GHOSTS IN THE ARCHIVES:
THE QUEER KNOWLEDGE AND PUBLIC MUSICOLOGY OF VERNON LEE, ROSA NEWMARCH, AND EDWARD PRIME-STEVENSON

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Abstract

My dissertation examines the work of three turn-of-the-twentieth-century music critics—Vernon Lee (pseud. Violet Paget), Rosa Newmarch, and Edward Prime-Stevenson—through the lenses of queer musicology and biography. While conventional wisdom has it that musicology's interest in gender and sexuality studies began with the "new musicology" of the 1990s, I argue that expanding the definition of "musicology" allows musicologists to consider a wider variety of voices and perspectives in the history of our field. Each of my chapters is organized according to a particular author's approach to listening to music, the research process, and treatment of queer subject matter. While all three have slightly different interpretative methods, all explore modes of knowledge that might otherwise be considered speculative or insubstantial. In order to shed light on these marginal aspects, I consider Lee, Newmarch, and Prime-Stevenson in light of three "personae" from Victorian and Edwardian pulp fiction: the ghost-hunter, the detective, and the time traveler. While these categories might seem eccentric ways to consider musicological work, I argue that they reflect the particular intellectual commitments of each figure: Lee's fascination with the failure of written documentation to fully capture the "ghosts" of past musical experience, Newmarch's reliance on documentary evidence to reveal some of her subject's secrets and her stated discomfort with the role of the biographer, and Prime-Stevenson's nostalgic use of repetition, revision, and dedication to "return" to the 1890s decades after the fact. By reframing these ways of knowing as central to each scholar's individual approach to constructing and interpreting musical-sexual knowledge, I draw attention to aspects of their work previously neglected or considered only in isolation.

Identifying the coded references, careful nuances, and intentional and accidental gaps that make ambiguity an inherent feature of these sources requires an awareness of multiple approaches to music history beyond biography and historiography, intersecting as it does with literary scholarship, art history, the histories of science and medicine, and sound studies. This project proposes some ways in which the histories of sexuality and musicology might be more intertwined than commonly assumed. While reconstructive projects have been central to feminist and queer histories since their origins and played a strong role in "new musicology," the role of musicologists and other music researchers as agents within music history worthy of study in their own right remains marginal to studies of performers and composers.

Résumé (traduit par Vanessa Blais-Tremblay)

Cette dissertation examine les travaux de trois historiens de la musique du tournant du XXe siècle—Vernon Lee (pseudo. Violet Paget), Rosa Newmarch, et Edward Prime-Stevenson—sous les angles de la musicologie et de la biographie *queer*. Si la sagesse conventionnelle veut que l'intérêt de la musicologie pour les études de genre et de sexualité ait commencé avec l'avènement de la « nouvelle musicologie » dans les années 1990, je soutiens que l'élargissement de la définition même de ce qui est « musicologique » permettrait aux musicologues d'envisager une plus grande variété de voix et de perspectives au sein de notre discipline. Chacun de mes chapitres est organisé selon l'approche d'un auteur particulier en ce qui concerne l'écoute de la musique, les processus de recherche, et le traitement de sujets *queer*. Bien que tous trois utilisent des méthodes d'interprétation légèrement différentes, ils explorent tous des modes de connaissance qui pourraient autrement être considérés comme spéculatifs, ou non-substantiels. Afin de faire la lumière sur ces aspects marginaux, je considère Lee, Newmarch, et Prime-Stevenson en lien avec trois figures de la « *pulp fiction* » des époques victorienne et édouardienne : le chasseur de fantômes, le détective, et le voyageur temporel. Bien que ces catégories puissent sembler excentriques dans le contexte de l'analyse de travaux musicologiques, je soutiens qu'elles reflètent les engagements intellectuels particuliers de chacun de ces critiques : la fascination de Lee pour l'échec de la documentation écrite à rendre pleinement compte des « fantômes » de l'expérience musicale passée ; la confiance de Newmarch en la « preuve documentaire » afin de révéler certains secrets de son sujet, ainsi que son inconfort avoué face à son rôle de biographe ; et finalement, la nostalgie avec laquelle Prime-Stevenson fait usage de la répétition, de la révision, ainsi que son dévouement, plusieurs dizaines d'années plus tard, à « retourner » aux années 1890. En recadrant ces modes de connaissance comme étant au cœur de l'approche individuelle de chaque critique en matière de construction et d'interprétation des savoirs musicaux et sexuels, j'attire l'attention sur des aspects de leur travail précédemment négligés, ou considérés seulement isolément.

Identifier les références codées, les nuances soignées, ainsi que les lacunes accidentelles et intentionnelles qui font de l'ambiguïté une caractéristique inhérente de ces sources nécessite une connaissance des approches multiples de l'histoire de la musique, allant au-delà de la biographie et de l'historiographie pour inclure la recherche littéraire, l'histoire de l'art, des sciences, et de la médecine, ainsi que les études sonores. Ce projet propose ainsi des pistes afin que démontrer que les histoires de la sexualité et de la musicologie sont mieux imbriquées qu'on ne le suppose généralement. Alors que les projets de reconstruction sont au cœur des histoires féministes et *queer* depuis leurs origines et qu'elles ont joué un rôle important dans la « nouvelle musicologie », l'étude du rôle des musicologues et autres chercheurs en tant qu'agents de l'histoire de la musique (et donc méritant eux aussi d'être étudiés en tant que tel) reste marginale par rapport aux études des interprètes et des compositeurs.

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My interest in music biography, the spread of knowledge, and the intersections between the arts, gender, and sexuality can all likely be traced back to my high school fascination with dubious composer biographies and even more dubious mystery novels about music. I owe a great deal to the many, many friends, mentors, colleagues, and family members who have shaped what began as a nebulous and impossible idea into a (hopefully) more focused final project.

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Portions of Chapter 3 appear in different and much-shortened forms in *Musique et pédagogie* and *Ars Lyrica: The Journal for the Society of Word-Music Relations.*

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Chapter 1: Introduction

In her introduction to a memorial anthology of essays by the late Britten scholar Philip Brett, Susan McClary comments that the title of the groundbreaking anthology *Queering the Pitch: The New Gay and Lesbian Musicology* (coedited by Brett, Elizabeth Wood, and Gary Thomas in 1994) contains a touch of humor about the supposedly recent history of queer musicology. She notes "the implication in the subtitle that there was an *old* gay and lesbian musicology—as, of course, there *was*, even if it dared not speak its name."[1]

McClary's essay, of course, makes a broader point about Brett's contributions to the field and the risks that he, Wood, and Thomas took through their scholarship and formative work with the Gay and Lesbian Study Group (now the LGBTQ Study Group) of the American Musicological Society, insisting that sexuality and gender were and are vital lenses through which to talk about the role of music in society. Taking this quip seriously, however, what was this "old gay and lesbian musicology?" Who wrote it, what sources did they draw from, and how did they manage to connect with readers and fellow scholars? What did it look like? How did it engage with more mainstream historical and musical sources and scholarship? Where did it go? Why do we generally speak of the pioneers of queer musicology as being active during the 1980s and 1990s, not in the 1890s? Moving towards an answer to these questions requires broadening both our definitions of musicology and the musicological lens. The traces of the "old" queer musicology and those who created it are, by necessity, frequently esoteric and oblique. It relies on dubious sources, personal idiosyncrasies, and the protections afforded by plausible deniability, loaded language, and/or self-publishing.

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[1] Susan McClary, "Introduction: Remembering Philip Brett," in Philip Brett, *Music and Sexuality in Britten: Selected Essays*, ed. George Haggerty (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 8n3.

The three main figures I examine—aesthetician Vernon Lee, biographer Rosa Newmarch, and critic Edward Prime-Stevenson—all relied on and responded to elusive knowledge to varying extents in shaping their own conceptions of the intersections between musical meaning and personal identity. Despite working in different fields and with different ideas about how their understandings of their own sexual identity (as far as it can be determined) interacted with their choice of musicological knowledge, all three clearly felt that the interactions between music and sex in the broadest sense meant *something* pivotal to their work, relationships, and musical experiences. I term this *something* "musical-sexual knowledge," following Heike Bauer's identification of an "English literary sexology" that translated concepts and frameworks from (often German) medical sexology through a humanities lens.[2] The medical origins of Bauer's literary sexology in novels such as Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness* (1928), are clearly recognizable, but are also transformed into something distinct from the medical case studies. In a similar manner, the musical-sexual knowledge of the likes of Lee, Newmarch, and Prime-Stevenson evades easy classification while drawing from the same kinds of ambiguity, hearsay, and subjectivity found in sexology and sex reform literature. Connecting and contrasting these sources allows me to unearth some of the older frameworks for conceptualizing and historicizing queer music and musical queerness.

Ambiguities, Gaps, and Nuances: Strategies for Lee, Newmarch, and Prime-Stevenson

Lee, born Violet Paget, having chosen a masculine pseudonym early in life for her professional writing, aligned herself with the sexually and vocally ambiguous castrati of the eighteenth

[2] Heike Bauer, *English Literary Sexology: Translations of Inversion, 1860-1930* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009). See also Bauer (ed), *Sexology and Translation: Cultural and Scientific Encounters across the Modern World* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015).

century, made sense of others' musical experiences through analyzing their personal accounts, and was repulsed by what she saw as the more direct sensuality of Wagnerian opera and its adherents. Newmarch found in Tchaikovsky a model of both intellectual rigor and subjective musical response who carefully guarded his most private emotions. Prime-Stevenson, whose legal training as a young man may have allowed him entrée into European sexological circles and whose gender and personal wealth allowed him greater ease of travel, wrote more directly about a sort of musical-sexual hermeneutics, blending psychological theories with hearsay, literary scholarship, and his own experiences as a music critic.

I have chosen to focus on these three figures not because they represent a comprehensive approach to everything thought or experienced about queer musical experience during this period. Such a project would be far beyond the scope of a single dissertation. Instead, I single out Lee, Newmarch, and Prime-Stevenson in part because of their scope, communities (both social and scholarly), and limitations. While not part of a stable, unified queer community, they did know of one another and thus might be considered as sharing the same disciplinary space. They all engaged, whether directly or indirectly, with one another's ideas about individual emotion, canon formation, and forging connections with historical figures. Prime-Stevenson and Lee were directly acquainted through the Anglophone expatriate community in Florence prior to and after the First World War. Prime-Stevenson dedicated a chapter in his collected volume of music criticism to Lee and may have contributed a case study to her perception research. Lee and Newmarch were connected by their shared interests in musical subjectivity, experiences as female public intellectuals, friendships with more famous artists (notably Ethel Smyth and Mary Wakefield), and moderate feminism. Newmarch and Prime-Stevenson, seemingly the most disparate in terms of life experiences and the content of their work, referred obliquely to their

conflicting views on Tchaikovsky and the value of musical-sexual gossip. Professionally, they also shared some connections in both the publishing and academic worlds, as both contributed articles to the second edition of Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians.* All three of them wrote both scholarship and literary work (fiction and/or poetry) on musical subjects and aimed their public writings at a kind of educated but not necessarily academic musical readership.

In considering their lives and work as part of the "old gay and lesbian musicology," the question of terminology and definitions naturally arises. "Were they really musicologists?" is perhaps an easier question to answer, albeit one increasingly loaded in terms of 21st-century debates about disciplinary boundaries and public scholarship. This question, however, would not have been an entirely foreign one during their lifetimes. In 1915, the American music scholar Waldo S. Pratt published "On Behalf of Musicology" as the first article in the inaugural issue of *The Musical Quarterly.* While most of the article is about the establishment of musicology as a field of scholarly inquiry, the first couple of paragraphs deal with problems of terminology:

> Perhaps the first question is, Do we really need the word "musicology?" It is a word not instantly grateful to the ear or to the mind. The eye may confuse it with the botanist's "muscology," and the humorous fancy may even connect it with the ubiquitous Musca of entomology. Even when we see what it is and that it is etymologically correct, we have to confess that it seems almost as hybrid as "sexology." At all events, it is more ingenious than euphonious, more curious than alluring.[3]

This concern about being "almost as hybrid as sexology" is, so far as I can tell, the sole time the terms musicology and sexology are directly contrasted in the literature of either field during this period. However, the hybridity that Pratt observes as posing a problem for musicology entering the English language reflects a vital question in musicology's early years that remains a crucial

[3] Waldo S. Pratt, "On Behalf of Musicology," *The Musical Quarterly* 1, no. 1 (1915): 1.

issue today. What exactly is it that musicologists do, and how do we claim knowledge about music, musicality, and the musical experience?

None of my three subjects held permanent academic posts of any kind, or appear to have been active in the sorts of international and national musicological organizations forming by the 1930s and 1940s. In Lee's and Newmarch's cases, this was a matter of gender discrimination, whereas Prime-Stevenson appears to have viewed his primary professional connections as being with other newspapermen, rather than with academics. On paper, Newmarch's writings seem the most obviously musicological today. Her biographical works are scrupulously grounded in primary sources, while her program notes carefully explain the outlines of musical form and harmony. She wrote over one hundred articles for music magazines and scholarly journals (some of them still active today). One could easily picture her engagement with the Society of Women Musicians and the Promenade Concerts as fitting well into what a CV might call "service to the profession." She was even included, if disparagingly, in a list of British musicologists compiled by Edward Dent in a letter to Oscar Sonneck, and has appeared more recently in Tchaikovsky historiographies by Richard Taruskin and Malcolm Hamrick Brown.[4] Recent work on Newmarch by Philip Ross Bullock and Lewis Stevens reevaluates her as a musicologist and public advocate for women in music.[5] Lee and Prime-Stevenson, by contrast, cast themselves more in the mold of the Victorian "gentleman of letters," with their works an eclectic mix of personal experience and

[4] Malcolm Hamrick Brown, "Tchaikovsky and his Music in Anglo-American Criticism, 1890s-1950s," in Sophie Fuller and Lloyd Whitesell (eds.), *Queer Episodes in Music and Modern Identity* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 134-149; and Richard Taruskin, "Pathetic Symphonist: Chaikovsky, Russia, Sexuality, and the Study of Music," in *On Russian Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 76-104.

[5] Philip Ross Bullock, *Rosa Newmarch and Rosa Newmarch and Russian Music in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century England* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), "'Lessons in sensibility': Rosa Newmarch, Music Appreciation, and the Aesthetic Cultivation of the Self," *The Yearbook of English Studies* 40 (2010): 295-318; and Lewis Stevens, *An Unforgettable Woman: The Life and Times of Rosa Newmarch* (Leicester: Troubador, 2011).

speculation, references to scientific and artistic literature, and original research.[6] Lee's attempt to catalogue the "imaginative and empirical responses to music" in *Music and Its Lovers* suffers from experimental bias and limited sample size, yet her approach to listening experiments and summarizing case studies is not entirely dissimilar from music perception experiments I have participated in as a test subject. Her reliance on the visual arts as a musicological source in *Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy*, while a common tactic among nineteenth-century scholars, also finds its late 20th- and early 21st-century relation in music iconography. Prime-Stevenson, with his playing with personal experiences, queer modes of listening and references to debates over historical speculation in both his musical and sexological work, might well have been most comfortable of the three within the "new musicology" of the 1990s, and the traces of musical-sexual knowledge in his remarks about Beethoven and the phonograph align well with the informal style adopted by Wayne Koestenbaum and Kevin Kopelson.[7]

If we are satisfied that they are indeed musicologists, then, the issue remains whether their work fits into what McClary identified as "the old gay and lesbian musicology." Here, Prime-Stevenson is the most obvious candidate for the role, both by virtue of his known relationships with men (in particular, his former student and the eventual president of the New York Philharmonic, Harry Harkness Flagler, who served as the inspiration and dedicatee for many of his writings on music) and his overt, if often pseudonymous writings on same-sex relationships and queer literary history. Newmarch and Lee present more complicated cases, both due to their status as women and their choice of research subjects. Lee's relationships with other

[6] Christa Zorn positions Lee as self-consciously modeling herself after the "Victorian man of letters" in her *Vernon Lee: Aesthetics, History, and the Victorian Female Intellectual* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2003), xxiii-xxiv.
[7] Wayne Koestenbaum, *The Queen's Throat: Opera, Homosexuality, and the Mystery of Desire* (New York: Poseidon Press, 1993) and Kevin Kopelson, *Beethoven's Kiss: Pianism, Perversion, and the Mastery of Desire* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996).

women were well-known among her circle of friends and documented and debated in scholarship not long after her death. Gender ambiguity appears as a theme throughout her work, both in her adoption of a masculine persona and the themes of fluidity that run through her fiction and scholarship. While she did not write about "music and homosexuality" as a subject in the same way that Prime-Stevenson did, it is impossible to completely disentangle her professional interests from her personal relationships, both in terms of collaboration with and dedications to other women and attempts early in her career to connect with living castrati and immerse herself in that history.

Newmarch's life and works fit the most uncomfortably within a definition of queer musicology, yet also exemplify the secrecy in "not speaking its name" that McClary identifies. On the one hand, her choice of research subject places her in a lineage of Tchaikovsky scholars still discussed by those working on Tchaikovsky and sexuality today. A recent book on newly available family letters and private documents, translated into English as *The Tchaikovsky Papers: Unlocking the Family Archive,* even seems a direct answer to the questions she poses about documents withheld by the Tchaikovsky family at the end of her *Tchaikovsky: His Life and Works*.[8] Yet, as Taruskin and Brown have noted, one has to look carefully for allusions to Tchaikovsky's homosexuality within Newmarch's work. She appears to have had a special interest in his unhappy marriage, epistolary relationships with both his brother Modest and patron von Meck, and closeness with his nephew Vladimir (Bob) Davidov. Yet she also vigorously denied the supposed autobiographical and confessional aspects of the Symphony no. 6 (*Pathétique*) popular in musical-sexual gossip from the 1890s onward. One wonders if there were personal reasons Newmarch was drawn to such a complicated, secretive figure beyond his

[8] Marina Kostalvesky (ed.) and Stephen Pearl (trans.), *The Tchaikovsky Papers: Unlocking the Family Archive*, adapted from the Russian edition by Polina Vaidman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018).

music's popularity in London. A married woman and mother of two, occasionally celebrated by male colleagues as proof that the scholarly life did not make women unfeminine, her relationship with longtime companion Elizabeth (Bella) Simpson, acquaintance with women whose same-sex relationships are better documented, and vaguely feminist and homoerotic poetry all remain open to interpretation. In life and work, she embodied the ambiguity and ephemerality that one finds in tracing "the old gay and lesbian musicology" and continues to find in doing feminist and queer history today.

Literature Review: Musicology, Sexuality, and Archival Traces

Identifying the coded references, careful nuances, and intentional and accidental gaps that make this ambiguity an inherent feature of these sources requires an awareness of multiple approaches to music history beyond biography and historiography, intersecting with literary scholarship, art history, the histories of science and medicine, and sound studies. While reconstructive projects have been central to feminist and queer histories since their origins—indeed, much of Prime-Stevenson's historical writings and borrowings from medical sexology involve a process similar to the work done by feminist and gay/lesbian literary scholars decades later—and played a strong role in "new musicology," the role of musicologists and other music researchers as agents within music history worthy of study in their own right remains marginal to studies of performers and composers. As Laurie McManus notes in her dissertation on the rhetoric of sexuality in music criticism around the Brahms-Wagner debate, despite the proliferation of scholarship taking into account gender and sexuality as forces in musical creation, performance, and reception, "few

studies have begun preliminary work on sexual rhetoric of later nineteenth-century music criticism beyond the context of reception of specific pieces."[9]

A few important exceptions to this trend should be mentioned, both for their influence on my methodology and to illustrate the difficulties of locating scholars as people within their scholarship. Philip Brett's brief biographical study of Edward Dent and Sophie Fuller's research on Edwardian women musicians and scholars propose some ways in which the histories of sexuality and musicology might be more intertwined than commonly assumed.[10] In examining Dent's work through the lens of his homosexuality and engagement with a social circle that included E.M. Forster and Edward Carpenter, Brett finds in Dent's scholarship a "reverse discourse" that allows him to situate Dent's musicological research in conversation with both early gay literature and the quasi-scientific turn taken by musicology in the postwar years. Following a similar method, Fuller's work on "looking for lesbian musicians" utilizes a variety of surviving primary sources to reconstruct connections and networks of love and support within early twentieth-century British women's musical communities.

Two broader attempts to contextualize the associations between the histories of musicology and sexuality that spurred on my questions about the "old" musicological approaches to sexuality are Judith Peraino's *Listening to the Sirens: Musical Technologies of Queer Identity from Homer to "Hedwig"* and Martin Scherzinger and Neville Hoad's "A/Symmetrical Reading

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[9] Laurie McManus, "The Rhetoric of Sexuality in the Age of Brahms and Wagner" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2011), 15.

[10] Philip Brett, "Musicology and Sexuality: The Example of Edward J. Dent," in Sophie Fuller and Lloyd Whitesell, *Queer Episodes in Music and Modern Identity,* 177-188; and Sophie Fuller, "Women Composers during the British Musical Renaissance, 1880-1910" (PhD diss., London University, 1998), and "'Devoted Attentions': Looking for Lesbian Musicians in Edwardian England," in Fuller and Whitesell, *Queer Episodes in Music and Modern Identity,* 79-104.

of Inversion in Fin-de-Siècle Music, Musicology, and Sexology."[11] Peraino's chapter on nineteenth- and early twentieth-century queer musical discourses and symbolism, "A Music of One's Own: *discipline*," builds on Foucault in following the ways in which linked notions of musicality, sexuality, and confession moved from the religious sphere to the medical at the turn of the twentieth century. She provides numerous examples from sexological case studies, especially those from Hirschfeld and Freud, and analyzes how these frameworks created new models for how to talk about music in relation to gender and sexuality. The chapter on sexology ends with an in-depth discussion of how sexological concepts of gender inversion and confession indirectly influenced scholarly readings of works by Tchaikovsky and Britten from the midcentury point onwards. By contrast, Scherzinger and Hoad attempt to draw a more direct line between the sexologists' interest in music and the concept of "inversion theory" in German sexology and music theory. They argue for a social and disciplinary reexamination of the "transition from chromaticism to atonality, on the one hand, and revisiting the transition from the sodomite to the homosexual, on the other."[12] While this view of "inversion theory" as a concept from the evolutionary sciences that entered a number of fields (including musicology and sexology) during this period provides some useful context, it risks oversimplifying the interactions between sexology and music research as purely conceptual.

More recently, in a colloquy on "Music and Sexuality" in the *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, several scholars have presented more historicized views of current

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[11] Judith Peraino, *Listening to the Sirens: Musical Technologies of Queer Identity from Homer to "*Hedwig*"* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), and Martin Scherzinger and Neville Hoad, "A/Symmetrical Reading of Inversion in Fin-de-Siècle Music, Musicology, and Sexology" in *Queering the Canon: Defying Sights in German Literature and Culture*, ed. Christoph Lorey and John L. Plews (Columbia: Camden House, 1998), 36-72.
[12] Scherzinger and Hoad, "A/Symmetrical Reading of Inversion in Fin-de-Siècle Music, Musicology, and Sexology," 37.

LGBTQ studies in musicology.[13] In the introduction, Judith Peraino observes that "musicological explorations of the intersections of music and sexuality have a long history, if we include such writing as Edward Lockspeiser's 1945 coded commentary on Tchaikovsky's music as "shameless in its sensuousness and splendor.'"[14] While the idea of stretching queer musicology back in time to 1945 (or earlier!) is not the focus of Peraino's article, my consideration of Newmarch's and Prime-Stevenson's commentaries is in part an answer to the implied question of what happens "if we include" different types of sources in the history of musicological work on sexuality. Other contributors to the colloquy proposed other historical associations between sexuality and the discipline of musicology, as in Mitchell Morris's genealogical linking of LGBTQ studies and queer theory with sexology and Stephan Pennington's critique of scholars' tendency to anachronistically entwine gender and sexual variance.[15] Both Morris and Pennington situate musical scholarship's role in defining gender and sexual categories in relation to longer histories of musicology, the histories of gender and sexuality, and activism.

Broader histories of musicology and music criticism also informed my framing of my subjects' work as musicology and provided insight into the networks of different types of music writing prior to the institutionalization of what many of us would recognize as "musicology." Bennet Zon's *Music and Metaphor in Nineteenth-Century British Musicology* traces the use of metaphors from science, religion, and art history in a body of British music history, criticism, theory, and appreciation written before the term "musicology" had entered the English language. While Zon does not treat British sexology in his survey of "scientific" and "evolutionary"

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[13] Judith Peraino and Suzanne Cusick (eds.), "Music and Sexuality," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 66 (2013): 825-872.
[14] Peraino, "The Same, but Different: Sexuality and Musicology, Then and Now," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 66 (2013): 826.
[15] Mitchell Morris, "Calling Names, Taking Names," *JAMS* 66 (2013): 831-5; and Stephan Pennington, "A Meditation on the Relationship between Gender Variance and Sexual Variance," *JAMS* 66 (2013): 857-861.

approaches to music research—the bulk of which examines books that predate Havelock Ellis's and John Addington Symonds's research—the chapters on science trace the influence of evolutionary models that contributed to the view of musicality as a biological "instinct," an idea that emerged alongside the sexologists' models of innate or congenital sexuality and gender. Zon also presents an image of a field cobbled together from diverse sources with a variety of intended purposes and audiences. His focus on the intersections between musicology and the sciences also intersects with a number of recent scholarly inquiries into the ways in which the emerging social sciences shaped discourses on music and musicality, including James Kennaway's work on music and the nerves and Alan Davison's research on themes of degeneracy in fin-de-siècle musical biographies.[16] In a similar manner, Christopher Wiley argues in his dissertation, "Rewriting Composers' Lives: Critical Historiographies and Musical Biography," that biography is "a genre of documentary significance to reception history for its attempts to shape public opinion of its subjects."[17] Going beyond mere corrections and debunking of persistent inaccuracies in eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth-century biographies of "great composers," Wiley examines the relationship between biographers, biographical subjects, and the readers of musical biography, identifying how and why specific "myths of musical biography" and approaches to mainstream English canon-building developed and crystallized.

Reaching into the future of the discipline, William Cheng's calls for a "reparative musicology" and analysis of meetings of the AMS in his *Just Vibrations: The Purpose of Sounding Good* demonstrates one way in which musicologists active today can turn our scholarly

[16] James Kennaway, *Bad Vibrations: The History of Music as a Cause of Disease* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2012) and Alan Davison, "Liszt among the Degenerates: On the Vagaries of Being a Musical Genius, c. 1890-c. 1935," in *Liszt's Legacies,* edited by James Deaville and Michael Saffle (Hillsdale: Pendragon Press, 2014), 236-258.
[17] Christopher Wiley, "Rewriting Composers' Lives: Critical Historiographies of Music Biography (PhD diss., Royal Holloway, University of London, 2008), 4.

lenses towards the field itself, both to address long-overdue questions about academia's inclusions and exclusions and to stop assuming that musicologists somehow exist outside of the structures we study. I was struck in particular by Cheng's analyses of two academic panels featuring "queer music" scholarship from outside of musicology: the 2014 "Queer Music Theory" panel co-hosted by the AMS and Society for Music Theory and the 2013 AMS LGBTQ Study Group dialogue between guest scholar David Halperin and session moderator/respondent Ryan Dohoney.[18] In both instances, the denial of musicological identity (whether by those attempting to demonstrate music *theory*'s queerness or by a literature scholar attempting to disclaim his disciplinary boundaries) served as a reminder to Cheng of the slipperiness of identity: what terms do we use, what do we mean, and who are we including/excluding in these definitions? Or, as he puts it, "How does one *sound* musicological? And who's to judge?"[19] While Cheng's work focuses on late twentieth- and early twenty first-century musicologists (and the self-described "Not Musicologists"), these questions resonated with my decision to locate Lee, Newmarch, and Prime-Stevenson not as "music critics"—a term which today often implies a journalistic bent that does not completely encompass their respective forays into musical emotion and perception, documentary biography, and hermeneutics—but musicologists. In a way, this inverts some of the vicious online debate over whether or not Cheng's book "was really musicology" and whether or not musicology should be defined as simply "whatever musicologists do."[20] If my subjects did something that sounded (to me, at least) an awful lot like musicology, why not call them musicologists?

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[18] William Cheng, "How Hopeful the Queer," in *Just Vibrations: The Purpose of Sounding Good* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016), doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.3998/mpub.9293551%09.
[19] Ibid.
[20] This debate, largely carried out in posts (entitled "What Musicology is For in 2016," "Welcome to the New Caring, Sharing Musicology," and "What We Mean By a 'Caring Musicology'") and comments on Norman Lebrecht's blog *Slipped Disc*, and further commented upon in messages amongst the members of the now-defunct

Outside of musicology, two other studies on scholars and their sources have been crucial to my understanding of the eclecticism of this project and how to balance archival research, biography, and queer scholarship. Foremost among these is Gavin Butt's *Between You and Me: Queer Disclosures in the New York Art World*. Butt, focusing on Andy Warhol's midcentury circle, argues for the role of gossip in general—and queer gossip in particular—as a long-neglected primary source in art history, providing perspectives on and sources for knowledge that was widely assumed in the postwar New York gay male artistic scene but not easily backed up by either primary sources or scholarship from the period.[21] Butt reads between the lines in interviews, advertisements, art pieces, and trade and scholarly publications to find suggestive language, traces of shared historical knowledge, and interpretive stances. Individually, many of these might be viewed as speculation; however, taken as a body of work, they suggest the remains of an archive, which Butt frames as "gossip: the hardcore of art history." A very different kind of art historical study, Helena Michie's and Robyn Warhol's *Love Among the Archives: Writing the Lives of Sir George Scharf, Victorian Bachelor*, serves as both an exploration of what it means to write biography and a cautionary tale for the researcher expecting to find anything beyond traces of her subject's humanity in archival sources.[22] In writing the intentionally plural "lives" of Scharf, director of the National Portrait Gallery from

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AMS-L listserv during August 2015, also highlighted a disconnect (for a certain public) between academic musicology and a classical music fandom. A search for "musicology" on *Slipped Disk* reveals that Lebrecht continued in his crusade against the discipline, offering a competition in May 2017 for his commenters to "write us a piece of hoax musicology" (riffing on a "study" of the supposed intellectual flaws inherent to gender studies, wherein a bogus paper was accepted by a pay-to-publish journal). As recently as July 5, 2018 (exactly one week, incidentally, before I wrote this footnote), Lebrecht linked to a *Spectator* article by Damian Thomson, which decried musicology as "like parapsychology…a cultish thing." http://slippedisc.com/?s=musicology&submit=search (accessed July 12, 2018).

[21] Gavin Butt, *Between You and Me: Queer Disclosures in the New York Art World, 1948-1963* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

[22] Helena Michie and Robyn Warhol, *Love Among the Archives: Writing the Lives of Sir George Scharf, Victorian Bachelor* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015).

1857 until 1895, Michie and Warhol confront their own assumptions about what they expected to find within Scharf's archives, and, borrowing from Victorian literature, outline the types of intriguing-if-incomplete "plots" one could write using the surviving sources.

Despite the focus on individuals and the persistent pull of wanting and failing to uncover who Lee, Newmarch, and Prime-Stevenson were as people, this is ultimately not a biography of three loosely connected figures. Recovering and uncovering vital links between these voices presents a sort of "ethnography of the past," reconstructing otherwise lost networks of queer musical communities, and revealing additional traces of further people: readers, sources, lovers, friends, family members, colleagues, and opponents all involved, to greater or lesser degrees, in this "old" musicology. Lee's collaborators and case studies, Newmarch's musical and musicological colleagues (and the anonymous "sensationalists" against which she pitted her biographical research), and Prime-Stevenson's dedicatees all suggest a broader community than the somewhat lonely work of musicological research might at first imply.

Chapter Outline: The Ghost-Hunter, the Detective, and the Time-Traveler

Each of my chapters is organized according to a particular author's approach to listening to music, the research process, and treatment of queer subject matter. While all three have slightly different interpretative methods, all explore modes of knowledge that might otherwise be considered speculative or insubstantial. In order to shed light on these marginal aspects (and following Michie and Warhol's examination of a historical subject through the lenses of multiple literary "plots"), I consider Lee, Newmarch, and Prime-Stevenson in light of three "personae" from Victorian and Edwardian pulp fiction: the ghost-hunter, the detective, and the time traveler. While these categories might seem eccentric or reductionist ways to consider musicological

work, I argue that they reflect the particular intellectual commitments of each figure: Lee's fascination with the failure of written documentation to fully capture the "ghosts" of both deceased performers and the past musical experience, Newmarch's reliance on documentary evidence to reveal some of her subject's secrets and her stated discomfort with the role of the biographer (who, much like the Holmesian detective, reveals some truths about others while remaining essentially outside of the particular case at hand), and Prime-Stevenson's nostalgic use of repetition, revision, and dedication to "return" to the 1890s decades after the fact. All three character types would have been familiar to these authors over the course of their literary work. To me, all three also represent something of the usual position of musicologists within their own work, attempting to discern the truth of the musical past while seeming (or claiming) to operate from outside of that history. By reframing these approaches and ways of knowing as central to a scholar's individual approach to constructing and interpreting musical-sexual knowledge, I draw attention to aspects of their work previously neglected or considered only in isolation.

My second chapter, "'Ghostly Castrati, Haunted Wagnerians, and Befuddled Suffragettes: Vernon Lee's Elusive Musical Experiences," considers the use of supernatural imagery and a "case study" approach to knowledge in Vernon Lee's fiction, historical writings, and music perception research. Building on work by Patricia Pulham and Carlo Caballero, I want to extend an examination of Lee's interest in ghosts beyond her fiction to consider how ideas of haunting play a part in Lee's scholarly understanding of historical and musical memory.[23] While several decades and an evolving theory of musical and artistic aesthetics separate Lee's *Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy* (1880), wherein she introduces the audience to the ghosts of

[23] Vernon Lee, "A Wicked Voice," in *Hauntings: Fantastic Stories*, 2nd ed. (London: Lane, 1906), 195-237. Patricia Pulham, "The Castrato and the Cry in Vernon Lee's Wicked Voices," *Victorian Literature and Culture* (2002): 421-437; and Carlo Caballero, "'A Wicked Voice': On Vernon Lee, Wagner, and the Effects of Music," *Victorian Studies* 35, no. 4 (1992): 385-408.

Baroque castrati through a symbolic walk through a musical portrait gallery, from her later *Music and its Lovers,* both books reveal a desire to pin down as carefully as possible the traces of a deeply intimate, embodied experience that cannot ever be preserved. The short story "A Wicked Voice," about a (male) Wagnerian composer overwhelmed both musically and psychologically by an apparent encounter with a sexually ambiguous castrato, serves as a link between the young Lee's interest in the complex gender expression of Baroque castrati and enthrallment with the idea of using history to reconstruct lost people and practices, and her more mature undertaking of collecting case studies detailing the intense emotional encounters others had with the arts. Furthermore, I argue that, rather than strictly a literary device, Lee's evocation of ghosts in relation to listening, remembering, and reacting to music is vital to understanding her deeply personal theories of artistic emotion and response, many of which were developed through close collaboration with other women intellectuals: her longtime partner, Kit Anstruther-Thomson, her literary agent Irene Cooper Willis, and amateur singer Mary Wakefield (to whom "A Wicked Voice" was dedicated). Lee's use of case studies to try and get at the truth of unknowable historical, supernatural, and psychological questions ties her work to contemporaries not only in psychology, but also in psychical research, art history, and sexology.

I also consider the roles of women as Lee's anonymous and semi-anonymous respondents in her final book, the music perception study *Music and its Lovers*.[24] While Lee's questionnaire and theories of musical emotion and types of listeners cut across gender lines, the large number of women included among her case studies preserves an important archive of early-twentieth century women's thoughts on their own embodied and psychological relationships to (primarily) instrumental art music. In part because of Lee's well-documented practice of self-

[24] Lee, *Music and its Lovers: An Empirical Study of Emotional and Imaginative Responses to Music* (New York: Dutton, 1933).

experimentation among her circle of women artists and intellectuals and strong feelings about the emotional power of specific composers and works, a number of her case studies allude to gender and sexuality in their responses. One such respondent, described only as "The Suffragette," wrote that she knew nothing of musical analysis but could relate to music on an emotional level that evoked the same rousing sentiments she experienced at socialist and suffrage meetings.[25] She also wrote that she felt that she could sense male and female sex characteristics in instrumental music depending on the composer and/or performer, an intriguing claim in light of Lee's interest in the more gender-ambiguous castrato and Newmarch's and Prime-Stevenson's interest in the emotional (and potentially sexual) ambiguity of certain symphonic works by Tchaikovsky and Brahms.

Chapter 3, "The Private Life of the Musicologist: Detecting Queer Subtext in Rosa Newmarch's Tchaikovsky Project," examines Rosa Newmarch's use of historical evidence to create biographies of Pyotr Tchaikovsky that promote deeply subjective readings of his life and works while obscuring direct discussion of his homosexuality.[26] Traditional narratives of Tchaikovsky's reception history have critiqued Newmarch as the progenitor of homophobic narratives of silence and mental illness in Anglo-American biography of the composer.[27] I demonstrate, however, that the ambiguities in Newmarch's work are tied to popular gossip around queer readings of the Symphony no. 6 (*Pathétique*) and ideas of subjectivity in musical emotion as vital to creating musical meaning. Despite her firm statements of objectivity,

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[25] Ibid., 211 and 531.
[26] Newmarch's "Tchaikovsky project" includes both her own biography, *Tchaikovsky: His Life and Works* (London: Richards, 1900), and her translation of Modest Tchaikovsky, *The Life and Letters of Peter Ilich Tchaikovsky* (London: Lane, 1906), as well as several program notes on works by Tchaikovsky and the article on him in the second edition of *Grove.* Newmarch, "Tchaikovsky, Peter Ilich," in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. V: T-Z and Appendix, ed. J.A. Fuller Maitland (New York: Macmillan, 1910), 33-49.
[27] Brown, "Tchaikovsky and his Music in Anglo-American Criticism, 1890s-1950s," in Fuller and Whitesell, *Queer Episodes in Music and Modern Identity,* 134-149.

Newmarch appears aware of what some of this negative evidence might mean to others, frequently deferring to the available sources approved by the Tchaikovsky family when no other conclusion appears tenable. Furthermore, the gaps and nuances in Newmarch's treatment of Tchaikovsky are complicated by her own evocations of musical emotion in her two sonnet cycles, *Horae Amoris* and *Songs to a Singer*.[28] Both of these poetic sequences use music as a medium for passionate relationships between women, and Natasha Distiller, Philip Ross Bullock, and John Holmes all tie their observations of potential lesbian or bisexual themes to Newmarch's longtime relationship with Elizabeth ("Bella") Simpson.[29] Simpson and Newmarch attended numerous symphony concerts and traveled together, and Simpson lived with the Newmarch family for several decades. I argue that the use of language around instrumental music, silence, and personal reflection in both Newmarch's biographies and poetry reveals an ambiguous confrontation with unspoken feelings through music. The fact that Newmarch's creative work was also read by male colleagues as proof of her femininity and personal expression both complicates this reading and demonstrates the ways in which an ambiguous text's interpretation depends as much on the reader as on the creator. As both active reader and careful author, Newmarch thus figures in queer musicology both as a detective searching for evidence and a mystery that can never be fully resolved, raising important questions about the problems that emerge when the biographer herself becomes the subject of biographical inquiry.

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[28] Newmarch, *Horae Amoris: Songs and Sonnets* (London: Elkin Matthews, 1903) and *Songs to a Singer and Other Verses* (London: Lane, 1906).

[29] Philip Bullock, *Rosa Newmarch and Russian Music*, 118-120; Natasha Distiller, "Queering the Petrarchan Subject: The Poetry of Rosa Newmarch," in *Desire and Gender in the Sonnet Tradition* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 135-152; and John Holmes, "Female Identity in Transition: Gregory: Webster, and Newmarch," in *Dante Gabriel Rossetti and the Late Victorian Sonnet Sequence: Sexuality, Belief, and the Self* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 99-119.

In Chapter 4, "'Onward to the End of the Nineteenth Century': Edward Prime-Stevenson's Nostalgic Musical Time Travel," I theorize the role of nostalgia and memory in Edward Prime-Stevenson's last two books, *Long-Haired Iopas* and *A Repertory of One Hundred Symphonic Programmes*.[30] While Prime-Stevenson had a successful career as a music critic in New York City during the 1880s and 1890s, he abandoned journalism to pursue amateur sexological research in Italy and Switzerland, writing an early gay novel, *Imre: A Memorandum,* and one of the first histories of homosexuality in English, *The Intersexes*.[31] Decades later, he revised his earlier newspaper writings in an effort to preserve his works in a more permanent format. These books were self-published and distributed in extremely limited editions, and both the texts and his surviving notes suggest a deep musical and personal longing for the 1890s. They feature dedications to Prime-Stevenson's friend and ex-lover Harry Harkness Flagler, and focus largely on repertoire that he and Flagler experienced as concertgoers in the early 1890s in New York City. The desire to travel back to this lost queer musical community is also reflected in Prime-Stevenson's fictional account of his and Flagler's relationship, as well as in his few surviving letters. His last book, a collection of "playlists" of phonograph recordings, can thus be read as a kind of nostalgic communion with other listeners across time and space.

The composers and works Prime-Stevenson identifies as central to the Uranian musical experience also appear (unsurprisingly) in his mainstream music criticism, as well as in Lee's

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[30] Edward Prime-Stevenson, *Long-Haired Iopas: Old Chapters from Twenty-Five Years of Music-Criticism* (Florence: Privately Printed, 1927) and *A Repertory of One Hundred Symphonic Programmes* (Florence: Privately Printed, ca. 1932).

[31] Xavier Mayne (pseud. Edward Prime-Stevenson), *Imre: A Memorandum* (Naples: Privately Printed, 1906) and *The Intersexes: A Study of Simisexualism as a Problem in Social Life* (Rome, Florence, or Naples: Privately Printed, ca. 1908/9). The publication history of "Mayne's" works is difficult to trace, and I have largely followed James Gifford's timeline and bibliography in his critical edition of *Imre* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2003). See also the introduction to Jean-Claude Féray's partial critical translation of *The Intersexes* (Quintes-Feuilles, 2003), which disputes the indicated date of publication. Both Gifford and Féray are skeptical of Prime-Stevenson's claim that the book was printed in Rome.

case studies and Newmarch's program notes. His collected anthology *Long Haired Iopas: Old Chapters from Twenty-Five Years of Music-Criticism* also details the act of listening to Beethoven, Brahms, and Wagner, albeit from a more conventional scholarly perspective. Almost all of the chapters and poems included in the anthology are dedicated to friends and colleagues of the author—mostly fellow critics (including Vernon Lee), musicologists (most notably Edward Dent), conductors, and performers. Personal dedications are used more sparingly, but Prime-Stevenson does acknowledge a few family members, his known romantic partners (Flagler and the sculptor Gerard-Henri Vuerchoz), and his own pseudonym, "Xavier Mayne."[32] In his music criticism, sexuality and the erotic appear as a primary force that can never quite be unpacked in a satisfactory manner. He alleges that recent psychological interest in "simisexualism" accounts for the success of Wagner's *Parsifal,* describes the diversity in the ways men and women respond to and perform music, and toys with issues of forbidden love and male friendship in his biographical musings on bachelors in music history.

My conclusion then turns to correspondences between Lee's, Newmarch's, and Prime-Stevenson's approaches to consider a potential readership and shared musical understanding for this proto-"queer musicology," as well as the limits of what one can reconstruct from this archive. The spread of some forms of musical-sexual knowledge is reflected through the ways in which the queer musical canons alluded to in sexology and music research were taken up and reinforced by novelists, often in conjunction with other literary and medical references. In both scholarly and literary discussions of homosexuality, music and literature often seem to work in tandem as part of the patient or protagonist's journey of self-discovery, with music often serving as an expression of sentiment or belonging that cannot quite be put into words. The existence of

[32] A complete list of Prime-Stevenson's dedicatees in *Long-Haired Iopas* is given in Appendix III.

these sources, however, also draws attention to the limits of what written sources can tell us about the experiences of readers and listeners. While they reveal that this "old musicology" had a readership beyond music research and criticism, they tell us little of how those readers absorbed and reacted to fictional depictions of musical-sexual knowledge. Did they share these authors' interpretations of Wagner and Tchaikovsky? Did they connect queer gossip about an artist's life to their own sense of identity? Does the spectre of the "unspeakable" in writings about queer responses to instrumental music reveal a shared aesthetic or hint at something we cannot fully understand from our current perspective? I then move to current definitions of and debates over "the musicologist" to ask what re-examining "old musicology" might mean moving forward.

In drawing attention to this so-called "old gay and lesbian musicology," I do not mean to suggest that none of the groundbreaking work done by "new musicologists" is really new, or that recent debates around methodology in feminist and queer music research is merely reinventing a wheel that has been around for over a century. Nor am I arguing that every aspect of my subjects' work is always legible as "queer musicology" (or, indeed as "queer" or "musicology"). To do so would misrepresent how they framed their research on its own terms, as well as the broader context of non-musicological philosophical, biographical, and literary influences on their work. Rather, I want to excavate what Philip Brett calls an "oppositional set of practices within its own field" comparable to the work of gay and lesbian sexologists like Magnus Hirschfeld and Edith Lees Ellis within sexology.[33] By presenting narratives and approaches to musical subjects that do not fit perfectly into "musicology," I want to show the value of expanding our definition of musicology, not only within today's debates about inclusion and methodology, but in looking back to our field's complicated development and inherited practices.

[33] Brett, "Musicology and Sexuality," in Fuller and Whitesell, *Queer Episodes in Music and Modern Identity*, 183.

Chapter 2: Ghostly Castrati, Haunted Wagnerians, and Befuddled Suffragettes: Vernon Lee's Elusive Musical Experiences

In the Preface to her 1890 short story collection *Hauntings: Fantastic Stories,* Vernon Lee (1856-1935) takes pains to distinguish her approach to ghostly subject matter from either the performances of mediums or the quasi-scientific case studies of paranormal investigators. Rather than focusing on the physical sensations of haunting—empty rocking chairs, sudden damp chills, flickering candles—Lee views ghosts as a reflection of modern responses to historical sensations and emotions. Less interested than her contemporaries in the Society for Psychical Research in defining unnatural phenomena (which she argued "must necessarily, and with but a few exceptions, remain enwrapped in mystery"), Lee's ghosts are far more psychological in nature:

> That is the thing—the Past, the more or less remote Past, of which the prose is clean obliterated by distance—that is the place to get our ghosts from. Indeed we live ourselves, we educated folk of modern times, on the borderland of the Past, in houses looking down on its troubadours' orchards and Greek folks' pillared courtyards; and a legion of ghosts, very vague and changeful, are perpetually to and fro, fetching and carrying for us between it and the Present.
>
> Hence, my four little tales are of no genuine ghosts in the scientific sense…My ghosts are what you call spurious ghosts (according to me the only genuine ones), of whom I can affirm only one thing, that they haunted certain brains, and have haunted, among others, my own and my friends.[1]

Lee's Past—capitalized as though it were a physical location—is a place populated by figures turned into ghosts by their layers of ambiguity and remove. This dissertation focuses on uncovering and reconstructing traces of lost people, knowledge, and methodologies in the musicological archive that were further neglected or obscured by the discipline's unwillingness to deal with questions of gender and sexuality. Yet, when it comes to imagining how any one person experienced a musical event in a given moment, all musical experiences become a sort of archival trace. In the millennia before the advent of recorded sound, nearly all accounts of

[1] Vernon Lee, *Hauntings: Fantastic Stories* (London: Lane, 1890), xi.

listening and responding to music necessarily rely upon the assumption that the reader was not there and cannot actually perceive all that the writer experienced in a given moment. Music itself becomes an archival trace, a ghost haunting written sources.

Perhaps this is one reason why sound became such an essential element of Victorian ghost stories and paranormal research efforts. Accounts of Victorian spiritualists are filled with sounds—the creaking of an old rocking chair, the shrieks and wails of lost specters, and the medium herself, passing on a message to grieving onlookers or inquisitive scientists by modifying her voice. The invention and increased commercial availability of the phonograph around the turn of the twentieth century gave con artists new ways to produce "ghostly" encounters and scientists new ways to attempt to record paranormal phenomena. In his *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter,* Friedrich Kittler theorizes that, because the phonograph captures speech or sound in real time and preserves it into the future, it, like photography and film "fixes, that is, steals, one layer after the other, until nothing remains of the specters and the photographed body." The phonograph likewise fixes the sounds of speech and music for future listeners, erasing the recorded body of the performer in favor of whatever images the listeners' minds recall.[2]

Lee's Preface does not specifically address music as a form of haunting, but the ghostliness of the musical experience was a recurring theme across her scholarly and literary writings. Her interest in hearing the music of the past and her aesthetic theories of artistic response represent an extended attempt at "fixing" different types of experiences in a written record, and she was well aware of the problem that media could preserve only a limited subset of the information produced by rapidly disappearing bodies and minds. This chapter focuses on the

[2] Friedrich A. Kittler, *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter,* translated by Geoffrey Winthrop-Young and Michael Wutz (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 12.

ephemeral and ambiguous qualities Lee ascribes to music in her research on music history and perception. Her first book, *Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy* (1880), reflects Lee's fascination with castrati and their bodies that could not be easily "fixed" in terms of sound, gender, and social position. Perhaps frustrated with accounts like those of Farinelli's vocal power, which she could neither confirm nor reproduce in the present, Lee in her later writings on the arts turns towards methods of categorizing and recording human artistic experience in the near-past and present. Her last book, *Music and its Lovers: An Empirical Study of Emotional and Imaginative Responses to Music* (1933), is an eclectic blend of music perception studies, aesthetics, and self-reflection on how and why people discern meaning from different types of art music.

Taken together, these two sides of Lee's output—the historical and the psychological—reveal the sheer scope of Lee's ambitions in explaining both her own musical feelings and those of others. They also intersect with other themes in Lee's life and works—questions of gender and sexual ambiguity in history, imagined acts of overhearing and intervening in music history, attempts to place musical meaning and relationships in a quasi-scientific manner through collaborative research, and the ultimate impact of the historical past on an increasingly uncertain present. The complicated threads of musical emotion, history, and the erotic underpinning Lee's musicology come together in one of the short stories collected in *Hauntings*, "A Wicked Voice," in which a modern-day composer and musicologist is seemingly possessed by the ghost of a Baroque castrato. Through the "spurious ghost" of fiction, Lee ultimately reveals facets of the power of musical experience never fully unpacked in her more scholarly work.

From Violet Paget to Vernon Lee

For Lee, born Violet Paget, her positioning as a scholar was perpetually ambiguous and contradictory. While she was drawn to literature at a young age and wrote a great deal of fiction and essays on philosophical and artistic subjects as a young woman, she also knew the academic limitations placed on women as researchers and students. Writing to a friend in 1875 (a few years before the appearance of her first published work), she announced "the name I have chosen as containing part of my brother's and my father's and my own initials is H.P. Vernon-Lee. It has the advantage of leaving it undecided whether the writer be a man or a woman."[3]

Lee's personal and professional lives contained contradictions that often frustrated both her contemporaries and later scholars. "The real Vernon Lee" or "the real Violet Paget" is also an elusive figure, despite her copious published and unpublished writings. During the 1880s and 1890s, she increasingly addressed her friends and lovers as "Vernon." Amanda Gagel, editor of the most comprehensive edition of Lee's letters, argues that the name came to serve three functions for Lee: a professional pseudonym, "the desired male persona she used when writing to her romantic partners," and "a genuine identification of who she had become when she thought and wrote on aesthetics, literature, and ideas: an intellectual whose life was devoted to the pursuit of knowledge and understanding."[4]

Although she came from a wealthy and moderately well-connected (if highly eccentric) family and spent her time as a British expatriate in Italy living in villas and associating with aristocrats, she was perpetually concerned as an adult with the fame and financial stability

[3] Lee, letter to Henrietta Jenkin, April 6, 1875, in *Selected Letters of Vernon Lee, 1856-1935,* Vol. 1: 1865-1884, ed. Amanda Gagel and Sophie Geoffroy (New York: Routledge, 2017), 189.
[4] Gagel, "Introduction," *Selected Letters of Vernon Lee*, xix-xx. As only the first volume of Gagel's projected three-volume critical edition of Lee's letters has currently been published, I also made use of her dissertation, "Selected Letters of Vernon Lee (1856-1935)" (PhD diss., Boston University, 2008).

brought by newspaper and fiction writing. Her ties to the academy—lectures at a Cambridge extension program in 1893 and an honorary doctorate from Durham in 1924—were tenuous and largely made through the recognition of male friends (especially John Singer Sargent, George Bernard Shaw, and Walter Pater). Perhaps due to these limitations, Christa Zorn argues that Lee patterned her career after the amateur "Victorian man of letters," who disdained academic professionalism in favor of "amateur intuition" and a quasi-impressionist depiction of the sensations of past events.[5]

This love of historical emotion, however, did not necessarily extend to her personal relationships in the present time. Despite her fascination with the workings of the arts and emotions, several of her closest female friends remarked upon her "failed" love affairs, idealized self-depictions within her fiction, and general alienation from the sensibilities of others. Her literary agent, executor, and collaborator Irene Cooper Willis, interviewed in the 1950s, remarked bluntly that:

> Vernon was homosexual, but she never faced up to sexual facts. She was perfectly pure. I think it would have been better off if she had acknowledged it to herself. She had a whole series of passions for women, but they were all perfectly correct. Physical contact she shunned. She was absolutely frustrated. Kit [Anstruther-Thomson] used to say in her letters "I blow you a kiss," but there was nothing the least sensual about her relationship with Kit. It was almost horrible to live in the same house with Vernon. I have never known anyone who had lived on the continent so much to be so prudish.[6]

Historian Sally Newman analyzes comments on Lee by Willis, Ethel Smyth, and several later biographers in light of the social construction of the terms used to categorize or explain Lee's sexuality ("Victorian woman," "lesbian," "asexual," and "scholar"), and how any or all of these

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[5] Christa Zorn, *Vernon Lee: Aesthetics, History, and the Victorian Female Intellectual* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2003), xxiii-xxiv.

[6] Irene Cooper Willis and Burdett Gardner, as cited in Sally Newman, "The Archival Traces of Desire: Vernon Lee's Failed Sexuality and the Interpretation of Letters in Lesbian History," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 14, no. 1 (2005): 54-55.

might reflect "the problems generated by the archival research process in lesbian history."[7] It is clear from Lee's published writings on music, however, that Lee's contradictory relationship with emotion (her own and those of others) goes well beyond her understanding of sexuality. As a musicologist, her particular set of investments and intellectual commitments to music is simultaneously crystal clear and maddeningly vague. Her musical likes and dislikes are stated repeatedly, but the personal reasons behind her scholarly interests remain clouded by her evocative writing and appeals to scientific theories of emotion. She returns again and again to the idea of others being swept up in musical or artistic feeling—her partner Kit Anstruther-Thomson, King Philip of Spain listening to Farinelli, the various anonymous respondents to her surveys—but her own remarks and opinions frequently come across as dry and almost clinical. The places where she does express strong musical emotion fall largely within the anxiety of mishearing. Whatever the "real" Paget or Lee was outside of her work, her scholarly persona and interests represent the complexities of locating an enigmatic figure within their work, an intriguing corollary to Lee's lifelong attempts to locate her subjects within historical and sociological accounts. The ambiguity of the musical experience she analyzes allows her to attempt to place herself within the minds of other listeners, using research and imagination as media to capture what eluded her in recordings, images, and personal accounts.

"Overhearing" Music History: *Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy*

Any good ghost story begins with a fateful decision, from which there is no turning back. A governess accepts a position at an isolated country estate. A family notices something odd about their new home. A man overhears a legend about the gruesome fate of his ancestors. For young

[7] Newman, "The Archival Traces of Desire," 73.

Violet Paget, the decision to spend her life researching the aesthetics, history, and psychology of music was in some sense the result of a profound supernatural encounter with the eighteenth century. Towards the end of the preface to the second edition of her *Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy*, the fifty-year-old scholar looked back on her youthful passion for the subject and ambitious scope of her research:

> Indeed, I suspect that some of the extraordinary poignancy which eighteenth-century music still possesses for me may be due to the imaginative fervour with which I spelt out those songs or sonatas, to the inner dramas by which their hearing was accompanied…There is, by the way, at least to my mind, an odd virtue in the fact of the next room, giving music its complete incorporeal power…Perhaps this preference for *overhearing*, for the *next room*, may have arisen from an absurd fear of my own emotion; I felt safer next door, or better still, outside the window.[8]

She goes on to consider one specific moment in which her "inner drama" and the experience of listening to music collided. Fascinated for years with Baroque affect and the stories of Farinelli's musical ability, Violet found herself overwhelmed at the idea of hearing her mother play an arrangement of arias by Hasse:

> I could not remain in the presence…Of what, I really do not know; I felt shy of those unknown, much longed-for songs, and had to escape into the garden. I walked up and down there, with a beating and halting heart, while she began to spell out the crabbed writing and the funny, obsolete clefs…And the first piece she played was *Pallido il Sole*, one of the three legendary arias, you may remember, with which the madness of Saul-Philip of Spain had been soothed by virtuous David-Farinelli. I seem almost able to recall the odd pattern, or lack of pattern, into which the notes of the prelude fell in that first hesitating reading; I can still feel the sickening fear, mingled with shame, lest the piece should turn out hideous. For if *Pallido il Sole* should turn out hideous, why…It is impossible to put into reasonable words the overwhelming sense that on this piece hung the fate of a world, the only one which mattered—the world of my fancies and longings.[9]

This encounter is clearly about much more than the worry of art not meeting one's prior expectations. It is also is about the exact moment of encountering the past and reckoning with

[8] Emphasis original. Vernon Lee, *Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy*, 2nd edition (Chicago: McClurg, 1908), xlvii.
[9] Ibid., xlviii.

what one expects to find there in a deeply visceral way. In celebrating the concept of "overhearing," Lee could very well be describing the act of historical research, which is rarely a direct confrontation between scholar and subject. Even if she had remained in the parlor to hear her mother play, this would still be a distant echo of a lost performance where only Farinelli and Philip were present. Lee's musical writings are frequently about overhearing an event which has already past—a concert by a long-deceased performer, an experiment report from a respondent written a decade earlier, a memory of Lee's own experiences. Notably, it is the risk of "the piece" itself as a historical source "turning out hideous" that upsets her the most, not the modern arrangement or her mother's keyboard interpretation or even the accuracy of her own musical training. Music is incorporeal, but musical events and people are all too corporeal and fleeting. "The presence" from which Lee found herself fleeing was the transformation of music she had previously imagined lost from notes on a page into sound in the present time. "Overhearing" also gave Lee some flexibility in her approach to music history and experience when historical sources or interviewees fell short. While she could be incredibly dismissive of those who interpreted music in ways different from her own, she also strove to understand how conflicting musical interpretations arose.

By including this anecdote at the end of her introduction to the second edition of *Eighteenth Century,* Lee acknowledges both the vulnerability of the scholar-listener (what if our assumptions about the past should be wrong and "turn out hideous?") and the fragility of surviving historical resonances from the past, filtered through the lenses of modern arrangement and reinterpretation (the need to spell out "crabbed writing and funny, obsolete clefs"). The other time Lee invokes the ghosts of the past in the preface to this edition of *Eighteenth Century* comes when she addresses various historical errors in the first edition, which she sees largely in terms

of her youthful folly in trying to write a comprehensive one-volume history of the period. After rethinking her earlier writings on Metastasio, Lee writes "I should wish to light an expiatory candle to the ghost of the Real Metastasio, whatever he was like; and add that it is punishment enough to know that if I wished it I could no longer commit at fifty the sins of imagination into which I stumbled at twenty with disgraceful innocence of heart."[10] It is perhaps significant that Lee's ambivalence here comes not from her interpretation of Metastasio's libretti or the operas based on them but from the concern that her youthful imagination constructed a person who was nothing like the "Real Metastasio." In contrast to her fears about hearing Baroque arias for the first time, here it is the historian's understanding of her subject that does not live up to later encounters.

Across Lee's work, she appears fascinated by the power of the historian to conjure up an imagined Metastasio or Farinelli for modern and future readers as a complement to the power of the musical experience to invoke the ghosts of musics and emotions past. Her approach to music research blends a variety of sources: historical documents and anecdotes, personal experience, and psychological study. Overhearing Hasse aside, she is noticeably not particularly interested in the score as the source of claims to musicological authority. She is ultimately more interested in constructing a body of knowledge around performers and listeners, rather than composers, as originators of musical knowledge.

Lee recovered from her initial decision to encounter the ghosts of the Baroque, but her anxieties about the experience of encountering art and the importance of artistic response remained a lifelong concern in her fiction and scholarly writing. Secure in her initial ghostly encounter, she embarked on a quest to comprehend these ghosts in terms of how the arts and

[10] Ibid., xx.

knowledge of their history could manipulate her emotions so strongly. Following in the path of art historian and philosopher Walter Pater, her writings on beauty and emotion emphasize the sense of the present not as resulting naturally from certain events in the past, as quasi-evolutionary takes on art and music history of the period often claimed, but as continually haunted by its repercussions and resonances that the perceptive, educated observer might chance to overhear while in a particularly receptive state.

These musical ghosts were not necessarily the screeching wails and clinking chains of popular fiction and folklore, but they had a profound impact on how Lee viewed music's place in the world and her relationship (seemingly part-investigator and part-medium) to important figures in music history. She could understand them, to some extent, and pass on their messages to others, but faltered when it came to fully explaining or classifying them. Because they are primarily aural, Lee's ghosts present a starkly different problem for their observers than those presented in the mostly visual world of Victorian horror and mystery fiction and psychical research. In his study of optics and the visual in Victorian ghost stories, Srdjan Smajić begins with the idea of texts themselves as a sort of ghostly presence that exists out-of-time, both "haunted by the ghostly echoes of their predecessors" and, as in the case of Victorian texts, by remnants of authors no longer present in the flesh.[11] Smajić brings together fictional researchers and those who research—not to mention those who unmask—fictions in order to understand the dynamics of what Victorian authors trusted and distrusted about sight as scientific evidence. Lee's appeal to musical ghosts performs a similar service for musicians and musicologists by revealing the limits of what we can assume about the power of hearing music.

[11] Srdjan Smajić, *Ghost-Seers, Detectives, and Spiritualists: Theories of Vision in Victorian Literature and Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 15.

This quasi-mystical aspect of Lee's approach to musicology and music perception was not merely a scholarly concern, but a recurring theme in accounts of Lee's sense of self and relationships with others. Many Lee scholars observe how her view of "the world of my fancies and longings" as "the only one which mattered" colored the nature of her personal relationships and self-representation across her career. Vineta Colby analyses Lee's novel *Miss Brown* (1884) in terms of her mistrust of her own moral judgments and desire to be "superior to mere mortal appetites," proclaiming the title character "the Vernon Lee that Violet Paget longed to be."[12] Carlo Caballero notes her self-absorption and "compulsive sublimation of human emotion into aesthetic experience" when it comes to talking about her own emotions and the experiences of those around her.[13] Looking more closely at her place as a character within her own narratives, Patricia Pulham observes that Lee's *Belcaro: Essays on Sundry Aesthetical Questions* (1881) depicts the author both as "a child...who subsequently experiences inexplicable psychic and physical responses whenever it sees a beautiful landscape, or hears a stray bar of music" and an anxiously "mature writer who has surfaced from the chrysalis of childhood fantasy and engaged in the adult language of philosophy and aesthetics."[14] This duality about maturity and potential misreading also appears in the preface to the new edition of *Eighteenth Century,* wherein the forty-something Lee scorns her youthful first book as written when she was "still the [creature] of an unconscious play-instinct," transforming the people, visual arts, and music of the eighteenth century "by my youthful fancy" into a grand romantic narrative.[15] Each section of *Eighteenth Century* begins with a conversational interlude in which "we" are led by Lee through

[12] Vineta Colby, *Vernon Lee: A Literary Biography* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2003), 113.
[13] Carlo Caballero, "'A Wicked Voice': On Vernon Lee, Wagner, and the Effects of Music," *Victorian Studies* 35, no. 4 (1992): 385.
[14] Patricia Pulham, "The Castrato and the Cry in Vernon Lee's Wicked Voices," *Victorian Literature and Culture* (2002): 421-2.
[15] Lee, *Eighteenth Century*, xv-xvi.

a different physical location, where we are introduced to the people of the artistic past. The introductory scene for "The Musical Life" takes us to an empty landing in the music school at Bologna, where Lee waxes discursive about the meaning she sees in a portrait gallery of eighteenth-century composers and performers:

> The practising pupils are not here, nor is any other living person beside ourselves; but all around is a crowd of dead musicians, members of the most famous Philharmonic Academy, in purple and lilac, and brocade and powder, who look down upon us from the walls. Only here and there do we recognize some well-known figure—Handel, majestic in blue plush and a many-stories peruke; Gluck, coarse, bright, and flushed, in a furred cloak; Haydn, pale, grey, willow-like, bending over a meagre spinet; Mozart, sweet and dreamy, with the shadow of premature death already upon him--; around them are a host of others, forgotten and unknown, their contemporaries, their masters, their friends, their rivals, and perhaps their successful rivals. Very solemn and quaint they mostly are, those ladies with prodigious beribboned haycocks on their heads, those fiddlers in dressing-gowns and periwigs, those prim chapel-masters seated by their harpsichords, and those dapper singers with one hand on their music roll and the other on their sword-hilt, very solemn and quaint, and almost droll, but not without something that awakens sadness. There is sadness in the dignified, thoughtful composers, looking as if the world still rang with the sound of their music—music not heard for a century; there is sadness in the dandified singers, whose names have long been forgotten, but whose eyes are upturned and whose lips are parted, as if they still thrilled and delighted those that have been dead a hundred years: it is a world of feeling extinct and genius forgotten, a world separated from ours by a strange indefinable gulf.[16]

Despite Lee's best efforts to hear the sounds of the past, she is ultimately forced to resort to the written record as the only remaining "sound" of the eighteenth century. "The Musical Life" begins following the travelogues of Charles Burney, about whom Lee remarks "of all his contemporaries he is the only one who does not look down on us in silence."[17] This reading is another kind of "overhearing," scouring Burney's works for records of performances past and theorizing what it must have been like to be present. Above all, Lee esteems Burney for his presence at important musical moments, enthusing that "he had heard Handel's oratorios when Handel himself was at the organ, and Gluck's operas when Gluck himself had directed them at

[16] Ibid., 105-106.
[17] Ibid., 106.

the harpsichord; he had heard all the best works of Pergolesi, of Jommelli, of Galuppi, sung by the singers whom the masters themselves had taught."[18] Lee, for all her reading of historical and musical texts, could only speculate about the experience of being present.

Images of Ghostly Castrati

For Lee, a vital part of being present to listen to eighteenth-century vocal music was to be there for the height of the castrati's dominance of Italian opera and sacred music. Her early writings on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century opera—the book *Eighteenth Century* and the article "A Life of the Art of Singing"—focus largely on the role of the castrati in a way that idealizes their voices while de-emphasizing their bodies and the "lack" caused by the violence of what Charles Burney (in a passage not quoted by Lee) called "this cruel operation...too frequently performed without trial, or at least without sufficient proofs of an improbable voice."[19] While seeming to disembody the castrati, Lee longs to reconstruct the physicality of their audiences, imagining what it must have been like to hear certain performers in action. Her fascination with Farinelli and the accounts of his supposedly healing song foreshadow her later forays into music perception and theories of art as having a physical effect on mental and bodily function.

Lee's description of an eighteenth-century singer "with one hand on their music-roll and the other on their sword-hilt" is a nearly accurate description of the portrait of Farinelli by Giaquinto she encountered in Bologna (see Fig. 2.1) and the print by Giuseppe Wagner (after a portrait by Amigoni) she included in *Eighteenth Century* (see Fig. 2.2). It is also an exaggerated image of the successful castrato that she would return to in Magnus's account of Zaffirino in "A

[18] Ibid., 127.
[19] Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy: or, the Journal of a Tour through those Countries, undertaken to collect materials for a General History of Music* (London: Becket, 1771), 303.

Wicked Voice." The image of Farinelli, dressed in the robes of the Order of Calatrava and surrounded by Ferdinand VI and Maria Barbara of Spain, cupids, and allegorical figures representing Fame and Music, reinforces Lee's image of the eighteenth-century singer's lost influence. Indeed, only the keyboard in lower right-hand corner of Giaquinto's painting reminds us that the knight being honored in this portrait is a musician and not some other type of honored diplomat. This dual side of Farinelli's career is noted early on in an 1873 letter from Lee to her half-brother, Eugene Lee-Hamilton, wherein she includes the castrato (along with soprano Faustina Bordoni), "whose portrait you have seen in Bologne and who was to infuriate so many seasoned diplomats by his adroit politics in later years," as an example of "the greatest artists of all time."[20] By comparison, the Wagner print goes further in abstracting Farinelli from his honored political position and placing him more in the realm of the supernatural. Whereas in the Giaquinto the cupids and nymphs mostly seem concerned with each other, here the cupids sit at his feet and tug on his silk coat, while Music stands prepared to hand him a roll of music.

[20] Lee, letter to Eugene Lee-Hamilton, April 20 1873, collected in Gagel, *Selected Letters of Vernon Lee*, 118 and 123.

Figure 2.1. Corrado Giaquinto, *Portrait of Carlo Broschi called Farinelli* (c. 1755), oil on canvas, 25.5 x 185.5 cm, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, B39188

Figure 2.2. Giuseppe Wagner (after Jacopo Amigoni), *Carlo Broschi detto Farinelli* (c.1734-1739), engraving, 537mm x 338 mm, British Museum, 1870,0625.510, as reprinted in Lee, *Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy*, 174.

CARLO BROSCHI CALLED FARINELLI.

Lee's accounts of castrati in general and Farinelli in particular are similarly elaborate and focused on reconstructing the man by talking around his historical circumstances. In the article "The Art of Singing Past and Present," which sketches in more detail the "lost art of singing" mourned in Lee's private letters and in the Farinelli section of *Eighteenth Century*, Lee views her main historical project as one of writing a biography of song itself through the lives of great singers:

> There have been technical manuals, and aesthetical disquisitions, and romantic rhapsodies, and biographical imbecilities; but there has been no history of singing. A great amount of useless detail has been ferreted out concerning the character and lives of singers, but not the most rudimentary outlines have been sketched of the character and life of the art of singing.[21]

Scorning what she saw as largely prurient and "useless" gossip about singers' lives, Lee positions herself as recovering the lost culture and traditions of vocal practice and pedagogy from the first half of the eighteenth century, especially that of the castrati, from whose ranks Lee draws nearly all of her examples of male singers and men's vocal repertoire.

This act of recovery is a strange process, not without its potential pitfalls. In order to reconstruct the lives and (imagined) sound of the castrati, Lee necessarily delves back into the "useless detail" of singers' lives to retrieve information about their repertoire, training, and relationships with patrons, audiences, and composers. Despite the level of detail in Lee's work, there are some curious (and telling) omissions. In all of her numerous writings touching on the careers, historical importance, and musical qualities of castrati, Lee never mentions the word "castrato" or directly addresses the (by then) decades-old view of castrati in English culture as lacking masculinity. Rather, she emphasizes their vocal power, theatrical prowess, and the grueling extent of their training, constructing the process of operatic training as a monk-like

[21] Lee, "The Art of Singing, Past and Present," *British Quarterly Review* 72 (1880): 184.

discipline in which the body serves entirely as "the mere physical instrument," significant only in its owner's mastery of scales, ornaments, and breathing techniques.[22] In her conclusion to "The Art of Singing," Lee imagines some utopian future where the lost art of singing is reestablished through a revival of the Baroque operatic repertoire:

> the composers of the eighteenth century will, as it were, teach those who sincerely love them the secrets of the long dead school of singing…it will be eclectic and artificial; but when the spontaneous and natural tendency is towards turning an art into a barren expanse of rank and tawdry weeds, an oasis of carefully cultured artistic flowers will be valuable just in proportion as it is rare and artificial.[23]

In framing both the body and music in this way, Lee celebrates the manufactured quality of the castrato—his intense musical training and the artificial nature of his vocal range and prowess—without ever fully engaging with the exact nature of that manufacture.

Lee's Castrati: Victorian Masculinities, Sexual Inversion, and the Paterian Queer Past

By avoiding the term "castrato," her stated dichotomy between "the lives of singers" and a "life of the art of singing" effectively turns figures like Farinelli into ghosts whose gendered presence is secondary to their less corporeal aspects: angelic voices, rigorous training, myths of miraculous abilities, and scraps of a repertoire that would outlast their dominance over the operatic stage. Lee's musical identification with castrati and their audiences coincides with the emergence of German and British sexology and the medical identification of sexual categories that did not conform to normative ideas about (heterosexual) masculinity and femininity, variously described as inversion, Uranianism, or intermediate types. A number of lesbian, psychoanalytical, and postmodernist readings of Lee have examined "A Wicked Voice" and its

[22] Ibid., 168.
[23] Ibid., 176.

dedication to female singer Mary Wakefield as an act of filtering her own feelings for women through the voice and body of the castrato, an ambiguously masculine figure.[24] This is a tantalizing reading (discussed in greater detail later in this chapter); however, it is has largely tended to focus on medical and theoretical readings of the lesbian or "female invert" as a sexually intermediate figure—a category, it should be noted, with which Lee did not strongly identify (although some members of her circle did).[25]

The ghostlike nature of Lee's castrati should not, however, be mistaken for moralizing or censorship of an uncomfortable fact of music history. Sally Newman's use of the term "archival traces" to describe how later commentators took the surviving archival record and "filled in" their own assumptions about Lee's lesbianism, is especially powerful here for thinking about Lee's role as an aesthetician and musicologist. In researching eighteenth-century people and music, Lee herself largely relied on limited traces and hints that appear in her archival sources or were passed on orally by her teachers. Pater's influence on Lee's understanding of how the scholar creates and confronts the past through art is best seen in her historical writings on castrati. Like Lee, Pater also explored questions of artistic response, loss, and the ghostly nature of historical figures through his fiction and scholarship. Heather Love considers Pater's writings and the desire of late twentieth-century scholars to find a "queer Pater" as a rejection of progress narratives that state the present is always an improvement on the past. She argues that Pater

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[24] See (for example) Patricia Pulham, *Art and the Transitional Object in Vernon Lee's Supernatural Tales* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008) and Sylvia Mieszkowski, "Haunted by Sound: Vernon Lee, "A Wicked Voice," in *Resonant Alterities: Sound, Desire, and Anxiety in Non-Realist Fiction,* 41-115 (Bielefeld: transcript, 2014).

[25] For lesbian readings of "A Wicked Voice," see Catherine Maxwell, "Sappho, Mary Wakefield, and Vernon Lee's 'A Wicked Voice,'" *Modern Language Review* 102, no. 4 (2007): 960-974.
For more on Lee's sexual identification in comparison to (and through accounts of Lee by) Ethel Smyth, see Sally Newman, "The Archival Traces of Desire." For more on the complexities of Smyth's own self-identification and the question of lesbian artistic and literary identities in this period, see Rachel Lewis, "Ethel Smyth and the Emergence of the Lesbian Composer," in *Sapphists and Sexologists: Histories of Sexuality,* Vol. 2, ed. Sonja Tiernan and Mary McAuliffe (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2009), 208-226.

found in the Italian Renaissance a way of being that resisted what he viewed as the restrictive world of nineteenth-century modernity. In her analysis of Pater's research on Botticelli's work, she observes queer possibilities in his artistic response:

> Pater never names the "great things" from which Botticelli's sad angels shrink, but we might read his description of the world they inhabit as an allegory for spaces of male-male intimacy before the advent of "homosexuality" as such. The queerness of Botticelli's figures is suggested by several of the traits that Pater ascribes to them—wistfulness, a peculiar beauty, the air of victimization and underground existence that marks them—but also by the particular quality of their exile, which is described here as both a spatial and a temporal displacement.[26]

For Love, Pater's interest in the Renaissance was a moment of historical disruption, of finding hope and connection through a lost time and place in moments of broader social upheaval and persecution. Lee's interest in castrati (as de-sexed voices of the past) and use of ghostly imagery in her historical writing also disrupts linear narratives of historical and social progress. In her fiction and research, music—especially old music—has the power to upend current prevailing sentiments and artistic values. Love examines Pater's refusal to name queer subject matter as such as a form of "shy revolutionism," something one might also observe in Lee's work on the castrati and the question of what it is the scholar is searching for in music history.[27] Just as Lee refused to engage with sexological categories in her self-identification, Lee celebrates the music of the past as still relevant to the present without attempting to fit eighteenth-century composers and performers into late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century models.

Pater's descriptions of angels and Lee's focus on castrati have a few other things in common. Love notes that Pater sees Botticelli's angels as having "only vaporous, insubstantial parents and no known issue, these figures fall outside structures of kinship. Their place is not in

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[26] Heather Love, *Feeling Backward: Loss and the Politics of Queer History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 64.
[27] Ibid., 25.

the home, but they do not seem to belong in the closet either."[28] In the same way, Lee's castrati are unconventionally situated when it comes to kinship. They have parents, of course, but their taking on of single-word stage names for the opera removes them from family bonds. In her project on the meanings attached to high-pitched voices, Freya Jarman includes both castrati and the angelic in her category of the "unearthly" or "celestial" sound. Yet the castrati were in another way very earthly.[29] A great deal of their sexual appeal to audience members of all genders apparently came from their inability to father children and the secondary sexual characteristics brought about as the result of their operation. The violence of the operation and rumors of immoral conduct contrasted sharply with the beauty of their music. The contradiction between beauty and immorality in music fascinated Lee, and both her rhapsodies about eighteenth-century castrati and sharp comments about Wagner (explored in the next section of this chapter) reveal a great deal about how she viewed art as an essential component of one's personal sense of self. Her attempt to confront singing and singers that can never fully be recreated on their own terms often veers into awkward or anecdotal moments, as in her anxiety about listening to arias Farinelli once sang, yet this itself draws attention to the ways in which even the most adept scholar can lack the yearned-for total authority and archival control.

In considering the appeal of the castrato for Lee, one should therefore ask what was known of the castrati as a potentially intermediate figure in the realms of music research and sexology during Lee's lifetime. While what we would today consider markers of the castrati's perceived genders and sexualities shifted over the course of their history, musicology from the late nineteenth century onwards has struggled with them as figures of ambiguity. The first thing

[28] Ibid., 64.
[29] Freya Jarman, "The Queerness (or Not) of High Vocal Notes," Keynote presented at Music, Queer, Intersections: First Symposium of the LGBTQ+ Music Study Group of the Royal Musical Association, the Society for Musicology in Ireland, and the British Forum for Ethnomusicology (May 26, 2017), Edge Hill University, Ormskirk, England.

to remember is that, unlike musicologists today, scholars of Lee's generation had the opportunity to observe the performances of castrati firsthand, something Lee mentions a few times about her time in Rome.

In Lee's time and now, however, histories of the castrati tend to ignore the latter half of the nineteenth century, often preferring to end with one of the last successful operatic castrati, Giovanni Velluti (1780-1861), and jumping forward in time only briefly to observe the final years of Alessandro Moreschi (1858-1922) and muse on the nature of lost arts and practices. Historical accounts of the decline of the operatic castrati generally highlight rapidly-changing constructs of singers' perceived masculinity or effeminacy and the rise of new types of operatic characters and vocal types. Despite a broad chronological span, for instance, Richard Somerset-Ward's *Angels and Monsters: Male and Female Sopranos in the Story of Opera, 1600-1900* ceases to discuss the existence of or attitudes towards male sopranos at all after their disappearance from the operatic mainstream.[30] While this approach may paint an accurate vision of operatic practices across the nineteenth century, it is less helpful for the musicologist trying to understand how castrati and their once-prominent place in vocal music were viewed decades after they had left the limelight.

Where castrati are discussed in any detail, conventional wisdom has it that, particularly in England, they were viewed with suspicion as unmanly, sexually suspect figures from the early nineteenth century onwards. This assumption is borne out by caricatures and commentary on some of the last castrati to perform on the English stage; however, it does not necessarily extend beyond that time when Velluti and others would have been known to popular audiences. It is equally important to unpack what "manliness" (or the lack thereof) would have implied to

[30] Richard Somerset-Ward, *Angels and Monsters: Male and Female Sopranos in the Story of Opera, 1600-1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

English scholars of Lee's generation. As Ruth Solie argues in her chapter on "reading Victorian language," the language around masculinity, "manliness," and music uses terms that might be familiar to the twenty-first century musicologist, but often with a host of assumptions and conceptual frameworks that the modern scholar lacks.[31] While this is true for most concepts with lengthy histories and changing contexts, Solie proposes that gendered language around music from the turn of the twentieth century poses a special problem because of current popular assumptions about how gender and sexuality operated in the late nineteenth century.

While the article Solie analyzes—the anonymously published "Manliness in Music" (1889)—is not specifically about the castrato voice, singing more broadly is taken to task as less representative of manly virtue than instrumental music. The author discounts vocal talent as a supposedly inborn trait distinct from intelligence, altruism, or hard work, showing particular disdain for foreign (presumably Italian) vocalists as "dusky warblers of erotic inanities, skilled in the use of falsetto, whose fervid folly plays havoc with the heart-strings of gullible women."[32] The image presented by the author of "Manliness in Music" is similar to that shown in a comic from some sixty years prior lampooning Velluti's appeal to those "gullible" women (and a few men) too charmed by his musical ability to recognize his mutilated state (see Fig. 2.3).

[31] Ruth Solie, "Manly Music: Reading Victorian Language," in *Word, Image, and Song*, Vol. 2: *Essays on Musical Voices*, ed. Rebecca Cypress, Beth Glixon, and Nathan Link (Rochester: University of Rochester Press), 243-254.
[32] Anonymous, "Manliness in Music," *Musical Times* (1 August 1889): 460-461.

Figure 2.3. J.L. Marks. "An Italian Singer, Cut Out for English Amusement, or, Signor Veluti [sic] displaying his great parts." Print (from hand-colored etching). 1820s. Harry R. Beard Collection. Victoria and Albert Museum. London.

Caption: -Do you not think that he is a well-made man?
-Why, y-e-s, but not entirely the thing!
-La! How delicious it he strains! It's enough to melt the heart of a stone!
-He is quite perfect in his parts!
-Not quite!

To paraphrase Solie, it is ahistorical to assume that satirists in the 1820s meant precisely the same thing in their focus on Velluti's "parts" as authors in the 1880s did when describing "manliness." In a similar manner, we should not automatically assume that the assumptions underpinning claims about music and masculinity are identical in 1889 and 2016. The concept, however, of a certain kind of musicality requiring both an excess (of inborn talent, study, emotion) and a lack (of manliness, whether physical or psychological) is useful in considering

how Lee (and others writing on castrati and Baroque opera during her lifetime) frame the issue. This concept was long lasting in musicology—some thirty years later, an article on "The Male Soprano" from *The Musical Quarterly* by Francis Rogers more directly connects this notion of musical masculinity with the figure of the castrato, associating the appreciation of the castrato's higher register with a lack of both manliness and civilization:

> Nowadays, if there were a survivor of this sexless tribe, we might take an interest in him as a freak, but should certainly consider him out of place in any dignified musical environment…He is now as extinct as the dodo, but the leading part that he played in the early history of the art of singing quite justifies the writing of a chapter on the rise, supremacy, and gradual disappearance of this strange being and his art.
>
> …Admiration for the lower notes of the human voice, both masculine and feminine, exists only where there is a considerable development of musical taste. Among primitive peoples there is an unmistakable preference for a high-pitched voice, deep tones being considered grotesque or mirth-provoking. It is possible, though not demonstrable, that the vogue of the male soprano in the early days of art singing in Europe was due to an undeveloped musical taste.[33]

Later on, Rogers (much as the author of "Manliness in Music" and J.L. Marks) seems to view the castrati's success in heroic roles as the result of a duped or too-adoring public who valued the singer's vocal prowess over dramatic realism, writing that:

> It was incongruous enough for these sexless creatures to impersonate the heroines of romance and history; still more absurd was their assumption of characters as virile as those of Alexander and Roland and those even of fathers of families. However—the opera-supporting public of those faraway days overlooked such absurdities, and set the seal of its august approval on the musical efforts of the castrati.[34]

Lee, in contrast with earlier English satirists and many of her near-contemporaries, pointedly omits discussions of masculinity in connection with the castrati, nor does she depict their decline and disappearance from the operatic stage as the triumph of "natural" voices over artificial ones. The only time castrati in her accounts play havoc with the heartstrings of listeners,

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[33] Francis Rogers, "The Male Soprano," *Musical Quarterly* 5 (1919): 413.
[34] Ibid., 414.

it is due to the power of their song. In her account of Farinelli and Phillip II, Lee assigns gullibility not to the king for believing Farinelli's voice could heal him, but to rumormongers who gossiped that Farinelli's social standing at the royal court must have come through some illicit or underhanded means. The first thing one notices upon reading her description of Farinelli in *Eighteenth Century* is the central role played by oral accounts of the castrato in both his own time and long after his death:

> Farinelli had a most extraordinary social career, which, magnified by time and ignorance, and fused with his immense musical fame, surrounded him with that species of mysterious effulgence which curious persons are always trying to see through, even at the risk of seeing something far smaller than they imagined. He was eminently one of those figures which leave a deep impression on the popular imagination, an impression which for a long while grows stronger in proportion as the reality is removed further away. His voice, it was universally acknowledged throughout Europe, had been infinitely more voluminous, extensive, and beautiful than any other that had ever been heard before or since; his musical talent far more versatile and astonishing than any other; in short, the whole eighteenth century was unanimous in placing him alone and far above all its other great singers, his predecessors, contemporaries, and successors.[35]

These rumors become a bit more suggestive when Lee goes into greater detail about Farinelli's relationship with various patrons. Whereas the gossip around Tchaikovsky (see Chapter 3) centered largely on questions of if and how the composer's sexuality influenced his music, Lee's speculations about the castrati focused on the potential power of music to influence the bodies and minds of audience members, particularly those who wielded great political authority. For Lee, this power was not supernatural, but an embodied reality, a viewpoint that sets Lee apart from later twentieth-century musicologists relating these accounts, perhaps due to her study with living castrati and composers who had worked with them.. Her account of Farinelli spends more space discounting the importance of what she sees as prurient gossip about his patrons and relationships than it does recounting the facts of his life and repertoire (especially important to

[35] Lee, *Eighteenth Century*, 111.

Lee the recuperative musicologist). Although she clearly argues that his influence over them was purely social and musical, her references to "popular exaggeration" show that some of his contemporaries may have thought differently. In his *Portrait of a Castrato*, Roger Freitas notes that the potential sex appeal of the castrati in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is hard to disentangle from their musical appeal and political function as spies (due to their frequent travel and close proximity to powerful people). In discussing how chamber music in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was understood to sometimes carry erotic meanings, Freitas observes that "one begins to wonder how often a cantata served as foreplay, and, even in more decorous settings, to what degree the meaning and effect of chamber genres depended on sexual overtones."[36] Lee's accounts of the supernatural rumors surrounding Farinelli link the alleged recuperative powers of the singer's voice over the king's mind and body with language about social alliances and influence that might in other contexts be associated with speculation about cross-class sexual relationships:

> During those twenty-five years his fellow-countrymen had been constantly receiving vague and wonderful reports concerning him. He had gone to Spain, cured Philip V of melancholy madness by the magic of his voice, kept Ferdinand VI alive by the same supernatural means, become omnipotent at Court, been made prime minister, and, people added, had governed the country like another Solomon; all of which extraordinary pieces of information were duly registered by historians and writers on music, who have handed down to posterity the fame of this miracle…Not that it was groundless; on the contrary, it was merely the popular exaggeration of what few people at the time could thoroughly understand, namely, that a great singer had gone to Spain, had pleased poor old, dull, duped Philip by his voice, his intelligence, his good French, and his good nature, and had gained much influence over him; that Philip's successor, Ferdinand, had liked and esteemed him still more, and that thus he had insensibly got to possess very considerable political power. Such a position as this was difficult to define, and consequently easy to exaggerate.[37]

[36] Roger Freitas, *Portrait of a Castrato: Politics, Patronage, and the Life of Atto Melani* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 131.
[37] Lee, *Eighteenth Century*, 112.

Whatever she made of surviving eighteenth-century gossip about castrati, Lee was certainly aware of their "unmanly" image in Victorian England. In her letters, she worried about finding a publisher for an essay about Farinelli, writing to novelist Henrietta Jenkin that:

> I have so arranged the pages (from 65 to 74 inclusive) relating to the weird deserted villa that they can be taken out of the essay without any material harm, in case you or the Editor or anyone else should think that the English would not forgive poor Farinelli for having the same sort of voice as their much adored Signor Mustafa, their favourite singing master in Rome—If he and his house could remain in, I should be glad, for the story is strange and rather touching and would relieve the monotony of the everlasting description.[38]

The comment about the "much adored Signor Mustafa" is probably referring to Domenico Mustafà (1829-1912), a soprano castrato and director of the choir director of the Sistine Chapel for much of the second half of the nineteenth century.[39] This comparison is one of the few times Lee alludes, however obliquely, to contemporary awareness of (and disgust towards) castrati.

Lee's romanticization of the eighteenth century Italian artist, exemplified by the vision of the castrati constructed in her historical research, did not always materialize in her real-life encounters with castrati. During her travels in Italy and Austria as a young woman, Lee sought out vocal teachers and associates who were themselves castrati, were related to famous eighteenth-century musicians, or were touted as experts on eighteenth-century music. In an 1874 letter to Jenkin, Lee contrasts the banality of the current Clementi family with the excitement of studying with Gaetano Capocci and hearing a castrato singer firsthand:

> I received some time ago a long epistle from the only surviving son of Muzio Clementi, whom capricious fate has metamorphosed into an English parson residing on the shore of Lake Ontario. It is very well written and uncommonly civil, but the general tone is the funniest conceivable—it may be translated thus—"Oh dear what a pity that I should never have known till now what a great man my father was—If only you had told me in

[38] Lee, letter to Henrietta Jenkin, November 7, 1874, collected in Gagel, *Selected Letters of Vernon Lee,* 183.
[39] In the article on the Sistine choir in the 1895 edition of Grove's Dictionary, William Smith Rockstro alludes to surgical castration as "a process so barbarous, that at one time it was forbidden, in Italy, on pain of death," but is quick to ascribe the preservation of both Farinelli's and Mustafà's voices to "accidents," lest the reader think too much about the continued existence of castrati in 1895. See W.S.R. [William Smith Rockstro], "Sistine Choir," in *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* Vol. III, ed. George Grove (Philadelphia: Pressler, 1895), 523.

> time, how I should have stared at him"—Since then I have got a note, flippant and insufferable, from a Miss Smith, a governess, and granddaughter of Clementi.
>
> We left Rome just two weeks ago…I had previously the pleasure of hearing at St John's a beautiful new Mass by my old master, and a voice the most exquisite conceivable; it belongs to a friend of my maestro, a little, weazen, dark, impish creature called Pasqualino, but no woman ever had a voice more beautiful in freshness and *Cremona* sweetness—I wish you could have heard the man.[40]

While Lee's description of the Clementi family and Pasqualino's physical presence are less than complimentary, her descriptions of figures from the past are far more glowing. She appears primarily interested in Capocci for his interest in Clementi and connection to a few of the remaining living castrati (while she does not mention it in her letters, he was also Alessandro Moreschi's teacher). She also studied with an unnamed eighty-four-year-old singing teacher with a more direct lineage to the eighteenth century. While she despairs to Jenkin at the close of 1874 of traveling the three miles from her hotel in Florence to her singing master's house, she reveled "in knowing oneself to be taught in the old style, by a pupil of Fenaroli (who I believe was a contemporary of Pergolesi or very nearly) and of Velluti, the last of the great singers of the old school, and by the master of Grisi and a host of other celebrities."[41]

Lee's pride in her musical genealogy—to have met or studied with someone who knew Velluti or was related to Clementi or lived at the same time as Pergolesi—is familiar to anyone who has spent time around music students. The imagined connections to Baroque vocal practice and the illustrious lineage of the castrati are just as important as whatever actual singing techniques Capocci and the unnamed maestro were able to impart to their young amateur

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[40] Lee, letter to Henrietta Jenkin, July 15, 1874, collected in Gagel, *Selected Letters of Vernon Lee,* 167-168.
[41] In the footnotes and index to her edition of Lee's letters, Gagel seems to assume that Capocci and the "old singing master" are the same person. Capocci, who was born the same year as Giulia Grisi (1811), was in his sixties in December 1874, and was therefore unable to have the pedigree Lee attributes to the "old maestro." Lee, letter to Henrietta Jenkin, December 20, 1874, collected in Gagel, *Selected Letters of Vernon Lee,* 185.

student. Having this sort of interaction with the past, however tenuous, grants Lee the confidence in *Eighteenth Century* to conjure up these figures.

Musical Identities and Homosociality in *Music and its Lovers*

In stark contrast with the speculative world of the castrati, more than fifty years after the initial publication of *Eighteenth Century*, Lee found herself in a field where she had too much archival material. The older Lee sought in her last book, *Music and its Lovers*, to reconcile her seemingly unnatural affective encounters with music and her desire for a scientific understanding of how people experienced listening. Within the case studies collected therein, one observes Lee wrestling with how the overwhelming amount of "proof" she has compiled in the form of raw data relates to her own experiences and personal sense of what it means to love music (the complete English version of Lee's questionnaire is reproduced in Appendix 1). This evidence, reproduced by Lee in the form of excerpts from case studies of respondents and her own listening journals, creates a new set of archival records of what it meant to be a music lover in the early twentieth century. She records the frames of references through which she and her contemporaries heard art music—especially symphonic music and opera—including theoretical and historical knowledge, artistic metaphors, and the idealized state of being able to experience the supposedly pure emotion of "the music itself." Lee largely conducted her research during the early decades of the century by correspondence, which was interrupted by Lee's temporary return to England during World War I. She and her agent and editor Irene Cooper Willis, who assisted with compiling the case studies for *Music and its Lovers*, saw the analysis of their data as an act that transcended scientific process. She notes in her chapter on methodology that:

> Among other things, and besides extracting and tabulating the various data and their individual sources, I worked through all the documents accepted as valid, to the number

> of over one hundred and twenty, and wrote out for my own use a sort of analytico-synthetic description of each Answerer from the musical and emotional point of view, and without consciously availing myself of any knowledge derived from other sources. Thus I have at last come to possess a gallery of dramatis personae with whom I often feel very intimate, and whose personalities have sometimes awakened feelings of friendship or the reverse. Moreover, in making these analyses, I found myself involved in silent discussions with my Answerers and even more frequently with myself.[42]

Lee is here creating a kind of "musicological persona" out of each of her respondents' survey answers. In the opening chapters of the book, she attempts to differentiate between the musical experiences of what she calls "listeners" and "hearers." Listeners have great technical knowledge of music history and theory, and think consciously about formal and stylistic characteristics when listening to a work. Hearers, meanwhile, are less focused in their absorption of musical details, and let their minds wander to other subjects—"not simply a lesser degree of the same mental activity, but one whose comparative poverty from the musical side is eked out and compensated by other elements," including "memories, associations, suggestions, visual images and emotional states, ebbing and flowing round the more or less clearly emergent musical perceptions."[43] Listeners might also experience extramusical emotions or associations, but, according to Lee, they recognize these as lapses in attention from musical details. Lee uses the concepts of listeners and hearers to consider what emotions and ideas people bring to instrumental music, and what might be innate to "the music itself."

In a later chapter entitled "Myself as Corpus Vile," Lee sought to unpack distinctions between what she saw as musical appeals to "my affections" (transitory emotions and moods separate from the musical experience) and "my affection" (subconscious preferences and habits). While she faithfully recorded her reflections on each piece in great detail and ultimately

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[42] Lee, *Music and its Lovers:* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1933), 16-17.
[43] Ibid., 32.

concludes that she is a "just music Listener," whose physical and emotional experiences of music transcend a sense of human emotion, she admits that the question of a firm distinction between affections and affection remains unanswered.[44] She also places Listeners such as herself below "Dionysiacs" (people who are in a near-constant state of heightened musical emotion) and composers (whose musical response is so developed that they cannot help but create music) in the hierarchy of those sensitive to musical emotion.

Lee's theories of the sensitive observer having heightened psychological and emotional responses to art were derived in some part from her longtime relationship with Clementina "Kit" Anstruther-Thomson, whose physical responses to the visual arts influenced Lee's turn towards psychological aesthetics and the rarefied experiences of a cultivated elite.[45] Lee's interest in the emotional pull of the arts—even when couched in psychological terms—had an intensely personal and homoerotic component. Anstruther-Thomson was one of the few respondents whom Lee completely de-anonymized, remarking "there is no need, alas, to put a feigned or abbreviated name to this set of answers, whose importance, indeed, should be greatly influenced by the signature of 'C.A.T.'"[46] While Lee meticulously links "C.A.T.'s" theories to others in the psychological literature, Anstruther-Thomson's descriptions of music as "calling up embryo emotions" that one feels in both the body and the mind without conscious thought are clearly based on her and Lee's experiments with the visual arts.[47] Lee cites their collaborative book

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[44] Ibid., 508-509.
[45] Diana Maltz, recalling Lee's friend (and collaborator on compiling case studies for *Music and its Lovers*) Irene Cooper Willis's remarks on Lee's "gallery experiments" with Anstruther-Thomson as more about love than science, says that "to tell the story of psychological aesthetics is to tell a love story." See Diana Maltz, "Engaging 'Delicate Brains': From Working-Class Enculturation to Upper-Class Lesbian Liberation in Vernon Lee and Kit Anstruther-Thomson's Psychological Aesthetics," in *Women and British Aestheticism*, ed. Talia Schaffer and Kathy Alexis Psomiades (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 211-232.
[46] Lee, *Music and its Lovers,* 71.
[47] Ibid., 71.

Beauty and Ugliness several times in *Music and its Lovers,* and Anstruther-Thomson's accounts of "miming" (feeling one's breathing, focus, and physical stance change in reaction to a work of visual art) clearly influenced their approach to analyzing musical emotion and response.[48]

In her analysis of Lee's "sexual politics of aestheticism," Kathy Alexis Psomiades argues that, whatever Lee may have felt sexually for her partners, she (and Anstruther-Thomson and Willis) "produced a theory of the aesthetic grounded in the congress between female bodies."[49] Psomiades observes the fascination with the Classical in Lee's accounts of Anstruther-Thomson, both in the experiences chronicled in *Beauty and Ugliness* and in the comparisons of her to the Venus de Milo in Lee's introduction to Anstruther-Thomson's later *Art and Man* (1924), noting that Lee's fascination with Anstruther-Thomson's physical appearance and the physical qualities of her artistic and musical responses "has the same effect on Vernon that art is supposed to have."[50]

This experience of the emotional as physical provides a useful template for thinking about how educated listeners, including the likes of Lee, Newmarch, Smyth, and Prime-Stevenson may have conceived of possible queer musical associations with the symphonic and operatic, as well as how less musically educated hearers might still form these kinds of musical-sexual associations when confronted with solely instrumental music. Two main aspects of Lee's research seem particularly relevant here: the potential for "listening" and "hearing" as contributing to different facets of musical meaning and the meanings assigned to individual

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[48] An example of miming in the visual arts is found in Lee's and Anstruther-Thomson's description of Greek statuary: Now, in looking at Greek statues, we are forced automatically to adjust ourselves to their walk in order satisfactorily to focus on them; and this adjustment to a better balance in ourselves is extremely agreeable. Vernon Lee and Clementina Anstruther-Thomson, *Beauty and Ugliness and Other Studies in Psychological Aesthetics* (London: Lane, 1912),, 220.

[49] Kathy Alexis Psomiades, "'Still Burning from This Strangling Embrace': Vernon Lee on Desire and Aesthetics," in *Victorian Sexual Dissidence,* ed. Richard Dellamora (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 21-42.

[50] Ibid., 34.

composers by her case studies. Taking this one step further, her grouping of case studies by genre, sensation, and/or composer also suggested a shared listening experience, even when individual respondents were geographically dispersed and presumably unknown to one another. While very little about *Music and its Lovers* is explicitly queer, its grounding in Lee's and Ansthruther-Thomson's interest in the physical and emotional aspects of the musical experience allow for respondents to explore their own varied responses to music through the lenses of gender, sex, and the erotic.

Given Lee's status as an aesthetician, it is unsurprising that she views "listeners" as the ideal audiences and argues that listeners and hearers grapple with the question of programmatic music and musical meanings differently. Listeners see musical meaning "in the sense not of a message different from whatever conveyed it, but in the sense of an interest, an importance, residing in the music and inseparable from it."[51] Hearers, on the other hand, see musical meaning as a more concrete message for them as individuals, more connected to their "musical day-dream."[52] Lee does not immediately dismiss the experiences of hearers and their more isolated moments of musical contemplation, arguing that, for both hearers and listeners, the opportunity to either immerse oneself fully in sound or fully in an "inner ambiance" of reveries and day dreams, provides a "bath, if not of oblivion, at least of harmonious contemplation" separate from reality.[53] It is this act of immersion, however it is accomplished, that Lee holds up as the ultimate purpose of music.

Lee's own case studies occasionally blur the seemingly hard-and-fast line between hearing and listening, although her analysis often tries to align musical knowledge with listening

[51] Lee, *Music and its Lovers*, 31.
[52] Ibid., 32.
[53] Ibid., 33.

and musical ignorance with hearing. In some instances, she and her subjects seem to imply that the intellectual listener is perhaps less equipped to process emotional responses to music than other hearers. One respondent, Edward ("a well-known writer on music" who might well be Prime-Stevenson, given his residence in Florence, acquaintance with Lee, and views on the proper way to experience music), remarked that "I have not attention free enough to translate the music into emotional terms," and that "the great works I know well always produce the same effect upon me; they have a definite emotional identity, but the emotion is always a musical one."[54] This sense of knowing oneself through music, of having the musical sensitivity and self-knowledge to identify a "definite emotional identity" is important for both sexologists' use of music in queries of sexual orientation and gender expression and Lee's listeners' sense of musical engagement.

While the bulk of *Music and its Lovers* is devoted to unpacking individual responses to music more generally, Lee also devotes a good deal of space to the question of emotions and ideas provoked by listening to specific composers, both in her analysis of particularly vivid responses to her questionnaire throughout the book and in the chapter entitled "Some Preferences Classified." Although Lee and many of her respondents try to avoid strictly biographical readings of particular works, their accounts do not entirely avoid popular conceptions about canonical composers, especially when it comes to questions of the "erotic" or "immoral" in music, which Lee's case studies describe in rather loaded terms.

The pairing of Tchaikovsky and Wagner is one of the few elements of such lists, which largely vary by respondent preference, and may potentially be more representative than Lee admits of respondent awareness of composers' lives and reputations for emotional content.[55]

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[54] Lee, *Music and its Lovers*, 46 and 52.
[55] Ibid., 527-528.

Some respondents note their sympathy with or antipathy towards the works of particular composers in personal terms, as in the case of Margery, who wrote "I have intense sympathy with the composer (Tchaikovsky) at the time [of listening to the *Pathétique*]; later a touch of contempt for his lack of reserve and I feel also that he has been smashed through his inability to get outside himself."[56] Lee uses this view of Tchaikovsky's symphony to consider how some listeners construct an "imaginary composer" through a combination of musical and biographical knowledge that may or may not reflect the real person, noting that "while Tchaikowsky's Symphony is regarded by one Answerer as evidence of 'a rather feeble ego-centred personality,' Beethoven is universally written about not as he is shown in his letters and his Heiligenstadt Testament, but as if he were speaking in the Arietta, the Cavatina, nay, in the chorus (plus the words which are Schiller's) of the 9th Symphony."[57] She observes elsewhere how much some respondents' remarks may have been influenced by preconceived notions about the private lives of different composers. About a "nonmusical" respondent (identified as a painter) who remarked that a certain prelude by Chopin reminded her of "an old Russian woman in man's clothes," she explained that the listener likely connected Chopin's Eastern European influences with the popular image of George Sand.[58]

The potential associations between what a hearer assumed about a composer is also seen in the reaction of one subject (identified only as "the rebellious young Suffragette"), who connected her dislike of a particular Brahms piece with a masculine "lust of life" with which she didn't identify. Oddly, this account is one of the few that mentions the performance as having an

[56] Ibid., 316.
[57] Ibid., 420.
[58] Ibid., 429 and 431.

influence on emotional reception, as she continues that "some pieces strike one as a woman's or a man's soul, according to player. I think I can distinguish in music secondary sex attributes."[59]

This idea of a Brahms's piece as having "a man's soul" (something that may or may not change in different performances) resonates with gendered views of Brahms's homosocial and homoerotic appeal and with the sexological search for a gendered essence to explain sexual attraction and gender expression, suggesting a sort of musical-sexual identification that could resonate across or shift with time. While the Suffragette attributes the Brahms piece "itself" with masculinity, she also connects these categories more directly with the performer than with the composer. This opens potential for greater fluidity in finding gendered and sexual meanings in music than strictly biographical readings. The Suffragette's case study also raises questions about the way awareness of Brahms's perceived masculinity shaped queer discourses around his symphonic music, including accounts by Ethel Smyth, Tchaikovsky, and Edward Prime-Stevenson (discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4).

The Suffragette's only other appearance in *Music and its Lovers* presents a picture of how Lee viewed extramusical factors as influencing Hearers' responses to music. In response to Lee's questions about finding emotions and meaning in instrumental music, the Suffragette notes that, while she cannot determine purely musical emotions, she has strong reactions towards individual pieces that recall her political experiences:

> I can recognize that music REPRESENTS varieties of human emotion and (i.e. but) the music wouldn't touch me in consequence. This abstract recognition without participation doesn't often happen. It's (i.e., it happens) when music represents an ATTITUDE I HAVE NO SYMPATHY WITH, alien to my nature and sex. The music that appeals most to me is the rebellious sort. It's because I'm a Socialist! I recognize in music some definite emotions pertaining to a crowd, the uproar, the surge, the growl I have heard in crowds at suffrage meetings.[60]

[59] Ibid., 531.
[60] Ibid., 211.

Lee's analysis continues:

> And, no doubt she feels in herself, whenever she recognizes it in music, the emotion with which she once faced an anti-suffrage crowd, since she tells us that when she does participate in the music's expression, "my emotion is often accompanied by bodily sensations: if it's defiant, my head goes up."[61]

One place where Lee observes Hearers are aware of musical effects on their emotions is in framing "their affective dislikings outside the aesthetic plane."[62] While the Suffragette conflates the respective roles of the composer, piece, and performer in the meaning she finds in Brahms, her account of musical collectivity is also tied to what Elizabeth Wood identifies as "the sonography of women's suffrage."[63] Wood views figures like Ethel Smyth as "[bearing] the mark of the suffrage body for and within which it [music] is produced—its noises, pleasures, sufferings, and liberating desires, whose movement in turn [Smyth's] music fuels." In the context of Lee's case study, the account of the Suffragette's encounters with Brahms's perceived musical masculinity and music that evokes the collective spirit of activism presents a more complicated extramusical meaning than idle daydreams. Her experience of instrumental music is, therefore, inextricably linked with her seemingly non-musical political and personal allegiances.

While Tchaikovsky's music is connected to pathos and a perceived depiction of human emotion (either his own or more generally) and the single mention of Brahms is connected to a kind of musical masculinity, Lee's respondents largely consider Wagner in terms of sex, even when they are ashamed to admit it or cannot quite put it into words. They frequently disagree about the association of Wagner with immorality, although those with strong feelings on the subject bring up questions of morbidity, debasement, sensuousness, intensity of passions,

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[61] Ibid., 211.
[62] Ibid., 519.
[63] Elizabeth Wood, "Performing Rights: A Sonography of Women's Suffrage," *Musical Quarterly* 79, no. 4 (1995): 615.

hysteria, decadence, and physical emotion.[64] Curiously, these terms are used by those who variously love, hate, or disapprove of Wagner's works.

Although they do not go into detail, some respondents also suggest that the perceived immorality of Wagner's music has an uncomfortably direct effect on audiences, particularly at Bayreuth. Leo ("a very well-known amateur") writes "the benches in the walks at Bayreuth! He has a rotten effect on the unmusical!" while Miss Florence comments that "it would be indiscreet to watch faces at Bayreuth."[65] Less impressed with Wagner's appeal, Bettina said that she "watched with amazement at Bayreuth the people utterly gone to pieces like old sofa-cushions after the representation."[66]

While these comments could of course apply to any listeners, it raises questions about Lee's knowledge of the reputation Bayreuth had in queer Continental circles. Certainly she was acquainted with some of the main artist proponents of queer Wagnerism. Lee met Marc-André Raffalovich, who wrote extensively on Wagnerism and homosexuality in his *Uranisme et unisexualité* (1896), during the 1880s, although her letters only mention social events they both attended. This is also an association she could have discussed with Prime-Stevenson, who read and commented on the subject with some frequency in both his musical and sexological writings. Lee's own copy of Prime-Stevenson's *Long-Haired Iopas*, which contains several essays on Wagner and Bayreuth, was uncut, although Shafquat Towheed remarks that she did not always read presentation copies of works by authors whom she knew and engaged with in person.[67]

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[64] Lee, *Music and its Lovers*, 533-542.
[65] Ibid., 536-537.
[66] Ibid., 533.
[67] Shafquat Towheed, "'Music is not merely for musicians': Vernon Lee's Musical Reading and Response," *Yearbook of English Studies* 40, no. 1 (2010): 284. I have uncovered additional archival evidence of Lee's familiarity with Prime-Stevenson's criticism. A surviving press release for Iopas bound into the copy at Dartmouth (included in Appendix 3) both mentions homoerotic content in Parsifal in the same sentence as Prime-Stevenson's desire that the work only be performed at Bayreuth and includes a short blurb that Lee "enjoyed its friendly, alert,

The general wording and structure of Lee's questionnaire has one more (probably unintentional) connection to sexological writings on Wagner: a focus on a specific, individual kind of musical memory. Her Query V asks whether the respondent is "apt to think of [music] as expressing human emotion: (a) as if the composer (or performer) *were telling you his own inner drama*, (b) as if he were telling you the inner drama of some third person, vague or otherwise, or (c) *as if the music were somehow the expression of your own feelings*?"[68] This focus on the connection between abstract emotion and the expression of individual listener feeling is also found in Prime-Stevenson's sexological writings. Translating and adding onto Magnus Hirschfeld's famous sexological questionnaire, Prime-Stevenson connects "abstract music" and the possibility of music having "a really 'mysterious' message *to you*—nervously, spiritually, emotionally, or otherwise" to answering the question "am I at all a Uranian/Uraniad?"[69]

The amount of space devoted to Wagner, sexual response, and (im)morality is most likely due to a rather leading question in Lee's questionnaire which (in a manner reminiscent of Hirschfeld's "are you particularly fond of Wagner?") asked in Query VIII if "Wagner [seemed] to you to stand in any way apart, appealing to and producing emotional effects different from those of other musicians?[70] Query IX continues more directly along these lines, asking the respondent to consider:

> A. Have you reasons for thinking that music can have a good or bad effect (moral or immoral) on people's character or actions?
> or B. does music seem to you to be "yon side of good and evil"?[71]

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humane style, and the good sense of its aesthetics." Unsigned [probably Prime-Stevenson," "Literary Agent's Press-Circular: Long Haired Iopas: Old Chapters from Twenty-Five Years of Music-Criticism, by Edward Prime-Stevenson," bound in the endpapers of Prime-Stevenson, *Long-Haired Iopas: Old Chapters from Twenty-Five Years of Music Criticism*, Copy #77, Dartmouth College Library (Florence: Privately Printed, 1927), 1 and 7.

[68] Italics mine. Lee, *Music and its Lovers*, 564.

[69] Italics mine. Prime-Stevenson, *The Intersexes: A History of Simisexualism as a Problem in Social Life* (Rome, Florence, or Naples: Privately Printed: 1908/1909), 633.

[70] Lee, *Music and its Lovers*, 565.

[71] This is a reference to Nietzsche's *Beyond Good and Evil* (1886).

C. Can you understand these questions with regard particularly to Wagner?[72]

Lee admits in her analysis that the inclusion of Wagner provoked almost all of the commentary on sexual responses to music and that "that particular ingredient of Comus's cup [a reference to sexual excess of all kinds] is occasionally adverted to; and (unnoticed no doubt because taken for granted by Continentals), has to be remarked upon, condemned (as pornography) or justified by British Answers barely emerged…from Victorian purity and unsullied by Freudian discussions.[73] Lee's personal views on the morality or immorality of Wagner's music likely influenced her inclusion of these questions. In her commonplace book of April-December 1893, she recorded a conversation with Smyth on how "the disintegrative, purely emotional element in Wagner and the moderns….does not exist, or scarcely at all, for the real musician," but how the nonmusical "vast majority will always receive it not actively through the intellect, but passively, through the nerves."[74]

Conclusions: Musicological Authority and (Queer?) Emotional Encounters in "A Wicked Voice"

This conflict between the way music operates on the "active intellect" and the "passive nerves" is a major theme in Lee's short story "A Wicked Voice," which reimagines the story of Farinelli musically healing the King of Spain as a more sinister conflict between a late nineteenth-century composer/scholar and the ghost of an eighteenth-century castrato. The plot, often analyzed in terms of its sexual and supernatural themes, follows a quasi-Wagnerian composer in the present day, Magnus, who seemingly becomes possessed by the imagined experience of an eighteenth-

[72] Lee, *Music and its Lovers*., 565.
[73] Ibid., 301.
[74] Lee, Commonplace Book: New Series, Book X (April 1893-11 December 1893), Colby College, Waterville, ME, Special Collections, holograph MS, fols 182-86, cited in Towheed, "'Music is not merely for musicians': Vernon Lee's Musical Reading and Response," 277.

century castrato's singing. Lee depicts Magnus as a sort of "anti-Lee," uninterested in the dusty relics of past music—including, significantly, a portrait of the castrato Zaffirino—obsessed with modern music, and satisfied with his place in "the music of the future." Instead of finding musical inspiration in Italy, Magnus views the people and stories he encounters with scorn. As in many ghost stories, his mockery of his host's tales of a brilliant but murderous singer proves his undoing. He sees Zaffirino twice in the story, but is even more haunted by the castrato's voice: ambiguous, all-consuming, and unreachable across the veil of history. At the end of the story, Magnus is left overwhelmed, unable to write anything besides Baroque-style dances and arias, effectively undoing his nineteenth-century understanding of both opera and his own individual voice.

Analyses of "A Wicked Voice" disagree on what the reader is supposed to make of Zaffirino's and Magnus's eventual "meeting" and Magnus's fate of being unable to write anything other than Baroque dances. Hilary Grimes argues that the story is ultimately about how "music can evade categorization as being either a material or immaterial art form," as well as "Lee's own desire and inability to 'chain up' the supernatural in art."[75] Patricia Pulham argues that the castrato represents anxieties about the uncontrolled feminine in music, "not only the threat represented by the powerful speaking woman, but also her Medusan cry in his song with all its connotations of immobilization and entrapment."[76] Sylvia Mieszkowski analyzes how music of all kinds "haunts" the text of "A Wicked Voice," and how "the literary text functionalizes them and the instruments/voices which perform them as signs" in the destabilization of Magnus's identity.[77]

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[75] Hilary Grimes, "Case Study: Vernon Lee, Aesthetics, and the Supernatural," in *The Late Victorian Gothic: Mental Science, the Uncanny, and Scenes of Writing* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 133.
[76] Pulham, *Art and the Transitional Object in Vernon Lee's Supernatural Tales,* 11.
[77] Miezkowski, "Haunted by Sound: Vernon Lee, 'A Wicked Voice," 41-42.

Scholars focusing on the sexual ambiguity of nineteenth-century castrati and ties between opera, the supernatural, and eroticism in Lee's literary work have discussed the potential erotic connection between Magnus and Zaffirino. They seem to represent two opposing models of Victorian queer vocality: the sublime impossibility of the Baroque castrato and the sensuous modernism of the Wagnerian. Carlo Caballero focuses on the perceived moral contrast between Zaffirino's Baroque arias and Magnus's Wagnerism, arguing persuasively that, in bringing madness and sexuality into her fiction, Lee filled "various conceptual silences in the rational prose of her essays."[78] Taking the potential evocation of Sappho in Zaffirino's name and the dedication to Mary Wakefield "in remembrance of that last song at Palazzo Barbaro" as her starting points, Catherine Maxwell links Magnus's struggles with the erotic pull of the castrato to Lee's intimacy with Wakefield in the mid-1880s.[79]

While all of these analyses raise important points about the ways in which fiction gave Lee the opportunity to explore and "contain" musicality, sexual desire, and the act of listening more directly than she was unable to do in her letters and nonfiction, I ultimately think of "A Wicked Voice" as a depiction of Lee's dissatisfaction with the tensions between musicological authority and musical knowledge. The romantic appeal of the past and the limits of scholarly knowledge clash violently in Magnus's experience of Zaffirino's music. Throughout her correspondence, Lee appears frustrated by what was and was not available to her when it came to music history. In an 1870 letter to her father, she claims that "compared to Painting or Sculpture, no good books hardly have been written on music, especially not on that of last century, which is

[78] Caballero, "A Wicked Voice," 404.
[79] Maxwell, "Sappho, Mary Wakefield, and Vernon Lee's 'A Wicked Voice,'" 963-972.

undoubtedly the most interesting period of its history."[80] Five years later, she complained to Jenkin about her readings in musicology and theory:

> Most of the people who have written on music had either lost all suppleness of mind from excessive study of counterpoint, or, worse, had rendered themselves limp, faded, and quasi-hysterical from indulging too much in emotional mysticism. The literature of music is intolerable what between the lectures on fourths and false fifths and the shapeless clues about the soul with which it is crammed—I should like to suggest, insidiously and slowly my ideas on the subject, for I have no doubt but that they might strike as strange or even insufferable.[81]

Just like the more fanciful and speculative moments in *Eighteenth Century*, Magnus's encounter with the Baroque shifts(however begrudgingly) through existing scholarship, archival sources, visual art, and contemporary anecdotes before finding himself in an overwhelming and impossible communion with the past. The silencing of his own compositional voice and the re-awakening of Zaffirino's is the fulfillment of Lee's ultimate dream of experiencing "the lost art of singing."

The conflict between the past and the present in "A Wicked Voice" develops gradually. Magnus begins with a sort of dry academic knowledge of eighteenth-century music (which he repeatedly claims to hate), but is forced again and again to confront his own physical responses to the voice. He despises his fellow tourists' interest in eighteenth-century music history, scoffing at anecdotes shared by his host (a descendent of Zaffirino's ill-fated patron) and wondering at the fascination for "a lot of rubbish about the former greatness of Venice, the glories of old music, the former Conservatoires, all mixed up with anecdotes of Rossini and Donizetti, whom he presents to have known intimately."[82] In an aristocratic twist on Lee's dissatisfaction with the Clementis' disinterest in their important ancestor, Magnus scoffs at his

[80] Lee, letter to Henry Paget, July 16-21, 1870, collected in Gagel, *Selected Letters of Vernon Lee,* 20.
[81] Lee, letter to Henrietta Jenkin, January 28, 1875, collected in Gagel, *Selected Letters of Vernon Lee,* 150.
[82] Lee, "A Wicked Voice," in *Hauntings: Fantastic Stories*, 2nd ed. (London: Lane, 1906), 201.

host's account of Zaffirino as "finally, a story, of course, containing plenty about his illustrious family."[83]

These anecdotes and gossip, deemed unimportant by Magnus to what little value he does assign to eighteenth-century music are precisely what fascinates Lee about the castrato. Although Magnus is a far different type of scholar than Lee—a male composer who views both the musicology and music of the eighteenth century as overly sensual and generally suspect, his experiences in the short story stem from Lee's own observations of Amigoni's portrait of Farinelli:

> My *leitmotiv* was something difficult to explain, save in what I have already said about *Caruso in the gramophone;* it was a feeling of mingled love and wonder at the miracle of the human voice, which seemed the more miraculous that I had never heard great singers save in fancy. That was one half. The other was the attraction and the terror, the mysteriousness, of bygone times. Between those two, as between its tonic and dominant, moved my *leitmotiv,* you might have labeled it 'a silly secret longing to hear a great singer of the past,' which, in the absence of gramophones, was a longing for the unattainable with the passion only unattainable objects can inspire…
> I…spent a thunderstormy night in a derelict villa and there encountered, heard (and I fear I had some conversation with!) a vocal ghost who was Farinelli's.[84]

The placing of Farinelli in "a position…difficult to define" suggests any manner of ways a commoner might allegedly gain undue influence over a monarch in this period: quackery, witchcraft, seduction. Like Farinelli, Zaffirino is engaged by an aristocratic patron--in this case, the female Procuratessa Vendramin, whose experiences are relived over a century later by the male composer/scholar Magnus—to sing the same set of songs repeatedly in an attempt to cure a psychological malady.

The ambiguous or suspect manliness of the castrato and the potential for sexual intermediacy find their way into "A Wicked Voice." In his rantings about the eighteenth century,

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[83] Ibid., 201.
[84] Vernon Lee, *For Maurice: Five Unlikely Stories* (London: Lane, 1927), xxxiii-xxxiv.

Magnus might as well be contributing to an essay about the emasculation of vocal music. Much like his real-world Victorian colleagues, he claims to hate the dangerous ambiguity and potential eroticism of vocal music in general—and (Lee implies) that of the castrati in particular. "Singer," he rants, "thing of evil, stupid and wicked slave of the voice, of that instrument which was not invented by the human intellect, but begotten of the body, and which, instead of moving the soul, merely stirs up the dregs of our nature!"[85] That last comment proves prophetic, as something is eventually stirred up in Magnus when he finally seems to overhear Zaffirino's song that was not present in his historical readings and modern piano arrangements. In a scene that contrasts the "real," modern music of gondoliers and Magnus's unfinished Wagnerian music drama with the ghostly sound of the castrato, Magnus has a series of increasingly vivid dreams that gradually take over his waking life:

> I felt the need of noise, of yells and false notes, of something vulgar and hideous to drive away that ghost-voice which was haunting me.
>
> Again and again I told myself that it had been some silly prank of a romantic amateur, hidden in the gardens of the shore or gliding unperceived on the lagoon; and that the sorcery of moonlight and sea-mist had transfigured for my excited brain mere humdrum roulades out of exercises of Bordogni or Crescentini.
>
> But all the same I continued to be haunted by that voice. My work interrupted ever and anon by the attempt to catch its imaginary echo; and the heroic harmonies of my Scandinavian legend were strangely interwoven with voluptuous phrases and florid cadences in which I seemed to hear again that same accursed voice.
>
> To be haunted by singing-exercises! It seemed too ridiculous for a man who professedly despised the art of singing. And still, I preferred to believe in that childish amateur, amusing himself with warbling to the moon.[86]

Frustrated with his inability to complete his own work due to his increased obsession with Zaffirino, Magnus tears down a portrait of the castrato from a wall. At the climax of his

[85] Lee, "A Wicked Voice," 198.
[86] Ibid., 216.

"haunting," he imagines himself both in the place of the singer, his head full of antiquated music, and of the patron, driven feverish and weak by the image of the castrato.

Yet, while Magnus's imagined experiences of opera and the physicality of the castrato's voice are deeply embodied, they are largely silent on the page. Throughout the story, various characters discuss the qualities of eighteenth-century song and seem at various points to hear a ghostly singer, including a debate "whether the voice belonged to a man or to a woman: every one had some new definition."[87] The climax, however, is Magnus's deeply-felt response to a ghostly performance that he feels rather than hears. When his haunting is given a rational explanation—an abandoned broken harpsichord collapsing upon itself—he continues to hear eighteenth-century melodies in his head, unable to put his own music to paper. He (and the reader) are left to imagine what sounds it must be that could produce such an intense response. In the end, it is the masculine composer, rather than the ambiguous singer, who is silenced by the dubious effects of song.

The effect of Zaffirino on Magnus—whether the explanation is a supernatural encounter or some psychological break within Magnus's mind—merges Lee's fascination with the historical power of the castrato's voice with her and Anstruther-Thomson's theories of emotions lingering in the body to suggest something ghostly about music history.[88] Magnus, encountering the castrato through visual art, music, dreams, and, ultimately, a possible haunting, experiences all facets of bodily engagement and psychological response.

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[87] Ibid., 220.

[88] Hilary Grimes gives a point-by-point comparison between Lee's and Anstruther-Thomson's experiments in artistic response and the techniques of the Society for Psychical Research in the 1890s, arguing that "just as Lee and Kit had attempted to monitor the ways in which the body responded to a work of art, the SPR was interested in the reactions of the body to a ghostly encounter." Grimes, "Case Study: Vernon Lee, Aesthetics, and the Supernatural," in *The Late Victorian Gothic: Mental Science, the Uncanny, and Scenes of Writing* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 126.

The conflict between the Baroque and the Wagnerian within Magnus's mind follows a similar path to what Philip Brett identifies as a "reverse discourse of musicology" in Edward Dent's scholarship from the 1920s through the 1940s. Like Dent, Lee follows "a lively or irritating" path in her research and fiction, conversationally leading her reader through several picturesque scenes and trains of thought.[89] She attempts to resist what she saw as the established paths of dry theory and "too much emotional mysticism" by grounding her research in speculation about historical listening and data about listeners in the present time. She also provides a very real counter-narrative to English depictions of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century castrati as effeminate monstrosities.

The complicated eroticism of Lee's writing invites a biographical reading. Magnus's experiences (and his imagined experiences of the Procuratessa Vendramin's last moments) are based in Lee's deeply felt emotional responses to classical repertoire and her personal conception of the research process, both themes that appear throughout her nonfiction and fictional treatments of the musical experience. Magnus's horror at Zaffirino's power over him reflects Lee's complex view of musical response—the physical sensation of being overcome by art, the encounter with the castrato as a "lost voice," and, in the most visceral sense, the reenacting of Lee's youthful fear that the arias Farinelli once sang "would turn out hideous." The silences across Lee's work—the nature of her relationship with Anstruther-Thomson, the lack of depictions of musical sound in "A Wicked Voice," the gallery of lost figures who can only be accessed through the written record in *Eighteenth Century*—resonate all the more loudly because of her quest for music as the ideal vehicle for confronting one's own emotions and the reverberations of history.

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[89] Philip Brett, "Musicology and Sexuality: The Example of Edward J. Dent," in *Queer Episodes in Music and Modern Identity*, ed. Sophie Fuller and Lloyd Whitesell (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 183.

Lee's struggles as a historical musicologist—the question of how to balance personal interpretation and historical evidence in the face of long-deceased people and bygone social systems—have not been resolved by the rise of feminist and queer musicology. The question of the castrati's range of sexual and gender categories across different time periods, socio-cultural contexts, and musical styles is still a matter of some debate in Baroque and Classical studies. Much of Lee's and her contemporaries' engagement with castrati, voice, and embodiment still strikes a chord in contemporary musicological discourse.[90] Musicological scholarship, just as much as the 20th-century fictional depictions of castrati in works like Anne Rice's *Cry to Heaven* or the film *Farinelli*, serves as a record of the attitudes and experience of its authors as much as it is a reconstruction of those of its subjects.

In "Queer Relationships with Music and an Experiential Hermeneutics for Musical Meaning," Sarah Hankins explores how queer musical communities and meaning-making shed light on musicology's persistent need (foreshadowed by Lee in her comments about "dry criticism" and "emotional mysticism") to "reconcile immediate, embodied musical experience with hermeneutics, criticism, and analysis."[91] Drawing on her own experiences as a participant and researcher in Boston's drag and gender performance scene, Hankins argues that queer relationships with music are embodied, aroused, and situated, "[dissolving] boundaries between

[90] Corinna Herr's recent book Gesang gegen die 'Ordnung der Natur'? Kastraten und Falsettisten in der Musikgeschichte, for example, situates castrati, falsettists, and other types of high male voices within broader discourses of sexuality, nationalism, religion, and gender presentation from the Renaissance to the present day. After analyzing a few hundred years of depictions of the high male voice as alternately running contrary to or transcending the "order of nature," Herr concludes that historical literature on the castrato ultimately reveals our own mythos of linkages between voice, sex, and gender. The castrato can be read, among other things, as a kind of "cyborg" creation, but, she notes "at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st, we are all cyborgs." Translation mine. Corinna Herr, *Gesang gegen die 'Ordnung der Natur'? Kastraten und Falsettisten in der Musikgeschichte* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2013), 509.

[91] Sarah Hankins, "Queer Relationships with Music and an Experiential Hermeneutics for Musical Meaning," *Women and Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture* 18 (2014): 83.

self and music by opening up the somatic apparatus to music's energies and [enabling] the individual to locate herself, and locate music, within social power structures that are undergirded by a sexual order."[92]

Like Hankins, Lee emerges as a student of her research subjects in both her early lessons with castrati and later experimental methodology. Her experience of viewing art and music through her appreciation of Anstruther-Thomson's bodily reactions, real and imagined encounters with castrati, and conflation of the sexually ambiguous Zaffirino with Mary Wakefield's song all locate embodied and aroused readings of music within the gendered and sexual orders of the social worlds in which she moved—the upper-class amateur scholar, the Victorian female intellectual, the queer British expat in Italy, and the woman whose experiences and identity existed outside of dominant sexological categories. Instead of reading Lee as a "failed" lesbian scholar who understood her own emotions only through the artistic experiences of others, we should reevaluate her as someone attempting to create a framework for the history and practice of music that accounted for aspects of her subjects' and her own experiences for which there was no adequate language or accepted methodological structure. As Hankins observes, "a queer experiential hermeneutics" is available in musicology "anywhere…that musicologists find themselves in material or conceptual proximity to music."[93] Vernon Lee's vacillation between detailed collection of data and imaginative speculation about her research subjects is ultimately a strategy for attempting to capture multiple aspects of the ineffable nature of musical experience.

[92] Ibid., 87.
[93] Ibid., 103.

Chapter 3: The Private Life of the Musicologist: Detecting Queer Subtext in Rosa Newmarch's Research and Poetry

In her 1904 biography of the conductor Sir Henry Wood, Rosa Harriet Jeaffreson Newmarch (1857-1940) writes movingly of the problems of the biographer's role in mediating their subject's life for a general readership. Noting that Wood was both alive and a close personal friend, Newmarch admits that "to write of living celebrities needs the special gifts of tact and an impartial temper, to which most probably I have no claim whatever" and "there is always the risk of saying more than should be said in a man's lifetime."[1] Newmarch's call for "tact and an impartial temper" highlights a persistent tension between the private and public nature of music biography, one which lingers to this day and has in some ways been exacerbated in debates over the role of identity in music research.

In a way, musicology simultaneously struggles with and fetishizes biography as a source of insight into the past. On the one hand, the minute details of a composer's or performer's life can seem to distract from broader interpretations of their work, both as a sign of their exceptional place in music history and as a window into their subjective experiences. On the other, a total neglect of how life influences art risks reifying the notion that great artists are somehow beyond the realm of human foibles and eccentricities. In contexts where the circumstances of a musician's life are taboo or otherwise controversial, the question of biography as research or hindrance becomes even more fraught. Questions of what is "appropriate" or "relevant" to musical biographies frequently boil over into broader debates about methodology, as in the Schubert and Handel debates of the 1990s and the critiques of Barbara Heyman's biography of

[1] Rosa Newmarch, *Henry J. Wood* (London: Lane, 1904), 1.

Samuel Barber.[2] In the case of the Schubert and Handel examples, what was seemingly at stake was not (or not *only*) whether Schubert's and Handel's relationships had been misinterpreted by scholars for so long, but what constituted the historical record in the case of queer musical biography. As Philip Brett noted, this biographical censure was not universally applied:

> The one composer we have been allowed to "know" about in the period is Tchaikovsky. But the disclosing of the Russian composer's sexuality and the careful covering over (or ignoring) of the tracks around Schubert surely has to do with the processing of music by scholarship as a male and predominantly German art. A Russian composer could be homosexual, indeed one so close to Teutonic mastery probably had to be homosexual, because that would allow the exotic, decadent, and effeminate quality of the music to be held up (as I remember it being held up to me in my youth) as a warning. The central German canon must at all costs be preserved in its purity. The closeting of Schubert is of a similar order as the papering over of Wagner's anti-Semitism.[3]

Brett points to two key problems in queer musical biography: who and what we are allowed to "know" and what sorts of implications this has for how we interpret different types of music. The fact that music biographers have disclosed or alluded to Tchaikovsky's homosexuality before addressing "the tracks around" the likes of Schubert and Handel presents several additional problems for examining Tchaikovsky's scholarly reception. Whereas with the two earlier composers, a general lack of intimate personal details frequently leads biographers to extrapolate from general historical context and the lives of those around their subjects, different types of knowledge about Tchaikovsky have shaped the scholarly record in a different way. How one viewed Tchaikovsky and his music—as troubled, heroic, unstable, sympathetic, confessing, concealing—largely depended on one's reaction to the disclosure of his homosexuality. The

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[2] For the former two debates, see Lawrence Kramer, ed., "Schubert: Music, Sexuality, Culture," special issue, *19th-Century Music* 17, no. 1 (1993) and Ellen Harris, "Homosexual Context and Identity: Reflections on the Reception of *Handel as Orpheus,*" in *Queer People: Negotiations and Expressions of Homosexuality, 1700-1800,* ed. Chris Mounsey and Caroline Gonda (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2007), 41-68. For a summary of the later in the context of broader developments in queer theory and musicology, see Kyle Kaplan, "At Home with Barber: *Vanessa* and the Queer 1950s" (MA thesis, McGill, 2015), 1-10.

[3] Philip Brett, "Musicality, Essentialism, and the Closet," in *Queering the Pitch: The New Gay and Lesbian Musicology,* 2nd ed, ed. Philip Brett, Elizabeth Wood, and Gary C. Thomas (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2006), 15.

problem in Tchaikovsky scholarship, particularly for those who wished to discount the relevance of queer musicology, was not a lack of evidence, but an unavoidable amount that could not be explained away in terms of platonic friendships and homosociality. Becoming aware of this kind of bias ultimately suggests far more about the biographer and her motives and personal commitments than about any particular subject's life and works.

Rosa Newmarch's lengthy "Tchaikovsky project"—begun shortly after the composer's death with a series of newspaper articles and continuing through the early decades of the twentieth century with various books, translations, reference works, and program notes—provides an intriguing "test case" for seeking the biographer within her work. As Malcolm Hamrick Brown notes in his work on Tchaikovsky reception history, it is highly unlikely that Newmarch could have been as enmeshed in writing Tchaikovsky's life for so long without someone disclosing his homosexuality.[4] Yet, while she never overtly addressed this topic in her voluminous works, Newmarch also never stopped viewing Tchaikovsky's letters and music as worthy of deep, often quite emotional, consideration. She walks a fine line between respecting what can or should be addressed in a "life and works" biography in the 1900s and admitting her own not-always-scholarly subjective engagement with Tchaikovsky's music. Unlike Vernon Lee, who ultimately justified her emotional engagements with eighteenth- and nineteenth-century music through scientific language around experimentation and psychological case studies, Newmarch's love of her subjects occasionally found its way into unexpected places: memoirs of close personal friends, love poetry that may or may not have been autobiographical, program notes, and her contribution to the second edition of *Grove's Dictionary of Music and*

[4] Malcolm Hamrick Brown, "Tchaikovsky and his Music in Anglo-American Criticism, 1890s-1950s," in Sophie Fuller and Lloyd Whitesell, eds., *Queer Episodes in Music and Modern Identity* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 139.

Musicians. While prior scholarship on Newmarch has focused extensively on debating her contributions to music appreciation and English knowledge of Russian music and poetry at the turn of the century, this chapter examines the kinds of questions Newmarch may have initially asked about Tchaikovsky, the kinds of answers she may have received, and how both she and her readers found ways to "know" Tchaikovsky's sexuality without openly disclosing it.[5]

Talking about Tchaikovsky at the Fin-de-Siècle

Before examining Newmarch herself, one needs to consider what and how knowledge about Tchaikovsky in the Anglophone musical world spread during his lifetime and shortly after his death. For English audiences, Tchaikovsky clearly made a particularly difficult subject for potential biographers, despite the broad appeal of his music and his success as a conductor. In the decades following his death in 1893, rumors of his homosexuality expanded into myths of suicide and the association of melancholy themes in his music with narratives of repressed or deviant sexuality. In the 1890s and 1900s, these legends found their way into print in Anglophone circles largely in the form of references in the burgeoning literature of sexology and sex reform, as well as in the occasional piece of music criticism by those who had had brief encounters with Tchaikovsky during his tours of England and the United States. Edward Carpenter, for instance, wrote in his *The Intermediate Sex* (1908) that Tchaikovsky was "a

[5] The two book-length biographies of Newmarch, Philip Ross Bullock's *Rosa Newmarch and Russian Music in Late-Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009) and Lewis Stevens's *An Unforgettable Woman: The Life and Times of Rosa Newmarch* (Leicester: Matador, 2011) both focus extensively on her role within a community of women public intellectuals and musicians in the early twentieth century. Bullock's book primarily examines her published writings, while Stevens draws extensively from her unpublished memoirs. In addition, see also Charlotte Purkis, "'Leader of Fashion in Musical Thought': the Importance of Rosa Newmarch in the Context of Turn-of-the-Century British Musical Appreciation," in *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies,* Vol. 3, ed. Peter Horton and Bennett Zon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 3-20; and Alfred Boynton Stevenson, "Chaikovski and Mrs Rosa Newmarch Revisited," *Inter-American Music Review* 14, no. 2 (1995): 63-78.

thorough-going Uranian."[6] The linking of the Symphony no. 6 (hereafter referred to as the *Pathétique*) with a confessional and autobiographical secret program (perhaps one tied to the myths of suicide), also became bound up with "sensationalist" Tchaikovsky gossip, if only one knew how to listen. In *The Intersexes* (ca. 1908/9), a monumental history of homosexuality, Edward Prime-Stevenson (whose work and career I will examine in detail in Chapter 4) explicitly linked queer gossip and musical meaning with a sexual pun on the symphony's subtitle:

> The death of the brilliant and unhappy Russian composer Tschaikowsky has been affirmed (if denied with equal conviction) as a suicide, not a sudden illness, in consequence of terror of a scandal that hung over him—a relative being spoken of as the persecutor. Some homosexual hearers of Tschaikowsky's last (and most elegiac) symphony, known as the "Pathetic" claim to find in it such revelations of a sentimental-sexual kind that they have nicknamed the work the "Pathic" Symphony.[7]

Tchaikovsky appears infrequently in Prime-Stevenson's own music criticism, although an obituary the latter wrote for *Harper's Weekly*, which concludes with a quote from Tchaikovsky suggesting that the two may have met.[8] Prime-Stevenson's more renowned New York colleague,

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[6] "Uranian" was but one of many terms for homosexuality to come out of nineteenth-century sexology and sex reform literature, coming to English from the classical myth of Aphrodite Urania by way of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs' pamphlets on love between men. It especially appealed to those who promoted "third sex" or "intermediate sex" models of gender identity. Edward Carpenter, *The Intermediate Sex: A Study of Some Transitional Types of Men and Women* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1908), 111. For more on the use of Greek philosophy by European sexologists, see Ralph M. Leck, "The Science of Agape," in *Vita Sexualis: Karl Ulrichs and the Origins of Sexual Science* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2016), 102-140.

[7] "Pathic" is a reference to sexual passivity. In E.M. Forster's *Maurice* (discussed later in this chapter), the protagonist's university friend Risley combines the pun with a joke about the English mistranslation of Pathétique as "Pathetic" by dubbing the work Symphonie incesteuse et pathique. Xavier Mayne [Edward Prime-Stevenson], *The Intersexes: A History of Simisexualism as a Problem in Social Life* (Rome, Florence, or Naples: Privately Printed, ca. 1908/9), 396-7.

Although both Carpenter's and Prime-Stevenson's works on the history of homosexuality were printed around 1908, both authors claimed to have conceived, researched, and written them a few years earlier. Whether or not their readings of Tchaikovsky reflect their readings of Newmarch's biographies and translations (as is clearly the case with Forster), queer gossip already in the air by the late 1890s, or a mixture of both remains unclear.

[8] "Only a few days before he left New York in 1891 he remarked cordially, to one who had met him frequently during his brief visit, 'I shall surely come over here again and see what you are all doing in music here, and how well you may be liking what I am doing.' His unexpected death reminds the writer of the kindly remark, and of the cancellation of a courteous hope and a splendid career." E.I.S. [Edward Prime-Stevenson], "Peter Iltitsch (sic) Tschaikowsky," *Harper's Weekly* (November 18, 1893): 1112.

James Gibbons Huneker, had more ambivalent feelings about Tchaikovsky's depictions of "morbid" emotions, which, as Brown observes, may have stemmed from his "squeamish response to having been presented these unvarnished biographical details."[9] Nevertheless, Huneker's heavily fictionalized reworking of his earlier newspaper articles, collected in book form as *Old Fogy: His Musical Opinions and Grotesques*, presents a slightly clearer picture of how this gossip might have spread, albeit one likely described in such a way as to intentionally shock Huneker's readers. The Old Fogy, Huneker's parody of a less-than-perceptive conservative music critic, runs into the grandson of an old friend at a café in New York:

> I knew that artistic matters were at a low ebb in New York, yet I never realized the lowness thereof until then. I was introduced to a half-dozen smartly dressed men, some beardless, some middle-aged, and all dissipated looking. They regarded me with curiosity, and I could hear them whispering about my clothes. I got off a few feeble jokes on the subject, pointed to my C-sharp minor colored collar…
>
> Jenkins looked sourly at my friend Sledge, but that shy young person behaved most nonchalantly. He whistled and offered Jenkins a cigar. It was accepted. I was disgusted, and then they all fell to quarreling over Tchaikovsky. I listened with amazement.
>
> "Tchaikovsky," I heard, "Tchaikovsky is the last word in music. His symphonies, his symphonic poems, are a superb condensation of all that Beethoven knew and Wagner felt. He had ten times more technic for the orchestra than Berlioz or Wagner, and it is a pity he was a suicide"—"How," I cried, "Tchaikovsky a suicide?" They didn't even answer me.[10]

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[9] Brown, "Tchaikovsky and his Music in Anglo-American Criticism, 1890s-1950s," in Fuller and Whitesell, *Queer Episodes in Music and Modern Identity*, 143.
Huneker's own views on sexuality and music were complicated. A fierce opponent of the Comstock Acts (which banned the distribution of so-called "obscene" materials through the US Postal Service) and sometime associate of Emma Goldman through her theatrical activities, he apparently delighted in scandalizing his more uptight American friends with stories of Ludwig II's homosexuality and included references in his correspondence (sometimes approvingly, other times not) to Whitman's poetry, queer gossip about *Parsifal*, and Henry Blake Fuller's homoerotic novel *Bertram Cope's Year*. For his own part, he was married three times, and was reputedly romantically linked to several prominent female artists, including the bisexual opera singer Olive Fremstad, who inspired the "pleasing theme of lesbianism" in his novel *Painted Veils.* See Arnold T. Schwab, *James Gibbons Huneker: Critic of the Seven Arts* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1963) and Josephine Huneker, ed., *Intimate Letters of James Gibbons Huneker* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1924). Thank you to Tom Sargant for pointing me in the direction of Huneker's essays and letters.
[10] James Gibbons Huneker, "Tchaikovsky," in *Old Fogy: His Musical Opinions and Grotesques* (Philadelphia: Presser, 1913), 140-141.

The Old Fogy never gets his answer, and gives his smartly dressed new acquaintances a rambling speech about the immorality of Tchaikovsky's "most immoral stories" and the problems of modern music. Jenkins mocks him during it, and the rest apparently leave, since at the end of the essay the Fogy is left alone in the café. One wonders if Huneker encountered this sort of debate via Prime-Stevenson, who alludes to similar informal conversations about other composers and works in his *The Intersexes* and *Long-Haired Iopas.* These two primary sources give a good sense of the problems inherent in this type of biographical "knowledge," and how the same kind of information (in this case, gossip) could elicit different reactions depending on one's awareness of secret meanings and in-group knowledge. It is not merely the Fogy's homophobia (the disgust at smartly-dressed men sharing cigars), but his lack of musical awareness that causes the crowd at the café to desert him.

We will return to those "homosexual hearers" and their "sentimental-sexual revelations" later. It is clear from Prime-Stevenson (and heavily implied by Huneker) that the myth of suicide held currency in some circles as "proof" of the composer's sexuality, confirming (if tragically) his status as an artist confronted with the threat of sexual scandal. Although this reading as presented by Prime-Stevenson is similar in content to the more homophobic interpretations of Tchaikovsky's life and works found in later writings from the 1940s and 1950s, Prime-Stevenson's gossip differs in a few vital ways. First is the context of this passage from *The Intersexes*, taken from a section on music in a work detailing the history of homosexuality outside of the authoritarian realms of medicine, religion, or law. Second, there is the focus on blackmail (less present in later works), a central issue in the minds of many Anglophone commentators on male homosexuality following the 1895 trials and imprisonment of Oscar

Wilde.[11] In her analysis of the *Pathétique's* scholarly reception, Judith Peraino observes how the pairing of psychoanalytic approaches to art and the popular press surrounding Wilde's trials "reinvigorated the (homo)sexuality of confession, as well as the perceived confessionality of art."[12] Through the gossip presented by Huneker and Prime-Stevenson, we observe how this confessionality could be perceived in multiple ways: as the revelation of a shameful secret, but also as a way of confronting the closeting forces of mainstream society. It is possible that some of the more persistent elements found in these readings of Tchaikovsky stem from a reshaping of Tchaikovsky's private status as queer artistic genius into a drama of social opprobrium and punishment, exemplified by Wilde's very public fate. Newmarch never explicitly draws these parallels in her work on Tchaikovsky, but they may well have been present in the minds of her readers.

Enter Rosa Newmarch: The Biographer as Detective

Rosa Newmarch, a married, upper middle-class English music critic with no obvious connections to the mostly male network of queer gossip surrounding Tchaikovsky's death, initially seems an unexpected Tchaikovsky scholar. Encouraged by friends and family to pursue journalism after studying art as a young woman, Newmarch developed an interest in writing and translating

[11] Recent critiques of Tchaikovsky's scholarly reception have emphasized important distinctions between Anglophone (largely British and US) and Russian (and Soviet) interpretations of Tchaikovsky's sexuality and his role as a gay historical figure. These include Richard Taruskin's "Pathetic Symphonist: Chaikovsky, Russia, Sexuality, and the Study of Music," in *On Russian Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 76-104; and the brief discussion of Tchaikovsky's reception in post-Soviet Russian popular culture in Stephen Amico's conclusion to *Roll Over, Tchaikovsky!: Russian Popular Music and Post-Soviet Homosexuality* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 184-187. In the introduction to *Tchaikovsky's Pathétique and Russian Culture* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), Marina Ritzarev argues that Russian and later Soviet scholars (beginning with Tchaikovsky himself in letters) have been inclined to sanitize the composer's biography, while Western scholarship has focused on his sexuality to the exclusion of other elements.

[12] Judith Peraino, *Listening to the Sirens: Musical Technologies of Queer Identity from Homer to 'Hedwig'* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 81-83.

biographical articles about Russian artists during the 1880s and 1890s. Her study of Russian, contacts with Eastern European musicians, first research trips to Russia, and establishment in the world of music criticism all coincide with some of the first English performances of the *Pathétique*. Newmarch's musical friends and colleagues, especially conductor Sir Henry Wood, encouraged her to expand what had been a series of articles in *The Musician* on Tchaikovsky's life and works into a book.[13] This effort produced *Tchaikovsky: His Life and Works* (1900), one of the first book-length biographies of the composer and the first in English.[14] Newmarch's "Tchaikovsky project" grew in the 1900s and 1910s to include numerous scholarly and popular articles in English and German, an edited translation of Modest Tchaikovsky's biography of his brother, several program notes intended for distribution at public concerts, the article on Tchaikovsky in the second edition of *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, translations of libretti and song texts, and a sonnet cycle.

The biographies of Newmarch by Philip Ross Bullock and Lewis Stevens rely heavily on her published writings and surviving letters, which say much about her scholarly work and opinions but are largely reticent about her personal life beyond what can be reconstructed from material intended for publication. Stevens, who had access to Newmarch's unpublished memoirs, reproduces lengthy excerpts from her personal writings detailing her relationship with longtime companion Elisabeth "Bella" Simpson, yet only vaguely alludes to possible romantic readings of their friendship.[15] In her letters to Sibelius, recently translated by Bullock, she appears as a

[13] Much later in her career, Newmarch acknowledged Wood as "the motive-power which kept us all moving forward" in the dedication to her last works, *The Concert-Goer's Library of Descriptive Notes*, 6 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1928-1948).
[14] Newmarch, *Tchaikovsky: His Life and Works; with extracts from his writings, and the diary of his tour abroad in 1888* (London: Richards, 1900).
[15] While the memoirs, like Newmarch's poetry, can be read as a more personal form of writing, they are complicated by the fact that they were always intended for widespread publication, and are thus more guarded than the curious scholar might hope. Stevens does acknowledge speculation that Newmarch's "meeting and friendship with Bella

devoted friend, warmly sharing opinions on modern music and various concert series, yet she talks more candidly about others than about herself.[16] Perhaps unsurprisingly, literary scholars have turned to her poetry as a source of information about women's self-expression in early twentieth-century England. Natasha Distiller and John Holmes, who collaborated on a critical edition of Newmarch's complete poems, have written independently on potential queer meaning in her sonnets, especially "The Symphony," which uses the *Pathétique* to express unspoken feelings for a female beloved.[17] In some ways, these literary studies—while not biographical—have gone farther than musicology in exploring Newmarch's emotional sympathy with her subjects.

Tchaikovsky was but one of her many research interests—the catalogue of her works compiled by Philip Ross Bullock also includes significant scholarship on and translations of Mussorgsky, Rimsky-Korsakov, and Janáček (to name but a few).[18] She also devoted time to writing biographies of people she knew personally, including Henry Wood and the singer Mary Wakefield. Yet the particular issues raised by her Tchaikovsky research represent central questions in music biography then and now: how do we talk about the personal lives of our subjects when information is hidden, lost, or otherwise unavailable? How should knowledge of an artist's life affect how we as scholars and audiences engage with their work? Newmarch's

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Simpson are clearly sources of inspiration" for the poetry collections *Horae Amoris* and *Songs to a Singer.* Stevens, *An Unforgettable Woman,* 124.

[16] As Bullock observes in his commentary to the Newmarch-Sibelius correspondence, these letters were in part written reflections of much longer conversations the two friends had in person. Bullock, "Introduction," *The Correspondence of Jean Sibelius and Rosa Newmarch, 1909-1939* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011), 38-40.

[17] John Holmes and Natasha Distiller (eds.), "Introduction," in *Horae Amoris: The Collected Poems of Rosa Newmarch* (High Wycombe: Rivendale, 2010), 13-54; John Holmes, "Female Identity in Transition: Gregory, Webster, and Newmarch," in *Dante Gabriel Rossetti and the Late Victorian Sonnet Sequence: Sexuality, Belief and the Self* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 99-119; and Natasha Distiller, "Queering the Petrarchan Subject: The Poetry of Rosa Newmarch," in *Desire and Gender in the Sonnet Tradition* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 135-152.

[18] Bullock, "Appendix: Chronological list of published works by Rosa Harriet Newmarch," in *Rosa Newmarch and Russian Music,* 147-164.

own thoughts on biography are contradictory. She recognizes that readers of biographies seek "every scrap of information" on their subjects, yet is hesitant when it comes to the role of the biographer as interpreter of historical evidence, preferring wherever possible to let subjects or their work speak for themselves with little commentary beyond correcting misinformation. Her musical analyses in program notes frequently veer towards the subjective and emotional, yet her biographical writings take a hard stance against critics who try to find autobiographical meaning within music or poetry.

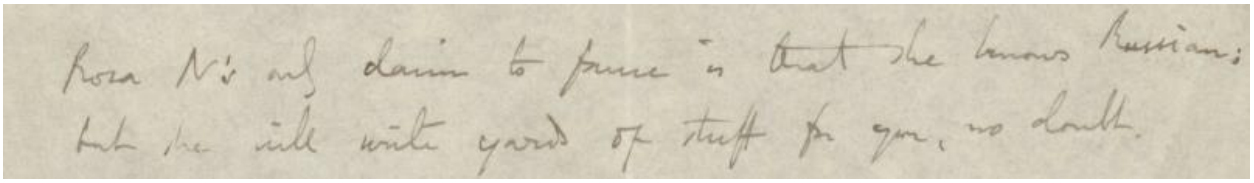
In spite, or perhaps because, of her role as a musical biographer, Newmarch could be similarly circumspect in her personal writings. There is plenty we do not know about her: her sense of self-identity, feelings about her relationships with others, and knowledge of those who found queer meaning in her Tchaikovsky research. This scanty evidence makes the existing research on Newmarch necessarily speculative.

Newmarch's place in the nascent academic field of musicology was during her lifetime largely tied to her skill at languages, connections to important musical men, and gendered notions of public scholarship as "acceptable" women's labor. In a 1914 letter to Oscar Sonneck, Edward Dent provides an overview of his thoughts on various British musicologists, writing "now let me criticize your British list [of music scholars Sonneck had requested Dent's opinion of for potential collaborations], for your private eye!" [19] While he includes Newmarch alongside the likes of Hubert Parry and Ernest Newman, Dent is less than complimentary towards her

[19] Sonneck and Dent occupy important places in the establishment of musicology as an academic field in the United States and Britain. Dent was active in the formation of the International Musicological Society, and Sonneck (the former namesake of the Society for American Music) was head of the music division of the Library of Congress and the founder and first editor of the *Musical Quarterly*. Edward Dent, letter to Oscar Sonneck, April 2, 1914, Oscar George Theodore Sonneck Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Correspondence File. I thank Annegret Fauser for graciously sharing this letter.

work, proposing that "Rosa N's only claim to fame is that she knows Russian, but she will write yards of stuff for you, no doubt" (see Fig. 3.1).

Figure 3.1. Edward J. Dent, letter to Oscar Sonneck, April 2, 1914, Oscar George Theodore Sonneck Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Correspondence File



More recently, Newmarch's knowledge of Russian has also fallen under scrutiny by Tchaikovsky scholars, who cite her debts to various German and French sources, as well as the fact that she began publishing translations while still learning Russian.[20] For the scope of this chapter, I am less interested in Newmarch's skill as a translator and more in recurring themes of subjectivity, knowledge, and secrecy that appear across both her translations and original work. These themes, while not overtly connected to sexuality by her contemporaries, align with the idea that biography and autobiography are vehicles for disclosing something not otherwise known about a subject's personality and inner being. In a review of her sonnets later printed in an advertisement for the publisher John Lane, James Douglas calls the sonnets "her own song to sing," elaborating that "Mrs. Newmarch, to the casual reader, reveals naught. To the attentive listener she whispers a spiritual tragedy…She is one of those who see life though the veil of music and music through the veil of life."[21]

[20] The most extended critique of Newmarch's translation is found in Alfred Boynton Stevenson, "Chaikovski and Mrs Rosa Newmarch Revisited."
[21] John Douglas, "Advertisement for John Lane" (1910). Partially translated in Charles Chassé, "La Musique anglaise moderne: Une Interview avec Rosa Newmarch," *Bulletin français de la S.I.M.* (January 10, 1908): 556-562.

The language of secrecy and revelation pervades Newmarch's musicological and creative writings. All of which raises the question: just what did Rosa Newmarch find so captivating about Tchaikovsky's music and private life, and how did she interpret ambiguous or taboo biographical evidence? Furthermore, what can her more personal writings (letters, poetry, and biographies of people she knew) tell us about the musicologist as a human being with personal investments in her choice of subject matter? In many ways with Newmarch, there is an overabundance of negative evidence: she does not speak directly about Tchaikovsky's sexuality, shies away from making direct claims about possible autobiographical or confessional meanings in the *Pathétique*, and acknowledges there are numerous vital sources controlled by the Tchaikovsky family that she is unable to access. It is at these moments, however, where Newmarch's professed ambivalence about the limits of biography remind the reader of extramusical gossip and anecdote that ordinarily has no place in Newmarch's documentary research.

Newmarch comes across here as a kind of unintentional detective: exposing the secrets and motivations of others while herself largely remaining outside of the drama of the mystery. By following the specific clues and themes that Newmarch viewed as important or unavoidable, we can start to piece together how she and her readers attempted to "solve" the mysteries of subjectivity and queer musical expression. While meta-biographical research done by Tia DeNora and Christopher Wiley has done much to debunk longstanding rumors in both popular and scholarly biographies of "the great composers," the people who write music biographies (not to mention other forms of musicology) themselves often remain in the shadows.[22] An important

[22] See, for example, Tia DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius: Musical Politics in Vienna, 1792-1803* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), and Christopher Wiley, "Re-Writing Composer's Lives: Critical Historiography and Music Biography" (PhD diss., University of London, 2008).

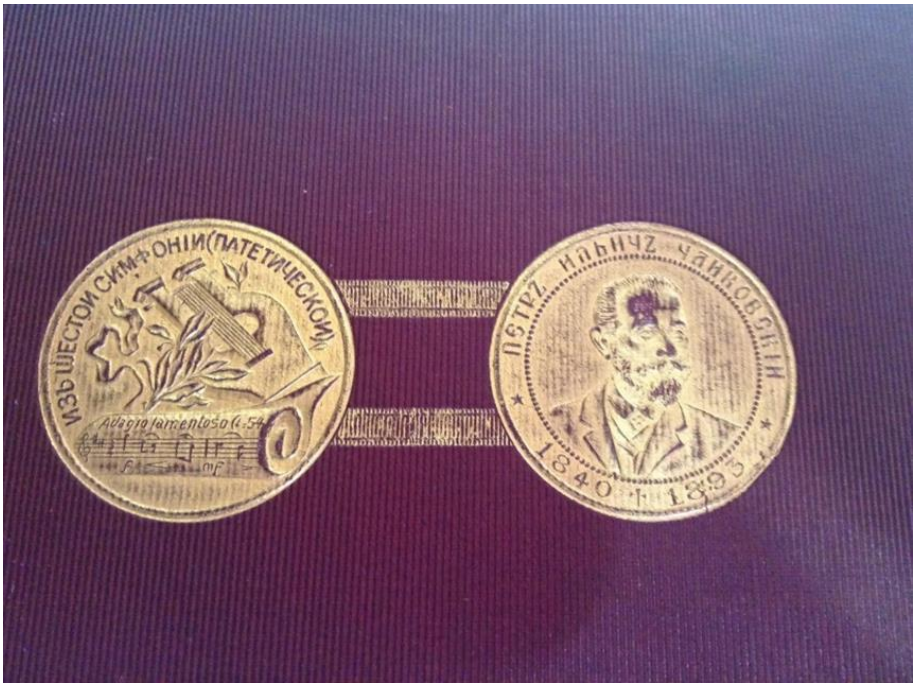
exception to this rule—Philip Brett's "Musicology and Sexuality: The Example of Edward J. Dent"—reveals some of the possibilities of training one's lens on the scholar himself. Brett reads Dent's more iconoclastic musicological moments as a kind of oppositional discourse to anxieties about the alleged effeminacy of music.[23] The negative spaces in a biography are, however, places where the author is forced to take a stand, to reveal something of their individual engagement with materials that cannot or do not stand on their own. Newmarch in particular seems to have been particularly cognizant of how far she could speculate, yet the moments where she does so tend to align with contemporary gossip about Tchaikovsky's sexuality in a way that suggests she knows more than she ever lets on.

Ambiguities, Evidence, and Debunking in *Tchaikovsky: His Life and Works*

Even commentators not particularly attuned to the musical-sexual knowledge circulating about Tchaikovsky caught on that there was something tantalizingly mysterious about the *Pathétique*. The dual nature of Newmarch simultaneously invoking popular suspicions around Tchaikovsky's death while working to dispel them is at play on the cover of the first edition of *Life and Works* (see Fig. 3.2). The cover image appears designed to play directly into this popular myth of the *Pathétique.* It is decorated with two gold "medallions," one featuring Tchaikovsky and the other a lute, a sprig of flowers, and a scroll of sheet music, unfurled towards the viewer to reveal (albeit poorly reproduced) the opening theme of the *Pathétique*'s *Adagio lamentoso* finale. The use of Russian text to frame Tchaikovsky and the *Pathétique* evokes Newmarch's role as a translator of previously inaccessible knowledge for her English readership.

[23] Philip Brett, "Musicology and Sexuality: The Example of Edward J. Dent," in Fuller and Whitesell, *Queer Episodes in Music and Modern Identity*, 177-188.

Figure 3.2. Cover of Rosa Newmarch, *Tchaikovsky: His Life and Works* (London: G. Richards, 1900), Newberry Library, Chicago [+V 29 .15978].



Whether or not Newmarch herself had any control over the cover design, the image is striking in evoking a sense of both the musical work as memorializing Tchaikovsky and the biography as promising some explanation of the symphony. The funereal quality of the seals directly connects the book as a whole to the movement of the *Pathétique* that Newmarch described as seeming "to set the seal of finality on all human hopes."[24] The attempt to memorialize this overwhelming and unspeakable finality and the insufficiency of literary description to fully encapsulate the musical experience were clearly vital to Newmarch's personal interpretation of the *Pathétique's* program, and she returned to them in different forms in her poetry, program notes, and *Grove* contribution.

The reference to the *Adagio lamentoso* on the cover is a somewhat odd choice for a book so determinedly *not* about casting the *Pathétique* as Tchaikovsky's autobiography. As

[24] Newmarch, *Tchaikovsky: His Life and Works*, 107.

Newmarch remarks in the opening pages of *Tchaikovsky: His Life and Works* (1900), "almost every scrap of information concerning the composer of 'The Pathetic' Symphony is eagerly sought after."[25] A few hundred pages later, her account of Tchaikovsky's death reveals, if negatively, something of the rumors surrounding him:

> There is no doubt that one of the reasons of the extraordinary popularity of this work [the *Pathétique*] lies in the fact that it has been invested with an autobiographical interest for which there is no real warranty. It is said that in some vague and mysterious way it foreshadowed the composer's approaching end. Perhaps it is also with the idea of supporting this theory that sensationalists have discovered that Tchaikovsky shortly afterwards committed suicide. The idea is picturesque, but neither in Russia nor abroad have I discovered any substantial ground for the report.[26]

For a debunking of "sensationalist" rumor—perhaps even the denial referred to less than a decade later by Prime-Stevenson—this provides substantially little additional information about Tchaikovsky's death or the "autobiographical interest" of the *Pathétique.* One could easily imagine a musically unaware reader, perhaps someone similar to the protagonist in E.M. Forster's *Maurice,* discovering the existence of this rumor through Newmarch in the first place. Newmarch pointedly does not tell her readers where, how, or through whom she first encountered the rumor, inadvertently providing evidence for its spread among music lovers in this period. While this lack of citations might be expected for a work aimed at a general readership, it is inconsistent with Newmarch's lengthy references to Russian primary and secondary sources for other matters related to Tchaikovsky's life and career. Her account of Tchaikovsky's death, for instance, is largely drawn from the reminiscences of music critic Nikolay Kashkin, and a great deal of space in *Life and Works* is devoted to lengthy translations of Tchaikovsky's own music criticism and diaries. The line—"neither in Russia nor abroad have I discovered any substantial grounds for the report"—suggests a more active investigation into

[25] Ibid., vii.
[26] Ibid., 106-7.

the rumor on Newmarch's part, but it is left at that. Does the "vague and mysterious way" Newmarch describes the alleged connection between the *Pathétique* and Tchaikovsky's rumored suicide reflect the way in which someone described the rumor to her, perhaps skirting the boundaries of what Brown refers to as the "constraints of propriety?"[27]

Paradoxically, her focus on Tchaikovsky's self-presentation throughout *Life and Works* seems at first to diminish the role of the biographer/translator, and her speculations about future Tchaikovsky research are largely tied to what the Tchaikovsky family would want published. Despite her repeatedly stated aim of letting the subject speak for himself, Newmarch does let some moments of clarity come through. She concludes the biographical portion of *Life and Works* with a translation from Kashkin's account of the composer's life and death:

> M. Kashkin concludes his book with the following somewhat enigmatical passage, which probably refers to the unhappy circumstances of Tchaikovsky's marriage:--
>
> "I have now finished my reminiscences. Of course they might be supplemented by a few more events, but I shall add nothing at present, and perhaps I shall never do so. One document I shall leave in a sealed packet, and if thirty years hence it still has any interest for the world, the seal may be broken; this packet I shall leave to the care of the Moscow Conservatoire. It will contain the history of one episode in Tchaikovsky's life upon which I have only touched in my book."
>
> Upon this episode I am not able to throw any further light. When the authorised life and correspondence of the composer appears, his relatives may possibly clear up the mystery which surrounds it. On the other hand, it is more than probable that they will not take the public into their confidence upon a subject about which Tchaikovsky himself preserved an almost unbroken reticence.[28]

Newmarch's speculations as to the contents of Kashkin's "sealed packet" provides an unusually ambiguous conclusion to a biography which in many ways sought to dispel what she viewed as the unproven or unprovable gossip in English musical circles about Tchaikovsky's death. In the

[27] Brown, "Tchaikovsky and his Music in Anglo-American Criticism," 139.
[28] Newmarch, *Tchaikovsky: His Life and Works,* 110.

preceding pages, she takes Kashkin to task for repeating the "pathetic" autobiographical reading of the *Pathétique,* and she states conclusively in several places that Tchaikovsky died of cholera. To end with a hint at an unseen private archive suggests her own investment, however unlikely, in solving the Tchaikovsky mystery, and her frequent returns to Tchaikovsky and the *Pathétique* as subjects in her musicological writing. At the same time, this simultaneous lack of information and promise of a surplus of knowledge that remains unreachable reflects what Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick identifies as the "presiding incoherences of modern gay (and hence nongay) sexual specification."[29] Sedgwick, analyzing the overabundance of queer knowledge found in Proust's fiction, observes the "incoherent" construction of the closet as both spectacle (Proust's narrator's secrets are exposed) and viewpoint (the reader shares in his attempts at concealment). Newmarch's keeping of Tchaikovsky's secrets at arm's length while pondering the nature of Kaskin's sealed packet performs a similar function: posing the "spectacular" revelation of the composer's secrets while asking the reader to empathize with Tchaikovsky's secrecy. Although Newmarch, like Tchaikovsky, disdains those who "condescend to substitute mere autobiography for criticism," her continued linking of the *Pathétique* with subjective emotion (Tchaikovsky's, her own, that of other listeners) and unsaid knowledge is provocative.[30]

One could therefore easily think of Newmarch here as a gatekeeper of musical-sexual knowledge, denying or obscuring the truth about her queer subject. Certainly her ambiguously subjective reading of the *Pathétique* merits multiple readings as denying a specific "morbid" reading of the piece while frequently still placing discussion of the work alongside accounts of Tchaikovsky's unhappy marriage, relationship with Vladimir Davidov, and death. As previously

[29] Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet,* 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 213.
[30] Ibid., 112.

mentioned, Brown views Newmarch's biography as essentially closeting her subject, even if he contextualizes this by considering the limits of what she would have likely been able to get away with publishing. Peraino, meanwhile, provides a critique of early Tchaikovsky biography and analysis as essentially confessional, noting that the mentions of "subjective sentiment" in Newmarch's translation of Modest Tchaikovsky inspired "later Tchaikovsky biographers, critics, and would-be psychoanalysts" to "[seize] upon the rhetoric of secrecy as substantiating evidence for musical disclosure."[31] In that same chapter, Peraino also cites Newmarch's *Grove* entry as disparaging of his lack of a clear compositional method, arguing that her language of sentimentality and over-elaboration plays into a homophobic discourse of using technique to "signal a suspicion of sexual deviance."[32] Peraino argues for a reading of the *Pathétique* that constructs Tchaikovsky's musical emotion not as confessional (a term which implies the moralizing and medicalizing discourses of religion and psychology) but confrontational, displaying transgressive emotions without asking for absolution.

While a more critical view of Newmarch's scholarly discretion is certainly valid, I contend that many of Newmarch's readers (including Prime-Stevenson and E.M. Forster) read her project as providing a level of legibility and dissemination of one example of queer lives and experiences. These are seen most clearly in two aspects of Newmarch's writings on Tchaikovsky: descriptions of the *Pathétique* (often closely tied to accounts of Tchaikovsky's personality and temperament) and accounts of his marriage and relationships. While what Newmarch's sources actually told her in person would be near impossible to reconstruct, I contend that at least some of her readers read in her project an example of queer musical life beyond the surrounding narratives of violence and shameful confession. Bullock notes in his

[31] Peraino, *Listening to the Sirens*, 81.
[32] Ibid., 108.

biography of Tchaikovsky, the quasi-psychological quality of Tchaikovsky's scholarly reception obscured his own self-presentation as "a sophisticated self-aware agent in the evolving social, economic and artistic culture of Imperial Russia in the second half of the nineteenth century."[33] While her project was often aimed at correcting what she saw as sensationalist and exaggerated factual errors, her inclusion of the Kashkin account demonstrates one of many places where Newmarch observed a gap in the record and left something to be returned to at an unspecified point in the future. It is telling that Newmarch moves from this uncomfortably unclear moment of speculation in *Life and Works* to a lengthy section devoted to Tchaikovsky's criticism and tour diary, effectively giving him the last word, even if many questions remain unanswered.

"Temperaments akin to his own": Program Notes, Translation, and "Solving" Tchaikovsky

Reading across Newmarch's Tchaikovsky project, there are some hints that she also sought, if not actively to resist the earliest iterations of "confessional" autobiographical analyses of the *Pathétique*, then at least to suggest a more "confrontational" role for certain listeners. The loaded psychological terminology used in much English-language Tchaikovsky research during the first half of the twentieth century (and its effect on later musicology) has been analyzed in detail in the scholarly reception histories compiled by Brown and Taruskin. In one sense, Newmarch differs from later scholars in cautioning her audience against reading too much of the composer's personality into the *Pathétique*, noting in one program note that:

> The structure of the Symphony must be familiar in every detail to the audience at these Concerts; I need therefore only speak of its poetic basis, and that from a point of view which is avowedly personal and makes no pretensions to be authoritative. Although we have Tchaikovsky's own testimony that his unrevealed programme was "penetrated by subjective sentiment," we need not therefore narrow the emotional contents of the Symphony to a mere expression of personal apprehension of death and "the great misgiving." Like all lyric poetry this most lyrical of symphonies has a strong vein of self-

[33]Philip Ross Bullock, *Pyotr Tchaikovsky,* (London: Reaktion Books, 2016), 10.

> revelation; but, as in the poetry of Shelley, Heine, or Byron, this lyricism, issuing from an individual source, has its wide, human application. Tchaikovsky gives utterance to thoughts and problems that lie deep down in every thinking mortal. To label such music morbid, pessimistic, neurotic; to repeat truisms to the effect that poets can always find a silver lining in every well-regulated cloud that threatens the horizon of life, is merely to take a superficially optimistic view of a tremendous and inscrutable situation. The experiences which inspired Tchaikovsky in this Symphony are identical with our own; even if we rarely allow them to ripple the surface of life, they agitate its depths in a blind, unconscious way. Therefore when we hear them expressed with such piercing and intimate feeling, Tchaikovsky's music seems to us less a revelation of external truths than a startling emanation from our own innermost being.[34]

Given the frequent use of "morbidity" and "neuroticism" as code words for male homosexuality at the turn of the century, Newmarch's decision to allude to a vague "tremendous and inscrutable situation" is certainly suggestive. That said, she vacillates between what seem to be her own personal experiences of the Pathétique, Tchaikovsky's emotions while writing it, and a "universal" sense of the symphony's musical emotion that transcends individual response.

Yet even here, there remains the allusion to things unable to be said, in Newmarch's conclusions that "the experiences which inspired Tchaikovsky in the Symphony are identical with our own; even if we rarely allow them to ripple the surface of life."[35] This description is simultaneously specific enough to give some sense of how she imagined composition and interpretation as working together to supplement emotional response, and vague enough to allow for multiple listeners to construct their own deeply personal secret meanings. It also puts the onus of finding meaning in the symphony (and identification with Tchaikovsky) squarely on the shoulders of the audience.

Newmarch's emphasis on listener experiences here is closely tied to the contemporary theories of art and music appreciation to which she subscribed, in which educated listening was

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[34] Newmarch, "The Pathetic Symphony," program note reprinted in M, "Mrs. Rosa Newmarch," *The Musical Times* (April 1911): 227.
[35] Ibid., 227.

closely linked to self-knowledge and personal response. Drawing on psychological theories of emotional responses to the visual arts, especially those put forth by aestheticians Walter Pater and Vernon Lee, Newmarch understood intense, often embodied personal experiences with music as supplementing the guidelines provided by program notes and other analytical texts. Music appreciation was thus a way to understand one's emotional responses to music. As she argues in her program note to Debussy's *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune*, while there might be some intrinsic meanings to instrumental music intended by the composer, "each individual listener will make his own interpretation of the symbolical meaning of the work."[36] Likewise, in the conclusion of her article on Tchaikovsky for *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* Newmarch ties listener experience to the popular reception of Tchaikovsky as an emotional and autobiographical composer:

> The time of prejudice against Tchaikovsky's music on the ground of its national peculiarities has long since gone by; at least in this country, where his reception has always been more enthusiastic than critical. As regards its powers of endurance, the prophetic spirit is hardly needed in order to foresee the waning popularity of a few of his works which have run a course of sensational success…But it would be a rash critic who would venture to set a term for the total extinction of such of Tchaikovsky's symphonic and operatic music as bears the full impress of his individuality…If Tchaikovsky does not bear a supreme message to the world, he has many things to say which are of the greatest interest to humanity, and he says them with such warmth and intimate feeling that they seem less a revelation than an unexpected effluence from our own innermost being. His music, with its strange combination of the sublime and the platitudinous, will always touch the average hearer, to whom music is—and ever will be—more a matter of feeling than of thought. Therefore, if we must pose the inevitable question—How long will Tchaikovsky's music survive?—we can but make the obvious reply: As long as the world holds temperaments akin to his own: as long as pessimism and torturing doubt overshadow mortal hearts who find their cry re-echoed in the intensely subjective, deeply

[36] Newmarch, "Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune," reprinted in Philip Ross Bullock, "'Lessons in sensibility': Rosa Newmarch, Music Appreciation, and the Aesthetic Cultivation of the Self," *Yearbook of English Studies* 40, no. 1 (2010): 306.

> human music of this poet who weeps as he sings and embodies so much of the spirit of its age; its weariness, its disenchantment, its vibrant sympathy, and morbid regretfulness.[37]

In her reference to temperaments akin to his own, I am not arguing here that Newmarch intentionally snuck some sort of commentary on musical homosexuality into *Grove* in 1910; however, the idea of the musical experience filling in the gaps of what could not be fully explained in print is particularly compelling when it comes to taboo subject matter. The emotion Newmarch argues for in Tchaikovsky's music is ultimately not the composer's confession, but the listener reflecting upon her own feelings and experiences. Given this interpretation, one might therefore understand the denials, gaps, and ambiguities across Newmarch's writings on Tchaikovsky as potential places worthy of further examination and analysis.

If a directly autobiographical reading of instrumental music was impossible or misguided from Newmarch's perspective, what was the point of learning so much about a composer's life? Newmarch's approach seems to me more interpersonal: the knowledgeable reader/listener learns about Tchaikovsky in order to identify with him as a person and therefore understand their own responses to, for example, the *Pathétique* as a moment of shared human emotion. This identification itself is more or less specific depending on the particular reader/listener and what they know (or have heard) about Tchaikovsky's life.

In a few rare cases, it is not necessary to speculate as to what queer readers thought about links between Tchaikovsky's biography and their own listening experiences. According to his diaries, the novelist E.M. Forster obtained a copy of Newmarch's translation of Modest Tchaikovsky's *Tchaikovsky: His Life and Letters* around 1912, only a year before beginning

[37] Newmarch's "prophetic spirit" may have needed fine-tuning, as the works she suggested were "waning" included the *1812 Overture* and the *Nutcracker's* "Dance of the Sugarplum Fairies. "Newmarch, "Tchaikovsky, Peter Ilich," in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* ed. J.A. Fuller Maitland (New York: Macmillan, 1910), 5: 33-49, see 48-9.

work on the novel *Maurice.* Based on his comments on the book, it is clear that he had previously encountered some of the rumors around Tchaikovsky (possibly from Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson, a music critic and part of the underground queer circle at Cambridge to which Forster belonged, or Edward Carpenter, whose relationship with George Merrill inspired that between Maurice and Alec Scudder). In any event, Forster clearly knew how to read between the lines, even of an abridged translation of a work by a queer author who had spent decades hiding his brother's (and his own) secrets. Forster transcribed excerpts from Tchaikovsky's letters into his diary, and remarked at one point "Am coming to the illness in which he [Tchaikovsky] longed for intimacy, felt he had known no one intimately, and so tried marriage."[38] In *Maurice*, Forster is even more direct about the musical-sexual knowledge to be gleaned from Tchaikovsky's life and the *Pathétique.*

In her work on the novel, Michelle Fillion has analyzed the use of certain movements and themes from the *Pathétique* as part of Maurice's coming out process. I would like to draw attention to what Forster and Maurice read by and into Newmarch as a historical source, as well as the context of how and where Maurice encounters biographical information about Tchaikovsky. The novel's protagonist, Maurice Hall, attends a performance of the *Pathétique* in London with Violet Tonks, his sister Kitty's close friend, in the hopes that this will lead to heterosexual feelings and eventually marriage. While there, he runs into Risley, a former Cambridge classmate and a fine example of one of Prime-Stevenson's "homosexual hearers":

> Unfortunately, after the concert he met Risley.
> "Symphony Pathique," said Risley gaily.
> "Symphony Pathetic," corrected the Philistine.

[38] E.M. Forster, *Locked Diary,* as cited in Michelle Fillion, "Tchaikovsky and the Deflowering of Masculine Love in *Maurice*," in *Difficult Rhythm: Music and the Word in E.M. Forster* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 93-107, see 93.

> "Symphonie Incestuese et Pathique." And he informed his young friend that Tchaikovsky had fallen in love with his own nephew, and dedicated his masterpiece to him. "I come to see all respectable London flock. Isn't it supreme!"[39]

Note the "sentimental-sexual" joke on "Pathique/Pathetic/Pathétique" referenced earlier by Prime-Stevenson, as well as Risley's joy at the double-meanings he finds in the music, seemingly unknown to "all respectable London."[40] Where might the English-speaking Risley have heard of Tchaikovsky's relationship with his nephew, Vladimir "Bob" Davidov, the dedicatee of the *Pathétique*? Although oral transmission of the rumor had certainly been in effect for some years, what Maurice does next is telling:

> But he got a life of Tchaikovsky out of the library at once. The episode of the composer's marriage conveys little to the normal reader, who vaguely assumes incompatibility, but it thrilled Maurice. He knew what the disaster meant and how near Dr Barry had dragged him to it. Reading on, he made the acquaintance of "Bob," the wonderful nephew to whom Tchaikovsky turns after the breakdown, and in whom is his spiritual and musical resurrection. The book blew off the gathering dust and he respected it as the one literary work that had ever helped him.[41]

Maurice, ignorant of other models of self-knowledge and community, is nonetheless able to discern hidden details of Tchaikovsky's relationships from an unspecified "life" available at a library. This life, given the setting, is clearly either Newmarch's biography or (more likely, given Forster's research) her translation of Modest Tchaikovsky. Maurice's reading of Newmarch is not confessional, but confrontational: "blowing off the gathering dust" of his anxieties and allowing him to begin the process of self-acceptance and moving beyond the limits of social respectability.

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[39] E.M. Forster, *Maurice* (New York: Norton, 1971), 161-2.
[40] This kind of joke would not have been unfamiliar to Tchaikovsky, whose own letters are full of double-entendres and sexual language that only recently has been accurately translated into English. See Bullock, "Čajkovskij and the Language of Same-Sex Desire," *Jahrbuch Musik und Gender* 10: *Musik und Homosexualitat—Homosexualitat und Musik*, ed. Kadja Gronke and Michael Zywietz (Hildesheim: Olms, 2017), 49-59.
[41] Ibid., 162.

For such a momentous occasion, Newmarch's own remarks on Tchaikovsky's personal life and the potential autobiographical nature of the *Pathétique* are more far circumspect than Risley or Maurice suggest. As we have seen in *Tchaikovsky: His Life and Works,* she denied any overt autobiographical character to the symphony, and instead pushed for a largely subjective understanding of Tchaikovsky's musical melancholy. The wealth of information that Forster (and Maurice and Risley) find in Newmarch's translation of *The Life and Letters of Peter Ilich Tchaikovsky* might surprise the twenty first-century reader, who finds in it only vague and questionable language about the composer's incompatibility with his wife, concern about certain rumors while employed at the Moscow conservatory, and the dedication of the *Pathétique* to Davidov. At the same points where Forster's protagonist finds the greatest insight, Newmarch and Modest emphasize the "romantic" friendship between Tchaikovsky and von Meck, and admit the limitations of the composer's letters to paint the full picture.[42] Likewise, while it is true that Modest describes his brother's life in far greater detail than that previously available to English audiences, he and Newmarch do not present anything that might—as Forster remarks—convey anything untoward to the "normal" or "respectable" reader. For those who, like Forster and Prime-Stevenson, had some sense of what to read or listen for, however, there was more to unpack. For instance, at one point, Tchaikovsky and Newmarch cite a lengthy passage of a letter from Tchaikovsky to Nadezhda von Meck, in which he discounts the idea of marriage. Modest immediately takes issue with all of his brother's proposed reasons for remaining unmarried, remarking that "Tchaikovsky never gives the true reason for his yearning after solitude and a life of 'heavenly quiet and serenity,' but it certainly did not proceed from 'misanthropy,' 'indolence,'

[42] Modest Tchaikovsky, *The Life and Letters of Peter Ilich Tchaikovsky*, ed. and trans. Rosa Newmarch (London: Lane, 1906), x and 220-227.

or weariness of life."[43] Neither Modest nor Newmarch provides any further explanation or elaboration of this passage, suggesting a kind of closet discourse similar to Newmarch's speculations about the withheld letters in the Tchaikovsky family archives. They mention the possibility of more information, but leave the reader to grasp its full meaning.

Modest's influence on Forster's mention of Tchaikovsky's unhappy marriage and relationship with his nephew is clear. In recounting his brother's disastrous marriage to Antonina Miliukova, Modest writes "it was not until they [Tchaikovsky and Antonina] entered into closer relationship that they discovered, to their horror, they were far from having told each other all; that a gulf of misunderstanding lay between them which could never be bridged over, that they…had unintentionally deceived each other."[44] Likewise, his description of Vladimir (Bob) Davidov, which Newmarch saw as vital enough to Tchaikovsky's biography to reproduce in full in her *Grove* article, claims only that "Tchaikovsky preferred the companionship of his nephew; was always grieved to part with him; confided to him his inmost thoughts, and finally made him his heir, commending to this young man all those whom he still desired to assist and cherish, even after his death."[45] Fillion argues that "English readers may have shared Risley's detection of more than familial ties" between Tchaikovsky and Davidov, noting that Maurice reads in Tchaikovsky's life the failures of both "the Uranian love of beautiful adolescents" and the possibility of medical cures and heterosexual marriage.[46]

Selecting these instances from *Life and Letters* as proof of Newmarch's knowledge of Tchaikovsky's sexuality, however, is a matter of guesswork (albeit one Forster, Prime-Stevenson, and likely others engaged in), looking for clues to something the reader already

[43] Ibid., 84.
[44] Ibid., 224.
[45] Ibid., 471.
[46] Fillion, "Tchaikovsky and the Deflowering of Masculine Love," 104-105.

knows and then attributing them to the author-translator. It is clear that Modest thought all of these anecdotes safe enough to publish, and--whatever Newmarch may have heard from "the sensationalists" about the end of Tchaikovsky's life and the nature of his relationships--she likewise found them suitable for translation.

One is left wondering at Newmarch's own experience of reading Modest's account. In her focus on Tchaikovsky's marriage in *Life and Works*, she seems to be engaging with some kind of queer subtext to the gossip and hidden sources, much as Forster and Prime-Stevenson would do when reading her work. What is one to make of Newmarch's description of Tchaikovsky's epistolary relationship with von Meck in her introduction as "the most romantic episode of Tchaikovsky's life"?[47] Although Newmarch admits to omitting letters in her translation involving figures unknown outside of Russia, she includes most of the correspondence with von Meck that was known to exist at the time. This provides a great deal of previously-unknown insight into Tchaikovsky's compositional process, sense of his career, and place as a conductor, teacher, and composer, but the remark about the friendship as "romantic" is curious, especially given Newmarch's interpretation of other aspects of Tchaikovsky's life and musical aesthetic. Is this an act of misreading or misdirection on Newmarch's part--what Gary Thomas calls "the ladyfriend trap" of assigning female lovers for male composers whose sexuality is debated?[48] Perhaps in response to the attitudes of "the sensationalists" Newmarch encountered in her own research, is the reference to "romance" in the context of a female acquaintance a strategy of further obscuring those moments where Modest did not quite conceal the truth from her scholarly eye? Newmarch's motives in drawing attention to the contrast

[47] Newmarch, Introduction to Tchaikovsky, *Life and Letters of Peter Ilich Tchaikovsky*, x.
[48] Gary Thomas, "'Was George Frideric Handel Gay?' On Closet Questions and Cultural Politics," in Brett, Wood, and Thomas, eds., *Queering the Pitch: The New Gay and Lesbian Musicology*, 163-5.

between the epistolary friendship with von Meck and doomed marriage to Miliukova in Tchaikovsky's life are hard to draw out, but she goes beyond merely debunking and is careful to keep to the available sources. She appears as a much more sympathetic commentator than Huneker, especially in her readings of Tchaikovsky's music.[49]

Newmarch was also clearly fascinated by Tchaikovsky's own position as a critic and potential scholar, highlighting his views on the German canon, the state of Russia in the arts, and the place of music scholarship in artistic life. These themes, which emerge across the Tchaikovsky project, also connect to what is known of Newmarch's private and public life. As Newmarch did in her role as editor and translator, Tchaikovsky apparently thought of his letters to von Meck in terms of a biography, and at times even considered turning to musicology and music biography himself as a respite from the strain of composition and the politics of musical life, writing in September 1880 that:

> Lately I have been seeking some kind of occupation that would take me completely away from music for a time, and would seriously interest me. Alas, I have not discovered it! There is no guide to the history of music in Russian, and it would be a good thing if I could occupy myself with a book of this kind; I often think of it. But then I should have to give up composing for at least two years, and that would be too much. To start upon a translation—that is not very interesting work. Write a monograph upon some artist? So much has already been written about the great musicians of Western Europe. For Glinka, Dargomijsky, and Serov I cannot feel any enthusiasm, for, highly as I value their works, I cannot admire them as men….It would have been a delight to write the biography of Mozart, but it is impossible to do so after Otto Jahn, who devoted his life to the task.
>
> So there is no other occupation open to me but composition.[50]

It is fascinating to read Tchaikovsky's list of musicological possibilities in light of Newmarch's own body of work, which included general histories of Russian music, translations, and

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[49] Bullock argues that Newmarch saw in von Meck a unique model of women's musical understanding, friendship, and appreciation that was distinct from contemporary British debates about women as performers or composers, a model with which she as a scholar, interpreter, and friend to many composers (both male and female) could relate. Bullock, *Rosa Newmarch and Russian Music*, 125-128.

[50] Piotr Tchaikovsky, as translated by Newmarch in Modest Tchaikovsky, *The Life and Letters of Peter Ilich Tchaikovsky*, 388.

biographies of great men of music. These moments of self-reflection and artistic statements in Tchaikovsky's letters, diaries, and criticism largely shaped Newmarch's narrative of his life, leading her, as she explains throughout *Life and Works,* to "hear a great artist speaking of his own art," even as she acknowledged the limitations of available sources and autobiographical readings of his works[51] As someone who clearly wrestled with the appropriate language to define and describe her subjects, Newmarch could have seen Tchaikovsky's moments of biographical and musicological clarity as a point of connection between researcher and subject. In a way, this is the reverse of Maurice's epiphany of finding personal revelation at moments of ambiguity in Newmarch's text.

"Her Own Song to Sing": Music and Romantic Ambiguity in Newmarch's *Mary Wakefield* and Sonnets

Maurice's conversation with Risley is in line with surviving Tchaikovsky gossip amongst men like Forster, Edward Prime-Stevenson, and Edward Carpenter. In the context of the novel, the *Pathétique* and the Newmarch-Tchaikovsky biography serve as Maurice's first clear, uncensored foray into a sort of queer culture, a far cry from the bowdlerized Greek and Latin he learned at Cambridge. The sheer lack of ambiguity in Maurice's self-discovery contrasts heavily with Newmarch's own personal life. While Newmarch was married with two children, she herself had several long-term close friendships with women, most notably her traveling companion and fellow concertgoer Bella Simpson, the possible inspiration for her sonnet cycle *Horae Amoris*.[52] The importance of Simpson in Newmarch's musical life and the importance of public concert-going in their decades-long relationship is reminiscent of another moment from Forster's

[51] Newmarch, "Tchaikovsky as a Musical Critic," in *Tchaikovsky: His Life and Works,* 111.
[52] Lewis Stevens, *An Unforgettable Woman*, 125-127.

Maurice. Unlike Maurice's two pivotal encounters with the *Pathétique*, the relationship between his sister Kitty and her school friend Violet Tonks is hinted at only briefly in the scene prior to Maurice's encounter with Risley and the abandoned Epilogue to the novel. Given Forster's ambivalent reception of Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness* and negative attitudes towards the feminism espoused by Hall and Virginia Woolf, it may seem inappropriate to connect the novel's evocation of Tchaikovsky as tied to *women's* queer musical experiences.[53] In reading the Tchaikovsky scene, however, we should not neglect the seemingly minor but important ways in which Maurice's experience of the *Pathétique* in concert is facilitated by women's musical experiences and the possibility of romantic friendship.

The concert tickets Maurice acquires which bring him to his conversation with Risley and reading of the Tchaikovsky-Newmarch biography were a gift from Tonks, originally intended not for the generally unmusical Maurice, but for Kitty. Although far from a major character in the novel, Tonks is one of the few female characters in the novel outside of Maurice's immediate family circle, and occupies an important off-stage role, as it were, in Kitty's life. Forster writes of her as "the only tangible product" of the Domestic Institute where she and Kitty study. Kitty proudly tells her mother that Violet is a socialist who cares little for social norms, in stark contrast to the isolated snobbery of Maurice's own former classmate and first love, Clive Dunham.[54] He also links Maurice's and Kitty's shared lack of interest in marriage through Mrs Hall's hopes that "he [Maurice] should find someone for Kitty, and she for him…A concert ticket sent by Miss Tonks for Kitty revealed possibilities."[55] In Forster's deleted

[53] Adam Parkes discusses Woolf's account of Forster's reactions to Hall and *The Well of Loneliness,* as well as the ways in which the trial and public outcry over Hall's work may have affected Forster's decision not to publish *Maurice* and Woolf's decision to publish a far more ambiguous depiction of sexual and gender ambiguity in *Orlando* in "'Suppressed Randiness': *Orlando* and *The Well of Loneliness*," in *Modernism and the Theater of Censorship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 144-180.
[54] E.M. Forster, *Maurice*, 145.
[55] Ibid., 161.

epilogue for the novel, Kitty's discovery of Maurice and Alec living happily in the greenwood as wood-choppers years after the events of the novel is contrasted with her own unhappy spinsterhood and withdrawal from the world following a separation from Violet:

> And sighing she cycled on, while the sound of the chopping grew more distinct. At twenty-seven Kitty was as old as most women at forty; youth had found no resting place either in her body or mind. *Since Violet Tonks had married* – that rather than her brother's disgrace had been the crisis –she had lost her vigour, *no longer attended concerts*, lectures on hygiene &c, or cared for the improvement of the world; but looked after her mother or helped the Chapmans wearily. Now and then she "struck", as she termed it; must have a "real holiday alone", as on the present occasion. But she never came home refreshed. She could not strike against her own personality.[56]

Forster's depiction of Kitty throughout *Maurice* is not altogether sympathetic, as she is part of the repressive family structure that Maurice ultimately rejects and her reaction to seeing Alec and Maurice in the epilogue highlights her familial dislike for her brother. The parallels, however, between Clive's and Violet's decisions to marry as moments of crisis for Maurice and Kitty are clear, as is Forster's brief depiction of the patriarchal structures differentiating Maurice's and Kitty's later lives. Maurice, as a man, is able to disappear from his previously highly regimented upper middle class life as a stockbroker, while his sister is discouraged from searching for him (lest she bring further scandal to the family by involving the police). Her studies at the Institute and training in first aid are relegated to an intellectually and emotionally unfulfilling caretaking role, for which lonely bicycle trips provide insufficient relief. Kitty's previous concert attendance, unseen by the reader of *Maurice*, is a sign of her vigor and intellectual commitments, all bound up in her relationship with Violet Tonks. Philip Gardner, editor of the Abinger critical edition of *Maurice*, notes that the Epilogue suggests a more complex view of Kitty than we receive in the rest of the novel, describing her as a "curiously sympathetic young spinster of

[56] Emphasis mine. Forster, "Epilogue," in *Maurice*, ed. Philip Gardner, Abinger Forster Edition 5 (London: André Deutsch, 1999), 221-224.

27….There is a sexually ambiguous quality in her isolation which makes her a suitable person to realize, suddenly, what pressure has brought her brother and 'his friend' to abandon the accustomed world."[57]

Taking into account the Epilogue and Kitty's perspective, however, we might view Tonks's desire to take Kitty to hear the *Pathétique* in terms of Rosa Newmarch's own possibly queer symphonic listening and openness to the possibilities of symphonic space for women's homosocial or homoerotic relationships. The planned, although failed, image of Violet and Kitty attending the concert together recalls Newmarch's frequent concert attendance alongside her companion Bella Simpson. In the chapter on Bella in his biography, Stevens reproduces the concert program at which the pair met, which Newmarch saved. The program, to a symphonic concert, is inscribed by Newmarch "the concert where I met Bella" and "fifty years close friendship began, Bella Simpson and Rosa Newmarch," demonstrating how the program serves not only as a souvenir of the particular concert (an "analytical and historical programme") but also as a memorial of meeting a like-minded concertgoer.[58]

As with figures such as Mary Wakefield and Maude White, the problem of how to interpret these relationships often comes down to how to read ambiguous surviving sources. In Newmarch's case, the inclusion of Bella in Newmarch's personal circle is complicated by Newmarch's focus on scholarly professionalism and awareness of possible future publication. The more effusive moments in her memoirs and letters are, like Fuller's sources, suggestive, but

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[57] Philip Gardner, "The Evolution of E.M. Forster's *Maurice*," in *E.M. Forster: Centenary Reevaluations,* ed. Judith Scherer Herz and Robert K. Martin (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 217.
[58] See Stevens, *An Unforgettable Woman,* 44. This token of a decades-long friendship is one of those mementos in English women's musical communities that Sophie Fuller regards as central to questions of what early-twentieth-century women musicians meant when they wrote of "devotion" and "friendship" in such passionate terms. Fuller, "'Devoted Attentions': Looking for Lesbian Musicians in Edwardian England," in Fuller and Whitesell, *Queer Episodes in Music and Modern Identity,* 79-104.

of *what* remains often unclear. Newmarch clearly saw their friendship as deeply rooted in music, noting a week after their meeting that "in sweet music is such art, that it either cements a friendship very quickly and firmly or—and the reverse side is not so pretty but as true—makes people deadly enemies in a few hours!"[59]

Newmarch's memoirs, written late in life with the assistance of her daughter Elsie, emphasize Bella's place in the Newmarch family, commenting that "in this case it established a long and lasting friendship with Bella Simpson—nay more than a friendship, for she became one of the family and lived with us for over forty years."[60] In a 1926 letter to Jean Sibelius, Newmarch includes Bella alongside a description of her own ailments and a report on her children and grandchildren:

> How are you? I see that your art does not grow old. I am becoming old, and sometimes I suffer a little, being diabetic, but a short stay in Carlsbad [sic] always puts me back together. And I am still working hard. Do you remember Miss Simpson? She has just turned 82, and three weeks ago she fell, but as there was nothing broken, we hope she will soon be able to go out. My son has quite a good clientele in South Kensington, and I am a grandmother twice over. You also have grandchildren, don't you? But perhaps you have no idea at all! I remember that I always had to answer when people asked: "How many children does Mr Sibelius have?"[61]

Furthermore, Newmarch's other research and editing projects contribute to a women's musical and intellectual community in Edwardian Britain.[62] Newmarch's public sense of women's musical communities—and the possibility of more private readings of homosocial and homoerotic themes in her work—is further seen in the biography *Mary Wakefield* and poetry

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[59] Newmarch, as reproduced in Lewis Stevens, *An Unforgettable Woman,* 42.
[60] Ibid., 43.
[61] Sibelius in fact had six children (one of whom died in childhood) and sixteen grandchildren. Newmarch's son John was a doctor, and once wrote Sibelius a prescription for glycerin and cocaine while he was in England. Henry Newmarch, whose 1927 disappearance and death Newmarch would later describe to Sibelius as "tragic but not sad," is not mentioned in this letter. Rosa Newmarch to Jean Sibelius, November 18, 1926, reproduced in Philip Ross Bullock, ed. and trans, *The Correspondence of Jean Sibelius and Rosa Newmarch, 1906-1939*, 225-226.
[62] Sophie Fuller, "'Devoted Attention': Looking for Lesbian Musicians in Fin-de-Siècle Britain," 79-101.

sequence *Songs for a Singer*, two works which deal substantially with the musical relationships between women as performers, composers, scholars, and audiences. *Mary Wakefield*, published in 1912, differs markedly from the Tchaikovsky project, both in terms of its aims and scope and in terms of Newmarch's relationship with the subject. Tchaikovsky had had a highly public career as a composer and conductor, yet Newmarch never met him. Wakefield's career as a singer, by contrast, was profoundly limited by her wealthy middle class family, and consisted largely of private and semi-public concerts in the homes of friends and family. She was also a part of the same broader intellectual and artistic circle that included Newmarch and Lee, whose "A Wicked Voice" (analyzed in Chapter 2) is dedicated to "M.W."

Newmarch's portrait of Mary Wakefield is at once both deeply personal and carefully balanced to elicit specific responses from readers, especially future readers who would learn of her only in connection with the musical festival that bore her name.[63] As in her biographies of Tchaikovsky and Henry Wood, Newmarch here both imagines a future reader and seemingly apologizes for her own scholarly voice obscuring the subject's self-representation, claiming that:

> While writing the book, I have been increasingly impressed by the conviction that I live so fully and intensely lived, and so scantily recorded in journals and letters, could only have been satisfactorily dealt with in the form of an autobiography. Had Mary Wakefield been spared to us a few years longer it is possible that she would have left us this—in her case especially—best of all memorials. The vision of what she, with her ardent sympathies and shrewd, humorous outlook on the world, could have made of such a book, forces me to realize the comparative lifelessness of my own inadequate substitute. That up to the time of her death she was too fully occupied to spare time for writing her reminiscences is a matter for endless regret. Failing her autobiography, I commend this brief Memoir to all who have enjoyed, or will enjoy, the fruits of her labours.[64]

The elaborate act of apologizing for a woman's professional labors, especially one who is technically an amateur, is a longstanding trope in music history. Late eighteenth-century amateur

[63] Newmarch, *Mary Wakefield: A Memoir* (Kendall: Atkinson and Pollitt, 1912), 7.
[64] Ibid., 7.

keyboardists were expected to politely defer and apologize before finally conceding to perform for their guests.[65] A century on, women's intellectual and artistic activities still required a veneer of explanation or apology.

Newmarch's depiction of Wakefield as an artist and a friend is connected to multiple concepts of musical womanhood. She presents Wakefield variously as a feminist model for women's participation in the arts and humanities, a dutiful (if stubborn) Quaker daughter for whom music was a quasi-religious calling, an intellectual equally as comfortable debating aesthetics and British history with her friend John Ruskin as she was performing opera and folksong, and a member of a close-knit network of socially liberal English expatriate middle-class women artists and scholars. Although Wakefield's social status prevented her from pursuing a professional operatic career, Newmarch frames her place in professional life as a sign of feminist cross-class solidarity, claiming that "once again she stood face to face with the embarrassing problem—embarrassing at least in those days—whether a woman is justified in earning money she does not actually need; and how far she may, for her own delight, give her services without payment, at the risk of depriving some poorer sister of her daily bread."[66] She also connects Wakefield to several women who did publish or perform publicly for money, including Lee and the composer Maude White (and, of course, Newmarch herself). Newmarch's list of some of Wakefield's friends and travels is filled with "a hundred other hints of interesting experiences," which the biographer can only recreate through surviving sources.[67] Her descriptions of Wakefield's friendships are largely mediated through her professionalism as an

[65] Erin Helyard, "Resistance, Doubt, and the Anxiety of Practice," in "Muzio Clementi, Difficult Music, and Cultural Ideology in Late Eighteenth-Century England" (PhD diss., McGill University, 2012), 88-94.
[66] Newmarch, *Mary Wakefield*, 41.
[67] Ibid., 44.

intellectual and commitment to her fellow artists, as when she describes Wakefield's home, Sedgwick:

> Other rooms there are on the ground floor; a dining-room commensurate with Wakefield notions of hospitality, and spacious drawing-rooms. But the great hall was the scene of those musical gatherings that were such a distinguishing feature of life at Sedgwick. There stood—and still stands—the grand piano at which Mary Wakefield, Maude Valerie White, and other friends spent many delightful hours. The height and spaciousness of the hall made it an admirable place to sing in. When the musicians gathered there, the guests and the family, and generally some of the servants too, would collect quietly at the best points of vantage in the surrounding gallery. Mary's fine, warm voice rang through the hall, and the tones ascended and were lost in the raftered ceiling above. It was like hearing her sing in the nave of some cathedral.[68]

Once again, aspects of Wakefield's life that might have been a deterrent to a woman seeking a professional career, her duty to stay at home and entertain with her family, are reconstructed as musical and spiritual communion with friends. Mr. and Mrs. Wakefield and their guests and servants are present, but off in the gallery, listening silently. Newmarch's real focus is on "the musicians" together in the great hall, White and Wakefield.

Although any bisexual or lesbian readings of Wakefield's relationships with the women in her circle are at best implied in Newmarch's memoir, she paints a portrait of a woman intellectual who to some extent crossed established social lines in pursuit of friendships, political autonomy, and knowledge. Fuller draws particular attention to the "extraordinarily close relationships" observed by Wakefield's mother and the connection with Maude White.[69] Newmarch's sensitivity in balancing a humane portrait of Wakefield with an argument for her place in recent music history fits in well with Bullock's assessment of Newmarch's

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[68] Ibid., 26-27.
[69] Fuller describes White's relationship with Wakefield and cites Newmarch's biography on pp. 89-91 of "Devoted Attention," although she does not discuss Newmarch's own participation in this homosocial musical-artistic community.
[69] Newmarch, *Mary Wakefield*, 7.

musicological career as both deeply personal and tied to the promotion of women's place in musical and intellectual spheres.

In addition to musicology and translations of Russian literature, Newmarch published two poetry collections during the 1900s, *Horae Amoris: Songs and Sonnets* (1903) and *Songs to a Singer and Other Verses* (1906), both of which link intense emotional responses to music with secret, lost, or unrequited love, often for a female beloved. Given Newmarch's status as a music biographer, translator, and program note annotator, it is unsurprising that her own artistic output contains a large number of musical allusions and metaphors. Newmarch's musical references in her poetry fit into three general categories: accounts of listening, music as a metaphor for love, and poems titled after musical forms and genres (see Appendix 2 for a list of more specific references to particular genres and composers).

While Newmarch's use of musical imagery and metaphors is certainly part of a long poetic tradition, her references to individual composers merit further study given her views on musical emotion and engagement with audience subjectivity in her program notes. Newmarch's first sequence, *In Modo Tristi* (published in the same volume as *Horae Amoris*), leaves the gender of the narrator unspoken, but sets the relationship with a female beloved largely in the sphere of domestic music-making and lonely garden walks. The sixth poem in *In Modo Tristi*, "At the Piano," positions Baroque instrumental music as a cure for the emotional tempestuousness of Romantic piano music:

> "Sweet airs that give delight and hurt not"
>
> Play me some sober tune of long ago;
> A minuet of Lulli, stately sweet,
> Or march of Handel, strong in rhythmic beat,
> Wherein no tides of passion come and go.
>
> For, dearest, if you plunge my soul again

> In those dark waters, turbulent and deep,
> Of Schumann's anguish, I must surely weep
> Fresh tears into that bitter sea of pain (64).[70]

The contrast of Baroque seriousness with Romantic turbulence is reminiscent of Vernon Lee's juxtaposition of eighteenth-century opera and Wagnerian passions in the short story "A Wicked Voice," discussed in Chapter 2. Newmarch's narrator, like Lee's Magnus, is overcome with the external stimulus presented by different types of music. There is also a hint of Newmarch the biographer here in the way that her narrator fears re-experiencing not their own painful memories but *Schumann's* anguish, alluding to the idea that Romantic composers were expressing their own private passions and emotions. "At the Piano" directly follows "The Heart-Chamber," in which the narrator speaks metaphorically of residing within the beloved's heart, despite the beloved previously "[ministering] long years unto a love/whose image was not mine," implying that too much Schumann risks reopening those wounds (63).

In "The Symphony," the seventeenth poem in *Horae Amoris,* Newmarch's ungendered narrator connects their deep responses to Tchaikovsky's music with feelings for a female beloved:

> (Peter Ilich Tchaikovsky)
>
> Hearing the first notes of the symphony,
> Where as in a quadriptych, fold on fold,
> 'Gainst a black ground, lit by Hope's star of gold,
> Is shown the strife 'twixt man and destiny—
> Her eyes for tears in mine I could not see.
> But when Hope's star had set, and dark out-rolled
> That life's last message, whereby we are told
> That sure mortality of things that be,
> And brought with frozen hearts and catching breath
> To look adown the abyss where all things dear,
> Achievement and desire, and all belief
> Pass into nothing, leaving only Death
> The one thing certain and the one thing near—

[70] Unless otherwise specified, all quotes from Newmarch's poetry are from the Holmes-Distiller critical edition.

I felt her hand in mine shake like a leaf (91).

Given the parenthetical reference to Tchaikovsky and the themes of death and fate in the poem, it is almost certain that the narrator and their friend are listening to the *Pathétique*. While John Holmes notes the ties between the embodied listening experience associated with nineteenth-century symphonic music and the final brief physical connection between the narrator and the beloved, the focus on much of the song cycle is about the narrator's inner life and attempts to connect with others.[71] Throughout the cycle, it becomes clear that the narrator, like Newmarch, is an intellectual with a passion for Russian culture in general and Tchaikovsky's music in particular. Music, however, is only one part of their interactions with the world around them.

Various poems across Newmarch's cycles suggest that the narrator keeps much of their life secret, although whether this is due to unrequited love more generally or the specific nature of said relationships is left unclear. "The Double Life," a stand-alone poem published in *Songs to a Singer*, depicts a narrator who presents a cheerful public face while struggling with the torment of a distant lover, while the twelfth sonnet in *Horae Amoris* laments the necessity to keep love secret when "by passion's mocking tempest-brood, the fiction of my comradeship is rent" (86). Holmes argues that Newmarch's use of the term "comradeship" in connection with a secret love is suggestive in light of the use of the term by queer male socialists, particularly Edward Carpenter.[72] This comradeship, unlike that between Carpenter and Merrill, remains in the realm of fiction and speculation, overshadowed by more immediate concerns.

While Newmarch did not share Carpenter's socialist views, her broad intellectual and artistic circle may have introduced her to his writings on musical and visual aesthetics, which emphasized brotherhood and democracy in artistic interpretation. Her most overtly political

[71] John Holmes, "Female Identity in Transition: Gregory, Webster, and Newmarch," 116.
[72] Ibid., 115-116.

sonnet, "Men's Justice," the seventh poem in *Horae Amoris* pointedly distinguishes the failures of "men's harsh justice" to deal with the beloved's right to home, love, and happiness in the face of some unnamed, undeserved stigma: "shame's stigma, worse than martyr's crown" (81). The contrast between the titular "men's justice" and the image of the beloved seems one of the most forthright statements of Newmarch's feminist awareness, otherwise seen largely through her encouragement of other women intellectuals and musicians. If we read the narrator as female, the contrast between the musically mediated love for the beloved with the beloved's unhappy marriage takes on additional meanings in its condemnation of social stigma and double-standards. There is also some ambiguity in the encounter described in the poem's conclusion:

> O fool, to dream that God traced in the sky
> A sign of wrath because a woman crept
> Heartbroken to your arms! That night on high
> The stars swerved not from their accustomed course,
> And men and women loved, or calmly slept,
> Or revelled till the dawn, without remorse (81).

The poem seems to be calling for an understanding that love does not always fit religious or social laws. Reading the narrator as female also calls into question the remorseless men and women in the final two lines—with whom are they loving, sleeping, or reveling? Is it supposed to be "men and women" separately? Together? Are they remorseless because they hypocritically make up the society that has unjustly condemned the beloved, or because they have found a way to escape or transcend social rules in a way that the narrator and the beloved have not? To return to the theme of confession versus confrontation, Newmarch's narrator seems to view this as an instance of confronting their internalized guilt over an unjust society rather than confessing the beloved's shameful secret.

Critics at the time certainly saw Newmarch's sonnet cycles as more reflective of her voice as an artist than her usual role as scholar and translator, and some even spoke of her poetry

in terms of secret emotions and messages. James Douglas was not alone in thinking of Newmarch's poems as revealing some kind of secret emotion, even if one carefully curated for publication. Newmarch herself compared *Horae Amoris* to Elgar's "Enigma" Variations in a letter to Elgar himself, and William Morfill, a professor of Slavic studies at Oxford, wrote to Newmarch that "readers would try to 'break into the enclosure of your charmed silence.'"[73] Elgar's setting of Newmarch's translation of Apollon Maykov's "Love's Tempest," dedicated to musicologist C. Sanford Terry, adds an additional layer of ambiguity to both Newmarch's and Elgar's attraction to gender-neutral texts.[74] This language of secrecy both protects Newmarch's secrets (whatever they were) while advertising their presence to sympathetic readers and listeners.

The rhetoric of secrecy, subjectivity, and ambiguity, however, does not always imply a particularly transgressive or oppositional reading. French critic Charles Chassé borrows the "own song to sing" imagery in an interview with Newmarch about the state of musical life in England for the Société international de musique. Here, he describes the sonnet cycles as distinct from and more personal than her musicological research and translations. Chassé's interview, despite its ostensible focus on Newmarch's opinions of "the modern English music," presents an extended view of Newmarch the scholar, artist, and woman from an external source. He begins

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[73] On Elgar, see Bullock, *Rosa Newmarch and Russian Music in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century England,* 119. On Morfill, see Stevens, *An Unforgettable Woman,* 126. Stevens reads Morfill's reference to "charmed silence" as apparently referring to Newmarch's relationship with Simpson, although he does not cite a source for this claim.

[74] Edward Elgar, "Love's Tempest," Op. 73, no. 1 (London: Novello, 1914). Newmarch's original translation dubs the poem, which was published in the same book as *Horae Amoris,* "A Modern Greek Song." 237. Elgar apparently asked Newmarch for permission to set some of her translations after reading *Horae Amoris.* Terry, for his part, knew of *Elgar's* intentional use of "del" in the Spanish epigram to his Violin Concerto in order to "leave the sex of the soul's possessor undetermined." Terry, as quoted in Byron Adams, "The 'Dark Saying' of the Enigma: Homoeroticism and the Elgarian Paradox," in Fuller and Whitesell, *Queer Episodes in Music and Modern Identity,* 235-236.

with an overview of Newmarch's career to that point: her biographies of Tchaikovsky and Henry Wood, her translations of Russian poetry, and *Horae Amoris.* Chassé refers to the sonnet cycle a few times in his introduction before Newmarch actually presents her views on modern English music. He sees in her poetic imagery great musical and cultural sympathy with Russian and French artists, emphasizing her French maternal ancestry and the sensitivity of her Russian translations.[75]

Recognizing the deeply emotional quality of her sonnets, however, does not mean that critics necessarily viewed this work as autobiographical or that they saw the narrator as representing some hidden truth about Newmarch. The concept, however, that Newmarch's poetical meaning would only be accessible to "the attentive listener" is appealing, given Newmarch's view of appreciation and "attention" as tools to understand meaning and emotion in Tchaikovsky's music. Holmes and Distiller observe similarities between Newmarch's narrative technique of adopting various guises and terms to define the relationship to the beloved across *Horae Amoris* and more recent awareness in lesbian history about the shifting meanings associated with women's friendships and romantic and/or sexual relationships around the turn of the century. In their critical commentary, Holmes and Distiller note that much of Newmarch's poetry fits into a transitional period between the language of the Victorian romantic friendship and the emergent category of lesbian or bisexual identities and experiences.[76]

Outwardly, Newmarch's life more closely resembles that of the wife in *Horae Amoris* than the narrator. Little is known of how she thought of her marriage to Henry Charles "Harry" Newmarch, who appears infrequently in her correspondence and accounts of her life, except for

[75] Charles Chassé, "La Musique anglaise moderne," 557.
[76] Natasha Distiller and John Holmes, "Introduction" to *Horae Amoris: The Collected Poems of Rosa Newmarch*, 19-22.

mentions of her family more generally and some pointed remarks about his financial mismanagement in her memoirs and letters to Sibelius. Chassé's interview, by contrast, concludes with a happy domestic scene, wherein the reporter and his subject converse congenially after dinner about the present state of art before "it grew late; we returned to the salon to rejoin Mrs. Newmarch's husband and daughter. The conversation, this time, is more general. While I see her happy, in the midst of her family, I think that it is not true that literature hardens women's hearts."[77] Earlier in the article, he observes her pioneering role as an editor and program note annotator, remarking that "the feminists can be thankful to Mrs. Newmarch for the strong place that her merits have won them."[78] On that same page, Chassé admits in a footnote that the bulk of his interview with her was actually conducted by post, as Newmarch was "in Leamington (Warwickshire), her hometown, at the moment I composed this article; but, so as not to disturb the reader, I have conserved from one end to the other the form of the interview."[79] Chassé's reformatting of the interview into a cozy domestic scene emphasizes that the feminist and intellectual nature of her position in English musical scholarship had not harmed her femininity or role as wife and mother. Even his reasoning for the nature of their interview via correspondence—Newmarch's return to her hometown—seems to emphasize her commitment to domestic duty.

Surviving sources on Newmarch's life and social circle paint a slightly different picture: a suggestive, albeit inconclusive, outline of her relationships with other women. While Distiller,

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[77] « Il se fait tard; nous redescendons au salon rejoindre le mari et la fille de Mrs Newmarch. La conversation, cette fois, est générale; et pendant que je la regarde, heureuse, au milieu des siens, je songe qu'il n'est pas vrai que la littérature endurcisse le cœur des femmes. » Translations from Chassé are mine. Charles Chassé, "La Musique anglaise moderne," 562.

[78] « Les féministes peuvent être reconnaissantes à Mrs Newmarch de la place forte que son mérite leur a gagnée. » Ibid., 557.

[79] « Une grande partie des réponses qui suivent ont été communiquées par écrit, car Mrs Newmarch se trouvait à Leamington (Warwickshire), sa ville natale, au moment où je composais cet article; mais, pour ne pas dérouler le lecteur, j'ai conservé d'un bout à l'autre la forme de l'interview. » Ibid., 557.

Fuller, and Bullock have all noted the problems with ascribing a modern sexual or romantic definition to the close-knit female friendships found in the intellectual and musical circles that Newmarch inhabited, all three nonetheless observe the numerous ways in which music might serve as a medium for crossing lines of romance and sexuality. Distiller and Holmes in particular argue that her poetry represents a kind of "working out" of how to write about women's emotional and sexual feelings at a moment when these were increasingly a matter of concern in the realm of sexology. It is worth noting that over the lengthy course of her participation in women's artistic and literary circles, career as official program writer for the Proms, and later position as president of the Society of Women Musicians, Newmarch also encountered many unmarried women known for lesbian relationships or romantic friendships and modes of more independent living, including Vernon Lee, Ethel Smyth, and Mary Wakefield. While, unlike Lee, Newmarch did not take a masculine pseudonym for her scholarly and literary work, Bullock observes a subtle feminist act in her publishing as "Mrs Rosa Newmarch" or simply "Rosa Newmarch," rather than the more common decision among married female critics to leave one's articles unsigned or under one's husband's name ("Mrs Henry Newmarch").[80] Fuller attributes this kind of shift to recognition of a performer's professional status, "an increased seriousness of purpose."[81] Newmarch's use of her own name thus reflects multiple personal and professional meanings: her personal sense of independence and solidarity with other women, her dissatisfaction with Henry Newmarch's handling of the family's financial affairs, and her status as a scholar and annotator who was simply better known in musical circles than her husband.

[80] Bullock, *Rosa Newmarch and Russian Music*, 102-103.
[81] Sophie Fuller, "Women Composers during the British Musical Renaissance, 1880-1910" (PhD diss., London University, 1998), 102-103.

A more pessimistic perspective of music, romance, and the self is seen in Newmarch's last poetry collection, *Songs to a Singer* (1906), which also focuses on an ungendered narrator's lost beloved, this time through the act of listening to a performance. Taking song and flowers as its primary imagery, the cycle follows the narrator through several instances of literal and metaphorical concerts and gardens, musing on the nature of music, friendship, love, and historical memory. Newmarch evokes the deeply personal act of listening to the singer as a feeling of universal communion with one's fellow concertgoers (and, through metaphors with the biblical creation, the entire universe). While the act and power of singing pervade the narrator's encounters with the singer, her more self-reflective moments are filled with silence and the impossibility of speech. In one such poem, entitled "Our Silences," the narrator notes the sharp contrast between the singer's public life and private feelings:

> The world may have your songs,
> Your beauty and your smiles,
> The art that moves great throngs,
> The manner that beguiles.
>
> What use have I for these,
> Who crave a fuller dole:
> Prefulgent silences
> When soul tells all to soul?[82]

In the midst of a cycle about song, Newmarch once again shifts to the theme of what cannot be fully said aloud. Here one reaches the limits of her universalizing approach to music—"the world may have" the work of a great singer or performer and yet not fully understand the inner lives and private feelings of those who listen. The world sees the spectacle of the beloved's performance but not the viewpoint of the narrator's anguish. Biography is a messy job, dependent on access to information, the approval of the subject (or their family and/or estate),

[82] Newmarch, "Our Silences," 129.

and the sense of what "can be said." Music, for a time, appears to resist these constraints, drawing in audiences through sheer emotional power. Yet, despite the narrator's great musical knowledge and sensitivity, they are unable to go beyond silence and regret in expressing their feelings for the beloved, "my Singing Rose of Love."

"The Song Unsung," a longer freestanding poem published in *Songs to a Singer*, combines Newmarch's unsolved musical and romantic mysteries with Lee's sense of the past haunting the present. A group of music students make a pilgrimage to an unnamed Master's country villa. Despite a moving musical experience and lively conversation, the narrator finds themself thinking not of the musical present, but of a forgotten music tied to an unspoken love:

> That night I was not far, friend, from your heart,
> Nay, closer than I ever hoped to reach
> Across the gulf which keeps our lives apart;
> Because a cryptic song came back to teach
> A way whereby I took you for my own,
> High in life's fane enthroned and sanctified,
> Against your will, not with it; all unknown
> To you and to the callous world outside.
>
> It was a song that held a mystery.
> (Wolf made it ere the clouds closed o'er his brain.)
> "The night is still," it ran, "and thought is free
> And none may read my rapture or may pain,
> Since love of soul for soul goes unconfessed,
> And cloaks its bitter, as it hides its sweet;
> Therefore my love, unspoken and unguessed,
> Is dear as darkness and as night discreet."[83]

Once again, Newmarch presents a narrator who can only understand their unrealized love through layers of music and silence that simultaneously obscures these feelings and makes them legible. In both Newmarch's poetry and scholarship, a kind of deliberate non-revelation appears

[83] Newmarch, "The Song Unsung," 163.

over and over again, speaking just as loudly as the gossip Newmarch's scholarly persona dare not repeat.

Conclusions: "You couldn't go wrong with Tchaikovsky": Private Lives and the Limits of Biography

The act of going back and forth between "knowing" and "not knowing" (or professing not to know) musical-sexual secrets did not end with early twentieth century music biography. The first act of Billy Wilder's 1970 film *The Private Life of Sherlock Holmes* contains a moment of tantalizing, if wholly fictional, backstage gossip about music and sexuality. Through an impresario acting as her translator, aging Russian ballerina Madame Petrova reveals to Holmes that she seeks to find a brilliant man with whom to conceive a child who will have both her beauty and his brains. When the detective sputters that there must be other, better men for the job, the impresario reveals that he was not Petrova's first choice, and that they had first consulted the most brilliant men in literature, philosophy, and music: Tolstoy (rejected for being "too old"), Nietzsche ("too German"), and Tchaikovsky. Holmes, a music lover and amateur violinist, responds, "Oh, you couldn't go wrong with Tchaikovsky," prompting the following exchange:

> Impresario: We could and we did. It was *catastrophe.*
> Holmes: Why?
> Impresario: You don't know. Because, Tchaikovsky…How should I put it? Women…not his glass of tea.
> Holmes: A pity, that.

True to most biographical reinterpretations of historical figures (real or imagined), Wilder's film is as much about his audience's anxieties—around sexuality, drug use, and Cold War espionage—as about Arthur Conan Doyle's turn-of-the-century detective. In this kind of dialogue and in the choice of title for his film, Wilder spoofs the sort of "private life" popular

with English readers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which promised a sort of intimate knowledge of eminent figures even while functioning to conceal those details not seen fit to print. Whether or not explicitly labeled a "private" or "secret" life of its subject, the biography often presented a contradictory space for the exploration of the actual private lives of composers and performers. Musicians and music lovers have a long fascination with the "secret lives" of other performers and composers, a fascination that was cultivated by the proliferation of music biographies and biographical fiction during the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries. These works served a variety of functions—to present moral lessons for children learning music, to provide explanations for the more abstract world of instrumental music, and to partially humanize the great men of music history.

Yet the very notion of the secret or private life—even when presented in a sanitized manner—implies some level of intimacy that bears a hint of the sensational. While the subject of the biography may be a source of speculation or anecdote, the biographer does not figure in the biographical project as a human being, but as a dispenser of facts and dispeller of myths and rumors. In *The Historian as Detective: Essays on Evidence*, Robin Winks notes that "my vocation as a professional historian often leads me to deal with questions of evidence. The historian must collect, interpret, and then explain his evidence by methods which are not greatly different from those techniques employed by the detective, or at least the detective of fiction."[84] Through the lens of the historian-as-detective, Winks and his coauthors go on to deal with issues of how the search for and interpretation of historical evidence functions in everyday life, noting such problems as missing clues (a lost manuscript or an unverifiable family legend), silent witnesses (subjects who did not or could not record their feelings on a given event), and ultimate

[84] Robin Winks, ed., *The Historian as Detective: Essays on Evidence* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), xiii.

verdicts (scholarly analysis and political histories). Evidence is, however, complicated by the presence of the historian: their biases, methods, thoughts, and expectations. Even when the scholar's investment in their research subjects is not the focus, however, it often lurks behind the scenes. Every piece of evidence could invite multiple, often contradictory, readings. It could make or destroy the scholar's conclusions, or it might mean nothing at all. The histories of music history and biography thus present a sort of double mystery not dissimilar from Wilder's *Private Life*, in which the questions and gaps raised by the life and motivations of the detective-biographer are at least as thought-provoking as the musical mysteries they attempted to solve.

Looking across her Tchaikovsky project and into the realms of personal memoir and poetry, Newmarch's passionate defense of the canon and appeals to emotion no doubt strike many as old-fashioned, especially when it comes to the place of single-subject biography within contemporary musicology. That said, her call for the subjective emotional appeal of Tchaikovsky's music and her implied inclusion of herself in the category of "temperaments akin to his own" raises some additional questions about the humanity of musicologists and music biographies, an issue that remains pertinent in the 2010s. Despite all attempts at objectivity, Newmarch presents the act of writing biography as a highly unscientific process. It is contingent not only upon examining the available evidence and drawing one's conclusions, but also weighing the expectations of readers and subjects (or their families). What are we to make of these suggestions of an autobiography that can never be fully told alongside the evidence of Newmarch's queer readership?

The gaps in Newmarch's poetry and biographical writing—especially her work on Tchaikovsky and Wakefield—illustrate some of the limits of musical biography. Despite her numerous biographical books and articles, Newmarch remained ambiguous about the role of the

biographer in her subjects' lives, often framing her task in terms of mediating music and source texts that were already largely autobiographical. Even with deceased subjects in living memory, such as Tchaikovsky and Wakefield, Newmarch remained conscious of the biographer as potential interloper.

Whether the biographer was a prurient sensationalist, a respectful friend, or a sympathetic comrade to her subject, however, Newmarch's status as a female musicologist and as a public writer of biography places queer readings of her work in an uneasy position, not unlike the readings done in the 1900s and 1910s by Forster and Prime-Stevenson. It would be easy to imagine Newmarch's Tchaikovsky research strictly in the role of eliminating queer meanings from music biography in a time of increased public conservatism. Conversely, a direct relationship between Newmarch's exploration of the gaps and secrets in Tchaikovsky's life with similar moments in her poetry, letters, and memoirs is equally speculative. Clearly, not all of her readers saw the same meanings in her work as did E.M. Forster, and he ultimately kept his reading secret in deciding against publishing *Maurice*. What I want to call attention to in my reading across Newmarch's publicly available private lives and poetic "songs unsung" is the way in which her approaches to musical and biographical ambiguity open up the gateway for confrontation with things that otherwise go unsaid. For Forster and Prime-Stevenson, this clearly meant homosexuality. For Chassé and Douglas, this meant looking at Newmarch as an artist in her own right, expressing a voice that was tied to, yet distinct from, her scholarly persona.

For Newmarch herself, this may have meant either or both of these readings, or something else entirely. The public nature of her work granted her an income to support herself and her family (including Simpson), friendships with several fellow artists and intellectuals, and an outlet for her desire to understand the human beings who created and performed the music she

so loved. While Dent's comment that Newmarch would write "reams of the stuff" if asked was clearly meant to be derogatory, her returning again and again to Tchaikovsky even as there remained sources she knew she could not examine represents an extraordinary commitment to her subject, especially when one considers that she relied upon the popular sale of her books, translations, and articles in lieu of an unattainable academic appointment. Unlike Prime-Stevenson (discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4), she did not have the means to self-publish more overtly queer literature. Her possible allusions to sexuality remained only that: ambiguous comments that could only be interpreted as anything more by a certain kind of reader, one who recognized and empathized with the closet silences in her writing. Newmarch's published works do not reveal any obvious dissatisfaction with this dependence on what the public would allow; however, she was clearly aware of the limits placed on her by society as a female musicologist. In her memoir of Sibelius, she comments that the composer's invitation to dine at New College, Oxford was "an honour for which I was naturally not eligible."[85] Equally annoyed with those who would reduce her program annotation activities to "a respectable occupation for a lady," Newmarch's overriding concern for scholarly respectability and scrupulousness may have been ultimately not a homophobic exercise in concealment but a careful way of justifying those rare moments of subjectivity in which she allowed her subjects and herself their "own song to sing." Her debunking of Tchaikovsky gossip nonetheless engaged with a current of underground musical-sexual knowledge in the only way the public musicology and journalism of her time

[85] Newmarch, *Jean Sibelius: A Short Textbook of a Long Friendship* (Boston: Birchard, 1939), 62. It is worth comparing Newmarch's experiences as a female guest at Oxford with Ethel Smyth's experience as the recipient of an honorary doctorate in 1926. While Smyth was invited to dine at Somerville and Lady Margaret Hall along with another female honoree (the Duchess of Atholl), she remarked that photographers recording the ceremony "probably mistook one for the housekeeper or a female Bedel." See Susan Wollenberg, "Ethel Smyth as Honorary Doctor of the University of Oxford," in *Felsensprengerin, Brückenbauerin, Wegbereiterin: die Komponistin Ethel Smyth*, ed. Cornelia Bartsch, Rebecca Grotjahn, Melanie Unseld (Munich: Allitera, 2010), 85-97.

could. What she could not confront directly in writing, she alluded to through the language of musical subjectivity and poetic emotion.

Gossip about Tchaikovsky's sexuality, of course, remained a touchstone for musical-sexual knowledge for several decades: Philip Brett and Lou Harrison have both observed that Tchaikovsky was one of the few composers whose homosexuality was "allowed" to be discussed during the 1970s and 1980s, and Wilder's Holmes tellingly escapes the proposed arrangement with Mme. Petrova by declaring "Tchaikovsky is not an isolated case."[86] Despite repeated reevaluation, the idea of Tchaikovsky and the *Pathétique* as a kind of musical shorthand for anxieties about sexuality and the repressive forces of mainstream society remains prevalent. The current *Grove* article on Tchaikovsky, by Roland John Wiley, walks a fine line between reinforcing and debunking musicological gossip:

> The polemics over his death have reached an impasse, one side supporting a biographer not invariably committed to the truth, the other advocating something preposterous by the mores of the day. Neither version withstands scrutiny, making all conclusions provisional. Rumour attached to the famous dies hard: Paganini's pact with the devil, Salieri's poison. As for illness, problems of evidence offer little hope of satisfactory resolution: the state of diagnosis; the confusion of witnesses; disregard of long-term effects of smoking and alcohol. We do not know how Tchaikovsky died. We may never find out, any more than we shall learn what killed the composer whose music first filled him with sacred delight.[87]

For musicologists and musicians, the appeal of these rumors goes beyond sensationalist voyeurism and into the relation between personal identity and aesthetics. More recently, reporter

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[86] Emily Baumgart's archival research into the script reveals that the references to Tchaikovsky as a signifier of homosexuality in the film were originally meant to be even more explicit. In a discarded scene, Petrova's agent comes to 221 Baker Street to ask Watson on a date while Holmes plays an excerpt from Tchaikovsky's Violin Concerto. See Baumgart, "'What One Man Can Invent, Another Can Discover': Music and the Transformation of Sherlock Holmes from Literary Gentleman Detective to On-Screen Romantic Genius" (MA thesis, Michigan State University, 2015), 31-32, https://search.proquest.com/docview/1686537431?accountid=12339.

[87] Roland John Wiley, "Tchaikovsky, Pyotr, Il'yich," *Grove Music Online* (visited February 20, 2018): http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000051766. A critique of the ambiguity and accuracy of Wiley's claims that "we may never find out" how Tchaikovsky or Mozart died is presented by Taruskin in the conclusion to "Pathetic Symphonist: Chaikovsky, Russia, Sexuality, and the Study of Music," 103-104.

Zachary Woolfe and composer Georg Friedrich Haas linked the concept of Tchaikovsky's supposedly tortured experiences influencing his music with Haas's connections between his interest in BDSM (bondage, domination, and sadomasochism) and themes of pain and domination in his music:

> [Woolfe:] Composers do their work offstage and largely out of the public eye. But all music is influenced by its makers' personal lives and, in many cases through history, their grappling with sexuality. Tchaikovsky's struggle with his homosexuality helped create music of agonizing longing.
>
> [Haas]: "What you perceive is not the fact that they [Tchaikovsky and Schubert] desired men…but the sadness about the impossibility to make love a reality. And I think that has been part of my music. The fundamental pessimism. You never will get what you want because it's not possible to get it. That is how my life has changed so intensely."[88]

While Woolfe's and Haas's historical references are dubious, their acknowledgement of a historical relationship between sexuality and musical creativity provides a sense of why biography remains just so important and contentious. Whatever Newmarch may have thought or known of Tchaikovsky, herself, or the "sensationalists" who persisted in spreading rumors in the 1890s and 1900s, she shared with her readers an investment in the sorts of personal knowledge, experiences, and connections that could be gained by knowing how to hear in music what was not or could not be expressed in print.

[88] Zachary Woolfe, "A Composer and His Wife: Creativity through Kink," *New York Times,* February 23, 2016.

Chapter 4: "Onward to the end of the Nineteenth Century": Edward Prime-Stevenson's Nostalgic Musical Time Travel

Edward Prime-Stevenson (1858-1942) poses intriguing problems to the project of queer musical historiography. While he wrote more overtly on sexual subject matter than either Lee or Newmarch, he often remains hidden as an individual, both by his own design and as a result of his later obscurity. Little is known of his personal life, only the briefest sketches of which can be reconstructed from various surviving documents, scant personal comments in his published work, autobiographical sketches in various *Who's Who*-style dictionaries, and his obituary. Born to a wealthy family in Madison, New Jersey, Edward Stevenson apparently studied law as a young man, although he never practiced. Instead, he turned to writing fiction and newspaper columns. His surviving books divide easily into four general categories: boys' adventure novels, sentimental short stories, music criticism, and amateur sexology (see Figure 4.1). He also wrote a great deal of poetry, although the epic poems he claimed to have written later in life do not seem to have survived beyond excerpts in other works.

Figure 4.1. Summary of Edward Prime-Stevenson's Books

Boys' adventure stories: *White Cockades* (1887), *Left to Themselves* (1891)
Sentimental fiction: *Her Enemy; Some Friends—and other Personages: Stories and Studies Mostly of Human Hearts* (1913), *Dramatic Stories to Read Aloud* (1925)
Amateur sexology*:* *Imre: A Memorandum* (1906), *The Intersexes: A History of Simisexualism as a Problem in Social Life* (ca. 1908 or 1909)
Music criticism: *Long-Haired Iopas: Old Chapters from Twenty-Five Years of Music Criticism* (1927), *A Repertory of One Hundred Symphonic Programmes* (1932)

During the 1880s, Prime-Stevenson began a career as a critic in New York City, largely reviewing local concerts for *The Independent* and *Harper's*. By the end of that decade, he also had met a young man who would prove to be a pivotal figure in his personal and professional

life: Harry Harkness Flagler. Flagler, heir to part of the Standard Oil fortune and eventual president of the New York Philharmonic Society, shared Stevenson's love of music and literature, although it is unknown whether Stevenson's romantic feelings for him were reciprocated. The two, who met when Prime-Stevenson was engaged as Flagler's tutor, became estranged following Flagler's marriage to Anne Lamont in 1894. Prime-Stevenson's dedications to Flagler in his last two books suggest that the two later reconciled as friends, although, if Flagler received copies of them, they were not included in the vast archives of musical manuscripts, autographs, and books preserved as the Mary Flagler Cary collection.[1] Around the turn of the century, Prime-Stevenson left the United States, traveling throughout Europe and continuing for a time to freelance for newspapers in New York and London. Eventually, he settled permanently in Europe, largely dividing his time between resorts in Florence and Lausanne. A large inheritance from a maternal uncle facilitated his now double-barreled surname (his earlier books and newspaper columns are signed E.I.S.), his travels abroad, and his ability to self-publish on a variety of subjects. For his two book-length works on homosexuality, he devised the pseudonym Xavier Mayne, referring in public only to his authorship "(under pseudonyms) of important studies in a branch of the psychiatrics of sex."[2]

New York Public Library music librarian Philip Lieson Miller, who corresponded with Prime-Stevenson in his later years, reported that he continued to return to New York regularly to attend symphony concerts and operas, although these trips eventually ceased.[3] Even after ending

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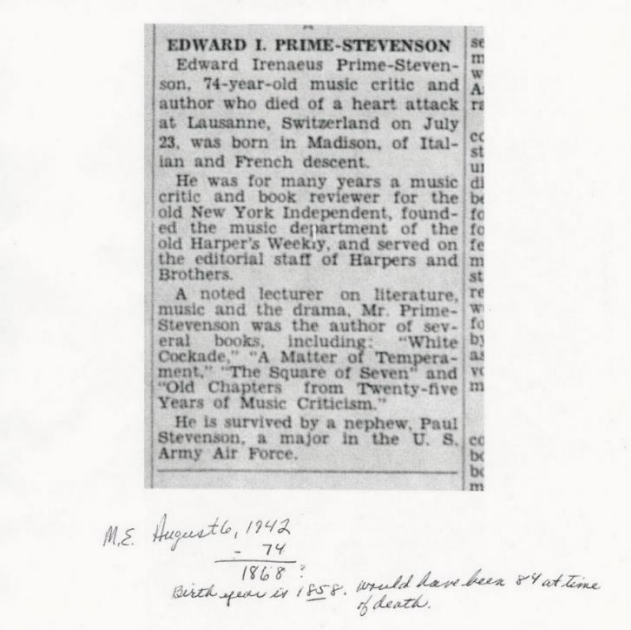
[1] The Flagler family's music collection was donated to the Pierpont Morgan Library as the Mary Flagler Cary Music Collection. The catalog for the collection does not list any of Prime-Stevenson's books or letters, although the variety of composers and works represented in Flagler's contributions to the collection corroborate Prime-Stevenson's claims about their shared musical interests. See Charles Ryskamp, *The Mary Flagler Cary Music Collection: Printed Books and Music Manuscripts, Autograph Letters, Documents, Portraits* (New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1970).

[2] Anonymous [probably Edward Prime-Stevenson], "Stevenson, Edward Prime-," in *Who's Who in America* 7, ed. Albert Nelson Marquis (Chicago: A.N. Marquis, 1913), 2002.

[3] Philip Lieson Miller, "Edward Prime-Stevenson: Expatriate Opera Critic," *Opera Quarterly* 6, no. 1 (1988): 50.

his critical career, he continued to write and give public and semi-public lectures on musical and literary subjects. Around 1900, he would also start claiming to be born in 1868, a falsehood which made it into his hometown newspaper's obituary (see Fig. 4.2). He died of a heart attack in 1942, supposedly leaving behind a warehouse of unpublished manuscripts in Lausanne which appear to have survived the war but were lost sometime in the 1940s or 1950s.[4]

Figure 4.2. Edward Prime-Stevenson's obituary in *The Madison Eagle* (August 6, 1942), Madison Historical Society (note the correction of Prime-Stevenson's age by archivist "M.E.").



EDWARD I. PRIME-STEVENSON

Edward Irenaeus Prime-Stevenson, 74-year-old music critic and author who died of a heart attack at Lausanne, Switzerland on July 23, was born in Madison, of Italian and French descent.

He was for many years a music critic and book reviewer for the old New York Independent, founded the music department of the old Harper's Weekly, and served on the editorial staff of Harpers and Brothers.

A noted lecturer on literature, music and the drama, Mr. Prime-Stevenson was the author of several books, including: "White Cockade," "A Matter of Temperament," "The Square of Seven" and "Old Chapters from Twenty-five Years of Music Criticism."

He is survived by a nephew, Paul Stevenson, a major in the U. S. Army Air Force.

M.E. August 6, 1942
- 74
1868 ?
Birth year is 1858. Would have been 84 at time of death.

After his death, Prime-Stevenson's sexological writings received intermittent attention from those seeking to find a history of gay activism in the United States. In the pages of *ONE Institute Quarterly*, the pseudonymous Noel I. Garde promoted Prime-Stevenson's fiction as the American answer to Forster's *Maurice*, and described the author as "the mysterious father of

[4] Ibid., 51.

American homophile literature."[5] The novel *Imre* and historical work *The Intersexes* were both reprinted in limited editions in 1975 as part of Arno Press's series of primary source documents on the history of homosexuality.[6] Community historian Allan Bérubé, later best known for his work on gay and lesbian servicepeople during World War II and the intersections of race, class, and sexuality in the history of labor activism, came across these mentions of Prime-Stevenson as "America's first gay novelist," and apparently considered writing a book on him during the 1970s. Bérubé's research notes, now held at the archives of the GLBT Historical Society in San Francisco, reveal his extensive correspondence with various libraries and collections to disentangle Prime-Stevenson's genealogy from various false claims he made about his family, compile his surviving newspaper columns, and collect anything related to possible friends and colleagues that might paint a more complete picture of the man and his work.[7] Eventually, Bérubé gave up on the project, partially out of frustration with Prime-Stevenson's elitism and partially upon finding the primary source documents that would lead him to write *Coming Out Under Fire*.[8]

From the 1990s onwards, a small group of literary historians have revisited how Prime-Stevenson's fiction and sexological writing connected to gay literary history more broadly. James Gifford's *Dayneford's Library*, which takes its title from a passage in Prime-Stevenson's novella *Out of the Sun*, features one of the most extensive discussions of his literary sources, his appeals to various sexological subcategories, and his various name changes and pseudonyms

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[5] Noel I. Garde [pseud. Edgar Leoni], "The First Native American [sic] 'Gay' Novel: A Study," *One Institute Quarterly Homophile Studies* 9 (1960): 185-190, and "The Mysterious Father of American Homophile Literature: A Study," *One Institute Quarterly Homophile Studies* 3 (1958): 94-98.
[6] Xavier Mayne [pseud. Edward Prime-Stevenson], *The Intersexes: A History of Simisexualism as a Problem in Social Life*, and *Imre: A Memorandum* (New York: Arno Press, 1975).
[7] Allan Bérubé Papers, Series IV.L: Edward I.P. Stevenson, Box 171 (folders 17-23) and 172, GLBT Historical Society Archives, San Francisco.
[8] Jonathan Ned Katz, email message to author, May 23, 2017.

across his career.[9] Jean-Claude Féray and Raimondo Biffi considered Prime-Stevenson's use of French case studies and translations of French, German, and Italian sources.[10] The most recent research into Prime-Stevenson, by Margaret Breen and James Wilper, has also focused on his ties to sexology—in particular, his decision to adopt the case study format in the frame story to *Imre* and his rewriting of Krafft-Ebing's medical case studies to present a more sympathetic view in *The Intersexes.*[11] In addition to this published work, Tom Sargant has worked hard to make his collection of archival research on Prime-Stevenson's journalistic career available to scholars via the Internet, and is currently at work on a catalogue of his complete newspaper columns.[12]

Despite this new wave of interest, however, the existing scholarship on Prime-Stevenson from both LGBTQ history and literary studies continues to neglect his writings on musical subjects. This is a noteworthy omission, since music played a central role in Prime-Stevenson's attempt to establish a queer artistic canon, as well as representing a recurring theme in his fiction on queer subjects. Prime-Stevenson's anthology *Long-Haired Iopas,* a collection of revised and expanded versions of his earlier newspaper writing, is also one of the few places one finds him addressing the topic of homosexuality under his own name. I argue that the musical component of his late works also reveals something of his personal nostalgia for the 1890s, intertwined with

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[9] James Gifford, *Dayneford's Library: American Homosexual Writing, 1900-1913* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994).

[10] Jean-Claude Féray (ed. and trans.), *Du simisexualisme dans les armées et de la prostitution homosexuelle (militaire et civile) à la Belle Époque,* by Edward Prime-Stevenson (Paris: Quintes-Feuilles, 2003) and Féray and Raimondo Biffi, "Xavier Mayne {Edward I. Prime-Stevenson), Romancier Français?" *Inverses: Littératures, Arts, Homosexualités* 1 (2001): 47-57.

[11] Margaret Breen, "Homosexual Identity, Translation, and Prime-Stevenson's *Imre* and *The Intersexes,*" *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture* 14, no. 1 (2012): http://docs.lib.purdue.edu/clcweb/vol14/iss1/5 (accessed November 22, 2017); James Wilper, "Translation and the Construction of a 'Uranian' Identity: Edward Prime-Stevenson's [Xavier Mayne's] *The Intersexes* (1908)," in *Sexology and Translation: Cultural and Scientific Encounters across the Modern World,* ed. Heike Bauer (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015), 216-232; and Wilper, *Reconsidering the Emergence of the Gay Novel in English and German* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2016).

[12] "Friends of Eddie, being admirers of Edward Prime-Stevenson" Facebook page (accessed October 23, 2018), https://m.facebook.com/groups/201666901797.

his relationship with Flagler, newspaper career, and presence in the New York concert scene. His musical references, especially in revisions of earlier work, thus represent an attempt to use music, literature, and (eventually) the phonograph to travel back to an earlier time. In attempting to stake a personal claim to musical-sexual knowledge, Prime-Stevenson was making a claim for the validity of queer musical (and literary and historical) scholarship as a way of understanding artistic meaning.

In order to better understand this nostalgia, one first needs to consider the role of self-reference in Prime-Stevenson's books and the ways in which his various writings and their dedications connect, to form not only a kind of queer musical canon but an imagined queer musical readership. This project in turn presents an ambiguous relationship with time, one that I conceive of in relationship to early twentieth-century fiction on time travel. Prime-Stevenson's imagined queer intellectual circle could, even within the occasionally utopian world of his writings, only exist in a future where sweeping legal, medical, and social changes had occurred. Yet, with the exception of a single short story satirizing the popular image of the New Woman, nearly all of his positive artistic references are located in the nineteenth century or earlier.

Though he lived well into the twentieth century, much of Prime-Stevenson's fiction and musical taste remained firmly fixed in the 1890s, a fact he recognized in the promotional materials for *Long-Haired Iopas* (reproduced in full in Appendix 3), noting the book's "thoughtful references to countless composers and schools of music's growth, from the art's early days, onward to the end of the Nineteenth Century (at which point the author ends his inclusions)."[13] *Repertory* likewise is limited largely to eighteenth and nineteenth century

[13] Anonymous [probably Edward Prime-Stevenson], "Literary agent's press-circular: *Long-Haired Iopas: Old Chapters from Twenty-Five Years of Music-Criticism* by Edward Prime-Stevenson," bound into the endpages of the copy of Edward Prime-Stevenson, *Long-Haired Iopas: Old Chapters from Twenty-Five Years of Music Criticism* (Florence: Privately Printed, 1927) held by Dartmouth College (Copy #77 of 133).

symphonic music and operatic excerpts. While written decades after his leaving New York, *Iopas* and *Repertory* are both clearly targeted at an American readership, with remarks on the state of music criticism and concert life in New York and descriptions of works, performers, and controversies that would have been familiar to those active in New York's musical scene during the 1890s. *Iopas* in particular reveals his lengthy revision process, containing numerous queer references not present in the "public" versions of his earlier criticism and ultimately linking "E.I.S," "Xavier Mayne," and Edward Prime-Stevenson with various friends, romantic partners, family members, and admired musicians and colleagues, into an imagined community that seems to have existed only through Prime-Stevenson's writing.

Prime-Stevenson's approach to listening and the issue of musical meaning, first mentioned in *The Intersexes* and expanded upon in *Iopas* and *Repertory,* further develops this nostalgia as a kind of musical time travel. Prime-Stevenson ultimately idealized the phonograph recording as a way of preserving and reliving the emotional impact of music one has heard before. Through music, one can relive memories of the past and connect in a quasi-spiritual manner with fellow music lovers and great composers past, present, and future. In *Repertory,* one sees the phonograph as in effect Prime-Stevenson's time machine, sonically transporting him back to the New York Philharmonic or the Metropolitan Opera, or forward to a musical communion with others during decades where war and his own failing health made actual travel impossible. Even before this point, however, Prime-Stevenson's preoccupation with finding and preserving more optimistic queer artistic sources is more historical than contemporary or forward-thinking. The short story "Aquae multae non--," a queer rewriting of the much earlier newspaper story "When Art Was Young," imagines the score to a motet as the surviving

document of a relationship between two young Renaissance composers.[14] His literary case studies in *The Intersexes* reproduce lengthy excerpts from various novels, letters, anecdotes, and other sources, as though to pull together a seemingly disparate archive of people and works. Prime-Stevenson's initially more recent references to Tchaikovsky or Oscar Wilde also take on a historical quality in light of his revisions and rewriting decades after the fact. In a way, Prime-Stevenson's self-publishing turned his own perspective into the voice of history. While the imagined unified audience for this kind of queer artistic project ultimately existed only in the mind of its author, following these paths today revealing a scholar grappling with questions of biography, hermeneutics, and the relevance of personal experience that continue to resonate within current queer musicology and music theory.

Eccentricity and Self-Reference in the Self-Published Writings

One of the reasons I propose Prime-Stevenson's writings as a site of nostalgia and imagined time travel is his frequent use of self-reference as research in the self-published works. While his initial journalism is largely based on interviews and appeals to personal experience, the fiction, research, and essays compiled in *The Intersexes, Her Enemy,* and *Long-Haired Iopas* frequently refer back to other Prime-Stevenson or "Mayne" works alongside the work of other authors. One notable example of this is in *Her Enemy,* wherein works by "Mayne" appear in multiple stories as a reference point for queer literature[15] In a similar manner, "Mayne" analyzes Prime-

[14] Edward Irenaeus Stevenson, "When Art Was Young: A Romance in Two Parts: Part I," *The Christian Union* 28, no. 18 (November 1, 1883): 359-360 and "When Art Was Young: A Romance in Two Parts: Part II," *The Christian Union* 28, no. 19 (November 8, 1883): 386-387. Revised and expanded as "Aquae multae non--," in *Her Enemy* (Florence: Privately Printed, 1913), 18-49.

[15] An aphorism, supposedly from Mayne, appears as a epigram to "Aquae multae non—," and the character Dayneford has books by Mayne (alongside Ellis and Krafft-Ebing) in his library in *Out of the Sun.* Prime-Stevenson, *Her Enemy,* 18 and 357.

Stevenson's adventure novels for romantic subtext between their young male protagonists in *The Intersexes.*[16] Gifford argues for a reading of these intertextual moments as a form of in-joke for those lucky few readers who were close enough to Prime-Stevenson to comprehend references to "Mayne" (and vice versa).[17]

It is possible, however, that this was not merely an exercise in self-indulgence or narcissism. The connections between Prime-Stevenson's and "Mayne's" works also serves as an attempt to bridge the gaps in his historical sources and artistic claims. By appealing to "Mayne" as a sexological expert or Prime-Stevenson as a literary figure in places where supporting evidence for queer readings was lacking or unclear, Prime-Stevenson could blur the boundaries between the various sources for his musical-sexual and historical knowledge: his own experiences, gossip, subversive readings of mainstream sources, and authoritative research. While he sometimes appeared to disavow personal anecdotes and biographical details in favor of musical observations, the bulk of his queer musical-sexual knowledge relies on a conflation of interpretation or analysis with sexology, composer biography (both "official" and rumored), ideas about listening and musical emotion, and personal experience in ways that cannot be easily disentangled or corroborated in other sources.

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[16] To make matters even more convoluted, someone (again, probably Prime-Stevenson himself) submitted a number of Prime-Stevenson's boys' novels and sentimental fiction to Magnus Hirschfeld for inclusion in the bibliography of works related to homosexuality published in the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* just before the time that "Mayne" published *Imre.* This reveals that Prime-Stevenson was thinking back about his fiction in connection with sexology for some time before the "analyses" of his novels in *The Intersexes.* See the entry for "Many Waters" (attributed here to "E. Irenaeus Prime-Stevenson") in Numa Praetorius [Eugène Wilhelm], "Nachtrag zur Bibliographie. III. Belletristisches," *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen mit besonderer Berucksichtigung* 3 (1901): 516. This bibliography was compiled before "Xavier Mayne" made his first appearance and contains four entries by Prime-Stevenson: the boys' novel *Left to Themselves,* and the short stories "A Great Patience," "Many Waters," and "Weed and Flour." All three of these short stories appear in his short story collection *Her Enemy.*

[17] James Gifford, "Introduction" to Edward Prime-Stevenson, *Imre: A Memorandum* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Literary Texts, 2003), 25.

This construction of a framework of historical sources is also evident in Prime-Stevenson's interest in establishing himself as much as he could as a voice in both music criticism and sexology, despite both his withdrawal from professional music criticism and complete lack of medical training. In *Imre* and *The Intersexes,* Prime-Stevenson gives "Mayne" some vague medical credentials, claiming a friendship with Krafft-Ebing and an authority to publish Oswald's and Imre's story that legitimate his interest in "simisexuality" (one of his many preferred terms) as a historical subject. The surviving press materials for *Iopas* and *Repertory* likewise emphasize Prime-Stevenson's authority as a *belle-lettriste* and the positive response to his work from both his fellow critics and the general public. Present-day legitimacy reinforced his readings of past sources and interpretations as artistically and historically valid in a time period where more definitive sources were hard to find. It also reflects the deeply personal nature of many of the self-published works, which were often dedicated to people Prime-Stevenson knew or admired. In creating or recreating an approach to history, literature, and music in his own image, Prime-Stevenson could revisit particular themes decades after the fact and with both old and new readers in mind.

Queering the Canon: Musicality, Biography, and Listening in *The Intersexes*

The piecemeal and self-referential nature of Prime-Stevenson's research is perhaps best seen in his work as "Mayne." *The Intersexes* contains some 700 pages of information documenting all that the author was able to compile on the history, subcultures, and experiences of "simisexual" men and women. Given his literary and artistic interests, the bulk of the volume is given over to accounts of prominent simisexuals in history, literature with simisexual themes, and reworkings of sexological case studies for nonscientific readers. "Mayne" quotes extensively from poetry

and fiction with same-sex themes, including lengthy excerpts from Prime-Stevenson's novels and translations of works otherwise only available in French or German. Through this persona, "Mayne" thus presents an unusual example of an artist explaining for a select readership the secret messages to be found in apparently mainstream works. As we shall see, however, neither "Mayne" nor Prime-Stevenson confine the question of secret programs to their own writings.

While "Mayne" was far from the only sex reformer or sexologist of his time to discuss music and performance in the context of sexuality, his discussions of music and drama differ markedly from the approaches taken by the more sexologically-minded Magnus Hirschfeld and Havelock Ellis. Hirschfeld and Ellis deal with "musicality" more generally as a congenital trait in their case studies and analyses, compiling data on the supposed number of inverts engaged in musical and dramatic professions.[18] By contrast, "Mayne" seems to suggest more of a specifically simisexual way of experiencing music. He divides his analysis of music in *The Intersexes* into three main subheadings: "the neurotic source of music," "music as an eternal sphynx of art," and "considerations of music and simisexualism."[19] The first section focuses primarily on general notions of music and "nerves," influenced by early psychological research into "neuroticism" and "neurasthenia," but the second is more concrete, and consists largely of a detailed list of the kinds of music he associated with homosexuality—complete with reprinted anecdotes about simisexual identification with individual composers and pieces. One presumes that he either derived these from his own experiences or from other members of his international social circle. Only one of the figures "Mayne" names in his section on "music and drama and

[18] See, for instance, the case studies on musicians compiled in Magnus Hirschfeld's *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes* (Berlin: Marcus, 1914), 509-511.
[19] Note: As discussed in Chapter 3, the Pathic/Pathetic/Pathétique reference is a pun on a slang term for sexual passivity. Xavier Mayne [pseud. Edward Prime-Stevenson], *The Intersexes* (Rome, Florence, or Naples: Privately Printed, 1908 or 1909), 395-399.

uranianism" (a term for male homosexuality borrowed from Hirschfeld) remains an utterly unsurprising figure in current queer musical histories. His account of Tchaikovsky resonates with similar gossip about Tchaikovsky found in Rosa Newmarch's Tchaikovsky scholarship and E.M. Forster's *Maurice* (see Chapter 3), not to mention ongoing debates a century onward about the construction of Tchaikovsky in musicology, criticism, and biography:

> The death of the brilliant and unhappy Russian composer Tschaikowsky has been affirmed (if denied with equal conviction) as a suicide, not a sudden illness, in consequence of terror of a scandal that hung over him—a relative being spoken of as the persecutor. Some homosexual hearers of Tschaikowsky's last (and most elegiac) symphony, known as the "Pathetic" claim to find in it such revelations of a sentimental-sexual kind that they have nicknamed the work the "Pathic" Symphony. Brahms and the colossal Bruckner have been characterized as "the ultimate voices in a homosexual message by symphonic music"; even if one sub-consciously uttered.[20]

Here, one observes the importance of musical-sexual gossip in both "Mayne's" and Prime-Stevenson's research. He begins with the common biographical rumors of suicide and symphonic autobiography (or confession) circulating in a variety of musical circles during the 1890s and 1900s, but quickly moves into the realm of hidden listening practices: "the homosexual hearers" of the *Pathétique.*

By starting with Tchaikovsky as an "accepted" creator of queer musical meaning, "Mayne" grounds his more distant claims about other symphonic works and composers. The "hearers" (among whom, one assumes, Prime-Stevenson numbered himself) are one of his recurring primary sources for building a queer musical canon, and their experiences of certain types of music are even more central to his arguments than biographical evidence taken from composers' lives. Based on the possibilities of "revelations of a sexual-sentimental kind," Mayne includes a number of composers within his queer canon who might be more surprising to the

[20] Ibid., 396-397.

twenty-first-century musicologist or concertgoer. He suggests an alternate narrative of Beethoven's famously unhappy relationships with women and his nephew Karl, proposing that:

> Composers present homosexual types: during either all their lives, or a portion of them. The supreme secret of the noble-natured and moral Beethoven seems to have been an idealized homosexualism. In Beethoven's sad latest days, can be traced a real passion for that unworthy nephew Carl: who, it is said, once sought to extort money from Beethoven, on threats to disclose an [sic] homosexual relationship![21]

"Mayne's" queer reading of Beethoven, while brief, is multifaceted. His opening claim that "composers" generally present homosexual types can be interpreted either in terms of biographical details or in terms of musical interpretation. As with Tchaikovsky and the *Pathétique*, "Mayne" suggests an unusually direct parallel between biography and music in moving towards a simisexual reading of Beethoven's Piano Sonata, op. 111. While he shies away from specific musical details, he claims that the piece "is often called among German and Austrian Uranians, 'the Uranian Sonata,' from some legendary 'in-reading' of the work."[22]

This claim is extraordinary in its brevity, scope, and vagueness. The use of the term "Uranian," originally adapted from Plato by German jurist and sex reform campaigner Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, ties "Mayne" to an international, upper-class, and educated network of homosexual men, including Edward Carpenter and John Addington Symonds. Both the biographical and musical "in-reading" rely heavily on uncited listening and performance practices. Initially, it might be easy to dismiss this remark as wishful thinking or musicological quackery on Prime-Stevenson's part, a sort of queer counterpart to the perennial debates that crop up about the Immortal Beloved. Prime-Stevenson, however, is not the only source for homoerotic—or, at least, homosocial—readings of Beethoven's music and politics. While "Mayne" spells out his reading of Beethoven more overtly than many of his contemporaries, one

[21] Ibid., 396.
[22] Ibid., 396.

finds traces of his claims in other sources, especially in relation to queer reclamations of the piano as a gendered and eroticized domestic instrument. Edward Carpenter's political and artistic writings reveal something like "Mayne's" supposed in-reading of Beethoven's piano sonatas in his focus on brotherhood and the importance of the piano. Carpenter, for instance, saw in Beethoven's biography and works (especially the piano sonatas) ties to his own democratic and socialist ideals. As one of "Mayne's" readers and a frequent writer on both sexual and artistic subjects, Carpenter recognized the potential for sympathetic readings of artistic and literary works. In his *The Intermediate Sex,* Carpenter cites *Imre* alongside Havelock Ellis, Marc-André Raffalovich, and Richard von Krafft-Ebing in a series of comments on sexual selfhood, including the narrator's remarks that "I had half-divined it in the music of a Beethoven and a Tschaikowsky before knowing facts in the life-stories of either of them—or of an hundred other tone-autobiographies."[23]

Although Carpenter departs from "Mayne's" readings of queer musical genius, seeming to separate "thorough-going Uranians" from "the highest eminence in this art," he shares his emotional approach to musical-sexual identification:

> As I have already hinted, the Uranian temperament (probably from the very fact of its dual nature and the swift and constant interaction between its masculine and feminine elements) is exceedingly sensitive and emotional; and there is no doubt that, going with this, a large number of the artist class, musical, literary or pictorial, belonging to this description….Art again, in its various forms, and music, exercise much attraction….As to music, this is certainly the art which in its subtlety and tenderness—and perhaps in a certain inclination to indulge in emotion—lies nearest to the Urning nature. There are few in fact of this nature who have not some gift in the direction of music—though, unless we cite Tschaikowsky, it does not appear that any thorough-going Uranian has attained to the highest eminence in this art.[24]

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[23] The fact that Carpenter is able to cite Xavier Mayne in 1908 also reveals something of Prime-Stevenson's distribution channels. Xavier Mayne [Edward Prime-Stevenson], *Imre: A Memorandum,* as cited in Edward Carpenter, *The Intermediate Sex: A Study of Some Transitional Types of Men and Women* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1908), 168.

[24] Edward Carpenter, *The Intermediate Sex,* 109-111.

Carpenter's own interest in Beethoven and the piano as potential sites of sympathetic understandings takes on a more complex role than does "Mayne's" brief description. In his memoirs, he frames his amateur compositions and love of Beethoven's piano sonatas as reflective of a lifelong frustration with the ways in which music and musicality (by way of the piano) were gendered as feminine in his bourgeois family during his and his sisters' childhood education:

> Only three or four subjects of interest stand out in my memory as belonging to my school-days, and these all lay outside school proper. The earliest of these was music. At the age of ten I desired mightily to learn the piano; but music was not considered appropriate for a boy—besides there were six sisters who had to be taught, poor things, whether they liked it or not—and so my appearance on the music stool was treated rather as an intrusion, and I was generally hustled off again forthwith. However I got my way by playing late of an evening, when they were all upstairs in the drawing-room; I never had any regular teaching, but my mother took pity on me and taught me my notes; and from that time I stumbled through the "Marche des Croates" and the "Nun's Prayer" till at last I emerged on the far borderland of Beethoven's Sonatas.[25]

As an adult, Carpenter used the piano as an important vehicle for self-expression, as well as for expressing political and social ideals across lines of sexuality, gender, and social class. Many contributors to a memorial Festschrift for him—including sexologists Havelock Ellis and Edith Lees Ellis, sex reform advocate George Ives, novelists and fellow music lovers G. Lowes Dickinson and E.M. Forster, and musicologist Edward Dent—noted his love of music, penchant for playing duets (especially Beethoven), and eccentric decision to keep his piano not in a parlor, but in the kitchen. Edith Ellis explicitly connects the piano to Carpenter's promotion of free love and breaking down of gender and class barriers, interspersing stories about Carpenter's awareness of feminism and respect for so-called "women's work" into a discussion of his appreciation for music:

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[25] Edward Carpenter, *My Days and Dreams: Being Autobiographical Notes* (New York: Scribner, 1916), 23-24.

> When I have stayed with Edward Carpenter in his little home near Sheffield, what has always struck me most is the way the apparently incongruous in his atmosphere appears orderly and reasonable. In the little kitchen, where we eat and talk, there is a piano. It seems quite in place, though in our kitchens it would probably appear absurd. I remember smiling to myself one night when I sat between Carpenter and his factotum and friend in one [probably George Merrill]. One was mending his shirt, and the other a pair of socks…His belief is that what a woman can do a man can always share…When he neither sews nor smokes but plays Chopin, a curious realization comes over one that there is no difference in the arts of love, music, stocking-mending, or redeeming.[26]

In Carpenter's own writings, he clearly viewed his own interest in music in general and Beethoven specifically as aligning with both his socialist politics and sense of the social role of "intermediate" men and women. In *Angel's Wings: A Series of Essays on Art and its Relation to Life*, he presents a series of analyses of Beethoven's symphonies and piano sonatas based around the ideas of Beethoven the republican and artistic prophet (roles which many of Carpenter's associates, including Edward Dent, also ascribed to Carpenter himself). Carpenter also pays particular attention to what he sees as potential psychological or biographical explanations for Beethoven's compositional decisions. In a discussion of the Piano Sonata No. 14, op. 27/2, Carpenter considers the climax not merely in sexual-religious terms, but also in light of an "indescribable" aspect of Beethoven's personality:

> It is a kind of orgasm in music; it is the flash of lightning which relieves the overburdened rain-clouds. Or again it is like the rending of a veil which has long hemmed us in—the revelation of a new world. In a moment of intense excitement we are suddenly carried out of all relation to any one keynote; the tragic burden of the melody, with all its overstrained feeling, rolls off, and we break through into (what shall we say?) a state of Liberation, of boundless Expansion—somehow strangely expressed by this fluid protean chord.
>
> There is something more than music in all this. In those strange climaxes of feeling, sometimes connected with sex, sometimes with religious or other emotions, which occur to everybody, and in which one is suddenly swept beyond all the ordinary relations of

[26] Edith Lees Ellis predeceased Carpenter. Her contribution to the volume was taken from a series of lectures on his philosophy and politics that she gave in the UK and US and submitted by Havelock Ellis. Mrs. Havelock Ellis [Edith Mary Oldham Lees Ellis], "Personal Impressions of Edward Carpenter," *Edward Carpenter: In Appreciation*, ed. Gilbert Beith (London: Allen and Unwin, 1931), 56-57.

> life, the individual consciousness appears to be (for a moment!) exchanged for some other and more far-reaching state of being; it would seem that Beethoven—whose emotional nature was of course so profound, so far-reaching—experiences these moments with such a force that he could distinctly portray them in his music. It is just possible he quite consciously did so.[27]

For Carpenter, the historical facts of Beethoven's life are perhaps secondary to the deeply personal experience of hearing, playing, and analyzing his music alongside like-minded friends and associates.

To return to the question of Prime-Stevenson's attempt to queer Beethoven's biography, however, one can read some of his more mainstream musical commentary in light of these points of conversation with figures like Carpenter, Dent, and the Ellises. In a foreword to a selection of Beethoven's letters published in the thirty-volume anthology *The World's Best Literature*—published in 1895, years before "Mayne's" observations about Beethoven and Karl in *Imre* and *The Intersexes*—Prime-Stevenson framed the literary Beethoven as someone who could be "read" in both his letters and music in much the same way that "Mayne" experienced instrumental music as containing special hidden meanings:

> His correspondence holds up the mirror to his own nature, with its extremes of impulse and reserve, of affection and austerity, of confidence and suspicion. It abounds, too, in that brusque yet seldom coarse humor which leaps up in the Finale of the Seventh Symphony, in the Eighth Symphony's waggery, the last movement of the Concerto in E flat. They offer likewise verbal admissions of such depressions of heart as we recognize in the sternest episodes of the later Sonatas and of the Galitzin Quartets, and in the awful Allegretto of the Symphony in A. They hint at the amorous passion of the slow movements of the Fourth and Ninth Symphonies, at the moral heroism of the Fifth, at the more human courage of the "Heroic," at the mysticism of the Ninth's tremendous opening. In interesting relation to this group, and merely of superficial interest, are his

[27] Edward Carpenter, "Beethoven and his Earlier Sonatas," in *Angels Wings: Essays on Art and its Connection to Life* (London: Sonnenschein and Co., 1898), 160-161.

> hasty notes, his occasional efforts to write in English or in French, his touches of musical allusiveness.[28]

This alignment of music and biography, while more effusive than "Mayne's" observations in *The Intersexes,* highlights some of what both Prime-Stevenson and "Mayne" find interesting about Beethoven. Prime-Stevenson's description of "depressions of heart as we recognize in…the later" might well be a reference to the "Uranian" aspects of the Op. 111. Both accounts of Beethoven reveal a keen interest in the composer as a moral figure, who reveals much of himself in his work. The letters that Prime-Stevenson introduces are also telling as to what he saw as Beethoven's true self. In addition to the famous "Immortal Beloved" letter and Heiligenstadt Testament, Prime-Stevenson chose a selection of letters that depicted Beethoven in a close-knit musical and social community, rather than as a stormy solitary genius. This approach aligns well with Carpenter's reading of Beethoven as socialist hero.

In the arrangement of letters, Prime-Stevenson presents Beethoven speaking of embracing his friends and apologizing for quarrels and estrangements. Although much of the language in these letters aligns with early nineteenth-century epistolary etiquette, it is hard not to imagine Prime-Stevenson reconsidering them in light of his own interpretation of Beethoven's sexuality. This is particularly true of the final letter Prime-Stevenson includes in the chapter, to Stephan von Breuning:

> *My dear and much loved Stephan:*
> May our temporary estrangement be for ever effaced by the portrait I now send. I know that I have rent your heart. The emotion which you cannot fail now to see in mine has sufficiently punished me for it. There was no malice towards you in my heart, for then I should be no longer worthy of your friendship. It was *passion* both on *your* part and on *mine*; but mistrust was rife within me, for people had come between us, unworthy both of *you* and of *me.*

[28] E. Irenaeus Stevenson [Edward Prime-Stevenson], "Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827)," in *The World's Best Literature,* vol. 3, ed. John Cunliffe and Ashley Thorndike (New York: Knickerbocker; Toronto: Glasgow, Brook, and Co., 1917), 1750.

> My portrait was long ago intended for you; you knew that it was destined for some one—and to whom could I give it with such warmth of heart, as to you, my faithful, good, and noble Stephan?
> Forgive me for having grieved you, but I did not myself suffer less when I no longer saw you near me. I then first keenly felt how dear you were, and ever will be to my heart. Surely you will once more fly to my arms as you formerly did.[29]

While Prime-Stevenson does not here provide any commentary on the letter to von Breuning, the emphasis on masculine romantic friendship and estrangement projected by this arrangement of Beethoven's writings is a recurring theme that Prime-Stevenson observed in his more autobiographical fiction. As both Beethoven's lifelong friend and later guardian of his nephew Karl, von Breuning could have served as a point of evidence for Prime-Stevenson's "Uranian" reinterpretation of Beethoven's life and works.

If it is all a deliberate subversive reading of Beethoven's biography and politics, however, why then appeal to what the unnamed "German and Austrian Uranians" supposedly heard in the music? What is the purpose for Prime-Stevenson in making a claim at all about "homosexual messages" in symphonic music? The idea of a "Uranian Sonata" is wrapped up in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century readings of piano sonatas and musical domesticity as a locus of intimate, potentially queer musical experiences, as well as in a primarily biographical conflation of Tchaikovsky and Wilde with Beethoven as simultaneously models and cautionary tales for the queer artist. Richard Taruskin and Malcolm Hamrick Brown have both analyzed how the myths of Tchaikovsky's suicide and the so-called "court of honour" around his alleged relationship with a young aristocrat are more indicative of a homophobic approach to queer musical biography in Anglophone musicology and criticism in the first half of the twentieth

[29] Ibid., 1762. Prime-Stevenson uses Lady Grace Wallace's translation, published in London by Longmans, Green, and Co. in 1866.

century than of any specific instance from Tchaikovsky's life.[30] When it comes to "Mayne's" and Carpenter's readings of Beethoven and Tchaikovsky in similar terms, however, the myths of blackmail, cross-generational and incestuous relationships, and the threat of ruin seem less a "punishment" for his subjects' sexuality than a reworking of familiar tropes from 1890s sex scandals to suit a writer and readers searching for a history of homosexuality in its reclaiming of negative or ambiguous sources in order to construct queer meaning.

All of this could be done, however, without trying to find some kind of musical meaning. I see Prime-Stevenson here as setting up the question of symphonic music as a carrier of hidden meanings more generally in order to justify moving beyond Tchaikovsky and a dependence on biography. This in turn serves as a kind of underlying support for his more strictly musical claims about Brahms, Bruckner, and Wagner, in an awkward attempt to observe sympathetic listening practices that do not easily align with the musical homologies traditionally associated with queer musical biography. He writes that various symphonies by Brahms and Bruckner "have been characterized as 'the ultimate voices in a homosexual message by symphonic music,' even if one subconsciously uttered."[31] These statements open up a wealth of questions about "Mayne's" sources, Prime-Stevenson's musical experiences and education, and the exchange of musical-sexual gossip at the turn of the twentieth century. "Mayne" provides no citations for these claims, although he was certainly in correspondence with sexologists and sex reform activists who shared both his love of German music and his interest in simisexual men and women as keepers of hidden knowledge.

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[30] See Richard Taruskin's "Pathetic Symphonist: Chaikovsky, Russia, Sexuality, and the Study of Music," in *On Russian Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 76-104; and Malcolm Hamrick Brown, "Tchaikovsky in Anglo-American Criticism, 1880s-1950s," in *Queer Episodes in Music and Modern Identity*, ed. Sophie Fuller and Lloyd Whitesell (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 134-150.

[31] Prime-Stevenson, *The Intersexes*, 397.

More generally, Beethoven, Brahms, and Bruckner—none of whom are today traditionally considered a part of queer musical histories or biographies—nonetheless all share a few traits that "Mayne" and Prime-Stevenson found musically and personally compelling in considering simisexualism in music. All three were unmarried and had famously unconventional or complicated relationships with women. All wrote primarily "absolute" instrumental music, which lent itself well to subjective readings. Moreover, perhaps most significantly for Prime-Stevenson's professional career and recorded listening habits, all three wrote music that was frequently performed in New York City in the 1890s and decades later available on phonograph records.

While the canonical status of "Mayne's" "bachelor composers" might at first seem an unusual quality in an author seeking non-normative readings of music, that very status may have facilitated the "legendary 'in-reading'" in the first place. By framing the sexual (and simisexual) elements of music in *The Intersexes* as a "sphynx," whose riddles can only be answered by a select few, "Mayne" argues that the "otherness" of both absolute music and simisexuality allow for sympathetic communication.[32] Unlike many twentieth- and twenty-first-century attempts to "queer" mainstream cultural artifacts, "Mayne" does not claim to be subverting dominant readings of the canon, but rather suggesting an even more exclusive form of knowledge wherein only those who know what Beethoven's piano sonatas or the symphonies of Bruckner, Brahms, and Tchaikovsky are "really about" truly comprehend the music.

"Absolute" instrumental music lends itself much better to "Mayne's" preferred method of interpretation via empathy and gossip than opera; however, "Mayne" does devote some space to one operatic work popular in European and North American queer circles: Wagner's *Parsifal*.

[32] Ibid., 396.

Unlike his discussion of instrumental music, which relies mostly on unsubstantiated gossip and (one assumes) personal musical experiences, "Mayne's" discussion of male simisexuality (and sexuality in general) in Wagner's works refers to specific sources:

> Wagner's music-dramas can be directly an agent of seduction; of loss of sexual control and self-poise. A noted European physician, a dionysian-uranian [sexological term for bisexual], once told the writer that a performance of *Tristan and Isolde* was always sufficient to excite him sexually, and that he knew many individuals on whom Wagner acted as an aphrodisiac. A distinguished French student of psychiatrics has stated that the Bayreuth Wagner Festivals represent a kind of homosexual forcing-house. This topic has been treated by the philosophic art-writer Kufferath. Wagner himself, with adroit audacity, chose a covertly homosexual subject for his ripest and most sensuous music-drama, *Parsifal*. A fine study of this matter has been written by the well-known American critic James G. Huneker, in an American periodical, in course of a *Parsifal* analysis, unfortunately not printed entire in the authour's [sic] studies as collected in book-form.[33]

Prime-Stevenson's homoerotic readings of *Tristan und Isolde* and *Parsifal* draw heavily from sexological writings, including those by Oskar Panizza and Magnus Hirschfeld, as well as the work of his fellow critic, James Gibbons Huneker, who was fascinated by the contrast between the proper world of New York opera audiences and the sensuality and eroticism of Wagner's works. Prime-Stevenson refers to Huneker's then-unpublished "fine study" of *Parsifal* (actually a translation of Panizza's "Bayreuth und Homosexualität"), but at several points in his letters, Huneker writes of wanting to shock uptight New York clergymen and society matrons by telling them the "real story" of Wagner, Ludwig II, and *Parsifal*.[34] It is likely that Prime-Stevenson and

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[33] Ibid., 398.

[34] These connections show Prime-Stevenson's access to German sexology began around the turn of the century. The questionnaire at the end of *The Intersexes* (including the question on the reader's fondness for Wagner) is adapted from one circulated by Hirschfeld from 1899 onward, the results of which led to the publication of *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes*. Panizza's "Bayreuth und Homosexualität" was published in 1895. Oskar Panizza, "Bayreuth und Homosexualität," *Die Gesellschaft* 11, no. 1 (1895): 88-92. For more on Huneker's views on *Parsifal*, see the discussion of the controversy over the Met performances of *Parsifal* outlined in Arnold Schwab, *James Gibbons Huneker: Critic of the Seven Arts* (Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press, 1963), 147. Huneker's unnamed "fine study" of *Parsifal* is presumably the manuscript entitled "Bayreuth and Homosexuality, ca. 1895" held by Dartmouth College. MS-299, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 9, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College.

Huneker may have corresponded on this topic during the 1900s, although, with the exception of an autographed portrait Prime-Stevenson inscribed to Huneker in 1909 and the inclusion of Prime-Stevenson in Huneker's address book, no documentation of this meeting was preserved in the collection of Huneker's papers at Dartmouth.[35]

The "noted European physician" and the "distinguished French student of psychiatrics" serve as a bridge between the totally subjective stories of simisexual responses to instrumental music and the direct citations of studies by Kufferath and Huneker.[36] They are anonymous, although it is possible that the European sexologists included among Prime-Stevenson's limited readership—among them, Magnus Hirschfeld and Albert Moll—would have recognized them from these descriptions. It is possible, for instance, that the "distinguished French student of psychiatrics" is Marc-André Raffalovich, who wrote prolifically in French on homosexuality during the 1890s and whose *Uranisme et unisexualité* (1896) provided a model for "Mayne's" literary and artistic study of homosexuality. Raffalovich's discussion of music and inversion begins with an analysis of the supposed connections among Wagnerism, musicality more generally, and sexual inversion in German-speaking countries. While Raffalovich discounts the "easy and stupid" one-to-one correspondences made by some observers between musicality and sexual inversion, his focus on musical inversion in German-speaking countries and his critical engagement with Hirschfeld's writings and activism suggests his work may have influenced "Mayne's" thoughts on the subject.[37] By placing these mentions at the end of the section, "Mayne" gives the whole section a more solid air of scholarly legitimacy, even if most of his

[35] See "Guide to the Papers of James G. Huneker, 1867-1972," MS-299, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College.
[36] "The philosophic art writer Kufferath" is perhaps the Belgian music critic Maurice Kufferath, author of *Le théâtre de Richard Wagner: de Tannhäuser à Parsifal. Essais de critique littéraire, esthétique et musicale* (1891-1899).
[37] See Marc André Raffalovich, "Musique et inversion," in *Uranisme et unisexualité: étude sur différentes manifestations de l'instinct sexuel* (Lyon and Paris: Bibliothèque de criminologie, 1896), 185-189.

actual citations are of anonymous sources and untraceable hearsay. These citations—like "Mayne's" claim to medical credentials and friendship with Richard von Krafft-Ebing—mask Prime-Stevenson's personal investment in queer Wagnerian subcultures in general and in the Bayreuth Festival in particular. As Mitchell Morris observes, the appeal of Wagner's tales of forbidden love and semi-hidden knowledge of (and gossip around) the composer's own "cross-gender identification" and relationship with Ludwig II among homosexual Wagnerians in Germany and abroad all served to construct a "Wagner framework…a central means through which sexuality could be constructed and articulated."[38] While both "Mayne's" and Prime-Stevenson's musical references certainly draw on this framework in discussions of Wagner's *Tristan* and *Parsifal*, it seems as though his more speculative considerations of the likes of Beethoven, Brahms, and Bruckner represent an attempt to apply that framework to other composers in the German canon, blending the alleged hyper-subjectivity of nineteenth-century instrumental music with homosocial and homoerotic re-readings of composer biographies.

The Beginnings of Musical Time Travel: *Long-Haired Iopas* and the Music Criticism

Some twenty years after the publication of "Mayne's" works, Prime-Stevenson returned to his earlier music criticism in the anthology *Long-Haired Iopas*, which included essays and poetry on musical subjects. While based on his more mainstream work, *Iopas* was, like the Mayne books, self-published and distributed by Prime-Stevenson to an extremely limited readership and a few select bookstores. Although the essays in *Iopas* cover some of the same territory as "Mayne's"

[38] Mitchell Morris, "Tristan's Wounds: On Homosexual Wagnerians at the Fin-de-Siècle," in Sophie Fuller and Lloyd Whitesell, eds, *Queer Episodes in Music and Modern Identity* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 273-274.

discussion of music and musicians—the "musical temperament," the connections between composers' lives and works, and the social function of concert-going for audiences, composers, and critics—Prime-Stevenson's overt discussions of sexuality are unsurprisingly more limited. In the book's "Overture," he attempts to distance his criticism from biography and anecdotes, claiming that these would be so numerous as to overwhelm the reader and detract from his critical lens, writing "such and countless other *personalia* have been ruled out of these leaves."[39] Nonetheless, just as biography (and autobiography) are inescapable as sources of musical-sexual knowledge in *The Intersexes*, the humanity of great composers, the desire to connect with the past, and the specter of queer biography all appear again and again as support for Prime-Stevenson's search for musical meaning throughout *Iopas.*

The repetition and self-reference at play here between "Mayne" and Prime-Stevenson and within the potential queer meanings lurking behind Prime-Stevenson's accounts of music criticism, composer biography, and audience experience serve as an attempt to merge Prime-Stevenson the music critic with "Mayne" the sexological historian. They also seem to reflect some of Prime-Stevenson's moments of watching his music criticism turn into documents of historical events.

It is perhaps relevant in this latter case that Prime-Stevenson uses the term "simisexual," which appears only twice in *Iopas,* in a discussion of the increased popularity of Wagner's *Parsifal* in New York and Prime-Stevenson's theories on Wagner's intentions for the work at Bayreuth:

> It [*Parsifal*] was given its complex and curious course as a drama, it was infused with solemnly picturesque symbolism of the Catholic Church (Wagner himself being a kind of Protestant-Agnostic), it was packed full of theological mysticism—all for explicating at Bayreuth. Also it was evolved especially in the way of a certain subject a good deal

[39] Edward Prime-Stevenson, "Overture," in *Long-Haired Iopas: Old Chapters from Twenty-Five Years of Music-Criticism* (Florence: Privately Printed, 1927), x.

> discussed just now by notable European psycho-medical specialists—male simisexualism, introduced into the opera expressly as an adroit homage to that unhappy type of royal music-patrons and music-amateurs, Ludwig II, of Bavaria, personally much interested in the problem.[40]

Note that how, when writing under his own name, Prime-Stevenson describes Ludwig II's and Wagner's interest in simisexualism in connection with the acknowledged experts ("notable European psycho-medical specialists"), much the same carefully neutral language he used in his *Who's Who* entry. A few pages later, Prime-Stevenson reflects with confusion on the intense passion many New York women concertgoers have for *Parsifal*, given the opera's message of the hero rejecting the advances of women. This discussion of gender and sexuality is, despite Prime-Stevenson's insistence that further tangents are impossible, actually longer than "Mayne's" treatment of the work in *The Intersexes*:

> By-the-bye, it seems a trifle curious that women, though always full of odd inconsistencies in their psychology and intellects, do not reflect, while they are rapturously and devoutly entering into a music-drama of the intro-construction of *Parsifal*, that they are admiring what, in every essential of its strange esoterism, has been written on a psychic basis hinting a continuous insult to woman as a sex; to suggest the mischief of woman's sexual and social relationships to life. The present discussion hardly could become the vehicle of more than briefest necessary allusion to a subject like semi-monastic celibacy as a repulsion of woman, socially, spiritually, and physically. Much less can there be here any analytic digression about male simisexualism, ever a psychic problem of profound importance, socially, ethically, and legally; one to which, until within relatively a recent period, much to little public attention was given by the intelligent lay-public, as distinguished from certain groups of professional specialists in psychopathy. Enough to say here that the topic presents, in all connections, aspects particularly repugnant to the typical feminine, in every class of society. It is essentially the rejection of woman as completely a sexual superfluity (except in her maternal functions); and with womankind in general to be regarded as chiefly a derogatory of created humanity,--the usurper of sex-importance and social deferences to which she is by no means entitled naturally. Female auditors of *Parsifal* should read, for instance, what is but one item on a long list—Dr. Oscar Panizza's valuable study of Parsifallan sex ethics.[41]

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[40] Prime-Stevenson, "Parsifal in New York…?" in *Long-Haired Iopas*, 122.
[41] Ibid., 124-125.

In this rambling passage, Prime-Stevenson reveals some of the complexities and limits of his queer canons. It is obvious first and foremost that Prime-Stevenson views the default opera-goer as male, doubting women's abilities to understand or empathize with characters unlike themselves. The misogynistic assumption of an informed male perspective correcting the "odd inconsistencies" of female Wagnerians is not uncommon in Wagnerian literature by men during this period. For heterosexual men, the Wagnerian woman represented a dangerous subversion of the social order and bold engagement with sexuality outside of the bonds of marriage. In gay literature, the presence of women—beyond, of course, those performing onstage—could be viewed as an incursion of mainstream society into the idealized homosocial and potentially homoerotic world of identification with Wagner's protagonists. As Philip Brett notes in his study of Edward Dent, "[he] probably would thought nothing of the fact that musicology effectively excluded women themselves along with the feminine."[42] Prime-Stevenson's critique of women Wagnerians ignores the possibility that women operagoers might have their own "legendary in-reading" of Wagner's sensuous music or that some might identify across gender lines with Parsifal's homosocial circle and celibacy in the same way that gay male Wagnerians such as Prime-Stevenson, Hanns Fuchs, and Magnus Hirschfeld identified with Tristan and Isolde's narrative of tragic heterosexual love.[43]

Both this paragraph and the section on music in *The Intersexes* conclude by referring the reader to specific sources on Wagner and simisexualism, carefully justifying Prime-Stevenson's inclusion of a popular opera within his canon and encouraging the reader to become more

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[42] Philip Brett, "Musicology and Sexuality: The Example of Edward J. Dent," in Fuller and Whitesell, eds., *Queer Episodes in Music and Modern Identity*, 182.

[43] For more on the role of women in the New York Wagnerian scene during the 1890s, see Joseph Horowitz, "Protofeminism," in *Wagner Nights: An American History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 213-239. In the realm of contemporary public musicology, music critic Alex Ross's forthcoming *Wagnerism* (Fourth Estate) will also focus primarily on the appeal of Wagner for a variety of different marginalized communities in the early decades of the twentieth century.

educated on the topic in order to unlock a heretofore hidden meaning. Prime-Stevenson's writing also considers the audience experience in more detail than does "Mayne's," even as he dismisses the experiences of those who hear a work without being properly informed.

The focus on *Parsifal* in *Iopas* also links Prime-Stevenson back to debates occurring in New York and Bayreuth around the turn of the century. While many of the essays in *Iopas* seem to date from his "freelancing" period around 1900, I have found resonances between the section on Wagner and his writings for *The Independent* from 1892-4, especially as it concerns performances of the *Ring* Cycle, Cosima Wagner's management of the Bayreuth Festival, and (controversially) the first performances of *Parsifal* in the United States. In reworking "simisexualism" and sexology into these debates, Prime-Stevenson is in effect writing "Mayne" and his interpretation of queer Wagnerism backwards into the discussion.

In other chapters, Prime-Stevenson's more direct allusions to the question of simisexuality in music require some familiarity with "Mayne's" fiction. The sole short story included in *Iopas,* "Prince Bedr's Quest," begins with an introduction from a narrator describing his and his friend Oswald's trip to Vienna and experiences as musical tourists:

> It was after another of our Viennese days, passed in prowling about what is left of Beethoven's homes and haunts in "Alt-Wien"—Heiligenstadt, the Kahlenberg, those low-ceilinged rooms in the ancient Schwarzspanierhaus. My friend Oswald and I fell upon an old Beethoven question fantasy—that is to say, how far ought imagination to interpret the Ninth Symphony; to make it a thing of definite emotional meaning, construing it as "programmatic music." Neither Oswald nor I are of kindly feeling towards confessedly "programme" scores…But we two musical idlers, particularly as real lookers-on in Vienna, are by no means the first who have become introspective of the Ninth.[44]

The connection to Vienna and the mention of Oswald suggests that the narrator is supposed to be not Prime-Stevenson himself but Lieutenant Imre von N--, the titular character in "Mayne's"

[44] Prime-Stevenson, "Prince Bedr's Quest: As Hinted in Beethoven's Ninth Symphony?" in *Long-Haired Iopas,* 45.

novel. In *Imre*, Oswald's and Imre's relationship is constructed largely through musical terms. Imre in particular scorns programmatic music (which he views as overly sentimental) for absolute music, preferring to listen to works which he sees as presenting an internal emotional world. The main source of tension in the novel comes from Imre's fears for his emotional and psychological health; at one point, he consults a "Viennese psychiater" before ultimately viewing his sexuality more generally and feelings for Oswald in particular as healthy. Here, the rare reader of both *Imre* and *Iopas* receives confirmation of the couple's happiness after the novel's end.

It is curious, then, that Prime-Stevenson chose to include this brief interlude into "Mayne's" work as the justification for an exercise in creating a musical narrative out of whole cloth. The plot of the bulk of the story—an Orientalist fantasia loosely woven into the movements of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony—has strong homoerotic overtones, featuring a Turkish prince choosing the wisdom offered by a mystic over his planned marriage, making "a sudden vow not to wed, for a long season to come—as indeed became his case. And in great gladness for the rest of his long life—though the gladness was one that he never explained to anyone whomsoever."[45] By including Oswald and Imre in "Prince Bedr's Quest," Prime-Stevenson not only links his fiction and music criticism, but also reverses the frame story established in *Imre,* wherein the romance is mediated by a "memorandum" supposedly sent by Oswald to "Mayne" in the hopes that he will publish their story.

Here, Prime-Stevenson presents Imre and Oswald without comment from "Mayne," apparently attending concerts together in Vienna. Their explanation of Beethoven is something of a multilayered cipher, perhaps reflective of "Mayne's" German and Austrian Uranian gossip

[45] Ibid., 57-58

about Beethoven. In order to explain the Ninth Symphony, Prime-Stevenson turns to "Mayne's" correspondents, who in turn refer not to a German story, but an exotic fable. Any hidden meaning Prime-Stevenson might find in the Ninth is thus projected into multiple fictional and foreign voices. There is the layer of the Ottoman Prince Bedr's ideas of pseudo-Eastern mysticism and suggestions of a Foucauldian *ars erotica* in his attraction to the dervish. Imre von N—'s framing narrative creates the additional construct of the Hungarian military man, who despises programmatic music but nonetheless cannot help but find meaning in Beethoven's work, perhaps due to its coded simisexual identity. [46] What, exactly the reader is supposed to glean from the two narratives at play in "Prince Bedr's Quest"—or, for that matter, from listening to the Ninth Symphony after reading the story—is thus a puzzle box of shifting allusions and hidden meanings. All three of the subjects of "Prince Bedr's Quest"—Imre, Beethoven, and Bedr—also require an imagined trip backwards in time, to the turn of the twentieth century, the 1820s, or the eighteenth century.[47] The metafictional framing device also reinforces "Mayne's" pretense in the foreword to *Imre* that Imre and Oswald are real and that "Mayne" is only an independent and sympathetic third party. It is possible that the ultimate connections could only be made by Prime-Stevenson himself.

A more concrete link between Prime-Stevenson's music criticism and "Mayne's" simisexual reading of the German canon is found in the third essay, "Four Musical Sons of Vienna (Schubert, Brahms, Johann Strauss, Bruckner)." Two of the essay's four subjects—

[46] "Mayne" links Magyar music and simisexualism in both *Imre* and *The Intersexes.* "Mayne" is far from the only homosexual author of his time to link Hungarian ethnicity, musicality, and homosexuality; the title character in the infamous pornographic novel *Teleny, or, The Reverse of the Medal*, is a Hungarian pianist. Gifford suggests that the character of Imre—athletic, beautiful, musical, hypervirile—might have been for Prime-Stevenson "a fantasy masturbation-object." Gifford, *Dayneford's Library,* 108.

[47] Neither Imre nor Prime-Stevenson gives the date in which "Prince Bedr's Quest" is set, although Imre's introduction acknowledges it as an homage to Johnson's *Rasselas,* and the alternation of "exotic" descriptions with philosophical dialogue is similar to Enlightenment artistic renderings of non-Western philosophies.

Brahms and Bruckner—are mentioned by name in *The Intersexes,* while a third, Schubert, fits Prime-Stevenson's interest in bachelors and the problem of reading biography into music. The discussions of Brahms and Bruckner's instrumental music emphasize the same sort of subconscious musical "utterance" through which "Mayne" finds musical-sexual meanings and communities. For Prime-Stevenson, Brahms's instrumental music appeals primarily to men and "only particular types of women" due to its "virility"—as Ruth Solie has observed, a favorite term for those of Prime-Stevenson's generation seeking "manliness" in music.[48] The focus on a message, however, is more reflective of "Mayne's" understanding of the "ultimate voices in a [male] homosexual message," promoting an almost supernatural form of emotional appeal:

> As for the speech of his orchestral scores, an intensive concentrated masculinity appears with fine appeal. Men not distinctly musical sometimes bear witness to this factor in Brahms. Said a concert-goer of the more robust sex, the other evening, in quitting the hall, at the end of Brahms' First Symphony, "I don't know Brahms's music half-well, I'm not musician enough. But he says things—he *says* things—I don't know just how to tell you what the things are; but I don't think that anybody since Beethoven has had as much to say to a man."[49]

Prime-Stevenson goes on to consider particular moments in Brahms symphonies wherein he detects "this personal element of musical utterance, these mystic, *clairvoyant* suggestions."[50] This aspect of Brahms's musicality is, according to Prime-Stevenson and "Mayne," both innate and secretive. It could be understood in terms of some intangible aspect of the listener's gender or sexuality, but also not inherently obvious to all. One could, according to Prime-Stevenson, be a great admirer of Brahms and still not be privy to his works' emotional depth. Alternately, as

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[48] Ruth Solie, "Manly Music: Reading Victorian Language," in *Word, Image, and Song,* vol. 2: *Essays on Musical Voices,* ed. Rebecca Cyprus, Beth Glixon, and Nathan Link (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2013), 243-254.
[49] Prime-Stevenson, "Four Musical Sons of Vienna," in *Long-Haired Iopas,* 32.
[50] Ibid., 32.

seen in the preceding passage, one could completely lack musical appreciation and yet intuit some kind of hidden meaning.

The reference to "particular types of women" also holds significance for the history of lesbian and gender non-conforming women in music. While Prime-Stevenson does not mention Ethel Smyth, whose unconventionality and love of Brahms were equally well-known in musical circles, Smyth herself certainly saw her interest in "masculine" large-scale musical forms and "mannish" dress and behavior as connected in the public imagination.[51] In an oft-quoted passage from her memoir *As Time Went On*, Smyth famously describes her popular image in the following terms:

> Because I have conducted my own operas and love sheepdogs; because I generally dress in tweeds, and sometimes, at winter afternoon concerts, have even conducted in them; because I was a militant suffragette and seized a chance of beating time to 'The March of the Women' from the window of my cell in Holloway Prison with a toothbrush; because I have written books, spoken speeches, broadcast, and don't always make sure that my hat is on straight; for these and other equally pertinent reasons, in a certain sense I am well known.[52]

This description of a woman who writes operas, dresses in tweeds, gets arrested, and speaks her mind has often been analyzed in biographical and feminist literature in terms of the sexological categories of the "mannish" female invert.[53] In published accounts of Smyth from her lifetime, commentators (especially those from outside of England) were more inclined to associate her "eccentricities" with her upper-class background and nationality. Tchaikovsky in particular

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[51] For historical sources on the connections between Smyth, Brahms's influence on large-scale orchestral forms, and lesbianism, see Rachel Lewis, "Ethel Smyth and the Emergence of the Lesbian Composer," in *Sapphists and Sexologists: Histories of Sexualities*, vol. 2, ed. Sonja Tiernan and Mary McAuliffe (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2009), 208-226.

[52] Ethel Smyth, *As Time Went On* (London: Longmans, 1936), 288.

[53] As Lewis discusses, however, Smyth herself was reticent to identify with any sort of category, even within circles of like-minded women Virginia Woolf, for instance, expressed dissatisfaction that Smyth's voluminous memoirs did not actually use the word "lesbianism." Lewis, "Ethel Smyth and the Emergence of the Lesbian Composer," in *Sapphists and Sexologists: Histories of Sexualities*, 208-226.

considered her love of Brahms and large dogs in this light, remarking upon them together his tour diary:

> Since no Englishwoman is without her originalities and eccentricities, Miss Smyth had hers, which were: the beautiful dog, which was quite inseparable from this lonely woman, and invariable announced her arrival, not only on this occasion, but at other times when I met her again; a passion for hunting, on account of which Miss Smyth occasionally returned to England for a time; and, finally, an incomprehensible and almost passionate worship for the intangible musical genius of Brahms. From her point of view, Brahms stood on the supreme pinnacle of all music, and all that had gone before him served merely as a preparation for the incarnation of absolute musical beauty in the creations of the Viennese master.[54]

In a further letter to Smyth, included in her memoir *Impressions that Remained,* Tchaikovsky also brought up Brahms in a somewhat joking manner, remarking that "In Hamburg, I passed an entire day with *your idol*…JOHANNES BRAHMS!!! He was charming to me. He's a very kind man, even though my appreciation of his talent does not correspond with yours."[55]

Schubert presents a slightly more difficult case for Prime-Stevenson's biographical project. Although he sees Schubert's personality as largely uninteresting, Prime-Stevenson draws attention to "his quiet but profound affection for a few people, and certain passing sentimentalities, of psycho-sexual complexion that were more or less inspirational, however brief."[56] This sentence perhaps constitutes one of the earliest allusions to speculations about Schubert's sexuality. As Scott Messing notes in the second volume of *Schubert in the European Imagination*, while Schubert does not appear in many German-language texts on music and

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[54] As with several of Tchaikovsky letters and music criticism, Rosa Newmarch translated this anecdote from Tchaikovsky's life into English in 1900. One wonders what Newmarch, who was acquainted with Smyth, made of Tchaikovsky's comments on the originality and eccentricity of Englishwomen. Newmarch's literary interactions with Smyth and Tchaikovsky here certainly add another layer to queer readings of her role as musicologist and translator. P.I. Tchaikovsky, "Diary of My Tour in 1888," in Rosa Newmarch, *Tchaikovsky: His Life and Works: With Extracts from his Writings, and the Diary of his Tour Abroad in 1888* (London: G. Richards, 1900), 194.
[55] P.I. Tchaikovsky, Letter to Ethel Smyth, 11 April 1889, reproduced in Ethel Smyth, "Appendix VI," in *Impressions that Remained: Memoirs of Ethel Smyth* (New York: Knopf, 1946), 489.
[56] Prime-Stevenson, "Four Musical Sons of Vienna (Schubert, Brahms, Johann Strauss, Bruckner)," in *Long-Haired Iopas,* 27.

homosexuality, various sexologists, novelists, and activists did make mention of several of his friends, including Schober, Schwind, and Grillparzer. Messing does not cite Prime-Stevenson's "Four Musical Sons of Vienna," although he does make a brief reference to "Mayne's" description of German sexology and pairing of Beethoven and Tchaikovsky as examples of Uranian composers. Messing's argument, however, that the popular perception of Schubert's life as "so insignificant for an understanding of his inner world" prevented sexologists from exploring homosocial or homoerotic aspects of his life and works resonates with Prime-Stevenson's dismissive view of Schubert's biography in an otherwise passionate appreciation of his music.[57]

Prime-Stevenson's information on Schubert, as with Beethoven, appears largely to have come from firsthand conversations and German medical-historical writings. This gossip obviously long predates Maynard Solomon's controversial interpretation of Schubert's relationships with "peacocks" and the so-called Schubert debate of the 1990s.[58] It also outlived both Prime-Stevenson and the sexologists to spread beyond specific musical communities as part of a broader canon of gay genius; in the 1970s, Lou Harrison told *Gay Sunshine* that "the gay world has always known about Tchaikovsky, of course, and there have been rumors about Schubert and his friend."[59] Decades after Prime-Stevenson first observed—and, one presumes,

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[57] Scott Messing, "Schubert, Modernism, and the Fin-de-Siècle Science of Sexuality," in *Schubert in the European Imagination*, Vol. 2: *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2007), 133.
[58] For an overview of the major figures in this debate, see Lawrence Kramer (ed.), *Schubert: Music, Sexuality, Culture*, special issue of *19th-Century Music* 17, no. 1 (1993).
[59] Harrison, cited in Gavin Butt, *Between You and Me: Queer Disclosures in the New York Art World, 1948-1963* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 63. Another informal gay reading of Schubert's biography is found in the entry on him in Martin Greif's *The Gay Book of Days*, which concludes "That he himself was gay is more than likely. There is no evidence to prove otherwise." Martin Greif, *The Gay Book of Days: An Evocatively Illustrated Who's Who of Who Is, Was, May Have Been, Probably Was, and Almost Certainly Seems to Have Been Gay During the Past 5000 Years* (Secaucus, NJ: Main Street Press, 1982), 33.

participated in—"legendary in-reading" of musical lives and works, queer musical gossip still had the power to cobble together community histories.

Although his queer canon-making contributed to a sense of international and historical musical-sexual communities, his writings on music criticism and audiences reflect a level of elitism, even (reading between the lines) within queer musical circles. Towards the end of *Long-Haired Iopas,* in an essay on "Criticism in a Mist," Prime-Stevenson dismisses the insufficiently musical Wagnerite in terms that are both highly gendered and potentially queer:

> One of the many recondite and noteworthy aspects of Wagner's music, and of bad singing in it, and of avid interest in it, is the fact that men and women without ears for true song, without warm appreciation (often with none) for other and purer music,--frequently people who have never cared a straw about music through their lives—develop the most passionate interest in Wagnerian music-drama…The reason of their making such distinction, and therewith of fancying themselves musical, is the sexual appeal, the neurotic spell, of Wagner. It has caught hold of a large section of its clientage fairly pathologically. Ancient virgins, splenetic spinsters, temperamental widows, "wretched, un-idea'd girls," collegians in the full flush of unpracticed virility, too self-contained bachelors of advanced years—the "sex-seduction" of Wagner, which has mysteriously a great deal to do with his music, has allured these latecomers and newcomers into the harmonic highway.[60]

This narrative of secret and recovered knowledge intersecting with written sources as the key to true musical appreciation connects many of the essays in *Iopas* back to *The Intersexes*, reinforcing a kind of musical-sexual knowledge (even if only hinted at) through repetition and cross-referencing. Despite the fact that most of *Iopas* is adapted from his pre-Mayne journalism and clearly based on his own experiences as critic and audience member, it is noticeable how consciously non-autobiographical Prime-Stevenson's work is, even when he has total control over his readership. This secret knowledge almost never connects one step further to Prime-Stevenson, who, even in works intended for his dearest friends, tends to keep himself at arms'

[60] Prime-Stevenson, "Criticism in a Mist," in *Long-Haired Iopas,* 385.

length from his subject. In the "Overture" to *Long-Haired Iopas,* Prime-Stevenson explains the changes astute readers might notice between the essays and poems collected in this volume and their previously published forms, noting enigmatically that "also, in some cases, I have restored here passages which were cut out of the original texts, in their proofs. The histories of such cancelations (frequently made 'by editorial request') would add curious and edifying reading; but there are bars to offering it here, even now."[61] Prime-Stevenson was perpetually frustrated by the limits of publishing and what was considered publishable. Despite the size of *The Intersexes,* cost and "the circumstances in which the book (after so long a delay) is put to press" forced him to omit a planned complete bibliography and index of his sources.[62]

Only readers who familiarized themselves with his voluminous literary output might see something of the author's personality and social circle in the more reflective chapters of his musical writing. The textual relationship across his output also provides a bare-bones outline of at least part of his social circle, largely due to his abundant literary references, occasional mentions of colleagues who shared his interests, and dedicatees. These sources provide valuable insight into what knowledge Prime-Stevenson assumed of his readers and connections between his criticism and fiction, as well as which of his works Prime-Stevenson saw as a monument to his multifaceted career.

The Dedicatees: Constructing a Community

In his two major "anthological" works, *Iopas* and the short story collection *Her Enemy,* Prime-Stevenson dedicates each chapter to a different person, giving us a hint of people he knew and respected. As Prime-Stevenson left few surviving personal documents that were not carefully

[61] Prime-Stevenson, "Overture," in *Long-Haired Iopas,* vii.
[62] Prime-Stevenson, *The Intersexes,* 641.

curated for publication; those which have survived are largely found through references to his various colleagues and correspondents. It is clear, however, that both his public and private writing was intended for specific musical and social networks that occasionally intersected. We can see hints of this private-public web through the dedications in *Long-Haired Iopas*, the full list of which is reproduced in Appendix 4.

In some cases, there is an apparent link between the dedicatee and the topic of the essay, particularly when the individual was nationally or internationally famous, as in the case of the essay on women violinists dedicated to Wilma Norman-Neruda (Lady Hallé)'s stepdaughter. In other cases, the dedicatee may simply have been a family member or friend with whom Prime-Stevenson wished to maintain a connection while abroad, as with Kate Stevenson. Additional dedicatees seem to have been music-lovers who hosted Prime-Stevenson as a lecturer, since—in a rare use of footnotes—he indicates that three of the essays contain "by passages, the substance of one of a series of platform-talks, dealing with the professional musician's duties, and with problems of a practical musical life."[63]

Taking the dedicatees as a whole, we can also observe some family and professional ties across Prime-Stevenson's international network, suggesting that many of his friends and colleagues (especially those known for particular artistic or literary contributions themselves) may have known of own another's work and reputation, even if they did not know one another personally. The number of dedicatees who would have known of Prime-Stevenson's dual life as "Mayne" is difficult to reconstruct; that said, Woodberry, Dent, and some of Irene Stoddard Hoffman's relations certainly knew of both Prime-Stevenson's and "Mayne's" books. Prime-

[63] These essays are "Prospero's Wand," "Lyre and Easel," and "Harnessing the Hippogriff." Prime-Stevenson, *Long-Haired Iopas*, 349.

Stevenson also sent Woodberry a copy of *Her Enemy*, which linked *Imre* to Prime-Stevenson's more publicly-known sentimental tales of heterosexual love.

Relatively few dedicatees from *Long-Haired Iopas* were also recognized in *Her Enemy*; the exceptions seem to have had close family ties (the Truslows and Stevensons) or possible romantic connections to Stevenson (Flagler and potentially Vuerchoz). Although Vuerchoz's connections to Prime-Stevenson are unknown, his inclusion in *Her Enemy* is suggestive. "Aquae multae non—" appears in Hirschfeld's bibliography of literature on homosexuality under the English title "Many Waters," features the same epigram which opens *Imre* ("The friendship which is love, the love which is friendship"—attributed here to "Mayne"), and depicts a tale of envy, reconciliation, and love between two young composers in seventeenth-century Rome.[64]

Curiously, none of the essays are dedicated to the two critics mentioned by name in *The Intersexes:* Huneker and Kufferath. While there were certainly personal concerns in linking Prime-Stevenson and "Mayne" too intimately—even in a work largely aimed at a small, sympathetic circle—both had also died prior to 1927 (Kufferath in 1919 and Huneker in 1921), and Prime-Stevenson uses posthumous dedications sparingly.[65] Sometime after the printing of *Iopas*, Prime-Stevenson apparently considered dedicating "Where the Mastersingers Sang" (dedicated in the printed version to Lucy Prindle Love) to Huneker, although the annotations in his copy of *Iopas* do not reveal the reasoning behind this change.[66]

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[64] See the entry for "Many Waters" (attributed here to "E. Irenaeus Prime-Stevenson") in "Nachtrag zur Bibliographie. III. Belletristisches," *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen mit besonderer Berucksichtigung* 3 (1901): 516.

[65] Huneker does receive a dedication in *Her Enemy* for "The Yellow Cucumber: A Nightmare," a satire on the New Woman, mythology, and gender roles that could well be a response to Huneker's depiction of scandalous, sexually active women artists in his novel *Painted Veils.*

[66] All copies of Prime-Stevenson's self-published books were signed and numbered by him. Copy #77 of *Iopas* contains several annotations in pencil added by Prime-Stevenson sometime between the book's printing in 1927 and his donation of this copy to Dartmouth College in 1938, Prime-Stevenson, annotation to "Where the Mastersingers Sang," in *Long-Haired Iopas* #77, 87.

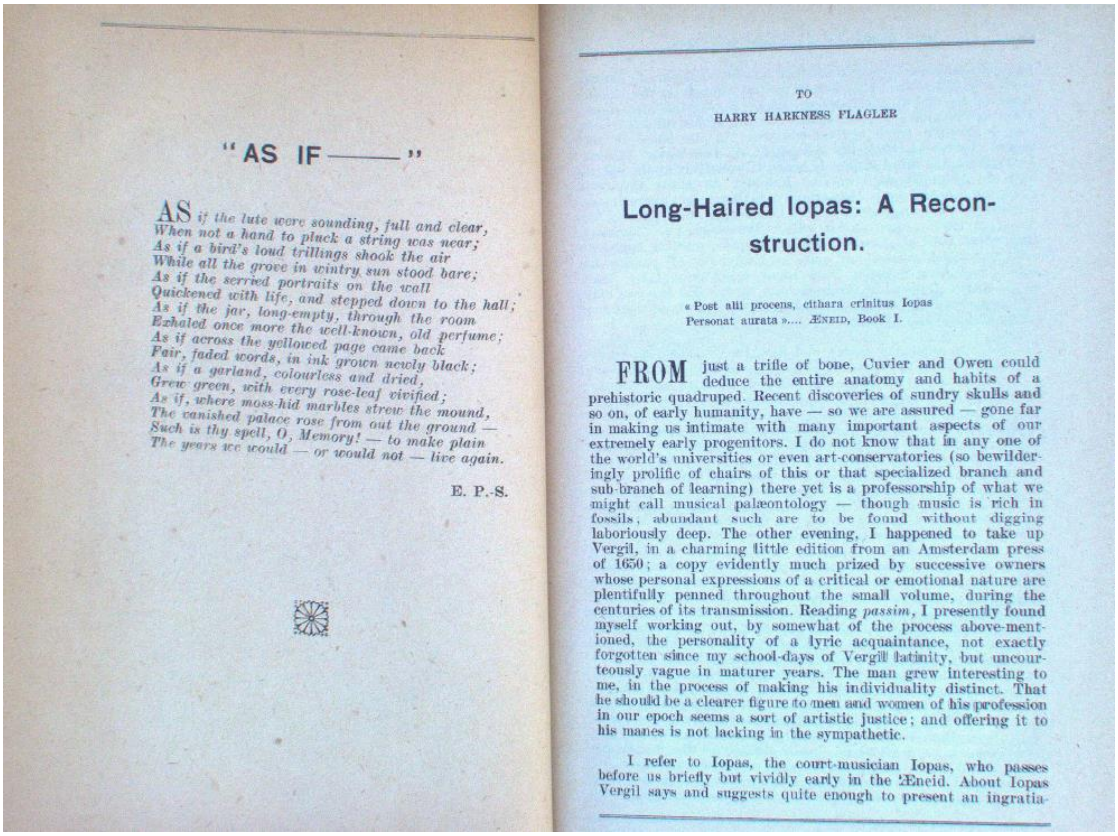
A further dedicatee, Irving Schwerké, was publicly known for his role as an American critic in Paris during the 1920s and 1930s. Schwerké's musical tastes differed strongly from Prime-Stevenson's--he was a supporter of some types of jazz and early modernism, both of which Prime-Stevenson either ignored or disparaged. The dedication of an essay on the Bayreuth Festival to Schwerké suggests one way the two may have met or encountered one another's criticism (both Schwerké and Prime-Stevenson spent time in Germany in the late 1920s); however, the bulk of Prime-Stevenson's essay is about the Festival of 1899, when Schwerké was only six years old. This decision suggests Prime-Stevenson's fixedness in his criticism, remaining firmly in the nineteenth century while seeking to acknowledge a more recent acquaintance and looking forward to the future of the Wagnerian pilgrimage to Bayreuth.

Returning to the matter of Prime-Stevenson himself, while none of the essays are particularly autobiographical, at least two might be read as more directly linking the public "Prime-Stevenson" with the private "Mayne." The opening essay, "Long-Haired Iopas: A Reconstruction," elaborates musically on themes that appear throughout Prime-Stevenson's fiction and nonfiction: the reconstruction of a lost past through hints and speculation. Although ostensibly focused on recreating the life of Iopas from Virgil's *Aeneid*, the essay is actually a meditation on the conflict between the emotional and practical life of the musician.

Perhaps more important than the content of the essay itself is its dedication and layout. *Iopas* opens with a poem, "As If—," that faces the first page of "Long-Haired Iopas" (see Fig. 4.3). The juxtaposition of the sentimental poem (which ends "the years we would—or would not—live again") with the dedication to Flagler and an essay on musically reconstructing the past is likely not accidental. Prime-Stevenson takes pains to mention in the introductions to *The Intersexes*, *Her Enemy, Iopas,* and *Repertory* that he was responsible for all major copyediting

and layout decisions. Gifford proposes that the memory of Flagler served as the inspiration for much of Prime-Stevenson's short fiction, in which intensely passionate friendships (of all kinds) based on a shared love of music and the potential for transcending social barriers through musical appreciation are recurring themes.[67] Although Prime-Stevenson eventually posits that Iopas had a tragic, unrequited love for Queen Dido, he spends much of the essay positioning Iopas (and, by extension, all musicians) as socially ambiguous, participating in mainstream social and political life while being separate from it by virtue of some inherent "musicality" that parallels "Mayne's" theorizing of "the musician" and "the simisexual" as distinct social types.

Figure 4.3. "As If—" and "Long-Haired Iopas: A Reconstruction," in *Long-Haired Iopas*



"AS IF ——"

AS *if the lute were sounding, full and clear,*
When not a hand to pluck a string was near;
As if a bird's loud trillings shook the air
While all the grove in wintry sun stood bare;
As if the serried portraits on the wall
Quickened with life, and stepped down to the hall;
As if the jar, long-empty, through the room
Exhaled once more the well-known, old perfume;
As if across the yellowed page came back
Fair, faded words, in ink grown newly black;
As if a garland, colourless and dried,
Grew green, with every rose-leaf vivified;
As if, where moss-hid marbles strew the mound,
The vanished palace rose from out the ground —
Such is thy spell, O, Memory! — to make plain
The years we would — or would not — live again.

E. P.-S.

TO
HARRY HARKNESS FLAGLER

Long-Haired Iopas: A Reconstruction.

« Post alii procens, cithara crinitus Iopas
Personat aurata »... ÆNEID, Book I.

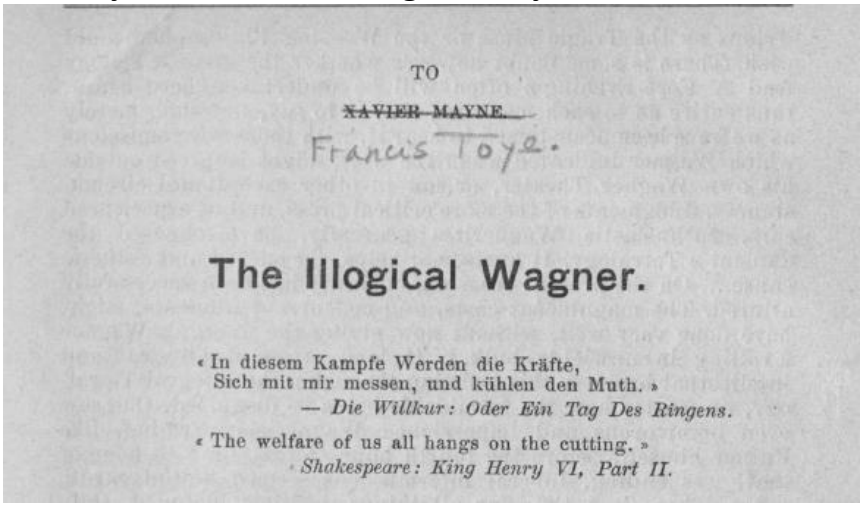
FROM just a trifle of bone, Cuvier and Owen could deduce the entire anatomy and habits of a prehistoric quadruped. Recent discoveries of sundry skulls and so on, of early humanity, have — so we are assured — gone far in making us intimate with many important aspects of our extremely early progenitors. I do not know that in any one of the world's universities or even art-conservatories (so bewilderingly prolific of chairs of this or that specialized branch and sub-branch of learning) there yet is a professorship of what we might call musical palæontology — though music is rich in fossils, abundant such are to be found without digging laboriously deep. The other evening, I happened to take up Vergil, in a charming little edition from an Amsterdam press of 1650; a copy evidently much prized by successive owners whose personal expressions of a critical or emotional nature are plentifully penned throughout the small volume, during the centuries of its transmission. Reading *passim*, I presently found myself working out, by somewhat of the process above-mentioned, the personality of a lyric acquaintance, not exactly forgotten since my school-days of Vergil latinity, but uncourteously vague in maturer years. The man grew interesting to me, in the process of making his individuality distinct. That he should be a clearer figure to men and women of his profession in our epoch seems a sort of artistic justice; and offering it to his manes is not lacking in the sympathetic.

I refer to Iopas, the court-musician Iopas, who passes before us briefly but vividly early in the Æneid. About Iopas Vergil says and suggests quite enough to present an ingratia-

[67] James Gifford, "Appendix E: From Life to Fiction," in Edward Prime-Stevenson [Xavier Mayne], *Imre: A Memorandum* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2003), 152-172.

After Flagler, perhaps the most enigmatic dedicatee of *Long-Haired Iopas* is "Mayne" himself. "The Illogical Wagner" is less concerned with the secret readings of Wagner that interest "Mayne" and more with a sarcastic critique of Wagnerites who praise everything about the *Ring* cycle without considering potential lapses in dramatic action and characterization. Unlike the case of the essay "Parsifal in New York…?", where Prime-Stevenson commented on simisexual subtext (under his own name!), the content of "The Illogical Wagner" shows little connection with "Mayne's" work on sexuality, beyond the obvious associations between Wagnerism and homosexuality that Mayne adopted from Hirschfeld's circle. In an essay aimed at critiquing what he saw as unthinking adulation for Wagner's powers as a poet and dramatist, perhaps Prime-Stevenson simply saw the reference to "Mayne" as a joke, expressing controversial musical opinions toward the persona under which he put forth far more controversial social and historical ones. Copy #77 suggests that he may have had second thoughts about linking his two personae so overtly, with "Xavier Mayne" crossed out and "Francis Toye" (the name of an English critic he knew in Florence) written underneath (see Fig. 4.4).

Figure 4.4. Dedication to Xavier Mayne and Francis Toye in *Long-Haired Iopas* #77, Courtesy of Dartmouth College Library


TO

~~XAVIER MAYNE.~~

Francis Toye.

The Illogical Wagner.

« In diesem Kampfe Werden die Kräfte,
Sich mit mir messen, und kühlen den Muth. »
— *Die Willkur: Oder Ein Tag Des Ringens.*

« The welfare of us all hangs on the cutting. »
Shakespeare: King Henry VI, Part II.

In addition to his music criticism, Prime-Stevenson intersperses poems on musical subjects throughout *Long-Haired Iopas.* He justifies their inclusion as a way of "group[ing] somewhat into sections" and "aid[ing] the effect of subject-detachment, and may vary agreeably the contents in general."[68] In the table of contents, these poems and prose interludes are designated in italics and parenthesis, suggesting the following sections listed in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1. Sectional Organization of Edward Prime-Stevenson, *Long-Haired Iopas*

Title	Format	Topic	Relevant Facing Chapter
"As If—–"	Poem	Listening practices, memory, narrative	"Long-Haired Iopas: A Reconstruction"
On The Nibelungen Tetralogy: I-IV (divided into two sections)	Poetic sequence	Wagner	"Wagner as Fabulist and Realist" and "The Illogical Wagner"
From An Address by Gaetano Negri, 1892	Prose	Verdi	"The Unfamiliar *Il Trovatore*"
French Music…Nationalism in Art (listed in-text as "Nationalism in Aesthetics")	Prose	Gounod and French Opera	"Gounod's *Faust* Considered Thematically"
Violinismo	Poem ("From Alciphron and Clelia, Canto II")	Virtuosity	"Women and the Violin: Lady Hallé (Wilma Neruda): "The Grand Style"
The Band Plays On	Poetic sequence	American music and public behavior at concerts	"Wanted: An American National Hymn"
Serenata Sdegnosa	Poetic dialogue between "The Lover" and "The Wind"	Reprinted public lectures on the composer in society	"Prospero's Wand"

[68] Prime-Stevenson, "Overture," in *Long-Haired Iopas,* ix.

Dion's Song in the Prison Tower	Poem ("From Alciphron and Clelia, Canto I")	Aesthetics and music criticism	"The Infallible Guide"
The Minstrels: An Apologue	Poem	History and the looming twentieth century	"Finale: This Other Century (1900)"

These intermezzi are a mix of external references, original poetry, and self-quotation. Prime-Stevenson curiously treats them as independent from the rest of the volume; while the vast majority are by him, he always credits the author (often as "Ed. P. St.--" or E.P.S.). This is a habit of his, also present in his use of epigrams, self-quotations, and shorter poems in *The Intersexes, Her Enemy,* and *One Hundred Symphonic Programmes.* Furthermore, the poetry ties his musical and literary interests in much the same way that his prose allusions connect his music criticism to "Mayne's" sexology. "Violinismo" and "Dion's Song in the Prison Tower," for instance, are perhaps the only surviving excerpts from Prime-Stevenson's narrative poem *Alciphron and Clelia,* included in the list of Prime-Stevenson's work in the front material for *One Hundred Symphonic Programs* but believed lost by Gifford.[69] Prime-Stevenson's poetry attempts to replicate the musical experience through a wide variety of forms. Certain poems seem to connect more directly to specific essays and general trends across Prime-Stevenson's literary output than to the overall sectional breakdown of the book. "As If—," for instance is closely tied thematically to "Long-Haired Iopas," but also to the ideas of memory and loss present in "Once, But Not Twice," "Out of the Sun," and *Repertory.*

Because most of the poems and essays included in *Iopas* are reprints, the reader experiences an odd sense of time over the course of the book. While Prime-Stevenson is apparently speaking to the reader now, he maintains some temporal markers from the original

[69] Prime-Stevenson, Title Page for *One Hundred Symphonic Programs.* Gifford, "Untraced Works," in Prime-Stevenson, *Imre,* 190.

versions of the essays, noting in one instance that "Anton Bruckner died yesterday" and in another observing the crowds at "this year's" Bayreuth Festival.[70] This chronological dislocation between moments in the 1890s and the publication of *Iopas* in 1927 joins Prime-Stevenson, his dedicatees, and the reader in a musical moment that is both historically situated and outside of time.

Once, But Not Twice?: *Repertory* as the Culmination of Nostalgic Wanderings

When Prime-Stevenson shifts from writing about particular concerts to recordings, the possibility for his readers uniting across temporal and geographical distance expands greatly. Unlike *Her Enemy* and *Iopas* with their scattered references, *Repertory* contains few outward signs of being connected to his research on the history of sexuality. Described on the title page as "for public auditions of the orthophonic phonograph-gramophone: with a prefatory on programme-making and conducting," the work presents several paradoxes in its scope and intent.[71]

Ostensibly, *Repertory* is a guide to music appreciation and listening that grew out of a series of combination lecture-phonograph listening sessions (dubbed "auditions") that the author held in his hotel suite in Florence.[72] Despite this supposedly public goal, the book was privately printed and distributed (like *Imre, The Intersexes, Her Enemy,* and *Long-Haired Iopas*).

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[70] Prime-Stevenson, "Four Musical Sons of Vienna," and "Baireuth: Performances and Promises," in *Long-Haired Iopas*, 39 and 105.

[71] Prime-Stevenson, *A Repertory of One Hundred Symphonic Programmes* (Florence: Privately Printed, 1932), title page.

[72] The back matter to *Repertory* includes an article from the English-language newspaper the *Italian Mail* recounting the location, programs, and format at Prime-Stevenson's auditions. The article is unsigned, but it seems likely given the writing style and venue (a few of Prime-Stevenson's self-published books were printed under the *Mail's* auspices) that it was authored by Prime-Stevenson himself.

Although many of Prime-Stevenson's favorite composers are included, there is precious little about the grouping of his programs that immediately suggests these concerts as reproducing his "queer canon." Nonetheless, the book is significant for the lengthy dedication to Flagler and for Prime-Stevenson's thoughts on the value of the phonograph for private and semi-private musical gatherings. Beyond that, taken alongside works like *The Intersexes* and *Iopas,* it can be understood as the culmination of Prime-Stevenson's attempts to disentangle his own experiences of symphonic music from pure biographical readings.

Although the phonograph erases the bodies of the performers, Prime-Stevenson's guide brings into clearer focus the presence of the auditors and the "conductor" of the gramophone recital, promoting "shadow-conducting" (so long as it does not distract from the music), encouraging discussion of the works and their connections, and emphasizing the auditory and spiritual intimacy between the auditors and the composer.[73] One review of *One Hundred Symphonic Programmes* in *Music and Letters* questioned Prime-Stevenson's instructions because "the blessing of the machine, for many, is precisely this absence of the distracting human form."[74] Even as Prime-Stevenson instructs the "conductor" on how to guide the listeners through his record collection, however, he cautions against centering the conductor over the experience of listening. To this aim he also promotes a quasi-mystical intimacy between listener and composer, one which is unencumbered by the distracting atmosphere of the concert hall:

> For, one of the supreme qualities of a gramophonic concert, as contrasted with hearing the same music from an orchestra in a concert hall, is the superior intimacy, closeness of attention, fixedness of interest, absortion [sic] of all that the music means and conveys to ear and psychos; as there is not any of the sub-conscious distraction of attention that is inevitable in a public concert-hall, for the auditors….It is worthwhile to remember that when music is heard in presence of a public audience, the message of a master-musician

[73] Ibid., 25-30.
[74] Scott Goddard, "*A Repertory of 100 Symphonic Programmes*. By Edward Prime-Stevenson. Florence: The Giutina Press (privately printed),"*Music and Letters* 14, no. 4 (October 1933): 391.

> is to others, as well as to you; but when you are hearing, just by yourself alone, then Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Brahms—they are speaking to you, in an individualized, personal interview, what they mean by their score. For such great honour to you, your phonograph is the mystic, faithful medium.[75]

With the exception of the commentary on how to set up phonograph "auditions" and appendices, *One Hundred Symphonic Programmes* is largely a compilation of playlists. Some are grouped thematically by composer (Mozart, Bach, Wagner, Verdi, Johann Strauss), genre ("light modern classics," "popular" classics), or nationality (Italian, French, German, Spanish), but most are a juxtaposition of different genres, composers, eras, and national styles. Some familiar names from *The Intersexes* and *Long-Haired Iopas* appear frequently, but the suggested programs do not overtly focus on his queer canon. The sole exception is perhaps found in his accounts of the actual events he hosted in Florence during 1931-1932, wherein his final program consisted of "Wagner, Brahms (from his second Symphony), and a series of Cechoslovak [sic] Folksongs."[76]

A summary from *The Italian Mail and Tribune* and reprinted in *One Hundred Symphonic Programmes* gives some sense of how Prime-Stevenson envisioned his concerts and the cultural role of phonographic listening:

> Two audiences of the numbers, social distinction and musical appreciation, which have been guests of Mr. Edward Prime-Stevenson, at his symphonic Auditions of the Orthophonic Gramophone, were present at the final recitals in his series—the sixth occurring on Wednesday, the 20th—last week—in the Hotel Washington; and the seventh, ending the series, last Wednesday afternoon, the 27th, in the Hotel Minerva.
>
> Mr. Prime-Stevenson concluded his review of his series (which has indeed been amongst the finer social and musical features of the local winter and spring) by pointing out that precisely such serial recitals, of the highest forms of orchestral repertory, offer an excellent test of just how far a social community which considers itself "very musical," proves itself as really interested in music simply as music, rather than preferring to it tea-fights, jazz, bridge (that special enemy of intellect and aesthetics), a fashion-show by a *maison de modes*, or an afternoon of idle gossiping in some smart *pasticceria*, on the Via

[75] Prime-Stevenson, *Repertory*, 26-27.
[76] Anonymous [Prime-Stevenson?], "Summary—1932," *Italian Mail and Tribune*, 30 April 1932, reprinted in Prime-Stevenson, *A Repertory of One Hundred Symphonic Programs*, 179.

> Tornabuoni…Also, in conclusion, Mr. Prime-Stevenson most justly characterized his seven Auditions as having presented, with a splendid authority and variety of symphonic effects, "those two greatest marvels and miracles of science applied to aesthetics—the Orthophonic Gramophone and electric recording." To cultured musicians, alert to perfection of scientific mechanics, such words of artistic respect and admiration seem not at all misapplied. [77]

The article is unsigned, but it might well be by Prime-Stevenson. The often unwieldy sentence structure and typography—particularly the use of guillemets in place of quotation marks—is similar to that found in Prime-Stevenson's other prose works. As with all of his privately-printed works, the idiosyncrasies in spelling and grammar are largely tied to the cost of printing and the necessity of the author to do his own copyediting (more pronounced in his works dealing with homosexuality). The *Italian Mail* also supplied the printing press for *Long-Haired Iopas*, lengthy excerpts of which appear in the second appendix immediately following this "review." The use of Prime-Stevenson's final (and most permanent) authorial persona is also consistent with other unsigned "neutral" materials probably by Prime-Stevenson, including entries in various biographical dictionaries and updates on his career and travels in British and American musical newspapers.

In addition to the lengthier passages included in the appendices, Prime-Stevenson intersperses quotations from various sources throughout the book in a manner similar to the interpolated poetry and prose quotations in *Long-Haired Iopas*, explaining that:

> The citations recurring, from the volume mentioned—miscellaneous studies and essays dealing with music and musicians—have been included in response to many requests from guests of the author, at his phonographic concerts, to which the Prefatory refers. It is hoped that such explanation may be sufficient excuse and—apology.[78]

[77] Ibid., 179-180.
[78] Prime-Stevenson, *Repertory*. 50.

While the majority of these quotes are taken from the essays in *Long-Haired Iopas,* Prime-Stevenson also includes quotations on music from Shakespeare and a couple of lengthy excerpts from Verdi's letters. Given Prime-Stevenson's description of sharing these materials with his audiences, it is likely that the "auditions" included readings from Prime-Stevenson's music criticism, poetic dialogues and narrative poems, and (perhaps) fiction. The reprints of his public lectures in *Long-Haired Iopas* and late publication *Dramatic Stories to Read Aloud* (1924) demonstrate his love of speech as a form of performance. This would also explain the inclusion of poetic and dramatic texts in *Long-Haired Iopas,* as well as some of his more unusual approaches to musical narrative and tangents on music history in essays that began as speeches.

In the preface, Prime-Stevenson repeatedly attempts to justify the book's publication by citing "urgent requests…that a discreet publicity of the large repertory on which I have drawn for my programmes, may advisably be made; for the use of a wider contingent of auditors."[79] At times, however, Prime-Stevenson remarks that his advice may be applied by a solitary listener, "the gramophonist himself," potentially revealing his private listening practices. A closer look at the front matter, choice of repertoire, and what little is known about Prime-Stevenson's personal life, however, suggests a close relationship between Prime-Stevenson's romantic nostalgia and love of symphonic music and his broader claims about musical-sexual knowledge,

Repertory can be seen as a revisiting of music (and people) from the past using the new phonograph technology and building on Prime-Stevenson's theories of queer musical experience, the symphony, and music appreciation. The playlists and approach to listening Prime-Stevenson espouses in *Repertory* also closely align with his earlier writings on musicality, homosexuality, and the New York symphonic scene in the 1890s. This imagined time and space existing within

[79] Prime-Stevenson, *Repertory,* 3-4.

the experience of symphonic listening also connects with other homosocial and homoerotic accounts of domestic music-making and appreciation from the early decades of the twentieth century, most notably those found in the writings of Ethel Smyth and E.M. Forster.[80]

The specific musical references in Prime-Stevenson's work are not unique to him, of course, and their inclusion in his works dedicated to specific people suggests a sort of imagined—if geographically dispersed—musical community. Literary historian Graham Robb notes the popularity of novels on the *Tristan and Isolde* subject among queer readers, but also observes that:

> The instinctive perception of sympathy—even unintended—was especially strong in music. Gay tastes were remarkably consistent. The names of certain composers appear again and again in letters and novels: Beethoven (sonatas), Chopin (nocturnes), Wagner, (*Lohengrin*, *Parsifal*, and *Tristan*), Tchaikovsky (the *Symphonie pathétique*), and fin-de-siècle French composers: Debussy, Delibes, Gounod, Massenet.
>
> The key ingredients seem to have been a melodious melancholy and something oxymoronic in the emotions: grandiose and sentimental, ostentatious and discreet. The sexuality of the composer was not of primary importance, though both Forster and Prime-Stevenon suggest that Tchaikovsky's sexuality was audibly encoded in the bars of the *Symphonie pathétique*. Music could convey quite precisely what could never be said in print.[81]

Although several scholars in musicology and word-music studies have examined the ways in which music functioned as a useful and important code within fin-de-siècle queer communities (especially those with the means and leisure time to frequent the symphony or the opera), for Prime-Stevenson, it is clear that the shared experiences of the concert hall went beyond the merely symbolic.[82] Music also played a central role in the most important known relationship in

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[80] E.M. Forster, *Maurice* (New York: Norton, 1971), 38-39, and Smyth, *Impressions that Remained*, 180.
[81] Graham Robb, *Strangers: Homosexual Love in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Norton, 2003), 228.
[82] See, for example, the chapter on queer audiences in David Deutsch, *British Literature and Classical Music: Cultural Contexts, 1870-1945* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), the comparisons between music and sexuality in Philip Brett, "Musicology and Sexuality: The Example of Edward J. Dent," in Fuller and Whitesell, eds., *Queer Episodes in Music and Modern Identity*, 177-188, and the treatment of literary depictions of musicality and homosexuality in Joe Law, "The 'perniciously homosexual art': Music and Homoerotic Desire in *The Picture of*

Prime-Stevenson's life, the romantic friendship with Harry Harkness Flagler in the early 1890s. In "Once: But Not Twice," a short story loosely based on their relationship and dedicated to Flagler, the two protagonists carry on a passionate friendship through attending the symphony and opera together and gossiping about the performers.[83] Many of the composers mentioned in the story (Beethoven, Brahms, Wagner, Schubert, and Tchaikovsky) also appear in Prime-Stevenson's writings on homosexuality. Based on Prime-Stevenson's criticism, it seems likely that the real-life concerts he and Flagler attended were largely those put on by the Seidl Society, a women's club that sponsored performances conducted by Anton Seidl from 1889-1898. Much as the patrons and conductor did, Prime-Stevenson and Flagler seem to have favored German repertoire, especially Wagner, as Prime-Stevenson's music criticism is full of references to Wagnerian opera and debates about performances of Wagner in New York. Although the two became estranged following Flagler's marriage, Prime-Stevenson continued to dedicate fiction and musical writings to Flagler, and the dedication in *Repertory* suggests that the two eventually reconciled socially, remarking upon their long acquaintance and musical appreciation "from earliest youth" (see Fig. 4.5). The dedication also notes Flagler's continued musical philanthropy and presidency of the New York Philharmonic Society, a position he held in various forms from 1914-1934.[84]

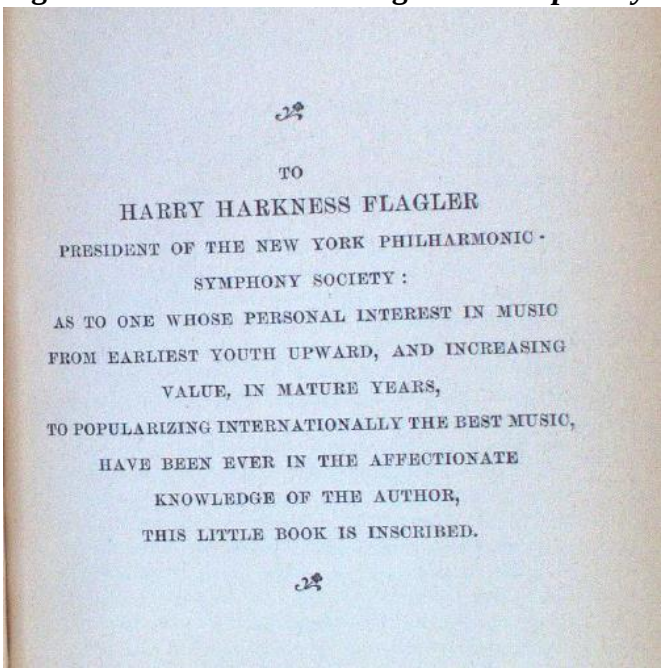
Dorian Gray and Other Fin-de-Siècle Fiction," in *The Idea of Music in Victorian Fiction*, edited by Sophie Fuller and Nicky Losseff (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 173-198.

[83] "Once, But Not Twice," like much of Prime-Stevenson's "sentimental fiction," appears to have been first published in the anthology *Her Enemy, Some Friends—and Other Personages, Stories and Studies Mostly of Human Hearts* (Florence: Privately Printed, 1913), 94-111.

[84] The New York Philharmonic merged with the New York National Symphony Orchestra and the New York Symphony Society during the 1920s. Flagler remained on the Board of Directors until 1949, when he resigned following a disagreement with the Board's vote to accept Twentieth-Century Fox's proposal for a filmed concert at the Roxy Theatre. Documents related to the entire history of Flagler's involvement with the Philharmonic are part of the New York Philharmonic Leon Levy Digital Archives, http://archives.nyphil.org/index.php/about-us (accessed November 30, 2017).

Much of what we know about Flagler's later philanthropy and private collections comes from the work of his daughter, Mary Flagler Cary, who continued his support of symphonic music in New York City. Her portion of the

Figure 4.5. Dedication to Flagler in *A Repertory of One Hundred Symphonic Programmes*



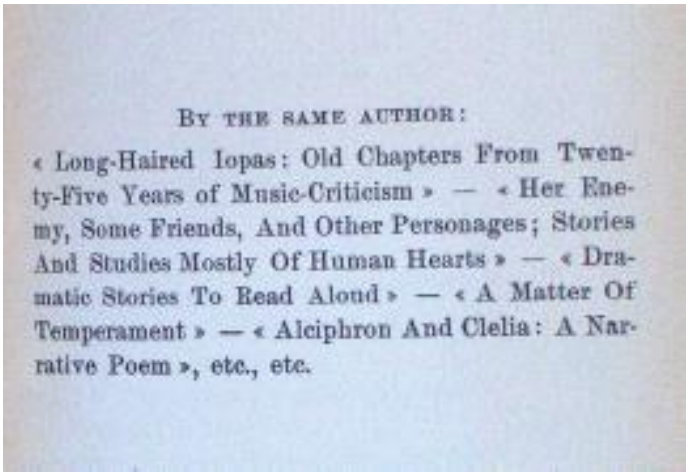
TO
HARRY HARKNESS FLAGLER
PRESIDENT OF THE NEW YORK PHILHARMONIC-
SYMPHONY SOCIETY:
AS TO ONE WHOSE PERSONAL INTEREST IN MUSIC
FROM EARLIEST YOUTH UPWARD, AND INCREASING
VALUE, IN MATURE YEARS,
TO POPULARIZING INTERNATIONALLY THE BEST MUSIC,
HAVE BEEN EVER IN THE AFFECTIONATE
KNOWLEDGE OF THE AUTHOR,
THIS LITTLE BOOK IS INSCRIBED.

The list of other works by Prime-Stevenson, a common inclusion in the front matter to his self-published books, also reveals something of his double life (see Fig. 4.6). As James Gifford noted in his study of early-twentieth century American gay literature, the lists in the front matter of Prime-Stevenson's late books reflect his use of various names across his career, perhaps suggesting a desire to unite the seemingly disparate aspects of his life in works, in the same way that his research and fiction often posited sexual secrets as the key to a seemingly disparate collection of scandals, historical anecdotes, and artistic mysteries. By including *Her Enemy*—a book that both cites "Mayne's" writings and includes more overtly queer revisions of some of

Flagler inheritance was administered after her death by the Mary Flagler Cary Charitable Trust, which operated from 1968-2009. See John R. Thelin and Richard W. Trollinger, "Case Study of the Mary Flagler Cary Charitable Trust," in *Time is of the Essence: Foundations and the Policies of Limited Life and Endowment Spend-Down: A Research Report to the Aspen Institute Program on Philanthropy and Social Innovation* (Washington, DC and Aspen: The Aspen Institute, 2009), 20-27. Some of Flagler's papers are archived at Columbia, the New York Public Library, and the archives of the New York Philharmonic, but these are largely either professional documents related to the day-to-day business of the Philharmonic or portions of Flagler's extensive autograph collection. As far as fellow Prime-Stevenson scholar Caroline Radesky and I have been able to discern, none of the "official" Flagler archives contain any documentation of his relationship with Prime-Stevenson or any further involvement in New York's queer musical circles.

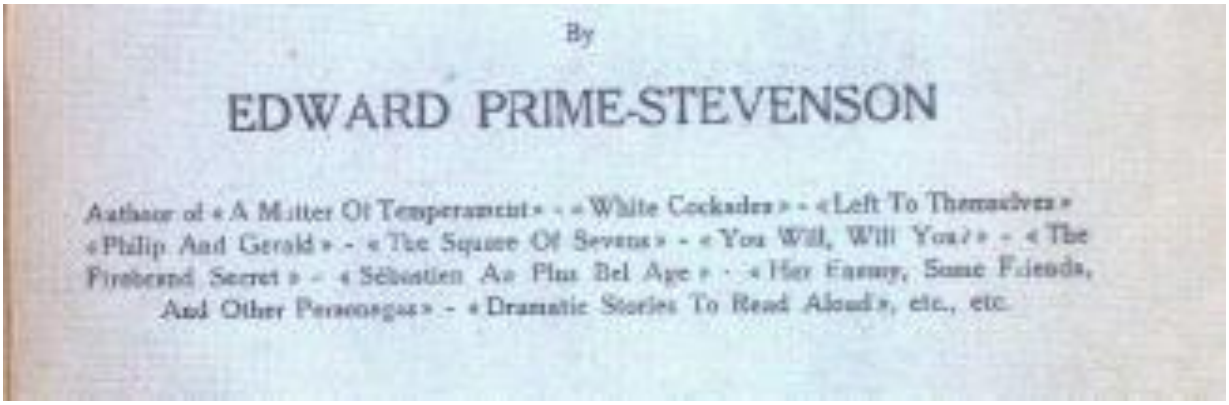
Prime-Stevenson's fiction, he appears to be suggesting that some of his readers are aware of his diverse interests and authorial personae. The works published under the name "Prime-Stevenson," while largely based on "E.I. Stevenson's" public journalism and fiction, often have some added thematic connections to those by "Mayne." As previously mentioned, Mayne analyzes Prime-Stevenson's boys' novels in *The Intersexes* and includes a snippet of poetry by him as one of the chapter epigraphs in *Imre*. Prime-Stevenson in turn includes Imre and Oswald as characters in one of the stories in *Her Enemy* and implies that Imre is the narrator of the "fantasy on Beethoven's ninth" in *Long-Haired Iopas*. Prime-Stevenson also makes indirect reference to Mayne's ideas about queer Wagnerism in two essays in *Iopas*.

Figure 4.6. "By the Same Author" in *Repertory* (1932) and *Iopas* (1927)



BY THE SAME AUTHOR:

« Long-Haired Iopas: Old Chapters From Twenty-Five Years of Music-Criticism » — « Her Enemy, Some Friends, And Other Personages; Stories And Studies Mostly Of Human Hearts » — « Dramatic Stories To Read Aloud » — « A Matter Of Temperament » — « Alciphron And Clelia: A Narrative Poem », etc., etc.



By

EDWARD PRIME-STEVENSON

Author of « A Matter Of Temperament » - « White Cockades » - « Left To Themselves » « Philip And Gerald » - « The Square Of Sevens » - « You Will, Will You? » - « The Firebrand Secret » - « Sébastien Au Plus Bel Age » - « Her Enemy, Some Friends, And Other Personages » - « Dramatic Stories To Read Aloud », etc., etc.

The preface to *Repertory* reveals some additional facets of Prime-Stevenson's approach to listening and appreciation. While the book is ostensibly a guide to replicating his audition events, his instructions are vague and contradictory, raising doubts as to whether someone could put on an audition who isn't Edward Prime-Stevenson. The events are designed for fifty to one hundred people—or just the gramophonist himself. (The limited documentation we have of Prime-Stevenson's auditions suggests that these events were smaller affairs held at the author's hotel suite.) The entire experience should take no more than an hour and a half, but the rest of the guidelines for selection of pieces of contrasting styles and historical periods, selection of appropriate readings from composers' letters, poetry, and music criticism suggest that most of the events may have run much longer in practice.

When it comes to actually listening at an audition, Prime-Stevenson's advice is contradictory. He lauds the phonograph as a vehicle for intimate connection to specific composers, works, and performances without the usual distractions of the concert hall, yet also proposes that the gramophonist "shadow-conduct" pieces with the score for the audience's edification. (In one of the few reviews of *Repertory*, Scott Goddard remarks on the disconnect between Prime-Stevenson's seeming view of the bodies of audiences and musicians in live performances as distractions and his promotion of shadow conducting, lecturing, and poetry recitation, all of which draw attention to the body of the gramophonist.)[85]

Despite the seemingly universal nature of *Repertory* as a guidebook, Prime-Stevenson elsewhere expresses strong, often elitist views on the nature of what music to listen to, as well as how to experience and appreciate it. This is made particularly clear in his discussions of Wagner

[85] Scott Goddard, "*A Repertory of 100 Symphonic Programmes*. By Edward Prime-Stevenson. Florence: The Giutina Press (privately printed)," 391.

and the 1890s New York Wagnerian scene, of which he and Flagler were a part. "Once: But Not Twice," a tragic, overly queer story which appeared in *Her Enemy* in 1913, is fixed in the 1890s, and the narrator's "musical jests and allusions and quotations" reveal not just the lovers' shared romantic and sexual connections but also a level of musical understanding beyond that of many of their fellow concertgoers.

Although Prime-Stevenson heavily promotes listening to Wagner and other German masterworks, he seems at various points to imply that many people seem to listen to Wagner "wrong," enjoying the spectacle of the production, sensuality of the music, and/or debates over the morality of Wagner and his characters without truly experiencing the power of the orchestra and singers. His nostalgia also seems to be for a particularly New York Wagnerism, and he does not sugar-coat the Wagner family in his critical writings, noting with delight Meyerbeer's sarcastic response to Wagner's anti-Semitism and tracing the financial motives for Wagner's eagerness to indulge Ludwig II's whims or Cosima Wagner's control over her husband's works and legacy.[86]

Svetlana Boym has theorized individual nostalgia (or what she terms "reflective nostalgia") as a personal desire for a connection to a lost communal history.[87] The invention of commercial recordings certainly served as a site of collective and individual nostalgia for many Americans in the 1920s and 1930s. A survey of phonograph owners conducted by Edison's marketing division in the 1920s elicited responses eliding individual nostalgia for childhood music, affiliation with the means of sound reproduction beyond a mere piece of furniture, and a

[86] "E.I.S." [Edward Prime-Stevenson], "Music," *The Independent* (November 3, 1892), "Baireuth in 1894," *Harper's Weekly* (August 11, 1894) and "Baireuth Echoes," *Harper's Weekly* (November 27, 1897). GLBT Historical Society, Allan Bérubé Papers #1995-17, Box 171.
[87] Svetlana Boym, "Reflective Nostalgia: Virtual Reality and Collective Memory," in *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 49-56.

sense of changing national identity and memory. In his study of the Edison survey alongside other accounts of phonograph usage in the first half of the twentieth century, William Howland Kenney divides private uses of the phonograph into those which resurrect older musics and those which introduce new ones.[88]

Although Prime-Stevenson largely disdained popular musics, he did associate particular types of music with a lost time. *Repertory* and the other writings dedicated to Flagler reveal something of Prime-Stevenson's personal turmoil over their estrangement and eventual reconciliation (described to their mutual friend George Woodberry as "the strange and unhappy situation"), but they also evoke a lost time and place. The music included in *Repertory* is overwhelmingly of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. While almost all of the composers mentioned in *The Intersexes* appear (with the surprising exception of Tchaikovsky), there are also several composers Prime-Stevenson enjoyed in his accounts of concerts from the 1890s without any particular queer associations or interpretations (Mozart, Verdi, Rossini). The one composer most represented in *Repertory*, however, is Wagner, whose works appear 69 times, including three "all-Wagner programmes." The inclusion of such meaning-laden works as the transformation scene from *Parsifal* and the Liebestod from *Tristan und Isolde* take on possible queer meanings in light of Prime-Stevenson's writings on sexuality and knowledge of Wagner's popularity among German sexologists.

Prime-Stevenson, whose social circle in Italy and Switzerland seems to have largely consisted of expatriate Anglophones, was largely isolated from the harsh realities of war. Late in life, however, he wrote to Woodberry of his longing for a social circle that no longer existed,

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[88] William Howland Kenney, "Two 'Circles of Resonance': Audience Uses of Recorded Music," in *Recorded Music in American Life: The Phonograph and Popular Memory, 1890-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 3-22, especially 3-11.

dispersed by war, changing financial and social fortunes, and death. Much as literary scholars have talked about the characters of P.G. Wodehouse and Agatha Christie as existing in a vague "Christie time" where the world wars made no significant impact on the lives and intrigues of the main characters, Prime-Stevenson appears to have fixed his musical tastes and idealized community in the early 1890s, no matter what else occurred.[89] Around the turn of the century, he fixed himself within his own history in another way, claiming in various dictionary entries to be ten years younger than he was (a fiction that remained in many of his obituaries), perhaps due to conflicted thoughts about his feelings for Flagler, who was ten years his junior and who was his student at the start of their association.[90] Although Prime-Stevenson drew from a wide variety of recordings and literary sources in his late books, it is important to note that his intended (if often imagined) audience remained essentially American throughout his life, even following his permanent departure from the United States. His correspondence with Philip Lieson Miller reflects his concern to keep up with the symphonic and operatic life of New York City. In this correspondence, Prime-Stevenson mentions various unpublished manuscripts in Switzerland, perhaps with the hope of getting them out of Europe (a concern also apparent in his donation of copies of his books to various public and academic libraries, including the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, and Dartmouth College Libraries).[91]

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[89] For more on Christie and the question of the popularity of murder mysteries "in an age when there were thousands of deaths out there in the real world," see Chia-ying Wu's dissertation"The Importance of Being Cosy: Agatha Christie and Golden Age British Detective Fiction" (SUNY-Buffalo, 2007).

[90] Prime-Stevenson had very strong, almost moralistic views on intergenerational relationships (especially those with other types of power imbalances), and seems to have taken pains to depict his and Flagler's relationship as egalitarian in terms of age, employment, and social class. The fictional versions of Flagler and Prime-Stevenson depicted in "Once: But Not Twice" are the same age and meet while working in a law office.

[91] See Miller, "Edward Prime-Stevenson: Expatriate Opera Critic," in which Miller mentions that he did not follow up on Prime-Stevenson's mention of unpublished works, because "I was afraid of becoming Mr. Prime-Stevenson's literary executor."

The idea of a lost time as tied to lost musical experiences is particularly potent in one of the other works dedicated to Flagler, the short story "Once: But Not Twice." Although written in the 1910s, the story is set in the 1890s, and imagines thinly-veiled versions of Prime-Stevenson and Flagler corresponding with one another, finally agreeing upon a meeting at the opera that tragically never materializes. The depiction of Douglas Macray's and Bertram Jacques's domestic and symphonic music-making aligns well with other literary depictions of homosocial or homoerotic pianistic experiences, such as that described by Ethel Smyth in *Impressions that Remained* and E.M. Forster in *Maurice.* While many literary historians, including Gifford and Robb, have noted the uses of music in scenes of queer awakening and seduction in both *Imre* and *Maurice*, it is worth expanding on the significance of this domestic symphonic space as a site of musical-sexual encounters. Across the nineteenth century (until the birth of commercial recording), piano four-hands pieces and arrangements of symphonic works served as a place of romantic musical connections as well as considerable anxiety around gender and sexuality, as Adrian Daub describes in his *Four-Handed Monsters*. Daub admits that, since the actual experiences of piano four-hands were private and ephemeral, any attempt to reconstruct their meanings through literary sources is a "questionable bridge to the past."[92]

Like Prime-Stevenson, Smyth recreates her own intimate symphonic experience decades after the fact. She describes being laid up in bed with a fever listening to Lisl von Herzogenberg play through her own arrangement of Brahms's Symphony no. 2, recalling that:

> And as I got better she used to play Bach and Brahms, including her own wonderful arrangement of the new symphony [Symphony No. 2], knocked together in a few hours from the full score lent her by him before she had ever heard a note of it—the sort of thing she did with no trouble, and made as light of as she did of her heart complaint. It was settled that though my mother must never hear of it I was really her child, that, as she

[92] Adrian Daub, *Four-Handed Monsters: Four-Handed Piano Playing and Nineteenth-Century Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 8-9

> put it, she must have "had" me without knowing it when she was eleven; all this with a characteristic blend of fun and tenderness that saved it from anything approaching morbidity, of which she had the greatest horror.[93]

Smyth uses mother-child imagery to depict intimacy while publicly erasing any erotic implications for her and Lisl's relationship.[94] This tactic fits into the series of "mothering" women and quasi-maternal relationships that Martha Vicinus identifies as part of a pattern of "[combining] adoration for an older woman with tomboyish acts that tested the boundaries of respectability" and "a complex set of relationships that met her erotic and creative needs."[95] The image of Lisl at the piano could therefore suggest the conventional domestic interpretation of a mother performing for her child or giving a piano lesson, except for the unusually high level of musicality displayed by both Smyth (writing this memoir decades later as a famous composer and author) and Lisl (able to "knock together" a piano arrangement of a symphony without having heard it).[96] Through their domestic ties, Smyth and Lisl invoke the private experience of music intended for public experience, which collapses the vastness of the symphony into an experience between only a few people and the physicality of experiencing the symphonic at the piano.

While listening to Tchaikovsky or Brahms in the concert hall might suggest a communal experience with all other people—performers and listeners—in the hall as part of publicly

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[93] Smyth, *Impressions that Remained,* 180.

[94] Elizabeth Wood unpacks Smyth's "camouflage of lesbian cause and explanation" in the accounts of Lisl her published memoirs, as well as the "contrapuntal" nature of Smyth's relationships. See Wood, "Lesbian Fugue: Ethel Smyth's Contrapuntal Arts," in Ruth Solie, ed., *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 164-183.

[95] Martha Vicinus, *Intimate Friends: Women Who Loved Women, 1778-1928* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 110.

[96] Elsewhere in *Impressions,* Smyth ties together the pair's friendship, shared musicality, and love of Brahms in her account of Brahms's response to meeting her and Lisl—"my God, children, but those are two musical women tucked away in the horrible Leipzig," and Smyth's later comment that "I was pleased that others should know the great man thought so highly of us." Smyth, *Impressions that Remained,* 304.

acceptable interpretation, the intimate, often domestic setting for private duet performance is open to much more personal musical responses. In "Once: But Not Twice," Prime-Stevenson links his characters Macray and Jacques's shared symphonic appreciation and sexual ecstasy in the experience of playing through piano four-hands arrangements, noting that "such musical evenings and the sweet sound of those orchestras and singers that fifteen years…are less tenderly green in my thought than our quiet hours of duets and extemporizing and—oh, audacious word!—composing together, in that quiet roomy second floor back we shared."[97] Prime-Stevenson's image of composition as an almost orgasmic experience parallels Smyth's depiction of Lisl's Brahms arrangement alongside her "mothering," with arrangement and composition serving as a quasi-procreative aspect of the Smyth-Lisl and Macray-Jacques relationships.

The fictional musical experiences Prime-Stevenson and Forster present are a far cry from Smyth's and Lisl's level of professionalism and musical skill. The gifted upper-class amateurs Macray and Jacques struggle together through published piano four-hands arrangements of a wide range of canonical composers, many of whom make appearances elsewhere in Prime-Stevenson's musical writing (Mozart's E Flat Symphony, Beethoven's Fifth, Brahms's Third, and various unnamed works by Schumann, Schubert, Brahms, Tchaikovsky, and Franck).[98] By contrast, Forster's classically educated Clive plays the second movement of Tchaikovsky's *Pathétique* to Maurice on a pianola (or player piano). As Michelle Fillion notes, their choice of movement (because it reminds the two of them of a waltz) and Maurice's response to the music

[97]Prime-Stevenson, "Once: But Not Twice," reprinted in Prime-Stevenson, *Imre: A Memorandum*, ed. James Gifford (Peterborough: Broadview Literary Texts, 2003), 165.

[98] Prime-Stevenson's Macray recounts that he and Jacques also collaborated on their own compositions, one of which was printed at their own expense under Jacques's name. I have been unable to track any analogue to this in the real Flagler-Stevenson relationship, although Prime-Stevenson did write some simple carols and patriotic songs for his column in *Harper's* children's pages.

reveals his inexperience.[99] Maurice's and Clive's (musical and sexual) fumbling is finally "explained" years later, when Maurice encounters his more knowledgeable classmate Risley at an orchestral performance of the *Pathétique* and learns something of Tchaikovsky's biography. At the time, their conception of the symphony and choice of movement is limited to the fact that the second movement is a dance, albeit one that Forster's more perceptive readers would have recognized as far different in character from the rest of the symphony and not necessarily an obvious choice for "jolly" home music-making.[100] Nonetheless, it is significant that Clive and Maurice experience their relationship mediated through Tchaikovsky and the experience of playing and listening at the pianola, perhaps sensing (as in Prime-Stevenson) some of the hidden meanings in the music.

In this lineage, Edward Prime-Stevenson's "auditions" might be considered the next point on the continuum, especially given the obvious expense of his own phonograph and the presumed size of his record collection. Although the phonograph does not inspire the same physical connections as the piano and pianola, the proposed emotional-spiritual connection is in line with various writings of the era emphasizing the spirituality of same-gender relationships, particularly those of Edward Carpenter. The emphasis on the spiritual over the corporeal may have appealed to Prime-Stevenson's construction of the phonograph auditions as a sort of shared listening-at-a-distance. Perhaps this also explains Prime-Stevenson's attention to detail in selecting particular recordings and movements for his programmes and use of lecturing and recitation as part of the audition process, seeing in the well-educated gramophonist and listener some of the same musical skills he and Flagler may have developed in their days of piano four-

[99] Michelle Fillion, "Tchaikovsky and the Deflowering of Masculine Love," in *Difficult Rhythm: Music and the Word in E.M. Forster* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 99-102.
[100] E.M. Forster, *Maurice* (New York: Norton, 1971), 38-39.

hands duets back in the 1890s. One gets the sense in imagining the auditions as described in *Repertory* that these events were more a guide to listening like Prime-Stevenson than a general course in music appreciation.

Wayne Koestenbaum, in his survey of the "opera at home" in the early decades of *Opera News*, notes that the phonograph was heavily promoted in opera journalism as a way for "shut-in" opera fans to experience performances from major performers and companies, with records serving as a vital point of contact for "the crippled, the infirm, the shut-in, and the pathetically lonely." This sense of isolation would also apply to those who (like Prime-Stevenson late in life) were "symbolically shut in" by geographical isolation from the concert hall[101] The individual aspect of his approach to listening moderates his embrace of phonographic technology, despite his disdain for the use of music as a background to social events at clubs and tea and bridge parties. While he adored the phonograph, Prime-Stevenson despised the radio for being too commercial, either pandering to popular tastes or attempting to shape public musical appreciation without adequately cultivating an equal level of musical knowledge. By asking his listeners to ignore the bodies of their fellow auditors and imagine an intimate connection between themselves and the composers, Prime-Stevenson paradoxically asking them to recreate a different kind of personal space beyond their physical location. His auditions were therefore communal, but also intensely individual experiences. It is unknown how far the imagined communal-individual space extended into the lives of those who actually knew him. If, as implied by the comment "or just the gramophonist himself," this was how Prime-Stevenson listened to his records while alone, it is equally likely that this was another output for his personal and musical nostalgia, imagining his associates back in New York doing the same.

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[101] Wayne Koestenbaum, *The Queen's Throat: Opera, Homosexuality, and the Mystery of Desire*, 2nd edition (New York: Da Capo Press, 2001), 76.

Conclusions: The Perils of Time Travel: Following Prime-Stevenson

Edward Prime-Stevenson is a curious figure in the entwined histories of music and sexuality. Despite his early legal studies and keen interest in the sexological writings of Krafft-Ebing and Hirschfeld, his writings on homosexuality are not focused on the traditional legal or medical approaches and arguments of those seeking sex reform measures. Despite his fascination with technology and the role of the music critic in society, much of his music criticism consistently looks backward to the nineteenth-century German masters: Beethoven, Brahms, Bruckner, Wagner—and his collection of photograph recordings and concert programs remains just as resolutely canonical. He published essays on the state of American music even decades after he had left the United States for the European continent. His various musical, fictional, and sexual writings appear under a variety of names, but he attempted to find a way to connect them through the dedications, references, and asides that appear in each. Yet these connections remain entangled within the web of pseudonyms, real and imagined publications, and occasionally tenuous claims to knowledge that Prime-Stevenson used to draw together music biography, listening, sexology, and a kind of queer musical canon.

The few contemporary critics who managed to read his musical works during his lifetime often come across as approving but puzzled, as in the case of J.A. Fuller Maitland, who remarked in his review of *Iopas* for *Music and Letters* that "there were many difficulties and delays about the production of the volume…Though the typography seems to have undergone a process of Europeanisation (at times almost to excess, as in the case of 'author'), the writer's American nationality is not disguised. For this and other reasons the book is not very easy reading, but it is well worth the trouble."[102] The small edition and uneasy attempt to disguise the author's true

[102] J.A. Fuller Maitland, Review of *Long-Haired Iopas* by E. Prime-Stevenson, *Music and Letters* 9, no. 1 (1928): 84.

identity were, of course, largely intentional. In a letter to Miller in 1939, Prime-Stevenson expressed his surprise that other critics were reading and reviewing the book, remarking:

> The fact that you even 'know-of' *Long-Haired Iopas* pleases me mightily….To my astonishment, the book—untranslated—was read, and was given such a reception by the Continental critics, as by the British and (only a few copies were sent to this side) the American, that I was dumbfounded. I expected ten lines here, and there, I was given columns and pages, by the pick of the press….Do you wonder that I have had the good sense never to write another book on music?—except my little handbook of phonographics and programme-making and conducting. And the curious aspect to me of such past interest is in the fact that *Iopas* expressly is *not* a book of reminiscences, though I have known, more or less intimately, countless personages in musical life.[103]

Despite the wide scope of his historical and critical lens, both *The Intersexes* and *Long-Haired Iopas* were aimed at a select readership of individuals who either knew Prime-Stevenson personally, had ties to his musical, journalistic, or queer networks (and sometimes all three), or had access to the few select libraries and bookstores where he allowed his self-published work to be distributed in extremely limited quantities.[104] This withdrawal from public journalism into his network of select correspondents was a way of finding a "real" audience, who would understand the meanings across his body of work without resorting to subtext.

Much as Prime-Stevenson relished the "musical archaeology" of "presently working out…the personality of a lyric acquaintance" in the titular essay in *Long-Haired Iopas,* any reconstruction of Prime-Stevenson's queer musicology and the works, ideas, and people who made it possible requires some detective work. According to Gifford, Prime-Stevenson's

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[103] Letter from Edward Prime-Stevenson to Philip Lieson Miller, January 20, 1939, reproduced in Miller, "Edward Prime-Stevenson: Expatriate Opera Critic," 39.

[104] The publication information for *Her Enemy* explains that "the extremely limited edition of this volume will restrict is being obtainable except by addressing certain Continental booksellers; including the 'Librarie Künding,' No. 11, Corraterie, Geneva, Switzerland; H. Jaffe, No. 54, Briennerstrasse, Munich, Bavaria; Successori B. Seeber, No. 20, Via Tornabuoni, Florence, Italy." Gifford argues that this list might provide some evidence of a network of the "specialized continental bookstores of the early twentieth century that catered to homosexual clientele, serving as bases for the dissemination of homosexual literature." Gifford, *Dayneford's Library*, 108.

associates in New York kept him informed of various guesses as to "Mayne's" identity, many of which "vastly amused" him.[105] Prime-Stevenson experimented with a variety of authorial personae throughout his literary career (mostly variations on his actual name), but "Mayne" was to have the most distinct identity. Shortly before the publication of *The Intersexes,* for example, he wrote to Leonard Bacon that "by-the-by, I met the other afternoon an American (living in Rome) who it seems knows, in flesh and blood, Xavier Mayne, the much-queried authour of that remarkable little book 'Imre: A Memorandum'—which you have met—though being printed privately, it is now hard to come on—even in Italy. So that settled the matter of the authourship [sic]."[106] Incidentally, only a few years later, Prime-Stevenson would later dedicate "Madonnesca," the story in *Her Enemy* in which Imre appears, to Bacon, "settling the matter of the authorship" even more directly among his closest friends.[107]

During his own life, the act of reading across Prime-Stevenson's work could only be accomplished by a select few, largely those who knew Prime-Stevenson personally and could follow the traces he leaves from 1908 or 1927 or 1932 back into the past. Whereas Rosa Newmarch strove to erase her scholarly voice from her work on Tchaikovsky, Wakefield, and others, Prime-Stevenson's musicological lens always seems to point back to him in an idealized, yet always lost moment. This act of watching his own memories blend into history seems to have been a connecting thread between Prime-Stevenson's late books, not only as a motivating factor in revising earlier work, but as a conceptual approach to extricating queer musical meaning from

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[105] James Gifford, "Introduction" to Mayne, *Imre: A Memorandum*, 25.
[106] Letter from Edward Prime-Stevenson to Leonard Bacon, December 6, 1907, collected in "Appendix F: The Most Peculiar Friend I Ever Had," in Prime-Stevenson, *Imre: A Memorandum,* ed. James Gifford, 184.
[107] At least some more removed readers, however, managed to guess correctly. In the copy of *The Intersexes* held by the Special Collections of the University of Wisconsin-Madison, the original owner, Theodore Schroeder, speculated on the title page that Xavier Mayne was "(probably) E.I. Prime-Stevenson." Schroeder, an unorthodox religious scholar and lawyer (who counted among his clients infamous anarchist and free love advocate Emma Goldman), likely knew of Prime-Stevenson through James Gibbons Huneker.

great nineteenth-century masterworks while placing himself within that history. The contributions to biographical dictionaries, dedications to more well-known or well-connected figures in musical and intellectual life, and endless repetition of real and planned new works in the front matter to his new books appears not merely as an eccentric act of self-promotion. It is also an insistence upon a place for his form of overtly queer history and musicology where it could not otherwise exist.

In his *Who Was That Man? A Present for Mr Oscar Wilde,* playwright Neil Bartlett muses upon the social resonances between the 1890s and the 1980s. After coming across a copy of *The Intersexes* and initially assuming that the author was a homophobic sexologist aiming to "fix" the "problem in social life" mentioned in the subtitle, Bartlett finds instead "a book written in the first person, a book written by a homosexual man about his own life and times."[108] He notes the scrapbook-like nature of the material presented in *The Intersexes*: undated clippings, accounts of slang in different major cities, stories of private clubs, prostitution, and blackmail. The kind of musicology Prime-Stevenson presents in *The Intersexes, Iopas, Repertory,* and his fiction is similarly cobbled together and anecdotal. It encompasses personal experience (as in Lee's *Music and its Lovers*) and biographical details (as in Newmarch's Tchaikovsky research), but Prime-Stevenson ultimately struggles to find some way of creating musical-sexual knowledge that successfully synthesizes these methods. This problem, however, raises questions about personal interpretation and methodology still relevant to today's research. What does it mean to look for queer musical meanings in mainstream works, or to talk about musical experiences that do not neatly tie in to biographical sources? Lacking a scholarly community through which to explore these questions, Prime-Stevenson repeated and republished his

[108] Neil Bartlett, *Who Was That Man? A Present for Mr. Oscar Wilde* (London: Serpent's Tail, 1988), 126.

collection of anecdotes, memories, and interpretations over and over again, as though if he could just assert them enough or get them into the right readers' hands, he might be able to create a space for queer musical reflection or convince someone else to take up the cause, or at least hear both music and history in the same way.

Conclusions: Reading Musicology (and Musicologists) Then and Now

In the introduction to *Music and Its Lovers*, Vernon Lee grappled with the question of what her book was (and was not) and whom it was for. It was not, she wrote for musicians or music critics, "though dealing with both." Nor was it for "such intelligent Amateurs as have contributed so largely to it."[1] It was a work of aesthetics, although not in a philosophical sense. It was a work of psychology, although more "in a certain way of thinking about human affairs" than of anything having to do with Freud's theories of the unconscious.[2] Unlike her writings on music, which do not shy away from personal opinion and grand proclamation, Lee here seems uncertain about what kind of knowledge her study has produced:

> Psychology, studied for its own sake, might foster a habit of removing the labels with which individual self-assertion and social convenience have furnished our various commandments; labels which may, but as often do not, set forth the real ingredients (wholesome or poisonous) of the mixture which (like the label *patriotism* a few years ago, or *love of God* in remoter times and places) they encourage us to swallow without tasting…And, returning to aesthetics, that study may afford, if not a knowledge, at least a suspicion, of something deeper down than motives, what the French call *mobiles*: tendencies, habits of feeling and thinking; the not (in Freudian sense) unconscious, but unsuspected, modes of retaining, renewing, cud-chewing, of one's emotions; the modes of connecting, synthesizing, or camouflaging one's perceptions, whereof the answers to my musical Questionnaires have shown me the existence in my neighbours and in myself.[3]

In effect, Lee attempted to find a way to lay claim to a deeply personal form of musical knowledge—one that intersected with such things as gender, sexuality, political persuasion, education, social class, nationality, and the deceptively simple matter of likes and dislikes—that intersected with aesthetics, psychology, and music criticism, but did not belong to any one category. Today, her project might fit more neatly within the realm of music perception or sociology of music. Her respondents might write more directly about some of the issues only

[1] Lee, *Music and Its Lovers*, 13.
[2] Ibid., 13-14.
[3] Ibid., 14.

hinted at in the excerpts from their survey answers. They might address their experiences of popular, contemporary, and non-Western musics alongside symphonies and operas. Her heavy use of her own listening journals and the methodology developed in collaboration with Anstruther-Thomson—aspects of her project which immediately raise questions of researcher bias in a project with claims to objectivity—suggest continuities with the recent attention given to auto-ethnography in musicology and ethnomusicology.[4] In the twenty-first century, Lee's project would still be interdisciplinary, but might be more clearly legible as a project within the scope of music research. As it was, her research—much like Newmarch's and Prime-Stevenson's—was interdisciplinary out of necessity, taking on approaches and subjects that required creativity to fill in places where the archive was suspiciously silent.

If the archive for researchers engaging in "the old queer musicology" in the early decades of the twentieth century was lacking, the record of their initial readers is even more piecemeal. Fictional and historical accounts of encounters with musical-sexual knowledge often come from the same figures who had a hand in creating it. E.M. Forster's reading Newmarch (and having his Maurice do the same). Edward Carpenter reading Prime-Stevenson's allusions to Tchaikovsky and Beethoven (among many others) in *Imre*. Smyth's and Lee's discussion of Wagner recorded in Lee's Commonplace Books (and reiterated in *Music and Its Lovers*). Newmarch's poetical narrator and beloved attending a performance of the *Pathétique.* All of these connections have meanings, but their limited scope reinforces the need for secrecy. The most overt discussions of musical homosexuality appear in the works with the most restricted

[4] The Institute of Musical Research and the University of London's School of Advanced Study maintains an online resources on "Autoethnography and Self-Reflexivity in Music Studies," stemming from a conference and study day held at the University of London on April 16-17, 2018. Their ongoing bibliography of resources can be found at https://www.surrey.ac.uk/department-music-media/research/autoethnography-and-self-reflexivity-music-studies (accessed October 4, 2018).

readerships: Forster's *Maurice* (unpublished until after his death) and Prime-Stevenson's self-published books (distributed by him in limited editions). Plenty of people could (and did) read Lee's work on castrati and Newmarch's Tchaikovsky biography and translations without, in Forster's words, "blowing off the gathering dust."

That said, these authors were not writing only for themselves. Newmarch's biographies went through several editions, as did Lee's fiction. If Prime-Stevenson was not as successful at promoting a queer symphonic canon as he might have hoped, the rumors he recounts about the *Pathétique* and Tchaikovsky's death remained active throughout the century. Encounters with these works may well have mirrored period accounts of unexpected encounters with medical sexology. In her history of the "family secret" in middle-class British life, Deborah Cohen describes book collecting as a signal and act of self-knowledge that was "both cover and revelation," a "resolutely literary sub-culture, certainly among middle-class homosexuals, but given the large numbers of working-class men who sought out the work of Oscar Wilde and Havelock Ellis, probably further down the social spectrum as well. Booksellers and antiquarian shops became the places where the experiences of the urinal and the boyhood fling could be interpreted and conveyed."[5] Nor was this experience uniquely confined to men, as Stephen Gordon's fictional encounter with her father's copy of Krafft-Ebing in Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness* demonstrates.[6]

These encounters with musicology and sexology, much like the methods of those who created them, have their limits. They are often isolated instances, presented in fiction as revelatory moments of self-discovery kept apart from even sympathetic friends and family. They

[5] Deborah Cohen, *Family Secrets: The Things We Tried to Hide* (London: Penguin, 2014), 167-8.
[6] After her father's death, Stephen discovers his copy of *Psychopathia Sexualis* in a locked cabinet, seeing "there on its margins notes in her father's small, scholarly hand, and she saw that her own name appeared in these notes." Radclyffe Hall, *The Well of Loneliness*, annotated by Esther Saxey (London: Wordsworth Classics, 2014), 186.

are closely enmeshed with other kinds of closeting discourses that simultaneously acknowledged and repressed. As David Deutsch observed in his analysis of queer musical metaphors in British fiction, while such symbols held valuable meanings to those who understood them, "it seems right to recall [Philip] Brett's admonition regarding the 'collusion of music and the closet'; to re-acknowledge the shortcomings of using music, with all its ambiguities to legitimize homosexuality 'by making it obscurely present in public discourse.'"[7] "The old queer musicology," with its reliance on musical codes, reading between the lines of biography, and shared musical experiences, re-inscribed many of these shortcomings. As Brett's analysis of Edward Dent's career demonstrates, the institutionalization of musicology in British and North American academia directly positioned itself in opposition to those modes of scholarship deemed suspiciously unscientific and feminine, eventually producing "an academic discipline that had taken itself too seriously and had mistakenly excluded the real musical concerns as well as living personalities of the people within it."[8]

Where do we go from here? While musicology has expanded in a multitude of directions and disciplines, there is still much work to be done to bring those "living personalities" into the field. The humanity of musicologists remains one of our greatest strengths and weaknesses. We have been rightly faulted for reducing music to symbols on a page, but we still struggle with how to situate ourselves and our subjects as people—within our work, within the academy, within the broader public life of the arts. If there is one overarching theme that links Lee's, Newmarch's, and Prime-Stevenson's work beyond the eclectic use and interpretation of sources, it is an abiding concern with what music means to those who perform, create, hear, and study it. Despite

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[7] David Deutsch, *British Literature and Classical Music: Cultural Contexts, 1870-1945* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 180. The embedded quotation from Brett is from "Musicality, Essentialism, and the Closet," in Brett, Wood, and Thomas, *Queering the Pitch*, 21-2.

[8] Philip Brett, "Musicology and Sexuality: The Example of Edward J. Dent," in Fuller and Whitesell, 185.

the variety of their approaches, they each tried to understand the role of music in shaping both individual and group emotions and experiences, especially those that could not be properly described in print. They also struggled in their research with what kinds of conclusions could easily be drawn from imperfect, incorrect, or missing evidence, especially when it came to queer subject matter and experiences that they could not name as such or openly discuss without the perilous safety of fictional personae, privacy, and control.

Jumping forward into the current century, a recent technological advance reveals the continued limits of who musicologists are and how we present ourselves in public life. In June 2017, Apple unveiled HomePod, the newest incarnation of their personal music devices intended to interface with the Siri virtual assistant program. As part of a keynote speech at the company's annual Worldwide Developers Conference (WWDC), executive Phil Schiller announced that a good speaker system needed to meet three main criteria: (1) rock the house, (2) have spatial awareness, and (3) be a musicologist.[9] Indeed, various press releases and marketing materials on Apple's website and other tech-oriented sites ran with the third quality, explaining that, on HomePod, the virtual personal assistant Siri would be able to answer questions about music currently playing, recommend new music, and essentially "be like having a musicologist" in your home. On Twitter, scholarly reactions were mixed between musicologists who were upset about the use of the term perpetuating misconceptions about the field and musicologists who were bemused at the idea of HomePod publishing a critical edition or a tech giant attempting to create the "perfect musicologist."[10] Many of the musicologists who commented noted that Siri's

[9] I would like to thank Jane Riegel Ferencz for drawing my attention to this marketing campaign. Schiller's keynote and the ad copy for HomePod are available at https://www.apple.com/homepod/ (accessed June 27, 2017).
[10] See, for instance, Christopher Johnson's Tweet: "To be fair, Siri *did* do some important work tracing the 12th century shift from discant organum to florid organum." June 5, 2017, https://twitter.com/thelostemperor/status/871918103453724673 (accessed July, 8 2017).

knowledge of music was limited to essentially cataloging data, with no capacity for interpretation. What would Siri do with eclectic evidence? How would she evaluate the musical emotions described in Lee's case studies and Newmarch's poetry? What recommendations would she make when given Prime-Stevenson's symphonic programmes? Would she observe some connections among them, draw some conclusions about the individuals behind these "users" of musical information?

Far greater than the comments from academics, however, were responses from members of the general public, many of whom saw the move as a pretentious marketing campaign meant to hide Siri's perceived inadequacies and more than a few of whom accused Apple of inventing the word "musicologist" as a pretentious, vaguely quasi-scientific term. A surprising number of Twitter users imagined the "musicologist" as a medical figure, facetiously asking if a visit to a "musicologist" was covered by one's HMO or vulgarly positing a "musicological" exam taking the place of a gynecological one.[11] Unknowingly, in mocking the perceived ridiculousness of the term "musicologist" as a figure in everyday life (not to mention one who could easily be supplanted by Siri), those engaged in the Twitter debate harkened back to a much earlier and longer debate about the term "musicology" and who and what it should encompass.[12] This is by no means the place for a proper discussion of artificial intelligence, creativity, and the definitions of what it means to be human. But the marketing of HomePod as a musicologist and the resulting discussion about terminology made me consider my choice of terms and definitions to describe

[11] The pseudonymous Twitter user Musicology Duck collected screenshots of a number of puzzled Twitter users with the comment "always good to see your profession in the news," noting the number of musicologist/gynecologist jokes. June 5, 2017, https://twitter.com/musicologyduck/status/871888495509458944 (accessed July 8, 2017).

[12] The linking of musicology and gynecology by multiple non-academic Twitter users also is also reminiscent of Waldo S. Pratt's mention of musicology and sexology as non-intuitive, "hybrid" terms in "On Behalf of Musicology" (see Introduction).

the human beings I encountered through my historical research. It recalls the questions William Cheng raises: how does one sound musicological? And who's to judge?[13] Prior to that summer, I was more reluctant to claim Lee, Newmarch, and Prime-Stevenson as musicologists. My descriptions of early twentieth-century music research had been very careful, focusing on concerns with "sexual subtext" and "music writing." But, with all due respect to Cheng's analysis of those music scholars in literary and theatre studies who insist they aren't musicologists, there is a kind of power in using that label, even temporarily or with caveats. The subtitle of this dissertation—"queer knowledge and public musicology"—is both deliberately anachronistic and playful, hinting at the multiple readings of these sources: sexual, eccentric, eclectic, public, private. What does it mean to have a musicologist in your home? What do they look like? Where do they go? What do they say (or not say)? As we attempt to answer these questions going forward, it is necessary that we account for variety and diversity across and beyond our expected disciplinary boundaries.

[13] William Cheng, *Just Vibrations: The Purpose of Sounding Good* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016), 66.

Appendix 1: Vernon Lee, "English Questionnaire," *Music and its Lovers* (1933)

AN ENQIRY INTO INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES WITH REFERENCE TO THE EXPRESSIVE OR EMOTIONAL POWERS OF MUSIC.

In answering, please keep to the numbered and lettered questions, but add as many details and distinctions as you like.

The first four queries are intended to ascertain to what extent the answerer is musically developed.

QUERY I

(A) Have you learned to play or sing?
(B) Have you learned thorough-bass (harmony)?
(C) Can you read music without an instrument?
(D) Can you write down music?
(E) Can you sing at sight?

QUERY II

(A) Do you improvise on the piano?
(B) Can you find an accompaniment to a tune?
(C) Can you play things on the piano by ear without having seen the notes?
(D) Can you sing or whistle fragments of things you have heard?

QUERY III

Can you remember (i.e. hear in your mind):
(A) melodies?
(B) harmonies (chords)?
(C) timbre of single instruments?
(D) orchestral combinations (colour)?
(E) Can you *mentally hear* the performance when you read a score without an instrument?
(F) Can you "turn on in memory" long fragments (whole *movements*) of concerted music?

QUERY IV

In actually listening to harmonies, do you:
(A) distinguish the constituent notes? Always or often?
(B) distinguish the simultaneous movements of parts? or (always in listening to harmonies) do
(C) the harmonies seem something vague, a sort of halo round a single thread of melody?
(D) Do the *notes which are not the melody* become a sort of *sound colour*, like the *quality* of a single instrument or *voice*?
or (E) Do harmonies exist for you as a combination of separate notes, each in a definite place among its companions, like people moving together, some behind, some in front, and some alongside of each other?

or (F)is it sometimes the one case and sometimes the other, and if so does familiarity make the difference?

QUERY V

While listening to, or remembering, music without words or suggesting title, are you apt to think of it as expressing human emotion:

(A) as if the composer (or performer) were telling you his own inner drama?

(B) as if he were telling you the inner drama of some third person, vague or otherwise?

(C) as if the music were somehow the expression of your own feelings?

QUERY VI

Does music (always without words or suggestive title):

(A) put you into emotional conditions or moods different from the ones you happen to be in?

or (B) does it merely intensify already existing moods or emotions?

or (C) do you merely recognise, without participating, that music *represents* varieties of human emotion and mood?

(E) which of these ways of responding to the emotional character of music is most common in your case, and can you give any reasons (difference of composer, or of *your own* condition) which account for such different response?

QUERY VII

Does music usually, ever or often produce an emotion *sui generis* and which you would designate as *emotion of music*? Does music (always without words or suggestive title):

(A) seem to have a meaning, a message, something beyond itself?

or (B) does it seem to remain *just music*, with no suggestion or meaning beyond itself?

(C) Is it sometimes the one and sometimes the other? if so please specify the composers who produce such different ways of responding to music.

QUERY VIII

How do your preferences stand with regard to:

(A) Bach,

(B) Mozart,

(C) Beethoven (state whether earlier or later),

(D) Chopin,

(E) Wagner? Does Wagner seem to you to stand in any way apart, appealing to and producing emotional effects different from those of other musicians?

QUERY IX

(A) Have you reasons for thinking that music can have a good or bad effect (moral or immoral) on people's character or actions?

or (B) does music seem to you to be "yon side of good and evil"?

(C)Can you understand these questions with regard particularly to Wagner?

QUERY X

Does the hearing of music:

(A) disturb,
(B) facilitate trains of thought, work or the seeing of works of art?
(C) Do you prefer to *listen* to music or to *overhear* it while otherwise employed?

QUERY XI

(A) After hearing music, do you ever, or often, find that you have been thinking of other things?
(B) When you like music and are in the vein for it does it exclude all other thoughts?
(C) or is your enjoyment partly that of suggested images, memories, and stories?

QUERY XII

Have you days of non-receptivity, when you know you ought to enjoy but cannot do so?

QUERY XIII

When there are words accompanying music do they:
(A) seem of any importance in the general effect on you?
(B) Can they put a finishing touch to the effect of the music, or *vice versa*, if incongruous, disturb it, or
(C) are they a negligible item in your musical interest and emotion?
(D) Does opera seem to you a higher or lower form of art than symphony or chamber music?

QUERY XIV

Quite apart from music:
(A) have you at all, much or little, the power and habit of living over again the emotions of your past life as distinguished from
(B) knowing in a historical way that at a given moment you have had an emotion describable as so and so, and as distinguished from
(C) remembering the circumstances and places connected with past emotion without feeling the emotion itself?

QUERY XV

(A) Are you often or always haunted by music either of your own inventing or remembered (state which)?
(B) Do the events and impressions of your life, things you see or feel, translate themselves in to music, either composed by yourself or remembered (state which)?

QUERY XVI

Is the enjoyment you get from music:
(A) calm, lucid, serene, bracing, or
(B) excited, overwhelming, spiced with pain, exhausting?
(C) In Nietzsche's words, *Apolline* or *Dionysiac*?

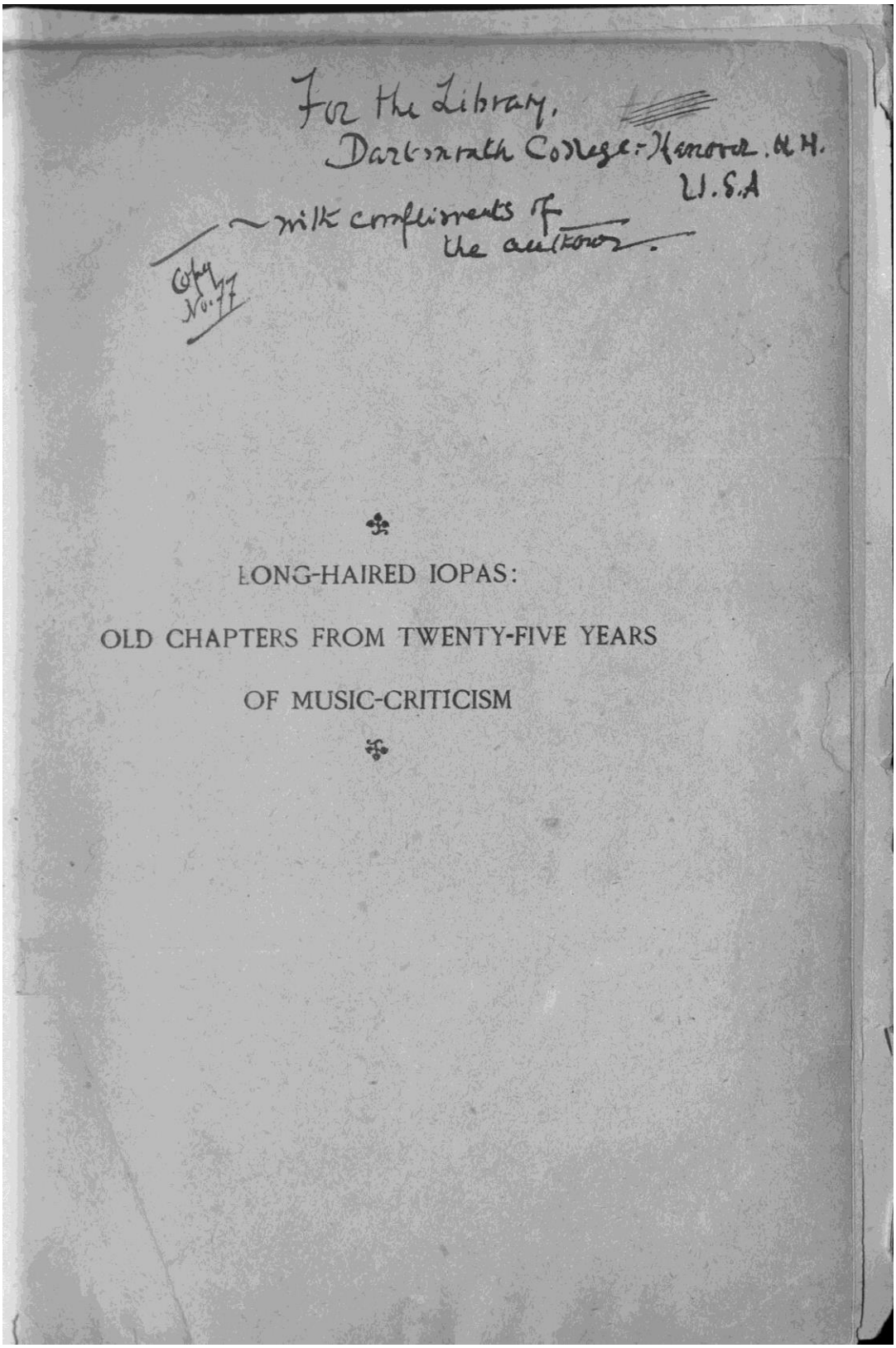
Appendix 2: Musical Imagery in Rosa Newmarch's Poetry

Accounts of Listening

Title	**Music and/or Composers**
At the Piano	Lully, Handel, and Schumann
Modulation	Chopin and Schumann
The Symphony (Peter Ilich Tchaikovsky)	Tchaikovsky's *Pathétique*
Good Friday Magic	"a concertina down the street"
The Prelude to Day	an unknown opera overture
The Rose of Song	an unknown aria
The Song Unsung	Beethoven, Wolf

[Note: "The New Iseult" (poem XXXI in *Horae Amoris*) may be a reference to *Tristan und Isolde*; however, Wagner is not named, and the poem is not about listening to the opera. Nonetheless, for a musically-minded poet and reader, the mentions of Iseult and Mark may have called to mind both Wagner's setting and the broader cultural associations of the Tristan story with unrequited/forbidden love.]

Appendix 3: Edward Prime-Stevenson's Annotations and "Literary Agent's Press-Circular" ***Long-Haired Iopas,*** **Copy #77, Courtesy of Dartmouth College Library.**



LONG-HAIRED IOPAS:

OLD CHAPTERS
FROM TWENTY-FIVE YEARS
OF MUSIC-CRITICISM

By

Irenaeus

EDWARD PRIME-STEVENSON

Authour of « A Matter Of Temperament » - « White Cockades » - « Left To Themselves » « Philip And Gerald » - « The Square Of Sevens » - « You Will, Will You? » - « The Firebrand Secret » - « Sébastien Au Plus Bel Age » - « Her Enemy, Some Friends, And Other Personages » - « Dramatic Stories To Read Aloud », etc., etc.

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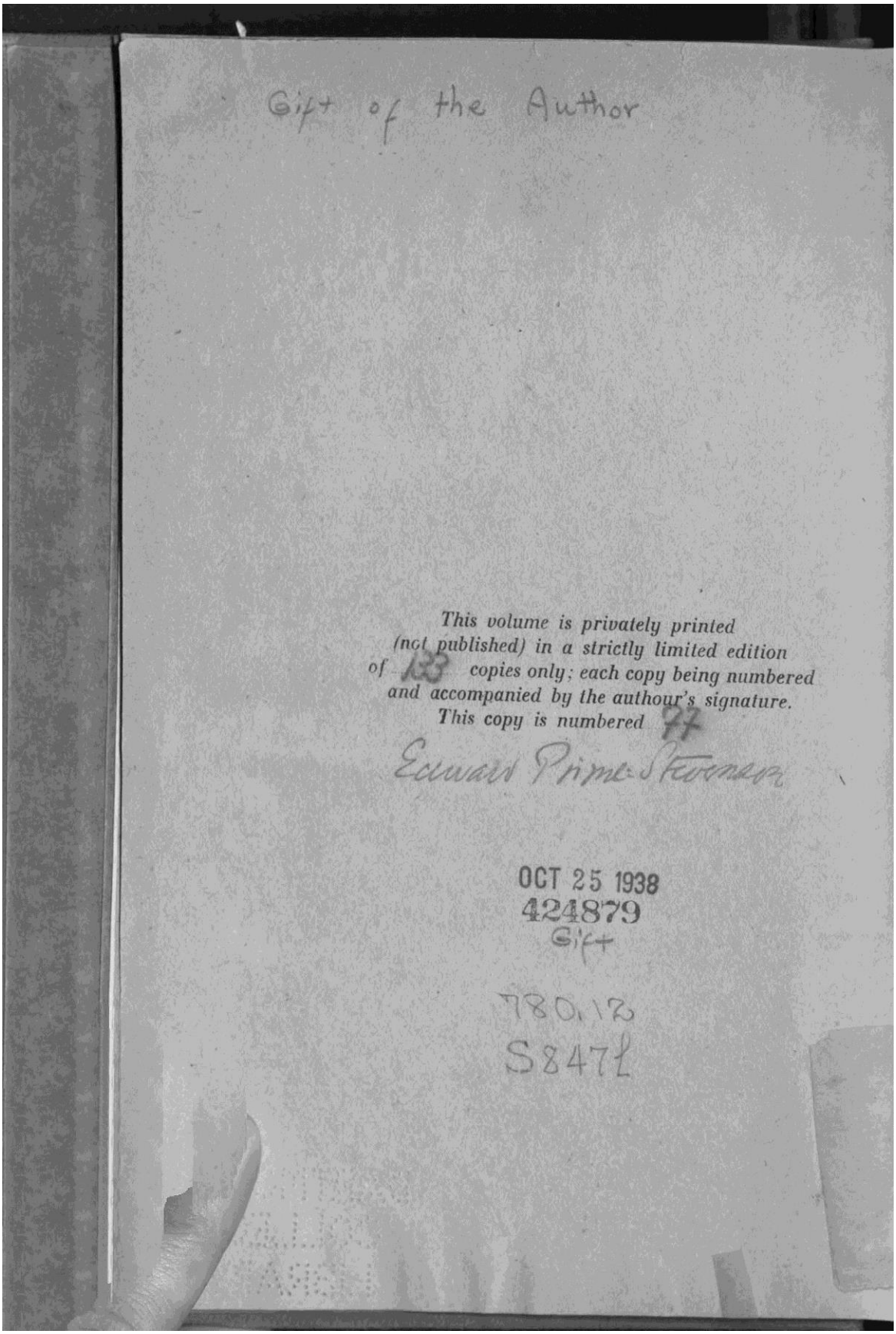

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The dedications in the volume are all to personal musical friends, whose importance musically is obvious.
S.

IN MEMORIAM:
TO
MANUEL GARCIA

After Hearing "Don Giovanni."

« I declare to you before God, as a man of honor, that your son is the greatest composer that I know, either personally or by reputation; he has *taste;* and, beyond that, the most consummate knowledge of the art of composition ». — HAYDN TO LEOPOLD MOZART.

AROUND the score, and the innumerable performances, of Mozart's lyric masterpiece (such amidst so many works from the same hand that must be spoken of with the same term) a vast special literature has been crystallizing, during more than a century. The affection of at least four generations of a great international musical public, irrespective of race and of language, the admiration of lettered criticism of music, the profound veneration of the highest professional intelligences practically busy in Mozart's art, all these factors, and many others, have fixed the opera on its tall pedestal with a more reverential detachment, from decade to decade. Mozart has that priceless quality in his genius, inherent also in certain great painters and writers — Raphael, the chroniclers of Hellenic myths, fractions of the Shakespearean drama — by which even the quite untaught æsthetic sense is captivated by him, while, at the same time, he is surpassingly a musician's musician, a wonder and enchantment to those who best can define why he is such. Few music-makers of the finest inspirations and most consummate technic of composition have missed opportunity of bearing witness to Mozart, with frankest humility in confessing their inferiority to such a spontaneous genius in ideas and construction.

There is no significant dissent. Later and classic masters in symphony, in chamber-music, in each form of the more abstract in instrumental music, as also throughout all the range of vocal composition, defer to the pages of Mozart. If it be but a question of what opera-makers have thought of him, even to measuring themselves small by him, the personal expressions are often

or of vehicles, or of treatments, in exhausted. The very word « invention », as regards structures of the art, is little except a term of courtesy. So long as a music-writer does not serve up to us, with intent and too audacious assurance, another man's precise musical idea, with exactly the same garniture, and in the same setting, pray let us hear fewer railing accusations of a composer's want of originality! Certainly Bruckner suggests X, Y, Z. Also indubitably he frequently lacks new and good thematic material, although I find a good deal of exaggeration in the charge. It applies less to his vocal compositions. Much of his church-music is superb in ideas as management. In the symphonies he did not always produce proportionately grand results, but rather the merely grandiose; yet at his best you are listening to noble ideas, superbly conveyed.... In orchestration Bruckner is a giant. He could, and he did, pile Pelion on Ossa, with a Titan's hand, even when the effect somehow does not reach to highest empyrean. Of his symphonies, nearly each is written — colossally. There have not existed many such brains for the sciences of harmony. The same may be said of his vast vocal abilities.... In musical style he is allied to nobody quite closely enough for allusion. Distinctly melodic, tuneful even, in an abstruse fashion; never cacophonous; and holding to the familar and classic in line, one may call Bruckner — symphonically — a sort of super-Romantic. His Te Deum is the best-known internationally of his large choral scores. In Vienna, at St. Stephens and elsewhere. you will hear many fine matters in his church-music. Of the imposing symphonies, Bruckner's Seventh is now widest of hearing outside Austria-Hungary and Germany. They contain magnificent episodes. In the Fifth Symphony, the Adagio and Scherzo are great music, greatly writ. In the solemn Finale to his long symphony with conclusion by a large supplementary wind-orchestra, stationed behind the regular corps on the platform, Bruckner, in my humble but firm opinion, has decidedly surpassed the effect of Beethoven: when Beethoven ends his Ninth Symphony with a human choir, taxing it with almost unsingable music (even granting advance of diapason) of doubtfully inspired developments, a finale verging to the prolix, and referring generally to a theme essentially trivial. Brahms in imitating it improved on it, and merely with orchestral means made a better business of his conclusion. If the incident of Bruckner's score referred to is directed and played under the conditions due, the impression is overpoweringly impressive....

So far as I remember in this moment, antipathy to Bruckner's music nowhere has been violently demonstrated in public; as was the case for Gluck, Handel, Wagner, Berlioz, and other typical victims. But I recall well a little example of how

TO

MARY SEVERN PERRY

Prince Bedr's Quest.

As Hinted in Beethoven's Ninth Symphony?

IT was after another of our Viennese days, passed in prowling about what is left of Beethoven's homes and haunts in « Alt-Wien » — Heiligenstadt, the Kahlenberg, those low-ceiled rooms in the ancient Schwarzspanierhaus. My friend Oswald and I fell upon an old Beethoven question-fantasy — that is to say, how far ought imagination to interpret the Ninth Symphony; to make it a thing of definite emotional meanings, construing it as « programme-music » in fact. Neither Oswald nor I are of kindly feeling toward confessedly « programme »-scores. For example, Berlioz is to Oswald anathema in « The Fantastic Symphony » and « Lélio ». Even the rich musicality and descriptive eloquence of Raff, and the best of Richard Strauss are ill-forgiven by the absolutist Oswald. But we two musical idlers, particularly as real lookers-on in Vienna, are by no means the first who have become introspective of the Ninth. That mystic central theme, beyond doubt a psychological *Leitmotif* with its Goethe-phrase, « Entbehren sollst du?—sollst entbehren! » reiterated — those passages of wordless recitative and of lyric dialogue — those arbitrary harkings-back to episodes without any obvious musical connections to demand their repetition — they are intriguing toward the idea of some one continuous under-structure of *narrative*. So the score was [illegible] on the table between us. [illegible] aesthetic conscience, we [illegible]y, did we shape thence, [illegible]ry — a kind of musical [illegible]een us, be it understood, « Rasselas »; as to some [illegible]almost each detail fit into [illegible]g almost ready to query

The present writer long ago allied himself with that large group of critical students of Beethoven, who (with regret) find his Ninth Synphony, its superb first movement excepted, a score far inferior to the magnificent Fourth, Fifth, and Seventh (Third) Symphonies; as a thing from the mind and hand of a senile and decadent Beethoven. But such an opinion need not conflict with a fantastic interpretation like "Prince Bedr's Quest."

The first of the three intermezzi to divide the events of the book

On the Nibelungen Tetralogy.

I.

Das Rheingold.

DIM, silent, weltering, the flood descends,
With tremulous, emerald sundarts, shadows grim.
Three Nymphs, in undulant play and melody, swim
— Such song with gloom and laughter rarely blends.
Dark Dwarf, avaunt! Black to thine element!
Thy lust, thy spite, abuse a gracious scene.
Lure not with sudden glory, through the green,
Oh, Treasure to be thieved and murder-spent!
But Beauty oft is folly! Secrets grave
Too sweetly slip fair throats! The Dwarf is bold.
In shrieks and darkness vanishes the Gold; —
The Rhine has nothing for us but its wave.
Hail, Alberich, hail! Among the wise of earth
In reckoning love and gold at just their worth!

II.

Die Walküre.

SPRING blows the door aside, and Love strays in.
But from that door as Guilt he soon must fly.
The Twins accursed shall dread the moonlit sky,
Alert to hear of Hunding's horn the din....
Oh, Völsung, guard thy gaze! For, see, advance
That shape so haughty, yet compassionate.
Learn not so soon what others learn too late,
That man's undoing lurks in beauty's glance....
Is she a goddess, Siegmund? Or but half?
Or less than half? — as something less than whole.
'Tis perfect woman, sure, to filch a soul,
Cryng « Since thou hast met me death is life! »
Alas, thy hap! A Valkyr, keen and rare,
Will surely choose out heroes — be they fair!

TO

~~XAVIER MAYNE.~~

Francis Toye.

The Illogical Wagner.

« In diesem Kampfe Werden die Kräfte,
Sich mit mir messen, und kühlen den Muth. »
— *Die Willkur: Oder Ein Tag Des Ringens.*

« The welfare of us all hangs on the cutting. »
Shakespeare: King Henry VI, Part II.

THE huge auditorium, one of the world's largest, all in darkness, save by the shifting glow of the vast stage. That intensified sense of what psychologists call « the crowd-mind », when some thousands of men and women sit or stand, serried together even to discomfort, from early evening until into early morning, all absorbed by much the same emotions as spectators and auditors. Great bursts of applause and recalls of the artists, after each curtain. Such throughout last week were circumstances of the first wholly « uncut » presentation of Wagner's Nibelungen Tetralogy, in the Metropolitan Opera House. New York City. Presumptively there occurred thus the first offering of the Ring-series in such page-by-page entirety, not only in America, but anywhere outside of Teutonia — unlesss the remote European tour of Angelo Neumann was as conscientious.

The Tetralogy « absolutely without cutting »! It is a formidable announcement. Vocally, instrumentally, and dramatically nothing finer as an exposition of Wagner's most voluminous (though by no means best) masterpiece could be desired. The stage-mounting, as was promised, is wholly new and extremely beautiful; artistic, in nearly every detail, as at Munich, at Baireuth, and other strongholds of deep Wagnerian *Pietät*. Many great stages cannot cope with mechanical effects, well-known for complications. The audiences have been exceedingly large, as almost invariably has been the case with so many earlier local productions of the Tetralogy, — if not in such uttermost extent; and the listeners have shown themselves as

TO

LUCY PRINDLE LOVE.

James G. Huneker

Where The Mastersingers Sang.

ONE of the pretty manifestations of our human sentiment is the tendency, by people of imagination, to invest a real place with quite fictitious personalities, grown into vivid affection only by novels and plays and poems. Dickens-pilgrimages never fail, whether by prowling individuals or by solemn confraternities, to visit whatever is left of inns and courtyards, old churches and private dwellings, to which are linked the doings of Little Nell, of Mr. Pickwick, of Tom and Ruth Pinch and of Lady Dedlock. The destruction of Mrs. Gamp's unmistakeable domicile, in Kingsgate Street, some years ago, was lamented as a kind of national calamity. The communities, much changed today, on the shores of the Lake of Geneva, where Rousseau laid the scenes of his « La Nouvelle Hélöise », the dungeon in which Byron immured a Bonnivard (much more a Byronic creation than was the veritable prisoner of Chillon) the lonely island in which Selkirk's experiences begot « Robinson Crusoe », the platform of Elsinore Castle, the Brig of Ayr, the rocky promenade of Lake Como, along which Don Abbondio met the *bravi* who forbade him to marry Renzo and Lucia, the ruins of what may pass for Ravenswood's Wolf's Crag, the height of Ekkehard's Hohentwiel — only too plentifully do such instances multiply, as illustrating the unwillingness of fancy to be cheated of a material support.

Wagner's single comic opera, « The Mastersinger Of Nürnberg », brings both Germanic and foreign pilgrims to Nuremberg (especially in the weeks of the annual Baireuth Wagnerfest) quite as numerously as « Tannhäuser » leads them to Eisenach and the Wartburg. A seductive old city is Nuremberg, by just its imposing circuit and otherwise. There is a deal to see within its imposing circuit of walls and towers. A long summer-day or so is short for detailed explorations on the part of specifically Wagnerian pilgrims, whose heads are full of Hans Sachs and

is fact confronted by charming imagination! So readily has one fallen into futile dreamings, and into the demesne of operas and novels and poets — along with at least some music-history — just because of finding oneself in an old and bare and untidy German church, of Wagnerian romancing.... But a bunch of keys suddenly is jingled — meaningly. A loudly suggestive cough — a financial cough — follows, with some scraping of impatient feet. You start awake, you fumble for a coin. You are aware of, not incense, but onion, in the air immediate to you. Then you meekly allow yourself to be escorted forth from Wagnerish into the sights and sounds of our commonplace and contemporary world. *

* Note. The writer is informed that since the foregoing description was in print the Municipality of Nuremberg have taken practical steps towards due preservation and a re-dignifying of the Katharinen-Kloster Church. "A consummation devoutly to be wished." S

Was Mr. Justice Shallow a musical man? — as was song-singing Mr. Justice Silence. The question is open: but Justice Shallow, in quite another connection, has described aspects of the altogether human virtuoso, the completely machine-one, and the fractionally artificial device, as our eyes, ears and fancy can picture them — facts or chimeræ. « ....I remember.... there was a little quiver fellow; and he would manage his piece thus; and he would about and about — and come you in ....'Ra-tah-tah!' would he say — 'Bounce!' would he say; and away again would he go! — and again would he come! — I shall never see such a fellow!... » But as regards that last negative for ourselves and posterity, in the matter of virtuoso-pianism, — if man or clockwork — we would best not predict.

TO
EDWARD J. DENT

Imagination And Realism In Music: Richard Strauss.

.... « La musique, qui est à la fois le plus violent, le plus profond et le plus vague des arts. »....

ELÉMIR BOURGES: Letter to Armand Point, in 1896.

BY way of numerous studies and shorter allusions, the present commentator often has referred to a composer, highly individualized, whose name again is writ large on orchestral bill-boards. For, lo, we have yet another new score from Richard Strauss. The years seem fewer than they are since Strauss was only an obscure German music-maker or at least one but slightly-regarded. His enormous ability in the technique of composition, the traits of his titanic industry-to-be, were then discussed by only a limited circle of conductors, singers, and critics, mostly within the boundaries of his own country. Strauss is still a young man, relatively, to have captured the notice not only of the whole international contingent of professional musicians, but also to have won the interest, not to say the enthusiasm, of the international public. His name has become great among the Gentiles — as well as unto the Jews. *A propos* of his name perhaps it is not yet wholly superfluous to mention that Richard Strauss, identified with Bavaria (where much of his music has been given its initial hearings) has no sort of family-connection with that family of admirable Austrian musicians, headed by Johann Strauss of Vienna. I am far from sure that, musically estimated, the great Johann of Wien approves of Richard of Munich, or that Richard of Munich would think himself flattered to be confused with the writer of « On The Beautiful Blue Danube ». He ought to be so. But, as Mr. Kipling says, that is another story.

I suppose that Richard Strauss justly can be characterized as not only the most prominent figure in orchestral music of our immediate period, but also the most significant, and impressive of extant musical — decadents. He has defined himself in both aspects, first by some large and well-known scores, of fullest form, openly of « programme-music ». That is to say,

by compositions in which are phrased scenes, incidents, personalities, psychologies, emotions, states of soul or body, all portrayed, or supposed to be portrayed, on the famous old theory of Berlioz — that the public has no imagination, and so must be given « realism » in music; with a printed guide to what the composer is endeavouring to depict. Advancing thence, Strauss has invaded the demesne of opera, of drama in music, of serious or of comedy, with the progress of a kind of Titan, with the descriptive brush of Brobdingnagian painter, the colossal musical architecture of a Karnak-builder. Today he reverts now to one form of music, now to another, always with arresting popular interest; and, of late years, with great financial *éclat*. Following the methods of Liszt and of Saint-Saëns by the so-called « tone-poem » as vehicle, we have heard Strauss' « Death And Glorification » (the composer's best concert-piece) « Till Eulenspiegel », « Macbeth », « Don Juan », current with great popular favour through musical Teutonia; and latest, but presumptively not last in the same category, his formidable « Thus Spake Zarathustra ». *Interim*, he has produced the operas « Feuersnoth », « Salome », « Electra » and « Der Rosencavalier ». In each department of such activity, Strauss has rolled up notoriety like a snowball pushed around a playground. In all of them he has showed what can achieve the musical intellect towards imposing itself on the auditor; if music is to be liked and considered only as a mathematical process, a complete acquaintance with instrumentation, and by highest capability in orchestral effect — on certain lines of effect.

The most inevitable comparisons between Strauss and Wagner have been made abundantly. But must be observed that while under Wagnerian influences in certain traits, though passing beyond Wagner by complexities of instrumentation, Strauss is far inferior to Wagner in — musicality. Wagner is often — alas — an uninspired, dull, prolix, repetitious, unvocal, unmelodious composer. Wagner frequently has put on score-paper scenes of an intrinsic vacuity to which all the Wagnerian mastery only partly reconciles us. On the other hand, the Wagner of « Lohengrin » of many passages of the Nibelungen Tetralogy, of « Die Meistersinger », of the finer parts of « Tristan Und Isolde » and « Parsifal », wrote some of the most inspired, most impressively musico-dramatic pages yet known to the history of art. Also in sundry scores for the orchestra only — the « Faust » Overture, the exquisite « Siegfried Idyl » — even the little « Albumblatt », — Wagner has made great or noble or lovely — music. In contrast, when we find Richard Strauss an exclusively orchestral composer, we continually find the man who seems to score simply for showing what he can do in the science of instrumentation; his skill too frequently

applical to musical ugliness; or at least to un-beauty in music. Musical æsthetics appear secondary considerations for him. That he is a genius in this sort of procedure, is not to be denied. No other composer of tone-poem, symphony, of what you please, or what pleases him, to call a score, has been able to evolve for us such intricate perspectives of instrumental colours, can spread over page upon page structural combinations so complicated, so masterly, so bewildering. As for his « realistic » intentions in music, Strauss is most explicit. Says he — « I do not wish merely to suggest. I wish to picture. You may be stupid; so I intend that you shall know wherof I speak by my orchestra. Sometimes I depict an emotion, or a situation, so crudely — so unmistakeably, that you will not need my long « explanatory programme » of a work, to tell you what it should « mean » to you. Every detail of what I have in mind, I intend to draw and to colour for you, by themes, rhythms, harmonies or disharmonies, by the use of specific instruments, so that the thing shall be as clear to you as the « Cuckoo! » of your Swiss wall-clock »..... By such a system, we are far indeed from the intellectual *suggestion* of a « Pastoral Symphony » or the Third « Leonore » Overture; far from — even — a « Symphonie Fantastique », or « Les Préludes » or « Le Rouet d'Omphale ». In such dismissal of the abstract in music, in pushing realism into the foreground, Tschaikowsky is probably the most distinguished contemporary of Richard Strauss. But Tschaikowsky is a more conservative and more *musical* creator of the scores which « tell stories.... » In my humble judgment Richard Strauss shows his best (and hints his worst) æsthetics in his descriptive symphonic poem, now so widely known, « Death And Glorification ». There we have a mystic situation depicted minutely. A « book » of its expressiveness is put in the hands of the listener, to tell him what each musical episode is « describing ». The aged, miserable and dying man, whose stertorous breathing is imitated by a graphic musical phrase; his physical and mental end; and therewith the breaking upon the released spirit of a celestial and uplifting existence, into which he is welcomed by the harps of Heaven — all this is « realized » in the score. It concludes with perhaps the most attractive thematic material in any Strauss fantasia; in this instance unfortunately over-developed, a trifle prolix, but still highly and sensuously of strong climax. As will occur to the reader, such music is far removed from Beethoven's cautious warning — « More impression of the emotions than depiction ». But then such exaggeration is what many concert-auditors relish. Strauss cannot be too explicit for them. The thick-witted and unimaginative section of the Germanic public, for which merely emotional suggestions will hardly serve, has been captured — logically and psychologically — by such open and arbitrary « realism » of the Richard Strauss scores, in all concert-halls, between Hamburg and Breslau.

of him above as the greatest « musical decadent » of the time. His extreme technical intellectuality does not alter such aspect; in fact it confirms it. His apparent incoherency suits to such boisterous evidence.... Strauss has been called « insane, or half-insane », by his family and by his friends, in much beyond his music-making frenesy. He seems the great musical « wit allied to madness ». In his symphonic poem « The Merry Pranks Of Till Eulenspiegel » he revealed erratic mirth, capriciousness, Puckery, in a descriptive score. In the great *opus* latest before his public, and of which something special now is to be said here, « Thus Spake Zarathurstra », we verify a coincidence; *i.e.* a great music-writer, of abnormal psychos, who is trying to express for us in music the philosophic and religious ideas of a madman — Friedrich Nietsche. Altogether it is a significant combination — literally what Mrs. Malaprop might call « a nice derangement. » Shall we say — mutually?

As regards subject (which may not be familiar to all who read this brief study of Strauss) a reviewer would need a book, a commentary as long as one by Scartazzini on Dante, to explain all that which the chaotic brain of Nietsche puts into the poem called after Zoroaster (Zarathustra). Indeed, much has no clearer connection with that great Persian sage than with Queen Liliuokalani of the Sandwich Islands. Nietsche used the title, and some vague *accrochements,* to hang such matters as « The Man And The Overman » — « The Great Yearning » — the melancholy errors of « The Dwellers In The Rear-World » — « The Holiness Of Laughter » — « The Culmination of Humanity » — The Star Of Promise » — « The World-Riddle Unsolved », and so on — a great deal more of such topics. The poem is a faithfully muddy, solemnly germanic lucubration — incubation — succubation. Naturally the boundless « Individualism » (for which read the simpler word « Egotism ») of Nietsche pervades each series of reflections. Never did a musician select a more recondite stimulus to imagination and for artistic expression! To complicate the choice Richard Strauss intimates that he has introduced into his score themes that Nietsche does not offer to a reader at all. To some persons this, as a process of « musical intellectualism », presumably will mean that Strauss has piled a regular Pelion atop of an Ossa. Nothing seems lacking, unless should have been added references to The Book of Jasher, The Man In the Iron Mask, Kant's « Critic Of Pure Reason », Kepler's Laws, Abracadabra, Mother Shipton's Prophecies, Tupper's Proverbial Philosophy, Hermes Trismegistus, Kasper Hauser, the Venus Kallipyge, Humpty-Dumpty, and the Income Tax.

sonorities of the performance as when he thinks of the intellectual labour, mental concentration, breadth of technical intelligence, which together have got on paper such an emission. As in all of Strauss's earlier, and (so far as this audition enables one to judge) more attractive works in the same general category, « Thus Spake Zarathustra » exhibits a knowledge of instrumental colourings, of art in each possible orchestral effect, of grandiosity in harmonic architecture, — superposition and interweaving of tonal masses — all in mastery that few composers have possessed, certainly none have surpassed. Wagner seems almost elementary, as far as this elaborate orchestration is in comparison. The Strauss instrumental parts are divided and subdivided, the tonal *nuances* by each available device are multiplied, seemingly to the *ne plus ultra*. What the composer wishes to say is often expressed with a certain direct loftiness. Some beautiful music is heard, a few truly high instrumental climaxes recur. There is far less mere instrumental uproar, of the Strauss sort, to make one murmur Bottom's, « I have a reasonable good ear in music — let us have the tongs and the bones ». The melodic element of « Thus Spake Zarathustra » is not stronger, nor more original, than in Strauss's earlier and less diffuse, less mystified scores — where it is too frequently the weak spot, somewhat reminding of Liszt and Bruckner when in their worst thematic veins — not even when in second-best. We are always conscious of a consummate working-out of a huge, non-co-ordinate musical fresco, with all hues of the instrumental colour-box. Against whatever pleases or impresses or interests, occur countless pages of utterly *ad captundum* themes, murky ideas, dressed-out commonplace, vulgarities in materials or treatments. The episodes of real musicality are sandwiched into the dull, the trivial, the dreary, the inexpressive of anything. One has the sense of a sort of semi-maniacal genius. The composer is able to keep our attention through his score, during a first hearing; but if for a second one...? We sit, intent on the unfamiliar as might we be before a super-distorted Turner, a perverted Blake, a titanic John Martin, dealing with stupendous and confusing drawings, riotous colours saying nothing but colours, insane perspectives. We are tolerant, fascinated, amazed, by a sort of colossal musical Cubism.... So once more Richard Strauss is found to be among the lords of the material of music, but not the peer of an hundred other composers in music-thought. This colossus has feet of clay.... To prophesy of art is not wise; but many an auditor must have quitted this first audition of « Thus Spake Zarathustra », after a conscientious attention to all that there is of it (as pages and ink) sure that it and its like will be unplayed and unremembered when Bach's Brandenburg Concerti, Mozart's Symphony in G minor, and Beethoven's Seventh Symphony, are as appealing to the future musical world as they are today.

fine, lofty

Originally printed in The Atlantic Monthly, volume V, the year, 1900.

TO

CORNELIA CHITTENDEN

The Band Plays On.

I

THE *band plays loud, the band plays long,*
With drumstick-thump and brazen tongue
The band plays long, the band plays loud,
With rhythmic foot-taps from the crowd.
Hark to that bouncing polka-strain!
And there's that crashing march again!
Trombone and cornet, flute and fife,
Hearten the mood, bring zest to life.
No waft of such melodious breath
Hints being face-to-face with Death.
Music's but sound and mystery,
Let it be gay for tragedy!
If glad or sad, it fits the chance.
Life's a funereal contradance.
Even in a charnel why be dull?
Rap a fandango — on a skull!
All music suits, when soft or loud,
To bride in veil, or corpse in shroud.

II

Still, on his pallet stretched, he lies,
With half-closed, dim, unseeing eyes.
A dab of rouge yet daubs his cheek.
He breathes — hears — thinks — but does not speak.
The silent nurse's watch is set
— They dare not even lift him yet.
Waits anxiously the praying priest,
A soul assoiled to see released.
Outside, in hustling hurry, go
The emissaries of the show.
The horses neigh, the trainers swear,
Dust, heat, distraction everywhere.
From the great tent, a faint breeze draws
Those curtained volleys of applause,
The noisy harmonies, the long
Vague murmurs of a watching throng.

TO

MATTHEW WHITE, JR.

A Right To Hiss?

« When sibilant galleries with foes are cramm'd,
And, by the pit, your piece is jeer'd and damn'd;
When, with each curtain, cat-calls make protest
At all those arts of speech you think the best;
When what you've writ, to make the side-box sob,
Moves but to mirth the many-headed mob;
When Orpheus' song new miracle appears,
Charming beasts, ghosts, and brutal human ears —
Philosophy stern patience must instil,
Though neither ever paid a tailor's bill.
Let self-conceit disdain the rude uproar,
And pique befool you to the one chance more. »

E. P.-S. — (From « *The Pomponiad* », Part I.)

IN that classic among humorous American books of travel, « Innocents Abroad », Mark Twain mentions being present in the San Carlo opera-house, Naples, in 1868, when the celebrated Erminia Frezzolini, grown old and vocally decadent, tried to sing for a public which formerly had adored her. At the date in question, Naples resented Frezzolini's engagement. Neapolitan audiences often have distinguished themselves by most uncivilized manner. On the occasion recorded, the great houseful amused itself by allowing the worn-out artist — in her prime a soprano whose splendid impersonations are historical in musical annals — to come on the stage, again and again, trying to begin her scene; but only to be hissed off the boards, just as often; trembling with helpless grief and indignation.

Alas! similar scenes have been only too-common in even the most cultured music-centers of Italy — particularly — during many generations of artistic service. Of late years they have seldom occurred without a more decent reason for wounding the *amour propre* of a singer; disturbance having come by circumstances exterior to the cast and interior to the work offered. Thus when Boito's « Mefistofele » was produced at Milan, advance-reports of the traits of that opera, and a resolute local cabal, made the aristocratic Scala into a Bedlam. « Mefistofele » originally was far too long; it was (and surely it is yet) extremely unequal of merits. Boito had made bitter enemies, as a journalist easily does — they came out in organ-

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"LONG-HAIRED IOPAS: OLD CHAPTERS FROM TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF MUSIC-CRITICISM"

By EDWARD PRIME-STEVENSON

(Literary agent's press-circular).

" LONG-HAIRED IOPAS: OLD CHAPTERS FROM TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF MUSIC-CRITICISM. "

By EDWARD PRIME-STEVENSON.*

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Seldom does a volume in the demesne of « musical literature » (emphasizing the word « literature ») receive as much unqualified praise from critics internationally distinguished in both music and letters, as has been the fortune of the above-mentioned book, wherever its small edition, still in private print only, has allowed reviewing. Such unanimous critical praise is the more noteworthy, as « Long-Haired Iopas » is not obtainable yet in translations from its original English text. Its interest to the cultured in music and letters; its stimulating quality as an essayistic commentary on countless developments and questions — popular or professional — in musical art; its thoughtful references to countless composers and schools of music's growth, from the art's early days, onward to the end of the Nineteenth Century (at which point the author ends his inclusions); and its high literary qualities — all give the book rare value and charm — if the opinions of the critical press can be trusted when so unitedly cordial.

Amongst earlier opinions of « Long-Haired Iopas », occurred the following, from a Continental critic of foremost rank in reviewing the literature of music: — « .... For fine discernments, subject by subject, chapter by chapter — page by page — and for offering to its readers so much of the unfamiliar and interesting in discussions, reminiscences, new anecdotes, grouped with as attractive a literary style from the sort of a pen that ranges gracefully « from gay to grave, from lively to severe » — I do not recall any compilation on a plane with « Long-Haired Iopas » .... This book really is « in a class by itself ». At least, I can say that it is like none other of equal interest that is known to me.... The themes are not new; for Mr. Prime-Stevenson expressly warns us that here he has reprinted essays and « chats » first in type many years ago. But (as the author reminds us in his preface) the basic interests in arts do not evaporate by time; and somehow almost everything that Mr. Prime Stevenson has to say to us here reads, and *is*, as timely today as if penned overnight .... In short, this

* By the same author (the volumes being chiefly in private print only, so far as yet in stock) « A Matter Of Temperament »... « White Cockades »... « Left To Themselves » (« Philip And Gerald »)... « You Will, Will You ? »... « The Square of Sevens »... « Sebastien Au Plus Bel Age »... « Into The Sun »... « The Creditors »... « Her Enemy, Some Friends, And Other Personages »... « Red William's Wood »... « You Have Asked Me To Tell You — »... etc. etc. Also several volumes in a seriously important department of psychiatric research.

« Iopas » is an extraordinarily suggestive, valuable, fascinating volume ». ¶ Writes another critical reader: « I have no hesitation in speaking of your « Long-Haired Iopas » as the most brilliantly *individual*, the most vivid piece of musical *literature* that I have happened to meet within many years. Its « musicality » is profound throughout; but it is written with that scholarship in art which never is pedantry or parade .... It is infused by the familiar made to read as unfamiliar, through a beguiling style « ¶ Says another reviewer: .... » Frankly a book of continual digressions, it ranges from one composer to another, from one important aspect to another of music's æsthetics, or of music's history — mingled with anecdotes, reminiscences, personal portraits — all of unbroken interest.... In such a book occurs that modern scarcity — art-criticism that also is real *literature*. .... The « light hand » when writing learnedly, the constant variety of topics, the gift of humour — when humour fitly can sparkle out — these traits make « Long-Haired Iopas » a book to be read and re read, even by people who have little or no intimacy with musical subjects .... The *belles lettres* quality of the book is stronger by the author's many « Intermezzi » in verse, which divide « Iopas » loosely into sections, according to nationalism of music and musicians. There is certainly high poetical quality in the stanzas « As If — »; in « Violinismo » (from Mr. Prime-Stevenson's musical epic, « Alciphron And Clelia »); also in the four « Nibelungen Ring » sonnets, and in the dramatic « The Band Plays On — » All have haunting lines .... « Long-Haired Iopas » merits a far wider circuit than can know it by only its present « privately printed » and very small edition, from a foreign press. It is practically a book not yet published. The author should get it into some regular trade-list without delay ».

To particularize fully the contents of a collection as broad and varied as « Iopas » is not practicable here. Some matters in its forty-four chapters are as follows: — ¶ A large selection of **letters from Verdi** (most of them not in previous print by translations) here is introduced, according to different subjects; illustrating Verdi's high æsthetic intellectuality, his large share, — both dramatic and literary — in many libretti for his operas; his fine ideals of lyric drama; and the lofty and pure personality of Verdi as a man. ¶ A study of **Chopin,** pointing out the relations to « Italianism » in Chopin's music (along with national and other influences) and giving an amusing reminiscence of Chopin, communicated to Mr. Prime-Stevenson by a pupil of Chopin, and not hitherto printed. ¶ Personal reminiscences of **Anton Rubinstein** — in connection with a conversation on « fashions in music ». ¶ A *résumé* of that curious general question, « A Right To Hiss », — its artistic, æsthetic and legal bearings; concluded with anecdotes of certain famous occasions when the musical public of New York City did, or did not, make demonstrations *à propos*. ¶ Several long studies of **Wagnerian opera and music-drama:** unconventional, outspoken criticism of the errors and weaknesses latent in Wagner's theories and scores, if examined in relation to musical æsthetics. ¶ A comprehensive summary of the sbortcomings of the Wagner Theater at Baireuth, as violating Wagner's aims in productions of his works. ¶ A complete counter-argument against presentations except at Baireuth, of « Parsifal »; incidentally being stated the reasons why « Parsifal » should be regarded by women as a « psycho-sexual » insult to their sex, by Wagner's express intentions in writing his so-called « stage-consecrating » opera. ¶ « Wagner As Fabulist And Realist » is an essay pointing out what is fact and what fiction, in places, plots and personages of the Wagnerian operas and music-dramas; and describes a visit to the veritable « Cave of of Venus », near Eisenach. ¶ With the Wagnerian memorabilia, bye-the-bye, occurs an intimate personal sketch of the famous Wagnerian singer, Max Alvary (Achenbach) whose impersonation in « Siegfried » still is a vivid memory to thousands of European and American opera-goers.

¶ Mr. Prime-Stevenson, in prefacing this collection, speaks of it as being, discreetly « the book of an Italianist » in its musical trend. And, in fact, many of the most enjoyable chapters and passing digressions, in this « Long-Haired Iopas » center enthusiastically on principles of Italy's musical æsthetics, on epochs of music in Italy, on Italian composers — both classic and other. In fact **" Italianism in music "** is a special theme of « Iopas »; reviewed from the days of Metastasio (for many years a particular study of Mr. Prime-Stevenson) onward to that small group of Italy's music-makers justly classed as « the last of the giants ». One may say that the richest field of Italian opera, as a *national* development, is gleaned in the essays in « Iopas ». Few living critical writers have enjoyed such opportunities, during a lifetime of intimate, first-hand acquaintance with musical Italy, as has been the good-fortune of Mr. Prime-Stevenson. Matters, doings, men only hearsay to the majority, are of this writer's personal contacts. The Verdi correspondence has been mentioned. But there are highly important references to the more important Verdian scores. Thus « Long-Haired Iopas » reprints (by request) Mr. Prime-Stevenson's notable « Centenary » (1913) review — a memorial appreciation — of Verdi's career. To this is added the author's exhaustive monograph of the circumstances of Verdi's composition of his « Aida », correcting errors persistently met in such a narrative; and re-printing what is the only complete and authoritative « *thematic analysis* » of the score of « Aida »... an aspect of that favorite opera of which many auditors are wholly ignorant. Also in the Verdi connection, comes another alluring chapter of « Iopas », curiously titled « The Unfamiliar Il Trovatore ». This will surprise veteran music-critics and routine opera-goer, by a *résumé* of nothing less than the complete coherence, the basis of facts — historical, local and personal — in the much-ridiculed libretto of the old opera; and sets forth its crude drama as one derived from traditions of the Di Luna family-line and from history of the Province of Cataluña. ¶ In a survey of recent or contemporary Italian composers of popular favour, and of influences more or less recognized, comes a chapter « **Italian Stile Nuovo In Opera** »: wherein Mascagni, Giordano, Cilea, Puccini, Wolf-Ferrari, Zandonai, Alfano, Pizzetti, and others of mark are in question. The traits of Don Lorenzo Perosi, as chief exponent of Italian religious oratorio are thoughtfully estimated.

As would be expected in essays of unusually wide range in Continental topics, « Long-Haired Iopas » has much to say concerning the major **French music and musicians** of successive epochs. In this section of the book — which is introduced by a fine summary of what should be expected as the « distinctive aspects of French music » — occurs a curious and important study — the long and minutely-observant analysis (incidentally it has also literary interest) of an aspect of Gounod's « Faust » that seems to have quite escaped all earlier musical students; *viz.* recurring proofs, by way of *thematic* building of the score of the opera, that Gounod intended to make his « Faust » a kind of ethical tract — indeed one may say « a theological predication » — from beginning to end; and carried on his sermon — so to call it — systematically, below the merely operatic surface of the work. Of this analysis, the eminent Parisian critic, Camille Bellaigue — a specialist of everything relating to Gounod — wrote with enthusiasm in a recent number of « La Revue Des Deux Mondes »; as also admiringly of the « Aida » analysis mentioned. ¶ In connection with French opera as a topic in « Long-Haired Iopas », should be remarked the reference (by way of a long annotation) to Meyerbeer's merits and demerits, as a lyric dramatist — « the G. P. R. James, the Harrison Ainsworth, the Walter Scott, the Maurus Jókai, of opera ». We have also chapters (or extended digressions) about Massenet — Debussy — Isidore de Lara — and sundry more. Later

in the book will be met valuable observations on the particular necessity — as one may say — of « singing French music only in the French language », and only by singers of vocal *technique* distinctively French.

In the large series of essays on German « national » music, both classic and modern, which are supplementary to the studies of Wagner and Wagnerism above-mentioned, readers of « Long-Haired Iopas » will find attention held by the chapters which speak of Handel, Haydn, Mozart (this latter having « Don Giovanni » as special subject — with much unfamiliar data, and urging Mozart's perennial claim as a supreme exponent of the old Greek principle that drama, however serious, must never depart from the Beautiful); on Beethoven, Schubert (reprinting a centennial essay) Brahms, Johann Strauss (a brilliant and sympathetic characterization) Richard Strauss, Anton Bruckner, Karl Goldmark. In writing of **Beethoven,** Mr. Prime-Stevenson is amongst commentators not at all afraid of expressing unfavourable opinions of Beethoven scores, no matter how sacrosanct, which lack real inspiration, or are faulty of technical art. Thus Mr. Prime-Stevenson finds the long last section of the Ninth Symphony not much else than a colossal failure of ideas and workmanship. A propos of the same score, but much idealized, in « Iopas » we find reprinted — in response to many requests — the author's curious Oriental « Prince Bedr's Quest »; fantasy, suggesting that perhaps Beethoven when developing the plan of the Choral Sympony had in mind a definite « narrative »; so that the score is allied, vaguely, to « programme-music ».

Many questions of pregnant interest today, as from long time past, are discussed in « Long-Haired Iopas »; practicalities of teaching music; true and false theories of professional interpretation of music; the relations of the artist to his public — and so on. In two chapters — of the volume. « The Patent Virtuoso » and « Modern Pianism » are severely arraigned contemporary aspects of pianoforte-playing in public; as art perverted by mere technical display, associated with unsuitable concert-halls; too much a commercialized abuse of artistry, music, and instrument. ¶ The chapter on « Musical Instruction? Or Musical Education? » should make a world-full of superficial music-teachers and public performers thoughtful of their ways and doings. « Women And The Violin » is incidentally a reminiscence of Mme Neruda-Hallè; and digresses to a question of what is « the grand style » in musical art. In « Speaking-Actors And Singing-Actors » (a chapter inscribed to Mme Marcella Sembrich) are summarized the complex links, or departures, between drama sung, and drama spoken.

Sundry disconnected talks in course of « Long-Haired Iopas » present « Imagination And Realism In Music » — « Prospero's Wand » (synthetizing the work and traits of conducting) — « Harnessing The Hippogriff », which sums up the main practicalities of musical composition as a « financial proposition »; « The Wagnerian Dragon », reviewing old Baireuth days and the « zoology » of the lyric stage, classic or of today. By way of another « requested » reprint, we have what is a veritable monograph, historical and musical, in « Wanted: An American National Hymn »; practically a complete collection of researches, criticisms and anecdotes, reviewing (through two centuries) the futile, vulgar and borrowed lyrics in national use as patriotic lyrics throughout the United-States. The review reprints much obscure biographic and literary data. ¶ Amid miscellaneous subjects, occur such discussions as treat of « Religious Oratorio », from Handel onward;

of the classic form of symphony as a thing « now devitalized and too outworn for continuation »; of the « literary » libretto, as contrasted with the old-time simple and melodramatic opera-book; of the long-vexed question of whether music *by itself* possess any intellectual or moral elements and spiritual value — against which popular conviction the author of « Iopas » wholly dissents. A little vignette of a concert-experience illustrates the æsthetic principle in music, that « the greatest effect by the simplest means » is the sole quality for permanency. ¶ There is a notably fine episode, bringing forward the old question of just « what *is* music? *why* are its emotional influences so world-wide and potent? The author's conclusion is that, to-day as ever, music is « an inscrutable psychic mystery » — a riddle unsolved — spiritually an essential mystery — of which we know nothing — nothing — an eternal Sphynx ».

Towards the close of « Long-Haired Jopas » will be met a long chapter of strong suggestiveness to music-hearers in general; but especially to official music-critics. In « Criticism In A Mist » Mr. Prime-Stevenson attacks the routine mechanics, the slipshodity, feebleness, empty jargon, meaningless verbiage, which passes for public « criticism » of music (and of other arts) in the current journalism of England and America. Severe are the strictures on the « padding » by merely technical or pseudo-technical « cant », of what has no real message, no critical judgment, of works or of performances. A legion of professional music-reporters should read this chapter in « Iopas ». Incidental to it are many new and useful observations on aspects of standard and classic Italian opera when given in Italy; as compared with it when exported for chiefly a fashionable evening-entertainment, of « season » traits, in London, New-York, and so on.

To those who have not forgotten their Vergil, the symbolical title of « Long-Haired Iopas » will be rather like meeting an old school-friend. This later « Iopas » begins with a delightful revery about sunshine and shadow in the musical career; the chancey, struggling, practical life of the average professional musician; of which clan Iopas of Carthage may stand as eternal type. ¶ The book concludes with an eloquent appeal for true taste and for high creation on only the older and purer principles of musical art. The author reminds us that music, as so developed, phase by phase, presents to us « an æsthetic fabric of immeasureable genius, through the labours of many schools ». And, as a valedictory, occurs the assurance, « Superficial, uneducated, popular tastes may shift about. But in all the higher arts abide firmly their noblest antecedent expressions; those phases which indeed are of immortal spells, ineffable messages.... During time yet indefinite, the great musical voices of the past can be expected, wisely as affectionately, to retain for us their beauty undiminished, their mystic charm unbroken, and their basic authority universally unimpaired ».

A particularly minute, topical Index (of not less than twenty-five pages) completes the volume.

A selection (only) of recent press-notices of « Long-Haired Iopas », as now only privately printed, includes the following. Because of typographic reasons, the Germanic series is reserved for later citation, with others.

« ...The author ranges over much ground... The movement is of that leisurely and graceful kind which is — regretfully — to be described as « old-fashioned ». He has something of Verdi's breath of sympathy... Criticism... gives the critic the chance of being an artist. Mr. Prime-Stevenson is among the artists of criticism ».

(« The Times » London).

« Such an enticing variety of subjeets and aspects... »

(NORMAN DOUGLAS).

« After a very charming introductory chapter concerning the classic Iopas, full of imagination and of altogether delightful conjectures about his personality — they would do honour to the most learned scholiast — the depth and variety of the musical tillage is remarkable. I will say at once that I like this book as well as any on music that I have read for a long time. There is such a breadth of outlook, such freshness, such evident and well-digested criticism, such a polite but firm refusal to be bound by any of the current aesthetic shibboleths —It is a *real* book, written by a sincere man, who knows what he is talking about... I wish the book were more accessible ; for it is a very excellent one... »

(FRANCIS TOYE, in « The Morning Post » London).

« ...How many musicians, I wonder, will appreciate the value of such a work ?... I trust that some of those in Europe will know the true significance of what is done in « Iopas ».

WILLIAM J. HENDERSON, of « The New-York Times ».

« ...A most interesting volume of musical criticism... You cover a great range of topics ; and you bring to bear upon them not only trained judgment and long experience, but a most remarkable width of general and literary reading... Music, which in my young days, was the most isolated of the arts, is being brought, every year, into closer contacts with the rest of our civilization. I am very glad to congratulate you on the part that your book should play in achieving this end ».

SIR WILLIAM H. HADOW, of Sheffield University.

« ...Long-Haired Iopas » seems to me a veritable cornucopia of true treasures of musical thought... I have enjoyed the whole book immensely... »

(Mrs. REGINALD DE KOVEN).

« ...I would recommend my readers to get the book for themselves, but for the obstructive fact that it is privately printed, in a strictly limited edition... This is a pity ; for in these four-hundred-odd pages (large and closely printed) there is a great deal that is of the highest interest to students of music and of musical criticism... After a few years,, ...opinions upon music have an interest of their own ; it is then possible to see them objectively, as illustrations of the culture-conditions of their time. It is for this reason, amongst others, that I find Mr. Prime-Stevenson's essays such good reading. He has had an exceptionally wide experience of music ; and his judgments have knowledge and thought at the back of them, which will acount for

so many of them having stood the test of time. His enthusiasms are infectious ; and... he generally persuades us to see the thing as he sees it... I find particularly valuable some of Mr. Prime-Stevenson's discussions of Wagner ; for they show us the difficulty that contemporary criticism has in deciding whether the obvious faults of a great composer will prove fatal to him ; or will be fused, by time, into the general tissue of his enduring work.... Mr. Prime-Stevenson ruthlessly exposes the weak points in the dramatic scheme of « The Ring » ...When Wagner does something in a stage-play that is inherently improbable in terms of real-life, Mr. Prime-Stevenson shows Wagner no mercy »...

(ERNEST NEWMAN, in « The Sunday Times » (London).

« ...Cleverly and amusingly written, and full of instructive comment ».

(HERMAN KLEIN, London).

Personally I have found your book a constant delight... I will endeavour in my review to give some idea of the charm of your writing... »

(NEVIL CARDUS, in « The Manchester Guardian »).

« ...Many wise and well-expressed criticisms of Wagner... On the thematic structure of Verdi's « Aida », there is much to interest readers ; especially those who have been accustomed to regard that opera as a stock-piece, unworthy of special study... »

(J. B. FULLER-MAITLAND, in « Music And Letters », London).

« ...I have enjoyed its friendly, alert, *humane* style, and the good sense of its aesthetics ; besides your charming introductory fantasia on that « long-haired » Iopas of Carthage, who gives your book its title ; and your chapters on the « *modernissimi* » among Italian composers... »

(VERNON LEE).

« ...The author of « Long-Haired Iopas » shows a universality of interests, and a depth of culture rare in an aesthetic specialist. Most important are the studies containing appreciations of Verdi... Their value is enhanced by the many extracts from the private correspondence of Verdi, not available heretofore to readers of only the English language... »

(« The Paris Times », Paris).

« ...As privately printed, not really published... it seems hardly worth while to tell my readers, of a book entertaining and wise, which there is so little chance of their seeing... »

(Dr. PERCY A. SCHOLES, in « The Dominant » London).

« A book that I have greatly enjoyed... A volume of unsual interest... If there are some opinions — singularly few surely — with which the reader of today would disagree, all of the opinions are expressed forcefully and entertainingly. A book of profit and enjoyment ».

(L. A. SLOPER, in « The Christian Science Monitor » Boston).

« ...Highly informed thought, and convincingly classified analyses... Mr. Prime-Stevenson's glimpses into the musical past represent his most potent writing... From many newer gods of the art, he dissents with resoluteness, a fine irony, and romantic charm... »

(LEONARD LIEBLING, in «The Musical Courier », New York).

« ...I have read « Long-Haired Iopas » with much interest... »

(F. BONAVIA, London).

« An altogether remarkable book... a mixed delight... »

(« The New-York Herald », Paris Edition).

« ...The author of « Long-haired Iopas »... known for many years in America as a music critic of scholarship and insight, - has made here an uncommon book. Printed privately, its edition very limited, we have a labour of love ; but not vain labour. For, on every page, Mr. Prime-Stevenson has wise things to say about music and musicians. His experience has been vast ; in the index of « Iopas » most names of any consequence in the history of the art are mentioned »... The volume gives us a pleasant sense of the happy connaiseur. »...

(« The Manchester Guardian », England).

« ...Your delightful book... »

(JAMES AGATE).

« ...Not only professional musicians, but poets, philosophers and well-informed musical amateurs will be richly repaid by reading Mr. Prime-Stevenson's « Long-Haired Iopas »... So rich and suggestive are many chapters, so filled with a vast lore, that the book will invite frequent re-readings. ...No matter what the subject the author touches, he is also almost invariably entertaining. Anyone who would like to get new values of the cosmos of inspired sound, and of its creators or interpreters, will have in « Long-Haired Iopas » a sort of field-day... »

(MAY BIRKHEAD, in « The Chicago Tribune », Paris).

« ...Long years a resident of Europe, but well-remembered in the United States as a musical critic of high qualities, Mr. Prime-Stevenson gives us here a volume, delightfully written ; valuable by way of profound musical knowledge, sound aesthetics, and very wide horizons of taste... The plan of « Long-Haired Iopas » is broad regarding nationalities in music ; hence the author's device of separating the sections by his verse—poems, or fragments of poems, lyrical, dramatic, mystical — some such citations being of much beauty—was wisely ingenious. The short introductory poem, « As If... », has a haunting accent that will not soon pass from a reader's memory... Of first interest are the studies of Italian opera, the Verdi correspondence, and the anecdotic matters in such connections ».

(OLIVER CLARENDON, in « Aesthetic Life »).

[*Trans.*] « ...M. Prime-Stevenson has grouped here a choice of his more important critical studies and reminiscences... He is a critic who knows whereof he speaks ; knows also how

to hold the attention of his readers, and to convince them—brings to us individual ideas, new *aperçus*, in a demesne where often is met mere *parti pris*... The author is a man of wit, one who brings a keen analytic sensibility to all the problems that he takes up... He cares much for the music of France ; and understands it when he speaks of its best illustrations as showing to the world « clearness, precision, condensation, hatred of the diffuse and needless ; combining elegance with strength, and a supple grace with force — vivacity blended with depth, and an emotional beauty joined to dignity of aesthetic thought... »

(René Puaux, in « Le Temps », Paris).

[*Trans.*] « ...A very remarkable volume. Its Virgilian opening brings æsthetic fantasy, humour, even blague, mingled with poetic feeling, irony, imagination, a mixture not lacking savour ; so eloquent that one cannot sum up but the spirit and letter of it... We meet in « Iopas » a mind as wide as it is free of conventions, and often original. Treated by M. Prime-Stevenson, more than one subject which one might believe exhausted, takes new aspect, new life. Yet there is no scholastic pedantry in the thought or style... Be the impressions lighter or profound, they are always just. The happy *trouvailles* which these four-hundred large pages offer are of a manner to make it the kind of book which used to be called « livres de lecture », because they are books read « for the pleasure of the reading »... These « old » pages have an atmosphere of youth—even of audacity... Of Wagner the author writes with excellent judgment. And there are two great musicians here given high honours — Verdi and Gounod. The essay on Verdi's « Aida » offers us a perfect model of the best sort of criticism... —very broad, very fine, with sympathy and generosity, true æsthetic emotion, no mere rhetoric.... The summary of the traits of French music is one to be read with grateful appreciation—a Frenchman could not write better of them than does this foreigner... It is impossible to comment, rather say « to interpret », with more intelligence and sensitive feeling, certain scenes in Gounod's « Faust »... We close this book, in which are so many pages worthy to be pointed out — let there be added our personal thanks to its author... »

(Camille Bellaigue in « La Revue Des Deux Mondes », Paris).

[*Trans.*] « A noteworthy volume, with brilliant pages... »

(« Le Gaulois », Paris).

« ...Mr. Prime-Stevenson reconstructs the original « Long-Haired Iopas », of the « Æneid », by a charming essay—a fitting introduction to a charming book... a most valuable addition to the collection of books on musical subject... We can mention but a few of the themes treated most interestingly, with that wealth of knowledge and depth of sympathetic understanding which always have characterized Mr. Prime-Stevenson's writings... The book will be a valued addition to every music-library ».

(« The Chicago Tribune », Paris edition).

« ...This author has studied wide and deep ; his inquiring mind has led him into bye-paths of what is material enough to make his recountings worth reading, and to justify the collection under one cover of this series of reprinted articles »... [A propos of what « Long-Haired Iopas » says of Anton Bruckner] : « The author very interestingly shows that an alive musical mind was already aware, twenty-odd years ago, of the disintegration of the symphony proper as form... « Iopas » has many interesting things to say about the thematic construction of « Aida ». In that chapter, he will surprise those opera-goers who have looked on Verdi's masterpiece chiefly as a rather hackneyed favorite ».

(« The Observer », London).

[*Trans.*] « ...A passional emotion and critical competence run through the whole volume; to which is added often the element of patient and precise researchings. And, along with that trait, comes a pleasure in finding in the pages of this roving critic something which is rare in English writing—a « letting oneself go », so to say—a personal boldness of expression, courage of opinions, judicial viewpoints wholly latin—and which often show us under the formal elegance of the frequenter of musical *premiéres*, the variagated doublet of the writer of poetical fantasy... »

(CARLO LINATI, in « I Libri Del Giorno », Milan).

[*Trans.*] M. Prime-Stevenson's book in not yct translated ; but that fact is no reason for ignoring its contents... The musical opinions of one of the most authoritative of critical writers of the topic, in the United-States, could not fail to interest us. M. Prime-Stcvenson discloses in « Long-Haired Iopas » qualities of the first rank. The most varied topics are treated with a rare felicity. Particularly courageous and intelligent is the discussion of the subject of the Wagnerian « system " [in musical aesthetics] ; and what the author writes in a certain chapter, on the perils of « modernism » in musical art is far from the conventional.... »

(ALOYS FORNEROD, in « La Tribune De Lausanne »).

Appendix 4: Dedicatees in Edward Prime-Stevenson, *Long-Haired Iopas* (1927)

The following table lists the dedicatees of *Long-Haired Iopas* by essay, their presumed location (if known) at the time of the book's publication, and any known connections to music criticism, the arts, and/or Prime-Stevenson. I have also included here whether or not the dedicatee was also honored in the privately-printed short story collection *Her Enemy* (an act that would suggest they knew of Prime-Stevenson's dual identity as "Mayne"). This table could not have been compiled without the help of the genealogical records of the Madison Historical Society, Allan Bérubé's research notes at the GLBT Historical Society Archives, and the archival and literary research of Tom Sargant.

Essay	Dedicatee	Location in 1927 (if known)	Musical Connections/Associations with EPS (if any)	Dedication in *Her Enemy*?
Long-Haired Iopas: A Reconstruction	Harry Harkness Flagler	New York City	President of Symphony Society (later New York Phil), romantic friendship with EPS in 1880s-early 1890s, inspiration for short story "Once, But Not Twice"	Yes ("Once: But Not Twice")
After Hearing *Don Giovanni*	Manuel Garcia	Deceased	Baritone and vocal pedagogue, EPS wrote obituary for *The Literary Digest*	
Four Musical Sons of Vienna (Schubert, Brahms, Johann Strauss, Bruckner)	Katharine Stewart-Murray, Duchess of Atholl, MP	Edinburgh and London	Composer for her husband's regiment, alum of Royal College of Music	
Prince Bedr's Quest: As Hinted in Beethoven's Ninth Symphony?	Mary Severn Perry	Unknown	Artist, daughter of Joan Ruskin Severn and cousin of John Ruskin	
Wagner as Fabulist and Realist	Ernest Newman	Tadworth, Surrey	music critic and Wagner scholar	

The Illogical Wagner	Xavier Mayne		EPS's pseudonym for amateur sexology	
Where the Mastersingers Sang	Lucy Prindle Love	New York City	philanthropist	
The Wagnerian Dragon	Walter Damrosch	New York City	Conductor and composer, EPS's obituary of Tchaikovsky in *Harper's Weekly* credits "Mr. Damrosch" (among others) with creating a "special enthusiasm" for Tchaikovsky in NYC	
Baireuth [sic]: Performances and Promises	Irving Schwerké	Paris	Music critic and piano teacher; contributed to some of the same newspapers as EPS	
A Star Sets: Max Alvary (d. 1898)	None	Deceased	Obituary	
Parsifal in New York…?	J. Angus Winter	Boston	Accompanist and vocal coach	
The Unfamiliar *Il Trovatore*	Arturo Toscanini	New York City	Conductor of New York Phil	
Verdi: and Theme-Structure of *Aida*	None; EPS uses Beethoven's dedication from the "Eroica" Symphony		Article originally written for Verdi centennial in 1913	
Italian 'Stile Nuovo' in Opera	Richard Aldrich	New York City	Chief music critic of *New York Times*	
Gounod's *Faust* Considered Thematically	Camille Bellaigue	Paris	Music critic and musicologist, Verdi scholar, reviewed *Iopas* at length	
Gounod's *La Rédemption* and of Biblical Oratorios	Kate S. Stevenson	Morristown, New Jersey	Cousin of EPS	No, but "Elek's Religion" dedicated to relative "Marie M. Stevenson"
Four Current Opera-Writers: De Lara,	Isidore de Lara	London	Composer and singer, founder of musicians' relief fund during WWI	

Massenet, Mancinelli, Goldmark				
Women and the Violin: Hallé (Wilma Neruda) and of "The Grand Style" in Artistry	Elinor Hallé, CBE	Deceased	Sculptor and jewelry designer, daughter of pianist and conductor Charles Hallé and stepdaughter of violinist Wilma Norman-Neruda (Lady Hallé)	
Chopin	Vernon Lee [Violet Paget]	Florence	Aesthetician, music critic and short story author (known today for her contributions to art history and lesbian literature)	
Moritz Rosenthal – Emil Sauer: and Modern Pianism	H.C. Colles	London	Music critic at *The Times*, guest music critic for the *New York Times*, editor of the third and fourth editions of *Grove*	
The Patent Virtuoso	William J. Henderson	New York City	Music critic, renowned Wagnerite	
Singing-Actors and Speaking-Actors	Marcella Sembrich	New York City and Bolton Landing, New York	Soprano at the Met and Covent Garden	
A Fairy-Tale Untold – Rubinstein – A Last Look	Katharine Jermain (Savage) Townsend	Pittsburgh, Boston, Albany, and various summer homes	Possible family friend (husband's family associated with EPS's father through New York University)	No, but "Unbidden: Another Dream-Story" dedicated to relation "Miss Marie C. Jermain"
Imagination and Realism in Music: Richard Strauss	Edward J. Dent	Cambridge	Musicologist, acquainted with Edward Carpenter and others who knew of "Xavier Mayne"	
Musical Instruction? Or Musical Education?	Alice Angevine (Truslow) Conkling	Paris	Correspondent for *The Summit Herald* (New Providence, NJ)	No, but "An Astral Vengeance" dedicated to her mother, Cornelia

				Cumings (Mrs James L Truslow)
The Band Plays On	Cornelia Chittenden	Unknown	Possible family friend (a few Chittendens tied to EPS's mother's family and EPS's father's early career as a minister)	
Wanted: An American National Hymn	James Truslow Adams	Southport, Connecticut	Nephew of Alice Angevine (Truslow) Conkling, historian and journalist	No, but see comment for Alice Angevine (Truslow) Conkling
A Right to Hiss?	Matthew White, Jr.	New York City	Editor of the *Argosy*, literary critic, and author of boys' adventure stories	
Prospero's Wand	Irene (Stoddard) Hoffman	New York City	Relative of EPS's mother's family. The Stoddards also had family ties to Charles Warren Stoddard, whose travel writings were known to "Mayne" and who owned a copy of *Imre*	
Lyre and Easel	Sophia (Nott Barnes) Steel	Unknown	Unknown	
Harnessing the Hippogriff	Gerard-Henri Vuerchoz	Unknown	Swiss sculptor and art teacher who spent time in Paris; connection to EPS unknown	Yes "Aquae Multae Non—"
Dion's Song in the Prison-Tower	George E. Woodberry	Boston	Literary scholar and historian, contributor to *Harper's,* Flagler's professor at Columbia, friend of EPS who served as his confidante towards the end of his relationship with Flagler, poetry cited as homoerotic by "Mayne"	
The Infallible Guide	Herman Klein	London	Vocal teacher and critic for various newspapers in the UK and US, developed method based	

			on technique of Manuel Garcia	
Criticism in a Mist	H.L. Mencken	Baltimore	Critic and journalist, possibly knew EPS through mutual friend James Gibbons Huneker	
The Minstrels: An Apologue	Henry Edward Krehbiel	Deceased	Music critic and musicologist, admired by EPS for promoting Tchaikovsky, Wagner, and Brahms in US	
Finale: This Other Century (1900)	Leonard Liebling	New York City	Editor-in-Chief of *Musical Courier*	

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