Britain and beyond. Throughout the nineteenth century, Handel's oratorios remained central to British festival culture, reinforcing his status as a national composer and shaping the programming of similar events across Europe.

In Germany, music festivals followed this British model, particularly in their emphasis on large-scale choral performances by music lovers and enthusiasts. The Lower Rhine Music Festival, founded in 1818, exemplified this tradition – its repertoire consisted mainly of oratorios by Handel and Haydn, performed by regional amateur choirs. However, by the 1850s, this tradition began to shift. Under Liszt's direction, the focus of the festival moved away from Handelian oratorios towards works by Beethoven, Wagner, Berlioz, and Liszt himself. Notably, in 1857, Liszt initially refused to conduct *Messiah*, a staple of the festival repertoire, signalling his desire to redefine the purpose and artistic direction of the event as a 'music festival of the future'.

This paper explores how Handel's British legacy influenced nineteenth-century German music festivals and how Liszt's programming choices in the 1850s reflected a departure from this tradition. By examining the reception and reinterpretation of Handel's music, this study sheds light on the broader cultural exchange between Britain and Germany in shaping the European festival tradition.

Simon Kannenberg (Robert Schumann Hochschule Düsseldorf, Germany):

Composer of Popular Symphonies: Joachim Raff and his Outstanding Success in Great Britain

Joachim Raff was the most frequently performed composer of symphonies between 1871 and 1874 in German-speaking countries. The former assistant of Franz Liszt living in Wiesbaden from 1856 on gained in international reputation especially with his symphonies No. 3 *In the Forest* and No. 5 *Lenore*. He was appointed a honorary member of several Italian musical societies and of the New York Philharmonic Society – immediately after Wagner and Liszt and even before Anton Rubinstein. But his success in Great Britain lasted even longer and endured far beyond his early death in 1882 by a heart attack. In London his works were played at the Wagner Society, the Philharmonic Society, the Musical Union and the Monday and Saturday Popular Concerts at St James Hall. From 1874 to 1898 he even became the most frequently performed composer of symphonies at London's Crystal Palace. Musicians from Great Britain such as August Manns, Charles Hallé and Walter Bache promoted his orchestral, piano and chamber works as well as touring musicians from the Continent such as Hans von Bülow, August Wilhelmj and Alfred Jaëll.

This paper surveys Raff's success in Great Britain especially as composer of symphonies during the last three decades of the nineteenth century, focussing on the central protagonists, networks and institutions and asking the reasons for his popularity in terms of the time period.

Karl Traugott Goldbach (Spohr Museum, Kassel, Germany):

The Dream of Gerontius at the Düsseldorf Performances in 1901 und 1902

While Edward Elgar is considered one of the greatest British composers in the United Kingdom, in Germany he is known almost exclusively as the author of the *Enigma Variations* and 'Land of Hope and Glory'. Adorno's dictum about him in *Philosophy of New Music* discourages German musicologists from studying him: 'Edward Elgar's trumped-up fame seemed to be a local phenomenon'. On the other hand, Germany is considered crucial for the reception of one of his major works. The premiere of *The Dream of Gerontius* at the Birmingham Triennial Music Festival in 1900 failed due to insufficient rehearsals. The German premiere in Düsseldorf in 1901 and the reprise at the Lower Rhine Music Festival in Düsseldorf in 1902 are therefore regarded as a breakthrough for the oratorio. Just as German musicology deals with Elgar only superficially, the English research literature sometimes contains incorrect information when the Düsseldorf premiere and the performance at the Lower Rhine Music Festival are regarded as identical or when the admittedly much better-known Richard Strauss is assumed to be the conductor of these performances instead of Julius Butts. It is therefore doubly worth taking a look at the Düsseldorf sources on the two performances. They complete the view of *Gerontius* reception. But they also give a more differentiated idea of how Elgar was perceived in Germany than Adorno would have us believe.

Biographies

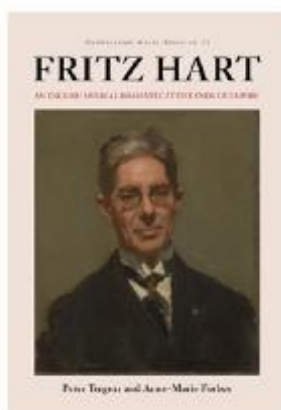
Noriko Kamiyama gained her PhD (Musicology) at Tokyo University of the Arts and currently serves as Professor of Western Music History at the Shizuoka University of Art and Culture. Her research interests include the cultural history of music in the long nineteenth century especially on Liszt, piano arrangements, and music festivals. Her recent publication (in JP) is *The Formation of the New German School: Liszt and His Progressive Music Group* (Shumpusha, 2022), 232pp. She has published articles in *The Journal of the Musicological Society of Japan*, *The Journal of Japan Music Expression Society*, and has given papers at national and international conferences.

Simon Kannenberg studied musicology, theology and singing in Hamburg. He achieved a Dr. phil. with a thesis about Joachim Raff and Hans von Bülow: 'Portrait of a musical friendship – Edition of their Letters' (Würzburg, 2020) which was honoured with the dissertation award of the German Musicological Society (GfM). He worked as a concert dramaturg and orchestra manager before continuing his academic career as a research associate at the University of Siegen and assistant lecturer at Robert Schumann Hochschule Düsseldorf. Apart from the music history of the nineteenth century he is especially interested in performance studies, the history of concert halls, music sociology, music aesthetics as well as trauma studies.

Karl Traugott Goldbach studied composition and electroacoustic composition at the Franz Liszt University of Music in Weimar, where he also received a PhD in musicology. He also holds Master's degrees in Library and Information Science from the Humboldt Universität of Berlin and in Cultural Management from the Technical University of Kaiserslautern. Since 2008, he has been the director of the Spohr Museum in Kassel, where he is publishing, among other things, the online edition of Louis Spohr's correspondence (www.spohr-briefe.de).

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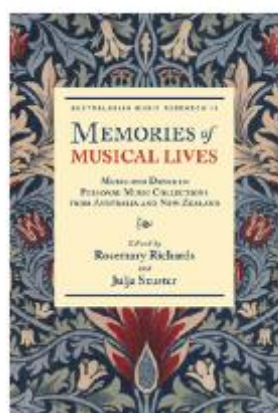


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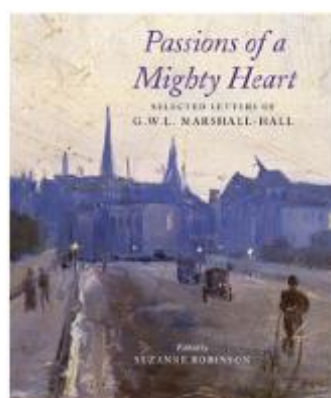


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