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*MAUD POWELL, MARIE HALL & ALMA MOODIE:
A GENDERED RE-EVALUATION OF THREE
VIOLINISTS*

by
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A thesis submitted to City University London for the
degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Abstract

Music as a reflection of a wider culture provides a fruitful area in which to investigate the complex relationship between gender, sexuality and culture. Bearing in mind that many accounts of the changes in Western violin playing concentrate almost entirely upon male virtuosi this thesis investigates the extent to which gender and the corresponding socially constructed identity influenced how pioneer female violinists are seen in the history of the violin. In particular, this thesis investigates the lives and careers of the American Maud Powell, Australian-born Alma Moodie and Briton Marie Hall in order to establish their role in promoting then-contemporary music, as well as considering their contribution to the history of early recordings and in the case of Maud Powell, her significance in the development of the solo recital. At the dawn of the twentieth century these women captivated the public with their artistry. Moreover, they inspired, collaborated and premiered important then-contemporary violin works. Powell's and Hall's progressive outlook also embraced the new technology of recording, recognising its importance for the popularisation of art music. However they were assigned, at best, second place by historians. Therefore this research, by a modification of the traditional, patriarchal estimations of their legacy, aims for a more profound assessment of their merits as players and a re-evaluation of their place in the history of the violin.

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Introduction

“The fame of a Paganini, of an Ernst, of a Joachim, of a Sarasate, is a fame which women have proved themselves full worthy to share.”¹

As a professional violinist, I have always been interested in the role of women musicians in the history of music and in particular, female violin virtuosos. Growing up in Croatia and completing my MA at the Moscow Conservatoire I had little doubt about the meaning of the concept of the ‘great’ violinist: it was the male violinist (Vivaldi, Spohr, Paganini, Sarasate, Wieniawski, Heifetz, Menuhin, Oistrakh etc.), as the ideal of performing excellence in many accounts of the development of Western violin playing concerned the examination of mostly male virtuosos.² At the same time I was aware that there was a whole group of female violinists such as Kathleen Parlow (1890–1963), Erika Morini (1904–1995), Elizabeth Gilels (1919–2008) and Johanna Martzy (1924–1979) whose names were known only to a limited number of connoisseurs. Ida Haendel (b. 1918) and Ginette Neveu (1919–1949) were the only female violinists who were greatly admired in Russia, probably because Neveu, the winner of the first Henryk Wieniawski Violin Competition in 1935 in Warsaw (overcoming a 29-year-old David Oistrakh) and Haendel (one of the laureates of the same competition) became great exponents of the art of violin playing. Listening to their playing I found it every bit as ‘great’ as that of their more famous male colleagues. Consequently, the questions I began to ask were: Accepting that it is innately difficult to find the essential properties integral to female violin playing, what are the politics involved in the establishment and evaluation of the careers of female soloists? Was a female virtuoso really inseparable from her gender? If so, how can we understand the rise of female solo violinists and their particular achievements without understanding the gendered nature of the public spheres in society and the management of ‘the musical world’ (since the overwhelming majority of those engaged in the organisation and practice of the musical world have been men). Similarly, how convincingly can we argue that social peer pressure and cultural politics were responsible for the lesser reception of early female violinists and the lack of their posthumous memory, and would the result of a retrospective study be

¹ ‘Women Violinists of the Victorian Era’, *The Lady’s Realm* 5 (1899), p.654; cited in Gillett, Paula, *Musical Women in England 1870–1914* (New York: St Martin’s Press, 2000), p.140.

² Books such as Martens, Frederick H., *Violin Mastery* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1919), Farga, Franz, *Violins and Violinists* (London: Rockliff, 1950), Campbell, Margaret, *The Great Violinists* (London: Paul Elek Ltd., Granada publishing, 1980), Applebaum, Samuel, *The Way They Play* (series) (Paganiana Publishers, 1983), Schwarz, Boris, *Great Masters of the Violin: From Corelli and Vivaldi to Stern, Zukerman and Perlman* (New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1983) rarely mention female virtuosos or comment on their artistic legacy.

relevant to present-day female violinists? Hence, the following text will try to shed light on the issues of women and the violin.

Literature review

It is remarkable that while there is no significant evidence of what we might term ‘female’ violin playing, rather little attention has been given to its possible importance in the history of violin playing and its subsequent literature. However, in some of the major collections of essays on the subject in English, exploration of gendered aspects of traditional music theory, musical constructions of gender and sexuality, and the effect of gender bias in female musicians’ lives and careers, are central issues.³ The social and cultural metaphysics of Western society have thrived upon concepts of duality and the unity of opposites, for which gender difference was perhaps fundamental.⁴ Accordingly, Susan McClary has argued that the ‘masculine’ was always perceived as objective, normal and strong, and the ‘feminine’ as subjective, weak and abnormal.⁵ However, McClary’s criticism can be challenged, as by recognising the binary oppositions male/female as equal to male/strong/oppressor and female/weak/victim we should also recognise their incompleteness. Women are not always ‘victims’; indeed they can occupy a position of power and exhibit violent and oppressive behaviours, a fact seldom acknowledged by McClary. Yet, she is partly correct, as more or less institutionalised (patriarchal) relationships created a durable social network on the basis of such perceptions of gender.

William Weber, in *Music and the Middle Class 1830–1848* (1975), and Karin Pendle, in *Musical Women in Early Modern Europe: the Fifteenth Through the Eighteenth Century* (2001), analyse the new role of middle – and upper – class women in the development of the entertainment world, and the formation of public

³ See Ammer, Christine, *Unsung: A History of Women in American Music*, 2nd ed. (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1991); Bowers, Jane and Tick, Judith (eds.), *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition 1150-1950* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), McClary, Susan, *Feminine Endings: Music Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), Citron, Marcia, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), Pendle, Karin, *Women and Music: A History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), and Leppert, Richard and McClary, Susan (eds.), *Music and Society: The Politics of Composition, Performance and Reception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

⁴ According to Aristotle (384–322 BC), the Greek philosopher Protagoras (490–420 BC) used the terms masculine, feminine and neuter to classify nouns, introducing the concept of grammatical gender. While Western culture has come to view gender as a binary concept, with two rigidly fixed options – male/female – the Swahili language, has 16 options that fall under an umbrella of cultural-sexual identifications. Similarly, the *calabai* or *calalai* of Indonesia, two-spirit Native Americans, and the *hijra* of India represent more a complex understanding of gender diversity that exists throughout the Western world. <http://semantics.uchicago.edu/kennedy/classes/>; accessed 1st February 2014.

⁵ In the light of this argument McClary drew attention to Schoenberg’s mapping of major/minor from his *Theory of Harmony* and emphasised that Schoenberg defined major/masculine as ‘natural’ and minor/feminine as ‘unnatural.’ McClary, *Feminine Endings*, pp.10–11.

taste as the traditional aristocratic dominance of the music world eroded. They also point out that though wealthy or titled women were expected to be able to read music, to sing, to dance, and play at least one instrument, they were also required to limit their music making to home or court.⁶ Similarly, in *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-cultural Formation in Eighteenth Century England* (1993), Richard Leppert analyses the relation between music, visual representation and the human body.⁷ He focuses on domestic music making and locates the piano as a central factor in the political, social and cultural construction of femininity under the conditions of patriarchy. According to Leppert, a young nineteenth-century woman of genteel upbringing was encouraged to entertain her family and friends with her piano skills as her musical competence was an important prerequisite in the curriculum of middle – and – upper class young women in the marriage market. Furthermore, whilst her seated position was well suited to nineteenth-century ideals of female modesty (as no awkward motions or altered facial distortion detracted from her female beauty), her piano playing seemed to confirm the traditional expectation of women's perpetual readiness to serve others. In *The Sight of Sound* (1995), Leppert confirms that domestic music making lent male violinists an aura of potency and domination (thanks to the performer's standing position facing the audience whilst commanding a feminine shaped instrument), whereas for the household 'angels' it served to reaffirm a traditional, modest female identity within the social patterns governed by domesticity.

A common focus of Cyril Ehrlich's *The Music Profession in Britain since Eighteenth Century* (1989) and Paula Gillett's *Musical Women in England, 1870–1914* (2000) is women's participation in late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century English musical culture, and the perception of female musicians in the musical world being sharply divided by gender. Whilst Ehrlich offers statistics on women musicians, both teachers and performers, in the period 1861–1931, Gillett deals with shifting attitudes towards female violinists by tracing the demise of the 'informal ban' on female violin playing. The instrument's long-standing association with dance, death, sin and Satan together with supposedly defeminising aspects of violin playing restricted female playing in the period before the 1870s. However, by the 1890s, female violinists became fairly fashionable. Gillett identifies two main factors in changing the attitudes towards female violinists. Firstly, the wider advances in women's education (necessary for

⁶ Pendle, *Women and Music*, p.59.

⁷ Leppert, Richard, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-cultural Formation in Eighteenth Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

the *salonnières* to be able to exchange ideas, give criticism or discuss the works of intellectuals, artist and politicians) and secondly, the rise of chamber music leading to a search for a new high-status instrument in the drawing rooms of middle class. Moreover, she suggests that the rise in female violin playing could be associated with the nascent feminist movement and the image of the 'New' woman (who turned away from restrictions associated with traditional rules) and the development of new opportunities for female players.

The approach taken by Lucy Green in her book, *Music, Gender, Education* (1997) is similar, as she demonstrates how patriarchal attitudes towards women's music-making have been maintained and reproduced through history and suggests that at present music education still participates in the production of gendered musical practices.⁸ At the same time she addresses the effects of the perception of the performer's body on audiences and suggests that our aesthetic judgement of the performer's body depends on a 'socially caused overlay' (gender-based social and cultural norms of a particular time). Hence, the nineteenth-century audience's negative emotional reaction towards nineteenth-century women violinists partly lessened when patriarchal-based gender rules changed both inside and outside the musical world. Finally, Beth Abelson Macleod in her book *Women Performing Music: The Emergence of American Women as Classical Instrumentalists and Conductors* (2001) points out that a debilitating aspect of gender-based perceptions of musical instruments and professional women musicians (at a time when the extroverted mannerism of Romantic virtuosos was the antithesis of those qualities traditionally admired in women) partly altered or prevented women's musical growth.⁹

It is clear from the above that whilst feminist theorists have already addressed the effect of gender bias in the lives and careers of female musicians, there is no collective comprehensive account of the artistic achievements of female soloists in general and female violin soloists in particular. However, there have been selected studies about a few female musicians and violin virtuosos (soon to be indicated).¹⁰

⁸ Green, *Music, Gender, Education* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), Introduction. Similarly, the exploration of music as a gendered discourse continues to be addressed in more recent works from an interdisciplinary approach. In the collection of essays edited by Moisala, Pirko and Diamond, Beverly, *Music and Gender* (2000), Smart, Mary Ann, *Siren Songs: Representation of Gender and Sexuality in Opera* (2000) and Bernstein, Jane *Women's Voices across Musical Worlds* (2004), feminist theory and method also help launch a broad-based critique of the social formation of music practice in general.

⁹ Macleod, Beth Abelson, *Women Performing Music: The Emergence of American Women as Classical Instrumentalists and Conductors* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2001).

¹⁰ Accounts on female pianists and composers include, Reich, Nancy B., *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985, revised in 2001); Citron, Marcia J., *A*

It seems that female violinists who did attain public success have then been discriminated against in the subsequent male-dominated history of violin playing. Although female violinists broke down traditional gender-based patriarchal cultural norms in order to become celebrated soloists or to be leaders of chamber groups and symphony orchestras, they historically received little recognition for what they did. Hence, if this thesis is capable of shedding light on anything, it is that female violinists require a gendered, feminist perspective in order to restore their legacy and re-evaluate their place in the history of violin playing.

Apart from the biographies that might have reached a broad audience (and might therefore be of widespread significance), George Dubourg's *The Violin: Some Account of That Leading Instrument and Its Most Eminent Professors, from Its Earliest Date to the Present Time; with Hints to Amateurs, Anecdotes, etc.* (1836) is possibly the first broad study of the violin that (apart from chapters on the Italian, French, German and English schools of violin playing, amateur violinists and construction of the violin) includes a chapter on female violinists.¹¹ Whilst his writing may be perceived as patronising, the uniqueness of this book stems from the fact that Dubourg mentioned 'certain clever and spirited' women violinists who were ready to overcome the long-standing prejudices.¹² More than a half a century later, Henry C. Lahee, in his collections of biographical sketches of violinists, *Famous Violinists of Today and Yesterday* (1899) included a chapter on female violinists. Likewise, a few short biographies about female violinists are included in works of Frederick H. Martens, *Violin Mastery* (1919), Margaret Campbell, *The Great Violinists* (1980), Boris Schwarz, *Great Masters of the Violin* (1983), and Carl C. Flesch, *And Do You Also Play the Violin?* (1990). Here I would suggest that these books continue to be an empirical affirmation of masculinity in the history of violin playing, as an occasional female virtuoso's name or a chapter on female virtuosos seems to be more *tokenistic* than genuine recognition of their

Cécile Chaminade: A Bio-Bibliography (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1988); Block, Adrienne Fried, *Amy Beach, Passionate Victorian: The Life and Work of an American Composer, 1867-1944* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); Tick, Judith, *Ruth Crawford: A Composer's Search for American Music* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Hisama, Ellie, *Gendering Musical Modernism: The Music of Ruth Crawford, Marion Bauer, and Miriam Gideon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

¹¹ A lack of portrayal of women violinists is reflected in broad histories of violin playing written for general reader such as, Bachmann, Alberto, *An Encyclopaedia of the Violin*, trans. Frederic H. Martens (New York: Appleton, 1925, reprinted, New York: Da Capo, 1966), Farga, Franz, *Geigen und Geiger* (Zurich: Müller, 1940), (trans.) Egon Larsen, *Violins and Violinists* (New York: Macmillan, London: Rockliff, 1950), Nelson, Sheila, *The Violin and Viola: History, Structure, Techniques* (London: Benn, New York: Norton, 1972), Stowell, Robin (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to the Violin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), Menuhin, Yehudi and Meyer, Catherine, *The Violin* (Paris: Flammarion, 1996).

¹² Dubourg, George, *The Violin: Some account of That Leading Instrument and Its Most Eminent Professors, from Its Earliest Date to the Present Time; with Hints to Amateurs, Anecdotes, etc.* (London: Colburn, 1836), p.254.

artistry.¹³ Nonetheless, given the centrality of the issue of gender re-evaluation in the history of violin performance and its literature (especially for a wider public), the rare presence of female virtuosos is worthy of comment.

Furthermore, only a few accounts focus on particular late nineteenth century female violinists, such as Charles Bernard's, *Camilla: A Tale of a Violin* (1874), David Milsom's paper, 'Marie Soldat-Roeger (1863-1955): Her Significance to the Study of Nineteenth-Century Performing Practices' (2007), and Karen A. Shaffer's and Neva Garner Greenwood's biography, *Maud Powell, Pioneer American Violinist* (1988).¹⁴ The latter consists of a detailed account of Maud Powell's life and career and includes critics' commentaries from publications such as *Etude*, *Cosmopolitan* and *The New York Times*. In addition, Karen A. Shaffer's *Maud Powell Favorites* includes advertisements and publicity materials that provide insights into the strategies used to advertise this female soloist.¹⁵ Similarly Daniela Kohnen's article in *Das Orchester* (2000), 'Maud Powell in Berlin: Studienjahre der legendären amerikanischen Geigerin bei Joseph Joachim' discusses Powell's studies in Joachim's class in 1884 and 1885, Joachim's teaching methods, and Powell's career after her studies.¹⁶ Sources on the Australian-born violinist Alma Moodie include Peter Sulzer's book, *Ten Composers and Werner Reinhart* (Winterthur Stadtbibliothek 1980) that explores the few months before Alma Moodie's premiere of Pfitzner's violin concerto, Kay Dreyfus's writings, 'Alma Moodie and the Landscape of Giftedness' (2003) and her recently published book *Bluebeard's Bride: Alma Moodie, Violinist* (2014).¹⁷ While Shaffer and Dreyfus acknowledge Powell's and Moodie's exceptional artistry they neither investigate their lives and achievements through the lens of gender studies, nor do they

¹³ Besides Camilla Urso, Wilma Neruda and Maud Powell who appear in most of the literature on violin playing I would suggest the following names could be included as their contribution has been valuable: Santa della Pietà, Strinasacchi Regina, Elisabeth Filipowicz, Milanollo sisters, Shinner Emily, Gabriella Wietrowetz, Marie Soldat Roeger, Alma Moodie, Marie Hall, Kathleen Parlow, Geyer Stefi, Jelly d' Arányi etc.

¹⁴ Milsom, David, 'Marie Soldat-Roeger (1863-1955): Her Significance to the Study of Nineteenth-Century Performing Practices' (Leeds: University of Leeds, 2007). <http://www.leeds.ac.uk/music/dm-ahrc/Miscellaneous-violin-and-piano.shtml>. Shaffer, Karen A. and Greenwood, Neva Garner, *Maud Powell, Pioneer American Violinist* (Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1988).

¹⁵ Shaffer, Karen A. and Barton Pine, Rachel, *Maud Powell Favorites* (Arden, NC: Imagesmith Communications, 2009) is a collection in four volumes. It also includes Powell's own transcriptions, the Brahms violin concerto cadenza and music dedicated, commissioned by or associated with Powell.

¹⁶ Kohnen, Daniela, 'Maud Powell in Berlin: Studienjahre der legendären amerikanischen Geigerin bei Joseph Joachim', *Das Orchester* 48, no. 11 (2000), pp. 8-13; cited in Katz, Mark, *The Violin: A Research and Information Guide* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

¹⁷ Sulzer, Peter, *Ten Composers and Werner Reinhart* (Winterthur: Winterthur Stadtbibliothek, 1980), Dreyfus, Kay, 'Alma Moodie and the Landscape of Giftedness', *Australasian Music Research*, 7 (2003), pp.1-14. Dreyfus, Kay, *Bluebeard's Bride: Alma Moodie, Violinist* (Melbourne: Lyrebird Press, 2014). My original work consists of analysing the unpublished letters of Alma Moodie from 1921-1925 to her mentor and friend Werner Reinhart from the Winterthur Stadtbibliothek. In those letters, apart from personal matters, Moodie often discussed her collaboration with contemporary composers and musicians.

consider the impact of female gender within a historical narrative that is mainly focused upon important works and celebrated male virtuosi. More importantly, they do not reveal the depth of prejudice that continued even after the Second World War, when political and cultural movements such as the feminist movement and the student and public protests against social discrimination regarding race and sex helped to generate a more informed social conscience. In this sense a modification of the traditional, patriarchal evaluation of pioneer female violinists' virtuosic value and professional prowess would certainly allow for a better qualitative assessment of their artistry. Therefore, the primary purpose of this thesis is to address this gap and provide further gender-based perspectives on these early female violinists whose artistry often remains in obscurity.

In order to re-examine the partiality of commonly held views about the legacy of late nineteenth century female violinists, this thesis, by means of published biographies, reviews of concerts, violin works, correspondence, photographs and records, will explore how gender issues shaped their careers and affected their historical reception. Hence, the partial aim of this study is to demonstrate the ways in which an individual's gender and corresponding socially constructed gender identity, could influence how pioneering female violinists were perceived, accepted, and partly discriminated against in the male dominated world of art-music and the history of violin playing.

To focus upon the late nineteenth century is not an arbitrary choice, as cultural events by this time included all types of concerts, opera and ballet. The implication here is that music, as a reflection of a wider culture, provides a fruitful area in which to investigate the complex relationship between gender, sexuality and culture. The relegation of women to the private sphere (that has risen out of women's association with motherhood) formed a basis for the division of nineteenth century Western society into unequally valued domestic and public spheres, each the province of a different gender. Hence, when the whole subject is set in the context of nineteenth century art-music culture, it is possible to identify various levels of discrimination towards female musicians in general, such as the prevention of women's full participation in music-making; in particular, institutional obstacles because of females' assumed intellectual inferiority and their apparent 'lack' of concentration and physical strength which precluded them from attaining 'mastery' in the first place. At the same time the scarcity of remarkable female violinists, a result of inadequate educational opportunities, perpetuated the myth that they were less capable than male violinists. Furthermore, this indicates

that the marginalisation of female players was partly due to antiquated views of gender roles and culturally derived notions of the incompatibility of ideals of womanhood on the one hand and virtuosity on the other. In addition, the inequities between the status and opportunities of male and female violinists of the time was partly possible because of the ‘ascribed’ specific gender definition of the violin and its master, something I will discuss in detail later. Because of the parameters of this thesis I will mainly deal with gender issues and ‘musical patriarchy’ that led to a disparate view of male and female violinists, thus drawing on other forms of oppression, such as class, race and ethnicity only when their impact is gender specific.¹⁸

The second part of this thesis, resulting from the above, is the exploration of the careers and artistic legacy of three late nineteenth century female violinists who at this transitional period became noted virtuosos. The American Maud Powell (1867–1920), known today largely because of the Maud Powell Society’s efforts to preserve her legacy and the American violinist Rachel Barton Pine who, in 2007 released a CD *American Virtuosa: Tribute to Maud Powell*, Cedille Records CDR 90000 097). The Briton Marie Hall (1884–1956, remembered mainly because of her acoustic recording of Elgar concerto, and the Australian-born Alma Moodie (1898–1943) who was a favourite pupil of Carl Flesch.¹⁹ The public success of my chosen violinists represents something of a paradox: although they swam against the tide, at the time, they gained immense public recognition (Powell and Hall toured from Canada to Hawaii and from Russia to South Africa and New Zealand) and gained critical respect thanks to their artistry.

As this thesis will demonstrate in due course, the importance of these violinists from a prism of gender studies lies in their confrontation with the social and cultural norms (initially ‘prescribed’ for women’s amateur domestic music making). Through their appearances on concert platforms they encouraged other women to study the violin professionally in order to take their equal place alongside male musicians. Likewise, whilst many of their female colleagues ended their promising careers prematurely, they continued the advancement of their careers after marriage and childbearing, something particularly progressive for the

¹⁸ The vast majority of women belonged to the working class and were forced to work in a very small range of poorly paid occupations. Music and its performance was, for a long time, connected with the wealthier middle class as an indicator to demarcate itself as sharply as possible from the working class. Music was seen as an asset for well-bred young ladies and being able to play piano or sing gave them an opportunity to demonstrate their education and grace to possible suitors.

¹⁹ On *American Virtuosa: Tribute to Maud Powell*, Rachel Barton Pine and pianist Matthew Hagle perform twenty-one works by seventeen composers. Most of the pieces were arranged or transcribed by Powell and were commissioned or dedicated to Powell.

time. Moreover, at a time when social norms encouraged the idolisation of female singers and male virtuosos, they were part of the exceptional few who performed with many great European and American conductors and orchestras. Indeed, they had the courage to premiere then-contemporary music and give first performances of large-scale violin pieces at a time when these works were often considered by conductors and their male colleagues to be unplayable, i.e. too difficult for the performer (especially a female performer). Moreover, at a time when the usual combination of singers and instrumentalists was deemed necessary to hold an audience's interest, Powell gained acceptance for a different concert format, namely one consisting of solely two performers, a female violinist and pianist. In addition, in their innovative solo recitals they not only performed established concertos, sonatas and virtuoso pieces but also frequently introduced new works and thus shifted the emphasis from standard violin repertoire to pieces demanding new modes of stylistic expression. Finally, Maud Powell and Marie Hall recognised the importance of recordings for the popularisation of music and became the first female violinists with an extensive recording legacy.

Whilst there are other female recording violinists of that time, such as Marie Roeger-Soldat (1864-1955), Adila Fachiri (1889-1962) and Kathleen Parlow (1890-1963), etc. I have not included their renditions. The working assumption is that few recorded performances of these late nineteenth-century artists retain significant elements of the nineteenth-century style of playing, which led to their prominence in the first place.²⁰ Likewise, it can be argued that whilst then-contemporary circumstances caused Soldat-Roeger to remain wedded to the traditional inter-relationship of power dynamics (thanks to her close friendship with the patriarchal figures of Brahms and Joachim) my chosen violinists resisted those broader social, cultural ideologies and a mimetic relationship (often central to teaching practices in the nineteenth century) in order to become celebrated soloists at that time.²¹ Indeed, Marie Roeger-Soldat's recorded legacy, which reflects Joachim's repertoire, has already been researched to a great extent by David Milsom. He confirms that Roeger-Soldat continued to be associated with the

²⁰ Whilst James Creighton re-issued Soldat-Roeger acoustic discs in an L.P. transfer in the 1980s and Pavilion records re-released her performance of the slow movement of Spohr's 9th violin concerto as part of their CD compilations in 1990s, Soldat-Roeger's recordings have not been re-issued in modern format perhaps due to a relatively long history of less complimentary comments from Tully Potter, James Creighton, William Cobbett and Michael Musgrave. *The Recorded Violin* Vol.1, Pavilion Records, catalogue no. BVA1. Musgrave, Michael, 'Marie Soldat 1863-1955: An English Perspective', in Reinmar Emans and Mattias Wendt (eds.), *Berträge zur Geschichte des Konzerts Festschrift Siegfried Kross zum 60. Geburtstag*, (Gund Schröder, Bonn, 1990), p.326; cited in Milsom, 'Marie Soldat-Roeger (1863-1955)', pp.1-2.

²¹ In that sense Joachim's guidance differed from Auer's who 'had always insisted on one great principle that his pupils express themselves, and not try to express him.' Auer, Leopold, *Violin Playing as I Teach it* (New York: Frederick Strokes Company, 1921), p.83.

Brahms-Joachim tradition, similarly to Adila Fachiri (1886-1962), as their performances are closely based on ‘classical’ nineteenth-century models, something that is perhaps surprising, given the relatively late date of these recordings.²² Their playing style shows that some of Joachim’s musical mannerisms and his strategies for the location of expressive devices (such as rubato, vibrato and portamento) were long-lasting and recurrent in their performances. In a review published in 1925 of a performance of Bach’s Concerto for Two Violins in D minor BWV 1043, a critic commented that ‘the solo parts stand out for their difference in style; Adila Fachiri’s classical restraint and Jelly d’Arányi’s (1893-1966) romantic warmth,’ thus confirming that Fachiri’s playing retained many of the stylistic characteristics associated with the nineteenth century practice.²³ Kathleen Parlow’s (1890-1963) recording legacy is primarily based on her performances with *The Canadian Trio* (1941-44) and *The Parlow String Quartet* (1943-1958), rather than on her 78s acoustic recordings of short solo pieces (recorded between 1914 and 1916 for Columbia Records). This suggests that perhaps her chamber music renditions are artistically and historically more valued.²⁴ At the same time Maud Powell and Marie Hall appear particularly compelling figures in the history of early recordings firstly because they were the first female violinists with an extensive recording legacy, secondly, Marie Hall left several very interesting recordings including that of the Elgar violin concerto under composer’s baton and finally, some of Powell’s recordings became worldwide bestsellers demonstrating that her celebrity status at the time and her style of playing had international appeal.

In order to ascertain their remote place in the history of the violin (especially in the cases of Hall and Moodie) I will mainly consider two types of evidence: analysis of their careers and reception from a gender perspective and an examination of their progressive role in promoting then-contemporary works, something that has remained unexplored in the broader artistic and cultural context of the era in question. Apart from that, a relevant analysis of a relatively small sample of Powell’s and Hall’s recordings and scores is proposed. Clearly, as this thesis

²² Adila Fachiri was a pupil of Jenő Hubay (1858-1937) a former student of Joachim. Her recordings (rec. c. 1928) of the Beethoven Violin Sonata in G, Op. 96 with Sir Donald Francis Tovey (1875-1940) reveal the general informal rhythmic style of the late nineteenth-century period. Philip, *Early Recordings and Musical Style, Changing tastes in instrumental performance, 1900-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p.62.

²³ Unsigned review, *The Times* 14th September 1925, British Library collection.

²⁴ Contrary to Maud Powell, Marie Hall and Alma Moodie, Marie Soldat-Roger, Gabrielle Wietrowetz (1866-1937) and Kathleen Parlow regularly performed chamber music concerts during their lifetimes. The Soldat-Roeger Quartet held concerts from 1895 to 1914 and the Wietrowetz Quartet from 1905 to 1923. As they remained present, both as soloists and chamber music players in musical life, their careers possibly serve as a good example for a social conditioning of female soloists.

relates the artistry of my chosen violinists to the transitional period of rapid stylistic changes (in which they themselves were active) it has been necessary to consider the recordings of a few of their male counterparts in an attempt to catalogue and compare various features representative in their performances. The purpose of this, in this regard, is to find evidence that their playing already possessed potentially more ‘progressive’ stylistic tendencies similar to their male contemporaries, such as, Sarasate (1844-1903), Ysaÿe (1858-1931) and Hubay (1858-1937) whose performing style has often been linked to the evolution of modern playing.²⁵ It might be argued, with some validity, that some of Powell’s and Hall’s renditions suggest their readiness to move from intrinsically nineteenth-century values in areas such as tempo, phrasing, and even vibrato.

Although one might highlight the imperative to consult a wider range of recorded material, it is recognised that early acoustic recordings can be problematic; firstly, recording conditions may have a significant effect on the performance, secondly, the dim sound-world of early recordings permits only partial transmission of accurate empirical data about the style of playing and finally, due to the durational limitations of early recordings only a fraction of repertoire is recorded. The implication here is, to paraphrase Milsom’s comment on Joachim’s recording legacy, ‘their recordings hardly reflect their normal repertoire and can only incomplete testify to their manner of interpretation.’²⁶ Likewise, the use of recorded renditions as the principal method of analysis was redundant in the case of Alma Moodie, as she did not leave any recordings. Whilst one might argue that this particular violinist is a special case, it is my belief that the main part of the historical significance of my chosen violinists lies in the development of modern violin repertoire (especially large-scale works), that were unfortunately never recorded by them. Whilst this in itself can be problematic in terms of aural proof, Powell’s and Hall’s early recordings seem to represent the only direct evidence of their ‘old-fashioned’ style and thus partly contributed to the lesser acceptance of their artistry.²⁷ Although it would be wrong to assume that the players in this study would have been ‘inferior’ based on this view (as their playing style is a mixture of refinement, tastefulness and virtuosity), unschooled ears may find acoustic renditions worthy of such criticism, especially if they are too ready to take their

²⁵ Milsom, David, *Theory and Practice in Late Nineteenth Century Violin Performance, An Examination of Style in Performance, 1850-1900* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003), p.206.

²⁶ Milsom, ‘Marie Soldat-Roeger (1863-1955)’, p.7.

²⁷ Milsom points out that the change of attitude towards early recording artists comes from increasing familiarity and, indeed, acceptance that what one hears is not quaintly and irrelevantly ‘old fashioned’ but respectably (and indeed fascinatingly) ‘historical.’ Milsom, ‘Marie Soldat-Roeger (1863-1955)’, p.3.

recordings at face value. Indeed, James Creighton's comment in his sleeve note to MB1019 serves as an example of this type of depreciation of the artistry of early female violinists:

"There is a simplicity of style and a rather cool purity about her playing that appears to exclude any trace of individualism. The tonal nuances are few."²⁸

Similarly, Tully Potter suggests in his article in *The Strad* magazine in 1996:

"Inevitably, in spite of the reassuring presence of the well-known Viennese accompanist Otto Schulhof, she sounds a little inhibited on some of the 78 rpm discs. One can imagine this dignified middle-aged lady being somewhat fazed by her first experience of having to play into the acoustic recording horn while standing stock still – any excessive movement would affect the volume of sound. Nevertheless, the records convey the loftiness and nobility of her musical intentions, even if they do not suggest the power she must have produced in her heyday."²⁹

Moreover, critical opinion like this underlines the vulnerability of Soldat's, and perhaps other late nineteenth century female violinists' reception that it is based on acoustic recordings of poor technical quality and possibly influenced by the nature of the repertoire recorded. It is tempting to speculate whether the lasting impression of the violinists in this study would have been rather different had they recorded the pieces they premiered or had they had a chance to record after 1925 when the electric microphone was introduced. Hence, it is my belief that if we change the focus from their recorded renditions towards their careers and creative input into the contemporary works that they premiered, we can perhaps have a more complete picture of their legacy and possibly more fairly access their 'progressive' role in the changing stylistic 'traits and trends' at the dawn of the twentieth-century.³⁰ Likewise, one might argue that without recordings (as in a case of Alma Moodie) it would be very difficult to demonstrate a performer's individual style of playing or to analyse its development from a position of empirical certainty. Nevertheless, it is my belief that the stylistic demands required remain representative in their choice of repertoire and consequently need to be correctly interpreted. Whilst it could be argued that there is an element of uncertainty here, as discussion will suggest, useful observations can be made based on the ability to draw parallels and relate evidence to previous investigations.

²⁸ Creighton, James, sleeve note to Marie Soldat-Roeger's disk MB1019; cited in Milsom, 'Marie Soldat-Roeger (1863-1955)', p.1.

²⁹ Tully Potter, 'Brahms' Understudy – Brahms' protégé: the violinist Marie Soldat-Roeger', *The Strad*, Volume 107 (December 1996), p.1320; cited in Milsom, 'Marie Soldat-Roeger (1863-1955)', pp.1-2.

³⁰ Milsom, *Theory and Practice*, p.207.

Researchers such as Clive Brown, Robert Philip and David Milsom (who have already undertaken a great amount of very sophisticated and detailed analysis of nineteenth century violinists' practice and recordings) have suggested that the gestation of more intrinsically twentieth-century stylistic values (particularly in terms of continuous vibrato and the more economical use of portamento) is already evident in renditions of younger players of the period in question, such as Sarasate, Ysaÿe and Hubay.³¹ Accordingly, Robert Philip suggests that at the dawn of the twentieth century the spread of new approaches to violin-playing seemed to be due more to the influence of charismatic individual performers (especially Ysaÿe, Hubay, Kreisler, Sammons and later Heifetz) than to any particular schools, national or otherwise.³² Hence, this study will attempt to outline the matching importance of my chosen violinists in late nineteenth-century violin performance, as the history of violin playing seems to stress the primacy of their male counterparts for the birth of a more modern style of playing. In that sense, I would argue that the female violinists in this study, thanks to their involvement in the development of modern violin repertoire, were equally at the forefront of a stylistically complex transitional period at the dawn of the twentieth century.

At the same time specific conclusions concerning the constituent elements of this study are harder to make if we do not investigate gender-related (political, social and cultural) restrictions that shaped the lives and careers of other female violinists. Whilst only token exceptions had so transcended the boundaries of the nineteenth-century as to be regarded irrefutable among the finest violinists of the day, other women violinists had yet to storm the citadel represented by the deeply rooted male domination of the top symphony orchestras. The issue of morality (as female players were considered to be a distraction) and persisted attitudes regarding the appropriateness of particular instruments on the basis of gender and women's ability to function as orchestral player due to the lack of stamina certainly help the exclusion of women within orchestras otherwise populated by male players.³³ These views reflected the gentrification of the top symphony orchestras and demonstrated that there was very little prospect of women playing in them, let alone leading one. When in 1913, Sir Henry Wood, Director of the Queen's Hall Orchestra, hired six female string players, violinists and violists, his example stood

³¹ Milsom, *Theory and Practice*, p.206.

³² Philip, Robert, *Performing Music in the Age of Recording* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), p.194.

³³ An article in an 1895 issue of *Scientific American* stated that women are fundamentally weaker than men in all that makes for endurance, certainly, a quality necessary for an orchestral musician, "Her physical incapacity to endure the strain of four or five hours a day rehearsal, followed by the prolonged tax of public performances, will bar her against possible competition with male performers. "Orchestral Women," *Scientific American* 73 (23rd November, 1895, p.327; cited in Macleod, *Women Performing Music*, p.15.

virtually alone amongst all major orchestras.³⁴ Although some female violinists gained recognisable public success, well into the twentieth century great musicians such as Sir Thomas Beecham (1879–1961) objected to mixed-sex orchestras as this meant that he had to “behave like a gentleman”, inhibiting his perhaps more down-to-earth style during rehearsals that included comments such as:

“Madam, you have between your legs an instrument capable of giving pleasure to thousands, and all you can do is scratch it.”³⁵

At the same time Sir Thomas Beecham found the presence of attractive women in the orchestra distracting because:

“If she is attractive I can’t play with her, and if she is not then I won’t.”³⁶

Even in 1997, the same view of the gendered “musical patriarchy”, to borrow Lucy Green’s words, in which violin mastery was emblematic of general male superiority, was confirmed by the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra’s decision to exclude all women with the exception of a female harpist.³⁷ It therefore remained true to the dictum of its most famous conductor, Herbert von Karajan (1908–1989) that, “a woman’s place is in the kitchen, not in the symphony orchestra.”³⁸ Thus, although in the modern era female players have assumed positions of leadership as first-chair players, the stereotypical notions that limited musical growth in the mid-nineteenth century still continue today, although in an attenuated form.³⁹ The instruments commonly played by women are still those that allow them to look

³⁴ The famous violinist Eugene Ysaÿe (1858–1931) advocated women’s playing in the orchestra and found their work equal to that of male musicians. On his advice Sir Henry Wood accepted six female musicians in his orchestra and later admitted that he never regretted his decision. At the same time he commented that although women can play the violin he, “does not like ladies playing the trombone or double bass.” *The Observer*, ‘Future of music: Interview with Sir Henry Wood’, 2nd June 1918, p.7. See also Schwarz, *Great Masters of the Violin*, p.290.

³⁵ <http://www.magle.dk/music-forums/8247-sir-thomas-beecham-quotes.html>; accessed 2nd April 2014.

³⁶ Beecham, Thomas, *The Position of Women in Music* (New York: Conde Nast Publications, Inc., 1942), p.420.

³⁷ Green, Lucy, *Music Gender, Education* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p.15. However, there is a slight progress and even the Vienna Philharmonic understood that there is a creative potential in the other half of humanity. In 2005 an Australian conductor Simone Young became the first woman conductor to conduct the orchestra. In 2008, the Bulgarian-born violinist Albena Danailova became the first woman to lead the Vienna Philharmonic and for its televised 2014 New Year’s Day Concert, the Vienna Philharmonic did field a record nine female players (out of ninety on stage).

³⁸ Cook, Nicholas, *Music: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p.107.

³⁹ Despite the increase of female players in orchestras, sexual discrimination continued through economic means. Orchestras with budgets under \$1.3 million tend to be more than 50 per cent female, while among America’s 25 top orchestras the proportion of women is closer to 30 per cent. About 29 per cent of the LSO’s members are women compared to 14 per cent in the Berlin Philharmonic, 28 per cent in the Dresden Symphony Orchestra, 36 per cent in the Russian National Orchestra and 40 per cent in the Boston SO, Chicago SO and LA Philharmonic. Pendle, Karin Anna, *Women in Music: A History* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1991), pp.359-61.

graceful, relatively few women have succeeded as conductors, and choices regarding marriage and family continue to pose problems for female musicians. Even as recently as August 2013 the principal conductor of the Oslo Philharmonic, the National Youth Orchestra and the Royal Philharmonic in Britain, Vasily Petrenko, revealed the same attitude when he commented to the Norwegian paper *Aftenposten* that ‘orchestras react better when they have a man in front of them.’ He added that:

“When conducted by a man, musicians encounter fewer erotic distractions (...) and focus more on the music.” Similarly he stated, “When women have families, it becomes difficult to be as dedicated as is demanded in the business.”⁴⁰

Those statements reveal that the restrictive views about women performing music and their undermining aspects of gender stereotyping are still partly present.

Regardless of on-going transformations, the field of violin teaching has exhibited the same ‘problem’. Perhaps it is not an exaggeration to say that despite the prominence of women in elementary school teaching, the teaching of instrumental music in the state sector became a predominantly male speciality.⁴¹ Ironically, although nineteenth-century musical women were encouraged to teach music thanks to their feminine nature that was ‘innately’ suited to the task, ‘the male expert’ phenomenon (also noted in other professions) became responsible for almost exclusive male instrumental teaching in higher education. The expectation that the music supervisor would conduct the orchestra became a significant factor for women musicians’ exclusion in schools. Placing educational responsibility in the hands of women who could be then controlled by their male superiors meant continuing the identification of men with higher knowledge and leadership. Only after women claimed equal rights with men and the old accepted theories of what is ‘womanly’ gradually began to change did musical women at the dawn of the twentieth century start to “encroach on all male privileges.”⁴²

⁴⁰ Paget, Clive, ‘Vasily Petrenko under fire for remarks on women conductors’, *Limelight*, The classical Music & Art website, 13th August 2013, <http://www.limelightmagazine.com.au>; accessed 1st September 2013.

⁴¹ Between 1950 and 1980 the percentage of women receiving a Master’s degree grew from about a third to half of the total and the proportion of those who received a PhD nearly doubled between 1970 and 1980. At the same time this developments had no impact on academic employment, and women constituted less than a quarter of college staffs, according to the statistics provided by the National Associations of Schools of Music, that gave the figure as 22 per cent for 1974–1975 and 23 per cent for 1981–1982. Even at present the proportion of women decreases further up the ranks, making up 33 per cent of Associate Professors and 25 per cent of full Professors. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/public/page>; accessed 1st March 2014.

⁴² Henry Chorley’s (1808–1872) comment in the *The Athenaeum*, February 20th, 1869 about the performances of pioneer women soloists Wilma Neruda (1838–1911) and Camilla Urso (1842–1902); cited in Gillett, *Musical Women in England*, p.79.

According to Madeleine Grumet:

“The contradictions that evolved in the nineteenth century between the doctrine of maternal love and the practice of harsh and regimented authority, between women’s dominance in numbers and their exclusion from leadership, between the overwhelming presence of women in classrooms and the continuing identification of men as the only person with the capacity to know, are still present in the culture of schooling.”⁴³

Perhaps it is hardly unexpected that while great violin teachers, such as Joseph Joachim (1831–1907), Leopold Auer (1845–1930), August Wilhelmj (1845–1908), Otakar Ševčík (1852–1934) and Carl Flesch (1873–1944), had female pupils who gained fame, the most prominent heirs chosen to teach the specific traditions of a particular ‘school’ were usually male violinists.⁴⁴ In this respect, in an era when females were considered suitable as elementary teachers, female virtuosos had great difficulty finding a place in the field of advanced violin teaching and rarely held supervisory positions.⁴⁵ Very few female violinists that studied with great teachers became professors at the European or American conservatories. Gabriele Wietrowetz (1866–1937), one of foremost violinists in Europe at the dawn of the twentieth century, was, on Joachim’s recommendation hired in the winter semester 1901/1902 as ‘an extraordinary teacher of violin playing’ in the Hochschule für Music, Berlin. Likewise, Eduard Hanslick in 1897 demanded that the Vienna Conservatory appoint Marie Soldat-Roeger (1863–1955, an Austrian violinist) as a professor and asked for the professional equality for women artists. It is not clear if Wilma Neruda (1838–1911) was teaching at the Royal Manchester College of Music but her sister Olga (a pupil of Clara Schumann) was a member of the first

⁴³ Grumet, Madeleine R., *Bitter Milk: Women and Teaching* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), p.45.

⁴⁴ A school of violin playing can be seen of as a combination of two elements, the method (technique) of how one plays the violin, and the overall philosophy of making music. The notion of three schools of violin playing: the ‘German’ (led by Joachim), the ‘Franco-Belgian’ (led by Ysaÿe) and the ‘Russian’ (led by Leopold Auer), is referred to regularly by many teachers and players, such as Carl Flesch. One distinguishing feature of the three ‘schools’ was their contrasting styles of bowing and therefore tone production. The German tradition was to keep the elbow of the bowing arm low, to use broad bowing and very little vibrato, while the Belgian method with a raised elbow facilitated a greater variety of bow-strokes and a sweet vibrant tone. The Russian method combined the ‘Russian grip’ style of bowing that allows agility of bowing together with powerful tone and an intense, fast vibrato. However, although much has been written about specific ‘schools’ of playing, it can be argued that they can never be clearly defined. Frederick Neumann in his *Violin Left Hand Technique* states that, “national schools resist clear definition. (...) As a ‘method’ the Russian school is a myth”. Neumann, Frederick, *Violin Left Hand Technique* (Urbana: American String Teachers Association, 1969), pp.8–9. Similarly, David Milsom suggests that, “schools should be considered a necessary but flawed means of organising our viewpoints upon styles of violin playing” and that, “the scope and influence of a school can never really be defined.” Milsom, *Theory and Practice*, pp.13–18.

⁴⁵ Likewise, the Paris Conservatoire engaged only 26 women among its 345 teachers between 1795 and 1895. The Brussels Conservatory taught its male and female students on different days of the week, and the famous piano teacher Marie Pleyel, unlike her male colleagues, was allowed only to instruct women. Clark, Linda L., *Women and Achievement in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p.101.

teaching staff in 1983. Edith Robinson (1867–1940), a pupil of Adolph Brodsky (1851–1929), was listed as a ‘visiting teacher’ at the Manchester High School for Girls and taught violin and chamber music at the Royal Manchester College of Music from 1907 until the mid-1930s.⁴⁶ Alma Moodie (1898–1943), a pupil of Carl Flesch, was appointed a professor of violin at the Hoch’schen Konservatorium in Frankfurt am Main in 1937, a position she held until the 1940s.

David Milsom’s map of key genealogical relationships in nineteenth-century violin pedagogy confirms a high degree of invisibility of female violinists in the history of playing. Although in some aspects it could appear over-simplified, as it does not include students who had more than one teacher, it certainly clarifies the fact that no single female violinist’s name is associated with a great tradition of violin playing. See Figure 1 below:

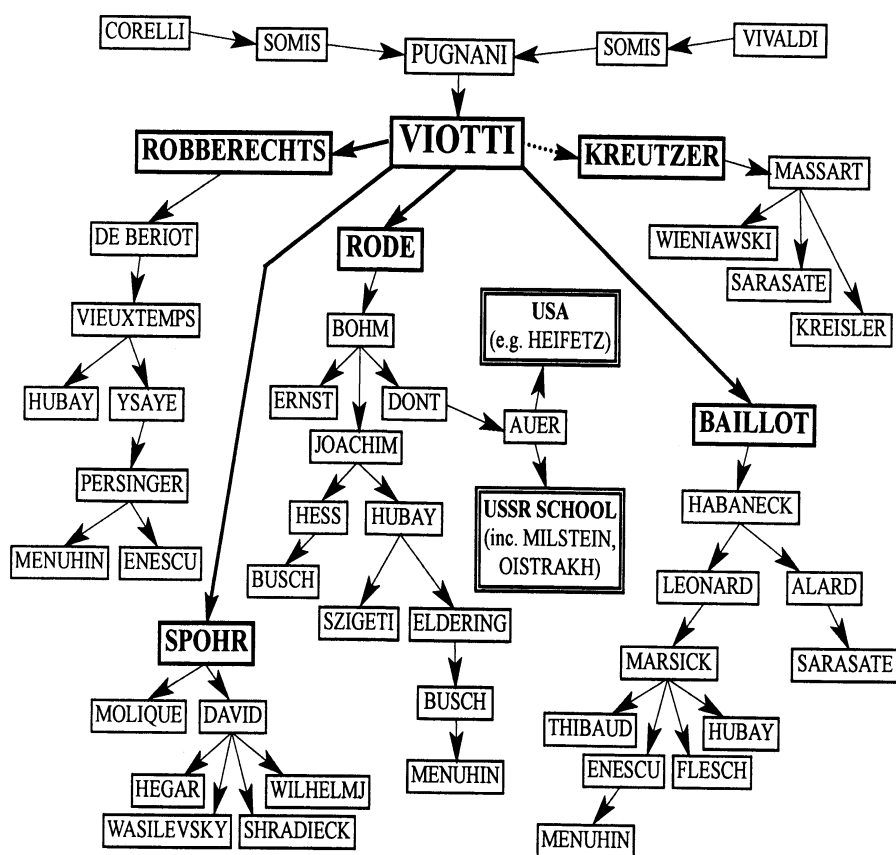


Figure 1. Some Key Genealogical Relationships in Nineteenth-Century Violin Pedagogy⁴⁷

⁴⁶ http://mugi.hfmt-hamburg.de/Artikel/Edith_Robinson; accessed 15th October 2013.

⁴⁷ Milsom, *Theory and Practice*, p.15.

A similar problem can be seen in international violin competitions. Even though talented female violin students generally outnumber their male colleagues, males have maintained the lead at those events. Although the first winner of the Wieniawski International Competition in 1935 was Ginette Neveu, it took 24 years for a female violinist to win the first prize at the Tchaikovsky International Competition, when in 1982 Viktoria Mullova shared the first prize with Sergei Stadler. Similarly, the first female winner of the Queen Elisabeth International Competition was Miriam Fried, who took first prize in 1971, 34 years after the first competition. In addition, the recording industry, a potent cultural force and incredibly important tool in spreading the fame of those artists whom it favoured, has reflected the common gendered feature. The disregard of women soloists by impresarios and record company executives alike (mostly males) seems to be a self-fulfilling prophecy.⁴⁸ These men generally expected women violinists to play like a man (violin virtuosity was generally associated with masculinity since it was understood to require considerable strength and potency) and recording contracts were generally offered only to those rare female violinists considered masters of their instrument. Hence, compared with their male counterparts, pioneering female violinists were at a disadvantage, as they rarely had an opportunity to record, and when they did, being seen outside of the mainstream, their recordings often received less critical acclaim, a factor that affected the wider public recognition of their artistry. The extent to which such attitudes remain wedded to earlier aesthetics in the present music industry is open to question, however an article in *The Times* in January 2014 entitled ‘Women are still at the Bach’ states that the online listings site for classical music bachtrack.com has compiled some fascinating statistics.

“Of the 100 busiest conductors in the listings last year, just one (Marin Alsop) was a woman, and she was in 70th position. Worse still, there were no women at all among the 100 most-performed composers; highest placed, in 182nd position, was Clara Schumann, who died in 1896. (...) At that breathless rate of progress, women will achieve parity in classical music by the end of the century at the very earliest.”⁴⁹

Whilst such an opinion could be seen as a throwaway journalistic remark, we are yet to witness a steady improvement in the profile of female classical artists, and so I believe that the apparent present imbalance is still worthy of comment.

⁴⁸ Likewise, in an article from 7th February 2013, the Senior Vice President of the Recording Academy, Nancy Shapiro confirmed that the music industry is as a whole predominantly male. <http://www.womenyoushouldknow.net>; accessed 1st June 2014.

⁴⁹ *The Times*, Friday 17th January 2014, supplement 2, p.2. Neither conductors, such as Antonia Brico, Ethel Leginska, Jo Ann Falletta, nor female composers, such as Ethel Smyth, Amy Beach, or Dora Pejačević, were on the list.

As the following chapters will demonstrate, the lack of recognition of late nineteenth-century female violinists' achievements in the history of violin playing is the result of numerous factors, including the gender-based attitudes of those inside and outside the world of music, or perhaps because these players' careers came to fruition before the era of recording had really taken off. However, such views do not take into account that most aspects of historical study are essentially based upon researchers' interpretation. If history is a cognitive ordering of past events, the understanding of historical data depends on the historians (a great majority of whom were male) who interpret them.⁵⁰ Hence, the most disturbing element for me is the fact that the history of violin playing is generally not only perceived as moving from one great male violinist to the next, but it is often presented as such.⁵¹ Thus, it seems that the long-standing Greek conviction that the music of strings is Apollonian (i.e. manly) is still, to some extent, reflected in our limited awareness of female violin pioneers' achievements.⁵² As this thesis will demonstrate in due course, there is no clear evidence that their artistry was secondary to their male counterparts, such as, Eugène Ysaÿe (1858-1931), Fritz Kreisler (1875–1962), Jacques Thibaud (1880–1953), and Joseph Szigeti (1892–1973) amongst others, apart from the gender-based metaphors that often circulate in accounts of the history of the violin that possibly misrepresent it.

The first chapter explores women violinists' ties to corporeality, gender and society. It begins by describing the concept of gender and the corresponding socially constructed gender identity that had an influential effect on both the repression of female violinists' musical practices throughout history and their acceptance (thanks to a number of quantifiable factors intimately bound up with the mind-set of the associated epoch). In that sense, feminist researchers gave some indications, by means of their suggestions, as to what extent the gender politics at the dawn of the twentieth century are responsible for the devaluation of women's musical activities, their achievements, and the inferior historical judgement bestowed upon them. The central part of this chapter outlines the key aesthetic

⁵⁰ Although feminist researchers could be accused of the same, it is my belief that they rightly pointed out that there is a room for more profound social-historical work that would demonstrate how undervalued women musician have been in general and consequently ask for a more balanced view of female violinists legacy in the history of music.

⁵¹ The cult of individual masculine genius and female inspiration present from the Romantic era onwards appears to have had longstanding consequences. See Gillett, *Musical Women in England 1870–1914*, p.103.

⁵² Apollo's music was formally ordered, in a major key, rhythmically regular and was played on stringed instruments such as the kithara and lyre (the ancestor of many European bowed instruments). Asbo, Kayleen, 'The Lyre and the Drum: Dionysius and Apollo throughout Music History', pp.1–2. See also Broad, William J., *The Oracle: The lost secrets and hidden messages of ancient Delphi* (New York: Penguin, 2000).

ideals surrounding late nineteenth-century violin playing and the rise of female violin virtuosity. Similarly, it considers the impact of education on the emergence of female violinists and briefly reflects on the new working opportunities, which had been unavailable to female violinists of a previous era.

In order to provide a more complete picture of the artistic impact that Powell, Hall and Moodie had on audiences and critics, the second chapter will concentrate on their wider reception. The intention here is to demonstrate specific challenges that these female violinists faced at the dawn of the twentieth century and how gender issues affected their merits as players and consequently their legacy. Therefore, I will focus on a conceptual understanding of a traditional, patriarchal estimation of virtuosity together with a comparative assessment of the artistry of their male counterparts to offer a fairer qualitative assessment.

The following three chapters on Powell, Hall and Moodie are deliberately chronological, in the hope of establishing the sequence of their careers and delivering a sense of the complexities of the life of a late nineteenth-century touring female virtuoso and the gradual sense of social and cultural changes around their acceptance. Within this context the life stories of my chosen violinists are a fine example of the impact of social conditioning on particular individuals, who, throughout their artistic lives, sought to break the taboo of the concept of the female virtuoso. Indeed, their possible importance is so singularly bound up with the milieu in which they worked, that without such a contextualisation their life stories would possibly amount to a bare repository of facts. Therefore, in the third chapter, before focusing on Maud Powell's life and artistic achievements, I briefly examine musical life in the United States towards the end of the nineteenth century and female musicians' place in it. As the chapter progresses it looks into Maud Powell's life and her artistic achievements, revealing an extraordinary determination and devotion to music and violin playing, as she concertised extensively in every corner of America as well as internationally. At the same time she was a powerful educational force, as she was fully aware of the nation's musical shortcomings and at great personal sacrifice she guided America's early musical efforts. The last part of the chapter deals with the early recording industry in America and Powell's recorded heritage and its place in history.

In the next chapter I explored the deep intertwining of Marie Hall's own life story with the rise of female violin virtuosity in Great Britain. This is partly revealed through a study materials from the archives of Gloucestershire County Council.

Further I investigated Marie Hall's collaboration with composer Vaughan Williams and why he dedicated *The Lark Ascending* to her. Similarly, I addressed her collaboration with Elgar, investigated the circumstances around the recording of his violin concerto, and analysed why her historically important recordings have been undervalued in the art of violin playing.

The sixth chapter of this study portrays two main aspects of Alma Moodie's musical life: her musical collaborations with the most prominent composers of the time and her role in promoting the then contemporary violin repertoire. This is partly revealed through a study of previously unsearched intimate correspondence between Alma Moodie and her chief patron Werner Reinhart sourced from the Winterthur Stadtbibliothek, Switzerland.

The following chapter focuses on the similarities between the three violinists in this study as they went beyond the bounds of convention, rejected traditional domesticity and opened a door into, to borrow Alma Moodie's words, "this men's world", to become celebrated touring virtuosos of their time.⁵³ Yet, while the place of male virtuosos is firmly secured in the history of violin playing, the artistic contribution of important female violinists is often neglected and their artistic achievements have not been translated into a wider recognition.

The concluding chapter draws the stories of my chosen violinists to a close, and seeks to re-evaluate, in the context of modern gender studies, the artistic achievements of these early female violinists. Whilst I have considered how gender and women in the history of violin playing can work as discursive tools to position these performers and exclude them from complete integration into the art of violin performing and early recording industry at the same time, no general conclusion can be derived from the study of such a small group. However, it is important to raise awareness of patriarchal social and cultural gender-based stereotypes that caused female violinists oppression, affected their achievements in the art of violin playing and at the same time comment on what has changed for female players in the post-feminist era.

⁵³ Moodie's letter to Flesch, 14th June 1924, Carl Flesch Collection, NMI; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, p.135.

Chapter One: Violin playing and Virtuosity - a Gendered Perspective

“I am going to play in public!” “Public!” cried Patty, (...) for strangers to hear!” exclaimed the simple Patty, the colour mounting to her face at the bare idea!”⁵⁴

To begin such a study as this it is worth noting that from the 1960s, when the second wave of the feminist movement explored, with greater specificity, women’s position and their contribution to our cultural life and brought renewed interest in women’s creativity, an important issue was raised in relation to concepts of gender and sexuality.⁵⁵ A recognition of gender as a category of analysis added untold dimensions to our previous understanding of music history. It drew attention to positivist musicological practices in which female musicians were neither examined nor were they given a respectable place in the history of music. Moreover, feminist theorists have suggested that gender stereotypes are a social phenomenon as men’s achievements are socially and culturally more valued than women’s and as a result women are seen as the ‘other’, or inferior. In that sense, the intellectual microcosm of musicology was, for the first time, seen as ‘institutionalised misogyny’ due to the way in which it reflected social and power relations.⁵⁶ In the light of this argument, Susan McClary pointed out that:

“Western music is full of gendered suppositions as in society itself, because masculine is always perceived as objective, normal and strong, and the feminine as subjective, weak and abnormal.”⁵⁷

Whilst her criticism can be challenged (see p.6), it is clear that our idea of the masculine and the feminine could be reflective of certain cultural biases as basic social and cultural codes still clearly preserve gender differences.

⁵⁴ Fairleigh, Owen, ‘Our Patty’s Victory; or a White Hand’, *The Girls Own Paper*, 2 (1880–81), p. 527; cited in Barger, Judith, *Elizabeth Stirling and the Musical Life of Female Organists in Nineteenth Century England* (Aldershot and Brookfield, VT: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007), p.29.

⁵⁵ Certainly, the term gender is widely understood as relating to the biological category of male or female. The first major challenge to the biological model of gender came from British physician and sociologist Henry Havelock Ellis (1859–1939) who in his book *Sexual Inversion* (co-authored with John Addington Symonds, 1897) describes and characterises homosexual relationships not as a disease, immoral act or crime. On the contrary, the alienation of homosexuality is the social parable of oppression of difference. Similarly, Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), in his influential *Second Essay* from his *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* published in 1905 (London: Hogarth Press, 1961), conceptualised sexuality not as a pre-given natural instinct but as a drive that is formed in the early stages of a child’s psychological development.

⁵⁶ Cusick, Suzanne G., ‘Gender, Musicology, and Feminism’, in Cook, Nicholas, and Everist, Mark (eds.), *Rethinking Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press Inc., 1991).

⁵⁷ She drew attention to Schoenberg’s mapping of major/minor from his *Theory of Harmony* and emphasised that he defined major/masculine as ‘natural and minor/feminine as ‘unnatural’. McClary, Susan, *Feminine Endings, Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), pp.10-1.

In that sense, Michel Foucault (1926–1984), in his *The History of Sexuality* (1976) suggested that the concepts that we believe to be at the heart of our being and our reality are social constructs which have evolved through a long sequence of power relations.⁵⁸ Moreover, Foucault saw sexuality as something that is not inborn (the essentialists' position towards sexuality) but is a manifestation of the power that is being exercised on us and has been employed as a means of a social control (the constructivists' position). In other words, there is no pre-existing inner essence waiting to find bodily expression. Rather there are a series of acts that are culturally mediated and historically constructed. Similarly, Susan Bordo argued that a female body should be seen as the 'complex crystallizations of culture' as it produces, understands, defines and interprets the female body.⁵⁹

Apart from defining gender as a complex social system of culturally adopted roles, Foucault in *The Will to Knowledge*, rephrased the old saying "knowledge is power" (an instrument of power) into "language is power", as our language is the locus of knowledge and not an autonomous reality.⁶⁰ In that sense, Foucault suggests that gender is rather a matter of socially accepted norms in the knowledge/language relationship. Building on Foucault, feminist researchers became the driving force in the study of gender and language and the reconceptualisation of its largely phallogentric/patriarchal order. They argue that our language is structured according to hierarchical binary oppositions and reflects and perpetuates these hierarchical differences and is therefore politically significant.⁶¹ In that way, modern antirealists, such as Dale Spender, argue that language is not neutral as in order to describe reality we need a classification system:

"Given that language is such an influential force in shaping our world, it is obvious that those who have the power to make the symbols and their meanings are in privileged and highly advantageous position. They have, at least, the potential to order the world to suit their own ends, the potential to construct language, a reality, a body of knowledge in which they are the central figures, the potential to legitimate their own primacy and to create a system of beliefs which is beyond challenge."⁶²

⁵⁸ Foucault, Michel, *Histoire de la sexualité* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1976) Vol.1. (trans. Robert Hurley, 1978).

⁵⁹ Bordo, Susan, 'The Body and the Reproduction of Femininity: A Feminist Appropriation of Foucault', in Jaggar, Alison M. and Bordo, Susan (eds.), *Gender/Body/Knowledge: Feminist Reconstructions of Being and Knowing* (New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1989), p.13–33.

⁶⁰ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, Vol.1.

⁶¹ See Roszack, Betty and Roszack, Theodore (eds.), *Masculine/Feminine: Readings in Sexual Mythology and the Liberation of Women* (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), Hubbard, Ruth, Henifin, Mary Sue and Fried, Barbara (eds.), *Biological Women: The Convenient Myth* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1982), and Rich, Adrienne, *Of Woman Born: Motherhood as Experience and Institution* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1976).

⁶² Spender, Dale, *Man Made Language*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985), pp.139-43.

The most fundamental aspect of this is, as Judith Butler points out in *Giving an Account of Oneself* (2005) that basic social and cultural codes still clearly preserve gender differences through the acquisition of language, as it intrinsically links sexuality and the social world.⁶³ In other words femininity is something that is constructed and taught thanks to parental encouragement at a very early age. Seen in this way, Christine Battersby maintains that the aesthetic judgement of female musicians must reflect wider ideologies of gender, because what distinguishes a woman is not her biology, 'but the way society 'categorises her and treats her because of her biology.'⁶⁴ This suggests that a patriarchal system assigns power and prestige to men and is therefore constantly concerned with enforcing the performance of masculinity at the cost of the performance of femininity. Hence, in her book *Sexual Politics*, Kate Millet drew attention to the patriarchal social organisations upon which art and music were based and challenged the male authors of the Western canon and their authority to determine what is valid.⁶⁵

Although there is no evidence that men and women greatly differ in terms of creativity, intelligence or sociability, or across a range of psychological and personality characteristics, it is clear from much contemporary evidence that judgements of female musicians were often influenced by broader social and cultural ideologies based on biological determinism. Thus there is evidence that three major ideas about women and their creative potential were deeply embedded in nineteenth-century Western culture. Firstly, women by their nature 'lacked' objectivity and consequently the capacity for creative genius; secondly, if a woman should possess intellectual i.e. masculine traits, it would be unwise to encourage their development and thus detract from her femininity. Finally, because of women's supposed inherent intellectual frailty, the goal of female education should be to prepare women, not for a professional life in the public sphere, but rather for subordination to the male within the private sphere of matrimony and motherhood.

The nineteenth-century prejudice that the female brain was smaller and therefore 'less capable' was based on a new justification for continued male dominance in all intellectual fields. In an influential article in the journal *The Nineteenth Century* (1887), Darwinian psychologist George John Romanes ascribed a direct causal connection between lower female brain weight (the average male brain weighs 3lbs

⁶³ See https://www.amherst.edu/system/files/media/1650/butler_performative_acts.pdf; accessed 1st March 2014.

⁶⁴ Battersby, Christine, *Gender and Genius: Towards a Feminist Aesthetics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), p.154. <http://autof.files.wordpress.com/2010/02/butler-judith-gender-trouble-feminism-and-the-subversion-of-identity-1990.pdf>; accessed 1st March 2014.

⁶⁵ Millet, Kate, *Sexual Politics* (New York: Doubleday, 1970).

and the female 2.78lbs) and lesser intelligence.⁶⁶ Hence, the denigration of female creative potential was apparently due to women's innate intellectual deficiencies. Thus, craniology's 'scientific' contribution to the 'female question' was an idea of superior masculine intelligence and consequently science (the modern instrument of truth and power) that gave birth to an intellectually and emotionally dwarfish version of a woman that stretched into the next century. Equally, the Freudian definition of women as 'lacking' the phallus devalued them physically (lack of strength and stamina) and psychologically (lack of concentration and creativity) and positioned them as the inferior 'other.' Moreover, as late as 1907 Freud stated that women are not able to equal men's achievements in the sublimation of sexuality.⁶⁷ Indeed, the inherent prejudice against female creativity had no national boundaries, nor was it confined to the writings of particular philosophers, educators, critics or music scholars. For instance, Schopenhauer advocated, in his essay 'On Women' (1851), that the most distinguished female intellectuals and artists have never given to the world any work of permanent value in any sphere, as they exist in the main solely for the propagation of the species.⁶⁸ Similar views about female musicians' lack of creative abilities (that merely reflects the prevailing belief of nineteenth-century society in large) was expressed in the comment, in *The Musical Times* of 1902:

“The cultivation of music by women not only did not help the art in its development it kept it back actively. (...) They did not explore music for themselves; they only took up what they had heard before.”⁶⁹

Even a great musician such as Anton Rubinstein pointed out that the growing increase in women 'in instrumental execution as well in composition – a trend that characterised the second half of the century was one of the signs of the downfall of our art' and added that:

“It is enigmatical to me that exactly music – the noblest, most beautiful, most refined, soulful, loving art that the mind of man has

⁶⁶ Romanes, George J., 'Mental Differences between Men and Women', *Nineteenth Century*, 21 (1887), pp. 654–72; cited in Scanlon, Julie and Waste, Amy (eds.), *Crossing Boundaries: Thinking Through Literature* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), p.51.

⁶⁷ Nunberg H. and Federn E. (eds.), *Minutes of the Vienna Psychoanalytical Society, I: 1906–1908* (New York: International Universities Press, 1962), pp.199–200; cited in Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, p.192.

⁶⁸ Schopenhauer, Arthur, *The Works of Schopenhauer*, ed. Will Durant (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1928); cited in Gillett, *Music Women in England 1870–1914*, pp.446–52. At the same time Schopenhauer told Wagner's friend, the German writer Malwida von Meysenbug (1816–1903), that he had not yet spoken his last word about women: "I believe if women succeed in withdrawing from the mass, or rather raising herself above the mass, she grows ceaselessly and more than a man." Safranski, Rüdiger, *Schopenhauer, And the Wild Years of Philosophy*, trans. Osers, Ewald (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), p.348.

⁶⁹ Swinburne, James, 'Women and Music,' *The Musical Times* 1st March 1902, p.195.

created, is so unattainable to woman, who is still a combination of all these qualities.”⁷⁰

As presumptuous as the above statements are, they also demonstrate what a fundamental and complex change was needed in European musical culture in order to minimise the interference of the performer’s gender.

Apart from this, in the wake of the industrialisation of western societies a developing separation of the public arena (the realm of reason and the masculine) and the private sphere (the realm of affect and the feminine) meant an increasing feminisation of the domestic sphere. The association of ‘the private’ with femininity and moral superiority (women were held as moral guardians of society) had important implications for female musicians. In that sense, traditionally structured patriarchal gender relations, achieved at the price of women’s repression, continued into the musical world, hence maintaining the established social/sexual arrangement.⁷¹ As performing space was not divorced from patriarchal social reality (it was similar to the bodily-affective trajectory that was structurally gendered), the advantage inherent in an analysis of the concert platforms’ representation of gender is that the place accorded to women and men was constantly manifested in the very specific conditions of performance. Indeed, the ‘distasteful’ and potentially ‘threatening’ capacity for a woman’s open emotional expression in the public sphere and the unfeminine desire to ‘dominate’ others within that sphere, initially contributed to their negative public image. For exceptional nineteenth-century musical women a different sort of constriction applied (ranging from the choice of repertoire to the scope of expressiveness both musical and physical during performances) thus creating professional codes of conduct and expression of public emotion in order to meet the expectations of the public concerning the ‘right’ image of the performer. The ‘hierarchical binary’ compelled female violinists to reproduce the normative, thus raising questions concerning feminine and masculine performing styles, and whose styles should be taken seriously.

In conclusion, the patriarchal gender-based perceptions of women were important contributors responsible for male dominance in Western society and its musical

⁷⁰ Rubinstein, Anton, *A Conversation on Music*, trans. Mr John P. Morgan (New York: Chas. F. Tretbar, 1892), pp.118-19; cited in Gillett, *Musical Women in England*, p.27.

⁷¹ Koskoff, Ellen (ed.), *Women and Music in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), p.10. Accordingly, Judith Lang Zaimont suggests that gender is an affirmative indicator of socially and culturally hard-wired functions between the male and female sexes. Zaimont, Judith Lang (ed.), *The Musical Women: An International Perspective* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1987), Vol.3, p.769–70.

world. Such an outcome is not surprising, as whilst male performers had access to privileged knowledge, bestowed on them by education and social awards, female performers were faced with the difficult task of defining themselves not only as women but also as artists. Therefore, without deeper social understanding of the woman as an artist, as Virginia Woolf remarks, “many female talents have been – and often still are – frustrated and wasted.”⁷² Gaining understanding of the social and cultural confines for women musicians prior to the twentieth century helps us contextualise the rise of female violin soloists, their role in the violin world of the past, as well as the boundaries they actively worked to transform.

A History of Women and the Violin: from ‘demonic’ to ‘angelic’

As string instruments were considered unfeminine, it would not be until the late 1830s that women violinists like Signora Paravacini (b.1769–?), or Teresa Milanollo (1827–1904) began to be accepted as legitimate performers on their own terms.⁷³ In fact, thanks to two female violinists, Wilma Neruda (1838–1911) and Camilla Urso (1842–1902), the violin became a more fashionable thing in Europe and America for genteel young women.⁷⁴ These two musicians greatly contributed to the acceptance of women violinists and showed that women possessed the necessary mental capacities and the physical strength to enable them to achieve

⁷² Walters, *Feminism: A Very Short Introduction*, p.96. Virginia Woolf in her book *A Room of One's Own* (London: Hogarth Press, 1929) pointed out the ‘evils’ of patriarchy- poverty, lack of education and confinement to the home being causes for women’s oppression and consequently the suppression of women’s creativity. Whilst Woolf approached women’s problem from a political point of view, Simone de Beauvoir gave a more philosophical and psychoanalytical critique of women’s position. In *The Second Sex* (1949) she introduced the concept of the *other*, by which woman is defined and differentiated with reference to man.

⁷³ Signora Paravacini (b. Turin, 1769) a pupil of Viotti gained a considerable fame in Europe before 1830s and later all trace of her is lost. Teresa Milanollo (1827–1904) and her younger sister Maria (1832–1848) were known as “Mlle. Staccato” (Maria) and “Mlle. Adagio” (Teresa). When Marie Milanollo died in 1848, Teresa Milanollo continued giving concerts until 1857 when she married General Parmentier and consequently ended her career. Lahee, *Famous Violinists of To-day and Yesterday*, Chapter X.

⁷⁴ Wilhelmine Maria Franziska Neruda (1839–1911, born in a musical family in Brno, now the Czech republic) studied under Leopold Jansa (1795–1875, a famous Bohemian violinist, composer and teacher) and after her public debut in Vienna in 1846 became the most celebrated female violin soloists in her time. Neruda frequently appeared as a leader of quartets in the fashionable Monday Popular Concerts in London and became the first woman to professionally play chamber music in Europe with men. In 1901 Neruda was awarded the honorary title of ‘Violinist to the Queen’ for her artistic achievements from Queen Alexandra. Pablo de Sarasate (1844–1908) dedicated his *Romanza Andaluza* and *Jota Navarra* to Neruda. Camilla Urso (1840–1902, born at Nantes, France) a pupil of Massarat was known for having been the youngest child ever to enrol at the Paris Conservatory, at age of eight, and the first female ever to be admitted to study the violin. She was admitted on full scholarship and graduated just two years later with highest honours. As the first woman at the Paris Conservatoire she opened new doors for female violinists. As early as 1852 she came to the United States and after marriage started worldwide touring career that included concerts in Europe, Australia and South Africa. Her abilities and personality influenced Julius Eichberg to open string classes to female students at the Boston conservatory in 1867 and by 1894, *Freund's Weekly* reported that between 400 and 500 young women were studying violin in Boston. Neruda and Urso set up a precedent that allowed Maud Powell and other musical women to pursue solo career. Schiller, Jennifer, *Camilla Urso: Pioneer violinist* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky, 2006). See also Pendle, *Women & Music*, p.207.

greatness in the mastery of violin playing. In 1880 Lady Lindsay confirmed that this change was attributed to Neruda.⁷⁵ In her words:

“It is she who, uniting with the firmness and vigour of a man’s playing, the purity of style and intonation of a great artist, as well as her own perfect grace and delicate manipulation, has proved to the public at large what a woman can do in this field, at least (...) Madame Neruda, like a musical St. George, has gone forth, violin and bow in hand, to fight the dragon of prejudice.”⁷⁶

At a time when aesthetic distrust towards female violinists was still a normal part of the musical scene in Europe and America, Urso and Neruda championed women’s equity within the music profession. Until their advent, women mostly played the violin in domestic settings to guard their respectable reputations. Not everyone approved of female violinists appearing in public, as it was still the transition to the public stage that troubled nineteenth-century audiences. Hence, it is not surprising that established social/sexual/power arrangements challenged female violinists, as the violin, this supposedly female-shaped instrument, should be dominated by a male master. As late as in the 1880s Lady Lindsay commented that, ‘she had known girls of whom it was darkly hinted that they played the violin, as it might be said that they smoked big cigars, or enjoyed the sport of rat catching.’⁷⁷ At the same time the acceptance and the rise in female-violin playing coincided with a changing situation thanks to several key factors, something I will now discuss in more detail.

Thanks to a long-standing, class-based ideal of true ‘femininity’ girls were expected to be well mannered, dutiful and to have just enough education to be able to raise children. Whilst boys’ education equipped them for their dual role as citizen and head of the family, girls’ education prepared them for the subordinate role of wife and mother within the context of the nineteenth-century patriarchal society; in other words, for the life they should expect to lead both biologically and socially. To accomplish this, middle-class girls were encouraged to study languages, art, singing and playing instruments in order to refine and elevate their

⁷⁵ The painting of George Frederic Watt’s, *Lady Lindsay Playing Violin*, along with two other portraits of Lady Caroline Blanche Elizabeth Lindsay (1844–1912, a wife of Sir Coutts Lindsay) were shown in the opening exhibition at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1877. Lady Lindsay frequently accompanied the violinist Joseph Joachim and Wilma Norman-Neruda on piano. She was also a sought-after violinist and a poetess. See Denney, Collen, *At the Temple of Art: Grosvenor Gallery, 1877–1890* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Press, 2000), p.154.

⁷⁶ Lady Lindsay of Balcarres, ‘How to Play the Violin’, a chapter from *The Girl’s Own Indoor Book* (1880s). <http://songofthelark.wordpress.com/2011/11/25/article-how-to-play-the-violin-girls-own-indoor-book-1880s/>. Cited in Barger, Judith, *Elizabeth Stirling and the Musical Life of Female Organists in Nineteenth-Century England*, (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007), p.29.

⁷⁷ See also Madame Norman-Neruda and a short history of women violinists, Part I, <http://www.violinist.com/blog/Mle/20106/11338>; accessed 1st April 2013.

taste.⁷⁸ Likewise, in the name of girls' education and family entertainment, music lessons, and especially piano lessons, were required for eligible middle-class young ladies. In that sense, piano lessons became an outward symbol of a family's ability to pay for young girls' education and decorativeness, as piano playing showed them at their most fetching. The discipline of playing the piano also indicated that a young lady's emotions and passions were well controlled which emphasised her humility and modesty.

Although there is no doubt that a girl playing a keyboard instrument reflected the nineteenth-century feminine ideal, female violinists before 1870 in Europe and North America had to fight several prejudices against their acceptance. Nineteenth-century women's clothes and hair fashions seemed especially inappropriate for certain instruments as for nineteenth-century audiences it seemed ludicrous to watch a woman playing 'the violin with great sleeves flying to and fro.'⁷⁹ Hence, an exploration of the nature of the prejudice against women violinists during much of the nineteenth century involves the specific gender-performing rules of the time and suggestions of moral and social disapproval towards female public performance that reflected women's place in society. The main problem encountered by the musically gifted young women of genteel upbringing was the conviction, held by many people in Europe and North America, that the violin was a male instrument. The distribution between 'female' and 'male' instruments reflected a society in which men had leading positions, and consequently they were expected to play instruments that were prominent socially. This is quite surprising as playing the bowed viola da gamba (viol, an instrument that was held upright and supported between the legs) was considered the most agreeable for the upper-class woman. However, similarly to keyboard instruments (harpsichord and spinet) and lute, bass violin and viola da gamba were harmonically self-supporting thanks to their 'division viol' style of playing chords as well as melodies, and therefore suitable for women home music making.⁸⁰ The viol's soft sound fitted in with contemporary notions of femininity and the voluminous skirts of the period preserved the modesty of a female player, as did the fact that it was occasionally played 'side-saddle'. Likewise, it was played without placing the body in any kind

⁷⁸ See, Kant, Immanuel, *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), trans. John T. Goldthwait, pp.80-81.

⁷⁹ An anonymous critic from *Musikalischer Almanach für 1784* in Loesser, Arthur, *Men Women and Pianos: A Social History* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954), p.65.

⁸⁰ Johnson, David, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp.23-4. See also Holman, Peter, *Life After Death: The Viola Da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), pp.82-85.

of ungraceful position and performing did not demand energetic movements.⁸¹ Similarly it did not involve facial distortions or the placing of phallic-like wind instruments in the mouth. See Figure 2:



Figure 2. Woman Playing a Viola de gamba (oil painting) (1663), Gabriël Metsu (1629–1667)⁸²

Lucy Green has pointed out that the character of musical experience is affected by overlying social constructs, in this case a highly gendered perception of the violin itself.⁸³ Thanks to a male-defined mode of performance, violin playing was unsuitable for the female sex as it was aesthetically displeasing. A twisted upper torso, a ‘strange’ head position, the clamping down of the chin, unattractive rapid arm movements and the standing position of the performer, facing the public, were all considered inherently unfeminine. Equally sexualised was a long-standing comparison of the female body to the softly curving shape of the violin; its delicate form and sound, which encompasses the lowest and highest tones of the female voice, resembled qualities commonly attributed to the female sex.⁸⁴ Likewise, the long-standing social and cultural assumption was that the violin was an extension of a woman’s own voice and shape and naturally, as a feminine agent, the most

⁸¹ See Kennaway, George, *Playing the Cello 1780-1930* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2014).

⁸² The Metropolitan Museum of Art. <http://www.greatbassviol.com/mn.html>; accessed 7th April 2013.

⁸³ Recent cross-cultural musical studies researching the gender associations of a number of instruments have found that musical instruments are often exclusively played by one gender in many different cultures, from Europe to India and Far East. In *The History of Musical Instruments*, Curt Sachs discussed the association of flute with a phallic identity and the trumpet as an instrument traditionally played by men whose military character was enhanced by the use of the colour red in military bands. Consequently, for a long time these instruments were considered socially not acceptable for women. Sachs, Curt, *The History of Musical Instruments* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1940), pp.44–8.

⁸⁴ Macleod, *Women Performing Music*, pp.11–2.

fittingly controlled by men. Accordingly, the ‘inappropriate’ contact of two ‘female bodies’ appeared to be homoerotic as it challenged social conventions that often minimised women’s autonomy and their own interests and tastes.

In this respect, gender-influenced prejudice was a possible link between a violin string’s vibration and the physical structure underlying a ‘greater’ female emotionality. “Medical authorities held that the delicacy of a women’s nerves, which made them unfit for the demands of abstract thought, greatly increased the subtlety and speed of their responsiveness to external stimuli.”⁸⁵ Accordingly, nineteenth-century audiences were convinced that a violin string ‘trembles’ like a woman’s nerves and for a violin to ‘come to life’ a man’s virtuosic power was necessary. In a sense virtuosity is a power and a meaningful tool for social negotiation and it would be no exaggeration to say that many virtuosos were depicted showing their warlike dominance over their instruments. The Italian violinist Gaetano Pugnani famously proclaimed, “With violin in my hand, I am Cesar.”⁸⁶ As the exercise of power was the province of men, violin playing was considered heroic, as male violinists could wield their bows like swords and command ‘armies’ of orchestral musicians.⁸⁷ Likewise, the sight of a violinist lashing around with the bow (a phallic symbol of the violinist), attacking aggressively the violin in its feminine form and disciplining the resonance of strings with tight dotted rhythms seemed to enact sexual domination. Hence, virtuoso performance was a great spectacle of Eros as the violin ‘became a woman subjected to the assaults of a violent rapist who used the bow as a phallus, thus creating an explosively violent and quasi pornographic allegory.’⁸⁸ Similarly, the

⁸⁵ With the industrialisation and urbanisation in the 1880s, a nervous illness (known as ‘the English malady’) became fashionable among upper classes in Europe. Gillett, *Musical Women in England*, p.85.

⁸⁶ Stowell, Robin (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Violin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p.51. See also Schwarz, *Great Masters of the Violin*, p.27.

⁸⁷ “With three or four whips of his bow Paganini elicited points of sound that mounted to the third heaven, and as bright as the stars.” Bone, Philip J., *The Guitar and Mandolin: Biographies of Celebrated Players and Composers*, 2nd ed., (London: Schott, 1972), p.266; cited in Kawabata, Maiko, “Virtuoso Codes of Violin Performance: Power, Military Heroism, and Gender 1789–1830,” *19th Century Music*, Vol.28, No.2 (2004), pp.89–107. Thanks to new demands for a powerful sound that could also assert itself in larger spaces and rising virtuoso music, the updated ‘Cramer’ bow (named after the violinist Wilhelm Cramer, 1746–1799) supplanted the shorter Corelli-Tartini model of the Baroque period. Its characteristic high and hammer-shaped head, concave rather than convex stick, and clip-in frog represented a decisive step towards the modern model of François Xavier Tourte (1747–1835).

⁸⁸ See Kawabata, *Paganini: The ‘demonic’ Virtuoso* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), p.58. Kawabata also points out that Paganini’s fingers creeping over the violin’s feminine-shaped body, ‘sigh’ figures and glissandi that mimicked the moans of erotic arousal on the violin and aggressive and violent bow movements, thanks to the bow/phallic symbolism, could be interpreted as a metaphor for sexual act. See Kawabata, Mai, *Paganini: The ‘demonic’ Virtuoso* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2013), pp.71–73. See also Kawabata’s ‘Violinists “Singing”: Paganini, Operatic Voices, and Virtuosity’ *Ad Parnasum* Vol.5 No.9 (April 2007), pp.7–39.

Romantic male virtuoso was linked to the idea of sexual potency in connection with his potential backstage promiscuity. See Figure 3:

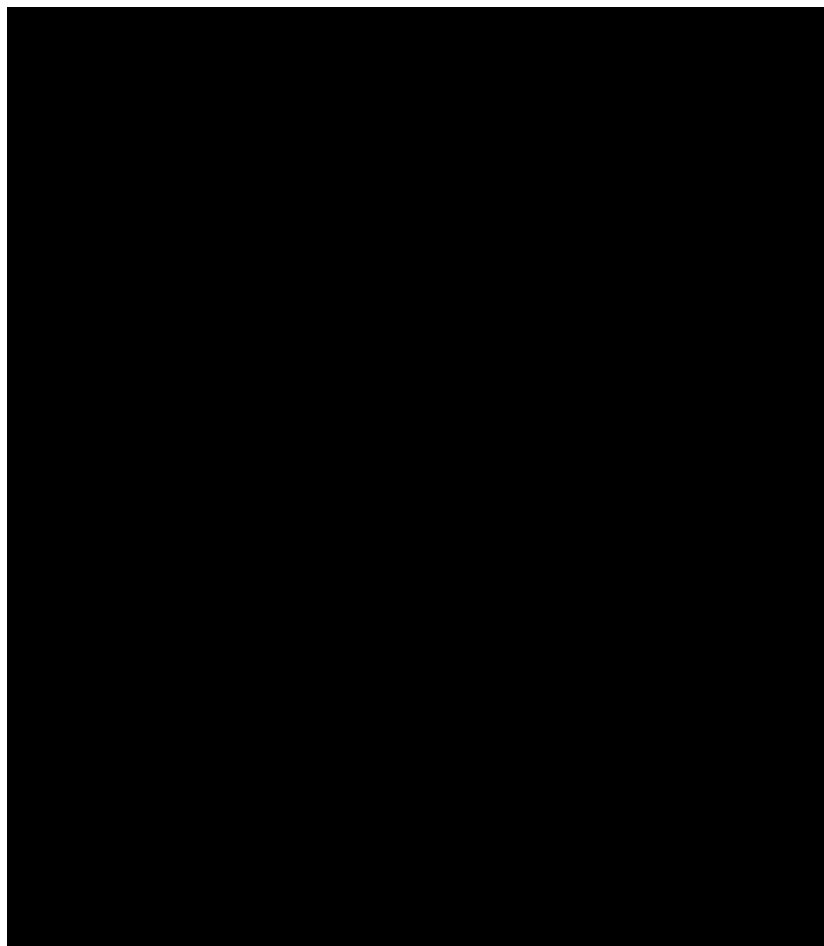


Figure 3⁸⁹

Excessive violence led to the destruction of instruments. Paganini often broke violin strings during his performance, and similarly Liszt after his concerts stood like a conqueror, as “vanquished piano lies about him, broken strings flutter as trophies and flags of truce, and frightened instruments flee in their terror into distant corners.”⁹⁰ Although this view could appear a little over-stated, as gut E strings were short-lived and notoriously easy to break and pianos, before iron frames were significantly more fragile than now, we can still argue that historically, virtuosity epitomised a passionate showmanship (the word showwomanship seems conspicuously absent in English) that was perhaps too aggressive towards instruments. As the female performer disrupted gender codes,

⁸⁹ Kawabata, *Paganini*, p.69.

⁹⁰ Anonymous, “Liszt, the All-Conquering Pianist,” in Weiss, Piero and Taruskin, Richard, *Music in the Western World: A History in Documents* (Clark Baxter, 2008), p.310; cited in Loveland, Alicia, ‘The Spectacle of Nineteenth-Century Virtuosity’, *Nota Bene*, Vol.3 no.1: Article 6, <http://ir.lib.uwo.ca/cgi/viewcontent>; accessed 3rd April 2014. For more on the relationship between virtuoso performance and themes of war see Gooley, Dana, “Warhorses: Liszt, Weber’s Konzertstück, and the cult of Napoleon,” *19th Century Music*, Vol.24, No.1 (2000), pp.62–88.

the hostility towards female violinists was based on visually rather than acoustically based prejudice. When Louise Gautherot appeared in London at the Drury Lane Theatre in 1789, one reviewer remarked on her great ability, but went on to add that ‘the ear was more gratified than the eye by this lady’s masculine effort.’⁹¹ Similarly, another critic added:

“It is said by fabulous writers that Minerva, happening to look into a stream whilst playing her favourite instrument the flute, and perceiving the distortion of countenance it occasioned, was so much disgusted that she cast it away, and dashed it to pieces. Although I would not recommend to any lady playing a valuable Cremona fiddle, to follow example of the goddess, yet it strikes me that, if she is desirous of enrapturing her audience, she should display her talent in a situation where there is only just light enough to make darkness visible.”⁹²

The gender prejudice of the time is further apparent in the case of, Elise Mayer Filipowicz (1794–1841, a former student of the great German violinist Louis Spohr (1784–1859). When in 1834 she played a concerto at the prestigious Philharmonic society concerts *The Athenaeum*’s response was:

“Whilst our ears had a great pleasure (...) our eyes told us that the instrument is not one for ladies to attempt.”⁹³

At the same time opinions as to whether it was good or bad for a female to play the violin were also divided along national lines. By and large in the German speaking lands critics were more at ease in accepting female performances, especially when they could be praised for a powerful masculine performance, something that deep-rooted social attitudes towards violin performing considered a norm. Even as late as 1890 in an interview for *The Woman’s World*, Neruda pointed out that when she first visited London in 1869 she was surprised to find that:

⁹¹ Parke, William, *Musical Memoirs: Comprising an Account of the General State of Music in England* (London: Colburn and Bentley, 1830), Vol.1, p.120; cited in Milligan, Thomas B., *The Concerto in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983), p.139. Madame Louise Gautherot (born circa 1763), a pupil of Viotti and one of only two women violinists listed in the 1794 *Directory of Musicians* performed concertos at the London Oratorios in 1789–1790.

⁹² *The Musical World, A Weekly Record of Musical Science, Literature and Intelligence*, Vol.11 New Series, Vol.4, from 4th January to 23rd May 1839, p.36.

⁹³ *The Musical Times*, 1 November 1906, pp.738–39; cited in Gillett, *Musical Women in England*, p.80. However, this comment did not stop Filipowicz continuing with her concert career. She moved from Europe to London in 1835 and continued to perform until 1840 a year before she died after a long illness. Louis Spohr (1784–1859) was a German violinist, composer (154 opus numbers of works in all genres), conductor (introduced the custom of conducting with a baton) and a prolific teacher whose most famous students were Hubert Ries (1802–1886), Ferdinand David (1810–1873) and Joseph Joachim (1831–1907). See Schwarz, *Great Masters of the Violin*, pp.243–58.

“It was thought almost improper, certainly unladylike, for a woman to play on the violin. In Germany the thing was quite common and excited no comment. I could not understand, it seemed so absurd, why people thought so differently here.”⁹⁴

The prejudice against female violinists appears to have been similarly long lasting in America. In the *Sewanee's Review* article (1893) two decades earlier the following comment was made about female violinists:

“An odd sight, and one that rarely failed to elicit visible and audible comment, not always charitable, when a girl or young women carried a violin case through the streets of a city.”⁹⁵

However, the presence of several female musicians, such as pianist Fannie Bloomfield Zeisler, pianist-composers Julie Rive-King and Amy Beach, and violinists such as Wilma Neruda, Camilla Urso and Maud Powell in the second half of the nineteenth century changed traditional views about women musicians as socially adaptable dilettantes, and they began to be accepted professionally on concert stages in America. In this respect, from the beginning of the nineteenth century, when Louis Spohr accused women of “mishandling the violin and lowering performance standards”, up to well into the twentieth century, moral and aesthetic Puritan distrust towards female violinists had not altogether disappeared.⁹⁶ Even in the twentieth century the great violinist Yehudi Menuhin (1916–1999) believed that:

“The instrument, whose shape is (...) inspired by and symbolic of the most beautiful human object, the woman's body is most fittingly performed on by a worshipful master.”⁹⁷

If part of the explanation for the hostility towards female violinists lay in visually rather than acoustically based prejudice, another equally important cause was the violin's close association with dancing, sin, death and the devil.

⁹⁴ Dolman, Frederick, “Lady Hallé at Home,” *The Woman's World* (1890), cited in Gillett, *Musical Women in England*, p.82. I believe that the prominence of a few strong women musicians in Germany, such as the countess of Arnim and composer Bettina Bretano (1785–1859) who composed a collection of lieder titled *Seven Gesanstucke mi Pianoforte dedie a Sponini*, the composer Annette von Droste-Hülshoff (1797–1848), the composer Fanny Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (1805–1847), the composer of lieder particularly admired by Robert Schumann, Johanna Kinkel (1810–1858), Clara Schumann (1819–1896), and the singer Amalie Joachim (1839–1899), are partly responsible for the earlier acceptance of female musicians in Germany. <http://klarawieck.hubpages.com/hub>; accessed 1st January 2014.

⁹⁵ Krebs, T. L., “Women as Musicians,” *Sewanee Review* 2 (1893), p.81; cited in Gillett, *Musical Women in England*, p.245.

⁹⁶ Hoffmann, *Instrument und Körper* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag Anton Kippenberg, 1998), p.190; cited in Gillett, *Musical Women in England*, p.82.

⁹⁷ Although Menuhin was more appreciative of women players later in his life he placed only one, the French violinist Ginette Neveu (1919–1949), amongst those who had, “belonged to the race of passionate performers, burning with volcanic fire.” Menuhin, Yehudi and Primrose, William, *The Violin and Viola* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1976), Vol.1, pp.7–9 and p.142.

Throughout history, the violin, because of its size and sonority, had become an ideal instrument for accompanying and leading dances. The belief that dance music played on the violin could be of a corrupt nature was held for a long time thanks to clergymen's disapproval of the violin's association with morally and socially disruptive places, such as taverns and village pubs in which dancing was seen as charged with sexuality and therefore dangerously leaning toward sinning. At the same time many European fairy tales helped to establish the link between death as the violin was associated with the Grim Reaper, who led the *Danse macabre* or *Totentanz* playing a pair of human bones like a violin. Similarly, in medieval folklore, whilst in southern Italy the violin was traditionally used in rituals associated with tarantism, the frenzied condition believed to be caused by bites of a poisonous spider 'black widow.' According to superstition if victims kept up a manic dance (known as tarantella), the poison would not kill them.

The condemnation of the violin as an instrument of the Devil spread during the eighteenth century to other parts of Europe and North America. Churches in Sweden and Norway outlawed the violin and created a substitute string instrument, the psalmodikon, to accompany hymn singing. Scandinavian settlers transported this "bowed zither" to the Upper Midwest region of the United States. Calvinist adherents in the British Isles denounced the violin because of its evil associations with dance. Such prejudices also travelled with some Scots-Irish immigrants to the North America. Numerous British folk ballads and fiddle tunes transplanted to Appalachia and other parts of the country make reference to the Devil.⁹⁸ Likewise, a secret knowledge of virtuoso violin technique was believed to have a supernatural, demonic origin. The supernatural aura that linked the solo performer to the Devil was strengthened during the centuries not only through legends but also through the music of famous violinists and composers such as Giuseppe Tartini (1692–1770) and Niccolò Paganini (1782–1840). In his the most famous sonata, *Devil's Trill* (1798) Tartini tried to capture the notes played in his dream by Satan.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Sullivan, Todd E., 'Instrument of the Devil.' See <http://industry.rachelbartonpine.com/rec>; accessed 27th June 2014.

⁹⁹ It circulated in manuscript copies during the composer's lifetime and was published in the Parisian collection *L'Art du violon* in 1798 after its editor J.B. Cartier obtained an anonymous copy from a violinist Pierre Baillot. As the original manuscript was lost today the work is usually played with Kreisler's cadenza. See Schwarz, *Great Masters of the Violin*, p.75.

Similarly, Paganini impersonated the Devil laughing in his Caprice No. 13 in B♭ major, nicknamed the *Devil's Laughter*.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, strange and supernatural stories circulated about Paganini that resulted in the widespread belief that his phenomenal technical mastery had been acquired in exchange for selling his soul to the devil.¹⁰¹ The almost unbearably intense experience of his virtuoso technique somehow brought his hearers in touch with realms only understood as 'demonic.' The deliberately evoked association of the violin with the Devil or Death certainly did not altogether disappear, and images of irresistible and powerful virtuoso who possess extraordinary powers continue to intrigue audiences' imagination.

The result of this is that violin's association with troublesome places, dance, death and sin highlighted the violin as an improper vehicle for a respectable woman's musical expression- and therefore unfeminine. Although women were, in the nineteenth-century patriarchal society, held as morally superior, paradoxically, they were at the same time considered to be, in particular, vulnerable to evil influences. By playing the violin, an instrument associated with sin and the Devil, a female violinist could not project the ideal of innocence and spiritual and moral excellence in society. Richard Leppert suggests that the violin's connection with Italian virtuoso violin music (since the beginning of the seventeenth century) represented a movement away from "its folk origins toward respectability."¹⁰² He argues that England and France continued to regard the violin as a dance instrument and for a longer time resisted its importance in the development of chamber music. This may partly explain why in England the acceptance of female violinists came a few decades later than in German speaking countries. All this provide valuable insights into the nineteenth-century social and cultural conventions and serve to highlight how persistent and debilitating gender-related stereotypes can be in the history of violin playing and how difficult it has been for female violinists to establish themselves in that history.

¹⁰⁰ Paganini in his *24 Caprices for Solo Violin* Op. 1 (written between 1802 and 1817; first published in 1819 by Edition Peters) established a new dimension of virtuosity. His technical wizardry inspired several pianist-composers to compose virtuoso studies, including Chopin (two sets of Etudes Op. 10 and Op. 25) and Liszt (*Etudes transcendentales*). Likewise, Liszt and Schumann transcribed a number of Paganini's caprices for piano and Rachmaninoff based sets of variations on his *Caprice* No. 24. Several other composers, such as Schumann, Auer, Kreisler and Szymanowski provided piano accompaniments for Paganini's caprices. See Schwarz, *Great Masters of the Violin*, p.196.

¹⁰¹ Being considered a hopeless heretic helped to build hostility towards Paganini, especially on the part of the church. The bishop of Nizza refused burial to this 'demonic' violinist and for several years the coffin with his remains was stored in a cellar. In 1845 the Grand Duchess Marie Louise of Parma authorized his interment at the Villa Gaione, and in 1876 his remains were reinterred in the cemetery in Parma, to be finally transferred in 1896 to the new cemetery, where his heirs erected an imposing monument. See Schwarz, *Great Masters of the Violin*, p.192.

¹⁰² Leppert, Richard, *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation, and the History of the Body* (Berkeley: University California Press, 1993), p.34. See also Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1940), p.359.

Despite social and cultural trends that placed considerable limits on women's musical creativity in Western societies, at the same time, several other factors eased the transition for their acceptance and musical women experienced a loosening of social and cultural restrictions later in the century. By the 1870s thanks to the productive system of industrial capitalism with its political and cultural revolutions and private patrons' belief that music and its public institutions were a civilising force worthy of investment, purpose-built orchestral concert halls and opera houses were built as great collective status symbols.¹⁰³ Inevitably, a new bourgeois elite found its expression in the commercialisation of musical services. This included the development of music publishing, the production of musical instruments, teaching, the rise of concert promotion and management, and the establishment of municipal orchestras. As music became an integral part of the leisure time of the bourgeoisie it gained popularity in the intimate nineteenth-century salons presided over by the women of the house.¹⁰⁴ Free from household duties thanks to the culture of domestic servants and with childbearing at a later age and with fewer children to bear (there was a decline in the middle-class birth rate after 1870s) a substantial number of middle-class women took part in music philanthropy. The adoption of salon culture began a questioning of the restrictions on women's education and women's role in society.

The elite women who expanded their traditional roles to include philanthropy, volunteer work and work associated with women's organisations and churches were also inclined to gain a social reputation for the elegance of their appearance. Over centuries clothing had remained an outward expression of moral values, and the fashionably dressed woman was also a major communicator of family status and wealth. At the same time women's well-being became a central issue, while nineteenth-century women were wearing heavy clothing that was harmful to their health. Promoters of clothes reform (hygienic reformers, educators, feminists and artists) created a suitable climate to urge women to form anti-corset societies and required teaching about the importance of hygiene education that was limited

¹⁰³ For example, London's St James's Hall in 1858, the Paris Opera was built in 1860, Chicago's Bryan Hall in 1860, the Vienna Opera in 1869, Vienna's Grosse Musikvereinssaal in 1870, Amsterdam's Concertgebouw in 1888, New York's Carnegie Hall in 1891 and Boston's Symphony Hall in 1900. Samson, Jim (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p.348.

¹⁰⁴ Music in salons was different to that in concert halls and included chamber music, as well as everything from operatic and orchestral transcriptions to ballads. In addition to local talent, visits by renowned artists and appearances of touring *Wunderkind* added zest to private concerts. For those soloists who made it to the top salons, the social and financial rewards were considerable, and for those at the beginning of their career, the reputation gained in a private setting could open the door to public concerts.

thanks to restrictive clothing.¹⁰⁵ The simplicity in dress that evolved through the nineteenth century because of the increasing number of women in the work force in many ways paralleled the evolution in women's roles. It seems possible to argue that different styles of women's clothes throughout the nineteenth century and in the early decades of the twentieth century in Europe and America could be seen as a sign of the decline of women's social oppression and the emergence of the modern woman who rejected old values and the roles associated with the demands of domesticity. Thus, the aesthetic dress, with its loose references to classical Greek costumes, gradually became less associated with shocking ideas of loose morals and more aligned with artistic circles and rarefied taste.

We should not overlook the burgeoning of outdoor sporting activities like tennis, gymnastics and bicycle riding (previously reserved only for boys).¹⁰⁶ Thanks to those outdoor activities, a transformation in the aesthetic perception of the female body occurred that reflected a new social construction ideal of femininity at the fin-de-siècle, the ambivalent complementary double myth of the eternal feminine – a seductive, erotically fascinating but dangerous *femme fatale* (the lineage could be traced back to Helen of Troy) and its weaker counterpart in need of masculine protection, a *femme fragile*. Arianne Tomalla in her study *Die 'femme fragile'* (1972) argues that portraying a culturally constructed identity that aestheticised melancholy, illness and death as the idealisation of feminine beauty of *femme fragile* was a patriarchal reaction to disempowerment provoked by the dissolution of established social norms, changes in the working world and the rise of the women's movement.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, the many heroines who died in nineteenth-century novels were possibly a patriarchal device for pacifying the fears of rising female independence and female competition.

¹⁰⁵ Books on the subject of women's clothing reform soon became available. For example Angeline Merritt in her book *Dress Reform, Practically and Physiologically Considered* (1852) revealed the damages caused by fashion's corsets and heavy skirts. Although in 1913, in the *Ladies Home Journal*, Edith M. Burtis still firmly believed that the days of no-corset were gone (as the corset maintains female body in its erect position, thus giving grace and charm to women), fewer and fewer women were exposed to the corset and other restrictive garments. Cunningham, Patricia A., *Reforming Women's Fashion, 1850–1920: Politics, Health and Art*, (Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2003), p.41 and p.219.

¹⁰⁶ The institution of the women's singles tennis championship at Wimbledon (1884) within six years of that of the men, and at about the same time as those in the US (1887) and France (1897) was a more revolutionary event than it seems today. In the development of women's clothing for sports, although bloomers were worn for certain activities (bicycling and mountaineering), the skirted gymnasium suit was accepted costume for school physical education classes. Thus, shortened skirts became standard costume for sports such as tennis, bowling, ice-skating and golf. While trousers for leisure activities gained in popularity over the years it may come as a surprise to discover that only after the women's movement of the 1970s did the patriarchy gave up trousers as a uniquely male symbol in the work place and women were finally allowed to wear trousers for white-collar jobs and for teaching. Cunningham, Patricia, A., *Reforming Women's Fashion* (Kent: The Kent State University Press, 2003), pp.220–21.

¹⁰⁷ <http://fetishofsilence.tumblr.com/femme fragile>; accessed 25th June 2014.

As mentioned before, one social construction of femininity was for a long time connected with piano playing, as it was widely felt that the ability to play the piano made young girls more appealing as they could demonstrate their technical skills and aesthetic qualities. As the second half of the nineteenth century witnessed a flourishing consumer society there was a corresponding rise in the domestic importance of the piano amongst the Western middle class. The piano became an essential item of furniture for the genteel woman, as its presence in the drawing room was not only a symbol of her family worldly success but also of an accomplished homemaker. The piano's value as part of interior design was not missed; its helpfulness in creating "a delightful tea corner" in a room is described in the *Musical Times* in 1893.¹⁰⁸ Thus, whilst the importance of the piano as an object may not have changed over time, as it remained a symbol of respectability, homemaking, taste and accomplishment, the types of consumers that acquired a piano, did change after 1860s. An improved system for producing cheaper instruments, improved marketing techniques and the ability to buy and resell both unbranded and second-hand pianos contributed to its accessibility to more ordinary consumers.¹⁰⁹ As a consequence the piano's prestigious status was damaged and women's piano-skills lost their unique 'selling point' in the upper-class marriage market and a search for the new high status instrument contributed to the rise of female violinists.

In the article 'The Musical Girl' published in 1896 in *The Young Women* the Reverend Haweis wrote that even "unmusical Britons" were encouraging their 'household angels' to take up the violin as they had both musical and social reasons doing so.¹¹⁰ By the early 1880s, thanks to a generalised association between femininity and chamber music (in the minds of both performers and the public), the opposition to women's violin playing diminished and female violin students 'invaded' European conservatories. One comment from 1901 in *The Etude* clearly demonstrates the rapidity of change and the fascination with the pairing of woman and violin:

"It may come as a surprise to those who associate woman and the violin with the 'innovation' of quite recent years (...) a century ago violin playing was hardly considered an 'elegant' accomplishment for any young lady. Indeed, most parents had very decided views on this

¹⁰⁸ Scholes, Percy A., *The Mirror of Music 1844-1944: A Century of Musical Life in Britain As Reflected in the Pages of the Musical Times* (London: Novello, 1947), Vol.1, p.305.

¹⁰⁹ Rather than starting from scratch, improvements were made in manufacturing processes and manufactures started to assemble pre-manufactured piano parts that were often cheaper and better than those that could have been produced in their workshops. Likewise, mass production of pre-cast iron frames and standardised actions simplified the production process.

¹¹⁰ Gillett, *Musical Women in England*, p.100.

question, and they did everything in their power to discourage, rather than encourage their daughters in a field of art which seemed to them to promise only social degradation. The ignominy attached to the ancient usage of 'fiddler' had not yet entirely lost its force. It was surely bad enough for a man to be a fiddler; but the mere thought of a refined genteel woman playing the violin, either in private or in public, was, indeed, intolerable. Nowadays all this is changed. Narrow prejudices of earlier days have given place to common-sense appreciation."¹¹¹

Similarly, in the mid-nineteenth century a number of music periodicals emerged that allowed teachers, scholars, performers and music lovers to connect and share ideas. The cover page of *The Etude* magazine, published continuously by Theodore Presser & Co. from 1883 until 1957, shows that the transition to acceptance of female violinists took a few decades. Maud Powell and Cecile Chaminade, together with some other female players, appeared for the first time on its cover in August 1910. Then in February 1920, a full-cover image of a female violinist appeared. In December 1922, a striking image of a woman playing the violin in front of an orchestra appeared on the first page, and on the first page of the October 1931 edition there was an image of a woman playing the violin and a man playing a piano. These changes, however, must not obscure the reality that the nineteenth-century bourgeois world contained pockets of limited opportunities for female advancement in general, and female musical advancement in particular, and exemplary erudition was one of them.

The Impact of Education on the Emergence of Female Violin Soloists

Until the beginning of the twentieth century, the ideology of domesticity amongst upper- and middle-class families, based on Rousseau's (1712–1778) belief that masculine and feminine spheres should be separated for the proper functioning of society, shaped women's social, political, cultural and domestic life.¹¹² Since Rousseau was convinced that it was beyond a woman's grasp to search for abstract and speculative truths, it followed that only 'natural' traits that fit the respective

¹¹¹ *The Etude*, 'Woman's position in the Violin-World', September 1901.

¹¹² In his novel *Emile* or *On Education* (1762), Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) postulated the feminine ideal of the virtuous wife and devoted mother and offered them a new type of home-based power. Rousseau claimed that as the mainstays of the family women were naturally designed to bear and nurture children, while providing a comforting atmosphere in the home. At the same time they were partly responsible for the family's status in the community, relying on kinship networks to negotiate power relationships. Although some well-educated women such as Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797) criticised Rousseau for his confinement of women to the domestic sphere, others championed the idea of pedagogical motherhood as the mother/educator role gave women a more important position and contradicted the previous tradition of children being raised by servants and governesses. Wollstonecraft, Mary, *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), ed. Brody, Miriam (London: Penguin Group, 2004); cited in Walters, *Feminism: A Very Short Introduction*, p.33.

societal roles assigned to them, should be nurtured. Thus, Rousseau proposed that women's education should therefore be planned in relation to men's:

“To be pleasing in his sight, to win his respect and love, to train him in childhood, to tend him in manhood, to counsel and console, to make his life pleasant and happy, these are duties of woman for all time, and this is what she should be taught while she is young.”¹¹³

Likewise, Immanuel Kant's (1724-1804) theory of female education followed the general conventions of his era. Being a disciple of Rousseau, Kant saw no purpose in developing girls' intellect and advised that educators should concentrate on the formation of their taste and sensitivity. Despite their negative views of the feminine intellect, neither Rousseau nor Kant regarded women's alleged 'lack' of abstract reasoning power as a hindrance, as the complementary characters of male and female together formed an ideal, single moral person.¹¹⁴ Although this view was supposed to benefit both sexes equally, it seems clear that it was more advantageous for men. Unsurprisingly, women's 'naturally' weak reasoning powers and lack of stamina created a veritable obstacle course for any woman who hoped to make a career in music or any other traditionally male professions from which they were conveniently excluded.

Yet despite the widespread and longstanding conviction of female intellectual inferiority, new economic and cultural developments gave various reasons to argue that women should have a better education to be able to meet the necessary standard for certain careers and to fulfil their individual potential and creativity. The rise of technology and an economy of services and other tertiary occupations provided a wider range of new jobs for female professionals and greatly increased the scope for women's employment as wage-earners.¹¹⁵ Similarly, with the adoption of salon culture genteel women were expected to hold their own intellectual or political conversations, making obvious the need for better upper- and middle-class female education. A second strand of thought about girls' education came from the proponents of pedagogical motherhood, who argued that women should play the role of educator and moral guide in the family. However, the growing conviction that educated women could benefit the nation did not lead to an immediate governmental response. At the beginning of the nineteenth century European countries and the United States had very little interest in primary

¹¹³ Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, *Emile* (1762), trans. Barbara Foxley (London: Dent, 1984), p.349.

¹¹⁴ See Lloyd, Genevieve, *The Man of Reason: "Male" and "Female" in Western Philosophy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), p.76.

¹¹⁵ At the same time women's market did not contribute much to the change in their status. The main problem that remained was how could women compete as women in a public sphere formed by men and suited to men. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, pp.192-219.

education. Thus, the schooling of the masses was left to the law of supply and demand, making an academic education optional and therefore not guaranteed. However, the situation changed towards the end of the nineteenth century as governments recognised the importance of basic education and between the 1880s and the First World War the governments of North-Western Europe and America completed the provision of state funded primary schools for boys and girls with salaried teachers.¹¹⁶ Similarly, the expansion of state funded secondary schools for girls started in most European countries after the late 1890s.¹¹⁷ At the same time, the aim was not to create female intellectuals, but rather to prepare young women for the role of wife and mother, or, if she wished, teacher. Nineteenth-century physicians, in general, still believed that intense study would not benefit young girls as after puberty it would divert energy from ovary to brain, possibly causing malfunctioning, and thus diminish a young woman's chances of being a virtuous wife and mother. Hence, given the prevalent belief that a woman's procreative function governed her life, a young lady's ambition for education was seen as negative. In addition, women's education would create competition between the sexes in the professions. A professional woman was seen as something completely opposite to a truly feminine ideal of the submissive wife. Whilst nineteenth century physicians attributed neurasthenia in men to their increasingly demanding role in society, they believed that in women it was due to their smaller brain capacity, which was inadequate for dealing with complex roles outside the home. Thus, a double oppression against women's education was created. They were either considered weak, because of their lack of stamina and energy, or they were advised not to become ill due to possible 'unfeminine' efforts to achieve something outside their traditional female role.

This implied that most secondary schools for girls did not teach all the required subjects for university entry (e.g. Latin was not taught in France, science, maths and classical languages in Germany) and graduating from secondary school did not automatically lead to a university place. As Gary Cohen commented:

“For a woman to matriculate in a university was still an extraordinary phenomenon in Austria or Germany before World War I, an act that required special dedication from any female student and unusual

¹¹⁶ Gildea, Robert, *Baricades and Borders* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p.109. See also Fuchs and Thompson, *Women in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Chapter V, Education, pp.175–78.

¹¹⁷ In Britain, where there was no national secondary system before 1902, the number of boys' schools climbed from 292 in 1904 to 397 in 1913, whilst the number of girl's schools had risen from 99 in 1904 to 349 in 1913/14. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, p.204. See also Hutton, Marceline J., *Russian and West European Women, 1860–1939: Dreams, Struggles, and Nightmares* (Boston: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2001), pp.56–57.

support from her family (...) as they have to bear the financial burdens at a time when few learned professions would admit women.”¹¹⁸

Despite all these difficulties women were allowed into universities at the end of the nineteenth century in France, Austria, Russia, England and North America, and in Germany from 1908. In Oxford women became full members of the University only in 1919 and in Cambridge although women were granted ‘titular’ degrees in 1921, they were not recognised as full members of the University until 1948.¹¹⁹ Although national differences in women’s education existed the expansion of female education at the end of the nineteenth century became a quantifiable symptom of the changing position of middle-class women in Europe and North America.

In this time of political, industrial and technological changes nineteenth-century women musicians initially found it difficult to receive formal musical training, since before the advent of conservatories musicians were educated by family members and through apprenticeships or guilds, as well as in church schools. Lasting from three to twelve years, the agreement between the teacher and the child’s family involved either payment during that period or a percentage of the apprentice’s income in his early career.¹²⁰ A contractual apprenticeship was less common for girls. A more profound change in female musical education came with the establishment of conservatories throughout Europe during the nineteenth century that provided an alternative or supplement to family training. The Paris Conservatoire was founded in 1795, partly due to an increased demand for highly skilled orchestral musicians, instrumental soloists and opera singers.¹²¹ It emerged from Sarrete’s École de Musique de la Garde Nationale and was created in order to offer advanced training in performance, composition and teaching. Administrative centralisation made the state-funded Paris Conservatoire the model, not only for other French cities music schools, but also for conservatories in other countries and utterly transformed musical training in Europe and America.¹²² Seeing this as an

¹¹⁸ Cohen, Gary B., *Education and Middle Class Society in Imperial Austria, 1848–1918* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1996), pp.189–90; cited in Fuchs and Thompson, *Women in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, p.99.

¹¹⁹ Walters, *Feminism, A Very Short Introduction*, p.63.

¹²⁰ Weber, William, Arnold, Denis, Gessele, Cynthia M., Cahn, Peter, Ritterman, Janet, and Oldani, R. W., “Conservatories, III, 1790-1945.” In *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (ed.) Sadie, Stanley, (London and New York: Macmillan, 2001), Vol.6, pp.315-20.

¹²¹ Initially enrolling pupils between the ages of eight and thirteen as well as advanced students, and also offering dance and drama, the Conservatoire always admitted large number of young women but segregated classes by sex. Young women were 34 percent of its 330 pupils in 1807 and 44 percent of 558 in 1849. See, Clark, Linda L., *Women and Achievement in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p.101.

¹²² Conservatories emerged in many European and American cities, in Prague (1811), Vienna (1817), Graz (1817), Innsbruck (1819), Linz (1823), Milan (1824), Klagenfurt (1828), Brussels (1832), Cologne (1845), Munich (1846), Berlin (1850), Strasbourg (1855), Dresden (1856), Stuttgart (1857),

opportunity and in order to pursue a less traditional path as soloists, young, talented middle-class girls (whose families could afford to pay the fees) enrolled in these institutions after they had exhausted their domestic resources for coaching. Unfortunately, many of them stopped their careers after marrying and those rare female musicians who continued with their careers faced multiple challenges, something I will discuss later.

The first female violinist to pass successfully the entrance examinations for the Paris Conservatoire was Camilla Urso (1842–1902) in 1850 and in 1852 she became the first female to win its first prize. Following Urso came Teresina Tua (1866–1956), who took the first prize in 1880, Arma Senkrah (1864–1900) in 1881, and Nettie Carpenter (1869–?) in 1884.¹²³ Music apprenticeships for women had been rare in England as the extra-musical factors relating to the English traditional views of musicians among powerful upper-class amateurs regarding their social status and respectability continued to play a very important role in women's decision to take up professional training.¹²⁴ Only in 1822, almost thirty years after the opening of the Paris Conservatoire, was there a shift in educational provision in Britain for music students and the Royal Academy of Music was founded in London as the first professional music school in England. The instruments that were taught at the RAM in 1823 were restricted to the piano, harp and singing.¹²⁵ As a result of the increased involvement of women in violin playing, and the social recognition of women's suitability for the instrument, the first female violin student was enrolled at the RAM in 1872.¹²⁶ However, after the middle of the nineteenth century the RAM was criticised for having a low standard

Berne (1858), Lausanne (1861), St. Petersburg (1862), Oberlin (1865), Moscow (1866), Basle (1866), Boston (1867), Berlin (1869), Weimar (1872), Hamburg (1873), Budapest (1875), Zürich (1876), Frankfurt (1878), Brno (1882) and Karlsruhe (1884), New York (1885), Chicago (1886).

¹²³ Teresina Tua (1866–1956, an Italian violinist) first appeared as a seven-year prodigy in Nice and immediately attracted the notice of a wealthy Russian, Madame Rosen, who together with Queen Isabella of Spain fostered her musical education at the Paris Conservatoire under Massarat. Teresina Tua performed in Europe and America in the 1880s with great success, but after her marriage she retired from public performing. An American violinist Arma Senkrah (1864–1900, real name Anna Harkness) came to Europe in 1873 to study under Wieniawski and Massarat. She played with Franz Liszt, who praised her talents highly. Senkrah gave up touring after her marriage. New York-born child prodigy Nettie Carpenter (born 1865) was known as the 'Little Pearl.' She studied under Pablo de Sarasate, who presented her with a bow mounted with gold in appreciation of her talent and later became her child's godfather. See Roth, Henry, *Violin Virtuosos from Paganini to the 21st Century* (Los Angeles: California Classics Books, 1997).

¹²⁴ Despite the on-going transformation, in general and up to approximately the mid-nineteenth century, music was regarded as an inferior career for men. Although male musicians could obtain a music degree at Oxford and Cambridge in the mid-nineteenth century, some members of the academy considered it a degree of lower status. While later in the century the status of Oxford-educated male musicians improved, women had to wait until the second decade of the twentieth century to be awarded degrees from Oxford and Cambridge. Fuchs and Thompson, *Women in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, pp.98–9.

¹²⁵ The London-born Nicholas Mori (1796–1839, a pupil of Viotti) was appointed as the first violin professor and was succeeded in 1845 by the Frenchman Prosper Sainton (1813–1890), a pupil of Habeneck at the Paris Conservatoire. Schwarz, *Great Masters of the Violin*, p.482.

¹²⁶ Gillett, *Musical Women in England*, p.79.

of instruction and the Royal College of Music grew out of the concern that Britain needed a world-class institution comparable to the Leipzig Conservatorium and the Paris Conservatoire. Thus in 1873 the National Training School for Music was established to meet that need, and in 1883 this institution was reformed as the Royal College of Music. In the decade between the 1870s and 1880s England saw a proliferation of new music schools, including Trinity College of Music (1874) and the Guildhall School of Music and Drama (1880) that competed with the long-established RAM by offering a high standard of teaching. *The Strad* (1904) commented that an examination in the Guildhall School of Music in London shows all the defects and shortcomings:

“For instance, in order to enable a candidate to pass in the Senior division, it is necessary to obtain 75 marks out of a possible 100, which are divided as follow: For the actual performance of the chosen solo 12 marks; for exercise playing, 12; scale playing, 15; sight reading, 10; bowing, 5; intonation, 5; style and tone, 6; and paper work, 10. By this method, the growth of any mannerism, bad bowing, or defective intonation, is at once arrested, and the serious candidate, having obtained unbiased expert opinion, will know exactly how to act in the continuation of study.”¹²⁷

The early records of the Royal College of Music show that about half of the violin scholars were female and by the 1890s female students of the violin were as numerous in London conservatories as those studying the piano.¹²⁸

In the *Contemporary Review* (1898), H.R. Hawes went so far as to say:

“It is a common sight in London to see maidens of all ages laden with fiddles of all sizes, their music rolls strapped tightly to the cases, hurrying to the underground railway, or hailing the omnibus or cab in Oxford Street, Regent Street, and Bond Street. Then the Royal Academy, Royal College and Guildhall classrooms are choked with violin-girls, and no ladies’ seminary is now complete without a violin tutor.”¹²⁹

¹²⁷ *The Strad*, 8th December 1904, p.43.

¹²⁸ Studying the violin was an expensive matter; the RAM initially charged £40 per annum (a living-in servant would earn £16 per annum in Victorian times, a clerk at the Post Office £90, and the Governor of the Bank of England £400). Although scholarships were awarded to gifted female instrumentalists, the family still needed to provide money for living expenses in London. <http://fascinatinghistory.blogspot.co.uk>; accessed 3rd December 2013.

¹²⁹ Hawes, H.R., ‘Violins and Girls’, *Contemporary Review*, 74 (1898), pp.107-12; cited in Liggins, Emma, *George Gissing, the Working Woman, and Urban Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2006). Among many British female violinists who graduated at that time in England and became a distinguished violinists at the dawn of the twentieth century were Beatrice Langley (1872–1958), Jessie Grimson (1873–1954), Ethel Barns (1874–1948), Anna Hegner (1881–1963), Maud MacCarthy (1882–1967), Marjorie Hayward (1885–1953), Ivy Angove (1886–1978), May Harrison (1891–1959), Elsie Southgate (1890–1946), Vivian Chartres (1893–1941), Isolde Menges (1893–1976) and Marie Wilson (1903–1996). See McVeigh, Simon, “‘As the sand on the sea shore’: Women Violinists in London’s Concert Life around 1900”, in Hornby, Emma and Maw, David (eds.), *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2004).

Female violin students were often drawn to study in Germany and Austria, where female concert artists were both comfortably situated as normal members of society and positively received in the concert hall as serious artists. In 1843 the Leipzig Conservatory was founded by Mendelssohn and offered teaching of unrivalled quality with a constellation of names such as Schumann, Hauptmann, David and Mendelssohn himself, and later Moscheles, Gade and Joachim.¹³⁰ The list of English talents that sought violin teachers abroad includes Emily Shinner (1862–1901), the first female pupil of Joachim and the first female violinist to be admitted to the Hochschule in Berlin in 1874. A pioneer amongst female violinists, Shinner was not only a celebrated soloist, but also in 1887 founded and led the first British all-female Shinner quartet that performed regularly until the end of the 1890s. After her marriage to Captain Augustus Frederick Lidell, Shinner remained actively involved in public musical life. Edith Robinson (1867–1940) was a pupil of Adolph Brodsky at the Leipzig Conservatoire from 1884–89 who was for more than four decades an outstanding female violinist in Germany and England. In 1906 she founded the all-female Edith Robinson Quartet, which performed regularly until the mid-1930s and from 1907 she taught violin and chamber music at the Royal Manchester College of Music. May Harrison (1890-1959) was well known for her interpretations of works by Johann Sebastian Bach and performances of then-contemporary, British composers such as Frederick Delius, Arnold Bax and Cyril Scott. At the same time her artistic activities were to a great extent connected with her sister, the cellist Beatrice Harrison. Marie Hall (1884–1956, a pupil of Ševčík) was one of the first internationally recognised British female violinists during the pre-war period. Not until Albert Edward Sammons (1886–1957) did Britain produce a male soloist of a comparable stature.

Of the three hundred or more pupils of Joachim, very few women attained celebrity status; amongst them were Gabrielle Wietrowetz (1866–1937) and Marie Soldat-Roege (1864–1955). Wietrowetz went to Berlin in 1882 to study under Joseph Joachim and won the Mendelssohn prize twice, in 1883 and 1885, launching a successful career that lasted more than 40 years. Wietrowetz was recognised as “by far the best new violinist of the year”, according to *The Strad* critic in 1892. Considered a worthy successor of Neruda, Wietrowetz was made ‘an extraordinary

¹³⁰ Samson (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth Century Music*, p.83. The teaching staff of extraordinary eminence attracted an international student body of about 6,000 students in its first 50 years; 3,300 were from Germany, 1,800 from other parts of Europe and 1,000 from the rest of the world. Weber, William, Arnold, Denis, Gessele, Cynthia M., Cahn, Peter, Ritterman, Janet, and Oldani, R. W., “Conservatories, III, 1790-1945.” In *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (ed.) Sadie, Stanley, (London and New York: Macmillan, 2001), Vol.6, pp.315-20.

teacher for violin' at the Berlin Academy from 1901 to 1912.¹³¹ In 1880 Marie Soldat-Roeger, a protégé of Brahms gained the Mendelssohn prize that launched her career as a virtuoso. She was a highly significant figure who was the first female violinist to perform the Brahms Violin Concerto and only the second violinist after Joachim's premiere. Similarly, to Wietrowetz she was awarded the title of Professor of the Society of Friends of Music in Vienna in 1938 and later in 1952 the title of professor in Austria.¹³²

Famous American pupils of Joachim included Geraldine Morgan (1868–1918), the first American to gain the Mendelssohn prize in 1885 and who toured in 1886 with Joachim; Maud Powell (1867–1920), who toured the world and led an all-female string quartet; and Leonora Jackson (1879–1969), the last American female violinist to have the opportunity to study with Joachim. She won the Mendelssohn prize in 1898 and soon after gained a position amongst the best of the rising violinists of that time.¹³³ It is not surprising that talented American girls went to study in Europe with prominent teachers; Americans generally viewed Europe as the most important place to study music for those with the intention of becoming professional musicians and virtuosos.¹³⁴ Thus between the Civil War (1861–1865) and the turn of the century many upper- and middle-class American families, ambitious for their daughters, sent them with chaperones or their mothers to study abroad (generally for three years). Studying abroad provided them with the opportunity to attend master classes given by the best violinists/teachers of the day and to attend first-rate concerts. Another very important part of the European experience was their public performances, which were attended by local critics whose reviews would appear in newspapers and then be used as a promotional publicity in America on the performers' return.

On the negative side, as those young girls could not travel alone, family sacrifices had to be made and usually fathers were left wifeless and childless and had to work and send money for lessons, rent and food.¹³⁵ Although soloists of both genders

¹³¹ http://mugi.hfmt-hamburg.de/Artikel/Gabriele_Wietrowetz; accessed 16th October 2013.

¹³² http://mugi.hfmt-hamburg.de/Artikel/Marie_Soldat-Röger; accessed 16th October 2013.

¹³³ Kathleen Parlow (1890–1963), the Canadian violinist with the nickname 'the lady with the golden bow', was the first foreign student to attend the St. Petersburg Conservatoire. In Auer's class were also Britain's Isolde Menges (1893–1976), Ohio-born Thelma Given (1896–1977), and a Russian born of Nordic stock Cecilia Hansen (1897–1989). Lahee, *Famous Violinists of To-day and Yesterday*, Chapter X.

¹³⁴ Henry Wolfsohn, a leading New York concert manager, told to the America pianist Olga Samaroff in 1904, "it is not what I think of your playing, but what Europe thinks of it that counts." Stokowski Samaroff, Olga, *An American Musician's Story* (New York: Norton, 1939), p.30; cited in Macleod, *Women Performing Music*, p.35.

¹³⁵ "Then the question arises: Shall a girl go abroad and fight the battle alone? (...) And why not? Because she is too far from home, in a land where her independence, her freedom of speech and manners are misunderstood and misinterpreted; where the temptations are more numerous and

had to deal with a variety of stresses generated by the demands of studying abroad, those young women could rarely forget the sacrifices made by their families and the sense of guilt was often overwhelming. Immediately after their return to America they needed to prove that they were fine soloists. Furthermore, they had to endure the burden of anti-American bias, which was based on deep-rooted European views of a supposed lack of musical talent amongst Americans. For example, Ševčík gave specific advice to American students as they, in his opinion, had a disadvantage next to their European counterparts:

“American pupils are talented as any in the world, and they work as hard: but in general they have one failing, they have not absorbed enough music into their subconscious mind. (...) So no matter how carefully the teacher may guide the musical studies, yet the lack of the light of plenty of good music in the everyday life is a great handicap.”¹³⁶

Likewise, young foreign female students studying in Germany often had to endure verbal (and psychological) assaults. The American pianist Amy Fay (1844–1928) in her book *Music Study in Germany*, described her living conditions, character sketches of her teachers Carl Tausig, Theodor Kullak, Franz Liszt and Ludwig Deppe, and her student experiences during six years in Germany, whilst enduring all sorts of frustrations in connection with the autocratic style of German music masters.¹³⁷ In Fay’s opinion comments such as Tausig’s, “Child, there is no soul in the piece. Don’t you know there’s a soul in it?” were difficult to understand for such young girls. Likewise, the pianist Leschetizky, a teacher of Artur Schnabel, Ignace Paderewski and Ethel Leginska, enjoyed his dual role as a teacher and father and often blended the two. He always showed disappointment when some of his female students became engaged to be married because marriage would put an end to their musical career and he insisted that he himself never wanted to marry. The truth is that Leschetizky married four times and all his wives were his former

different from those at home; where her youthful and American unafraidness, and the consciousness that there is no one from home to see and judge, will surely lead her into difficulties.” Powell, Maud, ‘The Prince of Fame’ in the *New Idea Woman’s Magazine*, December 1908; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.88.

¹³⁶ Meyer, Otto, ‘The Violin Student’s Fundamentals’ in *The Etude*, March 1924. Similarly, an American pianist, Amy Fay, reported that her piano teacher Theodor Kullak never lost an opportunity to make a remark about the lack of talent in Americans. Élie-Miriam Delaborde (1839–1913), the piano teacher from the Paris Conservatoire greeted his American student Olga Samaroff at her first lesson with the question, “Why do you try to play piano? Americans are not meant to be musicians!” Macleod, *Women Performing Music*, p.43.

¹³⁷ Fay, Amy, *Music Study in Germany* (Chicago: McClury, 1880). During her successful career Fay defended women’s musical potential, as her words confirm, “It has required 50,000 years to produce a male Beethoven, surely one little century ought to be vouchsafed to create a female one!” *The American Musical Woman*, 2nd May 2011; americanmusicalwoman.wordpress.com; accessed 23rd September 2013.

students.¹³⁸ Although both sexes suffered from verbal assaults and humiliation, Miller argues that boys as adults will eventually inherit paternal authority and social prestige, whereas such negative experience in a girls' early life is more likely to be replicated and reinforced with age as patterns of (male) authority and (female) obedience and submission pervaded many aspects of nineteenth-century culture.¹³⁹ Hence, even though the European conservatory experience was still a 'necessity' for future success, by the early 1900s Americans started to challenge the advisability of young musical women subjecting themselves to these financial, emotional and physical hardships by studying abroad, especially considering that between 1865 and 1905 the United States opened several music conservatories that allowed girls to study music.¹⁴⁰

Because of the social conditions in which the careers of women touring virtuosi thrived the problems for women violinists were not confined to studying. The transition from being student to an emerging violin soloist required a huge degree of boldness from a young female violinist as she had been raised within the mainstream patriarchal society and therefore socialised as a cultural 'other.' Unsurprisingly, Maud Powell commented:

"Despair was in my heart, and I wondered constantly if I was fool to keep on. I doubted my talent (at times); I doubted my strength and endurance. I doubted the ultimate reward of my labours. Yet, I kept on, simply because of the 'something' within that drove me on."¹⁴¹

Socially and emotionally positioned as outsiders in the violin business, these women probably found the auditioning process additionally uncomfortable, contrary to their male colleagues, who were often spared this daunting task due to being recommended by teachers, managers or conductors. For example, at the invitation of Anton Rubinstein (1829-1894), Wieniawski taught as a violin professor at the St. Petersburg Conservatoire and led the Russian Musical Society's Orchestra and string quartet from 1860- 1872 before replacing Henri Vieuxtemps as violin professor at the Conservatoire Royal de Bruxelles in 1875. Likewise, the twenty-seven year-old Eugène Ysaÿe (1858-1931) was recommended as soloist for

¹³⁸ Macleod, *Women Performing Music*, p.41.

¹³⁹ See discussion of Miller's theories in Moffit, Gisela, *Bonds and Bondage: Daughter-Father Relationship in the Father Memoirs of German-Speaking Women Writers of the 1970s* (New York: Peter Lang, 1993), pp.48–51; cited in Macleod, *Women Performing Music*, p.42.

¹⁴⁰ The Peabody Conservatoire was founded in 1857, The Oberlin Conservatoire in 1865, The Chicago Musical College, the Cincinnati Conservatory, and the New England Conservatory in 1867, the Institute of Music Art in New York in 1905, and so on. However, American Conservatoires did not become internationally competitive until the 1920s, when three great music schools were established – the Julliard School in New York, the Curtis Institute in Philadelphia and the Eastman School in Rochester. See Schwarz, *Great Masters of the Violin*, p.494.

¹⁴¹ Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, pp.94–95.

one of the Concerts Colonne in Paris, which was the start of his great success as a soloist. Indeed, in order to get concerts, young female violinists needed the help of an influential male musician, a manager or a wealthy patron who was willing to play a major role in launching a new female soloist and shaping her public acceptance. As the market for soloists was limited, managers and conductors would rather promote male virtuosos than willingly take on female violinists who were financially, if not artistically, a greater risk.¹⁴² Additionally, female soloists presented more problems for managers as they had the difficult task of protecting their soloist's womanhood when necessary and had to deal with the possible complications of sharing accommodation. As professional management agencies were in their infancy and a touring musician had to acquire a whole host of social and economic skills. He/she has to guide a wide range of activities, not only musical performance but also the organisation of concerts that included finding a concert hall in which to perform, cover the rental costs, sell tickets, prepare posters, arrange decent lodgings and means of transportation, find private patronage and connections with the artistic circles, and so on. Being raised as a musician in a society where organisational work was usually a man's duty, it was probably more difficult for them to cope with the organisational side of their careers as it revolved processes of social exchange that were defined by the nineteenth-century patriarchal social and cultural rules. The expansion of the music business during the first half of the nineteenth century led to a more centralised management of concerts by local concert agents (males) who (by becoming the main arbiters of concert talent) usually exerted some sort of monopolistic control. Thus, it is not surprising that some female touring musicians had great difficulty making career-related decisions. For example, an American pianist, Julie Rivé-King (1854-1937) expressed frustration at having to correspond with male managers, saying she found it easier to deal with women's music clubs because women were less intimidating to deal with. She believed that as a single woman she was treated unfairly in business dealings and ultimately decided to abandon touring, accepting a teaching position at the Bush Conservatory in Chicago.¹⁴³ Unsurprisingly, many of the most successful female musicians were married to their managers including violinists Camilla Urso, Marie Hall and Maud Powell. This arrangement was mutually beneficial in many ways, something I will discuss later in detail.

¹⁴² Paderewski netted \$280,000 for 92 concerts in 1895, \$3,043 per concert, while Olga Samaroff reported that the highest fee a women pianist could earn per concert in 1906 was \$500–600. Zamoyski, *Paderewski*, pp.75-83 and Petteys, 'Julie Rivé-King', pp.198–9; cited in Macleod, *Women Performing Music*, pp.64–5.

¹⁴³ Macleod, *Women Performing Music*, p.62.

Nineteenth-century touring female soloists faced an additional obstacle. As it was not socially acceptable for a respectable woman to travel alone, female solo recitalists would generally travel with a family member or friend (which took a toll on their invariably lower fees), or toured with prominent professional bands and orchestras of the period who additionally provided security. Inevitably, a solo career for a female virtuoso was in direct confrontation with the ideology of motherhood (generally assumed to be a woman's true destiny). Building a career required successful image management for all soloists, but the problem was especially acute for women musicians. For a male virtuoso their marital status did not present an obstacle because their private life formed less of their public image. Yet, female soloists needed to assure audiences and critics that they could successfully balance their duties of a caring mother and wife with that of a soloist. Married female musicians with an independent career, especially after motherhood, were highly unusual. Likewise, in the face of patriarchal conventions a powerful wife could be seen as an insult to her husband's socially established role as a provider and historically, female soloists were often 'forced' to choose between marriage, family and a career. These essential parts of the life of a nineteenth-century female violinists cast a new light on the difficult task that confronted them.

To conclude, in complex ways, sex-based perceptions of musical instruments together with gender-related (political, social and cultural) restrictions shaped both the lives and careers of nineteenth-century female musicians. Moreover, gender-based perceptions of women and musical instruments created a paradox, as women were encouraged to look beautiful, but perform in a manly manner, they were encouraged to play instruments, but only those that projected an image of female grace and beauty, women's performing skills were highly valued, but only when performing within the bounds of the home, the social pressure for a beautiful and graceful appearance often meant that they could play in the all-female ensembles preferably as a decorative object rather than as a professional musician.¹⁴⁴ With this in mind, the next chapter will examine the possibly overpowering effect of masculine potency as a signifier of violin mastery and its effect on the position of my chosen violinists in the history of violin.

¹⁴⁴ See Macleod, *Women Performing Music*, p.21.

Chapter Two: The Reception History of Powell, Hall and Moodie

Since the first chapter deals with feminist theories that challenged a system of patriarchal gender-based values that are embedded in the history of violin playing, it seems appropriate to investigate to what extent nineteenth-century socio-cultural prejudices contributed to the lesser reception of female violinists and determined the nature of their wider public recognition.¹⁴⁵ Maud Powell, Marie Hall and Alma Moodie began performing at a time when older colleagues such as Joachim (1831-1907), and Sarasate (1844-1908) were at the peak of their fame; their careers proceeded alongside those of Ysaÿe (1858-1931), Willy Burmester (1869-1933), Josef Suk (1874-1935), Jacques Thibaud (1880-1953), Jan Kubelik (1880-1940), and Jaroslav Kocián (1883-1950) and continued even at a time when the art of young violinists such as, Miron Polyakin (1895-1941), Mischa Elman (1891-1967), Efrem Zimbalist (1889-1985) and Jascha Heifetz (1901-1987) were quickly gaining world recognition. As has been noted earlier, their *mastery* of the instrument and rich and varied repertoire enabled them to achieve recognition not only as fine interpreters of standard violin repertoire, but also as the exponents of contemporary music. For example, in Moodie's obituary the critic Karl Holl commented:

“Alma Moodie belongs to the few female instrumental virtuosos of our time who became prominent in this sense and degree, out of many capable and famous female interpreters, thanks to her enormously wide-ranging talent and through her constant striving for personal refinement, who knew how to combine the lustre of her virtuosity with the deeper fervent luminosity of the mature and creative will of the great masters.”¹⁴⁶

Likewise, soon after Maud Powell's death, a critic remarked that her 'musical taste was impeccable', that 'more than one young composer owed his first hearing to her' and 'never will the full measure of America's debt to Maud Powell be fully known.'¹⁴⁷

Given the traditional emphasis in western-art music upon male composers and performers, the purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate the influence of gender-based reviews and written documentation that served as the historical evidence upon which their reception was partly based. Accordingly, the aim here is to

¹⁴⁵ At the same time I am aware of the arguments that the term 'female violinist' as a signifier should be avoided, however I have chosen to regard women violinists as a real historical group of people.

¹⁴⁶ Holl, Karl, *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 8th March 1943; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, p.138.

¹⁴⁷ *Musical America*, 17th January 1920; *New York Sun*, 10th January 1920; cited in Shaffer, p.419 and p.423.

discuss a comparative assessment of the reception of my chosen violinists with their better-known male counterparts such as, Pablo de Sarasate (1844-1908), Eugène Ysaÿe (1858-1931), Fritz Kreisler (1875-1962), and Albert Sammons (1886-1957). The implication here is that a great many critics and writers in the field would commonly praise individualism, that bourgeois ideal which entails a trend towards increasingly unrestrained self-promotion, and the ideals of power and courage such as were seen as emblematic of bourgeois masculinity. Out of this, an idiosyncratic virtuoso style was seen as the expression of a masculine libido and a form of artistic mastery, which betokened domination. The socio-musical space this created was thus associated with heroism, showmanship and physical power, against which were contrasted stereotypical feminine qualities of decorum and gracefulness, thus embodying patriarchal values within critical discourse.¹⁴⁸

From the seventeenth century, virtuosos represented a model of excellence, outstanding *masters* of violin playing.¹⁴⁹ The words ‘virtuoso’ and ‘virtuosity’ derive from the Italian word *virtù*, or rather from a particular Italian Renaissance meaning of *virtù*, “will-power, moral energy, a bold and informed resoluteness of purpose, overcoming every difficulty” (*forza d’animo, energia morale, decisione coraggiosa e cosciente per cui l’uomo persegue lo scopo che si è proposto, superando ogni difficoltà*). *Virtù* could also mean, of course, “disposition to do good” (*disposizione a fare il bene*).¹⁵⁰ Yet, I will argue that historically the embedded meaning of the word virtuoso was in the phrase *virtù di animo e di corpo* (energy or the strength of mind and body) that exemplified male characteristics, which partly enabled male virtuosos to maintain their prestigious position in the history of violin playing and consequently female violinists’ achievements were undervalued. Indeed, as has already been suggested in the previous chapter, virtuosos’ enduring legacy is not only in the development of the violin technique but also in a shaping the image of a virtuoso as a ‘heroic’ (who removes obstacles), even ‘demonic’ player, hence highlighting their importance as highly favourable models for critics and audiences.¹⁵¹ In that sense favouring male

¹⁴⁸ See Leppert, Richard and McClary, Susan, *Music and Society: The Politics of Composition, Performance and Reception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), Gillet, Paula, *Musical Women in England 1870-1914: Encroaching on All Man’s Privileges* (London: Macmillan, 2000), Macleod, Beth Abelson, *Women Performing Music: The Emergence of American Women as Instrumentalists and Conductors* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2004).

¹⁴⁹ See Metzner, Paul, *Crescendo of the Virtuoso: Spectacle, Skill, and Self-Promotion in Paris during the Age of Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

¹⁵⁰ Zingarelli, Nicola, *Il Nuovo Zingarelli: Vocabolario della lingua italiana* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1988), p.2155. Similarly, the word virtue in modern English can mean either effective force/power or goodness/conformity to standard morality. Morris, William (ed.), *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (New York: American Heritage, 1969), p.1432.

¹⁵¹ The demonic player and his angelic singing tone formed a complementary pairing (mother’s angelic voice and father’s Satanic nature), a model later echoed in Freud’s theory of God and the

prowess partly undervalued the reception of female soloists in general, and my chosen violinists, in particular.

The origins of virtuosos' performance style, full of masculine potency, extroverted, passionate, 'heroic' and even 'demonic' is possible to observe from the reception of several Italian violinists from Antonio Vivaldi (1678-1741, whose liberal exceeding of the restrictions placed on a priest's sexual conduct was considered morally loose by the church authorities) to Gaetano Pugnani (1731-1798, whose 'weakness' for women was famous) and Pietro Locatelli (1695-1764, who was admired for cultivating a 'heroic' image and playing with a sword at his side like "a councillor of war.")¹⁵² Giuseppe Tartini's (1692-1770) inclination towards mysticism and visionary experiences (including that of the devil playing the violin in his dream) perhaps inspired Niccolò Paganini (1782-1840) to promote his quasi-Mephistophelian image and 'demonic' virtuosity.¹⁵³ Although they were self-serving, the importance of his 'supernatural' virtuosity is so fundamental to what follows from his time onwards, that one cannot dismiss it lightly. Paganini influenced not only his contemporaries such as, Camillo Sivori (1815-1894), Henri Vieuxtemps (1820-1881) and Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst (1812-1865), whose works with regard to their technical demands could only be compared to his, but also generations of violinists to come, including Henryk Wieniawski (1835-1880), Ferdinand Laub (1832-1875), and Pablo de Sarasate (1844-1908).¹⁵⁴ Conversely, by the close of the nineteenth century it is perhaps not surprising that Paganini's shadow was still hanging over violin playing and virtuoso performance style.

However, in the second half of the nineteenth century the self-promotion of virtuosity became less fashionable thanks to the growing influence of the German concept of *Werktrue* (truth or fidelity to work) which required performers to channel their virtuosity in the service of interpreting a work and to minimise the interference of their own personalities. Joseph Joachim (1831-1907) seems to have gained a reputation as a stylistic 'conservative', rather than a virtuoso of technical prowess, who used virtuosity for higher artistic ends and concentrated, 'on the

Devil sharing in a single entity. See Fauquet, Jean-Noël, 'Quand le diable', *Romanticism* (2005), Vol.35, no.128, p.39; cited in Kawabata, *Paganini: The 'Demonic' Virtuoso*, p.48.

¹⁵² Schwarz, *Great Masters*, p.105 and p.94.

¹⁵³ Historically, the partnership between a potent violin virtuoso and devil became legendary as it coupled the idea of 'magical' powers and masculine potency with virtuoso image, and as Italian saying goes *se non è vero, è ben trovato* (if it is not true, it is well invented).

¹⁵⁴ A violinist Thomas Lamb Phipson (1833-1908) commented that Vieuxtemps playing was "more or less of the Paganini school, but sobered down by classical influence of his teacher de Bériot." Phipson, T.L., *Famous Violinists and Fine Violins: Historical Notes, Anecdotes, and Reminiscences* (London: Chatto & Windus, Piccadilly, 1896), pp.244-45.

realisation of his true artistic principles.’¹⁵⁵ At the turn of the century, in Carl Flesch’s words, Joachim and Sarasate, ‘had formed two poles of the axis around which the world of the violin had turned; each totally unlike the other in the reportorial preferences and with different musical attitudes as the elegance and effortless virtuosity of Sarasate’s playing was the obverse of Joachim’s stricter adherence to theoretical and intellectual principles.’¹⁵⁶ Indeed, Powell observed that:

“Whilst the increased attendance at serious musical functions was noticeable, the demands for music which is beneath a serious artist’s standard still had a tendency together with the propensity to look upon performance as *the show*.”¹⁵⁷

Her remark, in a way, confirms not only the existence of two virtuoso traditions but also the nature of those differences. I believe that Joachim’s approach, from performer-centric to composer-centric, proved beneficial for the ascendance of women virtuosos who otherwise risked appearing self-aggrandising.¹⁵⁸ Moreover, as Joachim’s goal was not the public’s acclaim but the public’s ennoblement, it seems that his willingness to submerge his own personality into the work of the composer coincided with the women’s role as educator and thus partly facilitated the rise of female virtuosity. Having said that, despite the high artistic reputation of my chosen violinists and other female soloists such as Wilma Neruda, Marie Soldat and Gabrielle Wietrowetz which seems to transcend discussion in gender terms, their placement as distinguished chamber musicians often afforded them a quite different image to that of the potent, Romantic virtuoso, which did not clash with accepted norms of femininity. Indeed, quartet concerts existed very largely as an extension of the private sphere and sought not so much to entertain but to contribute to the edification of the public, which aptly epitomised the position of a woman as an educator and thus never ‘threatened’ the principal position of virtuosos such as Ysaÿe, Wieniawski or Sarasate.

¹⁵⁵ Cited in Milsom, *Theory and Practice*, p.20. Ernest Newman in his essay ‘The Virtuous and the Virtuoso’ defined two opposing schools of “*the virtuoso*” (Liszt) and “*the virtuous*” (Brahms), that is, one who is an intermediary of the artistic idea. See, ‘The Virtuous and the Virtuoso’, in *More Essays from the World of Music* (London: John Calder, 1958), pp.160–62 and ‘The Triumph of Marsyas’, in Mitchel, Mark, *Virtuosi: A Defense and A (Sometimes Erotic) Celebration of Great Pianists* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), pp.5–27.

¹⁵⁶ Flesch, Carl, *The Memoirs of Carl Flesch* (London, Rockliff, 1958), p.79. See also Milsom, *Theory and Practice*, p.24. Joachim discarded the repertoire of virtuoso pieces by Vieuxtemps, Ernest or Bériot saying, as early as 1848, that this music is revolting to him. See Schwarz, *Great Masters*, p.259.

¹⁵⁷ *Musical America*, 10th May 1919; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.401.

¹⁵⁸ It can be also argued that partly belief that a woman’s presence would lend a decorative element to a stage opened door for a few exceptional women. For example, concert troupes often combined artists and the most prominent female soloists toured with leading bands and orchestras.

Despite Joachim's great influence on other players, the temptation to exploit and (even vulgarise) the exhibitionist side of playing proved the more enduring and at the dawn of the twentieth century the world of music was ready for a new type of violin virtuoso, such as Eugène Ysaÿe (1858-1931) and Fritz Kreisler (1875-1962) who combined virtuoso brilliance with musicianship. It might be said that gender-based remarks (big, erect, strong) that mirrored the violin virtuosos' image of a powerful and manly master ruling over a tiny feminine instrument continued to be esteemed in their reviews. For example, Boris Sibor (1880-1961) pointed out Ysaÿe's an imposing stage presence, 'being tall, big, with a manly and characteristic head and noble bearing. Not surprisingly, even his big Guarnerius violin seemed tiny in his big hands.'¹⁵⁹ Likewise, according to Schwarz, no one who ever saw Kreisler on the stage could forget his appearance, 'broad-shouldered and proudly erect.'¹⁶⁰ By far the most fulsome testimony of the importance of masculinity and "hypertrophic sexuality" in Kreisler's artistic virtuosity, is provided by Carl Flesch:

"To understand Kreisler you have to have heard him as a very young man before he was forced by his wife into an ordered way of life. At the time he possessed a lasciviousness of expression, the violinistic equivalent of original sin, whose fascination was second to none. (...) if you observed him today steady, quite, restrained, always with a somewhat rigid appearance, you would not credit that he was once a man lashed by unrestrained impulsiveness, oozing salaciousness on the violin, seductive, arousing all the so-called 'bad' instincts- in brief, an exceedingly exciting artist."¹⁶¹

As the primary purpose of this text is to investigate the historical reception of Powell, Hall and Moodie, we should clarify to what extent virtuosity (that channelled all kinds of power) was important for their reception and how they were to negotiate a 'female' creativity in the music world that celebrated 'masterly' artistry with 'heroic' and 'demonic' virtuosity (rather perceived as masculine then feminine). The implication here is that the testimony of written reviews is likely to illuminate the reality of majority practice- either to pinpoint the precise desirable aspects of a virtuoso style (individuality, power, endurance, large tone, effortless technique, etc.) in the artistry of my chosen violinists or to outline physical and mental differences between genders, in which case their artistry was measured by the originality, virility, strength and potency of their male counterparts.

¹⁵⁹ Sibor was a son-in-law of Auer and a professor at the Moscow Conservatory from 1923-1950. Ginsburg, Lev, *Ysaÿe* (ed. Dr. H. r. Axelrod), trans. X.M. Danko (New York: Paganiana Publications, 1980, first published 1959), p.420.

¹⁶⁰ Schwarz, *Great Masters*, p.303.

¹⁶¹ 18th March 1931, Flesch, *Memoirs*, p.323.

Hence, the American violinist Louis Kaufman (1905-1994) remembered Maud Powell's 'tall, statuesque appearance' and her 'very bright and clear tone':

"I was impressed by her *dash* and *brilliance*. There was no trace of a dull academic approach (...) I remember her impeccable intonation, an unusual control of the left hand and a supple and *powerful* bow arm."¹⁶²

Likewise, after Powell's debut with the Boston Symphony in 1887, the critic referred to her playing as, '*strong, straightforward and hearty*, rather than being *graceful* or *poetic*,' whilst another reviewer commented that, 'she must have frightened the first violinists just behind her (...) Such a *breadth* of tone, such *boldness of attack*, and such clear double stoppings are seldom heard (from a female player).'¹⁶³ Similarly, the critic from *The Oberlin Review* commented:

"There is never a hint of *feminine lack of vigour*, and her ability to *sustain* her *energy* through a long and arduous programme is a constant source of surprise to those who hear her."¹⁶⁴

At the same time, a curiously paradoxical comment about Powell's playing fits within the attitude to nineteenth-century socio-cultural norms:

"Powell, this *brilliant* and *virile* player is invariably paid the compliment of not being judged from the standpoint of *women* players, but from that of excellence as musician with the technique and strength of a *man*."¹⁶⁵

The critic of the *Manchester Guardian* reported that Powell even cultivated 'a kind of *demoniac* style, as she made the opening of the second movement of the Tchaikovsky concerto *weird* and *witch-like* to an extraordinary degree,' thus confirming that a 'demonic' virtuosity found its representation in her musical performance.¹⁶⁶

Invariably, Moodie was well noted for her 'architektonisch,' 'energetic, 'almost manly art.'¹⁶⁷ Indeed, in reviews, alongside comments on her gender and age, runs the recurrent idea of masculinity "in the best sense" as her playing possessed the necessary qualities of "Sicherheit, Energie und Gestaltungskraft" (assurance,

¹⁶² <http://www.maudpowell.org/home>; accessed 1st April 2015.

¹⁶³ *The Musical Herald*, April 1887; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.101.

¹⁶⁴ 'Miss Powell's Violin Recital,' in *The Oberlin Review*, 31st May 1895; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.101.

¹⁶⁵ *The Strad*, September 1900 and *The Violin World*, 15th December 1900; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, pp. 164-66.

¹⁶⁶ *The Violinist*, January 1900; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.164.

¹⁶⁷ *Musical Times*, 1st May 1931, p.459; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, p.133 and p.87.

energy and creative power).¹⁶⁸ For example, after her debut in Berlin on 6th November 1919, the *Vossische Zeitung* of 18th November noted that her playing had, “a big expressive tone, a mature technique and a sharp, one might almost say *masculine power* of expression.”¹⁶⁹ Similarly, critics effused over Moodie’s premiere of the Pfitzner violin concerto with Knappertsbusch as her performance demonstrated admirable qualities of strength, endurance and force. For example, Walter Zimmerman-Bischoff, a music critic of Winterthur’s *Der Landbote* stated that the German composer Pfitzner was extremely fortunate to find, in Alma Moodie, “an outstanding life energy (*ein überragenden Lebensenergie*), a combination of fiery temperament and commanding artist able to hold together convincingly the disparate elements of his rapshodic work.”¹⁷⁰ At the same time, Alexander Herrsche, a Munich marveled both, her assertive power and her creative artistry:

“(Moodie) is a singular phenomenon. (...) The sensibility with which she captures the most delicate expressive contours of the work, filling the last corner of its figuration with warmth, and the *size* and *energy* with which she captures (...) the singularity of the mighty organism of this work, and lets us grow into its height and breadth, are so remarkable that one forgets to think of her effortless rounded-off technique and the beauty of her tone.”¹⁷¹

The German pianist and composer Eduard Erdmann (1896-1958) also provides a portrait of Moodie’s original and energetic artistic qualities:

“Her public succumbed and was spellbound by her *originality* and *spiritual wealth*, for which the instrument, in her hands, became a finely reactive seismographic transmitter.”¹⁷²

After her recital in the Wigmore Hall on 17th April 1934 critic Walter J. Turner commented:

“She is a remarkable violinist, with the clear style of Flesch, with a beautiful tone, a *robustness which is rarely found in a woman* and an

¹⁶⁸ Weissmann, Adolf, B.-Z. *am Mittag*, 11th November 1919; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard’s Bride*, p.40.

¹⁶⁹ Dreyfus, *Bluebeard’s Bride*, p.40.

¹⁷⁰ Zimmerman-Bischoff, Walter, a critic of *Der Landbote*, November 1924; cited in Sulzer, Peter, “Hans Pfitzner” in *Zehn Komponisten um Werner Reinhart* (Winterthur: Neujahrsblätter der Stadtbibliothek Winterthur, 1980), Vol.2, p.142.

¹⁷¹ Undated, untitled clipping, (November 1924?), Pfitzner Nachlass, ÖNB, trans. George Dreyfus; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard’s Bride*, p.87.

¹⁷² Dreyfus, *Bluebeard’s Bride*, p.75. ‘As interpreter of (Schubert and Beethoven) and ranking with Schnabel, was Eduard Erdmann, who made some recordings for Odeon and DGG.’ See Gronow, Pekka, and Saunio, Ilpo, *International History of the Recording Industry* (translated from Finnish by Christopher Moseley, 1998), <https://books.google.co.uk>, p.84; accessed, 21st June 2015.

extraordinary rhythmic vitality.¹⁷³ Of course, I am prejudiced against women to the point that I can *categorically deny that a woman, in my conception of things, can be an artist.*¹⁷⁴

Turner's comment is particularly interesting as it not only demonstrates gender-based prejudice towards female violinists playing style, but also denigrates Moodie's status as an artist.

Despite praising the manly attributes of their virtuoso style, it has been frequently reported that Maud Powell was slim, Marie Hall, slender and frail looking and Alma Moodie, petite.¹⁷⁵ Thus, with surprise, critics and audiences acknowledged that they possessed great stamina, and indeed, intensity of attack, powerful tone and mastery. For example, after Hall's debut at the Squire of Kings Weston, near Bristol it was commented that 'the concert was a grand success and the playing of the *delicate, frail, little* fifteen-year-old debutante astonished all present.'¹⁷⁶ As late as in 2004, Tobey Faber referred to Marie Hall as '*fragile* and attenuated' but with an '*immense reserve of strength.*'¹⁷⁷ Similarly, after Alma Moodie's first performance in Frankfurt a critic from *Frankfurter Nachrichten und Intelligenz-Blatt* commented:

"How this *tiny* person, calmly standing there, develops the cantilena, warm and beautiful in its tone, how she manages the technical difficult part (...), all this is *truly amazing* in such a young *girl.*"¹⁷⁸

It is interesting to note that Eduard Erdmann referred not only to Alma Moodie's body-size when he commented about her playing from the years 1920-1924, but also about her *exotic* personality:

¹⁷³ Flesch developed a new method of teaching that was opposed to the teachings of the Paris Conservatory, which he called "fusty" Conservatoire. He was quite critical of its limited curriculum and mummified violin repertoire. 'When he published his *Art of Violin Playing* in the 1920s he offered the sum-total of his life experience as teacher and performer. Flesch abolished old taboos, such as the low right elbow (he popularised the so-called Russian grip), the avoidance of second and fourth position, and the idea of 'un-teachable' vibrato. His students could be recognised by the upward position of their elbows while playing.' See Schwarz, *Great Masters*, p.336. Carl Flesch was teacher of Ida Haendel, Ginette Neveu, Max Rostal, Szymon Goldberg, Stefan Frenkel, Bronislaw Gimpel, Roman Totenberg, and Henryk Szeryng.

¹⁷⁴ Turner, W.J., "Was ist ein Künstler?", p.177; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, p.112.

¹⁷⁵ Moodie was 1.60 metres tall and wore size 34 shoes. Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, p.131. "Marie Hall was slender and frail looking, with waving brown hair and blue eyes." *San Francisco Call*, Volume 93, Number 140, 19th April 1903; <http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin>; accessed 21st June 2015.

¹⁷⁶ Griffith, Dinorben M., 'Miss Marie Hall, The Girl Violinist, A Romance of Real Life', *The Strand Magazine*, June 1903, p.658.

¹⁷⁷ Faber, Tobey, *Stradivarius: One cello, Five Violins and a Genius* (London: Pan Macmillan Ltd, 2004), p.178. Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, p.131.

¹⁷⁸ *Frankfurter Nachrichten und Intelligenz-Blatt*, 13th October 1913; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, p.13.

“This *small*, somewhat *exotic* young person, who had such *power*, everyone in Europe was quite clear about this, was a finished, great artist. Even if this self-performing talent, which reacted so instinctively to the works, was at time predominant, it was in spite of a shot of almost *gipsy-like musicality* of such noble art and so much inner purity that even today I see this time as one of the greatest high points in Alma Moodie’s artistry.”¹⁷⁹

Indeed, an Austrian, later American composer of Czech origin, Ernst Krenek (1900-1991), even years later commented on Moodie that she, “certainly was a great artist of extraordinary *vitality*, vivacity, and of slightly *mysterious*, even *exotic* charm.”¹⁸⁰ The precise content of their comments needs to be discussed here as an idea put forward by both Krenek and Erdmann includes the words *exotic* (often connoted as a feminine rather than a masculine virtue) and *great* and *power* in the same sentence. Moodie left her birthplace, Australia, at early age in order to continue her musical education in Europe. Yet, she was still perceived as the *exotic* and enigmatic feminine ‘other’ who paradoxically played without effeminacy and with the strength of a great artist.

Whilst her playing did not lack the big qualities that the great male violinists have been noted for, Marie Hall, although praised for her ‘most remarkable fluency of technique’ was often ‘blamed’ for her ‘thin and rather poor tone’ (although some reviewers called her tone pure and sweet).¹⁸¹ On the contrary, Sarasate was praised as ‘the embodiment of the salon virtuoso, with a continually mild, passionless, smooth, eely tone,’ which in the midst of the musical discourse of the nineteenth century often connoted for a feminine rather than masculine tone production.¹⁸² For example, a critic from *The Musical Courier* 25th May 1898 commented that he represented the opposite of the Wilhelmj’s classical style, “feminine, capricious and yet fascinating, (...) his tone is small and sweet.”¹⁸³ Yet, the reviewer’s subtle implication that Sarasate’s performances lacked force echoed the existing presumption about exotic cultures in general, and Spain (the mysterious and exotic ‘other’) in particular. Thus, unsurprisingly, Sarasate was, from the perspective of both audiences and critics, viewed as, “the black-haired romantic young Spaniard, full of fascinating tricks and mannerisms” and critics tended to counteract a subtle feminisation of his playing style with his ‘Spanishness’ and portrayed Sarasate as a

¹⁷⁹ Erdmann, Eduard, “einigen Erinnerungen an Alma Moodies Künstlerschaft (1943), AdKB, Eduard-Erdmann_Archiv, Lfd. Nr.74; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard’s Bride*, p.76.

¹⁸⁰ Krenek Ernst, *Im Atem der Zeit*, trans. Friedrich Saathen and Sabine Schulte (Vienna: Braumüller Literaturverlag, 1998), pp.491-2; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard’s Bride*, p.60.

¹⁸¹ Faber, Toby, *Stradivariis: One Cello, Five Violins, and a Genius* (London: Pan Macmillan Ltd, 2004), p.177.

¹⁸² Flesch, *Memoirs*, p.38; cited in Schwarz, *Great Masters*, p.240.

¹⁸³ *The Musical Courier*, 25th May 1898; cited in Ginsburg, *Ysaÿe*, p.293.

heroic and fiery virtuoso whose music evokes his homeland.”¹⁸⁴ At the same time, Powell had to overcome a certain provinciality towards American violinists, as well as bias against female players. For example, a critic who heard Powell playing in London, in December 1898, reported in the *Pall Mall Gazette*:

“Although she was rather barbarously described on the programme as the “eminent American violinist,” we were beforehand neither aware of her eminence nor of her nationality. She came to us without preliminary puff or anticipator paragraph, and thereby she astonished us the more. She had an extraordinary masculinity of touch. It was with difficulty that we could trace throughout her whole recital one element of femininity or one hint of that which we always associated with what is soft or tender in music. She impressed us by sheer muscular strength, by immense forcefulness, and by tremendous self-assurance.”¹⁸⁵

Yet, despite the Boston critic pointed out that Miss Powell must be ranked amongst the leading violinists, ‘irrespective of sex or nationality’, a critic Burr Hobart commented in *The Cosmopolitan* of August 1901:

“No woman either of this or any other country has exhibited *genius* in violin playing in addition to high execution. Miss Powell, however, is the greatest violinist America has produced, and is the foremost girl-violinist of the world today.”¹⁸⁶

Thus, the ‘lack’ of a masculine libido has been ‘identified’ in Powell’s playing and its ‘deficiency’ in female violinists was assumed to be partly responsible for a ‘reduced’ creative energy (a sublimated sexual drive).¹⁸⁷ In that sense, Joachim’s revealing perspective upon the subject, “all great musicians have been *intelligent men*,” summarised the idea of the nineteenth century *masterly* performance.¹⁸⁸ Indeed, Kreisler’s remark that physical endurance was required for a musical performance was the primary reason that he considered only two female violinists to be *masters* of the bow, Wilma Neruda and Maud Powell. These two comments

¹⁸⁴ Shaw, George Bernard, *London Music in 1888-89 as Heard By Corno di Bassetto* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1937), p.127; cited in the Harvey, Gabrielle Annora, “A piece of the exotic: virtuosic violin compositions and national identity” (Doctoral thesis, University of Iowa, 2012), <http://ir.uiowa.edu/etd/2887>; accessed 23rd May 2015.

¹⁸⁵ Reprinted in *New York Times*, 11th December 1898; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.161.

¹⁸⁶ *Chicago Tribune*, 20th April 1901; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.179. Burr Hobart H., “American women musicians”, *The Cosmopolitan: A Monthly Illustrated Magazine* (1886-1907), August 1901, Shaffer, p.361.

¹⁸⁷ Simone de Beauvoir said that for Freud the libido was constantly and regularly the male essence whether it appears in man or in woman. De Beauvoir, Simone, *The Second Sex*, (ed. and trans.) Parshley H.M. (London: Vintage, 1997; reprint *Le Deuxième Sexe* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1949), p.70.

¹⁸⁸ Joachim, J. & Moser, A., *Violinschule* (Berlin, 1902-5, English translation A. Moffat, 1905), Vol.3, p.5. cited in Milsom, *Theory and Practice*, p.191.

confirm that even great artists perpetuated the concept of female violinists' biological 'inferiority'.¹⁸⁹

As one might expect, Powell, in order to avoid being compared with male violinists, sometimes used genderless qualities to describe her artistry. For example, her advertisement (using words from a review by the critic Walter Anthony from the *San Francisco Chronicle*) describes her art as, "not that of a Mere Man or Woman- but Genius."¹⁹⁰ This advertisement is an interesting one as its wording removed all sexuality from Powell and concentrates on her creative powers (thus supporting the established attitude towards creativity as a masculine domain). See Figure 4:

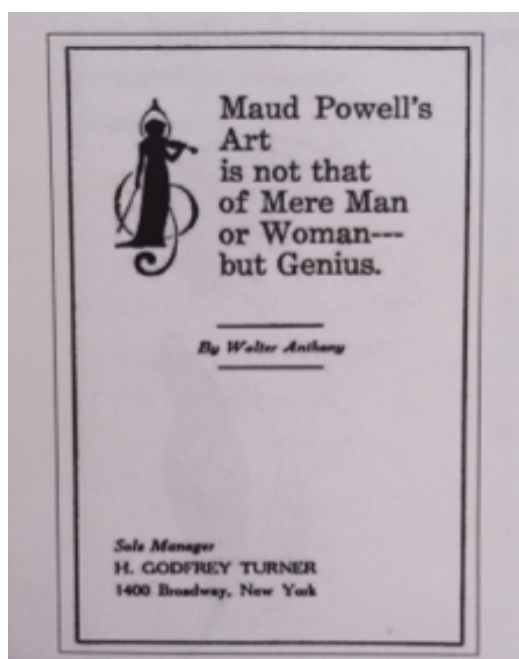


Figure 4¹⁹¹

Having said that, when Powell, Hall and Moodie performed virtuosic works of a grand dimension such as the violin concertos by Beethoven, Brahms, Paganini, Tchaikovsky and Sibelius, critics and audiences alike had to acknowledge that they possessed the physical and mental prowess equal to men. For example, after Powell's performance of the Tchaikovsky concerto *The New York Times* review stated that her playing was devoid of anything tentative or timid and 'served

¹⁸⁹ Kreisler, *The Metronome*, April 1910; cited in Shaffer, pp.267-8.

¹⁹⁰ Shaffer, Karen and Pine-Barton, Rachel, (eds.) *Maud Powell Favorites* (Brevard, North Carolina: Maud Powell Society for Music and Education, 2009), Vol.1, p.17.

¹⁹¹ Shaffer, and Pine, *Maud Powell Favorites*, p.24.

Tchaikovsky's music well', yet in mentioning her gender the critic implies that it was a great performance for a woman:

"Her reading of work was *uncommonly intelligent* (...) Her style was *full of masculine power and of superb spirit*. (...) She played the long and difficult cadenza with a roundness of tone, a *brilliancy* of bowing; an accuracy of stopping and tastefulness in phrasing that were simply *masterly*. It was a treat to hear *a woman play the violin so well*, and only congratulations are to be offered to *the lady*."¹⁹²

Likewise, after Moodie's debut performance of the Brahms concerto a critic from *Meininger Tageblatt* wrote that 'he never heard the like of a *female* artist.'¹⁹³ As one might expect, the *New York Sun* review of the Powell's performance of the Beethoven violin concerto emphasised her mental prowess:

"The reading of the Beethoven concerto was subjective, yet detached from all *feminine cloying sentimentality*. Miss Powell has *brains*, and she uses them."¹⁹⁴

Such descriptions as 'having a brain' or 'never heard the like of a female artist' demonstrate that the reviewers here felt the need to focus on gender-specific qualities in their performances, rather than on the performance itself. This shift seems to be of considerable importance to critics and audiences as it makes virtue of their ability to over-ride such natural female 'limitations,' held as true in the nineteenth century. Therefore, these three female violinists tried to achieve distinction from other female soloists by choosing to perform grand concertos for their debuts instead of the Mendelssohn E minor concerto. This concerto was considered more 'appropriate' for female violinists and therefore strongly gendered as a favourite debut choice because it did not demand great musical insights, a large presence on the stage or extra power and sound, yet it possessed the very feminine attributes of nimbleness and lightness of touch.¹⁹⁵

It is interesting to note that whilst most of the performances by male contemporaries of my chosen violinists were characterised by their manly performance, reviewers in general praised Powell, Moodie or Hall when they tried

¹⁹² *The New York Times*, 20th January 1889; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.113.

¹⁹³ *Meininger Tageblatt* 10th December 1913; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, p.15.

¹⁹⁴ Review of the concert was reprinted in *The Musical Courier*, January 1901; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.170.

¹⁹⁵ As one might expect, crafts such as embroidery and needlework, unlike fine arts, were, in the nineteenth century, considered typically females' activities. It could be argued that any association with detailed, refined work in music performance was considered feminine. In this way, performing more intimate, smaller-scale pieces and concertos neither threatened a critic's definition of femininity, nor placed female soloists outside of the social/cultural norms. Moreover, this often resulted in female violinists gaining a lesser reputation as virtuoso players being considered 'handicapped' by their biology.

to balance a masculine way of playing with their feminine, graceful appearance and, 'easy and quiet manner' without excessive, even 'hysterical' physical movements that could contribute to their negative reception:

"Her (Powell) style has almost a *masculine* breadth and is full of character, and yet there is much of *delicacy* and *refinement naturally associated with the violin playing of her sex*. She has an easy, graceful stage presence, which predisposes the hearer in favour."¹⁹⁶

Similarly, the critic from the *New York Evening Post* commented in 1909:

"Her playing is intensively *feminine*, yet it does not lack the big qualities that the great violinists among *men* have been noted for. Once more Miss Powell has proved that she is the woman highest up in the violin world."¹⁹⁷

Eduard Erdmann, remembering the early years of his collaboration, pointed out feminine and masculine qualities in Moodie artistry, individuality, creativity and power that were combined with sensibility and spiritual chase:

"Her unusually characteristic violin tone, with its rare, indeed *unique*, mixture of *largesse* and *sensibility*, *spiritual chase* and *sweet* with the joy of music-making, made one sit and listen immediately, and at the same time, through the *power* of (...) a suitably moderate imagination and fantasy, there occurred a quite extraordinary re-creative artistry that allowed no lapse of attention, and the listener was never quite able to shake off."¹⁹⁸

I believe it is worth quoting here a detailed description of the American violinist Leonora Jackson (1879-1969), by far the most fulsome testimony to the importance of a physical transformation:

"The long arm and large, powerful hands are curiously awkward, like those of an *overgrown schoolboy*; they seem lost and meaningless until they grasp the violin when they become beautiful, womanly, and *alert with nervous force*. The face is replete with promise and interesting to a high degree. The eyes are long and narrow, with wide spacing; in contrast to the olive, colorless skin they look pale-blue, but in certain moods they deepen and glow and impress one as being black. The forehead and head are almost massive, giving a suggestion of delicacy and super sensitiveness to the mouth and chin – an impression altogether erroneous, for the lips are full, and the chin, if short, is broad and square."¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁶ *The Musical Herald*, April 1887; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.100.

¹⁹⁷ Finck, Henry T., *New York Evening Post*, 30th December 1909; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.100.

¹⁹⁸ Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, p.75.

¹⁹⁹ Graham, Katherine, "An American Girl and Her Violin", *Metropolitan Magazine*, March 1900; <https://songofthelark.wordpress.com/2011/10/17/>; accessed 10th May 2015.

Indeed, if it was difficult for female soloists to stay within the boundaries of traditionally accepted femininity, but still play in a ‘manly’ virtuoso manner, to compete with the image of a Romantic virtuoso endowed with a ‘supernatural’ gift was even harder. Across a broad spectrum of literature and then contemporary reviews, virtuosos like Paganini were considered to ‘defy the descriptive powers of man’ even though he later regretted the general opinion that he was ‘in collusion with the devil.’²⁰⁰ The ‘spellbinding’ or ‘divine’ aspect of late nineteenth-century virtuosic artistry that contributed to their reception could be seen in the characterisation of Ysaÿe, “that great *wizard* of the violin”, who resembled *Apollo* and was even called, “the *Messiah* of the violin.”²⁰¹ Similarly, Kreisler, as an anonymous critic commented on his Australian tour in 1925, “had cast a spell over his audiences and left them spellbound in contemplation of perfect beauty.”²⁰² The comments above corroborate Ysaÿe’s claim that a violin *master* could be only ‘he who plays the violin as *Pan* played his flute’ thus articulating the familiar gender-based view of their supernatural interconnection.²⁰³

Male virtuosos were not only often raised to near mythical status, but were also tied to the image of the king. For example, Jessica Duchen observed that Joseph Joachim was known as ‘the king of violinists’, whilst Roth described Ysaÿe as, “a new king of the violin; one who could combine technical mastery with a novel beauty of sounds.”²⁰⁴ Not surprisingly, Kreisler was often referred to as ‘the king’ of violinists, (an image that fitted his platform deportment as well as his performance) because, “his listeners often felt like privileged guests at a memorable royal function.”²⁰⁵ Even until recently, in critics’ comments about Heifetz’s playing, the word king is often used to describe his superior mastery. Yet, female virtuosos were often defined in relation to their male counterparts and labeled as a ‘second Kreisler’ (Powell), or even “Kubelik in skirts” (Marie Hall)

²⁰⁰ *The Correspondent*, Cork, October 1831 and Paganini’s letter (1832) to Germa; cited in Sugden, John, *Niccolo Paganini: Supreme Violinist or Devil’s Fiddler?* (Tunbridge Wells, Kent: Midas Books, 1980), p.99 and p.45.

²⁰¹ *Russkaya Muzykalnaya Gazeta*, 5th December 1907, No.50, pp.1164-65; cited in Ginsburg, Ysaÿe, p.403. The Russian critic Alexander Ossovsky commented in the *Musical Contemporary* magazine, “Do you remember the figure of Apollo in Raphael’s *Triumph of Poetry*? Apollo is depicted playing the viol. His face is grave and transported with holy fervour. His gaze is directed heavenwards where, in the blue spaces, he beholds the prototypes of the melodies which he creates, thither his heart is wafting its flight (...) This is a fit allegory of Ysaÿe’s art.” Cited in Ginsburg, Ysaÿe, p.401 and p.514.

²⁰² *The Brisbane Courier* 26th May 1925; cited in Mackinlay, Elizabeth, Bartleet, Brydie-Leigh & Barney, Katelyn, *Musical Islands: Exploring Connections between Music, Place and Research* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), p.202.

²⁰³ Martens, *Violin Mastery*, p.7.

²⁰⁴ Roth, Henry, *Violin Virtuosos: From Paganini to the 21st Century* (Los Angeles, California: California Classic Books, 1997), p.20.

²⁰⁵ Roth, *Violin Virtuosos*, pp.37-8.

and “Elman in the skirt” (Kathleen Parlow).²⁰⁶ These terms thus reflected both their artistic excellence and the patriarchal power system in which female virtuosos’ reception was determined by the artistry of their male colleagues.

At the same time critics’ comments raised the question as to whether the differences in male and female virtuoso performing style were merely the result of a crude generalisation based on gender-bias or whether they were indeed manifested in sound. In that sense it is interesting that some critics and artists confirmed that the gender-based stylistic diversity is not present in the artistry of my chosen violinists. For example, Powell was called by her male contemporaries their ‘brother artists’ and critics also acknowledged Powell as equal to her male counterparts:

“It is just here that we are enabled to place Maud Powell just where she belongs – right at the top-notch of the representative list of masculine players (Kreisler, Ysaÿe, Thomson, Zimbalist, Elman and Flesch) and equal to any of them in the artistic rendition of every important classic or modern work.”

“Madam Powell stands as a remarkable *mistress* of the violin. I would prefer to call her a *master* of the instrument, but I recall that a critic once said that to say Maud Powell’s violin playing is like a man’s is to flatter all mankind.”²⁰⁷

Despite these rare acknowledgments, I believe what is lacking in the received historical reception of these three violinists is their inclusion in wider histories of violin ‘schools’ and violin playing in general. For example, in the autobiography *Chords and Discords* (1938) of the American violinist Sam Franko (1857-1937) who was a Joachim student and contemporary of Maud Powell, he omits to mention, amongst fellow students, not only Powell, but also other female violinists, such as Marie Roger-Soldat, Gabrielle Wietrowetz and Eleonora Jackson:

“Of all hundreds of pupils not one has become world famous. They became skilled musicians (...) but none of them really made a career as a solo violinist.”²⁰⁸

Similarly, Schwarz pointed out that the first American-born violinist to win worldwide recognition was Albert Spalding (1888-1953) and commented that out

²⁰⁶ Kathleen Parlow (1890-1963, a Canadian violinist). Schwarz, *Great Masters*, p.448. For comment on Marie Hall see *San Francisco Call*, Volume 93, Number 140, 19th April 1903; <http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/>; accessed 21st June 2015.

²⁰⁷ Saenger, Gustav, *The Musical Observer*, August 1913 and *Cleveland Leader*, 18th November 1916; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.231.

²⁰⁸ Franko, Sam, *Chords and Dischords* (1938), 2, pp.206-7; cited in Schwarz, *Great Masters*, p.270.

of about four hundred students that Joachim taught during forty years only a few great violinists, including Franz von Vecsey and Bronislaw Huberman, emerged from his classroom. Schwarz never mentioned the fact that Powell started her career almost a quarter of the century earlier than the aforementioned and served at the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893 as the only violinist to represent America, whilst Spalding's first American appearance as soloist came with the New York Symphony on 8th November 1908, when Powell's artistry was already fully appreciated.

Even years later a comment such as, "But, despite the efforts of Joachim and his pupils (including two women, Marie Soldat and Leonora Jackson), the work made slow progress. (...) Gradually, however, the concerto's quality asserted itself, with such soloists as Fritz Kreisler, Bronislaw Huberman and Adolf Busch making it one of their war-horses," demonstrates that the early efforts of female violinists to popularise Brahms's violin concerto are still not widely recognized.²⁰⁹ Moreover, Zdenko Silvela in his book, *A New History of Violin Playing* (2001) commented that the unequalled virtuoso, Ysaÿe, 'achieved one of his greatest triumphs in Berlin in 1904, where he performed a wholly new version of the Brahms concerto that was at the time the monopoly of Joachim,' thus not even mentioning that Marie Soldat, Eleonora Jackson, and Gabriele Wietrowetz were performing the concerto to great success before him and their male counterparts, whilst Maud Powell not only premiered the Brahms concerto in America but was the first female violinist to compose the cadenza for its the first movement.²¹⁰

Indeed, whilst E. van der Straeten writes, in his *History of the Violin* (1933), that Alma Moodie's playing, "was distinguished by breadth and power of style and tone" and although she claims a chapter in Carl Flesch son's published recollection, *And do you also play the violin?* (1990), her name is not even mentioned in David Schoenbaums' recent encyclopaedic history of the violin, *The Violin: A Social History of the World's Most Versatile Instrument* (2013).²¹¹ Michael Haas in his book, *Forbidden Music: The Jewish Composers Banned by the Nazis* (2013), not only spells her name wrongly as *Moody*, but he compressed the life of this 'charismatic Australian violinist' into four facts, each linked to a great man, i.e. her mentor Reger, her teacher Carl Flesch, and composers, Pfitzner and Krenek, whose

²⁰⁹ Potter, Tully, review of the Heifetz's recording; 8.110936 Beethoven/Brahms: Violin Concertos (Heifetz) (1939-1940); http://www.naxos.com/mainsite/blurbs_reviews.asp; accessed 12th May 2015.

²¹⁰ Silvela, Zdenko, *A New History of Violin Playing: The Vibrato and Lambert Massart's Revolutionary Discovery* (Universal Publishers, USA, 2001), p.211.

²¹¹ E. van der Straeten, *History of the Violin* (1933; New York: Da Capo Press, 1968), p.104; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, p.133.

works she premiered, without mentioning her eminence as an interpreter and trailblazer of modern violin literature in the twentieth century. This only demonstrates that the reception of Moodie in the wider literature requires some clarification, since the trend to note her name only as an ancillary to greater (male) names with whom she was associated has largely persisted with little attention given to the detail of who she was and why her artistry should be remembered.

Despite Marie Hall being recognised during her lifetime as one of the best violinists of her era, the first woman to play Paganini's D major concerto in public and one of the exceptional few of either sex who could handle the Tchaikovsky concerto, she did not receive a wider historical recognition whilst Albert Sammons is considered the first great British violinist. At the time, his colleagues, such as Kreisler, spoke highly of him and Ysaÿe even exclaimed, "At last England has a great violinist!"²¹² As Sammons championed various British composers with great conviction (his recordings of the Elgar and Delius violin concertos are legendary), it is not surprising that musical Britain called him "our own Albert."²¹³ Whilst Ole Bull (1810-1880) had a heritage of Norwegian folk virtuosity on which to draw for his nationalism, Wieniawski could match the virtuosic nationalism of Chopin, and Sarasate invented Spanish violin virtuosity, there was no corresponding tradition of virtuosic British violin playing. A clear example occurs in a Polish review of Wieniawski's compositions:

"The majesty and nobility of the *Polonaise*, the *military* and romantic eagerness of the *Kujawiak* were elevated to the greatest artistry. (...) The audience welcomed their soloist not only as an artist of genius but as man who will bear the fame of being Europe's top violinist world-wide, and with his *sorcerer's bow* will spread the glory of his *Polish* name."²¹⁴

Having said this, I believe that critics helped to strengthen Sammons's perceived nationalism and he was intrinsically tied to English music in the minds of his British audiences. Indeed, Bull and Sarasate were quite often referred to in newspapers and periodicals as 'the Norwegian violinist' or 'the Spanish violinist' and Sammons was well known as 'the British violinist'. The First World War prevented foreign artists from visiting the British Isles and I believe that the political awareness of British critics and audiences of the importance of nationalism was central to Sammons's reception as not merely a virtuoso, but as a

²¹² Schwarz, *Great Masters*, p.487.

²¹³ *Ibid.*

²¹⁴ Chechlinska, Zofia, *Henryk Wieniawski: Composer and Virtuoso in the Musical Culture of the XIX and XX Centuries* (Poznań, Poland: Rhythmos for The Henryk Wieniawski Musical Society, 2001), p.19.

British violin virtuoso. Sammons himself encouraged this view with his continual performances of compositions by English composers, especially the concertos by Elgar and Delius that are considered central to his violin legacy. The photo below, echoing the image of a 'heroic' virtuoso, was taken during the First World War and suggests that Sammons fought for his country. Though he did not serve in the army, he did offer his services to charity. See Figure 5 below:



Figure 5. Albert Sammons on tank in Trafalgar Square, c.1916²¹⁵

Besides his evident violinistic legacy I would suggest that the heroic and nationalistic aspect of Sammons's reception should not be overlooked, as they cast a shadow over Hall's artistry. Hall's efforts to record a historically valuable version of the Elgar violin concerto with the composer conducting and her premieres of various then-contemporary works including *The Lark Ascending* for violin and orchestra by Vaughan Williams as its dedicatee, appear historically undervalued.

²¹⁵ See <http://pictify.saatchigallery.com/733505/british-violinist-albert-sammons>; accessed 7th July 2015. Copyright Burch, Richard/ Alamy.

Marie Hall's lesser position in the history of the violin is even more difficult to understand, as whilst the patriotic fury brought on by the war generated the resurgence in English music and benefited native composers including Vaughan Williams who was one of the prime beneficiaries, her involvement in promoting then contemporary works was never perceived as patriotic. At the same time 'our own Albert' was highly praised for his efforts in promoting then-contemporary English music. At the dawn of the twentieth century Marie Hall astonished London by her great executant powers, and her name was in circulation throughout many parts of the globe, America, North and South, Australia, New Zealand, Europe and Britain, yet, it seems that her artistry had neither the eccentricity of Paganini, nor the nationalistic aspect of Sammons's heroic legacy, or Sarasate's exotic performing style. I believe this partly limited her posthumous legacy, thereby unintentionally perpetuating certain nineteenth-century gender-based prejudices.

To conclude, the aim of this chapter has been to illuminate further aspects upon the reception of my chosen violinists that may have influenced the wider perception of their artistry in the history of the violin. In general terms the reception of Powell, Hall and Moodie provides an example of the complex interplay of sexuality, power and virtuosity and demonstrates a curious paradox that inhabits their position. A specific conclusion concerning critics' and audiences' favourable recognitions of Powell's, Hall's and Moodie's 'masculine' executant powers, their big and powerful tone, strength and physical endurance, their intelligent and masterly playing all receive confirmation here. Yet, it is also evident that such words as feminine, graceful, pure, tiny, and angelical, etc. often found in my chosen violinists' reception created a gender-based separation within the realm of a virtuoso performance. Furthermore, since the rhetoric of written reception around 1900 has reflected and promoted the values of Romantic, virtuoso-performing style this meant that an elitist vision of their male counterparts was painted by reaffirming the supremacy of masculine values in their virtuoso performances and their creativity. Indeed, the cultural meanings implied by the signifiers Paganini, Sarasate and Kreisler, for example, connoted supreme virtuosity, power, genius, individuality, and consequently respect. The use of their names in criticism suggests a level to be aspired to and indeed, Powell, Hall and Moodie were, with great regularity, encouraged to play 'like a man' and, in general, praised when they did. While expressed as flattery, this type of a 'favourable compliment' (playing like a man or being second Kreisler or Kubelik) inculcates gender and in that sense the female persona of the violinists (and less their artistry) forms an important element in their reception. Moreover, this may suggest that the female body and its

ideological association with the feminine inherent in the reception of my chosen violinists possibly reinforced their position as ‘the other’ in the history of the violin that favoured a ‘heroic’ virtuoso individuality and manly style of playing (something perhaps more than the history of violin wishes to acknowledge). Thus, one reaches an inevitable conclusion that their favourable reception, in all its contradictions and ambivalence, leads to a gulf that is still not readily traversed.

In order to assess to what extent the existing presuppositions in the minds of yesterday’s critics and audiences about the primacy of the virtuoso tradition affected the historical position of Powell, Hall and Moodie in the art of violin playing I have to catalogue some of their salient biographical details together with the analysis of their artistic legacy through the prism of gender studies. To fulfil this purpose I must now return.

Chapter Three: Maud Powell: the first female ‘modern Bow’ of North America

“Two years ago I performed a tribute concert to Maud Powell at the National Museum of Women in the Arts in Washington, DC, and included Maud Powell’s violin version of Deep River. Afterwards (the American conductor) Leonard Slatkin came up to me and commented how great he thought the transcriptions were, “Maud Powell really was the female Fritz Kreisler.” Had I been quicker thinking on my feet I should have responded, “Actually, Fritz Kreisler was the male Maud Powell. After all, Powell came first and was a hero to him and his generation.”²¹⁶

There appears to be no comprehensive study of the development of violin playing in North America during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Therefore it is worth asking how many people today really understand the importance of such violinists as Camilla Urso (1840–1902), Geraldine Morgan (1867–1818), Maud Powell (1867–1920), Olive Mead (1874–1946) or Leonora Jackson (1879–1969), for setting an enduring standard for violin playing in America. In the case of Maud Powell I would suggest that the history of violin playing in America could not be fully appreciated without an understanding of her art and her contribution to that culture. Thus the question arises, why does Powell not occupy a more important position in the history of the violin?

I believe that there are several contributory factors. One might be that Powell, like Joachim or Auer, did not leave a pedagogical legacy. Although she was strongly committed to musical education and was encouraging to everyone who sought her advice, her touring schedule was too full for her to be able to teach on a regular basis. Importantly, she did not live into the electronic age of the recording era or like Ysaÿe or Sarasate leave a considerable number of original compositions. However, her far-reaching contributions to the art of violin playing in America should have a wider appreciation. Powell boldly challenged nineteenth-century social and cultural conventions and was a catalyst in establishing the acceptance of classical music and female violin playing in America, thus opening new avenues for others to explore. Making her debut in 1885, at time when there were only five professional orchestras in the United States, her appearances exerted a pivotal influence on the tradition of female violin playing in the North America. Indeed, in 1893 at the World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago she not only performed as the representative American violinist but also delivered a paper on “Women and

²¹⁶ Pine, Rachel, ‘My violin heroine Maud Powell’, *The Strad*, 25th January 2014, <http://www.thestrad.com/latest/editorschoice>; accessed 28th January 2014.

the Violin” to the Women’s Musical Congress in which she encouraged women to study music and pursue careers in music, that had traditionally been closed to them. Powell broke new ground for women also by being the first American female violinist to introduce chamber music to wider American audiences with the Maud Powell String Quartet (1894-5) and all-female Maud Powell Trio (1908-9). Her artistry received international acclaim and she performed with all great European and American conductors and orchestras. Powell knew personally many contemporary composers and indeed introduced 14 violin concertos to the North American audiences (including the Tchaikovsky and Sibelius concertos) at a time when other virtuosos considered this music unplayable. Powell also gave the world premieres of concertos by American and African-American composers and encouraged them to write new music for the violin by popularising their works through concerts and recordings. She not only performed, Powell was the first woman to compose a cadenza for the Brahms Violin Concerto, as well as several transcriptions for violin and piano that predate those of Kreisler or Heifetz. Finally, she was the first instrumentalist to record for the Victor Company’s Celebrity Artist series (Red Seal Label) in 1904 and conversely the first female violinist to leave a considerable number of acoustic recordings.

To understand Powell’s enthusiasm for art music and her gift of vision I shall explore her personal story, together with the history of violin playing in America. Although this chapter will concentrate on her career and direct contributions to the art of violin playing at the same time I will focus on how (and if) gender issues affected estimation of her artistry and conversely her place in the history of violin playing.

Powell’s Life and Achievements- a Gendered Perspective

“When I first began my career as a concert artist I did pioneer work for the great cause of the American women violinists, going on with work begun by Mme Camilla Urso. A strong prejudice then existed against women fiddlers, which even yet has not altogether been overcome. (...) Yet, I kept on and secured engagements to play with orchestra at a time when they were difficult to obtain. Theodore Thomas liked my playing (he said I had *brains*).”²¹⁷

Maud Powell was born on 22nd August 1867 in Peru, Illinois, on the western frontier of the American heartland. Three years later her parents, Minnie Bengelstraeter Paul Powell and William Bramwell Powell moved with the family

²¹⁷ Powell, ‘The Influence of the Teacher’ in Martens, *Violin Mastery*, p.116.

to Aurora, 40 miles from Chicago. The careful guidance of her parents was crucial to the development of her talent as their love for music was coupled with their belief in the full development of the human being regardless of gender. Indeed, is not surprising that Maud Powell during her life battled gender-based prejudices against female artists.

Aurora was to be the proving ground for her musical development. The pride of the town was the Coulter Opera House where the Aurora Light Guard Band frequently gave Grand Promenade Concerts and even Madam Camilla Urso (1840–1902) the famous Scandinavian violinist Ole Bull (1810–1880) appeared there in the 1870s. Remembering Urso's playing Powell later commented that she was the first who showed her what 'all her crude scraping might become.'²¹⁸ By the time Powell was nine she was advised to study with William Lewis whom she left after four years following his advice to continue her musical education in Europe.²¹⁹ For American musicians of genuine talent and promise such as Powell, the necessity of studying in Europe should not be underestimated. Classical music in America was largely dominated by 'imported' ideals from nineteenth-century Europe as the majority of ensembles, choruses and orchestras in America were led by either Europeans or by Americans trained in Europe. Many of the earliest American conservatories did not rank as highly as those in Europe and the 'inner musical atmosphere' in America was lacking. Although, for Powell's family, European study meant painful separation, Powell arrived in Leipzig in July 1881, accompanied by her mother.²²⁰ Upon hearing Powell play, Henry Schradieck readily agreed to teach her and in August after the entrance examinations she was formally accepted into his class at the Leipzig Conservatory.²²¹ While his playing represented a fusion of the Franco-

²¹⁸ Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.16.

²¹⁹ Lewis was born in 1836 in Chulmleigh, Devonshire, England but in 1850 his family moved to America. There he had occasional lessons with Henri Vieuxtemps (1820–1881) and Henri Wieniawski (1835–1880). In 1871 he established the Williams Lewis Music Company that thrived on the sale of sheet music and musical instruments while he built up a reputation as a concert violinist and teacher. In 1875 he founded the Chicago Quintet Club that would in five years develop into the Chicago Chamber Music Society. Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, pp.22–3.

²²⁰ Powell's poignantly reflects her awareness of her family sacrifices for her musical studies, "The family was broken up when I was taken abroad. Father fond of home and adoring his wife and children, was left homeless, wifeless, childless: his part to work, work, work and send the monthly check regularly across the seas to pay for lessons, music, concerts, clothes abroad. Powell, Maud, 'The Prince of Fame' in the *New Idea Woman's Magazine*, December 1908; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.88.

²²¹ Born in Hamburg Henry Schradieck (1846–1918) was sent to Brussels to study with Hubert Léonard (1819–1890), the greatest exponent of the Belgian school at the time in 1853 and after six years he went to Leipzig to continue his study with Ferdinand David (1810–1873, a teacher of Joachim, and August Wilhelmj). At the age of 18 Schradieck became a violin professor at the Moscow Conservatory and after being for six years concertmaster of the Russian Musical Society he was appointed concertmaster of the Gewandhaus Orchestra in Leipzig. Schradieck later moved to America and served as the principal violin teacher at the National Conservatory in New York until 1899, when he went to Philadelphia to teach at the conservatory. From 1912 he was affiliated with the American Institute of Applied Music in New York. Martens, *Violin Mastery*, p.113.

Belgian and German schools, he did not school his pupils in any particular method but helped them strengthen weaknesses in their technique. After only one year, with Schradieck's permission and a first grade diploma, Powell left Leipzig for studying at the Paris Conservatoire.²²²

Charles Dancla accepted Powell as his pupil in his class of 13 (five of whom were female, including the 17-year-old American Nettie Carpenter, who had been admitted to the Conservatoire three years before Powell).²²³ Dancla, a former pupil of Baillot, was at that time considered the last representative of the French tradition.²²⁴ Powell commented on her time with her first two European teachers, noting that while Schradieck was apt to stress left hand technique, Dancla laid great emphasis on bowing, as he regarded the bow to be the artist's voice, and developed taste and elegance in her playing. After only six months of study with Dancla, Powell left the Paris Conservatoire and went to England for a concert tour. Although England did not have a long tradition of producing great violinists it was not unusual for young artists to try to build their careers there as English audiences welcomed talented musicians. At the end of her tour Powell was fortunate to meet her next teacher, Joseph Joachim (1831–1907).

From 1868, when Joachim was offered the post of Professor of Violin in the Berlin Hochschule für Musik, he devoted his time to teaching. Joachim was not a builder of technique or a teacher of beginners as he only accepted those who could already play. However he was a great adviser, a former of style and a master of interpretation, and to be taught by Joachim gave one high standing in the musical world. Reflecting on Joachim's character Maud Powell wrote:

“I always associated in my mind three giants of the old school – Theodore Thomas (1835–1905), Hans Richter (1843–1916) and Joseph Joachim. All three stood for the noble, the truth, and the simple in character as well as art.”²²⁵

Powell soon found that Joachim had two weaknesses; firstly he was a better violinist than a teacher. Secondly, he insisted on Austro-German literature

²²² At time musicians such as, Ambroise Thomas (1811–1896, the Conservatoire's director); the violinists Lambert Massart (1811–1892), Jean-Delphin Alard (1815–1888) and Charles Dancla (1817–1907); and the composers César Franck (1822–1890), Camille Saint-Saëns (1835–1921), Léo Delibes (1836–1891), Théodore Dubois (1837–1924) and Jules Massenet (1842–1912) were teaching at the Paris Conservatoire.

²²³ Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.51.

²²⁴ Rodolphe Kreutzer (1766–1831), Pierre Baillot (1771–1842), and Pierre Rode (1774–1830) were authors of the *Méthode de violon du Conservatoire* that has been adopted by the Paris Conservatoire in 1802.

²²⁵ Foster, 'Painting of Late Maud Powell'; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p. 64.

(Kreutzer, Clementi, Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Bruch, and Brahms) and did not cultivate virtuosity (contrary to the violinists/composers/teachers of the Franco-Belgian school such as Wieniawski and Vieuxtemps. Unlike many of her classmates, Powell had had her critical technical and artistic analysis of her own work developed under French masters and soon became Joachim's 'little American cousin' (thanks to Powell's Hungarian ancestry) and one of his favourite students. Powell studied with Joachim for only a year and after her performance of the Bruch concerto with the Berlin Philharmonic in March 1885 Joachim advised her to go back to America and start her professional career. Although Powell was confident that her teachers had provided her with the technical and musical training required for her future, to have a better understanding of the challenges she bravely faced as a female soloist and of the full measure of America's debt to this once celebrated fine violinist, one has to explore the musical conditions she confronted. See Figure 6:



Figure 6. Joseph Joachim's violin class 1885 with Powell in the light coloured dress seated on the right in the back row²²⁶

²²⁶ Shaffer and Pine, *Maud Powell Favorites*, p.113.

Maud Powell back in America

“Where others taught individuals she taught the nation.”²²⁷

It must be said that up to the 1890s only a relatively small number of Americans had been exposed to the playing of the greatest European female violinists such as Camilla Urso, who started her three-year tour in America in 1852, followed by Teresina Tua in 1887, and Lady Hallé in the 1898–99 seasons. As there were a handful of prominent female musicians at the turn of the century, managers assumed that the market for women soloists was limited and they were willing to promote only a small number of them. Yet, the list of male virtuosos who visited America on regular basis includes, the Norwegian virtuoso Ole Bull (1810–1880), who first arrived in November 1843, a month earlier than the Belgian Henri Vieuxtemps (1820–1881); the Hungarian Ede Reményi (1828–1898) who arrived in New York in January 1850; the Polish virtuoso Henri Wieniawski (1835–1880); the Frenchman Emile Sauret (1852–1920) who arrived in 1872; August Wilhelmj (1845–1908) who visited America in 1878 during his world tour, which lasted until 1882, and the Spanish violinist Pablo de Sarasate (1844–1908) who arrived in 1889.²²⁸ For most of them the reason for touring in America was financial as they could make a great deal of money relatively quickly. Among the American male violinists who gained distinction were Sam Franko (1857–1937), Franz Kneisel (1865–1926), Max Bendix (1866–1945), David Manes (1866–1959), and the younger generation of players that included Theodore Spiering (1871–1925), Edwin Grasse (1884–1954), Louis Persinger (1887–1966) and Albert Spalding (1888–1953).

When, in the spring of 1885, Maud Powell returned to her native Aurora she was aware that securing solo engagements with orchestras as a female violin virtuoso would be doubly difficult since all conductors, soloists and orchestras were male and the prejudice that ‘she plays well, for a woman’ was still predominant. After careful consideration Powell decided to approach Theodore Thomas to see if she could secure an engagement with the New York Philharmonic.²²⁹

²²⁷ *Musical America*, 17th January 1920; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.419.

²²⁸ Haugen, Einar and Cai, Camilla, *Ole Bull, Norway's Romantic Musician and Cosmopolitan Patriot* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), p.78. Macdonald, Hugh, *Music in the Year 1853: The Biography of a Year* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2012), p.3. See also www.wieniawski.com and <http://ir.uiowa.edu/cgi/viewcontent>; accessed 25th October 2012.

²²⁹ Theodore Thomas (1835–1905, an American violinist and conductor of German birth). He was the founder and music director of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra (1891–1905), music director of the New York Philharmonic in 1877–78 and 1879–91, and the short-lived American Opera Company in New York in 1886. Thomas was often urged to lower his standards and make his concerts more popular but he managed not only to discipline his musicians but also educate the American public.

Robert Lewin described Powell's audition:

"Instead of waiting for some kind of impresario or a patron to launch her career, she rushed into Steinway Hall during an important rehearsal demanding to be heard. Not bad for the seventeen-year-old Maud who later admitted that her heart was in her mouth."²³⁰

As Thomas 'did not care for so-called 'pretty' women, but admired character and intelligence' he immediately booked Powell to play the Bruch concerto in the Chicago Summer Night Concert Series and for the New York Philharmonic's first concert of the 1885–86 season on 14th November.²³¹ Although playing with the New York Philharmonic under Thomas meant to 'arrive' for any virtuoso, Powell was correct to be aware of the stereotypes attached to her gender as the New York critic Henry E. Krehbiel openly commented:

"It is seldom that a woman is honoured with an invitation to play a violin solo at a concert of the Philharmonic. Such an invitation, when it is justified by the performance is an introduction to the first rank of interpretative artists in this country."²³²

After her successful debut Powell was engaged as a soloist for the next two years and she later played and toured with the Brooklyn Philharmonic as well as the Thomas Orchestra (the Chicago Orchestra of 114 players). Table 1 below shows a complete list of their performances at the Music Hall, Auditorium Theatre and Orchestra Hall, which demonstrates Powell's continuous engagements, something really exceptional for a female soloist of the time:

Thomas was also responsible for the decision to align American orchestras with the reformed German pitch in 1881 that was adopted by a French government commission a quarter of the century earlier.

²³⁰ *The Strad*, November 1988, p.931.

²³¹ Thomas, Rose Fay, *Memoirs of Thomas, Theodore* (New York: Moffat, Yard, 1911), p.31; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.98.

²³² *New York Tribune*, 15th November 1885 and *New York Sun*, 16th November 1885; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.85.

18 th July 1893	(Music Hall) Bruch Violin Concerto No 1 in G Minor, Op. 26 Theodore Thomas, conductor Exposition Orchestra
4 th August 1893	(Music Hall) Mendelssohn Violin Concerto in E Minor, Op. 64 Theodore Thomas, conductor Exposition Orchestra
19 th and 20 th April 1901	(Auditorium Theatre) Tchaikovsky Violin Concerto in D Major, Op. 35 Theodore Thomas, conductor
22 nd and 23 rd April 1904	(Auditorium Theatre) Beethoven Violin Concerto in D Major, Op. 61 Theodore Thomas, conductor
25 th and 26 th January 1907	(Orchestra Hall) Sibelius Violin Concerto in D Minor, Op. 47 Frederick Stock, conductor
21 st and 22 nd February 1908	(Orchestra Hall) Brahms Violin Concerto in D Major, Op. 77 Frederick Stock, conductor
5 th and 6 th November 1909	(Orchestra Hall) Beethoven Violin Concerto in D Major, Op. 61 Frederick Stock, conductor
18 th and 19 th April 1913	(Orchestra Hall) Tchaikovsky Violin Concerto in D Major, Op. 35 Frederick Stock, conductor
17 th and 18 th March 1916	(Orchestra Hall) Mozart Concerto for Violin No. 5 in A Major, K. 219 (Turkish); Saint-Saëns Introduction and Rondo Capriccioso for Violin, Op. 28 Frederick Stock, conductor. ²³³

Table 1. Powell's performances with the Brooklyn Philharmonic and the Thomas Orchestra

For all her successes in New York and Boston, Powell knew that she could not exclusively play with Thomas if she wanted to build a more substantial career. To make her way in the musical world she now needed a manager. Consequently, in the autumn of 1887 Powell signed a three-year contract with L. M. Ruben who was the first professional artist manager in America and promoted some of the better-known American female artists such as the pianist Fannie Bloomfield-Zeisler and the soprano and composer Mary Howe.²³⁴ Under his management she embarked on the Western tour for the 1887–88 seasons. Then in the spring of 1891 Powell was

²³³ See [powell/https://csoarchives.files.wordpress.com/2013/12/maud-powell.jpg](https://csoarchives.files.wordpress.com/2013/12/maud-powell.jpg); accessed 10th December 2013.

²³⁴ By 1984 Powell was also under Henry Wolfson's management, although she began with Ruben. By 1901 he was managing some of the greatest artists of his time including violinists such as, Thomson, Wilhelmj, Marteau and Kreisler.

invited as the only instrumentalist to tour with Patrick Gilmore (1829–1892) and his Grand Boston Band, a risky choice for a band that had become synonymous with excellence in programming, quality and ‘showmanship’.²³⁵ Seventy-five concerts were given in less than two months and critics called the performances of the great Italian tenor Campanini and Maud Powell, “the artistic features of these concerts.”²³⁶ Next year she went on a European tour with her pianist and 60 chorus singers from the Arion Society. A large part of Arion’s success was attributed to Powell and her playing, and after the tour she was made an honorary member of the Arion Society.²³⁷ The recognition of her mastery in Europe was of the utmost significance for two reasons as her artistry showed both that female violinists were capable interpreters and that America finally had “the *queen* of violinists.”²³⁸ By the mid-1890s Powell was credited with having given more recitals in America than any other native violinist. The *New York Evening Post* even asked, “what need of sending to Europe for Ysaÿes and Marteaues when we have such a great artist at home?”²³⁹ These rare comments about a female musician aptly sum up the critics’ opinion that Powell’s artistry was considered equal to that of great male virtuosos.

Indeed, Powell’s top position was confirmed when she was invited to play as the only American representative violinist during the World’s Columbian Exposition that was held in Chicago in the summer of 1893 commemorating the four hundredth anniversary of Columbus’s discovery of the New World.²⁴⁰ Importantly, being a member of the Advisory Council of the Women’s Branch of the World’s Congress Auxiliary on Music she was involved in organising the Women’s Musical Congress held during the Exposition for two days from 4th – 6th July. This gave her an opportunity to make a meaningful contribution to the plight of women musicians. At a time when women could not vote and were precluded from playing in professional orchestras, Powell (unlike 51-year-old Camilla Urso) opened and concluded her speech at the Congress by encouraging girls to study the violin

²³⁵ Patrick Gilmore reorganised the Boston Brigade Band in 1859 and it became a professional concert-giving and dance-playing organisation. Following the example of Theodore Thomas and his orchestra, Gilmore toured America annually. His popularity did not diminish even after his death and in 1906 more than 12,000 people attended a concert in his memory in Madison Square Gardens given by his successor Victor Herbert and John Phillip Sousa. Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.127.

²³⁶ *Chicago Times*, 17 May 1891; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.126.

²³⁷ Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.131.

²³⁸ *The Musical America*, 29th December 1909; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.274.

²³⁹ *The Commercial Advertiser*; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.156. American critics were known for their frankness and severity of judgement. The leading critics of the day included Henry E. Krehbiel (*New York Tribune*, 1880–1923), called the ‘Dean’ of American critics; Henry T. Finck (*New York Evening Post*, 1881–1923); William J. Henderson (*New York Times*, 1883–1902; *New York Sun*, 1902–37); William B. Chase (*New York Evening Sun*, 1896–1916; *New York Times*); and James G. Huneker (various journals, 1891–1921).

²⁴⁰ Under the baton of Theodore Thomas she performed twice, on 18th July 1893, playing the Bruch G minor concerto, and on 4th August 1893, playing the Mendelssohn E minor concerto. Paradoxically, although Powell represented American violinists she was still asked to perform Bruch and Mendelssohn concertos that were considered ‘better suited’ for female players.

because not only was the concert stage available to them, but, as amateur musicians, they also had an important role to play in raising musical standards across the country. She argued that there was no reason why women should not play the violin and be regarded as equal to their male counterparts. Powell also objected to anyone who referred to her as a famous female violinist and remarked that ‘this seems to imply that there is something unusual in women achieving distinction of any kind.’²⁴¹ Her speech was a rare event of a concert soloist publicly setting views to be followed in performance and her rousing words of encouragement made a huge impact on many girls aspiring to become professional violinists.

Powell not only supported female players, she also inspired and collaborated with women composers such as Marion Eugénie Bauer (1882-1955) and Amy Cheney Beach (1867-1944), something that was rare at this time. During the second session of the Congress, on 5th July, Maud Powell and Amy Beach premiered *Romance* Op. 23, which Beach had composed for the occasion and dedicated to her.²⁴² Similarly, her enthusiasm to help women’s musical clubs, women in orchestras and female conductors musician helped attract public attention to the work of novice orchestras such as the Bellingham Symphony, (1903-1920) the first mixed-sex orchestra to be conducted by a woman.²⁴³ See Figure 7 below:

²⁴¹ *Saint Paul Dispatch*, 15th April 1918; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.278.

²⁴² Their first collaboration at the World’s Columbian Exposition developed into a close friendship and Powell reviewed few of Beach’s works for violin and piano and performed her *Mazurka* from her *Three Composition*, Op. 40 for violin and piano for a New England society concert in 1898. Pizzichemi, “Virtuoso Violinist Maud Powell: Enduring Champion for American Women in Professional Music,” p.64. Likewise, she commissioned from Bauer *Up the Ocklawaha* for violin and piano and included it in many recitals in her 1912-13 seasons, with positive reviews from fellow musicians. Shaffer and Pine, (eds.), *Maud Powell Favorites*, p.103.

²⁴³ Powell continued to publish her thoughts in support of orchestral equality. In *The Etude* of July 1909 Maud Powell commented that there is no reason why women should not be regularly employed in the orchestra as they have all qualities that are necessary for the work. Powell, Maud, “The American Girl and Her Violin,” *The Etude*, July 1909.



Figure 7. Maud Powell and Mary Davenport-Engberg with the Bellingham Symphony²⁴⁴

Whilst Powell knew ‘that women musicians received less pay than those of the opposite sex and that injustice like that was most annoying, she was personally too busy to do any suffragetting.’²⁴⁵ Although it can be argued that her lack of a complete conversion to the suffragette movement was perhaps a diplomatic position on her part to avoid isolating audience members and critics (mostly men), in her article “What the War Showed Maud Powell” she explained her previous opinion:

“Raised in an atmosphere charged with the then radical spirit of woman suffrage it is perhaps surprising that I did not come sooner to a realising sense of the importance of the question.”²⁴⁶ (...) Curious as it may seem, a public life was foreign to my nature. I honestly felt that I was doing my share towards advancing the cause by developing to the utmost the talents that nature had given me. I believed that sheer force of example would raise standards and fire enthusiasm in other girls, and that on the heels of equipment and efficiency, success would follow.”²⁴⁷

Powell became an outspoken supporter of the suffrage movement towards the end of her life and indeed, had the courage to publicly admit that she had been wrong

²⁴⁴ Knighton, Elizabeth Juliana, “Mary Davenport Engberg: Pioneering Conductor,” *The Maud Powell Signature: Women in Music* (Autumn 2008), p.41. <http://www.maudpowell.org>; accessed 13th June 2015.

²⁴⁵ Olmstead, Gladys Livingston, ‘Maud Powell’, *The Lyre Alpha Chi Omega*, April 1912, p.220; cited in Pizzichemi Sarah Joy, PhD thesis, “Virtuoso Violinist: Maud Powell: Enduring Champion for American Women in Professional Music” (Lincoln, Nebraska, May, 2015), p.86.

²⁴⁶ Powell’s aunts Ellen Powell Thompson and Mary Powell Wheeler were nationally known suffragettes as well as her mother. Her parents rejected gender stereotypes and believed in a physically, psychologically and intellectually healthy development of children. Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.137.

²⁴⁷ Powell, Maud, “What the War Showed Maud Powell”, *Woman’s Citizen*, 22nd December 1917; See also “Ein Interview Mit Frau Maud Powell”, *Morgen Journal*, trans. Eingemann Figueroa, Ruth; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.285 and 283.

about her earlier opinions on the vote. When Congress approved the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution that gave women the right to vote nationally in 1919, Maud Powell went to the polls that November. However, she did not live to see the Amendment's ratification on 26th August 1920. See a picture of her casting her first ballot:



Figure 8. Maud Powell at the New York voting station, 1919²⁴⁸

Although her conviction about equalising the field between men and women in performance did not truly come to fruition during her lifetime, her active involvement was important for the slow, but steady progression of American women in music.

In spite of a successful start to her solo career Powell decided that she should not be restricted to playing solo. With the backing of the Redpath Lyceum Bureau, the most prominent agency of its kind, she formed the first professional mixed-sex string quartet in America in 1894 with three of her male colleagues, second violinist Josef Kovarik (1871–1951), violist Franz Kaltenborn, and cellist Paul Miersch (1868–1940). This implicates that for them Powell's artistry was rather more important than her gender. Their first concert was at Carnegie Hall on 26th October 1894, after which they had an extensive American tour.

²⁴⁸ Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.386.

By the time they finished the tour the *New York Times*' critic commented that:

“Miss Powell proved herself to be a scholarly and *energetic* leader, with an *intelligent comprehension* of chamber music playing.”²⁴⁹

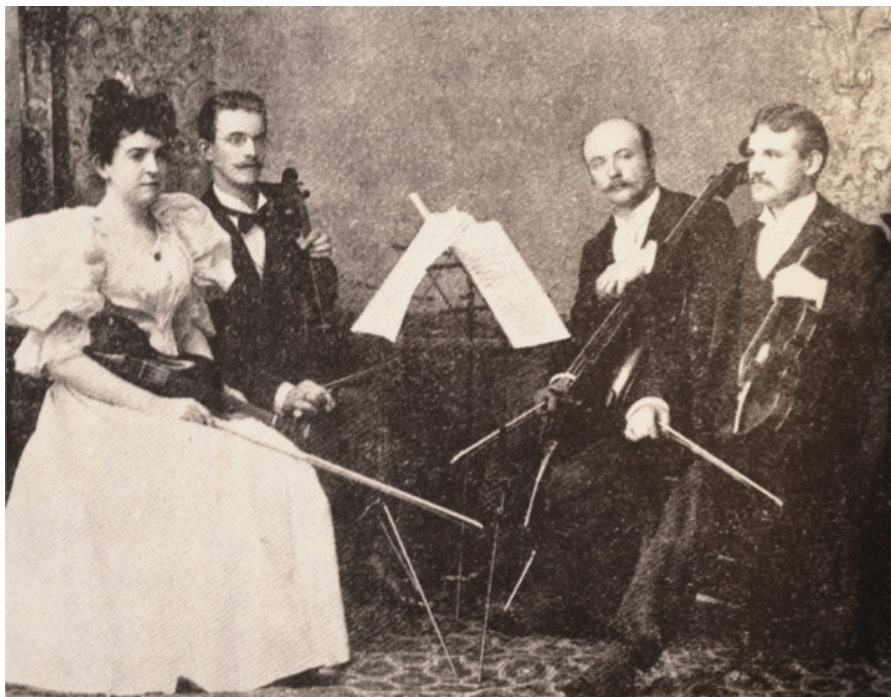


Figure 9. The Maud Powell String Quartet, 1894-1895²⁵⁰

Back in Europe

After the death of Queen Victoria in 1901, King Edward VII continued to cultivate the arts and Powell played her part in helping to gain recognition of America's violinists in Europe. However, it proved not to be an easy task as London was already considered the 'second home' to violinists, such as Sarasate, Brodsky, Sauret, Ysaÿe, Joachim and Neruda. Indeed, the full recognition of Powell's artistry came after her performance of the Tchaikovsky violin concerto under the conductor of the Hallé Orchestra, Hans Richter when she was proclaimed by critics as, 'the Lady Hallé of America'. Table 2 below shows Powell's performances as listed in the BBC Proms Archive:

²⁴⁹ 'Maud Powell's Quartet', *New York Times*, 4th January 1895; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.146. The Maud Powell Quartet (1894-95) and the Maud Powell Trio (1908-09) performed quartets by Mendelssohn, Mozart, Smetana, Grieg, Haydn, Dvořák and Beethoven, and piano trios by Chaminade, Beethoven, Schütt and Arensky. Shaffer and Greenwood, *Maud Powell*, p.249.

²⁵⁰ Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.80.

Wednesday 10 th September 1902, 8:00pm	Tchaikovsky Concerto for Violin in D major, Op. 35. New Queen's Hall Orchestra (1895–1914, Queen's Hall Orchestra), Henry Wood conductor
Wednesday 10 th September 1902, 8:00pm	Frederico Fiorillo: Etude-caprices No. 1 in C minor
Wednesday 10 th September 1902, 8:00pm	Paganini Caprices, Op. 1 No. 24 in A minor (theme & variations)
Friday 19 th September 1902, 8:00pm	Beethoven Concerto for Violin in D major, Op. 61 New Queen's Hall Orchestra (1895–1914, Queen's Hall Orchestra), Henry Wood conductor
Friday 19 th September 1902, 8:00pm	Ambroise Thomas Mignon No. 8 Entr'acte [Gavotte] Act 2, Percy Pitt piano; Pablo de Sarasate, arr. Maud Powell

Table 2. Powell's performances at the Henry Wood Promenade Concerts

After Powell's success in England, she found Europe relatively easy to conquer and Viennese critics even named her 'the Jeanne d'Arc' of music, which perhaps confirms the importance of a 'heroic' (the conqueror) image in the acceptance of female virtuosos. Powell was in Europe again in the 1903 and 1905 seasons, this time playing as the violin soloist for Sousa's European tours.²⁵¹ The employment of female musicians (singers or violinists) was, in Sousa's words, "a bit of a *showmanship*", and "relief for the eyes, as well as the ears."²⁵² A number of reviews praised the quality of performances of female soloists, such as Powell, Nicoline Zelder, Florence Hardman and Grace Jenkins whilst at the same time admiring the dresses they wore. As their employment was not consecutive, they had to think creatively about how to please large audiences and continue to work with the band, and one might argue, that this also meant appearing in fashionable gowns that maintain "dignity and beauty expected of a female concert artist."²⁵³ At the same time, there is another dimension to Maud Powell's collaboration with Sousa; both believed that there was a need to educate audiences, as well as to

²⁵¹ During his life John Philip Sousa (1854–1932), a classically trained violinist who served under eight Presidents, witnessed the American Civil War and World War I, saw great changes in recording technology, and by entertaining and educating his audiences became one of the most popular figures of his age. His 'mission' was to entertain the public and to do so he chose a band rather than an orchestra. During his 39 annual transcontinental tours, four of Europe (1900, 1901, 1903 and 1905), and a 13-month World Tour (1910–1911) the band performed Sousa's brilliant transcriptions of the classical literature together with his own works. In 1976 he was enshrined in the hall of Fame for Great Americans in a ceremony at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington while in 1987 his 'The Stars and Stripes Forever' was designated as the national march of the United States and thus became "an integral part of the celebration of American life." See Bierley, Paul E., *John Philip Sousa: American Phenomenon* (Westerville, Ohio: Integrity Press, 1973).

²⁵² Barton, Pine, Rachel, "Rachel Barton Pine's Maud Powell Favourites, Part III, 14th May, 2014 in <http://www.violinist.com/blog/laurie/20105/11248>; accessed 13th June 2014.

²⁵³ Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, pp.205-06. Sousa has clearly respected Powell as an artist. At the conclusion of their 1903 European tour he kissed her hand and said, "You have held your own right up to the last note." Finck, Henry T., *My Adventures in the Golden Age of Music* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1926), p.314; cited in Shaffer and Pine, *Maud Powell Favourites*, p.132.

entertain them. Fundamental to that view was Powell's upbringing in the family of several nationally recognised educators and intellectuals who shaped her view on the importance of education and music in society.²⁵⁴ See Figure 10:

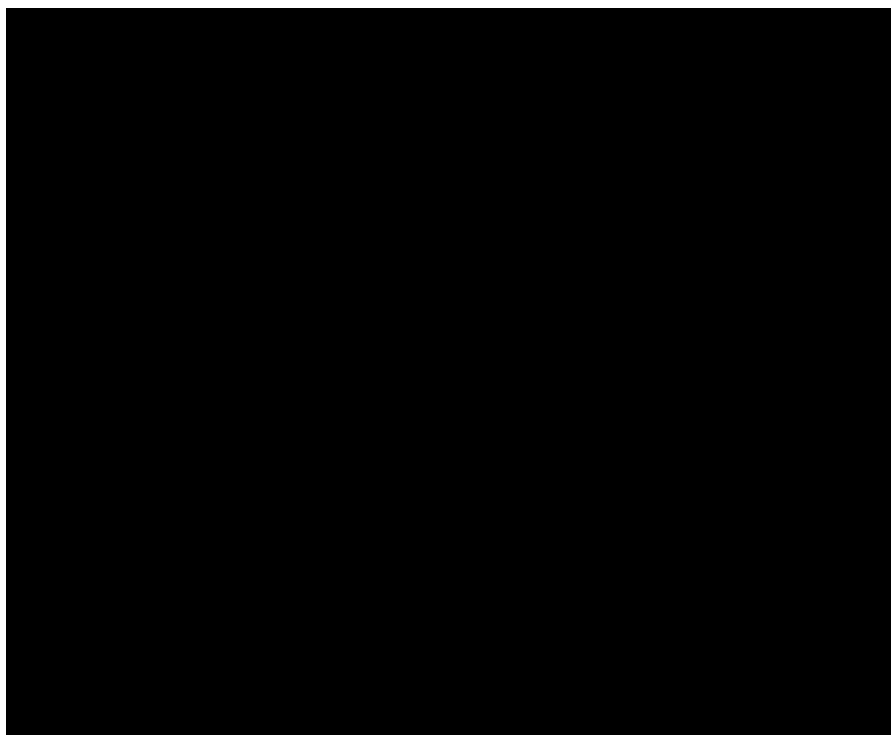


Figure 10. Sousa and Powell c. 1903²⁵⁵

Sousa's European tours were followed by tours of South Africa and the far West of the United States, which had only recently opened up to organised touring. Twenty-five original engagements in South Africa's large towns were expanded to 42 due to re-engagements, possibly demonstrating Powell's power to engage an unknowledgeable public and convince them that female violin soloists could perform at the same artistic level as their celebrated male counterparts. By the time the concert seasons of 1906–7 came about her art was considered equal to the great male performers of the day and she was asked to stand in for Eugène Ysaÿe and Cesar Thompson and later during the war years, for Kreisler's cancelled engagements. As they belonged to the 'Franco-Belgian' school well known for 'bowing and tone production merely aimed at the sensuous in sound,' the above

²⁵⁴ Powell's grandfather Joseph Powell had been an abolitionist preacher before the Civil War (1861–65), Powell's father earned reputation as one of the most innovative educators of his day, and her uncle John Wesley Powell was the first scientific explorer of the Grand Canyon and Colorado River and a primary founder of the National Geographic Society and the Bureau of Ethnology whose passion for ethnography helped lay down the groundwork for anthropological study in the twentieth century.

²⁵⁵ Place unknown. Vane Kensinger's Notebook 1901–10; Repository - The Sousa Archives; <http://archives.library.illinois.edu/archon>; accessed 13th June 2014.

perhaps suggest that for managers, critics and audiences Powell did not differ distinctly on stylistic grounds from these celebrated players.²⁵⁶

In the 1908 season Powell for the last time returned to chamber music and, with the Mukle sisters, formed the first all-female chamber ensemble in America, the Maud Powell Trio, a fact that is often overlooked. Their tour around the country included ‘sixteen concerts on the West Coast in the span of a month, whilst there where no two programs exactly alike.’²⁵⁷ See Figure 11:



Figure 11. Maud Powell Trio, 1908²⁵⁸

When in April 1909 the Mukle sisters sailed back to England, Powell returned to her solo career, as she understood that the physical distance between trio partners would impede their career as a group.

Powell's next professional engagement was to perform concertos by Mendelssohn and Beethoven with the New York Philharmonic under Gustav Mahler. Apparently he did not look forward to her performance of the Beethoven concerto, as he doubted that any female violinist could perform it well. Powell's husband recalled

²⁵⁶ Joachim, J. & Moser, A., *Violinschule* (Berlin, 1902-5; English translation A. Moffat, 1905), op. cit., Vol.3, p.32; cited in Milsom, *Theory and Practice*, p.27.

²⁵⁷ The programmes included trios by Beethoven, and trios by then-contemporary composers such as, Cécile Chaminade (1857-1944), Eduard Schütt (1856-1933) and Arensky (1861-1906). Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.257.

²⁵⁸ Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.201.

Mahler's words in his diary: "What? I play Beethoven with a *woman*, and an *American*?"

However, after the concert Mahler sent Powell a telegram engaging her to play the Beethoven concerto twice more, thus implying that he recognised his error of judgement.²⁵⁹ Indeed, in the age in which the gender divide was present in the public realm of Western art music, the prevailing view about female soloists as inferior was often an ignorant rendering by critics, audiences and even fellow musicians. Not surprisingly, male musicians such as Kreisler, Ysaÿe, Thompson and Thibaud called Powell their "brother artist", emphasising that, "she just happens to be a woman."²⁶⁰ Such comments, I believe, reveal that they were (similarly to Mahler) complicit (perhaps unconsciously) in a societal system of patriarchal regulations. In the light of a rather sceptical attitude towards female soloists it is worth mentioning Powell's appearance in San Francisco in March 1910, as by that time the city heard some of the world's finest musicians, including Kreisler and the young Mischa Elman (a 16-year-old pupil of Auer whose first encounter with American audiences was in 1908). Yet, the critic from the *Los Angeles Times*, pointed out that:

"Maud Powell is the equal of any violin player alive, regardless of sex. This statement is made in full consideration of those two marvels, Fritz Kreisler and Mischa Elman."²⁶¹

This critic's view is curious as it removed all sexuality from Powell whilst at the same time compared Powell's artistry to that of male violinists.

During the war years Powell willingly endured danger and hardship to reach military camps and hospitals. Despite certain military officials doubted whether a lone woman classical violinist could hold the attention of troops she took a chance and proved that although "without youth and beauty" a *woman* violinist can keep her listeners enthralled through an entire concert.²⁶² To the government's utter surprise Powell drew the largest receipts of any artist on the circuit and showed that it was not her gender but her art that mattered.

²⁵⁹ Turner, Godfrey H., *Draft Memoir*, The Maud Powell Society Archive, <http://www.maudpowell.org/home/ForYoungPeople/MaudMeetsMahler>; accessed 25th May 2015.

²⁶⁰ *The Metronome*, April 1910; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.268.

²⁶¹ Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.266.

²⁶² Maud Powell's comment in an interview for the *Musical America*, 7th September 1918; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.389.

The war years began to alter America's cultural life as numerous artists sought refuge there; Mischa Elman returned from his European tour in 1914, Ysaÿe arrived in 1916 and Jacques Thibaud in 1917, Jascha Heifetz fled the Russian Revolution in 1917 and had made his sensational debut in Carnegie Hall on 27th October 1917, and Leopold Auer arrived in February 1918 and settled for teaching in New York. Conversely, musical life in America centred around a new generation of Russian violinists who came to be permanently adopted, enriching its cultural life. Powell reflected:

“Violin players today, generally speaking group themselves in two classes, or schools. (...) One (...) is based on the theory that the performer of the music is of greater importance than the music itself. (...) The principles of the other class are founded in the belief that (...) the function of the artist is (...) to mirror faithfully the spiritual content of the music he plays. (...) In the latter category are the world's greatest violinists, among whom, if I may judge by a single hearing, we shall include today Jascha Heifetz. All that Heifetz does apparently shows that he is more concerned with music than with his own self-exploitation. His tremendous vogue is due to sincerity of spirit joined to extraordinary ability.”²⁶³

Powell's comment demonstrates that before she passed away she recognised the model for other violinists (Heifetz) to follow, which is perhaps surprising, because of their allegedly different stylistic attitudes. Interestingly, the newcomers of the Russian violin tradition did not lessen Powell's established popularity and at the end of war she remained America's 'own' violinist. By the summer 1918 John C. Freund put Powell's picture on the front cover of the *Musical America* with the caption, “Long One of the Most Powerful Forces for Musical Advancement in America.”²⁶⁴

Being a tireless propagandist of violin playing and music in the broadest sense for 35 years demanded a selfless devotion and extreme personal discipline which, in the end, probably led to her premature death. Powell must have suspected that her heart was not holding up to the strain of the years of travel and performance, as she commented that she would probably ‘die with violin in her hands.’²⁶⁵ Despite her poor physical condition, Powell recorded for the last times on 29th and 30th December 1919, and on 8th January 1920 she died from heart attack at the age of 52 after her solo recital.

²⁶³ Powell, ‘Two Types of Violin Playing’; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.407.

²⁶⁴ *Musical America*, 27 July 1918; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.395.

²⁶⁵ Article in Neva Garner Greenwood Collection, Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.410.

The following two reports of her death highlight rather differing views of the critical acceptance of a female musician at the dawn of the twentieth century. Whilst the *The Musical Observer* commented:

“The death of Maud Powell robbed the musical world of one of the most capable and thoroughly artistic violin players of her time who upheld her high rank regardless of the marvelous array of astonishing violinists who visited the United States during her lifetime.”

At the same time the *New York Times* reported:

“Maud Powell, the violinist, died in a hotel here today. She suffered a *nervous breakdown* yesterday and become so ill that her concert last night was cancelled.”²⁶⁶

The latter media coverage clearly biased towards Powell, as this incorrect report on her death indicates an intention to reduce her status. Indeed, critics regularly sensationalised stories of women musicians’ ill health, nervous disorder, and depression, describing it as pathological (due to women’s delicate nerves), rather than situational. Such comments perpetuated the image of the female artist as a hysterical woman unable to handle the stress of public life (a male domain). Perhaps it was necessary for the media to ‘balance’ Powell’s image of a successful ‘new woman’ with the image of a *femme fragile*, who became victim of her stressful profession due to a woman’s ‘natural hypersensitivity.’

As one of the aims of this study has been to provide further evidence for the re-evaluation of Powell’s place in the history of the violin, the next section will begin with her pioneering work.

Pioneering the female violin solo recital in America

“I was born with a message to deliver, and I will deliver it as long as I am able.”²⁶⁷

The task of bringing art music to such a wide audience was a challenge Maud Powell took on quite selflessly as she believed that it was the artist’s duty to reach audiences in remote towns and introduce classical music to those who were previously unable to hear it. She understood that on the one hand the formation of music societies, linked to the National Federation of Music Clubs, was essential for

²⁶⁶ *The Musical Observer*, January 1920 and *The New York Times*, 8th January 1920; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.420.

²⁶⁷ <http://www.allthingsstrings.com/layout/set/print/News/Interviews-Profiles/Rachel-Barton-Pine-Salutes-Maud-Powell>; accessed March 2013.

the development of the concert circuit and, on the other, how much the personal encouragement of a first-class artist served to stimulate local interest in classical music. Similarly, she recognised the work and devotion of women who were actively involved in hundreds of local organisations commenting, “They are making the musical wheels in America revolve.”²⁶⁸

Following Camilla Urso as a model, Powell pioneered the female violin recital in America and gained acceptance for a concert format consisting solely of two instrumental performers (female violinist and pianist) in place of the usual combination of band, singers and instrumentalists (even comedians) then thought necessary to hold an audience’s interest. “The old belief that ‘classical music’ is a fundamentally dull thing out of which one can get no pleasure is still broadly prevalent,” Maud Powell reflected in 1915.²⁶⁹ She strongly believed that it was the artist’s duty to help unsophisticated audiences overcome their perception that classical music is somehow beyond them. In smaller towns, where rudimentary musical literacy was commonplace, Powell found that the public wanted her to talk from the stage about the compositions she was to play as ‘a little information about the works to be played improved the attitude of hearers.’²⁷⁰ Thus she pioneered the inclusion of programme notes in printed recital and chamber music programmes that enabled her to avoid disrupting the performance with the spoken word. Notes were written as a series of aural roadmaps, which enabled audiences to easily grasp a musical message of each piece.²⁷¹ As Powell pointed out:

“Everyone of the pieces I play, must above all, have human interest – an obvious appeal to some simple, fundamental emotion, (...) each must be a complete mood in itself.”²⁷²

²⁶⁸ Peyser, ‘Women Are Making Our Musical Wheels Turn’. See ‘Woman – The Potent Influence in Our Musical Life’, *Musical America*, 8th October 1910. Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, pp.293–94.

²⁶⁹ “Violin Which Sings of Bruch is Her ‘Fiddle’,” *Republican Herald*, Binghamton, NY, 18th December 1913; cited in Shaffer and Pine, *Maud Powell Favorites*, p.10.

²⁷⁰ “Using Programme Notes for Violin Recitals”, *Musical America*, 16th October 1915, p.7; cited in Shaffer and Pine, *Maud Powell Favorites*, p.14.

²⁷¹ The driving force behind the development of the programme-note (the archetype being the miscellaneous, mixed programme) in nineteenth century Britain and America came from the practicalities of commercial concert life. During the mid-1840s and 1850s, when concert life was expanding, it was not uncommon to supply aspirant audiences with a ‘book of words’ (that later developed into full-blown discursive programme booklet, through-paginated and with explanatory analytical notes with references to informed authorities about the music.) Likewise, being able to take notes home after the concert as the basis for home study was, at the time, a bonus for listeners. The nineteenth-century style of structure orientated narrative listening endured for generations and the programme-note phenomenon still exists today. See Bashford Christina, “Educating England: Networks of Programme-Note Provision in the Nineteenth Century” in Cowgill, Rachel and Holman, Peter (eds.), *Music in the British Provinces, 1690-1914* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007), Chapter 17.

²⁷² *Musical America*, 20 October 1917; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.390.

Powell knew that the public's appreciation of more complex art music would largely depend on how well she designed programmes and by clever use of smaller pieces she built a bridge of understanding from the simplest melodies to the most complex sonatas. That meant having 'balanced' programmes made up of short pieces grouped in such a way as to demonstrate to the listener musical qualities such as melody, rhythm, humour and dazzling technical displays, together with more complex music such as sonatas and concertos. Distanced as we are from her era, it is helpful to remember that the attitude of her unsophisticated audience in small towns, without her carefully planned programme notes, could disrupt her performance. Sometimes she would even send her programmes ahead so that the music could be studied at local clubs before her concert would take place. Despite the risk of offending some musicians she believed that the concert-goers must be informed about the structure of pieces and number of movements in order to prevent, "the usual large number of musically ignorant hero worshipers from ruining the wonderful impressiveness of a long pause" or "clap in the structurally wrong places."²⁷³ Unlike Powell, Joseph Szigeti (1892–1973) designed programmes that often met resistance among small-town concert managers in America. One such letter of complaint read:

"Well let me tell you, Mister Dzigedy – and I know what I'm talking about – your Krewtez sonata bores the pants off my audiences!"²⁷⁴

Powell's devotion to her pioneering work made her the most sought-after violinist in America and she was largely responsible for the acceptance of this mode of performance.²⁷⁵ As the *Oberlin Review*'s critic commented:

"Her programmes are always choice full of novel and varied elements; her personality is most charming, and her playing that of a finished artist."²⁷⁶

Figure 12 below shows Powell's programme for her recital in Ohio, 9th November 1915:

²⁷³ "America is in Need of More Amateur Musicians," probably *Musical America*, ca. 1916; cited in Shaffer and Pine, *Maud Powell Favorites*, p.14.

²⁷⁴ Campbell, *The Great Violinists*, p.123.

²⁷⁵ Clara Schumann (1819–1896) had a considerable influence on repertoire and programming in Europe during the nineteenth century. The works she performed were generally new to her audiences, who were accustomed to opera transcriptions and flashy virtuoso variations. The programme pattern pioneered by Clara Schumann and still followed by recitalists today included works by Bach or Scarlatti and then a Beethoven sonata followed by groups of shorter pieces. See Reich, Nancy B., *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1985), p.256.

²⁷⁶ 'Miss Powell's Violin Recital', *Oberlin Review*, 31st May 1895.

Maud Powell with Arthur Loesser, Pianist

Recital Program, November 9, 1915

The Women's Music Club
Memorial Hall, Columbus, Ohio
3,500 in attendance

PROGRAM		PROGRAM—Continued	
1. MOZART.....	Concerto, A Major (Cadenza by Grasse) (In three movements) Allegro aperto Adagio Tempo di minuetto Born in 1756 and dying at the early age of 35, Mozart was one of the greatest geniuses that the world has ever seen. Much of his music retains its freshness and popularity after more than a century. Light-hearted, industrious, imaginative, but content to work in the forms already perfected and adhering to them with a grammarian's strictness, he suffered the extremes of poverty and was buried in the potter's field, his immortal works being for long his only monument. The Concerto in A major is replete with charm, vivacity, humor, grace. The slow middle movement in particular has the sweetness and angelic repose and simplicity that one senses in the clear gaze of a child. Indeed much of Mozart's music seems like the pure soul of childhood, embodied in tone. The Cadenza by young Edwin Grasse are in complete spirit with the concerto and seem as spontaneous and pure as Mozart's music itself.	PERCY GRAINGER.....(c) "Molly on the Shore"	Percy Grainger, the distinguished young Australian pianist and composer, has been recently adding American laurels to his wreath of European and Australian successes. He is a pupil of the Norwegian (Lied), with Scandinavian sympathies, and like his master, a strong believer in the value of folk song in the development of a national school of musical composition. He has made phonographic records of folk songs all over the world, including those of uncivilized tribes in South Africa and elsewhere. "Molly on the Shore" is an authentic Irish reel, recognizable at once by a native of County Cork. The Grainger setting adheres to the original line of melody, while the reiteration, with slight variation each time, is in character. One hears at once that Mr. Grainger has a keen appreciation of the native humor and individual rhythm of the tune.
2. d' INDY.....	Sonata, C Major, Op. 59 For Piano and Violin (In four movements) Moderate Anime Tres lent Tres anime Two interesting facts stand out in d'Indy's early life. He was a pupil of Cesar Franck and he played drum in orchestra three years to learn instrumentation. A master in every sense, with strong intellect and a subtle, critical faculty, he has undoubtedly been a strong influence in guiding the development of the modern school of composition in France. This sonata is a fair example of his best work, noble in conception and brilliant in mastery of the technique of composition.	BIZET-SARASATE.....(d) 1. Allegro moderato 2. Allegro (from "Carmen") Piano Solos:	
3. BRAHMS.....(a) Hungarian Dance, A Major	Brahms arranged and embellished a number of Hungarian dance melodies as piano duets. They have been given orchestral setting as well, while Dr. Joachim arranged them in turn for violin solo with piano accompaniment.	4. BEETHOVEN.....(a) Rondo a capriccioso (Anger about a lost penny)	
SIBELIUS(b) Valse Triste	This is one of the most popular of the Finnish master's lesser compositions. It is one number from the incidental music to a drama written by the composer's gifted brother-in-law, Arvid Järnefeldt, entitled "Kuolema" ("Death"). The Valse Triste has a programme which accounts for the yearning and shuddering sadness of the music. It is night. The son who has been watching by the bedside of his sick mother has fallen asleep from sheer weariness. Gradually a ruddy light is reflected through the room; there is a sound of distant music; the glow and the music melt together until the strains of a valse melody float distinctly to our ears. The sleeping mother awakens, rises from her bed, and in her long white garment, which takes the semblance of a ball-dress, begins to move slowly and silently to and fro. She waves her hands, and beckons in time to the music, as though she were summoning a crowd of invisible guests. And now they appear, these strange visionary couples, turning and gliding to an unearthly valse rhythm. The dying woman mingles with the dancers, she strives to make them look into her eyes, but the shadowy guests one and all avoid her glance. Then she seems to sink exhausted on her couch, and the music breaks off. But presently she gathers all her strength, and invokes the dance once again with more energetic gestures than before. Back come the shadowy dancers, gyrating in a wild, mad rhythm. The weird gaiety reaches a climax; there is a knock at the door, which flies wide open; the mother utters a despairing cry; the spectral guests vanish; the music dies away, death stands on the threshold. — Rosa Newmarch.	5. FLORENT SCHMITT.....(a) Berceuse GRASSE.....(b) Polonaise The works of Edwin Grasse, the gifted young American violinist-composer, have often figured on Maud Powell's programs. This season the Polonaise in C major has been added to her repertoire. It is a splendid example of straightforward, effective writing for the violin, in the rhythm that makes a very general appeal. The Polonaises by Wieniawski, Vieuxtemps, (and for piano) Chopin, come to mind as typical numbers for concert programs.	
Tours under the Personal Supervision of H. Godfrey Turrer, of New York.			

Figure 12. Powell's programme for her recital in Ohio, 9th November 1915 with Powell's explanations about the pieces that helped her introduce works²⁷⁷

In comparison, Rubinstein's and Wieniawski's mixed concert programme from a performance in New York City in October 1872:

²⁷⁷ <http://www.maudpowell.org/home/MaudPowell/ProgramsReviewsNotes/RecitalProgram/tabid/90/Default.aspx>; accessed 13th June 2015.

Overture, "Egmont"		Beethoven
	Orchestra	
Concerto, G Major, No. 3		Rubinstein
	Anton Rubinstein	
Polacca, "Kommt Ein Schlanker Bursch gegangen,"		
<i>Freischütz</i>		Weber
"Il Pirata," fantasia for Violin		Ernst
	Henri Wieniawski	
~Intermission~		
Duet, Per vaili, per hosehi		Blangini
	Mlles. Liebhard and Ormeny	
a. Nocturne		Field
b. Menuet, B Minor		Schubert
c. Ballade, G Minor		Chopin
	Anton Rubinstein	
Airs Russes		H. Wieniawski
	Henri Wieniawski	
Aria, from "Saffo"		Pacini
	Mlle Louise Ormeny	
Songs, without words, A flat, A minor, B major		
March, Midsummer Night's Dream		Mendelssohn
	Anton Rubinstein	

Figure 13. Rubinstein and Wieniawski, Concert Programme, New Your, 1st October 1872²⁷⁸

See also Ole Bull's mixed concert programme from a performance in Boston, 1876, in which they perform usual variety of short bravura works:

²⁷⁸ "Music in New York-Italian Opera-Rubinstein" *Dwight's Journal of Music*, 9th October 1872, cited in Harvey, Gabrielle, Annora, "A piece of the exotic: virtuosic violin compositions and national identity", Doctoral thesis (University of Iowa, 2012), p.7; Iowa Research Online: <http://ir.uiowa.edu/etd/2887>.

Overture, "Raymond"	A. Thomas
Orchestra	
To The Memory Of Washington	Ole Bull
<i>Introduction (Grave), Sorrow and Woe—Allegro agitato, Rising against Oppression—Battle, "God Save the King!" and "Yankee Doodle!" alternately heard—Honor to the Fallen Heroes—(Choral)—Reception of the Victorious Federals, and March in Honor of Washington—Finale.</i>	
Ole Bull	
Neckrosen (The Water Flower)	Abe
Swedish National Songs	
Swedish Ladies Vocal Quartette	
Bridal March, from "Norse Peasant Life."	Edward Grieg
Wm. H. Sherwood	
The Mountains of Norway	Ole Bull
Ole Bull	
~Intermission~	
Swedish Wedding March	Sedermann
Orchestra	
Carnival of Venice	Ole Bull
Ole Bull	
Saetergjenten's Söndag	Ole Bull
Serenade	Sir H. Bishop
Swedish Ladies Vocal Quartette	
Improvisations Upon Familiar Melodies	
(Themes to be suggested and sent in by the Audience.)	
Ole Bull	
March, "Athalie"	Mendelssohn
Orchestra	

Figure 14. Ole Bull, Concert Programme, Boston 1876²⁷⁹

Subsequent generations of violinists continued to refine Powell's approach to the violin recital, carrying forward the tradition of performing sonatas and virtuoso show-pieces, whilst the performance of violin concertos with piano accompaniment

²⁷⁹ *American Broad-sides and Ephemera*, Series 1, No.21766; cited in Harvey, "A piece of the exotic: virtuosic violin compositions and national identity," p.9.

became less common and many smaller pieces fell out of favour (as well as their subtle educational purpose).²⁸⁰

Despite her extraordinary devotion, energy and vision, which were responsible for far reaching consequences for the development of violin playing in America and violin solo recitals, the honours of being such an important pioneer in the history of American music are passed to her male colleagues, mainly Ysaÿe, Kreisler and Spalding. Whilst Ysaÿe's first tour in America was in 1894 and Kreisler's in the 1888–89 season, the fact that Powell started her musical 'crusade' in America as early as in 1885 is not historically recognised. One might argue that whilst most reviewers compared her to the very greatest male violinist, it seems that they were either unable or unwilling to acknowledge that she started career in America before her *male* colleagues and was a player of many firsts. Thus, I would suggest that the historical significance of Powell as a crucial link in the development of violin playing in America should be re-evaluated.

Violin concertos premiered in America by Maud Powell

"I am never so happy as when working out something, which I never heard before."²⁸¹

Maud Powell had been absent from New York for two years when she returned on 6th April 1888 to give the premiere of the first movement of the Tchaikovsky violin concerto, conducted by Anton Seidl. Ten months later, on 19th January 1889, she returned to present the entire concerto for the first time.²⁸² To play an unknown concerto so early on in her career was a great risk, especially knowing that its dedicatee Yosif Kotek refused to play it, believing that the Tchaikovsky violin concerto would do damage to his budding career. Moreover, Auer rejected it due to his doubt about the concerto's intrinsic worth. Likewise, Eduard Hanslick described it as, "music that stinks in the ear in which the violin is no longer played

²⁸⁰ Powell was equally acclaimed for her interpretations of the chamber music repertoire, including Bach's solo and accompanied sonatas and the sonatas by Vincent D'Indy Op. 59 (1905); Richard Strauss Op. 18 in E $\flat$ major (1887–88); Guillaume Lekeu in G major (1892); Edward Grieg No. 1, Op. 8 in F major (1865), No. 2, Op. 13 in G major (1867) and No. 3, Op. 45 in C minor (1887); Gabriel Fauré (1875–76); César Franck in A major (1886); Saint-Saëns Op. 75 in D minor (1885); Christian Sinding No. 1, Op. 12 No.1 in C major (1894), No. 2, Op. 27 in E major (1894) and No. 3, Op.73 in F major (1905); Eduard Schütt Op.27 in G major (1888); and Brahms No. 1, Op.78 in G major (1879), No. 2, Op.100 in A major (1886), No. 3, Op.108 in D minor (1878–88). At a time when opportunities to hear violin concerto played with orchestra were rare, Powell frequently played them in recitals with a piano accompaniment, thus enabling audiences to hear these works.

²⁸¹ *The Musical Leader and Concert-Goer*, December 1906; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.237.

²⁸² Tchaikovsky wrote his concerto in 1878 for his violinist friend and lover Yosif Kotek. Disappointed, Tchaikovsky re-dedicated the concerto to Leopold Auer, who unfortunately pronounced the work impossible to play, a judgment he later deeply regretted. Tchaikovsky hurt by Auer's decision dedicated this time concerto to Adolph Brodsky who gave the work its first hearing in Vienna on 4th December 1881 with Hans Richter conducting. Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, pp.110–12.

but “torn asunder” and beaten black and blue.”²⁸³ Powell bravely ignored negative comments, as she believed that the concerto was worthy of the attention of music lovers in her own country and later commented that ‘although the public scarcely accepted it at first, the concerto is now in every violinist’s repertoire.’²⁸⁴

In 1891 Powell was preparing to give the premiere of Saint-Saëns’ Violin Concerto No. 2 in C (1879) on 14th February 1890 with the Brooklyn Philharmonic under Thomas.²⁸⁵ Nine days later she played the world premiere of the Harry Rowe Shelley’s Violin Concerto at the Brooklyn Academy of Music under C. Mortimer Wiske baton.²⁸⁶ Whilst the work fell short of having lasting value Powell believed that it was her duty to, “help those who are groping for something higher and better musically.”²⁸⁷ In 1902 Saint-Saëns invited Powell to join him in a performance of his Concerto in B minor in London. After the concert he wrote:

“Magnificent. You have a style and the passages in octaves which you have added are most effective.”²⁸⁸

Saint-Saëns’ approval of Powell’s collaboration is interesting to mention as he strongly disapproved of women’s creative talent. In his words, “a woman composer was like a dog walking on its hind legs, a freak of nature, unnatural, and as steady a sight, unwelcome.”²⁸⁹

Although female violinists were involved in promoting contemporary composers the idea of a woman interpreting the work of a male composer was still of concern, especially when the music (such as the Beethoven or Brahms concertos) impressed critics as being particularly masculine and asked so much from a performer in terms of physical strength and endurance. The story behind Powell’s premiere of the Dvořák violin concerto demonstrates this clearly. In 1892, the 51-year-old Czech composer became the director of the National Conservatory in New York and Powell arranged a meeting with him, as she was eager to give the premiere of his violin concerto in the United States. Dvořák composed his concerto between

²⁸³ “We see plainly the savage vulgar faces, we hear curses, we smell vodka... Tchaikovsky’s Violin Concerto gives us for the first time the hideous notion that there can be music that stinks to the ear.” Hershfield, Rachael, *Critical Errors bad reviews of great works of art* (Folio Creations, 2014, ISBN 978-0-9937962-0-3), p.108.

²⁸⁴ ‘That Makes Rag-Time Music Successful’; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.246.

²⁸⁵ Powell had met Saint-Saëns in Paris and frequently played his *Introduction and Rondo Capriccioso*, a piece that she observed “was written in a real violin idiom, with rhythmic charm and of crystalline clarity of material.” From Maud Powell’s programme note, Neva Garner Greenwood Collection; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, pp.118–19.

²⁸⁶ Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, pp.118–19.

²⁸⁷ Martens, *Violin Mastery*, p.190.

²⁸⁸ “Some Tributes to Maud Powell”; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.188.

²⁸⁹ Rosenstiel, Leonee, *Nadia Boulanger: A Life in Music* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1982), p.65; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.188.

July and September 1879 on Joachim's commission, seven months after Joachim had given the first performance of the Brahms violin concerto on 1st January 1879. However, Joachim never performed the Dvořák violin concerto, and it was 23-year-old, Prague-born František Ondříček (1857–1922) who premiered it on 14th October 1883 in Prague, as well as at the Viennese premiere under Hans Richter on 2nd December 1883.²⁹⁰ Dvořák was not excited about the idea of a female violinist giving the first performance of his concerto in America and reminded Powell that her teacher Joachim thought that concerto was too difficult for any woman to play. Yet, after hearing her play, he offered to 'write a letter to Joachim at once that he had found a woman who could play his concerto perfectly.'²⁹¹ Powell first performed the concerto at a recital at the Oberlin Conservatory on 18th November 1892 and reported to Dvořák that his concerto was received with the greatest enthusiasm. The critic of *The Musical Courier* reported that he had:

“the distinction of hearing Maud Powell playing in private last week the Dvořák violin concerto, which I believe only Max Bendix has played as yet before a large public. The work is Dvořák from beginning to the end, particularly the end (...) and no one but an artist of Miss Powell's culture could grapple with its changeful rhythms, its huge tenderness and its fiery suggestiveness.”²⁹²

She gave its New York premiere the following season, playing it twice, with Frank Van der Stucken conducting the New York Arion Society orchestra on 12th November 1893, and then with Anton Seidl conducting the New York Philharmonic on 7th April 1894 in Carnegie Hall. According to the next day's *New York Sun*, “It was a praiseworthy effort from every point of view, distinguished by purity and beauty of tone, facile fingering, skilful bowing, and a masterly command of the intellectual requirements of this elaborate piece of writing, which is a most valuable addition to violin literature.”²⁹³ *The Strad* in 1894 reported that:

“A young American violinist, Miss Maud Powell has recently been creating quite a furore ‘on the other side of the herring pond’ by her admirable rendering of Dvořák's concerto for violin and orchestra.”²⁹⁴

In May 1901 Powell undertook a major tour of more than 50 concerts with leading American orchestras. At the first concert with the New York Philharmonic she played the first movement of Beethoven's violin concerto and premiered Rimsky-Korsakov's *Fantasia Concertante on Russian Themes*. Powell's untiring search for

²⁹⁰ Schwarz, *Great Masters of the Violin*, pp.275–76.

²⁹¹ *The Oberlin Review*, 18 November 1892; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.122.

²⁹² *The Strad*, 1893, p.167.

²⁹³ Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.123.

²⁹⁴ *The Strad*, 1894, p.39.

new works was responsible for her American premiere of two other violin concertos, those by Sibelius and Arensky.²⁹⁵ She premiered the Arensky concerto with the Russian Symphony Orchestra under Modest Altschuler (a founder and conductor of the Russian orchestra) on 30th and 31st December 1905 in Carnegie Hall.²⁹⁶ Despite the fact that the concerto was without a promise to become a standard repertoire, Powell played it occasionally at her solo recitals.

Indeed, Powell was one of rare artists who initially recognised the artistic value of the Sibelius violin concerto; in her words it was, “a work to tax the technical resources of the artist and his imagination.”²⁹⁷ The concerto was originally dedicated to Willy Burmester (1869–1933), but it was the Czech violinist Victor Nováček who actually premiered it on 8th February 1904 in Helsinki, with Sibelius conducting. After a disastrous first performance Sibelius revised the concerto and deleted much material he felt did not work (the very beginning, most of the third movement, and parts of the second were not changed) and Karel Halíř and the Berlin Singakademie under Richard Strauss premiered the revised version of the concerto on 19th October 1905.

Powell accidentally discovered the score of the concerto and started to study it in the spring of 1906.²⁹⁸ Just before her American premiere on 30th November 1906, in Carnegie Hall with the New York Philharmonic under Wassily Safonoff, the Finnish composer sent Powell his picture, signing it, “to the Violin Queen, Miss Maud Powell, with gratitude – Jean Sibelius.”²⁹⁹ After the concert Safonoff wrote a note:

“Dear Miss Powell – I wish to express to you my warmest admiration for your superb playing of the Sibelius concerto with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra yesterday. To conquer these almost insurmountable difficulties of technique and interpretation requires an unusual artistic force.”³⁰⁰

²⁹⁵ The Russian composer Anton Stepanovich Arensky (1861–1906) composed his violin concerto Op. 54 in A minor in 1891 and dedicated it to Leopold Auer. Sibelius’s (1865–1957) first version of the concerto was for the first time recorded on the BIS record label in 1991 by Leonidas Kavakos.

²⁹⁶ Modest Altschuler (1873–1963, the Belarus-born composer, cellist and conductor), a former pupil of Arensky, emigrated to the United States in 1893 and in 1903 founded the Russian Symphony Orchestra Society of New York, which for two decades toured the United States featuring performances and compositions by leading Russian composers.

²⁹⁷ Powell, ‘Two Types of Violin Playing’; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.376.

²⁹⁸ Peyser, Herbert F., ‘Women Are Making Our Musical Wheels Turn, Says Maud Powell’, *Musical America*, 1st April 1910; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.237.

²⁹⁹ *The Musical Courier*, 31st November 1906; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.238.

³⁰⁰ Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.240.

Yet, New York critics were variously impressed by the concerto. For example, W. J. Henderson, critic for the *New York Sun* did not share Powell's enthusiasm for the concerto:

"She must have found something else in this extraordinary concerto to induce her master its frightful passages. She played it superbly. Her tone was full and brilliant. Her style had virility and breadth and dash. Her finger-work was admirable and her bowing glorious. But why did she put all that magnificent art into this sour and crabbed concerto?"³⁰¹

Despite Henderson's negative critique about the work, and the potential negative effect that the promotion of this new work could do to Powell's career, her artistic and personal courage was not diminished. She set out to present the concerto in Chicago with Frederick Stock on 25th and 26th January 1907 and then in Cincinnati and Boston. This time her artistic courage was vindicated as the review by W. L. Hubbard of the *Chicago Tribune* commented:

"Maud Powell – 'our' Maud Powell – scored a triumph yesterday. She played for the first time here a composition, which is one of the most difficult in a violin literature and at the same time one of the most original. And she played it superbly. There are extremely few of her brother artists who could compass its technical intricacies with such surety and seeming ease as she did, and still fewer of them who could interpret it with such masterful skill."³⁰²

When Powell was asked to reflect on the contrast in the work's reception she stated that initially only very few agreed with her estimation. However, she had as much confidence in its future as she had had in the Tchaikovsky concerto when she introduced that work to America in 1888. Powell appreciated Sibelius's concerto for its, 'modernism and yet withal its complete simplicity of thought and structure.' Despite her advocacy she observed in 1912 that this 'tremendous' piece is not yet properly appreciated either by critics or the public.³⁰³ However, soon the concerto would be accepted as one of the greatest in existence. After Maud Powell's death the *Brooklyn Eagle* stated:

"So far as anybody could guess from the state of musical taste at the time the work would be useless for her concert repertory and it seemed unlikely that she would have occasion to repeat it. Yet for that

³⁰¹ Henderson, W.J., *The New York Sun*, 1st December, 1906 in "Maud Powell Champions Sibelius Concerto," *Souvenir*, Autumn 2015, <http://www.maudpowell.org/home>; accessed 17th August 2015.

³⁰² Hubbard, W.L., *Chicago Tribune*, 27th January 1907 in "Maud Powell Champions Sibelius Concerto," *Souvenir*, Autumn 2015, <http://www.maudpowell.org/home>; accessed 17th August 2015.

³⁰³ Williams, Catherine C., "the Solution Lies With The American Women:" Maud Powell As An Advocate For Violinists, Women, And American Music", pp. 217-21; cited in Shaffer and Pine, *Maud Powell Favorites*, p.47.

single performance she memorised that long composition in an unfamiliar style. That was Maud Powell.”³⁰⁴

Maud Powell surprised audiences and critics with two more big-scale works. In 1907 she and May Mukle created a precedent by playing the Brahms Double Concerto in A Minor, Op. 102 for violin and cello.³⁰⁵ Although the first North American performance was given in Chickering Hall, New York, on 5th January 1889, with Theodore Thomas conducting and Max Bendix and Victor Herbert as soloists, the Brahms Double Concerto had never been played in America at that time with two women soloists, a combination that remains an exception even today. On 21st and 22nd February 1908 Powell gave the American premiere of the Brahms Violin Concerto in D, Op. 77, with Frederick Stock and the Chicago Orchestra. Chicago critic W. L. Hubbard wrote:

“It was an achievement even greater than was her presentation of the Sibelius concerto and that was a masterpiece.”³⁰⁶

In 1910 Max Bruch composed *Concertstück* in F sharp minor and dedicated it to Willy Hess. However, the composer wrote to Powell that he had not forgotten the impression she created in Berlin in the very early days and asked her to give its world premiere, which she did on 8th June 1911 at the Norfolk Music Festival. She bravely commented that although the concerto was well received it had shortcomings:

“I think the slow movement Bruch wrote in England, and the first movement when he was 20 years old. He simply put them together. Their publication is recent, but not their inspiration, I am sure.”³⁰⁷

The last concerto Powell introduced to the public, on 4th June 1912 was that by Coleridge-Taylor Op. 80 in G minor which was dedicated to her. She not only championed his violin concerto but also his *Gipsy Dance* and *Gipsy Song*. Powell’s interest in promoting the works of this Afro-English composer was extremely

³⁰⁴ ‘Maud Powell’ in ‘Letters and Art’, *The Literary Digest*, 31st January 1920; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p. 246. Yet, although Powell played it into the repertory she could not record it due to the technical limitations of the acoustic recording process. It is now the most recorded 20th century violin concerto thus justifying Powell’s advocacy of the concerto she considered “quite the best since G minor of Bruch. Not only is the solo part so wonderfully written for the instrument but the orchestration is superb.” Powell’s letter to Sibelius dated 17th June 1906; <http://www.maudpowell.org/home>; accessed 17th August 2015.

³⁰⁵ The concerto was premiered in Europe on 18th October 1887 with the Gürzenich Orchestra, Cologne by its dedicate Joseph Joachim and cellist Robert Hausmann, with Brahms conducting.

³⁰⁶ Reprinted in *Yakima Washington Morning Herald*, 8 February 1910; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p. 272.

³⁰⁷ *Musical America*, 17th June 1911; *New York Times*, 4th March 1912; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.248. Powell even recorded a shortened version of the *Concertstück* eight days after its world premiere that was unfortunately never released.

progressive, as it was her vision to champion new works of American composers. The New York critic Emilie Frances Bauer identified her as ‘a great intellectual power in the musical world.’ Indeed, Powell was not only a progressive artist; coming from a family of famous educators and scientists, she was also a lucid writer who was capable of analysing new works, explaining musical styles, the mechanics of violin technique, practice, and programme planning. Beyond that she often commented on the difficulties she encountered as an American in Europe and as a woman artist in a man’s field. I believe that her propaganda campaign for art music in then less cultured America was unusual for a female (and male) soloist, especially at a time when female intellectual powers were less valued. See a list of violin concertos that Powell introduced to American audiences:

19th January 1889	Tchaikovsky Concerto in D, the New York Symphony, Walter Damrosch, conductor
26th March 1890	Huss Romance and Polonaise for Violin and Orchestra, Frank Van der Stucken, conductor, orchestra unknown
14th February 1891	Saint-Saëns Concerto No.2 in C, the Brooklyn Philharmonic, Theodore Thomas, conductor
23rd February 1891	Shelley Concerto in G Minor, C. Mortimer Wiske, probable conductor, orchestra unknown
7th April 1894	Dvořák Concerto in D Minor, the New York Philharmonic, Anton Seidl, conductor ³⁰⁸
Date unknown	Lalo Concerto in F Major, Theodore Thomas, conductor, orchestra unknown
1894–95 season	Lalo Concerto Russe in G Minor, conductor, orchestra, and exact date unknown
11th January 1901	Rimsky-Korsakov Fantasia Concertante on Russian Themes, the New York Philharmonic, Emil Paur, conductor
30th December 1905	Arensky Concerto in A Minor, the Russian Symphony Orchestra, Modest Altschuler, conductor
2nd April 1906	Huss Concerto in D Minor, Op.12, the Russian Symphony Orchestra, Modest Altschuler, conductor
1906–07 season	Conus Concerto in E Minor, conductor, orchestra and exact date unknown
30th November 1906	Sibelius Concerto in D minor, the New York Philharmonic, Wassily Safonoff, conductor
21st November 1909	Aulin Concerto in D Minor, the Minneapolis Symphony, Emil Oberhoffer, conductor
8th June 1911	Bruch <i>Concertstück</i> , Norfolk (CT) the Festival Orchestra, Arthur Mess, conductor
4th June 1912	Coleridge-Taylor Concerto in D Minor, Norfolk (CT) the Festival Orchestra, Arthur Mess, conductor

Table 3. Violin concertos premiered in America by Maud Powell³⁰⁹

³⁰⁸ Although Maud Powell claimed that she premiered Dvořák’s violin concerto it was actually the concertmaster of the Theodore Thomas Orchestra, Max Bendix (1866–1945) who in October 1891 played the American premiere of the Dvořák violin concerto in Chickering Hall, New York, on 31st October with Theodore Thomas conducting. He also gave the first North American performance of Brahms’s double concerto, Op.102 together with Victor Herbert as soloists on 5th January 1889. <http://pronetoviolins.blogspot.co.uk/2011/05/max-bendix.html>; accessed 7th January 2014.

Premiering American compositions

Maud Powell not only introduced more new music to the American public than any other violin soloist of her day but was also keen to champion music composed by women. From July 1888, when Powell and Theodore Thomas's orchestra gave three successive concerts entirely dedicated to music of American composers at the Music Teachers National Association meeting, to the end of her career, Powell was 'on the lookout for good novelties.'³¹⁰ The works of American composers dedicated to Powell together with her own transcriptions of music nearly chronicles the evolution of American music. Aside from the violin concertos by Harry Rowe Shelley and Henry Holden Huss, Powell performed a number of shorter original compositions written by Arthur Foote, Amy Beach, Marion Eugénie Bauer, John Philip Sousa, Edwin Grasse, Cecil Burleigh, Grace White, etc. and also presented transcriptions by Arthur Hartmann, Francis MacMillan, Sol Marcossion, as well as her own.³¹¹ Powell also played part in development of African-American art music as she premiered pieces by Henry Thacker Burleigh, Samuel Coleridge-Taylor and James Rosamond Johnson.

Powell's enthusiasm for American works was not always welcomed by critics. Whilst they found smaller compositions 'quietly enjoyable, yet not remarkable from an instructive or artistic standpoint,' at the same time they noted that big works, such as the Shelley's and Huss's Violin Concertos, were not of enduring value.³¹² Despite occasional criticism for being 'more interested in what her country could produce than in what was regarded as popular accepted repertory' Powell believed that it was the artist's duty to introduce new works, because aspiring composers need to hear their works performed. For her annual New York recital on 21st October 1913, Powell presented works by five American composers, Marion Bauer, Edwin Grasse, Cecil Burleigh, Arthur Berg and Harry M. Gilbert as a group. Powell also felt that during the First World War the need for championing American composers was even more heightened. Conversely, during her concerts at the military camps and hospitals Powell frequently played her own arrangements of American songs such as *My Old Kentucky Home*, *Old Black Joe*, *Kingdom Comin*, Coleridge-Taylor's *Deep River*, Herman Bellstedt, Jr.'s *Caprice on Dixie*

³⁰⁹ <http://www.maudpowell.org/home>; accessed 7th January 2014.

³¹⁰ *The Musical Courier*, 18th April 1918; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell Favorites*, p.24.

³¹¹ Martens, *Violin Mastery*, p.117.

³¹² *Chicago Evening Journal*, 7th July 1888; cited in Shaffer and Pine, *Maud Powell Favorites*, p.22. On 23rd February 1891 Powell premiered Shelley's Violin Concerto, in a concert devoted to American composers at the Brooklyn Academy of Music and on 2nd April 1906 she gave the premiere of the Huss Violin Concerto as its dedicatee with the Russian Symphony Orchestra under Modest Altschuler. Krehbiel, Henry E., *New York Times*, 3rd April 1906; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.236.

and *Shine On*, as encores. Whilst one could argue that promoting new works to American audiences was an act of self-promotion, I believe that Powell's efforts could be seen as a complex mixture of idealism, altruistic zeal and patriotism. As already mentioned, being raised in a family of innovative educators she developed her characteristic penchant for exploration, learning and the value of education. Powell even commented that it was her pioneering spirit that caused her to explore new compositions adding that:

“Foreign (male) artists come over here and take enormous sums of money out of the country. They have not served us vitally. (...) They rarely play works by American composers. I must try to do what I can for American music.”³¹³

Indeed, critics often praised Powell for her efforts to introduce new works by American composers, while at the same time lamenting that other violinists did not pay enough attention to contemporary American music:

“Mr. Kreisler with all the success and money he made in America has played no American violin music with the exception of his good friend Ernest Schelling's Violin Concerto that he performed several times last season. Although Mortimer Wilson, a pupil of Reger and one of the most learned American composers, wrote for him a Sonata in D that he still, after two years of publishing, did not perform publicly. Ysaÿe gave a single performance of Henry Holden Huss's Sonata in G minor few years ago and did not perform it since. Efrem Zimbalist gave a single performance of John Powell's excellent Concerto in New York, and also played Albert Spalding's *Alabama* at a Metropolitan Sunday night concert once. Albert Spalding played few of his compositions and only few of Cecil Burleigh works. Mischa Elman has played a piece or two by Rubin Goldmark this year, and the sensation of the violin world Jascha Heifetz, played only a transcription by Achron. And so it will be until someone rises up and tells those violinists that they must wake, be progressive, play new music and investigate what American composers can offer. Maud Powell is credited with always giving her time generously to American composers.”³¹⁴

Moreover, as a critic from the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* pointed out:

“It is not the gallantry of Kreisler, Ysaÿe, Marteau, or Kocián that gives Maud Powell a seat amongst them as one of the world's greatest violinists (...) Wherever violin playing is comprehended in its higher aspects, Maud Powell's name is known and her artistry reflects credit of her native land, too often despised by the musically richer lands of Europe.”³¹⁵

³¹³ Winn, 'Maud Powell as I Knew Her', *Musical Observer*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (1920): 58–59; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, 331.

³¹⁴ The article was reprinted in *The Literary Digest*, 11th May 1918.

³¹⁵ *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 20th December 1912; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.333.

Yet, although Powell was vitally important for the development of American violin repertoire and musical culture, her unique efforts in that sense are not widely appreciated. On the contrary several of her male colleagues including Dushkin and Szigeti were recognised as avid champions of new music as they frequently planned concert programmes to include new or little-known works alongside the classics, a practice Powell had begun decades before in her solo recitals and concerts. For a list of works by American composers that Powell premiered, with comments, see Appendix B.

Maud Powell's transcriptions

Powell not only gained her reputation thanks to her interpretative powers, she also wrote several transcriptions and composed her own cadenza for the Brahms violin concerto. In the mid-nineteenth century the genre of virtuoso variations on well-known tunes (opera was a primary source) was particularly in fashion, as well as transcribed short violin compositions with piano accompaniment from the Baroque or Classical period, often with such quaint designations as 'in olden style' or from 'old masters.' These short arrangements eventually became more elaborate and suited concert performance and by the twentieth century all important soloists were making transcriptions, including Burmester, Auer, Ysaÿe, Elman, Huberman, Zimbalist, Busch, Thibaud, Szigeti, Michael Press, Samuel Dushkin, Joseph Achron, Paul Kochanski, Maximilian Pilzer, Spalding and Kreisler. Willy Burmester (1869–1933) composed several classic miniatures *Burmester Stücke* (30 pieces in 5 volumes first published in Berlin in 1904) that were extremely popular, even more so than the Kreisler pieces because they were simpler to play.³¹⁶ Evidently, the most transcriptions in print today were written by male artists; in terms of quality and quantity Kreisler and Heifetz were the greatest transcribers for the violin and their published transcriptions form a major contribution to the violin repertory. At the same time Powell's transcriptions are rare examples of music written by female violinists. Furthermore, some of her transcriptions pre-date the more famous ones written by Kreisler or Heifetz.

Powell's transcriptions cover a wide range of music by European composers, ranging from Couperin to Sibelius thus allowing her to introduce composers whose works her audiences might otherwise not hear. Indeed, often she was presenting music by then-contemporary composers whom she knew personally, including Jules Massenet and Percy Grainger, along with Antonin Dvořák.

³¹⁶ Schwarz, *Great Masters of the Violin*, p.320.

In that sense, Powell's use of transcriptions provided an important foundation for the merging of 'American music' with art music. Powell knew that transcriptions are 'wrong' theoretically as only certain parts of the original piece are used, such as the basic melody and bass lines, while other modifications, for example key signature could be selectively ignored. Yet some songs, like Rimsky-Korsakov's *Song of India* and some piano pieces, like the Dvořák *Humoresque*, are so obviously effective on the violin that the transcription justifies itself. Moreover, Powell wanted to write simple pieces that are not only stylistically, but also technically different, yet 'without the old time virtuoso tricks.'³¹⁷

"If you will look at some of my recent transcripts – the Albeniz *Tango*, the Negro melody *Deep River* and Amani's fine *Oriente* – you will see what I mean. They are conceived as pictures – I have not tried to analyse too much – and while so conceiving them their free harmonic background shapes itself for me without strain or effort."³¹⁸

Thus Powell's transcriptions reflect her own artistic ideals and represent an authentic guide to her markings for bowing, fingering, and phrasing.

Powell clearly understood that for an unsophisticated American audience it would be more entertaining to listen to short and educative works and she often used her transcriptions "first as *encores*, but my audiences seemed to like them so well that I have played them on all my recent programmes."³¹⁹ She not only performed transcriptions but also recorded them, as they were tailor-made for the 78 records with their time limitations of just over four minutes. In all, Powell recorded 17 of her own transcriptions, including on 15th June 1911 a transcription of Samuel Coleridge-Taylor's *Deep River*, the first transcription of a Negro spiritual song ever recorded. Powell can be heard playing 14 of her transcriptions, as three were never released by Victor, on Naxos's Historical Series, *Great Violinists*, Vols. 1–4. After more than 80 years Rachel Barton Pine, an American violinist, has been the first to revive, perform and record Powell's music that has been dormant since her death in 1920. A list of Powell's transcriptions is given in Appendix C.

A number of Powell's transcriptions were never published or were lost, including her transcription of Claude Debussy's *Golliwogg's Cake-Walk* from his *Children's Corner Suite* (1908). She performed it on 4th March 1910, in Aberdeen, Washington and dedicated it to her husband Sunny. She went on to record it for the Victor Company on 25th May 1910 with pianist George Falkenstein, but for some

³¹⁷ Martens, *Violin Mastery*, p.30 and p.117.

³¹⁸ Martens, *Violin Mastery*, pp.30–1.

³¹⁹ Martens, *Violin Mastery*, p.117.

reason the recording was never released and the transcription never published. Another lost transcription was Arthur Farwell's *American Indian Melodies* for piano, Op.11 (1900). Powell adapted these three Omaha Indian melodies, *Approach of the Thunder God*, *Song of the Spirit* and *Ichibuzzhi* for violin and piano and performed them in a recital in Detroit, Michigan, in December 1904 and in a New York recital on 11th January 1906, but the manuscript was neither found nor was it ever published.³²⁰ The search for Maud Powell's music is complicated despite the fact that in 1923 her husband, Sunny, sent Powell's music library to the Detroit Public Library in 15 cartons with an accompanying catalogue of 989 entries and most of her published transcriptions are in the Library of Congress Music Division.³²¹ Shaffer says that it took her nine years to prepare a collection of Powell's music, as it was partly lost and those items that remain were 'over marked' (fingerings and bowings having been compromised by the notations of other readers). Although this could be more of a conservation issue, taking all facts into account it appears that a lack of care for Powell's collection can be partly due to a societal system with patriarchal regulations that valued female artists and their compositional efforts less. Yet the music libraries of Powell's more famous male counterparts, such as Kreisler and Ysaÿe, were well preserved. Although Ferdinand David's collection suffered a similar neglect to that of Powell, I would argue that his collection was in private hands (and therefore possibly being in danger of dissemination). On the other hand Powell's collection was sent directly to the Library of Congress with an accompanying catalogue (thus well presented and organised) in order not to be misplaced or lost.³²² Shaffer's project could not therefore have been finally completed without extraordinarily resourceful research support, including that of many librarians, scholars and musicians such as the concert violinist and Maud Powell Society Advisory Member Barton Pine, who accurately transcribed the manuscripts into music-writing software and provided edited versions to make them readily playable. She went on to record a CD *American Virtuosa, Tribute to Maud Powell* (Cedille Records CDR 90000 097). Likewise, in recent years another female concert violinist Amy Beth Horman has paid tribute to Powell and Kreisler together in numerous recitals of their transcriptions.

³²⁰ Shaffer and Pine, *Maud Powell Favorites*, p.16.

³²¹ Some of the music was in manuscript; some pieces bear a dedication from the composer; most are stamped with Powell's signature. The music was not placed in a separate closed collection but was circulated with the general music collection. It included: 116 violin sonatas, 79 violin solos, 116 violin concertos, 74 chamber music, 10 duets, 11 trios, 25 quartets, 9 quintets, 2 septets, 23 studies and exercises, 16 violin solos with orchestra, 29 piano and violin, and 479 violin with piano accompaniment. Shaffer and Pine, *Maud Powell Favorites*, pp.16–17.

³²² See about the Uppingham Collection Ferdinand David manuscripts/CHASE website.

She has commented:

“Most transcriptions in print today are by male musicians. Here we have a marvellous opportunity to experience the artistic genius of a woman’s thoughts and emotions first hand. Her virtuosic playing and her truly inspirational writings are gift to us.”³²³

Indeed, this gift was almost lost, and it is only thanks to dedication of a few women that it has been restored and is possible to hear again.

Maud Powell’s cadenza for the Brahms Violin Concerto Op. 77 in D major

In surveying the nineteenth-century violin concerto, it is possible to find two types – those written by virtuosos primarily for their own use (Spohr, Paganini, Wieniawski, Vieuxtemps, Ernst), and those dedicated by a composer to a performer (Beethoven wrote his violin concerto for Franz Clement, Mendelssohn for David Ferdinand, Lalo his *Symphonie Espagnole* for Sarasate, Elgar for Kreisler, Tchaikovsky for Auer, Pfitzner for Alma Moodie, Coleridge-Taylor for Maud Powell, etc.). The Brahms Violin Concerto in D Major Op. 77 was sketched during the summer of 1878 in Austria (at almost the same spot where Alban Berg would write his own violin concerto almost 60 years later) and dedicated to Joseph Joachim. By the time it was premiered at the Leipzig Gewandhaus Leipzig on 1st January 1879, with Brahms conducting and Joachim playing, the violin part had undergone considerable changes. Critics initially called it a concerto against the violin, although Joachim’s technical suggestions had made it ‘playable.’³²⁴ Brahms declined to write a cadenza for the first movement, leaving this task to Joachim instead, and there are no recorded comments of his disapproval. On the contrary, in his letter to Elizabet von Herzogenberg, Brahms wrote of an early performance that, “the Cadenza sounded so beautiful at the actual concert that the public applauded it into the start of the Coda.”³²⁵ Eight years after Brahms’s death Joachim lent his name to a reprint of the solo violin part of the concerto. It differs from the first (1879) edition in the inclusion of his cadenza and written introductory essay in which he points out that the first movement of the Brahms concerto is a “subconscious echo” of Viotti’s Concerto No.22 in A minor, which was Brahms’s favourite violin concerto. Joachim’s cadenza remains one of the

³²³ From Amy Beth Horman to Karen Shaffer, 27th August 2005, MPS Archive; cited in Shaffer and Pine, *Maud Powell Favorites*, p.16.

³²⁴ Joachim had jokingly advised Brahms that the concerto’s technical difficulties made it ‘unplayable’, but he recognised its musical worth. Chapin, Victor, *The Violin and Its Masters* (New York: Lippincott, 1969), p.159.

³²⁵ Phillip, Robert, *Performing Music in the Age of Recording* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), p.11.

most popular, although alternatives have since been composed by many other violinists.³²⁶

The concerto was clearly ahead of its time and needed a great technician, interpreter and musician to be able to reveal its supreme beauty. Despite a decidedly mixed initial reception, the concerto became one of the most popular and beloved works in the violin repertoire. By the time it appeared in print none of the famous male violinists seemed eager to enter into competition with Joachim's concept. Printed copies were sent to Émile Sauret and Pablo de Sarasate, but their interest disappeared once they saw the score and found it too demanding, or, as Sarasate commented, too symphonic.³²⁷ In the 1880s a few violinists of lesser fame gave memorable performances, such as Adolph Brodsky, who performed it in Leipzig, Mannheim and Hamburg, and Hugo Heerman, who introduced it to Australia. Ysaÿe played it for the first time at the age of nearly 45 and complained that he could not make his violin 'sing'.³²⁸ He worked on the concerto for two more years before he performed it with assurance and had a great success in Berlin in 1905, playing with the Berlin Philharmonic under Artur Nikisch.³²⁹

Although skeptics doubted the ability of female players to perform such a monumental work, the concerto was primarily championed not by great male performers but by female pupils of Joachim such as Marie Soldat-Röger, Maud Powell, Gabrielle Wietrowitz and Leonora Jackson who were much more open minded than Sarasate who complained that the concerto did not exemplify a performer-centric approach. Marie Soldat-Röger was introduced to Brahms during the summer of 1879 and soon became a member of his inner circle and regular chamber music partner. She studied the concerto under the guidance of both Joachim and Brahms and on 8th March 1885 became the first woman violinist to publicly perform the concerto with the Vienna Philharmonic under Hans Richter at the Society of Friends of Music in Vienna. According to Max Kalbeck, Brahms exclaimed after hearing her play, "Isn't little Soldat a *brave fellow*? Isn't she equal

³²⁶ Carl Halif, Tor Aulin, Vasili Bezekirsky, Wladyslaw Gorski, Leopold Auer, Ferruccio Busoni, Paul Klengel, Edmund Singer, Hugo Heermann, Leopold Auer, Tor Aulin, Eugène Ysaÿe, Franz Ondříček, Franz Kneisel, Henri Marteau, Fritz Kreisler, Donald Francis Tovey, Jan Kubelik, Adolf Busch, Jascha Heifetz, Nathan Milstein and Ruggiero Ricci, and recently by Nigel Kennedy and Rachel Barton Pine wrote their own Cadenza's for the Brahms violin concerto.

³²⁷ Sarasate famously stated to violinist Andreas Moser (1889–1967), "Leave me alone with your symphonic concertos like the Brahms. I won't deny that it is pretty good music, but do you really think I'll be so insipid as to stand there on the stage, violin in hand, to listen while the oboe plays the only melody in the Adagio?!" De Courcy, G. I. C., *Paganini The Genoese* (Norman, Okla: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957); cited in Schwarz, *Great Masters of the Violin*, p.237.

³²⁸ Ginsburg, Lev, *Ysaÿe* (H. R. Axelrod, ed.) (New York: Paganiana Publications, Inc., 1980), p.294.

³²⁹ Ysaÿe, Antoine and Ratcliffe, Bertram, *Ysaÿe: His Life, Work and Influence* (London: Heinemann, 1947), pp.237-38.

to ten men? Who could do it better?”³³⁰ This remarkable violinist had daringly chosen the Brahms concerto for her London debut in 1888 although the music was still hardly accepted by critics.³³¹ She later introduced the concerto to many cities (Leipzig, Dusseldorf, Mannheim, Pforzheim, Görlitz, and Münster, London) and it became her signature piece. Between 1888 and 1905, the Brahms concerto was performed only seven times by six performers, Joachim, Marie Soldat-Röger, Gabrielle Wietrowitz and Leonora Jackson who was heavily criticised by the New York critic W. J. Henderson for her choosing to perform the Brahms concerto for her New York debut as even great virtuosos did not feel comfortable to perform it.³³² The fact that Soldat, Wietrowetz, Jackson and Powell were among the first performers of this ‘unplayable’ concerto remained in obscurity, and unsurprisingly by the late 1930s, the cellist Felix Salmond assured Dorothy De Lay and her Julliard classmates that the concerto’s reach exceeded the female grasp.³³³

Powell studied the concerto under Joachim’s careful guidance and was only 24 when she composed her own cadenza for the first movement of the Brahms concerto during the summer of 1891, in Ellenville, New York. Historically it was the third after Joachim’s and Edmund Singer’s (published in 1889), and the first written by a female player.³³⁴ The fact that Powell wrote her own cadenza at such an early age demonstrates her independence from her teacher’s influence. Moreover, it defies then generally accepted idea that female musicians were not capable of grasping this fine piece of music. After her first American performances on 21st and 22nd February 1908, with the Chicago Orchestra under Frederick Stock, the Chicago critic W. L. Hubbard stated:

“Powell is a doer of big things, and nothing that she has done has surpassed in magnificent authority, solidity, artistry and supreme beauty the reading she gave to this most exacting and most difficult of violin concertos. It was an achievement even greater than was her

³³⁰ Kalbeck, Max, *Johannes Brahms* (Berlin: Brahms German Society, 1910), vol.5, p.159; “Brahms was highly delighted, and presented the young artist with a fan and a special de luxe edition of the concerto.” Henderson, Barbara, ‘Marie Soldat-Roeger’, *The Strad*, February 1910, p.364.

³³¹ See Ginsburg, Lev, *Ysaye*, pp.294-95. “The programme was completed by the Brahms Violin Concerto, introduced for performance by Miss Marie Soldat, a *clever* young artist, who has been a pupil of Herr Joachim. Miss Soldat played the work in a brilliant fashion. Her method and style are those of her master who must have found it an easy task to direct studies of a young lady so highly gifted with musical feeling and *intelligence*.” Review of Soldat-Roeger’s London debut on 1st March 1888 from the *Musical Times*, 1st April 1888, p.218; cited in Milsom, ‘Marie Soldat-Roeger (1863–1955)’, p.5.

³³² Ammer Christine, *Unsung, A History of Women in American Music* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980), pp.36-7.

³³³ Schoenbaum, David, *The Violin: A Social History of the World’s Most Versatile Instrument* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company Ltd., 2013), p.453.

³³⁴ Joachim’s Cadenza written in December 1878 was published separately in 1902. See Schwarz, *Great Masters of the Violin*, p.513.

presentment of the Sibelius Concerto last season, and that was a masterpiece.³³⁵

Figure 15 below shows the first page of the manuscript of Powell's cadenza:



Figure 15. Powell's Cadenza for the first movement of Johannes Brahms' Violin Concerto in D Major, Op. 77

³³⁵ 'News of the Theatres', *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 22nd February 1908; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell Favorites*, Vol. 1, p. 83.

In a 1995 performance of the Brahms concerto, the American violinist Rhonda B. Frascotti played Powell's cadenza for the first time since her death in 1920.³³⁶ She rightly commented on Powell's cadenza:

"It is a well-crafted gem. Considering her formidable technique, it is not surprising that the cadenza presents considerable technical demands, including fingered octaves, chromatic glissandi, trills, and all manner of double stops. The cadenza is not however, merely a hollow virtuoso display. The musical content is convincing, with thematic material from the concerto properly presented in an improvisational style. As in her many arrangements for violin and piano, Powell never abandoned lyricism or classical proportion."³³⁷

I wondered why Powell's cadenza, historically the only one written by a female violinist at that time, took so long to be performed again, especially knowing that in June 1987, at the First American Violin Congress held at the University of Maryland, leading American artists including Sir Yehudi Menuhin and Ruggiero Ricci gave talks about the evolution of violin playing in America and Karen Shaffer, Powell's biographer and the president of the Maud Powell Society was also present. The fact that four years later Ruggiero Ricci released a recording of the Brahms concerto coupled with performances of 16 different cadenzas written only by male violinists: Ferruccio Busoni (duration 1'46"), Joseph Joachim (2'50"), Edmund Singer (2'40"), Hugo Heermann (1'38"), Leopold Auer (3'07"), Eugène Ysaÿe (3'02"), Franz Ondříček (2'41"), Franz Kneisel (2'12"), Henri Marteau (2'10"), Fritz Kreisler (2'42"), Donald Francis Tovey (2'44"), Jan Kubelik (2'20"), Adolf Busch (1'48"), Jascha Heifetz (2'46"), Nathan Milstein (2'15") and Ruggiero Ricci (1'50") was even more intriguing. I contacted Shaffer with the hope of finding an answer. She said that at that time she was focusing much more on Maud Powell's life story, her goal being simply to gain more recognition for her. Violin virtuosos from the 'older' generation who were aware of her achievements were Menuhin and Heifetz, and Shaffer had been in touch with them for research purposes, but not, as it turns out, Ricci. As Shaffer was not sure of the quality of the cadenza, having never heard it, she did not show it to Ricci at that time. Although Powell's cadenza was published soon after the congress in *Violexchange* magazine, Shaffer believes Ricci probably never saw it. Thus this great opportunity to introduce the musical world to the only cadenza for the Brahms written at that time by a female violinist was missed.

³³⁶ College of Marin Symphony Orchestra (Kentfield, CA), Norman Masonson, conductor, 6th May 1995; cited in Shaffer and Pine, *Maud Powell Favorites*, pp.83-4.

³³⁷ Frascotti, Rhonda B., "Reflections on Performing a Cadenza by Maud Powell," unpublished article, 1995, MPS Archive; cited in Shaffer and Pine, *Maud Powell Favorites*, p.84.

Interestingly not only did Brahms's Violin Concerto benefit from the help of female violinists, but so did Powell's cadenza as Rhonda Frascotti and Rachel Barton Pine were the first violinists to play it after almost a century, and Pine recorded it on 7th February 2002 with the Chicago Symphony Orchestra under Carlos Kalmar.

However, Powell's cadenza is still rarely performed, not because it is inferior to other cadenzas written by male violinists, but probably because it is completely unknown to wider audiences. In a 2012 survey on the violin blog www.violinst.com, out of 174 musicians 44% voted Joachim's cadenza as their favourite, Kreisler's was in second place with 29%, 9% voted for Auer's and 7% for Burton Pine's. Powell's cadenza was neither listed nor mentioned. While many other cadenzas are largely unknown, I believe Powell's Cadenza deserves to be historically recognised due to the fact that it was until recently unique in the canon.

Maud Powell's place in the history of the early recording industry

"I am never as frightened as I am when I stand in front of that horn to play, Maud Powell once explained. There is a ghastly feeling that you are playing for all the world and an awful sense that what is done *is* done."³³⁸

Although invented in the 1870s and first brought to market prior to 1890s, recording technologies had little impact on the mass distribution of music as in the late 1800s the music business was built around the sales of printed sheet music that was generally played at home.³³⁹ However, in 1901 the adoption of metal stamper processes improved 'one-off' cylinder recording production and the stage was set for the widespread consumption of recorded music. Perhaps as a result of Powell's idea that the phonograph could aid her musical missionary labours, in November 1904 she stood in front of the large recording horn for the first time. Powell believed that:

"A good phonographic instrument is about as necessary in a home as a furnace or a bath tub. Think what it means especially for the children, to hear the world's best compositions recorded by the world's greatest artists over and over until they are thoroughly familiar. (...) I believe as much in emotional training as in moral training, and music is the

³³⁸ 'An Original Interview with Maud Powell,' Ernest John (ed.) *The Music Lover*, Vol.1, no.4, August 1915.

³³⁹ See Arthur W. J. G., Ord-Hume, 'Recorded Sound: History of recording: Early Recording and Notation Devices', *Grove Music Online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com; accessed on 8th October 2012. See also Day, Timothy, *A Century of Recorded Music: Listening to Musical History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000).

best emotional instructor.”³⁴⁰

Indeed, the growing market confirmed Powell’s view of the importance of recorded music as a shared cultural experience.³⁴¹

Powell was the first instrumentalist to record for the Victor Talking Machine Company’s prestigious Red Seal label, the celebrity artist series that included names such as Caruso, Melba, Kreisler, and Paderewski.³⁴² In her first recording sessions on 4th and 8th November 1904 she recorded the *Finale* of Mendelssohn’s E minor Violin Concerto (with piano accompaniment) as well as Vieuxtemps’ *St. Patrick’s Day* and *Polonaise*, Sarasate’s *Zigeunerweisen* and Wieniawski’s *Faust Fantasie*. Throughout the period in which Maud Powell was actively making records (1904–1920), recording technology was in its infancy, yet her recorded legacy is extensive in repertoire and comprises of more than one hundred acoustic recordings, most of which were made in New York City and Camden, New Jersey, with the pianists Arthur Loesser and Waldemar Liachowsky. Sadly we are left with no evidence in an aural medium of her renditions of the masterworks in her repertoire (although she did manage to record *Finale* from the Mendelssohn violin concerto in E minor (severely edited), the *Romance* from Wieniawski violin concerto in D minor, Op.22, and the de Bériot Violin Concerto No. 7 in G major).³⁴³

Many of her recordings won first prizes at the Buffalo, St. Louis and Portland Expositions, and her 1907 recording of Drdla’s *Souvenir* became the best seller of all violin recordings both in Europe and America.³⁴⁴ Moreover, on 8th January 1917 Powell played a historical ‘Record Recital’ in New York’s Carnegie Hall. The concert programme consisted of seventeen short pieces that record buyers across the country had voted as their favourites.³⁴⁵ Amongst them were Bach’s *Bourée*, Bériot Violin Concerto No. 7 in G major, *Finale* from the Mendelssohn violin concerto and her transcriptions of works by Coleridge-Taylor, Massenet, Chopin, as well as Grainger’s arrangement of “*Molly on the Shore*,” and Hermann’s

³⁴⁰ Undated, untitled article, source probably *Musical America*, c1916, NGGC; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, pp.323–24.

³⁴¹ Between 1913 and 1916, the number of companies selling recorded music went from three to seventy-three. By the 1919 there were 166 record companies in the United States. Tschmuck, Peter, *Creativity and Innovation in the Music Industry* (Dodrecht: Springer, 2006), p.2; cited in Hudson, H. Dean, “Disruptive Distributions in the Music Business, Part 1: An Historical Perspective,” *The Four Peaks Review* 1.1 (2011), p.40.

³⁴² Day, *A Century of Recorded Music*, pp.9–10.

³⁴³ *Maud Powell - Complete Recordings Vol.1, 1904-1917*; Naxos 8.110961.

³⁴⁴ Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.217.

³⁴⁵ Amongst the pieces played were her transcriptions of works by Martini, Coleridge-Taylor, Massenet and Chopin, as well as Grainger’s arrangement of *Molly on the Shore*, and her adaptation of Friedrich Hermann’s transcription of Sibelius’s *Valse Triste*.

transcription of Sibelius's *Valse Triste*. This recital was a striking example of the influence of recordings on the public, as some of the compositions would hardly have been known, much less liked by the general public.³⁴⁶ However, it is noteworthy that this unique recital in the history of performance is rarely acknowledged, a fact that speaks for itself.



Figure 16. Maud Powell signing records 1910s³⁴⁷

Today it is a common assumption that her performing style is typical of what has since been seen as a transitional period in violin playing, and of a generation very much caught in the process of stylistic change. Having studied with Henry Schrädieck in Leipzig from 1881-82, Charles Dancla in Paris from 1882-83, and Joseph Joachim in Berlin from 1884-85 Powell's playing style represents a mixture of two principal traditions of violin playing of the nineteenth century, the 'German' (comparatively 'classical' in orientation) and the 'Franco-Belgian' (with emphasis on virtuosity, greater use of vibrato, and tonal beautification). However, the importance of her attempt to assimilate the newer stylistic value-system in her playing seems to be partly underestimated, whilst Ysaÿe's and Sarasate's artistry continue to be representative of the overarching philosophy of performance in this period.

In the context of this study, Joachim's recording of Bach's B minor Bourée from 1903, Powell's performance of the same work from 1913 and her edition and 1917 recording of four *Plantation Melodies* could be seen as a form of contributory data to the acquisition of the gestation of more intrinsically twentieth-century performing values in her playing. Benjamin Ivry, a critic from *Strings Magazine* from March 2002 concluded that Powell's rendition of Bach's B minor *Bourée* is

³⁴⁶ Unidentified New York daily newspaper, n.d., ALP, IPA; cited in Shaffer and Pine, *Maud Powell Favorites*, p.13.

³⁴⁷ Photo by Bain News Service, New York; see Shaffer and Pine, *Maud Powell Favorites*, p.33.

‘as fiercely played as Jozsef Szigeti’s, in contrast to David Milsom’s comment that her performance owes a heavy debt, both in its inclusion and its manner of execution to her training with Joachim and is closely matching Joachim’s own 1903 recording.’³⁴⁸ At the same time, Ruth Elizabeth Rodrigues, in her doctoral thesis *Selected Students of Leopold Auer – A Study in Violin Performance-Practice* analyses Powell’s recordings from 1909 to 1913 and points out that her approach to phrasing and articulation in her rendition of Bach’s B minor *Bourée* differs to that of Joachim.³⁴⁹ She argues that Powell’s multiple-stops in the *Bourée* are more ‘snatched’ and pronounced than Joachim’s especially in bars 21-27, where the down-bow multiple stops are even more pronounced than ones found at the beginning of the piece.³⁵⁰ Interestingly, Auer seems to suggest that the performer should play chords with a ‘snatched’ quality, and then quickly move on to the melody or hold the note. Similarly, Dorottya Fabian and Eitan Ornoy point out Heifetz’s use of quick-cut, firce chord execution.³⁵¹ It is worth mentioning that Powell was always experimenting with new strings, seeking brightness and clarity of tone (as well as durability) and was one of the first players to adopt metal strings. She used a silver G-string, as early as 1904, and by 1907 Powell resorted to the steel E string (despite on-going debates over the differences in tone quality achieved with silver, copper, or aluminum-wound gut strings versus plain gut strings) commenting that ‘they has been a God-send to violinists who play in public.’³⁵² I believe that perhaps Powell’s and Heifetz’s use of metal E and G strings allowed them to play chords in that manner, as gut strings could break more easily due to the tension caused by bow pressure. Similarly, the metal E string facilitated the production of a bright, clear and well projected sound, especially in the upper registers.³⁵³ Interestingly, the violinist and critic Henry Roth commented in his book *Violin Virtuosos from Paganini to the 21st Century* that ‘it was during Ysaÿe’s era that the old gut strings, which so often broke during a concert were replaced by the far more brilliant wire E-strings and Ysaÿe made maximum use of

³⁴⁸ http://www.naxos.com/person/Maud_Powell_1668/1668.htm; Milsom, David (*A-Z of String Players*, Naxos 8.558081-84); accessed 27th July 2015.

³⁴⁹ See Rodrigues, Ruth Elizabeth, *Selected Students of Leopold Auer – A Study in Violin Performance Practice* (PhD, University of Birmingham, 2009), pp.187-192.

³⁵⁰ See Discography: Joachim, J. (1831-1907): *Complete Recordings*, rec. 1903, OPALCD 9851, and Powell, Maud (1890-1920): Bach, *Partita No.1 in B minor, BWV 1002: Tempo di Borea*, rec. 1913, Naxos CD8. 110961.

³⁵¹ Fabian, Dorottya and Ornoy, Eitan, “Identity in Violin Playing on Records: Interpretation Profiles in Recordings of Solo Bach by Early Twentieth-Century Violinists,” *Performance Practice Review*, (2009), Vol. 14: No.1, Article 3, p.37; <http://scholarship.claremont.edu/ppr>; accessed 3rd July 2015.

³⁵² Martens, *Violin Mastery*, pp.194-5; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.213.

³⁵³ Joachim and Auer played on the old gut strings whilst Heifetz used, as Powell did, two metal strings- the Goldbrokat Medium E and Sterling silver wound G. <http://www.violin-strings.com/famous-violinist-string-brands.php>; accessed 3rd July 2015.

it.³⁵⁴ Although Roth equated Ysay's use of modern wound strings with stylistic 'improvement,' Milsom pointed out that such a view varies in the mind of critics.³⁵⁵ Suffice to say that Powell's use of metal strings was not mentioned by Roth although she, similarly to Ysaye, Kreisler, and Heifetz (who are considered symbols of 'progressiveness') was one of the first players to use them.³⁵⁶ See Figure 17:



Figure 17. Bach, *Bourée* from Solo Partita in B minor, BWV 1002, bars 19-39.

Whilst one might expect that Powell would play a few bars of even quavers (bar 44ff.) with less stress and perhaps more legato texture, instead she uses spiccato. In the quaver passage (bar 58ff.) she plays a heavy staccato with slight accents, far from the lightness of approach heard in Joachim's recording. See Figure 18 below:

³⁵⁴ Roth, Henry, *Violin Virtuosos: From Paganini to the 21st Century* (Los Angeles: California Classics, 1997), p.20.

³⁵⁵ Roth 'provided one of many possible examples, which assume the stylistic progressiveness of the 'Franco-Belgian' school.' Milsom, *Theory and Practice*, p.17.

³⁵⁶ Roth, Henry, *Violin Virtuosos from Paganini to the 21st Century* (California: Classic's Books, 1997), p.20.



Figure 18. Bach, *Bourée* from Solo Partita in B minor, BWV 1002, bars 40-69.

Hence, one might view the issue of Powell's attitude to the performing text as different to Spohr's 'fine' style of playing, as certainly Spohr would have preferred performing it in the upper half of the bow and on the string.³⁵⁷ Spohr was adamant that, 'only in certain passages, in certain Scherzos of Beethoven, Onslow and Mendelssohn one could let the bow spring' and 'to his horror he noticed that certain violinists played the *détachés* in a *springing* manner, and they did this even in the earliest masters, who more than all others, wished to have a free, well nourished tone.'³⁵⁸ Indeed, it might be the case with this notation that Powell's style suggests a more modern conception. Likewise, this recording also indicates that Powell did not have the 'German' school bow-hold with a low right arm (and therefore high wrist at the heel) as it was less suitable for off-the-string bowings (given the rather stiff wrist and finger position), but rather the more flexible 'Franco-Belgian' bow-hold from her previous study with Dancla.³⁵⁹ Finally, another interesting feature of Powell's approach to phrasing and articulation is her method of playing accents, which differs from Joachim's. Whilst Milsom

³⁵⁷ Louis Spohr (1784-1859) established a 'new school of violin playing' at Cassel. He was a great influence upon the 'German' school and perhaps more relevantly later figures such as Joachim (1831-1907) and Andreas Moser (1859-1925). Spohr's advice given to violinists was to emulate vocal style (which suggests the 'classicism' that was to characterise supposedly conservative players such as Joachim) as well as the emphasis towards refinement. See Milsom, *Theory and Practice*, p.18.

³⁵⁸ Malibran, M., *Spohr*, pp.207-08, in Stowell, Robin (ed.), *Performing Beethoven* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.144; cited in Milsom, *Theory and Practice*, p.198.

³⁵⁹ Milsom, *Theory and Practice*, p.38. Joachim's bowing certainly differ from that of the French School as both Joachim's bowing and general style were closer to those used by Spohr, which Joachim knew well through David.

commented that ‘two types of accent can be perceived in his performance of the *Bourée* (in bars 49, 50 and 51, the first quaver of each bar receives a form of agogic accent, accentuated by the slight delay before the second quaver in each respective bar)’, Powell’s accents are hardly stressed at all; instead they are rather similar to tenuto markings.

Rodrigues also observes that Powell’s performance of Saint-Saëns’ *Le Cygne* is ‘classical’ in nature up until bar 14 (as it relates to the many references to vocal analogies) and Powell makes a moderate separation between phrases when the music indicates a phrase break by means of rests. Yet, in bar 17, instead of observing the rests she sustains a slurred d and f sharp (bar 22), thus linking the notes to the first beat of the next bar. Indeed, Powell’s asymmetrical phrasing here slightly altered the vocal related phrasing in the score. Despite this diversion Powell’s phrasing is generally ruled by the beat hierarchy and, in Powell’s words, by ‘listening to the whole harmonic structure of compositions.’³⁶⁰ See Figure 19:



Figure 19. *The Swan* from *The Carnival of the Animals* (1911), bars 15-30.³⁶¹

³⁶⁰ Powell, ‘Two Types of Violin Playing’; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.376.

³⁶¹ Bériot’s phrase separation markings- double line indicates a large separation, one line, a moderate separation and dotted line, a light separation. Bériot, *Methode de violon/ Violin-school*, Op. 102

Fingering issues have often been sidelined in discussions of stylistic change, although Milsom (similarly to Clive Brown) discusses these in the context of the connection between vocal and violin portamento.³⁶² Violin fingers and portamenti contribute to the nuances of a performer's sound and are an indispensable element of technique required for portraying the character of the music and of sound 'colouring' that is particularly evident in folk music. Interesting in this respect are Powell's arrangements of Negro spirituals. We are fortunate that both Powell's edition and 1917 recording of her own arrangement of four *Plantation Melodies* are available today. Hence, through analysis of fingerings, treatment of portamento, and the use of open strings and harmonics we can partially chronicle her stylistic transition and help to arrive at a better understanding of her and Joachim's subtle differences.³⁶³

Milsom pointed out that Joachim used portamento less frequently in his recordings than one would expect (based on the fingerings he specified in his editions). Yet, Powell utilised both B and L portamento fingering almost perpetually in the first of the four melodies, *My Kentucky Home* from *Plantation Melodies*, as an expressive devices.³⁶⁴ Whilst most portamenti are incorporated within slurs as expected, what seems to be rather uncharacteristic is Powell's use of non-text specific portamenti across syllables, for example the ascending slide between bar 2 and bar 3.³⁶⁵ Dismissing Joachim's prescription that the expressive slide should, "occur between two notes in the same bow stroke", Powell used a portamento between two notes unconnected by a slur. This exception to the use of portamento fingering could perhaps be Powell's attempt to lay emphasis on the significance of the word 'old.' See Figure 20 below:

(Paris, 1858; English translation Westbrook & Phipson, London, 1876); cited in Milsom, *Theory and Practice*, p.59.

³⁶² See Milsom, *Theory and Practice*, pp.75-107.

³⁶³ Henry T. Burleigh's *Plantation Melodies* for violin and piano were published in 1901.

³⁶⁴ Accordingly to Flesch the execution of portamento between two differently fingered notes could start with beginning finger (B portamento) or with leaving finger (L portamento), often customary in the 'Franco-Belgian' school. Flesch, Carl, *The Art of Violin Playing* (English text, F. Martens, New York, 1924-30), Book 1, p.30; cited in Milsom, *Theory and Practice*, p.92 and pp.96-7.

³⁶⁵ Auer, similarly to Joachim, both suggest a repudiation of the misapplication of the advice, that involves consecutive ascending and descending portamenti, use within fast note values, and melodic ornamentation and across bar lines, and therefore from upbeats to downbeats. See Milsom, *Theory and Practice*, p.81.

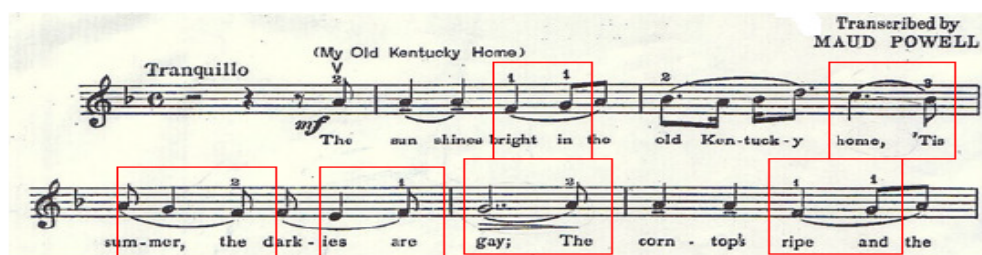


Figure 20. *My old Kentucky Home*, from *Plantation Melodies* bars 1-5; an example of Powell's portamenti incorporated within slurs and her non-text specific slide suggestion between bars 2 and 3.

Similarly, another example of her uncharacteristic use of theoretically unjustified portamento occurs between two phrases, in the descending slide across the bar line in *Old Black Joe* between bars 1 and 2 and the fourth beat in bar 11. More interestingly this is also evident in bar 23, where it seems to be a significant expressive device and to play an important role in her artistic phrasing in this song. In that sense, her portamento placement overriding the vocal connection deviates from Joachim's ideals, thus suggesting that her 'artistic licence' is perhaps influenced by the later 'Franco-Belgian' school approach to portamento with an increased stress upon artificial beautification.³⁶⁶ See Figures 21, 22 and 23:

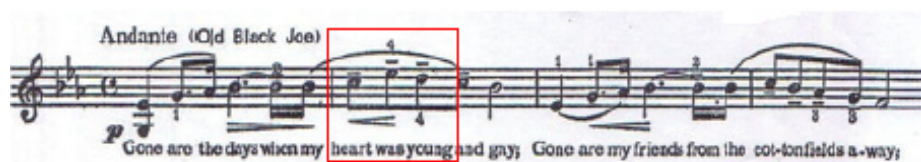


Figure 21. *Old Black Joe*, from *Plantation Melodies*, bar 1 and 2.



Figure 22. *Old Black Joe*, from *Plantation Melodies*, bar 11.



Figure 23. *Old Black Joe*, from *Plantation Melodies*, bar 23-5.

³⁶⁶ Flesch also advised that this an audible 'crushed note' approach, "offends basic musical integrity and, therefore should be rejected." See Flesch, *The Art of Violin Playing*, Vol.1, p.18.

Open strings and natural harmonics can be used for musical purposes and not just for the sake of technical facility although most of the major nineteenth-century violin treatises cautioned against their use because open strings and harmonics could affect uniformity of tone-colour within phrase due to their inferior expressive tonal power compared to stopped notes.³⁶⁷ There are several instances in both *My Old Kentucky* and *Kingdom Comin'* where Powell employs natural harmonics to perhaps lessen the emphasis on the word on which the harmonic falls. An alternative fingering to the harmonic would be to play the 'a' on the E string which would create unnecessary stress on the word 'the.' However, in Powell's recording she does not execute harmonics and instead she slides between the preceding 'f' and 'g' and plays the 'a' with the forth finger thus achieving a 'mute' effect similar to the natural harmonic. See Figure 24:



Figure 24. *My Old Kentucky Home*, from *Plantation Melodies*, bars 9-10.

Furthermore, Powell uses natural harmonics differently in *Kingdom Comin'* as they are both on anacrusis and also on 'strong' words at the start of phrases. The fingerings indicate that harmonics should be played with an upward portamento slide that are paired with crescendos, an artistic decision that would perhaps be avoided by Joachim, yet considering the genre of the work the aural effect is justified. See Figure 25:

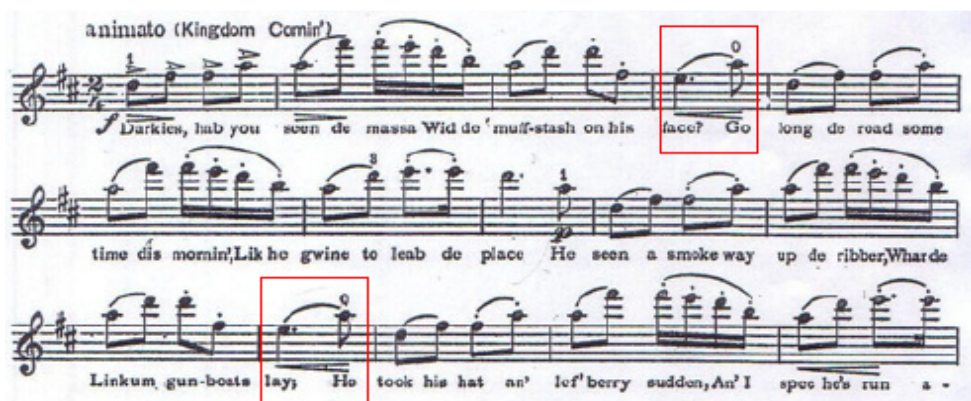


Figure 25. *Kingdom Comin'* from *Plantation Melodies*, bars 1-15. Portamento with natural harmonics paired with crescendos.

³⁶⁷ The use of open strings and natural harmonics was diminishing from the early eighteenth century, as violinists began to cultivate uniformity of tone-colour within phrases. See Stowell, R., 'Technique and performing practice' in Stowell, R. (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Violin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p.192.

To conclude, this limited examination shows that the interpretive models shaped early on in Powell's artistic development are far from being set in stone. Although connections with the German school of playing can be partly heard in Powell's recordings, at the same time her renditions deviate from the 'classical' tradition of playing Joachim represented. The examples above demonstrate that Powell's choice of certain fingerings and expressive devices like portamenti deviates to some extent from her teacher's ideals and conversely, the aural effect is perhaps unexpectedly divergent from what one might imagine Joachim would have done. Likewise, the identified differences should lead one to question the extent of Joachim's strong influence on her artistry, as over the years she gradually adapted her technique to suit changing aesthetics, thus demonstrating more independent taste contrary to Marie Soldat-Roegeer whose reviews strongly suggest that she succeeded in embodying Joachim's playing style to a remarkable extent:

"the audience was not quite prepared for a player who may aptly be termed 'a female Joachim' that is to say, for a pupil of the great violinist who had contrived to acquire every leading characteristic of his style, perhaps even to the articular timbre of his tone."³⁶⁸

Mark Katz, in *Capturing Sound*, argues that early recording violinists were 'encouraged' to add something to their performances to compensate for the missing visual dimension.³⁶⁹ By using more vibrato the recording artists increased the effective loudness of a note without overplaying and without coming into contact with the horn. Moreover, vibrato made tone stand out more clearly above the surface noise of a recording. Having said that, violinists also saw another important function for vibrato, the individuation of tone. Indeed, Menuhin's words seem to confirm Powell's unique, expressive tone quality:

"I was a boy of ten years, when I first time heard the golden tones of (Maud's) violin on a 1916 recording (...) and all that remained with me all these years has been the exquisite beauty of that sound, heard once but engraved forever on the 'tabula rasa' of my mind."³⁷⁰

Similarly, Milsom confirms that, 'whilst, Powell's playing embodies a prevalent (but always beautifully executed) use of portamento, she uses much more vibrato

³⁶⁸ Klein, Hermann, *Musical Notes, 1889. An Annual Critical Report of Important Events* (London, 1899), p.26; in Musgrave, Michael, 'Marie Soldat 1863-1955: An English Perspective,' p.324; cited in Milsom, 'Marie Soldat-Roegeer (1863-1955)', p.6.

³⁶⁹ See Katz, Mark, *Capturing Sound: how technology has changed music* (Berkley: University of California Press, Ltd., 2010), pp.102-7.

³⁷⁰ Paul Keatley Stolz to Neva Garner Greenwood, 6th January 1981; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.221.

than Joachim, albeit discreet, relatively slow and narrow.’³⁷¹ By fortunate coincidence, Powell, in 1907, and two pupils of Auer, Isolde Menges (1893-1976) and Cecilia Hansen (1897-1989) in 1925 recorded Hubay’s *Hejre Keti: Scenes de la Czarda* that perhaps demonstrate a certain break away from Joachim’s and similarly Auer’s ethos on vibrato. As the introductory *Lento ma non troppo* demonstrates, all three violinists make extensive use of a narrow vibrato that intensifies on notes marked *tenuto* and on long held notes (as expected). They also employ audible, wide vibrato in the *sul G* section, perhaps to achieve a heavy, rustic tone typical of gypsy violinists. Thus, although there are similarities in the use of the device with their teachers, these recordings suggest that they used vibrato, not mainly as ornament but rather as the main constituent of an expressive tone production (atypical for players around the turn of the century who in general who used vibrato as an effect, an embellishment). See Figure 26:



Figure 26. Powell’s, Hansen’s and Menges’s use of vibrato in their recordings of Hubay’s *Hejre Kati* (bars 1-22). Places where even more prominent, wide vibrato is employed by all three violinists are highlighted in red boxes. Hansen: CD 1 Track 14, Menges: CD 1 Track 15, Powell: Naxos CD8.110963).³⁷²

Interestingly, when in 1905 Powell was asked to comment on the recording she personally likes, she named Hubay’s rendition of *Hejre Kati* because ‘it is a wonderful achievement.’³⁷³ This comment possibly underlines their stylistic similarities, as Hubay’s exposure to the Franco-Belgian method appears to influence his style of playing which suggests incorporation of more intrinsically

³⁷¹ http://www.naxos.com/person/Maud_Powell_1668/1668.htm. Milsom, David (*A-Z of String Players*, Naxos 8.558081-84); accessed 28th June 2015.

³⁷² See Rodrigues, *Selected Students of Leopold Auer*, p.111.

³⁷³ Review from 17th June 1905, reprinted in *The Musical Courier*, 16th August 1905; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.220.

twentieth-century values.³⁷⁴ Having said that, the review after Powell's performance at the Singakademie perhaps confirmed that Powell's style resembles Ysaÿe's and not that of Joachim:

“Though a pupil of Joachim, Miss Powell's style is that of the Belgian school. (...) Miss Powell suggests forcibly Ysaÿe, and in many respects she is not far removed from that great master.”³⁷⁵

This review is in contrast with Milsom's comment that suggests that Powell owes ‘much, both technically and spiritually, to her connections with the classical German tradition.’³⁷⁶ Sadly, due to time limitations of acoustic recordings at the time, Powell, neither recorded standard, nor then-contemporary violin concertos that she premiered. I believe that those unmade recordings might have given us more clear evidence of her parity with more well known ‘progressive’ players of influence of her time as written reviews of her performances would lead us to expect. Indeed, this demonstrates the vulnerability of her reception due to both the technical quality of early recordings and the nature of the repertoire she recorded.

Yet, as with so many aspects of historical reception, the role of past reviews is an important one, and the testimony of those who heard Kreisler, Powell and Ysaÿe play indicates that the differences in their art were more personal than technical.³⁷⁷ Affirming this view, Albert Moglie, declared that Powell's technique was “much the same” as theirs.³⁷⁸ Furthermore, a critic from the *New York Evening Post*, Henry T. Finck, after Powell's American premiere of Sibelius concerto in November 1906 pointed out that:

“Certainly the composer can thank his stars that it was Miss Powell who introduced this work to America; no other living violinist unless it be Fritz Kreisler, could have made so much of it.”³⁷⁹

Likewise, a critic from the *Los Angeles Times* who in 1908 commented:

“So there you have the three: Kreisler, who once in a while comes through with something which absolutely no other could produce; Elman, with his sublime voice and maturity, and Miss Powell, who, in

³⁷⁴ Hubay (as well as Powell) studied with Joachim and Vieuxtemps who recommended him for the post of Professor of Violin at the Brussels Conservatory. See also Milsom, *Theory and Practice*, p.206.

³⁷⁵ *London Musical Courier*, 19th March 1899; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.163.

³⁷⁶ http://www.naxos.com/person/Maud_Powell_1668/1668.htm; accessed 5th July 2015.

³⁷⁷ As mentioned previously, music critics dubbed Fritz Kreisler the ‘King’ and Powell the ‘Queen’ of violinists, reflecting both their artistic excellence and their popularity among audiences.

³⁷⁸ Albert Moglie in conversation with Karen Shaffer, 16th November 1982; Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.175.

³⁷⁹ Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.239.

general effectiveness, equals either of them, bringing mind as well as sentiment to bear upon her bow translations, and throwing around the compositions of all the schools the wonderful lustre of combined emotion and *brain*.³⁸⁰

Likewise, Walter Anthony, a critic from the *San Francisco Chronicle*, suggested:

“Powell is not a superb violinist- for a woman. She is a superb violinist. (...) Hers is a personality with gifts singularly hers even in the company of the Elmans and the Kreislers.”³⁸¹

Of a similar view was F. Martens who pointed out that Powell is often alluded to as a ‘representative American *woman* violinist, whilst it would be decidedly more fair to consider her a representative American violinist without stressing the term *woman* for, “as regards Art in its higher sense, the artist comes first, sex being incidental and Maud Powell is first and foremost- an artist.”³⁸² Moreover, as critics speak of stylistic differences between violinists, a critic from *Etude Magazine* recognised Powell as a modern player:

“Instinctively, in my mind, I arrange violinists into classes, or lines, much as follows: Firstly, you have the non-temperamental classicalists, of which I would instance Wilhelmj, Strauss, Marie Soldat-Roeger, Leonora Jackson, the late Henry Holmes, Burmester and Kruse; secondly, the temperamental classicalists, Joachim, Gabrielle Wietrowetz, Ysaÿe and Kreisler; thirdly, the non-temperamental virtuosos, Wieniawski, Sivori, Sarasate and William Henley; fourthly, the temperamental virtuosos, Maud Powell, Jan Hambourg, Elman, Zimbalist. (...) I think experienced musicians will admit that the classification has a general basis of fact, and so may have its provisional use and justification.”³⁸³

This passage lists several important violin virtuosos at the dawn of the twentieth century and hints that Powell’s playing style was perhaps more similar to that of Auer’s newcomers (responsible for the ‘modernisation’ of violin playing) which possibly explains why her popularity was not affected even at a time when the careers of other violinists, such as Marie Soldat-Roeger gradually come to an end.

The fact that Victor chose Powell to be the first instrumentalist to record for its prestigious Red Seal label and that her recordings were worldwide best sellers also indicates that she was possibly the first American woman to gain an international reputation as a violinist.

³⁸⁰ *The Los Angeles Times*, 23rd March 1908; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.266.

³⁸¹ *The San Francisco Chronicle*, December 13th 1915; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.371.

³⁸² Martins, *Violin Mastery*, p.111.

³⁸³ *The Etude Magazine*, April 1910. <http://etudemagazine.com>; accessed 5th March 2014.

Ironically, her musical heritage is characterised by Jonathan Woolf as:

“A turn of the century style of playing with a vibrato of medium speed, not always consistently applied, a trill that was fast but not of electric velocity, a sturdy technique, with frequent recourse to portamenti, tonally often inclined to dryness, but of buoyant musicality and vivid incisiveness. (...) It simply can't withstand the competition of the newly emerging tonalists from Russia and the central European players. That aside I have nothing but praise.”³⁸⁴

Indeed, that Woolf's comment (as reasonable as it may be) seems to lack a profound understanding of Powell's musical heritage and her place in the history of recording demonstrates the fact that on 25th January 2014 Powell was posthumously honoured by the Recording Academy during the 56th Grammy Awards for her, 'creative contribution and artistic significance to the field of recording.'³⁸⁵ This award of Special Merit is presented by a vote of the Recording Academy's National Trustees to performers who have 'reached the pinnacle of artistic achievement' said the president/CEO of the Recording Academy Neil Portnow at the time, emphasising that, Maud Powell richly deserves the award. Whilst Sir Paul McCartney and Ringo Star collected The Beatles' Lifetime Achievement Award, Maud Powell was the first female instrumentalist (out of 23 classical musicians and four opera singers) to receive this award some 94 years after her death, and only fourth violinist since the Grammy Awards began in 1962, after Jascha Heifetz, Isaac Stern and Itzhak Perlman. "This award is a confirmation that we are succeeding in fulfilling our purpose", Shaffer has remarked. Powell tirelessly worked to bring music to people, but it took too long for 'America's first great master of the violin,' as *The Strad* described her in November 1987, to be recognised as one of the most powerful forces for the advancement of music in general and violin playing in particular. With Powell's upcoming sesquicentennial in 2017 I hope this spirited pioneer violinist who guided America's early musical development, utilised music to defy gender for those who came after, and dedicated her life to the development of modern violin playing, contemporary violin literature and the early recording industry will be placed where she deserves to be, equal to her male counterparts.

³⁸⁴ Jonathan Woolf's comments on *Maud Powell: The complete recordings 1904–1917*. http://www.musicweb-international.com/classrev/2001/Dec01/Maud_Powell2.htm; accessed 11th April 2013.

³⁸⁵ Karen A. Shaffer, who founded The Maud Powell Society in 1986, accepted the award in behalf of Maud Powell. She devoted 36 years to writing Powell's biography (1988), reissuing her recordings, and putting together a collection of her transcriptions with Rachel Barton Pine as her music advisor and editor.

Chapter Four: Marie Pauline Hall

“Probably the most famous of English violinists is. Marie Hall, who is to England what Miss Maud Powell is to the United States.”³⁸⁶

In reading about the history of violin playing in Britain until the mid-nineteenth century we have heard very little of female violin playing. Amongst those few who played an important role in propagating violin playing amongst women in Britain were Emilia Arditi, Hortensia Zirges, Hildegard Werner, Rosetta Piercy-Feeny and Bertha Brousil, all born during the decade 1830–1840.³⁸⁷ By the 1880s Wilma Neruda began to be defined as the leading female violinist, but her position was coming under threat, as new foreign female virtuosi coming from Europe and America drew appreciation in England. Two of those who made a significant impact after their London debuts were Arma Senkrah (1864–1900) and Teresina Tua (1866–1956). They were soon succeeded by a number of Joachim’s students, such as, Gabrielle Wietrowetz (1866–1937) and Marie Soldat-Roeger (1863–1955), the principal American female violinists Maud Powell, Geraldine Morgan (1867–1918), and Leonora Jackson (1879–1969), and the Canadian violinists Kathleen Parlow (1890–1963), and Nora Clench (1867–1938).³⁸⁸

Whilst Britain was host to many talented female violinists from around the world, it could also lay claim to having no shortage of talented and ambitious violinists who were financially supported to study with celebrated teachers abroad. Emily Shinner (1862–1901, later Liddell) went to Berlin during 1870s and eventually became the first female student of Joseph Joachim at the Berlin Hochschule in 1874. She made her London debut in 1881 and appeared as a soloist throughout the decade, but it was her founding of the first British all-female string quartet that brought her a national reputation. Similarly, Edith Robinson (1867–1940), a student of Adolf Brodsky in Leipzig), Marjorie Hayward (1885–1953, a pupil of Ševčík), May Harrison (1891–1959, a pupil of Auer) and Isolde Menges (1893–1976, another student of Auer and Flesch), became a well known soloists and leaders of quartets.

³⁸⁶ ‘Violin Playing in England’ by An Englishman; <http://musicofyesterday.com/history/violin-playing-england/>; accessed 8th July 2015.

³⁸⁷ Cuthberthadden, J., *Modern Musicians: A Book for Players, Singers and Listeners* (Kessinger Publishing, 1914; repr. Teddington, Middlesex: Wildhern Press, 2008), p.178. See also Lahee, *Famous Violinists*, p.139.

³⁸⁸ McVeigh, Simon, ‘As the sand on the sea shore’: Women Violinists in London’s Concert Life around 1900 in *Essays on the History of English Music: Sources, Style, Performance, Historiography* (Emma Hornby and David Maw, eds.), (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2010), pp.232-58.

For all the initial success of these women they were often unable to sustain a career as soloists and found their musical metier in the field of chamber music and teaching. This path proved to be more acceptable to critics and audiences alike. As the number of women soloists multiplied and the market for them was limited managers were unwilling to take on newcomers. In addition most female soloists needed a wealthy patron to support them financially while building their solo career. Thus it was largely due to a lack of social support and not marriage or motherhood that caused the decline in the solo careers of these young women. At the same time the careers of their more prominent British male colleagues went from strength to strength thanks to the fact that they could pursue multiple careers as soloists, concertmasters, teachers and chamber musicians. For example, John Dunn (1866–1940), a student of Schradieck in Leipzig, appeared as soloist at Covent Garden in 1882 and after introducing the Tchaikovsky Violin Concerto to British audiences played as a soloist with all the leading orchestras in England. Arthur Catterall (1883–1943) led the highly regarded Catterall String Quartet that performed up to World War II from 1910, and the Hallé Orchestra, and the BBC Symphony Orchestra from its inception in 1929 to 1936. He was also active as a teacher at the Royal College in Manchester. Albert Sammons (1886–1957) led the Beecham Orchestra, the Philharmonic Society Orchestra and the Diaghilev Ballet. His superior performances and recordings of the Elgar and Delius concertos gained him a reputation as the leading English violinist of his generation. Likewise, George Stratton (1897–1954) was leader of the London Symphony Orchestra from 1933 and the Glyndebourne Festival Orchestra from its inception in 1934. He also taught at the Royal College of Music from 1942 and was awarded an OBE in 1953.

Amongst many aspiring violinists of the 1900s and outstanding among them was Marie Hall.³⁸⁹ Both *The International Encyclopaedia of Music and Musicians* and *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* agree that she was considered, “in the standard repertoire one of the finest violinist of her time in the world.”³⁹⁰ Whilst Marie Hall achieved international recognition in her lifetime, I would argue that her achievements in the history of violin playing have never received the credit they deserve. Contemporary evidence of the irony of her artistic destiny can be seen in the letter from the editor of the fifth edition of *Groves’ Dictionary of Music* (1954), Eric Bloom, to the *Musical Times*.

³⁸⁹ Hall played with leading orchestras such as the London Symphony orchestra, the Boston Symphony orchestra, the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra, the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra, the New York Symphony Orchestra, the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, the Melbourne Symphony Orchestra, the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

³⁹⁰ http://www.guarlford.org.uk/remember_hall.htm; accessed 7th March 2013.

He wrote:

“May I presume (...) whether you would be good enough to publish another correction which urgently needs to be made (...) The heading article on Marie Hall (vol. 4, p. 24) states that this eminent violinist died at some unspecified place in October 1947, but I am informed by Miss Hall’s solicitor that she is not only alive and well today, living in Cheltenham, but that she plays as finely as ever. (...) My sincere apologies to Miss Hall.”³⁹¹

In actual fact Marie Hall died on the 11th November 1956 aged 72 in Cheltenham.³⁹² Whilst Deutsche Grammophon marked the 50th anniversary of the death of Kreisler, on the 29th January 2012, by releasing a two-CD compilation tribute containing six recordings he made between 1910 and 1912, as well as reinterpretations from the Deutsche Grammophon catalogue by modern and past admirers, including Jascha Heifetz, Ruggiero Ricci, Anne-Sophie Mutter, Gidon Kremer, David Oistrakh, Christian Ferras and Shlomo Mintz, Marie Hall’s art and contribution to the history of early recordings are not widely recognised. Although she left several recordings, including that of the Elgar Violin Concerto with the composer conducting, and promoted contemporary works, her legacy had a similar fate to that of lesser-known female British violinists of the time whose contribution to the history of violin playing in Britain is unquestionably silent. Nowadays their names are only mentioned within a small academic circle, in connection with research on composers whose works they promoted, by violin connoisseurs or in connection with the great violin teachers of that time. However, with the establishment of the study of recording as a scholarly activity, Marie Hall’s playing receives a more sympathetic hearing at present. This chapter hopes to provoke some discussion about Marie Hall’s place in the history of British violin playing. Consider the following two quotations:

“You are a second Kubelík, people say, I hear.” “I am not a second anybody or anything, she quickly replied with a proud little gesture. I want to be myself, with a method and a style of my own.”³⁹³

³⁹¹ Blom, Eric, *The Musical Times*, September 1955, Vol.96, no.1351, p.483.

³⁹² The website Famous Deaths lists the death, on 11th November 1956, of Victor Young, an orchestra leader from the Milton Berle Show! On the same site the deaths of Menuhin, Heifetz and Kreisler are documented. The only death of a female violinist from that generation recorded on the website is that of Ginette Neveu, probably because of its tragic circumstances. See <http://www.historyorb.com/deaths/date/1956>; accessed 30th May 2014.

³⁹³ Griffith, Dinorben M., ‘Marie Hall, The Girl Violinist: A Romance of Real Life’, *The Strand Magazine*, June 1903, Gloucestershire County Council Archives, D 11462/2/1/5. Jan Kubelík (1880–1940) was a Czech violinist and composer who wrote six concertos for violin, several pieces for violin and piano, and cadenzas for the Beethoven, Brahms and Mozart’s 5th violin concertos. After his London debut in June 1900 under Hans Richter, Kubelík toured the USA with great success and was elected an honorary member of at the New England Conservatory in Boston in 1917. His career gradually diminished after the arrival of Auer’s pupils in 1920s although he continued to perform until his death. Kubelík made a number of recordings for The Gramophone Company and for Fonotipia/Polydor. Schwarz, *Great Masters of the Violin*, pp.397–99.

“Her remarkable playing was to be admired for a great deal more than mere technical ability, her playing of Bach’s *Chaconne* which is, by the way, her favourite composition, and is said by some to be the most difficult test of violin compositions, being as admirable as anything that could be associated with even so honoured a name as that of Joachim.”³⁹⁴

To place these quotes in context, it must be noted that (stylistic specifics aside) Hall’s artistry was interpreted not on the basis of her own merits but in relation to the great male virtuosi.

Hall was born on 8th April 1884 in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, during a tour by the Carl Rosa Opera Company, in which her father Edward Felix Handley Hall played as a harpist. Consequently, Marie was nicknamed the ‘opera baby.’ Her father tried to teach her the harp but she convinced him that the violin was her special metier and soon she started her violin lessons with the local teacher, Hildegard Werner. She was so proud of her little pupil and of her quick progress that she introduced Marie to Emilé Sauret (1852–1920, an ex-student of Henri Vieuxtemps and Henryk Wieniawski and professor of violin at the Royal Academy of Music in London from 1890) who predicted great things for her future.

At about that time Hall’s family moved from Newcastle to Malvern and at the beginning of the summer term in 1894 she began her lessons with Elgar. She abandoned her studies shortly afterwards, not from choice, but from necessity. As times were hard for the majority of musicians’ families at the end of the nineteenth century to try to earn a living the family had to play in the homes of music lovers in the Malvern area. It seems that hard work, and even sorrow only gave strength to her personality and maturity to her art. In *The Strand* magazine from June 1903 it was commented:

“To get away from that harsh reality Hall ventured reverently through most of the great composers’ works, Beethoven, Brahms and also Bach, the god of her idolatry, whose sonatas and partitas she soon knew to play by heart.”³⁹⁵

See Figure 26 below:

³⁹⁴ Jefferson, Rosa Bradford, ‘Famous English Violinist’, *The Woman at Home*, D 11462/1/5/8.

³⁹⁵ Griffith, Dinorben, *The Strand Magazine*, June 1903, D 11462/2/1/5; Hall, Marie, ‘The Way Up’, D 11462/2/1/5.



MISS MARIE HALL AT THE AGE OF TEN,
From a Photo, by Ruddock, Ltd., Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Figure 26. Marie Hall at the age of ten³⁹⁶

Hall always insisted that this apparently ‘humiliating’ fact should not be hidden, as her future good fortune was connected with it. Indeed, Hall gradually made friends who donated £15 for a new violin that was ultimately used for tuition with August Wilhelmj (1845–1908, a former student of Ferdinand David) that proved to be of great value. Similarly, Max Mossel (1871–1929) happened to hear Marie Hall playing the Mendelssohn Violin Concerto and a Grieg Violin Sonata in 1898 and was so charmed by the little violinist that on his recommendation she received a free scholarship for two years at the Birmingham School of Music.³⁹⁷ Indeed, having lessons with Wilhelmj and later with Mossel benefited Hall greatly, firstly because of their supreme technical and musical guidance, and secondly because their established names as teachers and mentors could facilitate asking for financial support from prospective wealthy patrons. Likewise, Hall’s status as a child prodigy obviously helped her to find future funding as the playing of a female child prodigy was considered pure and fairy-like and complied with an idealised notion of beauty and grace. In contrast, the passionate playing of a woman musician was

³⁹⁶ Photo by Ruddock, Ltd., Newcastle-on-Tyne. <http://songofthelarkblog.com/2011/11/19/article-miss-marie-hall-the-girl-violinist-a-romance-of-real-life-june-1903>; accessed 30th May 2014.

³⁹⁷ Max Mossel, a Dutch violinist and a student of Willy Hess and Pablo de Sarasate, enjoyed a short career as a recitalist and orchestral leader including the Concertgebouw Orchestra. In 1892 he successfully appeared as a soloist at the Crystal Palace Concerts and two years later moved to England where he settled in Birmingham. There he turned to teaching at the Midland Institute and from 1910 at the Guildhall School of Music in London. Fifield, Christopher, *Ibbs and Tillett: The Rise and Fall of a Musical Empire* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005), p.228.

still considered to be in conflict with the ideals of female virtuousness, modesty and humility.³⁹⁸

At the age of fifteen and encouraged by Mossel, Hall participated in the First Exhibition at the Royal Academy of Music. Although she won the competition, due to her poverty she could not take up the prize of a scholarship and instead returned to Clifton where her family was living at that time. “It was such a disappointment, and things were worse than ever at home”, commented Hall.³⁹⁹ Yet she was soon fortunate to gain the support of a wealthy music lover, namely Napier Miles, the Squire of Kings Weston near Bristol.⁴⁰⁰ In 1900 he signed an agreement with her father to leave her in the care of others for three years. During that time she was to have lessons in German, French and English literature and to continue her violin studies in London with the former pupil of Joseph Joachim and second violinist in his famous quartet, Professor Johann Kruse (1859–1927) who in 1897 settled in London and turned to teaching. Hall recalled:

“In my grateful happiness I worked even more energetically than intense devotion to music already prompted, and was proud to find that Kruse’s opinion coincided with that of Edward Elgar and Wilhelmj, who thinking me gifted, had once given me some free instruction.”⁴⁰¹

It was in London, whilst she was still studying with Kruse, that she heard Jan Kubelík (1880-1940) and was convinced that ‘she, too, must learn this wonderful technique.’⁴⁰² Hall’s determination to study with Ševčík acknowledged the difference in playing style that she wished to acquire. Subsequently, Hall auditioned for Kubelík who immediately wrote a letter of recommendation to his former teacher Otakar Ševčík (1852–1934). Following that audition she discontinued her studies with Kruse because she found something that ‘he could not teach her.’⁴⁰³ The singular capacity of this young girl to confront male authority in the period in question is worth mentioning given the fact that her bold manner and bravery challenged accepted norms of female conduct. Indeed, it seems that Hall was neither frightened to challenge her father’s decision about the instrument

³⁹⁸ “Such music has not the stuff of manhood or womanhood in it”, remarked an observer of an 1852 performance by the ten years old child prodigy violinist Camilla Urso.” See Macleod, *Women Performing Music*, p.27.

³⁹⁹ Griffith, *The Strand Magazine*, June 1903, D 11462/1/4/1.

⁴⁰⁰ Philip Napier Miles (1865–1935) was a wealthy citizen of Bristol who left his mark on the city through his musical and organisational abilities and good work of various kinds. He studied music under Hubert Parry and was a minor composer. For his services to music the University of Bristol awarded him honorary doctorate of letters in 1925.

⁴⁰¹ Hall, Marie, ‘The way up’.

⁴⁰² Holmes, Ernest B. ‘Marie Hall’ in *Success Magazine*, March 1906.

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*

she should play, nor was she intimidated by the authority of her well-known teacher. However, her maverick decision was not welcomed either by her teacher or benefactors, and only after Hall declared that she would stop playing if she could not go to study with Ševčík were the necessary preparations made to send her to Prague in 1901. Kubelík continued to support her, as his letter shows. See Figure 27:

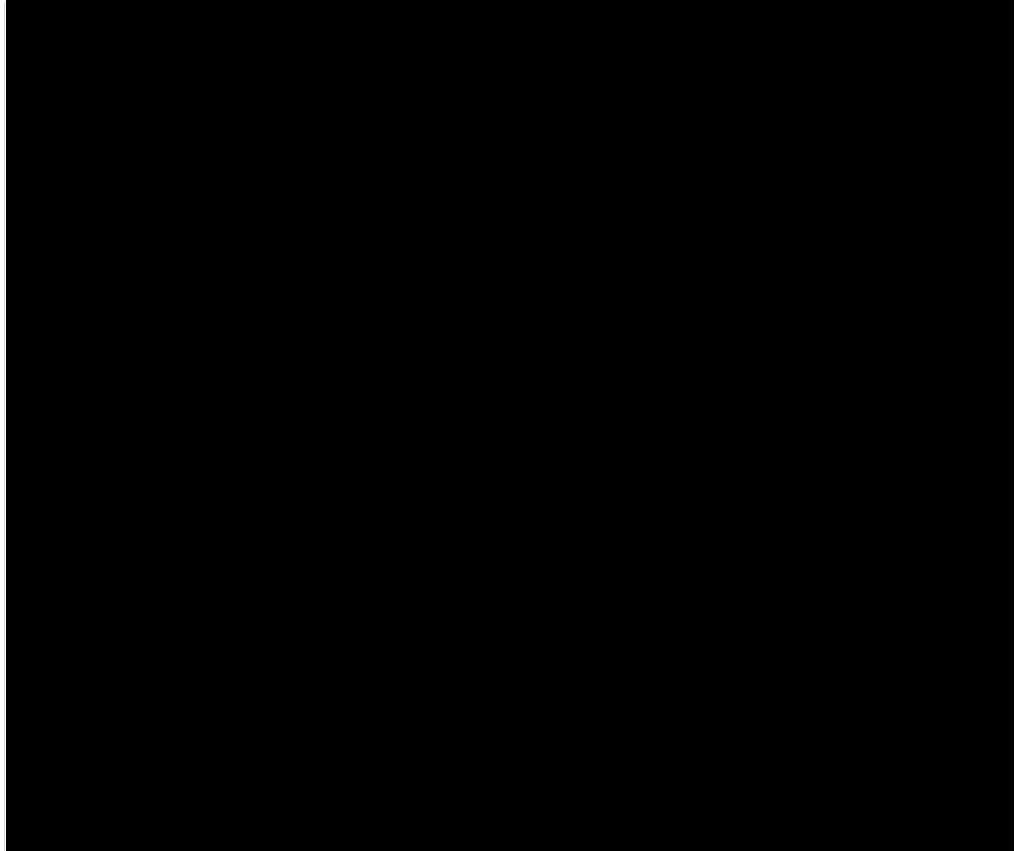


Figure 27. A letter from Kubelík to Hall dated 5th August 1902

It is worth noting that Kubelík's letter was significant firstly, because further studying with one of the most celebrated teachers was required for most prodigies to make the transition to being a 'full' artist. Secondly, the letter confirmed to the future sponsors that her talent was worthy of fostering; likewise, the backing of a celebrated virtuoso could be effectively used by her publicity machine when necessary. Indeed, the letter also verifies that Kubelík supported a female prodigy contemplating a performer's career.

At that time the rule at the Prague Conservatoire was that every student must take a six-year course. However, Antonín Dvořák, the director at the time, was so impressed with Hall's playing that for the first and last time he changed the regulations so that the novice student could immediately join the final year of the

course. This came as even more of a surprise as Joachim had refused her as a pupil because, as he alleged, she played out of tune, although nobody else made a similar observation.⁴⁰⁴ Hall was a product of two schools, the German and French, and her possibly more modern way of playing might have sounded less ‘pure’ to a then older Joachim. His refusal to accept Hall as his student could be based on a discomfort caused by the fact that he listened to and judged her performance from the viewpoint of nineteenth-century taste rather than that she had problems with her intonation. Likewise, the fact that Hall found an ideal violinist in Kubelík confirms that her stylistic preferences must have differed from those of Joachim.⁴⁰⁵

Hall was forever grateful for the opportunity to study with Ševčík and believed that her impeccable technique was due to his teaching. More importantly, he radically reworked left hand technique and fingering that had been based on diatonic scales and expanded the left hand technique by inventing countless studies based on new chromatic fingerings. Indeed, by freeing left hand from conventions of the past he enabled players such as Hall to cope with chromatically charged works of then-contemporary composers. Figure 28 below shows Ševčík’s method of teaching by correspondence:⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁴ Cuthberthadden, *Modern Musicians, a Book for Players, Singers and Listeners* (London: T.N. Foulis, 1914), pp.178–79.

⁴⁰⁵ In 1907, a critic from the New York Times commented that, “few have the power of so ravishing the senses with the sheer beauty of his tone, the charm of his cantilena, the elegance and ease with which he masters all the technical difficulties.” Kozinn, Allan, *Mischa Elman and the Romantic Style* (Chur, Switzerland: Harwood, 1990), p.66.

⁴⁰⁶ <http://songofthelark.wordpress.com/2011/11/19/>; accessed 3rd February 2013.

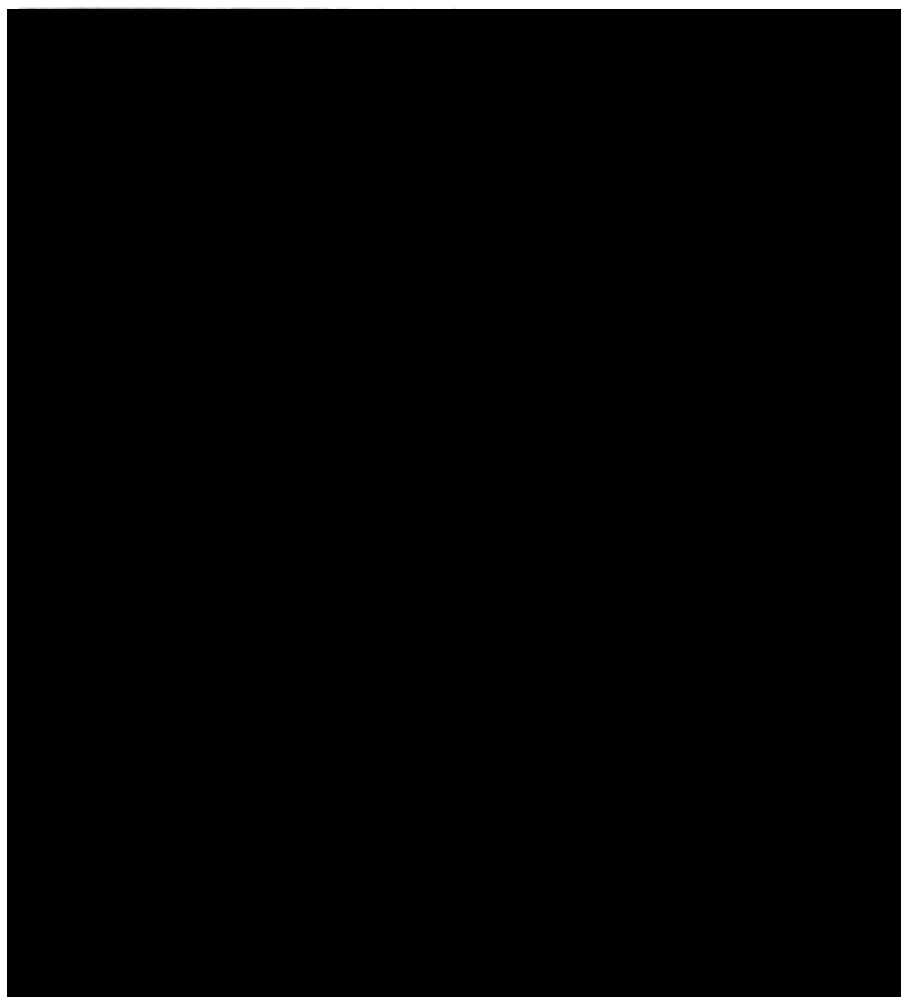


Figure 28. Ševčík's letter to Hall

Hall said that she often practised 14 hours a day; Ševčík had endless patience with his students, but he could not tolerate laziness. When demanding unremitting devotion to his ideal of work Ševčík used to say that it was the fight that makes the battle worth winning. Hall commented:

“His pupils had to offer the best that was in them, in return for the most splendid comprehensive interest in their advancement (...) or there was a very quiet but irrevocable sentence of banishment, ‘Mein Fraulein, I find we do not understand each other. You will therefore do well to seek a different counsellor.’”⁴⁰⁷

Ševčík considered Hall to be his most gifted pupil from a list of hundreds of violinists that included Kubelík, Jaroslav Kocián (1883–1950) and František Ondříček (1857–1922) and it could be argued that his choice is particularly significant, as it highlighted her interpretative depth based on thorough understanding of the music she played.

⁴⁰⁷ Griffit, Dinorben, *The Strand Magazine*, June 1903, 11462/2/1/5.

Ševčík's opinion of Hall's talent is perhaps more understandable after reading Boris Schwarz's comment:

“Kubelík was mainly interesting as a virtuoso. His best pieces were the Paganini violin concerto in D and the *Ronde des Lutins* by Bazzini. When it came to Mozart concertos or Beethoven *Romances*, Kubelík had much less to communicate.”⁴⁰⁸

In November 1902, after only 18 months, Hall played at the graduates' concert at the Conservatoire and was called back 25 times.⁴⁰⁹ Following her triumph in Prague, Ševčík advised Hall to go and let the world hear her playing and put his splendid Amati violin (valued at two thousands guineas) in her hands, the same instrument that he had lent to Kubelík for his debut. Hall's next debut took place in Vienna in January 1903, and she remembered that she was recalled no fewer than five times after each piece, which was a great compliment from such a critical audience. Her successful first appearance in Vienna was followed by a remarkable debut in London at the Queen's Hall on 16th February 1903, with the Queen's Hall Orchestra under the baton of Sir Henry Wood (1869–1944), who was in her words “a tower of mine.”⁴¹⁰ To play with Wood was doubly important, since he had an enormous influence on musical life in Britain at the time and, even more strikingly, it demonstrated that the prejudice against female violinists that had previously profoundly affected critics' and audiences' perception of their artistry had changed. Given such a chance Hall undoubtedly wanted to dissociate herself from the ranks of female ‘salon’ violinists and laid claim to a position alongside the great male virtuosos of the era. Hence, she purposefully decided to play Paganini's First Violin Concerto in D major, followed by Tchaikovsky's Violin Concerto, and closed her programme with Wieniawski's *Faust Fantasy*, a programme that would demonstrate her (manly) strength, stamina and dazzling feats of technical facility (a necessary precondition for the acceptance of female virtuosos). This kind of repertoire is particularly significant as by choosing not to perform the Bruch violin concerto in G minor, No. 1, Op. 26 or the Mendelssohn violin concerto in E minor, Op. 64 (already mentioned as strongly gendered concertos being favourite debut choices for female soloists) or the classical concertos favoured by Joachim's students, such as the Brahms and the Beethoven, she presented technically demanding repertoire that one might expect from Ševčík's students. Likewise, this choice of programme demonstrated that she was not afraid to publically

⁴⁰⁸ *The Strad*, October 1966, p.207; cited in Campbell, *The Great Violinists*, p.103, and Schwarz, *Great Masters of the Violin*, p.397.

⁴⁰⁹ Griffith, *The Strand Magazine*, June 1903. D 11462/1/4/1.

⁴¹⁰ See Hadden, James Cuthbert, *Modern Musicians; A Book For Players, Singers & Listeners* (London: T. N. Foulis, 1913), p.181.

perform neither the Tchaikovsky violin concerto (then not yet accepted as standard repertoire) nor the Paganini concerto (not performed at that time in England by any female violinist) thus confirming her progressive attitude that was to accompany her throughout her career.⁴¹¹ Indeed, Ševčík encouraged Hall to play Paganini's concerto, as it would verify her great virtuosity. How well Ševčík's faith in his enthusiastic pupil was justified is demonstrated by the critics' comments. They universally stated that, among the recent sensations of the concert world, "Hall outstripped the kudos of Kubelík."⁴¹² Hall herself commented that whilst playing on the streets she could get 'a penny, and up to a sixpence,' she earned five hundred pounds for her first concert in London. It is worth noting that for her second appearance in London hundreds of people had to be turned away at the doors and "a guinea was cheerfully paid for standing room, and two guineas for a seat."⁴¹³ From then on, in Hall's words, the keynote of her career was, "Upwards I go, but never one step downwards!"⁴¹⁴

However, when the consecutive ascending appreciation of Hall's accomplishment is set in historical context, it becomes more complex. Hence, it would be interesting to compare the artistry of Kubelík and Kreisler with that of Marie Hall. In 1902 Kubelík received the gold medal of the Philharmonic Society in London, while Kreisler's debut that year with Hans Richter conducting received very little attention. Yet, although he faced stiff competition from Kubelík, a younger Bohemian violinist named the 'second Paganini', Kreisler's success grew and two years later he was awarded the Philharmonic gold medal in recognition of his great artistry. Hall, Kreisler and Kubelík were in great demand at the time in Europe and the Americas and it is not clear why only Hall, who performed everywhere with the greatest conductors and orchestras of the time, was never considered for this honour.

Two years after Hall's debut in London she got a very bad attack of typhoid and only after a year was she fit enough to undertake a major tour in America and Canada. While she appeared not to be very strong physically, she proved herself strong enough to engage in long tours bravely and perform demanding programmes without fatigue.

⁴¹¹ McVeigh, Simon, 'As the sand on the sea shore': Women Violinists in London's Concert Life around 1900' in Hornby, Emma and Maw, David Nicholas (eds.), *Essay on the History of English Music in Honour of John Caldwell: Sources, Style, Performance, Historiography* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), p.245.

⁴¹² Jefferson, Rosa Bradford, 'Famous English Violinist', *The Woman at Home*, D11462/1/5/8.

⁴¹³ Griffith, *The Strand Magazine*, June 1903. D 11462/1/4/1.

⁴¹⁴ Haynes, Agnes, 'Why I am a violinist', D 11462/1/4/1.

“I had to do a great deal of traveling to keep all my engagements, which amounted to sixty concerts in all at places hundreds and hundreds of miles from each other. Trains in America are still sometimes “held up” by gangs of train robbers, and with generally unpleasant results to the passengers who have got anything valuable about them.”⁴¹⁵

Hall appeared at the Carnegie Hall on 8th November 1905 to enormous acclaim. On that occasion she played the Tchaikovsky concerto and an arrangement of the first Paganini concerto, amongst other works. The *New York Times* reported:

“Miss Marie Hall appeared in a violin recital yesterday afternoon at the Carnegie Hall. (...) Everything she does is crystal clear and finished. (...) Her tone is large and fully at her command in all its lights and shades, and it has a quality of distinction that many players might envy her for.”⁴¹⁶

During her career Marie Hall continued to perform virtuoso repertoire and also championed contemporary works and the works of other violinists.⁴¹⁷ Joachim’s rejection did not stop her learning his devilishly difficult *Hungarian Concerto*. In 1908, *The Strad* critic commented on the fact that this piece was rarely performed:

“The first of the Queen’s Hall Symphony Concerts of the year took place on January 18th. The soloist was Miss Marie Hall – who delighted everyone by her performance of the solo part of Joachim’s concerto in G. (...) It is an attraction for the executant, who, in fact, in playing it, may show off his technique. Let us hope that the other violinists will follow Miss Hall’s excellent example.”

Similarly the BBC Proms Archive confirms that her status and popularity as a virtuoso player did not diminish at a time when a new generation of players was beginning to appear. See Table 4 below:

⁴¹⁵ Hall, Marie, ‘The Career of a Violinist,’ D 11462/2/1/1.

⁴¹⁶ On that occasion she played the Tchaikovsky concerto and an arrangement of the first Paganini concerto amongst other works. *New York Times*, 23rd November 1905.

⁴¹⁷ Jefferson, Rosa Bradford, ‘Famous English Violinist’, *The Woman at Home*, Gloucestershire archives, D 11462/1/5/8.

Tuesday 29 th August 1922, 8:00PM	Tchaikovsky Violin Concerto in D major, Op. 35, New Queen's Hall Orchestra (1895–1914, Queen's Hall Orchestra), Henry Wood conductor
Saturday 30 th September 1922, 8:00PM	Saint-Saëns <i>Introduction et rondo capriccioso</i> , Op. 28, New Queen's Hall Orchestra (1895–1914, Queen's Hall Orchestra), Henry Wood conductor
Saturday 6 th September 1924, 8:00PM	Tchaikovsky Violin Concerto in D major, Op. 35, New Queen's Hall Orchestra (1895–1914, Queen's Hall Orchestra), Henry Wood conductor
Saturday 19 th September 1931, 8:00PM	Saint-Saëns <i>Introduction et rondo capriccioso</i> , Op. 28, BBC Symphony Orchestra, Henry Wood conductor

Table 4. Performances by Marie Hall listed in the BBC Proms archive

It may well be asked how Marie Hall attained such a degree of proficiency that enabled her, at just 19 years of age, to reach the zenith of her fame and perpetuate her success at a time when stereotypical notions limited women's musical careers. One must assume that several factors helped her to achieve widespread popularity and a reputation as an outstanding violinist. Firstly, the technical security and brilliance of Ševčík's students was legendary. Leon Sametini, the director of the violin department of the Chicago Music College at the time and the American virtuoso David Hochstein (1892–1918) commented that Ševčík made all mechanical problems, especially finger problems, absolutely clear and lucid. In addition he taught his pupils how to practise and how to develop technical control by the most slow and painstaking study.⁴¹⁸ Secondly, backed by the support of her wealthy patrons, together with her virtuosic performing style and serious commitment to music, Hall had no difficulty in convincing the most celebrated conductors, like Sir Henry Wood, Arthur Nikisch, Walter Damrosch and Adrian Boult to promote her, although they did not commonly engage women soloists.⁴¹⁹ Thirdly, Hall was aware of her gender and that the world did not provide for the female violinist 'a special niche sheltered from all tempests.' Perhaps unsurprisingly, she was initially often asked whether she had had any 'millionaire offers' of marriage, a question hard to imagine being asked any of her male counterparts.⁴²⁰ However, her manager Edward Baring was soon to become her husband and their careers, by way of marriage, became mutually beneficial.⁴²¹ This

⁴¹⁸ Martens, *Violin Mastery*, pp.120–22.

⁴¹⁹ Interestingly, Wood, Nikisch and Damrosch studied violin, which perhaps indirectly demonstrate their appreciation of Hall's artistry, whilst Boult was well known for his championing of British music, similarly to Hall.

⁴²⁰ *The Strand Magazine*, p.660. Gloucestershire archive D 11462/1/4/1.

⁴²¹ Edward Baring, of the firm of concert-directors, Messrs. Baring Brothers of Cheltenham had been Marie's concert manager. They settled in Cheltenham and had one child, Pauline Baring, a noted

certainly fruitful decision was vital for Hall because as a single woman she was often treated unfairly in business dealings. At the same time, while she claimed that music was ‘necessary to her mind as food to her body and therefore nearer than *alter ego*’, it was certainly helpful to have a husband who could travel with her and support her solo career.⁴²²

Not surprisingly, as the market for women soloists was limited, one of the keys to launching a career was successful promotion and Hall was presented to the public as something of a Cinderella figure. The memorable self-image she presented in various interviews involved the description of her poor childhood and the efforts that were made to transport her into the world’s great concert halls. Although Hall’s touring virtuoso career was that of a financially independent new woman, the traditional fairytale offered a stereotypical image of a woman saved by a wealthy prince. Furthermore, the focal point for the swirl of speculation and aura of mystery was Hall’s thin pale complexion, accentuated by her dark hair, which resembled that of the Italian violinist Paganini, whose first concerto she often played. “Thoughts of the lions of the violin conjure up something big, dark, passionate – the physical attributes of power”, as the *New Zealand Herald* put it.⁴²³ Comment such as this, led her contemporaries and critics to identify Hall with Paganini in terms of her devilishly virtuosic playing powers generated in her frail frame and consequently acknowledge her as a ‘female Paganini.’ The combination of those powerful images, one providing a fairytale glow and the other a supernatural mystery were certainly innovative for a woman and served her well. Likewise, since early reviews regularly commented on the appearance of female soloists, wearing fashionable clothes when performing was of a great importance. In an era known for its ‘buttoned up’ fashion, Hall’s hairstyle and elaborated gowns, designed by Hall, cautiously challenged conventional restrictions on how women musicians should present themselves. Conversely, Hall’s stage image was consistent with the image of the new women at the turn of the twentieth century as her concert dresses (designed by Hall) emphasised existing constructs of femininity and thus did not violate accepted gender rules.

In addition, Hall was aware that public taste must be studied too. Coming from the German tradition it is not surprising that her favourite composers were the three great Bs – Bach, Beethoven and Brahms, a trilogy coined by Hans von Büllow –

pianist, and for the last years of Marie’s life they lived in a large Victorian villa, “Inveresk”, in Eldorado Road, where she died at the age of 72.

⁴²² Hall, Marie ‘The Ethics of Music,’ D 11462/2/1/1.

⁴²³ Marie Hall Concerts, *New Zealand Herald*, 25th July 1907, p.3. <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast>; accessed 20th June 2014.

and last, but not least, Paganini.⁴²⁴ She thus acknowledged the importance of virtuoso repertoire for the acceptance of a female soloist. And finally, as Hall for many years wisely advised future artists:

“Anyone who has to meet the audiences on widely differing tours should familiarise themselves with the national music, composers and peculiarities of those countries”, something that could ultimately determine their success in foreign lands.”⁴²⁵

Looking back, Hall’s artistry had significant support in the musical world even at a time when the ‘German’ school and the Joachim tradition were overshadowed by the new style that emerged at the dawn of the twentieth century and became epitomised by new virtuoso players such as Ysaÿe, Kreisler and later Heifetz. Likewise, Hall was often compared to Kubelík, who was, contrary to Joachim, admired for his Paganini-like virtuosity. Hence, the real question is where Hall should be placed within the continuum? Given the stylistic crossroads at the dawn of the twentieth century it is a matter of great importance that Hall made recordings that can possibly demonstrate her willingness to adapt areas of musical expression outside the boundaries of nineteenth-century interpretative practice.

That Marie Hall simultaneously embodied the ideals of nineteenth century performance practice and also embraced newer trends can be observed by some of her recordings and her repertoire. To provide a further perspective on Hall’s changing musical aesthetics, as a representative case, one might view her attitude towards tempi and rhythm. I believe that it is in the linked facets of rhythm, tempo and articulation that Hall’s (1905) recording of the *Finale* of the Mendelssohn *Violin Concerto in E minor* suggests a more modern conception. Whilst performances from the early part of the century display a generally flexible attitude towards rhythm and notation, Hall’s recording seems less ‘hasty.’ It is steady in tempo and the usual unscripted accelerando towards the coda. Her performance of pairs of equal-length notes is as notated, contrary to the more casual approach of Ysaÿe who treats rhythm with great flexibility. In comparison with Hall’s and Powell’s (1904) recordings of the *Finale* of the Mendelssohn, Ysaÿe’s recording (1912) shows some agogic accentuation – on quaver 5 of bar 195, and quavers 1

⁴²⁴ Griffith, *The Strand*, D 11462/1/4/1. Hans Guido von Bülow (1830–1894) was a pupil of Liszt who became one of the most important conductors of the nineteenth century. He championed the music of Wagner, Brahms and Tchaikovsky, premiering Tchaikovsky’s Piano Concerto No.1 in Boston in 1875, and was the first to perform the complete cycle of Beethoven’s piano sonatas. His famous quotation is: “The three greatest composers are Bach, Beethoven and Brahms. All others are cretins.” Walker, Alan, *Hans von Bülow: A Life and Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p.289.

⁴²⁵ Haynes, Agnes, ‘Why I am a violinist’, D 11462/1/4/1.

and 5 of bar 196; another obvious example of ‘dotting’ and a looser approach to note values occurs in the last two quavers of bars 79 and 166, thus displaying a general willingness towards over-dotting present in the theoretical writings and performance style of the nineteenth-century.⁴²⁶ Likewise, Ysaÿe’s performance is very fast by modern standards, with a starting speed of crochet equal to c. 176 and he speeds up in the coda towards the end of the movement in order to increase tension, something that is more intrinsically linked to nineteenth-century practice, yet it is not obvious in Hall’s rendition. Whilst the limits of technology might account for some of his fast tempi, Ysaÿe is said to have been proud of his recording, thus confirming that his approach was entirely for artistic reasons.⁴²⁷ Similarly, a more modern degree of controlled attention to notation, tempo and rhythmic accuracy can also be seen in Hall’s 1905 recording of the *Perpetuum mobile* Op. 34 by Reis. If we compare her version with that of Nathan Milstein (1957) we can find that her rendition is neither volatile, nor too fast (in fact her performance is slightly slower) and is played with similar precise and clear articulation to Milstein. As the evidence of their recordings shows it seems that the difference in their performances lies more with the recording quality rather than with the ‘old’ versus the ‘modern’ style of playing.

The second interesting feature of Hall’s playing relates to her use of vibrato. Early twentieth-century recordings of solo violinists such as Joseph Joachim, Pablo de Sarasate, Ysaÿe and Kreisler nicely illustrate the shift from the old, ‘ornamental’ approach to vibrato to a more constant use of this expressive device. Recordings made around 1910 by Marie Hall and Jan Kubelík demonstrate that they shared a relatively selective approach to vibrato. Yet, her recording from 3rd October 1918 of Sarasate’s *Jota Aragonesa*, Op.27 demonstrates that she adopted its freer use with a tendency to execute a form of ‘continuous’ and wider vibrato in double stoppings resulting in non-specific use of the device which suggests later trends.⁴²⁸ Together with a more assertive bowing style it gives the impression of firm projection and expressive intensity that is far from the seemingly puritanical nineteenth-century attitude. See Figure 29 below:

⁴²⁶ Ysaÿe, E.: Felix Mendelssohn, *Violin Concerto in E minor – Finale*, Op. 64, rec.1904, Naxos CD8. 110993; Hall, Marie, Mendelssohn *Finale* from *Violin Concerto in E minor*, Op. 64, rec. 1905; Powell, Maud: Mendelssohn *Finale* from *Violin Concerto in E minor*, Op. 64, rec. 1904, Naxos CD8. 110993.

⁴²⁷ See Milsom, *Theory and Practice*, p.164.

⁴²⁸ See Hall’s recording of *Jota Aragonesa*, Op.27 (3.10.1918) with pianist Thomas Harold Hunt Craxton (1885-1971). On that occasion they also recorded: ANON arr. O’Connor-Morris: *The Londonderry Air*, Beethoven: *Minuet* in E flat, Cui: *Bereuse*, Op.20/8, D’Ambrosio: *Serenade*, and Moffat: *Bourre*. charm.kcl.ac.uk; accessed 7th June 2015.

Violon.

The musical score for the Violon (Violin) part of Figure 29, measures 74 to 83 of Jota Aragonesa, Op. 27 by Sarasate. The score is written in G major (one sharp) and 2/4 time. It consists of ten staves. The first staff begins with a *ff* dynamic and a *dim.* marking. The second staff has a *ff* marking. The third staff has a *ff* marking. The fourth staff has a *ff* marking. The fifth staff has a *ff* marking. The sixth staff has a *ff* marking. The seventh staff has a *ff* marking. The eighth staff has a *ff* marking. The ninth staff has a *ff* marking. The tenth staff has a *ff* marking. The score includes various articulations such as accents, slurs, and fingerings (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

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Figure 29. Sarasate's *Jota Aragonesa*, Op.27 from bar 74 where Hall uses wider vibrato on longer note values.⁴²⁹

Thus it might be suggested that she modified her vibrato according to her perception of the character of the piece she was playing. In comparison, Kreisler's early recordings (1904 and 1910) demonstrate that he was, at first, 'not so unlike his contemporaries' as he also modified his use of vibrato according to the piece he was playing.⁴³⁰ Although one should exercise caution in drawing firm conclusions

⁴²⁹ See recording Num: HO 3474. Performer: Marie Hall (violin solo), (pianist Harold Craxton; http://www.charm.kcl.ac.uk/discography/search/search_advanced?

⁴³⁰ Indeed, Kreisler's very first Victor recording made on 11 May 1910, of Smetana's *Bohemian Fantasia* demonstrates some of the sound that one expects from his later recordings. (Matrix C-8942-1; reissued on RCA 009026 61649, disc 1, track 1). On the other hand, his recording of Bach's Gavotte en rondeau from the Partita No. 3 in E major, BWV 1006, recorded two weeks later on May 24, 1910, has a lighter vibrato, hardly more than Auer and less than Viardot or Powell, and like Joachim, Kreisler does not use it on shorter notes. (Kreisler, Fritz: Complete Recordings, Vol. 1 1904, 1910). In a recording of Schubert's 'Moment musical' from May 18, 1910 Kreisler uses slightly more vibrato. In his own *Liebesleid*, recorded the following year, he uses more again, but still less than in the *Bohemian Fantasia*. (RCA 009026 61649, disc 2, track 2.) Reger, Scott N., 'The string instrument vibrato', Seashore C. E. (ed.) (1932), pp.305-43; cited in Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, 'The Changing

about Hall's use of a more continuous vibrato based on her recording of *Jota Aragonesa*, I believe she needed to respond artistically and violinistically to the new music of the time, music that demanded expressive intensity from the performer. Thus one might view her attitude towards the gradual abandonment of 'ornamental' vibrato and the acquisition of a more continuous one as a response to those demands, something I will touch upon in the next section.

Marie Hall's Collaborations with Vaughan Williams and Edward Elgar

Given Marie Hall's remarkable artistry it should not come as a surprise that she collaborated with the most important contemporary British composers, including Ralph Vaughan Williams and Sir Edward Elgar. Vaughan Williams dedicated *The Lark Ascending* to her while Elgar invited her to record his Violin Concerto under his baton. Such collaboration between a composer and a female performer is worth noting, as at this time, in this field at least, women were denied credit for their creative powers. I would suggest that in the case of Hall and my other chosen female violinists new paths of development in the role of female musical creativity were opening up even if they are, at present, not more widely recognised. Thus, while *The Lark Ascending* grew into popular consciousness in the second half of the twentieth century, becoming one of the most beloved concert pieces for the violin, its dedicatee and first performer, Marie Hall still awaits a wider recognition of her artistry. Similarly, a number of Hall's recordings and her recording of Elgar's Violin Concerto (the first by a woman violinist and the second in the history of the work and its recording), which show us an artist of the highest calibre, are nowadays often undervalued. By exploring these two works I would like to re-evaluate Hall's contribution to the history of British violin playing.

Vaughan Williams' most popular work, *The Lark Ascending*, was inspired by George Meredith's 122-line poem of the same name. The composer began sketches for the violin and piano version in 1914, while watching troops cross the channel at the beginning of the First World War. In 1920 Hall helped Vaughan Williams rework the piece at the home of her patron Napier Miles. Together they revised *The Lark Ascending* to create a version for solo violin and piano. A 'romance' for violin and orchestra it opens with a beautiful cadenza that returns in the middle and at the end of the work, with two intervening episodes that draw on English folk music. Vaughan Williams himself described the piece as an English landscape

transcribed into musical terms. Written without bar lines, the cadenzas give the soloist an almost improvisatory freedom as the soaring melody (full of pentatonic scales, climbing trills and elongated arpeggios that represent the lark's flight) ascends into the instrument's highest register. In this respect, we could imagine that only a violinist with a highly developed sense of tonal colour could advise the composer to write a demanding violin part that, at the same time could sound so apparently simple and mellifluous.⁴³¹ Indeed, simple as the work may seem, it was specifically written for the virtuoso well known for her effortless left-hand technique, a great command of sound and playing engaged with expressivity, thus some of Hall's virtuosity and playing style must be reflected in the violin part.⁴³²

Hall first performed the violin and piano version at the Avonmouth and Shire Hampton Choral Society concert on 15th December 1920, accompanied by Geoffrey Medham at the piano. This was followed by the first orchestral performance on 14th June 1921 at the Queen's Hall in London with the British Symphony Orchestra under Adrian Boult. Amazingly, the first manuscript of the orchestral version has been lost. Unsurprisingly, little is known of its reception. As there is no recording of Hall playing of the work we can only imagine that she captured the impressionistic quality of the piece when we read the words of *The Times*'s critic after the first orchestral performance, who commented that, "It dreamed itself along."⁴³³

Marie Hall must have realised the importance of promoting British music as we can see from her 1922 letter to the editor of *The Daily Mail* in which she sympathised with the British composer and a prominent member of the women's suffrage movement, Dame Ethel Smyth (1858-1944) about the neglect of then-contemporary composers:

"Sir,

May I through your columns press my sympathy with Dame Ethel Smyth in the neglect of her music by British conductors and at the same time offer a suggestion that I think might be useful to other composers.

I am very hopeful for the future of British music. During the past 12 months I have given more than usual attempt to it, although there have not as yet been as many big compositions attempted for the violin by

⁴³¹ The violin part is recognised by the Oxford University Press as moderately difficult to difficult; <http://ukcatalogue.oup.com/product/9780193692022.do>; accessed 13th July 2015.

⁴³² The composer likely responded to her individual performance strengths, much as he did in his other works he composed for specific soloists, the *Viola Suite* for Lionel Tertis, the Oboe Concert for Leon Goossens, and the *Romance for Harmonica* for Larry Adler.

⁴³³ <http://hillshepherd.blogspot.co.uk/2011/01/lark-ascending> accessed 3rd January 2013.

our countrymen as there have been vocal and pianoforte works.

I find myself the fortunate possessor of three delightful inspirations, which I intend to bring before the public at the Wigmore Hall, February 7. These are Percy Sherwood's Sonata for violin and piano in C minor, No. 3, Gordon Bryan's *Suite for violin and piano*, Op. 1 and Rutland Boughton's Sonata for violin and piano in D major.

The three composers will be there to play with me, and everything and everybody at the concerts (audience excepted) will be thoroughly British.

I think that it is the spirit Dame Ethel Smyth would like artists and conductors to introduce, for works of merit now lost or hidden would then quickly present themselves to proclaim to the world that England is musical,

Marie Hall
*Inveresk, Cheltenham.*⁴³⁴

Indeed, in a concert of 'modern British works' on 7th February 1922 at the Wigmore Hall, alongside sonatas by Boughton and Sherwood, Hall also performed Percy Sherwood's Violin Concerto in F major that was dedicated to her in 1902.⁴³⁵ The Eugene Aynsley Goossens *Old Chinese Folk Song*, Op. 4, No. 1 (1912) was played by Marie Hall on the 19th September 1922 at a concert in Portsmouth, whilst she performed as the dedicatee Gustav Holst's *Valse-Etude* in 1903.⁴³⁶

Yet, tacet omission of the Hall's contribution as the dedicatee and the first performer of several then contemporary British works is generally accepted. Even if someone argues that Marie Hall's career was leaning towards modern music but, unfortunately for her, the 'wrong sort of modern' music (as some of the works she promoted have now disappeared from the public view and with them her wider public memory), it might be observed that works premiered by Sammons are also not often performed, yet he is still remembered for his efforts.⁴³⁷ I believe it is

⁴³⁴ Hall, Marie, *Daily Mail*, 17th January 1922. <http://landofflostcontent.blogspot.co.uk>; accessed 13th July 2015.

⁴³⁵ *The Musical Times* was rather dismissive of the Sherwood's Violin Sonata and favoured Boughton's sonata because of composer's "individuality and technical handling." *The Musical Times*, Vol.63, No.949, March 1922, p.191.

⁴³⁶ Imogen Holst in her article on recordings of her father Gustav Holst for *Recorded Sound* (No. 59, 1975 p. 440) noted that 'the *Valse-Etude*, was recorded by it's dedicatee Marie Hall in 1924 (HMV E348), and as she had first performed it in 1903 known his wishes.' See <http://fluffontheneedle.blogspot.co.uk/2014/03/being-topical.html>; posted by jolyon50, 29th March 2014; accessed 22nd July 2015.

⁴³⁷ Sammons introduced to the British public works such as, Delius's Violin Concerto and Violin Sonata No. 2, Moeran's, George Dyson's, Guirne Creith's Violin Concertos, Stanley Wilson's Concerto for Violin and Viola, Edmund Rubbra's Violin Sonata No.1, Ireland's Violin Sonata No.2, Granville Bantock's and Eugene Goossens's Violin Sonata, Herbert Howells's Violin Sonata No.3, and several British chamber works that he premiered as the leader of the London String Quartet.

worth noting that in 1957, after Sammons's death (and less than one year after Hall's death), the conductor Sir Adrian Boult pointed out that Sammons was distinguished by:

“his selfless interest in music-making of all kinds, whether in the Queen's Hall or in some humble mission hall in far-off Wales or Scotland. He was a great musician in every sense of the word.”⁴³⁸

Unfortunately Boult, who premiered *The Lark Ascending* with Marie Hall, never commented on her artistic contribution, neither sadly did Vaughan Williams whose seeming apathy towards this work and his idea that ‘a composer's business is to write music and not to talk about it’ could be a possible explanation why he did not publicly acknowledge Hall's contribution. Having said that, the neglect of women soloists by these influential opinion-makers and record company executives was a self-fulfilling prophecy. Indeed, Hall's creative input as the earliest British female recording violinist who left a fair number of acoustic recordings, including a recording of the Elgar violin concerto, is often overlooked. Accordingly, within the sphere of violin performance at the beginning of the twentieth century it is important to catalogue the principal violinists involved in premiering and recording the concerto in attempt to demonstrate that Hall's efforts to promote Elgar's concerto and music are historically side-lined.

Elgar's Violin Concerto Op. 61 in B minor and Marie Hall's recording

“It is good! Awfully emotional! Too emotional, but I love it!”⁴³⁹

As one might expect, composers write or dedicate compositions to a particular performer for a variety of reasons. After their first contact in 1905 Kreisler and Elgar were both at the forefront of the European musical scene and their mutual admiration, as opposed to desire for recognition and notoriety, was the main reason behind the creation of this concerto. In the *Hereford Times* from 7th October 1905, Kreisler placed Elgar on an equal footing with his idols Beethoven and Brahms by saying:

“He is one of the same aristocratic family. His invention, his orchestration, his harmony, his grandeur, it is wonderful. And it is all

⁴³⁸ Boult, A., Albert Sammons tribute broadcast, 1957. In Boult, Adrian, *Boult on Music: Words from a Lifetime's Communication* (London: Toccata Press, 1983).

⁴³⁹ This quote demonstrates Elgar's opinion of his concerto. Kennedy, Michael, *Portrait of Elgar* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p.129.

pure unaffected music. I wish Elgar would write something for the violin.”⁴⁴⁰

Within a few weeks of the publication of those words (and after the Royal Philharmonic Society formally commissioned the Violin Concerto) Elgar started the initial sketches for the first movement.⁴⁴¹ The concerto is written in B minor as Elgar had heard the Saint Saëns Violin Concerto in B minor at the Queen’s Hall during the London Music Festival of 1899, played by Eugene Ysaÿe and was convinced that it was a favourable key for a violin concerto. It has three movements and, as Elgar’s biographer Michael Kennedy suggests, it is structurally modelled on Brahms’s and perhaps Bruch’s Violin Concerto in G minor, no.1, Op.26 but on a much larger scale. The concerto is also closely associated with two female violinists, Lady Speyer (1872–1956), an accomplished pupil of Ysaÿe, who gave the earliest private performance of the slow movement *Andante* on 20th January 1910, and Marie Hall, who recorded an abridged version of the concerto with Elgar conducting.⁴⁴² It can be argued that the ageing composer showed a certain progressive attitude by embracing new technologies such as radio and the phonograph recording and by collaborating and recording with female artists.

Lady Speyer proved to be unavailable to fully assist Elgar because of her busy home life and Elgar turned for help to William Henry Reed, the leader of the London Symphony Orchestra for advice not only on technical problems such as bowings and fingerings but also in shaping the solo part as different versions were to be considered.⁴⁴³ On 1st July, Kreisler received the finished version of the violin part and was convinced that it was the best concerto written since those by Beethoven and Brahms. Elgar generously gave Reed a chance to be the first to

⁴⁴⁰ In his youth Elgar considered a professional career as a violinist. In 1877 he went to London for a brief course of lessons with the famous Hungarian violinist Adolphe Pollitzer (1832–1900), a pupil of Joseph Böhm and Jean-Delphin Alard. Comparing himself against August Wilhelmj (1845–1908) Elgar decided that he would never be a first-class violinist and that his way was to compose. It was not until a meeting at the 1904 Leeds Festival and an encounter at Norwich a year later that the artistry of Fritz Kreisler (1875–1962) provided a needed stimulus.

⁴⁴¹ It was not Elgar’s first attempt at a violin concerto as he had started to compose one in 1890, but then this lay dormant during the writing of *The Kingdom* and the First Symphony. “However, he had suddenly seen them in a new light.” Reed, W.H., *Elgar as I Knew Him* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1936), p.24.

⁴⁴² The American violinist Leonora von Stosch (the daughter of Count Ferdinand von Stosch, 1872–1956) made a successful career in the States and played under the batons of Nikisch and Seidl. After marrying Sir Edgar Speyer, a merchant banker and chairman of the Queen’s Hall syndicate they moved to New York where she started to write poetry. In 1927 she won the Pulitzer Prize for her book *Fiddler’s Farewell*. Adams, Byron, *Edward Elgar and His World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), pp.232–33.

⁴⁴³ William Henry “Billy” Reed (1876–1942) was the leader of London Symphony Orchestra from 1912 until 1935 when he became the chairman of the orchestra. Reed not only helped Elgar with proofs of the Violin Concerto but also premiered Elgar’s the Violin Sonata in E minor, the String Quartet in E minor, Op. 83 and the Piano Quintet in A minor, Op. 84. Reed, *Elgar as I knew Him*, p.28–29. See also ‘Elgar’s Violin Concerto,’ *Music and Letters*, Vol.16, no.1, p.34; cited in Moore, *Edward Elgar*, p.582.

perform the concerto with Elgar playing the piano reduction on 4th September 1910 (Kreisler's performance followed Reed's on 8th September) to a small private audience organised by Frank Schuster. 10th November 1910 was the day of the concerto's premiere at a Royal Philharmonic Society in London, with Kreisler, playing the solo part and the composer conducting the London Symphony Orchestra.⁴⁴⁴ After the premiere Kreisler said to an American journalist:

“From a player's point of view it is perhaps the most difficult of all concertos for endurance, and it is the first to have all the intricacies of modern scoring.”⁴⁴⁵

As Kreisler was already tiring of the concerto's length (he severely cut the *Finale* in two London performances and later dropped the concerto from his repertoire) Elgar was keenly looking forward to Ysaÿe's interpretation and possibly their future recording of the work.⁴⁴⁶ Ysaÿe performed the concerto, under the Elgar's baton, solely in Brussels in March 1911 and was to give four performances in England in September and October with Sir Henry Wood conducting. However, negotiations over Ysaÿe's fees with the editing house Novello affected his future performances of he would never be able to perform in London. Interestingly, Powell also contemplated giving its first performance in America, at the Norfolk Festival, in March 1911. She wrote to Elgar ‘offering \$500 and invited him to be the guest of the honour at the festival, but Elgar's publisher asked for \$1000, a sum she was not willing to pay as she felt ‘differently about the Sibelius concerto when she came across it for the first time.’⁴⁴⁷ Powell acknowledged that that the Elgar concerto was ‘cleverly made and beautifully scored,’ but she thought it was “an empty and pompous work.”⁴⁴⁸ As after the premiere critics argued whether the concerto was more of a rhapsody than a violin concerto this only confirmed her initial doubts and consequently she never played it.

Thus, the concerto had been sadly neglected since its first performance and finally a few years later Sammons performed it again on 23rd November 1914, with Vassily Safonov conducting the London Symphony Orchestra. After the

⁴⁴⁴ By the middle of July the Queen's Hall Orchestra, the London Symphony Orchestra, Landon Ronald's New Symphony Orchestra and the Philharmonic Society were all offering high fees for the Concerto premiere. The London Symphony offered £125 for the first performance and 50 guineas for a second performance, but the Philharmonic won, offering the composer £100 for each of two performances with Kreisler on the 10th and 30th November.

⁴⁴⁵ *The Evening News*, 9th November 1910. Hadden, Squire, *The Christian Science Monitor*, Boston, 1st November 1910; cited in Moore, p.591.

⁴⁴⁶ Although Kreisler performed the world premiere as the concerto's dedicatee, he resisted all attempts to get him to record it as he considered Elgar to be a poor conductor.

⁴⁴⁷ *Musical America*, 1st April 1911; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.247.

⁴⁴⁸ *The New York Times*, 4th March 1912; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.247.

performance, the critic of *The Star* commented that Sammons needed few chances to convince the public at large of his executive powers and thanks to a European war he, “finally had it and made a splendid use of it.”⁴⁴⁹ Sammons later estimated that he performed it over one hundred times, including his last performance on his 60th birthday in 1946 with the BBC Symphony Orchestra under George Weldon. Elgar was extremely grateful for Sammons’ interest in the Concerto and in 1921, prior to a performance of it in the Queen’s Hall, presented him with the bow made by James Tubbs in 1878 that he had received for his association with the Worcester Orchestral Society many years before. As Elgar and Sammons worked for different recording labels (Elgar for the HMV label and Sammons for Columbia) their partnership was never consummated and it was Sammons made the first acoustic abridged version of the concerto in April 1916 and later the first complete recording of the concerto on an electrical recording in 1929, with Sir Henry Wood conducting the New Queen’s Hall Orchestra.

As Elgar was keen to record his personal interpretation of his music he renewed his contract with the Gramophone Company in 1915 and “received a fee of £100 per annum and an extra £21 for every session (four guaranteed each year).”⁴⁵⁰ Although Elgar was unwell for the rest of 1916 a new surge of creativity came with the set of recordings of his violin concerto with Hall as soloist. Elgar had watched Hall’s career since she was nine and claimed that, as her teacher, he had seldom instructed a pupil with a talent equal to hers. By the time of their recording (16th December 1916) he was no longer an unknown local violin teacher and composer and she had become a well-known violinist and a celebrated recording artist.⁴⁵¹ Hence, it was Hall who would be the first to record an abridged version of the concerto for the HMV Gramophone Company in December 1916, with Elgar himself conducting.

Because of the technical limitations of recording at the time, Elgar rescored the violin concerto; he reduced most of the orchestral introduction and cut each movement to a fraction of its original length to fit onto one four-minute side. As the cadenza (figs.101–108) plays a large role in the concerto’s structure, Elgar could not leave out the orchestral part so he wrote a new harp part that does not

⁴⁴⁹ Campbell, Margaret, *The Great Violinists* (London: Granada Publishing Limited, 1980), p.146. Albert Sammons (1886–1957) was not only the first to record Elgar’s violin concerto but also he made the first recording of Elgar’s Violin Sonata in E minor on 2nd February 1935 with William Murdoch. Columbia LX 379-381 matrices: CAX 7421-6.

⁴⁵⁰ Mundy, Simon, *Elgar, His Life and Times* (Tunbridge Wells: Midas Books, 1980), p.97.

⁴⁵¹ As early as 1907 audiences were able to attend her ‘gramophone concert’ at the Albert Hall while Hall was on tour in Germany. Faber, Toby, *Stradivarius: One Cello Five Violins and a Genius* (London: Macmillan, 2004), p.185.

appear in the original version to replace the rest of the accompaniment where a soft accompaniment was needed, and in the uncut cadenza (placed just before the finale on the record) to bolster the strumming strings. At the same time all Elgar's understanding of the instrument is in this most poetic cadenza, as it not only displays the violin's technical possibilities but also enables it to show its great expressive quality.

Hall's recorded version took up four 78rpm sides (two 12-inch discs: D79-80), one side for each of the three movements, plus one for the cadenza, thus resulting in a work of less than 16 minutes (*Allegro* 4:00 minutes, *Andante* 4:06 minutes, *Allegro molto* 3:53 minutes) rather than typically between 45 and 55 minutes to perform.⁴⁵² At that time the reduction of long movements was routine not only in recording studios but also in concert halls, particularly for the orchestral tuttis of concertos.⁴⁵³ In the case of Hall's recording, it becomes clear how drastic the cuts were, as her version amounts to little more than a 'selection of themes' from the concerto. If, for example, one compares her recording with Elgar's later recording with Menuhin from 1932, his recording of the slow movement lasts a little over 13 minutes, while Marie Hall's cut version lasts just over four.⁴⁵⁴

It might be argued that tempos on 78 r.p.m. records cannot represent those used in the concert performance especially as the performer of that time had to keep in mind the duration of the 78-rpm discs. Whilst it is difficult to know to what degree the length of 78 rpm sides may have influenced Hall's interpretation of the Elgar concerto, yet, it is tempting to speculate that the speed of her overall performance, even with drastic cuts, was probably on the faster side. Although the speeding up of tempi was part of the style of the time, the faster approach was not only a habit of 'old' style players. More modern recordings of the concerto, such as those by Sammons from 1929 (just 43 minutes), Menuhin from 1932 (approximately 49'), Heifetz from 1949 with Sargent (approximately 42 minutes) and that of Alfredo Campoli from 1954 (45 minutes) are almost 15 minutes faster than the slowest ones. Having said that, the presumption that Hall's perhaps faster approach, is due to her musical insights and virtuosity, rather than to her 'anachronistic' way of playing, although tempting, is perhaps too simplistic a view on this complex

⁴⁵² The recordings originally appeared on the HMV label D79/80, matrix references HO 2408-9af/2412af/2410af. *The Strad*, June 2007, p.64. See also Philip, Robert, *Performing Music in the Age of Recording* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), p.29.

⁴⁵³ Philip, *Performing Music in the Age of Recording*, p.30.

⁴⁵⁴ Menuhin recorded the concerto under Elgar's baton on 1st June 1932 in Abbey Road Studio 1, and their recording has remained in print on 78, LP and CD ever since. Menuhin/Elgar expressive reading takes almost 50 minutes while his stereo remake from 1965 with Sir Adrian Boult and the New Philharmonia is slightly quicker at just under 48 minutes. The slowest version recorded, at well over 55 minutes, is with Ida Haendel and Sir Adrian Boult conducting the London Philharmonic Orchestra.

subject due to empirically limited evidence. Yet, knowing that Elgar claimed that, ‘he has done all he could to help players with detailed markings’ and that he wanted his works to be played ‘elastically and mystically’ and not ‘squarely’ it is clear that in this most fundamental aspect of interpretation, i.e. tempo, he allowed a great deal of freedom to soloists with whom he played.⁴⁵⁵

According to the critic of the *Observer*, Ernest Newman, the difficulty of Elgar’s concerto was that, “he was writing new music in an old form” and concluded that “Elgar has shown us the lines on which new music could safely run.” It is interesting to observe how Hall responded artistically to Elgar’s tentative recommendations.⁴⁵⁶ I believe that the strong Romantic lyricism of Elgarian solo score seems to determine an expressive use of technical virtuosity as concerto is suffused with markings like *nobilmente*, *espressivo*, *largamente espressivo*, *cantabile*, *molto cantabile*, *semplice*, *dolce*, *dolcissimo tranquillo*, *molto maestoso*, *sonoramente*, and *agitato*. Similarly, the melodic line of the solo violin part in the second movement is arranged in intensely strong *sul G* passages and then in dreamy phrases in the instrument’s higher registers reflecting the emotional complexity of Elgar’s music. Having said that, even if we accept that Hall, like other violinists of the time, did not use ‘constant’ vibrato (in my opinion not a realistic definition of the use of the term vibrato as ‘continuous’ is simply not realistic), Elgar’s rich vocabulary of expressive indications, to paraphrase David Hurwitz’s words, could be seen as a sign that continuous vibrato was likely to be a constant component of string timbre, rather than all-or-nothing vibrato proposition, especially having in mind that within a single piece any artist might choose to emphasize certain notes or phrases with added vibrato, or to communicate increasing or relaxing emotional intensity by changing the speed or width of vibrations. Although there is much controversy concerning the degree to which vibrato was used in the past, a beautiful singing tone was a paramount consideration at all times and it can be argued that continuous vibrato arose out of the demand for continuous expression.⁴⁵⁷ I believe that the increasing repertoire of

⁴⁵⁵ Newton, Ivor, *At the Piano* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1966), p.186 and Elgar’s letter to Nimrod dated 1st July 1903, in Young, P.M., *Letters to Nimrod from Edward Elgar* (London: Dobson, 1965), p.192; cited in Philip, *Early Recordings and Musical Style*, pp.26-7.

⁴⁵⁶ *The Birmingham Post*, 11th November 1910; cited in Moore, p.593. Similarly, *The Star*’s reporter claimed that, “it is a work of unusual power, and that it has qualities of newness and unexpectedness.” *The Star*, 11th November 1910, cited in Eulenburg, Ernst, *Elgar Concerto* (London: Ernst Eulenburg Ltd., 1989), pp.5–6;

⁴⁵⁷ For a vibrato question see Hurwitz, David, *Orchestral Vibrato, Historical Context, and the Evidence of the Printed Page*, <http://www.classicstoday.com/features/ClassicsToday-Vibrato.pdf>, Katz, Mark, ‘Aesthetics out of Exigency: Violin Vibrato and the Phonograph’ in his own *Capturing Sounds: How Technology Has Changed Music* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2004), Milsom, David, *Theory and Practice in Late Nineteenth Century Performance* and Philip, Robert, *Early Recordings and Musical Style*.

rich timbre effects and increased size of the orchestra ‘forced’ Hall to develop a greater and fuller sound, employing a richer vibrato in order to highlight an expressive solo melodic line. Likewise, Reed writes of Elgar’s joy in hearing the solo violin boldly entering, as he seems to have encouraged Hall to play it that way. Having said that, it does seem that the finished recording gave Elgar a huge amount of pleasure, as Hall was apparently both reliable and expressive. Elgar’s conclusion that Hall’s version was ‘far superior to the abridged version of Albert Sammons’ is important because it perhaps indirectly confirms that Hall’s style of playing has some of characteristics of modern emotional style, especially knowing that Sammons could ‘play poetical, throbbing cantilena like practically no-one else.’⁴⁵⁸

Neither Elgar, nor the critics ever commented on Hall’s lack of emotional intensity or that she had a dry sound. Not only Elgar, but also Sir Henry Wood, with whom Hall often performed and who recorded the Elgar concerto with Sammons, never commented on her ‘poor’ tone, especially knowing his preference for Ysaÿe’s ‘ravishingly beautiful’ vibrato and ‘sensitive and refined’ performing style.⁴⁵⁹ Indeed, Hall was praised by critics for the expressiveness and beauty of her tone and for her virtuosity that was ‘second to Kubelik.’⁴⁶⁰ As summarised by Hauck, by that time ‘a beautiful and expressive tone was a vibrated tone.’⁴⁶¹ One could argue that although Hall’s vibrato is different from that used today, the manner of its use, as a valued expressive device in her performance of the Elgar concerto, seems to have altogether a more modern character.

As Elgar’s Violin Concerto became a work that was performed and recorded by several distinguished violinists with different styles of playing, his close association with several violinists raises the question as to what was his ‘preferred’ style and interpretation of the concerto. The concerto was dedicated to Kreisler, a modern sounding violinist with characteristic revolutionary continuous vibrato and a warm, charming sound whose playing Elgar admired. Similarly, the other two violinists who recorded the concerto in Elgar’s lifetime, Albert Sammons and

⁴⁵⁸ Wetherell, Eric, *Albert Sammons, Violinist: The Life of Our Albert* (London, 1998), p.78; cited in Phillip, *Performing Music in the Age of Recording*, p.37. *The Times* critic comment after Sammons’s first performance of the Delius violin concerto on 30th January 1919 in a Philharmonic Society Concert at the Queen’s Hall conducted by Adrian Boult; cited in Campbell, Margaret, *The Great Violinist*, p.147.

⁴⁵⁹ Wood, Henry, *My life of Music* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1938), p.130.

⁴⁶⁰ For a ‘vibrato question’ see Hurwitz, David, *Orchestral Vibrato, Historical Context, and the Evidence of the Printed Page*, <http://www.classicstoday.com/features/ClassicsToday-Vibrato.pdf>; accessed 1st August 2014.

⁴⁶¹ Hauck, Werner. *Vibrato on the Violin* (trans. Kitty Rokos) (London: Bosworth & Co. Ltd., 1965), p.21.

Yehudi Menuhin were both considered modern players with full, firm tone, passionate vibrato, fluid finger work and an effortless technique. Elgar never commented on his involvement with different violinists and their different styles of playing, which perhaps suggests that they did not distort Elgar's musical ideas and that their way of playing was probably more similar than it was diverse. There is ample evidence that he was satisfied with both recordings although their styles, both from the point of view of being by two different artists and from the technical limitations imposed by the available technology, are different. In the end what seems to have mattered most was the quality and maturity of musical thought that went into the performance. Recordings of Elgar's concerto possibly demonstrate that those violinists have risen above their generalised and clichéd tools of expression and applied their rather personal style to their performance.

As sound recording was incapable of reproducing anything like the full frequency or dynamic range of a player's sound until the mid-1920s a full picture of her sound and interpretation is partly lost. Research may bring to light that, while Sammons' electrical recordings from 1929 (and later Menuhin's from 1932) became benchmarks by which many others are judged, Sammons' first acoustic and abridged version of the concerto, from April 1916, is neither mentioned, nor described as the 'old-fashion' curiosity. Whilst the 'old fashioned' nature of Hall's recording cannot easily be separated from the fact that it is a heavily-cut acoustic version, at the same time I would like to point out that the acoustic version by Sammons was never judged in the same way. This possibly demonstrates how recordings of the same work by the same player can be judged differently by history, not because of a difference in the quality of their playing, but thanks to the 'transformation' of the quality of sound reproduction due to an entirely new recording technology. Mark Obert-Thorn, in his review of Sammons 1929 rendition of the Elgar concerto commented that, "Few recordings of a late romantic violin concerto have come near this one and none has surpassed it."⁴⁶² Likewise, Andrew McGregor articulates the familiar view of Sammons artistry in general:

"Sammons is such a modern-sounding violinist, with a full, firm tone, passionate vibrato, fluid finger work, and an effortless technique, which makes light of the toughest moments in this concerto. Remember that this would have been recorded in complete takes, and the all-but flawless intonation and confident interpretation is still more impressive."⁴⁶³

⁴⁶²http://www.naxos.com/mainsite/blurbs_reviews.asp; accessed 20th July 2015.

⁴⁶³ McGregor, Andrew, a presenter of CD Review on Radio 3. Elgar Violin Concerto Review, album released 2007; <http://www.bbc.co.uk/music/reviews/zvrg>; accessed 7th July 2015.

At the same time in the words of one modern critic, who was perhaps unsympathetic towards ‘old’ style players, ‘Marie Hall style is ‘anachronistic,’ her playing of Paganini’s ‘Perpetual Motion’ is ‘facile’, some shorter vignettes are ‘dry-toned’ and worst of all, “a horrendous recording of the Elgar Concerto (with composer conducting) (...) can only serve to embarrass her memory.”⁴⁶⁴ It is obvious that Hall’s recording of the Elgar concerto is not an exact representation of what took place in the concert hall. Contemporary accounts found that:

“Among not a few notable performances this autumn the most striking was that given recently by Miss Marie Hall of the Elgar concerto. The concert was the last before Christmas of the London Symphony Orchestra’s series conducted by Sir Edward. Miss Hall played most beautifully. As is well known, the difficulties of the concerto are pretty severe, and while the talented violinist overcame these with consummate ease, it was the sheer beauty of her playing which held one’s attention so strongly. Not that it was especially strong on the emotional or interpretative side; rather that one had a perfect exhibition of violin playing, an all-round display of the peculiar charm the instrument itself can exert when handled, as it seems, by one who believes in its extraordinary powers as a means of musical expression. Of course part of the effect was due to the player’s own quiet, graceful personality. It was quite a performance to remember.”⁴⁶⁵

Given the conditions, cuts and hurried tempos that were needed to squeeze music on to a side this and her other acoustic recordings probably do not do justice to her artistry. Indeed, if Hall had had a second chance to record the concerto we would have a more realistic picture of her interpretation of the entire work. Likewise, critics in general neither pointed out that Hall also had to record ‘in complete takes’ nor that her interpretation of the concerto is historically important, not only was she the first female violinist to record this important twentieth century work but also the first violinist to record the concerto under composer’s baton.

It is a matter of considerable frustration that Hall’s artistic contribution is generally based on substandard recordings as she remained an active performer well after the dawn of the recording era, but was denied the opportunity (contrary to Sammons) to record the Elgar concerto and other then-contemporary works by the electric process.⁴⁶⁶ In 1924 Marie Hall recorded several pieces that probably formed part of

⁴⁶⁴ *The Strad*, March 1973; cited in Faber, Toby, *Stradivarius: One Cello, Five Violins and a Genius* (London: Macmillan, 2004), p.185.

⁴⁶⁵ *The Strad*, January 1913, p.311.

⁴⁶⁶ The acoustic recording process was limited to a range of between 168 and 2,000 Hz in comparison with electrical recordings that were able to capture sounds from 100 up to about 8,000 Hz. That meant that although notes below the E below middle C and notes higher than C three octaves above middle C were still audible, their characteristic timbres and sound qualities were distorted. See Ord-Hume, Arthur W.J.G., Jerome F. Weber, John Borwick, and D.E.E. L., ‘Recorded Sound’ in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (Stanley, Sadie, ed.), (London: Macmillan, 2001), Vol.21, pp.7-

Hall's concert repertoire, Christian Sinding (1856-1941) *Romance*, Op. 9 (1886), Leone Sinigaglia *Capriccio all'antica*, Op. 25 No. 2 (1903), Eugene Aynsley Goossens (1893-1962) *Old Chinese Folk Song* (1912), Op. 4, No. 1, and Gustav Holst (1874-1925) *Valse-Etude* H.56 (1904).⁴⁶⁷ The idea may have been to see if there was a market for modern British repertoire. That the pieces were composed in 1903 and 1912 may have just been bold enough for the recording executives to take the risk. For E340 (issued in May 1924) only 'Discus' gave a review in *The Musical Times* of June 1924, pointing out that Hall's recording of Sinding's *Romance* and Sinigaglia's *Capriccio all' antica* is not recommendable because of the poor quality of the pieces. However, for E348 (issued in August 1924) Alex Robertson in *The Gramophone* (August 1924) reported that, 'the names of Goossens and Holst suggest an outburst of modernism (but no need to fear).' He also commented that both pieces were fastidiously and well played by Hall and added that it was daring of her to choose to record pieces of modern British music that were so widely and hotly discussed as those of Goossens and Holst.' For the same E348 recording, *The Musical Times* of September 1924 commented that, 'Marie Hall's recording of Holst's *Valse-Etude* (dedicated to her) and Goossens's *Old Chinese Folk-Song* was the only violin record that received above average interest and that the playing is delightful in freedom and delicacy.' Sales however were poor and E340 and E 348 were both deleted in December 1925. Hall's recording of *Humoreske* survived for some time, until it was finally discarded in 1934. I believe that Hall's idea to try to extend the taste of a rather conservative record buying public was not welcomed by HMV's recording executives and as a result she was never asked back to make electric recordings, whilst the same opportunity was given to her male colleagues. In 2012 the critic Jonathan Woolf, commented on Hall's rendition of Holst's *Valse-Etude* that it was one of Hall's trickier discs to find. Wanting to compare it with the recording by Rupert Marshall-Luck he doubted she would have played it much better.⁴⁶⁸ The underlying assumption that her playing would be inferior to another male violinist seems here rather unjustified and is likely to illuminate why Hall's artistic achievements are not wider known. Thus, the first woman who premiered and recorded one of the major British violin works of the twentieth century still waits for her playing to receive a more sympathetic hearing. Looking back over nearly a century it is tempting to be nostalgic about the authenticity and simplicity of her playing, yet at

37.

⁴⁶⁷ HMV E340 (Bb 4227-1; Bb 4238-3) and HMV E348 (Bb 4236-3; Bb 4237-1) all recorded on 20 February 1924 with Marguerite Tilleard, piano, except the Sinigaglia that was recorded on the 21st February 1924 with a pianist Charlton Reith. Christian Sinding (1856-1941), Leone Sinigaglia (1868-1944), Aynsley Goossens (1893-1962), and Gustav Holst (1874-1925). For references in this paragraph see <http://fluffontheneedle.blogspot.co.uk>, 29th March 2014; accessed 22nd July 2015.

⁴⁶⁸ <http://www.musicweb-international.com/classrev/2012/Oct12/RVW>; accessed 17th July 2015.

the same time admire Hall's performance that was, at time recognised by Elgar, critics and audiences alike.

In conclusion, if early recordings can teach us that Hall's artistry and her contribution to the development of then-contemporary violin repertoire is perhaps underestimated, then it is not surprising that the legacy of female performers who did not leave any recordings seems to leave them with an even more invisible in the history of the violin.

Chapter Five: Alma Moodie: from an Australian protégée to oblivion

A number of factors had a detrimental impact both on Alma Moodie's life and her place in the history of violin playing. Whilst one might assume that the main reason why she left such small an imprint on the Western classical musical scene was because she did not leave any recordings, especially recordings of her performances of works by her contemporaries, this is not the full story. Several of her concerts were broadcast but sadly the archives were destroyed in Germany during the Second World War and what evidence we might have had of her playing was lost forever.⁴⁶⁹ That those recordings had existed is established in an unpublished letter from Moodie to her mentor Werner Reinhart.⁴⁷⁰ In her letter she commented:

“If you want to hear the Dutch cheese get hysterics, get someone with a good broadcaster to get you Welle (DW) 1050. I'm playing Krenek. It began at 7:30pm Dutch time I believe. Pierre Monteux conducting, he is simply splendid.”⁴⁷¹

Moodie also told Flesch that ‘at the beginning of the month she had a shortwave concert in Berlin that was broadcasted on Deutsche Rundfunk on 15th October 1936 at 18:30.’⁴⁷² Figure 30a and 30b below shows a page from the journal *Der Deutsche Rundfunk* with a programme guide that includes that broadcast:

⁴⁶⁹ Upon my inquiry to the Bayerischer Rundfunk, Historisches Archiv/ABD, München, Südwestrundfunk, Stuttgart, the Bibliothek, Archiv Kassel, the Bundesarchiv-Filmarchiv, Berlin, the Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Frankfurt am Main, the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, the Staatsbibliothek Berlin, the Archive Frau und Musik, the German National Library, Leipzig I received the reply that they did not have any recordings of Alma Moodie; likewise the Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

⁴⁷⁰ Werner Reinhart was a Swiss businessman and one of four brothers who had inherited the mercantile firm Volkart Brothers, an international import-export firm established by their grandfather. George, the only married brother ran the business and accumulated a collection of craft art noted especially for its elegant pieces from India and China. Hans was a poet and translator who prepared the German text for Stravinsky's *L'histoire du soldat*. Oscar collected drawings and paintings of the Baroque and his collection was one of the finest on the continent. Werner, who acquired some competence on the clarinet, became ‘the Maecenas of Winterthur’ who used his considerable wealth to support writers, musicians and composers, including Stravinsky, Hindemith, Krenek, Honegger, Webern, Schoenberg, Berg, Richard Strauss, Hans Pfitzner, Szymanowski, and the poet Rainer Maria Rilke with whom Alma became a good friend. Williamson, John, *The Music of Hans Pfitzner* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp.45–46.

⁴⁷¹ Letter from Alma Moodie to Werner Reinhart, Berlin, 11th May 1925, Winterthur Stadtbibliothek, Ms GR/86/6. Deutsche Welle (German wave) is Germany's international broadcaster.

⁴⁷² Moodie's letter to Reinhart, 31st October 1936; Flesch, p.182.

Deutschland- sender	Berlin	Breslau	Wir hören
Königs Wusterhausen 80,115, 75,7 m, 100 kW	80,115, 75,7 m, 100 kW	83,375, 115,2 m, 100 kW Gleitzeit ... 121,1 m, 24,7 m, 5 kW	
19:00: Glöckchen ... Norbert 19:10: Schallplatten 19:15: (vom Livorno) Konart Aufnahme sehr Berlin 19:20: Deutsches Orchester 19:25: Schallplatten 19:30: Schallplatten 19:35: Schallplatten 19:40: Schallplatten 19:45: Schallplatten 19:50: Schallplatten 19:55: Schallplatten 20:00: Schallplatten 20:05: Schallplatten 20:10: Schallplatten 20:15: Schallplatten 20:20: Schallplatten 20:25: Schallplatten 20:30: Schallplatten 20:35: Schallplatten 20:40: Schallplatten 20:45: Schallplatten 20:50: Schallplatten 20:55: Schallplatten 21:00: Schallplatten 21:05: Schallplatten 21:10: Schallplatten 21:15: Schallplatten 21:20: Schallplatten 21:25: Schallplatten 21:30: Schallplatten 21:35: Schallplatten 21:40: Schallplatten 21:45: Schallplatten 21:50: Schallplatten 21:55: Schallplatten 22:00: Schallplatten 22:05: Schallplatten 22:10: Schallplatten 22:15: Schallplatten 22:20: Schallplatten 22:25: Schallplatten 22:30: Schallplatten 22:35: Schallplatten 22:40: Schallplatten 22:45: Schallplatten 22:50: Schallplatten 22:55: Schallplatten 23:00: Schallplatten 23:05: Schallplatten 23:10: Schallplatten 23:15: Schallplatten 23:20: Schallplatten 23:25: Schallplatten 23:30: Schallplatten 23:35: Schallplatten 23:40: Schallplatten 23:45: Schallplatten 23:50: Schallplatten 23:55: Schallplatten 24:00: Schallplatten	19:00: Norbert 19:10: Schallplatten 19:15: (vom Livorno) Konart Aufnahme sehr Berlin 19:20: Deutsches Orchester 19:25: Schallplatten 19:30: Schallplatten 19:35: Schallplatten 19:40: Schallplatten 19:45: Schallplatten 19:50: Schallplatten 19:55: Schallplatten 20:00: Schallplatten 20:05: Schallplatten 20:10: Schallplatten 20:15: Schallplatten 20:20: Schallplatten 20:25: Schallplatten 20:30: Schallplatten 20:35: Schallplatten 20:40: Schallplatten 20:45: Schallplatten 20:50: Schallplatten 20:55: Schallplatten 21:00: Schallplatten 21:05: Schallplatten 21:10: Schallplatten 21:15: Schallplatten 21:20: Schallplatten 21:25: Schallplatten 21:30: Schallplatten 21:35: Schallplatten 21:40: Schallplatten 21:45: Schallplatten 21:50: Schallplatten 21:55: Schallplatten 22:00: Schallplatten 22:05: Schallplatten 22:10: Schallplatten 22:15: Schallplatten 22:20: Schallplatten 22:25: Schallplatten 22:30: Schallplatten 22:35: Schallplatten 22:40: Schallplatten 22:45: Schallplatten 22:50: Schallplatten 22:55: Schallplatten 23:00: Schallplatten 23:05: Schallplatten 23:10: Schallplatten 23:15: Schallplatten 23:20: Schallplatten 23:25: Schallplatten 23:30: Schallplatten 23:35: Schallplatten 23:40: Schallplatten 23:45: Schallplatten 23:50: Schallplatten 23:55: Schallplatten 24:00: Schallplatten	19:00: Aus d. Gemeindefunk Berlin 19:10: Schallplatten 19:15: (vom Livorno) Konart Aufnahme sehr Berlin 19:20: Deutsches Orchester 19:25: Schallplatten 19:30: Schallplatten 19:35: Schallplatten 19:40: Schallplatten 19:45: Schallplatten 19:50: Schallplatten 19:55: Schallplatten 20:00: Schallplatten 20:05: Schallplatten 20:10: Schallplatten 20:15: Schallplatten 20:20: Schallplatten 20:25: Schallplatten 20:30: Schallplatten 20:35: Schallplatten 20:40: Schallplatten 20:45: Schallplatten 20:50: Schallplatten 20:55: Schallplatten 21:00: Schallplatten 21:05: Schallplatten 21:10: Schallplatten 21:15: Schallplatten 21:20: Schallplatten 21:25: Schallplatten 21:30: Schallplatten 21:35: Schallplatten 21:40: Schallplatten 21:45: Schallplatten 21:50: Schallplatten 21:55: Schallplatten 22:00: Schallplatten 22:05: Schallplatten 22:10: Schallplatten 22:15: Schallplatten 22:20: Schallplatten 22:25: Schallplatten 22:30: Schallplatten 22:35: Schallplatten 22:40: Schallplatten 22:45: Schallplatten 22:50: Schallplatten 22:55: Schallplatten 23:00: Schallplatten 23:05: Schallplatten 23:10: Schallplatten 23:15: Schallplatten 23:20: Schallplatten 23:25: Schallplatten 23:30: Schallplatten 23:35: Schallplatten 23:40: Schallplatten 23:45: Schallplatten 23:50: Schallplatten 23:55: Schallplatten 24:00: Schallplatten	Heute abend: 19:00: Konzerte 19:10: Sinfonia Frankfurt 19:15: Kammermusik, München 19:20: Sinfonia Frankfurt 19:25: Kammermusik, München 19:30: Sinfonia Frankfurt 19:35: Kammermusik, München 19:40: Sinfonia Frankfurt 19:45: Kammermusik, München 19:50: Sinfonia Frankfurt 19:55: Kammermusik, München 20:00: Sinfonia Frankfurt 20:05: Kammermusik, München 20:10: Sinfonia Frankfurt 20:15: Kammermusik, München 20:20: Sinfonia Frankfurt 20:25: Kammermusik, München 20:30: Sinfonia Frankfurt 20:35: Kammermusik, München 20:40: Sinfonia Frankfurt 20:45: Kammermusik, München 20:50: Sinfonia Frankfurt 20:55: Kammermusik, München 21:00: Sinfonia Frankfurt 21:05: Kammermusik, München 21:10: Sinfonia Frankfurt 21:15: Kammermusik, München 21:20: Sinfonia Frankfurt 21:25: Kammermusik, München 21:30: Sinfonia Frankfurt 21:35: Kammermusik, München 21:40: Sinfonia Frankfurt 21:45: Kammermusik, München 21:50: Sinfonia Frankfurt 21:55: Kammermusik, München 22:00: Sinfonia Frankfurt 22:05: Kammermusik, München 22:10: Sinfonia Frankfurt 22:15: Kammermusik, München 22:20: Sinfonia Frankfurt 22:25: Kammermusik, München 22:30: Sinfonia Frankfurt 22:35: Kammermusik, München 22:40: Sinfonia Frankfurt 22:45: Kammermusik, München 22:50: Sinfonia Frankfurt 22:55: Kammermusik, München 23:00: Sinfonia Frankfurt 23:05: Kammermusik, München 23:10: Sinfonia Frankfurt 23:15: Kammermusik, München 23:20: Sinfonia Frankfurt 23:25: Kammermusik, München 23:30: Sinfonia Frankfurt 23:35: Kammermusik, München 23:40: Sinfonia Frankfurt 23:45: Kammermusik, München 23:50: Sinfonia Frankfurt 23:55: Kammermusik, München 24:00: Sinfonia Frankfurt

Figure 30a. Alma Moodie's Shortwave Concert

18.30: Alma Moodie spielt
(Aufnahme vom Deutschen Kurz-
wellensender)
Händel: Sonate D-dur (Alma Moodie,
Violine; Max Narath, am Flügel)
18.45: Sportfunk

Figure 30b. Detail highlighted on the left

Due to the absence of recordings of Alma Moodie we can never be completely certain about her playing style, performing habits and the musical insights of her performances of works by her contemporaries. Although it is difficult to ignore the ways in which recordings affect someone's artistic presence in the history of violin playing, I believe that even if a small number of her gramophone recordings survived, as in a case of Joachim, Sarasate or Ysaye, we would still not be able to fully reconstruct her art. In other words, although recordings represent the only

direct aural evidence of her playing, an examination of the testimony of other musicians and critics about Moodie's style of playing may serve as a potentially valuable device to outline her artistry. Alma Moodie's concert career started with the inclusion in her debut programme of Kurt Atterberg's violin concerto and she continued to perform then-contemporary works by Bartók, Jarnach, Pfitzner, Wellesz, Krenek, Hindemith, Erdmann and others at contemporary music festivals in the 1920s. Whilst the majority of these works are now not part of the mainstream canonic selection, it is still worth remembering that Moodie was an active participant in the development of the then-contemporary violin repertoire from as early as 1913, something she never got credit for.

Alma Moodie's artistic life

"I doubt that you fully realise my passion for the violin and the extent to which the perfect mastery of this instrument is my life's aim."⁴⁷³

Alma Moodie was born in Mount Morgan, Queensland, on 12th September 1898. Her mother Susan (née McClafferty), a piano teacher, noted Moodie's musical talent at an early age and took her to Ludwig D'Hage, a Bohemian violinist, an established teacher and the conductor of the Orpheus Orchestra.⁴⁷⁴ After three and half years' tuition in piano and violin and several successful public recitals Moodie gained a scholarship to the *Conservatoire Royale de Musique* in Brussels, where she enrolled on 12th November 1907 despite her extreme youth (student record card no. 9114).⁴⁷⁵ She graduated after two and a half years in June 1910 and was awarded, "un premier prix avec la plus grande distinction" with fifty-nine points out of sixty and placed second in a class of seventeen students.⁴⁷⁶ Although she attended the violin classes of César Thomson (1857–1931), it was in fact Oskar Back (1879–1963) who became her principal teacher and one of her father figures during her life. He gave Moodie free extra lessons and lent her his Gagliano violin at the start of her career.

⁴⁷³ Flesch, 'And do you also play the violin?', p.173.

⁴⁷⁴ He studied at the conservatorium of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* in Vienna in 1877–80, but left suddenly without taking a degree. In October 1880 came to Australia as a member of Wildner's Strauss Austrian Band for the International Exhibition and decided to stay. He settled in Rockhampton, and since 1855 had been dominating the musical life of the city as a violin teacher and a conductor of the Orpheus Club Orchestra, which he made the best in Queensland over next twenty-five years. After moving to Sydney in 1912 he failed to find appropriate place in its musical establishment and made his living entirely by private teaching. Alma Moodie kept in touch with her first teacher Ludwig D'Hage long after she had won success in Europe. McDonald, Lorna L., 'Ludwig D'Hage (1863–1960)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/dhage-ludwig-5973/text10191>; accessed 20th May 2012.

⁴⁷⁵ That was indeed the last time she saw Mount Morgan and Australia.

⁴⁷⁶ Dreyfus, 'Alma Moodie and the Landscape of Giftedness', p.5.

After her graduation Moodie began to earn some money, presumably through concert appearances. Of her performance of the Mendelssohn concerto at a concert in Antwerp in 1910, the critic of the *Le Matin* commented:

“In effect, Alma Moodie appears to have been born a violinist, for she possess not only a grand mechanism but also sentiment and style, things very rare at her age.”⁴⁷⁷

It was during her London visit of 1911 that she played to Auer who invited her to come to St Petersburg, but her mother could not afford his fees and was apprehensive to move with her daughter to Russia. They went back to Germany where Moodie made her debut with a recital in the Blüthnersaal in Berlin, on 7th November 1911. Although the critic from the *Berliner Lokalanzeiger* of 9th November commented on her unexpectedly (for a young girl) fluent technique and beautiful tone, yet, he found her playing lacking maturity. At the same time, a critic from *Die Music* of 1st December 1911 pointed out that Moodie, ‘knows how to come to terms satisfactorily with a brittle piece like Bach’s *Chaconne*.’⁴⁷⁸ Thus, Moodie continued to perform in Germany and France, often-replacing artists who were ill, with a mixed reception.

Nonetheless, in autumn 1912 Moodie got the opportunity to play to Max Reger, a composer and conductor of the court orchestra at Meiningen that was founded in 1690 and developed into an elite European ensemble under Hans von Bülow. It is worth saying that Reger did not regularly champion child prodigies or female musicians; however he definitely responded to Moodie. On 17th November 1913 he wrote to his patron:

“Today a 13-year-old English girl played for me; the biggest violin talent I have ever encountered. The 13-year-old played Bach solo sonatas for me, sonatas which are the most difficult to play of any in the whole literature of violin music (...) I am not ashamed to admit that there were tears in my eyes. Our Lord God has certainly created one of his miracles.”⁴⁷⁹

With those words Reger managed to secure the duke’s patronage and further concerts with the court orchestra for Moodie. Reger also engaged Moodie to play the Brahms concerto on 9th December 1913 with the Meininger Hofkapelle (an

⁴⁷⁷ ‘A Queensland Violinist’, *Brisbane Courier*, 28th May 1910, p.12; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard’s Bride*, p.11. In news reports during 1910-11 she continued to be described as ‘an infant prodigy.’

⁴⁷⁸ *Die Music*, XI/5, Dezemberheft 1911, p.309; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard’s Bride*, p.12.

⁴⁷⁹ Mueller von Asow, H., and E.H. (eds.), *Max Reger, Briefwechsel mit Herzog Georg II von Sachsen-Meiningen* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1949), p.419; cited in Dreyfus, ‘Alma Moodie and the Landscape of Giftedness,’ p.8.

orchestra especially associated with the music of Brahms), and Reger's *Suite im alten Stil*, Op. 93 (1906).⁴⁸⁰ The same programme by Moodie, "a rare apparition in the world of virtuosity", was repeated at Eisenach on 6th December and in Hildburghausen on 7th December.⁴⁸¹ See Figure 31:

Meiningen
Herzogliches Hoftheater.

Dienstag, den 9. Dezember 1913, abends 8¹/₄ Uhr:

Zweites Abonnements-Konzert
der Herzoglichen Hofkapelle

unter Leitung von
Herrn Generalmusikdirektor **Dr. Max Reger**
unter Mitwirkung von
Alma Moodie aus Brüssel (Violine).

PROGRAMM:

1. **L. van Beethoven:** Ouvertüre zu „Egmont“.

2. **Joh. Brahms:** Konzert für Violine und Orchester, op. 77.
a) Allegro ma non troppo.
b) Adagio.
c) Allegro giocoso, ma non troppo vivace.

Pause.

3. **Max Reger:** Präludium und Fuge für Violine allein, E-moll, op. 117 Nr. 3.

4. **L. van Beethoven:** Fünfte Symphonie, C-moll.
a) Allegro con brio.
b) Andante con moto.
c) Allegro.
d) Allegro Presto.

Während der Dauer eines Musikstückes bleiben die Türen geschlossen.

Preise der Plätze:

I. Rang 3.50 Mk., I. Parkett 3.— Mk., II. Parkett 2.50 Mk., II. Rang 2.50 Mk.
Orchesterplatz 1.50 Mk., III. Rang 1.—5. Reihe 1.20 Mk., 6.—9. 0.50 Mk., Stehplatz 0.80 Mk.

Schriftliche Bestellungen auf Eintrittskarten sind an Herrn Hoftheaterkassierer **Paul Frenkel** zu richten.
Mündliche Bestellungen auf Eintrittskarten werden nicht angenommen.
Für jeden vorbestellten Platz ist eine Vorverkaufgebühr von 20 Pfg. zu zahlen.
Eine Vorverkaufgebühr für an der Tageskasse entnommene Karten wird nicht erhoben.
Für Plätze im Preise von 80 und 50 Pfg. werden Vorausbestellungen nicht angenommen.
Der Kartenverkauf findet am Tage des Konzerts vormittags von 11 bis 12¹/₂ Uhr und abends von 7 Uhr ab an der Kasse im Herzoglichen Hoftheater statt.

Kasseöffnung 7 Uhr. **Aufang 8¹/₄ Uhr.** Ende nach 10 Uhr.

Figure 31. Programme of Moodie's debut with the Herzoglichen Hofkapelle, Meiningen, 9th December 1913⁴⁸²

⁴⁸⁰ Reger also dedicated several works to Henri Marteau (1874–1934) including his monumental Violin Concerto Op. 101 in A major (1907–8) that Marteau premiered at the Leipzig Gewandhaus in October 1908. The work never entered the main violin repertoire because of its complexity and length. Carl Flesch suggested a few cuts, but Reger declined it believing that he had created a violin concerto matching those of Beethoven or Brahms. Schwarz, *Great Masters of the Violin*, p.324.

⁴⁸¹ *Eisenacher Tagespost*, 8th December 1913 and *Hildburghäuser Kreisblatt*, 6th December 1913. Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, p.15.

⁴⁸² Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, p.27.

The critic from the *Meininger Tageblatt* similarly commented on 10th December 1913, “Hardly ever has one experienced anything like this in the world of German concert going. Although some boys of fifteen or sixteen may begin their career this early, I have certainly never heard the like from a *female* artist.” He also commented on Moodie’s *tiny stature* and at the same time, the surprising *strength* of her playing. Of her performance of the Reger he wrote, “It was like an *angelic* voice which sings a song of faith, piety and belief in God.”⁴⁸³ I would suggest that these comments serve to outline that critics’ assessment of her playing is based on her gender rather than on her artistry. Following her success Reger dedicated his *Präludium und Fugue*, Op.131a, No.4 (1914) to Moodie and asked his agent Robert Knoblauch to secure her many engagements in the following winter.

Yet, Moodie’s good fortune began to change as her on-going ducal patronage stopped after the Duke’s death in 1914. The First World War put a halt to her studies for several years and forced her to return to Brussels, where she remained for the rest of the war. Moodie, aged twenty, alone and bereft, came back to Germany again in 1918 and settled in the castle of her new guardian Fürst Christian Ernst zu Stolberg und Wernigerode well known for his philanthropic instinct.⁴⁸⁴ In her letter to Flesch of 27th November 1918 she describes the Prince as her Vormund (guardian), although there are no official documents confirming her formal adoption. It would seem that Moodie’s subsequent studies with Flesch were sponsored by her guardian. By that time Moodie’s playing, in Flesch’s words, “had badly deteriorated, though her talent had not greatly suffered.”⁴⁸⁵ Her later letter from 12th May 1925 demonstrates the intensity of her studies with Flesch and her determination to respond to his quest for refinement of technique and tone production in order to return to her career as a virtuoso:

“I played for Flesch, once with piano and once alone, [which] meant two solid hours of the hardest best work I have ever known (...) Of course it’s hard, there is not a corner left to hide in and one has not only to own up but also to see one taken self to bits and it’s perfectly awful – I am always ill after it! But there is no nonsense left in you and its worth anything in this world.”⁴⁸⁶

As Flesch was committed to *Klangschönheit* (beauty of sound) and perfection of tone, Moodie in her letter to Reinhart pointed out that she got, “a dose of work for *seven* months. I froze stiff on the spot- it was for Tonschönheit! Froschtechnik &

⁴⁸³ *Meininger Tageblatt*, 10th December 1913; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard’s Bride*, p.15.

⁴⁸⁴ Her mentor Reger died in May 1916 and she lost her mother due to illness in the spring of 1918.

⁴⁸⁵ Flesch, *Memoirs*, p.316.

⁴⁸⁶ Ms GR 86/3, SbW.

ähnliches (beauty of tone, bow technique and such like).⁴⁸⁷ For Moodie Flesch was not only important artistically but also humanly:

“Flesch is an incredible human being and unbelievably kind and for this reason I really like him. As long as I know him he could never hurt me. I am even allowed to say the most stupid things without being laughed at. He is still developing and I find that wonderful for the person being over fifty.”⁴⁸⁸

Moodie was proud to be a “child of his mind and spirit and his violin playing.”⁴⁸⁹ Their affection was mutual and Flesch ‘amongst his pupils liked Alma Moodie best’, thus perhaps confirming that for him womanhood and violin virtuosity were not mutually exclusive.⁴⁹⁰

After a short and intensive period of studying, Flesch arranged Moodie’s debut for 6th November 1919 with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra under Max von Schillings. She was to play the Brahms concerto, the Paganini D major (with Flesch’s cadenza) and to premiere a new concerto in E minor, Op.7 (1913) by the Swedish composer Kurt Magnus Atterberg (1887–1974). A second concert took place on 12th December, when she played the Mozart D major concerto K217, the Schillings concerto Op. 25 and Lalo’s *Symphonie espagnole*.⁴⁹¹ Despite this demanding and an unusual choice of programme for a female player, the critics found that she was a violin phenomenon, comparable with the greatest living players, and her success resulted in her signing an exclusive contract with the prestigious concert agency Wolff and Sachs in 1920. From then on she assumed the life of a travelling virtuoso, giving 90 concerts in the 1922–23 seasons, 70 of them in seven months, during a tour that took her from Switzerland to Italy, Paris, Berlin and ‘the Orient.’⁴⁹² In her letter to Werner Reinhart from 27th February 1924 she wrote:

“My concerts were a triumph! And ended in Amsterdam with an ovation from the audience and orchestra who rose to their feet – a thing that does not often happened with those cheese headed people.

⁴⁸⁷ Moodie’s letter to Reinhart dated 12th May 1925, Ms GR86/6, SbW; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard’s Bride*, p.34. As they discussed not only her playing but also the violin repertoire, Moodie tried to keep his teaching tradition alive after he was forced to leave Germany by the Nazi regime.

⁴⁸⁸ Alma Moodie’s letter to Reinhart, 15th May 1924. Ms GR 86/4, SbW.

⁴⁸⁹ Letter from Alma Moodie to Carl Flesch, 9th April 1930, Carl Flesch Collection, Haags Gemeentemuseum, Den Haag. Cited in Dreyfus, ‘Alma Moodie and the Landscape of Giftedness,’ p. 8

⁴⁹⁰ Flesch, *Memoirs*, p.316. Interestingly, amongst other Flesch’s female students that are greatly admired for their mastery by critics and audiences regardless of gender are Ginette Neveu and Ida Haendel.

⁴⁹¹ Moodie, letter to Flesch, 27th November 1918, Carl Flesch Collection, NMI; Carl F. Flesch, letter to Kay Dreyfus, 26th September 1991; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard’s Bride*, p.39

⁴⁹² Dreyfus, *Bluebeard’s Bride*, p.42.

(I played Brahms.) I have the engagement for the whole Tourneé with Mengelberg for this fall in my pocket, with the possibility of something quite new in Amsterdam, half new in Hague and Beethoven for the rest, a huge honour. Last not least!”⁴⁹³

Thus, by the 1920s Alma Moodie was an established artist in Berlin and Germany. It was a great achievement for a young woman of her generation to be recognised in Berlin, since next to New York, London, Paris and Vienna, this was one of the world’s main musical centres. By 1939 Berlin had some 600 annual concerts, 81 orchestras lead by legendary conductors such as Klemperer, Kleiber, Walter and Furtwängler, 200 chamber groups, more than 600 choruses and two teaching institutions, the Prussian Academy of Fine Arts and the Academy of Music, which attracted leading avant-garde composers like Schoenberg, Hindemith and Busoni, who all taught there. This provided an ambience in which Moodie could live a fairly bohemian life, travel alone and, through her friends and patrons, have an entrée into the higher circles of German avant-garde culture, something that was hardly possible for young women of her generation.⁴⁹⁴

During the time of hyperinflation in Germany in the 1920s Moodie’s new supporter became Werner Reinhart, a Swiss businessman and patron of the arts. Moodie and Reinhart probably met after her first appearance with the Musikkollegium Winterthur on 25th October 1922, when she played Bach’s E major concerto under Scherchen. About that meeting she wrote, “In appearance he is a real Swiss, but on closer acquaintance he proves to be quite an exceptional human being, cultured, able to put new ideas into practice, with great musical understanding, very wealthy and besides as noble a person as you could hope to meet – a real Christian.”⁴⁹⁵ At that time Reinhart gave Moodie particular focus and direction in her life as he often used his connections and influence to advance her career. Her letter dated 10th September 1924 demonstrates their unshakable friendship:

⁴⁹³ Joseph Willem Mengelberg (1871–1951), a Dutch conductor and principal of the Concertgebouw Orchestra from 1895–1945. Moodie’s letter to Reinhart, Ms GR 86/4, SbW.

⁴⁹⁴ See Dreyfus, ‘Alma Moodie and the Landscape of Giftedness’, p.9.

⁴⁹⁵ Letter to the German composer Hans Pfitzner, 27th December 1923, Sign. F 68 Pfitzner 89/39; cited in Dreyfus, Kay, ‘The Patron, the Master and the Acolyte: Creative Collaborations Around the Pfitzner Violin Concerto op.32 (1923)’, *Musicology Australia*, Vol.33, No.2 (2011), p.5. Werner heard Hermann Scherchen (1891–1966) conducting Krenek’s 1st Symphony on 25th October 1922 and offered him the position of a permanent guest conductor of the Winterthur Musikkollegium Stadtorchester. Scherchen felt that the presence of modern works together with classics would work well also from the educational point of view. Hailey, Christopher, *Franz Schreker 1878–1934: A Cultural Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 48–49.

“This year I want (...) that we will keep our friendship over, high over just ordinary friendship and turn it into something that each year will be better; it is a friendship that nothing can destroy.”⁴⁹⁶

See Figure 32:



Figure 32. Alma Moodie with her close friends, Rainer Maria Rilke and Werner Reinhart

Thanks to Reinhart and his connections Moodie was able to meet contemporary composers such as Schoenberg, Webern, Berg, Krenek, Hindemith, Honegger, Richard Strauss, Othmar Schoek, Erdmann, Pfitzner and Stravinsky, and arguably helped establish herself on the German musical scene. Moodie's letter to Reinhart from 6th June 1923 demonstrates that she was absolutely determined to make her name:

“Life is a funny thing, yet somehow or other, I don't know why I do believe in it or in ourselves – where there is a will there is a way for nearly everything my dear and (...) I believe that what we really want we get, the only thing is to want it hard enough; we generally give it up too soon (...) Life gives us chances enough and we only have to be quick enough to grasp them.”⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹⁶ Moodie's letter to Reinhart, 10th September 1924. Ms GR 86/5, SbW.

⁴⁹⁷ Moodie's letter to Reinhart, 6th June 1923. Ms GR 86/3, SbW.

Reihart also enabled her to enter the influential (IGNM), better known in English as the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM), at which she regularly performed. There on 2nd August 1922 she played Bartók's second violin sonata and the solo sonata Op.12 written for her by Eduard Erdmann.

On 4th March 1923 she wrote to Reinhart:

"I am busy now working out programmes for my big next year plan. I have managed to get Mlynarsky in Warsaw to let me play Szymanowski's concerto there at the end of April (...) now I will go through all the new French things. If you hear or see good new violin things, just note them down, will you, in case I don't know them."⁴⁹⁸

Then at Reinhart's invitation she went to Prague for the second IGNM festival in June 1924, where she played Szymanowski's violin concerto with the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra under the conductor Grzegorz Fitelberg. In her letter to Flesch dated 5th June 1924 Moodie commented:

"On the 27th we had our first rehearsal. Fitelberg conducted well. Szymanowski [*sic*] was present and declared himself more than delighted. It really appears that I possess an organ for compositions of this kind."⁴⁹⁹

Whilst this is undeniably speculative, Szymanovsky's warm response to Moodie's performance may account as valuable evidence; it indirectly relates Moodie's playing style to that of 'the most authentic exponent' of Szymanovsky's music, Paul Kochanski (1887-1934),⁵⁰⁰ Kochanski's playing style has been described by Henry Roth as, "a marvellous blend of the Russian school as represented by Auer's finest pupils and the older, grandly romantic Belgian school as epitomised by Ysaÿe." Yet, Szymanowski commented that their collaboration had created a new violin idiom in compositions such as the *Nocturne and Tarantella*, Op. 28 (1915), the *Myths*, Op.30 (1915) and the Violin Concerto No. 1, Op. 35 (1916), forging "a new utterance in violin playing, something you might call epochal."⁵⁰¹ Szymanowski was also aware that the influence of this new violin style was

⁴⁹⁸ Moodie's letter to Reinhart, 4th March 1923. Ms GR 86/3, SbW.

⁴⁹⁹ Flesch, 'And do you also play the violin?', p.176.

⁵⁰⁰ Flesch, *The Memoirs of Carl Flesch*, p.340.

⁵⁰¹ Roth, Henry 'Refined Colourist' in *The Strad*, 98, No.1169 (September 1987), p.689. See also Szymanowski's letter to Zofia Kochańska, March 5, 1930 in Teresa Chylińska, *Dzieje Przyjaźni: Korespondencja Karola Szymanowskiego z Pawłem i Zofią Kochanskimi* (Correspondence of Karol Szymanowski with Paweł and Zofia Kochańska), Krakow: PWM, 1971, p.242; translated for the author by Edmund Zawacki, Professor Emeritus of Slavic Languages, University of Wisconsin-Madison. Greive, Tyrone, 'Kochański's Collaborative Work As Reflected in His Manuscript Collection' *Polish Music Journal*, Vol.1, No.1, Summer 1998. <http://www.usc.edu>; accessed 6th July 2015.

disseminated through his own compositions and through Kochanski's collaborative work with other composers. According to Alistair Wightman, technical and musical influences from the *Myths* can be found in Bartók's Sonata No. 1 and Sonata No. 2 for violin and piano (1921 and 1922) that Moodie performed with Bartók.⁵⁰² In short, I believe that the association of Moodie's name in 1920s with composers such as Stravinsky, Bartók, and Szymanovsky is both relevant and interesting as their warm comments about her artistry demonstrate that they valued her understanding of the new approach to the violin that their works required.⁵⁰³

Having said that, after the second IGNM festival the historian Anton Haefeli acknowledged that Moodie's and Szigeti's performances of contemporary music were favoured, as although 'the interpretations were of a consistently high level, the two soloists (Moodie and Szigeti) excelled.'⁵⁰⁴ And, yet, comparatively at least, the critic's judgment on their artistry does not reflect their different position in the history of violin playing. Szigeti, who according to Boris Schwarz, 'did not have always flawless technique, whose tone lacked 'sensuous beauty due to his old-fashioned way of holding the bow,' and whose playing was sometimes even criticised for 'poor intonation,' continue to be, "respected by musicians and general public as well."⁵⁰⁵ Moreover, Szigeti continues to be recognised as an avid champion of new music. According to Bloch:

"Modern composers realise that when Szigeti plays their music, their inmost fancy, their slightest intentions become fully realised, and their music is not exploited for the glorification of the artist and his technique, but that artist and technique become the humble servant of the music."⁵⁰⁶

Yet, Moodie, who was equally at the forefront of stylistic changes, who was an active participant in the then-contemporary music scene, well-known for her,

⁵⁰² In 1921 Bartók ordered Szymanowski's latest works from Universal Edition and studied them sufficiently to call to the attention of the publisher a printer's error in the third *Myth*. In the same year he and violinist Zoltán Székely publicly performed all three *Myths* in Budapest. See Alistair Wightman, "Szymanowski, Bartók, and the Violin" in *Musical Times* 122, No.1657 (March 1971), pp.161-2.

⁵⁰³ Stravinsky remained his friendly relationship with Moodie and she gave the reception for him in Cologne on 3rd December 1931, at the time of the premiere of the Stravinsky violin concerto.

⁵⁰⁴ Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, p.62.

⁵⁰⁵ Schwarz, Boris, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Second Edition (London: Macmillan Publishers, 2001), p.886; Downes, Olin, "Music", *The New York Times*, 16th December 1925, Milstein, Nathan (with Volkov, Solomon), *From Russia To The West*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1990), p.93.

⁵⁰⁶ "Royal Concertgebow Orchestra, 9th November 1939: Bloch." <http://www.andante.com>; accessed 28th August 2015.

“lucid readings of the works,” and her ability to be “totally emphatic” to the music she was playing, is clearly not remembered for her efforts.⁵⁰⁷

In her letter to Carl Flesch dated 6th January 1924, describes her artistic mission perfectly:

“Of course I am ambitious, very much so in fact, and it is my wish to have introduced and popularised a few good compositions.”⁵⁰⁸

In fact, not only Moodie but also Reinhart was undoubtedly part of this ‘mission,’ as he used his connections, influence and money to buy new works (he already paid for Stravinsky’s *L’Histoire du Soldat* (1918) that he dedicated to him and founded a series of Stravinsky’s chamber music concerts).⁵⁰⁹ It was indeed Reinhart, who in 1925 bought from Stravinsky for one thousand Swiss francs, an eight-month performance exclusivity contract on the arrangement of the *Suite italienne* (the suite of five movements for violin and piano based on music by Pergolesi, after Stravinsky’s ballet *Pulcinella*), which will invite Moodie to premiere the piece in Frankfurt on 25th November 1925 and consequently play it with Stravinsky in his recital programmes.⁵¹⁰ One might argue that Stravinsky’s decision to give the initial rights to Moodie (and not Dushkin) was not only testimony to Reinhart’s influence, but also to Stravinsky’s recognition of Moodie’s powers as a contemporary music player, as by then she already the dedicatee of several then-contemporary pieces including violin concertos by Pfitzner and Krenek and had successfully premiered them. It is curious to note that in *Stravinsky: A Creative Spring: Russia and France, 1882–1934*, Stephen Walsh mentioned their first appearance:

“Stravinsky and Moodie played the violin suite for the first time in public, amid grumbles about the arrangements, which, in one critic’s view, deprived the ballet music of its most effective attribute, its

⁵⁰⁷ Interestingly, a Bohemian-born pianist Rudolf Serkin in conversation with Tully Potter in 1975 pointed out that his duo partner, a famous German violinist Adolf Busch (1891-1952) ‘did not touch Bartók,’ though Serkin wanted to play some of his music. See Potter, Tully, *Adolf Busch: The Life of an Honest Musician* (London: Toccata Press, 2010), Vol.2 1939-52, p.1053.

⁵⁰⁸ Moodie’s letter to Reinhart, 6th January 1924. Ms GR 86/4, SbW.

⁵⁰⁹ Stravinsky dedicated his *Pulcinella Suite* (1925) to his friend, a Russian-Polish violinist Paul Kochanski, but after the premiere with Alma Moodie, to pacify Kochanski, Stravinsky dedicated two arrangements from *The Firebird* (“Lullaby” and “Prelude and the “Princesses’ Round Dance”) to him. However, the incident with the *Pulcinella Suite* had no ill effect on their friendship, which remained close until Kochanski’s death in 1934. See Pasler, Jann (ed.), *Confronting Stravinsky: Man, Musician, and Modernist* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p.303.

⁵¹⁰ Stravinsky thus withheld the privilege of a premiere from Dushkin. Craft, Robert (ed.), *Stravinsky: Selected Correspondence* (New York: Knopf, 1985), Vol.3, pp.139. See also Sulzer, *Zehn Komponisten*, Vol.1, p.185.

orchestration, and the otherwise excellent violinist Alma Moodie played it, what's more with notable lack of security.”⁵¹¹

Certainly, Stravinsky in his *Autobiography* gave a different opinion on Moodie as a player. He described performing his first suite for violin and piano at the house of his friend Werner Reinhardt with, an “excellent young violinist.”⁵¹² Knowing that Kochanski's performing style (both musically and technically oriented towards twentieth-century standards) was greatly valued by Stravinsky, his compliment perhaps indirectly signifies that Moodie's artistry was similar to that of *Pulcinella's* dedicatee.⁵¹³

Whilst the contract obliged Stravinsky to play with Moodie on a number of occasions, yet despite mutual fondness they did not become a regular duo although her letter to Flesch dated 24th September 1925 confirms that they were plans to play together on the radio:

“Scherchen has been able to change the date and wants me to play sonatas with Stravinsky on the radio?”⁵¹⁴

Stravinsky required total dedication from a violinist and I believe that Moodie with her busy schedule could not commit.⁵¹⁵ The subsequent collaboration between Stravinsky and Dushkin became legendary as he closely cooperated with Stravinsky on his violin concerto, which he premiered on 23rd October 1931 with Stravinsky conducting the Berlin Rundfunk Orchestra and recorded with him conducting the Lamoureux Orchestra (VLP 6340). Stravinsky also composed several other pieces to play with Dushkin in concert tours in Europe in 1932–34 and in America 1937, such as the *Duo Concertante* and *Divertimento* (an adaptation of Stravinsky's ballet *Le Baiser de la Fée*) for violin and piano.⁵¹⁶

⁵¹¹ Walsh, Stephen *Stravinsky: A Creative Spring: Russia and France, 1882–1934* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999), p.424.

⁵¹² Stravinsky, Igor, *Stravinsky: An Autobiography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1936), p.126.

⁵¹³ Whilst Stravinsky also collaborated with Dushkin, who was “a much more old-fashioned player than Szigeti” the *Pulcinella* was dedicated to Kochanski whose style of playing was more in the modern manner. Philip, *Early recordings*, p.236.

⁵¹⁴ Moodie's letter to Flesch dated 24th September 1925. Ms GR 86/6, SbW.

⁵¹⁵ Stravinsky remained in a friendly relationship with Moodie and she gave the reception for him in Cologne on 3rd December 1931, at the time of the premiere of Stravinsky's violin concerto. In her letter of 11th December 1931 to Flesch, Moodie commented about Stravinsky, “As a human being he is simply enchanting. He did not feel under any obligation to ‘talk’, but he could be, and was, himself and showed that he possesses a degree of loyalty and kindness which surprised and touched me.” Flesch, ‘*And do you also play the violin?*’, p.184.

⁵¹⁶ Dushkin also performed Copland, *Two Pieces* for violin and piano (1926), *Nocturne* and *Ukelele Serenade* (dedicated to Dushkin); William Schuman, *Violin Concerto* (1947; 1st rev., 1954); Martinů (*Suite Concertante* (1955), Vittorio Rieti *Rondo variato* for violin and piano (c. 1949) and Ravel's *Tzigane*, which he premiered in America. See Schwarz, *Great Masters of the Violin*, p.516 and Canarina, John, *Pierre Monteux, Maître* (New Jersey: Amadeus Press, 2003), p.341.

In the years to come Moodie continue to premiere and perform then-contemporary works. In her letter to Flesch she listed her performances in the 120 concertos she had played in the two years to June 1924:

“I have played in public about 120 times and performed in the “modern section” the Pfitzner violin sonata and concerto, Erdmann sonata, Suter violin concerto, Szymanowski the *Trois Mythes*. That was at ordinary concerts. At modern music festivals I played sonatas by Bartók and Erdmann, Jarnach, Wellesz Suite and Szymanowski Concerto.”⁵¹⁷

Therefore, it is not surprising that Moodie was considered, “a progressive power in Europe’s modernistic ranks.”⁵¹⁸ More recently, the Australian violinist and composer David Osborne wrote a violin concerto in five movements entitled *Pictures of Alma*, which was premiered on 30th May 2010 by Rachelle Bryson and the Raga Dolls Salon Orchestra at the ABS South Bank Centre, Melbourne. The idea of the concerto was to depict Alma Moodie in music at the various stages of her life and remind us of this at the time progressive artist.⁵¹⁹ See Appendix D where are listed works dedicated to Alma Moodie and pieces she premiered.

At the same time Moodie knew what kind of modern music she disliked. She commented in her letter to Reinhart in April 1924:

“It was my turn to laugh yesterday, Scherchen overreacted to my letter in asking me to come and play Alois Hába’s quarter-tone system *Fantasie for Violin Solo* in Frankfurt! Of course I won’t. I really haven’t got time nor nerves for that kind of work.”⁵²⁰

She also confirmed her aversion to Hába’s musical ideas to Flesch:

“I asked Hába to explain his ideas to me in detail, as I can’t see what he is hoping to achieve with all this. Time alone will tell whether he is a fool or a great seer ahead of his time. I incline to the former.”⁵²¹

⁵¹⁷ Flesch, ‘*And do you also play the violin?*’, pp.179-80.

⁵¹⁸ Waters, Thorold, ‘The High Cost of Celebrities: Unconscionable Demands of Those We Need’, *Australian Musical News*, March 1932, p.3; cited in Dreyfus, ‘Alma Moodie and the Landscape of Giftedness’, p.2.

⁵¹⁹ In a personal e mail David Osborne wrote, “It is hard for me to go into too much detail about the way each movement of the concerto describes aspects of Alma’s life because for me inspiration works on a very abstract level. It’s probably best left to the interpretation of the listener, but here are some insights that might help: Movement 1: Alma’s Theme – a tune that tries to portray Alma’s personality and that ‘haunted look’ she has in many photos. Movement 2: Train Ride from Rockhampton – returning home to Mount Morgan after a lesson, and daydreaming out the window as the train climbs through the rainforest eventually drifting off to sleep. Movement 3: Waking up in a strange land and first impressions of a European city Brussels; around every street corner a new surprise! Movement 4: Left behind final years of frustration. Movement 5: Elegy – a sad end. Movement 6: Alma Comes Home – remembering Alma, and bringing her spirit home even if she never quite got here in person.”

⁵²⁰ Moodie’s letter to Flesch, 5th June 1924; Flesch, ‘*And do you also play the violin?*’, p.175.

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*

It seems that of equal interest to her was Rudolf Moser's (1892–1960) Violin Concerto in G, Op. 31 (1926), as she even stated:

“Then on the 5th November I am playing Moser's Concerto in Berlin! I haven't seen it but I am being paid so heavily that I am going to close both ears if it is rotten.”⁵²²

In her letter to Flesch dated 11th March 1937 Moodie reveals that, although she was curious about Furtwängler's new violin sonata, she found it ‘not very exciting, being written in the style of young Brahms.’⁵²³ Regarding Stravinsky's Violin Concerto she commented to Flesch that his violin concerto is not her ‘cup of tea’ and is ‘almost too carefully groomed for her taste.’⁵²⁴ Whilst Moodie's remarks about these works are clearly deprecatory, she found Prokofiev's first concerto ‘very attractive.’⁵²⁵

At the height of her career, on the 18th December 1927, Moodie married Alexander Balthasar Alfred Spengler, a German lawyer. Throughout her marriage she hoped to achieve ‘a discipline and steadiness which will enable her to work with greater regularity.’⁵²⁶ ‘Now that she had a real home,’ her aversion to travelling became chronic, especially after she had her two children, George in 1928 and Barbara in 1932.⁵²⁷ Despite the fact that marriage interfered to some extent with her career, as she withdrew from the kind of relentless touring that characterised her concert life in 1920s, Moodie's appearances during the winter of 1929 confirm her status as a top virtuoso player.⁵²⁸ In 1934, she made several trips to London where in January she played the Busoni violin concerto with the Royal Philharmonic under Sir Thomas Beecham, after which a critic from *The Musical Times* commented:

“Many of the soloists I have heard have been mettlesome and lusty. One of the best, in fiddling, was Alma Moodie, who gripped Busoni's violin concerto keenly and lightly.”⁵²⁹

⁵²² Moodie's letter to Reinhart, 21st July 1925. Ms GR 86/6, SbW.

⁵²³ Flesch, ‘*And do you also play the violin?*’, p.185.

⁵²⁴ Moodie's letter to Flesch, 11th December 1931; Flesch, ‘*And do you also play the violin?*’, p.184.

⁵²⁵ Moodie's letter to Flesch, 5th June 1924; ‘*And do you also play the violin?*’, p.174.

⁵²⁶ Moodie's letter to Flesch dated 21st December 1927; cited in Flesch, ‘*And do you also play the violin?*’, p.173.

⁵²⁷ “Now that I have a real home, my only thought is to spoil the few people that I really love and show them how much I really care.” Moodie's letter to Pfitzner dated 12th March 1929; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, p.100.

⁵²⁸ In January and March 1930 she played with the Berlin Philharmonic the Brahms violin concerto under Werner F. von Siemens; the same year she appeared as a soloist in Halle (playing Mozart Sinfonia Concertante in E flat major, K.364 with Paul Hindemith) Düsseldorf, Leipzig and Würzburg and gave a violin recital at the Musikkollegium Winterthur with Hans Erich Riebensahm playing, amongst other works, Stravinsky's *Pulcinella* suite. See Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, pp.101-2.

⁵²⁹ *The Musical Times*, Vol.75, no.1091, January 1934.

On 12th April 1934 Moodie gave a duo recital, the programme of which included Busoni's second violin sonata and on 17th she performed at the Wigmore Hall with Erdmann. In her letter to Reinhart from 2nd June 1934 she wrote that it was a great comfort that London was successful. She added that the critic Walter J. Turner even wrote that the long-standing duo of Moodie and Erdmann, who made no recordings, was exceptional and he preferred them even to the pairing of his hero Schnabel with Hubermann:

“It was the best *Zusammenstellung* heard in London, better than Schnabel & Hubermann, & Busch & Serkin, & with Busoni even Newman was pleased. So was Beecham.”⁵³⁰

At the same time Walter J. Turner dismissed the Busch-Serkin Duo with these words:

“On a much smaller scale the combination of Adolf Busch and Rudolf Serkin equally lacks the quality I seek. Busch is a fine musician and Serkin a fine pianist, but I would not apply my word ‘artist’ in my exclusive sense to either of these admirable talents.”⁵³¹

Even if his opinion was arguable it is curious why Tully Potter latterly suggests that:

“At a time when even Szigeti sugared his recitals with genre pieces, Busch and Serkin pioneered the sonata concert and raised status of the violin-and-piano duo without mentioning the Moodie-Erdmann Duos efforts.”⁵³²

Similarly, whilst Potter stated that at a time when celebrity violinists, such as Heifetz, Elman and Kreisler appeared with accompanists who were kept firmly in their place, unlike Serkin who was treated by Busch as an equal partner, ‘some promoters even printed the violinist’s name in larger type.’⁵³³ It is worth noting that he did not mention Moodie’s ‘progressive’ attitude towards her duo partner Erdmann as not only her and Erdmann names were printed in equal type on the concert programmes, but also she found collaborating with him to be ‘a wonderful experience’ as they were clearly well-matched artistically. Equally Moodie considered Erdmann ‘a valuable human being,’ so “absolutely intelligent and decent through and through.”⁵³⁴

⁵³⁰ Moodie’s letter to Reinhart dated 2nd June 1934. Ms GR 86/13, SbW.

⁵³¹ Potter, *Adolf Busch*, p.1053.

⁵³² *Ibid.*

⁵³³ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁴ Moodie’s letter to Carl Flesch dated 30th July 1921; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard’s Bride*, p.74.

Moodie had had other motives to re-appear in England, as she felt that it was hard to know whether living in Germany was ‘more awful than disgusting:

“One doesn’t ever know what is going to happen, something is always going on, some friends are always in trouble, one is always on the qui vive & it’s the most depressing & demoralizing state of affairs one can imagine (...) The idea of mine is to try & get right in to London and out of this Germany.”⁵³⁵

Indeed, Moodie was back in August 1934 for two performances at the Queen’s Hall BBC Promenade concerts under Sir Henry Wood and in November she played Busoni’s violin concerto and *The Lark Ascending* with Beecham in Liverpool. Frank Bridge, author of Moodie’s brief entry in the fifth edition of *Grove’s Dictionary* commented that her performance of Busoni’s violin concerto “made a deep impression, as much on account of its violinistic excellence, as for the familiarity it showed with composer’s unusual idiom.”⁵³⁶ After two further concerts in February 1935 events did not turn out as she hoped and she never returned to England. See below the list of Moodie’s Promenade Concerts from the BBC Proms Archive shown in Table 5:

Tuesday 12 th September 1933, 8:00PM	Mozart Concerto for Violin No. 5 in A major ‘Turkish’, K219, BBC Symphony Orchestra, Henry Wood conductor
Tuesday 21 st August 1934, 8:00PM	Tchaikovsky Concerto for Violin in D major, Op. 35, BBC Symphony Orchestra, Henry Wood conductor
Tuesday 21 st August 1934, 8:00PM	Bach Partita for Solo Violin No. 3 in E major, BWV 1006 – No. 1 Preludio/No. 3 Gavotte en rondeau
Friday 24 th August 1934, 8:00PM	Beethoven Concerto for Violin in D major, Op. 61, BBC Symphony Orchestra, Henry Wood conductor
Wednesday 11 th September 1935, 8:00PM	Bach Concerto for Violin in E major, BWV 1042, BBC Symphony Orchestra Henry Wood conductor

Table 5. Performances by Alma Moodie listed in the BBC Proms archive

Moodie seems to have been satisfied with her playing, and in a letter to Flesch from October 1936 she confirmed that it had not deteriorated due to childrearing:

“At the beginning of the month I had a shortwave broadcast concert in Berlin. Afterwards I listened to the tape. I liked my playing very much

⁵³⁵ Moodie’s letter to Reinhart, 2nd June 1934, Ms, GR 86/13, SbW; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard’s Bride*, p.113.

⁵³⁶ Dreyfus, *Bluebeard’s Bride*, p.112.

and feel that if I were to retire from the concert platform today, nobody could say that I did so because I was playing less well than formerly. In fact I have never heard myself perform better.”⁵³⁷

In November she wrote to Flesch again:

“There is no doubt that I have developed an entirely different style of playing, which I regard as a definite improvement (...) my successes are enormous.”⁵³⁸

In that period of her life Moodie began to experiment with various chamber music ensembles and also taught at the Hoch Conservatory in Frankfurt am Main which placed their own limitations on her solo playing.⁵³⁹ By the 1930s, she started new artistic collaborations with Helmut Walcha (1907-1991), the renowned German organist with whom she played Bach, and Hermann Reutter whose music they performed together. Throughout all this time the duo with Erdmann was important personally and artistically and in February 1943 she wrote to Reinhart that they were giving a cycle of Beethoven sonatas in Berlin, Cologne and Frankfurt, despite the nightly bombing raids.⁵⁴⁰

Yet, it seems that the stress of the war, years of unhappy marriage (Spengler was apparently a problematic kind of man, enormously demanding and unfaithful), and the departure of her beloved teacher and friends aggravated her fragile health.⁵⁴¹ During her life Moodie suffered from hyperthyroid problems, weight loss, shaking hands, insomnia, recurrent exhaustion and depression that often affected her concert schedule.⁵⁴² For example, in May 1924 she wrote to Pfitzner that she had been obliged to cancel 15 concerts due to her poor health. Similarly, at the 1926 IGNM festival, held in Zurich, she was scheduled to play Kurt Weill’s Concerto Op. 12 for violin and wind instruments. But, according to Reinhart’s letter to Rilke

⁵³⁷ Moodie’s letter to Flesch dated 31st October 1936; cited in C. Flesch, ‘*And do you also play the violin?*’, p.182.

⁵³⁸ Moodie’s letter to Flesch dated 21st November 1936, Carl Flesch Collection, NMI; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard’s Bride*, p.113.

⁵³⁹ Sadly, it was commented that she became a professor only after the dismissal of the Jewish professors from the Konservatorium. Some of her students were Leah Luboschutz, May Harrison, Irma Seyde and Thelma Given. A portrait of Alma Moodie hangs in the Hochschule to this day. Cahn, Peter, *Das Hoch’sche Konservatorium in Frankfurt am Main 1878–1978* (Frankfurt am Main: Kramer, 1979), p.315.

⁵⁴⁰ Moodie’s letter to Reinhart, 6th February 1943, Dep MK 333/150, Musikkolegium-Archiv, SbW; cited in Dreyfus *Bluebeard’s Bride*, p.123.

⁵⁴¹ Moodie’s friends Volmer, Graef-Moench, Schmidt-Neuhaus and Seeger are unanimous that the marriage was unhappy and the relationship was at the end destructive. Volmer and Seeger was of an opinion that he was “double-sided” and dubious; he had affairs and Alma was aware of his ‘predator’ mentality. Berta Volmer, interviewed by Wolfgang Kühnen, 4th December 1991; Lotte Seeger, interviewed by George Dreyfus, July 2010; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard’s Bride*, p.136.

⁵⁴² For example, in her letter dated 27th November 1923 she wrote to Reinhart, “Would you be so kind as to send me two boxes of ovaltine and a few pounds of cocoa? I have to stop losing weight and didn’t think of it myself.” Ms GR 86/4, SbW.

she cancelled her performance a few days before the festival due to general exhaustion and was replaced by Stefan Frenkel.⁵⁴³ At some stage towards the end of her life Moodie developed an uncontrollable tremor in her bowing arm that she linked to her overactive thyroid. I believe that this caused her not only to cancel some concerts, but also to delay any plans to record, which she thus postponed until after the war had ended. It is reported that Moodie commented that, 'if someone lives under as much strain as she does, one cannot make recordings.'⁵⁴⁴ To me it is not surprising that in order to stop fearing for her own children's safety during the Allied bombing campaigns, while continuing her stressful married life and trying to play with shaking hands, she started to drink more and take sleeping pills. Thus one cannot but associate Moodie's physical and psychological deterioration with these addictive behaviors. In the long run what proved to be significant was a combination of all these factors, which led to her unexpected death in the middle of giving a cycle of Beethoven sonatas with Eduard Erdmann in March 1943. Her close friends believed her death to be a suicide; however, the official doctor's report was that a thrombosis, provoked by the mixture of alcohol and pills was the cause. Her student Karl-Albrecht Herrmann and long-time accompanist Hans Erich Riebensahm declined to write an essay following her death, as too many Jews that she worked with and befriended would have been left out, including her teacher Carl Flesch. Erdmann was the only one to write a short paper, "Einige Erinnerungen an Alma Moodie's Künstlerschaft."⁵⁴⁵ Although her husband Spengler later tried to write a small monograph his efforts came to nothing. Thus, what was left of documents and recollections, in my opinion still reveals the depth of Moodie's tragic story that began as a child prodigy and finished as a 'forgotten' violinist.

It is possible to argue that Moodie's posthumous memory has been affected by the fact that she, like so many musicians, lived and worked under the Third Reich. She was married to a German lawyer, Alexander Balthasar Alfred Sprengler, who became a member of the Nazi Party, and it could be assumed that she shared her husband's Nazi ideology. Then there is the difficult fact of her membership of the Nazi party, in spite of her inability to prove her Aryan ancestry. Although she was born an Australian she was given NSDAP-Mitgliederkarteikarte, Nr. 7584353 on 29th October 1939. Whether this was in order to avoid career difficulties rather than

⁵⁴³ Reinhart's letter to Rilke dated 9th July 1926, in Rätus Luck (ed.) *Rainer Maria Rilke: Briefwechsel mit den Brüdern Reinhart 1919-1926* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag Publisher, 1988), p.439. See Dreyfus *Bluebeard's Bride*, p.64.

⁵⁴⁴ Alois Kottmann, interviewed by Volker Elis Pilgrim, November 1990; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, p.132.

⁵⁴⁵ Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, p.124.

out of an ideological commitment is open to speculation. Hardline scholars could argue that the extent of Moodie's collaboration was significant, as she continued to take part in the Reich's cultural propaganda in occupied countries and was, from 1942, ordered to devote six weeks in a year to *Truppenbetreuung*. At the same time Moodie was aware that she was under fairly close surveillance as an artist, something she commented on in the letter to Reinhart, 'for each concert, each work, each conductor or those who play with me, I need permission from the Reichsmusikkammer.'⁵⁴⁶ Another troubling fact is that by 1938 more than 250,000 German Jewish citizens left Germany, including her colleagues and beloved teacher Carl Flesch, and it seems that she might have profited thanks to their significant absence. Moodie was appointed a violin teacher at the Frankfurt Hochschule on 15th October 1937, and later as a professor on Hitler's birthday, 20th April 1942.⁵⁴⁷ Michael Haas in his book *Forbidden Music: The Jewish Composers Banned by the Nazis* argues that Moodie and her other colleagues took 'reluctant' membership of the Nazi Party in order to avoid professional harassment rather than out of ideological certainty.⁵⁴⁸ "Most soloists and professors had been obliged to join the Nazi Party, a situation that would lead to difficulties for a number of pianists, composers and scholars who were not remotely sympathetic to the Nazi regime. (...) In any case, the Americans had confiscated the Nazi membership index and were in a position to enforce the exclusion of all members of the party regardless of their personal sympathies."⁵⁴⁹ In his book *Music After Hitler* the historian Toby Thacker points out that the blacklist was "draconian, inevitably arbitrary, and partial", and he suggests that there are other factors that could be considered in a hardline denazification policy.⁵⁵⁰

Moodie's close friends Berta Volmer, Graef-Moench, Lotte Seeger and Astrid Schmidt-Neuhaus were unanimous in their opinion that her husband had a power over her (something fairly common in those days). Although her marriage was not happy, Moodie, as a Roman Catholic, would probably never have entertained the idea of divorce.⁵⁵¹ Her friends also confirmed that she was not political and her main preoccupation was to bring her children safely through the war. This is

⁵⁴⁶ Moodie's letter to Reinhart dated 5th May 1940, Dep MK 333/150, Musikkollegium-Archiv, SbW; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, p.120.

⁵⁴⁷ It is worth noting here that Moodie was familiar with circumstances under which her artistic partner Erdmann joined the Nazi party in 1937 after he lost his professorship in 1935 due to his strong anti-Nazi views and was conversely could not work.

⁵⁴⁸ Haas, Michael, *Forbidden Music: The Jewish Composers Banned by the Nazis* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013), p.278.

⁵⁴⁹ Thacker, Toby, *Music After Hitler* (Farnham: Ashgate publishing Ltd., 2007), p.48; cited in Haas, Michael, *Forbidden Music*, pp.278–82.

⁵⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵¹ See Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, p.136.

confirmed in her letters to Reinhart from 15th May and later in September 1940, in which she complained about the difficulties of life in Germany. Moodie deeply mourned the banishment of her Jewish friends and colleagues, especially her teacher Flesch to whom she continued to write.⁵⁵² By 1937 life circumstances had “sapped her strength”, and she described herself to Flesch as “a sad skeleton.”⁵⁵³ Moodie’s letter to Flesch from 4th January 1937 explains the pain the political situation and Flesch’s departure caused her:

“I was simply shattered. (...) Alex had to lend me his hankie during your playing. If I remembered that I moved to Germany on account of you – and now I have to rely on the wireless to hear you! I envy your faith and enthusiasm. I have lost mine entirely. (...) Perhaps the time will return one day when I regain my capacity for enthusiasm, for then I could play in a way to touch the hearts of others.”⁵⁵⁴

However, that day never came. I can only speculate that Moodie must have felt desperate when she tried to phone Flesch in Switzerland sometime in February 1943, shortly before her death on 7th March, after which the government and her husband forbade her to have any contact with this ‘Jewish fugitive’. Seen from this point of view Moodie’s apparent suicide could be seen as the human ‘price’ she paid for her passive response to her personal and life difficulties at those apocalyptic times, closely associated with women’s position at that time.

Reflecting on the extent of Moodie’s ‘collaboration’ with the Nazi regime, it is interesting to compare her participation in the cultural life of Nazi Germany with that of Georg Kulenkampff (1898–1948) who, like Hindemith, Richard Strauss, Carl Orff, Erdmann, Hans Pfitzner, Wilhelm Kempff, Elizabeth Schwarzkopf, Johann Nepomuk David, Ernst von Dohnányi and Wolfgang Fortner, amongst others, signed the obligatory oath to Hitler in January 1937. Despite Schwarz’s observation that he was ‘the most un-German violinists he had known,’ it is clear from an examination of his career that Kulenkampff was recognised as a leading German violinist, especially after Flesch, Kreisler, Adolf Busch (1891–1952) and Erica Morini (1904–1995) denounced the Nazi regime and left Germany in the 1930s.⁵⁵⁵ For the Nazi regime Kulenkampff personified the idea of an exemplary German violinist because of both, his internationally recognised stature, and his pure Aryan background. Indeed, his professorship at the Berlin Hochschule was

⁵⁵² In her letter to Reinhart, Moodie commented that, ‘particularly during these apocalyptic times she is rather concerned about the fate of individuals.’ Moodie’s letter to Reihart dated 3rd July 1940, Dep MK 333/150, Musikkollegium-Archiv, SbW; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard’s Bride*, p.120.

⁵⁵³ Moodie’s letter to Flesch, 4th January 1937, Carl Flesch Collection, Haags Gemeentemuseum, Den Haag; Flesch, ‘*And do you also play the violin?*’, p.185.

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁵ Schwarz, pp.327-8.

confirmed by Hitler.⁵⁵⁶ Conversely, Kulenkampff was the most obvious choice to do the honours and premiere the rediscovered Schumann Violin Concerto on 26th November 1937 with the Berlin Philharmonic.⁵⁵⁷ As Kulenkampff continued to be in a great demand for both civilian and military purposes, and had a busy broadcasting career, he remained in Germany until 1943, and moved to Switzerland only after the Lucerne Conservatory offered him a job left vacant by the death of Flesch in 1944. Despite these facts Schwarz stated that it must be recognised that he kept distance from the Nazis and Schoenbaum in his recent book, *The Violin: A Social History of the World's Most Versatile Instrument* (2013), points out that history still remembers him as, 'neither a Nazi nor an anti-Nazi'.⁵⁵⁸ Reading it, one finds it difficult to understand why Moodie, who, during her career championed 'degenerative' music and died before the end of the war when she would have faced denazification, which would have affected her posthumous reputation, is still seen as being sympathetic to the Nazi cause.⁵⁵⁹

Hence, I would argue that Moodie's posthumous reputation has been affected not only because of her concertising in Nazi Germany but also because she has possibly been judged historically as a 'fallen' woman. In his study 'The Birth of Asylum' from *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, Michael Foucault demonstrated how public figures are mediated in ways that replicate existing power relationships. While in Western societies the image of sensitive and pained male musicians served to ensure iconic historical positions for male virtuosos as 'tortured heroes' (Schuman, Chopin, etc.), often elevating them to the position of being the voice of a generation, in the case of Moodie, her portrayal as depressed, consuming pills and suicidal partly contributed to her historical invisibility.⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁵⁶ On 13th April 1938 the council reported on Moodie's racial status, 'arische Abstammung noch nicht nachgewiesen (not yet proven Aryan descent), yet she was still appointed a professor at the Hochschule. Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, p.116.

⁵⁵⁷ As the Nazi government did not permit the premiere of the concerto Schumann's violin to be played outside Germany, thus the same opportunity was denied to Menuhin and a grand-niece of Joachim, Jelly d'Arányi (although she requested the manuscript from George Schünemann, the Nazi appointed director of the Prussian State Library in Berlin) because of their Jewish blood. At the same time Schünemann gave the manuscript to Kulenkampff who revived it with a help of Flesch and Paul Hindemith (who prepared the violin-piano reduction although his compositions were already banned by the Nazi authorities), yet, their help was never publically commented because of their race status.

⁵⁵⁸ Schoenbaum, David, *The Violin: A Social History of the World's Most Versatile Instrument* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2013), pp.488-91.

⁵⁵⁹ See Schoenbaum, *The Violin*, pp.488–91 and Schwarz, *Great Masters of the Violin*, p.328. After 1933, through the creation of their own cultural organizations the National Socialists officially pronounced music of Weimar years 'degenerate', poisoned by foreign 'Marxism' and 'Jewish elements'. Gillian, Bryan (ed.), *Music and Performance During the Weimar Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); cited in Firsch, Walter, *German Modernism: Music and the Arts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), Preface.

⁵⁶⁰ Foucault, Michael, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (Librarie Plon, 1961), trans. Richard Howard (United States: Pantheon Books, 1965). See

Whilst some male virtuosos' sexuality (Liszt, Paganini) and off-stage promiscuity was often received with warm approval and even admiration, rising female independence and ambitiousness to get known was often portrayed as morally ambiguous and ruthless. In that sense, Moodie's life story could be seen as a harrowing account of the possible lengths to which she had to go to succeed in 'a man's world' (as one can scarcely imagine a male virtuoso needing such extraordinary tenacity). Indeed, Ernst Krenek, without any firm evidence to support his opinion, accused Moodie of having shady affairs and liaisons with her patrons. For example, he suggested that Moodie's first guardian, "this Count or Prince found interest in her and financed her musical training, however, demanded the sacrifice of her virginity on the altar of his burning passion," an offensive remark that was reproduced without evidence or qualification, in the online entry on Moodie in the MUGI *Lexikon*. This unquestionably perpetuates her image as ruthless and determined to succeed at any costs.⁵⁶¹ Although, some caution could be exercised here, the fact is that their friendly relationship was life-long as Moodie commented in her letter to Flesch from 1936 that she was still visiting this, "noble old gentleman."⁵⁶² It is also curious to note that Moodie's father died before she was one-year-old and I believe that she was haunted by the early absence of a father figure. It is clear that during her life Moodie repeatedly formed adoring attachments to strong male figures including Reinhart, Pfitzner, Erdmann and Flesch.

Krenek also suggested that Moodie was Werner Reinhart's mistress, as it was apparently an open secret that two of them had some kind of love affair (she would visit Reinhart in Switzerland and planned to meet him whenever her touring itinerary made it possible).⁵⁶³ There is no doubt that a real and strong connection existed between them as Reinhart was not only Moodie's "big manager" (according to Moodie's friend Astrid Schmidt-Neuhaus), but he was also her best friend and counselor.⁵⁶⁴ Many of Moodie's personal letters to Reinhart are written with playful affection and some of them are even addressed as, My dear one, My

<http://isites.harvard.edu>; accessed 16th July 2014. See also Leonard, Marion, *Gender in the Music Industry: Rock, Discourse and Girl Power* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007), p.69.

⁵⁶¹ Krenek, Ernst, *Im Atem der Zeit (The Breath of Time, Memories of the modern age)*, (Hamburg: Hoffmann and Campe Verlag, 1998), p.667; cited in Saak, Birgit, 'Alma Moodie', <http://mugi.hfmt-hamburg.de/artikel/alma-moodie>; accessed 27th May 2014. See also <http://mugi.hfmt-hamburg.de/A-lexartikel/lexartikel.php?id=mood18980>; accessed 27 June 2015.

⁵⁶² Moodie's letter to Flesch dated 31st October 1936, Carl Flesch Collection, NMI; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, p.30.

⁵⁶³ Krenek seems to 'forget' that Moodie was, by 1920, an established artist in Berlin and had already signed a contract with the most prestigious concert agency, Wolff and Sachs. See Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, p.58.

⁵⁶⁴ Astrid Schmidt-Neuhaus, interviewed by Wolfgang Kühnen, 2nd April 1991, cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, p.59.

Pussy Prince, My Black Pussy, My Pussy Dear, My own Sunday pet, Pussy Guarnerio Dear. Although modes of writing from this time is beyond the scope of this study, it looks like this was affectionate relationship, yet at the same time Moodie in her letters always addressed Reinhart formally, per “Sie.”⁵⁶⁵

Reinhart was well known as the Maecenas from Winterthur and many artists, writers and composers were recipients of his kindness, patronage and financial support, including Moodie’s friends Eduard Erdmann, Pfitzner and Krenek whom she brought to Winterthur and a poet Rainer Maria Rilke.⁵⁶⁶ It might be argued with some validity that artists who benefited from Reinhart’s patronage, nor indeed his reflected ‘glory’ of the association with them, were described in the literature as being ambitious in the pejorative sense, that was applied to Moodie. Certainly, Rilke left a more measured assessment of Moodie’s and Reinhart’s friendship than Krenek as in April 1923 he commented:

“Werner admires her greatly. He told me she might already be the *foremost* female violinist. And she herself looks up to him, as a counselor whom she trusts about everything. She understood him marvelously, despite reticence, and also understood so charmingly how to keep things open and happy.”⁵⁶⁷

Yet, as far as Krenek was concerned Reinhart “may ultimately have dodged the idea of having to watch the strange *bird* for the rest of his life.”⁵⁶⁸ Yet, it is possible to view Krenek’s claim from a slightly different angle, as Reinhart was Moodie’s confidant whilst she was in a romantic relationship with Krenek, and he continued to be Spengler’s family friend after her marriage. In 1933 Reinhart loaned her twenty thousand RM and she gave him her del Gesù Guarnerius violin (acquired in 1927) as a deposit. Reinhart was godfather to Moodie’s daughter and in November 1946, when her husband could no longer work, he invited her children to live with him in Switzerland and paid for their education.⁵⁶⁹ To me all the above demonstrates that Krenek’s lengthy comments about Moodie’s ‘liaisons’ published in his autobiography (1998) whilst seeming to be ‘true’ are evidently questionable.

⁵⁶⁵ Some 186 letters, postcards and telegrams written by Moodie to Reinhart between 1922 and 1943 could be found in the collections of the Stadtbibliothek Winterthur. Most of them are under reference number MS GR 86/2-18. There are also 12 letters, 1936-1943, reference number Dep MK 333/150, in the Musikkollegium-Archiv of the same library.

⁵⁶⁶ Among the artists who benefited from Reinhart’s patronage and financial support were poet Rainer Maria Rilke and composers, such as, Stravinsky, Hindemith, Krenek, Honegger, Webern, Schoenberg, Berg, Richard Strauss and Pfitzner who knew Moodie and Reiner well, yet never commented on them being romantically involved.

⁵⁶⁷ Rilke, Rainer Maria, *Rainer Maria Rilke Briefe an Nanny Wunderly-Volkart-1919-1926*, Bigler and Luck (eds.), (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag Publisher, 1977), p.886; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard’s Bride*, p.60.

⁵⁶⁸ Krenek, Ernst, *Im Atem der Zeit*, p.491-92; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard’s Bride*, p.60.

⁵⁶⁹ Dreyfus, *Bluebeard’s Bride*, p.59.

It is rather disappointing that Krenek saw his ex-lover as immoral and ruthless in her ambition to succeed, considering that it was thanks to Moodie's friendly request that Reinhart supported him financially allowing him to live in Switzerland for two years.

Given the importance of a 'respectable' discourse at the time, it might be observed that Moodie was never portrayed as a 'free spirit.' Being a single woman and a touring virtuoso could imply the possibility of a rather promiscuous description of her lifestyle. Neither critics nor people close to her subscribed to that idea (excluding Krenek).⁵⁷⁰ On the contrary, she was described as having strong opinions, was witty and charming with an energetic and progressive musical personality. Yet sadly, Krenek's insinuation perpetuated in musical literature, namely in the German sources, casts an uncomfortable shadow over this female virtuoso who shook the predominantly male world of music with her 'rare' gift and her role as one of the leading participants in the contemporary music scene. Whilst in his *Memoirs* Flesch stated that Moodie must be regarded as the most outstanding female violinist of her time, a worthy successor to Wilma Norma-Neruda. By comparing these two violinists Flesch underlined that both should be seen as symbols of progress. However, Moodie's public commitment to contemporary music is largely unregistered and I believe this partly demonstrates how female artistry is generally considered less contributory to the history of violin playing.

Alma Moodie, champion of modern repertoire

Until the beginning of the twentieth century violinists were seen as powerful tone/melody poets with great linear sensibility for which modernist composers like Schoenberg had little regard. The leaders and pioneers of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* – Hindemith (usually seen as a primary figure), Franz Schreker and Kurt Weill, as well as Stravinsky, Prokofiev and Milhaud, who were often seen as comparable to the movement but not strictly part of it – each in their own way brought a new concept to violin sound and its expression. In the first decades of the twentieth century several violin concertos were written by composers, such as, Bartók (1907–8), Prokofiev (1923), Hindemith (1925), Kurt Weill (1925), Stravinsky (1931), Berg (1935), and Schoenberg (1936). They redefined the concept of virtuosity in order to embrace a new expressiveness and colouristic language. Modernist aesthetic values exchanged the traditional dissonance-consonance relationship and its expressive melodies and balanced phrases for syntax of any

⁵⁷⁰ In his letter to Dreyfus dated 28th July 1990, Krenek said that he would have married Moodie, but she thought that her being two-years older is too great difference in their ages. Yet, in *Im Atem der Zeit* (pp. 542-3) he says that the idea of marriage was hers. Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, p.156.

tones sounding together and series of developing motives.⁵⁷¹ Thus, the modernist aesthetic qualities of detachment and ‘objective’ music making were the opposite of late Romantic interpretative values and their performance ‘mannerisms’. These compositions were difficult not only because they seem ‘unplayable’ but also because artists steeped in the classical tradition needed to ‘forget’ everything required by the Romantic violin style of the past and grasp a new style of interpretation. The violin works of Stravinsky, Prokofiev, Hindemith, Krenek and Bartók required a new approach to the violin; music was no longer a vehicle for expressing emotions, it was intense but unsentimental, very rhythmic and crisp, and it stressed motion rather than emotion. Conversely, several violinists at the beginning of the twentieth century started to introduce a new method of tone production, with bowing very much into the string and the use of more vibrato than had been the rule.⁵⁷² In an increasingly crowded field Moodie was competing for attention and status. One way in which she could make her mark was to stake out new musical territory either in repertoire or in performance style and thus, after fully exploring the mainstream repertoire, the only way to establish her true voice was to delve into the world of new works with their possibilities and their demands for new performance style. Moodie even commented in a letter to Flesch, “There is no doubt that I have developed an entirely different style of playing, which I regard as a definite improvement.”⁵⁷³ Although there are no recordings of Moodie’s playing, she was celebrated by critics as a new breed of player and her artistry surely differed from conventional ‘mainstream’ performances based on the ‘gemütlich’ (cozy) violin sound of pre-war Vienna. To argue so without considerable caution would clearly be unwise, as there are no recordings, yet it seems unreasonable to exclude other possibly valuable types of evidence, such as reviews, comments and scores on the grounds that they are empirically limited.

As already mentioned, there is ample evidence to suggest that players trained within the Franco-Belgian school of violin playing reflected more ‘progressive’ trends (particularly in terms of vibrato, portamento and tempo flexibility). Moodie was trained in that school and according to Frank Bridge, “her style recalled the

⁵⁷¹ Schoenberg in his *Theory of Harmony* (1911) famously claimed that, “there are no non-harmonic tones, for harmony means tones sounding together.” Schoenberg found in Bach’s music the origin of the most important melodic-thematic principle in Western music – the technique of developing variations, by which larger polyphonic and formal structures are generated thanks to a constantly reshaping melodic line. Firsch, Walter, *German Modernism: Music and Arts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), pp.147–48.

⁵⁷² One might argue that when, at the dawn of the twentieth century, violinists started to experiment with metal strings, the tension caused by bow pressure was different as metal strings were less susceptible to breaking. Similarly, they could more efficiently support the energetic muscularity and percussive qualities of post-war music (especially in double stops and chords).

⁵⁷³ Moodie’s letter to Flesch dated 21st November 1936; cited in Flesch, ‘*And do you also play the violin?*’, p.182.

exceptionally easy technical command of Thompson.”⁵⁷⁴ Stated by the German critics she had a big tone, an excellent technique and ‘masculine’ way of playing. Max Rostal pointed out that, “maybe one could characterise her playing as austere, but this should not mean that emotionalism was mainly absent.”⁵⁷⁵ Moodie’s assessment of the Busch’s performance of the Beethoven violin concerto (at the Kroll Opera in Berlin with Klemperer conducting) provides an appropriate starting point to reflect on her approach towards portamento, as she complained to Flesch:

“I (...) was bitterly disappointed notwithstanding the regard I have for his playing on the whole. Qualitatively his tone has made great strides and is moreover astonishingly big, but I never heard, from a first-class violinist, so many unbearable glissandi and, more serious (...) this arbitrary way of playing, for which there was no discernible reason, was incomprehensible to me. (...) If he interprets in this way, one has to reject him.”⁵⁷⁶

Indeed, Erdmann remembered that, “string players spoke with admiration about Moodie’s acrobatic changes of position” and in this respect it is not surprising that she complained about excessive portamento and mannerism in Busch’s performance of the Beethoven concerto.⁵⁷⁷ The string portamento, whilst frequent and pronounced by modern standards, had enduring popularity in some form or another up to c.1925 and it would seem that the decline thereafter seems to be connected with use of continuous vibrato, which supplanted portamenti as one of the principal vehicles for tonal expression.⁵⁷⁸ Interestingly, in her letter to Reinhart dated 12th May 1925 Moodie mentioned that she talked to Flesch about a general improvement in her technique and ‘they came to the conclusion that her vibrato has to be changed through *assouplissement* (relaxation) of the left arm and wrist.’⁵⁷⁹ Whilst this may sound speculative it perhaps indicates that her style of playing (with economical use of portamento) perhaps contained elements of modern vibrato (similar to Ysaÿe and Hubay).

Boris Schwarz in “Stravinsky, Dushkin, and the Violin” (1986) points out that ‘the year 1918 was the heyday of the eloquently emotional throbbing violin style with Ysaÿe, Kreisler, Elman, Thibaud and Zimbalist as the reigning violinists. (...) The

⁵⁷⁴ Dreyfus, ‘Alma Moodie and the Landscape of Giftedness.’

⁵⁷⁵ Rostal, Max, letter to Dreyfus, 10th June 1991; for the letter and other references see Dreyfus, *Bluebeard’s Bride*, pp.132-23.

⁵⁷⁶ Alma Moodie’s letter to Flesch dated 8th July 1928. Flesch, Carl F., *Memoirs*, ed. and trans. Hans Keller (London: Rockliff, 1957, reprinted Bois de Boulogne, Harlow, Essex), pp.182-3; cited in Potter Tully, *Adolf Busch: The Life of an Honest Musician* (London: Toccata Press, 2010) Vol.1 1891-1939, p.406.

⁵⁷⁷ Dreyfus, *Bluebeard’s Bride*, p.133.

⁵⁷⁸ See Milsom, *Theory and Practice*, p.107 and Philip, *Early Recordings*, p.229.

⁵⁷⁹ Moodie’s letter to Reinhart 12th May 1925, Ms GR 86/6, SbW.

music of Stravinsky, like that of Prokofiev and Hindemith, and, one might add of Krenek and Bartók, whose works Moodie performed, required a new approach to the violin, stressing motion, rather than emotion, a style intense, rhythmic and crisp, at times brittle.⁵⁸⁰ In her letter to Flesch, Moodie confirmed that ‘she does not have time for anything sentimental’ and in her letter to Reinhart she even wrote that:

“It is physically painful music for me. (...) It makes me feel queasy (...) it is *absolute Schmaltz!*”⁵⁸¹

In his book *The End of Early Music* Haynes Bruce confirms that the words, which describe Romantic style are usually “schmaltzy” and “on the sleeve.”⁵⁸² In this respect Moodie’s words perhaps demonstrate her personal commitment to de-sentimentalised, de-romanticised, ‘objective’ performance style. Likewise, it is worth noting that she often performed in Winterthur under the baton of the arch-Modernist Hermann Scherchen, who was, similarly to conductors such as, Arturo Toscanini, George Szell, Fritz Reiner and Stravinsky, responsible for the evolvement of the modern performance style (especially in a sense of fidelity to text, condemnation of sentimentality and expressive exaggeration, against self-indulgent performance posturing, and modifications of tempo). Scherchen, who was a strong influence in creating the Modernist concept atmosphere in Winterthur perhaps found in Moodie an artistically matched musician eager to promote then-contemporary repertoire. Whilst Carl Flesch complemented Sarasate saying that, “from him in fact, dates the modern striving after technical precision and reliability,” and Milsom pointed out that players such as Hubay and Ysaÿe suggest the gestation of later, more intrinsically twentieth-century values, it seems that Moodie’s efforts as a ‘way-preparer’ of the modern violin literature continue to be unnoticed.⁵⁸³

It is worth pointing out that there is a danger of making too simplistic a division between old-fashioned versus modern style playing just on the basis of early twentieth-century recordings. A performer’s sound *per se* should not be central to such a distinction, as it is only part of a larger vehicle that we could call a violinist’s musical voice. Such a valuation is generally influenced by the fact that

⁵⁸⁰ Schwarz, Boris, “Stravinsky, Dushkin, and the Violin,” in *Confronting Stravinsky: Man, Musician, and Modernist*, (ed. Jann Pasler) (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p.302.

⁵⁸¹ Moodie’s letter to Carl Flesch dated 5th June 1924, Carl Flesch Collection, NMI; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard’s Bride*, p.62. Moodie’s letter to Reinhart dated 23rd June 1924; Ms GR 86/4, SbW.

⁵⁸² Haynes, Bruce, *The End of Early Music: A Period Performer’s History of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p.51.

⁵⁸³ Milsom, *Theory and Practice*, p.24 and p.206.

the aesthetic beliefs, taste and habits of the late twentieth century have become the basis for comparison. From that point of view Moodie's case seems significant, despite the fact that there are no surviving recordings of her playing that could provide a valuable key to understanding both, her place in the development of modern performance practice and then-contemporary violin literature. In an increasingly crowded field Moodie was competing for attention and status. One way in which she could make her mark was to stake out new musical territory either in repertoire or in performance style and thus, after fully exploring the mainstream repertoire, the only way to establish her true voice was to delve into the world of new works with their possibilities and their demands for new performance styles. This unconventional path could also be seen as her way to distance her artistry from comparison with the great male violinists, with whom she was invariably compared.

Moodie stubbornly believed that she had something important to say and in true modernist fashion consistently stressed her contemporaneity as her letter to Flesch from 14th June 1924 demonstrates:

“Of course I am ambitious, very much so in fact, and it is my wish to have introduced and popularised a few good compositions.”⁵⁸⁴

Yet, it has been clearly documented in a number of letters to Flesch that they had a different opinion concerning modern compositions. In Moodie's letter to Reinhart dated May 1924 she stated:

“[Flesch and I] discuss modern music and he tried to discourage me though at the same time it could bring me very far as I find this music I can play with clarity and security and that is really good for me and also has a positive effect on my repertoire.”⁵⁸⁵

Apparently Flesch was of the view that:

“In spite of my honest endeavor to move with the times, however the exaggerated and *indiscriminate* cult of all that comes into being today, is the neglect of the valuable music of yesterday. I have in mind, in particular, Max Reger (d.1916), this already forgotten master.”⁵⁸⁶

⁵⁸⁴ Flesch, ‘*And do you also play the violin?*’, pp.179–80.

⁵⁸⁵ Moodie's letter to Reinhart, May 1924. Ms GR 86/4, SbW.

⁵⁸⁶ I did not find in Moodie's correspondence any comment on Flesch's judgement of Reger's works. Was it because of her total dedication to Flesch? Even Ysaÿe was taken aback that Flesch did not mention his works. In his letter from 13th October 1929 Ysaÿe complained, “I came to realise that in your work *The Art of Violin Playing* you have entirely disregarded the composer who has striven during the past ten years to find novel ways of enriching with new elements the basis of our art beyond the state of technique bequeathed to us by VIEUXTEMPS (...) I can't believe that, among my works, you have found nothing worth mentioning.” Flesch, ‘*And do you also play the violin?*’, p.157.

Although Flesch himself performed works by his contemporaries, at the same time he was convinced that a musician who has grown up in the tradition of the classics “cannot possibly find pleasure in the *Moderns*.”⁵⁸⁷ In the face of Flesch’s concern that she might be typecast to her detriment as a contemporary music violinist, she pointed out in her letter of 14th June 1924 that in the 120 concertos she had played in last two years, she performed:

“40 times Beethoven, 25 Brahms, 10 Bach and (usually in the same programme) Mozart, 10 Mendelsohn, in addition Bruch, Lalo, Paganini, Nardini. In recitals Haendel, Bach, Biber, Nardini, Mozart and an unending string of small genre pieces which, however, I am not over-fond of.”⁵⁸⁸

Indeed, one might argue that Flesch’s critical attitude towards her involvement with contemporary music was based not only on his above concern, but also on his dislike of modern compositions that often ‘sacrificed’ beauty of tone, given his entrenchment in the ‘German school’ based in the ‘bel canto’ tradition. Conversely, Moodie’s changed approach to the value of beauty of tone might be seen as one marker of the new style, introduced with Bartók’s Second Sonata for violin, she played at the first festival of the IGNM in August 1922 in Salzburg and Stravinsky’s arrangement for violin, clarinet and piano *L’Histoire du Soldat*, she performed in Budapest with Bartók in February 1923.⁵⁸⁹

Despite Flesch’s disapproval Moodie was firm in her determination to perform contemporary works, as we can see in several letters to him. On 5th June 1924 she stated:

“However much you are agitated about my ‘adolescent aberrations’, they are probably not all that different from those which you yourself went through in your younger years; how else can you explain your inner bond with the composers of *your* time? Perhaps you did not fight as strongly on their behalf as I am doing for mine.”⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸⁷ Flesch’s letter to Schünemann dated 10th March 1932; cited in Flesch, ‘*And do you also play the violin?*’, p.169. At the beginning of his career Flesch performed five ‘Historical recitals’. The fifth concert was completely devoted to contemporary composers: Sinding, Juon, Aulin, Bossi, Sinigaglia, Jaques-Dalcroze, Reger, Sarasate and Hubay. An illustration of Flesch’s interest in contemporary music could also be his relationship with the conductor Hermann Scherchen, at the time a leading exponent of contemporary works. Flesch used his influence with wealthy patrons to obtain the financial support for Scherchen and the realisation of his projects. However, out of the large number of contemporary works offered to Flesch he performed only a few, including those by Ernst von Dohnányi, Suk, Schnabel, Weingartner and Korngold.

⁵⁸⁸ Moodie’s letter dated 14th June 1924; cited in Flesch, ‘*And do you also play the violin?*’, pp.179-80.

⁵⁸⁹ Moodie’s letter to Reinhart dated 6th February 1923, Ms GR86/3, SbW.

⁵⁹⁰ Flesch, ‘*And do you also play the violin?*’, p.179.

One might note Moodie's independent mind when commenting on musical matters and her courageous stance against Flesch, who was convinced that by neglecting classical in favour of modern repertoire she was compromising her growing reputation. At the same time one might argue that her wish to leave a 'trace in this man's world' could be interpreted as ruthless self-promotion.⁵⁹¹ Having said that, I believe that Moodie's involvement in then-contemporary works was artistically driven as she was convinced that some of contemporary pieces were masterly. In her letter to Reinhart she commented:

"I am quite certain that if life doesn't smash me up some way or other
I will then bring things that really are worth while."⁵⁹²

By exploring the process underlying the creation of several violin works written for Moodie, one might argue that several then-contemporary works includes Moodie's distinctive features of playing and were written with her personality in mind that partly became 'translated' into their sound reality.⁵⁹³ The words of the American composer Jennifer Higdon, who wrote a concerto for violinist Hilary Hahn, perhaps confirms this close composer/work/performer relation:

"This entire concerto was written with Hilary in mind; the incredible skill that she exhibits in her playing, a technique that is just phenomenal – and every composer's dream – a gorgeous tone, real dramatic gifts in building and shaping performance, and her unbridled enthusiasm for everything that she tackles."⁵⁹⁴

At this moment it is worth remembering that in some respect Moodie's alliance with Pfitzner was reminiscent of her relationship with Reger in its essence; the renowned, living, older composer and much younger performer.⁵⁹⁵ However, its potential benefit was not the same as Reger's friendship and patronage enabled Moodie to transform her uncertain beginning into a triumph, and by 1920s, when she met Pfitzner, Moodie was already a recognised travelling virtuoso. Having said

⁵⁹¹ Moodie's letter to Flesch dated 14th June 1924, Carl Flesch Collection, NMI; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, p.83 and p.135.

⁵⁹² Moodie's letter to Reinhart, 6th January 1924. Ms GR 86/4, SbW.

⁵⁹³ Pearson argues that the composition is directed towards the strengths and weaknesses of a particular performer and the work loses some of its significance if it is separated from its performer. Pearson, Valerie, 'Authorship And Improvisation: Musical Lost Property', *Contemporary Music Review*, Vol.29, No.4 (2010), pp.367–78.

⁵⁹⁴ See *All Things Strings*, 15th November 2010; <http://www.stringsmagazine.com>; cited in Dreyfus, 'The Patron', p.198.

⁵⁹⁵ Hans Pfitzner was born on 5th May 1869 in Moscow, but moved with his ethnic German parents to Germany while he was still a toddler. After completing his musical studies in Frankfurt he remained on the fringe of the German musical world and it was not until he was close to the age of 40 that he was offered a respectable position, that of opera director and head of the Strasbourg conservatoire. With Germany's defeat in 1918, both Pfitzner's spiritual faith and his material security were destroyed. Pfitzner saw himself as a bulwark defending the German nation, values and culture against 'degenerate' modern influences.

that, Reger left Moodie with two gifts: the idea of involving herself with a living composer and an interest in performing contemporary music and her relationship with Pfitzner meant that she could possibly have both. Moodie probably met Pfitzner when he came to Berlin in 1920 to direct a master class in composition at the Prussian Academy of Arts. See Figure 33:



Figure 33. Hans Pfitzner

“He is 54, has had a rotten time, his character can be rotten too but doesn’t want to see more than he does. On the other side he is absolutely like his music, (...) *au fond* he is perfectly beautiful, a tender, unendingly deep nature, completely level-headed and yet suddenly funny & has such quality that I just love the hours I spend with him.”⁵⁹⁶

Moodie was totally convinced of his genius and at that time friends “formed a cult around an under-recognized master” and supported him spiritually, morally and materially, something he demanded for the rest of his life.⁵⁹⁷ Within Germany Pfitzner represented ‘Germanness’, a quality highly valued after the shameful defeat of World War I. In his book *Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits*, Michael Kater has written that Germans defined themselves positively against other nations through their possession of *Kultur*, which they defined through music and therefore, ‘to uphold German music was divine duty, and to neglect it was high crime.’⁵⁹⁸ At the same time the shift in aesthetic priorities (from the grand romantic, ‘emotional’ German tradition to ‘cognitive’) was broadly evident in Germany’s cultural life in the 1920s, as a number of assertive young composers (Erdmann, Hindemith, Krenek etc.) embraced the aesthetics of the *Neue*

⁵⁹⁶ Moodie’s letter to Reinhart, 6th January 1924, Ms GR 86/4, SbW.

⁵⁹⁷ Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, pp.145–46.

⁵⁹⁸ Kater, Michael, *Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.268.

Sachlichkeit, which privileged detachment and objectivity.⁵⁹⁹ Seeing a direct link between the racial and political degeneracy of the Weimar era and its modernist musical trends, Pfitzner believed that German (Wagnerian) music was under vicious attack by the dual threats of atonality and jazz.⁶⁰⁰ In his infamous pamphlet from 1919, *The New Aesthetic of Musical Impotence, A Symptom of Decay?*, he sharply agitated against international Jewry and Americanism (for which jazz was one of the symbols), which he identified with a modernity that was turned against the great German music tradition.

Despite Pfitzner's notoriously tactless behavior, Moodie continued to nurture their friendship without surrendering her integrity. Her letters (sixty in all surviving, the last written in December 1937) are full of expression of her devotion, though at some time her tone indicates an element of ironic self-consciousness in her role of handmaiden to his genius. At the same time she was aware of their stylistic differences, as she commented in her letter to Reinhart:

“I like him and feel sorry for him in one. *Il se defend*, you know and he is frightened of all these new things for it is so against his nature. He is strongly outlined in his personality that I don't worry him much any more by fighting over these questions.”⁶⁰¹

Moodie believed that Pfitzner was familiar with her playing style that he admired and it seems clear from her letters to Pfitzner that the idea for the concerto came from her.⁶⁰² Not only did she initiate the idea, she also asked Reinhart to financially support Pfitzner during the ruinous years of hyperinflation.⁶⁰³ Conversely, her two qualities, as a musician and as a loyal friend, became the reason why Pfitzner dedicated his concerto to her as her letter to Reinhart revealed, “Pfitzner is writing

⁵⁹⁹ The term *Neue Sachlichkeit* had been used in the context of functionalist architecture around the turn of the century by Hermann Muthesius. Yet, in music as traced by the leading writer on this movement, Nils Grosch, *Neue Sachlichkeit* was a critique of Romantic pretensions and the ideal of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*. Post-war *Sachlichkeit* was a reaction to the Expressionists and the post-Wagnerian Romanticism, who centred their art around inner turmoil (angst), whether in reaction to the modern world, alienation from society or to create their personal identity. See Grosch, Nils, ‘*Neue Sachlichkeit*, Mass Media and Matters of Musical Style in the 1920s’, and Sabine Kyora, ‘Concepts of the Subject in the Avant-Garde Movements of the 1910s in *Neue Sachlichkeit and Avant-Garde*’, edited Ralf Grüttemeier, Klaus Beekman and Bene Rebel (Amsterdam & New York: Editions Rodopi, 2013), pp. 185-201 and pp.277-295.

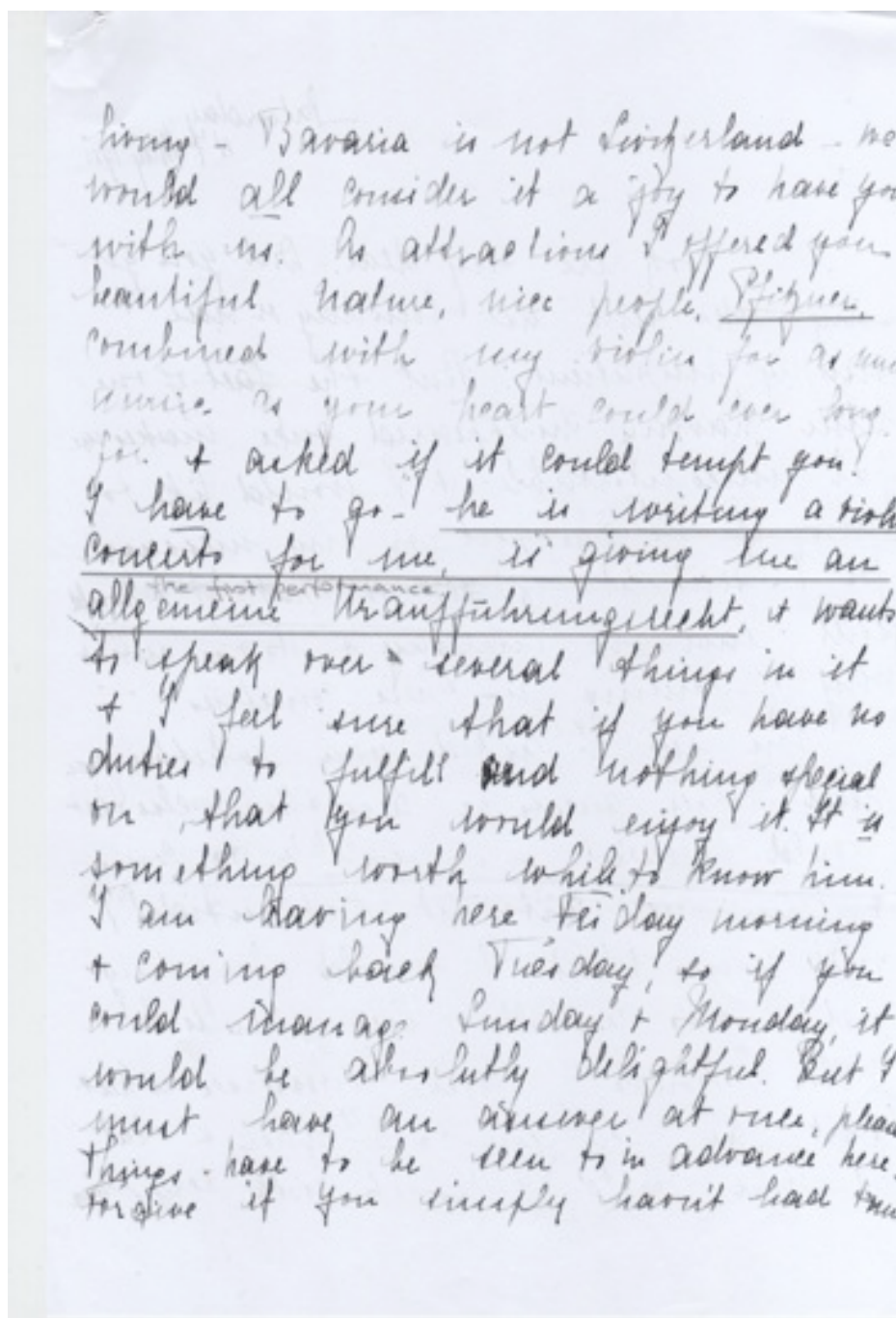
⁶⁰⁰ In his inaugural address at the first *Reichsmusiktag* (1938) in Düsseldorf, Goebbels warned that the health of German music was in serious danger being poisoned by atonality, jazz, musical Bolshevism, and international Judaism. See Gillian, Bryan, *Music and Performance During The Weimar Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.14.

⁶⁰¹ Moodie's letter to Reinhart, 6th January 1924, Ms GR 86/4, SbW.

⁶⁰² It is clear from Moodie's letter to Reinhart that the idea of asking Pfitzner for a concerto came from her, as she was “praying that it would be a good work.” Moodie's letter to Eduard Erdmann, 25th May 1923; cited in Dreyfus, ‘The Patron’, p.199.

⁶⁰³ Pfitzner started to compose the Violin Concerto in November 1923 and completed it at the beginning of January 1924. The concerto was first published by Adolph Fürstner, Berlin (1924). Abendroth, Walter, *Hans Pfitzner* (München: Langen A. and Müller G., 1935), p.254. Cited in *Pfitzner Violin Concerto* (London: Ernst Eulenburg Ltd, 1990), Preface, p.1.

a violin concerto for me, is giving me a premiere performance and wants to speak over several things in it.”⁶⁰⁴ See Figure 34:



himself - Bavaria is not Switzerland - we
 would all consider it a joy to have you
 with us. As attractions I offered you
 beautiful nature, nice people, Spitzen
 combined with my violin for as much
 music as your heart could ever long
 for. + asked if it could tempt you!
 I have to go - he is writing a violin
concerto for me, is giving me an
allgemeine Aufführungsgerecht, it wants
 to speak over several things in it
 + I feel sure that if you have no
 duties to fulfill and nothing special
 on that you would enjoy it. It is
 something worth while to know him.
 I am leaving here Friday morning
 + coming back Tuesday, so if you
 could manage Sunday + Monday, it
 would be absolutely delightful. But I
 must have an answer at once, please.
 Things have to be seen to in advance here.
 Forgive if you simply haven't had time

Figure 34. Moodie's letter to Reinhart dated 12th May 1923

She wrote about the concerto to Flesch on 5th June 1923:

“If you ask me what the work is like, I am afraid I have to reply that I can't judge it! I am still subjectively too involved. I believe however,

⁶⁰⁴ Moodie's letter to Reinhart dated 12th May 1923, Ms GR 86/3, SbW.

that above all it is very effective, full of virtuosity, excellently well scored, very free and full of humor.”⁶⁰⁵

Then on 11th March 1924 she revealed for the first time that, “the premiere will most likely be on 4th June in Nürnberg.”⁶⁰⁶ See Figure 35:

Meinung: Moodie hat Pfitzner: er ist ein Mensch im Nürnberg.

Mein genügend Respekt bekommt, was Erkennbares heraus kommt. Seine letzten drei Bilder sind alles Dinge mit der Beste was ich überhaupt gesehen habe. Scherchen sah ich nicht mehr. u. bin sehr bekümmert darüber. Insofern als alles nun ihm dort in Hofstaumung ist u. ich buchstäblich drüber liege. Wenn ich was für jemanden übrig habe - u. das habe ich für Scherchen trotz aller Unmöglichkeiten, sogar viel - totet es mich sehr wenn ich sehe er ist nicht zurück u. sehen! Ich habe geschimpft, es ist wahr, aber das Repleiten war zu menschlich!

Figure 35. Moodie's letter to Flesch dated 11th March 1924

Before the premiere, Moodie had a hectic touring concert schedule and Pfitzner made her unhappy with his constant nagging to shorten her travels and concentrate on the concerto. It was with some degree of irritation she responded:

⁶⁰⁵ Flesch, 'And do you also play the violin?', p.177.

⁶⁰⁶ Moodie's letter to Reinhart, 11th March 1924. Ms GR 86/, SbW.

“I am totally convinced of the importance of the matter otherwise I would not practice six to seven hours a day in order to finish work in days for which I would have preferred to have weeks.”⁶⁰⁷

It is worth mentioning that Moodie played for this special occasion without a fee. At the same time she was paid the 1500 gold Marks for the performance of the Szymanowski concerto in Prague on 2nd June, an offer she could not refuse, even though this meant complicated travel arrangements before the premiere of the Pfitzner concerto and provoked friction between her and apparently the ‘completely hysterical’ Pfitzner.⁶⁰⁸ Pfitzner’s behaviour towards Moodie was hardly satisfying. Before the first performance and after the premiere he did not say a single word to her and she complained to Reinhart that she knows from his wife that he was happy and satisfied. After almost three weeks later, on 23rd June 1924 she wrote to Reinhart that Pfitzner approved her interpretation and performance of the concerto:

“I have had a glorious week! (...) Sunday morning, after breakfast, I played for him (Pfitzner) (...) and after the last note he stood up and (...) just held me with big tears running down his face. (...) I just howled with him, but I was proud!”⁶⁰⁹

Walter Zimmermann, the reviewer of *Der Landbote*, commented after the premiere that, thanks to her fiery temperament Moodie dominated the public and she had, “a fierce battle with the raging force of the nature of the orchestra.”⁶¹⁰ After Moodie’s premiere the concerto was accepted as a masterpiece from a genius, and hailed as a gift that violinists had longed for so many decades since Bruch’s first concerto in G minor.⁶¹¹ Despite Pfitzner’s concerto was at the time considered the most important addition to the violin repertoire since Bruch, nowadays it does not belong to the mainstream violin repertoire.⁶¹²

⁶⁰⁷ Moodie’s letter to Pfitzner, 29th April 1924, Sign. P68, Pfitzner 27/32; cited in Dreyfus, ‘The Patron’, p.190.

⁶⁰⁸ See Dreyfus, *Bluebeard’s Bride*, p.45. Alma Moodie’s life as a touring virtuoso was always hectic and strenuous and finding time for rehearsals with Pfitzner was difficult. Particular stress, for example, was attached to her decision to play, at Reinhart’s request, Szymanowski’s first violin concerto at the IGNM festival on 2nd June 1924. Sulzer, *Zehn Komponisten*, p.143. In this case the patron’s demands set Pfitzner and Moodie against each other. Reinhart had recently given Moodie a Guarnerius, so his request probably carried a significant weight.

⁶⁰⁹ Stadtbibliothek Winterthur, MS GR 86/4.

⁶¹⁰ *Der Landbote* is a Swiss daily newspaper of the city of Winterthur that was founded in 1836. Sulzer, Peter, *Zehn Komponisten um Werner Reinhart* (Zurich: Atlantis, 1983), p.142.

⁶¹¹ Max Bruch’s Violin Concerto in G minor Op.26 was written in 1866 and premiered the same year by Otto Königslow with Bruch himself conducting. However it was considerably revised with help of Joachim, who gave the premiere of the revised concerto in 1868.

⁶¹² To my knowledge Susanne Lautenbacher (b. 1932, a German violinist) first recorded his concerto with the Philharmonica Hungarica with Gunther Wich conducting. Candide CE31026 Intercode 978-09K, Stereo, 1970. Creighton, James, *Discopaedia of the Violin 1889–1971* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), p.431.

Pfitzner could not simply write a concerto that was an epilogue to the great tradition of nineteenth-century violin concertos, as in the meantime the genre had changed. The concerto, like the cantata, became a vehicle for innovation, as the German musical tradition was flexible enough to contain the new treatment of dissonance and chromatic prolongations. Pfitzner's treatment of the traditional violin concerto form became as radical at times as Berg's (1935) and certainly more radical formally than Schoenberg's (1936).⁶¹³ The work is written in a single movement that combines many themes (motivically connected but expressively contrasting) into a whole; however this is not simply a one-movement work in which three or four traditional movements are 'stitched' together.⁶¹⁴ The constant presence of the thematic material gives the composition an intricate compactness. Since there is no surviving recording of Moodie's performance of the concerto it is important to establish what she might have contributed to the work as a performer. Did her performing style determine some of Pfitzner's musical choices? Was her particular personality 'conserved' in the content and 'imprinted' upon the musical style of the concerto? In the absence of more substantial evidence, the concerto could be seen as a pointer to hidden programmatic depths, rather than as a dedication. Moodie's only obvious inputs are her bowings and fingerings and her offer to annotate the published full score.⁶¹⁵ In comparison Joachim's contribution towards the Brahms Violin Concerto highlights two aspects of the work: virtuosity in the reworking of passages and figuration in order to further reaffirm the impressiveness of the work and second, the cadenza, as it highlights Joachim's talent to conceive musical ideal in an organic way. Having said that one might argue that Moodie's personality partly influenced some of the work's musical aspects.

Pfitzner's concerto is a substantial piece that illustrates that he could write for a specific performer without losing the more personal aspects of his style. It reflects the more complex musical language of the 1920s – the overall sound of the solo violin is 'modern', full of jumps of several octaves, shadowy flageolet passages, chromatic or close double-stoppings, and flowing cantabile and gay passages that

⁶¹³ Berg's violin concerto is structured in two movements, each further divided into two sections. The concerto begins with an Andante in classical sonata form followed by an Allegretto; the second movement starts with a cadenza-like Allegro and the fourth and final section is an Adagio. The first two movements are meant to represent life and the last two, death and transfiguration. Schoenberg's Violin Concerto is in neo-classical form, written in three fast-slow-fast movements traditional for violin concertos: Poco allegro-Vivace, Andante grazioso, Finale: Allegro.

⁶¹⁴ For a detailed analysis of the structure of the Pfitzner's violin concerto see Peter Cahn, "Hans Pfitzner Violinkonzert", in *Musik der Zwanziger Jahre*, ed. Werner Keil, Kerstin Jaunich and Ulrike Kammerer, Hildesheimer musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten, Bd.3 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1996), p.59-85. See also Williamson, *The Music of Hans Pfitzner*.

⁶¹⁵ Moodie's letter to Pfitzner dated 13th July 1924, Sign. F68 Pfitzner 27/49, ÖNB; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, p.85.

stand light against the strength of the brass. The violin part of the first movement, with its four-octave melodic span (that Cahn has called ‘demonic virtuosity’ in the sense of Paganini) was probably written to display both Moodie’s virtuosic brilliance and the beauty of her tone.⁶¹⁶ It starts with a virtuoso opening theme of great rhythmic vitality and energy. See Figure 36:

The image displays a musical score for the first movement of Pfitzner's Violin Concerto, specifically bars 1 through 12. The score is written for Violin and Piano, with additional parts for Horns, reeds and small drum, Tuba, Strings, Winds, and Cellos and basses. The tempo and mood are indicated as 'Lebhaft, energisch'. The Violin part begins with a dynamic of *ff* (fortissimo) and features a four-octave melodic span. The Piano part starts with a dynamic of *fp* (fortissimo piano). The score includes various musical notations such as triplets, slurs, and dynamic markings like *ff*, *fp*, *mf*, and *f*. The bottom system shows the Violin part with a dynamic of *f* and the Piano part with a dynamic of *mf*. The score also includes parts for Horns, reeds and small drum, Tuba, Strings, Winds, and Cellos and basses. The bottom system shows the Violin part with a dynamic of *f* and the Piano part with a dynamic of *mf*. The score includes various musical notations such as triplets, slurs, and dynamic markings like *ff*, *fp*, *mf*, and *f*. The bottom system shows the Violin part with a dynamic of *f* and the Piano part with a dynamic of *mf*. The score also includes parts for Horns, reeds and small drum, Tuba, Strings, Winds, and Cellos and basses. The bottom system shows the Violin part with a dynamic of *f* and the Piano part with a dynamic of *mf*. The score includes various musical notations such as triplets, slurs, and dynamic markings like *ff*, *fp*, *mf*, and *f*.

Figure 36. Pfitzner, Violin Concerto, *Lebhaft, energisch*, bars 1–12

Pfitzner was fortunate; in Moodie he had found an ideal partner who possessed what the Munich critic Alexander Herrsche described after her performance with Knappertsbusch as an, “overpowering life energy that enabled her to hold together convincingly the disparate elements of this rhapsodic work. This artist is a singular phenomenon.”⁶¹⁷ Likewise, Moodie was well known, not only for her manly, energetic art, but also for her playfulness and wit. “Mellowed cheerfulness”, to borrow Reinhard Seebohm’s words, seems to be a persistent characteristic of Pfitzner’s music, which Seebohm defined in terms of Pfitzner’s relationship with Haydn.⁶¹⁸ However, I would like to suggest that the mellowed cheerfulness and Haydnesque 2/4 series of rhythmic motives apparent in the fourth theme of the concerto perhaps captured something of Moodie’s own well-known playfulness.

⁶¹⁶ Cahn, Peter, “Hans Pfitzners Violinkonzert” in *Musik der Zwanziger Jahre*, ed. Werner Keil, Kerstin Jaunich and Ulrike Kammer, Hildersheimer musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten, Bd. 3 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1996), p.63; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard’s Bride*, p.86.

⁶¹⁷ Undated, untitled clipping (1924?), Pfitzner Nachlass, ÖNB, trans. George Dreyfus; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard’s Bride*, p.87.

⁶¹⁸ Seebohm tried to demonstrate Pfitzner’s closer affection at an early age to Haydn, rather than to Mozart. Seebohm, Reinhard, *Pfitzner Verhältniss zu Joseph Haydn*, MPG 34 (October 1975), pp.34–35. Cited in Williamson, John, *The Music of Hans Pfitzner* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p.343.

See Figure 37:

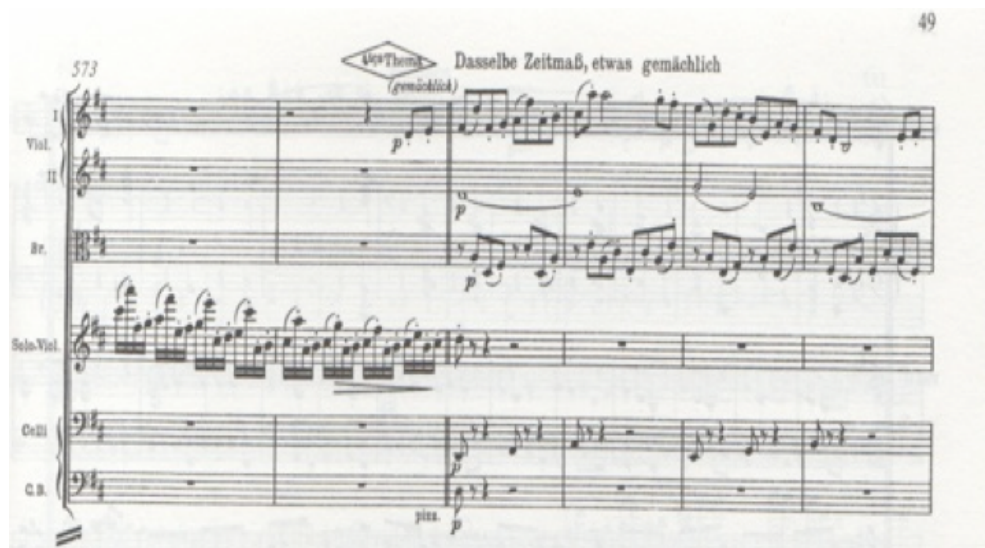


Figure 37. The fourth theme of Pfitzner's violin concerto

An example of that playfulness could be seen in a facsimile of her letter to Reinhart, shown in Figure 38:

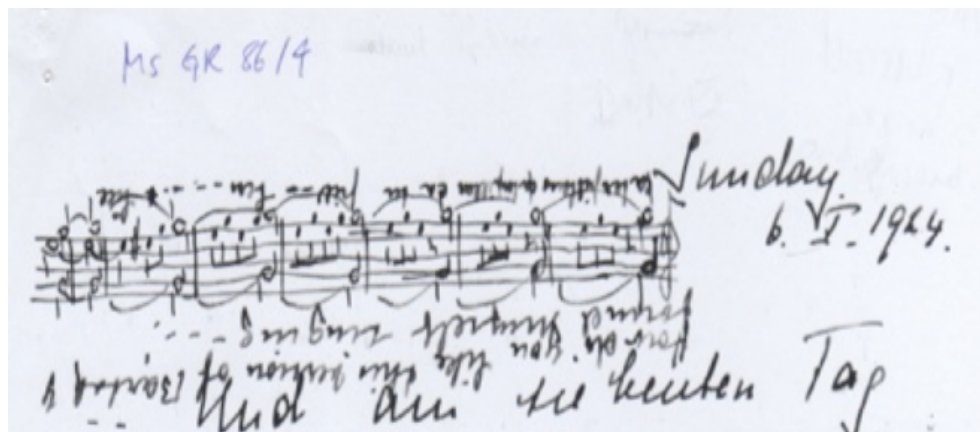


Figure 38. Alma Moodie 'playing' with Bartók's theme⁶¹⁹

The slow section in the Pfitzner violin concerto, *Langsam, sehr geträgen* (slow, very sustained; bars 445–512), is rather unique in the literature as the soloist is excluded. Knowing Alma Moodie's hectic touring life style, Pfitzner, probably ironically, wrote on the violin part a tacet of 69 bars, "for the gracious young lady to rest." Despite Moodie's wittiness she did not find this comment amusing and was not happy with the decision. She felt that the lack of a solo violin part in the slow movement was conceptually wrong and listening to Pfitzner's G major Cello

⁶¹⁹ Moodie's letter to Reinhart, 6th January 1924. Ms GR 86/4, SbW.

Concerto 12 years later she commented, “Here we have the slow movement that is missing from the Violin Concerto.”⁶²⁰

After the premiere Walter Abendroth, Pfitzner’s biographer, reported that ‘enormous enthusiasm about the Pfitzner concerto was the spontaneous echo of the great gift of its genius and its interpreter.’⁶²¹ Moodie became the leading exponent of Pfitzner’s concerto and performed it more than 50 times in Germany with conductors such as Wilhelm Furtwängler, Hans Knappertsbusch, Hermann Scherchen, Karl Muck, Carl Schuricht and Fritz Busch. She gave her fiftieth performance of the work in Flensburg in March 1929 and the last performance with the Gewandhaus, Leipzig, in January 1935.⁶²² Moodie continued her musical collaboration with Pfitzner (that started in Berlin on 17th February 1921 when they performed his violin sonata Op. 27) and in years between 1924-27 they gave several duo-recitals. The last concert they played together was probably at the Frankfurter Museums-Gesellschaft on 8th December 1939 when she performed the Brahms double concerto with Rudolf Metzmacher under Pfitzner’s baton.⁶²³ Moodie’s partnership with Pfitzner at a time when he was not approved of by the regime in my opinion demonstrates her determination and loyalty to him and his music.⁶²⁴ Although she asked Pfitzner for another work he declined. Determined to perform new works she went on to develop other productive collaborations with composers, including Krenek, Erdmann and Hindemith.

Moodie developed an intense but short-lived artistic collaboration with Krenek, who was at that time a young, radical composer, and unhappily married to Anna Mahler.⁶²⁵ Krenek arrived in Berlin in September 1920 flattered by the invitation of his teacher, Franz Schreker, after he became the director of National Academy of

⁶²⁰ Letter from Alma Moodie to Flesch dated 21st November 1936, Carl Flesch Collection, NMI; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard’s Bride*, p.88.

⁶²¹ Abendroth, *Hans Pfitzner*, p.136; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard’s Bride*, p.87.

⁶²² Dreyfus, ‘Alma Moodie and the Landscape of Giftedness’, p.12. It is interesting that the last mention of Moodie in *The Strad* from 1935 concerned her performance of Pfitzner’s violin concerto in the Gewandhaus in Leipzig.

⁶²³ Dreyfus, ‘The Patron’, p.193.

⁶²⁴ Whilst on the day of premiere of the violin concerto Pfitzner was presented as, “next to Richard Strauss, undisputedly greatest living composer of the Wagner succession” he was later deemed unreliable and unfriendly to the political aims of the Reich despite the fact that he conducted in occupied countries. Contrary to Alma Moodie he never joined the Nazi Party and occasionally refused Party requests – he rejected to condemn some of the great Jewish artists he had worked with over the years and turned down a commission to rewrite Mendelssohn’s score for *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, claiming he could not improve it. During his denazification trial, along with Egk, Strauss and Furtwängler, he was found not guilty. Pfitzner died in Salzburg in May 1949. Sulzer, *Zehn Komponisten*, pp.142–43. See also <http://holocaustmusic.ort.org/politics-and-propaganda/third-reich/pfitzner-hans/>; accessed 3rd March 2013.

⁶²⁵ Krenek was an Austrian of Czech origin, born in Vienna in 1900, and from 1945 an American citizen. Their marriage ended before its first anniversary.

Music in Berlin.⁶²⁶ Schreker, the acknowledged leader of the progressive wing of Viennese musicians, wanted his best students to follow him to Berlin, the most important centre for young artists looking for a career in music, theatre or literature. As things turned out Krenek would try all three. However, thanks to artistic differences the conflict between Schreker and Krenek developed and at Christmas 1923 through Hermann Scherchen, Krenek received a grant from Reinhart that enabled him to leave Berlin and compose in Winterthur without financial worries for two years.⁶²⁷ Reinhart also gave Krenek an opportunity to meet Friedrich T. Gubler, an editor of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*; Rainer Maria Rilke; the composer and theorist Ernst Georg Wolff; Paul Hindemith; and Moodie, with whom he had lively discussions on the subject of new directions in music. Moodie was a few months older than Krenek and at this time was just becoming known as a recitalist. Their artistic collaboration extended into the personal realm, as her sympathy offset some of his loneliness. In several letters to Reinhart, she mentioned Krenek, “Life with Krenek is extraordinarily interesting and pleasant.”⁶²⁸ Then again on 19th July 1924 she stated:

“I do not hesitate to say that Krenek is a genius. (...) I have a lot of affection for him and consider him very talented. He is so clear and sure of himself. I like him and this feeling is mutual.”⁶²⁹

Finally in her letter to Reinhart from 28th October 1924 she confirmed:

“Things are not right here the Kreneks are getting divorced and Krenek has exploded and is, or imagines he is head over heels in love with me! I didn’t want to make the situation impossible last night therefore was not quite honest. Please consider this as an utterly private communication from me to you.”⁶³⁰

As well as helping Pfitzner, Moodie helped Krenek get financial assistance from Reinhart.⁶³¹ At a time of great discomfort for Krenek, Reinhart donated him a thousand Swiss francs, which was of very considerable help as Moodie’s letter of 28th July 1924, “He is there with his parents – your credit helped it considerably!”⁶³² Krenek, in gratitude, dedicated his Sonata for Solo Violin, Op. 33

⁶²⁶ After his separation from the army following the end of the First World War, Krenek entered the Vienna University to study philosophy for two terms but he continued his weekly lessons with Schreker.

⁶²⁷ Influenced by Schoenberg’s twelve-tone technique Krenek became an advocate of the most radical tendencies in then-contemporary music.

⁶²⁸ Moodie’s letter to Reinhart, 9th September 1924. Ms GR 86/5 SbW.

⁶²⁹ Moodie’s letter to Reinhart, 19th July 1924. Ms GR 86/5 SbW.

⁶³⁰ Moodie’s letter to Reinhart, 28th October 1924. Ms GR 86/5, SbW.

⁶³¹ Krenek dedicated his *Kleine Suite*, Op. 28 (1924) to Reinhart.

⁶³² Moodie’s letter to Reinhart, 28th July 1924. Ms GR 86/5, SbW. As the years show, Krenek was not an effective advocate of his own interest thanks to his lifelong shyness and reserve, and without the

(1924/25) to her. He ‘remembered’ that:

“It was written in a sort of frenzy, at some climax point of my love relation with Alma (...) I have always loved the form of solo pieces for stringed instruments, greatly admiring as I was Bach’s accomplishments in that field. I went about this piece with a feeling of high responsibility and I thought that it was a very good piece. I handed the manuscript with all sketches over to Alma who has never played this composition, and I have never heard from it since. It may well be that it does not exist any longer.”⁶³³

Yet, his comment is a questionable one, as his sonata was published in 1980 by the Musikverlag Hermann Assman (Frankfurt am Main), before his memoirs were published in 1998. Likewise, his assertion that she never played it is equally questionable as the manuscript is full of her annotations.⁶³⁴

The Sonata for solo violin Op. 33, as Pfitzner commented, is a ‘very interesting attempt at composing a long piece (the form remains manageable) without a melody.’⁶³⁵ Mark Sealy suggested that:

“This work written without bar lines is a *tour-de-force* for any violinist and it is vital to be played without any sentimentality in order to emphasise the scale over the essence of the music. The Sonata is analogous, almost, to the energy in Bach’s great solo string works. Such a potential parallel is strengthened by the scale of some of the movements here: the first (*largo*) and third (*adagio*) of the first Sonata, opus 33, are nine-and-a-half and twelve-and-a-half minutes in length respectively.”⁶³⁶

In order to understand the violin works that are born out of such a composer-performer partnership one might argue that this sonata (that urges towards expressive breadth) perhaps carries some traces of Moodie’s technique, style and artistry, as it was written for her and with her performing style in mind. In that sense I believe Krenek’s sonata could be seen as a tribute to the accuracy of her technique, tone control and her ‘architektonisch,’ energetic and rhythmically vibrant style of playing. The sonata is modern in idiom (atonal) and classical in form. One cannot underestimate the newer violinistic language characterised by the frequent use of chromaticism, long melodic ‘jumps’, double stops, and

sponsorship of Werner he was likely to be passed over by contemporaries who were more tireless in self-promotion, like Strauss, Honegger, Schoeck and Hindemith.

⁶³³ Krenek, *Im Atem der Zeit*, pp.572-73. See Dreyfus, *Bluebeard’s Bride*, p.84.

⁶³⁴ Stewart, John, L., *Ernst Krenek: The Man and his Music* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1991), p.58; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard’s Bride*, p.71. Dreyfus confirms that a photocopy of the first page of the manuscript was sent to her in the early 1990s.

⁶³⁵ Lorenz, Andrew, *Stringendo Magazine*, Volume 36, No.2, October 2014.

⁶³⁶ Sealey, Mark, CD review, 2013, <http://www.classical.net/music/recs/reviews>; accessed 28th July 2015.

‘unviolinistic chords,’ and is indirectly suggests that she championed music stylistically unfamiliar to virtuoso players of the previous era. See Figure 39:



Figure 39. Opening of Krenek's Sonata for Solo Violin, Op.33

Krenek not only composed Sonata for Moodie but in the same year he also completed the Violin Concerto No. 1, Op. 29 on her suggestion.⁶³⁷ This may be

⁶³⁷ Pfitzner and Krenek both wrote their concertos for Moodie at about the same time. They were completely different in age, temperament and musical style and she seems to have wanted them to like each other. However, Krenek despised Pfitzner's German nationalism and "reactionary and chauvinistic mentality." On the other hand Pfitzner was irritated by Moodie's enthusiasm for Krenek

seen from her letter to Reinhart of 27th February 1924:

“I would like Krenek to turn out something tip top for me.”⁶³⁸

Over the concerto she writes:

“A totally crazy piece; the violin starts on its own (...) I like the idea. I really have lots that I can do and I want to do, too!”⁶³⁹

Moodie not only asked Krenek to write a concerto for her, but also assisted him with the scoring of the violin part as she had with the Pfitzner concerto. Krenek gave a description of the genesis of the concerto in his autobiography:

“The concerto turned out to be (...) full of zest and vigor. Although Alma Moodie advised me in regard to the solo part, there have remained in it a few awkward spots, due to my ignorance as to ultimate finesses of the instrument. Since I retained the relentless rhythmic drive characteristic of my earlier works, the simplification of texture made some of my works of that period superficially more similar to the familiar features of the Stravinsky style than they really were in spirit.”⁶⁴⁰

In 1924 Krenek made his first visit to Paris, where he became familiar with Stravinsky's neo-classical works, particularly *Pulcinella*, and with the music of *Les Six*, which led him to adopt a neo-classical style himself. Encouraged by his teacher Scherchen, and friends Artur Schnabel and Erdmann, Krenek abandoned Schoenberg's radical atonalism. Thus Schoenberg's influence on the concerto does not dominate, and although the first movement is tense harmonically it is counterbalanced with peaceful tender moments. The first movement is in a variety of tempi, beginning with a presto that starts with a long passage for solo violin accompanied only by winds, similarly to Weill's Violin Concerto from the same period. The following Adagio is the heart of the piece, with its almost Bergian beauty and a cadenza of considerable virtuosity and expressiveness that could fully demonstrate Moodie's artistry. Figure 40 shows the review from *The Musical Times* of the premiere performance on 5th January 1925 in Dessau, Franz von Hoesslin conducting.

and his music, which perhaps demonstrate their stylistic differences. Krenek, *Im Atem der Zeit*, p.574; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, p.70.

⁶³⁸ Ms GR 86/4, SbW.

⁶³⁹ Moodie's letter to Reinhart, Berlin 24th March 1924. Winterthur Stadtbibliothek, MS GR 86/4. Concerto for Violin No.1 in one movement with three clearly distinguished sections, a first part based on a violin theme that sounds like a corrupted scale; a slow central section, and a 'finale' that reprises the introductory material. It was composed between 9th and 31st March 1924 in Zürich. Bowles, Garrett H., *Ernst Krenek: Bio-Bibliographies in Music: Ernst Krenek: A Bio-bibliography* 22 (New York: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1989), p.24.

⁶⁴⁰ Krenek, *Im Atem der Zeit*, p.545; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, p.84.

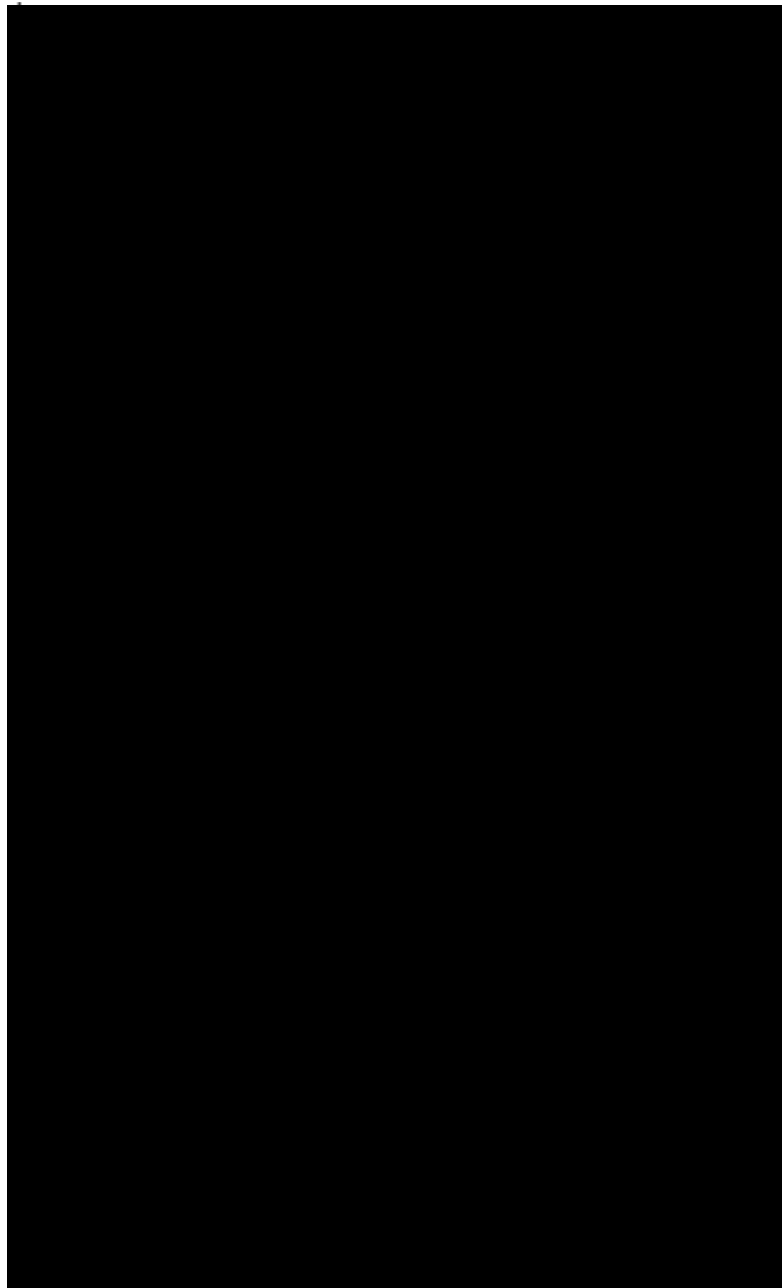


Figure 40. *The Musical Times*, 1st February 1925, p.169

According to Erdmann ‘he heard virtuosic achievements from Moodie that were astonishing, and Krenek’s violin concerto was one of them.’⁶⁴¹ Krenek did not attend the concerto’s premiere, and never heard Moodie play it, though in his autobiography he mentioned a trip to Holland to hear her play it with the Concertgebouw.⁶⁴² Moodie performed Krenek’s concert again in Berlin on 10th January 1925, St Gallen, Cologne, Duisburg Genf, and Amsterdam in December

⁶⁴¹ Erdmann, “Erinnerungen”, AdKB; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard’s Bride*, p.134.

⁶⁴² Stewart, *Ernst Krenek*, p.402 and Krenek, *Im Atem der Zeit*, p.667.

1925 and on 1st March 1926 in Moscow.⁶⁴³ Despite its initial successful performance, Krenek did not promote any further hearings of the concerto and later regarded its style as outdated.

As the concerto was dedicated to Moodie it could be seen as a musical portrait of their short and complicated relationship. A former classmate of Krenek, a composer Berthold Goldschmidt found that the whole sound of the middle movement, the Adagio, conveyed a clear picture of a sleeping compartment in a night train, with the violin and the instruments of the orchestra carrying on a serious discussion. This he took to depict the two musicians' determination to go their separate ways in their professional careers, with the movement's passionate conclusion representing their actual separation. The concerto is full of highly rhythmic passagework and harsh orchestral textures, yet there are some tender moments that may well be inspired by Moodie's sensuality.

Krenek's respect for Moodie's violin playing did not end with his violin concerto and sonata for solo violin; he claimed to have made another musical portrait of her in his opera *Jonny Spielt Auf* Op. 45 (*Jonny Strikes Up*).⁶⁴⁴ The opera typified the cultural freedom of the 'golden era' of the Weimar Republic and the music is a blend of German expressionism, jazz and white dance music (epitomised by the Paul Whiteman Orchestra). The libretto was written by Krenek himself, and the opera is set in nightclubs, glaciers and trains. Referencing the various available styles of the time it tells the torrid love stories of Max (probably Krenek himself, the composer of 'serious' music and a self-consciously introspective Central European intellectual) and Anita (an opera singer and Max's muse), and of Anita and the classical violin player Daniello (a 'slick' virtuoso for whom art is merely the means to mass adoration and who is thus unworthy of the noble violin in his possession). A strong autobiographical element in the opera and the prominent role of the violin may well testify to the importance of Moodie in Krenek's life.⁶⁴⁵ Krenek suggested that their affair was very satisfying on an erotic level, and that

⁶⁴³ Reinhart commented in his letter to Rilke, that even a heavy cold did not prevent her from giving a "herlich" (marvelous) performance of the Krenek concerto on 1st March 1926. Reinhart's letter to Rilke dated 2nd March 1926, in Luck, ed., *Rainer Maria Rilke: Briefwechsel mit den Brüdern Reinhard*, p.414; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, p.45.

⁶⁴⁴ Following World War I three young composers came to the fore as the dominant members of the new generation in Germany and Austria: Krenek, Weill and Hindemith. Krenek was the first to produce what came to be called a *Zeitoper*, ('an opera of its time'), which despite protests from the growing Nazi party attained unprecedented success following its premiere at the Stadttheater, Leipzig on 10th February 1927. Just a few years apart several German composers had written operas of this type: Paul Hindemith, *Cardillac* (1926), Kurt Weill, *The Threepenny Opera* (1928) and *Grandeur and Decadence of the City of Mahagonny* (1930).

⁶⁴⁵ According to Stewart, Krenek said that, "Some aspects of Alma's personality were used for Anita in *Jonny spielt auf*." Stewart, *Ernst Krenek*, p.402.

the violin, with its long-standing connection to the female body, could possibly symbolise the intense sensuality of his ex-lover.⁶⁴⁶ It could be argued that if Stravinsky's influence is reflected in the work's adoption of neo-classicism and Schoenberg makes an appearance in its musical language at the edges of atonality, Krenek's admiration for Moodie's artistry is probably reflected in the beauty of the violin solo. Moreover, it is a reflection of her personal search for modernity that deeply moved and excited her.⁶⁴⁷ Moodie and Krenek's short-lived affair was over by autumn 1925 and they never met again after 1927.⁶⁴⁸ Despite the opera's great success, after the National Socialists attained power in 1933 Krenek's music was targeted in Germany. Future performances of *Jonny spielt auf* were banned and Krenek was put on the list of degenerate artists. Aware of the worsening political climate Krenek immigrated to the United States in 1938.

As already mentioned, Moodie formed one other long-term creative relationship with the composer and pianist Eduard Erdmann, whose name was frequently cited in the 1920s and early 1930s among Germany's leading composers.⁶⁴⁹ Erdmann remembered that he 'seldom had such strong impressions of the performances of contemporary music since those of Alma Moodie, and that was because her playing was so devoid of any difficulties regarding the interpretation itself and that she was able to take great risks within compositional form and make it sound like the most natural thing in the world.'⁶⁵⁰ In 1921, inspired by their artistic collaboration and Moodie's passion for modern music, Erdmann dedicated his Sonata for Solo Violin, Op. 12 to her, which Moodie premiered in Berlin in October 1921.⁶⁵¹ Their last concert appearance was just three days before Moodie's death, on 4th March

⁶⁴⁶ Stewart, Krenek, p.402 and 412. Dreyfus commented that Stewart confirmed this connection in his letter to her dated 11th January 1991: "Krenek himself told me that he had Moodie in mind when he was thinking about Anita's personality." Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, p.157. One might find fascinating that at the divorce hearing in August 1926, Anna Mahler (Krenek's wife) complained about Krenek's highly pronounced sexual urges, whilst he spoke of his wife's alleged frigidity. Hilmes, Oliver, *Malevolent Muse: The Life of Alma Mahler* (trans. Donald Arthur) (Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 2015), (originally published Munich: Siedler Verlag, 2004), p.135.

⁶⁴⁷ When Stravinsky was asked to compose a violin concerto he hesitated as he thought that his lack of knowledge of violin technique would be obvious in the work. To clear his doubts he consulted Paul Hindemith, who suggested that, "on the contrary that is a very good thing, as it would make him avoid a routine technique, and would give a rise to ideas that would not be suggested by the familiar movement of the fingers." <http://www.allmusic.com/composition/violin-concerto-in-d-major-mc0002357689>; accessed 10th July 2014.

⁶⁴⁸ Bowles, *Ernst Krenek*, p.148.

⁶⁴⁹ Erdmann, Eduard (1886–1958, a Latvian born German composer and pianist) became a professor at the Cologne Academy of Music in 1925. From 1935 he was in 'internal exile'; however, in 1937 he decided to avoid government harassment and joined the Nazi Party. This action ruined his post-war reputation.

⁶⁵⁰ Erdmann, "Erinnerungen", AdKB; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, pp.133-4.

⁶⁵¹ Erdmann, Eduard, Sonata for Solo Violin Op.12 *Ruhig-attacca/Allegretto scherzando – Trio (Wie eine Volksweise) Langsam/Lebendig*.

1943 when they were in the middle of a cycle of Beethoven sonatas for piano and violin.⁶⁵²

Indeed, another important German composer who collaborated with Moodie was Hindemith (1895–1963). In the early 1920s Hindemith, like several other composers of the time, was responsive to the new call for objectivity. His main goal was to find an organised musical language that could incorporate twentieth-century harmonic developments and an emphasis upon clarity of melodic line, texture and form. Hindemith's affinity with Baroque music and his intent to renew the classical tradition of chamber music are obvious in his early works, eight concerti grossi, collectively titled *Kammermusik*.⁶⁵³ Since these are written for an ensemble with a group of solo instruments it is interesting to note that Hindemith's relation to the performer is not a simple one. Although very fine viola player himself, he went so far as to say, "that music for its realization has to count on the performing musician is an inherent weakness."⁶⁵⁴ Yet, it seems that, in the case of Moodie, who premiered his *Kammermusik* No. 4 Op. 36/3 for solo violin and large chamber orchestra at the Donaueschingen Festival in summer 1925, Hindemith trusted her artistic conscience and highly developed sense of style.⁶⁵⁵ One might note that, being a viola player himself in the modern manner, he admired Moodie's style of playing that perhaps reflected such practice (not wholly unlikely given her remarks about an over 'sentimental' style of playing).⁶⁵⁶ A creative fusion between the two could be seen in Hindemith's hectic musical structure (a common description of Moodie's personality) and Hindemith's decision to quote the theme from Paganini's Caprice No.13 in B♭ Major, in the March movement of the work, which Ian Kemp calls a "private joke between composer and performer."⁶⁵⁷

⁶⁵² Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, p.73.

⁶⁵³ *Kammermusik* were written between 1921 and 1927. Hindemith was reluctant to rely upon the traditional Baroque sound resources and sometimes introduced a new combination of instruments to avoid Baroque-performing habits. The first two concerti that share Op. 24 are for small ensembles; *Kammermusik*, No.1 (1922) was written for flute, clarinet, bassoon, trumpet, harmonium, piano, string quintet and percussion, and *Kammermusik*, Op. 24 no.2 (1922) for wind quintet. *Kammermusik* no.2 to no.5 are for larger ensembles and are effectively concertos for piano, cello, violin, viola, viola d'amore, and organ. Kemp, Ian, *Hindemith* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), p.16.

⁶⁵⁴ Hindemith, Paul, *A Composer's World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953), p.154. Cited in Neumeyer, David, *The Music of Paul Hindemith* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press 1986), p.17.

⁶⁵⁵ Moodie's letter to Reinhart comments on their friendship, "I heard Hindemith twice. Firstly (his new quartet) in program with Krenek's Salzburger quartet and I liked it very much (...) then in the second evening I rehearsed Habàs II and Hindemith op.16. After they came here and were impossible (...) and then (we) sat and talked until four in the morning. Hindemith quiet and serious and ready to show himself simply and openly (...) and I am glad to know him like that." Ms GR 86/3, SbW.

⁶⁵⁶ Philip, *Early Recordings*, p.236.

⁶⁵⁷ Nicknamed *The Devil's Laughter* the Caprice No. 13 in B♭ major was written in 1805. It could be argued that Hindemith's decision to quote this theme reflects Alma Moodie's personality. Kemp, *Hindemith* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), p.16. Interestingly, Dreyfus suggests that the work was not written for Moodie, but for Hindemith's friend Licco Amar, leader of the Amar Quartet in which Hindemith was soloist. See Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, p.155.

However, in the eight and a half lines (out of 620 pages) Boris Schwarz dedicates to Alma Moodie in his *Great Masters of the Violin*, her contribution, as its first performer is not mentioned. On the contrary, Schwarz gives Josef Wolfsthal (1899–1931), a violinist who played in a trio with Hindemith and Feuermann, as the first performer of this concerto.

At this point I would like to summarise Moodie's relationships with the musicians with whom she collaborated. One cannot but notice that all these relationships nurtured her both, personally and artistically. At the same time, I would like to suggest that the composers whose music she performed benefited from their association with, not only a charismatic performer, but also with a powerful individual who was not afraid of engaging intellectually, emotionally and spiritually with them and their music. It was perhaps those qualities that they sought to capture in the music they dedicated to her. Flesch clearly demonstrated his ultimate recognition of her achievements when he suggested that:

“Her lasting importance rests upon the fact that, between 1920 and 1930, she stimulated modern compositions for the violin in a similar way Joachim, Sarasate and Ysaÿe had done before her. Amongst other works, the violin concertos of Hans Pfitzner and Ernst Krenek, as well as many sonatas for violin alone, owe their existence to her art.”⁶⁵⁸

Indeed, the German musicologist Brigit Saak describes Moodie as a “way-preparer” for modern violin literature, whilst Boris Schwarz characterised her as, “one of a string of new violinists – all excellent instrumentalists who were willing to deglamorise the violin.”⁶⁵⁹ Whilst one might disagree with these suggestions, one cannot ignore that music dedicated to her was written in a modern idiom that is often atonal, stripped of romantic pretensions, with rhythmic, even percussive qualities that partly reflected her performing style, (one might suggest, she ‘imprinted’ herself on the repertoire). Whilst this is undeniably speculative, as we do not have any recordings I believe that in order to play these compositions she was forced to ignore earlier stylistic attitudes and to find a different set of aesthetic values, thus suggesting that she was, together with her male colleagues, at the forefront of stylistic change. It is perhaps a shame that the lasting recognition of the importance of Moodie's art in the broader history of the violin and its literature did not continue in the following years. Her life's commitment to contemporary music began at 1914 (with her performance of Reger's *Präludium und Fuge*, Op. 131a, no. 4) thus, before she could possibly be seen as ruthless in promoting her interests

⁶⁵⁸ Flesch, *Memoirs*, ‘The Post-War Years 1918–1923’.

⁶⁵⁹ Schwarz, Boris, ‘Stravinsky, Dushkin, and the Violin’, in Pasler, *Confronting Stravinsky*, p.303.

and she continued to introduce and popularise new works as many of her male counterparts whose important contribution in the development of modern literature was never characterised as self-promoting and who were credited for their creative efforts.⁶⁶⁰

⁶⁶⁰ Joseph Szigetti (1892–1973) is honoured in the history of violin playing thanks to the fact that many contemporary composers dedicated their works to him: Sir Hamilton Harty (Violin Concerto, 1909), Ernest Bloch (First Violin Sonata, 1920 and Violin Concerto, 1938), Ysaÿe (Solo Sonata No.1 from his Six Sonatas for solo violin, 1923), Alfredo Casella (Violin Concerto, 1928), Béla Bartók (*Rhapsody* No. 1, 1929), Joseph Achron (Movements/Sections 3, 1930), Antal Molnár (*Hungarian Fantasy*), George Templeton Strong (*The life of an Artist* for violin and orchestra), Alan Rawsthorne (Sonata for Violin and Piano 1959). Szigeti performed their pieces often at an early stage in their careers when his support was especially beneficial. Likewise, he kept a whole series of contemporary music in his repertoire; works by Karol Szymanowski, Albert Roussel and Darius Milhaud, Filip Lazar, Igor Stravinsky and Sergei Prokofiev, Aram Khachaturian, Alexander Tansman, Ferruccio Busoni and Ildebrando Pizzetti, as well as pieces by Sir Edward Elgar and Sir Arnold Bax, Paul Hindemith and David Diamond, Charles Cadman and Henry Cowell. Similarly to Alma Moodie, Stefan Frenkel (1902–1979) was a member of the International Society for Contemporary Music and championed works of Karol Rathaus, Paul Amadeus Pisk, Philip Jarnach, Béla Bartók, Herman Reutter, Kurt Weill and Maurice Ravel. Louis Krasner (1903–1995) premiered the violin concertos by Alban Berg (premiered in Barcelona in 1936 with conductor Hermann Scherchen) and Arnold Schoenberg (in 1940 with Leopold Stokowski leading his Philadelphia orchestra), works by American composers such as Roger Sessions, Henry Cowell and Roy Harris and championed concertos by Joseph Achron and Alfredo Casella. See Schwarz, *Great Masters of the Violin*, pp.515–17. See Frank, Tibor, *Double Exile: Migrations of Jewish-Hungarian Professionals through Germany to the United States, 1914–1945* (Bern, European Academic Publishers, 2009), pp. 107–08.

Chapter Six: The shared experiences of Maud Powell, Marie Hall and Alma Moodie through the prism of gender studies

This chapter, returning to the subject of my three chosen violinists, draws on the parallels in their lives, careers and artistry in order to explain the domination of patriarchy in the musical world at the dawn of twentieth century. Indeed, as in the case of many virtuoso players, Maud Powell, Marie Hall and Alma Moodie had very strong parental support. Powell's parents made it their life's mission to help her become a fine player. Although female violinists were still not a common feature of musical life, Powell's mother was determined that her daughter would not share her destiny; her dreams for a musical career had fallen victim to the prevailing social and cultural norms. Well in advance of their time, Powell's parents believed that nothing, 'takes a child into a mutuality with nature as music does and (...) leads him to understand and appreciate the value of others in society.'⁶⁶¹ An excellent home education and the innovative mind-set of her parents became the basis for Powell's bold spirit and intellectual alertness. While she grew up in a cultivated home environment in America, Hall grew up in the rather more humble home of musicians in England. Throughout her poverty-stricken childhood she gained strength of character, perseverance and strong-mindedness, all necessary qualities for aspiring female soloists at that time. Similarly, Alma Moodie's mother noted her child's musical gifts at an early age and guided her musical education. Though she had helped her initially, by the age of twenty Moodie found herself alone in Europe. Moodie's letter to Reinhart of 13th May 1924 (the anniversary of the day she lost her mother) perfectly demonstrates her strength of character as she wrote that she 'felt exhausted the first week, numbed the second but picked herself up the third.'⁶⁶² Equally, Moodie admired determination to succeed in others as we can see in her comment about Krenek:

"There are many big talents but few characters that are strong enough to advance themselves through their own strength. I am pleased to see one of my own generation who struggles and tries and to a degree achieve results."⁶⁶³

As it was absolutely unacceptable during this period for a female violinist to travel or to settle in a foreign country alone, parental support was absolutely necessary for two reasons: firstly, to share their passion for music in order to finance their

⁶⁶¹ Powell, *Methods of Teaching Music*, p.987; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, pp.17–18.

⁶⁶² Moodie's letter to Reinhart, 13th May 1924. Ms GR 86/4, SbW.

⁶⁶³ Moodie's letter to Pfitzner dated 15th January 1924, Sign. F68 Pfitzner 27/20, ÖNB; cited in Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, p.70.

musical education, and secondly, their mother's presence was both helpful and comforting, as it allowed young talented girls to concentrate wholeheartedly on their studies. Yet, their youth did not shield them from understanding that family separation placed strains upon their parent's marriage. Powell's words fully confirm that:

“I tell you that any mother who has a talented daughter has my full sympathy. It is difficult enough for the daughter ... and poor mother is always there. Who finally pays double for all the fame of a talented daughter? The mother of course!”⁶⁶⁴

If the conservatory experience for solo female violinists was in advance of its time, I would point out that the attitude of their mothers was also progressive and probably served as an outlet for their own musical and personal ambitions that were unrealised. In spite of the emotional stress caused by leaving a husband for a long time and living practically on their own in Europe these determined, confident and assertive women partly felt free, something that other women trapped in conventional lives did not experience.

The mutual admiration between these female pioneer violinists and their beloved male teachers lasted a whole lifetime. Once their careers were launched they always made special plans to visit their former teachers and they, in turn, rarely missed an opportunity to hear them play. Endowed with personal warmth their relationships became a repeated testimony of an intense mutual respect, something that was, at that time, rare towards female artists.⁶⁶⁵ Perhaps more striking is the fact that not only their mothers, but also their male teachers encouraged and endorsed them at a time when the attitudes towards female musicians had only just begun to change. Their masters, being touring virtuosos themselves, knew that if a male artist had it tough, female violinists would have it even tougher. Having the support of those great musicians and violin teachers meant that their artistry was professionally and publically recognised.

⁶⁶⁴ ‘Von den Müttern berühmter kinder’, *Morgan Journal*, 26th May 1912, trans. Ruth Eigenmann Figureoa; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.38. In 1904 while on a tour of the country Maud announced her engagement to H. Godfrey Turner, the manager of the Sousa tour with the nickname “Sunny” because of his fun-loving character. Sunny replaced her mother who had given up travelling with her, a fact that may have caused deep resentment for Powell. Unfortunately Maud's mother disapproved of the match as Sunny was the ‘English foreigner’ of 44 and a widower with one son while Maud was 37. Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.201.

⁶⁶⁵ Moodie's letters to Carl Flesch are testimony of their life-long friendship; similarly Powell always made an effort to visit Joachim when she was playing in Europe. It seems that their male contemporaries Alard's student Pablo de Sarasate, David's student August Wilhelmj, Wieniawski's and Vieuxtemps's student Ysaÿe, Massart's student Fritz Kreisler, Marsick's students Jacques Thibaud and George Enescu, Joachim's student Bronislav Huberman, Hubay's student Joseph Szigeti, and Auer's pupil Mischa Elman etc. did not have such an intense and lifelong relationship with their teachers.

It is widely accepted that a great violinist should play on a fine instrument, and wealthy patrons or teachers presented Powell, Hall and Moodie with such instruments not only as an act of generosity but also out of admiration for their artistry. By handing over their violins these teachers and patrons also indicated that they recognised the same commitment as their own in these female artists and were aware of their true stature as world-class performers, again something that was in advance of their time. Powell began on a half-sized violin purchased for ten dollars and came back from her European studies with a beautiful Joseph Guarnerius del Gesu chosen for her by her teacher Joachim.⁶⁶⁶ Ševčík loaned his favourite violin to Hall for her debut in Prague, the same instrument on which Kubelík had made his debut.⁶⁶⁷ Moodie, acquired her Gofriller violin from Flesch in 1923, though her letters make it clear that Reinhart paid for it:

“I owe you such a tons and tons. (...) I wish I could thank you (...) for it’s so wonderfully real and unselfish and kind and I would give anything in the world to be able to give you back the smallest part of what I am having through you.”⁶⁶⁸

Reflecting on gender bias it is worth mentioning that although female virtuosos were paid less than their male counterparts for their performances, the fact that Powell, Hall and Moodie were able to afford their own Cremonese instruments, demonstrates both their financial prowess at the time when the majority of women were financially dependant on their husbands and confirms their status as top players.⁶⁶⁹ For example, Maud Powell purchased her del Gesù, Guarneri (1731), from W. E. Hill and Sons of London in 1903, paying them £600. In 1905 she bought a violin made by Joseph Rocca (1856) from J. & A. Beare of London and around February 1907 she purchased a violin by Joannes Baptista Guadagnini (1775) for \$4,000. This violin became her favourite concert instrument because of its tone and its small size that suited Powell who was approximately five feet three inches tall.⁶⁷⁰ Marie Hall had bought her favourite violin, the *Viotti* Strad, from the London dealer Georg Hart, paying him £1,600 and first performed on it in

⁶⁶⁶ Joseph Guarnerius dedicated his violins to Jesus, inscribing each with I. H. S. surmounted by the cross after his name, hence the appellation ‘del Gesu.’

⁶⁶⁷ Later Hall played on the famous ‘Viotti’ Stradivarius. When Hall’s violin was made in 1709, Antonio Stradivari was in his 65th year.

⁶⁶⁸ Moodie’s letter to Reinhart dated, 27th December 1923, Ms GR 86/3, SbW. From 1931 Moodie played on ex-Hart or ex-Kreisler Joseph Guarnerius that Werner bought for her. The date of the violin is 1737 and the initials of Giuseppe Giovanni Battista Guarneri (1698–1744) are set in diamonds on the tailpiece, while the pegs and buttons are also ornamented with diamonds and rubies.

⁶⁶⁹ Whilst Paderewski’s fee per concert in 1895 in America was c. \$3,000, the highest fee a woman pianist could earn around 1906 was \$500–600. Hall received for her debut concert at St. James Hall in London £500. Macleod, *Women Performing Music*, p.64.

⁶⁷⁰ Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.210.

February 1905.⁶⁷¹ In her letter of August 1927 to Reinhart, Moodie described the acquisition the del Gesù Guarneri (1741) for £6,000 from W. E. Hill and Sons of London, “I had set my heart on it and it is so beautiful that it is not to be described in words.”⁶⁷² Kreisler had owned that violin from 1904-1917 and sold it in America in 1918. Important violins often carry the names of great virtuosos who played on them; however, it is worth noting that in this case the violin continues to be known primarily as the ex “Hart-Kreisler Guarnerius” and not the “Ex-Moodie Guarnerius” who was its previous owner.

As female virtuosi emphasised their devotion to high art, they must have struggled mightily with their emotions and feelings before agreeing to marry. In 1908 Maud Powell reflected on the risks a woman took when deciding in favour of a career as a concert artist:

“It is a difficult question – too difficult to answer by simple yea or nay: Shall you become a great artist and have the multitude at your feet (if you are lucky) or shall you marry a faithful and honest Dick, live a life of humdrum domestic felicity and suffer ever after with a gnawing sense of defeated and thwarted ambition, a bitter “might-have-been?” (...) Frankly, I say to you, that the game is not worth a candle, unless your music is a part of a very fiber, your breath of life.”⁶⁷³

Reflecting on the gender barriers she had to overcome, it was not until after Powell’s death that her husband, Godfrey Turner, commented that her success came thanks to great personal sacrifice, “If any young woman could really know what Maud Powell suffered for her art, she would not go into the game.”⁶⁷⁴

Indeed, in order to sustain a long-term career Powell and Hall married their managers as this arrangement provided them not only with a husband but also with a chaperone and a business partner. Likewise, their husband’s presence gave them the respectability that unmarried female performers did not necessarily command, allowed them to fulfil their roles of soloist, wife and mother, and also kept the proceeds of concerts in the family. Thus, the union of husband/manager was mutually beneficial despite the fact that the men’s willingness to subordinate a personal life to the advancement of their wives’ careers and accommodate their ambitions was particularly progressive for that time.

⁶⁷¹ Faber, *Stradivarius: One Cello, Five Violins and a Genius*, p.179.

⁶⁷² MS GR86/8, SbW.

⁶⁷³ Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, pp.199–200.

⁶⁷⁴ H. Godfrey Turner to Burt Wells. Knight Campbell Music Company, Denver, Colorado, 20th January 1920, NGGC; cited in Shaffer, p.102.

Many outstanding female musicians of the late nineteenth century struggled to overcome stereotypes. Female soloists' contemporaries often perceived them as narcissistic and wedded to their art, in opposition to the traditional role of the woman, namely that of wife and mother.⁶⁷⁵ Whilst projecting the image of a female artist, they felt compelled to assure their audiences that they were 'real' women with a domestic life away from the concert platform. Thus it is worth mentioning that Powell, in her interview in *The Musical Standard* from April 1907, acknowledged that 'making beds was fine exercise for female musicians' and also commented that she enjoyed cooking from time to time and the recipes for some of her favourite dishes occasionally appeared in the newspapers.⁶⁷⁶ Having said that, whilst Moodie and Hall combined their success as soloists with women's traditional roles of wife and mother, Powell consciously chose not to have children in order to concentrate on her career. Powell was also aware that after her marriage she, unlike most female artists, had no intention of giving up both, her career or her name (similarly to Hall and Moodie). Instead she adopted the prefix "Madam" before her name as an acceptable compromise.⁶⁷⁷ Thus, for all three women, it was the combination of that powerful, 'masculine' strength together with the ability to project on stage the qualities considered necessary for the ideal woman, such as beauty, grace and humility, that helped them achieve such success with audiences.

In searching for a role model these female artists became aware of the importance of their image on their careers as reviews invariably included descriptions of their physical appearance.⁶⁷⁸ While dress codes for male performers were standardised, for female performers this aspect of their presentation required thoughtful consideration.⁶⁷⁹ In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in a culture

⁶⁷⁵ Marriage remained a central theme in many novels in the nineteenth century; however, relations between husbands and wives were rarely seen as particularly fulfilling. In George Eliot's *Middlemarch* (1871–72) "the intelligent, idealistic Dorothea, seeking to devote her life to something – or someone – worthy, is soon trapped in a miserable marriage. (...) George Meredith's *The Egoist* (1871) is a chilling study of a marriage in which the woman is simply a status symbol; his Diana of the *Crossways* (1855) offers a troubling fictional version of Caroline Norton's disastrous marriage. George Gissing's *The Old Women* (1893) is a sympathetic account of a spinster caring for an orphaned baby who, she hopes, will grow up to become 'a brave woman.' Walters, *Feminism: A Very Short Introduction*, p.55.

⁶⁷⁶ Cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, pp.202-3.

⁶⁷⁷ "Music and Musicians", *New York Times*, 1st November 1911; cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.201.

⁶⁷⁸ By the 1890s, advertising was being transformed into a largely visual culture in order to attract and manipulate consumers' hidden desires. Professional women often reinforced dominant ideologies of gender and consumption despite their best intentions. For example, the Fadettes' flyer (issued around 1910) did not fail to mention that although the orchestra's director and violinist Carol Nichols is an excellent musician, she was also an excellent cook. Spitzer, John, 'American Orchestras and Their Unions in the Nineteenth Century,' Spitzer, John (ed.), *American Orchestras in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012), pp.69-70. See also Tiersten, Lisa, *Marianne in the Market: Envisioning Consumer Society in Fin-de-siecle France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), pp.15–25.

⁶⁷⁹ Medical and cultural tracts as well as student records suggest that the term 'body image', with its potential to determine psychological and social self-definition, emerged between 1870 and 1930. See

that distinguished masculine and feminine spheres, it was a challenge for musical women to successfully balance dress codes, as a negative moral evaluation of their concert gowns could affect their careers. As women's dress at the time favoured decoration over practicality, Powell recalled that a "bright red plush skirt, quite full, over which was draped a much-shirred yellow silk 'drop' with a square collar, an imitation décolletage neck, and bits of lace in every imaginable spot", had contributed to one of the worst performances of her career.⁶⁸⁰ Her husband Sunny argued that, in the case of the female travelling virtuoso, the dress suit was the solution, but he failed to persuade his wife to adopt it, even in a modified form. With her usual sharpness Powell understood that a woman's relationship to fashion critically located her in relation to the public. She was aware that her outward appearance affected her audience's reception of her art, and in her 1908 article "How Fashion Invades the Concert Stage" she pointed out that 'dress is almost as important a part in the concert as the talent itself' and added that it was, 'absolutely essential that she has a certain style of individuality in the selection of her gowns – particularly when worn before a critical audience.'⁶⁸¹ When Powell was to play in an unfamiliar hall Sunny would report to her the colours of the walls so that she could select a gown that would match the predominant shade of the hangings and thus perfectly reveal her every movement. She insisted that her hair be "becomingly dressed so as to give a good shape to the head" but at the same time it had to be "comfortable and well pinned." Her shoes had to be "easy yet in the latest fashion, harmonising with the gown" and not with the "extreme heel of the French type."⁶⁸²

Hall was also aware of the pressure to conform to gender stereotypes in terms of dress, as it is evident in her 1903 interview:

"Miss Hall has very artistic tastes, and has the usual feminine love of pretty clothes. She always designs her own gowns."⁶⁸³

Similarly, in a 1907 issue of *The Strad* a Blackpool reviewer described Marie Hall's presence on the stage, "What a striking figure! A study in black and white."⁶⁸⁴ At the dawn of the twentieth century the image of the new woman (competitive, sporty, emancipated, as well as beautiful) in a tailor-made female suit

Lowe, Margaret A., *Looking Good: College Women and Body Image, 1875–1930* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), Chapter One.

⁶⁸⁰ *Musical America*, 12th May 1917, Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.204.

⁶⁸¹ Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, pp.205–6.

⁶⁸² *Ibid.*

⁶⁸³ Griffit, Dinorben, M., 'Miss Marie Hall, The Girl Violinist, A Romance of Real Life', *The Strand Magazine*, June 1903.

⁶⁸⁴ Gillett, *Musical Women in England, 1870–1914*, Chapter four.

was firmly established, and in the post-World War I era the concept of what was appropriate dress for a woman changed drastically as the suffrage movement, educational reform, the campaign against the Contagious Diseases Acts and the fight to distribute birth control information all contributed to the downfall of patriarchal hypocrisy and rigidity. Moodie's photos show a woman wearing simple modern clothes of the 1920s style that evidently suited her intense lifestyle and perfectly projected the image of a new woman but did not violate accepted gender rules. The following figures show examples of their clothing:



Figure 41. Maud Powell, 1919.⁶⁸⁵

⁶⁸⁵ Photo by Bushnell, Seattle. Shaffer and Pine, *Maud Powell Favorites*, p.99.



Figure 42. Marie Hall. Marie Hall, 1906.⁶⁸⁶



Figure 43. Alma Moodie. Photograph inscribed to Hans Pfitzner, Christmas 1924⁶⁸⁷

A further musical factor that binds Powell, Hall and Moodie is their virtuosity. The technical security and brilliance of these women was universally recognised.

⁶⁸⁶ <https://songofthelark.wordpress.com/2011/11/18/article-she-began-as-a-street-musician-interview-with-marie-hall-1906/>; accessed 9th July 2015.

⁶⁸⁷ Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, p.95.

Although tension about the merit of practical virtuosity intensified in the nineteenth century (virtuosi became commonly criticised for overlooking substance in favour of technical display) it is important to see virtuosity as an indispensable element of music as a large number of compositions for soloists required dazzling bravura.⁶⁸⁸ As discussed previously, the nineteenth-century musical society shared the idea that the height of violin playing is the male virtuoso with heroic masculinity, economic (financial autonomy), social (celebrity status) and often sexual power (promiscuity). In order to succeed pioneer female soloists had to play in a manly manner, full of masculine power and display, rather than being timid, gentle or graceful, as the accepted wisdom of the time held that only male virtuosos possessed the appropriate qualities for public performance, such as strength, control of nerves and great authority. As fully expected from Powell, she commented on the virtuoso performing practices:

“The fact that I realized that my sex was against me, in a way, led me to be startlingly authoritative and convincing in the masculine manner when I first played. This is a mistake no woman violinist should make.”⁶⁸⁹

It is notable that, as the ‘others’, pioneer female soloists had the necessary courage to challenge accepted notions of male-centred virtuosity and what was appropriate for female players. As they slowly turned perceptions of the virtuoso as a strong masterful male violinist into a publicly acceptable image of a strong masterful female violinist they had no difficulty in convincing the most celebrated conductors of the time, who did not commonly engage women soloists, to promote them.

It is also important to stress that Powell, Hall and Moodie were determined to leave their mark by performing contemporary works, something that is often historically neglected. While encompassing a wide range of repertoire, including the works of Bach, Beethoven, Mozart, Spohr, Brahms, Paganini and Tchaikovsky, they also championed works by Sibelius, Elgar, Krenek, Vaughan Williams, Stravinsky and others. In doing so they demonstrated a remarkable ability to honour the traditional violin repertoire while extending their audiences’ horizons. At the dawn of the twentieth century, when some female violinists were only brave enough to make their debuts playing the Mendelssohn or Bruch violin concertos, Powell, Hall and

⁶⁸⁸ Virtuosi composed pieces full of technical innovations in a distinct style of *brillante* displaying feats of skill well above the average performer. Virtuosi not only drew attention to the significance of virtuosity as an element of art but they also realised the value of national dance-rhythms such as the tarantella or saltarello of southern Italy, or the bolero of Spain and included them in their works, for example Wieniawski’s *Scherzo Tarantella* or Sarasate’s *Introduction and Tarantella*.

⁶⁸⁹ Martens, *Violin Mastery*, p.31.

Moodie premiered violin concertos such as Brahms, Sibelius, Paganini, etc., and other contemporary compositions, thus establishing their modernity in every sense. While Moodie wanted to ‘leave her stamp’ on the history of violin playing by performing new works, Powell recognised that her duty as a soloist was to promote violin works by contemporary American composers. Hall found it advantageous to familiarise herself with new works because:

“All these things tend to broaden one’s outlook and help one to understand and realise the bigness of the field one has entered into and something of its possibilities.”⁶⁹⁰

At the same time it is interesting to compare her interest in learning then-contemporary repertoire with Heifetz’s (perhaps joking) cynicism. Although he responded positively and commissioned and premiered concertos by William Walton, Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Erich Korngold, and Louis Grunberg (and thus greatly contributed to the violin repertoire) Heifetz commented that ‘occasionally he played works by contemporary composers for two reasons, firstly, to discourage the composer from writing anymore, and secondly, to remind himself how much he appreciates Beethoven.’⁶⁹¹ Indeed, whilst Powell, Hall and Moodie, contrary to several of their male colleagues, including Efrem Zimbalist, Mischa Elman and Albert Spalding, collaborated and actively helped contemporary composers to secure a public hearing of their music, other colleagues, including Gioconda de Vito, completely refused to promote modern works:

“The mere mention of Schoenberg, Bartok, Berg or Stravinsky had her raising her hands in horror, and even the concertos by Elgar and Sibelius never appealed to her as being suitable for her own style of playing.”⁶⁹²

As previous chapters demonstrated, they were active participants in a contemporary music scene and by introducing contemporary works they often shifted the emphasis from entertainment-based works to those pieces whose interpretative possibilities were largely unknown. In addition, Clive Brown argues that:

⁶⁹⁰ Haynes, Agnes, ‘Why I am a Violinist’; Gloucestershire record, D 11462/1/4/1.

⁶⁹¹ http://www.azquotes.com/author/6501-Jascha_Heifetz; accessed 3rd June 2015.

⁶⁹² Gioconda de Vito (1907–1994, an Italian-British violinist). Her repertoire was small and excluded most works written after the nineteenth century with the sole exception of Ildebrando Pizzetti’s Violin Concerto, which she premiered in 1944. At the same time she stressed the importance of the Italian classical repertoire, and although she considered Paganini’s *24 Caprices* musically beautiful, her favorite composer was Bach. Campbell, *The Great Violinists*, p.212.

“On the basis of eighteenth century descriptions and depictions of violinists’ posture, it seems clear that these principles represented a significant break with many aspects of previous practice, among the most important underlying reason for which was the changing repertoire of the violinist and the demands this made upon technique.”⁶⁹³

If we apply the same thinking to the dawn of the twentieth century we can argue that even if their playing habits reflected their teachers’ aesthetic standpoints that were rooted in the nineteenth century aesthetics, at the same time they needed to experiment to find new expressive tools that modern music demanded. As an interpretation does not mean “a cut-dried set of rules handed down” (“the art begins where technique ends”) it was ultimately up to my chosen violinists to transcend their own technical equipment and ‘refashion’ the way they played in order to accommodate ‘new’ technical and musical challenges.⁶⁹⁴ Conversely, it is tempting to question the idea that my chosen violinists, at a time of rapid stylistic changes, continued to perform in a style based on the values of the ‘classical’ style as the nature of then-contemporary works by Sibelius, Stravinsky, Szymanowsky, Krenek, Bartók, etc. included a different palate of expressive devices. Analysis of a few of Powell’s and Hall’s recordings suggests the gestation of later, more intrinsically twentieth-century aesthetic values.⁶⁹⁵ Yet, their playing style is often linked to an old school of playing partly because of their genealogical connections to the German school and to Joachim (partly in the case of Powell).⁶⁹⁶ Although Joachim’s aesthetic conveyed to his pupils continued to be present in their performing style to varying degrees, depending on the artist, Powell’s examined recordings suggest that her manner of playing did not slavishly adhere to his, which shows her refusal to accept ‘imitativeness,’ as well as her preparedness to change stylistically. As already pointed out, Marie Soldat-Roeger, throughout her career, remained wedded to Joachim’s aesthetic ideals. Whereas it is arguable that in the midst of shifting tastes and fashions Roeger-Soldat insisted on continuing her teacher’s stylistic traits perhaps to give her performances a recognisably distinguishing mark, I suggest that her artistry partly embodies the traditional idea of subordination of female violinists’ musicianship to male authority, in this case to that of Joachim and Brahms.

⁶⁹³ <http://chase.leeds.ac.uk/article/physical-parameters-of-19th-and-early-20th-century-violin-playing-clive-brown>; accessed 31st May 2014.

⁶⁹⁴ Auer, Leopold, *Violin Master Works and Their Interpretation* (New York: C. Fischer, 1925), p.10.

⁶⁹⁵ Robert Philip has comprehensively demonstrated changes in three fundamental aspects of musical performance during the first half of the twentieth century: rhythm, vibrato and portamento. Philip, Robert, *Early Recordings and Musical Style: Changing Tastes in Instrumental Performance 1900–1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

⁶⁹⁶ Philip, *Early Recordings*, p.236.

Further comparison reveals that although Powell, Hall and Moodie partly used their teachers' musical performances as models for their own aesthetic and stylistic priorities, the performing style of Powell, Hall and Moodie seems to be more 'emancipated.' Hence, despite the social and cultural imperative of the patriarchal authority of their teachers they evolved the use of expressive devices beyond what they had learned as young players. This suggests that they did not unquestioningly merely accept the principles of tradition, but rather reacted to newer aesthetic trends, (along with their male contemporaries), to 'modernise' their performing style in order to reflect technical and musical matters of then-contemporary repertoire. Moreover, they were musically self-reliant as they had the technical and aesthetic proficiency necessary for premiering new works. A notable lack of historical recognition of their self-reliance for the public performance of then-contemporary music possibly reinforces the concept of these female violinists' inherent creative inferiority in order to justify their subordinate status in the history of the violin (especially Alma Moodie).

To most players of the early twentieth century, keeping pace with trends was vitally important, as in Szigeti's words 'those who did not develop towards this new trend had little chance of maintaining their hold.'⁶⁹⁷ There seems to have been little room for activity on the periphery of what was considered modern (for example, more continuous vibrato and a rejection of rhythmic adjustment to aid expression). An examination of my chosen violinists' reception demonstrates that they were recognised by critics and audiences as being at the top of their profession. This can indirectly suggest that, although being linked to past practices and traditions of playing, their willingness to adapt areas of musical expression stood the test of time.

Finally, it should be stated, that Powell and Hall recognised the potential of the phonograph for the popularisation of classical music as a possible contributor to the lasting memory of the performer. Although certain merits of a personality are always inaccessible to mechanical reproduction, an impression of their art is partly saved for posterity. We can argue that gramophone records do not solve the problem of the public's lasting memory, but they could certainly prolong artistic legacy (certainly in a case of Powell and Hall.) Yet, despite the fact that Hall and Powell were the first female violinists to leave an extensive recorded legacy (in repertoire and in number, something that is of historical importance in itself) sadly

⁶⁹⁷ Szigeti, Joseph, *With Strings Attached Reminiscences And Reflections* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947) p.91.

this did not contribute constructively to their wider posthumous recognition (until recently, when in January 2014, 94 years after her death, Powell was honoured with a Grammy award for her artistic contribution to the early recording industry). On the contrary, it has had a negative effect. Firstly, although recordings give us valuable empirically based information about their style realisation, due to the doubtful sonic qualities of these early recordings, today's listeners, even educated ones, have a somewhat limited view of their artistry that is not as clear-cut as is often assumed. As Powell's and Hall's early recordings represent only musical 'snap-shots' of their repertoire (they never recorded either the big standard repertoire, nor any of the new works they premiered) they do not reveal to what extent their performing habits changed. This informational deficit reviewed through reference to then-contemporary works they premiered and performed may give us a broader insight into their artistry. It is indeed a strange paradox with my chosen violinists, as although they were at the forefront of then-contemporary violin literature, they continued to be viewed in the relatively remote position of old school players (especially Moodie) whilst their male counterparts such as Sarasate, Ysaÿe, and Hubay are generally considered to be at the forefront of more 'progressive' stylistic trends.

In conclusion, the factors that link these three female violinists provide an example of the complexity of the interplay of the gender, virtuosity, and certain nineteenth-century prejudices that provide a valuable insight into these female violinists careers at the dawn of the twentieth century. At the same time I would suggest that these pioneer violinists progressive attitudes are historically undervalued and need to be re-evaluated.

Conclusion

This study participates in a burgeoning interest in the field of feminist research into the historic contribution of female musicians. Over the past few decades, feminist theorists have distinguished between the biological categories of sex (male/female) and the socially constructed categories of gender (masculinity/femininity). This separation allowed them to question the way in which professional and artistic relationships, as well as managerial and financial decisions, were influenced by social and cultural conceptions of gender. Having said that, the introduction to this paper highlighted that the gendered nature of the public spheres in society and the management of ‘the musical world’ (since the overwhelming majority of those engaged in the organisation and practice of the musical world have been men) were likely to provide a better understanding of the politics involved in the establishment and evaluation of the careers of female violinists in the history of violin performance. Furthermore, I considered the issue of representation, in particular, how female violinists are discussed, presented and valued in the male dominated history of the violin, showing a definite slant towards ‘musical patriarchy.’ Conversely, female violinists need a gendered, feminist perspective that will allow for a better assessment of their merits as a players and musicians.

At the same time a long-term use of the phrase ‘female violinist’ in documenting the history of violin playing appears rather problematic, as gender, as a social phenomenon, reflects the cultural and political relationship between males and females. In that sense, through the history of violin playing women, being perceived not as instrumentalists, but as ‘female violinists’ had great difficulty to break the interruptive effects of feminine display. Indeed, this indicates that the marginalisation of female players in the history of violin playing was partly due to antiquated views of gender roles and culturally derived notions of the incompatibility of ideals of womanhood on the one hand and virtuosity on the other. As masculinity was generally historically associated with excellence, female virtuosos are often neglected in the map of stylistic changes and their importance in the recording industry is rarely valued. The failure to recognise female violinists’ achievements serves as a dangerous catalyst for further ignorance and stereotyping that has ultimately sidelined female violinists in the history of violin playing.

As this thesis opened with reference to a citation from Gillett’s book *Musical Women in England 1870–1914*, at its conclusion it seems relevant to return to it. A curious paradox inhabits female violinists’ historical reception, as, although they

proved themselves worthy of the same recognition as their more famous male counterparts, they do not share the same position in the history of the violin. The evidence from this study suggests that there should be a redefinition of their historical position. Though talented women have always been present, at least two centuries would pass before their achievements in the history of violin playing and musicological narratives would receive some recognition. Henry C. Lahee's famous book, *Violinists of To-Day and Yesterday* (1899) could be seen as the first attempt to acknowledge women's relative importance in the history of the violin even if only one chapter out of eleven is dedicated to them.⁶⁹⁸ Indeed, in order to assert the significance of female violinists and their place in the history of violin playing and early recordings it is important to highlight an imbalance in favour of certain Western cultural centres, as Eastern European female soloists are still at the periphery of research (including this thesis). Therefore, it would be of great interest to further investigate why violinists like Gabriela Wietrowetz (1866–1937), Anna Bubnova (1890–1979), Edith Lorand (1898–1960), Márta Linz (1898–1982), Ilona Fehér (1901–1988), Erna Rubenstein (1903–1906), Grażyna Bacewicz (1909–1969), Eugenia Umińska, (1910–1980), Galina Barinova (1910–2006), Marina Kozolupova (1918–1978), Yelizaveta Gilels (1919–2008) and Johanna Martzy (1924–1979), amongst others, have been side-lined in the history of music in general, and in the history of violin performance in particular.⁶⁹⁹ Having said that I believe much more historical and cultural research should be undertaken before its best insights reveal a wider picture about female violinists and shed light on our understanding of how gender issues affected their lives, careers and historical memory.

Female violinists coexisted in the same socio-musical space as male violinists and their “separate but not equal” status reflected its patriarchal, social and cultural values. This thesis is concerned, in particular, with the historical place in the art of violin playing and artistic legacy of three pioneer female violinists, Maud Powell, Marie Hall and Alma Moodie who had successful careers during a period when their male counterparts such as, Sarasate, Ysaÿe and Kreisler were considered ‘kings’ of the violin. By examining their careers it has been possible to briefly evaluate Powell's achievements in the development of the violin solo recital, establish Powell's and Hall's contribution to the history of early recordings and moreover define their progressive role in promoting then-contemporary works. In doing so my intention has been to unpick and destabilise the ‘musical patriarchy’

⁶⁹⁸ Chapter Nine represents 12 per cent of the book's 384 pages. *The Nation*, 7th December 1899; cited in Schoenbaum, *The Violin*, p.450.

⁶⁹⁹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_female_violinists; accessed 26th August 2014.

that often overshadowed their achievements. I would suggest that such a focus represents a departure from what have been, up until recently, the prevailing assumptions, that despite their considerable artistic contribution, female pioneer violinists are seen as ‘the other’ in the history of the art.

The lives and careers of Powell, Hall and Moodie form a complex continuum. When they began to play the violin professionally attitudes towards female violin soloists were still quite negative. Nineteenth-century Western society, accustomed to male virtuosos, was unprepared for female solo violinists as many gender expectations defined and limited their ‘encroachment’ on what had previously been considered all-male territory. It seems clear that, rather than being intimidated by such social and cultural norms, by wisely balancing the expected image of a graceful and charming woman with that of a bold and exuberant virtuoso, Powell, Hall and Moodie convinced managers to promote them. Thus they became part of a small group of female violinists who performed with many great European and American conductors and orchestras. Likewise, Powell was partly responsible for changing the format and repertoire of the violin recital and the tastes of the listening public in America. Furthermore, Powell, Hall and Moodie managed to continue the advancement of their careers after marriage and childbearing (Hall and Moodie), something particularly progressive at a time. Indeed, through their appearances on concert platforms these violinists encouraged other women to study the violin professionally in order to take their equal place alongside male musicians.

As this thesis demonstrates, the importance of my chosen violinists lies not only in confronting the social and cultural norms. Powell, Hall and Moodie had the courage to premiere then-contemporary music and give first performances of large-scale violin works at a time when they were often considered by conductors and their male colleagues to be unplayable, i.e. too difficult, especially for a female performer. Despite the initial resistance to some ‘modern’ violin works such as the Tchaikovsky, Brahms and Sibelius concertos, my chosen violinists continued to perform them until they were accepted into the standard violin repertoire, thus showing their determination and forward thinking.⁷⁰⁰ In addition, in their

⁷⁰⁰ The critical reaction to the Brahms and Tchaikovsky violin concertos was mixed as concertos were considered ‘against the violin.’ Furthermore, whilst some of male virtuosos of the time, such as Sarasate, Wieniawski and Auer, called the Brahms and Tchaikovsky concertos ‘unplayable,’ Joachim and his female pupils, Marie Soldat-Roeger, Gabrielle Wietrowetz and Powell were initially responsible for the establishment of the Brahms concerto. Likewise, Powell and Hall were greatly responsible for the establishment of the Tchaikovsky concerto. Indeed, thanks to Powell’s determination to present the Tchaikovsky, Brahms, Sibelius, and Dvořák concertos they entered into the standard repertory in America. Similarly, Hall was credited with reviving the Tchaikovsky

innovative solo recitals they not only performed existing concertos, sonatas and virtuoso pieces but frequently introduced new works and thus shifted the emphasis from standard violin repertoire to pieces with new stylistic expressions. Moreover, the downplaying of their role in promoting these concertos, whose aesthetic merits were initially overlooked by critics, audiences and their male counterparts alike, may be interpreted as a metaphor for musical patriarchy. Finally, Maud Powell and Marie Hall recognised the importance of recordings for the popularisation of music and became the first female violinists with an extensive recording legacy.

Without exaggeration it may be concluded that although these women became celebrated violin soloists of their time, they were not able to match the iconic status of their male counterparts. Furthermore, the use of their male counterparts' names (second Kreisler or second Kubelik), even as a 'favourable' comparison, shows both, that they were seen as almost technically and artistically coequal to (but never the same) as their male contemporaries and that the female persona of the violinist (and less her 'manly' artistry) formed an important element in their reception. This partly demonstrates the limitations and the ambivalence that surrounded these women's achievements during their lifetime and posthumously.⁷⁰¹ Indeed, although it is innately difficult to find the essential properties integral to male or female violin playing, qualitative gender-based distinctions such as feminine, graceful, pure and angelical, as opposed to masculine, powerful and big, created a gender-based separation within the realm of a virtuoso performance. Moreover, this confirmed that the ideological and cultural association with the feminine inherent in the reception of my chosen violinists reinforced their position as 'the other' (something that perhaps the history of violin has not fully recognised). Conversely, what appears to have happened in the past few centuries is that female soloists were rarely depicted as a part of a great virtuoso lineage. One such example of a prevailing pattern of male virtuoso exclusivity is the fact that neither my chosen violinists nor any other female violinist were ever considered for the Royal Philharmonic Society gold medal unlike their male counterparts Ysaÿe, Kreisler,

concerto until it was 'in constant demand.' *The Strad*, 16 (1905-6), p.339; cited in McVeigh, Simon, 'As the sand on the sea shore': Women Violinists in London's Concert Life around 1900' in Hornby, Emma and Maw, David Nicholas (eds.), *Essay on the History of English Music in Honour of John Caldwell: Sources, Style, Performance, Historiography* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), p.245. Likewise, Moodie was determined to introduce the Pfitzner and Krenek violin concertos to the European audiences.

⁷⁰¹ Even if one might suggest that comparisons between players are often used by critics, common sense would suggest that in the gender-based musical world at the dawn of the twentieth-century these comments do appear to be gender-specific as the cultural meanings implied by the signifier Paganini, Sarasate or Kreisler connoted supreme virtuosity, power, genius, individuality, and consequently respect.

Kubelik etc., and this remains the case until the present day.⁷⁰² A similar prevailing pattern of male virtuoso exclusivity can be seen in a more recent comment by Schwarz:

“By the eve of World War I, Kreisler was the dominant figure in the violin world. Ysaÿe was on the decline; among younger rivals there were the virtuoso Kubelik, the charming Thibaud, the intense Enesco, the fabulous Russians, Zimbalist and Elman.”⁷⁰³

Hence, although my chosen violinists performed with the greatest conductors and orchestras, promoted new works and were amongst the best selling recording artists (with the exclusion of Moodie), they continued to be excluded from the more widely accepted group of the ‘greatest.’ This is not surprising as more than two centuries of male centrism (artistic as well as entrepreneurial and managerial) continued well into the twentieth century.⁷⁰⁴ Here is a further example of the neglect towards great female violinists. In about 1918, Maud Powell’s image could be seen on the same page as her male colleagues Kreisler, Thibaud and Casals and others. See Figure 44 below:⁷⁰⁵

⁷⁰² From its start in 1871, the recipients of the RPS Gold Medal were Joseph Joachim in 1871, Ysaÿe in 1901, Kubelik in 1902, Kreisler in 1904, Menuhin in 1962, Lionel Tertis in 1964, and Stern in 1991.

⁷⁰³ Schwarz, *Great Masters of the Violin*, p.299.

⁷⁰⁴ Although beyond the scope of this thesis the question of gender equivalence in the recording industry is an important one as 66% of people working behind the scene are still male. <http://www.theguardian.com/music/musicblog/2010/may/07>; accessed, 7th July 2014.

⁷⁰⁵ From Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.389.



Figure 44. Maud Powell and her colleagues circa 1918⁷⁰⁶

However, almost a century later when *The Strad* magazine had a special addition about the great players of the past her image is missing. Surely in the year 2013 one could have hoped that *The Strad* could have acknowledged one great female artist on its front cover.⁷⁰⁷ This only suggests that the inertia of historical tradition and ingrained musical patriarchy are still present in our valuation of who is historically important. See Figure 45 below:

⁷⁰⁶ Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.329.

⁷⁰⁷ Besides these undoubtedly great male players of the past I believe the names of Maud Powell, Ida Haendel or Ginette Neveu could also be acknowledged.



Figure 45. Front cover of *The Strad*, October 2013

It would not be an exaggeration to say that Powell, Moodie and Hall were greatly responsible for expanding the public's consciousness of contemporary music. They inspired, collaborated on and premiered a substantial number of contemporary violin works at a time when the majority of their male colleagues hardly promoted contemporary music at all. Because throughout history it has generally been accepted that women are less able than men to use their intellectual skills creatively, it is not surprising that the fact that they were a progressive force in the art of violin playing, have hardly been recognised. On the contrary, their slightly younger male colleagues such as Samuel Dushkin who collaborated with

Stravinsky, and championed works by Copland, Ravel and Martinů, Joseph Szigeti, a dedicatee of many then-contemporary works and Albert Sammons, who championed works by English composers have been honoured for their roles in developing contemporary repertoire. Although I do not want to diminish the importance of their role in the development of modern violin repertoire, I would like to point out that Powell, Hall and Moodie were equally at the forefront, and, in fact, slightly predated their male colleagues. In that sense, I would question the validity of the generally accepted chronology and in doing so challenge one more example of musical patriarchy.

The present study also points out that though musicological research may have largely overlooked my chosen violinists' contribution to contemporary violin literature, thereby unintentionally perpetuating certain nineteenth century gender-based prejudices, it is arguable that these compositions provide valuable insights into, not only their pioneering attitude, but also give us a broader understanding of their artistry and changing performance style. Boris Schwarz states that Sarasate not only represented the Apollonian ideal of violin playing, but 'his style marked an epoch in modern violin playing' and added that 'the foremost representatives of a new breed of virtuoso were Eugène Ysaÿe and Fritz Kreisler.'⁷⁰⁸ Thus the most fundamental aspect of this is the implication that these pioneer female musicians are excluded from that divergence based on the examination of their early acoustic recordings without careful consideration of their collaboration with contemporary composers and their scores. Flesch summarises that a player, in order to perform a musical work, needs to be in "possession of stylistic feeling and knowledge of the conditions under which a composition came into being."⁷⁰⁹ In that sense it would not be wrong to conclude that their collaboration with contemporary composers justifies the idea that their interpretative and instrumental skills would have changed, as they were conditioned and accelerated to a probably significant extent by the influence of the colourful tonal subtleties and rhythmic intricacies of these new works. As this thesis also sets out to explore whether, in the context of stylistic shifts, the history of violin playing stressed the primacy of their male counterparts for the birth of a more modern style of playing I suggest that it is reasonable to assume that the established division between these pioneer female violinists as being old school players and their contemporary male colleagues as being the *first* modern players, is partly artificial and needs to be re-evaluated.

⁷⁰⁸ Schwarz, *Great Masters of the Violin*, p.241 and p.279. As already pointed out in Milsom in *Theory and Practice* and Philip in *Early Recordings* share a similar view.

⁷⁰⁹ Flesch, *The Art of Violin Playing*, Bk.2, p.60; cited in Milsom, p.4.

Having said that, the research highlights that the general view of the importance considerable body of historic recordings by Powell and Hall should be re-evaluated. Robert Philip's observation that 'recordings present us with real history' needs to be treated with a degree of circumspection since, especially in the first decades of the twentieth century, only the best male players were offered the opportunity to make recordings.⁷¹⁰ We may surmise that, if gender differences are revealed in subtle ways in musical performance, it would be reasonable to expect it to be detectable by musically experienced listeners. As there are no grounds for believing that men and women differ in their interpretive abilities it is then questionable why the recording industry does not acknowledge such equality. At this point I would suggest a small comparison between, Powell's (1904 Matrix No B-1912) and Sarasate's (c. 1904) recordings of Sarasate's *Zigeunerweisen*, Op. 20, Powell's (1904), Hall's (1905) and Ysaÿe's (1904) of the *Finale* of the Mendelssohn violin concerto, and Hall's and Nathan Milstein's recordings (1957) of Franz Ries' *Perpetuum mobile*, Op. 34. These can indeed demonstrate how violinistically similar their performances are as all of them display dazzling virtuosity and musicianship. If one's listening can 'get past' the hiss and crackle of the old recording one will probably find that the difference lies more with the quality of recording than with the quality of the playing. Having said that I am tempted to note that the generally accepted gulf between the historical importance of these players seems not to be based on their interpretation but rather on gender-based evaluation.

In that sense the establishment of a canon of important recording artists plays a part within this process. It offers a list of performers who can be considered culturally and socially worthy, which then carries moral and aesthetic force within a prevalent masculine culture that lacks female role models but is assumed to be universal. The quantitative data provided in James Creighton's *Discopaedia of the Violin 1889-1971* (1994) revealed listings of nearly 1,700 violinists, of which only 300 are women. Of at least equal importance is the simultaneous preparation of *Discopaedia's Masters of the Bow*, a record collection of historic performances. The first ten LP discs, Edition 1, present Jan Kubelík, Franz von Vecsey, Váňa Příhoda, Mischa Elman, Toscha Seidel, Efrem Zimbalist, Albert Spalding, Jascha Heifetz, and a three-part disc containing Leopold Auer's 1920 private recordings, Willy Burmester's complete 1909 German recording and Pablo de Sarasate's complete 1904 French recordings.⁷¹¹ Maud Powell and Marie Soldat-Roeger are

⁷¹⁰ Philip, R., *Early Recordings*, p.3.

⁷¹¹ *The Strad*, July 1975, p.171.

rare early *female* violinists whose recordings are included. However, their recording legacy continued to be presented under a clearly gendered description, *masters of the bow*.⁷¹² It is curious to note that whilst many of Kubelik's discs have been compiled on *Jan Kubelik, the Acoustic recordings* (1902-1913), Biddulph compact disc LAB 033-34, only three of Hall's recordings have been re-issued on *Great Virtuosi of the Golden Age, Volume II*, Pearl compact disc GEMM CD 9102.⁷¹³ Even nowadays, "Of recordings of solo instruments" listed in the 'Red Classical Music Catalogue (2004) edition that lists all published CD's currently available, approximately 72 per cent are performances by male artists, and 28 per cent by female.'⁷¹⁴ In other words, male performers still continue to dominate the recording industry and although I do not want to undermine their achievements and position because of their gender, at the same time I *do* wish to highlight that there is something fundamentally unbalanced in the treatment of great female violinists of the past and present. The recording industry and studies of its history categorise them with secondary importance. The downplaying of their artistic contribution to early recordings may be interpreted as a metaphor for musical patriarchy.

It can be argued that the gender-based notions that limited women's musical position at the dawn of twentieth century still continue today, although in attenuated form. Whereas in the past, pioneer female violin virtuosos were vilified as androgynous and grotesque, nowadays there is an increasing prevalence of images of seductive, young and passionate female violinists soloists. Indeed, empirical work from the psychology of music provides insights into the social practices and underlying values associated with Western art music performance and confirms the importance of presentation and the increasing dominance of physical beauty.⁷¹⁵ Having said that, very few careers extend past the female artist's fiftieth birthday; Ida Haendel (1928), Monica Huggett (1953), Anne Sophie Mutter (1963), and Tasmin Little (1965) are rare examples of that age group of female players whose international career enjoy longevity.⁷¹⁶ This signifies that female violinists' identity clearly continues to be partly gender-based in modern patriarchal societies and, more significantly, partly uncovers a prevailing ideology that female creativity is

⁷¹² Creighton, James, *Discopaedia Masters of the Bow*, Maud Powell catalogue no. MB1005 and Soldat-Roeger MB1019.

⁷¹³ Katz, Mark, *Capturing Sound, How Technology Changed Music*, p.217.

⁷¹⁴ http://www.imerc.org/research_gender.php; accessed 30th May 2014.

⁷¹⁵ See Griffiths Noola K., "The fabric of performance: values and social practices of classical music expressed through concert dress choice," in MPR, Vol. 4, pp.30-48; <http://mpr-online.net>; accessed 15th August 2015.

⁷¹⁶ The male counterparts of the same generation include, Henryk Szeryng (1918-1988), Ruggiero Ricci (1918-2012) Isaac Stern (1920-2001), Ivry Gitlis (b. 1922), Itzhak Perlman (b. 1945), Pinchas Zukerman (b. 1948), Gidon Kremer (b.1947), Nigel Kennedy (b. 1956), etc.

much easier to present when it is aligned with female sexuality.⁷¹⁷ We have only to remember Vanessa Mae's controversial wet T-shirt promotional photos for her debut album *The Violin Player* in 1995 or Anne-Sophie Mutter's promotional images in off the shoulder dresses with plunging necklines. When asked why she could command a concert-fee of 80,000–100,000 deutschmarks in 1997, while Gidon Kremer could, in comparison, only demand 40,000 deutschmarks, Elmar Weingarten, the Berlin Philharmonic's manager acknowledged that 'it was not just about the music'.⁷¹⁸ At the same time, the cultural view of the female performer means a balance between being taken seriously for her performing merits and looking 'attractive.' Thus, there is a danger that a body focused approach to dress, with its evident excess of femininity, can cause female musicians to be judged as less effective and conversely lessen their musical achievements.⁷¹⁹ That gender-based attitudes about female violinists are still part of our culture demonstrates the fact that, although in the modern era female violinists have assumed positions of leadership (as first-chair players and soloists), there is still the 'problem' of gender imbalance (if, not so blatantly as in the Vienna Philharmonic).⁷²⁰ Likewise, in the late twentieth century issues regarding marriage, family life and children continue to pose problems for female virtuosos (as they do for women in all other professions).

This brief overview of female violin soloists' position today demonstrates that the difficulties and slow evolution of opportunities described in my individual studies are still partly reflected in the present. I would conclude that the role of the female virtuoso in musical life has proved to be far more complex than the old pictures of drawing rooms might suggest. From 1557, when the documenting of female composers begins (with an organ setting of the hymn *Conditor alme* by Spanish nun Gracia Baprista in Luis Venegas de Henestrosa's *Libro de cifra nueva para tecla, harpa, y vihuela*), up to 1922, when Ethel Smyth became the first female composer to be honoured with a DBE, female musicians have long battled to find their place as professional musicians in Western society. Likewise, it took more than four centuries for the *International Alliance for Women and Music* to be

⁷¹⁷ At least where marketing is concerned, the marketing of male musicians allow a wider variety of images (sensitive, casual, middle-aged, eccentric) and the promotion of younger male violinists like Charlie Siem, Ray Chen Sergei Khachatryan in jeans and leather jackets underlines their masculinity rather than their sexuality.

⁷¹⁸ Interview with the author, Berlin, 19th December 1997; cited in Schoenbaum, p.464.

⁷¹⁹ See Citron, M., "Feminist Waves and Classical Music: Pedagogy, Performance, Research" in *Women in Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture*, (2004), no. 8, pp.47-60 and Sigelman, C. K., Thomas, D. B., Sigelman, L & Robich, F. D. (1986) Gender, Physical Attractiveness and Electability: An experimental investigation into voter biases in Baron, R. A. & Bynre, D., *Social Psychology* (Boston, London: Allyn and Bacon, 2003, 10th Edition), p.273.

⁷²⁰ Indeed, the lack of women in leadership positions could in part explain the gendered term concertmaster, still applied irrespective of whether the principal violinist is male or female.

founded in 1995 and almost a century for Maud Powell to become the first female instrumentalist ever to be widely recognised for her artistic contribution to the field of early recordings.⁷²¹

“Thus (...) after three centuries of evolutionary struggle, women violinists are finally coming into their own!”⁷²²

However, their present success seems to me to be disconnected from the long tradition of female violin playing, as pioneer female violinists’ past achievements often remain in obscurity. Recognising those achievements in the history of the violin is at least as important as creating its convincing chronology. With all this in mind, I maintain that the issues that adversely affected the reputations of Maud Powell, Marie Hall and Alma Moodie, and indeed other female musicians, are far from absent today, and continue to require rigorous investigation.

⁷²¹ Although the efforts of modern scholars in the fields of early recordings, latterly contributed to the fairer evaluation of women’s artistic achievements in the early recording industry, yet, relatively little mention has been made about important female early recording artists and the significance of their recordings to students of late nineteenth-century playing until recently.

⁷²² *The Strad*, March 1973, pp.559–61.

APPENDIX A: Powell's concerts at Carnegie Hall, New York

Sunday, 30th October 1892 at 8:15 PM Main Hall

Grand Charity Concert: Arion Society Orchestra (unspecified)

Frank van der Stucken, Conductor

MAX BRUCH (1838–1920)

Violin Concerto No. 1 in G Minor, Op. 26 (1868) Vorspiel.

Maud Powell, Violin

CAMILLE SAINT-SAENS (1835–1921)

Introduction and Rondo Capriccioso in A Minor, Op. 28 (1863)

Maud Powell, Violin

Tuesday, 14th February 1893 at 8:00 PM Main Hall

Benefit: German Poliklinik

Presenter: Unknown presenter Orchestra (unspecified)

Walter Damrosch, Conductor

BENJAMIN GODARD (1849–1895)

Violin Concerto No. 2 in G Minor, Op. 131 (1891)

Maud Powell, Violin

Saturday, 7th April 1894 at 8:15 PM Main Hall

New York Philharmonic

Presenter: Philharmonic Society of New York New York Philharmonic

Anton Seidl, Conductor

ANTONÍN DVOŘÁK (1841–1904)

Violin Concerto in A Minor, Op. 53 (1880)

Maud Powell, Violin

Tuesday, 4th December 1894 at 8:00 PM Chamber Music Hall

ANTONIN DVOŘÁK (1841–1904)

String Quartet No. 11 in C Major, Op. 61 (1881)

Maud Powell String Quartet

LUDWIG VAN BEETHOVEN (1770–1827)

String Quartet in F Major, Op. 59, No. 1 “Razumovsky” (1805–1806)

Maud Powell String Quartet

Monday, 29th November 1897 at 8:00 PM Main Hall

Benefit: New York Medical College and Hospital for Women

Presenter: Other Orchestra (unspecified) Anton Seidl, Conductor

Soloists not assigned to specific works

Maud Powell, Violin

Mary Louise Clary, Contralto

Friday, 18th February 1898 at 2:00 PM Main Hall

New York Philharmonic

Presenter: Philharmonic Society of New York New York Philharmonic

Anton Seidl, Conductor

MAX BRUCH (1838–1920)

Violin Concerto No. 2 in D Minor, Op. 44 (1878)

Maud Powell, Violin

Saturday, 19th February 1898 at 8:15 PM Main Hall

New York Philharmonic

Presenter: Philharmonic Society of New York New York Philharmonic

Anton Seidl, Conductor

MAX BRUCH (1838–1920)

Violin Concerto No. 2 in D Minor, Op. 44 (1878)

Maud Powell, Violin

Friday, 11th January 1901 at 2:00 PM Main Hall

New York Philharmonic

Presenter: Philharmonic Society of New York New York Philharmonic

Emil Paur, Conductor

LUDWIG VAN BEETHOVEN (1770–1827)

Violin Concerto in D Major, Op. 61 (1806)

Maud Powell, Violin

NIKOLAY RIMSKY-KORSAKOV (1844–1908)

Fantasia on Two Russian Themes, Op. 33 (1886–1887), New York premiere

Maud Powell, Violin

Saturday, 12th January 1901 at 8:15 PM Main Hall

New York Philharmonic

Presenter: Philharmonic Society of New York New York Philharmonic

Emil Paur, Conductor

LUDWIG VAN BEETHOVEN (1770–1827)

Violin Concerto in D Major, Op. 61 (1806)

Maud Powell, Violin

NIKOLAY RIMSKY-KORSAKOV (1844–1908)

Fantasia on Two Russian Themes, Op. 33 (1886–1887), New York premiere

Maud Powell, Violin

Friday, 8th January 1904 at 2:00 PM Main Hall

New York Philharmonic

Presenter: Philharmonic Society of New York New York Philharmonic

Henry J. Wood, Conductor

CAMILLE SAINT-SAENS (1835–1921)

Violin Concerto No. 3 in B Minor, Op. 61 (1880)

Maud Powell, Violin

Saturday, 9th January 1904 at 8:00 PM Main Hall

New York Philharmonic

Presenter: Philharmonic Society of New York New York Philharmonic

Henry J. Wood, Conductor

CAMILLE SAINT-SAENS (1835–1921)

Violin Concerto No. 3 in B Minor, Op. 61 (1880)

Maud Powell, Violin

Saturday, 26th November 1904 at 8:15 PM Main Hall

Benefit: St. Mark's Hospital

Presenter: Other

Wetzler Symphony Orchestra
Hermann Hans Wetzler, Conductor

HENRI VIEUXTEMPS (1820–1881)
Ballade and Polonaise, Op. 38 (1860)
Maud Powell, Violin

PETER ILICH TCHAIKOVSKY (1840–1893)
Violin Concerto in D Major, Op. 35 (1878)
Maud Powell, Violin, Rudolf von Scarpa, Piano

JENO HUBAY (1858–1937)
Blumenleben (La vie d'une fleur), Op. 30: *Zephir* (1887–1889)
Maud Powell, Violin, Rudolf von Scarpa, Piano

Saturday, 25th November 1905 at 3:00 PM Main Hall

Symphony Concert for Young People
Presenter: Symphony Society of New York New York Symphony Orchestra
Frank Damrosch, Conductor

LUDWIG VAN BEETHOVEN (1770–1827)
Romance in G Major, Op. 40 (1801–1802)
Maud Powell, Violin

PABLO DE SARASATE (1844–1908)
Spanische Tänze: Zapateado, Op.23, No. 2 (1880)
Maud Powell, Violin

Saturday, 30th December 1905 at 8:15 PM Main Hall

Russian Symphony Society of New York
Presenter: Russian Symphony Society Russian Symphony Society of New York
Modest Altschuler, Conductor
James H. Downs, Choral Preparation

ANTON ARENSKY (1861–1906)
Violin Concerto in A Major, Op. 54 (1891) New York premiere
Maud Powell, Violin

Sunday, 31st December 1905 at 3:00 PM Main Hall

Russian Symphony Society of New York

Presenter: Russian Symphony Society Russian Symphony Society of New York

Modest Altschuler, Conductor

ANTON ARENSKY (1861–1906)

Violin Concerto in A Major, Op. 54 (1891) New York premiere

Maud Powell, Violin

Sunday, 31st December 1905 at 9:30 PM Main Hall

Victor Herbert's Orchestra

Presenter: Unknown presenter Victor Herbert's Orchestra Victor Herbert,
Conductor

CAMILLE SAINT-SAËNS (1835–1921)

Introduction and Rondo Capriccioso in A Minor, Op. 28 (1863)

Maud Powell, Violin

HENRYK WIENIAWSKI (1835–1880)

Souvenir de Moscou, Op. 6 (1853)

Maud Powell, Violin

Monday, 2nd April 1906 at 8:30 PM Main Hall

New Music Society of America

Presenter: New Music Society of America Russian Symphony Society of New
York Modest Altschuler, Conductor

HENRY HOLDEN HUSS (1896–1953)

Violin Concerto in D Minor (1906)

Maud Powell, Violin

Monday, 9th April 1906 at 8:30 PM Chamber Music Hall

MacDowell Club of New York City Presenter: Other

HOWARD BROCKWAY (1870–1951)

Violin Sonata, Op. 9 (1894)

Maud Powell, Violin, Howard Brockway, Piano

Monday, 30th April 1906 at 8:00 PM Chamber Music Hall

Hans Kronold with Maud Powell Presenter: Unknown presenter

ANTON ARENSKY (1861–1906)

Violin Concerto in A Major, Op. 54 (1891)

Maud Powell, Violin

HENRYK WIENIAWSKI (1835–1880)

Fantaisie brillante on themes from Gounod's 'Faust', Op. 20 (1868)

Maud Powell, Violin

ANTONIN DVORAK (1841–1904)

Selection

Maud Powell, Violin

FRANCOIS COUPERIN (1668–1733)

Selection

Maud Powell, Violin

JENO HUBAY (1858–1937)

Selection

Maud Powell, Violin

Monday, 7th May 1906 at 8:00 PM Main Hall

Benefit for San Francisco Earthquake Victims

Presenter: Other

Victor Herbert's Orchestra Victor Herbert, Conductor

FELIX MENDELSSOHN (1809–1847)

Violin Concerto in E Minor, Op. 64 (1844)

Maud Powell, Violin, Max Herzberg, Piano

Friday, 30th November 1906 at 2:30 PM Main Hall

New York Philharmonic

Presenter: Philharmonic Society of New York New York Philharmonic

Vasily Il'ich Safonov, Conductor

JEAN SIBELIUS (1865–1957)

Violin Concerto in D Minor, Op. 47 (1903) United States premiere

Maud Powell, Violin

Saturday, 1st December 1906 at 8:15 PM Main Hall

New York Philharmonic

Presenter: Philharmonic Society of New York New York Philharmonic

Vasily Il'ich Safonov, Conductor

JEAN SIBELIUS (1865–1957)

Violin Concerto in D Minor, Op. 47

Maud Powell, Violin

Wednesday, 29th December 1909 at 8:15 PM Main Hall

New York Philharmonic

Presenter: Philharmonic Society of New York New York Philharmonic

Gustav Mahler, Conductor

FELIX MENDELSSOHN (1809–1847)

Violin Concerto in E Minor, Op. 64 (1844)

Maud Powell, Violin

Friday, 31st December 1909 at 2:30 PM Main Hall

New York Philharmonic

Presenter: Philharmonic Society of New York New York Philharmonic

Gustav Mahler, Conductor

LUDWIG VAN BEETHOVEN (1770–1827)

Violin Concerto in D Major, Op. 61 (1806)

Maud Powell, Violin

Tuesday, 14th March 1911 at 8:15 PM Main Hall

New York Philharmonic

Presenter: Philharmonic Society of New York New York Philharmonic

Theodore Spiering, Conductor

JEAN SIBELIUS (1865–1957)

Violin Concerto in D Minor, Op. 47 (1903)

Maud Powell, Violin

Friday, 17th March 1911 at 2:30 PM Main Hall

New York Philharmonic

Presenter: Philharmonic Society of New York New York Philharmonic

Theodore Spiering, Conductor

JEAN SIBELIUS (1865–1957)

Violin Concerto in D Minor, Op. 47 (1903)

Maud Powell, Violin

Thursday, 6th March 1913 at 8:15 PM Main Hall

New York Philharmonic

Presenter: Philharmonic Society of New York New York Philharmonic

Josef Stransky, Conductor

PYOTR ILYICH TCHAIKOVSKY (1840–1893)

Violin Concerto in D Major, Op. 35 (1878)

Maud Powell, Violin

Friday, 7th March 1913 at 2:30 PM Main Hall

New York Philharmonic

Presenter: Philharmonic Society of New York New York Philharmonic

Josef Stransky, Conductor

PYOTR ILYICH TCHAIKOVSKY (1840–1893)

Violin Concerto in D Major, Op. 35

Maud Powell, Violin

Saturday, 22nd March 1913 at 8:15 PM Main Hall

Russian Symphony Society of New York

Presenter: Evening Mail

Russian Symphony Society of New York Modest Altschuler, Conductor

FELIX MENDELSSOHN (1809–1847)

Violin Concerto in E Minor, Op. 64

Maud Powell, Violin

ANTONIO FRANCESCO TENAGLIA (1612–1672)

Aria in F Minor (1905; arr. Ries, Franz)

Maud Powell, Violin, George Falkenstein, Piano

JENO HUBAY

Scènes de la Csárdas (1858–1937)

Maud Powell, Violin, George Falkenstein, Piano

Sunday, 20th December 1914 at 3:15 PM Main Hall

People's Symphony Concert

Presenter: People's Symphony Society People's Symphony Society Orchestra Franz

X. Arens, Conductor

LUDWIG VAN BEETHOVEN (1770–1827)

Violin Concerto in D Major, Op. 61 (1806)

Maud Powell, Violin

CAMILLE SAINT-SAENS (1835–1921)

Introduction and Rondo Capriccioso in A Minor, Op. 28 (1863)

Maud Powell, Violin

Monday, 8th January 1917 at 8:00 PM Main Hall

Maud Powell Presenter: Other

CHARLES-AUGUSTE DE BERIOT (1802–1870)

Violin Concerto No. 7 in G Major, Op. 76 (1851)

Maud Powell, Violin

JEAN-PAUL-EGIDE MARTINI (1741–1816)

Plaisir d'amour (Pleasure of Love)

JEAN-MARIE LECLAIR (1697–1764)

Tambourin

JOHANN SEBASTIAN BACH (1685–1750)

Bourree

WOLFGANG AMADEUS MOZART (1756–1791)

Minuet

FELIX MENDELSSOHN (1809–1847)

Violin Concerto in E Minor, Op. 64 (1844)

Maud Powell, Violin

SAMUEL COLERIDGE-TAYLOR (1875–1912)

Twenty-Four Negro Melodies: Deep River, Op. 59a, No. 10 (1905)

JENO HUBAY (1858–1937)

Blumenleben (La vie d'une fleur): Zephir, Op. 30, No. 5 (1887–1889)

MAX BRUCH (1838–1920)

Kol Nidrei, Op. 47 (1881)

EMILE SAURET (1852–1920)

Farfalla (Will-o'-the-Wisp), Op. 40, No. 3

JULES MASSENET (1842–1912)

Poème pastoral: Crépuscule (1870–1872; arr. Powell, Maud)

HENRI VIEUXTEMPS (1820–1881)

Bouquet américain: St. Patrick's Day, Op. 33, No. 2 (1855)

JEAN SIBELIUS (1865–1957)

Kuolema: *Valse Triste*, Op. 44, No. 1 (1903)

PERCY GRAINGER (1882–1961)

Molly on the Shore (1907)

AMBROISE THOMAS (1811–1896)

Mignon: *Me voici dans son boudoir (Gavotte)* (1866; arr. Sarasate, Pablo de)

Waltz in D-flat Major, Op. 64, No. 1 “*Minute*” (1847; arr. Powell, Maud)

HENRI VIEUXTEMPS (1820–1881)

Ballade and Polonaise, Op. 38 (1860)

Soloists not assigned to specific works

Arthur Loesser, Piano Harry M. Gilbert, Organ Joseph Vito, Harp

Wednesday, 24th January 1917 at 8:15 PM Main Hall

Home Symphony Concert: New York Philharmonic

Presenter: Evening Mail New York Philharmonic Josef Stransky, Conductor

MAX BRUCH (1838–1920)

Violin Concerto No. 1 in G Minor, Op. 26 (1868)

Maud Powell, Violin

Sunday, 7th April 1918 at 3:00 PM Main Hall

JEAN SIBELIUS (1865–1957)

Allegro in D Minor

Maud Powell, Violin, Arthur Loesser, Piano

GIUSEPPE TARTINI (1692–1770)

Violin Sonata in G Minor, Op. 1, No. 10, "*Didone abbandonata*" (1728)

Maud Powell, Violin, Arthur Loesser, Piano

WOLFGANG AMADEUS MOZART (1756–1791)

Menuetto

Maud Powell, Violin, Arthur Loesser, Piano

LUDWIG VAN BEETHOVEN (1770–1827)

Die Ruinen von Athen: *Turkish March*, Op. 113, No. 4 (1811; arr. Auer, Leopold)

Maud Powell, Violin, Arthur Loesser, Piano

CESAR FRANCK (1822–1890)

Violin Sonata in A Major (1886)

Maud Powell, Violin, Arthur Loesser, Piano

SAMUEL COLERIDGE-TAYLOR (1875–1912)

Twenty-Four Negro Melodies: Deep River, Op. 59a, No. 10 (1905; arr. Powell, Maud)

Maud Powell, Violin, Arthur Loesser, Piano

ALEXANDER GRECHANINOV (1864–1956)

Song of autumn

Maud Powell, Violin, Arthur Loesser, Piano

STEPHEN FOSTER (1826–1864)

My Old Kentucky Home (1853; arr. Powell, Maud)

Maud Powell, Violin, Arthur Loesser, Piano

NORA BAYES (1880–1928)

Shine On Harvest Moon (1908; arr. Powell, Maud)

Maud Powell, Violin, Arthur Loesser, Piano

SPIRITUAL

Kingdom Comin'

Maud Powell, Violin, Arthur Loesser, Piano

HERMAN BEMBERG (1859–1931)

Chant Hindou

Maud Powell, Violin, Arthur Loesser, Piano

FREDERIC CHOPIN (1810–1849)

Zyczenie, Op. 74, No. 1, “*The Wish*”

(1829; arr. Macmillen, Francis)

Maud Powell, Violin, Arthur Loesser, Piano

EDE POLDINI (1869–1957)

Selection

Maud Powell, Violin, Arthur Loesser, Piano

ANTONIO BAZZINI (1818–1897)

Selection

Maud Powell, Violin, Arthur Loesser, Piano

**APPENDIX B: Works by American composers dedicated to and premiered
by Maud Powell.⁷²³**

Henry Holden Huss: *Romanze and Polonaise for Violin and Orchestra*, Op. 11 (1890 Manuscript, New York Public Library); Violin Concerto in D minor, Op. 12 (1906 Manuscript, New York Public Library); *Romance* in E (New York: G. Schirmer, 1906).⁷²⁴ Powell became Huss's inspiration for several violin works that he dedicated to her, the most enduring of which is the *Romanze*. She premiered his *Romanze and Polonaise* in 1889 and her first documented performance of *Romance* in E was in her New York recital on 11th January 1906 the same year she premiered Huss's concerto in Carnegie Hall with the Russian Symphony Orchestra.

Harry Rowe Shelley: Violin Concerto in G Minor (1891). On 23rd February 1891 Powell premiered the concerto at the Brooklyn Academy of Music as part of a concert of American music organised by C. Mortimer Wiske. The concerto was badly received and the New York critic Henry Krehbiel commented, "Truth compels the confession that American composers never suffered half so much from neglect as he did from attention at this concert."⁷²⁵

Mrs A. H. Beach: *Romance* for Violin and Piano, Op. 23 (Boston: Arthur P. Schmidt, 1893) is written in the late nineteenth-century Romantic style Amy Beach and Maud Powell premiered it in the World's Columbian Exposition on 5th July 1893. Amy Beach composed it for that occasion with a dedication to Maud Powell. Those who heard them on that day were convinced that "there is no gender in music" and "the faultless interpretation by the brilliant composer and artist" was a good enough proof for them.⁷²⁶

Carl C. Müller: Sonata for violin and piano, Op. 61 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1897).

⁷²³ Appendix B ad C, for all quotations see, Shaffer and Pine, *Maud Powell Favourites*, Volume one.

⁷²⁴ Huss probably later reworked his *Romance and Polonaise* into his Concerto in D minor, Op. 12. The concerto represents the first attempt by an American composer to write a major violin work thanks to the 22-year-old Maud and her courageous and generous act of promoting the American composers and their work. *The Strad*, 1892, p.209.

⁷²⁵ *New York Tribune*, 'A Concert of American Music', 24th February 1891. Shaffer, *Maud Powell Favourites*, p.22.

⁷²⁶ See 'Impressions of the Musical Congress,' *The Music Review*, August 1893. Cited in Shaffer, *Maud Powell*, p.142.

Tor Aulin: *Violin Concerto* in C minor, Op. 14. Powell called it an “essentially violinist concerto (...) and his message may not be profound or perhaps of paramount importance, yet it is, in view of the paucity of good violin works in the larger forms, distinctly worthwhile.” She wrote a programme note on the Tor Aulin concerto that was published in the *Minneapolis Tribune*, 21st November 1909 for the premiere.⁷²⁷

Carl Venth: *Aria* (1911). The violinist-composer dedicated two works to Powell, only one of which has been found. The lost work *Romanza* was performed by Powell in 1890 and she premiered the *Aria* during her 1914 recital in Fort Worth with pianist Francis Moore. Venth admired Maud Powell and claimed that her programming made her “perhaps the greatest of the great” because she, not only, has “every attribute of greatness” but also ran “the whole gamut of really worthwhile compositions, from the classics to the most modern.” Venth own violin a Petrus Guarnerius, was the violin chosen for Powell by Joachim.

William H. Humiston: *Suite for Violin and Orchestra* in F Sharp Minor (Edition for violin and piano) (New York: G. Schirmer, 1912)

Samuel Coleridge-Taylor: *Violin Concerto* in D Minor (1912).⁷²⁸ Coleridge-Taylor was highly critical of his own work and ready to destroy the first manuscript of his violin concerto; it seems that we owe its final version to Powell’s encouragement and enthusiastic critique of his work. The revised score was lost and a second score was rushed over the Atlantic in time for the scheduled premiere. The concerto is not in the grand manner of Brahms Violin Concerto but rather in the lyrical manner of Dvořák’s. Powell described it as “a pretty melodious music, like a bouquet of flowers”. Coleridge-Taylor used several American popular songs as the basis for some of his thematic material, including *Yankee Doodle* in the work’s finale.

Gaylord Yost: *Danse Characteristique* (1913). Powell wrote to Yost, a composer-violinist at the Indianapolis Conservatory of Music after she received the piece: “Thank you for the dedication of that little *Danse Characteristique* with the dainty first theme and that lovely middle bit so dear to the heart of the fiddler because of the double stopping and the 3-2 rhythm. I expect to use it this winter. Again my best thanks.”⁷²⁹

⁷²⁷ Shaffer and Greenwood, *Maud Powell*, p.235.

⁷²⁸ *The Strad*, February 2003, p.9.

⁷²⁹ *The Musical Courier*, October 1913, cited in Shaffer and Greenwood, *Maud Powell*, p. 331.

Arthur Loesser: *California* (Humoresque) (On a Tune By Paladiahle) (New York: Carl Fischer, 1923). After working between 1913 and 1915 with pianist Francis Moore, for the 1915–16 seasons Powell was lacking a pianist. In Loesser she recognised special qualities and found an excellent partner. Despite his young age he perfectly matched her musicianship. Thanks to that exposure Loesser was able to continue his distinguished career after Powell's death. He composed a piece for violin and piano entitled *California* and most fittingly dedicated it to Powell's memory.

Johannes Miersch: Concerto in A minor, Op. 5 (Manuscript, Detroit Public Library).

APPENDIX C: Maud Powell's transcriptions of European, African-American and American music.

Transcriptions of European music

Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1872): *Minuet in G, No. 2* from the Set *Kleinere Stuecke* (New York: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1917). Powell began playing her transcription as early as 1910, although it was not published until 1917. She admitted that the piece was a trivial albeit a charming piece of Beethoven genius.

Luigi Boccherini (1743–1805): Six Quintets, Op. 11, String Quintet No. 5 in E major, G. 275; *Minuet (Antique)*. Boccherini composed 125 string quartets in all. This famous minuet is from his Quintet in E, Op. 11, No. 5. Powell recorded her transcription for the Victor Company on September 8, 1913, with pianist George Falkenstein before it was published.

Frédéric Chopin (1810–1849): *Waltz No. 6* in D flat major, Op. 64, No. 1, *Minute*. Powell recorded the *Waltz* for the Victor Company on July 11, 1907, and again on May 29, 1909 with pianist George Falkenstein. When she performed her transcription in 1913 in her New York recital, a critic commented, “It was not the transposition upward of a half tone which changed the nature of the composition, but the attempt to make the violin speak in the idioms of the piano. Maud Powell has plenty of precedent for her arrangement. Sarasate himself used to play Chopin’s piano nocturnes on the violin. Her performance of the fleeting valse was perfection itself, and had to be repeated.”⁷³⁰

François Couperin (1668–1733): *Pièces de clavecin*, Book I, Première Ordre in G minor, No. 17; *La fleurie* ou *La tendre Nanette* / *La Fleurie* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1906). *The Flower* or *Tender Nanette* from Book I (1713) is likely to be an example of what Couperin called his harpsichord ‘portraits.’ Powell’s transcription was published in 1916, yet she never recorded it.

Debussy (1862–1918): *Children’s Corner Suite: Golliwogg’s Cake-Walk*.

⁷³⁰ “Maud Powell’s Ripe Art,” *Musical Courier*, 29th October 1913; cited in Shaffer and Pine, *Maud Powell Favorites*, p.30.

Antonín Dvořák (1841–1904)/Fritz Kreisler: *Eight Humoresques*, Op. 101, *Humoresque* No. 7 in G flat major; arranged by Fritz Kreisler (N. Simrock, Berlin, 1906). Revised by Powell and recorded by her on 5th June 1916, Victor Red Seal, No.74494. Dvořák completed his set of *Eight Humoresques* for piano in America in August 1894 and Simrock published them in Berlin that autumn. The seventh, *Poco lento e grazioso* in G flat major, became the most famous thanks to Fritz Kreisler who discovered the piece during his 1903 visit to the aged composer in Prague. He published the transcription for violin and piano in 1906. Powell revised and adapted Kreisler's transcription and performed as early as January 11, 1906 in her New York recital and recorded it for the Victor Red Seal on June 5, 1916, No. 74494. Numerous recordings helped make the *Humoresque* popular including those of Mischa Elman and Fritz Kreisler in 1910, followed by Ysaÿe and Zimbalist in 1914.⁷³¹

Antonín Dvořák (1841–1904): *Zigeunermelodien* (Gypsy Melodies), Op. 55; *Als die alt Mutter/Songs My Mother Sang* (New York: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1917). Powell first performed her transcription in her New York recital in October 1916 and recorded it on June 5, 1916 with pianist Artur Loesser. The Victor Company never published the record. Kreisler recorded his own transcription in January 1916 as *Songs My Mother Taught Me*.

Christoph W. Gluck (1714–1787): *Orphée et Eurydice*, Act II, Scene II, *Dance of the Blessed Spirits/Melody*. Gluck's pastoral *Dance of the Blessed Spirits* opens Act II. Powell transcribed its central section in D minor and titled it *Melody*. She recorded it for the Victor Company as *Mélodie* on July 11, 1907, and on May 20, 1909 with pianist George Falkenstein, and on June 5, 1916 with pianist Arthur Loesser. Fritz Kreisler recorded his transcription of this piece for the Victor Company in 1912, calling it also *Mélodie*, followed by Mischa Elman who recorded August Wilhelmj's transcription in 1915.

Adolf Jensen (1837–1879): *Serenade* (Ständchen), Op. 32, No. 9 (New York: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1918). Jensen composed his *Serenade* for piano in Leipzig 1866 as an etude for piano. Arthur P. Schmidt of Boston published it in the United States as early as 1881. Powell began to perform the piece in 1918, yet never recorded it.

⁷³¹ Bolig, John R., *The Victor Red Seal Discography, Volume I: Single-Sided Series* (1903-25), (Denver: Mainspring Press, 2004), p.386.

Jean-Paul-Gilles Martini (1741–1816): *Love's Delight (Plaisir d'amour)* (New York: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1917). The sheet music from which Powell most likely transcribed the piece was published in the United States in 1874 by Schirmer as part of the collection of *The Most Favourite Italian Songs with English Translations*. Powell's transcription was published with an erroneous attribution to "Padre Martini." Actually, neither the song nor the composer is Italian. This French ballad was composed for the court by the German-born musician Johan Paul Aegidius Martin, who worked in France most of his life and was known as Jean-Paul-Gilles Martini. Powell recorded this transcription for the Victor Company with pianist Arthur Loesser on June 5, 1916.

Jules Massenet (1842–1912): *Poèmes pastoraux*, No. 4; *Crépuscule/Twilight* (New York: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1918). Powell transcribed Massenet's *Twilight* in summer of 1891 while vacationing in Ellenville, New York. It is one of her earliest transcription, yet at the same time one of the most difficult ones. She performed it for the first time in Chicago at an Apollo Club concert on December 2, 1891. Powell recorded *Twilight* for the Victor Company with harpist Francis J. Lapitino on June 24, 1914. Interestingly, she met Massenet while a student at the Paris Conservatoire in 1882-3 and his *Méditation* became one of her signature pieces and one of her best-selling records.

Selim Palmgren (1878–1951): *Kevät (Spring)*, Op. 27, No. 4; *Kevätyö (May Night)* (manuscript dated July 1918, Holland/New Library, Washington State University). *May Night* is the fourth piece of the *Spring*, a poem for piano written in 1907. It captured Powell's imagination prompting her to arrange it for violin and piano in July 1918. She never recorded it and she dedicated the piece to the pianist Harry M. Gilbert who may have initially called her attention to the piece. The manuscript was never published as the publisher had returned the manuscript to her.

Nikolay A. Rimsky-Korsakov (1844–1908): *Sadko: Song of the Indian Trader Chanson Indoue (Song of India)*. Two songs from the fourth scene of *Sadko* are actually paraphrases of popular melodies from the operas of Alexander Serov. Although Powell recorded *Chanson Indoue* twice (in 1917 and once more in late December 1919 just before her sudden death) none of the takes were issued by the Victor Company. Fritz Kreisler recorded his own transcription of the piece in May 1919 (Victor 64890: Bolig, *The Victor Red Seal Discography*, p.41.)

Jean Sibelius (1865–1957): *Musette* from the orchestral suite to Adolf Pauls’ play *King Christian II Suite*, Op. 27, and Jean Sibelius/Friedrich Hermann: *Valse Triste*, Op. 44, No. 1. Powell’s transcriptions of Sibelius’s music arose out of his only visit to the United States when they met at the Norfolk Festival in June 1914. She recorded both pieces for the Victor Company with pianist George Falkenstein on June 24, 1914 and included them in her 1914-5 season recital programmes.

Transcriptions of African-American music.

Samuel Coleridge-Taylor (1875–1912): *Twenty-Four Negro Melodies*, Op. 59, No. 10; *Deep River* (Dedicated to Mrs Carl Stoeckel), (Boston: Oliver Ditson Company, 1905).⁷³² Coleridge-Taylor transformed folk-negro melodies into more classical musical forms for piano and *Deep River* was included in the collection of *24 Negro Melodies*, Op. 59, transcribed for piano by Coleridge-Taylor and published by Oliver Ditson in 1905. Maud Powell knew that Coleridge-Taylor considered the song the most beautiful and was inspired to transcribe it. After the premiere at her New York recital in October 1911, critic Henry Krehbiel stated that it was, “far and away the most effective bit of music based on American folk song which has yet been offered to the public.”⁷³³ It was the first time a white solo concert violinist trained in art music tradition had performed an African-American spiritual in concert. Powell recorded *Deep River* with pianist George Falkenstein for the Victor Company on June 15, 1911. The spiritual became so popular that Sousa prepared a band arrangement with violin solo based on Powell’s transcription for a performance in 1919. In 2004, Elgin Symphony music director Robert Hansen also arranged *Deep River* for violin solo with orchestra based on Powell’s transcription.⁷³⁴

James Rosamond Johnson (1873-1954): *Nobody Knows the Trouble I’ve Seen* (dedicated to Maud Powell’s husband Sunny) (New York: Oliver Ditson Company, 1921). Johnson’s arrangement of the song for voice and piano was published as a sheet music in 1917, in four major keys A, G, F and E flat (a key Powell had arranged her transcription). He expressed the hope that Powell might transcribe it for violin and piano, and perform it at a benefit concert for the New York Music School Settlement for Colored People, which she did in June 1919, as a response to

⁷³² The other two versions of *Deep River* are written by Elman and Heifetz. Comparing Heifetz’s transcriptions they are usually more elaborate than those of his predecessors as he employs more double stops (see for example bars 10ff of *Deep River*).

⁷³³ Krehbiel, Henry E., “Maud Powell’s Recital,” *New York Tribune*, 1st November 1911; cited in Shaffer and Pine, *Maud Powell Favourites*, p.70.

⁷³⁴ See Shaffer and Pine, *Maud Powell Favourites*, pp.71-73.

his request. She went on to include her transcription in her programmes in the autumn of 1919 and this song became the last piece she ever played. It appears to be the second transcription of the *Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen* made for violin and piano. The African-American violinist and composer Clarence Cameron White (1880-1960) had arranged it for violin and piano in 1916 in the key of G major as the first part of *Bandanna Sketches: Four Negro Spirituals for violin and piano accompaniment*, Op. 12, No. 1, *Chant* (published in New York by Carl Fischer in 1918). White's arrangement of the song was performed in concerts by violinists Fritz Kreisler, Albert Spalding, and Irma Seydel in the 1920s and 1930s and recorded by Kreisler for the Victor Company in 1919.

Transcriptions of American music

Stephen Collins Foster (1826–1864)/Luke Schoolcraft (1847–1893)/Henry Clay Work (1832–1884): *Plantation Melodies: My Old Kentucky Home* (Foster); *Old Black Joe* (Foster); *Kingdom Comin'* (Work), *Shine On* (Schoolcraft), (New York: Carl Fisher, 1919). (Recorded for Victor as *Four American Folk Songs*.) Foster composed his famous minstrel songs, *My Old Kentucky Home* (1853) and *Old Black Joe* (1860) at the peak of his career. Luke Schoolcraft composed the music and lyrics for *Shine On* in 1874, which together with *Watermelon* became popular favourites. Work, composed *Kingdom Comin'* for E. P. Christy's Minstrels who introduced it in 1862. Powell originally titled her transcriptions of the music by Foster, Schoolcraft, and Work, as *American Folk Tunes* and played it as early as 1917. By recognising these tunes as worthy of presentation in a art music recital, Powell was breaking new ground. She recorded her arrangement of these songs for the Victor Company as *Four American Folk Songs* on June 6, 1917. Her transcription was published with a different title, *Plantation Melodies* in 1919.

Herman Bellstedt Jr. (1858–1926): *Caprice on Dixie* No. 26. Powell met Herman Bellstedt Jr. in the spring of 1891, when she toured as violinist with Patrick S. Gilmore's band. They were touring together again with Sousa's band in 1904 and he composed an arrangement *Dixie Land* based on Daniel Decatur Emmet's song *I wish I was in Dixie's Land* for Powell early in 1905 when she toured the British Isles. Herman Bellstedt, Jr., a cornet virtuoso in the Sousa Band, turned this minstrel song taken up by Civil War soldiers into a violin showpiece "quite worthy of Paganini." Powell enhanced this virtuosic piece with her own introduction along with some minor revisions and performed it for the first time as an encore at her South African tour in 1905. She recorded her own version of the *Caprice on Dixie*

for the Victor Company on May 25, 1910, which differs significantly from Bellstedt's published version. Although she recognised the Caprice to be of a 'popular nature' she did not hesitate to play it throughout her career.

Hart Pease Danks (1834–1903): *Silver Threads Among the Gold*. Dank's song was published in 1873 and had become the most popular during Powell's childhood. Although Powell resisted the Victor's Company request to record this popular song, she finally did so on June 24, 1914 with pianist George Falkenstein, but never allowed her arrangement to be published and never played it in concert.

Original music and transcriptions dedicated to, commissioned by, or closely associated with Maud Powell

Marion Eugenie Bauer (1882–1955): *Up the Ocklawaha*, Op. 6. Powell commissioned Bauer to compose a violin piece based on her experience of her 'eerie steamboat journey' up the Ocklawaha River. Powell premiered the work in Scottish Rite Hall, San Francisco, December 15, 1912, with American pianist Harold Osborn Smith. Powell commented that she had, "never experienced a more remarkable expression of color and picture drawing in music than this work," and noted that it is "so individual in its musical speech, penned with such sure intent, that it must hold a unique place in violin literature."⁷³⁵ Critics called the piece a "tone painting in ultra modern style."⁷³⁶ *Up to Ocklawaha* provided Powell the opportunity for virtuosic display through octave double-stops, chromatic passages, and false harmonics, yet although the poem had an American subject the piece was difficult for audiences to understand. Conversely, Bauer's work, as well as Beach's *Romance* neither remained in Powell's repertoire, nor she recorded either one.

Cecil Burleigh (1885–1980): *Four Rocky Mountain Sketches*, Op. 11; *At Sunset*, *The Rapids*, *Up the Cañon*, *The Avalanche*. Cecil Burleigh was a violinist and composer who considered Powell's interest in his music a great honour. It was largely due to her that his work gained recognition. Powell shared Burleigh's love for the American West, believing that the future of American music lay in that direction. She was one of the first to perform his Violin Concerto in E minor (1918) after he premiered it himself in 1916, and she performed *The Avalanche* from his *Rocky Mountain Sketches* from manuscript at her New York recital on 2nd October 1913.

⁷³⁵ Rachel Barton Pine CD/ Liner Notes for: *American Virtuosa: Tribute to Maud Powell*.

⁷³⁶ "Maud Powell Charms In Interesting Recital," *New York Press*, 22nd October 1913; *New York Evening Sun*, 22nd October 1913; cited in Shaffer and Pine, *Maud Powell Favorites*, p.103.

Henri Ern (1863–1923): *Menuet*, for violin and piano, Op. 39, No. 1. Powell met Henri Ern at the beginning of the 1884-85 at the Berlin Hochschule, where they both studied with Joachim. *Menuet* was composed after Powell married in 1904 and it appears that it was never published.

Harry Mathena Gilbert (1879–1964): Scherzo *Marionettes* (1911). Gilbert, a native of Kentucky, was as much at home with vaudevillians as he was a piano soloist, organist and an accompanist for American opera singer David Bispham, cellist Pablo Casals, and violinists Kathleen Parlow and Powell. Powell first performed *Marionettes* on tour in 1911 before its publication in 1912 and introduced his Scherzo *Marionettes* in New York in 1911, describing it as a “quaint conceit, picturing in a tone the antics of tiny marionettes.” The work was well received by critics and public and Maud Powell recorded it for the Victor Company on September 27, 1912.

Percy Aldridge Grainger (1882–1961): *Molly on the Shore*; violin part revised by Powell. Powell introduced *Molly on the Shore* to New York audiences in her recital in Aeolian Hall in October 1915 and recorded it for the Victor Company on June 5, 1916 with pianist Arthur Loesser. It became best-seller by October 1916.

Edwin A. Grasse (1884–1954): *Wellenspiel* (*Waves at Play*, 1909), *Scherzo capriccioso*, Op. 19 (New York: G. Schirmer, 1912), *In a Row Boat* (*Im Rudderboot*), and *Polonaise* No. 1 in C Major (New York: Carl Fischer, 1915). Edwin Grasse, blind from birth, was a gifted violinist and pianist who made his American debut in 1903 playing the Brahms concerto. He was one of the numerous young musicians that Powell befriended, and she performed many of Grasse’s works right after they were composed. Powell premiered *Wellenspiel* in her recital in June 1909 and clearly appreciated effectiveness of this concert study. Grasse composed *Scherzo capriccioso* in February 1912 and dedicated it to Powell who did not hesitate to perform it during 1912-13 seasons and introduce *Polonaise* during her New York recital in 1915. It is not known whether Carl Flesch, to whom the *Scherzo capriccioso* was dedicated, ever performed it. Although Powell regularly played Grasse’s works in her recitals, unfortunately she never recorded any of his compositions. *Wellenspiel* was recorded twice by Jascha Heifetz, in 1945 and 1952, and more recently by Joshua Bell.

Edvard Grieg (1843–1907)/Sol Marcossion (1869–1940): *To Spring (An den Fröling)*, Op. 43, No. 6. Grieg's piece *To Spring* is from his third book of *Lyric Pieces* for piano composed 1884. In 1910 American violinist Sol Marcossion transcribed Grieg's piece and dedicated it to Powell. She played the piece throughout her 1911 season and recorded for the Victor Company on June 5, 1911.

William Henry Humiston (1869–1923): *Suite for Violin and Orchestra* in F sharp minor. He composed the *Suite for Violin and Orchestra* in 1911 and dedicated to Powell. His violin and piano arrangement of the Suite was published in 1912. Powell performed the suite from manuscript at least three times with pianist Waldemar Liachowsky during her 1911-12 United States tour.

Max Liebling (1845–1927): *Fantasia on Sousa Themes*. Max Liebling was born in Germany and came at the age of sixteen came to New York where he began his career as a solo pianist. In 1873 he accompanied Henri Wieniawski and in 1878 August Wilhelmj on their American tours. Liebling composed his *Fantasia* for Powell in January 1905 to perform with the Sousa's Band during its tour of the British Isles through May 1905 when Powell gave at least 160 concerts. It reflects American patriotic fervour at the turn of the nineteenth century as its musical material is largely based on themes from Sousa's operettas *El Capitan* and *The Bride Elect*. The piece ends with an excerpt from Sousa's most famous march, *The Stars and Stripes Forever*.

Arthur Loesser (1894–1969): *California*. Loesser composed *California* in tribute to Powell's memory. Interestingly, both Jascha Heifetz and Mischa Elman performed this piece. *California* is based on unknown tune by French composer Emile Paladilhe (1844-1926), who composed well-known song *La Mandolinata* in 1872.

Edward A. MacDowell (1860–1908)/Arthur Hartmann (1881–1956): *Woodland Sketches*, Op. 51. Dowell composed *To a Wild Rose* in 1896 and Hartmann transcribed it in 1907. Although Powell performed the piece she never recorded it.

Ede Poldini (1869–1957)/Arthur Hartmann (1881–1956): *Marionnettes* No. 2. Hartman's violin works were played and recorded by many violinists, Kreisler, Heifetz, Elman, Thibaud, Deidl, Hansen, Chemet, amongst others, but Powell was the first to recognise the musical value of Hartman's transcriptions, finding them excellent musically and perfect for the violin. *Poupée Valsante* was published in a

collection of fifteen transcriptions by Hartmann in 1916. His transcription is based on the Hungarian composer Ede Poldini's *Poupée Valsante*, the second of seven *Marionnettes* composed in 1895 and dedicated to the conductor Arthur Nikisch. Powell performed it while on tour during 1917-18 and 1918-19 seasons and recorded the transcription on June 7, 1917, giving it international exposure. Kreisler transcribed and recorded *Poupée Valsante* in 1924 as *Dancing Doll*.

***APPENDIX D: Music dedicated to Alma Moodie and works she
premiered.⁷³⁷***

Max Reger, Präludium und Fuge, Opus 131a, No.4 (1914), “Fräulein Alma Moodie zugeeignet”.

Eduard Erdmann, Sonate für Violine allein, Opus 12 (1921).

Hans Pfitzner, Violinkonzert, Opus 34 (1923).

Ernst Krenek, Violinkonzert No.1 Opus 29 (1924).

Ernst Krenek, Sonate für Solo-Violine, Opus 33 (1924/1925) “Für Alma Moodie”.

Egon Wellesz, Suite für Violine und Kammerorchester, Opus 38 (1924), “Alma Moodie freundschaftlich zugeeignet”.

Hermann Reutter, Rhapsodie für Violine und Klavier (1939).

Karl Höller, Violinsonate No.2, g-moll, Opus 33 (1943) (In memory of Alma Moodie).

Gerhart Münch (1907-1988) Violinkonzert, “April 26”, Alma Moodie zugeeignet”.

Premiers and German First Performances

(Titles as they appear in documentary sources)

Kurt Atterberg, Violinkonzert, e-moll, Opus 7 (1914) German first performance, Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra conductor, Max von Schillings, 6 November 1919.

Eduard Erdmann, Sonate für Violine allein, Opus 12 (1921). First performance, Berlin, October 1921.

Georg Göhler, Violinkonzert, e-moll (1925/1926). Moodie played this concerto in February 1927 in Halle, where Göhler was leader of the symphony concerts of the Halle Philharmonie.

Paul Hindemith, Kammermusik No.4 Violinkonzert Opus 36 No.3 (1925). First performance in Berlin, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde zu Berlin, conductor Heinz Unger, 18 February 1926.

Karl Höller, Violin-Konzert. *Festkonzert* for the opening of the Staatlichen Hochschule für Musik (formerly Dr. Hoch's Konservatorium), Frankfurt, 16 May 1938, conductor Karl Höller (*Frankfurter Zeitung*, 14 May 1938)

Heinrich Kaminski, Präludium und fuge, für Violine und Orgel (1929). Zurich, 14 November 1929, Karl Mattaei (organ).

⁷³⁷ Dreyfus, *Bluebeard's Bride*, pp.143–44.

Ernst Krenek, Violinkonzert No.1 Opus 29 (1924). Premiere, Dessau, 5 January 1925. First performance in Berlin, Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, conductor Franz von Hoesslin, 10 January 1925.

R. Moser-Rufenacht, Violinkonzert. First performance in Berlin, Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, conductor R. Moser, November 1926.

Hans Pfitzner, Violinkonzert, Opus 34 (1923). Premiere Nuremberg, 4 June 1924. First performance in Berlin, Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler, 20 October 1924.

Hermann Reutter, Rhapsodie für Violine und Klavier (1939). Wiesbaden, Verein der Künstler, with Hermann Reutter, early March 1939.

Igor Stravinsky, *Suite après des thèmes, fragments et morceaux de Giambattista Pergolesi*, arr. Für Violine und Klavier (1925).

Hermann Suter, Violinkonzert (1921). Werke Schweizer Komponisten, Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, conductor Willy Arbenz, 26 October 1923.

Heinz Tiessen, *Totentanz-Melodie*, Opus 29 (1918). First performance, Singakademie Berlin, 3 December 1920.

Alexander Voormolen, *Sicilienne und Rigaudon*, pour piano et violon (1920). First performance, Singakademie Berlin 3 December 1920.

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