

## **Abstracts**

### **Seeing Hum, Hearing Community: Diasporic Music-Making in Working-Class Liverpool Nadine Attewell**

At the heart of this paper is a single black-and-white photograph. Taken in Liverpool sometime during the 1930s or '40s, the photograph features three pre-adolescent boys making music together. The two boys closest to the camera appear to be of Chinese descent. On the right, a boy sits astride what looks like a large, overturned washtub; he is blowing on a bugle. Facing him, on the left, is a boy holding a ukulele, likewise seated on an overturned washtub. Between them sits a third child of African descent, who beats on the large washtub as if it were a drum. The postures and facial expressions of all three children communicate gleeful delight. Liverpool continues to be remembered for the multiracial population that made it a notorious site of observation and intervention during the first half of the twentieth century, when laboring migrants from Asia, as well as the Indian sub-continent, the Caribbean, the Pacific, and northern and western Africa, mixed with each other as well as white working-class people in the city's impoverished dockside neighborhoods. For the most part, however, Liverpoolian histories of Chinese settlement have been delinked from the city's storied history of Black settlement, a forgetting that makes this photograph all the more striking.

In this presentation, then, I do three things. I attend to the complex of looks, postures, and gestures through which the photographs Black and Asian child subjects negotiate their proximity with one another, focusing on their creative repurposing of disciplinary and household objects (the bugle and washtubs) as part of an improvisatory practice of togetherness. I also investigate the ukulele's complex history as an instrument, which maps onto transoceanic economics of movement, labor, and subaltern exchange, but also encompasses figures such as the British entertainer George Formby, whose "Chinese Laundry Blues" (the first in a series featuring a caricatured Chinese laundryman) appeared in 1932. Finally, drawing on Tina Campt's thinking about photography as a vibrational and even musical medium of representation, I reflect on the possibilities and limitations of (listening to) still photographs as a way into working-class histories of interracial music-making.

### **The Forgotten Army and the "Unfortunate Reminder": Dame Vera at the Final Burma Star Reunion Christina Baade**

In November 2017, the centenarian Dame Vera Lynn and her daughter, Virginia Lewis-Jones, published *Keep Smiling Through: My Wartime Story*, which focused on "her adventures entertaining the troops in far-flung Burma." Lynn's arduous four-month trip in 1944 to entertain the Forgotten Army (i.e., the British Fourteenth Army, which fought in the Burma Campaign) helped forge a close bond between singer and troops. After World War II, the bond manifested most potently in Lynn's performances at forty-eight Burma Star Reunions, which were held yearly at London's Albert Hall. As Earl

Mountbatten, who had directed operations in Burma, observed, “When you come on stage at the Albert Hall, thousands lift the roof.”

This paper takes as its point of departure Dame Vera’s performance at the Final Burma Star Reunion in August 1995. Attended by “the Duke of Edinburgh and other dignitaries,” the 1995 reunion was also Dame Vera’s last public (and publicly broadcast) performance as a featured vocalist. Drawing on Torgovnick’s concept of the “war complex,” in which difficult events are elided in cultural memory, this paper asks what it meant for British memory of World War II, which centers around the European theatre and the home front, to remember the Forgotten Army in a yearly reunion concert at Albert Hall.

Given her fame as a singer, and, increasingly, a living icon of Second World War memory, Lynn’s commitment to Burma Campaign veterans advanced their public recognition. But this work also occurred during the messy transition from Empire to Commonwealth. Not only had the Burma Campaign grown out of British colonialism, but Burma itself became “an unfortunate reminder” (Ashton 2001) of Britain’s botched disengagement from its former colony, resulting in Burma leaving the Commonwealth in 1948. Colonial rule and wartime destruction meant that “the British handed back to the Burmese a broken country” (Brown 2009); these factors, compounded by the British government’s refusal of aid after independence, contributed to the country’s ongoing economic and political instability. This paper thus examines the imperial legacies—and politics of remembering and forgetting—that bound Lynn’s Albert Hall performances to those in “far-flung Burma,” now called Myanmar.

### **Jacobite Scotswomen Singing of War** **Rachel M. Bani**

In the summer of 1745, the exiled Charles Edward Stuart sailed to Scotland and mustered an army of Jacobites in the hopes of marching south and restoring the House of Stuart to the British throne. Women were particularly important supporters of the Jacobite Cause, providing money, hospitality, and military support, and even acting as spies. Hundreds of women also suffered the consequences of Stuart’s defeat, facing imprisonment, persecution, murder, and forced relocation to the colonies. Despite their undeniable contributions, very little has been written about the lives and experiences of women who not only lived through, but took an active role in the rebellion itself. In an effort to add to the body of female-centric Jacobite scholarship, this project focuses in on the political and personal agency exerted by female Jacobite songwriters, and analyzes the emotional content of their work over the course of the 1745 Rising.

This paper will examine three Jacobite songs, each composed by a woman during a temporally and emotionally distinct portion of the Jacobite campaign. These waves of Jacobite women’s composition can best be categorized into periods of “political aggression” prior to the Battle of Culloden, “personal loss” after the Jacobite army’s 1746 defeat, and a modified form of “political aggression” represented through increasing romanticization of the Jacobite Cause in the decades following the Rising. I posit that Jacobite song composed by women can be examined through distinct waves of emotionality which, at the time of their composition, reflected the concurrent political state of the Jacobite campaign.

The cyclical nature of these compositional periods is analyzed not only to track musical development, but as a way to more deeply understand Jacobite women's assertion of political agency, the expansion of eighteenth-century Scotswomen's social spheres, and to bring light to their largely understudied wartime experiences. This paper will speak to how examining the songs of Jacobite women can help open our eyes to the social realities that women faced during wartime, as well as the emotional ramifications they endured as a result of their exertions of political agency.

**William Walton: An Art Historical Reading**  
**Tim Barringer**

This argues that visuality offers a key analytic insight into the works of William Walton. Walton occupied a milieu rich in artistic and art-historical possibilities, from Christ Church Oxford, through years among artists in the company of the Sitwells, to the neo-Romantic wartime London of the 1940s, and into his later years in Ischia. Many of his works, such as the concert overtures *Portsmouth Point* and *Scapino*, owe their origins to encounters with works of art; in early performances, *Façade* was, arguably, a painting with music behind it. Walton's achievements as a composer of film music and ceremonial scores for spectacular events are acknowledged even by his detractors. What analytic method will allow us to explore the relationship between image and score, between the visual and the aural, and to come to a new understanding of Walton's oscillations between revolution and reaction?

**Pushing the Victorian Envelope: Women and the Violin in the  
Visual and Literary Imaginings of George Du Maurier**  
**Christina Bashford**

In the first wave of emergent feminism in late nineteenth-century Britain, groups of women began to advocate for social change, pushing with some success for greater rights and independence in education, employment, marriage, and suffrage. Music factored into this dynamic climate, particularly through the impact of a "craze for learning the fiddle" that led thousands of middle-class young women to acquire the skills for playing the violin. Fueling the craze were the growth of the market for affordable instruments and lessons, and the dissolving of social taboos that had limited string-playing to men. Before long, Conservatoire-trained women were seeking paid opportunities as violin players and teachers, a turn of events that created tensions in a male-controlled profession.

Relatedly, because the violin had long been gendered "female," with implicit sexual overtones emanating from its shape, fragility, and compass, the instrument lent itself to being used symbolically in commentary that alluded to the goals of "new women," be they trained violinists, or other women aiming at professional recognition, financial autonomy, and social or sexual independence. Many responses were reactionary, asserting women's inferiority as string players or the primacy of women's domestic function. Some were anxious, hinting, as Paula Gillett has argued, at the sexual and social dangers that new women violinists presented to the patriarchy. A small

number, however, were progressive—as I suggest is the case in some of the work of George Du Maurier.

Celebrated for his *Punch* cartoons and bestselling novel *Trilby* (1894), Du Maurier is known to have loved opera and singing. But he also appears to have been cognizant of the shifting sands in the violin world and society at large. Focusing on his “Fair Sex-tett” cartoon (1875) and an undiscussed passage in *Trilby*—sources that have never been placed in dialog— this paper proposes that Du Maurier used his visual and literary creativity to comment subtly and supportively on the new woman. It further suggests that he drew on the idea of the violin and the female violinist to question existing sexual, social, and cultural boundaries, thus connecting music to broader feminist causes, while reaching a wide audience.

**Voice, Gender, (Dis)ability, and the Performance of Music in Shakespeare’s  
*Hamlet, Otello, Richard II, and Twelfth Night*  
Samantha Bassler**

Leslie Dunn argues that the musical discourse and dramaturgy surrounding Ophelia’s mad scenes in *Hamlet* perform her mental state to the audience. The mad songs are constructed as disruptive, invasive, and in opposition to social conventions. Ophelia’s character embodies madness, and through her performance portrays early modern madness as particularly gendered feminine and musical. Further research in literary works, medical treatises, and philosophical works on madness, magic, melancholy, the mind-body connection, and other early modern disabilities, reveal that men could also be feminized through an ailment and thereby depict madness, or could be afflicted with the related ailment of ‘melancholia’. A unifying theme between seemingly disparate topics, such as magic and medicine, is the discussion of music, sound, and voice, which could possibly cure or worsen afflictions of the body and mind. Both afflictions, madness and melancholy, are often accompanied by and performed through musical metaphor, and portrayed as non-normative when compared to the idealized minds and idealized bodies in early-modern English society. It is also the case that melancholia is gendered, most often as male and connected to the affliction of lovesickness. Similarly, women with an ailment might display a combination of feminine and masculine traits, using music as a catalyst to mediate between them. This duality of disability and gender appears in men and women who are unbalanced in their bodily humors, and yet demonstrate a sensitivity to the mind-body connection, and of course to music. In this paper, I investigate instances of feminine and masculine voice and disability in Shakespeare’s characters, as communicated through music and song, within the plays *Hamlet, Othello, Richard II, and Twelfth Night*. I examine how Shakespeare deconstructs music and disability in these works, and also connects disability to other early-modern maladies and beliefs related to music, such as melancholy and lovesickness, as evidenced in treatises by Heinrich Agrippa, Robert Burton, Timothy Bright, and other thinkers and writers influential in the period. The results demonstrate how plays by Shakespeare and his contemporaries perform conceptions of disability, gender, voice, and the power of music to both cure or complicate ailments in early modern England.

## ***Music Untangled: Judith Weir's Endless Melodies*** **David Beard**

Raised in England but with close ties to her family north of the border, the current Master of the Queen's Music, Judith Weir, is celebrated for her clarity and economy of expression – a parsimony often glibly attributed to her Scottish provenance and sex. In 2003 she highlighted her desire to optimize a single melodic idea, remarking 'if you have a good melody, what comes out of it is the whole piece'. Drawing on unpublished material from Weir's student days, her published pieces, and sketches for more recent works, I trace the evolution of Weir's concept of melody and its cross-border synthesis of English post-war modernism and Scottish folk music.

Weir's preoccupation with melody originates from her engagement with modernist and avant-garde music in the 1970s. Initially advised to develop a greater sense of line by her Cambridge tutor Robin Holloway, she was consequently inspired by the linear thread in Harrison Birtwistle's *The Triumph of Time* (1972) and drawn to the flow of Michael Finnissy's lyrical, 'melodic' lines. In the 1980s, her studies of Scottish folk melody, especially the pibroch, led to a more radical intensification of thematic material combined with an improvisatory feel, exemplified in her *Sketches for a Bagpiper's Album* (1984), and her melodies further evolved in the 1990s through encounters with Schubert and Wagner's 'endless' melodies.

These developments culminated in a series of expansive works – *Forest* (1995), *The Welcome Arrival of Rain* (2001), *Winter Song* (2006), *I Give You the End of a Golden String* (2011–13) and *Blue-Green Hill* (2013) – which demonstrate a compelling synthesis of Weir's approaches. In these pieces, I argue, Weir's melodies transcend national borders by highlighting environmental and ecological themes, symbolized by forms of organic growth in which multiple lines branch out from a source melody. Drawing on recent work on Romantic melody (Benedict Taylor 2015, David Trippett 2013), I further argue that these works engage in a critical dialogue with established conventions, with melody cultivated as an open, shared and more democratic form of cyclic renewal, rather than a narrowly individualistic, subjective teleology.

## ***Delius and Symphonic Form: A Study of his Poem of Life and Love*** **David Byrne**

Frederick Delius never wrote a work entitled "symphony." Based on comments recorded by Eric Fenby and others, some writers concluded that Delius was temperamentally opposed to the genres and forms of the Austro-German tradition; for example, Arthur Hutchings stated that "the principles of classical structure are completely foreign to Delius' nature." In truth, many of Delius' larger works demonstrably engage with the sonata principle, in particular between 1914 and 1923, when he completed three concertos and four chamber works, plus two major orchestral tone poems. In various ways, many of those works merge multiple movements from the sonata cycle into a one-movement sonata framework, creating what Steven vande Moortele has recently termed "two-dimensional sonata form." This paper will examine the unpublished first version (1918) of Delius' *Poem of Life and Love*, a large-scale work that displays the structure and developmental processes of a one-movement symphony. Described in several sources as "incomplete" and "lost," the 1918 manuscript of the

*Poem* is in fact a complete score of 419 measures, listed in 1919 as ready for publication. However, around 1920 Delius marked 97 bars for revision or deletion; those revisions were delayed until 1924, when he created a new version of 359 bars. Finally, in 1930 Delius and Eric Fenby used some of the *Poem*'s slower music in *A Song of Summer*, an idyll of only 155 measures that eliminates most traces of sonata structure.

Working from Delius' manuscripts, I have reconstructed the original version of the *Poem*. I demonstrate that the 1918 score presents a balanced structure, one that combines the processes of sonata form with the movements of a symphonic cycle. In contrast, the 1924 version deletes several key elements that define a successful two-part exposition, as defined by Hepokoski and Darcy; the resulting piece is formally unbalanced, lacking the sense of "flow" that Delius sought to achieve. Though the composer later deleted some of the 1918 score's developmental passages, I propose that they were necessary to ensure formal coherence. The original *Poem* presents Delius' most thorough engagement with the symphonic tradition, and is thus worthy of study and revival.

### **"Sound and Chaste": Defining Englishness in the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* (1818-1830)**

**Lidia Chang**

The primary goal of the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* was distinguishing what was "genuinely English" from what was not, and in doing so, developing a unified definition of English national taste and style. Modeled after the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, the *QMMR* was the first English periodical devoted exclusively to writings about music, and as such provided a much-needed forum for amateurs and professionals alike to exchange on a wide range of musical topics. From articles on music theory, acoustics, music history, pedagogy, performance practice, to biographical sketches of notable composers and performers, and reviews of local concerts and recently published sheet music, the periodical was overwhelmingly broad in scope. Despite this astonishing variety of subject matter, the *QMMR* as a whole aimed to justify England's position as an important player within the wider European music scene and defend England against the repeated accusations that the English lacked native musical talent.

In this paper, I will outline my findings from a systematic study of the *QMMR*, in which I focused particular attention on the recurring themes of "manliness" and "chastity" as desirable musical qualities and as inherently English characteristics, setting them apart from the "effeminate" and "frivolous" Italians and French (and at times even the Germans). By examining the frequency of these key words and the context in which they appear across the full run of the periodical I will demonstrate that the contributors to the *QMMR* were intent on constructing a distinctly gendered musical aesthetic. Indeed, I will argue that notions of traditional masculinity and a pervasive fear of effeminacy were at the heart of the English musical values promoted in the *QMMR*, and moreover that these values may suggest that the English saw themselves as morally (if not musically) superior to their continental rivals.

**“[P]ushed against us from the Floridas, TO MAKE US MILD” (Lewis, BLAST, 1914):  
British Identity and Internationalism in Music and Dancing at The Cave of the  
Golden Calf (London, 1912–14)  
Rachel Cowgill**

Widely acknowledged as London’s “first night-club,” Frida Strindberg’s The Cave of the Golden Calf was a subterranean experimental cabaret-club bringing together theatre, opera, dance, and song from across the world under a strident internationalist and Bohemian manifesto. Saturated with artwork by Lewis, Epstein, Gore, and Gill, The Cave also became a testing ground in the struggle for a distinctively British (masculinist) avant-garde expression – one holding its own against futurist and primitivist strains from Europe, but rejecting Victorian conservatism and bulwarked against the emasculating tide of American culture. The Cave’s significance to literary and visual arts has been explored; but this paper investigates the role, politics, and significance of performance within this unique prewar environment.

**A Tale of Two Cities: Music, Dance and Social Life in Montréal and York  
in the late Eighteenth Century  
Dorothy de Val**

The last decade of the eighteenth century was a vital one in Upper and Lower Canada, established as English- and French-speaking regions respectively in 1791. Unlike America to the south, the population of Upper Canada remained loyal to Britain, reflected in the naming of York as its capital city in 1793 by Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe, honoring the second son of George III. In Lower Canada, Montréal was already a center of the fur trade, dominated by English merchants such as the Frobisher brothers, who with Simon McTavish helped establish the North West Company.

While the British influence on Canada’s history was inevitable and is well documented, less is known about music and dance of this period. Sources such as the diaries of Elizabeth Simcoe, the English wife of the Lieutenant Governor, and her contemporaries Elizabeth Russell and Hannah Jarvis, mention regular balls at York, highly public events and an important part of the social scene. Longways country dances were probably danced, as in Britain, but little is said about them or their music, though paintings by George Heriot provide some clues about the performers. Mrs Simcoe mentions two dances by name: “Money Musk” and “La Jupon Rouge.” Both popular airs, the former appears in the commonplace book of Rachel Frobisher (1780-1801), daughter of the merchant Joseph Frobisher, whose home the Simcoes visited in 1794. Now held at the Hôpital Général de Québec and begun in April 1793 under the direction of a “Mr M,” possibly Guillaume Mechtler, a Belgian musician resident in Montreal, the 70-page notebook’s eclectic collection of songs and dances sheds light on popular music of the period. Dance tunes, often Scottish, in simple two-part arrangements with dance step instructions included, are mixed with popular English and French revolutionary songs, copied or adapted from dance tune and song collections of the time.

Far from being just a trifle compiled by a teenaged girl of privilege, Rachel Frobisher’s commonplace book should be considered alongside contemporary accounts

and art to provide insight into the distinctive social and musical life in the two cities of Montreal and York.

**Two Sentimental Englishmen in the 1930s: Music, class and dignity in the  
Merchant-Ivory adaptation of Ishiguro's *The Remains of the Day*  
Stephen Downes**

This paper considers how diegetic music is used in the film adaptation of Ishiguro's *The Remains of the Day* to underline the sentimental character of two English gentlemen of two classes (nobility and servant). Overtly the butler, Stevens, is an anti-sentimentalist, but one who embarks on a failed sentimental journey, the regretful attempt to undo the rejection of an intimate relationship with Miss Kenton. This emotional conflict is highlighted when she catches him reading sentimental fiction; he claims he reads this for educational purpose but later confesses to the reader that he rather enjoys sentimental love stories. Lord Darlington epitomizes that aspect of the appeasement politics in the 1930s driven in large part by a sentimental ideal based on sympathetic feeling, on Germanophilia. A crucial motivation behind Darlington's aspirations for mending the relationship with Germany lies in his experience of seeing a German friend suffer and die because of the consequences of the Versailles treaty.

Stevens's musical taste is shown as he is listening to a record of Gracie Fields singing "Roll along Prairie Moon." The scene is designed to show that Stevens has a higher sense of duty and sentiment than his rival for Miss Kenton's affections. The choice of Fields is apposite: Fields's image in the 1930s projected a strongly sentimental character around notions of home, family, work, class and region.

Darlington is previously shown admiring a performance of Schubert's setting of Rückert's "*Sei mir gegrüsst*" (1821) by the German delegate at the conference he is hosting at the Hall. The song expresses greetings from a lost time of union, peace and prosperity. But it is also an expression of cultural imperialism: the poem is part of Rückert's "Orientalist" enthusiasms. We can imagine Darlington responds to the song privately as reminding him of his lost German friend, but also as a resonance of his desired alliance between England and Germany. That Darlington hears Classical music performed in a beautiful music salon, and Stevens popular music through a gramophone in his small office, marks the relation of class to variants of sentimental character.

**From Leipzig to Edinburgh: Amateur Reception and Performance  
of Bach's Mass in B Minor in Scotland  
Stewart Duncan**

On December 16<sup>th</sup>, 1908, the Edinburgh Choral Union celebrated its fiftieth anniversary by giving the Scottish premiere of J.S. Bach's Mass in B Minor. This came nearly one hundred and sixty years after the work's completion in 1749, and almost fifty years after the first public performance of the entire Mass in Leipzig. Two questions surround this event: first, why did it take so long for the work to be performed in Scotland? Second, why would the Edinburgh Choral Union choose a small

to commemorate fifty years of their “weekly meetings for the practice of Oratorios and other large works of Handel, Beethoven, Haydn, Mendelssohn, etc.”?

Both questions can be answered by examining the journey the Mass took across literal and conceptual borders before its debut in Edinburgh. As the work traveled from Germany, to England, and on to Scotland, the Mass accumulated specifically national performance practices and interpretative connotations that brought it out of the realm of liturgical (or even strictly sacred) performance into the world of the nineteenth century mass amateur chorus. Because of new meanings accrued in these performances, the Mass was slowly adopted into the same oratorio tradition initially pursued by the Union. By the time the Mass reached Edinburgh, Scottish audiences were prepared to embrace it as emblematic of this tradition.

This paper charts this journey by examining nineteenth-century commentary on the Mass in British periodicals like *The Musical Times* and *The Musical Herald*, as well as the Union’s own published history of its first fifty years. The journey from Bach’s pen, to its first full performance in Leipzig, to early English adoptions and adaptations, and finally to Edinburgh can be charted in each of these sources. At each stage, the Mass crossed borders of national musical cultures that molded its identity. By examining these boundaries, this paper demonstrates how German, English, and Scottish perspectives altered the identity of Bach’s Mass in B Minor, leading the Edinburgh Choral Union to introduce it to Scotland in 1908. This long journey from Leipzig to Edinburgh illustrates larger channels of British cultural exchange and audience reception in the nineteenth century.

### **Italian Spice and the Catholic Menace: Admiration and Condemnation of Italian Influence in Restoration England** **Nicholas Ezra Field**

During the 1670s London experienced an explosion of interest in Italian music and art. The popularity of such Italian immigrant musicians as Giovanni Sebenico, the Albrici family (Vincenzo, Leonora, and Bartolomeo), Matthew Battaglia, and Nicola Matteis near the turn of that decade prompted Roger North to remark that “nothing in the town had relish without the spice of Italy.” John Evelyn observed that the fashion for Italian music had entirely eclipsed the popularity of the French style. Paradoxically, the 1670s also saw a rapid crescendo of anti-Catholic pamphleteering and agitation that attended such perceived religious dangers as the 1672 Declaration of Indulgence, the fictitious “Popish Plot” fabricated by Titus Oates in 1678, and the growing certainty throughout the decade that Charles II would be succeeded on the throne by his Catholic brother James. Such anti-Papist zeal was heavily flavored by a phobic demonization of Romish-Italian influence. Thus English antipathy for a religion held to be an inextricably central element of Italian cultural identity rose to fever pitch just when London society was most receptive to Italian musical culture. This paper argues that the complex intersection of cultural admiration and confessional loathing in the English imagination gave multiple and sometimes contradictory levels of meaning to the reception of Italian musical culture in Restoration London.

### **Narrative Driven by Ambiguity and Collage in Supertramp’s “Fool’s Overture”**

## **Gretchen Foley**

In 1977 the British progressive rock group Supertramp released its fifth album, *Even in the Quietest Moments*. The final track, “Fool’s Overture,” stands out for its high drama and ambiguity, both in its music and its narrative. The song is sweeping in its historical perspective as well as its proportion.

Even today, the meaning and intent of the song remain enigmatic. Numerous writers believe the song revolves around Britain and World War II. For example, the lyric “the boats put out to sea” in all likelihood refers to the boats and ships crossing the English Channel to rescue the British Expeditionary Force from Dunkirk in 1940. The identity of the main character, the ‘man,’ is also vague; the most viable suggestions include Neville Chamberlain, Winston Churchill, and Jesus Christ.

The main sections of the song are bound by opaque collages evocative of the time-frame: fleeting sounds of crowd rallies, ambulance sirens, brass fanfares, bells tolling, Churchill’s “Never Surrender” speech, howling winds, muffled sounds of “Jerusalem” sung by a choir, and very brief quotes from Holst’s “Venus: The Bringer of Peace” and, Supertramp’s own “Dreamer.” The song concludes with cryptic references to pop culture before devolving into the sounds of an orchestra tuning up for a concert.

The tension and uncertainty wrought by the narrative and collages are realized musically through ambiguous, evaded, and absent tonal and modal centers, driving rhythms and ostinatos, pedal tones, and instrumentation. Drawing on recent research (Mark Spicer, Phillip Tagg, Drew Nobile, Christopher Doll, Walt Everett, Nicole Biamonte, among others), this paper will demonstrate in analytical detail how these musical factors combine to heighten the drama and drive the narrative of this epic song.

### **“Strange Phenomena”: Kate Bush’s Harmonic Escapism David Forrest**

2018 marks the fortieth anniversary of Kate Bush’s debut single, “Wuthering Heights.” The song spent four weeks at number one in the UK Singles Chart, a first for a female singer/songwriter, and launched her successful, mold-breaking career. While many critics focus on Bush’s unique image, voice, and dancing, this paper examines how her songs’ unorthodox chord progressions offer effective means for illustrating fantasy or psychological escapism. Most of Bush’s songs employ diatonic triads as their normative harmonic language, providing a canvas for chromatic-third progressions to stand apart. Close examination of the relationships between these chromatic motions and song lyrics reveals compelling interpretations of Bush’s progressive style.

Chromatic-third progressions can be categorized as either hexatonic or octatonic. Hexatonic progression engage in what neo-Riemannian theory labels PL voice leading while octatonic progressions engage in PR voice leading. Richard Cohn (*Audacious Euphony*, 2012) demonstrates how such progressions are often used in music of the traditional Western canon to communicate magical, uncanny, and supernatural phenomena. He has further theorized that such progressions, especially those that cross the enharmonic seam, force perceptual paradoxes for particular listeners. Guy Capuzzo (*Music Theory Spectrum*, 2004) and David Forrest (*Music Theory Online*, 2017) demonstrate that these progressions and their supernatural associations

occur in popular music as well. However, Bush's music employs these gestures with unique sophistication and text-sensitivity.

For example, the verse harmony in "Wuthering Heights" traces a complete hexatonic cycle of major triads, A-F-C#-A, interrupted only by an E-major chord that might be heard as the dominant of the cycle-bound A major. This progression, with one foot in hexatonic syntax and one in diatonic, paints the appearance of Emily Brontë's ghost of Catherine, who herself has one foot in reality and one in the afterlife. Similarly, "Moving" employs motion along a hexatonic cycle that crosses the enharmonic seam. The song describes the beauty of a dance teacher's movements, culminating in a climactic, out-of-body experience, "you crush the lily in my soul." The third repetition of the word "soul" paints the transcendent moment with hexatonic oscillation between the dominant (A major) and major leading-tone chord (C# major).

### **Women's Musical Agency and Experiences in Vernon Lee's Music and its Lovers Kristin Franseen**

Among the numerous anonymous and semi-anonymous case studies included in Vernon Lee's last book, *Music and its Lovers* (published in 1933 but compiled much earlier) one finds an intriguing alliance between women's suffrage and the experience of listening to instrumental music. A respondent identified only as "The Suffragette" directly ties her feelings about music to her activism, noting that "I recognize in music some definite emotions pertaining to a crowd... the growl I have heard in crowds at suffrage meetings" and later writing about Brahms that "I think I can distinguish in music secondary sex attributes." Lee notes that The Suffragette, while untrained in music, appears perceptive in linking instrumental music to her personal experiences.

While prior research on *Music and its Lovers* (Towheed 2010 and 2013; Mahoney, 2015) has focused primarily on Lee's sources and questionable scientific practices, this presentation examines the centrality of women's remarks within Lee's case studies, as well as her own experiments in listening alongside Irene Cooper Willis (who helped her compile the questionnaire and responses) and Kit Anstruther-Thomson (who participated in Lee's experiments into artistic emotion). Although Lee's respondents and ultimate theories of musical emotion cut across gender, her lengthy excerpts from her own experiments center women's experiences as listeners and scholars with valuable observations into the musical experience, especially in an era where the roles of the composer, conductor, and professional musician were all still by default male. In collecting case studies from within her own social circle of women artists and intellectuals, Lee preserved an important archive of early twentieth-century women's thoughts about specific types of music, especially when it comes to composers traditionally associated with masculinity (Brahms) and sexuality (Wagner). While Lee admits to sacrificing scientific objectivity in intimating her own strong negative feelings about Wagner in her questionnaire, this encouraged her respondents to reflect and write more freely about sexuality in music in an era that Lee describes as "barely emerged...from Victorian purity, and unsullied by Freudian discussions."

### **The Soteriology of Early English Song and Changing Roles for the Musically Dead**

## K. Dawn Grapes

Musical funeral elegies served many purposes in Early Modern England, including outlet for grief, legacy creation, and moral instruction. One particularly noticeable characteristic found in the lyrics of most early English funeral songs is the placement of the deceased in a heavenly realm, signifying a certain afterlife for deserving souls. When musical elegies first appeared in print in the late Elizabethan era, they generally honored only members of the most elite social echelon, specifically Peers and high-ranking court officials, whose virtues were extolled and place in heaven assured. By the seventeenth century, however, elegies for musicians, both common and prominent, began to appear more regularly in media available to the public. The first to appear in print (1608) was Thomas Weelkes's "Death Hath Deprived Me" in honor of Thomas Morley, using a text originally written as a memorial tribute for Henry Herbert, Second Earl of Pembroke. By mid-century, however, composers were setting lyrics specifically created for musicians, culminating with the 1648 publication of *Choice Psalmes*, a musical anthology that features nine elegies composed to commemorate William Lawes, musician to Charles I, who died in a Civil War skirmish. This paper examines the ways that notated memorials for musicians evolved to reflect not only their musical earthly legacies, but also their eternal placement—as virtuous, contributing artists in the afterlife.

### **Beyond Brigadoon: Ronald Stevenson's 20<sup>th</sup> Century Scottish Triptych and the Concept of a Celtic Vernacular Kenneth Hamilton**

The recent death of the Scottish composer, pianist and polemicist Ronald Stevenson (1928-2015) has provoked both a reappraisal of his work and an increasing number of performances and recordings. Best known internationally for his massive *Passacaglia on DSCH*, Stevenson was a fascinatingly fertile but highly contentious figure. His left-wing political leanings and combative writings led him to be labelled by some critics as a neo-Romantic reactionary, or even as a socialist-realist composer on the wrong side of the cold war. But we can perhaps now comprehend him more clearly as a post-modernist born before his time, one who retained a defiantly distinctive voice within a multiplicity of musical styles, and whose enduring legacy may well be his attempt to forge a Scots musical vernacular of genuine contemporary relevance and abrasive vigor, transcending-- yet not entirely ignoring-- the nostalgic sentimentalism of an imagined Celtic twilight.

Key to that endeavor was Stevenson's 20<sup>th</sup> Century Scottish Triptych for piano solo, the 12-voice motet *In Memoriam Robert Carver*, and the Choral Symphony *Ben Dorain*. The first is the focus of this lecture-recital. Its individual parts—"Keening Song for a Makar: In Memoriam Francis George Scott," "Heroic Song for Hugh MacDiarmid," and "Chorale-Pibroch for Sorley MacLean"—salute three pivotal figures of the so-called twentieth-century Scottish renaissance, and are replete with covert political references, poly-modal effects and extended piano techniques. The presentation seeks to elucidate both the historical context and the musical significance of these pieces, which the pianist studied with the composer himself.

## **Mistress Anne's Musical Identity: Women as Singers of Domestic Devotions** **Jane Hatter**

Written in a miniscule script and tucked beneath the alto part in the middle of an unassuming manuscript of motets by continental composers (London, RCM MS 1070) is an annotation that states the name and motto of a young English woman with a notorious future—"M<sup>rs</sup> A Bolleyne / Nowe thus." This title and motto belonged to Anne, long before her relationship with King Henry VIII transformed the diminutive anne boleyne into Anne the Queen. The watermarks and continental repertoire indicate that she probably encountered this manuscript during her youth at the French court, but why does this annotation appear within the middle of the manuscript, rather than at the front? Is it a signature or a dedication, and what is the significance of all the musical symbols that decorate it, causing it to blend in with the surrounding musical notation? This frustrating bit of marginalia has served as a rabbit hole for a variety of musicologists, tempting us to make cognitive leaps and backflips in our attempts to draw together the singular biography of a famous woman with an unexpected musical repertoire of Latin-texted polyphony, much of which had been composed before Anne was born. I propose that rather than seeking to understand this annotation as a specific biographical marker, it is even more significant to recognize it as a portal to improving our understanding of educated early modern women as potential singers of complex Latin polyphony in domestic devotions.

The marginalia scribbled into the spaces between and around compositions in manuscripts provide fascinating insights into the dynamics of early modern performance contexts and tantalizing glimpses of the relationships between the complex people who spent hours of their lives singing from these pages. Regularly those singers were professional male ecclesiastics, men and boys who earned all or part of their living in music. It is extremely rare to find a source of sacred polyphony from c. 1500 that can be associated with a secular woman. What implications does this inscription have for broadening our awareness of women and girls as singers of intricate Latin motets in the early sixteenth century?

## **"To the Music of Time" – Dance and Temporality in Music and the Visual Arts, 1880 – 1912** **Deborah Heckert**

A common topic in British visual art during the late Victorian and Edwardian periods is that of a historical dance scene, in period costume and against a period backdrop. Varied artworks by Burne-Jones, Crane, Greenaway and many others play with the metaphor of a "dance of the music of time" poised between the imagined and the historicist, presenting tableaux of "olden-time" dances frozen at a particular instant, open to the spectator's gaze in a way impossible when the dance is in action. These paintings seek to make everything viewable by "stopping" the dance – gesture, costume, backdrop, expression – so that details can be appreciated and in some ways made more real through the materiality of the art work. Whether focusing on a large group or a single dancer, these works present the past in an aesthetic frame, making history visible through their representation of dance.

Some issues involving temporality are unique to the problems of presenting the passage of time in the visual arts. But is it possible to theorize an analogous musical moment to the “frozen” moment of a visual artwork that opens up a space for the contemplation of history through dance? To what extent do aspects of nostalgia and historicism overlap in the spaces of music and the visual arts? Whether in operettas, art songs, masques, or the like, how does a musical dance “soundtrack” cue a reflection upon history?

My paper will investigate the resonances between late Victorian and Edwardian visual representations of historical dance and musical moments in song and musical drama that project the “seeing” of dance. The goal will be to theorize the topic of viewed dance as one that particularly addresses issues of temporality, historicity, and nostalgia. At its heart will be a consideration of the role of historical tableau – visual and musical – and how tableau projected “stilled,” “framed” versions of history for contemplation and consumption. Music by Denis Browne, Edward German, and Vaughan Williams, among others will be used to provide case studies of historical tableau in music, set against paintings and illustrations by artists named above, to explore a complex group of issues surrounding the uses of history in the arts during the period.

### **Robert Schumann’s Chamber Music and His English Reception** **Julie Hedges Brown**

In mid-nineteenth-century London, performances of Robert Schumann’s music exposed ideological, geographical, and class divides. In German regions by the 1850s, Schumann—once a symbol for musical progressivism—had become redrawn by Wagnerians as a conservative aligned with Mendelssohn. In mid-century England, however, Schumann was cast as Mendelssohn’s opposite, the eccentric modernist to Mendelssohn the classicist.

Schumann’s chamber music provides a significant and as-yet-unexplored lens through which to understand these perceptions. The first institutional performance of Schumann’s music occurred in 1848 at John Ella’s exclusive Musical Union series. There the Op. 47 Piano Quartet struck critics as “devoid of merit” while a Mendelssohn string quartet displayed “masterly development”—a contrast that reverberated in numerous reviews throughout the 1850s and 1860s. Schumann’s chamber works also colored the subsequent English reception of his orchestral music, first heard in 1853. As critic James W. Davison proclaimed, “the trios, quartets, quintets [betray] a superficial knowledge of the art” and hence represent “the very opposite of good,” yet the recently-performed *Overture-Scherzo-Finale* (the first orchestral work heard in London) is “still worse.” Schumann—with “Brother Wagner”—threatened to “extinguish Mendelssohn” and undermine British taste.

With the establishment of larger, more affordable concert venues, Schumann’s music found a wider audience, which in turn exposed a growing divide between critical and public opinion. Especially important were the Popular Concerts (founded 1859), which—like the Musical Union—prioritized high-quality chamber-music performances, but offered them through tiered pricing open to all, with resulting huge audiences (c.2000). The first Schumann chamber work performed was the Op. 44 Piano Quintet, in 1862: critics claimed it left an “unfavorable impression,” yet the work proved popular enough to warrant another performance weeks later. During her fourth British tour

(1865), Clara Schumann reconsidered her venues in light of growing popular enthusiasm for her husband's music: parting company with the Musical Union, she joined the "Pops," debuting with an all-Schumann program. By her final tour (1888) she had participated in over 100 Popular Concerts and witnessed the rise of Robert as the most-performed composer after Beethoven—the position (as Therese Ellsworth has shown) long held by Mendelssohn.

### **Britten's and Ashton's "Rimbauderies"** **Wayne Heisler, Jr**

Over the past century, dancing to texted music morphed from avant-garde experimentation (*Les noces* [1923]) to marginality (Tudor's settings of Mahler and Richard Strauss in the 1940s and 50s) to convention, the latter exemplified by Mark Morris, for whom song developed "semi-narrative" by enriching movement vocabulary through words but also vocality (Acocella 1999). Indeed, choreographed music in the twenty-first century is texted as often as not.

My focus here is on mid-century, when choreographing song went against the grain of prevailing abstraction. Dance critic Arlene Croce advocated for "dancing up to a song, rather than down to a plot," evidence of the widespread conviction that dance, "is not a world in which verbalists can feel comfortable" (Theodores 2013). Song gained prevalence through choreographies of Mahler at mid-century (Heisler 2015). However, it was Ashton's ballet *Illuminations* (1950) with Britten's settings of Rimbaud's poems, that challenged song/plot and abstract/verbal binaries and introduced new stakes regarding the movement-music-language nexus.

Characteristic of Symbolism, Rimbaud's writings are sonically and corporeally rich: "O Sounds and Visions!" he proclaimed in *Les Illuminations*, in which a "savage parade" stages processions and dancing to a soundscape of roars, sobs, "unknown music from castles of bone," laughter, "whistlings of death." Britten described the "enigmatic" quality of Rimbaud and "heavenly aspect of the subjects" (Mitchell 1991); that is, to represent *perceiving* rather than what is perceived. British and American music critics, habituated to write about word-music correspondences, largely downplayed connections between Rimbaud's words and Britten's setting, emphasizing values such as sincerity, originality, and objectivity that eluded the composer (Chowrimootoo 2016). Although Ashton generally ignored Rimbaud's words (Macaulay 2005), dance critics, who abhorred word-movement equivalencies on both sides of the Atlantic, reacted to biographical implications in Ashton's choreography, particularly Rimbaud's sexuality. One observer subsumed the impression of decadence under the coded term "Rimbauderies"; others distanced Rimbaud's and Ashton's "revolting excesses of passion" from Britten's "healthy" and "perfect" score. *Illuminations* in its concert and dance instantiations offered a model for blending narrative and abstraction and their respective middlebrow and high art connotations that simultaneously overlapped with the canonization of choreographed song and Britten.

### **Enacting *Elijah*: Mendelssohn on the British Stage** **Monika Hennemann**

Mendelssohn's oratorio *Elijah* was a steadfast favorite in British concert halls from its rapturous 1846 Birmingham premiere onwards. But unlike well-behaved Victorian children, *Elijah* was increasingly both heard *and* seen, with a steady stream of staged performances culminating in the early decades of the twentieth century. Touring professional troupes, most prominently the Moody Manners opera company, performed dramatized versions of the oratorio in London, Liverpool and Birmingham to great acclaim. Amateur companies also mounted *Elijah's* chariot, attempting to supplement what was fast becoming their standard diet of Gilbert and Sullivan with something more serious and supposedly uplifting. In 1930s Sheffield, *Elijah* was part of a remarkable demonic and divine trilogy also featuring Gounod's *Faust* and Handel's *Messiah*, produced in the newly built City Hall by Sir Henry Wood's talented protégée Eva Rich. Meanwhile in Southampton in 1932, combined amateur choral societies came together in a lavish staging that appears, to twenty-first century eyes at least, to have been a daring merger of the dramatic styles of Cecil B DeMille and that of *The Life of Brian*.

But there were striking musical differences between amateur and professional performances that went well beyond those related to expense and expertise. The former substituted size and enthusiasm for agility and precision – the Sheffield performances featured a chorus of over 500 voices – while the latter tended to rely on an almost Baroque ensemble of around 25 orchestral players with a chorus of 30. Extensive cuts were common in both types of production, but they could nevertheless also include additional material borrowed from Mendelssohn's most popular piano and orchestra pieces. And all productions were sung in English, giving further impetus to the drive towards staging serious works in the native language – an explicit goal of the Charles Manners' company in this and other ventures. Based on a host of primary source material that has hitherto lain largely undisturbed in local archives, this paper chronicles the hidden history of *Elijah* on the British stage.

**Do not forget me quite: A Lecture Recital Concerning the Performance and Teaching of the Art Songs of Ivor Gurney**  
**Errik M. Hood**

Ivor Gurney's songs deserve a place in the common repertoire, however with the song-recital at its nadir of cultural relevance, it seems the only way to ensure the perpetuation of these masterpieces is to employ them in the applied studio. Throughout this lecture recital, several of Gurney's songs will be performed and discussed in regards to their potential use in applied study, with the goal of familiarizing teachers with not only the musical worth, but pedagogical merit, of these pieces. Understanding who Gurney was, comprehending his struggles with mental health, social norms, and the moral implications of war, is essential to fully grasp his import as a composer and the poignancy of his works today. As a result, the songs will be organized within a brief narrative of his life, assigning songs to each significant segment of his life according to their musical style, time of composition, or the imagery invoked by the poetry set by Gurney himself. In this way, we can view these wonderful songs not only in the context of their impact upon future generations of singers, but also in relation to the brief and tortured life of this under-appreciated composer.

This material aligns perfectly with the goals of the NABMSA as it seeks to champion and justify the study and performance of British song largely outside of the current repertoire, and it also examines the intersection of this music with homosexuality in Britain and the impact of World War I on Gurney and his contemporaries.

***The Flemish Farm – Transnationalism, Propaganda, and  
the Film Music of Ralph Vaughan Williams***  
**Jaclyn Howerton**

Ralph Vaughan Williams espoused a practical aesthetic, as he believed that composers must first address national concerns before reaching out to the international. Too old to serve in the Armed Forces during the Second World War, Vaughan Williams was determined to serve his nation in its fight against fascism. Anxious for war work, he mentioned to Arthur Benjamin that he was willing to compose for films. Benjamin contacted Muir Mathieson, the musical director of the wartime Ministry of Information, who quickly offered Vaughan Williams the opportunity to score the 1941 Michael Powell film, *49<sup>th</sup> Parallel*. Needless to say, the film was a success and Vaughan Williams was fascinated by the new scoring opportunities provided by film music. After the celebration of his 70<sup>th</sup> birthday, Ralph Vaughan Williams was eager to continue composing music for the wartime film industry.

This paper will investigate the film music for the transnational propaganda story that was made into the 1943 Two Cities film, *Flemish Farm* – the third wartime film scored by Vaughan Williams. I will discuss the impact of the Belgian Air Force and its inclusion into the Royal Air Force during the war as well as how the film propaganda addressed the interest of a national audience through empathetic endorsement of the Belgian Anti-Nazi resistance. Additionally, the surviving music scores that are preserved in the British Library will be analyzed according to Vaughan Williams's use of leitmotifs in this particular score. The use of Wagnerian leitmotifs, or as he dubbed them "plug-tunes," in an anti-Nazi propaganda film is a deliberate contrast from the previous two film scores that Vaughan Williams had scored for war-related films while continuing the transnational facets of the storyline. Furthermore, I will explore the connection that this film music, often considered at that time to be a lowbrow art, has with Vaughan Williams's later concert works such as the Sixth Symphony and choral compositions that tend to be classified as high art.

**Charles Hallé, August Manns, and their Role in the Reception History of Hector  
Berlioz's *Damnation of Faust* in Nineteenth-Century Britain**  
**Rachel Howerton**

The 1846 première of Hector Berlioz's *Damnation of Faust* was deemed a total failure by both critics and composer alike. Undeterred, two years later Berlioz presented the score before the British public. While initially failing to capture the lasting attention of British audiences during the composer's trips to London, by the end of the century, Berlioz's *légende dramatique* had been transformed from a virtually unknown musical work to a popular standard in Britain. The promotion of Berlioz's

*Faust* and the foundation of its success in nineteenth-century Britain can be traced to two influential conductors: Charles Hallé and August Manns. Both men not only championed the French composer's music, but were central to stimulating the success that Berlioz's music enjoyed in the following decades. While some music scholars have begun to address the reception of Berlioz in nineteenth-century Britain, no one has yet conclusively tracked the British reception of Berlioz's *Damnation of Faust* in detail nor contextualized the individual impact that conductors like Hallé and Manns had in shaping the work's popularity in late Victorian Britain.

Drawing on a wealth of original and previously undocumented concert programs, periodicals, and manuscripts, I delineate the influence that Charles Hallé and August Manns had in shaping the reception history of the *Damnation of Faust* in Britain. I also discuss how both conductors deliberately programmed Berlioz's music in a trajectory that contributed to the shifting cultural trends and developing musical taste of the British middle and working classes during this period. Aside from the gradual promotion of Berlioz's music leading up to the 1880s revival, the catalyst for the score's British popularity was undoubtedly the first complete English performance of the *Damnation of Faust* under Charles Hallé in Manchester in February 1880. Finally, I conclude by investigating the development of British audiences from a transnational perspective by exploring how two German-born musicians were not only influential in shaping the musical sensitivity of nineteenth-century British audiences, but were vital in securing the French composer's place in twentieth-century British repertoire.

### **Lalla Vandervelde's Relief Efforts in Wartime London** **Catherine A. Hughes**

When Emile Vandervelde, the Belgian Minister of State arrived in London in the autumn of 1914 as a refugee from the German occupation, his British wife, Lalla (née Charlotte Speyer), was relatively unknown on the world stage. In Brussels, she belonged to the close-knit circle of politicians, artists, and intellectuals in Brussels who embraced socialist ideals and avant-garde art. In early 1915, however, she emerged as the patriotic heroine of relief efforts for Belgium in both the Belgian and British press. Vandervelde embarked on lecture tours in England and the United States; gave musical and dramatic performances with other Belgian exiles and with British performers; and commissioned works of literature and decorative art from both Belgian and British contacts, all in the name of raising funds for Belgium.

By focusing on Vandervelde's wartime cultural activities, particularly her close personal relationship with Edward Elgar and the Fabians, this paper argues that Belgian artists and members of the bourgeoisie used their time in exile to establish themselves as cultural leaders. Her socialist, anticlerical political leanings, and her connections to English cultural circles through her cousin, Sir Edward Speyer, gave her access to English society that was unreachable for most other Belgian refugees. Vandervelde's wartime collaborations and her expanded network of contacts eased her post-war return to projects of cultural uplift, celebration of the avant-garde, and expanded political rights for women in postwar Belgium. Musicians who collaborated with her, including Desiré Defauw and Edward Deru, also returned to Brussels to promote new musical societies that shaped the post-war culture in Brussels. My work expands on-going studies of Belgian exiles in England by considering the cultural and intellectual

contributions of the upper classes who circulated in English society, rather than the industrial and economic contributions of the working-class refugees in the self-contained Belgian settlements such as Elisabethville near Birtley, Tyne and Wear.

**A Song Protesting the Murder of Civil Rights Campaigner, William L. Moore:  
“I want to go back to Mississippi,” a British Snapshot of the  
Civil Rights Movement from 1963  
David Kidger**

William L. Moore (1927-1963), a postman from Binghamton, New York, and member of the Congress of Racial Equality, was murdered while on a march from Chattanooga, Tennessee to Jackson, Mississippi, on Tuesday, April 23, 1963, in rural Alabama. His intention was to deliver a letter to Governor Barnett, in which he advocated for racial integration in Mississippi. Mr. Moore’s name appears on the Civil Rights Memorial of the SPLC, a list of Civil Rights Martyrs who lost their lives from 1954 to 1968. The FBI reopened Mr. Moore’s case in 2009, and though there was no subsequent prosecution (as the suspect was deceased), a new report presented an unambiguous picture of what happened, and who was responsible for the murder.

Remarkably, on the satirical late-night BBC program, “That was the week that was,” [TW3], broadcast on Saturday, April 27, just three days later, a new song and dance number was performed, as an angry protest and memorial for Mr. Moore. Music was an integral feature of TW3. The show began with a rapid fire topical song, performed by Millicent Martin, and often included a second song midway through the show, that was more satirical and reflective. “I want to go back to Mississippi,” (performed only on the April 27 broadcast, and an end of year review), was cast in the style of a New Orleans jazz song, with a small jazz band, Millicent Martin singing the lead, and a group of male singers and dancers, the George Mitchell Singers, in black face, providing backing vocals.

Beyond the shocking juxtaposition of a parody of New Orleans style, and a group of male singers and dancers in black face, the language and lyrics of the song presented an extraordinary convulsion of protest and outrage. Written by Herbert Kretzmer (who later wrote the English language lyrics of “Les Miserables”), the text was uncompromising in both content and language, taking the words of “Strange Fruit,” and transforming them into an extraordinary protest for the early 1960s. Exploring notions of satire, parody, reception and cultural context, a critical framework for this important song emerges.

**“A Souvenir de Bedlam”: The Reception of Non-Western Musics at the  
London International Exhibitions of 1884 and 1885  
Sarah Kirby**

Music formed one of the chief entertainments at the many themed International Exhibitions held in London in the 1880s. These vast events, ostensibly intended to demonstrate the comparative development of art and industry across the world, were also sites of intercultural encounter, in ways that both promoted and challenged national identity. Some of the most significant cross-cultural encounters at these British

Exhibitions were musical, with two events making a feature of non-Western music. At the “Health” Exhibition of 1884 a band of Chinese musicians performed daily within a Chinese restaurant in the Exhibition building. The following year, at the “Inventions” Exhibition, the Court Band of the King of Siam performed regularly in the Royal Albert Hall. These performances were largely viewed as curiosities by the press and public, whose musical expectations were framed through an imagined European exoticism. Yet they also allowed for sonic engagement with both Chinese and Siamese musical traditions in real terms. These concerts, however, were also highly curated with a Western audience in mind.

In this paper I explore the striking differences in the reception of these bands in the British press: where the Chinese music was described as “horrible, barbarous, deafening, and meaningless,” the Siamese music, while “singular” was considered “by no means unpleasing.” Drawing on theories presented in David Cannadine’s *Ornamentalism* I argue that this reception was influenced more by perceptions of social hierarchy in the British national consciousness than by the musical qualities of the performances. While racial hierarchies certainly played a role in the way the British musical public received these non-Western bands, notions of class and status were equally important, and in many cases transcend other prejudices. As such, the royal connections of the Siamese band influenced the reception of their music in ways beyond simple developmentalist constructions of their music as “primitive” and “savage,” as the Chinese band had been termed a year earlier.

### **Musicking the Spheres in *Pericles*** **Jennifer Linhart Wood**

This paper seeks to answer an ostensibly simple question: when Pericles states that he can hear the music of the spheres, was audible music sounding in the theater? One of the puzzles in the early modern dramatic canon, this question of aligned perception—that is, if the theater audience is hearing the music of the spheres Pericles declares he is hearing—has been debated, with answers ranging from “absolutely not, the music of the spheres was by definition inaudible,” to “yes, it was probably rendered as audible sound in the theater.” This essay will survey other early modern representations of the music of the spheres—in musical excerpts, poetry, and dramatic works—to argue that audible music was playing as representative of divine harmony so that the theater audience could share in the experience of hearing “the music of the spheres” along with Pericles. Christopher Small’s term “musicking”—a verb which encompasses the gamut of a collective musical experience, including such activities as composing, singing, and listening—is employed here to indicate the scope of music involved at both the theatrical and metatheatrical levels. Used in this way, musicking gestures toward both the multivalent music of the spheres (itself a phenomenon incorporating the planetary motions of the cosmos, perfect mathematical proportions, a sound constitution of the human body, and musical pitch relationships), and the theatrical artifice of music representative of divine harmonies at the level of musical performance, as well as the effects of this music on the characters and audience members alike. Examining evidence clusters of corollary moments in other early modern dramatic works of the period, reconsidering stage conventions and architecture, and reexamining Renaissance notions of the music of the spheres,

including Plato's "Vision of Er" and Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, allows us to consider the multiple resonances of "musicking" at play in staging the music of the spheres in the early modern theater, and supports my contention that the music of the spheres was performed as audible sound in Shakespeare's *Pericles*.

### **Vaughan Williams' *Sancta Civitas*: A vision 'among the ruins'** **David Manning**

Vaughan Williams' *Sancta Civitas* sets to music a vision of the Second Coming in the context of 1920s Britain. A secular epigraph doubting the exact reliability of the words signals the work's troubled historical context. *Sancta Civitas* has received occasional scholarly attention but there have been few opportunities to examine it in detail; meanwhile the idea of Vaughan Williams as a musical modernist has been proposed, and also challenged. This paper begins to consider whether *Sancta Civitas* can be positioned as a modernist work, or if an alternative approach is more appropriate. Attention will focus on how the apocalyptic vision of a defeated Babylon and a new Jerusalem is doubly framed: first by the potentially problematic quotation from Plato's *Phaedo*, and then in the work itself, by a Prologue and Epilogue. These framing devices seem to point in different directions: the repeated Alleluias in the Prologue, and the impassioned singing of the Sanctus in the Epilogue, apparently draw the oratorio, a work designed for concert performance, closer to the experience of religious ritual; yet the Epigraph invokes a secular practice – the ancient trope of myth-telling. In this context Gilbert Murray's positioning of the Bible within a canon of national literature understood to express the 'spiritual lifeblood of a people' appears influential; an attempt, perhaps, to secularize the sacred.

Vaughan Williams' *Sancta Civitas* is clearly an agnostic work; its *al niente* ending foregrounds the idea of doubt. However, the depth of this uncertainty is debatable, given that the work devotes considerable time and energy to a collective expression of belief. Begun in 1920, and mainly composed in 1923-25, *Sancta Civitas* offers a passionate, hopeful vision in a decade more obviously epitomized by D. H. Lawrence's assertion that 'we are among the ruins'. While its hopefulness is qualified, this oratorio offers an alternative perspective in an age dominated by political, economic, social and even existential crisis. It is a work that challenges us to consider carefully how best to position Vaughan Williams' music in relation to constructions of musical modernism.

### **Alistair Cooke Hears America Singing** **Christy J. Miller**

While studies of Alistair Cooke's tremendous contributions to television and radio broadcasting are plentiful, few do more than briefly mention one of his earliest—and arguably most important—programs on American music, *I Hear America Singing* (1938). In this twelve-part series for the BBC, Cooke drew upon his personal record collection and field recordings borrowed from the Archive of American Folk Song at the Library of Congress to tell America's history through song. Scholars often list themes of a handful of the episodes, but little other detail has been known concerning this seminal series until now. In this study, I draw upon documentary

evidence from the BBC Written Archives Centre, the Library of Congress, and the Howard Gottlieb Archival Research Center to illuminate the full contents of *I Hear America Singing* and their impact on transatlantic cultural exchange between the United States and Great Britain.

Broadcast files and extant scripts have enabled me to reconstruct a large portion of *I Hear America Singing*. While advertised in *Radio Times* as “a radio album of recorded American folk song,” the series consisted of an eclectic mixture of genres ranging from novelty songs, college glee club performances and symphonic works, to commercial country records and field recordings of chain gangs. I use Cooke’s scripts to analyze how he considered this repertoire to be culturally significant, and correspondence reveals Cooke’s evolving intentions for the program. Additionally, internal correspondence at the BBC sheds light on the Corporation’s growing interest at the time in promoting Anglo-American cultural exchange, while contemporary periodicals testify to the program’s enthusiastic public approval. *I Hear America Singing* laid a crucial foundation for twentieth-century Anglo-American folk music culture in Great Britain, and close examination of its contents and reception contributes significantly to scholarly knowledge of the transcultural relationship between the United States and Great Britain during the Second World War and the British Folk Revival.

### **“Trying to Earn an Honest Penny”: Lilian and Victor Hochhauser and the Bolshoi Ballet’s 1974 London Tour Thornton Miller**

During the Cold War, concert agents acted as the conduits in cultural exchange with the Soviet Union, and were essential in facilitating communication between the Soviet concert planning apparatus and Western audiences. The London concert agents Lilian and Victor Hochhauser arranged the majority of classical music tours between the UK and the USSR from the mid-1950s to the mid-1970s. As independent business people, they were not supported by or affiliated with the British or Soviet governments. As a result, they had a vested interest in supporting as many exchanges as they were able to carry out, and they financially shouldered the risks of those exchanges, which sometimes fell through. Moreover, the stability of their financial position was dependent on the satisfaction of all involved parties.

For example, in the early 1970s in London, mass demonstrations protesting the Soviet treatment of Jewish citizens seeking to emigrate to Israel materialized at the appearance of the USSR’s apparent representatives: touring performers. The Bolshoi Ballet’s performances at the London Coliseum in the summer of 1974, which the Hochhausers arranged, arguably became the culmination of these protests. The tour placed them in a precarious position, as they attempted to evade British criticisms of their involvement while maintaining an apolitical stance so as not to jeopardize their connections with the Soviet Ministry of Culture. This presentation draws on research in the National Archives of the UK in London and the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art in Moscow.

Historians David Caute, Nigel Gould-Davies, and Kiril Tomoff have described the cultural Cold War as the competition between the Soviet and American imperial systems. This paper shifts the focus in relation to music and culture: (1) from the

bilateral American-Soviet conception of the Cold War to an investigation of Anglo-Soviet cultural relations, and (2) from large institutions to the agency and interests of the individuals who facilitated Cold War cultural exchange. It further posits that the Hochhausers played an essential role in the interchange of musicians between the UK and the USSR.

**Lunchtime at the Gallery:  
Repertoire for Two Pianists on Myra Hess's Wartime Concerts  
Elizabeth Morgan**

Myra Hess's lunchtime concerts at the National Gallery in London, which started in October 1939, are a well-known symbol of British resilience and fortitude during the Second World War. The concert series has been the subject of books and films in popular history, but it has not been examined widely by musicologists curious about its significance to British music making during the war. The sheer number of performers on the series, including celebrated professionals like Hess, Solomon, and Ginette Neveu, as well as up-and-coming performers, many of whom were students in local conservatories, makes them a fascinating subject for examination, as does the frequency of concerts. With performances five days a week, it was possible for the series to pursue substantial objectives in its programming, including the inclusion of numerous British premieres and several complete works cycles.

This paper examines one ambition of the lunchtime concert series: its prioritization of music for piano four hands and two pianos in its programming. Hess stated that its performance was an important aim of the concerts, and the series bore it out; more than seventy concerts featured works for piano four hands or two pianos. Many of these recitals were composed entirely of this repertoire. Drawing on archival research completed last year at the National Gallery and British Library, this paper places this interest in repertoire for two pianists in a historical context. It looks at the place of works for two pianos or four hands in British music making leading up to the war and speculates about Hess's reasons for taking such a vested interest in the repertoire. It concludes by examining how the series influenced the performance of works for two pianists in Britain, looking briefly at concert programming in London in the years immediately following the war.

**"A Stuttering Primer for Infants": The Press and Public Reception to Benjamin  
Britten's *Gloriana* in the Coronation Year  
Imani Mosley**

The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in 1953 symbolized a turning point for postwar Britain, a nation plagued by war-induced austerity and political diminishment on the global stage. The arrival of a new young monarch — one who shared her moniker with England's greatest queen — provided what a weary people craved: glamour, hope, and inspiration. This was to be the beginning of a New Elizabethan Age (Rowse 1952). Like her ancestor, Elizabeth II would reign over subjects whom she would inspire to great British achievements in the arts and sciences, navigation and

discovery, culture and politics. The new queen was viewed as a temporal conduit through which Britain would have access to its past greatness while also inhabiting a boundless future.

Musical compositions written for the Coronation either paid homage to composers from Elizabeth I's reign or were anthems full of pomp, and all were expected to convey the promise of this New Elizabethanism. Britten's opera *Gloriana* was to be the apogee of these works, finally providing England with a national opera on par with Mussorgsky's *Boris Godunov* and Verdi's *Aida*. However, the opera's inability to project the ideals of the Coronation marked it as a work unfit for both Queen and Country.

This paper demonstrates how *Gloriana*, as a text, reflected sublimated fears about the future of Great Britain. The reception of *Gloriana* in the days and weeks immediately following its premiere was shaped by Tudor- and Victorian-inspired attitudes about empire, nation, and cultural history forged both during and after World War II. Although *Gloriana* has been defined by its calamitous opening at the Royal Opera House (Malloy 1993), the story of the work and its place in postwar British history involves far more than the reaction from dignitaries and crowned heads. An examination of press reviews and letters to the editor (BBC Archives, British Library, Britten-Pears Library) shows how the opinions on *Gloriana* differed wildly not just between critics and citizens but between those reviewing the work after its premiere and those reviewing it later that year, well after the frenzy around the Coronation had dissipated.

### **Making History: the Politics of Linton Kwesi Johnson's Dub Poetry** **Jordan Musser**

Jamaican *émigré* Linton Kwesi Johnson is a giant in the history of black British poetry—a “godfather,” in Burt Caesar’s words (1996). Almost single-handedly, he innovated dub poetry, a written and spoken form that incorporates dub bass rhythms and the syncopated licks of reggae into verse. From his position in the literary avant-garde, Johnson transferred such “sound writing” into musical performance in the mid-1970s: first, in community spaces, with drumming ensemble Rasta Love, and later, in popular culture, with Dennis Bovell’s Dub Band, with whom Johnson released numerous LPs, toured Europe, and topped the charts in *Sounds*, *Melody Maker*, and other periodicals (Kapchan 2017).

Johnson’s activities were not solely literary or musical, however. For him, dub poetry was integrally tied to grassroots struggle, locally, and to the Third World project and its legacy, globally (Prashad 2007). Drawing on archival research, this paper demonstrates the ways Johnson put this program into practice. I begin by situating Johnson’s work—specifically the recording, “Five Nights of Bleeding”—in the context of his participation in the Caribbean Artists Movement. There, he met Edward Kamau Brathwaite, whose “nation language” idea guided Johnson’s conception of how verse composed in the vernacular *patois* could become musical. In this way, dub poetry parallels the work of contemporaneous black poets in New York and Paris interested in jazz (Edwards 2017). Second, and more extensively, I show how Johnson’s *oeuvre* both documented and instigated the activism of community organizations where he worked, including the Railton Youth Centre, the Keskidee Centre, and the Race Today Collective. Johnson routinely mobilized his growing celebrity to draw attention to these

institutions; by participating in them, he helped *make* the history he also chronicled in albums like, well, *Making History*. This recursive dynamic, I argue, forces us to reevaluate standard narratives of British popular music and politics, which are dominated by punk and events like Rock Against Racism (Goodyer 2009). Contrastingly, Johnson followed his mentor, C.L.R. James, by developing a Marxian, decolonial aesthetics that merged elite and vernacular art-worlds, and spurred black liberation *vis-à-vis* New Right governmentality.

### **The History of Mad Tom o' Bedlam** **Joe Nelson**

Before Henry Purcell gave voice to the mad residents of Bethlem Hospital through Bess of Bedlam, Poor Tom o' Bedlam had circulated in literature, theater, and song. Poor Tom, also called Mad Tom, served as an archetype for the bedlamite men who begged on the streets in early seventeenth-century London and came to represent all beggars and vagabonds. This paper charts the history of Mad Tom from sixteenth-century depictions of Tom as a suspicious character equated with rogues and pickpockets, to the broadside ballad "A New Mad Tom" in the latter seventeenth century. I explore different aspects of this character, including Poor Tom in Shakespeare's *King Lear* (1606), a wretched figure that evokes pity, and the emergence of the Mad Tom ballad tune from a Morris dance in a Stuart court masque from 1613. I also discuss some conclusions as to how the ballad and its musical origin situate Tom in the sphere of mid-century politics, and Mad Tom as an archetype for madmen in Purcell's comedic works. While some scholars have written that Tom's appearance in *Lear* gave voice to the mad poor that hadn't existed before and that by the mid-century he became a buffoonish stock character, I instead argue something different. Poor Tom's popularity in broadside literature and later pamphlets that use him as a metaphor for social and political upheaval indicate that his impact reached well beyond the comedic singing in taverns or of street balladeers. His carnivalesque performance challenged the notion of an orderly state and society as espoused by thinkers such as Thomas Hobbes in his *Leviathan* (1651). Thus, the history of Mad Tom tells us much about attitudes toward the mad poor, the use of madmen as metaphors for political and social disorder, and anxieties about the changing nature of sovereignty and the emerging modern state in late seventeenth-century England.

### **"The Must Sing About It Instead"** **Audience Song and Empire in Britten's *Let's Make an Opera!*** **Trevor Nelson**

In the decade following World War II, Benjamin Britten garnered critical praise for his ability to write occasional music with local, timely relevance. Musicologists have argued that these compositions were vital in the (re)construction of national memory, place, and modernism in the postwar British imagination (Wiebe 2012, Ward-Griffin 2015, Chowrimootoo 2016). Amidst these discussions, however, the ways that the imperial imagination—an imagination vital to national identity, but nevertheless swiftly

disappearing—was at play in Britten’s postwar works has yet to be adequately addressed.

This paper begins to fill this gap through an investigation of the imperial resonances present within Britten and librettist Eric Crozier’s *Let’s Make an Opera!* (1949). Using this as my case study, I will adopt Thomas Turino’s (2008) notion of participatory music-making to scrutinize the methods used to engage audiences with Britain’s imperial history and legacy. To carry this idea further, I will perform a close reading of two audience songs from *The Little Sweep*, the pedagogic opera embedded within *Let’s Make an Opera!* In these audience songs, spectator-performers both construct and deconstruct one character’s racial identity.

By instructing the audience to participate in the problematic racial politics of *The Little Sweep*, Britten and Crozier encouraged the British public to deal with their troublesome imperial past, even as institutions in the United Kingdom advocated a renewal of native, local culture. I argue that Britten and Crozier invoked Great Britain’s vexing colonial past alongside implicit messages supporting liberal social reform and decolonization as part of comprehensive postwar reconstruction projects. This analysis augments both ideas of constructed memory and place through the incorporation of geopolitical—and yet, at the audience level, extraordinarily local—elements into the discussion of Britten’s operas. The echoes of empire within *Let’s Make an Opera!* can inform not only the study of Britten’s role in decolonization politics but also the concept of national identity in moments of transnational power negotiations.

### **Granville Bantock, “Pioneer-in-Chief of the Young British Movement”?** **Jennifer Oates**

In November 1906, the *Musical Times* called Granville Bantock “one of the most brilliant of the younger generation of composers,” and, in July 1911, the *Musical Opinion* claimed that Bantock, along with Holbrooke and Elgar, “forms a triumvirate from which the highest musical achievements are to be expected.” While these quotes focus on Bantock the composer, Rutland Boughton’s July 1906 assertion that Bantock was the “pioneer-in-chief of the young British movement” suggests that his place at the forefront of British music encompassed the full scope of his multi-faceted career as a composer, conductor, educator, and promoter of contemporary European and British music. Indeed, in addition to mounting a successful composition career, from the 1890s through the Great War, Bantock founded journals devoted to new and native music (*Overture* and *New Quarterly Music Review*), organized concerts of British music, established his international conducting career, and began his long tenure as Principal of the Birmingham and Midland Institute of Music (1900-1934) and Peyton Professor of Music at Birmingham University (1908-1934). His efforts continued during and after the Great War, most notably his participation on committees or in organizations (such as the League of the Arts for National) and his promotion of British music, as seen in his 1938 tour of Australia and Hawaii (during his time as Chairman of the Corporation of Trinity College of Music in London).

Using the newspaper clipping books held in the Worcestershire Archives, Bantock’s correspondence, as well as other archival and published contemporary sources, this paper will consider Bantock’s role as a “pioneer-in-chief of the young British movement” by focusing on his non-compositional activities and his views on

contemporary music from the 1890s through the end of his career. Though he was not working alone nor were his efforts isolated attempts to stimulate British music, he was a significant figure in British musical life. This broader examination of his activities illustrates changes in both his views and British music, enhances our understanding of Bantock's place within British music, and engages with ongoing reassessments of music in *fin de siècle* Britain.

### **Orkney ≠ Scotland ≠ Britain: National Identity and Sir Peter Maxwell Davies's "Farewell to Stromness"**

**Karen Olson**

On April 29, 2011, Prince William married Catherine Middleton in a ceremony carefully crafted to support a spirit of "Britishness." Musical examples of this theme included three well-known compositions symbolizing Britain's nation-states: Ralph Vaughan Williams's "Prelude on Rhosymedre" (Wales), Frederick Delius's "On Hearing the First Cuckoo in Spring" (England), and Sir Peter Maxwell Davies's "Farewell to Stromness" (Scotland).

All three works are problematic as national representations. But Davies's "Farewell to Stromness" (1980) is particularly complicated as a celebration of British identity. Originally an interlude in Davies's antinuclear cabaret, *The Yellow Cake Revue* (1980), "Farewell" responded to the No Uranium campaign in Orkney, the Scottish archipelago where Davies lived. From 1977 to 1979, this campaign resisted pressure from Scotland and the United Kingdom to remove Orkney's regional ban against uranium mining. Drawing on local newspaper reports and archival materials from the No Uranium movement, I discuss how the campaign heightened anti-Scottish and especially anti-British sentiment amongst Orcadians. Davies, an Englishman transplanted to Orkney, engaged with those sentiments by including Scottish and Orcadian folk idioms in "Farewell" as a critique of outsider/British interference in local/Orcadian affairs.

Nevertheless, Philip Bohlman reminds us that, "Music is malleable in the service of nation not because it is a product of national and nationalist ideologies, but rather because music of all forms and genres can articulate the processes that shape the state...Music marks national borders, while at the same time mobilizing those wishing to cross or dismantle borders." Considered in this framework, "Farewell to Stromness" is not solely a project of Orcadian, Scottish, or British nationalism. Rather, elements of its sound, origins, and performance contexts address all of these. These variable meanings likewise speak to the shifting alliances within Britain's systems of governance, which have shown themselves most recently in votes for Scottish independence and the continuing disagreements among the member nations concerning Brexit.

### **Falsetto and Late-Victorian Voice Culture**

**David Rugger**

When we listen to someone's voice, what do we expect to hear? Without thinking, we listen *indexically*. We listen for the sonic traces of an individual's various

identities: their race, orientation, health, size, and gender. I argue that this way of attending to the body and identity through vocal sound within the inter-disciplinary discursive space known as “Voice Culture,” which coalesced in Britain during the second half of the nineteenth century. Within it, the voice became an organ of identity, capable of speaking the furtive truth of a subject’s being. Both the sound of the voice and the structure of the vocal organs became loci of disciplinary power, sites where the boundaries of class, race, gender, and health were policed, and where the aesthetics of normative vocality were learned, embodied, and ultimately naturalized. Through a study of interdisciplinary texts—singing and elocutionary manuals, concert reviews, anthropological field reports, classified ads, and medical case studies—this paper traces the emergence of normative vocality in late-Victorian England.

Prior to the mid-nineteenth century, falsetto was viewed as an essential part of male vocalism, to be developed and deployed according the laws of taste. Gradually, though, singing style changed, and falsetto fell out of fashion. Around this time also, the first clinically practical laryngoscopes were developed. The nature of voices changed. Once one could observe the voice in action, vocal sound became an epiphenomenon of a physiological state; conversely, the sound of the voice revealed the sounding body’s fundamental state.

Although there was already a well-developed physiological vocabulary, there was no analogous vocabulary for sound. To compensate, medical professionals borrowed musical terminology. Mid-century singing style became medically normative, and the classic vocal faults—nasality, throatiness, and falsetto in particular—came to signify all manner of alterity. To the anthropologist, falsetto suggested a “degenerate” culture. To doctors, falsetto was a symptom of disease. In short, once late-Victorians could see the voice, they learned to hear the body; developing a regime of listening—in which falsetto was always marked as “other”—through which they perceived the various facets of identity as immanent properties of vocal sound.

### **Performing and Hearing Race in Post-Emancipation Antigua** **Maria Ryan**

An advertisement taken out in the April 27, 1850 edition of the *Antigua Herald and Gazette* by the merchant A. Coltart announced that a new shipment of sheet music, instruments, and instructional manuals had just arrived from England. In Antigua, like all British colonies in the Caribbean, white people made up the minority of the population. After emancipation in 1834, there was growing anxiety about the role of mixed-race people within Britain’s Caribbean colonies, who were involved at all levels of island life, including its music making. This included being members of the Antigua Philharmonic Society, which the mixed-race Wesleyan reverend John Horsford referred to as one of “the gems which adorn this famed Isle, and reflects credit on the native youths whose taste led them to unite together to practice and perform music.” These musicians also travelled to perform on their neighboring island St. Kitts, some 100 km away, suggesting a network of musicians and concerts being established by black musicians and listeners on the smaller islands under British rule.

Such circum-Caribbean networks of black classical musicians, and their audiences, have received little attention in studies of British music history. Yet their existence, indicated through scraps of archival documents such as Coltart’s

advertisement, raise provocative questions who was actually purchasing, performing, and listening to (by choice or through proximity) the music imported from England. In this paper, I explore these questions, arguing that when we are talking about the performance of European cultivated music in the British colonial Caribbean we must always take into account that African-descended people were also performing, listening to, and overhearing this music. I use primary accounts of life in Antigua, contemporary newspapers, and missionary documents to suggest that there was a thriving musical culture on the island that was not limited to the homes of its wealthiest white inhabitants. By paying attention to the musicking of black and mixed-race Antiguans it is possible to develop a more sophisticated and nuanced understanding of how race intersected with musical culture and ideas of taste in the multiracial and archipelagic colonial spaces of the British Empire.

**“So He is mine”:  
Queerness, Divine Ecstasy, and the Devotional Closet in Britten’s Canticle I  
Arthur Richard Scoleri**

In a letter to Peter Pears dated 1 August 1945, Benjamin Britten reflected, “I don’t know why we should be so lucky, in all this misery.” Following the successful London premiere of *Peter Grimes* in June, Britten had embarked on a month-long recital tour of German villages and concentration camps alongside Yehudi Menuhin. What the composer witnessed there shaped his work for life. Britten utilized composition as a means for reflection in the wake of postwar despair and the persistent dissonance resulting from the tension between his homosexuality and religious sensibilities. Britten’s subsequent work was inspired by his realizations of Purcell’s sacred songs, pieces whose use was historically intended for the privacy of the “devotional closets” of seventeenth-century English Protestants. These engagements with England’s estranged musical past provided Britten with an “emotional home,” an interior space in which the exploration of the composer’s guilt eventually yielded meditations on his deeply-felt sense of otherness. In the first of his Canticles, Britten realizes a framework from Purcell’s *Divine Hymns* to set an ode to the piece’s intended recipient, Peter Pears. With assistance from biblically-inspired prose, Britten’s Canticle I (“My beloved is mine”) affirms the composer’s lifelong romantic and professional commitment to Peter Pears. This essay explores Britten’s use of historically English content, musical and poetic *entendre*, and the materiality of the “devotional closet” as an enclosure in which to exercise radically queer agency within a paranoid culture in which his and Pears’s identities consistently made them prime targets for broader skepticism.

**Modernist Church Music in Wartime:  
Walter Hussey’s Patronage of Benjamin Britten  
Hilary Seraph Donaldson**

Benjamin Britten’s *Rejoice in the Lamb* op. 30 (1943), a rhythmically complex anthem set to vivid, animist poetry, is emblematic of the Church of England’s engagement with modernist artworks on sacred themes in the mid-twentieth century. Amid the devastation of the German air raids and the strictures of wartime austerity,

the Anglican clergyman Walter Hussey began an ambitious project of commissioning sacred art from early-career English artists working in a modernist idiom. His inaugural commission of Britten incited an artistically fruitful friendship that lasted until Britten's final days. Hussey went on to commission similarly enduring pieces from Henry Moore, Leonard Bernstein, and Marc Chagall.

Drawing on correspondence, manuscript scores, and reviews gathered at the Britten-Pears Library and the West Sussex County Council office at Chichester, I examine the background, production, and reception of Britten's *Rejoice in the Lamb* in context with the other artworks Hussey commissioned during the war. As I suggest, this collaboration of composer and clergyman sheds light on Britten's activities within the Church of England as part of the broader project of the Church's public engagement with nation building during wartime. Heather Wiebe (2015) has argued convincingly that English patrons of the arts anticipated the task of rebuilding the cultural life of England even during wartime, and that Britten played an important role in activities of English postwar reconstruction. Alexandra Harris (2010) has illuminated the church's place in the wartime flourishing of public interest in the arts, and its engagement with English modernist artists. What has not been fully appreciated, however, is Britten's unique contribution to the continuity of modernist artistic activities during the war. Britten guided Hussey's selection of which artists to patronize, and made overtures to composers on his behalf. Hussey, for his part, shrewdly employed *Rejoice in the Lamb* to bolster support and understanding for his continuing modernist commissions in wartime within his parish and in the wider community. Having once lamented that "the arts had become largely divorced from the Church," Hussey found in Britten a means to rekindle a relationship which he felt had largely broken down in the modern era.

### **Elizabeth Maconchy and the Politics of British Musical Modernism in the 1930s** **Erica Siegel**

The years between the First and Second World Wars were characterized by tremendous confusion, if not a complete identity crisis, in British music as social upheavals that came in the wake of the First World War ushered in an era of rapid change and development that altered every facet of life. In recent years, musicologists have devoted increasing attention to this period, particularly in relation to aspects of modernism and nationalism. This growing body of scholarship, however, has focused almost exclusively on male composers, thus marginalizing the contribution of women such as Elizabeth Maconchy (1907-1994), who was widely considered to be at the forefront of the generation of British composers emerging in the 1930s.

This paper examines Maconchy's career and reception within the context of fluctuating attitudes towards modern music during the interwar period. As a composer who was variously described in the press as British, Irish, English, and Scottish, the question of national identity loomed large around the reception of Maconchy's music. While Maconchy's music was initially praised for its radically "modern," yet distinctly "British" idiom in the early 1930s, as the decade progressed and her reputation grew rapidly in Europe, her works were increasingly critiqued in Britain for being too cerebral and dissonant—criticisms of aspects of her music that were praised on the Continent. Through detailed analysis of Maconchy's reception both at home and abroad, I argue that the shift in the reception of her music highlights broader conflicts between

notions of identity and Britishness that can be understood as deeply entwined with tensions between nationalism and internationalism that permeated musical life in the years leading up to the Second World War.

**Angels, Drunkards, Thieves, and Lechers: Britten's Focalizations in  
*The Holy Sonnets of John Donne*  
Vicki P. Stroehler**

Annabelle Paetsch's 1998 assertion that Britten's vocal works are "permeated by narrative devices" deserves further scrutiny, particularly in light of more recent scholarship on musical narrativity (Almén 2008; Kramer 2013; Reyland, 2013) and the application of narratological theory to lyric poetry (Hühn and Kiefer 2005) and the German Lied (Weaver 2014). Although scholars of Britten's compositions have made use of narratology, semiotics, and discourse analysis in their work (e.g., Rupprecht 2001; Gopinath 2013; Whitesell 2013; Mark 2017; Stroehler 2018), none have considered Britten's acknowledgement of 'mediation events' (Hühn 2005) in which the speaker, consciously or unconsciously, gives or loses control to another mediating entity. The poems of Britten's Donne cycle are particularly rich with such occurrences. Donne often disrupts the speaker's perspective – the lyric "I" – with a shift in focalization or point of view. In fact, there are numerous "characters" in these poems, each of whom vies with the speaker for attention. Mistresses past and present, thieves, drunkards, lechers, and even personifications of death, sickness and the soul haunt the speaker's contemplations. Donne sometimes underscores the appearances of these external agents with subtle and not-so-subtle changes in the speaker's mode of mediation, including variations in temporality and disruptions to syntactical patterns.

A thorough analysis reveals that Britten highlighted many of Donne's external focalizations, and even *added* a few of his own making, giving these characters voice through mimesis, pattern changes, harmonic conflict, and use of imagined and diegetic sounds. But, Britten's additional focalizations – those beyond Donne's – suggest a more complex approach to the protagonist in these subjective readings. Composed in 1945 after a tour of German concentration camps, the cycle has long been understood as a reaction to the horrors of his experience, with much made in the literature about the theme of death. Britten's focalizations of non-diegetic characters – especially those of his own choosing – illumine a more nuanced response that allows us to assert this cycle as reflecting a more personal, internal conflict about his status as a conscientious objector. Considered anew, the cycle sheds new light on Britten's post-war output and his thoughts on societal injustice.

**"Snakehips Swing":  
Race, Nationality and Identity in British Dance Music  
Catherine Tackley**

The increasing identification of jazz as black music following its introduction to Britain in the aftermath of the First World War was one of the most profoundly

influential factors on British reception and perceptions of the genre. In the 1920s, while the BBC sought to present a civilized, (white) British version of jazz (dance music), jazz, often performed by (African) Americans, had considerable exotic appeal in what one contemporary writer termed 'the underworld of London'. By the mid-1930s there were enough black musicians resident in London for an all-black band to be formed which complicated these distinctions through its multiple musical, racial and national identities. The West Indian Dance Orchestra consisted of British-born black musicians, those who had arrived relatively recently from the Caribbean as well as, on occasion, white musicians who blacked up. Under the leadership of Ken "Snakehips" Johnson, the Orchestra achieved a residency at a prestigious central London venue, the Café de Paris, and broadcast on the BBC. The band played an important role in disseminating swing in Britain, and can be understood as 'standing in' for African American musicians for whom the possibility of performing in Britain were becoming increasingly limited due to restrictions imposed by the British government.

The impact of the Orchestra on social dancing and the longer-term consequences of the split of the band in wartime on racial integration in the dance band profession has been considered in my previous work. In this paper, using a variety of primary source material from contemporary newspapers, the BBC Written Archives, National Archives and the British Library Oral History of Jazz in Britain, I explore the reception of this all-black group against the backdrop of ever-changing relationships between Britain, America and Empire. The importance of the West Indian Dance Orchestra in the development of British jazz has been recognized, but this paper makes a broader argument for this dance band operating in mainstream situations of variety theatre and radio broadcasting as a case study illuminating the nature of public awareness of and attitudes to race and nationality in Britain in the 1930s.

### **Eurovision Opera: The BBC and the Making of Television Opera in Europe** **Danielle Ward-Griffin**

Opera on television has usually been studied within a national context (Senici 2012; Kühnel 1998; Rose 1986). Still, early broadcasters were attracted to television's potential to transcend geographical boundaries and encourage cross-cultural understanding. After World War II, the European Broadcasting Union (EBU) established a network known as "Eurovision" that coordinated program exchanges across national broadcasters. While scholars have examined Eurovision in the context of a developing European consciousness (Bourdon 2007; Fickers 2012; Henrich-Franke 2010), few have acknowledged the central importance of arts programming in this endeavor.

This paper examines how Eurovision laid the foundation for operatic exchange and co-operation across national boundaries. Focusing on the BBC, this paper shows how it played a leading role in establishing the Salzburg Prize for the best opera written for television (1959-1986) and the EBU's scheme for opera commissions (1966-71). These initiatives responded to what broadcasters saw as a crisis in European opera by commissioning new compositions, promoting chamber operas, and helping works move from screen to stage. Most importantly, these programs aimed to create a general audience that would be pan-European yet accessed through national channels.

At the same time, these initiatives fed into national ideologies of music and culture and exposed national fault lines. Drawing upon correspondence, production

files, and jury reports in the BBC Written Archives, I trace how the British broadcaster struggled to find common ground with its European counterparts, particularly in fashioning what it saw as an accessible musical and dramatic modernism. Eventually, the BBC turned away from Europe and partnered with North American broadcasters, as the Eurovision experiments ended up encouraging bilateral and trilateral blocs between countries with shared linguistic and operatic backgrounds.

Ultimately, opera on television was forced to navigate fluctuations in an emerging European identity. Although Eurovision's lofty vision of a European consciousness failed to materialize, these initiatives helped to set up a system of co-production that came to underpin television and opera industries more widely. As such, they illuminate the overlooked role of broadcasting in the spread of opera in the mid-twentieth century, as well as the continuing role of the nation within pan-European endeavors.

### **“A Powerful School of Anglo-Saxon Music”: Horatio Parker, England, and Anglo-American Nationalism** **Daniel Weaver**

From 1899-1902, composer and Yale University professor, Horatio Parker, made several trips to England. On the surface, these trips concerned professional matters, such as festival commissions, and reflected Parker's surging popularity among English audiences. With the 1899 performance of his oratorio, *Hora Novissima*, Parker became the first American to have a work programmed at England's venerable Three Choirs Festival. Less than three years later, Cambridge University awarded him an honorary doctorate. As this paper will show, however, Parker's English sojourns also highlighted some of the most pressing musical issues of the time, particularly concerning race, nationalism, and modernity.

Amidst the accolades, Parker seized the opportunity to emphasize shared goals and concerns between America and England in a time of disconcerting musical change. Publicly and privately, Parker expounded to his English admirers on the declining condition of modern European music. He bemoaned the superficiality of French and Italian music, while describing Richard Strauss's "nerve-wracking" compositions as symptomatic of Germany's cultural deterioration. As a remedy, Parker advocated an "Anglo-Saxon" school of composition. This Anglo-American partnership would put the art of music back on a respectable footing by emphasizing Brahmsian principles of historical continuity and musical restraint. In making his appeal, Parker tapped into the contemporary pseudoscience of Anglo-Saxon superiority, describing Americans and Britons as the "races" best suited to lead such an endeavor.

Drawing on materials from the Horatio Parker Papers at Yale's Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, this paper will demonstrate how Parker used the rhetoric of Anglo-Saxonism to forge a musically-conservative Anglo-American bond. My argument will consider the English roots of racist Anglo-Saxonism in nineteenth-century American thought as described by historian Reginald Horsman, while also building on Alain Frogley's work on the role of Anglo-Saxonism in early-twentieth-century symphonic music. Although Parker's envisioned Anglo-American musical alliance foundered in the face of accelerating modernism, this neglected episode demands nuanced consideration. It gave musical expression to England and America's

burgeoning “special relationship.” Further, in pinning a stylistic agenda to Anglo-Saxon identity, Parker’s mission reflects how mid-nineteenth-century racial categorizations continued to inform musical nationalism at the century’s close.

**“Captivate these Mortall Eares”: Performing the Music of the Spheres in English  
Drama of the later Seventeenth-Century  
Sarah F. Williams**

The Greek concept of the music of the spheres, or the unheard, celestial harmonies produced by the planets eternally circling in their orbits vibrating in sympathy with the eternal human soul, was adopted by early modern English Neoplatonists as a model for achieving a harmonious society and a healthy constitution. Later reinterpreted by seventeenth-century English philosophers like Robert Fludd, the music of the spheres was put into practice by early modern English music theorist-composers like Thomas Morley and John Dowland. While the symbolic properties of *harmonia mundi*—and the sounding music imitating it—have been well documented in early modern English primary sources and scholarship on celestial music, how these celestial sounds were staged has yet to be explored. In Thomas Middleton’s masque *The World Tossed at Tennis* (1620), Jupiter invokes the “Musique of the Spheares” in order to restore civic harmony. Other contemporaneous dramatic works—including Shakespeare’s *Pericles* and the 1594 quarto *The Taming of a Shrew*—call for celestial sounds to correct social or corporeal ills.

Many moments in drama throughout the seventeenth century go beyond a mere mention of the music of the spheres but rather endeavor to stage it with references to sounding music. How would early modern English playwrights have interpreted these centuries-old ideas about *harmonia mundi* and the macrocosm that shaped their worldview with the dramatic and musical resources available to them? Did audience or genre matter? More importantly, how did changing philosophical ideas about myth and science in the seventeenth century, particularly with the rise of the Royal Society, inform popular conceptions of what, if it was audible for mortals, the music of the spheres actually sounded like? By cross-examining early modern English humoral theory and the dramatic conditions surrounding contemporaneous plays calling for audible celestial music, I explore the performative implications of the music of the spheres. How seventeenth century playwrights, particularly those engaged with comedy and farce at the end of the seventeenth century, staged speculative music provides a window into the complex web of intellectual, practical, and social concerns facing an increasingly competitive theatrical enterprise in the Restoration.