

The Open University

13th Music in Nineteenth-
Century Britain conference

28–30 June 2023

Music Department
School of Arts & Humanities
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

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Welcome

Welcome to The Open University and to Milton Keynes for the thirteenth conference on Music In Nineteenth-Century Britain. We are delighted to be able to host the conference following the hiatus of the pandemic years, and we are especially pleased to have had such a strong response to our call for papers. It is wonderful to see so many varied and fascinating areas of research going on within our corner of the discipline.

The Open University has a rich tradition of research in both the music and the wider history of the nineteenth century. Although we are a 'modern' university, born of the social reforms of the mid-twentieth century, we reflect the desire for improvements in education, wellbeing and opportunities that was so influential on social and political developments in nineteenth-century Britain.

At the heart of our campus is the Grade II-listed, seventeenth-century manor house Walton Hall with its 1830 façade. It is set in approximately 111 acres of grounds which are well worth exploring – you will come across the ancient church of St Michael which contains memorials to some of Walton Hall's former owners (amongst them the Harley family, which gave its name to Harley Street in London). There are also a number of beautifully planted and tranquil garden areas (marked on the campus map) including the walled kitchen garden, now the Legacy Garden, where you are very welcome to find some peace and quiet between sessions.

Milton Keynes itself has an interesting heritage, despite its 'new town' status. Perhaps most famously, less than four miles away is Bletchley Park, home of the Second World War codebreakers, which has a particular connection with Walton Hall – forty members of the Women's Royal Naval Service stationed at Bletchley were housed in the Hall during the war.

We are delighted that you have chosen to join us, and we hope you will find plenty to enjoy and stimulate, both in the conference sessions and outside them.

Conference Committee

Dr Rosemary Golding (Committee Chair)

Dr Helen Barlow

Dr Martin Clarke

Professor Rachel Cowgill

Dr Rachel Johnson

Acknowledgements

Many thanks for their help and support go to Jacquie Green our School Assistant, the Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences at The Open University, the University's Events team, Audio Visual team and our on-site caterers.

Sponsorship

The conference Committee are grateful to the Royal Musical Association for sponsorship of the conference.

General information

Travel

Milton Keynes is located around fifty miles north of Central London, midway between Oxford and Cambridge and just off the M1 motorway, linking us to Birmingham and the north of England. If you are arriving by car, our address is: The Open University, Walton Hall, Milton Keynes, MK7 6AA. If using Sat Nav, please follow these [Google Maps directions](#) as you get closer as it will direct you to the car park we are suggesting delegates use (South West Parking). For more travel information, please visit our [Estates Travel Advice website](#).

Rooms and AV requirements

Christodoulou Meeting Rooms [CMR on the Conference programme] are 9 on the campus map (see p. 6)

The Hub restaurant is 18 on the campus map

The Hub Theatre is 19 on the campus map

The Hub: Juniper and Medlar suite is between 18 and 19 on the campus map.

The rooms are provided with audio-visual equipment. You will have received instructions for uploading your presentation to Dropbox, and we will ensure that all uploaded presentations will be available on the computer in the correct room. This should mean that you will not need any other access to the audio-visual equipment.

Catering

Refreshments will be provided during the morning breaks in both the Juniper and Medlar suite and the foyer between Christodoulou meeting rooms 11 and 15. Lunch is by delegates' own arrangement and may be purchased in our self-service restaurant, The Hub, which is open between 8am and 4pm and serves a range of refreshments.

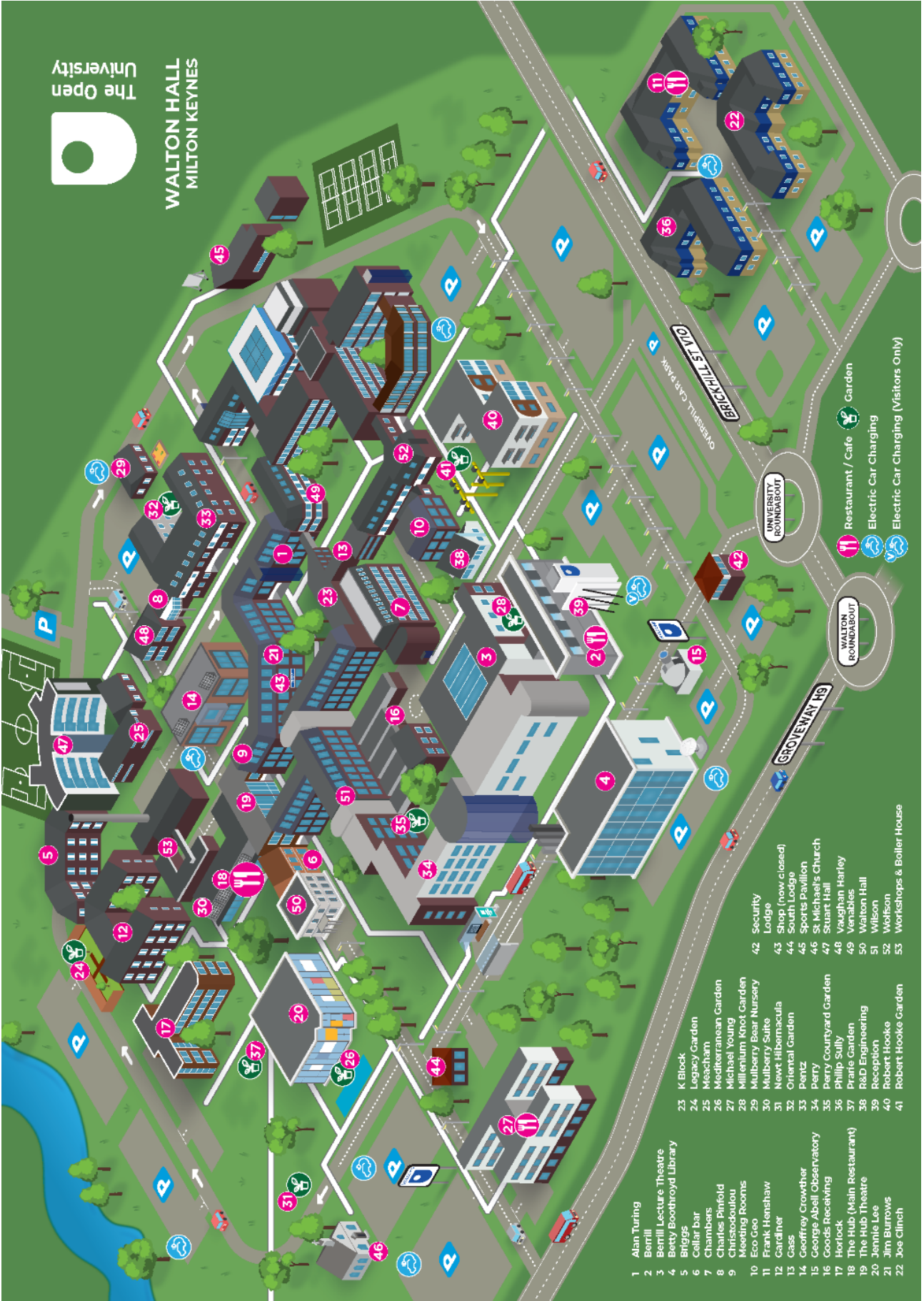
On Wednesday evening, after the first keynote lecture, we hope you will join us for a barbecue on the Mulberry Lawn outside of The Hub.

On Thursday evening delegates will make their own arrangements. A range of restaurants and cafes are available in central Milton Keynes; see [The Hub-Milton Keynes](#) for details. A bus leaves campus at 5:13pm. If you are driving parking is free from 6pm-7am in most areas but please check signs for any changes in regulations. Free parking before 6pm is available underneath Sainsbury's, 799 Witan Gate, MK9 2FW for a maximum of three hours. Several taxi firms are available for return travel to accommodation. We recommend Skyline Taxis, 01908 222 111. An alternative option is the on-demand bus service, [MK Connect](#), 01908 252526 (service hours are 6am-10pm).

Wi-Fi access

Delegates can access Wi-Fi during the conference by connecting to Eduroam. More information can be found at the Eduroam website. If you do not have access to Eduroam, you can connect to The Cloud which is free to use but will require registration. To do this, check your Wi-Fi is on, select '_The Cloud' from the available network list and follow the onscreen instructions.

Campus map



WALTON HALL
MILTON KEYNES

- 1 Alan Turing
- 2 Berrill
- 3 Berrill Lecture Theatre
- 4 Betty Boothroyd Library
- 5 Briggs
- 6 Cellar bar
- 7 Chambers
- 8 Charles Pinfold
- 9 Christodoulou
- 10 Eco Geo
- 11 Frank Henshaw
- 12 Gardiner
- 13 Gass
- 14 Geoffrey Crowther
- 15 George Abell Observatory
- 16 Coops Receiving
- 17 Horlock
- 18 The Hub (Main Restaurant)
- 19 The Hub Theatre
- 20 Jennie Lee
- 21 Jim Burrows
- 22 Joe Clinch
- 23 K Block
- 24 Legacy Garden
- 25 Meacham
- 26 Mediterranean Garden
- 27 Michael Young
- 28 Millenium Knot Garden
- 29 Mulberry Bear Nursery
- 30 Mulberry Suite
- 31 Newt Hibernacula
- 32 Oriental Garden
- 33 Pentz
- 34 Perry
- 35 Perry Courtyard Garden
- 36 Philip Sully
- 37 Prairie Garden
- 38 R&D Engineering
- 39 Reception
- 40 Robert Hooke
- 41 Robert Hooke Garden
- 42 Security
- 43 Lodge
- 44 Shop (now closed)
- 45 South Lodge
- 46 Sports Pavilion
- 47 St Michael's Church
- 48 Stuart Hall
- 49 Vaughan Harley
- 50 Walton Hall
- 51 Wilson
- 52 Wolison
- 53 Workshops & Boiler House

Conference Programme

Wednesday 28 June 2023

10.00	Arrival and registration [The Hub: Juniper and Medlar suite]	
10:30	Welcome [The Hub Theatre]	
11.00	<p><u>1a: International Influences and Exchanges</u> [CMR 11]</p> <p>Chair: Tamsin Alexander</p> <p>Philip Burnett and Rachel Cowgill: <i>Britons in transit: music, Moravians, and the beginnings of the modern British Missionary Movement, 1790-1834</i></p> <p>Anastasia Zaponidou: <i>Musical America and the 'English 'Cellist': bringing "Englishness" in the United States</i></p>	<p><u>1b: Men and their Careers</u> [CMR 15]</p> <p>Chair: Christina Bashford</p> <p>Sarah Clarke: <i>"Historical! Rare!!!" - The works of Ferdinand Pelzer (1801-1864)</i></p> <p>Jonathan Frank: <i>"An excellent musician and worthy man": the life and influence of James William Windsor</i></p> <p>Anne Stanyon: <i>Blowing dust and cobwebs from Arthur Sullivan: a new approach to a working life</i></p> <p>Ross Purves: <i>Life and work as a music examiner in late Victorian and Edwardian Britain</i></p>
13:00	Lunch [may be purchased in The Hub restaurant]	
14.00	<p><u>2a: Music and Literature</u> [CMR 11]</p> <p>Chair: Phyllis Weliver</p> <p>Michael Allis: <i>The 'timebound' and 'timeless' Dowson: Granville Bantock's orchestral refiguring of The Pierrot of the Minute</i></p> <p>Alison Gilbert: <i>"Look Not in My Eyes": musical responses to A. E. Housman's strategies of concealment in A Shropshire Lad</i></p> <p>Andrew Somerville: <i>The "Scottish" performances and compositions of Charles Jean-Baptiste Soualle, 1852-1866</i></p>	<p><u>2b: Women and their Careers</u> [CMR 15]</p> <p>Chair: Anna Wright</p> <p>Suzy Corrigan: <i>Celtic liberties: dance, nationhood and New Womanism in Mona Caird's The Daughters of Danaus (1894)</i></p> <p>Russell Burdekin: <i>Frances Susanna(h) Shannon: a "lady of peculiarly fascinating manners" and a somewhat unusual history</i></p> <p>Candace Bailey: <i>The Italian arias of Eliza Abrams, English song singer</i></p>
16.00	<p><u>Keynote 1</u> [Hub Theatre]</p> <p>Chair: Rosemary Golding</p> <p>Benedict Taylor: <i>A Yet Sweeter Music? Approaches to understanding music in (a long) nineteenth-century Britain</i></p>	
17.00	Barbecue [Mulberry Lawn outside The Hub restaurant]	

Thursday 29 June 2023

9.30	<p><u>3a: String Playing at the Turn of the Century</u> [CMR 11] Chair: Helen Barlow</p> <p>Steven Jeon: <i>The development of string quartet concerts in London's West End from the late nineteenth century to World War I</i></p> <p>Christina Bashford: <i>Amateur string-player communities in Britain, ca. 1890-1914—the real, the imagined, and the virtual</i></p> <p>George Kennaway: <i>The violinist Frank Thistleton (1881-1964) and his performances of baroque music in the early 20th century</i></p>	<p><u>3b: The Music Business</u> [CMR 15] Chair: Danielle Padley</p> <p>Whitney Thompson: <i>'Poor Feminine Claribel with Her Hundred Songs': ballads, royalties, and the birth of the popular music industry in 1860s England</i></p> <p>Yu Lee An: <i>Business failures in the British music trade</i></p> <p>Phyllis Weliver: <i>Music and the Queen's Mustard</i></p>
11.00	Refreshments [available in Christodoulou Foyer and in Juniper and Medlar]	
11.30	<p><u>4a: Music and Religion I</u> [CMR 11] Chair: Ruth Eldredge Thomas</p> <p>Esther Hu: <i>Christina Rossetti's poetry and song: Anglican plainchant, the Victorian hymn, and "English Musical Thought"</i></p> <p>Bennett Zon: <i>Elgar and Gregorian chant</i></p> <p>Joanna Bullivant: <i>Musical oratory? A prolegomenon to Elgar's The Dream of Gerontius</i></p>	<p><u>4b: Continental Europe in British Musical Life</u> [CMR 15] Chair: Sarah Clarke</p> <p>Oliver Puckey: <i>The idea of "Musical Germany" in British intellectual culture, c. 1800-1860</i></p> <p>Peter Horton: <i>Christian Wessel (1797-1885) and the publication of German song in London</i></p> <p>Chloe Valenti: <i>Representations of Italy in early nineteenth-century and Victorian popular music</i></p>
13:00	Lunch [may be purchased in The Hub restaurant]	
14.00	<p><u>5a: Musical Communities and Publics</u> [CMR 11] Chair: Rachel Cowgill</p> <p>Paul Britten: <i>Smoking concerts and the development of audiences for music in nineteenth century Britain</i></p> <p>Mie Othelie Berg: <i>'Music "for the unwashed": Organ transcriptions and their use in civic organ recitals</i></p> <p>Roger Hansford: <i>'Hurrah for our Volunteer Rifles': the Mid-Victorian irregular army as defender of society in songs of c.1860</i></p> <p>Mollie Carlyle: <i>Exploring the shanty's shift from land to sea to land during the long 19th century</i></p>	<p><u>5b: Performers and Audiences in the Early 19th Century</u> [CMR 15] Chair: George Kennaway</p> <p>Karl Traugott Goldbach: <i>Two performances of The Fall of Babylon: a case study in London concert marketing in 1843</i></p> <p>Michael Busk: <i>Maximising audience capacity at the 1828 Manchester musical festival</i></p> <p>Gigliola Di Grazia: <i>Friedrich Kalkbrenner's London decade (1814- 1824) as told in his letters</i></p> <p>Sarah Waltz: <i>Bridgetower's Beethoven advocacy</i></p>
16.00	<p><u>Keynote 2</u> [Hub Theatre] Chair: Helen Barlow</p> <p>Sophie Fuller: <i>"A temple of glorious music making": the late Victorian and Edwardian musical salon</i></p>	

Friday 30 June 2023

9.30	<p>6a: Analysis and Musical Materials [CMR 11] Chair: Bennett Zon</p> <p>Elizabeth French: <i>The Mazurkas of Francis Edward Bache</i></p> <p>Philip Carli: <i>Rediscovering materials and assessing the early British operas of Julius Benedict</i></p> <p>Stacy Jarvis: <i>York Bowen – father of the modern viola</i></p>	<p>6b: Music in Higher Education [CMR 15] Chair: Ross Purves</p> <p>Kathleen McGowan: <i>“Let Her Hasten to Girton that Standeth on High”: Women musicking at Cambridge University, 1869–1893</i></p> <p>Anna Wright: <i>The desire for a music college in Manchester: an exploration of the background to the establishment of the Royal Manchester College of Music (RMCM)</i></p>
11.00	Refreshments [available in Christodoulou Foyer and in Juniper and Medlar]	
11.30	<p>7a: Music and Religion 2 [CMR 11] Chair: Chloe Valenti</p> <p>Danielle Padley: <i>Singing for the Million? Adopting and adapting music teaching practices for Jewish school pupils in Victorian England</i></p> <p>Ruth Eldredge Thomas: <i>Theological views of the English Bach Revival</i></p> <p>Alisa Clapp-Itnyre: <i>“The First Nowell” but not the first children’s carol: exploring the history of Christmas theology through two centuries of children’s hymnody, 1800–1900</i></p>	<p>7b: Performance Contexts [CMR 15] Chair: Oliver Puckey</p> <p>Deborah Mawer: <i>Beside the seaside: premiering Elgar at the ‘Albert Hall of the North’</i></p> <p>Tamsin Alexander: <i>The electric concert: power and illumination in late nineteenth-century London</i></p> <p>Lewis Foreman: <i>Dan Godfrey and the Bournemouth Municipal Orchestra as champions of women composers: an assessment and progress report</i></p>
13:00	Finish [Lunch may be purchased in The Hub restaurant]	

Conference Abstracts

Abstracts are listed in order of presentation in the conference programme.

Session 1a – International Influences and Exchanges

Wednesday 28 June, 11:00–13:00

Britons in transit: music, Moravians, and the beginnings of the modern British Missionary Movement, 1790–1834 – *Philip Burnett and Rachel Cowgill*

‘[T]he head and hand [...] of Moravian missions in England’, according to William Wilberforce MP in 1815, was the Revd Christian Ignatius Latrobe. As Secretary of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen, Latrobe supported and publicised the activities of the missions through his own travels overseas, an extraordinarily widespread correspondence, and the publication of *Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren* [the Moravian Church]. He began publishing the latter in 1790, and by his retirement, 44 years later, 500 copies of each issue were circulating among the British ruling elite – both spiritual and secular – disseminating the lives, labour, and testimony of Moravian missionaries working in British colonies.

Like many fellow Moravians, Latrobe was a gifted musician – an instrumentalist and composer who became a friend of Burney and Haydn, and whose six-volume *A Selection of Sacred Music* (1806–25) and *Hymn-Tunes sung in the Church of the United Brethren* (1790) can be seen as a direct and influential extension of his work for the missions at home and abroad.

Descriptions of musical interactions between missionaries and indigenous communities in Latrobe’s *Periodical Accounts*, among other sources, offer insight firstly into the negotiation of values and practices associated today with a nascent British imperial identity in the early nineteenth century, and secondly how music assisted the emergence of a popular movement attracting Britons to spiritual labour overseas (supported by thousands of small donations at home) with its roots in the Moravian diaspora.

Musical America and the ‘English ‘Cellist’: bringing “Englishness” in the United States – *Anastasia Zaponidou*

On the 4th of January 1908, the British cellist May Henrietta Mukle (1880–1963) performed her US debut recital at Mendelssohn Hall in New York. This recital was the first of many in the United States for Mukle, and music magazines from the time describe the event as a surprise, both for reviewers and general audiences. Yet, despite the apparent surprise regarding her skill, Mukle’s attributes as an ‘artistically gifted girl’ of the ‘Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon races’ were portrayed by tabloids at the time as a *de facto* reason for her ‘musical genius’ (*Musical America*, 6:9, p. 17).

This paper will explore a series of tours by British cellist May Mukle in the United States, spanning from 1907 to 1914, as described by the journalists of the music magazine

Musical America. The paper will discuss the way in which *Musical America's* feature articles on Mukle describe the cellist, examining the sensationalist language used to portray Mukle not just as a skillful executant, but also as an ambassador of English musicianship across the United States.

Session 1b – Men and their Careers

Wednesday 28 June, 11:00–1:00

“Historical! Rare!!!” – The works of Ferdinand Pelzer (1801–1864) – Sarah Clarke

In the important collection of guitar music of the late Wilfrid Appleby is a brown envelope with the words ‘Historical! Rare!!!’ written on it, probably by Appleby himself. The contents of this envelope comprise a collection of nineteenth-century periodicals and leaflets all bound together into one volume and all of which almost certainly relate to the work and career of Ferdinand Pelzer. Pelzer was a German musician who moved to England in approximately 1829 and is best remembered today as being the father of the well-known Victorian English guitarist Madame Sidney Pratten. He did, however, have an interesting career in his own right. The Appleby volume has material from three decades of Pelzer’s life. From the 1830s is a rare complete copy of the guitarist’s magazine, the *Giulianiad*. From the 1840s are a journal and leaflets concerning Pelzer’s teaching of choral music. From the 1850s is one issue of Pelzer’s periodical the *Guitarist’s Companion*. This paper considers the two major parts of Pelzer’s work as evidenced in this volume. On the one hand he was a guitarist and taught the instrument. Given the high cover prices of the periodicals here (two shillings, and two shillings and sixpence) one may assume they were intended for wealthier consumers. On the other hand he promoted choral singing for the masses in the same vein as other teachers such as Hullah, Mainzer, and Curwen.

“An excellent musician and worthy man”: the life and influence of James William Windsor – Jonathan Frank

The music collection of the Bath organist James William Windsor (1779–1853) and his family was one of the Royal College of Music Library’s founding collections, celebrated for its many treasures (including the autograph manuscript of Haydn’s first Op. 64 string quartet). Although the collection speaks volumes about the Windsors’ musical activities, “you won’t find their names in musical dictionaries,” as William Barclay Squire lamented in 1924. Indeed, very little has been written about this large and influential musical family, who maintained a presence in Bath for almost a century, and whose “house was the rendezvous of all the most distinguished musicians of Europe.”

James William Windsor was a highly regarded organist, pianist, conductor, and teacher. His name is occasionally mentioned in passing in relation to some other musical subject, yet one who was so widely respected by his peers is worthy of study in and of himself. He numbered among his close friends Bath’s leading musical lights such as William Linley, Rauzzini, and Harington, besides eminent figures from further afield such as Vincent Novello, George Smart, Ferdinand Ries, and Carl Czerny. This paper, the first in-depth study of Windsor’s life, will discuss the influence of this modest, well-read and unshowy musician, and show how one whose, in Baptie’s words, “fame is purely local” impacted the musical life of Bath and beyond.

Blowing dust and cobwebs from Arthur Sullivan: a new approach to a working life -

Anne Stanyon

'There is so much I want to do for music,' wrote Arthur Sullivan to his mother, 'if God would...give me two days for every one...' It was 1875, *Trial by Jury* had yet to be written, his partnership with WS Gilbert and the Savoy Operas was yet to happen. At that moment, Arthur Sullivan was the dominant figure in British Music – already a superstar.

This is the man upon whom my research is based. His professional life began on Monday 10 April 1854, a chorister at the Chapel Royal, a few weeks short of his twelfth birthday. He was still working, composing a new comic opera for the Savoy Theatre, *The Emerald Isle*, when death unexpectedly claimed him, on 22 November 1900.

My research relies on primary sources: Sullivan's Diaries, his correspondence held in the Morgan Library and the contemporary press. My aim is to extricate him from the G&S aficionado, stripping away the G & S myth, presenting him as he really was: a professional musician, making his way, the establishment's go-to composer, a conductor who rivalled Hans Richter, who, from 1880 to 1898 directed the Leeds Festival. A businessman whose commercialism was despised by critics and contemporaries, but who did battle on the profession's behalf, the consistent supporter of English Music and Musicians...Was his time as Principal as the National Training School of Music disastrous: or was he undermined by Sir Henry Cole, who had determined to destroy him? So many gaps remain...

Life and work as a music examiner in late Victorian and Edwardian Britain -

Ross Purves

As David Wright, historian of the Associated Board of the Royal School of Music notes, the decades leading up to the First World War witnessed enormous growth in the number of British instrumental music exams taken at home and worldwide. One outcome of this growth was the appointment of large numbers of professional musicians as examiners. For these musicians, examining could improve their economic stability and provide additional social prestige. Some went on to manage and administer examination boards, whilst a few also set up their own awarding bodies. Musicians would cover many miles in the service of their institutions, both in Britain and around the Empire. Indeed, as Wright also notes, the development of the still-familiar system of 'local examinations' in music—whereby peripatetic examiners make rounds of local 'centres'—was largely made possible thanks to the development of the railways during this same period.

This presentation will consider the lives and musical careers of these musicians through case studies of two senior examiners for Victoria College of Music. Using references from the British Newspaper Archive, it will trace these examiners' extensive travels across Britain during the Winter of 1909 and consider how their activities in the exam room integrated with roles as composers, teachers, publishers and church musicians.

Session 2a – Music and Literature

Wednesday 28 June, 2:00–4:00

The ‘timebound’ and ‘timeless’ Dowson: Granville Bantock’s orchestral refiguring of *The Pierrot of the Minute* – Michael Allis

Although Granville Bantock’s comedy overture *The Pierrot of the Minute* (1908) was one of the more familiar examples of his orchestral music in the early twentieth century, there has been no detailed study of it to date. This paper challenges Bantock’s own description of the work as having ‘no sequence of ideas’, and representing only a ‘suggestion’ of the text upon which it was based: Ernest Dowson’s ‘dramatic phantasy’ of 1892. In mapping Dowson’s text with Bantock’s series of musical events, *The Pierrot of the Minute* can be reassessed as a much closer reading than might be suggested by the composer’s comments. Additionally, literary scholarship is identified as beneficial in providing a hermeneutic frame for this new reading. Specifically, Jan Gordon’s identification of a central ‘paradise of art removed from the destructive ebb and flow of the world which rotates about it in a wheel-like pattern’ as a recurring theme in Dowson’s work can be directly applied to Bantock’s refiguring; this allows us to consider not only the musical representation of the ‘real’ and the ‘other’ world in Dowson’s play (and the journey between the two), but also how the composer suggests a futility at the heart of the Pierrot’s quest to experience ‘one hour’ of an idealised love.

“Look Not in My Eyes”: musical responses to A. E. Housman’s strategies of concealment in *A Shropshire Lad* – Alison Gilbert

Selections from *A Shropshire Lad*, A.E. Housman’s collection of 63 poems, have been set to music by nearly every composer of early twentieth-century English song. The collection, which lingers on themes of tragic love and young death, was enormously popular; however, most were unaware of queer themes in the work that became apparent with the posthumous release of Housman’s papers. While this was a subject of debate in critical scholarship for a time, recent criticism has accepted that Housman’s queerness is inseparable from the poetry and turned to examining Housman’s strategies of concealment – the ways in which he writes his own emotional explorations into the work while carefully containing them within the bounds of the poetry.

These strategies of concealment, however, begin to break down when the poetry is set to music. Even in the act of selectively anthologizing texts into a cycle, composers dismantle Housman’s carefully constructed boundaries and weave the texts into a new artistic product. This paper will consider the beloved settings by Ralph Vaughan Williams and George Butterworth, both as complete cycles and through analysis of their settings of “Is My Team Ploughing,” to show the different ways in which each composer complicates, reinforces, and breaks down Housman’s strategies of concealment. Butterworth compiles a set of texts that largely reflects the collection as a whole, and his music subtly draws out the concealed themes of the poetry. Vaughan Williams, however, chooses some of the more opaque texts, but his emotionally charged, impressionistic music shatters Housman’s restraint.

The “Scottish” performances and compositions of Charles Jean-Baptiste Soualle, 1852-1866 – *Andrew Somerville*

Charles Jean-Baptiste Soualle (1824-99) was a prolific composer and saxophone soloist, primarily active in Britain and its Empire during the 1850s and 60s. The prevailing discourse concerning Soualle’s life and music is largely informed by (factually inaccurate) secondary sources from nineteenth-century France, which focus solely on his orientalist alter ego, “Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle”. Fortunately, recent scholarship (by Cottrell and Steltzner) has provided a more complete narrative of his career, including his extensive colonial concert tour and activities on the London promenade concert circuit. This paper uses the outcomes of my recent archival research, which has identified a striking subset of Soualle’s compositional and performance oeuvre based on Scottish literature and music, to demonstrate that his career is best understood in the context of the British Union and Empire. It documents Soualle’s “Scottish” performances and compositions, explicating their role in his concert practice via a discussion which intersects with themes of commerce, orientalism, and the Crimean War. It argues that Soualle’s use of Scottish culture formed part of a wider strategy of exploiting prevailing cultural trends, with the goal of engaging and enthusing British audiences at home and throughout the Empire.

Session 2b – Women and their Careers

Wednesday 28 June, 2:00–4:00

Celtic liberties: dance, nationhood and New Womanism in Mona Caird's *The Daughters of Danaus* (1894) – Suzy Corrigan

During the late nineteenth century, Mona Caird was an important forerunner of women's rights. Her ideas about gender equality and personal freedom provided impetus for the second-wave feminism in Europe and the United States. Although now out of print, Caird's contentious novel, *The Daughters of Danaus* (1894) has, since the 1990s, been of steady interest to feminist scholars interested in New Woman critiques of the institution of marriage. Existing work, however, overlooks the special significance of music, performance, and dance, in Caird's writing and the symbolic role it plays within the negotiation of the Woman Question. In this paper, I focus on Caird's depictions of the Scottish reel, and argue that it has formal and cultural qualities that enable her to stage a conflict between conservative ideals of womanhood and New Womanism. I will also consider whether her positioning of the reel – an indigenous dance – as an expression of primal female energy (and paradoxically a source of dissidence and emotional weakness) and Caird's representations of Scottish National culture are entirely satisfactory.

Frances Susanna(h) Shannon: a “lady of peculiarly fascinating manners” and a somewhat unusual history – Russell Burdekin

The history of English opera in the 19th century is hardly a glorious one but one work that achieved some success in its day and was sometimes held as an example of what English opera should aspire to was John Barnett's *The Mountain Sylph* of 1834. The audience at the time and, probably, John Barnett himself believed the author of the libretto to be Thomas Thackeray, an assertion still promulgated today. However, about a year later, statements started to circulate in the press to the effect that it was the work of a Mrs Shannon. Mrs Shannon was born Frances Susanna(h) Mongan, probably around 1792 in Ireland, married the Reverend Thomas Carr, bore him four children then ran off with them and barrister, Charles Shannon, to England while the Reverend was imprisoned in the Marshalsea for debt. After some domestic and legal upheaval, Charles and Frances made their way to Paris together with a growing new family where they lived as the Shannons. Charles died in 1832 but Frances stayed there and subsequently wrote or contributed to at least four works, including *The Mountain Sylph* and Barnett's *Fair Rosamond* of 1837, where the same problem arose although the person claiming to have written it was Barnett's brother, Charles. She had already published a novel and short biography in 1826. The paper assesses the evidence and considers why, given the likelihood that Shannon was at least part author of both opera librettos, her name has not routinely been linked to them.

The Italian arias of Eliza Abrams, English song singer – Candace Bailey

Often dismissed by musicologists tethered (perhaps unconsciously) to the idea that men's music should be the focus of enquiry, binder's volumes have been largely ignored because they represent more mundane, ephemeral practices. Several recent studies, however, had demonstrated that binder's volumes contain a wealth of information about people, musicking, culture, and more. Their relevance to music history lies predominantly in what they reveal about how music worked within society, the interests of consumers, regional trends, etc. Such is the case of the volume under consideration in this paper. Belonging to Eliza Abram, it resides in the collection of the College of William & Mary in Virginia (USA). Containing mostly opera arias composed between 1815 and 1860 (a period is one curiously absent in discussions of women and musical life in Britain), it provides a test case by which to evaluate such sources and enlightens our understanding of music in nineteenth-century Britain in avenues as yet neglected in musicological discourse.

Eliza did not collect, as far as this volume evinces, the repertoire modern writers associate with the mid-century: her music does not reflect the style published in places such as *The Illustrated London News*. It consists of advanced, technically difficult arias by Verdi, Meyerbeer, and others. Moreover, someone pencilled in entrances, places to breathe, and added cadenzas to several pieces. After looking specifically at Eliza's markings on "Ah! fors'è lui," I will discuss what we can surmise about Eliza's biography and social position, her performance spaces, the concept of this binder's volume as a collection, and, most importantly, how this volume intervenes in current historiographies of British music.

Keynote 1: A Yet Sweeter Music? Approaches to understanding music in (a long) nineteenth-century Britain - Benedict Taylor

Wednesday 28 June, 4:00-5:00

My talk today takes its bearings from what is in some ways, a relatively 'minor' composition: Edward Elgar's 1907 part-song 'There is sweet music', the words taken from Tennyson's 'The Lotos Eaters'. This four-minute setting for mixed-voice choir is hardly among the most discussed of Elgar's compositions; owing to its difficulties, it is not even that frequently performed. On the other hand, this part-song punches far above its ostensible weight. While not widely known outside select circles, I think it is fair to say this composition has become something of a cult piece among Elgar aficionados. It is, in other words, both small and highly salient, and thus can offer a valuable microcosm of many of our concerns, reflecting our efforts on behalf of music in (a long) nineteenth-century Britain. While I will spend more time today on approaches that are near to me – analytical, interpretive – the song affords multiple modes of scholarly enquiry; and I will outline some of these – both those that have already been given, and ways in which it might be understood – along the way. Exploring the current standpoint of a wider discipline through the differing interpretative possibilities of a single, small musical object, can serve both as a stocktaking of 19th-century British musical studies and, perhaps, point to the future – that as yet unreleased, yet sweeter music still to come...

Session 3a – String Playing at the Turn of the Century

Thursday 29 June, 9:30–11:00

The development of string quartet concerts in London’s West End from the late nineteenth century to World War I – *Steven Jeon*

Chamber music repertoires were not recognised or well known in London until the late-nineteenth century even though people in London gained some experiences in chamber music before the nineteenth century, such as the benefit concerts and the orchestral concerts. Christina Bashford for example has conducted extensive research on chamber music concert culture throughout the nineteenth century. In her monograph, she mentions that string quartet performances had ‘regained its place as a mainstream genre.’ In one of her articles, she lists selected chamber music series concert with dates, venues, and promoters/concertgoers.

So, what sorts of string quartet repertoires were performed across London’s West End during the late nineteenth century to World War I? What were some “successful” chamber music concerts in London during this time? By “successful”, I mean, any concert series that lasted for five or more years. The paper discusses the background of string quartet / chamber music concerts at selected public venues in London (West End in particular) from the late nineteenth century to World War I. I will be approaching the paper holistically using statistical analysis on repertoires from selected successful concert series such as Monday and Saturday Popular Concerts at St. James’s Hall during the late nineteenth century and pre-World War I.

Amateur string-player communities in Britain, ca. 1890–1914—the real, the imagined, and the virtual – *Christina Bashford*

One consequence of the late nineteenth-century British surge in learning instruments of the violin family was the dramatic growth in communities of amateur string players: a growth that sustained people’s commitment to their hobby and helped solidify a shared national culture of string-playing. Inexpensive group instruction for children and adults is one such example. Another is the proliferation of amateur symphony orchestras; whether founded in workplaces (department stores, railway companies) or specific localities (from mining villages to London suburbs), their very viability was predicated on the surfeit of string players, including trained, semi-professional women musicians whose ability to obtain orchestral experience was otherwise limited by social and geographic factors.

Utilizing concepts of community defined by Shelemay (2011), Anderson (1983), and Rogers (2012), this paper analyses these musical groups, evaluating what motivated people to join classes and orchestras, the collectivity such music-making engendered, and the broader social benefits that ensued. It also reveals how string magazines, broader journalism, and education initiatives contributed to the forging of “imagined” or “virtual” communities of players: adults and children who were encouraged to feel nationwide connections with others they had never met but with whom they shared repertoire and systems of instruction and assessment, or with whom they co-created

the textual voice of a serial publication. Long before the advent of modern social media, these channels stood to mitigate the problems that geographic isolation or lack of access to group classes and ensembles could generate, further rooting string-playing (“violin culture”) into British musical life.

The violinist Frank Thistleton (1881–1964) and his performances of baroque music in the early 20th century – *George Kennaway*

Frank Thistleton studied the violin with August Wilhelmj and Enrique Arbos. In the decade before WWI he performed several series of concerts of 17th- and 18th-century music (at least once with Helene Dolmetsch), including the claimed English première of Lully's 'Apothéose de Corelli' and another of a work in MS mistakenly attributed to Mozart. Thistleton's concerts received regular coverage in the British press, and were compared to Arnold Dolmetsch's early music concerts. Thistleton later wrote two books about the violin and became an influential teacher, and went on to play an important role in the new Musicians' Benevolent Fund. This paper will survey Thistleton's repertoire and its reception, suggesting that his work sheds light on a more 'mainstream' baroque performance than that associated with the more fundamentalist Dolmetsch.

Session 3b – The Music Business

Thursday 29 June, 9:30–11:00

'Poor Feminine Claribel with Her Hundred Songs': ballads, royalties, and the birth of the popular music industry in 1860s England – Whitney Thompson

The Victorian composer Claribel, AKA Charlotte Alington Barnard, published over 100 songs during her ten-year career (1859–1869), mostly sentimental ballads. Though these songs were originally meant for domestic music-making, over the 1860s, Claribel's music became a cultural sensation. Not only did her songs receive multiple printings (her first hit, 1859's "Janet's Choice," was in its 20th edition by 1865), but they also found enormous popularity in public concerts. Claribel's meteoric rise was largely enabled by her publisher John Boosey, a pioneer of a nascent music royalties system. This system initially involved famous singers "introducing" songs at concerts, in exchange for a cut of sheet music sales, and indeed Claribel's songs were often introduced by the contralto Charlotte Sainton-Dolby. Before long, though, Boosey gave Claribel an exclusive contract and a royalty arrangement, making her the first composer in England (and among the first ever) to receive music royalties. With Claribel's success, however, came some harsh media criticism. Henry Fothergill Chorley at The Athenaeum coined the pejorative "Claribel-ware" in 1866 to refer to the genre at large, and The Orchestra regularly called Claribel's music "trash." I propose that between her enormous popularity and the business strategies behind her ascent, Claribel was a vanguard of the modern popular music industry. Building on Andreas Huyssen's idea of "mass culture as woman," in this paper I will examine how Claribel's music grew so far beyond the supposed confines of its genre—and how the cultural press tried desperately to make her achievements small again.

Business failures in the British music trade – Yu Lee An

Between 1800 and 1899, the *London Gazette* listed over 7000 notices relating to bankruptcy and insolvency proceedings of some 2700 debtors engaged in the music trade. Some were well-established household names, but many were lesser-known enterprises. These notices are even more significant when we consider how widespread small shops and petty shopkeepers were during the period. Concerning their aggregated numbers, there is no doubt that their economic activities collectively amounted to a sizeable portion, thus the importance of their economic and cultural role in British society.

Existing works on the British music trade concentrate on well-known enterprises and, to some extent, their lesser-known contemporaries, ignoring countless forgotten members of the music trade. Insolvency and bankruptcy notices published in the *Gazette* as public records naturally captured the activities of all who experienced financial failures or setbacks. By extending our attention to numerous small firms and often peripheral figures, albeit through their failures, we can broaden our views on the British music trade and piece together a new perspective that will complement the previous works on music printers and publishers, musical instrument makers, and music sellers. The coverage of this study encompasses individuals and firms in all

branches of the music trade, from music printers and publishers, wholesalers and retailers of music, to those manufactured musical instruments and related products, and skilled artisans. It considers the failure of the music traders in a broader context against all other businesses and the environment in which they operated.

Music and the Queen's Mustard – *Phyllis Weliver*

J. & J. Colman was known in Victorian Britain for mustard, starch and azure blue soap. Perhaps unsurprisingly, these products were marketed with recognized symbols. Roy Church and Christine Clark have shown that cleanliness (starch & soap) was next to godliness for the devout Colman family. As for the mustard, when Queen Victoria bestowed a Royal Warrant in 1866, Colman's became 'The Queen's Mustard' in a marketing campaign. The Colman family was also known for their liberalism (Jeremiah Colman was Liberal MP for Norwich, 1871–95) and their patronage of the Norfolk and Norwich Festival. However, their ostentatious musical parties puzzled liberal friends like the Gladstones, for whom something seemed off. Focusing on the Colman family and business, this paper brings together these disparate elements to consider the (liberal) musical marketing of Britain at the turn of the century.

After establishing the background to J. & J. Colman and to 'liberal' music-making ideals, the paper focuses on Colman's racist musical advertisement, *Songs of the Empire for Little Folks* (c. 1901–10). This 18-page songbook features an invocation to the monarch followed by musical scores illustrated with prominent settler-colonist scenes next to indigenous peoples, all of whom are eating Colman's Mustard, performing from the songbook, and presenting well-starched national dress. This exemplar reveals how the signposting of a faith-based nineteenth-century liberalism became so well established by 1900 that it could be used for marketing purposes. In the process, the monarch's patronage became associated not only with cleanliness, but also cultural cleansing.

Session 4a – Music and Religion 1

Thursday 29 June, 11:30–1:00

Christina Rossetti's poetry and song: Anglican plainchant, the Victorian hymn, and "English Musical Thought" – Esther Hu

As scholars have observed, since the publication of *Goblin Market and Other Poems* (1862), composers have been setting Victorian poet Christina Rossetti (1830–1894)'s poetry to music, providing a repertoire of over 1,000 musical settings of her work in a variety of genres including the art song, musical theatre, oratorio, hymn, and song cycle. In this presentation, I discuss how Victorian music, especially sacred song, influenced the production, transmission, and reception of Rossetti's poetry. In terms of artistic creation, I examine how song supplemented poetic meaning and how, conversely, song influenced the creation of Rossetti's devotional art. Research questions include: How did the aesthetic principles of the Ecclesiologists (of the Cambridge Camden Society), who were at the forefront of the revival of ancient hymnody from Latin and Greek and the use of Gregorian plainsong, influence Rossetti's devotional art in theme, sound, mood, and texture? How did the development of Victorian hymnody in the Anglican Church affect the musical interpretation and dissemination of Rossetti's poems as hymns and how would one characterize the aesthetics of Rossetti's poetry in relation to the Oxford Movement's theological, ecclesiological, and liturgical emphases? Lastly, how was Rossetti's poetry employed by English composers to assist children in forming "a native musical appreciation based on contemporary English musical thought"?

Elgar and Gregorian chant – Bennett Zon

A devout young Catholic writes deeply religious music; becomes increasingly disillusioned with Catholicism; gravitates towards Anglicanism, and then atheism; and possibly relents on his death bed. Musicologists are largely agreed on the downward spiritual trajectory. This paper offers an alternative reading, by exploring the way Elgar uses Gregorian chant.

As John Butt and John Allison show, Elgar quotes chant throughout his life – in early liturgical music; in *Gerontius*; *The Apostles*; *The Kingdom*; and the *Anglican New Cathedral Psalter*. But, strangely, chant-like features also appear in secular works – and strong resemblances between the D major single chant, *They are at Rest* (1909) and *The Spirit of England* (1915–1917); between the double chant for psalm 68, the Violin Concerto (1910) and Symphony No. 2 (1911). 'I Sing the Birth' (1928) is another good example, with austere modality, free rhythmical technique, stylistic economy and pentatonic melodic simplicity – characteristics found also in the Cello Concerto (1919), the Soliloquy for Oboe (1930) and sketches for the Third Symphony.

How should we interpret these similarities between explicit quotation and implicit reference – between the material substance and spiritual essence of chant? Are secular works like the cello and violin concertos actually works of sacred music, therefore? And what are the implications for understanding Elgar's religious mindset?

This paper claims that while Elgar's spiritual trajectory may have changed over time, his faith never did; indeed, his unwavering faith – symbolized in life-long devotion to chant – continued to shape his compositions right to the end of his working life.

Musical oratory? A prolegomenon to Elgar's *The Dream of Gerontius* – Joanna Bullivant

It has often been observed that *The Dream of Gerontius* is a curious object from a generic point of view. Contrary to the English enthusiasm for oratorios in the tradition of Handel and Mendelssohn, it has no real plot and is not based on scripture. Elgar also himself avoided the term oratorio, instead simply describing Cardinal Newman's poem 'set to music'. When August Jaeger came to catalogue Elgar's music, he allowed it to be added to the list of oratorios, but noted that 'there's no word invented yet to describe it'.

This paper explores a new context for Elgar's unusual contribution to the oratorio tradition, exploring musical and religious practices taking place at the Oratory of St Philip Neri in Birmingham immediately prior to the creation of the oratorio. From 1895, the choir of the Oratory tried to resurrect the spiritual exercises of 'musical oratory' or oratorio as they were conceived and practised by St Philip and his followers in sixteenth-century Rome. Examining these exercises reveals not only an intriguing context for Elgar's own idiosyncratic approach to oratorio, but also displays a remarkable cultural rapprochement with sacred musical traditions in England. Consequently, as well as reconsidering *Gerontius*, this paper explores the implications for a more thoroughgoing reassessment of Elgar's connections to English Catholicism.

Session 4b – Continental Europe in British Musical Life

Thursday 29 June, 11:30–1:00

The idea of "Musical Germany" in British intellectual culture, c. 1800–1860 – Oliver Puckey

Germany: the land of *Dichter* and *Denker*, the birthplace of the systematic philosophies of Kant, Lessing and Hegel, and the home of Luther. Such constructions served as reference points through which British thinkers made their tumultuous experiences of modernity legible. Although often overlooked by intellectual historians, music was integral to this multidisciplinary British engagement with Germany and was a key interface through which British ideas of Germany were constructed and debated.

If Goethe and Schiller represented Germany's *mind* to some nineteenth-century critics, Beethoven, Weber and Mendelssohn represented her *voice*. Notions of Germany as a 'land of ideas', owing to the philosophical output of her Enlightenment, comingled with equally novel notions of Germany as a 'land of music'. German composers crowded the repertoires of instrumental concerts; choral festivals and psalm books were saturated with the sacred works of Handel and Mendelssohn. Even in opera, the Italianate hegemony of the eighteenth-century came under fire from the romantic operas of Weber, Spohr and, later, of Wagner. The polycentric character of German musical life was positively contrasted with the London-centred musical economy of Britain.

Drawing on a cast of critics and performance events between 1800 and 1860, this paper advances the twofold argument that a) the idea of 'musical Germany' was a powerful cipher through which British critics came to construct broader ideas of Germany, and b) that analysing the development and oscillations of this idea can help scholars to more robustly qualify the continental influence exerted upon British music-making, and wider cultural identities.

Christian Wessel (1797–1885) and the publication of German song in London – Peter Horton

Among the many music publishers established in London in the early 19th century, a handful were set up by émigrés, among them the Bremen-born Christian Rudolph Wessel (1797–1885). He had come to London in an unknown capacity c. 1815, but it was only on the dissolution of his partnership in 1822 that the nature of his business – 'colourman' – was revealed, making his re-emergence five months later as a dealer in 'Foreign Music' with a particular emphasis on 'the Sale of Music of the best Masters of the German and Italian School' and enjoying the patronage of the Duchess of Kent, mother of the future Queen Victoria, all the more remarkable. His decision to concentrate on the sale and publication of German music clearly paid off, as the business flourished and in 1831 issued the first numbers of an almost-complete edition of the works of Chopin, for whose music he held the exclusive English rights. (For further information on the firm's early development see my article 'From Bremen to Soho: Christian Wessel and the publication of Spohr's music in England' (*Spohr Jahrbuch*, 2019, p. 129–47)).

The focus of this paper is on the firm's role in the introduction of the German Lied to England. After a brief survey of English publications of Lieder in the 1820s and 30s, it will concentrate on 'Wessel & Cos. Series of German Songs' which eventually ran to 665 numbers and included authorised English editions of Mendelssohn's Six Songs, op. 57, and several sets by Spohr. Of particular interest are two groups of songs, both with strong links to contemporary Germany: the first is *Twelve German Songs ... Selected from the "Album of Madlle. Nancy Wessel"*, 'dedicated to her Sister The Baroness von Oldershausen, Gebesee Castle, Thuringia'. Who were they, and how were they related to the publisher? The second group is a series of 22 contemporary German Songs, engraved at the company's expense and sold in aid of the German Hospital in Dalston. Two names stand out among the contributors, Robert and Clara Schumann, who each contributed one song, 'Was sol ich sagen?' and 'Mein Stern' respectively. It appears to have escaped notice that the version of the former published by Wessel in May 1848 differs from that issued as the third of the composer's *Lieder und Gesänge*, op. 27, in 1849. In conclusion the paper will touch upon Wessel's involvement with the long-forgotten 'Royal German and British Musical Society' and other British-German cultural connections.

Representations of Italy in early nineteenth-century and Victorian popular music – *Chloe Valenti*

As Axel Körner and Paulo M. Kühl have stated, since the eighteenth century 'music and especially opera have frequently been used as signifiers of national identity'. In Britain, the fashion for Italian music, performers and singing pedagogy was well established by the end of the eighteenth century. As British publishers produced more music from or about Italy in the following decades, how did the musical signifiers of Italian national identity change?

This paper examines British popular music from the early nineteenth century to the 1860s, exploring some of the significant shifts in how Italy and Italian music were presented by British composers and poets. While early nineteenth-century representations of the peninsula centred on arrangements of regional songs and dances in instrumental tutors, by the 1820s songs paying homage to a generalised vision of Italy began to appear, growing in popularity in the early Victorian period.

In the years immediately following the 1848 uprisings such musical visions of Italy take on a nostalgic tone in Britain, as the looming backdrop of political unrest threatened Italy's revered artistic glories. Risorgimento figureheads such as Giuseppe Mazzini and Vittorio Emanuele II initially appear in scores as dedicatees, but as Anglo-Italian relations become more entwined revolutionary figureheads such as Giuseppe Garibaldi become more direct subjects of musical inspiration. Yet even these responses to Italian individuals were often set against a backdrop of British and European national airs. Does this 'international nationalism' cement or challenge what is uniquely Italian, or even uniquely British?

Session 5a – Musical Communities and Publics

Thursday 29 June 2:00–4:00

Smoking concerts and the development of audiences for music in nineteenth century Britain – *Paul Britten*

Smoking concerts were very popular in Britain in the last decade of the nineteenth century and first decade of the twentieth. The combination of smoking, alcohol and music making, which is essentially what the smoking concert was about, happened before the nineteenth century and so the key question is why the combination in a smoking concert saw such a rapid rise in popularity in the 1880s.

The second half of the nineteenth century saw several changes such as an increased interest in amateur music making, greater leisure time and interest in clubs associated with leisure activities. These and other musical, social and economic factors which might have given rise to the rapid rise in popularity of the smoking concert will be examined.

The concerts were usually arranged by an organisation such as a cricket club and so entry was generally restricted to members of these organisations. Consequently, audiences were made up of middle- or upper-class males. The concerts tended to follow a standard format. The reasons for this quite restricted set of arrangements will be considered.

The music performed was quite varied with vocal in the majority but instrumental as well and usually solo performers but sometimes small groups of performers. The sizes of venues restricted the number of performers which could be used. Music could be serious or comic and there were sometimes readings and recitations as well. A more detailed impression of the music at these concerts together with example programmes will be given.

‘Music “for the unwashed”’: organ transcriptions and their use in civic organ recitals – *Mie Othelie Berg*

The relative scarcity of orchestral concerts in the later 19th and early 20th century meant that large parts of the British public did not have access to many of the great works of the developing classical canon. This was especially true for the working classes, who were further excluded.

One attempt to bridge this gap came with the organ transcription. These compositions would come to form a central part of the Victorian organ repertoire, and in particular the repertoire performed at town hall organ recitals nation-wide, aimed at working-class audiences, adapting some of the most popular classical works of the time, such as oratorio choruses and operatic overtures. As their popularity increased, organ transcriptions became a hot topic among musicians and music critics. Discussions often centred around the perceived artistic and educational merit of the music, with some insisting that the transcriptions were essentially worthless, being cheap

imitations of the source material and a distraction from 'pure' organ repertoire, while others saw them as an important tool in recreational reform, a way to introduce serious art music to a popular audience, and even as a democratising influence.

This paper will examine the use of organ transcriptions in communicating and transmitting classical repertoire, and the discourse surrounding them, illustrated through the work and thoughts of two of the major Town Hall organists of the 19th century – W. T. Best (Liverpool) and C. W. Perkins (Birmingham).

'Hurrah for our Volunteer Rifles': the Mid-Victorian irregular army as defender of society in songs of c.1860 – *Roger Hansford*

Studies of music and institutions in nineteenth-century Britain have expanded in recent decades, but academic coverage of Victorian military songs – in the period between the Napoleonic Wars and World War I – has been more sporadic. Taking the work of the music historians Helen Barlow, Trevor Herbert, and Lewis Winstock as a starting point, this paper investigates the music and words from British drawing-room ballads sung to mark the formation of the Volunteer Force (V.F.) in 1859. The proliferation of these works, composed to entertain soldiers and civilians alike, suggests a widespread British ambition for effective non-conscripted national defence, as much as it reflects perceived political threats from Europe by the early 1860s. The V.F. (becoming a nascent Territorial Army by 1908) remains a neglected aspect of nineteenth-century military history, despite its numerous portrayals in hitherto unexamined domestic vocal music.

Crucially, however, this organisation's songs encourage and embody key Victorian values: altruism and self-improvement, Christian temperance, heterosexual romance, social cohesion and imperialist monarchism. Since the government sought such qualities among recruits, these ballads are didactic as well as promotional. Marketed to garner support for military units that were distinguished from the regular Army by their voluntarism, this repertoire celebrates Victorian social ideals and reveals the principles Britons were urged to defend on home soil. Songs for the British V.F. therefore re-shape the image of soldiering gleaned from Victorian material culture; they present a patriotic national figure as important for his function in civil society as for his glorious sacrifice in battle.

Exploring the shanty's shift from land to sea to land during the long 19th century – *Mollie Carlyle*

Although shanties are inextricably linked to the sea as a form of maritime work song, in reality very few of the shanties that were sung aboard ship were composed with a maritime setting in mind. Shanty repertoire in the 19th century was comprised of a variety of songs from many musical influences and backgrounds: anything and everything could be a shanty provided that the melody was catchy and the song could be metrically adapted to fit the work purpose. In this regard, shanties were highly unusual in the realm of folk music, as land-based song from a variety of inspirations

took on a life outside of its original compositional setting or function in the diaspora space that was the sailing ship during the Great Age of Sail. During the latter half of the century, however, shanties once again returned to the land as their popularity at sea dwindled with the emergence of the steam ship – advances in nautical technology negating the need for maritime work song. This paper explores the shanty's shift from land to sea to land in Britain during the long 19th century, exploring how and why these land-based songs found themselves in a shipboard setting and how these songs were then translated back to a landsman audience when they once again returned to the shore.

Session 5b – Performers and Audiences in the Early 19th Century

Thursday 29 June, 2:00–4:00

Two performances of *The Fall of Babylon*: a case study in London concert marketing in 1843 – *Karl Traugott Goldbach*

Louis Spohr (1784–1859) conducted his oratorio *The Fall of Babylon* twice during his stay in London in 1843, in different contexts at the Hanover Square Rooms and at Exeter Hall. The listeners of the performance in the Hanover Square Rooms cheered the performance, but according to the *Britannia* critic it was the "smallest auditory we ever recollect to have seen assembled in this room". In contrast, the rather spontaneously organised performance in the much larger Exeter Hall was excellently attended.

The contemporary press already sought the reasons for the differing success of the two performances in the different performance venues, the different advertising, the different admission fees and the different distribution of tickets. These are all factors that are also discussed in today's common concept of the marketing mix. The marketing mix consists of the so-called four "p"s: product, price, place and promotion.

The product, Spohr's oratorio, was obviously the same in both performances. But on the other aspects, the performances differed considerably. As a performance venue for oratorios, Exeter Hall was clearly better established than the Hanover Square Rooms. At the same time, prices at Exeter Hall were considerably lower. Finally, not only was the publicity for the second performance more effective, it was also associated with a better image of the performance.

Maximising audience capacity at the 1828 Manchester musical festival – *Michael Busk*

In January 1828 nearly one-hundred of Manchester's merchants and businessmen met to consider a proposal that the town should mount a musical festival, the purpose of the festival being to raise funds for the town's infirmary. The previous function of that nature in Manchester, albeit without the charitable slant, had taken place in 1792, and whilst other towns had promoted musical festivals during the intervening years, Manchester, second only to London in population in England, had not. Having agreed unanimously to proceed with the proposal, a subcommittee was set up to raise a guarantee fund as an insurance against failure, and such was the confidence of subscribers that double the original target of £10,000 was raised in under three weeks.

With the assurance of such support locally, another subcommittee was charged with organising the required accommodation, not only for separate sacred and secular concerts, but also for a dress ball, and, the climax to the week's entertainment, a grand fancy-dress ball. This paper will show how, working with a local architect, a plan was produced by which the organisers of the festival were able to maximise audience size for the concerts, and to promote the largest fancy-dress ball ever seen in Europe.

Friedrich Kalkbrenner's London decade (1814–1824) as told in his letters – *Gigliola Di Grazia*

Friedrich Kalkbrenner (1785–1849) was one of the most celebrated pianists of his era: an admired performer and composer, an authoritative pedagogue, and an active partner of the Pleyel piano factory. Despite his reputation and legacy, relatively little literature is currently available – that which does exist focusing mainly on his late-Parisian years (1824–1849). But it was above all in London that Kalkbrenner developed and cultivated most of the virtuosic skills that would mark his career in the years to follow. Knowledge about this ten year sojourn (1814–1824) has not been critically reviewed for a long time due to the lack of new sources. Recently, a largely unedited body of correspondence has come to light, providing new evidence relating to this period. The letters reflect – among others – strategies for navigating the music publishing market, his extremely active performing life, and the care in arranging concert programmes. Two letters addressed to Ignaz Moscheles also deliver insight into their close friendship and shared activities, with the pianists taking over the sale of each other's compositions, or commenting on the most peculiar season debuts at the Philharmonic Society: "Kiesewetter played at the Phil. like a demon, all the violins had their faces extended by an inch the next day" (26.04.1824, US-NYp). This paper will also focus on the letters dealing with the most influential London, French and German piano builders, as during this period, Kalkbrenner cultivated an extensive knowledge of the international piano construction business. Shortly after moving back to Paris, he would exploit those skills when becoming a Pleyel associate.

Bridgetower's Beethoven advocacy – *Sarah Waltz*

The short-lived but intense connection between the black violinist George Bridgetower and Beethoven would seem to have left its legacy only in the sonata that Beethoven composed for Bridgetower, the Op. 47 Sonata for Violin and Piano, commonly called "Kreutzer." Yet though their friendship ended abruptly, Bridgetower's 1802–3 trip to Dresden and Vienna was the beginning of a relationship with Beethoven's music. There is indeed reason to think that upon his return to England Bridgetower personally furthered the spread of Beethoven's music, which according to Temperley was almost completely unknown there before 1801, and was clearly unknown to Bridgetower before his trip. This paper will discuss Bridgetower's concerts involving Beethoven's music, including his 1805 benefit and the inaugural Philharmonic Society concerts (1813), as well as performers in Bridgetower's circles who also became Beethoven advocates. For example, the Bridgetower scrapbook in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek contains concert-related correspondence with George Smart and Thomas Alsager, founder of the Queen Square Select Society (1843) and its successor, the Beethoven Quartet Society (1845). Bridgetower's evident participation in the Select Society, however, did not extend to the Beethoven Quartet Society, and the same questions that accompany Bridgetower's gradual disappearance from public view attend his apparent withdrawal from Beethoven advocacy. We may never know why Beethoven and Bridgetower fell out, whether Bridgetower ever again played the piece that Beethoven wrote for him, or why Bridgetower's career faded, but other gaps – such as Bridgetower's concert repertory, perhaps even his own pieces – may still be filled.

Keynote 2: “A temple of glorious music making”: The late Victorian and Edwardian musical salon – Sophie Fuller

Thursday 29 June, 4:00–5:00

In late 19th- and early 20th-century Britain the musical salon was an important, vibrant and varied performance space, although one less investigated than those in continental Europe or the United States.

In this talk, I will look at some of these private events and explore some key questions. The events range from the kind of gathering depicted in James Tissot’s painting *‘Hush!’* (1875) through Frankie Schuster’s musical parties to the musical evenings remembered in Muriel Draper’s memoir *Music at Midnight* (1929). My questions include: What exactly do we mean by private? How do we know about these events? Who took part in these kinds of music making? Who was listening? What music was heard?

It has become clear to me that these events were spaces for and welcoming of outsiders and others. Hosts, performers and audiences were often those set apart from the musical establishment – although there was substantial and intriguing overlap.

I am also fascinated by recreating and reimagining these salons. Pre-lockdown, with Phyllis Weliver and our *Sounding the Salon* digital project, we reconstructed a salon held by Mary Gladstone in 1873. More recently, inspired by the salons of Schubert, Florence Price and Frankie Schuster, one of my students curated a memorable event, ‘Queering the Schubertiade’. This evening vividly demonstrated just how valuable and powerful gathering together to talk, play, sing and listen to music can be for everyone, and especially for those situated beyond the mainstream.

Session 6a – Analysis and Musical Materials

Friday 30 June, 9:30–11:00

The Mazurkas of Francis Edward Bache – *Elizabeth French*

The Birmingham-born composer-pianist Francis Edward Bache (1833–1858) has been a marginal figure in discussions of music in 19th-Century Britain, despite having been described by Henry Chorley in 1852 as ‘the English composer for whom we have so long been waiting’ and having been held in high regard by turn-of-the-century writers such as John A. Fuller-Maitland and John A. Langford.

This paper focuses on one particularly fascinating group of works: Bache's *Four Mazurkas*, published first by Kistner in Leipzig in 1855. After a brief historical overview of the genre that acknowledges Chopin's familiar role in the Mazurka's development, I will explore some of Bache's distinctive compositional strategies. Not only will this identify alternative Mazurka models, but Bache's playful approach to genre (a feature of several of his other piano works) will be highlighted, suggesting why a reassessment of his works is long overdue.

Rediscovering materials and assessing the early British operas of Julius Benedict – *Philip Carli*

German-born Julius Benedict (1804–1885) was a crucially important figure in British musical life from his arrival in 1835 to just before his death. Famous as Weber's only pupil and assistant, he had extensive Continental experience before establishing himself in Britain as a fantastically busy musician: conductor at Drury Lane, the Norwich Festivals, the Monday “Pops”, the Liverpool Philharmonic, pianist, accompanist, teacher, and prolific composer in all forms, including his opera *The Lily of Killarney*, a staple of English-language opera for 70 years.

Surprisingly little has appeared about Benedict in current musicology. His early operatic activity is overlooked because his first three English operas – *The Gipsy's Warning* (1838), *The Brides of Venice* (1844), *The Crusaders* (1846) – were less successful in their original runs than those of Balfe or Wallace, rarely revived on British stages, and holograph or copied full scores and performance parts had vanished. However, I have found materials in German archival holdings. Benedict promoted his operas in Germany in whatever “copious spare time” he allowed himself to travel, and his operas became the most popular serious British operas on the Continent during the 19th century. To introduce these early works by an important British composer who has been hiding in plain sight for years, I will speak about these scores' provenance, what materials exist, my research towards preparing performing scores for my further biographical research, and some of Benedict's stylistic traits that made them more appealing in the land of his birth rather than that of his career.

York Bowen – father of the modern viola – *Stacy Jarvis*

The paper discusses the features of the sonatas for viola and piano written from 1898 to 1914 by York Bowen. In the wake of a new musical Renaissance, an interesting cultural landscape emerged, fertile ground for the flowering of many musical genres, among which was the sonata for viola and piano. They are examples of late romantic English music of the early 20th century and have an artistic flora. The author's task is an unlikely study of the materials of alt literature, on which York Bowen's results depend. The author focuses on Bowen's dramaturgy, figurative content, and cyclic form, as well as a panorama of the early 20th century cultural life. The analysis allows us to resolve the idea of the development of this genre in the history of English musical art. On the examples of the performance of violists Lionel Tertis and Yuri Bashmet, the features of interpretations of rights written for the viola repertoire are considered. The sonata is an interesting phenomenon associated with the instrument's evolution and change in public perception. The purpose of this study is a general and comprehensive analysis of a musical score, an understanding of its characteristics. The author argues that virtuoso musicians who established the viola as a concert instrument influenced the development of the viola art. New repertoire features are recognised by the activities of violists: the emergence of the viola's unique voice, the instrument's assertion as a bright concert instrument, the expansion of the viola's possibilities, and the performer's intention to co-author.

Session 6b – Music in Higher Education

Friday 30 June, 9:30–11:00

“Let Her Hasten to Girton that Standeth on High”: women musicking at Cambridge University, 1869–1893 – *Kathleen McGowan*

The women students at Girton and Newnham colleges built active musical communities early on in their presence at Cambridge University. They printed concert programs, reviews of local musical events, notices of prizewinning student compositions, library acquisitions of music, and rehearsal records for each term in their respective college magazines. Often they adapted whatever materials and resources were available to them. For example, in one early performance of Aristophanes’ *The Birds*, the second-years of the Girton Classics Club appropriated a favourite tune by Mendelssohn for the final chorus, complete with newly-translated Greek text.

This paper draws on my archival research in the collections at Girton College, Newnham College, and the University Archives of Cambridge University. It sheds light for Victorianists and musicologists on music in intellectual life at both Girton and Newnham, and later in the Cambridge University Music Society. It also takes its bearings from scholarship by Rita McWilliams-Tullberg (1998), Jane Robinson (2009), Rosemary Golding (2013), Ian Maxwell (2011), and David C.H. Wright (2020) to illustrate how these women created communities of inventive and interdisciplinary “musicking” (with reference to Christopher Small, 1998) and contributed to the greater musical life of both Cambridge and the surrounding area. It suggests that our understanding of late-Victorian women’s musicking is incomplete, and that these individuals were exercising their creative powers to establish musical spaces where they were wanted and welcome at a time when the university refused to admit them as degree-earning students.

The desire for a music college in Manchester: an exploration of the background to the establishment of the Royal Manchester College of Music (RMCM) – *Anna Wright*

Most histories of the foundation of the RMCM in the 1890s begin with the reports of a town meeting held on 3 December 1891 to discuss a proposal from Sir Charles Hallé to secure the future of his concerts, build a new concert hall and establish a school of music in the city. Writing a few years later about the RMCM Hallé refers to a ‘rumble of dissatisfaction [in the area] that provision for its [music’s] cultivation was so inadequate’ and in his silver jubilee history the College’s first Registrar, Stanley Withers, describes a growing local feeling that ‘some organised effort must be made in the interests of higher musical education...’, but neither gave any proof of this growing public desire for a college of music.

In the course of my research I have found evidence from the 1880s which corroborates the comments made by Hallé and Withers. In this paper, drawing on original archival material from various Manchester institutions, contemporary newspapers and other published sources, I will explore the evidence to construct a timeline and demonstrate that Hallé’s scheme was the result of several years of conversations, discussions and ‘campaigning’ between and by several influential ‘Manchester men’.

Session 7a – Music and Religion 2

Friday 30 June, 11:30–1:00

Singing for the Million? Adopting and adapting music teaching practices for Jewish school pupils in Victorian England – *Danielle Padley*

The ambitious title of German-born music teacher Joseph Mainzer's 1841 publication 'Singing for the Million' provides a broad platform from which to examine the exact intentions and methods of Mainzer, his contemporaries, and their successors, who were attempting to educate the Victorian British population in the art of singing and music. Mainzer's 'Practical Course of Musical Instruction' complemented his remarkably popular singing classes, first given in London and then nationally having previously had success abroad. Further classes and methods followed as other, sometimes rival instructors sought the best means of imparting musical knowledge to the working classes, pupils in elementary schools, and teachers.

My paper addresses the extent to which this phenomenon of mid-century Victorian musical culture truly represented, or welcomed the participation of, the hypothetical 'million' of Mainzer's manual – the population at large, 'of all ages, capacities, and conditions' – in light of the music provision available, or delivered, to Jewish school pupils. In a Victorian England surrounded by music as a pastime, virtue, religious necessity, and social and political signifier, music education was taken seriously by those responsible for cultivating future generations of Jewish adults and securing their dual place in Jewish and English society. I consider the ways in which music teaching was deployed as a means of inclusion or exclusion, within and outside the Jewish community, and to what ends. Through specific cases and collective studies, I will demonstrate how 'Singing for the Million' was not quite as simple a goal for Victorian England as Mainzer anticipated.

Theological views of the English Bach Revival – *Ruth Eldredge Thomas*

Over the nineteenth century, English composers and critics constructed a narrative about, and market for, J.S. Bach as an essentially English musician, both as a musician and as a pillar of Victorian values. This power structure had rhetorical, economic, aesthetic, and even physical manifestations that still resonate in today's cultural assumptions and musical tastes, encased as they are in colonialist and ethnocentric perspectives on history, culture, and musical taste. The relative lack of research on the intellectual and ideological origins of the English Bach Revival has contributed, if only by omission, to the presumption that Bach's place in English society is a natural extension of his universal appeal.

My paper will discuss the theological and aesthetic arguments of the Bach Movement. I will analyze the theological language of Samuel Wesley, William Crotch, and Frederick Ouseley as they argued for Bach's music as a characteristic element of English theological and ethnic identity. I will specifically make a theological analysis of the aesthetic concept of the sublime, and its alignment with cultural preoccupation with fugue. Eventually, eagerness for Bach's music to be inherited by English aesthetics led

to Bach's adoption into English nativist musical movements, a realm in which he was given English historical and racial precedence, a distinction beyond the more generalized trappings of Victorian Germanophilia and heretofore only reached by Handel.

"The First Nowell" but not the first children's carol: exploring the history of Christmas theology through a century of children's hymnody, 1800-1900 - *Alisa Clapp-Itnyre*

Today, Christmas can clearly be recognized as a child-centred holiday, a precedent begun with the Victorian Christmas tradition popularized by Dickens, where children preside over the celebration and sing its carols to appreciative adults. What may be surprising to realize, therefore, is that the Christmas-carol genre has not ever been held exclusively in the domain of children. Related to a broader book-project I have conducted on children's hymnody of the nineteenth-century, I would like to consider the rich, if uneven, history of the "child's Christmas carol" (a hymn focused on Christ's birth), placing it within the history of Victorian religious beliefs about Christmas theology, and about the child. I would point to the adult-child fluidity found in children's hymn books and the greater theological understanding expected of hymn-singing children found in their Christmas carols. Christ may have been a child like them, but hymn-writers and editors quickly moved children beyond the innocent scenes of mangers and sheep to the complex messages of the Incarnation and Salvation especially at the end of the century. This paper will explore the Christmas carol tradition for children, its music and its theology, using pre-recorded carols sung by children, as I argue children's hymnody as an important theological context for exploration and differentiate that tradition from the saccharine and sentimental Victorian Christmas of our past and present.

Session 7b – Performance Contexts

Friday 30 June, 11:30–1:00

Beside the seaside: premiering Elgar at the ‘Albert Hall of the North’ – Deborah Mawer

As part of a project researching the varied musical life of Morecambe’s Winter Gardens across 125 years, this paper explores Elgar’s interaction with the venue before the First World War. Opened in 1897 as the Victoria Pavilion, this grand building witnessed the premieres of four of Elgar’s part-songs at the competitive Morecambe Musical Festival during 1903–9. Elgar himself appeared as conductor, including of his large-scale cantata *King Olaf*. Building on Hodgkins’s valuable foundation *Somewhere Further North* (2004) and more recent interest, as expressed in Saylor and Scheer, *The Sea in the British Musical Imagination* (2015), the presentation pursues cultural-geographic themes of ‘northern-ness’ and seascape, in tandem with detailed readings of two of these songs.

Firstly, in the wake of ‘My Love Dwelt in a Northern Land’ and *Sea Pictures* (1899), Elgar composed the demanding test piece for 1903, ‘Weary Wind of the West’, set to verses by the Manx poet, T. E. Brown. While Kennedy rightly noted a ‘suggestion of “Nimrod” in its main theme’ (*Complete Choral Songs*, 1987), accessible contextual analysis can uncover a richer association of music, text(s), place(s). Secondly, ‘There is Sweet Music’ well demonstrates the exceptional standards of amateur choirs found in northern England around 1909. Beyond radical bitonal combinations and remote harmonic regions sounded at quietest dynamics, this eight-part song exhibits surprising metrical flexibility.

These vignettes showcase a most auspicious pre-war episode in the life of a Lancashire seaside institution that would later struggle for survival on the ‘Heritage at Risk’ register of buildings.

The electric concert: power and illumination in late nineteenth-century London – Tamsin Alexander

The introduction of new lighting technologies in nineteenth-century London transformed the way people experienced music. First with gas jets and eventually with the incandescent electric lightbulb, light sources of varying brilliance, safety and potential for remote control altered the appearance of performers and décor; the heat, smell and air quality of venues; and the sense of sound itself. For a long time, the story of music in the nineteenth century has focused on the divorce of musical sound from its physical and visual sources: on the rise of instrumental music as an artform prized for its transcendental qualities; on new behaviours of silent, closed-eye listening; on the darkening of the auditorium and concealment of the orchestra in the pit. To be sure, such phenomena might be explained in part as a retreat from modernity’s increasing brightness. But rather than concentrating on the escape from the visual, this paper will reveal that the spectacle and comfort rendered possible by new lighting technologies were often celebrated in musical life.

My focus is London's electrified venues of the 1880s and 1890s. I explore the bright spaces of Covent Garden's promenade concerts and the Crystal Palace, and set these against experiments in darkened listening. Through examining these events and the discourse surrounding them, I suggest that far from being the ideal, darkened listening was often distrusted. Harnessing light through the newest technologies of electric and glass, meanwhile, signified modernity and colonial power. The sensory improvements brought about by these lighting technologies, what is more, enabled new levels of public comfort that were far more likely to foster attentive listening than sonic isolation.

Dan Godfrey and the Bournemouth Municipal Orchestra as champions of women composers: an assessment and progress report – *Lewis Foreman*

Dan Godfrey was appointed by the Bournemouth Corporation in 1893 to found and direct a band for the Winter Gardens, Bournemouth, which he quick developed into the Bournemouth Municipal Orchestra which he directed until retirement in 1934. A survey of the programmes of all his concerts, held at Bournemouth Public Libraries, reveals that, uniquely in the UK at the time, Godfrey programmed a variety of British women composers, in the period between 1893 and 1913 giving 24 performances of orchestral works by eight composers. Later Belgian refugees included Juliet Folville whose piano concerto was heard several times. Subsequently Godfrey scheduled another 97 performances by a growing number of women composers, a tradition which was not maintained by his successors.

Working from his complete listing of the composers and works performed at Bournemouth the speaker will consider their reception, review the survival of the music today and the extent of revivals in concert and on disc.

